

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 51.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 1, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

POLITICAL NOTES.

THERE is naturally great commotion in political circles about the resignation of Lord Randolph Churchill, and speculations about the result; as far as we Socialists are concerned we need not trouble ourselves much about it. It emphasises the idiocy of our Parliamentary struggle, that the resignation of a man who is looked upon by every one as a mere trickster, who openly repudiates the folly of having principles to trouble himself with, should be a matter of such mighty importance. Further, it is an indication of the disintegration of parties which is caused by the shadow of advancing Socialism, and which has been going on at such a great rate recently.

But although it is really a sign of this decay of party government, it is probable enough that its first results will be the uniting of the Liberal party on the basis of the surrender of the Gladstonian Liberals. Mr. Chamberlain's speech at Birmingham had a tone of confident triumph about it which is somewhat justified by the situation. The Liberals are quite prepared for this act of ratting; indeed, Mr. Gladstone himself has given the signal for it by letting it be known that he too condemns the "Plan of Campaign." The Jonah of Home Rule once thrown over, nothing prevents the Union of the two sections of the Liberal Party, who can then set to work about the business which the more enlightened of them see to be their true function, of widening the basis of exploitation in these islands in various ways. The attempt at the creation of a new lower middle-class to stem the torrent of Socialism will be the serious business of this new party (for in spite of names it will really be new), of which the two brothers-in-arms, Churchill and Chamberlain, are such distinguished leaders.

Mr. Chamberlain's very clear statement on the necessity of turning the Irish tenants into owners of their holdings was very significant of this aim. As far as Ireland is concerned it must be said that dismal as is the prospect which the realisation of his views would put before that luckless country, the turning of the Irish tenants into peasant proprietors is only too likely to take place, whatever political party may get the upper hand. It is the new misery which Ireland is bound to go through, unless the new social order is realised in civilisation generally in time to prevent it. Nor is it by any means unlikely that the promise of such a change may break up the Irish Parliamentary Party, and leave the New Liberal Party free to do its work in Parliament. That party will be the then Intelligent Reactionary Party, the great enemy of progress expressed by Socialism. But so fast are things moving that its great men will not be the Hartingtons and Goschens, who were once called Liberals and are now mere Tories, but the Radicals old and new, among whom, I suppose, we must now rank Lord Randolph Churchill.

But meantime what is this ominous sound in the air? War is threatened again, and this time more determinedly and clearly than ever. On all sides one hears that this time it is certain, and that spring will see murder afield on the monstrous scale of modern times. How will our English parties deal with this horror if it comes? Will it afford a last chance to the old Tory party to do one more injury to the world before it departs for ever? Or will the Tories unite with the Intelligent Reactionary Party in one great flood of Jingoism?

At first sight, indeed, it would seem a mere act of madness for Bismark and Co. to provoke a hurly-burly which may very well make an end of his firm and its aspirations. But one must remember that they are hardly their own masters in the matter. The monster of

Commercial Militarism which they have created must be found work for or it will destroy its creators; and there comes a time when all must be risked—even revolution *behind* the invading armies.

Meantime, if war really becomes imminent our duties as Socialists are clear enough, and do not differ from those we have to act on ordinarily. To further the spread of international feeling between the workers by all means possible; to point out to our own workmen that foreign competition and rivalry, or commercial war, culminating at last in open war, are necessities of the plundering classes, and that the race and commercial quarrels of these classes only concern us so far as we can use them as opportunities for fostering discontent and revolution; that the interests of the workmen are the same in all countries and they can never be really enemies of each other; that the men of our labouring classes, therefore, should turn a deaf ear to the recruiting sergeant, and refuse to allow themselves to be dressed up in red and be taught to form a part of the modern killing machine for the honour and glory of a country in which they have only the dog's share of many kicks and few halfpence,—all this we have to preach always, though in the event of imminent war we may have to preach it more emphatically. Also, since if any English government allows itself to be dragged into war it will as a matter of course be on that side the triumph of which would mean reaction—*i.e.*, Bismark and Co. we may have to protest specially and definitely against such a proceeding, and probably we should have to put ourselves forward somewhat prominently in such a protest, from which respectability of all kinds would be very apt to hang back.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

THE WORKHOUSE; OR, JOHN POORMAN'S REST.

THE Science, industrialism, economic doctrine, and philanthropy of the 19th century find their architectural expression in the railway station, the gasometer, the factory, and the workhouse. The two latter as distinctly characteristic of our civilisation as the Pyramids of Egypt, the Parthenon of Greece, or the Cathedrals of mediæval times were of theirs. One tells the story of the marvellous increase of productive power which our age has received, the other shows the share of that increase the worker has obtained. The one is the place where the worker pays the master two-thirds of his hours of toil for permission to possess the results of the remaining third, the other is the refuge appointed for the close of life when there is no longer left to him strength from which "profit" can be wrung.

At present it is only of the workhouse, known in Chartist speech and Corn Law Rhymes as "the Bastile" (sic) that I can speak. To the close connection with the place of labour of this place of rest, I can only incidentally refer. Inside and out the place is wholly unlovely, and there is nothing of romance in its story to bewile your ears, and yet, for the sake of its many inmates, fellow countrymen and women of ours, I dare to ask you to give me all your attention as I try to explain what English State charity really is.

The workhouse and the Poor Law System, of which it is the expression, are quite modern things. They belong wholly to our country and are the outcome of its industrial conditions. Long ago there was a time in this England of ours when poverty, as we now understand the word, was unknown, when toil was wholesome, and life was glad and fair. So much ignorance prevails on this matter that I must ask leave to dwell a little on it so as to remove all doubt about the fact. If some Bible-wise man should quote against me the text ascribed to Solomon (Ecc. 7, 10): "Say not thou, What is the cause that former times were better than these? for thou dost not inquire wisely concerning this," I must remind him that the words are those of a voluptuous scoundrel who squandered in shameless debauchery the hard earnings of the Judean poor. The advice of such a counselor is to be followed by the rule of contrary.

In his just-published admirable 'Introduction to the History of the Factory System,' Mr. Cooke-Taylor says, speaking of the 15th century: "Paradoxical and almost unaccountable as it may at first sight appear,

it is nevertheless just this period of English History that some recent and most competent writers have fixed upon as opening the brightest era throughout the whole of our country's annals; as being in fact 'the golden age' of England. The paradox is only an apparent one, and that view of things not so unaccountable as it seems, though the difficulty of reconciling such apparently contradictory facts is not to be denied. The seeming contradiction is in the aspect in which we choose to regard the political-economical conditions of these times; that is, whether from above or from below; whether in the interests of the ruling or of the working classes. Regarded purely in the former light, England was indeed in a bad way just then; the succession to the throne unsettled, the country involved in a cruel civil war, commerce nearly non-existent, population falling, wages high, profit small, and the lower orders ever trenching upon the traditional privileges of the higher. Regarded from the other point of view, that of these lower orders themselves, those very elements of political dissatisfaction wore the aspect of bright promise, and were the just foundations of their rising hope. The very lowness of profits and sparsity of population—political-economical evils to the employing and trading classes—were sources of wealth and therefore of unaccustomed comfort to labourers whose general condition was greatly raised in consequence. But further, when the political turmoils ceased at length, the popular advancement thus fostered began to tell with redoubled effect in face of the more happy position of things attained, and the impetus spread to higher strata of society. All classes began then to feel it, . . . Even the destruction of property caused by the Wars of the Roses was not able, it would seem, to prevent the English people at their close from being in the enjoyment of a condition of well-being which made them the envy of their neighbours, and to which the working classes long looked back with affectionate regret. Our country was then 'Merrie England,' a title conferred upon her by rival nations which she accepted and felt she deserved. It is only necessary to compare this estimate of us with that of any foreigner of to-day to add to the astonishment with which we must regard this fact. If there is one thing that invariably strikes every intelligent visitor here now, it is the exceeding gloom of our national life, the absolute incapacity for joyousness which the national character displays. Merriment is the very quality of which the modern Englishman seems to know least. Wealth has vastly increased since then; the standard of comfort has been immensely raised, political freedom is general, and yet at the end of a century of enormous prosperity the country which once was 'Merrie England' is now the gloomiest, weariest, least enjoying on the face of the earth."

Students of that golden age will find valuable information in 'Cobbett's History of the Reformation'—a book all Protestants ought to read—in 'Froude's History of England,' and in Professor Rogers' great work—'Six Centuries of Work and Wages.' Professor Rogers says:

"The 15th century and the first quarter of the 16th were the golden age of the English labourer, if we are to interpret the wages which he earned by the cost of the necessities of life. At no time were wages, relatively speaking, so high, and at no time was food so cheap."

The wages of ordinary labourers and artizans were 6s. a day the year through; agricultural labourers received 24s. a week. The working day was 8 hours. Day work was paid for at full rates, and at times even Sundays and festivals were paid for also. Women received the same wages as men. Wages were equal to twice or three times the cost of maintenance under contract. The common people were fed with great abundance of all sorts of fish and flesh, were clothed throughout in good woollens and were well provided with all sorts of household goods. On all things were the marks of beauty that tell of the workman's pleasure in his craft. Serious crime was almost unknown, the judges at the county assizes tried scarcely three prisoners in the year (Cobbett, 56) though at that time water was only drunk in England when men did penance!

Such cases of need as arose from old age, accident, and sickness, were relieved by those inns, hospitals, and schools of learning, called monasteries. The average number of these in each county was 50, or 2500 for the Kingdom. The medical service given was the best known to the time, and the dole received by the applicant was not dry bread and skimmed skilly, but a generous gift that made the heart stout and glad.

The decline in the prosperity of the English worker dates approximately from the suppression of the monasteries, and the distribution of their lands among his followers by the royal polygamist Henry VIII. Into the causes of that decline I cannot now enter, and must content myself in passing with quoting this suggestive sentence from William Cobbett:

"From the land all good things come. Somebody must own the land. Those who own it must have the distribution of its revenues. If these revenues be chiefly distributed among the people from whose labour they arise, and in such a way as to afford them a good maintenance on easy terms, the community must be happy. If the revenues be alienated in very great part; if they be carried away to a great distance and expended among those from whose labour no part of them arise the main body of the community must be miserable poor-houses, jails, and barracks must arise."

Having made men beggars the State proceeded to make them slaves. Severe laws enforced by terrible punishments were enacted. The reign of Henry VIII. is specially disgraced by such legislation. Some feeble attempts to provide alms for aged and sick people began to be made in 1536.

In the reign of Elizabeth a Poor Law System came into existence in 1601. The Act ordered the nomination yearly in every parish of overseers, who were empowered to raise money by taxation of the inhabitants for the relief of the poor. Children were to be apprenticed, persons able to work were to be set to work, and the impotent were to receive alms. Relief was to be given only in the birthplace of the recipient, and parents and grandparents were held liable for the support of their children. Vagrants were left to the harsh provisions of the criminal law. Ninety-six years later a workhouse was built in Bristol, and by an Act passed in the reign of George I. power was given to parishes, or unions of parishes, to provide houses for the poor, and it was ordered that "No poor who refused to be lodged and kept in such houses should be entitled to ask or receive parochial relief." These houses, says Sir Geo. Nichols, were established and mainly conducted with a view to deriving profit from the labour of the inmates, and not as a means of testing the reality of their destitution. The workhouse was, in truth, a kind of manufactory, carried on at the risk and the cost of the poor-rate, employing the worst description of the people, and helping to discourage and pauperise the best. The ultimate tendency of establishments so founded and so constructed was, in fact, to increase the burden of relief, to lead the entire labouring population to a dependence upon the rates, and to bring them down to the lowest level both individually and socially." The same author declares that in the reign of Geo. III. these places were misnamed workhouses, and had become "seats and sources of contagion, and a sort of pest-houses where diseases social, moral, and physical were generated and nurtured." Some curious experiments in the three acres and a cow direction mark this period. They throw instructive and discouraging light on Mr. Jesse Collings philanthropic scheme.

WM. SHARMAN.

(To be continued.)

LITERARY NOTICES.

We have before us the prospectus of a projected reactionary journal, which is as refreshing in its frankness as (to make use of an inspired and original simile) an oasis in the desert to the thirsty traveller. "*Le Cosmopolitain*," anti-Socialist and anti-republican journal," to be published in London but written in French, will appear as soon as 1040 subscribers for a year of £1 each can be found to support it; and, if the fruit be as fair as its promise set forth in the prospectus, we recommend our Socialist friends who have gold to spare to pour the same before the feet of the journal's managers, for its existence will be a weekly boon and source of joy to Socialist editors. The authors of these edifying pages represent society as in a state of gibbering fear before the rapid and steady growth of Socialist feeling throughout the world, and cry that it is high time that "something" should be done to prevent a deluge. "Socialism has become everywhere a social danger, and it is to be feared that under its hurtful influence Europe will soon become prey to a formidable Jacquerie of international extent." This is a frank and encouraging admission. We quote the next piece of impudence, as interesting to the Strike Committee of the Socialist League, and we have done: "The Socialists cry aloud that above all, those on strike whose anger is not yet cooled must not be abandoned to the generous and beneficent influence of those who are even now trying to lead them back to the path of duty by showing them the dangerous trap which is opened before them in their confiding good faith." It is absolutely necessary to "defend by all legal means the existence of Conservative European governments." We congratulate our projected contemporary on the frankness of its sentiments, if not on the purity of their expression, and wish it a speedy appearance in this wicked and hypocritical world.—M. M.

FOR BOB INGERSOLL'S EYE.—"Understand me," said Col. Robert Ingersoll in a recent speech, "I am not an Anarchist, nor a Socialist, nor a Communist. I am an Individualist. I believe in the justice of man to man." Now, if the Colonel is not an Anarchistic individual, nor a Socialistic individual, nor a Communist individual, what other flag is there left for him to sail under? Answer: Pirates on the sea of Industry!—CLEGG, in *John Swinton's Paper*.

A lot of human beings pushing, crushing, gouging, cheating, and playing at a brutal game of cut-and-slash—that is what we are told is peace, law-and-order government and civilisation. A lot of human beings organised on a basis of unity of purpose and recognising that each and all are possessed of the same rights to a chance to develop their best inclinations, morally, physically, and intellectually—that, we are told, is war, destruction, chaos, anarchy and socialism.—*Labor Enquirer*.

"BLOODY-MINDED COMMUNISTS!"—Louis Blanc one day was discussing with Pierre Leroux, in the presence of several friends, the question of the moral lawfulness of war and physical resistance to oppression, and expressed the opinion that these were undoubtedly most deplorable evils, which it should be the greatest task of humanity to suppress, but to which it would be necessary to have recourse in extreme cases, so long as the causes of oppression and war are not removed. Whereupon Pierre Leroux contended that there were only two doctrines between which thoughtful men, friends of humanity, had to choose: that of Mahomet, which opposes evil by means derived, as the use of the sword, from evil itself; and that of Zoroaster, which opposes evil by good. Of these, he said, the latter was his doctrine, and the only effective one in the way of real progress. Blanc then put this case to him: "You think yourself, surely, useful to your fellow men by your writings, your ideas, your examples. Well, suppose you are in a position in which you must lose your life, or defend it against a murderous attack from some one you believe to be a monster, and whose very existence you are conscious is a curse to humanity; what would you do?" He unhesitatingly replied: "It being known that I die for my principles, I should suffer myself to be killed, thoroughly convinced that I should thus serve my cause better than in any other way." "Then your only means of opposing evil in such a case would be—" He interrupted: "Martyrdom!" Again and again these men gave earnest of their pacific nature, and yet there are no two men more vilified by the bourgeois press.—S.

A DREAM OF JOHN BALL.

(Continued from p. 307.)

"BROTHER," said John Ball, "how deemest thou of our adventure? I do not ask thee if you thinkest we are right to play the play like men, but whether playing like men we shall fail like men."

"Why dost thou ask me?" said I, "how much further than beyond this church can I see?"

"Far further," quoth he, "for I see that thou art a scholar and hast read books; and withal, in some way that I cannot name, thou knowest more than we; as though with thee the world had lived longer than with us. Hide not, therefore, what thou hast in thine heart, for I think after this night I shall see thee no more, until we meet in the heavenly fellowship."

"Friend," I said, "ask me what thou wilt; or rather ask thou the years to come to tell thee some little of their tale; and yet methinks thou thyself mayst have some deeming thereof."

He raised himself on the elbow of the stall and looked me full in the face, and said to me: "Is it so after all that thou art no man in the flesh, but art sent to me by the Master of the fellowship, and the king's son of heaven to tell me what shall be? If that be so tell me straight out, since I had some deeming hereof before, whereas thy speech is like ours and yet unlike; and thy face hath something in it which is not after the fashion of our day. And yet take heed if thou art such an one, I fear thee not, nay, nor him that sent thee; nor for thy bidding, nor for his, will I turn back from London Bridge but will press on, for I do what is meet and right."

"Nay," said I, "did I not tell thee e'en now that I knew life but not death? I am not dead; and as to who hath sent me, I say not that I am come by my own will; for I know not; yet also I know not the will that hath sent me hither; and this I say to thee, moreover, that if I know more than thou, I do far less; therefore, art thou my captain and I thy minstrel."

He sighed as one from whom a weight had been lifted, and said: "Well, then, since thou art alive on the earth and a man like myself, tell me how deemest thou of our adventure: shall we come to London and how shall we fare there?"

Said I, "What shall hinder you to come to London, and to fare there as ye will? For be sure that the fellowship in Essex shall not fail you; nor shall the Londoners who hate the king's uncles withstand you, nor hath the Court any great force to meet you in the field; ye shall cast fear and trembling into their hearts."

"Even so I thought," said he, "but afterwards what shall betide?"

Said I, "It grieves my heart to say that which I think. Yet hearken; many a man's son shall die who is now alive and happy, and if the soldiers be slain, and of them most not on the field, but by the lawyer, how shall the captains escape? Surely thou goest to thy death."

He smiled very sweetly, yet proudly, as he said: "Yea, the road is long, but the end cometh at last. Friend, many a day have I been dying; for my sister, with whom I have played and been merry in the autumn tide about the edges of the stubble fields; and we gathered the nuts and bramble-berries there, and started thence the missel-thrush, and wondered at his voice and thought him big; and the sparrow-hawk wheeled and turned over the hedges and the weasel ran across the path, and the sound of the sheep-bells came to us from the downs as we sat happy on the grass; and she is dead and gone from the earth, for she pined from famine after the years of the great sickness; and my brother was slain in the French wars, and none thanked him for dying save he that stripped him of his gear; and my unwedded wife with whom I dwelt in love after I had taken the tonsure, and all men said that she was good and fair, and true she was and lovely; she also is dead and gone from the earth, and why should I abide save for the deeds of the flesh which must be done? Truly, friend, this is but an old tale that men must die; and I will tell thee another, to wit, that they live; and I live now and shall live. Tell me then what shall befall."

I took less heed of him than I had done, and the voice that came from me was less of me as I answered: "These men are strong and valiant as any that have been or shall be, and good fellows also and kindly; but they are simple and see no great way before their own noses. The victory shall they have and shall not know what to do with it; they shall fight and overcome, because of their lack of knowledge; and because of their lack of knowledge shall they be cozened and betrayed when their captains are slain, and all shall come to nought by seeming; and the king's uncles shall prevail, that both they and the king may come to the shame that is appointed for them. And yet when the lords have vanquished, and all England lieth under them again, yet shall their victory be but fruitless; for the free men that hold unfree lands shall they not bring under the collar again, and villeinage shall slip from their hands, till there be, and not long after you are dead, but few unfree men in England; so that your lives and your deaths both shall bear fruit."

"Said I not," quoth John Ball, "that thou wert a sending from other times? Good is thy message, for the land shall be free. Tell on now."

He spoke eagerly, and I went on somewhat sadly: "The times shall better, though the king and lords shall worsen, the Gilds of Craft shall wax and become mightier; more recourse shall there be of foreign merchants. There shall be plenty in the land and not famine. Where a man now earneth two pennies he shall earn three."

"Yea," said he, "then shall those that labour become strong and stronger, and so soon shall it come about that all men shall work and none make to work, and so shall none be robbed, and at last shall men labour and live and be happy, and have the goods of the earth without money and without price."

"Yea," said I, "that shall indeed come to pass, but not yet for a while." And I sat for long without speaking, and the church grew darker as the moon waned yet more. Then I said: "Bethink thee that these men shall yet have masters over them, who have at hand many a law and custom for the behoof of masters, and being masters can make yet more laws in the same behoof; and they shall suffer poor people to thrive just so long as their thriving shall profit the mastership and no longer; and so shall it be in those days I tell of; for there shall be king and lords and knights and squires still, with servants to do their bidding, and make honest men afraid; and all these will make nothing and eat much as aforetime, and the more that is made in the land the more shall they crave."

"Yea," said he, "that wot I well, that these are of the kin of the daughters of the horse-leech; but how shall they slake their greed, seeing that as thou sayest villeinage shall be gone; belike their men shall pay them quit rents and do them service, as free men may, but all this according to law and not beyond it; so that though the workers shall be richer than they now be, the lords shall be no richer, and so all shall be on the road to being free and equal."

Said I, "Look you, friend, aforetime the lords, for the most part, held the land and all that was on it, and the men that were on it worked for them as their horses worked, and after they were fed and housed all was the lords; but in the time to come the lords shall see their men thriving on the land, and shall say once more, 'These men have more than they need, why have we not the surplus since we are their lords?' Moreover, in those days shall betide much chaffering for wares between man and man and country and country; and the lords shall note that if there were less corn and less men on their lands there would be more sheep, that is to say more wool for chaffer, and that thereof they should have abundantly more than aforetime, since all the land they own and it pays them quit-rent or service, save here and there a croft or a close of a yeoman; and all this might grow wool for them to sell to the Easterlings. Then shall England see a new thing, for whereas hitherto men have lived on the land and by it, the land shall no longer need them, but many sheep and a few shepherds shall make wool grow to be sold for money to the Easterlings, and that money shall the lords pouch; for, look you, they shall set the lawyers a-work and the strong hand moreover, and the land they shall take to themselves and their sheep, and except for these lords of land few shall be the free men that shall hold a rood of land when the word of their lord may not turn them adrift straightway."

"How mean you?" said John Ball, "shall all men be villeins again?"

"Nay," said I, "there shall be no villeins in England."

"Surely then," said he, "it shall be worse, and all men save a few shall be thralls to be bought and sold at the cross."

"Good friend," said I, "it shall not be so; all men shall be free even as ye would have it; yet, as I say, few indeed shall have so much land as they can stand upon save by buying such a grace of their masters."

"And now," said he, "I wot not what thou sayest. I know a thrall, and he is his master's every hour and never his own; and a villein I know, and whiles he is his own and whiles his lords; and I know a free man, and he is his own always; but how shall he be his own if he have nought whereby to make his livelihood? Or shall he be a thief and take from others? Then is he an outlaw. Wonderful is this thou tellest of a free man with nought whereby to live!"

"Yet so shall it be," said I, "and by such free men shall wares be made."

"Nay, that cannot be; thou art talking riddles," said he, "for how shall a wood-wright make a chest without the wood and the tools?"

Said I, "He must needs buy leave to labour of them that own all things except himself and such as himself."

"Yea, but wherewith shall he buy it?" said John Ball. "What hath he except himself?"

"With himself then shall he buy it," quoth I, "with his body and the power of labour that lieth therein; with the price of his labour shall he buy leave to labour."

"Riddles again!" said he, "how can he sell his labour for aught else but his daily bread? He must win by his labour meat and drink and clothing and housing! Can he sell his labour twice over?"

"Not so," said I, "but this shall he do belike; he shall sell himself, that is the labour that is in him, to the master that suffers him to work, and that master shall give to him from out of the wares he maketh enough to keep him alive, and to beget children and nourish them till they be old enough to be sold like himself, and the residue shall the rich man keep to himself."

John Ball laughed aloud, and said: "Well, I perceive we are not yet out of the land of riddles. The man may well do what thou sayest and live, but he may not do it and live a free man."

"Thou sayest sooth," said I.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be continued.)

The man who is not doing work, day by day, that will earn his dinner must be stealing his dinner.—John Ruskin.



"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.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

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

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday December 29.

ENGLAND	New Haven (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate	Turin—Il Muratore
Norwich—Daylight Club and Institute Journal	Paterson (N.J.)—Labor Standard	Rome—L'Emancipazione
Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung	Springfield (Ill.)—Voice of Labor	SWITZERLAND
Die Autonomie	Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
Freethinker	Knights of Labor	SPAIN
INDIA	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	Madrid—El Socialista
Madras—People's Friend	FRANCE	Cadiz—El Socialismo
Allahabad—People's Budget	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	PORTUGAL
Bombay—Times of India	Le Socialiste	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Voice of India	Le Revolte	Voz do Operario
Ahmedabad—Praja Mata	La Revue Socialiste	AUSTRIA
CANADA	L'Action	Arbeiterstimme
Toronto—Labor Reformer	La Lanterne	Brunn—Volksfreund
Montreal—L'Union Ouvriere	L'Intransigeant	HUNGARY
UNITED STATES	Guise—Le Devoir	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
New York—Volkszeitung	Lille—Le Travailleur	ROUMANIA
Freiheit	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Bucharest—Fruncul Roman
Truthseeker	HOLLAND	Jassy—Lupta
Der Sozialist	Brussels—Le Chante-Clair	DENMARK
John Swinton's Paper	En Avant	Social-Demokraten
Boston—Woman's Journal	Liege—L'Avenir	SWEDEN
Liberty	Antwerp—De Werker	Stockholm—Social-Demokraten
Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer	ITALY	NORWAY
Cincinnati (O.) Unionist	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio	Kristiania—Social-Democraten

EDITORIAL.

WITH this number there is begun a new volume of the *Commonweal*. For two years it has managed to appear regularly and keep before the public a consistent, unflinching exponent of International Revolutionary Socialism. Difficulties of many kinds have had to be surmounted, and in the future we may confidently look for a hardly less arduous endeavour as the price of a continued and useful existence.

During the two years that have elapsed since the *Commonweal* was founded the cause of Socialism has made great strides. In every country of the civilised world there is a definite, strong, and increasing Socialist party; while the influence of the untiring propaganda of its advocates is markedly shown in every popular political and social movement. From all directions come tidings of good cheer; everywhere and all the time commercialism, making desperate but futile efforts to regain its ground, contesting vainly every vantage point, is being beaten backward toward the precipice of final destruction.

In the warfare against class-rule and social wrong the *Commonweal* has borne and will bear its full part. Though there are signs of victory on all hands, and the end of the struggle approaches, yet no strain must be relaxed, no effort cease. Again and again have popular movements been wrecked, because at some period of promise their supporters failed in their vigilance or neglected their labour.

We call upon all men who desire to see the solution of the great problems that befront the labouring people to help us in our task. What we can do shall untiringly be done, but there exist a thousand places into which the light of Socialism has not penetrated, millions of men whom it has not reached. Everyone can help in some way to

spread the light. Let each one do his best. Circulate the *Commonweal*, push Socialistic literature, speak a word in season and out of season for Socialism. Let pass no opportunity of helping on the overthrow of capitalism and the substitution for it of a system of united free labour and fraternal enjoyment.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

H. HALLIDAY SPARLING.

COMMERCIAL COLONISATION.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE "CIVILISATION" OF JAMAICA.

(Concluded from p. 308.)

WE frequently hear that emancipation, free trade, and sugar bounties have ruined Jamaica. It is affirmed, by the wolf against the lamb, that since emancipation labour is so uncertain that the estates cannot be worked to pay. To pay whom and what? An answer to that will explain matters. The estates, it is true, do not at present pay, but it is no fault of the labourers. They do not get the surplus; when they are honestly dealt with they can be depended on to work. Jamaica negroes make good navvies at Panama. The Jamaica Government experienced no difficulty in getting all the labour required for the railway and other public works, yet the planters have to get coolies imported for them from the East Indies. This pauper labour is a downright injustice to the blacks of Jamaica, and the more so because the Government levies a tax to carry on the immigration. If it were not for it the labour conditions of the island would soon undergo a change at the expense of some English capitalists. The estates are nearly all mortgaged to English capitalists and there are few resident proprietors. The management of the estates is, therefore, not what it should, or could be. It is neither vigorous nor prospective; it is always extravagant in details, and future crops are often sacrificed to a quick return policy in order to be up to time with payment to the mortgagees. The truck system in freights and estates' supplies prevails. The planters are forced to ship only in mortgagees' ships at excessive rates, and the estates' supplies purchased and shipped by the mortgagees are equally extravagant and expensive. The estates of Jamaica are like "a headless trunk bleeding at every pore." Strange, is it not, that in every country the labourer has to suffer for sins not his own? Those capitalists in England who endeavour to develop the industry of Jamaica to their own undue enrichment are doing so to the impoverishment of Jamaica and its people. These plunderers wanted the Jamaican to labour for starvation wages, and the latter was too much of a man to return to slavery; he preferred to starve or go to Colon even though he met a premature death in going. When the planters or plunderers failed to bring the Jamaican to his knees they called upon the Government to secure pauper labour and it was done. But danger again looms ahead. Twenty thousand labourers are shipped every year from Jamaica to Colon. Of this amount one-half must be deducted for those who return on friendly visits, but this stream will stop with the wind up of the Panama Canal works. These works were a God-send to the Administrators of Jamaica. But for it the labour revolution would have developed ere now into something which would have surpassed any rebellion of the past for far-reaching consequences.

The present Governor—Sir Henry Norman—recognises this, for he has had a Bill passed this year giving powers to suspend Coolie immigration at the expense of the Government. How does labour stand at present in Jamaica when so many thousands are drafted each year to Panama? At present the rate of wages, for skilled labour, per day is: bricklayers, 2s. 6d. to 3s.; blacksmiths, 3s.; joiners, 2s. to 2s. 9d.; painters, 2s.; and for unskilled labour: men, 1s. to 1s. 6d. per day; women, 9d. to 1s. per day. These figures sink much lower in value than the figures indicate, when we consider the cost of food and shoddy clothes. The price of bread is 3d. per lb.; sugar, 2d. per lb.; coffee, 5d. per quart; Indian meal, 2½d. per quart; oat meal, 6d. per lb.; butter, 1s. 6d. and 2s. per lb.; English cheese, 2s. per lb.; American cheese, 1s. 3d. per lb.; rice, 4½d. per quart; salt and fresh fish, 6d. per lb.; potatoes, 2½d. per lb.; yam, 1d. per lb. The Jamaica labourer gets two meals proper per day besides the mangos he picks up. For the first he takes yam and salt fish, and for the second for a change he takes salt fish and yam. This is an alarming fact if it be true what Mr. Espeut said in their legislative council last month. He declared, "I have noticed that people who live on roots are always lowest down in the mental and physical scale. Cereal food is what the people should produce and eat." Mr. Espeut would be a better legislator were he to inquire into the cause why the people eat roots, instead of trying to cure the effects. He is like our temperance reformers who mistake an effect for a cause. There is a more degrading thing than yams operating on the people of Jamaica, and that is the enslavement of its women. They are made to carry stones on their heads for ten or twelve hours under a tropical sun for a miserable pittance of 9d. They have to do it frequently when they are in a condition not favourable to the development of the coming race. The character of a race is the true reflex of the condition of its women. If they are degraded the result is branded on their offspring, and it is a well known fact that the poorest and most wretched countries are those in which women are made to labour most. The "ladies" and clergymen of England who advocate pit labour for women should

study this phase of the question, and try to ascertain whether women's labour does not reduce men's pay so low that it compels the former to work unsuited to their strength and sex. The negroes of Jamaica are naturally not prone to discontent, and their whole disposition tends to fulfill the Scriptural injunction: "take no heed of to-morrow." The injustice and tyranny must, therefore, be great which goads them to rebellion. Even the destructive cyclone cannot for long subdue or keep them in a pessimistic vein, for they, like the Irishman, wish to "live all the days of their life," and they do not load one day with the sorrows of another.

Their climate helps to sustain this disposition, for they fear not the pinch of cold or the want of house-shelter. In fact it is very hard to get a black servant to stay in the house over night. They prefer to stay in large numbers in courts and yards where they enjoy their peculiar dances to the music of the "bashura." Quashie does not envy Buckra his wealth, but Quashie can distinguish between things that differ. He can spell Justice and Right, and he recognises that the administrators' actions do not spell the one nor the life and teachings of their clergy the other. The clergy of the English Church are, some of them, usurers and merchants besides being preachers. They trade on the poverty and ignorance of their flocks, and there are some of them who do not shrink from robbing their Lord. When the Church was disestablished the clergy had a clause inserted in the Bill to secure their salaries to the existing curates so long as they were engaged in the same occupation. This clause soon enabled many to draw double salaries, by leaving country charges—for which they continue to draw the salary although they fail to perform any service—in England. These go to the Treasury and sign receipts as curates of parishes which, so far as they are concerned, are spiritually destitute. But, with all the corruptions in the Church, the negroes have a tendency to be religious. I shall never forget the unselfishness and sympathy they infused into their hymns as they marched in hundreds on Sundays, at sunrise, singing "Ten thousand thousand are their tongues, but all their joys are one," on their way to immerse in the harbour the new members of their Church. But among these same people are the elements of a near revolution which will ere long be heard of, and whether it be a violent or peaceful one depends on the leader who may arise. The negroes of Jamaica recognise that they are really still slaves so long as the means of production are withheld from them, and although we may look upon them as benighted blacks, it is just possible we may get a lesson from them, in the immediate future when the Panama works stop, that will help to remove the chains which have so cunningly fallen on us. The coming labour dilemma in Jamaica will draw attention to an industrial system which, when the people comprehend it, they will abolish, and substitute for the reign of Imperialism and plunder the reign of justice and fraternity.

GEORGE M'LEAN.

MACHINERY AND THE WORKER.

(From a Lay Sermon by Colonel R. G. Ingersoll.)

Myriads of machines have been invented—every one of them to save labour. If these machines helped the labourer, what a blessing they would be! But the labourer does not own the machine; the machine owns him. That is the trouble. In the olden time, when I was a boy, even, you know how it was in the little towns. There was a shoemaker—two of them—a tailor or two, a blacksmith, a wheelwright. I remember just how the shops used to look. I used to go to the blacksmith shop at night, get up on the forge, and hear them talk about turning horse-shoes. Many a night have I seen the sparks fly and heard the stories that were told. There was a great deal of human nature in those days! Everybody was known. If times got hard, the poor little shoemakers made a living mending, half-soleing, straightening up the heels. The same with the blacksmith; the same with the tailor. They could get credit—they did not have to pay till the next January, and if they could not pay then they took another year, and they were happy enough. Now, one man is not a shoemaker. There is a great building—several hundred thousand dollars' worth of machinery, three or four thousand people—not a single mechanic in the whole building. One sews on straps, another greases the machines, cuts out soles, waxes threads. And what is the result? When the machines stop, three thousand men are out of employment. Credit goes. Then come want and famine, and if they happen to have a little child die, it would take them years to save enough of their earnings to pay the expense of putting away that little sacred piece of flesh. And yet, by this machinery we can produce enough to flood the world. By the inventions in agricultural machinery the United States can feed all the mouths upon the earth. There is not a thing that man uses that can not instantly be over-produced to such an extent as to become almost worthless; and yet, with all this production, with all this power to create, there are millions and millions in abject want. Granaries bursting, and famine looking into the doors of the poor! Millions of everything, and yet millions wanting everything and having substantially nothing!

Socialism welcomes all inventions, all machinery which properly tends to save labour in the production of the means of life; but they must save labour, and not merely increase competition, or give the exclusive right of wealth to profit by them.—Walter Crane.

SOME ADVICE TO BISHOPS.—Why do bishops, who won't go to theatres, accept invitations to public dinners? They had much better be seen at the representation of *Lear* or *Macbeth* than at a Lord Mayor's feast. It has an unseemly look at any time, especially in your fat bishop, and most especially when the reports of the feast in the newspapers are followed by accounts of the starving poor. If such tremendous inequalities in the social condition are not to be remedied, why mortify the sufferers? And if they are, why exasperate them? When bishops and their families grow rich, while the poor grow poorer, and when it is the rarest thing in the world to find them attending a public meeting but for selfish or corporate purposes, people naturally dislike to see them fat and feeding, especially when they come in a lump together, as at these Lord Mayor's feasts. Bishops should never appear in flocks, like vultures.—Leigh Hunt's *Table-Talk*.

"LAZARUS, COME FORTH!"

"LAZARUS, come forth!" Out from the gloom,
Haggard and gaunt and dazed, there came
He who had lain within the tomb
Until the Blessed One called his name;
But, in death's night, he heard the sound;
Forth to the shuddering gazers' sight
He staggered, in foul grave-clothes bound,
And breathed at last in life and light.

"Lazarus, come forth!" The people lies
With mind in bonds, with soul all dead;
Shall not Christ, through us, bid it rise?
Through us shall not His words be said?
Strong in His love—strong with the strength
He gives, shall we not, in His might,
Call forth our Lazarus at length
From its dark gloom to life and light?

TO ALL WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.

BEHOLD, four thousand years ago,
Beneath swart Egypt's sun,
Her Hebrew serfs, with want and woe,
Their bread of slavery won;
With days of scorn and scoffs and moans,
They toiled beside the Nile,
While vengeance marked their tears and groans,
Yet paused to strike awhile;
What recked their lords what Moses said?
They wisdom would not know,
Nor, till their homes were filled with dead,
Would let their bondsmen go.

Lord! Lord! to-day the millions live,
But lives as filled with pain,
And ask the rich relief to give,
And cry for help in vain;
They toil and die, for anguish born;
No help, no hope they know;
And will the high their misery scorn,
Nor sign of justice show?
How long, ye wealthy, will this last?
Wait ye, until ye know
God's time to smite comes, slow or fast,
To right the wronged and low!

W. C. BENNETT.

THE BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR SQUARE—CLASSES V. MASSES.

The shopkeepers of the West End are getting up a petition to Parliament praying for the stoppage of public meetings in Trafalgar Square. They protest that they have no designs on the right of free speech; but they protest too much. Trafalgar Square doesn't belong to the small-souled hucksters who keep shops in its neighbourhood. To this the *Echo* replies that all the West End shopkeepers are in favour of the petition, and that they have rights in the matter, whereas the ruffians and pickpockets have no rights. Why should ruffians and pickpockets be distinguished from shopkeepers in this fashion? It is a mere quibble; there is no distinction except the quality of their coats. And if the ill-dressed pickpockets have no right, all the more reason for their getting some. Anyhow the people of London can be trusted to insist on the right of meeting and free speech for all sorts of people and classes. Let the shopkeepers look out, however. This too-diplomatic move of theirs can be easily seen through as a first move. If meetings in Trafalgar Square can be stopped because they inconvenience the neighbouring middle-class, they will be put down elsewhere for the same bad reason. It is interesting to see how such "Radical" papers as the *Echo* go with the shopkeepers. The press of all shades of opinion are sure to turn against the people in these matters. The clique of toadies who have the London press under their thumb can be reckoned against the people in any struggle which involves a right worth getting or keeping. It is noteworthy also that the shopocracy have lost faith in the effectiveness of police protection. Evidently the employers of the blue-coats cannot entrust the guardians of law and order with any more arduous task than hunting poodles in Piccadilly.—J. L. M.

"Three copper-plate engravers" were regarded by Mr. George Sampson in Dickens's immortal work as "a large number." Two hundred and fifty "bankers and West-end tradesmen of influence" may also be looked upon as "a large number" of such cattle; but an ordinary citizen of no special influence may doubt whether the number is large enough to dictate to the whole of London terms on which it may express its political and social opinions, and whether or no it is preposterous impudence in them to meet for the purpose of egging on Government to attempt to close Trafalgar Square to public meetings; and an attempt in which they will undoubtedly fail.—W. M.

All men are equal: it is not birth, but virtue alone, that makes the difference. Voltaire.

The rich have no means of living but by the labour of others, as the landlord by the labour of his tenants (agricultural labourers) and the merchants and traders by the labour of the mechanics.—John Bullers.

The greatest question in the world is, how to give every man a man's share in what goes on in life. Not a pig's share, not a horse's share, not the share of a machine fed with oil, only to make it work and nothing else. It isn't a man's share just to mind your pin-making or your glass-blowing, and higgie about your own wages, and bring up your family to be ignorant sons of ignorant fathers, and no better prospect: that is a slave's share.—George Eliot.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF GLASS-BOTTLE MAKERS.

In connection with the strike at St. Helens, to put an end to which the employer was trying to get workmen from the Continent to replace those on strike, a deputation from the English workers has been to Denmark, Sweden, and Germany, and has succeeded in fraternally arranging matters with their Continental comrades, and the employer has been compelled to return in dudgeon from a bootless journey. As foreshadowed in the letter from there published last week, Mr. Lyon (the employer) failed completely to get any men from Gerresheim. Let those who still fail to see that it is the home competition and not the foreign workmen that is their enemy ponder well over the inducements held out by this employer to the German workers. Each of them, he said, upon arrival in Lancashire could have "anything he liked" up to £25, and be paid £2, 6s. per week for 400 bottles per day. Provisions, clothing, coals, and everything requisite for a working man's comfortable livelihood, were remarkably cheap. Best beef, mutton, etc., could be got at 6d. per pound! All they had to do was to come to England and be happy ever after! The delegates report that they met with a good reception wherever they went; that although there were a few individuals here and there who retained a tinge of national prejudice, the general impression upon their minds was that the international solidarity of the workers grows apace.

CLEVELAND IRONWORKERS.

Mr. W. Snow, secretary of the Cleveland Blast Furnacemen's Association has handed in, on behalf of the members of the association, notices signed by the men of a strike for an increase of wages. Some of the employers receiving these notices, including Messrs. Bolckow, Vaughan, & Co., refused to accept the notices, on the ground that they were illegal, inasmuch as they were handed in by Mr. Snow instead of by the workmen individually.

COLLIERS' FEDERATION IN THE MIDLANDS.

On Monday a meeting of the new Colliers' Federation for the Midlands was held in Wolverhampton. Delegates attended representing ten thousand members in North and South Staffordshire, Warwickshire, and Shropshire. It was announced that the Federation was making good progress, particularly in Warwickshire and Shropshire, and confidence was expressed that it would prove of great advantage in the event of a wages agitation. Deputations were appointed to assist in settling disputes at the Pelsall Wood and Brereton collieries. It was resolved to take part in the National Conference of Miners in Birmingham on January 11.

SELF-EMPLOYMENT.

Amongst many cheering signs of a forward movement of the forces of organised labour, not the least significant is an item in the December monthly report of the Leicester Amalgamated Hosiery Union on the subject of self-employment. We commend the following words to the serious consideration of other unions:—"In conclusion, let us call your attention to an important subject, namely, self-employment. As a trade Society we ought to give this subject our best consideration; our temporary object is to keep up wages, and to make that object permanent we should endeavour to employ and work for ourselves instead of always allowing others to live out of our labour. The subject will be considered both by Executive and Council before it is brought before the Annual Meeting." If generally adopted and acted upon, such a policy would do much towards limiting the power of the capitalist, and to prepare the way for the abolition of the wage-system. It is lamentable to see the funds of the unions being doled out to the unemployed, or left in the hands of bankers to be used against the workers, instead of being utilised by the workers to enable them to become their own employers.

THE HOURS OF LABOUR IN TEXTILE FACTORIES.

On Tuesday evening, a meeting convened by the Hosiery Union was held at the Temperance Hall, Leicester, to protest against extending the hours of labour for women and children. Mr. Holmes, Secretary of Amalgamated Hosiery Union, moved the following resolution:—"That overtime for women and children is unnecessary, because the means of production and the surplus labour through the introduction of labour-saving machinery is sufficient to supply any growing demand if work is anything like fairly distributed. Secondly, the overtime asked for will not meet the objects the manufacturers have in view, because if orders are placed so late with men working overtime, they would be placed later still if women and children could work overtime too. Thirdly, it would be dangerous, because it would supersede male labour, lower wages, and bring down the standard of life. Therefore, in the opinion of the workpeople, it is unnecessary, useless, and dangerous for women and children to work overtime, and we earnestly raise our protest against the resolution passed by the Scotch and Leicester Chambers of Commerce and the Leicester Hosiery Manufacturers' Association asking for power for women and children to work overtime on any days in the year." Miss Ruth Wills seconded the resolution, which was supported by Miss Brown, from the Women's League, London, the delegate appointed in place of the late Mrs. Paterson. She spoke strongly against the proposal of the employers, and appealed earnestly to men and women to stand together in the matter, as their rights, duties, and claims were identical. The resolution was carried unanimously. A member of the Socialist League treated the question from the Socialist point of view, but his speech and presence was entirely ignored by the local press, which gave a very poor report of the meeting. The workers should refuse to support unfair and hostile papers.

FIFE MINERS.

The *Glasgow Herald* reports that the Fife and Clackmanan miners are pushing on a movement for the restriction of the output of coal. A delegate from them will attend the Birmingham Conference of Miners to support the movement for a seven hours' working-day or a week's holiday every quarter. This restriction of the working-day seems prompted, also, by a desire to decrease the supply of produce as much as to secure more leisure. It seems a pity that in revolutionary times a class of workers like the miners should still be shilly-shallying about terms with the capitalist. If the miners would take up the revolutionary movement they would find themselves at once on the road to a real change in their condition, and in a position to wrest better terms from the masters with less trouble. However, if the miners will thoroughly reason out their seven hour's movement they will find themselves thrust into the revolutionary path. Meanwhile, this Birmingham Conference should not be allowed to pass without getting a taste of thorough Socialist opinions.—J. L. M.

THE LONDON TRADES' COUNCIL AND GOVERNMENT RELIEF WORKS.

Now is the time for the Government and vestries to start temporary relief works if they really wish to do so or can do so. But just at the critical moment the impotence of the authorities is most glaringly shown. George Shipton, of the London Trades' Council, publishes a batch of letters in the *Daily News*. His own letter, a meek, mild, and roundabout effusion, laments that the Government officials have been delaying answers, answering indefinitely, and bringing all the powers of the slow torture of red-tape to shirk the question. The Government officials have, in fact, elaborately humbugged Mr. Shipton, and no one but a fool would have expected any other treatment from them. Mr. Plunkett, Lord Randolph Churchill, and Lord Rosebery ingeniously aided the humbugging process. Mr. Shipton puts forth a vague threat that the London Trades' Council is going to make it hot for the Members of Parliament who neglect the interests of the worker, and that they will no longer be ignored. But the stage thunder of the London Trades' Council is getting stale, and their valiant promises no more heeded. If they have any intention of "making it hot" for the authorities they had better sing dumb and do something.—J. L. M.

AMERICA.

NEW YORK, Dec. 23.—The employés on eleven tramway lines in Brooklyn struck to-day because the company controlling them refused to recognise the authority of the Knights of Labour in the settlement of their difficulties. Nearly 2000 men have left work. Thirty-five cars were running during the day with some old hands who refused to strike and some new men. All buildings of the company are protected by the police. There was no serious opposition by the strikers till the middle of the afternoon, when slight rioting occurred at several places. One man is reported to have been shot.

The Cooks and Pastrycooks (Acorn Association) are going to establish a free labour bureau in Sixth Avenue. It will be supported by the association, and the members will save money. The bureau will supply help of all kinds to hotels and restaurants free of charge. Only Union help will be supplied.

The question of the Ehret boycott has again been brought prominently before the working-men of this city, by the communication of Messrs. Redpath, Dr. McGlynn, and others, asking the Central Labour Union to remove it. The matter has been referred to the sections. It is doubtful whether the sections will vote to remove the boycott, and, if they did, it is a question whether any benefit would result to George Ehret. If the boycott is unjust, the working-men will see it in time; but it will be a slow process to recover what he has already lost. George Ehret is rich, and he is not suffering from hunger, nor is he going around barefooted this Christmas, nor does he see his children crying for bread,—like many a man who has been boycotted by such as him.—*John Swinton's Paper*.

A NATIONAL ORGANISATION OF CLOTHING CUTTERS.

The clothing cutters who have been in session in Cincinnati have completed a national organisation. Joseph H. Geis, of this city, has been elected National Secretary and Treasurer. The members of the Executive Board are: James L. Wright, Philadelphia; James Hughes, Chicago; R. M. Lovell, Cincinnati; John Lutz, Newark, N.J.; William Schroeder, Milwaukee.

THE NEW FEDERATION OF TRADES' UNIONS.

As a result of the Congress held at Columbus, Ohio, from the 7th to 10th December, twenty-five National and International Trades' Unions, with a membership of 316,782 well disciplined men, have solidified into one homogeneous body. One of the most active men in bringing about this movement was P. J. McGuire, Secretary of the Brotherhood of Carpenters. From an interesting interview with a reporter of *John Swinton's Paper*, we extract the following:—

Q. What is the necessity for any such organisation in view of the existence of the Order of the Knights of Labour?

McGuire. We are founded on a democratic basis, and are opposed to the centralisation of the labour movement, and its power in a few hands. We deem it safer, in view of the tremendous growth of the labour movement, to have large liberty of action for the multitudes engaged in it. No seven men, or seventy, however able, honest or experienced, are capable of directing these immense forces, in all details.

Q. What is the recognised title of the new organisation formed at Columbus?

McGuire. The American Federation of Labour.

Q. But surely you do not desire to antagonise the K. of L.?

McGuire. By no means. There is undoubtedly a necessity for the existence of that Order, inasmuch as it appeals to a large mass of men whom the Trades' Unions cannot reach. The feeling of the Convention at Columbus was that there is room for both the Knights of Labour and the Trades' Unions, as well as for a Federation of the latter; and instead of raising their hands in internecine war, they should co-operate in making united war upon their common enemies, the monopolists, the politicians, the usurers, and the legal sponges of society. There is nothing to be obtained by antagonism but damage for both parties, to the advantage of our mutual opponents.

Q. Are only Trades' Unions expected to join the Federation?

McGuire. We have made provisions for the organisation of mixed bodies of skilled and unskilled labour in localities where there are not sufficient men to form a district trade union. In the large centres, unskilled labour can also affiliate with us, and such organisations are to be known as "Federal Labour Unions," without having the forms or ceremonies of secret bodies.

In answer to other questions, McGuire stated that so far from their being any animosity towards the K. of L., most of the delegates were members of the Order, and the Committee of the K. of L. appointed to confer with the Federation parted on the most friendly terms. In conclusion, McGuire expressed his conviction that the Federation was destined to be a very powerful aggressive organisation which would put new life into the heretofore scattered unions, and furnish for them a general head through which to act in concert.

The clerks and book-keepers of Cincinnati propose forming themselves into an assembly of the Knights of Labour.

The Philadelphia cigar-makers have started a co-operative factory.

REVOLUTIONARY RUMBLINGS.

IRELAND.—Even in staid conservative Ulster the heaven works. Orange leaders are finding it necessary to disclaim any desire to take part against the tenants' movement. On the Marquis of Londonderry's Down estates, known as "the garden of Ireland," the tenants are demanding 30 per cent reduction and announce their intention of getting it. At Draperstown the tenants of the Drapers' and Skinners' companies have been discussing the Plan of Campaign and to some extent acting on it. In the other districts of Ireland the fight goes on apace, among others, it was stated by Mr. John O'Connor, M.P., that all the rents on the Kingston estate, less 20 per cent, have been paid in to trustees. The prosecution against Dillon was withdrawn on Thursday, but the money stolen by the police has not reappeared. In spite of the Government's stage thunder, the Irish party and people are undeterred in their work—rather has it stimulated them to fresh exertion. Every Socialist should watch the development in Ireland carefully.

THE QUEEN'S JUBILEE—PROPOSED PEOPLE'S MEMORIAL.

It seems certain that during the next twelve months large amounts of the wealth extracted from the brain and muscle of the useful classes of this nation will be wasted in various schemes for putting on record the gratitude of the servile classes of the community for the fifty years, culminating in widespread penury and starvation, during which Victoria Guelph has been the monarchical figure-head of the State. It has forcibly struck some of those who despise and abhor the loyalty which means servility to a costly and avaricious puppet, and the patriotism which consists in filling the pockets of the adulterating and exploiting traders of Great Britain at the expense of weaker "peoples rightly struggling to be free," that this opportunity ought not to be allowed to slip without a protest being made by the plundered head and hand workers throughout the empire. They have consequently requested John Morrison Davidson and Henry Hyde Champion to act as trustees for a fund to be raised for the purpose of establishing a permanent memorial of the opinion held by the subscribers regarding the present reign, its leading incidents and crimes, and the institution of royalty generally. Any person on forwarding two penny stamps with his or her name and address legibly written, to H. H. Champion, 13 Paternoster Row, London, E.C., will receive by return of post collecting cards and a printed envelope.

THE QUEEN'S JUBILEE AND THE "DANGEROUS CLASSES."

We are about to witness a grand rally of all the dangerous classes of the community on the occasion of the Queen's Jubilee. Robber landlords, ravenous capitalists, knavish lawyers, slimy parsons, unprincipled journalists, title-hunting mayors, and working-men "leaders" (saving the mark!) of the royalty-worshipping Broadhurst-Howell-Arch-Potter-Shipton stamp, may all be expected to figure prominently in the approaching royal carnival.—*Reynolds.*

SOUTHPORT.—THE LATE LIFEBOAT DISASTER.

One of our Southport comrades has an eloquent letter in the *Liverpool Evening Times* of 21st, directed against the attempt now being made by the committee appointed to administer the fund subscribed for the families of the lifeboat men who perished lately in a heroic endeavour to do their duty. This most noble committee considers that the fund is too large to be all spent on working folk, so they mean to give only part to the rightful recipients and apply the rest to some public or charitable object. With scathing sarcasm our comrade lashes this wretched attempted job, pointing out in strong terms the injustice of it as well as the greater injustice under which these men and all their class have laboured all their lives. He incidentally quotes reliable authority to the effect that for the past twelve or eighteen months some of the toilers of the sea, who have given their lives for others, have eked out a miserable existence on 8s. or 9s. a-week, gained through very cold, laborious, and hard toil. It is stated that some of the crew in the St. Anne's boat were in such a state from privation as not to be fit to take their places in the lifeboat, and that one of them had for his food all day a basin of gruel! Yet it was these men, the hardly used and oppressed, who went out to almost certain death and met it bravely for others' sake; while the wealthy, who now grudge bread to these men's children, were cowering by their comfortable fires!—S.

"FREE" TRADE AND ADULTERATION.

The frequent accidents on scaffoldings and consequent loss of life are often due to the breaking or stretching of the tying cords of the erection. It is a fatal and reprehensible economy on the part of the contractors, who buy cheap machine-made rope of inferior hemp or jute, instead of good hemp woven by hand. Ropes are "adulterated" in many ways; to make a cheap rope of Indian or Russian hemp look like "the real thing" they are soaked in water and thus weighted to 20 per cent. When exposed to the air they heat and rot and snap. Thus are the lives of workers constantly exposed to quite unnecessary dangers.—*Cri du Peuple.*

SOCIALISTS IN BRUSSELS.

Dec. 27.—The Brussels Socialists, following the example of those of Ghent, have inaugurated a building for future meetings, which has been purchased by the Co-operative Bakers' Society. More than a thousand workmen marched with red flags to the building, which is styled the "People's House." It is in the Rue de Bavière, in the centre of the town, and was formerly a synagogue. The police were present in force, but there was no disturbance.

EXPULSION OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATS FROM FRANKFORT.

Dec. 26.—The *Frankfurter Zeitung* states that a number of Social Democrats, including Herr Sabor, a member of the Reichstag, were served with notices to-day expelling them from the district over which the minor state of siege was recently proclaimed. They are required to leave by Tuesday next.

DISCOVERY OF FRESH NIHILIST PLOTS IN RUSSIA.

The police have succeeded in discovering a largely ramified confederation of a Nihilist character amongst the workmen in the provinces of St. Petersburg, Moscow, and Vladimir, where the greatest Russian manufactories are to be found. The serious troubles which have occurred in three manufactories near St. Petersburg, and which made the intervention of considerable military forces necessary, were the first essay of that confederation. Fresh disturbances are expected in other manufactories. Numerous workmen have been arrested, but no leaders, the principal of whom seem to dwell abroad.

There have been thirteen deaths from destitution in and about London during the last few days according to the official returns. The actual number doubtless is considerably more, whilst the amount of misery which the children, the aged, and the sick poor must have suffered during such weather as there has been during the last fortnight is appalling to think of. How long will the people starve and perish miserably in the richest city of the greatest empire in the world?

Mr. Grant Allen in his "American Jottings" in the current *Fortnightly*, has incidentally the following direful forecast of what the tendencies of the present system will result in if left to themselves: "The whole earth will be one big dead level America, as like as two peas from end to end, dressed in the same stereotyped black coat and round felt hat, enjoying a single uniform civilisation, and looking out upon a single uniform landscape of assorted European, Asiatic, American, African, and Australian weeds, diversified here and there by the congenial architecture of railway arches, crematoriums, gasometers, Board schools, Salvation Army barracks, and main drainage works."—S.

Europe is now in a din with the rumblings of war preparations. In England the flunkey curs of the capitalist press bellow not quite so loudly as is their wont when a petty savage tribe is the enemy. Although we rule the waves, and know that one Briton is equal to so many dozen Frenchmen, or any other foreigners, we get somewhat awe-stricken at the tremendous forces being marshalled by the Continental States. Workmen should watch more closely the conduct of the middle-class. They are always furiously Jingoistic when some poor helpless barbarians object to our civilising process, but they become virtuously peaceful and diplomatically discreet when a big State like Russia crosses our path. All the time it is the hope of commercial gain or fear of similar loss that actuates them. They are never afraid of losing their skins because they never risk them. They are aware that no part of the fighting will fall to their lot. Fighting, like all other ill-paid hard work, is done by the working-men. We shall soon have a renewal of the Jingo fever, and no party to fight against it but the Socialists. The namby-pamby Peace Society will hide its meek little head, or only now and again gently urge some biblico-ethical reasons for peace and goodwill among nations. Perhaps the real antidote to the commercial war fever may turn out to be the revolutionary war-fever.—J. L. M.

"THE POSITION OF THE WORKING CLASSES."

(ERRATA.)

In my article on "The Position of the Working-classes," paragraph 5, on the commercial classes, should have read as follows:—"The commercial classes numbered 980,128, from which the following will suffice. Merchants numbered in 1881, 15,936. Commercial clerks numbered 181,457, being an increase of 90 per cent. over 1871. Commercial travellers 35,478, an increase in the two years of 100 per cent. Bankers, bank clerks, etc., 16,055, increase 35 per cent. Brokers, etc., 31,208, and agents 15,068, an increase of 180 per cent. Accountants, 11,606, increase of 60 per cent. Musicians and actors, 43,896, increase of 37 per cent. Grocers, 134,397, increase 18.8 per cent. Tobacconists, 22,175, increase 34 per cent. Taking the above classes, the average increase is over 69 per cent. Here is work for the Malthusians. The increase of the whole population was only 14.5 per cent. in the ten years. Yet see the increase of the above classes, while the increase of the working-classes was only 7.3 per cent. The general increase of the population being 14.5, and the increase of the working-classes only 7.3 per cent., of itself shows an enormous increase of the non-producing classes." J. SKETCHLEY.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

Notices to Members.

General Meeting.—The next General Meeting of London Members will be held on Tuesday January 4, 1887, at 8 p.m.

Library.—The librarians, May Morris and W. Chambers, attend on Mondays and Fridays from 7 to 9 p.m. A Catalogue has been printed and is now ready, price 2d. Country Branches can have parcels of books sent by paying cost of carriage.

Notice to Branches.

In future, publications not printed at the Socialist League Office will not be supplied on credit or entered in the Branch accounts with the Central Office. If such publications are ordered direct from and paid for direct to the firms which publish them, the parcels may be sent as an enclosure with the weekly parcel from the League Office, and thus save carriage.

Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Mile-end, to June 30. Birmingham, Clerkenwell, Hackney, Hull, Leeds, North London, to August 31. Croydon, Dublin, Marylebone, to September 30. Manchester, Merton, Norwich, to October 31. Bradford, to November 30. Bloomsbury, Hammersmith, Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Oxford, to December 31.

Children's Party and Social Gathering of Members and Friends.

A meeting as above was held at 13 Farringdon Road, on Monday 27th Dec. The children assembled at 3.30 and were entertained with tea, cake, etc. A distribution of toys from the hand of a "real live Father Christmas," magic lantern, singing of nursery rhymes, and other amusements, kept the budding Socialists merry until about 7 o'clock. After they had been safely dispatched homewards, an informal gathering of members and friends took place. Songs and readings were given by several comrades, and speeches reviewing the past and forecasting the future were made by Kropotkin and Morris. Great use was made of the opportunity for talking over matters connected with the movement by comrades whom on ordinary occasions the accursed system keeps asunder. An enjoyable evening was brought to a close by the singing of the "March of the Workers," and the "Marseillaise."

LECTURE DIARY.

London Branches.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street. Friday Dec. 31 at 8.30. Edward Carpenter will lecture on "Ethics and Socialism." Music, songs, and coffee to follow.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Lectures on Sunday and Wednesday at 8.30. Business Meeting Sunday at 7 p.m.

Croydon.—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday Jan. 2, 1887. C. J. Faulkner, "Property, or the New Bigotry."

Fulham.—338 North End Road (corner of Shorolds Road, opposite Liberal Club). Sunday at 8 p.m.

Hackney.—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11. Discussions held every Sunday morning at 11.30. Members are earnestly requested to attend. Sunday Jan. 2, 1887, at 8 p.m. H. H. Sparling, "What we want, and how to get it."

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Jan. 2, at 8 p.m., J. L. Mahon will lecture on "Radicalism and Socialism."

Hoxton (L. E. L.).—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sunday Jan. 2, a lecture.

Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday. Discussions will be held every Sunday morning.

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

North London.—32 Camden Road. Fridays at 8.

Country Branches.

Bingley.—Coffee Tavern. Every Monday at 7.30 p.m.

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

Bradford.—Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Road Wednesdays, at 8.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. Reading Room and Library open every Wednesday evening, 8 till 10. The Treasurer attends for members' subscriptions first Wednesday of every month.

Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Saturday Jan. 1. A concert of vocal and instrumental music will be given in our rooms at 7.30. Members and friends invited. On Sunday open-air meetings will be held at the Green (Jail Square) at 12 and 4; and on George's Square at 5 o'clock. At 6.30 in Hall No. 1 Carlton Place, Clyde Side (adjoining Gorbals Parish Church), Dr. Cecil Reddie will deliver the first of a course of lectures on Socialism, subject, "The Anatomy and Physiology of Society."

Hamilton.—Branch meets every Thursday at 7.30 in Blackswell School.

Hull.—11 Princess Street, off Mason Street and Sykes Street. Club Room open 7 to 10 every evening; Sundays 10 am. to 10 p.m.

Ipswich.—The Branch has left the George Inn, and have not yet procured fit premises for the club about to be formed.

Leeds.—New Fleece Inn, Pemberton St., Dewsbury Rd.

Lancaster.—Market Hall Coffee Tavern Lecture Room. Saturday evenings at 7.30.

Leicester.—Silver Street. Wednesdays at 8 p.m.

Manchester.—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening 6 to 10 p.m. Lecture and discussion every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—No. 6 St. Benedict St. Lecture and discussion every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room open every day from 8.30 a.m. to 10 p.m.

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

Open-air Propaganda—Sunday 2.

11.30...Hackney—"Salmon and Ball".....H. Graham
11.30...Hammersmith—Beaumont Rd.....The Branch
11.30...London Fields—Broadway.....Flockton
11.30...Regent's Park.....D. J. Nicoll
11.30...St. Pancras Arches.....The Branch
11.30...Walham Green—Station.....The Branch
3.30...Hyde Park (near Marble Arch).....Mainwaring

PROVINCES.—SUNDAY.

Ipswich.—Old Cattle Market, 11; Ship Launch, 3 p.m.
Norwich.—St. Mary's Plain, 11; Market Place, 3.
Leeds.—Hunslet Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m.

BIRKBECK DEBATING SOCIETY, Breams Buildings, Chancery Lane.—Monday Jan. 3, at 8 p.m., H. Halliday Sparling on "Socialism, the only possible remedy for existing social evils."

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THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 52.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 8, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

WORDS OF FORECAST FOR 1887.

THE war-rumours are solidifying and it cannot be denied that there is great probability of this year seeing the long-threatened war which will embrace all the nations of Europe. There have within the last few days been stories of alliance between Germany and Russia. This seems at first sight highly improbable, considering the strong race animosity between the Slav and the Teuton, and also the difficulties which dealing with Austria would offer to both the great reactionary states; because Austria, if not used as the tool of Germany against Russia, would probably in the case of a successful expedition of the two great robbers, have to submit to the doom of partition.

One thing may be noted in reference to this rumour about Russia, that it points the fact that there are two developments of the European struggle possible—the one springing from the forward impulse of Russian aggression in the East, the other from Bismarkian or German bourgeois aggression in the West.

As regards the effects of such an alliance on the popular movement. At first sight it would seem to be the most disastrous event that could cross the path of progress, meaning little less than crushing the various and often-disappointed aspirations of the nineteenth century with the weight of a new influx of the post-feudal absolutism which has survived into our epoch; but on the other hand it may be hoped that it would stir up a fresh force of resistance from all the elements which tend towards liberty, and that the struggle would develop in the proletariat a more definite consciousness of what real liberty means, so that the onrush of a mere reactionary current might be met with the rising flood of revolution, and the attempt, even if partially and temporarily successful, might inflict a mortal wound on the Bourgeois World.

In the other contingency of war beginning in the West, it is a matter of course that Germany, with what allies she can muster, would fall upon France. As was said in last week's issue, in that case Germany would probably hope for England as an ally; but obviously the best method for Germany to gain that advantage by would be to involve this country in a quarrel with Russia, which might possibly, although not necessarily, develop into direct hostility with France. It is absolutely necessary, therefore, for Socialists to watch the situation carefully and closely so as to avoid any possibility of their being dragged into a false position by the recrudescence of jingoism which is quite certain to be one result of even the advancing shadow of a European war.

It ought not be forgotten that for some time past there has been a steady attempt on the part of the bourgeois press to embitter public feeling in this country against France. If Germany attacks France, she will attack her not as the enemy who is plotting a war for the regaining of Alsace and Lorraine, but as the dangerous home of revolution—a country whose proletariat may at any moment unite actively with their brethren the German proletariat—which is the real danger to the monstrous absolutism bound together in slavery (for the time so successfully) by the ceaseless care and energy of the Prince of blood and iron.

Our readers must not think that in mentioning these matters we are merely smiting the air. It is true that a rumour published one day in the papers is discredited the next; but then as often as not it is reasserted on the day after that, and certainly the general tone of the news everywhere, joined to what Socialists must know of the economical necessities of the European states, betokens the coming of the great war, in spite of the fact that our English press has little time for the consideration of European affairs in face of the eagerness with which the public fall on tidings of the wretched intrigues and petty squabbles, party and personal, of the Tory, Unionist, and Gladstonian factions.

E. BELFORD BAX.
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PUBLIC WORKS UNDER SOCIALISM.

FOLK who do not understand Socialism, and who are therefore unable to recognise in its fulness the real significance of the economic and social revolution, sometimes imagine, and urge against the acceptance of our beliefs, that large works of public utility, such as railroads, canals, and so on, will have small or no chance of being constructed after the direct stimulus of personal and private profit has been removed. Still more impossible do they think it will be for such an enterprise to be undertaken as the embankment of a river or the building of a harbour where the immediate necessities of the men then living do not dictate it. Under Socialism all things necessary to the production of wealth will be held and possessed in common; there will be no special prerogative to one or to the other whereby he may take or claim for himself the benefit accruing from any work done for the community; private property will have perished, and with it the power of extorting a revenue from those desiring access to any of the means of life. Thus to those who are unable to project themselves in thought beyond the present system, or who, in other words, when thinking out the details of society in the future are unwittingly warped by considerations drawn wholly from that of to-day, it seems as though nothing beyond men's immediate daily, or at most monthly and yearly, necessities will be attended to when the work that should supply a want, to be pressingly felt only at some further future time, cannot be undertaken by men who may reckon upon exclusive and large profits arising from it to themselves. And again, they say, when no man possesses a large accumulated "capital" there will be none capable of entering upon any great work, even were the public conscience so fully developed that men undertook a work because it was good, and waited for no other reason. Further, it is claimed that when competition is abolished and rival contractors no longer bid in a devil's Dutch-auction for the privilege of exploiting the construction of a public work, it must of a necessity be done in an expensive, wasteful way, and the gain to the labourers engaged upon a work be a loss to the community at large.

These be objections worth considering, for that their putting forward shows at least that the objector has tried to think on the subject, sees nought repulsive in Socialism itself, and is endeavouring to reason out its ultimate effects.

To-day, when a tunnel, railroad, or canal is found to be required, a number of capitalists, large or small, are banded together to form a company—that is to say, to combine their resources and command enough money to pay for its construction. These men receive tenders from sundry contractors, each promising more work or a lesser price than his fellow. Then that one is selected who unites these two desiderata in the greatest degree, and the work is handed over to him. He, again, subdivides and contracts with other men for this and that portion of it. When it is completed and has been handed over to its "owners" they appoint a manager or superintendent, who, with a staff of employés of all kinds, does the real work of the concern, while the shareholders simply perform the helpful function of consuming its profits among them. The charges for the use of the railroad or what-not are regulated solely by what can be got out of the public without making the demand so exorbitant as to provoke competition by making it worth while for a rival shoal of sharks to struggle for the spoils.

When some part of the sea-coast is being eaten away, or a river overflows its banks frequently, causing a constant loss or inconvenience to the community, recourse is again had to the capitalist. Whatever public body it is that must see to the construction of the sea-wall or river-embankment, borrows money from whoso will lend it at interest, and therewith sets to work in the same way as above described. This money, with the interest agreed upon, is afterwards repaid to the lenders from the labour of the community.

Now what is done in all these cases is this: A certain thing, be it a building, railroad, canal, or sea-wall, is seen to be required by the community. It is estimated that so much labour will be required for its construction, such and such tools and plant to render the labour effective, and an ascertainable amount of food, clothing, housing, and so on for the labourers. The tools and plant are simply the embodiment of stored-up labour, and the food and so on produced while the work is proceeding, and furnished to those employed upon it, must be paid for from some other store of past labour. The "capital" then that is expended upon any public work or improvement is the past labour of the community, which has not been needed for present consumption, and has been stored in enduring form for future requirements. It is a mere accident, and belongs only to the present system,

that this stored-up labour should rest in private hands, and be under individual control as to the direction in which it may be utilised. Accumulation of labour-products will not cease with commercialism. ~~That each man upon the average, working in association, and with the improved means of labour, produces far more than he consumes is quite certain. So much more does he produce that even with the enormous number of non-producers who consume without replacing, there is a greater and greater accumulation of the stored-up labour ready to be diverted in any direction where it is needed.~~ Under Socialism, where each would produce as well as consume, the accumulation would be enormously magnified, but the resultant mass of wealth would be held socially for common objects, and no longer individually for personal profit.

It is true that the capitalist is always on the alert to supply a need of the community as it arises, and this because it is his control over the supplying of social needs that gives him his power of profit-making, but it is hardly likely that the community, in the days when the interest of all is the interest of each, will be less alive to its own interests, rather more so, one would think, after it has been so aroused to them as to shake itself free from the incubus of class-rule and monopoly-restriction.

When it is the community itself which looks after its own service, it will most surely be better served than it is now. If our objecting friends will take the trouble to consider that what the capitalist cares for is not the satisfaction of a need, but the doing it so that he can make profit out of the transaction, they will readily see that the energy employed will be utilised more effectively toward the real end of work—the benefit of the community. Again, when a large work has been completed, the effect is a saving of labour or time. Whether it be an improvement in the means of production or distribution, it saves something to the community; under the present system this goes as increased revenue to the monopoly-class, and in no way helps the proletariat. Under Socialism the economised labour would go to the community's coffers, and be available to still further swell the resources always accumulating from its surplus production. When any special work was seen to be needed, Society would set aside an adequate amount of "capital" for the purpose of its completion. For its expenditure it would have an equivalent in the finished work, and all the "profit" from it, nor would it be compelled to pay tribute to any man for its use.

It is notorious that contract-performance does not mean any guarantee as to efficiency for the intended purpose of a work. It means only that enough efficiency for use is given it to ensure its profit-bearing capacities, and this at as small a cost as possible. It means that the proletariat is exploited in all directions, that everywhere the screw is given one more remorseless turn, in order to secure to the capitalists their pound of flesh. Society, managing its own affairs, recognising its own needs, will satisfy them with just the requisite expenditure of labour. It will be to the interest of every individual to try for the greatest return for least exertion; in order to do this it is not the mere economy of labour in the construction of a work that will be looked after, but also its most effective embodiment. In those days the pressure of circumstances will be against all bad or transitory work, because the people will quickly see that work well done is once done, but badly done is never finished, needing constant care and much waste of labour in mending and keeping up.

Nor need it be feared that the "enterprising capitalist," or rather he who would be that now, will be less enterprising although not a capitalist. To every one the outcome of moderate exertion will be a comfortable livelihood: everything that saves labour or time anywhere will benefit all. Each man finds it easier to work in the direction his special powers impel, and the good organiser will have a far more enjoyable berth when he is organising labour, and no longer only plunder or chicanery. Each man's energy devoted to his own welfare in that of Society; every precaution against waste and for utility; these things will follow the Revolution, and render life and work alike wholly pleasant and to be desired.

H. HALLIDAY SPARLING.

THE WORKHOUSE; OR, JOHN POORMAN'S REST.

(Continued from page 2.)

In reading the sad annals of the poor you must always bear in mind the cardinal fact that the bread of life of the profit-making classes is an abundant supply of cheap labour. This explains the successful attempt made in 1662—only 61 years after the passage of the original Act—to reduce the workers to virtual slavery. The original Act made persons who became paupers chargeable on the parish in which they were born, the second required that persons removing to a new parish might be sent back to their own place of settlement unless they gave security against becoming chargeable. Mr. Fowle, in his hand-book on the Poor Law, says: "By this Act, it may with truth be said, that the iron of slavery entered into the soul of the English labourer and made him cling to his parish as a shipwrecked sailor to his raft. From the very first it was the fruitful parent of fraud, injustice, expenditure, ill-will, and endless litigation."

Having thus tied the labourer to their acres as securely as a Russian serf or a Virginian slave, the Solons of the State next hit on the device of making the ratepayers at large contribute his maintenance. "The public funds were regarded as a regular part of the maintenance of the labouring people engaged in agriculture." "The able bodied pauper was obliged to live where the law of settlement placed him, to receive

the income which the neighbouring magistrate thought sufficient, to work for the master and in the way which the parish authorities prescribed, and very often to marry the wife they found for him."

The following figures exhibit the progress of the cost of pauper relief in England and Wales to the close of this period: In 1688, 2s. 6d. per head on the population; 1784, after end of American war, 5s.; 1803, 8s. 10d.; 1818, after Waterloo, 13s. 3d.; 1832, Reform Bill, 10s. The Reform Bill of 1832 was followed by the Reform of the Poor Law in 1834 when the scheme under which we live, pay, and die was adopted. There has been much fine writing about the willingness of the new Parliament to be guided by economic science. Much more light on the subject may be attained by careful consideration of the fact that the balance of power had passed from the agricultural to the manufacturing exploiters of labour, and that cheap workers were required in the towns rather than in the fields. Hence, for instance, the freedom to the migration of labourers given in the new law.

The effects and defects of the old system and the principles and objects of the new are set forth in the Poor Law Commissioners First Report of 1834, a document altogether the most valuable of all the many publications connected with Poor Law controversy, when the reader has independence enough to remember that what is written is not Scripture.

The new proposals were fiercely denounced by Fielden, Richard Oastler, the Rev. J. Stephens, and the Chartist leaders generally, but they were adopted by large majorities in both Houses of Parliament. What the law is, what it seeks to accomplish, and what are its effects upon the worker I can best tell you by relating the several stages that mark the life of the applicant for relief from the time of his first application to the relieving officer to the end when the workhouse hearse "rattles his bones over the stones," and he is laid in an unmarked grave in "sure and certain hope of a resurrection to eternal life."

Before doing so, however, I will first, in order to get them out of the way, give the statistics of pauperism and its cost in the last year. The total number of paupers in receipt of relief on January 1, 1886, in the 647 unions and parishes under separate boards of guardians in England and Wales, was 813,173; of this number 199,641 were indoor and 613,532 outdoor paupers. The population of England and Wales, as estimated by the Registrar General, was 27,499,041 in the middle of the year 1885. Taking this as the basis of the calculation, the paupers relieved on January 1, 1886, amounted to one out of every 34 persons, or 3.0 per cent. of the population. The various tables given in the returns show that there was an increase in the number of paupers relieved on January 1, 1886, as compared with the same day in 1885, in every division of England and Wales except the northern. The largest increase took place in the north-western division, comprising Cheshire and Lancashire, where it amounted to 11.2 per cent.

The following figures show the economic results of the new law and complete the statistics already given on the same subject. In 1835—first complete year of the new law—the cost of poor relief per head of the population was 7s. 7d.; in 1837 it fell to 5s. 5d.; in 1848 it rose to 7s. 2d.; in 1852 it fell to 5s. 5½d.; this year it is about 6s. 4d.

In considering these figures it should be born in mind that the high rates previously quoted refer to years when the price of all the necessities of life was very high, and when the allowance to the poor was very liberal; while to-day the necessities of life are very low, and the allowance given is very niggardly.

And now to my story. John Poorman, finding himself unable to get work, applies for relief. If he lives in East London he is promptly told that the economists and the philanthropic clergy have come to the conclusion that out-door relief is demoralising, and that he must come into the house. In that case it is possible that he may refuse to do so, and become the hero of a story like this—a story told a hundred times a-year of men and women in whom the sturdy spirit of England's golden age still lives:

"Mr. William Carter held an inquest yesterday at Bermondsey as to the death of Maria Osborne, aged 57, the wife of a labourer, and lately residing at 24 Maltby Street, Bermondsey, who died on Sunday last. John Osborne stated that deceased was his wife. He had been out of work for a long time, but had had occasional employment in the parish yard breaking stones, but he had been shut out of the yard for the past fortnight. He and his wife became in a starving condition, and on Monday last the deceased obtained employment at a pickle factory, for which she was paid 6d. or 7d. per day. She continued to work until the following Thursday, when she was taken ill, and came home, unable to work any longer. On Friday she kept to her bed, and appeared worse, and declined to have medical assistance. On that day they only had a small piece of fried fish and a piece of bread, and his wife could not eat hers. The next day she appeared weaker. There was not a particle of food in the room which they occupied, and witness, having purchased a halfpenny's worth of milk with his last coin, went for a doctor, and Mr. Wightwick came about two o'clock in the afternoon, and prescribed medicine for her, and gave an order for parish relief. It was too late to go to the relieving officer that day, and his wife died about eight o'clock on Sunday morning. In further reply to questions by the coroner and jury, the witness said that he and his wife had been in want of food for two years. He had tried lately to get work by breaking stones to get a loaf, but could not. He was 58 years old. He had not applied for relief, as, if he had, he would not have got it, for they (meaning the officials) would want them to go into the 'House,' and he and his wife had an objection to it. Mr. F. P. Wightwick, a surgeon in practice at Horselydown, gave evidence showing that the woman had died from actual starvation, that the immediate cause was exhaustion arising from the diseased condition of the kidneys and the continual want of sufficient and proper food. The jury returned a verdict in accordance with the medical gentleman's opinion."—*Standard*, Wednesday September 15, 1886.

If John Poorman lives in a district where *some* out-door relief is given, he is questioned minutely as to his circumstances. Unless he is really destitute—that is, has sold or pawned every article of furniture and apparel not absolutely necessary to existence—relief will be refused. Possibly John Poorman resolves to stay out a little longer, and goes on tramp to see if anything will turn up. Any day you may see two long processions on the road between Preston and Blackburn moving on in that Micawber hope—one going to Preston from Blackburn, the other from Preston to Blackburn, to seek work where no work is, because it would profit the worker only. The inevitable result of such a pilgrimage is that sooner or later the tramp and vagrant finds himself without the pence needed to pay for a night's lodging. If he knows the law—and the law supposes every Englishman to enjoy its acquaintance—he knows that the penalty of sleeping in any barn or outbuilding, under a haystack or hedgerow, or in a field or on a common—in which he might be thought to have some common-right—is imprisonment as a vagabond. He is thus driven to go to the tramp-ward of the nearest workhouse. On arrival there he finds that the old notion that an English worker sins when he moves out of his parish is still lively. The tramp is the black sheep the Poor Law especially detests and the Local Government Board seeks to exterminate. In 1881 the average number of this class was 6979, and Parliament passed the following brief Bill in the hope of extinguishing him:

"4. Section five of the Pauper Inmates Discharge and Regulation Act, 1871, is hereby repealed, and in lieu thereof it is hereby enacted as follows: A casual pauper shall not be entitled to discharge himself from a casual ward before nine o'clock in the morning of the second day following his admission, nor before he has performed the work prescribed for him as in the said Act mentioned; and where a casual pauper has been admitted on more than one occasion during one month into any casual ward of the same union, he shall not be entitled to discharge himself before nine o'clock in the morning of the fourth day after his admission, and he may at any time during that interval be removed by any officer of the guardians, or by a police constable, to the workhouse of the union, and be required to remain in such workhouse for the remainder of the period of his detention. Provided that in computing the number of days during which a casual pauper may be detained under this section Sunday shall not be included."

The effect of this Act has been to reduce the number of vagrants in 1884 to 4,096. Thus, if John Poorman goes in on Saturday night he is a prisoner until nine o'clock on Tuesday morning. His dietary is worse than that given to the vilest convicted criminal, and often he is required to do his work in solitary confinement.

Satisfied with three day's imprisonment, John Poorman returns to his own parish, again visits the relieving officer, and accepts an invitation to see the Guardians. As soon as he enjoys this high honour he discovers that they are mis-named Guardians of the Poor, and that their proper title is Custodians of the Rates. Various Boards adopt various rules as to outdoor relief. When given it amounts to from 2s. to 3s. per week mostly given in kind, that is in bread—often of poor quality and short weight—and groceries open to the same suspicion (I am now referring to no union or person in particular, but have in mind the complaints often reported in various newspapers. I have collected some of these, but have no space to quote them). The whole tendency of the system constantly fostered by the Local Government Board is towards the abolition of outdoor relief, the ideal of Sydney Smith and other promoters of the new poor law. This is fully shown by the fact that in 1874 the number of outdoor paupers was 683,739, falling in 1884 to 585,068, while the number of indoor paupers, which in 1874 was 143,707, rose in 1884 to 180,846. These figures show the real cause of the alleged diminution of pauperism to be the increased severity of the house test. On this point Mr. Hoyle's testimony given on page 151 of 'Our National Drink Bill,' deserves attention: "In 1871, a change took place in the system of giving relief. Orders were sent from the Central Board in London to apply more rigorously the workhouse test; and in regard to able-bodied paupers, both in the house and out of it, to apply the stone-breaking and other tests. The Poor Law inspectors visited Boards of Guardians to press these points upon them. County Conferences were held to ensure united action. I am not here writing off the book, for I was myself a Poor-law Guardian in Bury for the ten years from 1870 to 1880, and witnessed the whole of the proceedings, and on more than one occasion I felt compelled to raise my voice against the harshness of some of the proceedings." The Local Government Board, in its Annual Report for 1884-5, at page 17 says: "This decrease is wholly due to a falling off in the number of adult able-bodied persons receiving outdoor relief, the mean number of indoor paupers who were adult and able-bodied being larger in 1884 than in 1874."

WM. SHARMAN.

(To be continued.)

The *Pall Mall Gazette* has been sending to Madame de Novikoff to ask whether it is true, as is generally supposed, that the Czar of all the Russias has been driven out of his senses by that very human but not very dignified passion, terror. Everybody outside the *Pall Mall* supposes Madame de Novikoff to be a Russian political agent. The *Pall Mall's* proceeding, therefore, is, to say the least of it, grotesque. It is much as if he had sent to the devil's varlet to ask the truth about those awkward rumours of hoofs and horns, and those rumoured strange views of his majesty's about the welfare of the human race. The varlet, as in duty bound, replies that it is all a foul lie; that his Satanic Majesty has ten toes like other people, and is a prince of well-known benevolence. Of course the public is satisfied with this answer!—W. M.

SELF-HELP.

(ANON. Translated by J. L. JOYNES.)

"HERE, Common Folk, a bone! Catch! Hold it tight,
And gnaw and worry it with all your might.
'Self-help' the thing is called; and, credit me,
'Tis that alone will your salvation be."

So cries a certain rascal knave to you;
Then straight make answer, "This thing I will do:
I'll gnaw—for your plan tallies with my own—
But you yourself, you hound, shall be the bone."

"I'll 'help myself' from you; but first I'll tear
From off your face the mask of lies you wear,
And keep the thing for ever for a show,
With whips and screws and instruments of woe."

"And next I'll hurl upon the rubbish-heap
The cradle that has lulled me long to sleep;
And warming to my work when I've begun,
I'll help myself in far more ways than one."

"For when I've set your tyranny aside,
I'll seek that monstrous monument of pride,
That makes the soul of free-born man its slave,
The high-throned Church, thought's thousand-year-old grave"

"One word is strong to lay its ramparts low,
Like trump that cracked the walls of Jericho:
Yea, Knowledge all its wonders shall contemn,
And work new wonders by o'erthrowing them."

"In righteous wrath with my resistless hand,
I grasp the pillars that to prop it stand;
And shake and snap them with a giant's strength,
Whose thousand-year-old bonds are loosed at length."

"And 'Hallelujah!' with a deafening din
I shout, as idols and their shrines crash in:
While through the crash a voice of jubilee
Cries, 'Reason, prisoned ages long, is free.'"

"The cross is made my weapon; from the shrine
I hunt the Priests with their own sacred sign:
Now since nigh nineteen centuries of pain
Is he that hangs there first made glad again."

"A surer sign of victory I bear,
A banner red—but 'Peace' is written there:
Peace is the sign that tyranny shall cease;
Yea, Revolution's self is nought but peace."

"The earth is rocked and shaken; marching come
Freedom's battalions to the tuck of drum,
And burst the barriers in her path that stood,
Break down all evil, and build up all good."

"The plough, that chain that bound me to my lord,
I'll forge afresh into a two-edged sword:
The means men's cruel craft has used so long
To crush me down shall yet avenge my wrong."

"On march the hosts with Freedom's flag unfurled,
Like storm, from pest that purifies the world;
Break Pride's defences; tread the traitors down;
Pluck off and trample on the tyrant's crown."

"The earth rejoices in the rising sun;
A gladdened world gives thanks for freedom won;
Oppression's yoke lies broken at our feet—
'Self-help' with ringing cheers we all will greet."

The party of Labour is not an outburst of passion; it is the result deep causes, working by and through social evolution.

Edward Atkinson, the economist of slops and scraps, is very much afflicted by the waste of food in cooking. We are a great deal more affected by the waste of life in production and want of justice in distribution.

England is vigorously prosecuting the work of building railroads in India. As usual, her enterprise is inspired by the highest considerations of philanthropy, and exclusively designed to prevent the recurrence of famine among the Hindoos. But it may, incidentally, enable Great Britain to obtain from the East all the wheat she needs at lower prices than she is paying to our farmers; in which case India may yet starve, notwithstanding the railways, as Ireland is occasionally doing, while philanthropic John Bull eats her potatoes.—*The (N. Y.) Leader.*

STRANGE INDEED!—The following extract is from an Essay of Montaigne (b. 1533), translated by Florio, chap. 30. Montaigne is writing about the North-American Indians:—"Three of that nation, ignorant how deare the knowledge of our corruptions will one day cost their repose, securitie, and happinesse, and how their ruine shall proceed from this commerce, were at Rouen in the time of our late king, Charles IX., who talked with them a great while. They were shewed our fashions, our pompe, and the forme of a faire citie; afterwards, some demanded their advice, and would needs know of them what things of note and admirable they had observed amongst us: they answered three things, the last of which I have forgotten, and am very sorie for it; the other two I yet remember. They said: 'First, they found it very strange that so many tall men, with long beards, strong and well armed as it were about the king's person, would submit themselves to obey a beardless childe, and that we did not rather chuse one amongst them to command the rest. Secondly, they had perceived there were men amongst us full-gorged with all sortes of commodities, and others which, hunger-starved and bare with neede and povertie, begged at their gates: and found it strange these men so needie could endure such an injustice, and that they took not the others by the throate, or set fire on their houses.'"



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

Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s., six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

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

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

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

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday January 5.

ENGLAND		
Justice	Cincinnati (O.) Unionist	ITALY
Norwich—Daylight	Toledo (O.)—Industrial News	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Club and Institute Journal	Cleveland (O.)—Carpenter	Turin—Il Muratore
Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung	New Haven (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate	Rome—L'Emancipazione
Die Autonomie	Paterson (N.J.)—Labor Standard	SWITZERLAND
Personal Rights Journal	Springfield (Ill.)—Voice of Labor	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
Christian Socialist	Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	Geneva—Bulletin Continental
Freedom	Knights of Labor	SPAIN
Worker's Friend	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	Madrid—El Socialista
The Revolutionist	Detroit (Mich.)—Labor Leaf	Cadiz—El Socialismo
Freethinker	Portland (Oreg.)—Avant-Courier	PORTUGAL
	Salem (Oreg.)—Advance-Thought	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
		Voz do Operario
INDIA		
Madras—People's Friend		AUSTRIA
Allahabad—People's Budget	FRANCE	Vienna—Gleichheit
Ahmedabad—Praja Mata	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Arbeiterstimme
	Le Socialiste	Brunn—Volksfreund
CANADA		
Toronto—Labor Reformer	Le Revolte	HUNGARY
Montreal—L'Union Ouvriere	Journal du Peuple	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
	Guise—Le Devoir	ROUMANIA
	Lille—Le Travailleur	Jassy—Lupta
UNITED STATES		
New York—Volkszeitung	HOLLAND	DENMARK
Freiheit	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Social-Demokraten
Truthseeker	BELGIUM	SWEDEN
Der Sozialist	Brussels—Le Chante-Clair	Stockholm—Social-Demokraten
John Swinton's Paper	En Avant	NORWAY
Leader	Liege—L'Avenir	Kristiania—Social-Demokraten
Boston—Woman's Journal	Antwerp—De Werker	
Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer		

PROF. SIDGWICK AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

AN article entitled "Economic Socialism" contributed by Professor Sidgwick to the *Contemporary Review* some time ago should not be allowed to pass without a little Socialistic criticism. It is satisfactory that in its orthodox "political economy" has been dealt a very severe blow. This portentous science has, in fact, been condemned out of its own mouth. If Professor Sidgwick's account of its aims is a trustworthy one, it appears to have no *raison d'être* as a science. Indeed, as far as the workers are concerned, it seems to be "good for nothing but to be cast out and trodden under foot of men." The professor states explicitly that political economy is primarily concerned with the production of wealth; that it seeks to show that wealth tends to be produced most amply and economically in a society where government leaves industry alone; and that it subordinates conditions of physical or moral wellbeing to considerations of wealth. He says that political economy is only indirectly concerned with the distribution of wealth, and does not aim at showing that wealth tends to be distributed among the different individuals who have co-operated in producing it in strict accordance with their respective merits. He adds also that when Ricardo talked of "natural wages" he had no intention of stamping the share of produce so designated as divinely ordered and therefore just.

Now the question which naturally arises after reading this exposition is: Of what good to the people can a science be which treats only of the production of wealth and advocates that system in which wealth can be produced most amply and economically, no matter how wretched morally or physically the people, the wealth-producers, may be in consequence of it? A science like this, openly professing disregard of all moral considerations, can surely be of no earthly interest or benefit to any save the comparative few who control both the wealth and the wealth-producers, and who wield it as a merciless weapon against the disinherited. That it is antagonistic to the good of the people is borne out by the damaging statement made by the same writer that it is beyond the scope of political economy to protest against a needle-grinder being worked to death in a dozen years, *if it paid*, and that this science (to disobey whose "laws" it is, forsooth, regarded as in the highest degree impious by the "educated" classes) must necessarily have

justified the action of those sugar-planters who worked their slaves to death in six or eight years, *because it paid*. What are we to think of the morality of those who walk by the light of "laws" which sanction such revolting brutalities as these?

But let us glance at "the vast fabric of modern industry" which charms the professor by its "very impressive approximation to the economic ideal," and see if its wealth is produced as amply and economically as might reasonably be expected from the transports of the students of the dismal science. In the *Century Magazine* a month or two ago Professor Ely wrote that "the needless waste of railway competition [in America] has been sufficient to provide good, comfortable houses—a whole house to a family—for that part of the entire population of the United States not already provided with such houses. The first item in the count is needless expenditure in railway construction. This has been estimated at one thousand million of dollars, and it is certainly a low estimate, for two needless railways, the West Shore and the Nickel Plate, alone count for one-fifth of this sum. It must be borne in mind that needless expenditure is waste of national resources which ought to have benefited the people. This is very simple, yet it is often necessary to repeat it. Now one thousand million of dollars is a sum sufficient to build houses for one million families or five million people." It is undeniable that, as Ely seems to maintain, this sum of one thousand million of dollars needlessly expended cannot be termed wealth in the true sense of the word, since every want of the American people which railways supply would have been met with no further expenditure of labour had this enormous sum been consigned to the depths of the sea. Consequently it seems reasonable to require that all waste, of which the above is an illustration, should be computed and deducted from the total wealth of a country as estimated by political economists, in order that the amount of its *real* wealth may be arrived at. Without doubt the result would show that in the existing order of things wealth proper is much less amply produced than a superficial observer would suppose and political economists would have us believe.

Moreover, we find on close examination that the vaunted economy in the production of wealth in the present system is also at variance with hard facts. We shall quote Professor Ely again, keeping in mind that railways are factors in the production of wealth just as much as workshops and factories: "Every needless train is a waste, and parallel and competing roads necessitate a vast number of them daily. Our railways have not been planned according to any intelligent scheme, so that they should become part of one grand system of means of communication and transportation, supplementing our natural and artificial water-ways and other highways. On the contrary they were often designed to injure other public highways and are still managed with that view. Railways run along by the side of canals and drive them out of existence. At times they buy the canal, and stop using it lest it should longer render service to anybody. The Richmond and Alleghany Railroad is an example. Here is a great waste of resources expended in canals. Railways prevent the use of natural water-ways. Thus the Pennsylvania railroad and the Pacific railways discriminate against those who use the Ohio River and the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans respectively. These are examples of a waste of Nature's bounty. Freight rates are often so much cheaper between competing points than from an intermediate point, that freight frequently passes twice over the same track—a waste of labour and capital. Freight is thus sent from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia, New York, and then right back through Pittsburgh to a western point, so as to get the competition rate from one of the large cities. Freight has likewise been sent from Rochester, New York, to New York City, then back again over the same tracks through Rochester to the West. Last winter, freight was sent from Baltimore to New York, then back through Baltimore to the West. These examples might be multiplied indefinitely." But this long story of waste of wealth and want of economy in the production of it is devoted to one industry only, the carrying trade. Any person of average experience can point out numerous cases of shameful extravagance of a similar kind in nearly every branch of industry. No small item, too, is the waste of labour implied in the enforced idleness of the great army of unemployed and half-timers.

Political economists will, of course, retort that Government interference would only aggravate the evil. But this is sufficiently disproved by the striking fact that the control of the German railways lately acquired by the State has been entirely satisfactory. So much so, that according to Ely the Frankfort "Gazette" was able to state in 1885 that there was not one of the Manchester School to be found in Germany who desired a return to private railways, while business men were gratified by the stability, impartiality, and publicity of railway charges. To do Professor Sidgwick justice, however, the Government interference he refers to seems to partake only of the nature of paternal legislation or piece-meal Socialism, which is of course as far removed from Socialism proper as darkness is from light. If those of our opponents who give evidence of their inability to distinguish true modern Socialism from the quack remedies commonly called Socialistic, were to study the question, and if political economists were to take as much trouble to think themselves into the Socialistic ideal as into the "economic ideal," they would find that under Socialism the motives to "energetic self-help" would be less impaired than in existing Society, that private initiative would have even greater scope than at present, and that above all the production and distribution of wealth would be managed in the most efficient and economical manner with due regard to the moral and physical welfare of the people.

J. H. SMITH.

A DREAM OF JOHN BALL.

(Continued from p. 8.)

HE held his peace awhile, and then he said: "But no man selleth himself and his children into thralldom uncompeled; nor is any fool so great a fool as willingly to take the name of freeman and the life of a thrall as payment for the very life of a freeman. Now would I ask thee somewhat else; and I am the readier to do so since I perceive that thou art a wondrous seer; for surely no man could of his own wit have imagined a tale of such follies as thou hast told me. Now well I wot that men having once shaken themselves clear of the burden of villeinage, as thou sayest we shall do (and I bless thee for the word), shall never bow down to this worsen tyranny without sore strife in the world; and surely so sore shall it be, before our valiant sons give way, that maids and little lads shall take the sword and the spear, and in many a field men's blood and not water shall turn the grist mills of England. But when all this is over, and the tyranny is established, because there are but few men in the land after the great war, how shall it be with you then? Will there not be many soldiers and sergeants and few workers? Surely in every parish ye shall have the constables to see that the men work; and they shall be saying every day, 'Such an one, hast thou yet sold thyself for this day or this week or this year? Go to now, and get thy bargain done, or it shall be the worse for thee.' And wheresoever work is going on there shall be constables again, and those that labour shall labour under the whip like the Hebrews in the land of Egypt. And every man that may, will steal as a dog snatches at a bone; and there again shall ye need more soldiers and more constables till the land is eaten up by them; nor shall the lords and the masters even be able to bear the burden of it; nor will their gains be so great, since that which each man may do in a day is not right great when all is said."

"Friend," said I, "from thine own valiancy and high heart thou speakest, when thou sayest that they who fall under this tyranny shall fight to the death against it. Wars indeed there shall be in the world great and grievous, and yet few on this score; rather shall men fight as they have been fighting in France at the bidding of some lord of the manor, or some king, or at last at the bidding of some usurer and forestaller of the market. Valiant men, forsooth, shall arise in the beginning of these evil times, but though they shall die as ye shall, yet shall not their deaths be fruitful as yours shall be; because ye, forsooth, are fighting against villeinage which is waning, but they shall fight against usury which is waxing. And, moreover, I have been telling thee how it shall be when the measure of the time is full; and we, looking at these things from afar, can see them as they are indeed; but they who live at the beginning of those times and amidst them, shall not know what is doing around them; they shall indeed feel the plague and yet know not the remedy; by little and by little they shall fall from their better livelihood, and weak and helpless shall they grow, and have no might to withstand the evil of this tyranny; and then again when the times mend somewhat and they have but a little more ease, then shall it be to them like the kingdom of heaven, and they shall have no will to withstand any tyranny, but shall think themselves happy that they be pinched somewhat less. Also whereas thou sayest that there shall be for ever constables and sergeants going to and fro to drive men to work, and that they will not work save under the lash, thou art wrong and it shall not be so; for there shall ever be more workers than the masters may set to work, so that men shall strive eagerly for leave to work, and when one says I will sell my hours at such and such a price, then another will say, and I for so much less; so that never shall the lords lack slaves willing to work, but often the slaves shall lack lords to buy them."

"Thou tellest marvels indeed," said he; "but how then if all the churls work not, shall there not be famine and lack of wares?"

"Famine enough," said I, "yet not from lack of wares; it shall be clean contrary. What wilt thou say when I tell thee that in the latter days there shall be such traffic and such speedy travel across the seas that most wares shall be good cheap, and bread of all things the cheapest."

Quoth he: "I should say that then there would be better livelihood for men, for in times of plenty it is well; for then men eat that which their own hands have harvested, and need not to spend of their substance in buying of others. Truly, it is well for honest men, but not so well for forestallers and regraters¹; but who heeds what befalls such foul swine, who filch the money from people's purses, and do not one hair's turn of work to help them."

"Yea, friend," I said, "but in those latter days all power shall be in the hands of these foul swine, and they shall be the rulers of all; therefore, hearken, for I tell thee that times of plenty shall in those days be the times of famine, and all shall pray for the prices of wares to rise, so that the forestallers and regraters may thrive, and that some of their well-doing may overflow on to those on whom they live."

"I am weary of thy riddles," he said. "Yet at least I hope that there may be fewer and fewer folk in the land; as may well be, if life is then so foul and wretched."

"Alas, poor man!" I said; "nor mayst thou imagine how foul and wretched it may be for many of the folk: and yet I tell thee that men

shall increase and multiply, till where there is one man in the land now there shall be twenty in those days—yea, in some places ten times twenty."

"I have but little heart to ask thee more questions," said he; "and when thou answerest, thy words are plain, but the things they tell of I may scarce understand. But tell me this: in those days will men deem that so it must be for ever, as great men even now tell us of our ills, or will they think of some remedy?"

I looked about me. There was but a glimmer of light in the church now but what there was, was no longer the strange light of the moon, but the first coming of the kindly day.

"Yea," said John Ball, "'tis the twilight of the dawn. God and St. Christopher send us a good day!"

"John Ball," said I, "I have told thee that thy death will bring about that which thy life has striven for: thinkest thou that the thing which thou strivest for is worth the labour? or dost thou believe in the tale I have told thee in the days to come?"

He said: "I tell thee once again that I trust thee for a seer; because no man could make up such a tale as thou; the things which thou tellest are too wonderful for a minstrel, the tale too grievous. And whereas thou askest as to whether I count my labour lost, I say nay, if so be in those latter times (and worsen than ours they will be) men yet seek a remedy: therefore again I ask thee is it so that they shall?"

"Yea," said I, "and their remedy shall be the same as thine, although the days be different: for if the folk be enthralled, what remedy save that they be set free? and if they have tried many roads towards freedom, and found that they led nowhither, then shall they try yet another. Yet in the days to come they shall be slothful to try it, because their masters shall be so much mightier than thine, that they shall not need to show the high hand, and until the days get to their evildest, men shall be cozened into thinking that it is of their own free will that they must needs buy leave to labour by pawning their labour that is to be. Moreover your lords and masters seem very mighty to you, each one of them, and so they are, but they are few; and the masters of the days to come shall not each one of them seem very mighty to the men of those days, but they shall be very many, and they shall be of one intent in these matters without knowing it; like as one sees the oars of a galley when the rowers are hidden, that rise and fall as it were with one will."

"And yet," he said, "shall it not be the same with those that these men devour; shall not they also have one will?"

"Friend," I said, "they shall have the will to live, as the wretchedest thing living has: therefore shall they sell themselves that they may live, as I told thee; and their hard need shall be their lord's easy livelihood, and because of it he shall sleep without fear, since their need compelleth them not to loiter by the way to lament with friend or brother that they are pinched in their servitude or to devise means for ending it. And yet indeed thou sayest it: they also shall have one will if they but knew it; and for a long while they shall have but a glimmer of knowledge of it: yet doubt it not that in the end they shall come to know it clearly, and then shall they bring about the remedy; and in those days shall it be seen that thou hast not wrought for nothing, because thou hast seen beforehand what the remedy should be, even as those of later days have seen it."

We both sat silent a little while. The twilight was gaining on the night, though slowly. I looked at the poppy which I still held in my hand, and bethought me of Will Green, and said: "Lo, how the light is spreading: now must I get back to Will Green's house as I promised."

"Go, then," said he, "if thou wilt. Yet meseems before long he shall come to us; and then mayst thou sleep among the trees on the green grass till the sun is high, for the host shall not be on foot very early; and sweet it is to sleep in shadow by the sun in the full morning when one has been awake and troubled through the night-tide."

"Yet I will go now," said I; "I bid thee good-night."

Therewith I half rose up; but as I did so the will to depart left me, as though I had never had it, and I sat down again, and heard the voice of John Ball, at first as one speaking from far away, but little by little growing nearer, more familiar to me, and as if once more it were coming from the man himself whom I had got to know.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be continued.)

The animus of the "class" press is plainly shown by the head lines they place over labour news, dispatches, and reports. They exhibit in this way also the real bent of their thinking, for they never fail to treat a labour item in any other way than as a thing apart from that which concerns them. The "class" newspapers have an attitude of their own, and it is always actively or negatively hostile to the interests of Labour.—*The Leader*.

In a fatuously futile editorial, the *Artist*, a "journal of home culture," reviews the past year, and gives gratuitous advice to all and sundry as to the good or evil they have done or may do to "Art" by this or that course of action. The advice is conveyed in platitudinous periods of studied ambiguity, and may mean or not mean all or anything as one's fancy dictates, but any hint of the real condition of art, or its true reason, is carefully avoided. Art is simply the expression of man's delight of life and pleasure in his labour embodied in the work of his hand. So long as the present system of wrong and misery endures there is no hope for a healthy art. Those folk who now repine bitterly over the decadence of Art should work toward the building of the only abode in which it may abide—a Society founded on justice and right, where all have enough and none over-much. For those who are stupidly content there is no word that will reach them; they, like the stolid pharisaic bourgeois, must wait for the rude awakening time holds in store for them.—S.

¹ Forestaller, one who buys up goods when they are cheap, and so raises the price for his own benefit; forestalls the due and real demand and supply; regrater, one who both buys and sells in the same market, or within five miles thereof, buys, say a ton of cheese at 10 a.m. and sells it at 5 p.m. a penny a pound dearer without moving from his chair. For us Socialists the word monopolist will cover both species of thief.—Ed.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

This department is under the direction of the Strike Committee. Labour News and Contributions to the Fund should be sent to T. BINNING, at the Offices.

SHORT TIME AT RAILWAY WORKS.

The Metropolitan District Railway Company have posted notices up in their works at West Brompton, to the effect that on and after Saturday, January 8th, their employes will have to work short time, to the extent of nine hours per week, which amounts to one full working day. This will affect between two hundred and fifty and three hundred men.

NORTHUMBERLAND MINERS.

A protracted meeting of delegates from all the Northumberland collieries was held at Newcastle Dec. 30, in reference to the demand of the colliery owners for a reduction of 15 per cent. in wages, to take effect on 1st. Jan. It was decided to ask the employers to suspend their notices for a week or two, with a view to arranging a compromise. This request will be considered by the employers at once, and it is now hoped a settlement will be effected.

NORTH OF ENGLAND SEAMEN.

A conference of delegates from branches of the North of England Seamen and Sea-going Firemen Society was held at South Shields Dec. 29, to consider the adoption of a uniform rate of wages for ports on the north-east coast. There were present representatives from various ports. It was resolved that wages be 30s. per week for weekly boats, £4 per month on deck and below for the Black Sea and Mediterranean, and £4 5s. monthly for the Baltic and Atlantic during the winter months.

THE EMPLOYMENT OF FEMALES AS COTTON SPINNERS.

There appears no signs whatever of the strike of mule spinners at Lostock Mill, near Bolton, coming to a close. The mule spinners, at the instigation of the operatives' union, struck work against Messrs. Heaton employing women as spinners on some short mules, and running very slow speeds. The objection raised against females being so employed, is upon moral grounds, and no one who knows what duties have to be performed by mule spinners will say that the grounds of objection are unreasonable. There is a wide difference between being employed in the spinning room and being employed in the weaving, winding, reeling, and card-room, as they have to dress so much different, and the nature of the work to be done is such that no woman should be asked to do the work. Thirty years ago, it was quite common for females to work as cotton piecers, but rarely as minders or spinners, but with the advance of education amongst the middle and lower classes, it has almost died out, owing to the growth of public opinion being against the system. It is very rare where a spinner takes his daughter in a spinning room with a view to teaching her to piece, and to follow the trade for a living. Those of the female sex who follow such employment are generally the daughters of careless and indifferent men, who have no thought or consideration for the future welfare of their offspring. In Oldham and districts no female is employed in a spinning room either as a piecer or spinner, and were there no strong objections from a moral point of view, we think females would find employment in that direction. We are surprised that an intelligent body of gentlemen like the committee of the Bolton Masters' Association should, through their secretary, Mr. A. Bailey, make it known to the public at large that they are in favour of females being employed as piecers and spinners in cotton mills. Such an admission speaks very little for their desire to improve the tone of society as at present existing in the cotton mills; but we understand their motives by their conclusions, and are not far wide of the mark when we say it is to keep down wages regardless of the characters of the females being injured by the nature of their employment. If employers won't dispense with the obnoxious system, spinners must in all cases refuse to teach any female to piece, and by so doing the evil will be sure to die out.—*Cotton Factory Times*.

THE NOTTINGHAM LACE TRADE.—The Board of Conciliation which for some time has had under consideration a proposal of the manufacturers for a 33 1-3 per cent. reduction of wages, have agreed upon a revision of the card prices which practically amounts to a reduction of 12 per cent all round.

STRIKE OF WEAVERS.—At a mass meeting of two thousand weavers, now on strike at Ashton-under-Lyne, it was resolved to abstain from work until their employers conceded the terms asked for—namely, to be paid the same rate of wages that is paid in Chorley, Preston, and other towns for similar work. This is the sixth week of the strike.

The strike of weavers at Ashton still goes on, but a few days ago some of the firms showed a tendency towards developing what we had thought to be a worn out system of getting hands. Some of the spinners were told that their own shops depended on their relatives returning to their looms. This method of doing business is, however, so un-English on the face of it that we are not surprised to find that those who resorted to it don't care to have it known.—*Cotton Factory Times*.

AMERICA.

SOCIALIST VICTORY.—CHICAGO, Jan. 3.—The election of officers to the Trades' Assembly in this city has resulted in a victory for the Socialist Party.

The men who took the places of the Chicago packing-house strikers have been turned out of their boarding houses and must seek other quarters.

The miners of Salisbury, Ala., have organised a co-operative coal company and are taking steps to open a mine on the property of the Keystone Coal Company.

Several new co-operative enterprises have been established in New York during the past few weeks. The United Tailors have established a shop, and the Shirt Ironers will start a co-operative laundry.

The Painters' and Decorators' Co-operative Association, organised recently at Minneapolis, Minn., has 5000 dols. capital in shares of 50 dols. each. Each member holds the same number of shares, and all share alike in the results.

"Ten dollars reward for a Knight of Labor found on the premises," is a placard pasted all over Whitely's works in Springfield, O. The time is coming when an equal reward can safely be offered for any American farmer who buys one of the Champion machines.—*Industrial News*.

GREENVILLE, PA.—A union has been formed here by domestic servants for the purpose of advancing their wages fifty cents a week. The girls are united in the movement, and so far have gained their point. The movement is looked upon with considerable amusement, but no one seems inclined to oppose the action of the girls.

FRANCE.

NANTES.—"The distress in our town is very great, but something different from a 'fine-art lottery' is needed to come in aid of the working class this winter weather." Certainly, philanthropy on a so-called business-like footing is bad enough, also the good-dinner-once-a-year style of charity so rampant at Christmas is bad enough, but playing at philanthropy and playing at art "for the benefit of the unemployed" is a double-barrelled insult, and should stir the blood of the greatest dullard to clamor and revolt.

VIERZON.—Last Wednesday the strikers held a general meeting, at which it was unanimously resolved to hold out and struggle on to the end in spite of all tentatives on the part of the Société Française. The strikers are resolved to maintain this course, sure of the fraternal help and encouragement of the whole of the proletariat of France.

HAVRE.—A general strike of tilers and slaters is announced here. The workers demand 75 c. the hour; the masters refuse, and are calling in workmen from elsewhere.

ITALY.

FINALE-EMILIA.—A strike of 500 labourers is announced at Finale Emilia. They were making 80 c. a-day. The employers refuse every demand, and threaten to call in foreign labour.

Como.—The servility and submission of some of the workers in Italy (as elsewhere) is shown up in the following letter from a correspondent of the *Fascio*. "Scarcely a week passes without my receiving threats and abuse from manufacturers or from the workmen. These latter either cannot understand my writings or else desire to maintain themselves in the good graces of the former." This, we venture to think, is a situation not at all difficult to understand, nor, if it comes to that, to be blamed at all heavily, being a natural development of to-day's system, which bears for its legend, "Grind, or be ground." As the writer adds, exploitation by the capitalists is not enough, but we must also be exploited by ourselves, every man against his brother.

MONZA.—Again, here we see the fear of outspokenness and of Socialist writings. In some of the factories the seller of the *Fascio Operaio* is sent about his business, with, "We don't want you here; the *Fascio* has been the ruin of us." Some of the firms here have been overproducing largely, which, especially considering the season, is a serious matter.

ASTI.—The journeyman-bakers of Asti, who some days back were all dismissed by the masters by reason of some dispute, have opened a bakehouse among themselves, thus forming the nucleus of a very useful co-operative society. The town authorities, finding the matter of importance, interfered and tried to bring the two parties to terms, but the bakers held out and would not be persuaded. Meantime the masters have called in a supply of "hands" to keep on business, which move has not proved successful, as the townsfolk prefer to patronise the co-operators.

For the third time the electors of Ravenna and Forli have given their votes to Amilcare Cipriani, having been summoned to elect a deputy in his place, as his two previous elections were annulled. At Ravenna he had 2680 out of 2764 votes; and at Forli, 3256 out of 3609 votes.

The beginning of the year is fertile in legal proceedings against Socialists. Early in January, at the session of the Court of Assize at Milano, six well-known members of the Labour Party will go up for trial. In February a process is being prepared in Alessandria against several "comrades" for the publication of the pamphlet 'Fra Contadini' and for that of the 'Chant of the Italian Labour Party.' By the by, we are rather curious to see this 'Inno del Partito Operaio Italiano.' Will any Italian comrade kindly take the hint and send us a copy?

AUSTRIA.

VIENNA, December 28, 1886.—Just now, in all workers' assemblies the projected labour-chambers are being discussed carefully. The project has been subjected to the Reichsrath by the Opposition, and the discussion is therefore not perilous to the State, and is consequently allowed by the Government. The workers have therefore the duty to profit by this opportunity, so seldom offered to them, especially as there is a very important matter influencing strongly the condition of our movement. You may imagine what parts the capitalists play when they wish to appear friends of the worker. Our comrade Dr. Victor Adler has shown us in his leaflet "Die Arbeiter-Kammern und die Arbeiter" (The Labour-Chambers and the Labourer) the motives of this party by citing Engels, who says that in the struggle between capital and landlordism there comes a moment when both parties apply to the proletariat for aid. The feudal lords tell the workers that they have the same interests against capitalists, and these latter assert that the capitalists and the labourers represent the new world against feudalism. Two bourgeois parties are inclined to concessions: the reactionary to economical, the liberal to political ones. In this moment the proletariat grows conscious that they form a special class with special interests. The same farce is being attempted in Austria now. The feudals have introduced some economic "reforms," although very platonic ones—as eleven-hour normal working day, insurance against sickness, restored guilds, and so on—and the liberals, nothing but liberal compulsory dissolution of associations and public assemblies, liberal suppression of the labour press, the liberal exception laws. Now on a sudden they are trying to become popular; as they are in the minority they will create labour-chambers, which they refused to create when in a majority of the Reichsrath; they will create them after the model of the chambers of commerce and trade; and it is very characteristic how they deviate even from this model. The labour-chambers are not to enter into mutual correspondence, allowed to commercial chambers; the labour-chambers can elect only their members, while the commercial ones may elect every Austrian who has the franchise, into the Reichsrath. This restriction is intended to prevent the election of an editor or other well-educated comrade. For the suffrage is restricted to such industrial workers who subscribe to a friendly society, who are 24 years of age (for the passive electoral right, 30 years), who are not under arrest or imprisonment. Now imagine: a labour-chamber chooses a Social-Democrat; on the morning of the electoral day he is arrested, charged, for instance, with high treason; by this arrest he cannot be elected. I do not speak of the determination that voting is to be public; I mention only the paragraph that only those workers can vote or be elected who have complied with the above regulations and who have lived two years before the election in the electoral place, by which the workers in many industries, as the building and metal trades, are excluded almost totally from the suffrage.

However oppressive these ridiculous regulations and restrictions may be, we will profit by them, in showing to our brethren who are not yet with us

how impotent this system is to comply with the most modest wishes of the workers, by nourishing in everywise the consciousness of the class warfare. When our representatives will be admitted to the Reichsrath, their speeches (there they will have the liberty of speaking not allowed to us otherwise) will be good means of agitation and will furnish leaflets to be spread among the disinherited. This part of that project of law is therefore the most important, that the chambers have the right to return nine deputies. Abroad, men who do not know Austria will wonder and question: if the ruling classes will admit representatives of the workers to the legislation, why do they not grant universal suffrage? To these we answer, Austria is not yet developed enough. Besides the evils caused by the capitalistic mode of production we suffer from remainders of obsolete feudal institutions. In many parts of Austria there is no great industry; only agriculture based on corvée—legally abolished, indeed, but existing yet, only small, mediæval industry. In Austria there are districts modernly quite proletarian, but yet more districts where not even one capitalist can be found. And imagine now: these institutions, based on different systems of production and society, enter into mutual communication! Must there not arise strange situations, so that Austria may be truly be called the country of incongruities?—F. S.

INTERESTING ITEMS.

The party of Organised Labour is not a party of despair, but of hope and ideas.—*The Leader*.

Commercial enterprise allows no bar to its far-reaching developments. An artist's model in Paris, tired of doing all the work that earned his living, has opened an establishment for the letting out of his kind to artists at so much a-head. Albums containing photographs of the "stock-on-hand" are kept at the disposition of his customers, and he has also a room where his "goods" may be examined before hiring. Like all capitalists he is, perforce, an exploiter, and makes profit from the labour of his employés in the natural course of events.—S.

France is arming. Germany is arming. Eight millions of men, brothers in toil and suffering, may suddenly, at the word "Go," rush upon each other on murder bent. Was ever such a conflict seen in Titanic days? And what for, please? Surely, men brave enough to face death in such a *mêlée* should deem it easy to rid the earth of a few oppressors. And what a grand sight they would be when they meet on the Rhine, should they drop their leaders into the noble stream, and with one mighty shout proclaim the brotherhood of man!—*The Leader*.

Mr. John Dillon, M.P., speaking at Arklow in support of the Plan of Campaign, said he gave bail to be of good behaviour, and the best behaviour he knew was to carry out the Plan of Campaign. He intended to continue the behaviour which he had observed for the last two months; and if he could not carry out the good work by sunlight, he was perfectly prepared to carry it on by moonlight. Rent money gathered in the dark was just as good money as that collected in the day. The Plan of Campaign was legal, and, as one of the makers of the law, he refused to take his law from a policeman.

Mr. Hubert Herkomer has been speaking recently upon the advantages of a long careful training in any craft, and advocating the revival of the schools and apprenticeships of a bygone time. As to the benefits, let alone the absolute need, of apprenticeship and long training in steady careful craftsmanship, all Socialists would agree with Mr. Herkomer. They would, however, point out that, in these days of the *grande industrie*, of machine-production on a large scale, when men are rather the functional portions of machines than aught else, when it is deftness in doing some one monotonous thing instead of true skill that is required of the workmen, that it would be waste of labour to make a man, and afterward break him down into a factory-slave. When we have kicked out commercialism men will have room to grow, but not before.—S.

It is curious to note how the stand-point of the present system vitiates the view men take of human nature and life generally. In an otherwise by no means unintelligent review of the life of Henri Regnault, just published in Paris, for instance, it is said: "He possessed the revolutionary temperament, the rebellious spirit which is often a virtue in art and literature, but which is always a vice in a soldier—perhaps proof positive that highly-civilised beings are not fit to inhabit this nether world, where brute force and diplomacy, otherwise dishonesty, alone succeed and reign supreme." What more natural, one would think, when the case is thus presented, than for a man to conclude that there was something wrong either with civilisation or with this "nether" world—or, it mayhap, both? But most men have fixed in their minds the immutable stability of the present system, and if human nature cannot square with it so much the worse for man.—S.

We wish to give notice to persons who are occupying themselves with the "labour problem," that what we have asked them for is not more general discussion, but a definite description of those wrongs of the labourer which are capable of being remedied by legislation, and a sketch of the remedy in the shape of the draft of a statute bill. We say this because we are being deluged with letters of the old sort about the designs of the Creator in making the earth, and the "natural rights" of the inhabitants thereof. Among other answers to our demand for a bill of particulars, we have received a letter from Mr. Charles F. Wingate, the sanitary engineer, who figured prominently in the George movement, calling attention to the condition of the New York tenement houses, and enclosing the draft of a bill which certainly ought to be enacted, providing for their improvement as regards healthfulness. But a moment's reflection ought to show Mr. Wingate that the New York tenement houses might all be converted to abodes as wholesome and cheerful as the Navarro flats, without contributing anything to the solution of the labour problem. The wages of the labourer would still be what they are now, the rent of his dwelling as high or higher, his share in the amusements and luxuries of life just as small, and his dependence on his employer, the capitalist, just as great. Moreover, the condition of the New York tenement houses only affects a very small body of labourers in this city. What we are waiting for is some grand piece or pieces of legislation which will ameliorate the lot of labourers in general. Mr. Wingate offers nothing of this sort.—*N. Y. Nation*, capitalist organ.

England is inhabited by two nations, between whom there is no interest and no sympathy—the rich and the poor.—*Lord Beaconsfield*.

Why wilt thou defer thy good purpose from day to day? Arise and begin in this very instant and say, "Now is the time for doing, now is the time for striving."—*Thomas a Kempis*.

"DEFRAUDING A RAILWAY COMPANY."

In a case recently brought before him of the above nature, Mr. Chance, the luminous stipendiary at Lambeth, gave utterance to the, sapient conventionalism that "it was shocking to see people, in the position of the prisoner particularly, acting in such a disgraceful manner." He further stated that "the offence in his opinion was equal to picking pockets." If the latter is Mr. Chance's opinion, Mr. Chance is evidently capable of forming opinions without due consideration. Public sentiment may be muddled enough on the subject of ethics, but it has a sufficient glimmer of enlightenment left in it to discern instinctively the difference between depriving a concrete human being of money intended for his personal use and failing to surrender to an abstract "company" with neither "heart to feel, soul to save, or anything to kick," the tax it lays upon those who make use of the social function it performs in pursuit of the one end of its existence—profit-making, which means the plunder of its servants and the public. We do not consider Mr. Lomax acted in any way disgracefully, since no moral obligation, as we have already shown, can obtain between a living human being and an abstraction such as this. Were it possible, we could wish that a practice by which the heartless, bloodless vampires of latter-day civilisation called joint-stock companies were deprived of at least a portion of their ill-gotten gains might become much more common. The "company," under the cover of law, though without even a pretence of the moral responsibility which binds man to man, attaching to it, can practically do what it pleases, the individual man having no redress at law, "fighting" a "company" being about as possible for the ordinary man as fighting a sea-serpent. What Mr. Lomax did may have been illegal, and contrary to the rules of the commercial game, but it was certainly not immoral—it was no wrong to his neighbour.

E. B. B.

LITERARY NOTICES.

"*Jus*; an organ of Individualism," is the name of a penny weekly paper which is to make its first appearance on Friday, Jan. 7th. To advocate the principle of *laissez faire*, to criticise over-legislation of a socialistic tendency, and to provide a register and compendium of strictly political information, are the chief objects of the journal. The publishers are Messrs. Foulger and Co., 13 Paternoster Row.

Time, is this month, as usual, full of sound readable matter, notably the articles by W. B. Robertson and Armine S. Kent, on the New Coinage, and Matthew Arnold's poetry respectively. The story of Amilcare Cipriani's life is written from an inimical standpoint by E. Strachan Morgan, who, however, fails utterly to shew our comrade as aught but the hero he is. The list of "best books" given at the end of each number of this magazine is a most valuable and important feature.

The *Leader* is an afternoon daily published under the auspices of the Central Labour Union of New York. It is a well-conducted, smart, readable paper and should make a hit. Our American comrades are go-ahead fellows who seem to beat us on this side hands down and not half try! The *Leader* is the only paper in New York that has kept its columns clean, while its contemporaries vied with one another as to which could cram most Campbell filth into its columns, and in other ways it has proved its superiority to the monopoly press. American workers should rally in thousands to its support. We most cordially welcome it as an exchange.

The *Christian Socialist* this month takes a long step upward, and will now rank, if it fulfils the promise of its present number, with the most useful of the Socialist monthlies. The Christian Socialist Society has now assumed its entire control, and it will no longer be the vehicle of the whims and fads of one man. The existence of bodies and organs of Socialist opinion that are dubbed with a prefix or suffix of some modificatory kind seems to assert a demand for such modification, and while not agreeing with the policy we can hardly blame those who consider their weaker brethren in that wise. Despite its temporising title, the *Christian Socialist* speaks the truth straitly, and under its new editor's is not likely to falter or fail from its duty. S.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

Library.—The librarians, May Morris and W. Chambers, attend on Mondays and Fridays from 7 to 9 p.m. A Catalogue has been printed and is now ready, price 2d. Country Branches can have parcels of books sent by paying cost of carriage.

Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Birmingham, Hackney, Hull, Leeds, North London, to August 31. Croydon, to September 30. Manchester, Merton, Norwich, to October 31. Bradford, to Nov. 30. Bloomsbury, Clerkenwell, Hammersmith, Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Oxford, to December 31.

General Meeting.

A General Meeting of members was held on Tuesday evening, January 4, at 13 Farringdon Road, and reports read—by Mahon as to the condition of the Branches; by *Commonweal* manager, who impressed upon the members the need of earnestly pushing the paper during winter months; and Secretary of Strike Committee, who requested friends in the different offices, shops, and factories to send for insertion in the *Commonweal* items of interest to their trades.

STRIKE COMMITTEE.

W. M. (two weeks), 2s.; T. B., 6d.

T. BINNING, Treasurer.

FREE SPEECH DEFENCE FUND.

Deficit, £2, 8s. 6d.

PH. W., Treasurer, Jan. 4.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Anonymous (donation), £20; H. Ch. (three weeks), 3s.; E. B. B. (two weeks), 2s.; T. B. (two weeks), 1s.; M. M. (two weeks), 2s.; Bloomsbury Branch (two weeks), 10s.; Hammersmith Branch (two weeks), £1.

PH. W. Treasurer, Jan. 4.

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 53.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 15, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

WE can believe that our old acquaintance Mr. Phillips really was sorry that he could not help the unemployed men who applied to him to help them, and were waiting to see if they could get a job in clearing off the snow, because he seems to have some appreciation of the condition of the unemployed at present. He appeared to relish the job of blowing to pieces a lie that appeared in the respectable *Times* to the effect that "although a large number of persons were wanted to work to clear the snow from the streets on Boxing-day, only three applied, and they were under the influence of drink." Mr. Phillips said that the Town-hall was not open on that day, neither was any notice given that men were wanted on that day. Mr. Phillips, much to his credit, stigmatised this as a deliberate lie, and a libel on the working classes—"in fact a malicious libel." It is, however, the kind of lie which is very commonly accepted as gospel truth in these winter days, as anybody can bear witness who has an opportunity of listening to the conversation in a second-class carriage on the District Railway.

"Infamy" has different meanings to different minds, it would seem. To Mr. Mansfield, for instance, it appears to have meant the other day the extremity of poverty which forces a man to beg in the streets in order to get a little victuals for himself and three little children. "Your conduct is simply infamous," said the "worthy" magistrate. On the other hand, others (myself amongst them) might think the title of "infamy" fairly well earned by the magistrate who from his unanswerable position goes out of his way to insult a poor man, even supposing that he was compelled by a stupid and brutal law to send him to prison for what was no offence. W. M.

One of the "swell" kind of emigration-touts, Mr. David Buchanan of the New South Wales Parliament, had a rather stormy reception when, at St. James's Hall on Friday week, he started out to prove New South Wales a veritable heaven for working men. For twenty-five years a political trickster, his long experience served him in good stead when he came to solid, right-down lying as to the condition and resources of the colony. "Enormous tracts of alluvial land which could produce forty bushels of the finest wheat to the acre" laid promiscuously around and waited to be picked up. "Not one of the really industrious" was suffering or ever had suffered from distress there. John Norton, the N.S.W. workmen's delegate, G. Lansbury, and our comrade Somerville, opposed the lecture, and a very stormy scene followed, which was only terminated by turning out the gas.

A good illustration of the "ministerial meaning" of a political speech was given in the Northern police-court of Dublin during the examination of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach on the 7th in the case against John Dillon and his comrades. When "Mickey the Botch," as he is called in Ireland, was referred to the speech he made at Bristol on November 13, and asked what he meant by saying "the Government have brought what pressure they could within the law to bear upon those few landlords who would not follow the example of their more generous fellows," he would only respond, "Exactly what I said," and would give no clue as to what "pressure within the law" meant. Now, either the "pressure" was a mere figure of speech (and this after all is almost a certainty) or it was not. If it was a reality and "within the law," why hesitate to speak of it? If it was not "within the law," how comes it that a government which to curry popular favour and prolong a shaky existence will overstep the law, will yet seek to punish others for following its example?

The Irish papers last week were lively reading. What with the miserable floundering of perjured police witnesses under the searching cross-examination of Mr. Healy and the other counsel for the defence; the "fun of the (proclaimed) fair" at Gorey; John Dillon's meeting at Arklow, and W. O'Brien's at Fairymount, they overflowed with interest for any one not wholly dead to the cause of the people in its various phases.

The "majesty of the law" asserts itself in many ways. Mr. Bowler, counsel for the defence in the case against the chairman of the Waterford Tenants' Association, while the case was proceeding was twice threatened with violence. District Inspector Davis, provoked by an allusion made to him in the counsel's speech, shouted that "if I wasn't in court I'd wring the head off you," and was with difficulty restrained

from attempting to carry his grotesque threat into execution. While struggling with those who interposed he shouted again that he "would pull the throttle out of him," and so on. Information against him was applied for and refused, the impartial magistrates apparently believing that any treatment was good enough for a Nationalist.

The Plan of Campaign has scored another triumph. Lord Dillon, who so stoutly refused 25 per cent. reduction, and "would die first," has now agreed to accept an abatement of 20 per cent. all round, re-instate all evicted tenants, and pay all costs incurred on either side in the whole affair. S.

LIBERTY AND PROPERTY DEFENCE LEAGUE REPORT FOR 1886.

WHOEVER has drawn up the above Report deserves credit for having concocted a most formidable and imposing document, which will doubtless comfort and gladden the hearts and brace up the nerves of the weaker brethren, as they read the record of the heroic resistance offered by the redoubtable knights, Wemyss, Pembroke, Fortescue, and Co., to the advance of the terrible *Spectre Rouge*.

Putting aside the ineffable disgust which every honest intelligent person must feel at the shameless pretence and gross hypocrisy of this league of monopolists posing as friends of freedom and champions of the oppressed, there is much in the Report to gratify and encourage all who work and hope for the Social Revolution. Allowing considerable discount for bombast, bunkum, and soft sawdow, there yet remains the solid fact that our Cause has grown so stout and strong as to tax the energies and resources of a wealthy and "influential" organisation like the L.P.D.L., with its 71 federated bodies, to cope with it.

By far the larger part of the Report is taken up with a record of Parliamentary Bills rejected or mutilated through the action of the League Parliamentary Committee. As, however, even the best of these Bills, emanating from the hopelessly corrupt bourgeois parliament at Westminster, are and could be nothing more than miserable make-believe make-shifts, anything that the League could do in regard to them is of comparatively little importance, except as showing the real spirit that governs its action. I do not propose, therefore, to occupy space and time in commenting on the forty odd Bills enumerated in the Report, but will confine my observations mainly to two—viz., The Shop Hours Regulation Bill and the Coal Mines Regulation Bill. With regard to the former, the precious committee of loafing landlords and landsharks showed their devotion to Liberty by contending for the right of greedy grasping shopkeepers to drudge their unfortunate youthful assistants, male and female, as many hours as they choose. There is, however, a curious admission in the Report, to the effect that "after consultation with the Shopkeepers' Defence Committee, your Committee concluded that it would not be practicable to oppose the Bill *in toto* with any certainty of success." They therefore confined their efforts to securing modification of the Bill, whilst their "agents attended meetings held by the promoters for the purpose of moving resolutions against the Bill; and the principle of the Bill was attacked by the League speakers on various occasions in workmen's clubs in different parts of the metropolis." What other interpretation can be put on this than that the evidence disclosed such a state of things that even the tough consciences of the middle-class M.P.'s felt a twinge? Yet these gentlemen of the L.P.D.L. did not scruple to take advantage of the need of some of the more cunning among the proletariat to use them as agents to delude their ignorant and simple fellow-men into supposing that in opposing the curtailment of the shopkeeper's power of exploiting his assistants, they were maintaining their own freedom.

Their action in regard to the other Bill—that of the Coal Mines Regulation—calls for somewhat fuller comment, inasmuch as it concerns the vexed question of female labour, the particular instance being that of the employment of women at the pit-brow. I quote a sentence from the Report which is pregnant with meaning and deserves the serious consideration of the workers for more reasons than one: "A miners' conference at Birmingham in January, under the presidency of Mr. Thomas Burt, M.P., having passed a resolution in favour of the legislative suppression of women's labour at the pit-bank, a member of the League specially experienced in the matter wrote a letter to the *Manchester Examiner and Times*, warning the pit-brow women of the impending danger, and appealing to the public to assist them in retaining their freedom of labour." Before dealing with the main question,

it is worth while to note how freely the columns of even such Radical papers as the *Echo*, the *Examiner*, and others are placed at the disposal of the enemies of labour. And now observe the audacity of the attempt to divide the interest of working women from that of working men, and to divert attention from the real motive—i.e., to maintain freedom of trade in cheap labour, à la John Bright, under pretence of maintaining the personal freedom of the women. This was a particularly crafty move, in view of the fact that certain worthy people like the Rev. Stewart Headlam and certain advocates of advanced theories, whose sympathies with the cause of the people none can question, were thus secured as allies in an apparently righteous cause. The result of such action, however, by whatever motives prompted, must necessarily be to play into the hands of the exploiting classes, to intensify the labour struggle, and lower the standard of living amongst the workers. It is most essential to point out that fine phrases and exalted motives do not alter the character of the results which follow from a particular mode of action. And to use an apt if well-worn illustration, if black swans will consort with crows, they must not wonder if they be mistaken for them occasionally, with possibly very unpleasant consequences. The fact is, as Louis Blanc has well said, "as long as competition exists, freedom is impossible." The freedom of the mine-owner to employ these women because they are cheap, and the freedom of the women to sell their labour-power cheap (because only for that reason are they preferred to men), means necessarily a denial of the freedom of the husbands, fathers, and brothers of the women so employed. These are placed by the competition of the members of their own families still further at the mercy of the employers. To talk of the freedom of the women under such circumstances is outrageous humbug. The fact is that they are driven (in the vast majority of cases) to seek by their labour to augment the scanty wages which the men are receiving, and by so doing help to maintain a supply of cheap labour for the exploiters. The "impending danger" which the "experienced" member feared, the workers may feel assured, was as to the effect upon the rate of wages more than from any genuine concern in the freedom or wellbeing of the women. These latter were patronised and photographed, and their habits and habiliments became for a short time the fashionable theme of conversation amongst the ladies of the idle classes, many of whom doubtless were deriving a considerable portion of their wealth and luxury from the liberty to labour cheaply which they were so anxious to maintain—for their poorer sisters. The result of the agitation was that the clause was struck out before the introduction of the Bill into Parliament, and the pit-women, after being trotted out to suit the purposes of their exhibitors, were left to pursue their unwomanly occupation, and to live their hard and unlovely lives as best they may.

The Report makes considerable mention of the amount of lecturing done by their speakers in workmen's clubs and elsewhere. I should fancy this to be the most unsatisfactory item of the League's work as far as regards return for the outlay incurred. The ignorance and gullibility of the workers is, unfortunately, very great; still it is difficult to believe that the utterances of paid agitators—that is to say, agitators paid to preach what they do not believe, and therefore cannot put any heart into—can have any weight with the masses of the people. It is, doubtless, a degraded means of getting a livelihood; but the condition of Society compels all more or less to occupy false positions, and, after all, it may be that in taking the pay of the L.P.D.L., these men, or some of them at any rate, deserve our pity rather than our blame.

As a printer, I am naturally interested to read that on the day following the West-end riots on Feb. 8th, 3000 handbills were sent to the house-owners and shop-keepers in the West-end, and that 100,000 bills were distributed in connection with the Lord Mayor's Show demonstrations. It might be worth the while of my fellow-compositors to give the Socialists a lift, even from a business point of view.

There is just one other matter on which I cannot forbear to say a word or two. It is contained in a little paragraph which is so naively funny that I quote in full: "The foundation of a working-men's Individualist Club in London two years ago was an indication that the aggressiveness of the Socialist propaganda was beginning to produce a reaction. The recent opening of the club in more commodious premises in the City Road is a proof that this counter-movement has taken root and is spreading."

Conceive the ridiculousness of the proposition involved in the foregoing paragraph, that in order to avoid the presumption that they were Socialists it became necessary for certain working-men to distinctly label themselves *Individualists*. Now the only individualism possible to working-men, as such, is to hold themselves aloof from their fellows, and to make terms with the employers, each for himself, without any regard to the welfare of his neighbour; to be, in fact, a "rat" or "scab"—in plain language a traitor to his class, and an enemy to the common weal. It is quite in accord with the short-sighted selfish policy of such individualist working men that they should be constantly on the alert for any chance of plundering those who employ them to betray their comrades. Where the carrion is, there will the crows be gathered together. The L.P.D.L. and the 71 bodies federated with it must be simple indeed if they are deceived, or think to deceive any *bona fide* working-man, with such a silly story as that of the foundation and progress of their individualist club. The real danger against which the workers will need to be on guard is the unscrupulous hypocrisy of these wolves in sheep's clothing. The devil can quote Scripture for his own purposes; and even so, the L.P.D.L.

will, we may be sure, in the future as they have done in the past, make use of the noblest maxims to cloak their nefarious designs, and will seek in the name of Liberty to keep the people in bondage.

T. BINNING.

THE WORKHOUSE; OR, JOHN POORMAN'S REST.

(Concluded from p. 11).

How strict and cruel the enforcement of the house test often is, two instances cut from *Truth*, September 10, 1885, will prove:—

"In the first, the Rev. J. Swire, Rector of Newbury, brought under the notice of the Board of Guardians, Wantage Union, the case of a man named Thomas Bolton, who is over eighty years of age and lives with his old wife. The two receive, it appears, 3s. a-week, and three half-gallon loaves. This is all they have to live on. But the old man could occasionally obtain a little light work, which he is at all times most willing to do. Mr. Swire, therefore, thought that the Board might see their way to exercise a little discretion, and by slightly relaxing their rules, give the poor old fellow a chance of earning a little money, and ending his days in comparative comfort 'outside the house.' He was fortified in this hope by the knowledge that a similar request had met with the ready sanction and approval of the Guardians in a neighbouring union. But the only reply he received was a curt communication from Edward Ormond, clerk, to the effect that 'one of the great principles of the Poor Law is not to grant relief to any person in aid of wages, and that, therefore, they are unable to allow Thomas Bolton to work whilst he is in receipt of relief.' The second case, brought by the same gentleman before the same Board, is even still more astounding. In this instance one William Bolton, who is between seventy and eighty years of age, and quite incapable of work, is the happy possessor of a weekly allowance of three shillings and sixpence, the result of money he has paid into a club from his youth. He also receives from the Board two loaves per week. Believing that Bolton had been a hard-working man all his life, Mr. Swire thought that he was a worthy object for the consideration of the Guardians, so he asked them to supplement his limited means by a small allowance. Again Edward Ormond, clerk, wrote and informed Mr. Swire 'that the full allowance to William Bolton would be two shillings and two four-pound loaves weekly, and as he is provided with three shillings and sixpence weekly from a club, the Guardians have allowed him two four-pound loaves weekly, making his weekly income three shillings and sixpence and two loaves instead of two shillings and two.' In view of such a monstrous decision as this, how can we expect our working-classes to become thrifty? In fact, by saving sufficient to provide himself with an allowance in his old age of three shillings and sixpence a week, this unfortunate man Bolton has deprived himself of all chance of receiving any assistance from his parish."

To return to John Poorman. After waiting for an hour or two among a little crowd of applicants as wretched and hopeless as himself, he sees the guardians, and is given an order for the house, and with it a sentence to imprisonment and a decree of divorce from wife and children. In anti-black-slavery times piteous pictures were drawn of the grief of the "man and brother" at parting from wife and child, and an evangelical rhymist moved the hearts of English folk by the assurance that "affection dwells in white and black the same." The poet has yet to come who shall move us to sorrow for the white slave of the Poor Law, and show to us the dehumanising circumstances of poverty's dungeon. The stories known to workhouse visitors of mothers pining in dull-eyed grief for the embraces of their children—who are fretting into illness because denied sound of their voice and touch of their hand, are among the saddest told in the tear-blotted annals of the poor. Even the intercourse sanctioned by the regulations is often discouraged and sometimes virtually refused.

Mr. Towle describes the "spirit of the workhouse as one of cheerless comfort"—with the comfort, let me add, mostly absent. The character of the houses varies considerably. In some good fires are the rule, in others there is a severe economy of coal. In many the provisions for personal cleanliness are insufficient to a disgusting degree. A respectable, well educated, sober, godly man, who was for a time an inmate of a house in the west of England, said to me, "When I first went in I thought 'all these people are rotten.' When I had been in a week I found I was as foul as they were." The reason is plain to those who know what prison regulations are and what workhouse practices are not.

The aim of the Poor Law, as stated by the Commissioners, is to "subject the pauper inmate to such a system of labour, discipline, and restraint as shall be sufficient to outweigh in his estimation the bodily comforts which he enjoys." A favourite form of labour is oakum-picking, which is "chosen because it causes real suffering. The fingers become sore, and a painful sensation is produced at the tips of the fingers and thumbs, which is acute and peculiar to that occupation" (Dr. Nicaise, quoted in *Standard*, September 4, 1885). Life in the house is intentionally made dull and cheerless, and even in the case of the children the monotony of life is painful and benumbing. The atmosphere of the place is tainted with vice, and the moral contamination prevalent meets with but slight opposing influences. The want of moral classification in nearly all workhouses is a source of positive pain to clean-minded persons, and makes a prison far preferable to such.

The "bodily comforts" provided are about as kind as the tender mercies of the wicked. They consist of clothing which is a badge of social leprosy and of food which, though sufficient to maintain existence, frequently fails painfully to satisfy appetite. The dietary is calculated by science for the needs of the average man. Now the average man is a purely imaginary being. Real men sometimes come short of his stature, and others exceed it. If the food placed on the workhouse table were given to each according to his wants, there would

be enough for all. The Poor Law, however, sternly forbids such communism. The man who cannot eat all that is set before him must leave it for the pigs; he who has more than the average appetite by law established must go hungry away. Many, especially in the early days of their residence, do go hungry, desiring a little more bread as vainly as the prodigal in the Syrian land desired the husks that the swine did eat. Now as then, there is more care for pigs than men. The story is part of the old, old story of man's inhumanity to man. Charles Dickens gave voice to the cry of the pauper for "a little more bread" years ago, but still it falls on ears that do not hear, because the cry comes from the ward of an English workhouse, and the Pharisees of Christian England believe that "the poor in the lump are bad."

Mr. John Bright, speaking at Birmingham Nov. 5, 1885, audaciously said: "The prayer that is taught us by the divine mouth, 'Give us this day our daily bread,' has been answered, and we have taken it from the New Testament and have placed it in a clause of an Act of Parliament, and there it remains for ever in the constitution of the country."

The cries from starving London and from the wynds of Glasgow, from Staffordshire chain-makers, and not least the cries for a little more bread from the workhouse ward, refute Mr. Bright's boast, and bid us prepare for a war against poverty more earnest and more radical than the struggle against the Corn Laws.

Meanwhile whenever you think of State charity, remember, again, to quote Charles Dickens, that "we have come to this absurd, this dangerous, this monstrous pass, that the dishonest felon is, in respect of cleanliness, order, diet, and accommodation, better provided for and taken care of than the honest pauper."

After his incarceration, John Poorman from time to time made attempts to obtain work outside his "voluntary" prison. These efforts were hampered by the fact that the officials always treated him as a person who desired to desert his wife and children, and were made fruitless by his utter inability to find the means of again furnishing even a home of one room. The outcome was that John resigned himself, as requested by the chaplain, to "the will of God."

One dolorous day in November John asked to see the doctor—an ill-paid official, much worried by the guardians of the public purse because of his tendency to ask for quinine, opium, port wine, and other medicines which heaven obviously intended only for the well-to-do. Being sent into the sick ward, John's dietary was greatly improved, and a temporary return of strength was the consequence. His surroundings in the ward were unpleasant, and the death of a man in the bed next his own, who died unsheltered from his gaze, greatly shocked him. The nurses were mainly paupers, quite unqualified for the work entrusted to them. While John was in the ward, a little child who was ordered a warm bath was scalded to death, and an old man who was ordered a cool bath was given one so cold that he died of congestion of the lungs. (This is no romance, no exaggeration. The documents that prove my statements are in my own possession.)

At last John died, and was buried in that pauper grave in which one in every fourteen of our brothers and sisters find their final rest.

I conclude with the words of Mr. T. Illingworth in a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* dated February 19, 1886:

"The thought that one in 14 of our fellow-countrymen die in a workhouse cannot be a pleasant one. It is nevertheless a fact that in wealthy England after 40 years unparalleled increase of wealth, and according to Mr. Giffen 40 years of unexampled progress of the working classes, one in every 14 freeborn Englishmen dies a pauper's death in the workhouse. How much suffering and wretchedness these facts reveal it is difficult to comprehend. Mr. McDougall, of the Manchester Board of Guardians, says that not more than 2 per cent of the pauperism of Manchester can be traced to hereditary taint. What is true of Manchester pauperism will be a good guide as to the pauperism, in respect of this feature of it, throughout the country. The knowledge that of those born in this country one in 14 will die a pauper is enough to stir up the feelings of the fathers and mothers to cry with lamentation over the possible future of the children they nurture so fondly and of whom they expect and hope such bright futures—alas! only to be disappointed. If the progress of civilisation can show no greater things than this, well may there be grave doubts as to the security of the principles on which it is based. Probably the results may be as we find them because it is based on no principles whatever but those of brutal selfishness and oppression; humanity and justice could never bring one in fourteen to a pauper's grave."

I will only add words of warning you will mock at until too late you find them true: Our civilisation is a sham; our Christianity is an hypocrisy. Unless we learn to do justly and love mercy, the earthquake and volcano of God will shake our social structure into ruin and consume it with flame.

WILLIAM SHARMAN.

At the meeting of the Trades Assembly, held at Chicago last Sunday, the Radical and Socialistic element secured complete control. The representatives of some organisations withdrew after the election of officers.

The sixth anniversary of the death of Blanqui was celebrated by the Socialists of Paris in the usual way by speeches over his tomb at Père-la-Chaise and wreaths deposited thereon, the crowd at the cemetery being more than usually numerous this year. Among the red wreaths, beneath which Dalou's bronze statue was soon completely hidden, were those deposited by the "Comité révolutionnaire central," the *Cri du Peuple*, the "Comité révolutionnaire du XIXe. arrondissement," *L'Intransigeant*, the "Comité ni Dieu ni Maître" of Lyons, etc. Most of the orators made allusion in their speeches to the probability of European war, urging all Socialists therefore to make the most of their opportunities and take advantage of the times in which they found themselves. Before leaving the cemetery most of those gathered together paid a visit to that scene which is among the last scenes of the drama of 1871—where those remaining of the defenders of the Commune were shot down unnumbered by the Versailles.

"Homo sum, nihil, a me alienum puto."

—SENECA.

I am a man; to me all men are dear;
So said the Roman Stoic; so say I;
So said the holiest One while He was here,
And lived for men and dared for men to die;
So let me strive for men, whate'er befall
Myself, still working for them all I can,
Still crying, "All for each and each for all!"
And aiding men because I am a man.

And, if my wages be their hate and scorn,
If they know not their brother, well, what then?
Shall I give hate for hate to any born
With me to share the brotherhood of men?
Let me still keep the truth clear in my soul,
And serve my brothers every way I can;
The whole for each and each one for the whole,
That be my faith because I am a man.

W. C. BENNETT.

THE KELTIC LEAGUE.

We have received the following statement of the aims of the Keltic League:—

"To promote the Party union of the Scottish and of the Welsh Members of Parliament respectively, and to organise co-operation between the Scottish, Welsh, and Irish Parliamentary Parties, with respect not only to the common general objects of Home Rule, and thorough-going settlements of the Land Question, but with respect also to the special questions more urgently demanding solution in the Highlands, in Wales, and in Ireland respectively. With respect to the same common general objects, and special national questions, to organise co-operation also in the country between the Scotch, the Welsh, and the Irish; and thus to give such a lead to the divided English Liberal Party as will transform the better elements on both sides into a New Radical Party with a definite programme, economical, ecclesiastical, and political. To create a spirit of brotherhood and solidarity, not only between the different branches of the Keltic race in these islands, in the colonies, and in America, but also between the more Keltic and the more English sections of a population which is everywhere mixed, and Anglo-Keltic, rather than Anglo-Saxon."

With its platform, of course, we are not quite in sympathy; but in these times any union of peoples, apart from their governments, cannot fail of being revolutionary in its tendency. S.

The Unemployed.

THE unemployed question is again coming to the front. A gentleman connected with the Kensington Vestry wrote to the *Daily Telegraph* last week stating that in spite of the great deal of talk about the number of men out of work, it had no foundation in fact, as the vestry wanted five thousand men to clear the roads from the accumulated snow and could only get three hundred. The Stratford board of guardians complained that in answer to a similar request only three unemployed turned up, and they were drunk. Both these statements have been contradicted by facts. On Wednesday week the Kensington Vestry wanted some "unemployed," and they got them—more than they wanted. Over a thousand appeared, and they would not find work for them. The gentleman who writes these letters to the newspapers under various names had better confine himself to the truth in future, or lie within bounds in the leader columns. He had said they could find work for five thousand. The bumbles of Stratford have been equally unfortunate. Mr. Phillips, the West Ham police magistrate, has from the bench stigmatised the statement published in that upper middle-class paper the *Times* as "a deliberate falsehood." The distress hourly grows worse; thousands of families are starving for the want of the barest necessities; and meanwhile the gentlemen said to be appointed for their relief are employing themselves in inventing "deliberate falsehoods" about the unfortunates consigned to their tender mercies. Why don't the "unemployed" help themselves? That they will get no other help is evident.—D. N.

LITERARY NOTICES.

To-Day for January has a poem by our comrade Maguire, the continuation of "Eros or Erin," a somewhat weak presentation of an old problem that may be guessed from the title, and a calmly-stated but crushing reply to Mr. Marson's attack upon Socialism, by E. Belfort Bax. Edward Carpenter also contributes a good article on "Trade."

Articles in the January reviews likely to interest Socialists are:—*Nineteenth Century*: "The Government of Ireland; a reply," John Morley; "Rural Russia," Lady Verney. *Contemporary*: "Jubilee-Time in Ireland," T. M. Healy. *Fortnightly*: "The Iron and Steel Trade," Sir Lothian Bell; "Womanhood in old Greece," by E. Lynn Linton. S.

THE SOCIALISTS IN HOLLAND.—THE HAGUE, Jan. 10.—The Court of Cassation has affirmed the sentence of one year's solitary confinement which was passed in the Lower Court last June, and subsequently confirmed by the Court of Appeal, upon M. Domela Nieuwenhuis, the Socialist leader, for the publication of insulting expressions against the King. Jan. 11.—Domela Nieuwenhuis attended a meeting last night. He said that he would endure his penalty with resignation, being convinced that he had received it solely for deserting the ranks of the capitalists and espousing the cause of the people. M. Vanbeveren, of Ghent, stated that Socialism in Belgium had gained fresh strength since the condemnation. A resolution pledging the meeting to continue the propaganda was carried.



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

Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s., six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

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

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

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

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday January 12.

ENGLAND		ITALY	
Justice	Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio	
Norwich—Daylight	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	Turin—Il Muratore	
Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung	Portland (Oreg.) Avant-Courier	Rome—L'Emancipazione	
Personal Rights Journal			
Practical Socialist	FRANCE		SWITZERLAND
To-Day	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat	
National Review	Le Socialiste		
Radical	Le Revolte		
Worker's Friend	Guise—Le Devoir		
Jus	Lille—Le Travailleur		
	BELGIUM		SPAIN
	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde	La Justicia Humana	
	Liege—L'Avenir	Madrid—El Socialista	
	Antwerp—De Werker	Cadiz—El Socialismo	
	AUSTRIA		PORTUGAL
	Vienna—Gleichheit	Villafranca de Xira—O Campino	
	Arbeiterstimme	Oporto—A Perola	
	HOLLAND		ROMANIA
	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Bucharest—Pruncul Roman	
			DENMARK
		Social-Demokraten	

THE POLITICAL CRISIS.

It is difficult to write about the "Political Crisis" seriously, except so far as contempt may be serious. The bespattering with flattery for their patriotism of those members of the Government who are wanted to take themselves off; the flutter among the lesser men lest they too should be pulled off their perch and be boiled down for gravy for the new coalition pie; the terror of some Conservatives, like the *Standard*, lest Mr. Chamberlain should climb half-way down the tree; Mr. Goschen's anxiety that his position should not be misunderstood, whereas all the while it is as plain as the nose on Mr. Goschen's face that he is a high Tory reactionist. All this is sufficiently grotesque, and once more illustrates happily enough the dignity and honesty of Parliamentary Government, but otherwise does not concern us in the least.

All this on the Tory side; the Liberal position is perhaps a little more noteworthy, but also considerably more discreditable. The confusion in the Tory camp has given them hopes of success once more, and it is quite clear that most of those who may be called the responsible men of the party do in consequence look upon "compromise" in quite a different light from that in which it showed a few weeks ago. There are rumours afloat that Mr. Gladstone is prepared to cut down his Home Rule Bill, feeble as it is already, so that it would amount to nothing but a perpetual English-Irish squabble in the Westminster Parliament. This rumour the *Daily News* denies with all official solemnity; but as it admits the almost plenary power of the "Conference" to be held presently, which will have only one sincere Home Ruler (Mr. Morley) in it, this denial is not of much significance. Mr. Labouchere put the matter on a reasonable footing in his Reading speech when he practically pointed out that no conference between those who were for Home Rule and those who were against it could mean anything but surrender on one side or the other.

Clearly whatever comes of it the Gladstonians are anxious to surrender, if only they can put a good face on it and hoodwink the rank and file of their party to the extreme baseness of the proceeding;

otherwise they would have insisted on genuine Home Rule being made the basis of the Conference. It can scarcely be doubted that the Responsible Liberals will, if they dare, heave the Irish Jonah overboard; the only thing which will prevent them from doing so will be their fear of the consequences of their being accused of his murder when they reach the shore. Even if they do not they will have weakened themselves by their shilly-shally ways; if they do, no man with even the remains of wits in his head will take the trouble to distinguish them from their Tory competitors for loaves and fishes.

The moral to be drawn from these corrupt and degrading dodgings and shirkings is simple. Let the genuine Radicals turn from the collection of incompetent tricksters, and the battered and disgraced idols whom they hold up to our worship, and concern themselves with the serious questions of the day. Shall England make alliance with reactionary powers to crush out Revolution? Must we always have some piratical war on hand in order to conquer a fresh cheating-market for the harm of barbarous countries and our own unhappy population? Must we always have a mass of unemployed workmen hanging about, till to many of them, by the force of habit, work becomes impossible, and they are turned into mere loafers, a constant disgrace and a periodical terror to Society? Are we to be for ever satisfied with bestowing "mere subsistence livelihood" (i.e., semi-starvation) on the lower part of our labouring classes? Are the members of the artizan class for ever to be condemned to live poorly, without leisure or pleasure, in constant anxiety of falling into the gulf below them? Is the lower middle-class for ever to be stupid, vacant, and vulgar, and the upper middle-class to oscillate between blank Philistinism and simpering preciosity? In fine, why are these "classes," and what end do they serve? Let them face these questions unconventionally, and in the spirit of men who have abandoned the idea of finality in politics and social matters, and the old parties will soon be united in desperate opposition to the one Party of Progress, the Socialist Party.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

A DREAM OF JOHN BALL.

(Continued from p. 13.)

HE said: "Many strange things hast thou told me that I could not understand; yea, some my wit so failed to compass, that I cannot so much as ask thee questions concerning them; but of some matters would I ask thee, and I must hasten, for in very sooth the night is worn old and grey. When thou sayest that in the days to come, when there shall be no labouring men who are not thralls after their new fashion, that their lords shall be many and very many, it seemeth to me that these same lords, if they be many, shall hardly be rich, or but very few of them, since they must verily feed and clothe and house their thralls, so that that which they take from them, since it will have to be dealt out amongst many, will not be enough to make many rich; since out of one man ye may get but one man's work; and pinch him never so sorely, still as aforesaid ye may not pinch him so sorely as not to feed him. Therefore, though the eyes of my mind may see a few lords and many slaves, yet can they not see many lords as well as many slaves; and if the slaves be many and the lords few, then some day shall the slaves make an end of that mastery by the force of their bodies. How then shall thy mastership of the latter days endure?"

"John Ball," said I, "mastership hath many shifts whereby it striveth to keep itself alive in the world. And now hear a marvel: whereas thou sayest these two times that out of one man ye may get but one man's work, in days to come one man shall do the work of a hundred men—yea, of a thousand or more: and this is the shift of mastership that shall make many masters and many rich men."

John Ball laughed. "Great is my harvest of riddles to-night," said he; "for even if a man sleep not, and eat and drink while he is a-working, ye shall but make two men or three at the most out of him."

Said I: "Sawest thou ever a weaver at his loom?"

"Yea," said he, "many a time." He was silent a little, and then said: "Yet I marvelled not at it; but now I marvel, because I know what thou wouldst say. Time was when the shuttle was thrust in and out of all the thousand threads of the warp, and it was long to do; but now the spring-staves go up and down as the man's feet move, and this and that leaf of the warp cometh forward and the shuttle goeth in one shot through all the thousand warps. Yea, so it is that this multiplieth a man many times. But look you, he is so multiplied already; and so hath he been, meseemeth, for many hundred years."

"Yea," said I, "but what hitherto needed the masters to multiply him more? For many hundred years the workman was a thrall bought and sold at the cross; and for other hundreds of years he hath been a villein—that is, a working-beast and a part of the stock of the manor on which he liveth; but then thou and the like of thee shall free him, and then is mastership put to its shifts; for what should avail the mastery then, when he no longer owneth the man by law as his chattel, nor any longer by law owneth him as stock of his land, if the master hath not that which he on whom he liveth may not lack and live withal, and cannot have without selling himself?"

He said nothing, but I saw his brow knitted and his lips pressed together as though in anger; and again I said: "Thou hast seen the weaver at his loom: think how it should be if he sit no longer before the web and cast the shuttle and draw home the sley, but if the shed open of itself and the shuttle of itself speed through it as swift as the eye can follow, and the sley come home of itself; and the weaver standing by and whistling *The Hunt's up!* the while, or looking to half-a-dozen looms and bidding them what to do. And as with the weaver so with the potter, and the smith, and every worker in metals, and all other crafts, that it shall be for them looking on and tending, as with the man that sitteth in the cart while the horse draws. Yea, at last so shall it be even with those who are mere husbandmen; and no longer shall the reaper fare afield in the morning with his hook over his shoulder, and smite and bind and smite again till the sun is down and the moon is up; but he shall draw a thing made by men into the field with one or two horses, and shall say the word and the horses shall go up and down, and the thing shall reap and gather and bind, and do the work of many men. Imagine all this in thy mind if thou canst, at least as ye may imagine a tale of enchantment told by a minstrel, and then tell me what shouldst thou deem that the life of men would be amidst all this, men such as these men of the township here, or the men of the Canterbury guilds."

"Yea," said he; "but before I tell thee my thoughts of thy tale of wonder, I would ask thee this: In those days when men work so easily, surely they shall make more wares than they can use in one country-side, or one good town, whereas in another, where things have not gone as well, they shall have less than they need; and even so it is with us now, and thereof cometh scarcity and famine; and if people may not come at each others' goods, it availeth the whole land little that one country-side hath more than enough while another hath less; for the goods shall abide there in the storehouses of the rich place till they perish. So if that be so in the days of wonder ye tell of (and I see not how it can be otherwise), then shall men be but little holpen by making all their wares so easily and with so little labour."

I smiled again and said: "Yea, but it shall not be so; not only shall men be multiplied a hundred and a thousand fold, but the distance of one place from another shall be as nothing, so that the wares which lie ready for market in Durham in the evening may be in London on the morrow morning; and the men of Wales may eat corn of Essex and the men of Essex wear wool of Wales; so that so far as the flitting of goods to market goes, all the land shall be as one parish. Nay, what say I? Not as to this land only shall it be so, but even the Indies, and far countries of which thou knowest not, shall be, so to say, at every man's door, and wares which now ye account precious and dear-bought, shall then be common things bought and sold for little price at every huckster's stall. Say then, John, shall not those days be merry, and plentiful of ease and contentment for all men?"

"Brother," said he, "meseemeth some doleful mockery lieth under these joyful tidings of thine; since thou hast already partly told me to my sad bewilderment what the life of man should be in those days. Yet will I now for a little set all that aside to consider thy strange tale as of a minstrel from over sea, even as thou biddest me. Therefore I say that if men still abide men as I have known them, and unless these folk of England change as the land changeth—and for sooth of the men, for good and for evil, I can think no other than I think now, or behold them other than I have known them and loved them—I say if the men be still men, what will happen except that there should be all plenty in the land, and not one poor man therein, unless of his own free will he chose to lack and be poor, as a man in religion or such like; for there would then be such abundance of all good things that as greedy as the lords might be, there would be enough to satisfy their greed and yet leave good living for all who laboured with their hands; so that these should labour far less than now, and they would have time to learn knowledge, so that there should soon be no learned and unlearned, for all should be learned; and they would have time also to learn how to order the matters of the parish and the hundred, and of the parliament of the realm, so that the king should take no more than his own; and to order the rule of the realm, so that all men, rich and unrich, should have therein; and so by undoing of evil laws and making of good ones, that fashion would come to an end whereof thou speakest, that rich men make laws for their own behoof; for they should no longer be able to do thus when all had part in making the laws; whereby it would soon come about that there would be no men rich and tyrannous, but all should have enough and to spare of the increase of the earth and the work of their own hands. Yea surely, brother, if ever it cometh about that men shall be able to make things, and not men, work for their superfluities and that the length of travel from one place to another be made of no account, and all the world be a market for all the world, then all shall live in health and wealth; and envy and grudging shall perish. For then shall we have conquered the earth and it shall be enough; and then shall the kingdom of heaven be come down to the earth in very deed. Why lookest thou so sad and sorry? what sayest thou?"

I said: "Hast thou forgotten already what I told thee, that in those latter days a man who hath nought save his own body (and such men shall be far the most of men) must needs pawn his labour for leave to labour? Can such a man be wealthy? Hast thou not called him a thrall?"

"Yea," he said; "but how could I deem that such things could be when those days should be come wherein men could make things work for them?"

WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be concluded).

CORRESPONDENCE.

JOIN HANDS ALL ROUND.

It is known to the readers of 'Josephus' that the cause of the Jewish defeat by the Romans was due to the differences which existed between their various sects, which, instead of uniting together to fight the enemy, exhausted their strength in fighting with each other. The above statement ought to serve as a lesson to us Socialists, Anarchists, Communists, etc. It is painful to see the discord between the various sects, how one attacks the other, and how each one pulls in a different direction. Can any one suppose that with such actions we will ever reach that for which we strive?

We find among us: State Socialists, Revolutionary Socialists, Christian Socialists, Anarchists, Communists, Communistic-Anarchists, Socialistic-Anarchists, and Collectivists; each one of these denounces the others. Yet we are all the children of the same parent, namely—The Present System, and we all aim to free humanity from its chains of slavery. But it may be said: "How can we unite together when we disagree in the means and in the ends?" Nonsense! There are no such differences between Socialism and Anarchism which should render their advocates so antagonistic. It is only owing to the ambition of idealists, who wish to show their ideas superior to those of others; it seems as though we all intended to spend our time, talents, and energy in discussing ideas and deserting the real work.

I will now endeavour to show the identity of Socialists and Anarchists in means and in ends. Socialists accuse Anarchists as preachers of violence, but Anarchists never preached unreasoned violence as the means of overthrowing the present system. They are as intelligent as Socialists, and they know that through riots we shall not gain our demands; they preach that violence should be met with violence, and who is justified in asserting the contrary? Anarchists attack Socialists as depriving them of individual liberty. What is individual liberty? Every individual should have liberty to live on this earth; every individual should have liberty to work; every individual should have the liberty to enjoy all the wealth he has produced; and every individual should have liberty to obtain education according to his or her talents. Does not Socialism grant all these liberties? What is the individual liberty which one would not be able to exercise under Socialism? Such individual liberties through which the liberties of others are injured of course would be denied, but this Anarchists admit.

Again, Anarchists are scared at the Socialistic laws, State, Government, but forget that although the same in name it will be different in nature. As regards laws. I do not see what they are afraid of; if they would only carefully consider the Socialistic plan they would realise that laws as they exist now shall cease. In fact, I do not see a necessity for any laws; when you examine the present laws you find the greatest part of them treating on private property; laws regulating capital and labour; laws of bankruptcy, strikes, boycotts, etc.; laws about armies and navies, and so forth. All these, and many others, could not exist under Socialism, and therefore laws will be out of place. The State will not be what it is now, it will merely be as a committee in a society to transact the business of the society. What can such a state do to oppress the people? Even according to the Anarchistic theory there must be some appointed to carry on the business of the group, I mean a medium who shall collect the products from the producers and distribute it to the consumers.

After all, let us not forget that the chains of oppression will be broken, and all will have liberty to live according to their pleasure. There will be no Russian despot or Bismark to prevent. Why should we quarrel about such details while the principal thing is yet so far off? Agitate the Social Revolution to the down-trodden workers and to all other people of sorrow; let us all unite, and thus be better able to fight the enemy. Having said so much, I venture to suggest that a Conference should take place of all the various bodies under the banner of revolution, also such as Trade Unionists, Knights of Labour, at which should be considered the best method for the emancipation of the workers, even the adoption, perhaps, of one common platform for which we could work, so that we may not be like scattered sheep, each going a different direction, but all united under one banner and one name we should march toward the Golden Future.

J. FINN.

Boston, Mass., Dec. 2, 1886.

"THE PINCH OF POVERTY."

It is pleasant to see how, as soon as one sets to work seriously to consider the present condition of things, he is immediately led towards Socialism. Geo. R. Sims, who has floundered into the question of our present social system, in his article "The Pinch of Poverty" in the *Daily News*, after telling us that "We cannot get rid of poverty altogether," has contrived to discover "any one who wishes to invite the co-operation of the governing classes in attacking the causes of poverty must be hampered by the knowledge that he is inviting the men upon whose support he relies to smash, destroy, and pulverise some of their most cherished and venerated superstitions. Many of the altars upon which the poor are sacrificed are the altars of the very gods whom the rich regard as the presiding deities of their own prosperity;" that "the causes of a vast number of cases of distress among working people" are "too many children and too much rent," and that "one cannot be satisfied with the state of affairs as it now exists." Without entering on his ideas with regard to working folk having too many children, which seem to me to resolve themselves into the belief that working-men and women have no right to the physical constitution of human beings; or else, that there should be greater prostitution; it is well to observe that he has come, somewhat late perhaps, to the conclusion. "Directly we have found out how to give the poor three or four rooms for the price they are now paying for one or two we have commenced operations against one of the attackable causes of over-population." Moreover, "the conditions under which the poor are compelled to live cause them to be vicious, drunken, and improvident. They are housed in a condition favourable to vice, their surroundings are favourable to drunkenness, and the lack of protection given to their earnings and their savings is favourable to improvidence. The poor are systematically overcharged for lodging and for food, and there is little or no security for their savings." In an earlier portion of the same article he says, "Divide a given quantity of anything among a certain number of people, and, if some have considerably more than their share, then some must have considerably less." A truism, certainly, yet not obvious to all. This sort of writing is surely a mark of progress, coming as it does from one whose delight seems to be his, apparently self-assumed, office of Advertiser-in-Waiting to the Court. G. P.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

This department is under the direction of the Strike Committee. Labour News and Contributions to the Fund should be sent to T. BINNING, at the Offices.

The Strike Committee.

The Committee during the past week have received correspondence from various centres of industry which has been acted on. A leaflet on "Strikes and the Labour Struggle," has been issued which the committee will be pleased to send to any one willing to distribute it at places where strikes are taking place. Arrangements have also been made for the distribution of literature at the miners' conference at Birmingham on Jan. 12. Mainwaring gave in a report of the work he had been able to do on behalf of the committee in South Wales. He stated that there was good ground for the propagation of our ideas, the workers having given up all hope of bettering their condition as the struggle is now carried on. H. A. Barker having been elected general secretary of the Socialist League, resigned from Strike Committee. J. Lane was appointed secretary in his place. The committee would urge all those in sympathy to give what financial aid they can that the work may be carried on effectively. J. LANE, Gen. Sec.

THE GLASS-BOTTLE MAKERS.

A lock-out which will affect between 4000 and 5000 men and boys has taken place in the Yorkshire glass-bottle trade. All the masters who are connected with the Yorkshire Glass-Bottle Manufacturers' Association have intimated to their men that from this week their wages will be reduced, the proposed reductions being 3s. per man per week, and 1s. per gross on the overwork. This reduction is declared on all wages irrespective of amount, so that the bottle-makers, who earn 30s. per week, the bottle-blowers, who earn 28s., and the gatherers, who earn 25s., will be equally affected.

At Mexborough, Swinton, Conisborough, and Kilmhurst, the glass-works have been stopped.

At Messrs. Redfern's, Old Mill Glass-Works; and Messrs. Wade and Dobson's, Oak Glass-Works, Barnsley, the men ceased work on Friday, having failed to come to any terms with their employers.

A conference of glass-blowers took place at Mexborough on Saturday afternoon. The proceedings were private, but it would seem that the men are almost unanimous in favour of "holding out"—for a few weeks at least. Some say that the masters will be ready enough to send for the workmen to return at the old rate of wages after the lapse of a few weeks, and those who thus speculate are desirous to exert their influence in preventing any concession being made by the glass-blowers. On the other hand, the manufacturers assert that they cannot continue operations unless the men meet them in a reasonable spirit, owing to the keen competition in Lancashire and elsewhere, where the wages are from 3s. to 4s. per week lower.

From 15 to 20 firms in different parts of the country will consequently suspend business to a great extent, although in many cases the "green-flint" hands will continue working. The men have been in the habit of working nine hours and a quarter per day per week of five days.

THE NORTHUMBERLAND MINERS.—Last Saturday, the Northumberland miners met the coal-owners, on the latter demanding 15 per cent. reduction. The men made a counter proposal, which was rejected, and the negotiations were broken off. The owners then held a consultation, and decided to issue on Thursday, Jan. 13, a fortnight's notice to the miners to terminate their contracts, as a result of their non-acceptance of the reduction demanded. Twenty thousand men are affected.

COLLIERS' STRIKE.—Fifteen hundred men and lads came out on strike on Monday at New Seaham Colliery, the property of the Marquis of Londonderry, owing to the dispute between union and non-union men. Last night the unionists held a meeting and decided to remain out until the masters undertook to see that the non-union men descended the pit apart from the union men.

SLATE QUARRYMEN.—At the Carnarvonshire quarries of Lord Penrhynn, the output for many months has been limited to four days; and in the Festiniog district short time is also being worked, many of the smaller quarries being altogether closed. The North Wales Quarrymen's Union is assisting its members to emigrate to the Welsh colony in Patagonia.

THE TINPLATE WORKERS.—An amicable arrangement has been arrived at in the settlement of the dispute between the Pontypool Tinplate Company and their workmen, the latter agreeing to make a slight concession. The works, which give employment to over 1000 hands, have been stopped for six weeks, and the consequence has been a large amount of distress and destitution. It has been arranged to re-open three large mills on Monday next.

THE LANCASHIRE WEAVERS.—At an important meeting of the Northern Counties Weavers' Associations, held at Blackburn last Saturday, a proposal was made that in consideration of the weavers' associations bringing out the weavers at the Burnley mills, where the overlookers are on strike, the overlookers' association should also bring out overlookers at Ashton, where the weavers have struck, the object being to stop all mills in Burnley and Ashton where strikes exist, with a view to ending these disputes. It was decided to test the feeling of the operatives before taking action.

CHEAP PRINTING.—In pursuing my inquiries into the system of working in offices where labour is so wretchedly underpaid, I almost invariably find that the character of most of the work done is "religious." Thus 90 per cent of Hazell, Watson, & Viney's printing consists of magazines with pious-sounding titles, and which doubtless do much to inculcate doctrines of the "do your duty in that state of life in which it shall please God to call you" order; and other of the goody-goody class of literature, such as *The British Workman*, which, while indulging in fanciful woodcuts of the model carpenter returning from a job with his basket of tools over his shoulder, holding out one hand in virtuous indignation on seeing a mate quenching his thirst with a modest half-pint of fourpenny, teaches the beautiful doctrine of "Knowing our proper stations, And blessing the Squire and his relations," and "being content, let come what may, With doing our work for four shillings a-day."—*London Correspondent of Scottish Typographical Circular.*

MR. BRIGHT AND THE TRADES UNIONISTS.—At a meeting of the Birmingham Trades Council last Saturday night, Councillor Granger presiding, a lively discussion took place respecting Mr. Bright's letter on the wages question in the Nottingham lace trade, in which he deprecated the unwise restrictions on labour resulting from the combinations of workmen. Several speakers condemned Mr. Bright as one of the bitterest enemies of trades

unions, and it was eventually resolved, with only one dissentient, "That while recognising the very eminent political service rendered by the Right Hon. John Bright to the country, this meeting cannot but express its very deep regret that he should allow himself to be drawn into a correspondence condemnatory of the principle of trades unions, seeing that in his long public career he has had so many opportunities of measuring the enormous benefits these combinations have conferred upon the wealth-producing portion of the community wherever they exist." [Socialists found out long ago that Mr. J. Bright was a fraud, and they got roundly abused in consequence of mentioning the discovery. However, his own household are now awakening, and the above report is instructive. "Let him down gently, Shelve him with care, Fashioned so selfishly, Old and so rare."]

THE TYPOGRAPHICAL CONFERENCE.—The Report of the Conference of Typographical Societies of the United Kingdom, held in London at the end of October of last year, has just been issued to the members of the different unions. At this Conference several important trade matters were discussed, and resolutions adopted on the following subjects:—The gathering of non-unionists into the ranks; arbitration in the settlement of disputes; the unfair use of stereotype in newspapers; the employment only of *bona fide* machine men on newspapers; reciprocity between the various unions in the matter of the dispensing of society benefits to members; the formation of a national federation; against the systematic working of overtime; a guaranteed minimum number of hours in night work, and payment for standing time; the placing of female compositors on the same status as journeymen; the placing of restrictions on the employment of apprentices; inter-communication between British, Colonial, American, and Continental Societies; the establishment of a weekly trade newspaper (which I should very much like to see); and, of course, the never-failing votes of thanks all round. At the conclusion of the Conference, the delegates were entertained to a dinner by their London brethren, and passed a pleasant time in saying many complimentary things of each other in language usual on such occasions. I note with considerable disgust that the company preceded their after-dinner speeches by the stale, hackneyed toast of "The Queen and Royal Family." Surely the workers might be content with having to support the Queen and her large family, and could very well leave the toasting of her health to dukes, lords, and the Guildhall turtle-soup gentry. "The Cause of the Workers" would have been a toast more worthy; the idlers have always known how to take care of themselves.—W. B.

WAGES IN THE NOTTINGHAM LACE TRADE.—At a largely attended meeting of the Levers branch of the lace trade last Saturday night to hear reports from delegates to the Board of Conciliation as to their acceptance of a reduction of 12 per cent. in order to check the removal of machinery from Nottingham, and enable the manufacturers of the town to compete with those in outlying underpaid places, it was resolved to repudiate the action of the delegates, and to resist the reduction. The threatened strike or lock-out has, however, been averted. The majority of the men have accepted the ruling of the Board of Conciliation and the Lace Operatives' Council, and resumed work under protest.

The effects of competition are being felt by the Nottingham lace-makers in a severe fashion. Their report for 1886 shows that in the last week of November 334 were idle, and this had been the average for two months. The amount paid to the unemployed was very large. The local newspapers remark that in maintaining the unemployed the unions are doing good work by effecting a saving in the rates. This kind of congratulation will show why trade unions are becoming less unsavoury to the middle-class nostrils. As the unions became powerful and kept up wages in Nottingham the masters resorted to the dodge of removing their machinery to districts where cheap labour could be found. This movement has not been very great, but still great enough to cripple the unionists and bring them to terms. The conduct of the "board of conciliation" has evidently not been very satisfactory to the men, who are in favour of continuing the strike now going on. They can only resume work at a reduction of twelve per cent, which will bring them to low enough terms. Anyhow the effects of competition in this case were plain and cruel enough to force the men to look beyond merely making the best of the present conditions.—J. L. M.

AMERICA.

NEW YORK, Jan. 5.—The strike among the coal dock-labourers has extended to the men at Hoboken and Newburgh. The Reading, New Jersey Central, and Lackawanna Railways are affected by the movement. Various collieries in Pennsylvania which ship their coal over the New York Central Railway have stopped work, owing to a strike among their labourers. Eight hundred miners have thus been thrown out of work.

ALBANY, Jan. 5.—The Governor of New York in his annual message to the State Congress makes special reference to the labour question, and advocates shorter hours and better wages for the working classes.

The K. of L. in Elizabeth, N.J., are preparing to start a factory to manufacture overalls, etc. It will start with thirty girls who were discharged from the cordage works.

As a result of the stock-yard strike a license has been secured for a corporation to be known as the Chicago Co-operative Packing and Provision Company. The incorporators are all Knights of Labor.

The K. of L. will operate the Clarksville mines in Arkansas.

Street car employees of Philadelphia propose to buy and co-operative control a street car line.

The Boston Central Labour Union calls on the women to boycott garter made from web manufactured by Thomas Martin.

Messrs. Childs & Drexel, master-printers in the State of Mississippi, have made a splendid gift to the Typographical Union of North America. They have sent a cheque for 10,000 dollars, without condition of any kind, in full confidence that the executive of the Union will use it for the general good.

THE GREAT TROY BOYCOTT.—The firm of Fuller and Warren Co., the contract-breaking stove manufacturers, closed their entire works. The boycott has been too much for them, and at last they have been forced by organised Labour to close their doors. They have been taught the lesson that honest Labour has rights which capital is bound to respect.

FLORIDA.—A correspondent at Narcoossee says: "The signs of it (the Social Revolution) are very visible even here in the pine-woods of this remote corner of the world. Florida is overrun with young Britishers of the middle-class on the hunt for a soft job, and when that is not forthcoming you not unfrequently see them working at hard manual labour in competition with negroes at a dollar a-day." He speaks of the gradual absorption of the "waste" lands of the continent, and says they will not long be un-monopolised, "and then we shall see what we shall see."

THE NEW CAR STRIKE.—BROOKLYN, Dec. 26.—After doing all that was possible to be recognised as an organisation the 2000 men on the Brooklyn City Railroad's lines struck on Thursday morning. There were grievances which they desired to have rectified, but President Lewis would not listen to the Executive Board of the Knights of Labour. He said he would have nothing to do with them. The organisation, he said, had no standing. He snubbed the Board more than once. On Wednesday night the Local Assemblies K. of L. of all the eleven roads met, and after a stormy session in more than one local, it was finally agreed to give the Executive Board power to "tie up." Representatives of the locals met afterward, and were in session until four o'clock Thursday morning, when the result was reached, and the order went out. A bitter fight is in progress. The City Railroad has a large surplus of money, the president and directors are determined to break the power of the Order in Brooklyn, and boast that they can get all the men they want. The police are doing duty on the few cars running. The men know that if the organisation is not recognised they may as well throw up their charters. They know, also, that if they are defeated their positions will be made unbearable by petty bosses, their hours will be extended as of yore, their wages cut down to the starvation line, they will be hounded and harassed, and life itself be not worth living. Would that by a stroke of our pen we could bring all the roads under city and State control. It must come to it. The sooner the better.—*John Swinton's Paper.*

FRANCE.

SEINE-ET-OISE.—A group of persons of this department have formed a society for Union propaganda amongst the working classes. It will be called the "Union of the workers of Seine-et-Oise."

MARSEILLES.—The cigar-makers of Marseilles to the number of 1200 are on strike. Some dispute arising in the factory, delegates went to the director who refused to receive them. The women then declared themselves on strike and repaired with their grievances to the Prefect of the town, who received the three delegates and heard their claims. Nothing is yet settled.

MALAKOFF.—Ever since 15th June some 15 unfortunate "navvies" of this community have been trying to reclaim from the mayor wages due to them for work in the cemetery. The contractor had declared himself bankrupt, and these workmen were of course among the creditors; but although the mayor was liquidator in the affair, and although moreover he had 25,000 fr. of public money in his charge for the works in question, not a centime could these men get out of him. The man who makes the communication says that he has lately applied to the prefect of the Seine, but without response. What answer could he hope to get from the clerkery at the Prefecture about "such a trifle" and so long ago?

Winter—that is, cold in addition to hunger—has made no effect on the strikers of the "Société Française." The fireless hearth as well as the cupboard without bread finds them standing firm. It is for the whole of the working-class that they have been struggling for months, and of this they are aware. We must not let them wait for funds just at the decisive hour which is now approaching; for the month of January is the last delay possible for agricultural machines, which must be in readiness for the spring. Thus in about three weeks' time, either work will be resumed (not nominally but in reality this time)—and this means the capitulation of the masters and the triumph of our friends re-engaged—or else all's up with Arbel and Co., bankruptcy overtakes them, punishes them and avenges us.—*Cri du Peuple.*

The feverish activity which is caused in most of the Parisian trades by the provision for the frivolous purchases at the closing of the year is now over and past. The winter stoppage of work which is broken during the few weeks of December, becomes more severe than ever when January appears. The long days of 14, 16, 18 hours, the nights passed amid glaring lights tracing round the eyes circles of red, have given place to the hopeless idleness which empties the cupboard, exhausts credit, and extinguishes the fire on the hearth, killing with cold perhaps the latest born. For the artisan class all years begin again eternally, hopelessly alike. . . . Amidst all political commotions, diplomatic complications, while the low Parliamentary intrigues roll and unroll themselves, the condition of the worker remains the same. . . . On the other hand, in every stroke of speculation, of industrial invention, of war, or of famine, it is the worker, the worker alone who suffers. If cholera, smallpox, or any form of pest invades the country, it is again he who is most cruelly struck. There are no mistakes of the Government for which he is not punished, no national crime he does not expiate, no social evil which does not weigh him down! It is customary for us to be astonished at the patience and indifference of the people. Yet, if anything should surprise us, should it not be that the impulsive force of European nations is not stifled by discouragement and despair as it was stifled for centuries among the ancient races of Asia?—*Cri du Peuple.*

Here are a few extracts from one of the "Shops and Factories" series of articles in the *Cri du Peuple* which will assuredly interest our English readers. A man is giving his experience in an oil-mill in a letter written to the *Cri*: "In the N— oil-mills I was specially charged with the care of the machinery. The works are in action day and night, stopping three times a-day for oiling, and twenty-four hours every second Sunday. The work was done by two employés, myself and another, in spells of twelve hours alternately. . . . Having had bad coal for five weeks, and the shaft being broken off short in a storm, we had to force the fires, and very urgent reparations were necessary. I pointed this out to the director, laying stress on the fact that at the back of the boiler some fifteen men were at work in danger. He promised everything, but as at this season the least stoppage causes ten times more loss than in summer, he contented himself with promising." He goes on to say how he at last, alarmed at the dangerous state of the boiler, gives on his own responsibility the order to stop the machine. The case then appears before the "prud'hommes," the director refusing him his salary on the pretext that he was found wanting in his duty in stopping the works. The man simply demands seven days' wages at 6 fr. 50 c. The master demands, on the other hand, 275 fr. 50 c. for loss caused by his leaving. After hearing the for and against, the president asks the employé "How is it that your successor proceeds with the work if there was danger for you?" Shrugging his shoulders, the man answers by asking significantly, "For my words to be verified must one wait until a number of the men are killed?" Incredible as it may seem, the case ends by his being fined 5 fr. for leaving his post, and, it was added, "to establish a precedent." The master, too, is bidden to pay him his salary and expenses, which he leaves the court vowing he will not do, and promising to prosecute his employé. We must compliment the prud'hommes on the apparently limitless capacity for compromise in the sentences they pass on master and man. Here is a most obvious case of heartless carelessness on the part of the master, which yet goes not only without riprimand, but almost condoned!

BELGIUM.

GHEENT.—A considerable number of weavers have declared a strike at the Coster-Rousseau factory.

CHARLEROI.—Another strike is announced here, 200 workers employed in the mines have ceased work; some men in the mines of Vicoigne near Charleroi, have also stopped work.

AMERCEUR.—The miners of Amersœur are holding out firmly in spite of all tentatives on the part of the director. The miners claim 11 hours' work at 4 francs a-day; formerly they worked 16 hours, receiving only 2fr. 80c. The union of the miners of Gohysart-Jumet held a meeting last week, at which it was unanimously decided to continue the strike until the miners get what they demand. All the unions and societies of the Centre are helping their comrades of Amersœur to the best of their ability, sending what money they can afford, the co-operative bakehouse of Jolimont sending bread. The strikers have held out for two months as yet.

AUSTRIA.

VIENNA, Jan. 6.—The exceptional Court has condemned Otto Steidl to five and Joh. Ondricek and Jos. P. Schwarz to three years' imprisonment with hard labour, aggravated by one fasting in the month. These "Anarchists" have been accused because of forgery of coin they committed, in conjunction with Wilhelm Bachreht, an engraver, who apparently played the part of an agent provocateur, and afterwards came forth as a witness for the prosecution. The Public Prosecutor endeavoured indeed to prove that the accused were tools in the hands of an alleged Anarchist party, but he failed completely, not even the Court, which commonly is no great friend of the Anarchists, adhered to this opinion, on the contrary stating that the crime was committed by the accused with the police for their teachers. From a previous letter you will gather that among us a union can only be formed with the permission of the Government. The Socialists are being *en masse* and always persecuted, because they are suspected of forming secret unions without the knowledge of the authorities. And the proofs upon which these arbitrary prosecutions are based? When you subscribe to an organ of the party; when you possess in your room the image of an eminent comrade; you are in peril of being accused of being a member of a secret union, as learned to their sorrow ten comrades of the Politic Union in Prague, of whom two have been under arrest during five months, the other two during seven months, *before the bill of indictment has been handed to them!* After this long inquiry, two have been condemned to 14 days' imprisonment and expulsion, a third to 3 weeks', and a fourth to 3 days' arrest. A letter from Prague states that in that town we have never less than fifty to sixty Socialists under arrest—a fine charitable institution in the ruling depression and crisis! Notwithstanding these obstacles, the party exists and grows ever stronger, though this growth cannot be always perceived on the surface, owing to the situation so often described in this paper. That the Austrian workers may more and more unite and adhere to our party fighting for their welfare, is our "happy New Years" wish.—F. S.

SPAIN.

M.LDRID.—A goodly number of those soldiers who have been in prison since the insurrection in last September, have made their escape from the military prison at the San Franciscan convent in a simple and direct way, which does credit to the turnkeys of the prison, and makes one feel hopeful about the revolutionary sympathies of guard, sentries, etc. The simple, child-like method worked as follows: When the prisoners' friends, who are allowed to stay with them until the warders lock up at night, wanted to leave the prison in the evening, they found the inner door locked and no one near it. It was then discovered that turnkeys and gatekeepers had decamped, taking the seven revolutionaries with them, and thoughtfully locking the doors on the governor of the prison and the visitors, to release whom locksmiths had to be called in aid. "Singularly enough," as an English journal naively remarks, the military guard and sentries at the outer door noticed nothing unusual. "None so blind as those that won't see."

MR. HENRY GEORGE AND THE ROMAN CATHOLICS.—NEW YORK, Jan. 10.—Father McGlynn, who was summoned to Rome by the Pope to explain his advocacy of Mr. Henry George's land theories, has declined compliance with the request of his Holiness.

IRELAND.—On Friday week a process-server was on his way to serve some of the tenantry at Armagh, but the signal was given of his approach, and, as if by magic, about 300 women appeared and took possession of a bridge about a mile from the place. This was too much for the official, who fled incontinently. On the Saturday following nearly 500 people gathered near a bailiff's house on Lord Dillon's property, while many other groups gathered at given points, and their signal system was so perfect that the bailiffs could not evade them. A regular patrol system is kept up, and questionable individuals watched. At Fairmount, on the borders of Roscommon and Mayo, on Sunday week a great meeting took place, at which much money went into the hands of trustees. Meetings have been and are being still held all over the country, with the same result. During his examination on Friday 7, General Buller, in answer to the question whether certain correspondence had not passed between the Sub-Sheriff of Cork and Inspector Moriarty, said: "It is not correct to say that it *passed*, because, although that letter was written by Mr. Moriarty, it was apparently received by *United Ireland*, and not by the Sub-Sheriff of Cork." (Laughter.) "But it was sent?" "Oh, yes; and in due time it reached what many people believe to be the real centre of government!" In speaking of the evictions carried out at Cappagh, a wild and desolate district about eight miles from Killarney, the *Daily News* correspondent says: "Patrick O'Leary, who was first evicted, has nine children, most of them of tender years. His wife carried a young baby in her arms. The scene was of an exceptionally distressing character. The mother and children-cried piteously to be allowed in their homestead, but the bailiffs said they were instructed by the agent, Mr. S. M. Hussey, not to permit them in as caretakers. To add to the unpleasantness of the scene, the eviction was carried out under a heavy down-pour of rain, and the children, all of whom were barefooted, sought shelter by the side of the ditch. The next tenant evicted was a man named Timothy Looney, and here also a scene somewhat similar to the previous one was witnessed. Looney has seven children, his wife, and his father, an old man eighty years of age, who had to be assisted on crutches out of the house. As they also were not readmitted as caretakers they improvised shelter by the side of the ditch. Both tenants owed about three years' rent for a large tract of mountain land at £25 a-year."



OFFICES: FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

Library.—The librarians, May Morris and W. Chambers, attend on Mondays and Fridays from 7 to 9 p.m. A Catalogue has been printed and is now ready, price 2d. Country Branches can have parcels of books sent by paying cost of carriage.

Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Birmingham, Hackney, Hull, Leeds, North London, to August 31. Croydon, to September 30. Manchester, Merton, Norwich, to October 31. Bloomsbury, Bradford, to Nov. 30. Clerkenwell, Hammersmith, Lancaster, Oxford, to December 31. Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), to March 31, 1887.

"Commonweal" back numbers.

In future back numbers will not be exchanged dating back further than three weeks from current number. Branches are asked not to take more than they intend to keep of *Commonweal*.

STRIKE COMMITTEE.

P. W., 2s.; H. C., 2s.; S. M., 1s.; T., 1s.; V. D., 1s.; J. L., 1s.; C. W., 1s.; A. S., 1s. 6d.
T. BINNING, Treasurer.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

M. M. (weekly), 1s.; H. Ch. (weekly), 1s.; E. B. B. (weekly), 1s.; Hammersmith Branch (weekly), 10s.; Bloomsbury Branch (weekly), 5s.; W. B. (three weeks), 1s. 6d.; Edward Carpenter, £5.

PH. W., Treasurer, Jan. 11.

BRANCH REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—On Friday, Jan. 7th, A. K. Donald discussed the 4th chapter of the 'Socialist Catechism.'—L. W.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, January 5, Edward Carpenter gave very interesting and instructive lecture on "Railway Companies." He pointed out very clearly that the misery and hardships of the railway employees is due to the system which allows the shareholders and bondholders to take £3 for doing nothing, for every £2 received as wages by those who do all the work. Good discussion followed. The meeting closed with the song, "The Starving Poor of Old England." On Sunday, January 9, C. J. Faulkner lectured on "Inhuman Arithmetic," brisk discussion ensued, and good reply. 48 *Commonweals* and several pamphlets sold. Members' Branch cards for 1887 are ready.—W. B. and T. E. W., joint-secs.

CROYDON.—Last Sunday evening, D. J. Nicoll gave an amusing address on "The Charms of Civilisation" as displayed in the manners and customs of our middle-classes. Pagan festivities and the weather still militate against anything like good audiences, but making due allowance for these disturbing elements our audience was very fair.—A. T., ast.-sec.

HAMMERSMITH.—On Sunday, Jan. 2, J. L. Mahon lecturing on "Political Economy," recommended Socialists to read our comrade Carruther's 'Communal and Commercial Economy' as an able refutation of Mill and other orthodox exponents of the "dismal science," who, the lecturer said, were in the habit of ignoring other social systems than the present profit grinding commercial one, to which their theories almost exclusively applied. On New Year's day the Branch entertained themselves and their friends at an "evening party." The room was decorated with hangings, tapestries, and pictures lent by comrades Morris and Crane. Comrade Scheu sang Morris's "All for the Cause" to the new music by E. Belfort Bax. On Sunday, Jan. 9th, E. Belfort Bax gave us an interesting philosophical discourse, entitled "The New Ethic." He said that both the theological theories of Plato, the elder Stoics, Christ, and Buddha, and the materialistic ethics of Epicurus, Spencer, Comte, Bentham, and Mill, were developing into and being superseded by a new social morality, of which we see germs in the working-class movement of today, and which, unlike the elder systems, has for its aim the creation of an ideal individual through ideal society, and not an ideal society through ideal individuals.—W.

HACKNEY.—On Saturday we held our concert in aid of the club funds, which went off very successfully. On Sunday evening, H. Davis lectured on "Trade Unions, their Weakness and Strength." A lively and interesting discussion followed.—H. MATTHEWS, sec.

MERTON.—Last Sunday, comrade Mahon lectured upon "Working-class Orthodox Movements," passing in review the co-operative and trades union movements. He said that they failed to solve the labour problem, and only raised a few working-men into a better position at the expense of the mass. It behaved us to watch narrowly the attempts now being made to set the aristocracy of labour against those comprising the fringe, and to preach persistently the solidarity of the workers. Comrades Curtis, Harman, and Kitz also spoke.—F. K., hon. sec.

GLASGOW.—On Saturday evening, comrades Glasier and Downie addressed a good open-air meeting on Jail's Square. No open-air meetings were held on Sunday owing to the cold weather, but leaflets were distributed. On Sunday evening, in the Hall, Carlton Place, Dr. Cecil Reddie gave an exceedingly interesting and suggestive lecture on "The Anatomy and Physiology of Society." The lecturer drew an analogy between the animal and social organisation, from which he deduced an admirable plea for Socialism. A number of questions and considerable discussion followed the lecture.

LANCASTER.—The foe is already hard at work amongst those we have not so far reached, teaching them the "real truth" about Socialism, viz., that it is mere jealousy of other men's goods, and that, saving such dreamers as those who dote over Socialist ideals poetically, H. W. Beecher's advice as to exterminating them as copperheads and rattlesnakes ought stringently to be followed. However, as revolutionaries we are not too pale with paralysed fear at what we must naturally expect, and are actually working yet. Meetings at the small room, Market Hall Coffee Tavern, every Friday night. Last meeting, comrade Simpson was chairman, and Wyatt and Leonard Hall spoke.—LEONARD HALL, sec.

NORWICH.—We held meetings on Sunday as follows: Waterloo Road at 11 a.m., Sun Lane at 11.30 a.m., and Mill Hill at 12, addressed by Henderson; St. Mary's Plain at 11, by Mowbray; Market Place at 3, by Mowbray and Henderson; and Agricultural Hall at 7, by Mowbray; Mowbray gave a lecture at 8, subject, "Political Economy and the Labourers." Our meeting on Monday, Jan. 3, of unemployed, was attended by upwards of 6000 people, and was a great success. We held another unemployed meeting on Monday morning, which had not been announced, but was attended by over 1500 people. Several of our members are out of employment. Our comrade who took the chair at our meeting last Sunday night, was discharged next morning. We have started a fund to commemorate the Jubilee Year by building a Socialist hall. Slaughter is treasurer, Crotch, Mills, and Houghton trustees.—C. W. M., sec.

OXFORD.—The Branch had a social gathering on Thursday, Jan. 6, when nearly sixty members and friends sat down to tea. Afterwards we had singing, in which the "Marseillaise," "March of the Workers," and "England Arise" figured prominently, dancing, and short Socialistic speeches.—F. M., sec.

Notice to Provincial Branches, Members, and Correspondents.

At the suggestion of several country Branches, comrade Mahon has set off on a provincial propagandist tour. The route will be by Oxford, Bedford, Birmingham, Leicester, Nottingham, and Sheffield. At Manchester a few days' stay will be made, to work up the neighbouring districts. Liverpool, Preston (perhaps), and Lancaster will be visited next, after which Leeds will be made a centre of stay, and visits made to the Branches at Bingley and Bradford, and the districts of Shipley, Castleford, Wakefield, etc. After this Mahon will go on to the Hull Branch, and from thence up to Newcastle and Shields, returning by Hull to the Norwich and Ipswich Branches, and from thence back to London. Any Socialists or sympathisers willing to get up meetings at any place convenient to this route are invited to communicate with Mahon. Letters addressed to 13 Farringdon Road, London, E.C., will be forwarded.

LECTURE DIARY.

London Branches.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street. Friday Jan. 14, at 8.30. T. Binning, "The Irish Question from a Socialist Standpoint."
Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday Jan. 16, at 8.30. George Bernard Shaw, "Some Illusions of Individualism." Wednesday 19, at 8.30. Edward Aveling, "Socialism in America."—Members are requested to take up Branch cards for 1887.
Croydon.—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday Jan. 16. R. A. Beckett, "Philoprogenitiveness."
Fulham.—338 North End Road (corner of Shorolds Road, opposite Liberal Club). Sunday at 8 p.m.
Hackney.—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11. Discussions held every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock. On Sunday Jan. 16, at 8, S. Mainwaring, "Socialism." **Hammersmith.**—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Jan. 9, at 8. A lecture.
Hoxton (L. E. L.).—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield St., opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sunday Jan. 16, at 8 p.m. C. Wade, "England in the Fifteenth Century."
Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday. Discussions held every Sunday morning at 11.—Sunday Jan. 16, at 8 p.m. H. H. Sparling, "Modern Cannibalism." 23. W. Morris, "True and False Society."
Mitcham.—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11.
North London.—32 Camden Road. Fridays at 8.

Country Branches.

Bingley.—Coffee Tavern. Every Monday at 7.30 p.m.
Birmingham.—Carr's Lane Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 8.

Bradford.—Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Road Wednesdays, at 8.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. Reading Room and Library open every Wednesday evening, 8 till 10. The Treasurer attends for members' subscriptions first Wednesday of every month.

Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Saturday evening at 6 o'clock, open-air meeting on Jail's Square.—Sunday, open-air meeting on Jail's Square at 4.30 p.m. In the evening at 6.30, in Hall, No. 2 Carlton Place, Clyde Side, J. F. M'Laren will lecture on "The Scottish Land System."—On Tuesday 18, Monthly General Meeting of Members at 8 o'clock p.m.

Hamilton.—Branch meets every Thursday at 7.30 in Paton's Hall, Chapel Street, until further notice. Lectures and Discussions.

Hull.—11 Princess Street, off Mason Street and Sykes Street. Club Room open 7 to 10 every evening; Sundays 10 am. to 10 p.m.

Ipswich.—The Branch has left the George Inn, and has not yet procured fit premises for the club about to be formed.

Leeds.—New Fleece Inn, Pemberton St., Dewsbury Rd.
Lancaster.—Market Hall Coffee Tavern Lecture Room. Friday evenings at 8.

Leicester.—Silver Street. Wednesdays at 8 p.m.

Manchester.—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening 6 to 10 p.m. Lecture and discussion every Wednesday at 8 p.m.—Comrade Parkinson will lecture at the Bee Hive Inn, Lower Broughton Road, Salford, on Sunday evening 16th inst.—subject, "Socialism and the Workers."

Norwich.—No. 6 St. Benedict St. Lecture and discussion every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room open every day from 8.30 a.m. to 10 p.m.

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

Open-air Propaganda—Sunday 16.

11.30...Hackney—"Salmon and Ball"The Branch
11.30...Hammersmith—Beadon Rd.The Branch
11.30...Regent's ParkD. J. Nicoll
11.30...St. Pancras Arches.....The Branch
11.30...Walham Green—StationThe Branch

PROVINCES.—SUNDAY.

Ipswich.—Old Cattle Market, 11; Ship Launch, 3 p.m.
Norwich.—St. Mary's Plain, 11; Market Place, 3.
Leeds.—Hunslet Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m.

Debate on Socialism.—A Debate will take place at the Hall of Science, 142 Old Street, City Road, E.C., on February 2, 9, 16, and 23, at 8 p.m., between Mr. G. W. Foote and Annie Besant, on the question, "Is Socialism sound?"

CLEVELAND HALL, 54 Cleveland Street (near Portland Road Station).—Sundays at 11.30 a.m. Jan. 16, H. H. Sparling, "The Evolution of Cannibalism." 23. W. Morris, "Socialism: its Aims and Methods."

LONDON PATRIOTIC CLUB, Clerkenwell Green.—On Sunday morning, Jan. 16, at 11.30, Thomas E. Wardle will lecture on "The Truths of Socialism."

ENGLISH LAND RESTORATION LEAGUE.—Meetings on the Irish Question:—

Jan. 15. Enfield Wash (John Morley Club).
" 17. West Ham Radical Alliance.
" 19. Woolwich District Radical Club.
" 26. Central Finsbury Club, 81 Pentonville Rd.
Feb. 16. Dulwich Reform Club, Goose Green.
Several other meetings are being arranged.

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THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 54.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 22, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON PASSING EVENTS.

PRINCE BISMARCK has made his speech, set all Europe guessing as to what it might mean, had his Army Bill thrown out, and dissolved the Reichstadt, and now he is to have another by March; energetic work enough, but what does it all mean? First, one may suppose that he knows he is not going to live much longer, as he said, and that he wants to leave the German army still the tremendous engine for the purpose of reaction which it has been for so long; which it cannot be unless it is systematically increased and perfected. As to his speeches, so plain-spoken and yet so capable of reading between the lines, doubtless a great deal of the threatening and ominously warning tone of them was due to the fact that he wanted to scare, not the present Reichstadt (for doubtless he expected the hostile majority), but the electors of the new House to assemble in March. Therefore, no doubt he was bound to make the most of the possibilities of a French war, of the prowess of the French army, and the terrible results of a French victory; and that all the more as he was also bound to parade the good understanding between Germany and Russia, so as at one blow to destroy the hopes of Austria for German help against the advance of Russia in her direction; and also to point out to the French that when the day for the advance of the German army came no attack on their rear from the Russians need be expected. Since it had to be made clear that no danger was to be apprehended from that quarter, the danger in the other quarter had to be made the most of.

Nevertheless, all deductions made, the speeches of Prince Bismark were ominous enough; let everything be ready they seemed to mean for the demand on the French of disarming under pain of invasion; and who shall say how long it will be before that demand will be made? Nor need any one think that Prince Bismark's defeat the other day means relief from imminent war; the army is to be duly augmented, vote or no vote; and the necessities of electioneering will force the Chancellor to appeal to the Jingo spirit in the forthcoming contest, so that we may expect an increase and not a decrease in the fever of German "patriotism"; as it is pretty certain that Prince Bismark will sweep the table clear in the coming elections and have a big majority at his back.

And what then? Will not this be the position? The German bourgeoisie will practically say, Germany as she is is too poor to bear this big army ever crying out for fresh steps towards perfection; in order to avoid its eating its head off, it must undertake some expedition, the result of which will be expansion for German commerce on the grand scale.

"Thou hast a fine sword, my son," says the father in an eastern tale, "but where is the head for the shearing?" "Doubt not, father," says the son, "but that I shall soon find a head for the shearing." No doubt the primary use of the German army is the upholding of "law and order" in its own land, but to find "a head for the shearing" is necessary for it as for all other such weapons in the hands of reactionary Governments.

The "great Liberal meeting" of January 12 was of course a regular caucus meeting. No doubt from that point of view it was a success, the present staggering of the Tory party being an encouraging sight for Liberals, as they are beginning to feel sanguine (rightly or wrongly) of having one more innings as a party—perhaps as a "united" party. All, however, was not unity at the meeting; a section of the Radicals perceiving that the fate of their party would be to be smothered under the incumbent weight of conventional Liberalism, moved an amendment, put forward by a prominent Chelsea Radical and Mr. Foote on behalf of the Metropolitan Radical Federation, which had the fate of Cassandra's warnings, as might have been foreseen. Mr. Bradlaugh, in a speech which gave the *Daily News* ecstasies of delight, took the side of respectability, and practically begged the Radicals to allow themselves to be smothered, lest the party organisation should be weakened before the Tories. So the London Liberals and Radicals are declared "united"—until next time.

There were some demonstrations in the hall, however, with which the more respectable part of the meeting could only have been half pleased. But it is a pity that those genuine Radicals who were there couldn't see that it will not advance things much to merely hiss

"God save the Queen" and cry out for the "Marseillaise." Strange that they don't understand that the changes which such demonstrations hint at will not be allowed to be furthered in the party of such respectable persons as Mr. Bradlaugh and Mr. Shaw-Lefevre! The Liberal Party is willing to use the Radicals to attack the Tories on the one hand and snub the Socialists on the other; but mighty little of their own way will they have, till at last they will look round and find the Liberal Party gone and themselves a weak army indeed before the united forces of Reaction, and weak not only from want of numbers or cohesion, but from what is worse, lack of definite principles.

The best advice one can give to Radicals at present is to stick tight to genuine Home Rule and the attack on landlordism in Ireland, and to see where that will lead them—it will not be into the arms of the "Respectable Party." Unless they make up their minds to give up all their aspirations towards freedom, and all attempt to look seriously into social questions, the Respectable Party will not want them long.

Meantime the Conference of Conciliation has met and—parted—till after Parliament meets, or the Greek Kalends, as the case may be. The idea still seems to hold that Jonah is to walk the plank with all decency, in the interest at once of the Unity of the British Empire and the Unity of the Liberal Party. Truly our recognised political parties are running an eager race towards the goal of Unlimited Shabbiness, and 'tis hard to say which will get there first.

Our comrade Mahon tried to get a hearing at the Mansion House meeting about the Colonial Institute, but of course was not allowed to speak to foregone conclusions. In fact the promoters of this scheme are quite right to do their best to prevent all discussion on the subject, as even the sheep-like general public are beginning to see that it is nothing but a barefaced job, bolstered up by servility and flunkeyism of the basest kind. However, since the money to float it will only be a part of the general robbery of labour, it would be scarcely worth while noticing it if it were not for the astounding impudence of it, and its connection with the humbug of Imperial Federation which is being so busily pushed forward by one of our Philistines. A scheme which, with much parade and volumes of clap-trap speeches from those who are paid to lie to the people in various ways, proposes to collect money and do with it something (not specified) for the honour and glory of the empire, is worth noting as a triumph of jobbery, even in these days.

W. MORRIS.

POET AND POLITICIAN.

Two men have spoken out their thought upon the affairs of to-day, two men much alike in many things, and both of them figures that fill a large space in the record of our time. Both old; both having negated in the chill of age the sentimental starting-points of their youth, diverse as they were; both steeped in bourgeois tradition and fulfilled of the spirit of the present system; Alfred "Lord" Tennyson has from the "wisdom" of his age answered the exuberance of his early manhood, and William Ewart Gladstone has criticised the performance, and given his version of the true verdict.

Wellnigh inexorably does fate avenge the proneness of youth to accept a belief from mere sentimental adhesion and without due thought. Thus, in either of these men, the poet and the politician, is a curious contrast between their earlier and their later selves. The one, democratic in sentiment—fiercely so—the writer of stirring democratic verse, who saw the labouring folk as "Men, my brothers, men the workers, ever reaping something new, That which they have done but earnest of the things that they shall do," this one now, in place of wearing only what Gladstone calls the "livery of the muse," is become the venal songster of a court and a member of the class of professional hereditary obstructors. The other who began as a Conservative from an emotional clinging to long-established usage, has attained the utmost limit of his possible development, and tentatively dabbles in the side-work of the revolutionary advance, timidly though it be and with much backward shrinking.

In their development, and in their thought-position now, are both of these men wholly formed and governed by the present system. Fervent revolt while young and ardent against conventional formality and unfairness; gradual regression before the opposing forces of established wrong; and at last a bitter outcry from so much of him as remains

honest against the hopelessness of things that to him appear inevitable, these are the stages through which Tennyson has passed and through which all must pass, during the last days of a dying civilisation, who have the artistic temperament without a great and abiding strength and power of growth that is possessed by few. Gladstone, again, has grown and has not receded, but by his latest utterance, as by all that have gone before, he has rendered it manifest that though he is able and willing to advance upon the lines of his previous growth, those of old-time Liberalism, he cannot go beyond; he is alarmed and uncertain, knowing nothing of the real forces that are at work to-day nor having prevision of the gigantic change that is preparing. He feels, and is frightened by, the preliminary tremors that bespeak the coming earthquake, but knows not what it is nor what it will bring forth.

Criticism of the poem as a poem, and of the critical treatment accorded it by Mr. Gladstone, would be out of place in these columns, but it is interesting to note how the "old parliamentary hand" betrays even here that, like the dyer's, it has been "subdued to what it works in," and must temporise. In the beginning of his article Mr. Gladstone says, "Yet is his poetic eye not dimmed, nor his natural force abated," while, toward the end, he speaks of "the stunted vitality of his age" that he likens to "a spent cannon-ball."

Knowing its due place and meaning, Socialists may pass the new Locksley Hall unchallenged. It is the wail of one who sees the hellish iniquity of our civilisation, but has not strength to rise against it nor insight sufficient to discern the new birth and growth that are realising themselves, as the present system rots itself into oblivion and prepares to give place to them. It may be taken as the swan-song of the bourgeoisie.

Mr. Gladstone's vision of things demands another treatment. It puts, not unplausibly, the case for advance upon the old lines, and pleads that man be set free that he "may work out his vocation without wanton hindrance," meaning thereby the extension of "free contract" to its uttermost, with some illogical restrictions of exploitation here and there. Hopeless it is to look for further growth from Mr. Gladstone, but the vain wish arises that he were young again in order that he might follow out to its legitimate conclusion his query as to the right of being and cause of existence of the increased and increasing number of leisured men and idle men! He speaks of the improvement as he has seen it in the social conditions of the past half-century and while admitting many imperfections says, "the fair wage of to-day is far higher than it was then, and the unfair wage is assumably (!) not lower." This of the "fair wage" is true—a fair wage being the sum of one's production, and that in many ways has been magnified; but that fair wage is never paid! As to the "unfair wage," even though it were true—which it is not—that in mere amount it is higher, in relation to the increased production and heightened standard of comfort it is incalculably lower. For the truth or falsehood of Mr. Gladstone's assertion that "they work fewer hours" for "increased wages," and "purchase at diminished prices"—in other words that they have improved all round—let the people answer—what their answer is we know! Of what avail is it that the suffrage be widened so long as the voters yet remain slaves of those who own all whereby they must live? or that education is popularised and made compulsory if it be only for the making of monotonous toil more endurable and slave-labour more efficient? If it is "well to be reminded" of the children who "soak and blacken soul and sense in city slime," and of the maidens who are cast in thousands on the street, is it well also to lull oneself to sleep again with a hymn of praise for the tinkering attempts at palliation made by well-intentioned but quite helpless people—people, that is, who are helpless against the economic necessity that makes these things what they are? What benefit to the proletariat has resulted from the reform of "fiscal follies"? such reform having lessened the cost of their subsistence and allowed them to compete the amount saved into the pockets of their masters. Or what good has been gained by amendment of the game laws to a folk who possess no land, and of whom the great mass know "game" only as an appanage of wealth, while those who do know aught else of it, have seen it only in some rich man's covert or in the shop-window of some "purveyor to the aristocracy"? What is gained save temporary relief and a passing quietude by the legislative lessening of taxation, tithe, or rent, in answer to the demand that such exactions be abolished as fundamentally unjust? To sum up, what has the present system to say, even from the mouth of so earnest an apologist, to show cause why it should not be abolished—peaceably if it may; forcibly if it must?

Mr. Gladstone's great plea is that "No greater calamity can happen to a people than to break utterly with its past." To do that is impossible and beyond human power to achieve, and therefore beside the question; but were it possible, we retort, we do not seek it. The change we work for is the natural outcome of the social forces that have carried us thus far, and that, despite alarmist outcries or timid deprecation, will carry through the Social Revolution and replace the present system by one that will more than realise the fairest vision that ever poet spake.

H. HALLIDAY SPARLING.

"CHARITY" ROBBERIES.—We have got the regular batch of begging letters from "charity" institutions, which we get every year at this season. These institutions are mostly run by the men who create and are enriched by the poverty they ask us to palliate by sending them money for the salaries of their officers. Let the capitalists who are the "patrons" of these snabby concerns cease to swindle their hirelings by pocketing the proceeds of their labour, and there will be no need of asking us to give the poor children that food of which robbers have deprived them.—*John Swinton's Paper.*

WEALTH.

J. H. SMITH on p. 12 of the *Commonweal* asks: "Of what good to the people can a science be which treats only of wealth and advocates that system in which wealth can be produced most amply and economically, no matter how wretched morally or physically the people, the wealth-producers, may be in consequence of it?" The answer to these questions is: In the first place, that Political Economy advocates no system, the business of science is the discovery of truth; and in the second place that the science which "treats only of wealth" is of paramount importance to the people. To see how important a subject to the human race wealth is, we require to know what is wealth; and it is with a view to arriving at this knowledge that I offer the following fragment, written about two years ago, to the consideration of the readers of the *Commonweal*.

The subject-matter of political economy is designated by the word "Wealth." Respecting the meaning of this word many different opinions have prevailed and do prevail. Some of these we shall briefly consider.

In an early stage of society, when tribe fought with tribe, when the stronger attacked the weaker and appropriated whatever they wanted, it is easy to see that the community that numbered most would, *ceteris paribus*, be the wealthiest, for whatever such a community wanted it would take. It would take the best hunting grounds, the richest rivers—the best, in fact, of everything that there was to be had. To enable it to acquire and to retain these possessions, it would require to be sufficiently numerous to cope with hostile tribes, and the more numerous it was the more certain would it be of accomplishing this. Under circumstances like these public feeling would incline to favour the procreation of children and to regard the man that reared a large family as thereby contributing largely to the strength and to the wealth of the community. Here population was a source of wealth, and accordingly it was part of the public policy to stimulate population. This view of wealth and the policy founded upon it continued to infect the laws of this country down to 1834, when Malthus' essay began to take practical effect, as seen in the thorough alteration then made in our Poor Laws. Proof of its past influence still lingers, for at the present day, when a woman gives birth to more than two children at one time she receives from the sovereign a bounty of £1 per child—a custom that no doubt has its origin in the belief that to bear children is to contribute to the wealth of the State.

After a community is fairly established and trading transactions have been introduced, considerations of convenience soon suggest some medium of exchange—money. When money has been in use for a time, it is seen that whoever has money can obtain anything else he may have occasion for. The rich man, the man with money, is now the strong man; he can command the fat of the land. From this it is an easy inference that the rich country, the country with money, is the strong, the wealthy country. Money and wealth now become in public estimation synonymous, and thereupon laws are made with a view to favour those courses that are peculiarly adapted to increase the nation's treasure. "According to the doctrines then prevalent," says John Stuart Mill, "whatever tended to heap up money or bullion in a country added to its wealth; whatever sent the precious metals out of a country impoverished it. . . . Exportation of goods was favoured and encouraged because the exported goods being stipulated to be paid for in money, it was hoped that the returns would actually be made in gold and silver. Importation of anything other than the precious metals was regarded as a loss to the nation of the whole price of the things imported. . . . The commerce of the world was looked upon as a struggle among nations which could draw to itself the largest share of the gold and silver in existence."

This view of wealth persists a long time and makes a deep impression upon the mind and upon the laws of nations. Just as circumstances, however compel a relinquishment of the view already noticed, so do they compel a relinquishment of this. We have been compelled to relinquish the view that makes a large population synonymous with wealth by the dangers attending on overcrowding, and so forcibly have these dangers been brought home in modern times that many believe population to be a source of weakness and not of strength. The view that considers wealth to lie in money is not altogether abandoned yet. It certainly no longer influences the public policy to the extent of inspiring any legislative enactment. It is, however, the source of many a fallacious argument. If annually, for instance, the imports of a country be two millions and the exports only one million, it is often contended that such a country is losing a million every year, is living on its capital, because it must yearly send a million of money to other countries to pay for the additional million of imports. Suppose that to pay for the additional million of imports, a million of sovereigns, or bullion to that amount, is sent out of the country: what is the difference between this and sending out other commodities? The gold that is thus sent out has been previously brought into the country in exchange for goods—it would not be sent in for nothing; and if more gold be wanted to take its place, goods can be sent out for it. Another instance is furnished by landlord absenteeism from Ireland. These landlords are blamed for drawing their rents in Ireland and spending them in England. Suppose that an Irish landlord draws a thousand sterling a-year and spends it in England; all he takes from Ireland is a thousand pounds—a thousand sovereigns say. Suppose, on the other hand, that he remains in Ireland and spends the money there; in this case he consumes in one way and another a thousand pounds' worth. Now a thousand pounds' worth is surely as good as a thousand pounds

itself. In either case all that the landlord consumes is a thousand pounds' worth, and in either case it is Ireland that supplies it to him. What difference does it make where he consumes it? None whatever, except on the hypothesis that to take gold from a country is to weaken in some special way, to lessen the wealth of, that country.

We come now to another view of wealth, the view that may be regarded as predominant to-day, the view also that is usually given in text-books on political economy. Wealth consists nowadays in whatever contributes to human gratification, all agreeable or useful things. To these statements is appended the modifying clause, "that possess exchange value." This is the widest view that has prevailed in any age, and it has given rise to a more generous public policy so far as it has prevailed. It was this view that swept away all the vexatious restraints that the mercantile system, or the system that was based upon regarding money as wealth, imposed upon commerce. It, too, would seem to be too narrow, however, for here we are with too many useful and agreeable things—suffering from a plethora of good things—for that is what the phrases "glutted market," "over-production," signify. Just as the two views already noticed led to disasters, so this. Just as the previous views affected public policy also, so has this; for it is this view that is at the bottom of Free Trade. If wealth be regarded as consisting in commodities, it is a natural consequence that men should say, let us throw open our ports, so that we may have access to as many commodities as possible.

These three meanings of the word "wealth" show how important it is that we should endeavour to have a right understanding as to what wealth really is. We see that whatever men consider it to be, so do they strive. In fact, it may be said that wealth has been the word used in any given period of a nation's history to indicate what in the prevailing opinion is good for that nation. Let the meaning attributed by any age to the word "wealth" be known and the aim of that age is also known.

It has never, so far as I am aware, been pointed out by economists that the word "wealth" is an abstract¹ name—that is to say, it is the name of no existing thing or things. It resembles such names as "height," "motion," "beauty," "roundness"; and differs from such names as "river," "horse," "cupboard," "star." No one ever saw height, or motion, or beauty, or roundness; we have all seen high things, moving things, beautiful things, and round things. In the same way no one ever saw wealth; we have seen only wealthy persons or wealthy countries. To define wealth, therefore, as the produce of the land and labour of a country or as all useful and agreeable things possessing exchange value, is as grave an error as it would be to define height as consisting of steeples, trees, chimney-stalks, mountains, etc., or to define motion as trains, hansom-cabs, etc., or roundness as balls, hoops, etc.

Height is what is common to high things, the one point in which all high things, no matter how different in other respects, agree; in the same way motion is what is common to moving things; so wealth is what is common to wealthy persons or wealthy nations. Now if we compare wealthy persons one with another, we find that the only point of resemblance between them all is the possession of power. A man on a desert island with all the gold that had ever been dug would not be a wealthy man. I might possess large estates in an uninhabited country and still be poor. The mere possession of money, of lands, of houses, or of any other material does not confer wealth; there must be present certain circumstances. A sovereign is of no use to me unless others want it and are willing to give me what I want in exchange. Large estates are no use to me unless I have men to work them and unless there are people willing to give me for the produce of these men's toil whatever I may want. Innumerable palaces are no use to me unless there are people willing to give me whatever I may want for the privilege of residing in them. Possessions confer wealth upon a man only when they at the same time confer power. It is the same with nations. Wealthy nations are powerful nations; poor nations are weak nations. Wealth, then, we shall, in the meantime, define as power.

W. B. R.

(To be continued.)

"After all, effect is what is wanted," says an "artistic" cotemporary. That is the teaching of commercialism summed up in a sentence; disregard truth, never mind about the means, think only of effect; good or bad workmanship does not matter a farthing so as it will sell!—S.

COMMERCE AND CHRISTIANITY.—The most interesting, and, so far as we knew, the first systematic union of missionary and mercantile enterprise, is in the mission of the Free Church of Scotland to Livingstonia. Suggested by Dr. J. Stewart of Lovedale, who had in his youth accompanied Livingstone on the Zambesi, it was taken up by the merchants of Glasgow, independent of, but in harmony with, the missions of the Free Church, and carried on with great liberality and wisdom. A mercantile company was started along with the mission, to show the natives the advantages of commerce by exchange of commodities over the exchange in slaves—a favourite idea of Livingstone's. The natives are learning the lesson, as is seen by the purchase of the soft goods of Manchester, the hardwares of Sheffield, twenty-five tons of beads to adorn their persons, and seven tons of soap. The late Mr. James White, one of the wisest and best of our merchant-princes, was the first chairman of the committee, and Mr. James Stevenson, one of its members, showed his foresight as well as his liberality by giving £4000 for the construction of a road to facilitate commerce and intercourse, besides his large donations to the mission and investments in the trading company. The sum of £18,000 has just been subscribed or promised for carrying on the work for the next five years.—*The British Weekly*. [The italics are ours. Comment is needless.]

¹ For a clear explanation of the character of the abstract name, see 'A Higher English Grammar,' by Professor Bain.

'THE MYSTERY OF THE SHROUD,' AND THE MYSTERY OF CITY JOBBERY.

THAT wordy and dreary representative of book-making talent in the House of Hereditary Imbecility, known among his peers as Duke of Argyll, once had the cheek to move the House to issue as a State Paper one of his books. This attempt to increase circulation at public expense failed.

Public money has often been used that Literature should assist Jobbery; prime ministers have often called in able writers to help on some high-toned swindle of statecraft. Sometimes the minister has been satisfied at what he got for his money, but there have been times when the able author has turned on the initial employer, and a conscience quickened by special study to write up a swindle has done good service in writing the swindle down. Sometimes default in payment or a row in cutting up the spoil has brought about a similar exposure. Some of this old time work one is almost led to forgive, because it was the means by which some literary work was made possible that the world would be sorry to lose.

Powerful as this sort of work was at the beginning of the century, it was as nothing compared with to-day. Pen work tells more than ever; small good to do much without the printing press.

Socialism to-day is the subject of many pens—able and otherwise, for and against. Socialists are tolerably able to answer all that can be fairly brought against them; but a protest has to be made against expenditure of money extracted from Socialist pockets to be fraudulently used against Socialism.

The City of London authorities are old sinners in this sort of work. That foul-smelling abomination old Smithfield was persistently written up and defended, and a large portion of £6000 expended to maintain that plague-spot was spent for literary work. (See 'City of London Corporation Inquiry,' by Sergeant Pulling: Hatchards, 1854.)

Socialists who are ratepayers in the City may like to busy themselves in finding out who is paying for the issue to vestrymen of other parishes of 'The Mystery of the Shroud, a Tale of Socialism.' Arrowsmith's Bristol Library, given a big boom by Conway's 'Called Back,' has supplied the lovers of sensation with one or two fair samples of that article; but by thunder! the one who pays a shilling for the particular hundred and thirty-four small pages, less numerous blanks, under consideration seems to me to be entitled to pity. Fancy any sort of cause being supported by such unadulterated bosh as, "In the second place, the lapse of the coal dues had brought about a most extravagant use of coal, which had tended to saturate the air more completely than heretofore." This is directly in opposition to another and the general statement, that the amount of the tax is so slight that there cannot be any appreciable difference in price. Every sort of lighting, even the electric, was a failure; the police are rendered quite helpless in tracing crime, and therefore the criminals—the Socialists, of course—were more and more audacious; journalists and editors who write against Socialism are either kidnapped or murdered on their own door-steps; cabinet ministers ditto, ditto; London is under a reign of complete and absolute terror. "The Order of the Shroud" lays the rich under tribute to any extent, the levies being sent to unknown persons at untrackable places by means of pigeons (a new breed, evidently, made to go through the densest fogs). Kent and Sussex are worked as mining districts, and chimnies crowd the Thames thick as leaves in Vallambrosa, and the smoke and the fog helps the Socialists in their diabolical work. "The days of the millenium, too," says our sapient author, "appear to be still distant: men are not much better as a mass than they were." He perhaps means not much better for his writing, which is probable. "Socialism and a tendency to revolutionary disorder are undoubtedly on the increase; and there is every reason to fear that should the turbulent element of society ever be organised by abler hands, they would become even in broad daylight, to say nothing of in thick foggy weather, a positive and absorbing danger to the respectable portion of the community."

Under such considerations the coal dues must be at all hazards kept up; "nobody feels them but the owners." "From the coal dues the money can be ungrudgingly spent; from the rates it will always be given out with so stingy a hand that the great task of conserving open spaces would probably fall into abeyance before long."

This is a sample of the rotten logic used to bolster up a rotten case, distributed at some unknown person or body's expense. One can but pity a case which can be supported by such.

One of the "gods" in a theatre noted for blood and blue-fire one night shouted out, "We don't expect no grammar, and we don't expect no plot, but yer might jine yer flats." In shilling startlers we don't expect much grammar or much plot, but we do expect the stuff to sink or swim on its merits (?), and not to be floated into circulation at expense of compulsory taxation of those who suffer by unjust privilege and monopoly.

How much of force there is in the argument used is seen in the City accounts for 1884, which shows that the coal-tax produced £543,966; wine-tax £9396 (note the luxury as compared with the necessity); grain-tax £17,561. Of this the Thames Embankment eat up £307,861, Holborn Viaduct £106,999, the bulk of the balance being expenses.

In conclusion: there are some influential Socialists in the City; can they find out if they are finding the money to be bowled over in the fashion suggested here, and will they take action by way of protest, stop payment?

THOMAS SHORE, jun.

"Foster ye the fatherless," as he remarked who filled an asylum with the orphans of his last coffin-ship's crew.



"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.

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

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

Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s., six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

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

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

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

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday January 19.

ENGLAND Norwich—Daylight Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung Die Autonomie Worker's Friend	INDIA Ahmedabad—Praja Mata	CANADA Toronto—Labor Reformer Montreal—L'Union Ouvriere	AUSTRALIA Adelaide—Our Commonwealth Sydney Morning Herald	UNITED STATES New York—Volkszeitung Freiheit Truthseeker Der Sozialist John Swinton's Paper Boston—Woman's Journal Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer Cincinnati (O.) Unionist	TOLEDO (O.)—Industrial News New Haven (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate Springfield (Ill.)—Voice of Labor Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt Portland (Oreg.)—Avant-Courier	FRANCE Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) Le Socialiste Journal du Peuple L'Action Guise—Le Devoir Lille—Le Travailleur	BELGIUM Liege—L'Avenir Antwerp—De Werker	AUSTRIA Vienna—Gleichheit Brunn—Volksfreund	HOLLAND Hague—Recht voor Allen	ITALY Milan—Il Fascio Operaio Zurich—Sozial Demokrat	SWITZERLAND Madrid—El Socialista Barcelona—Acracia Torino—Il Muratore	PORTUGAL Oporto—A Perola	ROUMANIA Jassy—Lupta	DENMARK Social-Demokraten	SWEDEN Stockholm—Social-Demokraten	NORWAY Kristiania—Social-Democraten	GREECE Athens—Ardin
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NOTES.

THE evictions at Glenbeigh and other places during the past week or so, carried out as they were with extreme brutality, have assisted in sapping the foundations of monopoly everywhere. Folk are beginning now to see what we so long have been explaining to them, that it does not condone the possession of an unjust privilege that it is upon the average exercised mildly; that because *all* landlords are not in the habit of emulating the money-lenders, who are skinning the (dis-)Honourable Roland Winn's estate, there is no guarantee against any of them doing so.

Control over the land, and thereby over all their means of life, gives into the hand of a landlord an enormous power, legal and actual, over his tenants, which is a continual temptation to its use.

When, as in the Glenbeigh case, the exercise of a landlord's power is deputed to a hired scoundrel, brutalised by his previous life, there is no limit to his exactions nor stay to his cruelty.

In Ireland, the homes of honest hard-workers are burnt above their heads, while they themselves are spurned into the bitter winter weather to perish, or be rescued by somebody or another as it may happen. In London, a woman, a type of many, is driven to seek refuge with her child in the workhouse, and in order to satisfy bourgeois justice and duly to protect bourgeois pockets, this woman and her babe are kept outside in the snow, left to moan their miserable lives away unaided, and would infallibly have died were it not for the accident that a humane heart beat in the bosom of a passing policeman, who succoured them. How long shall these things endure and the people die patiently?

"Self-preservation is the first law of life," says *Jus*. Why, then, do our "Individualist" enemies growl at our trying to get the working-classes to combine for "self-preservation" against monopoly?

Will somebody help to explain? Individualists are complaining through their organ that the municipalities have a way of leaving "their" work to individual action. But combined action on the part of the community must necessarily somewhere interfere with the freedom to "do as you darn please" that Individualists claim; and, if compromise be possible, how far should it go? S.

A DREAM OF JOHN BALL.

(Concluded from p. 21).

"Poor man!" said I. "Learn that in those very days when it shall be with the making of things as with the carter in the cart, that there he sitteth and shaketh the reins and the horse draweth and the cart goeth; in those days, I tell thee, many men shall be as poor and wretched always, year by year, as they are with thee when there is famine in the land; nor shall any have plenty and surety of livelihood save those that shall sit by and look on while others labour; and these, I tell thee, shall be a many, so that they shall see to the making of all laws, and in their hands shall be all power, and the labourers shall think that they cannot do without these men that live by robbing them, and shall praise them and wellnigh pray to them as ye pray to the saints, and the best worshipped man in the land shall be he who by forestalling and regrating hath gotten to him the most money."

"Yea," said he, "and shall they who see themselves robbed worship the robber? Then indeed shall men be changed from what they are now, and they shall be sluggards, dolts, and cowards beyond all the earth hath yet borne. Such are not the men I have known in my life-days, and that now I love in my death."

"Nay," I said, "but the robbery shall they not see; for have I not told thee that they shall hold themselves to be free men? And for why? I will tell thee: but first tell me how it fares with men now; may the labouring man become a lord?"

He said: "The thing hath been seen that churls have risen from the dortoir of the monastery to the abbot's chair and the bishop's throne; yet not often; and whiles hath a bold sergeant become a wise captain, and they have made him squire and knight; and yet but very seldom. And now I suppose thou wilt tell me that the Church will open her arms wider to this poor people, and that many through her shall rise into lordship. But what availeth that? Nought were it to me if the Abbot of St. Albans with his golden mitre sitting guarded by his knights and sergeants, or the Prior of Merton with his hawks and his hounds, had once been poor men, if they were now tyrants of poor men; nor would it better the matter if there were ten times as many Houses of Religion in the land than now are, and each with a churl's son for abbot or prior over it."

I smiled and said: "Comfort thyself; for in those days shall there be neither abbey nor priory in the land, nor monks nor friars, nor any religious." (He started as I spoke.) "But thou hast told me that hardly in those days may a poor man rise to be a lord: now I tell thee that in the days to come poor men shall be able to become lords and masters and do-nothings; and oft will it be seen that they shall do so; and it shall be even for that cause that their eyes shall be blinded to the robbing of themselves by others, because they shall hope in their souls that they may each live to rob others: and this shall be the very safeguard of all rule and law in those days."

"Now am I sorrier than thou hast yet made me," said he; "for when once this is established, how then can it be changed? Strong shall be the tyranny of thy latter days. And now meseems, if thou sayest sooth, this time of the conquest of the earth shall not bring heaven down to the earth, as erst I deemed it would, but rather that it shall bring hell up on to the earth. Woe's me, brother, for thy sad and weary foretelling! And yet said'st thou that the men of those days would seek a remedy. Canst thou yet tell me, brother, what that remedy shall be, lest the sun rise upon me made hopeless by thy tale of what is to be? And, lo you, soon shall she arise upon the earth."

In truth the dawn was widening now, and the colours coming into the pictures on wall and in window; and as well as I could see through the varied glazing of these last (and one window before me had as yet nothing but white glass 'n it), the ruddy glow, which had but so little a while quite died out in the west, was now beginning to gather in the east—the new day was beginning. I looked at the poppy that I still carried in my hand, and it seemed to me to have withered and dwindled. I felt anxious to speak to my companion and tell him much, and withal I felt that I must hasten, or for some reason or other I should be too late; so I spoke at last loud and hurriedly:

"John Ball, be of good cheer; for once more thou knowest as I know that the Fellowship of Men shall endure, however many tribulations it may have to wear through. Look you, a while ago was the light bright about us; but it was because of the moon, and the night was deep notwithstanding, and when the moonlight waned and died and there was but a little glimmer in place of the bright light, yet was the world glad because all things knew that the glimmer was of day and not of night. Lo you, an image of the times to betide the hope of the Fellowship of Men. Yet forsooth, it may well be that this bright day of summer which is now dawning upon us is no image of the beginning of the day that shall be; but rather shall that day-dawn be cold and grey and surly; and yet by its light shall men see things as they verily are, and no longer enchanted by the gleam of the moon and the glamour of the dream-tide. By such grey light shall wise men and valiant souls see the remedy, and deal with it, a real thing that may be touched and handled, and no glory of the heavens to be worshipped from afar off. And what shall it be, as I told thee before, save that men shall be determined to be free; yea, free as thou wouldst have them, when thine hope rises the highest, and thou art thinking not of the king's uncles, and poll-groat bailiffs, and the villainage of Essex, but of the end of all, when men shall have the fruits of the earth and the fruits of their toil thereon, without money and without price. The time shall come, John Ball, when that dream of thine that this shall one day be, shall be a thing that men shall talk of soberly, and as a thing soon to come about, as even with thee they talk of the

villains becoming tenants paying their lord quit-rent; therefore, hast thou done well to hope it; and, if thou heedest this also, as I suppose thou heedest it little, thy name shall abide by thy hope in those days to come, and thou shalt not be forgotten."

I heard his voice come out of the twilight, scarcely seeing him though now the light was growing fast, as he said:

"Brother, thou givest me heart again; yet since now I wot well that thou art a sending from far-off times and far-off things; tell thou, if thou mayest, to a man who is going to his death how this shall come about."

"Only this may I tell thee," said I; "to thee, when thou didst try to conceive of them, the ways of the days to come seemed follies scarce to be thought of; yet shall they come to be familiar things, and an order by which every man liveth, ill as he liveth, so that men shall deem of them, that thus it hath been since the beginning of the world, and that thus it shall be while the world lasts; and in this wise so shall they be thought of a long while; and the complaint of the poor the rich man shall heed, even as much and no more as he who lieth in pleasure under the lime trees in the summer heedeth the murmur of his toiling bees. Yet in time shall this also grow old, and doubt shall creep in, because men shall scarce be able to live by that order, and the complaint of the poor shall be hearkened, no longer as a tale not utterly grievous, but as a threat of ruin, and a fear. Then shall those things, which to thee seemed follies, and to the men between thee and me mere wisdom and the bond of stability, seem follies once again; yet, whereas men have so long lived by them, they shall cling to them yet from blindness and from fear; and those that see, and that have thus much conquered fear that they are furthering the real time that cometh and not the dream that faileth, these men shall the blind and the fearful mock and mis-say, and torment and murder; and great and grievous shall be the strife in those days, and many the failures of the wise, and too oft sore shall be the despair of the valiant; and back-sliding, and doubt, and contest between friends and fellows lacking time in the hubbub to understand each other, shall grieve many hearts and hinder the Host of the Fellowship; yet shall all bring about the end, till thy deeming of folly and ours shall be one, and thy hope and our hope; and then—the Day will have come."

Once more I heard the voice of John Ball: "Now, brother, I say farewell; for now verily hath the Day of the Earth come, and thou and I are lonely of each other again; thou hast been a dream to me as I to thee, and sorry and glad have we made each other, as tales of old time and the longing of times to come shall ever make men to be. I go to life and to death, and leave thee; and scarce do I know whether to wish thee some dream of the days beyond thine to tell thee what shall be, as thou hast told me, for I know not if that shall help or hinder thee; but since we have been kind and very friends, I will not leave thee without a wish of good-will, so at least I wish thee what thou thyself wishest for thyself, and that is hopeful strife, and blameless peace, which is to say in one word, life. Farewell, friend."

For some little time, although I had known that the daylight was growing and what was around me, I had scarce seen the things I had before noted so keenly; but now in a flash I saw all—the east crimson with sunrise through the white window on my right hand; the richly-carved stalls, and gilded screen-work, the pictures on the walls, the loveliness of the faultless colour of the mosaic window lights, the altar and the red light over it looking strange in the daylight, and the biers with the hidden dead men upon them that lay before the high altar; a great pain filled my heart at the sight of all that beauty, and withal I heard quick steps coming up the paved church path to the porch, and the loud whistle of a sweet old tune therewith; then the footsteps stopped at the door; I heard the latch rattle, and knew that Will Green's hand was on the ring of it.

Then I strove to rise up, but fell back again; a white light, empty of all sights, broke upon me for a moment, and lo! behold, I was lying in my familiar bed, the south-westerly gale rattling the Venetian blinds and making their hold-fasts squeak. I got up presently, and going to the window looked out on the winter morning; the river ran before me broad between outer bank and bank, but it was nearly dead ebb, and there was a wide space of mud on each side of the hurrying stream, driven on the faster as it seemed by the push of the south-west wind. On the other side of the water the few willow-trees left us by the Thames Conservancy looked doubtfully alive against the bleak sky and the row of wretched-looking blue-slated houses, although, by the way, the latter were the backs of a sort of street of "villas" and not a slum; the road in front of the house was sooty and muddy at once, and in the air was that sense of dirty discomfort which one is never quit of in London. The morning was harsh too, and though the wind was from the south-west it was as cold as a north wind; and yet amidst it all, I thought of the corner of the next bight of the river which I could not quite see from where I was, but over which one can see clear of houses and into Richmond Park, looking like the open country; and dirty as the river was, and harsh as was the January wind, they seemed to woo me toward the country side, where away from the miseries of the "Great Wen" I might of my own will carry on a day-dream of the friends I had made in the dream of the night and against my will. But as I turned away shivering and down-hearted, on a sudden came the frightful noise of the "hooters," one after the other, that call the workmen to the factories, this one the after breakfast one, more by token. So I grinned surlily, and dressed and got ready for my day's "work" as I call it, but which many a man besides John Ruskin (though not many in his position) would call "play."

WILLIAM MORRIS.

[THE END.]

CORRESPONDENCE.

T. LEMON AND THE S. D. F.

I see that our ex-comrade, T. Lemon, has met with a well-merited exposure at Poplar. No one deplores the apostasy of Lemon more than myself, for it has given a severe blow to our agitation in the East End, and caused hundreds of working men to look askance at every movement since made in that neighbourhood. But isn't it a little too much for the anonymous writer of the diverting pars. in the front page of your contemporary *Justice* to assert that Lemon used a reputation and influence that he "could" never have had without the Federation? My memory carries me back to some seven years ago when at Stratford a band of men were associated with Lemon under the name of the Stratford Radical Club, from the loins of which sprang the Labour Emancipation League, which, in conjunction with the West End Socialists, carried on a vigorous propaganda whilst those who now compose "the purely English party" were making up their minds or waiting to see which way the cat would jump. The attempts to destroy the autonomy of the L. E. L. and crush out its representatives upon the council of the S. D. F. are matters well known to the seceders from the august "council."

There is not a single attempt at agitation, from the anti-emigration agitation down to the Lord Mayor's Show business, but what are borrowed ideas from the men who leavened the masses with Socialistic literature and prepared the ground for the present Socialistic revival. And now we have in the field a body of men who, whilst denouncing all monopolies, strive to make a monopoly of Socialistic thought and effort, and allow an anonymous writer to declare that they "never forgive, and never forget" any man who tries to use the cause for his own benefit; and this from those with all the honours of the last general election fresh upon them. "Alas for the rarity of Christian charity." There may exist Socialist organisations who would, in the case of Lemon recanting and mending his ways, let him return to the fold, and thereby put in practice true Socialism. But those whose present prominence is largely due to the foundations he and his associates laid, they will "oh never, no never," forgive. If ever the ramifications of the S. D. F. extend so widely as to include the janitorship of the gates of Paradise, those awaiting beatitude may expect to be refused admission unless they have held a card of membership of the S. D. F. right up from its momentous inauguration and swallowed its programme, stepping-stones and all, and moreover can bring vouchers and witnesses to attest their "purely English Socialism."

I do not wish this letter to be construed as a defence of T. Lemon and his present tactics, but with the knowledge of the tactics that have been employed to destroy and undermine our Branches—notably in Marylebone and in the East End—I can say of Lemon that he is at all events an open enemy and not a sneaking friend professing the same aims as ourselves and yet seeking to injure us.—Yours fraternally,

F. KITZ.

MORE JUBILEE SUGGESTIONS!

OUR comrade, to whose letters in the *Southport Visiter* we have before referred, in the last issue criticises a discussion which took place among the Committee of the fund raised for the families of the men who lost their lives in the late lifeboat disaster, as to an expected surplus. He suggests that, even if a surplus be not fairly forthcoming, a large slice be cut off the fund, in the usual way, by the toad-eaters who administer it, that this slice be labelled "surplus," and sent to the Jubilee Fund, saying:—

"The progress, sir, that we have made during the past fifty years is, as you are doubtless aware, remarkable; by the rapid development of labour-saving, and therefore labour-starving, machinery, we have steadily increased the wealth of this great and free country till it stands at the appalling and enormous sum of nine thousand million pounds, and as steadily displaced the human machine, giving him or her of course the choice between starvation, emigration, crime, or the workhouse to obtain a living or die; but surely these 'hands,' as they are termed—pity 'tis God gave them anything but hands—will vote for my suggestion, and also contribute something handsome themselves? Waken up! waken up! ye thousands who sleep under railway arches, and ye who sleep on the Thames Embankment this pleasant weather wrapped in newspapers; waken up and rejoice, for the Jubilee Year is at hand. You are cold. Ah! warm your heart with the thought of the large fund which will be raised by a 'happy' and 'prosperous' community to celebrate this glorious year. Oh! you pick up one of your warm blankets, the *London Times*, and by the light of the cold frosty moon and a friendly lamp turn to the Local Government Board returns of pauperism. Well, what then? Year 1883, 88,618 paupers; 1884, 89,221; 1885, 90,143; 1886, 90,901. And you sigh. Be happy, man, and remember what glorious institutions we live under. Suicides. What? only 1800 per annum on an average sacrificed to the god of Mammon. 'Oh, don't bother about such trifles. Look at the peaceful and contented condition of Ireland. Look at the Welsh tithe payers, and the Scottish crofters, and again I say rejoice. Look at the morality of the aristocracy, and remember they have the majority of the livings of this glorious Established Church at their disposal, and throw up your battered hat and shout with joy when you hear the 'Lord's anointed' preach that you should not lay up for yourselves treasures in this world. Oh, you are doubtful and cynical, then I leave you to fly on the wings of joy to fresh scenes. Come forth ye dwellers in the slums and cellars of Manchester and Liverpool; get from off your beds of straw, reeking with filth, look at your cheerless grate, empty cupboard, and starving children, but come forth. Lift up your heads, ye everlasting fools, and prepare to join in the Jubilee hymn that no doubt Baron Tennyson is busy at. It may be to 'hold your own,' but do not forget the important point, 'you have a penny.' Ah, never mind the coffee-stall at the corner, or the sick child at home, but march straight to the local secretary of this great fund, if your shivering limbs will permit, and pay your coin, and be cheerful, for there will be no surplus arising from that fund. And you men of Southport, especially good Conservative working men, who, having served an apprenticeship to your trades for seven years, are now some of you receiving the price of three decent cigars per day from the tramp ward, on which to support, in 'happiness' and comfort, your families. You will surely vote for my suggestion, and also contribute something yourselves, but, on the other hand, if you think there is a strong tinge of irony running through my letter, it will not very much surprise

A SOCIALIST."

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

This department is under the direction of the Strike Committee. Labour News and Contributions to the Fund should be sent to T. BINNING, at the Offices.

BRITAIN.

REDUCTION IN AGRICULTURAL WAGES.—In Worcestershire, where the wages of agricultural labourers average from 10s. to 12s. per week, the farmers declare their inability, in consequence of the low price of produce, to continue to pay that amount. A general reduction has already been made in some districts to 10s., and in the Stewponney (northern) division notice was given on Saturday of a reduction of 2s. per week.

THE LANARKSHIRE MINERS.—At a meeting of the Miners' Central Board at Hamilton last Saturday night, it was resolved to issue an appeal to every miner in the country to cease work on Thursday if an advance of wages was not granted before that date. The miners of Lanarkshire are resolved that if the system of reducing the output by means of short hours and "idle days" does not compel the masters to yield, a general strike must be resorted to.

THE ASHTON STRIKE.—There is no change to report in this dispute, though by all accounts the employers are becoming disheartened. There is a corresponding feeling of confidence on the part of the operatives that their cause will triumph, and they are exceedingly grateful for the ready response the weaving districts of Lancashire are making to the appeal of the Northern Counties' Amalgamation. According to present reports, there is no danger of any falling off in the subscriptions, and so long as reasonable support is forthcoming the operatives of Ashton will be true to the cause for which they are fighting, not only in their own interests, but the interests of every weaver throughout Lancashire.—*Cotton Factory Times*.

RAWTESTALL.—NOVEL WAY OF PAYING A FIREMAN'S WAGE.—At one of the mills in this district a notice has been posted up to the effect that the weavers will have to pay the sum of three halfpence per fortnight to the fireman for the privilege of warming their dinners. This is another mode of nibbling at the weavers' wages.—*Cotton Factory Times*.

NELSON.—THE COTTON TRADE.—Although all the looms are running here there is no end of complaints about bad work, and it has been difficult to keep the weavers, etc., at work, as it is stated that only about 14s. a-week off four looms can be earned at several firms. One six-loom weaver last week had 17s. to draw, and out of this he had his tenter to pay. At one firm about 30 weavers tendered their notices to leave; while one employer is paying weavers weekly wages of from £1 to £1.4s. per week until their bad work is out. A strike of winders at Mr. L. C. Evans's took place on Friday, but they returned to their work again on Monday. On Tuesday evening a meeting of Mr. F. S. Witham's weavers, winders, etc., was held in Allison's Market Hall, when it was resolved to come out on strike at dinner time on Wednesday if 5 per cent. were not allowed them until the present work is out. The operatives of Nelson are beginning to occupy an unenviable position. What with low wages and landlords raising rents on account of the scarcity of houses, owing to the influx of weavers, it would be wise before any one removes here to enquire whether there is a house to let or not, and work to get. Rates are also high, and the people are accommodated with dirty streets, etc., which are scarcely fit for cattle to cross.—*Cotton Factory Times*.

MANCHESTER.—THE BUILDING TRADES.—The operations in several branches of these trades are in a disorganised state, especially so since the joiners' strike of 1877. The only body of operatives able in any way to hold their own with the masters is the Stonemasons' union. In face of the fact that we have located in Manchester the headquarters of the wealthiest society of operative joiners (the Amalgamated Society), the men are generally disorganised, not half the workers of the craft are members of either the Amalgamated or General Union societies. Previous to 1878 employment was found in the Manchester district for upwards of 7000 operative joiners. Up to 1877 a standard rate of wages was paid by the masters, and the working rules signed by masters and men were strictly carried out on both sides generally. Since 1878 the masters have defiantly ignored the working rules in the joinering, plumbing, painting, and a few other branches. On many of the outside jobs the working rules are ignored by the masters, the rule binding employers to provide hot-water and shelter for the men at meal times being contemptuously treated, the men being put to great inconvenience and outlay in obtaining warm beverages to their food. The trade is overrun with improvers, who work for wages ranging from 4d. to 6½d. and 7d. per hour. The standard rate of wages is 8d. per hour, but only few masters pay it. I warned the operatives in the trades that the employers would in 1887 take steps to reduce wages, etc. The first blow has been struck at the bricklayers. Notices were last week posted up at the works of the Manchester "Royal" Jubilee Exhibition that in future bricklayers' wages would be reduced from 8½d. to 8d. per hour. In full time, 54 hours per week, this means a reduction of 2s. 2d. per week. Plumbers, painters, stonemasons, plasterers, bricklayers, joiners, and especially labourers, have suffered very severely through slackness of trade, not only this winter, but for the last three years. The Manchester bricklayers complain that men from London, members of the "London Order," have made terms with local employers to work at the "London" rate of wages, 8d. per hour, being ½d. less than the Manchester district rate. The bricklayers are totally disorganised here, and ought at once to take steps to reorganise the trade. *File-Cutters.*—In consequence of the competition forced on by Sheffield capitalists, the file-cutters at work in this district are working at prices 60 per cent less than those of a few years ago. In my next letter I will give you some statistics on this matter.—*GLENER*.

AMERICA.

Goodwin and Co., cigarette-makers, New York, have discharged all their hands and put in machines. No wonder there are 1,000,000 tramps on the roads of this country.

Organised Labour in Terre Haute, Ind., has scored a victory in the adoption by the city council of a resolution making eight hours a legal day's labour on municipal work. A committee was appointed to prepare an ordinance for its enforcement.

Typographical Union No. 6 has 3500 members, Pressmen's Union No. 7 has 900, the Franklin Association has 400, the stereotypers 350, bookbinders 2675, the photo-engravers 233. A union of all the printing interests in New York is probable.

CHICAGO, Jan. 5.—The Girls' Co-operative Clothing Manufactory, the incorporation of which was accomplished two weeks ago, began operations this morning at 145 Ontario Street. A large room has been fitted up with

about thirty sewing machines, and sixty girls, who have heretofore worked for starvation wages for others, are now banded together to work for themselves. They will each draw moderate wages weekly, and the amount of work done by each will be kept account of, and a dividend declared accordingly at the end of the year. Miss McCormick is at the head of the concern, and nearly all of the sixty females are experienced in the work they are doing. They are engaged in the manufacture of men's clothing, and the wholesale houses of the city have contracted to take their goods. This is the first experiment of the kind tried in this country, and the women, who are all Knights of Labour, are very hopeful about their enterprise.

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 17.—The *Philadelphia Press* states that a gigantic scheme of general reorganisation, by which all coal miners and mine labourers in the United States will be placed under one banner, is being accomplished by the Knights of Labour, in order to secure concerted action in their interests.

There were 1500 strikes in New York last year. The 18,000 car drivers in New York and Brooklyn gained a strike at a cost of 100,000 dols. which has added 2,000,000 dols. to their annual pay roll, and which has lessened the hours of labour twenty-three hours per week, besides creating additional employment for 3000 men.

The horse car employés of the city of Brooklyn scored a complete victory last week through a well organised and general strike, which was brought to a close in one day by the surrender of the bosses. The men get a rise in their pay as well as other advantages in the details of their work. Besides, and most important, the bosses recognise the jurisdiction of the organisation, the Empire Protective Association.

The most prominent female Knight is Mrs. Elizabeth Rogers, master workman of D. A. 24 of Chicago, Ill. She was one of the delegates at the Richmond convention. Mrs. Rogers' baby is the youngest Knight in the world. It was born Sept. 10, 1886, and carried to Richmond, October 1. It had to be a Knight before admission, and was numbered 800. Mrs. Rogers organised the first working woman's union in Chicago more than ten years ago, and has been a delegate to the State Trades Assembly of Illinois for seven years.

A recent letter from Atlantic, Iowa, states that a member of the local assembly of Knights of Labour there recently secured a patent on a heating stove, and has turned it over to the Assembly for their use. The right to manufacture the same will also be given to all K. of L. co-operative stove companies on certain conditions. Comrade Butler, for that is the inventor's name, has exhibited the true Socialistic spirit, and we wish there were more like him. When all men and women believe that their talents are given them to be used for humanity instead of self, they will fully comprehend the beauties of existence under a properly regulated system of Society.—*The Avant-Courier*.

FRANCE.

The deficit for the year 1886 in France is seventy million; while awaiting therefore the final destruction of the bourgeoisie in the ever more widely yawning chasm, let us expect fresh taxes and fresh foreign loans.—*Cri du Peuple*.

BOULOGNE.—A meeting was held here on Sunday, at which Jules Guesde addressed a large audience, who listened to his discourse with much interest, and received it with every sign of applause.

VIERZON.—At the recent municipal elections at Vierzon-Village, Baudin, Féline, and Rossignol were at the head of the Socialist list, in protest against the bourgeois magistracy, which had just made them undergo 93 days' imprisonment, after depriving them of their political rights. The electors of Vierzon-Village understood their duty, and the list of Socialists was passed entire.

CLERMONT-FERRAND.—The compositors of the *Petit Clermontois*, a journal founded by the Radical deputy Blatin, have suddenly ceased working this week, having heard that the administration of this paper was about to replace them by female workers. A meeting was held approving the action of the strikers, who, however, it appears to us, have only anticipated the move of the directors, and would have had more of a grievance had they stayed to be dismissed *without notice*, as was the kind intent of the administration.

MARSEILLES.—The strike of cigar-makers at Marseilles is by no means the slight unimportant incident that the directors of the factory took it to be at first. The women last Monday convened a special meeting to discuss the situation, to which the General Council of the department, the Council of the Arrondissement, and the Municipal Council sent ten or a dozen representatives. The strikers, whose demand is that a certain overseer named Roustan, who has made himself obnoxious to them, shall be dismissed, have for once the entire sympathy and support of the local authorities, as is shown in this meeting, where the official representatives urge the women to maintain their *esprit de corps*, and to persist in their demands. The Prefect also receives a delegation from the meeting, and promises to send a despatch to the Minister, asking for the *denouement* of the situation to be hastened, and vouching for the justice of the strikers' claims. The continuation of the strike was unanimously voted at the meeting. During the first days of the strike, the last words of the director to the delegation of strikers were frankly brutal, and commendably devoid of the embroidery of humbug: "You can leave this and suffer for it if that pleases you; as for me, I have goods in the warehouses to last six months, and 1200 applications for admission to the factory." The women, who are on piece-work, gain from 1f. 40c. to 2f. 50c. a-day, mostly having families, which they have to support on this salary. The latest news from Marseilles is that the strike is ended, the Minister announcing in a despatch to the Prefect that the demand for the removal of the obnoxious Roustan as overseer is accepted. The last thing we hear of the business is the cigar-makers marching in a body to the Prefecture with floral thanksgivings, a step which they might very well have spared their sensitive Socialist sympathisers!

BELGIUM.

The strike in the Poirier coal-mines in the Charleroi district is assuming a certain importance. The strikers marched in a body to the St. André coal-mine, at Montigny, and insisted on the men who worked in the furnaces to come up and leave off working. The place is full of gendarmes. A new strike is declared at Bayemont near Marchiennes, 170 men have refused to go down to the pits, demanding a rise of salary.

BRUSSELS, Jan. 16.—The *Etoile Belge* this evening states that a project is on foot for organising a general strike in the Charleroi district. The journal adds that the urban guard is being placed under arms.

INTERESTING ITEMS.

The Government have decided to bring in a Coercion Bill for Ireland, but its provisions will be made applicable to the whole of the United Kingdom.

The horrible outrages now being committed by the landlords in Ireland in the name of "law and order," have this consolation that they are helping to marshal the forces of the Social Revolution.

A recent compilation shows the total number of men in the European armies to be 3,134,304. Three millions of men who are but trained murderers; and the producers support every one of them.—*Labour Enquirer*.

The new scale for compositors' work which has come into operation in Vienna adds a farthing to the price of the thousand for all sizes of type, while the 'stab hands receive an advance of a florin per week.

When a working man requests another working man not to deal at a boycotted store, it's conspiracy; when a manufacturer telephones to another manufacturer not to hire certain men who have just left his employ, it's business fraternity.—*Industrial News*.

Great opposition was shown at a public meeting at Oldham on Monday to the mayor's proposal to celebrate the Queen's Jubilee in that town, and an amendment against it was carried. Nevertheless, the mayor declared that he should persevere with the movement.

'The Labour Fallacy,' the latest attempt in the book line to turn back the incoming tide of Radical thought on the labour question, is issued by the "Patriot's League," a body of men, thirty of whom represent over 300,000,000 dollars.—*Labour Enquirer*.

New York, Jan. 16.—Father M'Glynn, the Catholic priest who advocated Mr. Henry George's land theories during the recent election for Mayor of New York, and refused to obey the summons to Rome to explain his action, has been inhibited and deprived by Archbishop Corrigan. Father M'Glynn's parishioners are stated to be much incensed against the archbishop.

The traitor slave in a workshop is easily "spotted." He seeks every opportunity to post the employer about everything done in his vicinity, brags how quickly he can do the work as compared with others in the shop. Self is his only study; for self he will injure his neighbour; he lives for himself. He is the rusher; he can make precedents for others to follow. He cannot afford to join his union. He is virtually a social plague.—*Syracuse Laborer*.

England has free trade. She also has thousands of working-men out of work and on the brink of starvation. The United States have protection. They also have thousands of working-men out of work and on the brink of starvation. A working-man was asked what difference free trade and protection had for him, and he said: "The same difference that it makes to me whether the king of the Cannibal Islands wears his breech-clout cut bias or with a ragged edge."—*Labour Enquirer*.

About two months ago the printers of Germany presented a new scale to their employers. It was submitted to a committee composed partly of workmen and partly of employers, and agreed to, but when it came to be applied, several masters refused to accept it. The result was, combination on the part of the masters in many of the towns, and a strike on the part of the men. In Berlin a master-printer requested the Minister of War to call up all the men on strike who were liable to military service. The order was given, and executed.

An English syndicate has just concluded the purchase of a tract of 638,000 acres of land in the territory of Idaho for an alleged cattle ranch. N. P. Kimball, of England, who conducted the negotiations, states that no attempt will yet be made to stock the land, but that a few Hereford cattle will be placed upon a 40,000 acre track of it next spring. Thus land-monopoly has taken another stride in the United States, and English landlordism has got hold of over half a million more acres of our most fertile soil.—*John Swinton's Paper*.

THE UNEMPLOYED IN SYDNEY (N.S.W.).—With reference to the unemployed, we have obtained the following particulars of the operations carried on at the Carrington Relief Depot, King Street, for some time past. From the 29th October up to yesterday 2193 single men and 731 married men have received relief, making a total of 2924, and 1525 persons have been found employment. From the 29th October to the 30th November 40,603 meals were given at the depot, and 17,657 rations have been issued to married people. 120 men are to go away this morning to Gordon, in addition to those already despatched to the locality; 20 more go to Subiaco, and 10 to Prospect. To-morrow morning 40 will start for the Jenolan Caves road, and 30 to Burragorang, and this will bring the total number to whom employment has been furnished up to 1745, this being exclusive of 350 who have received free passes. 340 men have been turned away from the gates as undeserving of assistance. The married peoples' rations have been contracted for at 9d. per ration, and the single men have been supplied with two meals per day at a cost of 11d., or 5½d. for each meal.—*Sydney Herald*, Dec. 8.

"ALCOHOLIC EXCESS."—The anti-alcohol fanaticism renders folk absolutely blind and incapable of distinguishing between cause and effect. Of this we stumble across numberless instances in our own happy land, but of course hold no unenviable monopoly of this style of reasoning from false premises. For instance, I find quoted in the *Cri du Peuple* passages from an article relative to the diseases of tanners and leather-dressers, the writer whereof (in the journal *La Halle aux cuirs*) is firmly and comfortably convinced that all the ills that tanners' flesh is heir to are bequeathed by "the demon, Drink," as our own penny-a-line scribes are wont to call it. It is noteworthy that all bourgeois writers who pen articles on the abuses and sufferings to which the labour-class is subject are quick enough in "owning up" to the abuses of the past, but they hasten to add, "All that is changed now; to-day we improve every way, thanks to the application of science to the things of every-day life." But the "application of science" cannot make healthy occupation of cleaning skins, constantly absorbing putrefying and diseased animal matter, standing with feet in water and bending over the stretching frames hour after hour, day after day. Our author affirms that the constantly evolving injurious gases have no effect to-day on the worker, though they may have had formerly! That which really affects him is "alcoholic excess," which renders him liable to disease, etc., etc. He proceeds after this assertion to enumerate and describe the various ills caused by this trade—diseases, like many others, "invented" by the nineteenth century and the advance of civilisation; a civilisation which invents machines to make its "art objects," but so far has invented nothing that will do its dirty work, but must needs set men toiling at that, inventing for them new disease, and diseased bodily wants to follow, the satisfaction of which is a disgrace and a crime according to the dishonest writers who make their living as apologists for the present rule of Capital.—M. M.

The Disturbances at Norwich.

THE Council of the League has received a letter from our comrade Mahon (who went down to speak at Norwich on Sunday) about the disturbance that took place there on the 14th. He tells us that the meeting at which this occurred was a spontaneous one of the unemployed, at which our comrades were asked to speak. The town is much excited, and the workmen entirely on the Socialist side. A meeting held in the Market Place on Sunday 16th was attended by over 5000 persons who were enthusiastically Socialist in feeling. The Council has deputed a member of the League to speak next Sunday (23rd) at Norwich, addressing the workers and exploiters generally, rather than the unemployed specially, since their cause cannot be separated from that of all the workers, nor can they be relieved under the present system of wage-slavery, except as a matter of charity or from the results of a passing panic, which will leave them in a short time in as bad or a worse condition than before. It is necessary for the present system of production that there should be an army of unemployed in order to keep down the wages of the employed. It is impossible for any government except a revolutionary one to "employ" this army on making goods for the market. All that they can do is to grant "out-door relief" on a large scale; nor can even that miserable expedient last long.

Two members of the Socialist League and two others who were arrested, are held for trial at the Assizes, which began on Tuesday 18th. They are probably on their trial as we go to press. We are glad to hear that several anonymous friends, men of means in the city, have guaranteed all the expenses of the defence. Subscriptions are also coming in for the same purpose from numbers of workmen sympathisers. Verdict and sentence are already practically rendered and passed, as may be seen from the accompanying remarks of Mr. Justice Grantham in charging the Grand Jury:

"He regretted to find that the working people of Norwich, who had always been well-known for their orderly character and conduct, should have allowed themselves to be led away by those who, although they might say so, could not have the welfare of the working classes at heart. The great difficulty with which we had to contend was to prevent the working classes being misled by those who told them that they were badly treated; that they ought to have money whether they worked for it or not; and that those who had should be made to give to those who had not. He was happy to know that there was no reason why any one should starve in England, as food must be provided by law for those who had not got it. Sometimes, no doubt, people were not able to get quite as much as they would like, and perhaps sometimes not so much as they ought to have. But on the whole provision was made for the subjects of the Queen, so that, whatever might be the case, they could keep body and soul together, and live until they could improve their position. It was right that the legislature should not provide what might be termed ample food for everybody, whether everybody liked to work or not, because unfortunately there were many men who would rather stand idle on a pittance than work hard to get good wages. It was the principle of English law that such people as these should not be supported in idleness, and that nothing should be done to induce them to continue this description of life. He hoped that the working men of Norwich would take warning from what had happened, as it was clear that they had nothing to gain by assembling together and acting in a tumultuous manner. The recent rioting in Norwich arose from the foolish and seditious language of one or two persons who wanted to make themselves notorious; and he hoped that when these persons had been tried nothing more would be heard of such disorders."

We are awaiting further information, and shall publish a more detailed report next week.

LITERARY NOTICES.

'Mining Rents and Royalties (Modern Press, 1d.) by J. Morrison Davidson, is a clever criticism upon one phase of modern exploitation and gives nationalisation of rent as the remedy.

The 'House of Commons' (Reeves, 4d.) by Herbert Courtney, is a well-grounded attack upon the present "representative" system and a plea for the author's favourite "proportional representation." His view of the House of Commons as it should be is hardly that of a Socialist, who is apt to believe that non-existence is "as it should be."

The current number of *Time* contains an article entitled "Convicts in Parliament," in which Cipriani's career as a revolutionist fighter is recounted not unably. But I cannot refrain from uttering a protest against the tone of contemptuous abuse which pervades the article. However distasteful Cipriani may have been to Italian politicians and Italian Respectability, a "vulgar murderer" he is not: the mere detailing of the career of this ardent revolutionist should guard against the use of such terms. It is well known—though of course no anti-Socialist writer would allow it—that the "crime" of Alexandria was merely an act of self-defence in a meeting planned to provoke Cipriani to some act of violence whereby he should incriminate himself, and that Santini was the aggressor in the quarrel. As to the sentence passed in 1881, all one can say of such a proceeding as comment on Mr. Strachan Morgan's remark that "it was only by a legal quibble that his lawyers had tried to get him off from the punishment which he so richly deserved," is that the law is made up of legal quibbles, and that this passing of sentence after a lapse of over 10 years which, according to law, annuls legal proceedings, is a violation of justice which can surprise none—not even the most devout believer in Human Nature or that "indulgence in sentimental humanitarianism" which Mr. Strachan Morgan considers "out of place in Italy."



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Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Birmingham, Hackney, Hull, Leeds, North London, to August 31. Croydon, to September 30. Manchester, Merton, Norwich, to October 31. Bradford, to Nov. 30. Bloomsbury, Clerkenwell, Hammersmith, Lancaster, Oxford, to December 31. Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), to March 31, 1887.

Executive.

At its usual weekly meeting the following resolution was unanimously passed: "That this meeting of the General Council of the Socialist League expresses its heartiest sympathy with the victims of the miscreants responsible for the recent atrocious evictions at Glenbeigh." The Council draws the attention of members to the resolution passed by them, as under: "That members attending meetings must show their cards of membership, signed up to within two weeks."

"Commonweal" back numbers.

In future back numbers will not be exchanged dating back further than three weeks from current number. Branches are asked not to take more than they intend to keep of *Commonweal*.

STRIKE COMMITTEE.

W. M., ls. T. BINNING, Treasurer.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

M. M. (weekly), ls.; E. B. B. (weekly), ls.; T. B. (weekly), 6d.; W. B. (weekly), 6d.; B. (weekly), 6d.; Bloomsbury Branch (weekly), 5s.; T. Wardle (donation), 5s.

PH. W., Treasurer, Jan. 18.

BRANCH REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—On Friday, Jan. 14th, T. Binning lectured for this Branch.—L. W.

CROYDON.—On Sunday last, R. A. Beckett gave an interesting lecture on "Philoprogenitiveness." A good discussion followed.—A. T., ast.-sec.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, January 12, Mrs. Charlotte Wilson gave very interesting and instructive lecture on "The Revolt of the Workers in the Nineteenth Century;" a lively discussion followed. On Sunday, January 16, Geo. Bernard Shaw lectured on "Some Illusions of Individualism;" a lively discussion and good reply. Fair sale of *Commonweal* and pamphlets. Members are requested to take up Branch cards for 1887.—W. B. and T. E. W., joint-secs.

FULHAM.—On Sunday night, a meeting of members to discuss future arrangements was held at 34 May Street, and was adjourned till next Sunday at same address. The Branch is looking out for more suitable premises.—M. R.

HACKNEY.—On Sunday, S. Mainwaring lectured here on "Socialism." He said that the revolutionary Socialist never asks for palliative measures, either from local boards, or even Parliament itself. He showed that all movements of the people against abuse or monopoly, never succeeded except through the efforts of men who rebelled against the then existing "law and order." Good discussion. After the meeting the following resolution was carried unanimously: "That H. Graham be empowered to bring the question of the arrest of Mowbray, Henderson, Hall, and Murrell before the Council with a view of ascertaining its view on the matter."—H. MATTHEWS, sec.

HOXTON.—On Sunday evening, W. C. Wade lectured to a fair audience on "England in the Fifteenth Century." Good discussion followed. One new member made. The club in course of formation here is making satisfactory progress, and will shortly be opened, we being now in treaty for the premises for same.

GLASGOW.—The extremely cold weather still limits our efforts here. On Sunday afternoon, however, comrade Glasier addressed a large audience on Jail's Square. In the evening in Hall, Carlton Place, comrade Fisher McLaren gave an interesting history of the Scottish land system, in which he clearly showed the wholesale robbery by which private property in land has become so "deeply written" in our glorious constitution. A good discussion followed.—J. B. G.

HULL.—On Sunday last the meeting was opened with singing, the majority of those present joining heartily in "The March of the Workers." In future all our meetings will be opened in this way. Teesdale spoke briefly on "The Unemployed," showing the necessity of this class to the present "profit" system, and the impossibility of solving the problem except

by Socialism. This was also taken by Sheckell, Sansom, Devlin, Smith, and Porter, whilst Muir, who agreed in theory with our views, was much exercised as to the method of attaining them, as well as on the absence of "law and authority" in a Socialistic community. He was replied to by Devlin, Smith, and Teesdale.—E. T.

LANCASTER.—Interesting gathering on Friday night at Market Hall Coffee Tavern, Hoyle presiding. Comrade Tarn read thoughtful and pungent paper on "Competition," remarking that the only excellence possessed by the existing competitive arrangement was its inherent element of self-destruction.—LEONARD HALL, sec.

LEEDS.—On Sunday afternoon, we held our usual open-air meeting in Vicar's Croft, and comrades Braithwaite, Hill, and Sollett addressed an attentive audience on the "Principles of Socialism." At the close of the meeting a number of *Commonweals* were sold. In the evening, comrade Maguire lectured at the Gardener's Arms, Domestic Street. A good discussion followed.—F. CORKWELL, sec.

INDIVIDUALIST CLUB.—One of our comrades attended the opening ceremony of this famous club. The meeting began about three-quarters of an hour after the advertised time. There were four speakers to explain its objects. The audience were scarcely as numerous as the speakers, and discussion was prohibited.

THE Rev. Albert Lazenby delivered the first of a course of lectures on "Socialism" in the Unitarian Church, Vincent Street, Glasgow, on Sunday evening last. The lecturer, without committing himself to the methods, expressed himself quite in sympathy with the aims of Socialism. The large audience that assembled to hear the lecture shows how wide spread the interest in Socialism has become in that city.

LECTURE DIARY.

London Branches.

BLOOMSBURY.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street. Friday Jan. 21, at 8.30. A. K. Donald will discuss the Fifth Chapter of the 'Socialist Catechism.'—Members are asked to attend more regularly. Old membership cards can now be exchanged for new ones.

CLERKENWELL.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday Jan. 23, at 8.30. Hubert Bland, "Nihilism." Wednesday 26, at 8.30. A Lecture.—Members' Business Meeting at the Hall first Sunday in the month, at 7 p.m. sharp.

CROYDON.—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday Jan. 23. Sydney Olivier, "A Social View of Wealth."

FULHAM.—34 Mary Street. Sunday at 8 p.m.

HACKNEY.—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11.—A Free Concert will be held on Saturday Jan. 22, at 8 p.m.; members are earnestly requested to attend. Sunday 23, at 8 p.m. Mrs. C. M. Wilson, "The Revolt of the Workers in the Nineteenth Century."

HAMMERSMITH.—Kelmecott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Jan. 23, at 8. A lecture.

HOXTON (L. E. L.).—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield St., opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sunday Jan. 23, at 8 p.m. A Lecture.

MERTON.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday. Discussions held every Sunday morning at 11.—Sunday Jan. 23, at 8 p.m. W. Morris, "True and False Society."

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

NORTH LONDON.—32 Camden Road. Fridays at 8.

Country Branches.

BINGLEY.—Coffee Tavern. Every Monday at 7.30 p.m.

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

BRADFORD.—Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Road Wednesdays, at 8.

EDINBURGH (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. Reading Room and Library open every Wednesday evening, 8 till 10. The Treasurer attends for members' subscriptions first Wednesday of every month.

GLASGOW.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Saturday our comrade Arch. McLaren, M.A., will lecture on "Anarchism" at the Southern Literary Institute, Norfolk Street, S.S., at 8 o'clock.—Sunday, open-air meeting on Jail's Square (Green) at 4.30. At 6.30, in Hall, No. 2 Carlton Place, Clyde Side, Arch. McLaren, M.A., will lecture on "The Gracchi, or the Social Conflict in Ancient Rome."

HAMILTON.—Branch meets every Thursday at 7.30 in Paton's Hall, Chapel Street, until further notice. Lectures and Discussions.

HULL.—11 Princess Street, Sykes Street. Club Room open every evening. Lectures every Thursday and Sunday at 7 p.m. Jan. 23. J. Devlin, "The Condition of the Workers."

LEEDS.—No meeting-place at present.

LANCASTER.—Market Hall Coffee Tavern Lecture Room. Friday evenings at 8.

LEICESTER.—Silver Street. Wednesdays at 8 p.m.

MANCHESTER.—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening 6 to 10 p.m. Lecture and discussion every Wednesday at 8 p.m.—Comrade Parkinson will lecture at the Hall of Science, Horsedge St., Oldham,

on Sunday evening Jan. 23—subject, "Socialism and the Workers."

NORWICH.—No. 6 St. Benedict St. Lecture and discussion every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room open every day from 8.30 a.m. to 10 p.m.

OXFORD.—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Thursdays, at 8.30 p.m.

Open-air Propaganda—Sunday 16.

11.30...Hackney—"Salmon and Ball".....The Branch
11.30...Hammersmith—Beadon Rd.The Branch
11.30...Regent's ParkThe Branch
11.30...St. Pancras Arches.....The Branch
11.30...Walham Green—StationThe Branch
3.30...Hyde Park (near Marble Arch).....T. E. Wardle

PROVINCES.—SUNDAY.

IPSWICH.—Old Cattle Market, 11; Ship Launch, 3 p.m.

NORWICH.—St. Mary's Plain, 11; Market Place, 3.

LEEDS.—Hunslet Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m.

DEBATE ON SOCIALISM.—A Debate will take place at the Hall of Science, 142 Old Street, City Road, E.C., on February 2, 9, 16, and 23, at 8 p.m., between Mrs. Annie Besant and Mr. G. W. Foote, on the question, "Is Socialism sound?"

CLEVELAND HALL, 54 Cleveland Street (near Portland Road Station).—Sundays at 11.30 a.m. Jan. 23, W. Morris, "Socialism: its Aims and Methods."

MANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE, Berwick Street, Oxford Street.—On Sunday evening Jan. 23, at 8.30, Thomas E. Wardle will lecture on "The Truths of Socialism."

ENGLISH LAND RESTORATION LEAGUE.—Meetings on the Irish Question:—

Jan. 26. Central Finsbury Club, 81 Pentonville Rd.

Feb. 16. Dulwich Reform Club, Goose Green.

Several other meetings are being arranged.

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Printed and Published by WILLIAM MORRIS and JOSEPH LANE at 15 FARRINGTON ROAD, LONDON

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 55.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 29, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON PASSING EVENTS.

MR. JUSTICE GRANTHAM, in charging the Grand Jury at Norwich, apropos of the events which so unhappily delivered two of our comrades to the tender mercies of that strange specimen of humanity, the Special Fool in a high place, sung a song of triumph over that glorious institution, the workhouse. Oddly enough, in the issue of the day before of the same paper that gave us the solemn wisdom of this genius, there is printed a paragraph which is a good commentary on that blessing of modern times—that refuge for the unlucky which, according to his lordship, affords such a firm and satisfactory stand-point from which to aim at the conquest of health and wealth—the workhouse. We give the passage in full:

“WANDSWORTH.—CASUALS AND THEIR FOOD.—James Harding and George Wright were placed in the dock charged with refusing to work while casual paupers in Wandsworth workhouse.—George Cheshire, the superintendent, said the prisoners were admitted on Saturday night, and that morning he set them to work. Both refused to work.—The prisoner Wright said he could not work on the food given to him. He had dry bread, and was put in a place where he was perishing with cold all night. He would not do it for the Queen of England.—The superintendent said the wards were heated. The food consisted of eight ounces of bread for breakfast, half-a-pound with 1½ ounces of cheese as dinner, and eight ounces of bread with hot water to drink for supper.—Mr. Bennett: Not any cocoa, nor anything of the kind?—No, sir.—The prisoner said he had a pail of hot water and dry bread. A pail of hot water was brought in as if to a horse.—The witness stated that the diet was given by direction of the Local Government Board.—Mr. Bennett said if the prisoner had any ground of complaint he must go to the Local Government Board.—The prisoner said he might as well go to Buckingham Palace, and knock at the door and ask for the Queen.—Mr. Bennett committed the prisoners for seven days.”

The only comment on this paragraph that is possible is to ask if there is not some mistake in the report that the prisoners were sent to prison for seven days?

Mr. Justice Nupkins (we ask pardon, Grantham), being in a jovial and joking humour apparently, was so pleasant as to say that certain persons who misled the people and told them they were badly treated—to be sure: badly treated when going to the workhouse they can get their water *hot*: hot water, the drink at present of the more refined among the “cultivated classes”—that these persons told the working-classes that they ought to have money whether they worked for it or not. Setting aside Mr. Justice Nupkins’ confusion of ideas about the working-classes who don’t work, which is of itself pretty to behold, his lordship has only to attend a few Socialist meetings (he might draw up his carriage at the edge of the crowd) to hear those who want to have money without working for it pretty sharply denounced by these very misleaders of the working-classes. He would there learn that the living on other people without working is the very thing we demand to be abolished, though it must be admitted that at present it is the very foundation of that society of which his lordship is so starting an ornament.

It was announced last week that the Government were going to make a new departure in coercion, and would bring forward a regular gagging Bill, which would serve for arranging Irish affairs at present, and would also be available for dealing with English, Scotch, or Welsh discontent, as it was to be made applicable to the whole of the United Kingdom. Socialist organisations, we were told, might expect to be particularly honoured by the notice of this new Act.

This news seemed from the first almost too good to be true; but it seems it was true for the time, and that the Tory Government, on the look out for something to damage their really strong position, had hit on this device as a satisfactory one. But unluckily it is almost impossible for them to go on with the gagging enterprise, as it would stir up the vigorous opposition of the Radicals, and even the Liberals would be shamed into voting against such a measure. Accordingly they are now backing down: are going to begin with the bill on procedure, and will *only* make their gag for Ireland, though even on these terms they have very little chance of getting it through Parliament.

Mr. Goschen is carrying on his candidature for Liverpool merrily, and in spite of the result of the last election, in which the Liberal candidate was successful, he will probably get in, owing to the servility of all parties towards “a distinguished official,” “a man of so much importance,” and so forth. Meantime this light of intellectual finance has introduced himself by making a long speech down there which was

really remarkable for emptiness, dullness, and twaddle, even among election speeches.

Apropos of Members of Parliament, the following story told by Mr. Labouchere at Spalding on Thursday week is too good to be lost. He said:—

“The atmosphere of the House of Commons does not seem to agree with Radicals. They soon want to become fine gentlemen. He remembered a case in one of the divisions with regard to the admission of Mr. Bradlaugh. About ten minutes before the division a highly respectable gentleman on the Liberal side of the House came to me and said, ‘You know I have been thinking this over, and my conscience won’t allow me to vote for Bradlaugh.’ I replied, ‘I have not got time enough to talk about your conscience—what do you want?’ The Member said, ‘What do you mean? I am not that sort of person’; whereupon I said, ‘Do you want to be made a knight?’ and the gentleman replied, ‘No, you are entirely mistaken.’ I next asked him, ‘Have you got a wife?’ and he answered, ‘Yes.’ ‘Well, do you get asked to those crowds, those receptions, at the Foreign Office?’ The hon. Member admitted that he and his wife rather complained that they had not, and then I said, ‘You go in and vote, and I’ll see that you are asked to them in the future,’ and in about ten minutes afterwards I polled that patriot in.”

Walpole, in the good old bribing days, would have been happy if he could have bought his votes as cheap as that.

The Commission on the Depression of Trade has issued its report. It will be criticised hereafter in these columns in some detail, so that it may go for the present with a few words. It is a matter of course that the Commissioners try to put the best face possible on the state of things commercial, though they do not succeed very well in the attempt. They say, “There can be no question that the workman is in this country, *when fully employed*, in almost every respect in a better position than his competitors in foreign countries.” The italics are our own. Will the Commissioners pretend that they do not know that even in good years the great mass of working-men in and about London are unemployed for four months out of the twelve? that the workmen of the great industries have to “average” their wages, have to insure, so to say, against the months that they are “at play,” from strikes and lock-outs and the like? Will they say where in Europe or Asia they can find a workman more miserably pinched and resourceless than the south-west country labourer with his income of 10s. a-week when things are going well?

Or need one keep one’s patience any longer with those miserable fools and liars, paid to lie and paid to be dull by a blind society amidst its last corruption? It is true that they are not paid to be imaginative; but a little imagination is necessary to most men, if only to keep their bodies from stinking in default of salt. Let them, then, bring their imagination to bear upon facts, and try to picture their noble and cultivated selves reduced to the condition of those workmen whose lot they are so contented with. Let them think of themselves as living and keeping a home together on 10s. a-week in a Gloucestershire cottage, or worse still, on 16s. in a London slum; and if they have really tried to do so and have any honesty left in them, if they can do nothing else, at least let them hold their tongues and live silently on the proceeds of the perpetual *robbery* which habit has made them look upon as a holy right and the cement of society.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

MEN VERSUS CLASSES.

THE well-intentioned, kind-hearted gentleman who perspires philanthropy all over at the bare thought of the working-classes, is often shocked at the fact that modern Socialism starts from the idea of an irreconcilable class-struggle. “Look at me,” he says, “and others like me; we are middle-class men, and yet we have a profound sympathy with the people. It is surely unreasonable to attack a whole class in the way you do when it contains such excellent and noble-hearted representatives.” Now, irrespective of the genuineness of the particular person in question or his friends, there is undoubtedly a point touched on here which to the neophyte in Socialism requires elucidating.

Socialists attack the middle-class as the root of all evil. The neophyte knows that he daily comes in contact with middle-class men whom he respects, nay, who may themselves be working for Socialism. On the other hand, he finds that there are plenty of men belonging to the working-class whom he cannot respect. Now, here is a problem for the Socialist! What is the solution?

In the character of every human being, man or woman, in the present day, we shall be able to detect without much difficulty two sides, more or less distinct, more or less blended. On the one hand, you have the side of friendship, of devotion, of good-nature, of refinement, of the social qualities generally; on the other, that of acquisitiveness (greed), meanness, hypocrisy, coarseness, brutality—in fact, the anti-social qualities. Now, we maintain that in every civilised human being these two elements are present to a greater or less extent, it is only a question of degree. The anti-social qualities belong at bottom, to the anti-human, or pre-human nature, which human nature has inherited, and which were superseded by the specifically human nature or qualities which presided over the institution of tribal Society. But, in their present form, we contend they have taken on the forms and become crystallised into expressions of class-opposition. Some of them, indeed (e.g., *vulgarity* in its various forms, and *hypocrisy*), are entirely the offspring of the class-society of modern times. The social qualities, on the other hand, are inherited from the human nature which, as we have just said, superseded men's brute nature in the earliest forms of society. But these, again, have maintained themselves only in spite of the class system, and have disputed the ground with it inch by inch. It is evident, then, that every man in the present day, inasmuch as he belongs to one or other of the two great modern classes, the fleecers or the fleeced, the oppressors or the oppressed, the middle-class or the working-class, possesses, in addition to his manhood, a classhood. The classhood necessarily interpenetrates his whole system, although it may not be always obvious. His social qualities may gain the upper hand, and permanently repress the anti-social qualities and prejudices which he inherits from his class. Again, his class-character may completely eat away his human character. Like the cells and fibres of cancer in the human body, his class character may be latent, and only become active from some external cause. It may then break out in the most unexpected ways. In any case, the human or social character *varies in an inverse proportion* to the class or anti-social character of the man. This is an important fact. A mathematician might make a reputation by wrapping it up in curves and equations.

And it will be observed that I make no distinction here in favour of the working-class as such. All class character *qua* class character is bad. Were the working-man any more than the middle-class man a seraph, Socialism would be unnecessary. Socialists who recognise individual character to be the child of social condition, could not expect a class degraded materially to the condition of Proletarianism not to bear the mark of this degradation on the character of its members. We may observe, however, in passing, though it is immaterial to the point, that while the class-element alike in the character of Proletaire as of Bourgeois is bad in itself, yet it has probably in the former case been less generally successful in corrupting the human nature into which it has entered than in the latter. The particular class-qualities in the character of the modern capitalist may be roughly indicated by the definition, *vulgarity in a solution of hypocrisy*; the particular class-qualities in the character of the modern proletarian as *brutality in a solution of servility*.

How plainly both are the outcome of economic condition will be evident at a glance. Open your morning paper, and you will see both illustrated in its columns. They are the obverse and the reverse of the same medal—modern civilisation. But, we repeat, these class qualities may be reduced to the minimum in favour of the essentially human or social qualities in individual instances in either case; or they may on the other hand be so highly developed as to exclude the latter altogether. The last case may be best illustrated by types drawn from those concerned in class-politics. Almost any statesman—let us take as types a Harcourt or a Goschen—exhibit the class-element in its purest embodied form. Such men are lumps of class-feeling. A hypocritical vulgarity has in them absorbed humanity. The corresponding illustration of the mere proletarian class-element may be looked for in that section of the Anarchist party which pursues the tactics technically known as *diebspolitik*, and of which a Stellmacher is a type. Here also the class-element, a servile brutality, the mere bloodthirstiness and lust of gain of the slave, has eaten out humanity. Of course, these are extreme instances on both sides. Human life would be manifestly impossible were the whole male middle-class transformed into Harcourts or Goschens, no less than if the whole proletariat were transformed into Stellmachers. Between them lie the great mass of both classes, where human feeling struggles with class-feeling with varying success. In the centre a nucleus is beginning to form. It is the International Socialist Party. And just here the chief superiority of the working-class as a class over the middle-class comes into view. Among the working-classes there is a large section, especially on the Continent of Europe, among whom the mere class-qualities have to a large extent succumbed to human qualities, although they necessarily and properly (as we shall show directly) take a class-form. Such, in the nature of things, is not the case with the middle-classes. They, as classes, have material power and wealth bound up with their class-being; so that while with the working-man culture in the natural course of things is a direct avenue to the elevation of the class-feeling within him to a human feeling, with the middle-classes it too often only cements it with a thicker varnish of hypocrisy. The educated workman knows that human progress is bound up with the ascendancy of his class. The educated bourgeois knows that human progress is bound up with the decay and overthrow of his class; so that where we have among the working-classes whole sections that are Socialistic, we have among the middle-classes only isolated individuals.

How, then, it may be said, if we admit class-feeling to be that element in the modern character in which its worst and anti-social features are embodied, can we make the accentuation and exacerbation of class-feeling the starting-point for a social reconstruction in which classes shall be abolished? Is not the attitude of the benevolent old gentleman who says, let us ignore classes, let us regard each other as human beings, more consonant with what we have been saying? We answer no, if we are to deal with facts and not with phrases. Classes exist; you may ignore them, but they will exist still with the respective characters they engender. Though you ignore them they will not ignore you. The difference between the Socialist and the benevolent bourgeois Radical in their respective crusades against classes is, that while the one would affirm the *form* of class-distinction, knowing that thereby the *reality* of class-distinction will be negated, the other, though ostentatiously denying the *form* of class-distinction, would affirm the *content* or *reality* of class-distinction, inasmuch as he would leave it untouched. He thinks to get rid of class-instincts while maintaining classes. To be rid of classes, the possessing and expropriating class must be itself expropriated—expropriated of its power of expropriating, in other words—of that control of the instruments of production by which its class-character is maintained, when it will disappear together with its correlate, the possessed and expropriated classes. It is not true, as might at first sight be supposed, that the political class-feeling of the Socialist workman is the mere anti-social class-feeling of the ordinary proletarian (*lumpen proletarian*), or of the mere bloodthirsty Anarchist. It is human feeling in a class guise. The Socialist workman's conscious end and aspiration is the annihilation of classes, with the class-element in character. He knows well enough that his classhood places him at a disadvantage. He knows that the fact of his belonging to an oppressed class is an insuperable obstacle to the development of the best within him; just as the middle-class Socialist knows that the fact of his belonging to an oppressing class is equally an obstacle to the development of his nobler qualities. Mere class-instinct, which *per se* is necessarily anti-social, can never give us Socialism. That is why the most degraded section of the proletariat are, to a large extent, useless for the Cause of Socialism. Their lower class-instincts are incapable of being purified of their grosser elements, and transformed into that higher instinct which, though on its face it has the impress of a class, is in its essence above and beyond class; which sees in the immediate triumph of class merely a means to the ultimate realisation of a purely human Society, in which class has disappeared. With those who have attained to this instinct, classhood or class-interest has become identical with humanity or human interest. In the Socialist workman the class-instinct has become transformed into the conviction that, in the words of Lassalle, "he is called to raise the principle of his class into the principle of the age." He knows that in the moment of victory—of the realisation of the dominion of his class—the ugly head of class itself must fall, and Society emerge. Militant, his cause is identified with class; triumphant, with Humanity.

Meanwhile, we who live to-day, who are the offspring of a class Society, and who breathe the atmosphere of a class Society, bear ineradicably the mark of the class-demon upon us. It is engrained in our characters. Even among Socialists, where its grosser features are toned down or obliterated, it shows itself ever and anon. It is only a question of more or less. In no human being born in a class Society can the class element be altogether absent from his character. In the best working-class Socialist there is a strain of possible brutality. In the best middle-class Socialist there is a strain of possible snobbishness. Meanwhile, we know that these things endure but for a day. We may, therefore, take heart of grace. One more decisive affirmation of class-interest, and then the end of *Classes* (with their hypocritical vulgarity on the one side and their servile brutality on the other) and the beginning of *Men*.

E. BELFORT BAX.

WEALTH.

(Concluded from p. 26).

HAVING arrived at the conclusion that wealth is power, and we hope our arguments are sufficiently clear to carry the assent of the reader, we shall now endeavour to specialise our definition—that is, to indicate the kind of power that is meant. The way to do this will be to name the opposition, the forces, that wealth overcomes. These forces range themselves under two categories—one permanent, the other temporary. The permanent forces comprise those that under all circumstances are opposed to man in the struggle for existence—or instead of "under all circumstances," the natural forces that he has to overcome in seeking to supply his needs or to procure enjoyment. The temporary forces comprise those that man opposes to man: it is the conflict between these forces that has hitherto been the subject-matter of history. The history of the Roman Empire, for instance, is simply a series of struggles between the Romans and other nations, and, in the absence of such struggles, another series between different parties in the Empire itself.

As a consequence of the dual character of the human struggle for existence, we find two broadly distinct classes in human society. Soldiers, policemen, and other government officials are embraced in the class that contends with what we have called the temporary forces; while the industrial classes are those that contend with the permanent forces. Under no circumstances can the former class live except on the latter; under easily enough conceivable circumstances, however, the latter can do without the former. These two

classes are pretty much the same as the productive and unproductive classes of the economists. This, however, by the way. Suffice to remember that the human struggle for existence is of a twofold character—the struggle of man with man, and the struggle of man with Nature. The struggle of man with man is *per se* a barren struggle; during its continuance nothing is produced, much is wasted. The struggle of man with Nature is the only struggle that is productive, and that results in progress.

In seeking to define wealth we do not require to take into consideration those temporary forces that it enables us to overcome. For every nation those forces are different; consequently the science of wealth would be different in every nation. The forces that we have called temporary are matters for the consideration of statesmen—not economists—and from such consideration is framed the public policy. These forces being temporary and fluctuating, the policy of a nation varies; being, moreover, as already pointed out, different in different nations, the policy of one nation differs from the policy of another.

It is from the permanent forces that man has to contend with that the meaning of wealth is to be got at. These forces we have also called natural forces; by them we mean the opposition that Nature offers to man's continued well-being. For instance, to live and to thrive man must have food and water, and must keep himself up to a certain temperature. Now these things are not attained without an effort; the want of food, of water, and of shelter is not satisfied without some opposition being overcome, and the power to overcome this opposition and to satisfy this want is wealth. Wealth, then, is power to satisfy desire, to attain ends. The wealthier man is, the greater is his power to satisfy desire, to attain his ends; while the poorer he is the less is this power.

That the definition of wealth just given is correct, may appear more clearly from a consideration of some of the definitions given by political economists. Take Adam Smith's: "The annual produce of the land and labour of the Society." Here, in addition to the error, already pointed out as common to all definitions yet given, of neglecting to consider wealth as an abstract noun, we have a misconception introduced by the word "annual." The wealth of England, for instance, at the end of a year, is not surely to be measured by what England has produced during that year. The roads, the railways, canals, docks, ships, warehouses, machinery that have been made in previous years in England, go as much towards contributing to the wealth of England as the produce of the year under consideration.

Besides, suppose a country where everything is free, where man has only to pluck and eat, where there is no necessity for toil; then, the produce of the labour of that country would amount to nothing and consequently its wealth, if wealth is to be regarded as the produce of the labour of a country, would amount to nothing. Such a country would, instead of being the richest, as we should ordinarily be inclined to regard it, be the poorest country in the world.

It may strike the reader that we have dealt with only part of Adam Smith's definition in the preceding paragraph, and that our strictures are not applicable to the whole of it—viz., that the wealth of a country is the produce of its land and labour, not of the produce of its labour only. We took this latter part by itself merely for convenience, and not with any evasive intention. Let us now consider the definition as given by Adam Smith himself, and let us suppose two countries instead of one where the fruits of the earth are to be had merely for the plucking. In respect of the produce of the land these two countries are equal in wealth; it is, however, necessary for one country to build fortifications and to keep itself provided with the instruments of war; for the other country no such necessity exists, it being made impregnable to foes by Nature, and it accordingly is not provided with any such things. Now if the wealth of a country is the produce of its land and labour, which of these two countries is the wealthiest? The one whose land and labour produce is greatest. Now that would be the one that had to be prepared against attack, because its land and labour produce would be greater than the produce of the other by the results of the labour imposed on it by its position. Here, then, would be a disadvantage leading to an increase of wealth, which is of course absurd.

With such a view of wealth as that laid down by Adam Smith, there is no inconvenience, no matter how great, that cannot be shown to be a source of wealth. For instance, if we suppose, as John Stuart Mill does, that from some revolution in Nature the atmosphere at the disposal of some community were to become too scanty for the consumption and had to be artificially supplied, then here would be additional labour imposed upon the community, and consequently additional wealth would ensue. Such are the erroneous conclusions that we are led to from regarding wealth as the produce of the land and labour of a country.

The preceding remarks on Adam Smith's definition of wealth apply with equal force to the definition, "all useful and agreeable things possessing exchange value." In the first place, this also overlooks the abstract nature of the name wealth. In the next place, if a community existed where all useful and agreeable things had no exchange value, in other words if they were as free as air is now, then such community would have no wealth at all. Ordinarily we should consider such a community to be extremely wealthy, inasmuch as its members enjoyed such facilities, such power, to satisfy their wants.

That wealth is power has frequently been remarked. Among others we find Hobbes calling wealth power. Adam Smith, however, denied this, adding that although a man may have a large fortune he may not rise to political power, the large fortune only enables him the more easily perhaps to secure that power. This criticism applies only to a

large fortune and to political power, which are by no means synonymous with wealth and power. Mill also incidentally remarks that wealth is power. Nowhere, however, so far as the present writer is aware, is wealth formally defined to be power to satisfy desire, to attain ends.

W. B. R.

"POMARE."

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

I.

ALL the Cupids in my breast,
All the little Love-gods there,
Cry aloud, and will not rest,
"Hail to our great Queen Pomare!"

Not the Queen of isles Pacific;
Nay, a Christian convert she;
Mine is turbulent, terrific,
Fierce, impetuous and free.

Twice in every week she prances,
Where her worshippers may view;
In the public gardens dances
Polkas, and the Cancan too.

Majesty in all her paces!
Every inch a Queen by right!
Bounteous glimpses of her graces
Dazzle each beholder's sight.

Let her dance—but in my breast
All the little Love-gods there
Cry aloud, and cannot rest,
"Hail to our great Queen Pomare!"

II.

She dances. How her body glides!
What grace her every movement guides!
Such raptures through the gazers thrill,
Their beating hearts they cannot still.

She dances. When she shows her charms
By whirling round with outstretched arms,
Then stands erect on pointed toe,
My sense and reason reeling go.

She dances. 'Tis the self-same dance
In Herod's sight did gleam and glance,
Before his fair niece paused for breath
With lightning in her eyes like death.

She'll dance me mad; my brain's on fire;
Speak, girl, what is't thou dost desire?
She smiles: 'ha! slaves, the doom is said;
Go smite me off John Baptist's head!

III.

Yesterday, to earn her food,
Danced she where thick mud was
strewed;
But to-day in carriage proud
Rides she through the common crowd:
On the silken cushions there
Lies her raven length of hair.
Seated high she scorns to greet
Folk that trudge with weary feet.

Ah, when thus I see thee ride,
Pity needs must pardon pride.
Woe is me! another day
Thou wilt ride a drearier way
To the hospital, where death,
Foul of form, will stop thy breath.
Students then with greasy hand,
Fain thy fate to understand,
Thy fair body will inspect,
All thy lovely limbs dissect;
And thy steeds, for fate is hard,
Yet will tread the knacker's yard.

IV.

Nay, the plot has been amended;
Kind is Fate that seemed so dread;
God be thanked, thy life is ended;
God be thanked that thou art dead.

Yes, the attic was thy mother's,
Where thou lay'st in woeful wise;
Her kind hand, and not another's,
Was the hand that closed thine eyes;

Bought a shroud to deck thee duly,
And a pillow pure and clean;
Though thy train of mourners truly
Was a trifle poor and mean.

Not a priest his presence lent;
Not a bell for thee might stir;
By thy bier none other went,
But thy dog and hair-cutter.

"Often have I combed her hair,"
Sighed he, "hair that reached her
knees,
As she sat before me there—
Black locks o'er her white chemise."

For the dog—with much misgiving
From the churchyard door he goes;
He will find a famous living
Later on with Mistress Rose.

Mistress Rose, who once for spleen,
When she first from Provence came,
Grudging thee thy name of Queen,
Did her best to blast thy fame.

Poor lost Queen, whose crown of clay
Graced—as such crowns can—thy
head,
By God's loving hand to-day
Thou art saved, for thou art dead.

As thy mother, so thy Father
Now takes pity on thy state;
This, methinks, he does the rather,
Since on earth thy love was great.

LITERARY NOTICES.

Our Commonwealth, Adelaide, South Australia, is an advanced, alert, and readable exponent of land nationalisation and tax reform. It is also an honest labour paper, a great desideratum in that part of the world.

The *Pioneer* is a new Radical paper, published at 1d. weekly at 42 Argyll Street, Glasgow. It is rather more advanced than the name "Radical" generally conveys, and if it keeps up to the lines laid down in its first issue, will do much to destroy the loathsome Whigism that masquerades under the more advanced name.

Articles of interest to Socialists. *Scottish Review*: "Byzantinism and Hellenism"; "Egypt on the Eve of the English Invasion." *Statistical Society's Journal*: "Economic Science and Statistics"; "Working-men's Co-operative Associations in Great Britain." *Edinburgh Review*: "English Land, Law, and Labour"; "The Ancient Laws of Wales." *Quarterly*: "Epidemics"; "The Coming Session." *London Quarterly*: "The Alternative of Socialism"; "Mr. Arnold's Report on Continental Education." *Political Science Quarterly*: "Scientific Socialism"; "Theories of Property."

George F. Rohrbach, one of the Labour representatives elected to the Illinois Legislature, received an annual pass from the Alton road and returned it, writing, "I must respectfully beg to decline it, being under no obligation to you whatever, nor wishing to put myself under any, and knowing no reason why this railroad pass should be sent, except it was for some purpose of your own or to further ends that are to the advantage of railroads and detrimental to the constituents I represent—namely the people."

Ghent, Jan. 25.—Disturbances occurred at the theatre here to-night during the performance of a Flemish piece, in which the occupation of Belgium by the French Republicans is represented in an unfavourable light. At a given moment a large number of workmen and Socialists among the audience interrupted the performance by hooting and hissing, and a scuffle thereupon ensued between the working men and the tradesmen and middle-class people among the audience. The police eventually intervened and effected a number of arrests. During the disturbance inside, a large number of Socialists collected at the entrance of the theatre singing the Marseillaise.



"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.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

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

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday January 26.

ENGLAND Eastern Daily Press Luton Free Press Glasgow—Pioneer Worker's Friend Norwich—Daylight Justice	Cincinnati (O.) Unionist Springfield (Ill.)—Voice of Labor Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt Portland (Oreg.) Avant-Courier Corning (Iowa) Revue Icarienne	Turin—Il Muratore
SOUTH AUSTRALIA Adelaide—Our Commonwealth	FRANCE Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) Journal du Peuple Guise—Le Devoir Lille—Le Travailleur	SPAIN Madrid—El Socialista Barcelona—Acracia Cadiz—El Socialismo
CANADA Toronto—Labor Reformer	BELGIUM Liege—L'Avenir Antwerp—De Werker Brussels—L'Avant-Garde	PORTUGAL Oporto—A Perla
UNITED STATES Model Commonwealth New York—Freiheit Boston—Woman's Journal Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer	ITALY Milan—Il Fascio Operaio	AUSTRIA Arbeiterstimme Vienna—Gleichheit
		ROMANIA Jassy—Lupta
		DENMARK Social-Demokraten
		SWEDEN Stockholm—Social-Demokraten

NOTES.

In its comments upon affairs in general the *Spectator* indulges in the following: "The taxes have not pressed perceptibly; bread has been abnormally cheap; wages have declined less than the fall in provisions, and the suffering has not fallen on the body of the people. The Haves have borne the brunt instead of the Have-nots."

As for the taxes, any taxpayer will answer that taxes have increased much beyond any asserted greater efficiency in the public service.

Bread has been cheap, but not so cheap as the tone of the *Spectator* would seem to imply; even if it were, what particular benefit would it work to the proletariat, seeing that the present system at once transfers all saved thereby to the pockets of their exploiters?

Wages can only be said to have declined less than the price of provisions, because other things, such as rent, have risen, and because the lessening of the cost of subsistence must necessarily go before the wage-lowering that it causes.

The man is to be envied for his consummate impudence, or despised for his falsity, who can look round upon the people to-day and assert that "the suffering has not fallen upon the body of the people."

"The Haves have borne the brunt." Of what? Of misery, anxiety, degradation? Have they been driven again and again to despair and suicide? If they, not we, are miserable, why do they not throw aside their hampering wealth and come out of "the House of Bondage"?

Accidents happen pretty impartially to rich and poor—that is to say, accidents not arising directly from the conditions of the lives of the poor. The notice taken of them varies, however, to an enormous degree. Seventeen people are crushed and trampled to death on Tuesday at Spitalfields, and it is not until Wednesday afternoon that any details reach the public, and not until Thursday that the full story is published. Had the seventeen been "swells," and the place a West End hall, what a noise would have been made!

One of the so-called comic journals in a late issue propounded a brilliant plan for relieving the present distress. "How would it do to engage one half of the unemployed as extra policemen, with the special mission of locking up the other?" Most probably, to the man who wrote and to the men who read this it would require a tremendous

amount of explanation to show that this was much like what is continually being done to keep the system going—one half the working-class being uniformed and set aside to keep the other half "in its place."

A friend writes giving us the particulars of a case which came under his own observation. A young lady made application by letter to a draper for employment. She was quite inexperienced in such matters, and wrote a simple, plain statement of her qualifications and requirements, incidentally mentioning food and sleeping accommodation. She had no reply from the firm, but one of the assistants employed there saw her letter and wrote very kindly to give her advice to guide her in writing after another berth. The chief point in the advice was—"Never ask about sleeping accommodation or food: you will always find it resented." The friend who writes is quite astonished at all this, and says, "Service in shops and abject slavery are very much the same thing." The particulars given not long ago in these columns, as well as those that have appeared in many other places, go to show that among wage-slaves the shop-assistants are the most ill-treated; but all people dependent on an employer are liable to this kind of treatment, nor can it be wondered at that employers are touchy as to their dignity while their position confers such power.

This month a Warrington leather cutter died from having his arm crushed by machinery. The widow said he had several times complained of the danger and that he should be crippled. The manager admitted that others had been injured. After the coroner (W. F. Husband) said "there was no doubt risk attending the working of the machinery, but this must have been known to the deceased, who was at liberty to leave," the jury returned a verdict of accidental death, expressing the opinion that precautions should be taken. Of what value are our protective laws while men still work at dangerous and complicated machinery?

"Archdeacon Farrar denounced the luxurious habits of the present day, which gave 'the picture of wealth, a monster gorged, side by side with suffering and starving poverty.' He candidly confessed himself, however, unwilling to abandon the flesh-pots." (Quoted in *Vegetarian Messenger*.) The Archdeacon, speaking also of the "dribbles given away in charity," says we are at this moment stupendously and overwhelmingly wealthy, and we have in ten years invested and laid by for the enrichment of our families 120 millions of pounds. "There is money enough in the country to beautify every city and gladden every home." We are glad to find any one in such a position denouncing Mammon-worship, the love of selfish luxury, family aggrandisement, and personal display. May we not hope that the Archdeacon will go on to discover that our archbishops and bishops need converting to renounce the filthy lucre which they are now loth to lose, and that finally he will join the Socialists to sweep away the iniquitous system which in so many cases brings ugliness to our cities and sadness to our homes?

We understand that the Earl of Derby was lately the nameless donor of £5, 5s. to the Vegetarian Society. What a pleasing surprise there is in store for those who now provide for his lordship, when they learn that he has acquired the vegetarian's art of living on a shilling a-week! His tenants may then laugh at foreign competition; and the patient plodding labourer change from the long-suffering, despaired rustic into a free and light-hearted peasant; for the feast (and houses, horses, dogs, and all) Hodge now provides will be no longer required when his masters are taught by this beneficent society "How to Live in the Street called Straight."

John Smith, labourer, was indicted for having on the 31st ult. broken the window of Messrs. Austin's establishment, Westmorland Street, and stolen two silver bracelets value 35s. The evidence showed that the prisoner had in broad daylight smashed the large pane of plate glass with his hand and snatched up two bracelets. He was caught redhanded and brought off to the station. The Recorder directed a verdict of "Guilty." He asked the prisoner what he had to say for himself. Prisoner: It is a very hard case that some people should have their shop windows lined with jewellery while others should be going about without a shilling in their pockets. The Recorder said he could not treat this kind of ruffianism like an ordinary case: he must sentence the prisoner to twelve months' imprisonment with hard labour. (*Dublin Daily Express*, Jan. 15.) Which is the "ruffianism" that cannot be treated as an ordinary case—stealing the jewellery, or protesting against the system under which one displays his wealth whilst others starve? Would the quondam philanthropist who represents Law and Order in Green Street kindly say?

At Frankfurt on Saturday the great Socialist trial was finished. Thirty-one of the accused were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

The German Socialists in New York have held a mass meeting at which the dissolution of the Reichstag was denounced, and a resolution was passed to supply the working men of Germany with funds for the electoral campaign.

THE S. D. F. AND THE NORWICH SOCIALISTS.—The following resolution was unanimously passed at the meeting of the General Council of the Social-Democratic Federation, held on Monday Jan. 24: "That this meeting of the General Council of the Social-Democratic Federation expresses its deepest sympathy with their comrades of the Norwich Branch of the Socialist League, who have been so harshly dealt with by Mr. Justice Grantham in connection with the disturbances in that city, and strongly condemns the ferocious partisanship and indecent distortion of facts shown by a judge who gained his seat on the bench by doing the dirty work of the Tory Party."

THE NORWICH SOCIALISTS.

A TOWN IN TURMOIL.—SHAMEFUL SENTENCES ON COMRADES HENDERSON AND MOWBRAY.

THE news of rioting and amateur rebellion in Norwich on the 14th, took most people by surprise. It was thought that the "unemployed question" had been settled by the alleged revival of trade. The reports published by the London papers were very meagre, just large enough to get a string of lies in. They made the impression that a riot had been provoked by the Socialists, and was quickly quelled by the valiant police. But this turns out to be a totally wrong impression of what took place.

On Sunday, at 2 a.m., I arrived in Norwich from London, and found about a score of members of the Branch at the station. I soon set about getting at the real facts of the disturbance of the previous Friday. The Branch of the Socialist League has not been carrying on a special unemployed agitation, and had no part in calling the meeting at which the riot occurred. The unemployed took the move in the agitation themselves, and carried out the arrangements from first to last. After having arranged to hold the meeting they asked for a Socialist speaker to address it, and this request, of course, could not be refused. Mowbray agreed to speak at the meeting, and Henderson went with him. The meeting took place, and there were very few members of the Socialist League present. A stranger moved "that Mowbray take the chair," and this was carried by acclamation. A deputation was then appointed, in which Henderson was included, and it went to interview the mayor. This official did a good deal to exasperate the people by the indifference with which he treated their complaints. The meeting sent up a series of yells, which had the effect of reducing the dignitary to a civil mood. While the deputation was in the Guildhall, Mowbray kept the meeting together with a speech, which was certainly not of a very inflammatory character. After waiting one hour and a quarter, a message was brought to the meeting by the deputation that the mayor would put a notice in the paper calling a meeting of his friends, and would see what they could do, and that their decision would be conveyed through the press. This kind of reply was hardly likely to put hungry men into a good temper. They called aloud for Mowbray to lead them, and they would sack the shops. Mowbray answered that in laying their case before the mayor he had done all he could, and must now leave the matter in their hands. The meeting sang "The Starving Poor of Old England." Henderson addressed several short speeches to the crowd, and it is difficult to find out exactly what he said. Some say he told the men to go and take food, others that he told them the food was there, and that they would be criminals if they allowed their families to starve while it was there. After this the crowd moved down towards the Market Place. On coming to a street called "The Gentleman's Walk," the crowd got more turbulent, and arguments and other things were used. A solitary ham was all the food stolen. A banker's, a grocer's, a tea merchant's, and a confectioner's windows were smashed. About fourteen policemen then charged the crowd. They used their truncheons very freely, although no resistance was offered. Hall was taken first in the act of trying to smash a window. The whole fourteen policemen took one man and marched him off to the station. Mowbray was then taken. He made no resistance, and dissuaded the crowd from protecting him. One of the policemen went to strike him with his truncheon, but somehow Mowbray got hold of the weapon and pitched it away, and "stealing a truncheon, the property of the corporation," is among the other crimes laid at his door. Henderson, and afterwards Hurrell, were also arrested. The crowd soon dispersed, and things quietened down. Mowbray is known to have saved an old woman's nut-stall from being pillaged by someone, but this will not tell so much in his favour as if he had saved the banker's window.

Such is a true and fairly complete account of what happened. The speeches made, whether wild or not, were endorsed by the crowd and by half the workmen in the town. On Sunday I addressed four meetings, and in every case there seemed the utmost unanimity in supporting the imprisoned men. Hurrell and Hall are not members of the Branch, and are total strangers to the Socialists. At this moment it is impossible to say what the result will be. The four prisoners were committed on Saturday to the Assizes, and their case will come on for trial on Tuesday or Wednesday; the result will most likely be known as soon as this number of the *Commonweal* is published.

The meeting in the Market Place on Sunday, was attended by over 5000 people, and the greatest enthusiasm prevailed. Three stentorian cheers were given for the Social Revolution, and another three for the imprisoned men. A considerable sum was collected for the defence. In the evening at seven another very large meeting was held in the open-air. At eight, the Branch lecture-room and the street adjoining was packed with those anxious to hear the lecture, and testify their interest in Socialism.

Of course, the town authorities soon passed from a state of callous indifference to an absurd panic. Orders for bread and soup are being given out pretty lavishly, and the hungry and miserable have again been taught that where begging fails threats and disturbance will succeed.

J. L. MAHON.

Norwich, Monday Night, January 17th.

Since receiving our comrade Mahon's letter, the verdict and formal sentence have been given; the verdict, of course, Guilty, as seldom

fails to be the case when the cats try the mice; as to the sentence, from Mr. Justice Nupkins-Grantham, it was not likely to be a light one, but most people who have noticed the case must have been rather startled when they saw that Mowbray was sentenced to nine months' hard labour, and Henderson to four. As to the trial it is clear that in the minds of the judge, and probably in those of the jurymen under his direction, the prisoners were not being tried for creating a riot, but for preaching Socialism in Norwich for the past six months. The judge's charge was worthy of the times of Peterloo, and was undisguised advocacy against the accused; and it was a mere farce to call the trial a trial by jury.

The judge stopped Mowbray in his statement before the sentence, and told him "to refer to what took place on the occasion, and not to make a speech," although in his charge he spoke chiefly of what had happened before the riot; so that he was clearly of opinion that there should be one law for the prosecution and another for the accused. The dwelling on the previous convictions of Mowbray for the terrible crime of creating a technical obstruction as an aggravation of his offence, was of a piece with the whole; and the judge ignored the fact that in those convictions the magistrate repeatedly asserted that he had nothing to do with the opinions of the open-air speakers, though he could scarcely fail to know that such was the case.

An unfair trial, a judge who was determined to get a conviction, and a vindictive sentence! Strong language will scarcely add to the impression of the violence, brutality, and baseness of "authority" frightened out of what it is pleased to call its wits, which reading the report of the trial in the local papers gives one. In short, our comrades are being punished not for rioting but for being Socialists; and our comrades generally may take note that they are at any time liable to the same fate even if the Government does not succeed in passing a Gagging Act. And what will it be in a year or two? What will become of our boasted tolerance of opinion as events threaten more and more the break-up of our system of robbery? If they do these things in the green tree what shall they do in the dry?

W. M.

On Sunday, Jan. 23, an indignation meeting of 6000 people was held in the Market Place. Strong resolutions were carried condemning the action of the judge and in favour of the Social Revolution. A petition to the Home Secretary to intervene and review the sentences is being extensively signed in the town. Nicoll, in reporting to the Council, says "the workmen are entirely with us." There has been some mistake about the guaranteeing of the expenses, which are very heavy. Subscriptions are flowing in, but very much remains to be done. Our comrade Mahon reports that at meetings held by him, subscriptions have been taken up to assist Mowbray's wife and family, at Oxford, 11s. 2d.; at Bedford, 7s.

S.

A NEW BOOK ON THE DRINK QUESTION.

ONE of the first objections launched at Socialism in England is that the poor have mostly deserved their fate, that they are drunkards, &c. Some of the most obstinate opponents of our propaganda are temperance lecturers. They still make use of arguments long since refuted by modern science, as to the cause of poverty. For them the great factor of misery has always been drink, whilst we all know quite well that except in rare cases, mostly pathological, drink has not caused misery, but misery has caused drink and its consequences. Those gentlemen charge drink, besides, with all sorts of other vices, and with as much unreason, criminality, and suicide, diminishing the rate of births, and so on. We do not wish to go so far as the French *savant* Fournier de Flaix, who lately tried to prove that the more alcohol a country consumed the higher it stood with regard to civilisation, the strength of its people, rate of increase of its population, having a smaller number of crimes when compared with countries where alcoholism is rare, and as example opposing countries where alcoholism prevails, as England, Scotland, Holland, Sweden, with Italy, Spain, Greece, where drunkenness is rare, whilst crimes are numerous and ignorance is great.

I am far from agreeing with the conclusions of that *savant*. I know that drink is often a moral plague, but though myself a teetotaler for seventeen years, I cannot deny that as far as the economical influence of drink is concerned, the devil is not so black as he is painted. But how often in discussions do not we feel the want of thoroughly reliable and unbiased statistics on the subject of alcoholism, not of the sort concocted by various Giffens, Leone Levys, and their kidney, to refute at once the objections of the blue ribbon lecturers.

Our comrades who know Italian can now get all the information they may desire on this subject. Dr. Napoleone Colajanni (the author of a highly interesting book, 'Il Socialismo') has just published at Catania (Filippo Tropea, editore 1887) a small book replete with statistics. The book called 'L'Alcoholismo, sue conseguenze morale e sue cause,' is divided into two parts, the second especially being of importance to Socialists, as it treats of the causes of drunkenness and its cure by the transformation of the present state of society. Colajanni gives as the principal causes of intoxication, as physical cause, the climate; as economical cause, poverty; as psycho-social causes mostly allied with misery—ignorance, want of pleasure, sociableness, the condition of the homes of the poor classes, moral depression, idleness, the social organisation of the present day.

We must add Dr. Colajanni has made use of all the best works published on his subject, and that the tables relate to all the countries of Europe.

BROCHER.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

This department is under the direction of the Strike Committee. Labour News and Contributions to the Fund should be sent to T. BINNING, at the Offices.

BRITAIN.

DUNDEE.—The jute-spinners' wages have been increased five per cent.

Meetings of seamen were held at North and South Shields on the 20th inst., and a resolution was carried that it was desirable to again confer with the shipowners, with a view of obtaining the wages demanded by the men; or, if not, that they come out on strike on February 1.

Manloves and Elliott, Engineers and Machinists, Nottingham, have given notice of a reduction in wages. The union men, numbering about 30, will come out if the reduction is carried out.

At the Miners' Conference in Glasgow, a resolution was carried by 17 votes to 4, advising the miners of Scotland to cease working at once unless an advance of 6d. per day be conceded.

On Tuesday notices were posted at all the Welsh collieries under the "ocean sliding scale" that a reduction of 5 per cent. will be made in the miners' wages rate for the next three months. This reduction will affect several thousands of workmen.

The delegates of the Northumberland miners have decided that the men at the collieries who have not received notice of a reduction shall, if the ballot confirm the decision to strike, give in their notices, so that the stoppage shall be general.

A meeting of delegates from all the Northumberland collieries was held at Newcastle-on-Tyne on the 19th inst., to consider the ultimatum of the owners announcing a reduction of 12½ per cent. in wages and refusing to accept 10 per cent. as a compromise. Mr. T. Burt, M.P., attended. It was decided by an overwhelming majority that the miners of the county should strike, but that a ballot should be taken at the collieries before the strike commenced. Jan. 26.—The men have decided by 9,745 votes against 2,167 to strike. Altogether twenty-four thousand men and boys will come out.

The Monk Bretton miners have held a meeting, and decided unanimously that unless the manager (Mr. Marshall) agrees to meet the deputation they have chosen to represent them to discuss their grievances with him, they will send in their notices at once to leave their work. The resolution was proposed and carried by non-unionists, and a committee of non-union men was appointed to give effect to the arrangements for carrying out the resolution.

The demand of the South Staffordshire finished ironmasters for the abolition of certain extras now paid is creating a strong resistance amongst the men. A meeting has been held at West Bromwich to consider the masters' action. It was reported that at one works where the masters were already attempting the reduction the men had come out on strike. It was resolved to resist the demand as unjust in the face of a rising market, and it was further resolved to give notice for a ten per cent advance as a counter-claim.

CARLUKE MINERS.—On Wednesday evening, Jan. 20, the miners of Carlisle met in the Black Bull Hall. The meeting was large, consequent upon the important issues now before Lanarkshire miners. Comrade Small was present, and gave a résumé of the proceedings of the Birmingham Conference. The policy to be adopted to force an advance of wages was fully discussed, and at the conclusion the following motion was unanimously carried: "That no legislation on the coal or other royalties be accepted by the miners unless based upon nationalisation without compensation."

HAMILTON MINERS.—The miners of Hamilton district held a meeting in Scott's Hall on Jan. 20, Mr. Cochlan presiding. The chairman submitted as an alternative to the proposed general strike of the Miners' Union a "Plan of Campaign," which included the raising of a fund of £1000 and the taking out on strike of 1000 men if an advance of 1s. were not granted. The scheme further proposed the clearing of the pits on strike of all the officials, and the putting of the executive officials on a strike allowance. The chairman contended that under the plan they could, without any outside aid, hold out for three weeks, while no master, without his oncost men at work, could afford to allow his pits to stand three days. It was suggested that 6d. instead of 1s. should be named as the advance, but the chairman maintained that the latter amount was justified by the state of trade. The Plan was adopted and ordered to be submitted to the County Board for their consideration. Jan. 25.—At a largely attended meeting of the Bellshire and Bothwell miners, held at Airdrie to-day the men decided to come out on strike. Fully three thousand are now idle, and the masters are determined not to give the increase of one shilling a day demanded.

RISE IN STEEL-WORKERS WAGES.—Mr. Riley, the general manager of the Steel Company of Scotland, has called a meeting of the men employed at the Newton Works and at Blochairn, and intimated that on account of the prospects of the advance of prices during the spring the directors have resolved to grant a slight advance of wages, to date from last Monday. The advance will be the half of the last reduction, made about twelve months ago, and will be from 2½ to 3½ per cent, according to the grades of work done. This advance was given unsought, and came on the men as an "agreeable surprise." Mr. Riley spoke of the "good relations existing between the employer and the men." [The old proverb says one should not look a gift horse in the mouth. In the same way I am inclined to think the steel-workers will not need to scrutinise the motives too closely which prompted the above "agreeable surprise," with the accompanying tag about "good relations," etc. Good relations between the fox and the geese! Surely the workers will not be much longer duped with such goody-goody twaddle. They are beginning to understand that they themselves produce their own wages, big or little, and that no thanks are due to those who fleece them gently only that they may continue to fleece.]

RAWTENSTALL.—GLARING CASE OF OVERTIME.—There is a weaving shed in this district which is becoming notorious on account of the great amount of time which is cribbed. The engine only stops twenty minutes for breakfast, and sometimes less than that, and during that short space of time the weavers have to swallow their breakfast as best they can, and also take the waste and broken cops to be booked, and bring the weft to last them till the following breakfast time.—*Cotton Factory Times*.

FARNWORTH.—COERCION AT SPINNING MILLS.—Public attention is being drawn to the unjust rule enforced by some millowners at Farnworth, by which Catholic parents and others are deprived of their parental and legal right to choose the school at which their children shall be educated. For the last forty years one large firm has made it compulsory on children employed as half-timers that they should attend a particular school chosen by the firm.

Other millowners do the same, and in many cases, owing to poverty, the parents are obliged to submit.—*Cotton Factory Times*. [Mr. Bradlaugh objects to the term "wage-slaves." By what other term can he designate those poor because fleeced of the results of their labour and denied the control of their own will, as in the above instance?]

DUBLIN.—THE RECENT STRIKE OF BOTTLE-MAKERS.—The members of the Dublin Society of Bottlemakers have presented our comrade Schumann, with a testimonial in recognition of the invaluable services rendered by him to the bottlemakers during the late strike. The testimonial which consisted of a silver service of plate beautifully chased and a gold watch and Albert, was presented at a meeting presided over by Mr. Dawson, an old but retired member of the trade. Schumann, in returning thanks, congratulated the society on the successful termination of the strike. The Dublin bottlemakers had, as the outcome of the strike and the departure of the Swedes who had come to take their places, been the first society in Ireland to establish an International Society of Bottlemakers, the influence of which was considerable throughout the United Kingdom in advancing the cause of Trades' Unionism. He also spoke of the good work done by the Dublin Trades' Council on behalf of the bottlemakers. An illuminated address and purse of money was presented to Mr. Graham, Secretary of the Society.

FEMALE LABOUR IN SPINNING ROOMS.—The secretary of the Operative Cotton Spinners' Association has completely exposed the hypocritical sophistry of Colonel Bailey, the secretary of the Master Cotton Spinners' Association, who endeavoured to discredit the motives of the men in seeking to put a stop to the employment of female piecers. Mr. Fielding has himself been an operative spinner and employed female piecers as his assistants. He is therefore likely to have a fuller knowledge of the daily life of the spinners than Colonel Bailey and his committee, and he repels with indignation the insinuation that his assertion as to the dress and attitudes of the women are to be taken as insults. "They know me better," he writes. "I do, however, hope and believe that my efforts in their behalf have aroused in them a sense of the moral degradation to which they have long been subjected. If so, my object has been partially accomplished. My primary motive was to bring before our men the injury they were unconsciously inflicting upon their daughters; that I have succeeded is proved by their resolution of a month ago, and which was confirmed in silence at another meeting held last night. It redounds more to their credit when it is borne in mind that they, the parents, will have to suffer the loss of wages, if any, by the course they have decided upon. Personally I have the consoling reflection that, in opposition to all that Colonel Bailey and his committee may say, I have killed a system which ought never to have had an existence." The *Dispatch* appears to doubt the statements made by Mr. Fielding, and, as is not unusual, seems inclined to take the employers' view of the matter. It is a disgrace to the workers, especially those who are organised, that they continue to support such capitalist papers.

AMERICA.

Chicago laundry girls are organising an assembly of K. of L.

The store girls of Pittsburgh have organised a K. of L. assembly.

The K. of L. of Frankford, Pa., are building a co-operative textile factory. South Adams, Mass., K. of L. have started a co-operative meat market.

The cigarmakers of Weaverville, Pa., who were recently defeated in a strike, have started a co-operative cigar factory.

The Amalgamated Carpenters of Chicago have a contract to build three houses for 6000 dollars.

The boycotted firm of Fuller, Warren & Co., Troy, N.Y., have closed their entire establishment, there being no demand for their stoves.

The Chicago Trades Assembly have elected William Kliever, the Socialist candidate, for president, and F. W. Long, also a Socialist, as vice-president.

Two thousand five hundred persons employed at Messrs. Higgins' carpet factory, in New York, have struck work owing to a number of men having been discharged.

The employés of the breweries in Philadelphia, including brewers, drivers, coopers, engineers, firemen, and other hands, numbering in all over 2000 men, are on strike against a 20 per cent. reduction.

The vice-president of the Iron and Steel Association has expressed fears that the price of iron will reach the importing point, and that foreign iron will flood the market. He says that to his own knowledge 6000 tons of steel rails have been imported into New Orleans at two dollars per ton less than the Pennsylvania mills could supply them.

The San Francisco car strike is still on. The cars have been running to some extent in daylight but not at all in the evening. And they run empty, mostly. One of the strikers was asked to come back to work, and was promised three dollars a day, two detectives to escort him from his residence to his car, two more to escort him from his car to his residence, and two policemen to escort him on the car. Why it's a whole procession! And yet he wouldn't walk in it, adhering to the wise and good old rule, "My son, if sinners entice thee, consent thou not." Whether the strike is hurting the men or not, it is hurting the companies terribly.—*Weekly Star*.

FRANCE.

AMIENS.—The Mayor of Amiens, through his skilful administration, has had the extreme kindness to fix the salary for communal works at 1 fr. 30 c. a-day, and that of the town sweepers and cleaners at 90 c. To raise the voice in expostulation against this "reward of labour" is only to bring on one's head a shower of official insolence and blinded arrogance.

IVRY.—The Socialists of Ivry are going to try to get up a "groupe" in this Commune, and issue an appeal to those "who have the heart to free themselves from the present situation, to come together to seek out the means of remedying the same."

MERY-SUR-OISE.—In this Commune also the Socialist propaganda and study of Socialism has been set on foot.

CIVRAY (VIENNE).—The navvies employed in the construction of the railway of Civray au Blanc, have declared themselves on strike, demanding a rise in wages.

VIÉRON.—A telegram to the *Cri* announces that at Vierzon village, Samson, a Socialist, has been elected mayor, and Baudin and Rossignol, two well-known Socialist names, first and second deputy-mayors.

MEUN (CHER).—The porcelain makers on strike here have had an interview with the Mayor, the delegates insisting with energy on their condition, which is the dismissal of an obnoxious director or overseer. The place continues to be absolutely quiet.

VIERZON-FORGES.—The strike of glass-workers still continues. The strike committee wishing, under the circumstances, to try every means of bringing about an understanding between the men and their employer, *Sieur Aubriot*, sent several delegates to discuss the matter with him, but he refused to receive them. In consequence of this unconciliatory attitude, it was decided at a meeting held by all the strikers to sustain the struggle to its end.

HAVRE.—The strike of tilers continues, the men demanding 75 c. the hour instead of 65 c. Some of the employers have given in, but twenty or thirty have protested through the press against the proceedings, threatening to leave the men "out in the cold," which matters the less, as they are by their own act already out in the cold.

ROUBAIX.—The weavers at the house of Couronble and Carrette have been on strike since the 4th inst., the motive of the strike being the persistent diminution in the price of labour. At the demand for a rise the employers have merely intimated that those who are not content can take up their "books" and go. Knowing that if they get their "livrets" and shake the dust off their feet, there are plenty of their fellows who will step into their places eagerly at whatever price almost, the strikers prefer to make a stand and attempt to arrive at some sort of a compromise, poor comfort as that may be!

The saddle-makers of the houses of Lecerf, Sarda, and Helbronner, in Paris, in consideration of the wages imposed upon them, have agreed to strike, and after holding a general meeting to discuss the situation have appointed a Committee and sent delegates to ask for an audience of the War Minister, so as to prevent these houses, who contract for the army, from obtaining a delay in the completion of their contracts. Reduction of wages has gone on here rapidly as elsewhere, for in two years alone the price of labour in the military equipment industry has fallen between 30 and 70 per cent. Of the quality of the goods served out to the French army it is almost superfluous to speak; one has but to call to mind the fearful rubbish which our soldiers have to wear and use, the tradition of shoes with paper soles being a type of the general excellence of the goods, and no exaggeration.

DECAZEVILLE.—For nearly two months the Company has only sold coal to the neighbouring country folk every two or three days. Every day it occurs that twenty and thirty of them are obliged to hang about with their animals for several days, waiting for the trucks to bring them some few sacks of coal. This is the Company's way of avenging itself. The directors prefer not to execute all their orders rather than take on again those dismissed in consequence of the strike, which they could not get on without if they worked all the boards, and did not wittingly and wilfully make the population of an entire district want for coal. This voluntary arrest of work paralyses circulation; the retailers on the roads have no longer their transitory clientèle, every one feels it and every one complains. The townsfolk are obliged to utilize the cinder-siftings while awaiting the good pleasure of the Company to deliver goods due a month ago. The coals delivered lately, moreover, have been nothing but stones. . . . One hears that over sixty families have left the country for America, others preparing to follow in the spring. . . . Bad as the present situation is, it is like to grow worse, for the new director entering into the views of the Company proposes to stop in March three-fourths of the furnaces and workshops.—*Cri du Peuple*.

SOCIALISM IN AMERICA.

EDWARD AVELING delivered in Farringdon Hall a partial account of his experiences in the States, last Wednesday, to a crowded audience. He found that Socialism was much more advanced in the States than at home. The workmen are to a greater extent than in this country the foremost men in its propaganda; not only are there more Socialists in America, but they are much better organised. They are a more compact body, and can more readily take combined action. In this we would do well to imitate them. By their exertions they have created an exceedingly good labour press, which has now great influence. Referring to the Knights of Labour, Dr. Aveling described their organisation as a very heterogeneous one, containing within it men who were very conservative, and others who were pronounced revolutionists. It is curious that though their declaration of principles states in effect that they desire to bring about the abolition of the wage-system, and the substitution of universal co-operation, yet many of them feel alarmed when they are told that that is Socialism. Dr. Aveling regards it as probable that in the near future there will be a schism in the Knights of Labour. The minority of active and intelligent men will come into the Socialist party, and the others remain on the old Conservative lines. At present, it is widely thought that Powderly—who is a Roman Catholic—is too much under the thumb of the priesthood, and that more than once recently the workmen have suffered through the intrigues of capitalists and priests who have used Mr. Powderly as their tool. Mr. Powderly says that there are very few Socialists in his organisation; but let some crucial labour question come to the front, and let Mr. Powderly shilly-shally or trim, and he will find his organisation split as nearly as possible in halves, the left wing declaring for the socialisation of land and capital. The researches of Edward Aveling and Eleanor Aveling have led them to conclude that the position of the workman in England is, on the average, the same as in America, and that those who hold out hopes of better wages to English workmen if they emigrate to the United States are spreading a pernicious fallacy, the facts being that the small increase in money wages is quite swallowed up by the expense of living, etc. Wise workmen will stay here in England to help forward the Social Revolution, and in doing so they will not be sacrificing any advantage. Dr. Aveling said that the feeling of the American public towards the condemned Anarchists in Chicago had undergone a complete change, and he regards it as very probable that a new trial will be granted, in which case, unless evidence of a less bogus and perjured character is forthcoming than was at first trial, they will be acquitted, and this change has been brought about to a very great extent by the persistent agitation of the Socialists. The lecturer will continue the subject next Wednesday (Feb. 2).

It is a pity the mass of the people in all climes and countries are so stupid, ignorant, or indolent, or all at the same time, to leave their fates in the hands of a few ambitious statesmen, whose sole aim is self-glorification, and who look upon the masses as so many sheep to be driven to the slaughter-house, whenever their hides are wanted. We read amongst the European telegrams that France intends to increase her armaments on account of Germany; and the latter is doing the same because of France! The true secret, however, is that in either country there are a few villains, who, in order to satisfy their ambitions, do not shrink to murder thousands of their dupes if necessary.—*Our Commonwealth* (Adelaide).

THE COMING CHANGE.

OWING to the severity of the weather, the depression of trade has heightened to an alarming extent; everywhere, in our midst and our surroundings, haggard faces are discernible, the harrowing cry for food may be heard; cases of death from starvation are revealed almost daily; yet the guardians of the different parishes throughout England seem powerless to act, and the Local Government Board leans a deaf ear to the voice of the people who ask only for a trifling endowment of that which they have been so heartlessly robbed. The charities that have been left for distribution to the poor in time of need, throughout England, have mostly been appropriated by the middle-class to their own use, and even these not being sufficient to satisfy their cravings, they tax the people exorbitantly to meet the demands which they (the people) do not incur. They have shirked the responsibility which rested on them, to alleviate the distress of the needy, they have bled the workmen to such an extent that there is little left for the nourishing of their bodies, and consequently they are dragged down under the pressure, to equal nothing better than the poor negro slave. Everywhere the torture rack is being used with undue severity by capitalists masters against the workers, so that those who are in work are very little better off than the unemployed. Long hours, hard work, and short pay, are the methods that are adopted for the endurance of British workmen, who in return for such kind considerations are quite willing to submit to eke out a miserable existence, whereby their days are shortened, their children are, in many instances, stunted and deformed, and life, instead of being bright and happy, is made a drudgery even worse than the beasts of burden have to endure. How long this struggle for bare existence will continue is more than philosophers have predicted; but even as Rome fell a victim to its own vices, so also must the crash come here, and England will no more be a mighty power governed as it now is, by a few crafty statesmen, for the eyes of the people will be opened, the political tricksters will deceive themselves, and like Napoleon, at the Franco-German war, will sink insignificantly into chaos. Swiftly as the birds fly the day dawns that will bring to mankind their deliverance. Each day brings news from abroad which is putting anxiety into the minds of Statesmen; the state of the whole British Empire is unsatisfactory to their interests; the tithe war in Wales, the land question in Ireland, and also in Scotland, coupled with the brutal evictions; the depression of trade in England, all tend to harass the minds of ministers; while Socialism is taking rapid strides in our dominions and will probably be a death blow to landlordism, jobbery, and corruption. Such is the state of affairs, and who shall predict what the next few years will bring forth. Time is the harbinger of strange events. What would not be listened to to-day may become a living monument on the morrow. And what is mocked at and scorned now, may be raised up and exalted at no very distant date. Every living being who takes a part in life's drama, cannot always personate the same character, and so it may be seen (I hope in my time), when Dives and Lazarus will change their positions and come on an equal footing with each other; and this can be accomplished by the federation of the workers, each one working mutually with another, casting aside all party prejudices; each one claiming that which is his due; and by rallying round the banner of freedom our emancipation will be achieved.

JOHN BULL.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

Branch (Capitation) Subscriptions.

The Treasurer would be glad if the Branches made every effort during the year to pay up their subscriptions at the end of each month, so that the advertisement of these subscriptions would show the united energy of the League.

Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Birmingham, Hackney, Hull, Leeds, North London, to August 31. Croydon, to September 30. Manchester, Merton, Norwich, to October 31. Bradford, to Nov. 30. Bloomsbury, Clerkenwell, Hammersmith, Lancaster, Oxford, to December 31. Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), to March 31, 1887.

STRIKE COMMITTEE.

H. C., 1s.; J. L., 1s.; W. M., 1s.

T. BINNING, Treasurer.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

H. Ch., (2 weeks), 2s.; T. B. (2 weeks), 1s.; E. B. B. (weekly), 1s.; M. M. (weekly), 1s.; Bloomsbury Branch (weekly), 5s.; total, 10s.

PH. W., Treasurer, Jan. 25.

THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

Our comrade Mowbray, who has been sentenced to nine month's imprisonment, leaves his wife and five children totally unprovided for. Henderson's sentence is imprisonment for four months. His case is not so hard, he being a single man. The cost of the trial amounts to £50, this has to be repaid, and the wife and family of Mowbray provided for during his imprisonment. You are earnestly appealed to, to give all the assistance you can. Collection cards have been issued, and can be had on application to the Committee: Lane, Charles, and Barker, at 13, Farringdon Road, London, E.C. All monies received will be acknowledged in *Commonweal*. Money can be sent addressed to Committee, and those who cannot take cards are asked to respond liberally to this appeal.

Collected in Hyde Park by Mainwaring, for the wife and family of Mowbray, 2s. 6d.

BRANCH REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—On Friday, Jan. 21st, A. Donald discussed the 5th chapter of the 'Socialist Catechism.'—L. W.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, Jan. 19, Edward Aveling spoke on "Socialism in America." (See report of lecture in another column). Edward Aveling will give continuation of this subject at the hall on Wednesday, Feb. 2, at 8.30 p.m., when trade unionists are especially invited. On Sunday, Jan. 23, Hubert Bland gave very interesting and instructive lecture on "Nihilism." The lecturer pointed out very vividly the cruelties, punishments, and terrible hardships which the Russian Nihilists have undergone for the Cause. Numerous questions followed, which were replied to by the lecturer. 71 *Commonweals* sold, and fair sale of pamphlets. Members are requested to take up Branch cards for 1887.—W. B. and T. E. W., joint-secs.

CROYDON.—On Wednesday, the 19th inst., we, in conjunction with the Mitcham and Merton Branches, attended a Self-help Emigration meeting at the Town Hall, Croydon, organised by the Croydon Charitable Society, and presided over by the Mayor, who was supported by the Vicar, Commander Cameron, and some local magnates. The Mayor elected to veto all discussion, and refused to allow a resolution sent in by our comrade Kitz to be put to the meeting, saying that they had not met to argue but to state facts. Thereupon the assembly became very lively, all the "facts" being so fiercely challenged that the lecturer had to admit the existence of large numbers of unemployed in the Colonies, the inadequacy of the proposed scheme for relieving the local distress, etc., and ended by giving a really good anti-emigration lecture. We were treated with great respect by the authorities, they providing us with a most powerful police escort gratis. They regard us rightly as public benefactors, for we were the only live element in an otherwise dull meeting, and we have furnished matter for more than three columns of local news. I don't think any more emigration meetings will be held here just yet. On Sunday, Sydney Olivier lectured on "A Social View of Wealth." He pointed out the difficulty of ascertaining the exact value of any one's work, and that it is impossible to discover what are the "full fruits" of any individual's labour. This line of thought led him to endorse the Communist dictum, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." Fair discussion and good collection.—A. T., ast.-sec.

FULHAM.—Usual outdoor meeting held on Sunday morning at 11, moderate attendance. Members are invited to write the secretary for information and literature. It is confidently anticipated that rooms will be opened shortly.

HACKNEY.—On Sunday, Jan. 23, Mrs. C. Wilson lectured here on "The Revolt of the Workers in the Nineteenth Century." She clearly traced the causes which led to the revolt of workers against the exploitation of their masters. Referring to the Luddites she said that they were dimly conscious of the true cause of their misery, and contended that through middle-class influence they were deluded into adopting constitutional means to remedy their condition. The problem being economical, it could not be solved by any political changes but the possession of the land and instruments of production by the workers themselves. Good discussion and sale of literature.—H. M.

HOXTON.—On Sunday evening, H. A. Barker opened a discussion on "Socialism v. Individualism," which was well taken up by members present. At the close of the meeting the following resolution was unanimously adopted: "That this meeting expresses its sympathy with the Socialists of Norwich, and places on record its disgust at the mean, cowardly, and biased attitude assumed by Mr. Justice Grantham toward them on their trial."—E. POPE, sec.

BRADFORD.—On Sunday, January 23, F. W. Sowell gave a lecture on "Socialism and Reform" at the Exchange Discussion Club, City Road, which proved a thorough success, no opposition being offered, but signs of progress were shown towards a better understanding of Socialism and its necessity. Sale of literature good. On the same evening, P. Bland read a paper on "Our Indian Empire" at the Newmarket Hotel. The Sunday previous, G. A. Gaskell read a paper on "Individualism and Socialism" at the Royal Oak, Shipley.—C. H., sec.

DUBLIN.—On Monday evening, at the Coffee Palace, Townsend Street, before an audience of about 300, mostly labourers, a paper entitled "Trade Wants," was read by Mr. J. Charlton. The lecturer recommended to the workers the usual middle-class farrago—thrift, temperance, technical education, etc. Discussion having been invited, comrade T. Fitzpatrick mounted the platform, and forcibly pointed out that however good temperance and its kindred virtues may be in themselves, or might benefit isolated individuals, their general adoption under the present system of Society would not materially improve the position of the workers; while technical education would only make the worker a more skilful tool in the hands of the capitalist. What was wanted was the substitution of a co-operative form of that Society in place of the fratricidal strife that necessarily results from the present relations between capital and labour. The remarks of our comrade were well received.—O'G.

GLASGOW.—On Wednesday evening, comrade Geo. McLean delivered a lecture on Socialism in the Hall of the Unitarian Church, St. Vincent Street. The lecturer described the present industrial system in vigorous terms, and pleaded ably for a reorganisation of industry. A long discussion followed, in which several of our members joined. On Saturday evening,

in the Southern Literary Institute, Arch McLaren delivered a lecture of unusual merit upon "Anarchism," in which, while expressing his belief that Socialism must precede Anarchism, he maintained that law and majority-rule were, and must be, oppressive, and that individuals and minorities must preserve their liberty by revolt. On Sunday evening, in our Hall, Carlton Place, comrade McLaren again lectured, his subject being, "The Gracchi, or Social Conflict in Ancient Rome."

HULL.—On Sunday, we opened the meeting with "No Master" and "March of the Workers." Devlin spoke on the "Condition of the Working-class," which he contended was little, if any better, than that of chattel-slaves. The slave-owners did see that their slaves were fed, but the modern employer cares not a straw whether his slaves starve or not. An earnest discussion followed, to which Devlin replied.

OXFORD.—Mahon lectured to a good audience on "The Paths to Socialism," and was very well received, the opposition being very weak; 14s. 3d. was collected at the meeting for the defence, etc., of our Norwich comrades.—T. M.

SOUTH HACKNEY WORKING-MEN'S CLUB, Brooksbys Walk, Homerton.—On Sunday, Jan. 23, Lane lectured on "The National Loaf, who earns and who eats it." No opposition was offered. The audience was quite in sympathy with the views of the speaker. 2s. 6d. was paid the lecturer, which has been handed over to the Propaganda Fund.

LECTURE DIARY.

London Branches.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street.

Friday Jan. 28, at 8.30, a Lecture will be delivered. **Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday Jan. 30, at 8.30. Sydney Webb (Fabian), a Lecture. Wed. Feb. 2, at 8.30. Edward Aveling, "Socialism in America."—Members' Business Meeting at the Hall first Sunday in February at 7 p.m. sharp, when important financial matters will be discussed; please attend.

Croydon.—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday Jan. 30. George Bernard Shaw, "Some Illusions of Individualism."—General Annual Meeting of the Branch next Sunday at 3 p.m.; Members please note.

Fulham.—Address Sec., 34 May Street.

Hackney.—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11.—On Sunday Jan. 30. H. Charles, "Who is the Thief?"

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Jan. 30, at 8. A lecture.

Hoxton (L. E. L.).—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield St., opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sunday Jan. 30, at 8 p.m. A Lecture.

Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday. Discussions held every Sunday morning at 11.—Sunday Jan. 30, at 8 p.m. D. Nicoll, "The Benevolent Middle Class."

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

North London.—32 Camden Road. Fridays at 8.

Country Branches.

Bingley.—Coffee Tavern. Every Monday at 7.30 p.m. **Birmingham.**—Carr's Lane Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 8.

Bradford.—Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Road Wednesdays, at 8.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. Reading Room and Library open every Wednesday evening, 8 till 10.—Free Tron Hall, Monday January 31, at 8 o'clock. Archibald Campbell, B.A., "Social Utopias."—Monday Feb. 7. R. W. Armour, "The use of Banks"

Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily.—On Sunday, open-air meetings on Jail's Square at 1 and 5 o'clock. In the evening, at 6.30, in Hall, No. 2 Carlton Place, Clyde Side, J. Shaw Maxwell will lecture on "The Labour Struggle."

Hamilton.—Branch meets every Thursday at 7.30 in Paton's Hall, Chapel Street, until further notice. Lectures and Discussions.

Hull.—11 Princess Street, Sykes Street. Club Room open every evening. Lectures every Thursday and Sunday at 7 p.m.—Hull Radical Club, Foresters' Hall, Charlotte Street. On Thursday Feb. 3, at 8, E. Teesdale on "Socialism and Social Reforms."

Leeds.—No meeting-place at present.

Lancaster.—Market Hall Coffee Tavern Lecture Room. Friday evenings at 8.

Leicester.—Silver Street. Wednesdays at 8 p.m.

Manchester.—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening 6 to 10 p.m. Lecture and discussion every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—No. 6 St. Benedict St. Lecture and discussion every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room open every day from 8.30 a.m. to 10 p.m.

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

Open-air Propaganda—Sunday 30.

11.30...Hackney—"Salmon and Ball"The Branch
11.30...Hammersmith—Beadon Rd.The Branch
11.30...Regent's ParkThe Branch
11.30...St. Pancras Arches.....The Branch
11.30...Walham Green—StationThe Branch
3.30...Hyde Park (near Marble Arch).....T. E. Wardle

PROVINCES.—SUNDAY.

Ipswich.—Old Cattle Market, 11; Ship Launch, 3 p.m.
Norwich.—St. Mary's Plain, 11; Market Place, 3.
Leeds.—Hunslet Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m.

COMRADE MAHON is pursuing his Provincial Propagandist Tour, and wishes us to say that he will be in Manchester on the 28th, 29th, and 30th inst.

CLEVELAND HALL, 54 Cleveland Street (near Portland Road Station).—Sundays at 11.30 a.m. Jan. 30, D. Nicoll, "The Benevolent Bourgeois."

Debate on Socialism.—A Debate will take place at the Hall of Science, 142 Old Street, City Road, E.C., on February 2, 9, 16, and 23, at 8 p.m., between Mrs. Annie Besant and Mr. G. W. Foote, on the question, "Is Socialism sound?"

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A DREAM OF JOHN BALL.

BY WILLIAM MORRIS.

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Price One Shilling.

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at 13 Farringdon Road, London

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 56.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN waxed almost pathetic in his appeal for the gratitude of constituencies to their representatives for *past* services: a very convenient feeling to establish on behalf of "rats" and dishonest politicians, and I fear a feeling rather strong amongst voting working-men. I fear, because as a matter of fact such a feeling at best means a weak doubt of one's own principles, and at worst (and oftenest so, probably) means mere servility and stupidity. Gratitude to traitors and turncoats! Sham sentiment of the nineteenth century, you do indeed get into curious corners when politicians deal with you!

Mediæval sentiment was at least more logical than this. An old chronicler puts into the mouth of an orator pleading a cause some words like these: "Why do the heralds at the tournaments cry 'Honour to the sons of the valiant' (preux), and not 'Honour to the valiant'?" Because a man that has been valiant may do amiss, and spoil his valiancy, and then he is valiant no more; but when he is dead, and has not spoiled his valiancy in aught, then you may call him valiant indeed; and to think of this is great encouragement to younger men, so that they may endure to the end."

Certainly in politics "we have changed all that"; and the rule now is that when a man has once got a reputation as a leader he may indulge himself in almost any shabbiness and sneaking ways, and injure his reputation scarcely at all; always so long as he brazens it out, and keeps himself well before the public—advertises himself, in fact.

Mr. Chamberlain, for the rest, said very little worth noting. His scheme of peasant-proprietorship, which he has always before him, is really reducible to this: the creation of a class of small owners who would (somehow) have bought their holdings, and the driving those who could not (somehow) buy them into the class of day labourers. This would certainly be an advantage to both landlord and capitalist, but it would hardly turn Ireland into a heaven for the working man, whether he were a labourer or a small proprietor with a millstone of mortgage round his neck.

W. M.

Can the stupidity of "national" rivalry as engendered and fostered by commercialism go much further than in the Fisheries Dispute between England and America?

War is even talked of. Of course, it is not very likely to come off; but like two boys who say "Yah, who's afraid!" the two governments are trying to frighten one another into concession.

The policies proposed only differ as to the capitalists of which nation the profits shall go to, no thought is given to the people's benefit.

That men of any intelligence should become in anywise excited over the "Queen's Speech" is difficult for a Socialist to understand, the ponderous empty platitudes that convey nothing with great effort are so desperately trivial.

Dealing, even in the way it does, with "the affairs of the Empire," it has no word for the folk or for their interests. Some distant hint of peasant proprietorship is all that can even be twisted into a semblance of being projected on their behalf.

The way in which people leap into the fray and attack Socialism without in the least knowing what it is, both amuses and disgusts one.

Thus a journal whose only *raison d'être* is the combatting of Socialism speaks after this fashion: "Mr. Fyffe, formerly 'the candidate' for Oxford city, Mr. Rowlands, M.P., together with the Leasehold 'Enfranchisement' Association, and all other urban Socialists!"

Now, our contemporary is either under the delusion that all the named folk are of one kidney—and that Socialist—or else it is seeking simultaneously to enrage the Socialists and discredit the politicians by the conjunction of their names.

But it is almost certain that *Jus* does really regard any one who recoils from the unlimited license and boundless self-assertion of Individualism as, *ipso facto*, a Socialist.

In order that our friends the enemy may have a criterion whereby to judge of a man's Socialism, they should remember that a Socialist is one who believes in the destruction of the system which now obtains of individual property in the means for the production of wealth, and the substitution therefor of a system of social collective ownership and collective control.

Unless a man thus believes, he is *not* a Socialist, however honestly he may desire to limit the wrong and robbery of to-day.

Poor Mr. Bradlaugh! He was, once upon a time, quite an Ishmael among the respectabilities and proprieties, but now *Jus* is asking what is the exact amount of disagreement between him and the Liberty and Property Defence League. "It appears there is a difference, but it is so slight that it seems to us almost invisible to the naked eye." Quite so, as the quondam champion of the people is now pilot-fish to the association of sharks drawn together for the defence of the "liberty" to devour the folk.

It is surely enough degradation to fulfil the loathsome function, without having public attention thus insolently drawn to it.

Even as I write comes the *Chicago Tribune* of January 11, in a leader of which the following occurs:

"No man possessed of genuine American manhood can be found in the ranks of Socialism. No man speaking the English language, educated in our schools and having the American characteristics, is identified with it, except as he hopes to become a leader of one of its sections. None of the older Germans who have become Americanised and none of the younger Germans attending our schools and familiarising themselves with our institutions are to be found advocating it. Its followers are those who have come to this country indoctrinated with its foreign unrepublican principles. No American or Americanised working-man can subscribe to its doctrines without sacrificing his manhood, his personal dignity, and all his individual rights, and voluntarily declaring his willingness to become a pauper and live upon the workhouse system. Before taking such a step, before allowing these demagogues to fasten a system upon them which will pauperise them, would it not be wise and prudent for them to study it a little, and to read what Mr. Bradlaugh has to say about it, before they surrender to a clique of demagogues who are plotting to destroy organised labour and its rewards and substitute organised pauperism and its penalties?"

The *Chicago Tribune* is about the biggest "rat" paper in the States. "Like likes like." Still, it is very funny to be advised to read Mr. Bradlaugh as a corrective to demagogueism!

The *Personal Rights Journal* takes a long extract from the article upon the Liberty and Property Defence League that lately appeared in our columns. For this we thank it, as also for the ludicrously clear proof once more given, in its comment upon the extract, of the utter lack of knowledge of the economic position of the working class possessed by Individualists in general.

Jus pleads with us for "goodwill and fraternity" towards the Liberty and Property Defence League and all other opponents. Has it ever heard the historic advice "not to swap horses in the middle of the stream"?

It is not in the heat of battle that men can stay to analyse motive and give credit for intention. We are arrayed for the destruction of a wrong: all who are not with us are against us. The Liberty and Property Defence League is expressly and avowedly formed to combat us, and they must look for hard knocks. We fight with clean weapons—but relentlessly.

When the dust of battle has cleared away, and the victory has been made secure, it may be that we shall see—it is certain that we shall see—that there has been much good intention and pure motive behind these men's action.

To-day they stand as our declared foemen, honest or not, a bar in the way of the folk toward freedom. They must stand aside—or go down!

H. S.

COMPETITION.

THE great stumbling-block which so many of the muddle-headed fossils of the present system of society find it impossible to surmount, is commercial competition and the blessings which are supposed to flow from it; and to conceive a state of society in which progress is without such competition is beyond their feeble comprehensions.

"Competition is necessary for progress," say our opponents, and we reply, "Agreed—under the present system." Indeed, our opponents continually cite instances of the wretched way in which railways and other big public concerns are administered under the present system, in cases where there is no competition. We, in reply, simply point out that all business at the present day is conducted in the interest of shareholders and employers of labour, whose one object in conducting these concerns is not to increase our comforts, but to obtain from these enterprises as much as possible of the wealth produced by the workers. Is it astonishing that under such a system there is no tendency to progress, except what is due to competition between the gamblers? And in how many cases does the competition produce improvement? In the majority of cases it results in lowering wages, in the replacement of human labour by machinery, or in the production of cheap and nasty goods.

Competition is of two kinds—viz., (1) that which prevails amongst the robbers for the chance of being able to rob their workmen, and (2) that which prevails amongst the workers for the privilege of being robbed. The first of these is the cause of the second. The competition between the robbers causes them to employ as few human machines as possible and to replace them as far as possible by iron machines, because the latter don't require clothing and houses, they are not encumbered with wives and families, and above all things they are not given to striking. Then as a number of human machines can't get work, there comes in that great and divine blessing to the human race, commonly known as the "struggle for existence." A great many of our opponents are pious people who believe in the six days' creation, Adam and Eve, etc., and look upon scientific men as a desperately wicked set; yet it is astonishing how eagerly they take to Darwinian theories as soon as they are confronted by Socialists.

Yes, the struggle for existence may have resulted in the "survival of the fittest" whilst our ancestors were hairy quadrupeds and the like; but we absolutely fail to see how it does so in the present position of the human race, when we are no longer the servants of Nature, but Nature herself is fast being brought into subjection to the human intellect.

Moral principles and intellectual faculties are the characteristics which should now distinguish the human race from the rest of creation, and the fittest to survive are those that possess these in the highest degree. Yet does the present struggle for existence bring about such a survival of the fittest? Absolutely nothing of the kind. It tends to develop all the basest tendencies of man—deceit, injustice, selfishness, the desire to rob one's fellow-men and succeed at their expense; and those who possess these in the highest degree succeed in surviving.

A nice prospect for the human race! A return to the condition of wild beasts or worse!

Grimy towns, filthy homes, dirt, squalor, starvation, such are the results of this devilish dishonesty; the human race, the masterpiece of Nature, diverted from its true destiny; and many of the inhabitants of this great Empire living under circumstances to which the condition of the least advanced races of mankind were infinitely preferable.

There is one bright feature about competition, and that is that it will bring about the ruin of the great gambling system called business. We see this in the case of gambling of a similar kind on a small scale. Consider, for instance, the word-competitions which are now all the rage. When one person found he could make a good thing out of the general idiocy of the middle-classes, plenty of others followed his example, and as more and more do so, profits will grow smaller owing to competition, until either the dupers will find it not worth while carrying on, or the duped will find they lose more than they gain and cease to patronise the sport. It is just so with the business of the world: either the gamblers will find it doesn't pay well enough and will drop the game, or the human dice they play with will see through it all and put a stop to it themselves. It is to be hoped that the latter course will be adopted; in fact, it is the aim of us Socialists to make the workers take matters unto their own hands.

Because they have rather more of the comforts of life than their ancestors of 100 years ago, many amongst the working-classes are contented. They are like a man who has a right to an estate and is contented to take one square yard of it, and let the rest fall into the hands of a robber-band, and not only that, but consent to become the slave of those who have stolen his property.

It must be remembered that all the greatest inventions and improvements have not been due to competition amongst the capitalists, nor have they issued from their brains, although some people seem to think they are the only people possessed of that commodity. They have come in great measure from the hands and heads of working-men, and the means by which capitalists have obtained the advantages of these inventions are characterised by injustice and dishonesty.

When we consider on the one hand all the beautiful things which man has produced; the cathedrals, the like of which our modern resources fail to reproduce; the works of the great masters, the thoughts and the literature of past ages, and even the most beautiful productions of the present age, our parks, public gardens, and boule-

vards, we find that in no case do we owe them to the competition between robbers and slaves, but to the freely-developed genius of man, encouraged by the demands of the community. Whilst on the other hand, when we contemplate the wretchedness, the filthy living, the starvation, the paucity of great thinkers in proportion to the population and to the advanced position to which some of the human race have attained, when we find also an almost total absence of any classical production in art, we perceive that all these evils are due to the competitive warfare of the present time and the hurry which is everywhere manifest in the education of the race, even the mighty human intellect which was fast conquering Nature becoming itself enslaved to the sordid and debasing thirst for gold.

Under an honest system of society, progress, due to the power man possesses over Nature, will take place far faster than now. Public opinion will see that necessary improvements are carried out, and there will be all the free scope for moral and intellectual development which is almost impossible in the present age of selfishness and hurry.

A. TARN.

SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE TRANSITION FROM THE UTOPISTS TO MODERN SOCIALISM.

(Continued from Vol. II., page 243.)

OF the Socialist thinkers who serve as a kind of link between the Utopists and the school of the Socialism of historical evolution, or scientific Socialists, by far the most noteworthy figure is Proudhon who was born at Besançon in 1809. By birth he belonged to the working-class, his father being a brewer's cooper, and he himself as a youth followed the occupation of cowherding.

In 1838, however, he published an essay on general grammar, and in 1839 he gained a scholarship to be held for three years, a gift of one Madame Suard to his native town. The result of this advantage was his most important though far from his most voluminous work, published the same year, as the essay which the Madame Suard's scholars were bound to write: it bore the title of 'What is Property?' his answer being, Property is Robbery.

As may be imagined, this remarkable essay caused much stir and indignation, and Proudhon was censured by the Besançon Academy for this production, and narrowly escaped a prosecution. In 1841 he was tried at Besançon for a letter he wrote to Victor Considerant, the Fourierist, but was acquitted. In 1846 he wrote his 'Philosophie de la Misère' (Philosophy of Poverty), which received an elaborate reply and refutation from Karl Marx.

In 1847 he went to Paris. In the Revolution of 1848 he showed himself a vigorous controversialist, and was elected Deputy for the Seine; he wrote numerous articles in several journals, mostly criticisms of the progress of the revolution: in the Chamber he proposed a tax of one-third to be levied on all interest and rent, which was, as a matter of course, rejected. He also put forward a scheme for a mutual credit bank, by which he hoped to simplify exchange and reduce interest to a vanishing point: but this scheme was also rejected.

After the failure of the revolution of '48, Proudhon was imprisoned for three years, during which time he married a young woman of the working-class.

In 1858 he developed his system of 'Mutualism' fully in his last work, entitled 'Justice in the Revolution and the Church.' In consequence of the publication of this book he had to retire to Brussels, but was amnestied in 1860, came back to France, and died at Passy in 1865.

Proudhon's opinions and works may be broadly divided into two periods: In his 'What is Property?' his position is that of a Communist pure and simple; but after this one clear development of a definite thesis we meet in his works, and we must add, in his political actions also, with so much paradox that it is next to impossible to formulate in brief any definite Proudhonian doctrine. At one time a Communist, at another the vehement opponent of Communism; at one time professing Anarchy, at another lending himself to schemes of the crudest State Socialism; at one time an enthusiastic Theist, at another apparently as strong an Atheist; in one passage of his works giving his eager adhesion to Auguste Comte's worship of women, in another a decided contemner of the female sex,—it is with a sense of confusion that one rises from the perusal of his works.

His connection with the Revolution of '48 seems to have been the turning point in the history; in his address to the electors of the Seine, in which he put forward the scheme for a credit bank backed by a number of decrees of a State-Socialistic nature, and strongly smacking of Bismarck, he announces himself as the man who said Property is Robbery, says that he still maintains that opinion, and then goes on to defend the rights of property which he had so successfully annihilated in his first work.

But as to his political career, the element he had to work in was an impossible one for the success of a man holding definite Socialistic ideas. On the one hand were the Jacobins with their archæological restorations of the ideas and politics of 1789; on the other Socialism showing itself and taking hold of people's minds, but attempting to realise its doctrines by crude, dislocated and consequently hopeless schemes of action. Into all these affairs Proudhon looked shrewdly and with insight, and his bitter criticisms of the confusion of the period were shown by the event to have been well founded.

Proudhon defended the modern family and monogamy in its strictest sense, and does not seem to have troubled himself to study the history of those institutions even superficially: in short, he seems to have been singularly lacking in the historical sense, and had not formed any conception of the evolution of society. Those who read his works will find themselves forced to return to his first essay, 'What is Property?' if they are seeking in him for any consistent series of ideas. He was an eager and rough controversialist, and his style is brilliant and attractive in spite of its discursiveness.

We may now mention the names of two men of no great importance in themselves, but worth noting as forerunners of the sentimental Socialists and Christian Socialists of the present day. Hughes Felicité Robert de Lamennais (born 1782, died 1854), is the type of the Christian Socialist: he was intended for a priest from the first, and duly took orders. He began by efforts to reform the Catholic Church, so as to make it an effective instrument for happiness and social morality and reform. He expected to be helped and encouraged by the clergy in these efforts, and at first, before they perceived their real tendency, he received some acknowledgment from them. At last, in his paper *L'Avenir* (the future), he took so decidedly a democratic turn that he incurred the animosity of the whole Church, especially of the then Pope, Gregory XVI. The signal for his complete rupture with the Church, however, was the publication (in 1834) of his 'Paroles d'un Croyant' (words of a believer), which the Pope characterised as "small in size but immense in perversity." After that he became thoroughly democratic or even Communistic, as Communism was then understood. A series of political works and pamphlets followed, all in the sense of his new departure. He started, in 1848, two papers, one after another, which were suppressed. He sat in the Republican Constituent Chamber till the *coup d'état*; and while Deputy drew up for the Left a plan of Constitution which was rejected as too revolutionary. He was buried by his own direction without ecclesiastical rites.

Pierre le Roux (born 1798, died 1871) was originally a disciple of St. Simon. In 1840 he published his most important work, 'De L'Humanité,' whence the name of his school, the Humanitarians. He joined George Sand and Niardof in a literary review, and it was owing to this connexion that the humanitarian tendencies of some of her novels are to be traced. In 1843 he set on foot a co-operative printing association, and started a journal advocating co-operation, or as he termed it, "the pacific solution of the problem of the proletariat." He also sat in the Republican Chamber of 1848: was exiled in 1851 and lived in Jersey, not returning to France till 1869. He died in Paris under the Commune, who deputed two of its members to attend his funeral, in the words of the *Official Journal*, "not in honour of the partizan of the mystical ideas of which we now feel the evil, but of the politician who courageously undertook the defence of the vanquished after the days of June." This is an allusion to the unpractical and non-political tendency of his teaching, which undertook to reform society by the inculcation of morality blended with mysticism, the result of which was to be the gradual spread of voluntary co-operation.

We finish this series with the well-known name of Louis Blanc, a personage more important than the last-named, and more definitely Socialistic in principles than either he or Lamennais, though his political career finished in a way unworthy of those principles, even if we accept the excuse that he never grasped the great truth that only through the class struggle can the regeneration of society be accomplished. He was born in 1813, of a middle-class family which, on the maternal side, was Corsican, and an incident of the relations between him and his brother Charles is said to have suggested to Dumas his famous novelette and play of the 'Corsican Brothers.'

In 1840 he published his 'Organisation of Labour,' the ideas of which he attempted to realise in the famous "National Workshops," by which he is best known. In this work he put forward the genuine Socialistic maxim of "From each according to his capacity, to each according to his needs" as the basis of the production of a true society.

He took an active part in the Revolutionary Government of 1848, and got an edict passed abolishing the punishment of death for political offences. And we ought here to notice that the common impression that his National Workshops failed from inherent defects is wrong; they were suppressed as dangerous by the Government, and their suppression was largely instrumental in causing the June revolution. We must, however, also note that this scheme was not founded on purely Socialistic principles, dangerous as it was thought to be at the time. In consequence of the events of June Louis Blanc was compelled to flee from France to England, where he wrote his 'History of the French Revolution.'

He returned to France 1869, was elected to the legislative body, but played only a subordinate part in the stirring times that followed. It remains, indeed, an indelible stain on his character that he deserted the cause of the people in the days of March, leaving Paris to sit amongst the "Liberals" in the reactionary Chamber at Versailles.

He died in 1883, having outlived his reputation and his influence.

E. BELFORT BAX AND WILLIAM MORRIS.

The Prince Regent of Bavaria has given the order that each of his grandchildren shall learn some handicraft. The future king has chosen the trade of turner, and works every day in the shop of a Munich workman. Prince Franz wishes to be a house-painter, while Charles prefers to follow the calling of gardener. The Prince Regent of Bavaria appears to us to have a very good idea of the want of solidity of the foundations of thrones today. One never knows what may happen!—*Cri du Peuple*.

THE LITTLE VAGABOND.

(WILLIAM BLAKE: born 1757, died 1828.)

[William Blake was almost the first, if not the first, of those poets who drew English poetry from the slough of conventional twaddle in which the 18th century had sunk it; and visionary as he was, he was able to look at realities, and to make his words mean something; whereas it was an understood condition of the so-called "poetry" of the 18th century that they should mean nothing.—W. M.]

Dear mother, dear mother, the Church is cold,
But the Ale-house is healthy and pleasant and warm.
Besides I can tell where I am used well,
Such usage in heaven will never do well.

But if at the church they would give us some ale,
And a pleasant fire our souls to regale,
We'd sing and we'd pray all the livelong day,
Nor ever once wish from the church to stray.

Then the parson might preach and drink and sing,
And we'd be as happy as birds in the spring;
And modest Dame Lurch, who is always at church,
Would not have bandy children nor fasting nor birch.

And God like a Father rejoicing to see
His children as pleasant and happy as He,
Would have no more quarrel with the Devil or the barrel,
But kiss him and give him both drink and apparel.

THE JUBILEE OF THE NORTHUMBERLAND MINERS.

"It is not to die, or even to die of hunger, that makes a man wretched; many men have died; all men must die. But it is to live miserable we know not why; to work sore and yet gain nothing; to be heartworn, weary, yet isolated, unrelated."—CARLYLE.

ON Wednesday Jan. 26 the Northumberland miners resolved to strike against a reduction of 12½ per cent. The miners were asked to say "Yes" or "No" to the following: "Provided 12½ per cent. be conceded off the present wages of hard collieries and 7½ off soft coal collieries, the owners of Bedlington, Cramlington, and Seaton Delaval collieries consent to pay house-rent allowance under the arrangement of 1882, and the above apply to all to whom the house-rent allowances are paid at those collieries." The result of the ballot was declared on the 25th. The figures were: For accepting the masters' terms, 2167; strike, 9745. Altogether 24,000 men and boys are to come out. The owner of Walbottle Colliery, however, has withdrawn the notice of a reduction of wages, and the men accordingly return to work. The arrangement made is to the effect that no reduction take place during the next six months. The employers at Walker Colliery on Friday intimated to their men that as they did not desire the pits to be closed, as the cost of reopening them at the termination of a strike meant a great outlay, they wished them to continue work at the present rate of wages. The men sent a deputation asking the same conditions as those granted at the Walbottle Colliery. These were refused, and the strike commenced here also. Arrangements have been made for drawing the horses and ponies to bank, and there is every sign of a protracted struggle.

Many strikes have taken place among the Northumberland miners. In 1844 a strike for an advance took place, the men being defeated after several months' war. In 1839 at Seaton Delaval, in 1865 at the Cramlington Colliery, and many other minor strikes, all were gained by the employers. The last big strike was in May 1877, this time against a reduction of 10 and 15 per cent.; after arbitration, the men returned at the old wage. This lasted till November, when notice of a reduction of 12½ per cent. was made. After about three months' strike the employers obtained the full reduction demanded.

Efforts have been made by the miners' leaders to bring about an amicable arrangement with the employers, but have failed. It is said that overtures have been made to two M.P.'s to act as mediators. In an 'Address to Trades' Unions' published by the Socialist League appears the following: "The good-natured reformers would fain lull such antagonism to rest by palliatives, make of capital and labour a united happy family by smooth talk and practical measures. His efforts are vain. We tell you that these antagonisms will never sleep." Ever between wrong and right, capitalist and labourer, robber and robbed, must warfare exist; and it will only cease with the destruction of the present condition of things—the abolition of the individual ownership of capital. Determined warfare, then, is the only course open. In this conflict all workers ought to take part. The cause of the miners is equally the cause of all. The scenes of Charleroi may yet be repeated in England; but the lessons will be given by an organisation not quite so isolated, and the effect will be sooner seen. Public opinion is a strong force, and the sympathy of the workers will be with their more oppressed fellows.

The present is a fitting occasion for the celebration of the Jubilee by the workers. Subscription-sheets should be filled, and the proceeds ensure the first great victory of the miners.

K.

FLUNKYISM REBUKED.—At a large and influential meeting of the members of the West End Branch of the Alliance Cabinet Makers' Association on Thursday, the 27th Jan., specially summoned for the purpose, it was resolved, with two dissentients, that "We withdraw our subscriptions from the London Trades Council, in consequence of the recent action of the self-elected deputation to Sandringham."



"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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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

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

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday February 2.

ENGLAND Glasgow—Pioneer Norwich—Daylight Cotton Factory Times Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung Church Reformer Freedom Jus Justice	Boston—Woman's Journal Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer Toledo (O.)—Industrial News New Haven (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate Springfield (Ill.)—Voice of Labor Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote Tribune Knights of Labor Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt Portland (Oreg.)—Avant-Courier Detroit (Mich.)—Labor Leaf Seattle (W.T.)—Voice of the People	Antwerp—De Werker Brussels—L'Avant-Garde ITALY Milan—Il Fascio Operaio Turin—Il Muratore SPAIN Madrid—El Socialista PORTUGAL Oporto—A Perola AUSTRIA Brunn—Volksfreund Vienna—Gleichheit HUNGARY Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik ROUMANIA Jassy—Lupta DENMARK Social-Demokraten SWEDEN Stockholm—Social-Demokraten NORWAY Kristiania—Social-Democraten
SOUTH AUSTRALIA Adelaide—Our Commonwealth INDIA Voice of India Bankipore—Behar Herald Allahabad—People's Budget Ahmedabad—Praja Mata UNITED STATES New York—Volkszeitung Freiheit Truthseeker Der Sozialist John Swinton's Paper Tax Reformer	FRANCE Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) Le Socialiste Le Revolte La France Guise—Le Devoir HOLLAND Hague—Recht voor Allen BELGIUM Liege—L'Avenir	

PEACE OR WAR?

IT must be of interest to all Socialists to review the relations of the different European nations to each other at the present time. The well-known phrase of the arch-murderer and titled bandit Count Moltke, "all Europe bristles with arms," must have startled from his slumber the most "benevolent" and honest-poor-supporting of all five per cent philanthropists, and this alarm has certainly not been lessened by "liquor" Bismarck's brutal and candid confession of his intention to leech France. Salisbury declares the outlook on the Continent to be very black, and the pinchbeck Gambetta of England, Lord Randolph, gives notice of his intention to pursue an honest foreign policy. How do affairs stand at the present moment? The middle-classes of France cannot forget the loss of two fair provinces; they cannot afford to hand over to Germany the commercial supremacy of the Continent, and they are humiliated that their prestige is vanishing fast. They are terribly afraid of the revolution which is preparing in France itself, and consequently to regain their former position and to escape the coming danger they are preparing for war. Germany—and if I speak of a nation I desire to speak of the ruling classes in contradistinction to the working-classes, who have no nationality, but are international—has at present but one object, to annihilate France. The annihilation of France means to Germany established commercial supremacy on the Continent, and would also enable Germany to annex Belgium and Holland. Bismarck—this fine specimen of the modern trinity, "statesman, landlord, and captain of industry"—comprehends very well the desires and ambitions of the German bourgeoisie. He knows that the possession of Antwerp by Germany would be the complete ruin of the glorious British Empire, the most formidable foe of German commercialism. A strong agitation is just now going on in Belgium, advocating the union of Belgium and Germany. The sinister schemer of Varzin has his eyes and agents everywhere, and I am not in the least astonished that Madame Adam believes him to know something more definite than the general public about the sudden disappearance from this world of Generals Chanzy and Skobelev and Revanche Gambetta.

Austria—this vile compilation of bourgeois interests, the pet child of the most noble Lord Salisbury—needs for its commercial expansion a good deal of the Balkan peninsula, but unfortunately cannot have it all its own way. Russia also desires to have a finger in that pie. Count Kalnoky and his men may talk big, but they know very well the emptiness of the imperial exchequer. They also know that while

the imperial troops are engaged in opening up the roads to new markets, the revolutionists may take it in their heads to do something and to end the reign of the Hapsburg dynasty. Between the Jingos who desire a war with Russia, and the revolutionists, they resemble very much indeed the ass in the fable. But ere long they will have to choose, and it is my firm conviction they will choose war with Russia.

Italy, the latest creation of bourgeois evolution, and naturally the most lean and meagre, is like a hungry hyena, always on the look out for something. Whoever promises most to Italy may have Italy's most loyal support. Whenever she comes down from her position on the fence it will not be to help the weak but to slaughter the vanquished or plunder the slain.

England, poor soul—the British Empire, the ruler of the waves, the nation with the men, the ships, and the cash—is altogether out of the running. England in international policy has been degraded into "une quantité négligeable"—a nation not to be taken into account. Bismarck sneers at her, Russia snaps her fingers at her, and Austria is not silly enough to play at England's bidding "the sentinel on the rampart." Fancy the England of MacDermott down so low. But what else can be expected of a nation which is oldest in the vile game of industrial exploitation?

Last but not least I have to speak a word or two about Russia. Russia is ruled at the present moment by the Tsar and the Conservative party. The principles of the Conservative party are absolute authority. The foreign policy of this party is the foreign policy of the last hundred years, in fact since Frederick the Great of Prussia—viz., alliance with Prussia. A new party, however, is daily gaining strength. The Panslavist party, whose representative in London, Madame de Novikoff, is well known to readers of the *Pall Mall Gazette*. This party is the progressive party, and whenever they gain court supremacy a constitution will be presented to the Russian people. As the name already indicates, this party dreams of a large Slav empire, and they hate Germans far more bitterly than even the most outrageous French "revanchist." I might almost be tempted to say that the very day their rule is established in Russia war will be declared against Germany. Their hatred of Germany is a simple question of £ s. d. They know it is impossible for Russia to become strong commercially as long as German trade is all supreme, as long as the Baltic and the Black Sea are not Russian seas, and they know that on these issues they will have to fight the Germans.

My firm belief is that the next war will be an international war, and it is therefore the duty of all revolutionary Socialists to agree on a plan of campaign to make this universal war the last war. What, then, can we do?

We must go on with our present agitation, spreading the principles of international revolutionary Socialism, introducing Socialism into every city, town, and village. To tell the workers how they are robbed, how they are swindled, and how they are exploited. But this would not be sufficient. It is also our duty to call upon the workers to prepare themselves for the coming struggle. It is not sufficient for the worker to know the causes why he is robbed, he must also know the means how to get rid of all parasitic classes. These classes have at their command the police, the army and navy, and it would be foolish in the extreme were the workers to meet these foes with folded arms. Some practical knowledge of modern warfare is therefore highly advisable.

Our experience at Norwich and many other places is quite sufficient to enlighten even the most determined peacemonger as to what we may expect, and we must benefit by such teachings. The stronger our organisations are when the time comes and the better prepared for strong definite action, the more peaceable will be the revolution, but it would be a blunder, it would be criminal madness, to cry peace when no peace is possible.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

NUPKINS REDIVIVUS.

MORALISTS observe, perhaps a little too often, that there is no nobler sight than that of an honest man struggling with adversity. Noble sights then must be very common, or else honest men (the more likely hypothesis) very rare. Norwich has in historic times had the privilege of seeing the sufferings of two such men. Charles Dickens in one of his histories, more truth-telling than most of those used in schools, describes the agonised feelings of A. Nupkins, Esq., Mayor of Norwich: "What prevents me from detaining these men as rogues and imposters? It is a foolish mercy. What prevents me?" is the cry forced from the magistrate, torn by the agonising mixture of family considerations, and thirst for vengeance on the pretended Captain Fitz Marshall.

The magistrate has blossomed into one of Her Majesty's judges; but however deeply he may pity men for not knowing better than to speak their minds, no more shall he be led astray by foolish mercy towards rogues and agitators. No, the majesty of the law must be upheld; it needs it much. The judge's regret, his sadness, his sorrow, bedew with tears, as it were, the pages of the *Eastern Evening News* of Jan. 18. I quote from this journal some of his sayings, in condensed form, since like other good men he is somewhat long-winded. He became very sad over a secretary of a certain Oddfellows Friendly Society, who had "taken money that did not belong to him." He mourned that "people who had been comparatively speaking in a better position of life than those who were called the working-classes, should be led to commit 'educated crimes,' such as embezzlement." With what admirable and kindly skill does he just allude to the fact

that working-men are only called so, and lashes those criminals who are of a class comparatively, just comparatively better off than the so-called workers, educated enough to commit embezzlement, but not so highly as to know how to do this in a legal and respectable fashion. "It was really very cruel and heartless, that people in such a position of life should rob other people in that position." Quite so; what is to become of Society if members of the same class begin to do to each other, what appears to be fair only between members of different classes? Heaven forbid that hawks should begin to peck out hawks' eyes!

Leaving the "educated criminal," Her Majesty's judge almost wept over his blasted hope that the respectability of Norwich would be eternal. "In previous years he was glad to know that in no other town had the working-men and people out of work"—those, that is, who call themselves working-men and say they are in want of work,—"in no other town had these people ordered themselves so decently and humbly towards the better-to-do," nor uttered so fervently the respectful prayer: Teach us to know our proper stations, God bless the squire and his relations. But now, in place of this, he was grieved at heart that he, sitting there in dignity, one of Her Majesty's judges, should have to beseech these starvelings "to show themselves ready to work when work was offered to them," to take whatever wages might be offered by employers, "who certainly had shown themselves desirous of being considerate to the distressed," not to carp nor complain if this consideration stopped at the stage of desire, but to recollect how often the church had urged upon them that the intention is better than the deed, and above all to bear in mind that "provisions are very cheap."

"He very much regretted to find, however, that even in Norwich, where the working-classes are much cared for"—(this very same issue of the *Eastern Evening News* contains a list amounting to at least £5 of contributions for the distressed, and another list of donations, coming to 30s., for penny dinners)—"even in Norwich the working-men have been got at by 'agitators,' who could not have the welfare of the working-classes at heart. He was happy to know that in this country there was no reason why anyone should starve. It was true, no doubt, that sometimes perhaps people did not get as much as they ought to have, particularly in winter time, though the law distinctly laid it down that they should have enough to keep body and soul together." His lordship (grieved as before) went on to say that "in most large towns there were always a certain number of loafers." It appears that these "sedition-mongers" had been talking on this very subject, and tickling "the fancy of the working-classes" by telling them that the loafers were highly paid, and that the law distinctly provided them with a great deal more than enough to keep their bodies and souls together, both summer and winter. In short, they sneered at the better-to-do, as being merely law-provided loafers, and actually went to the profane length of arguing that it was not "from want of work that people suffered" but from want of victuals.

"But," said his lordship, "the working-class gains nothing by it; on the contrary, the hearts of kindly people are hardened by this commotion raised without the slightest need or cause," nor will they again show the "foolish mercy" of subscribing £5 and 30s., even in the winter, to keep together the body and soul of any of those, who one way or another happen to miss the tender provision of the law. Still less will our Nupkins hesitate again to detain in durance vile these agitators and sedition-mongers, but rather get himself armed with a new Conspiracy Act, which will pop these rogues into the prison cell before, not after, they have had a chance of speaking. C. J. F.

A HEBREW SOCIALIST PAPER.

SINCE December last, our contemporary *The Worker's Friend* has appeared as a weekly propagandist. This paper (which is published in the Hebrew-German dialect by the International Working-men's Educational Club, at 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road, E.) was started some eighteen months ago as a monthly, and since then it has worked with great effect in enlightening its readers on the question of Socialism. The first number of the weekly issue commenced with Victor Hugo's 'Les Misérables' as its *feuilleton*, which is considered to be a good "helping hand" in touching the feelings of the indifferent readers, and making them understand the meaning, and the cause, of being *unfortunate*. In the Editorial occurs the following: "Our only object in publishing the *Worker's Friend* is to enable the Hebrew-German speaking workers also to keep abreast in the great labour movement; to make them acquainted with all labour questions and the glorious teachings of Socialism. We shall do all in our power plainly and clearly to educate our readers in all matters that may be of interest to the workers; but at the same time we shall try to keep ourselves as impartial as possible to all the different sections of the Socialistic party. We consider that all Socialistic organisations that aim to realise their ideal by revolution are beneficial for the working classes. Social-Democrats, Anarchists, Communists, and Collectivists, are to us Socialists, and therefore our comrades. Our only contempt is against the capitalist class, against our present society of wholesale robbery—in short, we are wholly for the interest of the Proletariat and against the interest of the Bourgeoisie. Wherever we shall have the opportunity of defending the true friends of liberty and to protect the interest of the people, there shall we take our place. And when the day of deliverance of all the sufferers will arrive, and the mass of the people marches under the red flag, and fights in the streets for human rights and liberties—in short, when the social revolution will come, our place shall be among the revolutionists, and with them we shall raise cheers for the social revolution."

The size of the paper is the same as that of the *Commonweal*, but four pages, and its price is 1s. 6d. per quarter. It has our heartiest wishes for its success. W.

The Shop Hours Regulation Bill has been passed, but as there is no one to whom to apply to put it in force, it is practically a dead letter.

SOCIALISM IN THE PROVINCES.

On Tuesday, January 18th, I attended the Norwich Assizes, and listened to Judge Grantham's address to the grand jury. Before the accused men were tried the judge assumed that they were guilty, and even hinted that their sentence would be severe enough to give Socialist agitators a lesson in future. He entered into a long and very silly tirade against Socialism, and throughout his speech showed the meanest of petty middle-class prejudice. The peaceful and orderly sort of workman was beslobbered with praise; while the discontented were warned that law and order must be venerated, no matter what their misery might be. It is supposed to be a judge's duty to keep his mind free from prejudice against either side of a case, and to refer only to the charges included in the indictment; but Judge Grantham had evidently been influenced by the tittle-tattle of his middle-class friends, and the case was practically tried and the accused condemned over the tea-table of some of his acquaintances. It is certainly an outrage upon justice that men should be tried by a judge who, before hearing a scrap of evidence, displays the most rabid prejudice against them. Grantham is a young judge but he will soon be a notorious one.

On Wednesday, I left Norwich to begin the series of meetings announced in the *Commonweal*. At Oxford, the audience was fairly large and very appreciative. The only opposition was from a gentleman troubled with some ancient ideas on Free Trade, who entered into a glorification of Cobden. The Branch seems fairly active, and although not large its members are steady and reliable. Very few students attend the meetings, most of those with Socialist leanings prefer to work in the semi-Socialist societies, of which there are several in the Colleges. Oxford has no very large body of workmen, and a general spirit of flunkeyism pervades the poorer class; so that a very strong Socialist movement is well-nigh impossible there at present. Still the Branch is in a healthy condition, and will keep the Cause alive.

On Thursday, I went to Reading and got names and promises enough to form a corresponding group, which may soon develop into a Branch. The meeting arranged for the previous Tuesday fell through, as I had to stay at Norwich; but there was little difficulty in ascertaining that there is a strong Socialist feeling in the town, which is shared by many of the advanced Radicals. The place is most favourable for Socialist propaganda, and a good Branch should soon be established.

On Friday the 21st, I went to Bedford to give the first Socialist lecture in that town. Bedford is a rather quiet place, with only one large engineer shop to represent the factory system. The middle-class resort to it for the cheap education it affords their children. There is no great amount of misery among the working-class, and nothing more alarming than Radicalism has ever disturbed the peaceful little town. On the day before the lecture the Liberal paper had a very fair-minded leader claiming an impartial hearing for Socialism. The Tory paper had an ironical welcome suggesting a certain part of the town for Sunday morning rowdiness, and rejoicing that the Jubilee should be celebrated by the establishment of a Branch of the Socialist League. The meeting-hall was well filled, and it soon became evident that there was a rowdy element in the audience. They came expecting to see some kind of a wild animal, and to hear an invitation to indulge in wholesale looting and garotting. The interrupters were kept under, however, and nothing worse than a smashed window resulted. I made an attempt to reason out Socialism with them, much to their surprise. The opposition was not very serious, but I felt much hurt on being complimented for my moderation. The gist of what I said was that rent and interest were robbery, and that the upper class lived on the labour of the workers, that all the political parties were rotten, and the workmen who followed them ignorant of their own interests; in conclusion, I spoke of revolution, and expressed an ardent wish too see the British Empire smashed—and then they said I was moderate! Here, as at Reading, a group has been formed to study Socialism and arrange for a lecture by William Morris, after which it is hoped the group will become a Branch.

On Saturday, Jan. 22, I got to Leicester and met the members on Sunday morning to talk over Branch business matters. At Christmas time the propaganda went flat for a while, but as soon as the holidays were over the interest revived. The main topic of discussion in Leicester, and nearly every other manufacturing town, is Socialism, and it is quite surprising to find the wide-spread sympathy and interest shown in the Socialist movement. The prospects of the Branch are splendid, and before long it will be one of the largest in the country. On Sunday afternoon I lectured to a well-filled room on "The Opponents and Prospects of Socialism." I took up Father Rickaby and Mr. Bradlaugh, and we had a lively discussion on the arguments of the two Priests. It was soon apparent that Mr. Bradlaugh has lost popularity with the workmen through his opposition to the revolutionary movement. Even those workmen who do not call themselves Socialists, don't care to see a working-class leader so energetic in defence of the rights of property. The workmen's thoughts are now more than ever directed to the antagonism between the rights of property and the happiness of the people. In the evening I spoke at a meeting held in the Radical Club to denounce the Glenbeigh evictions. The meeting was very enthusiastic. On Monday night a good audience gathered in the Radical Club to hear a lecture on "The Path to Socialism," which went down very well and raised a useful discussion. The meetings held in Leicester were all very successful, and the audiences seemed very well acquainted with the Socialist aims.

On Tuesday, Jan. 25, I spoke to a small but appreciative audience in Nottingham, and on the following evening had a very friendly conference with the members of the various Socialist bodies. In Nottingham the feeling in favour of Socialism is very widespread.

On Thursday night I got to Sheffield, and lectured for the Sheffield Socialists on "The Meaning of Revolution." I illustrated the working of Socialist and commercial economy by reference to the actual conditions of labour in the Sheffield cutlery trade. Some of the points provoked a good deal of discussion, the most interesting feature in which was a speech by a workman, who upset an excitable critic by declaring that though he had never heard a Socialist speaker before he quite understood how Socialism would work on the principles explained. The speech could only be appreciated if rendered in the brogue in which it was spoken.

In a separate article I shall report half-an-hour's look through a Leicester stocking mill. Collections made for the Prisoners' Aid Fund during the week will be acknowledged by the treasurer of the Norwich Branch.

Everywhere Socialism seems to be making headway, and Branches might be formed in nearly every town in England if only some energetic organisers could be sent round to give things a start. J. L. MAHON.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

This department is under the direction of the Strike Committee. Labour News and Contributions to the Fund should be sent to T. BINNING, at the Offices.

The Strike Committee.

The Strike Committee continues to receive from all parts of the country as well as in the States and on the Continent, most gratifying evidence of the interest taken in their work. They regret that their limited means as well as the small size of the *Commonweal* at present, seriously cripples their efforts, and can only urge upon their correspondents and the workers generally the necessity of strenuous and sustained exertion in order to overcome these difficulties. Several interesting communications are held over for want of space, including another report from Stafford. The attention of comrades and friends is called to the great opportunity now presented for our propaganda. Particularly it is desirable that a missionary should be sent to the Northumberland miners. A little pecuniary help would enable this to be done. "The harvest truly is great, but the labourers are few."

GLASS BOTTLE MAKERS—SPECIAL.

We are asked to intimate that Mr. Lyon has succeeded in getting about 30 men from the Continent, and that they will probably arrive in London. Our friends are asked to keep a sharp look-out and communicate any news at once to the Secretary of the Strike Committee, at the League Offices. J. LANE.

The bulk of the men at Messrs. Bolckow, Vaughan, and Co's Steel Works in Cleveland have decided to stand out for an advance of ten per cent. in their wages.

At Ashton-under-Lyne the weavers' strike still runs on, and is likely to do so for some months to come, judging by the attitude of both sides at present. The dispute is costing the Operatives' Union £1000 per week in strike pay.

The chainmakers in the Midlands, who have been on strike for 25 weeks against low wages and the "truck system," seem at last likely to be successful, many of the employers having agreed to comply with their requests.

The Lanarkshire miners commenced their four days' idleness on the 25th Jan. At an early hour pickets were out at each colliery, and with a few solitary exceptions, the entire industry from Law to Glasgow was suspended.

In consequence of a section of the workmen employed in the Nottingham lace trade declining to appoint delegates to act upon the Board of Conciliation, that body has ceased to exist.

RISHTON.—STRIKE AT DAISY HILL MILL.—The whole of the weavers employed at Messrs. Smithson's, Daisy Hill Mill, recently came out on strike, owing to the extensive system of "bating." The association took the matter in hand and an arrangement was come to in favour of the weavers.

FARNWORTH.—THE EMPLOYMENT OF HALF-TIMERS AND ATTENDANCE AT SCHOOL.—The subject we broached last week about certain cotton manufacturers enforcing their half-timers to attend a given school is exciting considerable interest in the town and district, and there is a possibility of a public meeting being held to protest against employers using this form of coercion.

A meeting of the North and South Shields branches of the North of England Seamen's and Firemen's Society was held on Monday at North Shields, when it was decided to strike. The men demand a rise from 7s. to 30s. on weekly boats, and from £3 10s. to £4 on the monthly boats. A strike has been commenced at Sunderland for the same wages.

In the north of England the Ironworkers' Association is being considerably strengthened. Large numbers of the men had drifted off but are now rapidly joining. The National Conference will be held in Birmingham early next month. The men in the Cleveland and north of England district have almost unanimously resolved to join the Association, which appears likely to be placed on a wider and stronger basis than it has ever been before, especially should the Staffordshire workmen come in, as they appear desirous to do.

Clough Hall Ironworks, Kidsgrove, have been re-opened. It will be remembered that these works were closed some months back, owing to bad trade, throwing thousands of men out of work, and nearly ruining the town. The news of re-opening has been most joyfully received by the inhabitants of the district. The closing of these works has been referred to many times by Socialists as showing the power of the capitalist to starve a town. The reason for the closing was that the works did not "pay," i.e., produce sufficient profit to gratify the greed of the owner. A new owner having been found, the people may work again so long as he remains satisfied.

STAFFORD.—THE SHOE TRADE.—A serious dispute respecting the rate of wages paid in this town, which has been pending for some short time, has at length terminated in a strike. The cause of the dispute is the desire of a number of the employers to effect a general reduction of from 20 per cent. to 30 per cent. on the rate of wages, which since 1879 (when the wage statement was thoroughly revised by representatives of both employers and men) has been paid. The firm, of which the "worshipful mayor" of the town is the head, was the first to give notice of their intention to reduce the wages of their lasters 4s. 3d. per dozen, or considerably over 50 per cent. on the wages hitherto paid. The men who during the winter months, when the shoe industry is proverbially slack, have been earning but very small wages, naturally objected to this unreasonable reduction, especially when, as some of the masters who have declined to join the movement, say "there is a certain prospect of an improved spring and summer trade," and they, therefore, think it is the wrong time to disturb it now. The result was that the men struck work and were speedily followed by the operatives of other establishments. Since the year 1879, when the present wage list was mutually agreed upon by employers and workmen, numerous evasions of the list have been made by the masters, several of whom now declare that it is their intention to stamp out Trades' Unionism in the town. The mayor, whom I referred to above, has since his elevation to the mayoralty last November, been particularly noticeable for a lavish and ostentatious display of wealth, by providing luncheons, dinners, etc., to guzzling public officials, and in distributing relief to various "deserving applicants," while during the same time many of his own employés have been endeavouring to starve respectably on wages in many cases under 12s. per week. This "gentleman" who was the first to forego the proposed reduction, and apparently submit to the men, has placed a number of youths and men on standing wages of 24s. per week (who are now doing work which if paid for according to the statement, would amount to over 40s. per week) leaving the majority of those who struck work "out in the cold to think about it." No one has any reason to be surprised that the strike has occurred when one takes into consideration the fact that the average wage paid in London, Leicester, and other shoemaking centres is some 20 per cent. higher than it is in Stafford.

There seems to be every prospect, however, of the masters, at any rate for the present, withdrawing their demands and the men scoring a victory, but if the tactics of Mr. W. H. Peach (the mayor), who is a great enemy to trade unionism, should be adopted by the employers generally, I am afraid it will be only a nominal victory. As one of the strikers remarked through the medium of a local paper, "There is no wonder that men hanker after Socialism when they see men constantly growing richer while they are growing poorer." The men throughout have been supported by their two organisations, the National Union of Operative Boot Rivetters and the Amalgamated Society of Cordwainers.—C.

FEMALE LABOUR IN SPINNING ROOMS.—Much has been said and written of late respecting the propriety or otherwise of females being allowed to work in spinning-rooms in the capacity of piecers or minders, and were we only to judge of the question from a moral point of view, we should say by all means keep females out of the spinning-rooms, as our experience of cotton-mill life leads us to the conclusion that much injury is done by females working in the manner in which minders and piecers are compelled to do. There is also danger surrounding the circumstances of females in other departments of cotton-mills besides the spinning-rooms, and the disclosures which have come to light through a strike of some seventy to eighty cardroom workers, mostly composed of women and young girls, at a spinning company in Oldham, reveal a sad state of things; but what makes the case worse is the fact that these persons have had to sacrifice their situations rather than allow their moral characters to be blasted by working under those in whom they had lost all confidence. That the women and girls were forced, as it were, to take the action they did is a proof that they felt justified in acting in the summary manner which the directors felt aggrieved at and as the complaints had been pending for a considerable time, and no notice seemed to have been taken by the directors of what was communicated to them, we think they are to blame for the consequences of the strike, and not the women and girls, who acted from motives which should be encouraged rather than condemned; and those directors who will not support the women and young girls are surely assisting to encourage a state of morality in the cotton-mills which will prove to be most injurious from many points of view. Therefore we trust that those who are placed in authority will use their influence in having the management of cotton-mills so carried out that there need be no fear on the part of parents or their children of other than straightforward conduct being displayed towards those who require protection. We have often heard of the failure of individual strikes in cases of disputes about wages, prices, and bad work, through unprincipled men taking the places of those on strike, and who by their action have assisted the employers to defeat the just cause of the strikers; but we don't ever remember a strike undertaken on moral grounds, and that by women and young girls, in which the strikers have been defeated in such a manner as have those who struck work at a spinning company at Oldham. The cardroom workers, nearly eighty in number, struck work, and, strange to say, in less than two days their situations were all filled up, and that by their own sex, notwithstanding that the strike was entered upon solely on the grounds of morality. There is much to be learned from this, and we are afraid the result will act as a barrier to the progress which moralists are so anxious about. Certain it is that others will be deterred from acting in a similar way; thus encouragement will be given to evil-doers. Those females who lend their assistance in perpetuating a system which brought about the strike are real enemies to their own cause and sex, and surely are not aware of what injury they are doing. It ought to be the duty of all to make strikes of this nature successful; those who act otherwise must have cause for regret.—*Cotton Factory Times*.

AMERICA.

The men who went from New York City to Chicago, to take the places of the stock yard strikers, are now stranded as paupers in the latter city.

Baltimore printers have increased the price of composition on morning papers to 45 cents, and on evening papers to 40 cents.

NEW YORK, Jan. 16.—The street-car strike in San Francisco had not been settled at the date of the latest advices in daily papers. There are curious reports about the "sympathies" of the police, many of whom are said to belong to a certain labour organisation of which the strikers are members.

The Ohio Valley Trades and Labour Assembly, composed of Knights of Labour assemblies and trades unions of the cities of Wheeling, Bellaire, Martin's Ferry and neighbouring towns, will hold a grand fair and industrial exhibition, from Feb. 14 to Feb. 19, to procure means for leasing a hall for the use of organised labour.

The Paper Rulers of New York, although they do not number more than 200 men, are an important factor in the blank book trade. There are 95 per cent of them in the union. They fixed a price-list and an apprentice system, to both of which half the bosses in the city objected, and locked out their men. The Bookbinders are also associated with the rulers, and resolved not to bind any books ruled by "scabs." The men have resumed work on their own terms.

WESTERLY, R. I., Jan. 6.—Many of the strikers at the Moss Manufacturing Company's works are being turned out of the tenements owned by the company. W. C. King, a weaver who did not strike, has also been turned out of his tenement because, according to his story, he refused to turn his boy, who is a Knight of Labour, out of his home. He says he has spent much money and time beautifying the house, and has always been faithful to the interests of the company. There is a great deal of suffering among the evicted tenants. The Whipple family was turned out in the midst of a blinding snow-storm, and old Mr. Whipple, who is dying with consumption, was carried out to the wagon in a blanket.—*Labor Enquirer*.

NEW YORK, Jan. 27.—All the Union longshoremen employed by the various steamship lines have struck work, except in the case of one coast line. The strike now includes the coal and grain shovellers, the longshoremen, the bag sewers, tug-boatmen, and lightermen, numbering in the aggregate over thirty thousand men. The District Committee of the Knights of Labour has requested all dock labourers to suspend work for three days with a view to the settlement of the coal-handlers and longshoremen's strike. This action on the part of the Knights delays the departure of vessels belonging to the companies affected by the strike. A mass meeting is to be held to-night, and extra police have been called out, the situation being considered more serious. Jan. 29.—The Lehigh and Wilkesbarre Coal Company and the Pennsylvania Company report that a general strike of miners will probably be ordered on Monday next in response to an appeal from the coal handlers now on strike. Jan. 30.—The men on strike threaten that all the coal-labourers belonging to the Knights of Labour will strike this week at every place where coal, not handled by unionists, is used.

FRANCE.

TOULON.—There is great excitement among the workers at the arsenal here, 150 of them having been dismissed, this being it is said, but the beginning of a long series of dismissals which will affect a large number of the employés.

MEHUN (CHER).—The strike here still continues, the strikers receiving the support of their fellow-workers elsewhere, who have decided to leave their workshops rather than endanger the success of the movement here.

A Marseilles journal announces that Roustan, the "chef de section" at the tobacco factory, whose abuses were the cause of the women's strike there, has come to Paris to lay his case before the Minister of Finance, as he has no intention of giving up his position in the factory. If this is true, in spite of the announcement by the Prefect of his dismissal, the strikers will be on the qui-vive again, and will have learnt how much trust to put in the good faith of official gentlemen.

ROUBAIX (NORD).—The Labour Associations of Roubaix, having in view the formation of a Co-operative Society, publish in *Le Travailleur* an address to the people, pointing out that co-operative societies hitherto have always come to be supported by the capitalist, as they have been for his benefit, and that it is necessary to substitute those for the worker's benefit. They intend, they say, to form themselves on the model of the successful Co-operative Society of the *Vooruit* of Ghent, and call on all the workers of the department to bestir themselves, and support the project.

BELGIUM.

MARCHIENNES.—A large manifestation took place last week at Marchiennes, near Charleroi, composed of working-men's Leagues, which were represented to the number of 32. This cortège of some six or seven thousand persons marched along to the town with the burgomaster, accompanied by the police-commissary at its head, whether as an open sympathiser or with an idea of keeping order by his impressive presence, history sayeth not. After parading the streets the manifestants made a stand in the Grand Place, where citizen Jean Holder spoke on the programme of the Labour Party, and the labour organisation and universal suffrage. The Government apparently feared disturbances on the occasion, the garrisons of Charleroi and Namur being held in readiness to respond to an immediate summons.

The strike is spreading in the Charleroi district, and reaches now as far as Forchies-la-Marche. In the two last pits of Amerœur, which have been in activity till now, work was stopped last week. So far, writes a correspondent to *L'Avenir*, it is impossible to foresee what turn things may take, though it is generally believed that the strike will spread throughout the Centre. He remarks that the movement develops from day to day, Socialist ideas gaining ground surely.

Anseele, editor of the *Vooruit*, will be set at liberty on Sunday next, to celebrate which occasion the Socialists of Ghent are organising a "Democratic fete," to which they will invite all Belgian Socialists.

By the bye, how does a Socialist journal manage to worry along when its editor, its father and natural guardian, is not actually on the spot to protect it from invasion and the "whips and scorns of time"? If it were an ordinary commercial affair one would feel it irresistible to quote the sceptical Mark Twain on the subject, where he says of a provincial paper "That brand of paper gets on just as well with a sick editor as a well one, and better with a dead editor than either." But editing a Socialist paper is a very serious and tremendous affair, and never trifled with after so frivolous a fashion, so that the locking up of an editor is not to be lightly spoken of.

GHENT.—Some of the Socialists of this town have been much troubled in their minds by reason of the production of an anti-Socialist play, written by an official gentleman of Brussels, who does not apparently approach the "question of the day" in a friendly spirit, but rather amuses himself by dragging the "Holy Red" of the Revolution hither and thither in the mud, thereby lacerating sorely the hearts of our Socialist friends. It is dimly rumoured that the police had to interfere, and that the civic guard are on foot, but details thereanent are wanting, and whether to-day "peace reigns in Warsaw" or no we have not heard.

When we went to Egypt we were going to establish civil, moral, and Christian influences on the banks of the Nile. What we have done has been to establish an enormous number of grog-shops and brothels.—*Mr. Cairne, M.P.*

Three crofters from the Island of Tiree have been liberated from Edinburgh Prison by order of the Home Secretary a month before the expiration of their sentence, which was four months' imprisonment. There are about twenty others still in prison.

Boycotting has been carried to a grotesque extreme in Galveston, where a woman who worked as a union printer married a non-union printer and was put under the ban. As the husband would not join the union the wife left him at the command of her associates, and will sue for divorce.

A Bill was introduced in Congress in 1877 to nationalise the militia for the purpose of being used against working men in the case of strikes. It has been held over from session to session. It is now said that extraordinary efforts will be made this session to call up the Bill and have it passed.

Mr. Atkinson, professional statistician, compares the working man of to-day who is employed the whole year with one of twenty-five years ago, also employed the whole year, and concludes that he of to-day is much to be envied. When we consider that from one to two million workers are now out of work, such statistics make us smile.—*Tax Reformer* (N.Y.).

The "Man in the Corner Seat," in the *Glasgow Weekly Mail* says: "The Glasgow Tramway Co., who have paid 9 per cent dividend, are being severely criticised by their employés and others for the want of feeling and sympathy exhibited towards their workmen. Low wages, fines, long hours, and no meat hours seem to be the staple grievances. Dividends so earned are as immoral as—"

Lord Compton thinks that if the distress among the unemployed in London is allowed to go on much longer "without the Government doing something to alleviate it," the slightest spark may cause discontent and despair to break out into open rebellion. By which Lord Compton means that he is willing to give his share of what is required if everybody else is compelled to do the same. But we do not think the appeal to "funk" is the strongest appeal to Englishmen. Besides, we may, some of us, think that the starving will hold out a good deal longer before having recourse to violence, when it will be time enough for the "Government to do something." No; let Lord Compton put his hand into his own pocket—not other people's.—*Jus*. [Does this need any comment?]

CORRESPONDENCE.

"ABSENTEEISM."

We have hitherto considered that absenteeism increased the evils of landlordism to a very material extent, and if W. B. R. will keep his thinking cap on a little longer he will come to see that there are good grounds for the popular opinion. Let me try to help him. Suppose that the Irish tenants pay their landlords in kind, and that the landlords live amongst them, employing Irishmen and Irishwomen for all the services they need, it is evident that the Irish tenants are simply employing and supporting their own brothers and sisters through the landlords, who are a kind of middlemen. It is true the hard-working tenant might still consider it a misappropriation of the fruits of his toil to keep a coachman, groom, butler, and valet attending on a man; and a maid, governess, and nurse attending on a woman and her children, while the said man and woman would be best employed in doing for themselves what those menials do for them. Nevertheless, that system of living amongst the people who provide the rents reduces the evils of landlordism to their lowest degree.

Now, suppose instead of living amongst his tenantry the landlord lives in London or Paris, and his rent in the shape of a certain portion of the produce of the farms is sent to him there, and that he and his wife employ English or French people to attend to their wants, is it not patent that there is a perpetual drain on the Irish land for the support of foreigners, and that the landlord's rent is a dead loss to the Irish people? Landlordism is an evil whichever way you look at it, but absenteeism assuredly aggravates it.—Yours faithfully,
G. D. L.

"T. LEMON AND THE S.D.F."

Is the victory of Socialism in London so nearly won, that a good comrade and soldier for the Cause like Kitz can find time to leave the attack on the common enemy, in order to stand aside and squabble about the honour and glory of the victory? Or is his letter rather an instance of those words of Morris's, which, by a curious coincidence, are printed in the next column exactly opposite to the most uncalled-for part of comrade Kitz's attack on the S.D.F.?—"Backsliding, and doubt, and contest between friends and fellows lacking time in the hubbub to understand each other, shall grieve many hearts and hinder the Host of the Fellowship."

We Socialists in small towns or villages, who, from our isolated position feel especially the need of unity and good-feeling, cannot but deplore and feel ashamed of this bad-blooded rivalry, which makes the Cause look ridiculous, and gives occasion to the common enemy to laugh in his sleeve at us. For it must be comic, to one who does not care for the advancement of Socialism, to witness the complacent swagger of *Justice*, and the occasional mutter of the *Commonweal*, as of some sulky boy who has been teased by his fellows, and is too thin-skinned to take it in good part. Would it not be better to try to see the good (of which there is so much) in both associations, and to recognise how unlikely it is that any one should embrace all the tactics which the Democracy must employ for the development of the new Society?

And now a word to comrade Kitz. I never knew bad feeling removed, nor the bitterness of rivalry sweetened, by the use of sarcasm. It is easy to speak of a "sneaking friend"; and even the *Daily Telegraph* can give point to its irony by writing of the "Council" with quotation marks, as though it did not exist; but hard, hard it is, to overcome the sore feeling which such sarcasm produces, and harder still to gain our Cause with that sore feeling in our midst. And our comrade's letter is for that reason especially to be regretted, appearing as it does on the very day when those anonymous paragraphs in *Justice* begin to recognise the Socialist League in a more conciliatory spirit.

Is it not, in short, the duty of Socialists not only to be pulling down the old Society, but at the same time to be laying the foundation of the new Society of comradeship and fellow-feeling? And are such letters as this of comrade Kitz likely to help on the work?

In the firm belief that the direct opposite of that sort of thing is what is needed, I am, yours very truly,
Farham, January 24, 1887.
GEORGE STURT.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

NOTICE.—All business matters relating to the Socialist League to be directed to the Secretary, H. A. Barker, 13 Farrington Road, London, E.C.

Subscribers in arrears are notified that the *Commonweal* will not be sent if subscription be not paid up within a fortnight from this date.

Bazaar and Concert postponement.—Circumstances which have arisen since the committee of management announced the date of the Bazaar compel them to postpone the same from February 5 to Saturday March 5.

A Concert will, however, be held, in accordance with previous announcement, on Saturday February 5.

Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Birmingham, Hackney, Hull, Leeds, North London, to August 31. Croydon, to September 30. Manchester, Merton, Norwich, to October 31. Bradford, to November 30. Hammersmith, Lancaster, Leicester, Oxford, to December 31, 1886. Bloomsbury, Clerkenwell, to January 31. Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), to March 31, 1887.

STRIKE COMMITTEE.

P. W., 2s.; W. M., 1s.

T. BINNING, Treasurer

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

E. B. B. (weekly), 1s.; M. M. (weekly), 1s.; H. Ch., (weekly), 1s.; Bloomsbury Branch (weekly), 5s.; W. B. (two weeks), 1s.

PH. W., Treasurer, Feb. 1.

THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

International Working Men's Educational Society, 23 Princes Square, Cable Street, E. (per the Secretary), £1; Hyde Park, Jan. 23, 2s. 6d.; Clerkenwell Branch, 17s. 6d.; Raymond Unwin, 2s. 6d.; K. F., 5s.; Bloomsbury Branch, 5s. 1d.; Charles, 11s. 6d.; Cleveland Hall, 3s. 4d.; Hyde Park, 6s. 7d.; Owen Lloyd, 3s.; T. C., 1s.; C. J. F., £1; C. Walkden, 10s.; P. C. Walkden, 5s.; Walter Crane, £1.—Total, £6, 13s.

BRANCH REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—On Friday, Jan. 28th, W. B. Robertson gave a lecture.—L. W.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, Jan. 26th, Eleanor Marx-Aveling lectured to a good audience on "The Relative Position of English and American Workmen." After the lecture a resolution expressing disgust and contempt at the inhuman sentences passed by Judge Grantham on our Norwich comrades, was carried unanimously, and 17s. 6d. collected for Mowbray's wife and family. On Sunday, Jan. 30th, Sidney Webb (Fabian) spoke on "The Law of Rent." The members of this Branch have attended two other meetings of other societies during the week, and two lectures have been given at other halls, with good results. Sale of *Commonweal* and pamphlets are increasing rapidly in Clerkenwell. Members are requested to take up Branch cards for 1887.

CROYDON.—On Sunday afternoon, we held a general meeting to elect officers, committee, etc. Various matters were discussed in regard to action in the event of Parliamentary election, the carrying on of open-air propaganda, the sale of the *Commonweal*, etc. The committee are to meet every Friday at 8 p.m. at Parkes Road. In the evening, at 7 p.m., G. B. Shaw gave a splendid lecture on "Some Illusions of Individualism," which was "reported" for *Croydon Echo*, in which paper it will occupy about half a column. Two new members made. Two letters which we sent to the Conservative *Croydon Guardian*, in answer to "Correspondence re Self-help Emigration and Socialism," have been inserted.—A. T., ast. sec.

HACKNEY.—On Sunday, Jan. 30, H. Charles lectured here on "Society in the Past," pointing out the inevitable corruption and breakdown of all Societies based upon slavery of any kind. 1s. 2½d. was collected for Henderson and Mowbray Defence Fund. Next Sunday at 11.30, we commence our open-air meeting at the Salmon and Ball. One new member. H. MATTHEWS, sec.

HOXTON.—We started our outdoor propaganda on Sunday with very successful meetings both morning and evening, Wade, Barker, and Pope taking part in them. Sale of *Commonweal* fair. In the evening, E. Pope lectured to a good audience on the "Curse of Machinery."—E. POPE, sec.

MARYLEBONE AND NORTH LONDON.—These two Branches decided to amalgamate for the winter propaganda. They have a good chance to engage in very active work at Cleveland Hall. The members met last Sunday, and appointed H. Charles, 34, Caversham Road, Kentish Town, N.W., as secretary of the two Branches.—C.

MERTON.—A fortnight since, we commenced an agitation amongst the unemployed. The first meeting was held on Mitcham Fair Green, from there we marched down to the club-room of the Mitcham Branch, where another enthusiastic meeting was held, a resolution was carried with acclamation declaring that until the Social Revolution swept away the monopolies of the means of life, now in the hands of capitalists and land thieves, there could be no peace nor hope for the workers. A temperance lecturer, who had hitherto been an antagonist, mounted the platform and declared his conversion to our principles. On the Thursday following we broke new ground in Wimbledon Broadway, hitherto the undisputed possession of the lugubrious apostles of cold water and damnation. We had been assured that it would be utterly impossible for us to hold our own upon this spot, but as a matter of fact some 300 people listened attentively, and passed the revolutionary resolution with more verve than the one that simply dealt with the administration of the Poor Law. The red flag and the speeches seemed to greatly exasperate a small knot of dealers in the strange items of Christian belief, but their leader, by name Mercer, was content to literally hide behind a woman, for he put forward a Mrs. Kingsley (a female guardian of the poor) to interrupt the speaking, and when forced to desist and address the crowd, she said, amidst much opposition, that the inmates of workhouses and jails were there chiefly through their own fault, and cited that shining Christian light, Rev. Horsley, in proof. These gentle feminine utterances were too much for the crowd, and she had to "shut up" herself. The local unemployed, whilst heartily endorsing our action, are forced to accept the doles of these Christian almoners because of the necessities of their families, and they assure us that the relief would be stopped did they actively support us. The local press belied the meeting by describing us as roughs, and stating falsely that we begged of passers by. The man Mercer, referred to above, has held a mother's meeting at a local coffee palace, where the tenets of Christianity are allied with the sale of pea-soup and mysteriously concocted beef steak puddings, and alleged that I incited the crowd to break windows, and the still more astonishing statement that the unemployed have only to believe in "his" God and all the necessities of life will be added. Meanwhile, the "respectable" church-going landlords of the neighbourhood are extracting their rents from the half-starved working-men by brokerage and threats of eviction. The smug cheating traders who compose the Board of "Guardians," have in the case of the Croydon Union, compelled starving men to trudge across snow-bound Mitcham Common, four miles to Croydon stoneyard, there to work without food until dusk, and receive in return merely bread and a ticket for meat, to obtain which another journey to the contractor is necessary, in all a distance of ten miles per day and laborious penal work upon empty stomachs. It will be a cold day for those who prey upon our vitals if ever we serve them as they serve us. At Morris's lecture on 23rd, at

Merton, we had a full audience, and a resolution of sympathy with our Norwich comrades was passed with cheers for the Social Revolution. The men composing both Merton and Mitcham Branches are, after a long experience of want of work and its attendant sufferings, now entering upon better times that will enable them to give harder work in the movement, and we can assure the humbugs and parasites of this neighbourhood that their dominion of cant will be strenuously attacked, and will be in danger of being destroyed.—F. KIRZ.

MITCHAM.—On Sunday morning, Kitz addressed meeting on the Fair Green, afterwards good discussion was carried on in club room. In the evening, Harrison lectured on "Land Robbery in Ireland." A resolution of condolence with Mowbray and Henderson was carried with three hearty cheers. Two new members.—S. G., sec.

DUBLIN.—Our good comrade John A. Ryan died on Thursday, Jan. 27, and was buried on Sunday last at Glasnevin. He was treasurer of the Branch at its inception, and had been a member of the International during its short-lived existence in Dublin. He had been in poor health for the past four or five months. Nearly all the members of the Branch attended the funeral.—O'G.

EDINBURGH.—On Monday, Jan. 24, in Free Tron Hall, Dr. Reddie gave a lecture on "The Anatomy and Physiology of Society." He maintained that Communism was the ultimate ideal of Society, and that the various Socialisms were stepping stones towards that end. There was some criticism on minor points raised in the lecture, but in the main the audience was with him. In the course of the evening, Prof. Flint, who has been lecturing on Socialism, was subjected to some severe handling. In connection with Flint's lecture we mean to distribute a deal of our literature, and generally to push the Cause.

GLASGOW.—On Sunday afternoon, Glasier addressed a large meeting on Jail's Square. In the evening, in Hall, Carlton Place, James Mavor lectured in place of J. Shaw Maxwell, who was prevented by illness, on "Experiments in Providing Improved Dwellings for Artizans." The lecturer cited examples to show what might be done even under the existing economic system if the authorities were in earnest in the matter, or if the workers paid any attention to their own interests. Referring to the experiment in artisan's dwellings about to be made by the Glasgow City Improvement Trust, he pointed out that the propertied class who composed the committee were more interested in making the experiment a failure than a success. An interesting discussion followed. This Branch will subscribe 2s. weekly for Mowbray's family.

APPEAL TO LUKEWARM MEMBERS.

How hard the Secretary's work,
Tho' he the pick of men is,
When members all their duties shirk,
And never pay their pennies!
Some hoard their wits, some hoard their gains;
I don't know which the worse is:—
Why, those who cannot give their brains,
Might surely give their purses!

(If the Printer does not print these verses, the Secretary will resign!)—J. B. G.

HAMILTON.—A very successful meeting was held on Thursday, Jan. 20. A good many miners who are on strike, were present, and greatly appreciated the exposition of Socialism ably given by comrades Glasier and McLean, of Glasgow. There was slight opposition, which was effectively replied to.—W. M.

LANCASTER.—Good meeting on Friday night. We passed resolution of sympathy with our Norwich comrades, condemning the brutality and partiality of the "man" Grantham. Copies are forwarded to the Premier, Home Secretary, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Parnell, and Mr. Williamson (local M.P.)—L. H., sec.

NORWICH.—We held five outdoor meetings in various parts of the City on Sunday, which were well attended. We sold all our *Commonweals*, and a good deal of other literature. Lane was the principal speaker at St. Mary's Plain at 11, in the Market at 3, and on the Agricultural Hall Plain at 7. He also lectured in the Branch offices at 8, a hard day's work. We are not daunted because our comrades Mowbray and Henderson are in Norwich Castle, but intend to work on all the more. We are getting one or two more of our members as speakers, and are in hopes we shall soon be able to do good work in the Cause we all have at heart.—T. M., sec.

BIRMINGHAM (S.D.F.) Branch have passed the following resolution:—"That this meeting expresses its sympathy with the Norwich Socialists, and strongly condemns the bitter partisanship of Judge Grantham. That this resolution be sent to *Commonweal*, *Justice*, and the Norwich Socialists."

Our Comrade J. L. Mahon is doing much useful though unostentatious work in the provinces. Since we last noticed his peregrinations he has visited Bedford, Reading, Nottingham, and Manchester, and held most successful meetings. Mahon's engagements are: Feb. 4, 5, and 6, Lancaster; 8 and 9, Leeds; 10, Walsall; 12 and 13, Nottingham; 14, Sheffield; 15, Clay Cross (miners); 17 to 25, Leeds, Bradford, Bingley, etc.; 27 to end of month, Hull. Mahon will be glad to hear from any persons willing to arrange meetings at Burnley, York, or Middlesbro'.

LECTURE DIARY.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street. Friday Feb. 4, at 8.30. T. Binning and A. K. Donald will speak. On the 11th, Hubert Bland will lecture on "Nihilism."—Members are requested to show a little more interest in the Branch, and attend the lectures.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday Feb. 6 and Wednesday 9, at 8.30. Dr. W. H. von Swartwout, "The only Practical Solution of the Labour and Capital Question."—Sunday 6th, 7 p.m., Members' Meeting; a full attendance desired.

Croydon.—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday February 6. A lecture.—Committee Meeting every Friday at 8 p.m. sharp, at Parker Rd. **Hackney.**—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11.—On Sunday Feb. 6. C. Wade, "England in the Fifteenth Century and Now."

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Feb. 6, at 8. Graham Wallas, a Lecture.

Hoxton (L. E. L.).—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sunday Feb. 6, 7 p.m. Committee Meeting, members requested to attend. 8 p.m., Discussion, "Will Dietetic Reform Benefit the Workers?"

Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday. Discussions held every Sunday morning at 11.—

Mitcham.—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11. February 6, at 7.30. Henry A. Barker, "Socialist Morality."

Country Branches.

Bingley.—Coffee Tavern. Every Monday at 7.30 p.m.

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

Bradford.—Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Road Wednesdays, at 8.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. Reading Room and Library open every Wednesday evening, 8 till 10.—Free Tron Hall, Monday February 7, at 8 o'clock. R. W. Armour, "The use of Banks" Monday 14. Jas. Mavor, Sec. Socialist League, Glasgow: subject to be announced next week. Admission, 3d.—The Treasurer will receive Subscriptions for Mowbray's defence fund.

Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily.—On Sunday, open-air meetings on Jail's Square at 1 and 5 o'clock. In the evening, at 6.30, in Hall, No. 2 Carlton Place, Clyde Side, David M'Lardy will lecture on "The Claims of Labour."

Hamilton.—Branch meets every Thursday at 7.30 in Paton's Hall, Chapel Street.—George M'Lean, Cambuslang, will lecture on Thursday first—subject, "Socialism, what it teaches."

Hull.—11 Princess Street, Sykes Street. Club Room open every evening. Lectures every Thursday and Sunday at 7 p.m.

Lancaster.—Market Hall Coffee Tavern Lecture Room. Friday evenings at 8.

Leicester.—Silver Street. Wednesdays at 8 p.m.

Manchester.—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening 6 to 10 p.m. Lecture and discussion every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—No. 6 St. Benedict St. Lecture and discussion every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room open every day from 8.30 a.m. to 10 p.m.

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

Open-air Propaganda—Sunday 6.

11.30...Hackney—"Salmon and Ball".....Davis
11.30...Hammersmith—Beadon Rd.The Branch
11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield Street ...Wade, Pope
11.30...Regent's ParkThe Branch
11.30...St. Pancras Arches.....The Branch
11.30...Walham Green—StationThe Branch
3.30...Hyde Park (near Marble Arch).....Mainwaring

PROVINCES.—SUNDAY.

Norwich.—St. Mary's Plain, 11; Market Place, 3.
Leeds.—Hunslet Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m.

CLEVELAND HALL, 54 Cleveland Street (near Portland Road Station).—Sundays at 11.30 a.m. Feb. 6. H. H. Sparling, "Self-Preservation."

THE DECORATOR'S CLUB, 37 Howland St., Tottenham Court Road, W.—Thursday Feb. 10, at 8.30. Thomas E. Wardle, "The Twin Curses, Civilisation and Religion."

Free Lectures on Socialism, in reply to recent Criticism, will be held in Farringdon Hall, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday mornings in February.—Sunday February 6, at 11.15 a.m., Edward Aveling, "The Errors of our Opponents."

Debate on Socialism.—A Debate will take place at the Hall of Science, 142 Old Street, City Road, E.C., on February 2, 9, 16, and 23, at 8 p.m., between Mrs. Annie Besant and Mr. G. W. Foote, on the question, "Is Socialism sound?"

COMMUNIST WORKING MEN'S CLUB, 49 Tottenham Street.—We are asked to call the attention of our readers to the fact that this club has been recently fined £20 for selling spirits, etc., although they received a good character from police inspector. Those who can assist in paying the above fine are asked to do so, and will please forward their subscriptions to the above address.

WAR OR PEACE?—A meeting of the international revolutionists to protest against the Coming War will be held in Cleveland Hall, Cleveland Street, Portland Road, W., on Tuesday February 8, at 8 p.m. The chair will be taken by comrade Morris. Speeches will be made in various languages.

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 57.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

PARLIAMENT has offered us a sort of stage-battle over the Egyptian rascality. No one, of course, thought that anything would come of it, though 97 members voted in favour of immediate withdrawal; some of whom perhaps would not have done so if they had thought that their vote would have had any influence in bringing about a withdrawal.

Some of the Radicals were, though they knew nothing would come of it, rather afraid of pledging themselves against our piracy wholly; and moved another amendment, substituting the Yankeeism "in the near future" for "immediate." This raised laughter from the Ministerial benches, as it well might; though probably it would be found that "immediate" would have the same meaning as "in the near future" in the mouth of any capitalistic government.

One of the mediæval Joe Millers tells of an inn which bore the following inscription: "Good wine given away for nothing *to-morrow*." Of course when the sanguine toper who had seen the promised blessing on Monday called for its fulfilment on Tuesday, he was told that *to-morrow* was still ahead. So it will be in Egypt till the bayonet of some other robber is applied to the rear of the British Christian.

A modern American traveller in Persia, after giving an account of the arbitrary and violent acts of the rulers of that strangely long-lived kingdom, which are of the sort with which students of ancient and mediæval history are familiar, and after saying of the peasant, "that if he produced upon land so rich that it easily produces enough to meet his humble wants, any more, it would be simply to render him the victim of extortion," goes on to say, "the people of Persia are as happy as the average of other people!"

This fact, which is borne out by the observation of travellers among peoples under similar conditions, is not so difficult of explanation as the bourgeois observer sometimes thinks it. The Persian labourer works lazily to supply his humble wants, and then stops, *knowing* that anything more he produces will be taken away from him. But we have got our labourers into better order than that. We make the English labourer work industriously *after* he has supplied his humble (very humble) wants, and thereby make him supply our own not so humble wants. The Persian labourer *knows* that everything that can be taken away from him will be taken away, and therefore doesn't vex the kind earth and his own body too much. The English labourer is in exactly the same position of being robbed of what he earns; but then he does *not* know it, and so he sweats away and tries to keep out of the workhouse. Fraud is out and out a better weapon than force, it does the cleaning-out job so much cleaner, let alone its being so much safer—till it is found out.

Among the advantages offered by emigration agents, a free passage to Davy Jones' Locker should figure prominently. Yet it will not be long before the horrible murder of the *Kapunda* will be forgotten by all classes just as dozens of other like cases have been. Nevertheless, while it is remembered (if it is still remembered by those not directly interested in it) let us ask what it was that drowned all those poor souls without remedy, and the answer must be Commercial Profit!

No one who thinks about the event can doubt that it was possible by spending more money to have contrived that the ship should not sink in a few minutes without any chance of getting her boats out; and if people will think a little more they will have to come to the conclusion that in these matters as in others the one thing sought after is "profit." Ships must be made safe enough not to frighten freight and passengers off them, and also not to make them uninsurable, or to risk too much loss if they are not insured. Outside these necessities "applied science" will not be *applied* to the making of people's lives as safe as it knows how, but to making of the owner's profits as safe as it knows how; and if you please, as those profits are made on the *average* of ships and voyages, the loss of a cargo of human beings now and then can be borne by the enterprising owners without their purses or capitalistic lives suffering much. But what fools *we* are to bear it!

In the first of the debates on the subject "Is Socialism Sound?" between Mrs. Besant and Mr. Foote, Mrs. Besant sustained her part

well. Mr. Foote threw no new light on the objections to Socialism, and, as often happens with a clever anti-Socialist debater, he made too much use of the *argumentum ad hominem*, a very feeble weapon if applied to anything more important than a Parliamentary debate.

It was curious to see Mr. Foote in his quality of Land-nationaliser so very bitter against Socialism; in him the lower middle-class prejudices and shibboleths seemed to unite readily with the acceptance of Mr. George's nostrum. Mrs. Besant's exposition of the fallacy of detaching the land from the other means of the fructification of labour was very clear and satisfactory. She also made her position as to the relation between Socialism and Communism clearer than it is in her pamphlet, and I should say had advanced from that position. Mr. Foote, of course, twitted her with this, but not very fairly. Socialists will follow with much interest the progress of this debate.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

"Even Englishmen, in a factory or elsewhere, would be demoralised if their earnings and their status, their lives, in short, depended on the caprice of some employer who could be at one time coaxed and at another time coerced into concessions, and who by occasional cruelty provoked their wrath. What legislators, therefore, must aim at is the elimination of the personal element from the control of the soil. The right of raising rent indefinitely was too great a power to lodge in the hands of a man who might be driven to extortion by the pressure of his own debts; and when the addition was made because the tenant had been industrious the result was robbery, however legalised."—*Daily Telegraph*, Feb. 4, 1887.

The above extract does not look out of place as a note in a Socialist paper. Yet it is cut from one of the most rabid bourgeois journals, and is, therefore, significant as a sign of progress. S.

PROFESSOR FLINT ON SOCIALISM.

SOCIALISTS are entitled to congratulate themselves on the attention their creed is attracting among all classes of the community. The Cause has certainly passed through that period in the history of many another cause, when "few men heed it." Free discussion is before all things desired by the lovers of truth, and this is what Socialists seem to be in a fair way of getting. Confident of the final triumph of truth, we always welcome criticism, whether it be fair and intelligent, or the reverse. If our opponents are bitter and prejudiced against us, unwilling to present our views in any light but an unfavourable one, we gain by the reaction which most certainly sets in when a faithful and clear exposition of our principles is laid before the people. If on the other hand they are honest, impartial, and well-informed, but slow in perceiving the truth of our doctrines solely in consequence of their peculiar training, we reap the fruits of the good seed they are unwittingly sowing.

In this way good work is at present being done for us in Edinburgh. Dr. Flint, Professor of Divinity in the University, is delivering a series of five fortnightly lectures on Socialism to crowded congregations in the Tron Kirk, and a good space in the daily papers has been devoted to reports of the two already over. Taking, in the first one, a general view of Socialism in theory and history, he regarded it, as opposed to individualism, an exaggeration of the claims and rights of society. In his opinion its principal feature is the excessive intervention of the state, the private and personal being absorbed by the public and collective. The statement of a superficial view like this is likely to lead people to imagine that life under Socialism will closely resemble life in a huge, well-regulated prison. But any one who has studied Socialistic literature closely and sympathetically, must admit that such a state of things cannot possibly result if society is reconstructed in accordance with our principles, and that Socialists would be the first to rebel against such irksome and debasing conditions of life. We would build up the new society on the old principles which the Professor, I presume, himself believes in, that it is our duty to bear one another's burdens and to love our neighbour as ourselves. We are fully persuaded too, that not only is it possible to do this without encroaching on individuality or liberty, but that the masses will be enabled to enjoy such freedom and happiness, as they cannot have any conception of in the present age, crushed as they are by the despotic and merciless power of landlordism and capital. As we have often pointed out, the workers in these days

are debarred by their economic circumstances from the possession of any individuality, and are merely human machines for producing wealth for their masters. All their interests are subordinated to this end. But even admitting that some of us would sacrifice unduly the interest of the individual to the good of society, it must not be forgotten that their influence is salutarily counteracted by the teaching of the Anarchist-Socialists, at least of the school represented by *Freedom*. That this is one of the functions of philosophical anarchism is, however, not perceived by Professor Flint, who can see it to be nothing but "individualism in a highly hydrophobic condition."

Hemaintained also, that under Socialism private property will be largely or entirely done away with, and each will have his work assigned to him, and its value determined for him. A statement of this kind is rather misleading to such as know little or nothing about Socialism, and is likely to cause the people to look askance at it. The fact is, we advocate the abolition of private property in land and capital in the certainty that this would lead to complete freedom of labour, and therefore to the extinction of property in the ordinary sense of the word, which implies the right of a private person to the use and abuse of all the wealth which the law allows him to call his own. It will be seen, therefore, we use the word "property" not quite in the ordinary accepted sense. All articles for consumption, wear and use will remain under the complete control of the individual who receives them in payment for services rendered to other members of the community. Even the instruments of production and distribution, viz., factories, mills, workshops, railways, ships, docks, etc., might remain private property in the sense that the owners of it, who will each possess sufficient to produce the wealth he consumes, might have the complete and entire enjoyment of it, minus the power of using it to extort interest or profits. As no rent will be charged for the land, it will form no constituent in the price of agricultural products as at present. The soil might be cultivated by skilled agriculturalists for the consumers, who would, of course, provide the necessary means of labour, the share contributed by each bearing the same ratio to the total wealth as the portion of the products he consumes to the whole out-turn. Mines and quarries might be similarly managed. Avoiding details, however, we may simply state that the so-called rights of property will be encroached upon only so far as to prevent rent, interest or profits being taken. It is difficult to understand why Professor Flint holds that each would have his work assigned to him without being consulted in the matter, when it is well known that one of our reasons for revolting against the present system is that the tastes, inclinations, and capacities of the individual receive so little attention. And again, I am sure it would be considered no hardship at all, if the value of the individual's work was determined for him in a just manner, and if each was remunerated on exactly the same principles. The Professor must know very well that just now the worker has very little say in the matter; he has surely heard of the "iron law of wages." The remuneration of labour must, of course, remain a matter of periodical social calculation, so long as the forces of Nature which co-operate with man in the production of wealth are inconstant, and so long as the invention, knowledge, and skill of man increase; so that it would be absurd to allow the individual to make an arbitrary estimate of the value of his own services.

In his second lecture Professor Flint denied, at great and quite unnecessary length, the truth of the proposition that "labour is the source of wealth." He treated it as a socialistic tenet, forgetful or ignorant of the fact that Karl Marx in his "ingenious and laborious book" of "verbal and logical juggleries," as the professor called it, says "labour is thus not the only source of the material wealth resulting from the use-values it produces. Labour is its father, as William Petty says, and the earth is its mother." He also asserted, what I submit is false, that we teach the doctrine that mental workers, scientific men, and organisers of labour, do not help in the production of wealth, that only the hand-labourers are the wealth-producers. We maintain, on the contrary, that often many of them do very, very important work for the community, for which they ought to be paid. What we feel is that the payment is too frequently out of all proportion to their deserts, and that anything in the shape of rent, interest, or profits drawn by the organizer of labour above his equitable remuneration, cannot be justified by any law of morality. The lecturer also took certain Socialists to task for teaching that the great end of life is material and physical enjoyment; a doctrine, he said, implying that man is all appetite—all stomach and belly. Those conversant with our literature will readily admit that it would be difficult to point out even one Socialist who takes such a low view of "man's chief end." Indeed, many non-socialists are impressed with the great moral beauty of the Socialistic ideal, and contend that, "human nature" being so depraved and base, our endeavours to realise it are hopeless. We are nevertheless often misunderstood on this point because we direct our attention specially to the alteration of the present economic conditions of society, convinced that as long as they prevail it is impossible to humanise the great multitude of the people. Dr. Flint then considered another view, which he held was advanced by us; that society should not only be organised for the production of wealth, but in the interest of the producers of wealth. He wasted a great deal of time pointing out the antagonism between buyer and seller, consumer and producer, in the present system. Apparently forgetting that such antagonism would not exist in a community conducted on co-operative principles, and unaware, perhaps, that we use the term "producer" in contradistinction to "idler," he rebuked us for advocating a "doctrine directly and inevitably anti-social and as unwise as unjust." Failing to see also that wages are merely a part returned to the worker of the total produce of his labour which is *all* rightfully due to him, and that only a creature devoid of any semblance of manly spirit would submit

tamely to the robbery of any part of his own, he deprecated our describing wages as the badge of degradation and slavery. After ridiculing the various proposals of St. Simon, Louis Blanc, and Karl Marx as to the method of determining the remuneration of labour, he advocated, as the moral rights labour is entitled to, payment of due honour and esteem to it; suitable education for the working classes with opportunities of rising into the arts and professions; the right of combination to get as much as possible, limited *only* by the rights of private property; freedom of combination to establish collective partnerships, in every way *but* the socialistic. After dilating on his newly-discovered, hitherto-untried and infallible means of obtaining the workers' glorious "New Utopia," he hastened to defend the poor, suffering capitalist (whose justice or generosity, by the way, he did not think it would be safe to trust) from the charges trumped up by us against him, winding up by recommending the teaching of political economy to working-men as the antidote to our baneful influence. In the course of his lecture he sneered at our denouncing usury as immoral in these days of enlightenment, and laughed us to scorn for resuscitating what he calls a mediæval economic error. To expose his inconsistency in this matter as a follower of Christ and his immorality as a social being, must, however, be deferred owing to want of space. J. H. SMITH.

THE BIG BEER "BOOM."

I TAKE the following from 'Barker's Trade and Finance,' a fortnightly circular. It is a splendid illustration of the way in which the vast sums fleeced from the workers are utilised for their further enslavement. The article I refer to is headed "Guinness, Son, and Co.":

"From first to last more than ordinary interest has been taken by investors and the public generally in the floating of the enormous concern of Arthur Guinness, Son, and Co. as a limited liability company. The investment was regarded as a good one, and there was a great rush of applicants for shares, with the result that the amount required was offered many times over. This was sufficient to cause a few days' talk, but nothing more; and had no other special circumstances been connected with the launching of the concern, little would have been heard of it again. In one way or other, however, Messrs. Baring Bros. have contrived to keep the matter before the public, with results which they cannot deem satisfactory to themselves. Above everything, an Englishman does like impartiality, and the impression has been given that in this business a preference has been shown in the allotment of shares."

It is all very fine for the pious to throw up their eyes and say the cause of the misery of England is because the poor drink; but what are our noble and great doing to prevent it, the philanthropic Duchess of Teck included? The following list from the same circular, on the same subject, will show how far the wellbeing of the country is considered by those who have wealth. Why, they simply stick at nothing, as long as they acquire wealth for themselves without exertion on their part.

It appears from a list which has been published in *Money* that fifty persons, consisting of the promoters and others, have had allotted to them ordinary shares to the amount of £1,714,450, and Preference Stock to the amount of £1,044,500, or a total of £2,758,950, out of a total capital of £4,500,000 (excluding the Debenture Stock). The following are the fortunate fifty:—

	Pre- ference Stock. £	Ordinary Stock. £		Pre- ference Stock. £	Ordinary Stock. £
Ardilaun, Lord ...	—	15,000	Hanbury, G.	—	2,000
Baring Brothers ...	317,800	501,050	Herries, Farquhar and Co.	3,750	1,750
Baring, T. C.	16,000	1,000	Hodgson, J. S.	5,000	—
Baring, Sir Evelyn	2,000	—	Lubbock, H. J.	3,750	—
Baring, Thomas ...	2,000	—	Lubbock, B. W. ...	3,750	—
Brown, Shipley, and Co.	6,000	3,000	Morgan, J. S. and Co.	60,000	40,000
Bryant, F.	5,000	1,000	Martin and Co. ...	3,750	1,750
Bryant, J. H.	5,000	1,000	Montefiore, J. S. ...	3,000	1,000
Bischoffsheim, H. L.	9,750	4,550	Marlborough, Duke of	—	2,000
Benson and Co. ...	1,000	600	McAlmont, H.	5,000	—
Brand, J.	3,150	—	Newgas and Co. ...	6,000	2,100
Beaumont, W. B. ...	2,000	1,000	Norman, C. L.	5,000	—
Chaplin, C.	3,750	—	Praed, F.	2,000	—
Cocks, Biddulph and Co.	3,000	—	Pearse, B. K. W. ...	—	4,000
Fruhling & Goschen	3,000	—	Purser, E. T.	—	2,500
Guinness, Sir E. C.	21,800	835,000	Rothschild and Co.	200,000	150,000
Guinness, Claude ...	—	3,000	Ransom, Bouverie, and Co.	3,750	—
Guinness, Reginald	—	2,000	Skinner, T.	8,000	2,000
Guinness, R. S. ...	1,000	2,000	Sun Fire Office	7,000	—
Guinness, Henry ...	1,500	1,500	Scott, Sir S. & Co.	7,500	1,750
Geoghegan, Saml. ...	—	2,500	Teck, Duchess of ...	1,000	—
Glyn, Mills and Co.	175,000	75,000	Tidd, F. A.	3,000	—
Glyn, P. C.	50,000	—	Wertheimer, A. ...	1,000	1,000
Gibbs, A. and Co.	75,000	* 3,500			
Gibbs, A.	75,000	3,500			
Green, J.	3,000	1,400			
Hambro, C. J. and Son.	65,000	45,000			
				£1,044,500	£1,714,450

Here we find that, including the 80,000 shares reserved for the vendor as part of the purchase payment, half a million more than half the ordinary and preference stock went to fifty persons. Amongst the fifty, Messrs. Baring themselves figure for £839,850, the Rothschilds have secured £350,000, Glyn, Mills, and Co. £250,000, C. J. Hambro and Son £110,000, and J. S. Morgan and Co. £100,000. Thus, five firms appear for £1,649,850, and they, together with the vendor and his family, have obtained £2,517,650 out of £4,500,000.

Then the stockbrokers have not done badly. A list is given of fifty

who have secured amongst them £272,680 of ordinary and preference stock.

Amongst them are the following:—

	Preference Stock. £	Ordinary Stock. £		Preference Stock. £	Ordinary Stock. £
Brunton, Bourke & Co.	20,000	8,000	Morris, W.	15,000	7,000
Bourke, Hon. H.	3,000	1,400	Mullens, Marshall, & Co.	4,500	2,100
Gramshaw and Co.	4,000	2,400	Renton Brothers	7,500	1,750
Jacobson and Son	3,750	1,750	Ricardo & Woodroffe	4,000	2,000
Laurence, Sons, and Gardner	6,000	—	Ricardo & Co.	7,500	3,500
Morrice, J. C. & C. W.	4,900	4,450	Steer, Lawford & Co.	56,750	8,700

"The contrast is great when we come to the general public. The following is a list of fifty names:—

	Preference Stock.	Ordinary Stock.		Preference Stock.	Ordinary Stock.
Bell, J. F.	—	60	Keogh, M. A.	—	60
Bennett, J.	—	50	Kavanagh, C.	—	30
Bestall, K.	—	50	Lowson, J. B.	50	30
Byron, H. A.	—	30	Lavery, P.	240	—
Curran, W. J.	50	30	Lindsay, A. E.	—	30
Cherry, S. A.	—	50	Lindsay, E. A. M.	—	30
Cherry, M.	—	50	Lindsay, E.	—	30
Cherry, G. P.	—	50	Leeper, N. G.	—	50
Campbell, J.	120	60	Latimer, W. T.	40	20
Curley, J.	120	60	Lyell, G.	—	30
Carson, J.	—	50	Marshall, W. H.	—	50
Caldwell, J.	—	30	McMitchell, T.	50	—
Collins, T.	—	30	McKay, A.	—	30
Dill, J.	—	30	Merrick, L. J. B.	50	30
Evans, R.	—	30	Merrick, O. S.	50	30
Ferguson, R.	600	300	McMitchell, M.	—	30
Green, J.	—	30	Martin, W. J.	120	—
Galloway, R. L.	—	30	Morrison, S. G.	50	30
Hopkirk, J.	—	30	McCummon, W.	—	60
Hamilton, S.	—	60	McDuff, G. T.	120	60
Hughes, W. H.	100	50	Neely, W.	50	50
Johnson, C.	50	30	Preston, Sir J.	—	60
Joyce, J. J.	—	60	Purdy, J.	—	60
Johnson, J.	100	—	Smith, C.	—	30
Kerr, H.	—	30			
Kennedy, C. B.	—	30		£1960	£2140

"What a miserable selection of small allotments! Yet, be it remembered, these are fortunate people. A very large proportion of general applicants got nothing at all. Their applications and deposits were returned to them."

The same paper goes on to state:

"What a plum these allotments have been to those who got them will be seen on reference to the price at which the shares are standing on the market. The ordinary shares are selling for rather more than 75 per cent. above par, and the Preference Stock at 25 per cent. premium. What that means to the large houses who have got the lion's share of the allotment, if they have held their shares and can sell them now, or have sold them at the present premium, can easily be calculated. Messrs. Baring's £839,850 fully paid up will now fetch £1,300,850, or a comfortable profit of £461,000!

Surely if the workers read over these figures carefully, with their considering-caps on, all further comment will be rendered unnecessary.

SARAH S. GOSTLING.

THE LATEST THING IN INTERNATIONAL BURGLARY.

So the harbinger of the gospel and shoddy goods, Stanley, of swash-bucklering memory, is again on the rampage, in the interest of his imperial extension and market-lusting clients. A neat little excuse is once more found (they are never wanting). A brother marauder, or philanthropist like the rest of them, with the single-minded desire of extirpating that dreadful curse of slavery—the very mention of which makes the modern capitalist's heart burn with righteous indignation, and long to take to himself the victims if possible, but at all events the natural produce of their lands,—this "worthy pioneer," then, has been for some time past keeping a corner of equatorial Africa warm for the establishment of a British protectorate. At length, after the necessary rôle has been played of giving out that he is surrounded and his valuable life in danger, his confederate Stanley is sent by the British Government on a marauding or relief expedition, amid the plaudits of the Bourgeois world, to comfort this heroic soul, and with a mitrailleuse of newest construction to correct the refractory African. If Continental complications do not arise meanwhile, we may expect, by the autumn, to see the comic papers resplendent with the well-known figures of their typical whore Britannia and her "fancy man" John Bull, both with holy indignation thirsting for the blood and lands of their barbaric victim. For it is quite possible the Central African may venture to remonstrate with Mr. Stanley before surrendering themselves, "body, soul, and estate," to him and the vampires whose agent he is. Meanwhile every true Socialist may "drink damnation" to Stanley, Emin Pacha, and all their fellow brigands. E. B. B.

FATHER MCGLYNN.—NEW YORK, Feb. 4.—Father McGlynn has issued a statement, in reply to Archbishop Corrigan's representations, in which he re-endorses the principles of Mr. Henry George's political faith, and re-affirms his declaration to the Archbishop that in becoming a priest he never surrendered his rights as a man and a citizen. Father McGlynn denies the right of his bishop, the Pope, or the Propaganda to punish his participation in the late municipal canvass, or in other political movements, and denies also the right of the Vatican to order him to Rome. He declares, in conclusion, that the vow of obedience taken by a priest is simply a promise to obey the Church in matters concerning his religious duties.—*Reuter*.

NEWS.

(By HOFFMANN VON FALLERSLEBEN. Translated by J. L. JOYNES.)

WHAT wonderful things the newspapers tell
Of the land that we live in and love so well!
What a budget of news we have this day read!
The Countess was yesterday brought to bed;
And to-morrow the Earl will be coming this way;
And the King will perhaps come home, they say;
And the Emperor soon will be going away;
But they all will meet on a future day—
What wonderful things the newspapers tell
Of the land that we live in and love so well!

What wonderful things the newspapers tell
Of the land that we live in and love so well!
Of the outlook they give us an excellent notion;
A titled young man has obtained his promotion;
The chaplain at Court has been given an order;
The lackeys have lace on their legs for a border;
Their Lordships are leaving the town altogether;
And we never have had such fine spring weather—
What wonderful news the newspapers tell!
God bless the land that we love so well!

SOCIALISM AND THE SEA.

WITH all the reek-less fire of a man who has made his Cause his religion, I chanced the other day to be holding forth to a brace of sun-reddened Jack-tars on the *pros* of Socialism. A slumbering indignation, the legacy of some small erstwhile experience of the delicacies of Yankee coasting, had been waked up by their retailing, in the grotesque vernacular traditionally peculiar to the sons of the brine, some by-the-by incidents in the log-book of brute slavery which sailor-men are hammered into on even bitterer lines than the agrarian serf of modern vegetation—for they cannot *get out and walk!* What a damning witness, spattered bloodily, will that log-book be against the Scarlet Whore, Commercialism, in the great Doomsday that is so near, when the shades of her million victims shall "clamour in chorus from the ocean"! Too much—enough—can never be written of the systematic doing to death of men by the notorious coffin-owners, a felicitous process which culminated in the Plimsollian crusade; but there is also this other side in the lives of subordinate mariners who go down to the sea in ships, slaving on maggots and chickory-water for months together on the moody sea, that the employers of their manhood may idle on the land, consuming the spices and tid-bits which the slaves must carry but never touch. And no Plimsoll has yet arisen to fix the enduring-point of the human craft. Any one who has any acquaintance with the commonplaces of a mercantile sea voyage will bear me out in saying that to recount a few sample facts would simply be to induce doubts of my veracity in the minds of the unsuspecting. Circumstance and habit necessarily, I allow, have a proportionable responsibility in the vulgar bullyism and brutality so liberally served out to the helpless 'fore-masters by those angels chartered for the purpose and specially protected by the law, but a little observation and knowledge of things suffices to convince that "commercial exigencies" and "long-shore bureaucracy" lie at the base of this evil and this shame. Some time ago I read an "objection" to Socialism founded on the stunning assumption that though the cut-and-dried mutations of *terra firma* existence might well be coped with under the New Régime, yet in this particular branch of industry the difficulties would be unsurmountable! For myself, I can't see it, and a detailed examination of the marine machinery in conjunction with the affably loquacious couple in mention has removed the faintest vestige of misgiving. From the standpoint of a propagandist I want to suggest that a (watery) field of labour hitherto not much experimented upon opens up with a prospect that is hopeful. Sea-men are generally manly *men*; their discontent with the economics and domestic injustice of their lot is waiting (amongst Britishers) for the proverbial spark; current rates of wages still further illustrate the Iron Law; and—their united power, politically and in relation to a social crisis, would be gigantic. Our friends in the seaports must recognise all this, and perhaps any suggestion from inlanders will be regarded in an *ultra licitum* light—but, cannot something be done in the way of amalgamating and fraternising the sailors with the international movement? I feel that we *ought* to have an interchange of sympathies, and that *we must*.

LEONARD HALL.

Yes, and to bow the head and bend the social knee to some dudelet, son of millionaire —, feeling all the while that the brainless whiffet is not worth the spittle you feel like whirling at him, and yet to know that you must cringe to get or keep a job. To meet the scornful pityingly-curved lip of a disdainful social miss, whose father's fortune could not buy for her brains enough to learn at school, and feel that you are morally and intellectually as far above her as the sun above the cloud-caps, and yet be forced to cringe and crawl to keep a job as family hostler, or get a job of sawing wood. These are social customs which endanger society as much as it is endangered by class laws. Social customs that array the many against the money are subversive of society itself. Too many caged lions in a circus are unsafe, as when one roars he may arouse so many that the keepers will be overpowered, the ringmaster even routed, and the public safety jeopardised.—*Knights of L.*



"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.

Subscribers in arrears are notified that the *Commonweal* will not be sent if subscription be not paid up within a fortnight from this date.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

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

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday February 9.

ENGLAND		
Justice	John Swinton's Paper	HOLLAND
Jus	Boston—Woman's Journal	Hague—Recht voor Allen
Glasgow—Pioneer	Liberty	BRUSSELS
Norwich—Daylight	Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer	Liege—L'Avenir
Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung	Cincinnati (O.) Unionist	Antwerp—De Werker
Cotton Factory Times	Toledo (O.)—Industrial News	ITALY
Personal Rights Journal	St. Louis (Mo.)—American Celt	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Radical	Springfield (Ill.)—Voice of Labor	Turin—Il Muratore
Worker's Friend	Salem (Oreg.) Advance-Thought	SPAIN
Anarchist	Portland (Oreg.) Avant-Courier	Cadiz—El Socialismo
	Detroit (Mich.)—Labor Leaf	ROUMANIA
	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	Jassy—Lupta
INDIA		
Bankipore—Behar Herald		DENMARK
Allahabad—People's Budget		Social-Demokraten
UNITED STATES		
New York—Volkszeitung	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	SWEDEN
Truthseeker	Le Socialiste	Stockholm—Social-Demokraten
Der Sozialist	Le Revolte	NORWAY
	Guise—Le Devoir	Kristiania—Social-Democraten

"GOD SAVE THE QUEEN!"

GREAT BRITAIN, in the estimation of every true-born Englishman and Scotchman, is the most Christian of all nations. It has, according to the words repeated almost every Sunday in the pulpit, "been a peculiarly blessed land." God, it is alleged, has been pleased to vouchsafe to its public "the sincere milk of the word;" and every child is expected to know that the secret of Britain's greatness has been its earnest devotion to the teaching of the Bible. With a generosity, too, becoming its proud position, it has undertaken the mission of conveying the "secret" to all the barbarous tribes of the world; but unfortunately these benighted peoples do not seem to have appreciated its true value or the proper method of applying it, its failure to achieve "greatness" for them being of a very conspicuous character.

Well, in this Christian country of ours, we have what is termed a "National Anthem." Of its popularity there can be no question. It is the perfect expression of the patriotic fervour of every honest Christian Briton. When it is sung, it is sung with vigour and gusto, Tory and Liberal, pauper and peer, school-boy and professor, rising to their feet and uncovering their heads, and vying with each other in the force of lungs and earnestness of countenance with which they give utterance to its pious and patriotic sentiments. Not only indeed, do loyal people insist on standing uncovered during the singing of the anthem, but they reckon it rank blasphemy for anyone to presume to act otherwise. I have been once or twice myself mildly reminded of this fact, by having my hat crushed down upon my skull as a penalty for daring to exercise the right of private judgment upon the matter. However, being a good Scotchman, if a bad Briton, I have comforted myself with remembering that Robert Burns was once, for a similar act of impiety, bundled head and heels out of the theatre at Dumfries. Burns, however, almost deserved this treatment as a retribution for his writing in a moment of patriotic enthusiasm, stimulated by the threatened French invasion, the somewhat equivocal lines:

Who will not sing, "God save the King,"
Shall hang as high's the steeple;
But while we sing, "God save the King,"
We'll ne'er forget the People.

Our National Anthem is an indispensable institution. No theatrical performance, concert, or public entertainment; no civil or political demonstration can appropriately terminate without it. Children are taught to sing it in schools, and elephants to perform to its strains in menageries. It is alike in request in announcing the arrival of

the village circus, and in celebrating the instalation of the Chancellor of a University. Nor is the sphere of its popularity confined to secular uses—it has even upon occasions displaced the venerable Psalms of David in our national and dissenting churches. Some time ago one of Her Majesty's chaplains was discoursing upon Socialism to a fashionable congregation. Towards the conclusion of his sermon he dwelt upon the dreadful state of things that would supervene if Socialism should prevail—the possibility of which so roused his indignation, and his indignation in turn so filled him with a fervour of commingled piety and loyalty, that—with the view I suppose of exorcising himself and his congregation from the pernicious effects of even the thought of Socialism transpiring—he called upon the people of God to join with him in singing "God save the Queen!" And the people of God did join with him, and sung the anthem with electrifying force and unsurpassed depth of devotion—clinging as fervently to the refrain as the crew of a sinking ship clings to a top-gallant spar.

There is one verse of this truly touching and beautiful hymn which deserves particular notice. It is always rendered with especial volume and spirit, and may be said to be the grand *motif* of the piece:

O Lord our God arise!
Scatter her enemies,
And make them fall!
Confound their politics,
Frustrate their knavish tricks,
On her our hearts we fix—
God save the Queen!

What quaint emphasis lies in the expression, "And make them fall!" Now, what I think must be evident to every impartial mind is, not only the ingenuous magnanimity of those lines, their excellent accordance with the history and spirit of our nation, but the Christian humility that pervades them, and especially the closeness with which they paraphrase the injunctions of the Scriptures: "Love your neighbours as yourself;" "Love your enemies;" and "Do good to those who revile you and spitefully use you." When, too, we remember that these lines (applied to George III. as "God save the King") were sung *against* our American brethren during the War of Independence, we cannot but discern how admirably Christian sentiment compounded with politics is adapted to make manifest "the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man."

It might be argued, Why ask God to save the Queen? If there is any lady in the land who knows how to take good care of herself, *at other people's expense*, it is surely Her Majesty. We give her several hundred thousand pounds a year to provide her with the decencies and comforts of life, supply her with palaces and yachts and keep them in repair, pay lords and ladies to attend upon her; we do all this and get nothing in return save insult and injury. Surely if any body in the world could get on without the special assistance of the Almighty, it is the Queen. Seeing we do all the "works" for her, we might reasonably leave her to do the "prayer" part of the business herself. If we asked God to save the poor old women who are starving in the slums of our cities, or cast out to die upon roadsides by ruffian landlords in Ireland and the highlands of Scotland, there might be some reason in our supplication; but to howl to the creator of the universe for his special protection to a self-satisfied, over-fed, greedy, scandal-mongering old relict of an effete despotism, is surely downright impertinence not to say patent blasphemy.

But let us be prepared. This is the Jubilee of Her Majesty's most beneficent reign, and "God save the Queen" with a forty million power of lungs and brass bands will soon re-echo through the kingdom. We will have probably more of "God save the Queen" in this one year than in all the last fifty years put together. A terrible thought! Let us hope the ordeal, even if it cracks our ears, will not crack our heads; and that if it does not bring judgment down from the skies it will waken the long-slumbering Demigorgon power in the hearts of the people, which will rise and drag despotism and plunder down into the void.

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

LITERARY NOTICES.

We have received the first three numbers of the *Revista Italiana del Socialismo*, a monthly review published at Imola. It is a welcome addition to Socialist publications, and contains articles of interest by Andrea Costa, Dott. N. Colajanni, P. Schiaperelli, and others.

We have received a very interesting pamphlet, 'The Land Scheme of the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association,' published by the Association at the Mint Street, Madras. It describes a scheme for industrial villages and peasant proprietorship to be carried into effect in the Mysore Province. Although his remedy is so inadequate, the writer explicitly recognises that the position of a working farmer under a proprietor or landlord is one of "subjection or slavery pure and simple."

Dr. W. C. Bennett, the veteran song-writer, who has on several occasions contributed to the *Commonweal*, has in the *Liberal Home Ruler*, of Jan. 22 and 29, a poem called 'Locksley Hall,' being an appeal from Tennyson's 'Locksley Hall Sixty Years After' to the original 'Locksley Hall.' It is a stirring poem with a true democratic ring, its keynote being

"Now, though Lords may mourn at changes that the wise years swiftly bring,
Demos's shall be the future; his will be the hymns we sing."

Articles of interest to Socialists:—*Fortnightly*: "The State of our Trade," Geo. Howell, M.P.; "The Mir and the Police," Stepniak. *Westminster*: "State Education in America," "The Art of Government," "Plato's Moral Mission," "The Rent Question in Ireland." *Scribner's*: "Reminiscences of the Siege and Commune of Paris," E. B. Washburne. *Century*: "Relative Strength and Weakness of Nations," Edward Atkinson. *Contemporary*: "Ireland, 1782 and 1886," by Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice.

THE P. M. G. AND CAIRENE MORALITY.

THE *Pall Mall* has been at a loss for sensations lately; so much so that Sir William Thompson's prediction of the probable end of all things terrestrial in 30,000,000,000 years (we forget the exact figures, but from a practical point of view a cipher or two more or less doesn't matter much) had to be pressed into the service as though it were an imminent declaration of war between France and Germany. An extract from Mr. Cotter Morrison's new work on the probable future of Christianity was also made to do duty in default of a "latest telegram." But at last Mr. Caine has come home from Egypt to the rescue with a real genuine *Pall Mall* grievance, a sort of thing that ought to have a good run. The English Government has actually been so remiss in its duty, after four years' occupation, as not to have made any attempt to dragoon either natives or "occupiers" into teetotalism and sexual abstinence. Nay, it has even dared (not, it is true, from humane motives, but with a view to the "efficiency" of its best troops) to make some sort of attempt to check the spread of that divinely appointed pestilence, syphilis.

Now, all these things must be stopped, says Mr. Stead, as his hair rises. Temperance and stern morality must be enforced in the city of the Khedives. What? shall Egypt be evacuated? Oh dear no. The high-commercial and Christianising mission of England must be fulfilled. The empire must be extended, but in the interest of the factory and the clearing-house, not the grog-shop and the brothel. Of course, all Socialists know that these four great institutions are indissolubly connected, and that where you have the first two you are bound to have the last in some form or shape, law or no law, and so probably does Mr. Stead. But this will not prevent the ex-"Northumbrian boy" from continuing to puff imperial-extension schemes, or from affecting indignation at certain of their inevitable results, in the interest of the "great evening journal."

This last grog-shop business should help to fill up the time till the next aristocratic divorce case comes on. E. B. B.

CAPITAL AND LABOUR IN STAFFORDSHIRE.

AFFAIRS in Staffordshire are now in a very depressed state. Wages are being everywhere reduced, and the only refuge for the proletariat is the workhouse. At Stafford an extensive strike is anticipated in the boot trade. In some "shops" the Cutlan heeling machine is displacing labour, and in others reductions are being made. Fifty men are now out on strike against a reduction proposed by Messrs. Harris and Marson. Boots are made in four classes, for which of course a graduated scale of wages is paid, and the effect of the proposed changes will be that what will be still practically a second-class boot will be paid for at third-class wages, and the firm will profit the difference. All the extras previously allowed are also to be cut off, and the total reduction is estimated at from 20 to 30 per cent. The state of things in these modern factories has been well illustrated lately. At Stane Local Board the inspector of nuisances recently reported that a ventilator in Messrs. Bostock's factory there *opened into a cow-shed*. Of course nothing was done by the Board. Again, at Stafford police-court lately an apprentice was summoned for not doing his work. The employer, Mr. Riley, admitted that there was no coal that week (Jan. 3 to 10), and that the fire was fed with "patches," or shreds of leather. The reader can imagine for himself what heat is likely to be caused by smouldering leather. The employer's foreman also admitted that the stove was a bad one and smoked when lit, and that the shop was cold. The defendant further alleged that there was a broken window near where he worked, and that he was too cold to complete his allotted task. In the face of this the respectable Riley had the impudence to maintain that the "shop" was in a proper state. Where is the factory inspector? Another interesting case came before the same bench. A labourer was summoned for not providing his six children with adequate food and clothing, "he having the means and ability to do so." The children, it appeared, were half-starved and thinly clad; lived in two rooms in which there was hardly any furniture, and slept with their parents in one bed. On the other hand, the defendant said he could only earn 6s. or 7s. a-week at his work, and was unable to get them more food unless he stole something. Asked why he did not apply to the relieving officer, he said his wife did and was offered *an order for the workhouse*—that dreaded bastille of the working class. The prosecution was evidently so preposterous that even the capitalist magistrates had to adjourn the case in order that evidence might be procured as to the man's means. A specimen of the treatment this family would have met with in the workhouse was afforded at Walsall police-court about the same time, when several able-bodied paupers were charged with neglecting to pick 4 lb. of unbeaten oakum. It appeared that the poor wretches' fingers did not move fast enough for the task-master at the workhouse, but also that one of the defendants had done more work than any other able-bodied man in the house. The mayor said it seemed an extraordinary thing that the man who did most work should be prosecuted, and the case was dismissed.

The strike among the South Staffordshire chainmakers continues, and the men are still undergoing great privations to raise their starvation wages and to put a stop to the infamous "truck" system which flourishes there. Efforts are being made to start a co-operative chain-factory in the district. P.

Labour fighting for its rights in detachments has but a very slight chance of winning.

SOCIALISM IN THE PROVINCES.

LANCASHIRE is one of the best fields for Socialist propaganda in Britain. There the factory system is to be found in its most typical form. It is dotted all over with huge mills, which are nearly uniform in their aspect and methods of working. The people have a common experience, and look at questions in much the same light. The whole county in fact is one big manufactory, and the people live in that dull, rigid, and cheerless "equality" so much dreaded by the critics of Socialism. The people of Lancashire have gone through several generations under the capitalist system, and the result would form a curious and fruitful study for the economist. The death rate is the highest in England, the employment of women and children is very extensive. Of course, this employment of women has a frightful result as shown in the infant mortality. The relation between capitalist and labourer are not exceptionally bad, because where the whole family, father, mother, and children, can work in the mills, the family income is fairly large when all are employed, and even in times of distress it seldom happens things are so bad that the mother or some of the children cannot find something to do. The relations between the manufacturer and the small shareholders on one side, and the bankers and speculators on the other, would also form an interesting and profitable study. If some intelligent banking official could be converted to Socialism and induced to undertake such a piece of work, and do it thoroughly, he might earn immortal fame thereby.

The meetings I addressed in Manchester were not so successful as might be expected, chiefly for want of proper organisation. At Ashton there was a large gathering of people, who listened very carefully, and a Branch of the League can soon be formed there. At Hyde a successful open-air meeting was held, and was followed by an indoor lecture to a good audience. Enough names to form a Branch were taken, and the work of formally starting it and pushing the propaganda further was left to an energetic comrade who had just come to live in the place. On Sunday evening I spent a pleasant hour with the members of the Salford Branch of the S. D. F. On Tuesday afternoon I happened to be in the County Forum, a city temperance restaurant, where frequent discussions are held in the large room. On the previous Saturday night comrade Utley had opened a discussion, which led to an animated set-to between the Socialists and the Radicals. Tuesday was market day, and the place was well filled with a decidedly respectable audience. Some misconception of my views must have got abroad, for much to my surprise I was asked to open a discussion on "The Future of the Liberal Party." However, I accepted the invitation, and proceeded to explain how the Liberal Party was but the political expression of the capitalist class. That the interests of trade and commerce was all they concerned themselves with, and that these interests were at variance with the interests of the working-people; that in the near future the Liberal Party would go to the devil, pushing the Tories in front of them and dragging the middle-class Radicals behind, and that the sooner this happened the better. The speech was received with warmth but not enthusiasm.

On Tuesday night there was a good gathering at Blackburn. The meeting was held in the Market-place, and the attendance was about 500. Afterwards a meeting of Socialists was held to discuss various party matters.

On Wednesday I reached Preston, where no public meeting was held, but I spent the afternoon in talk with comrade William Sharman from whom I got a great deal of information. In Preston there is little chance of a Branch being formed at present, and the interests of the propaganda can best be served in other ways. Of Preston's 100,000 inhabitants, 45,000 belong to the Established Church, 35,000 are Roman Catholics, and only one-fifth of the population are Dissenters, while the mortality is abnormally large and the morality abnormally low. Still there is a good deal of Socialist opinion abroad, though the frightful respectability of the place makes it dangerous for anyone to hold unorthodox opinions upon any question—especially the Property Question. There is an Eclectic Society in connection with the Unitarian Chapel, in which Socialism is ably represented.

On Thursday, Feb. 3, I visited Darwen. No public meeting was held, but a few Socialists met to discuss the future of the propaganda in the town. A Socialist society had been in existence, but from various causes broke up a few weeks ago. It was agreed that another meeting of Socialists should be called in a day or two and a Branch of the Socialist League formed. From Darwen I went on to Lancaster, where a very successful campaign has just finished. A detailed account will be given next week.

Feb. 7.

J. L. MAHON.

A COCKROACH'S FUNERAL.—When Mahon addressed the meeting in the Market Place at Norwich, two middle-class people were standing on the verge of the crowd. One was a police inspector, the other a well-known tradesman. Quoth the police-inspector, "It's a lot of use trying to put down the Socialists, isn't it?" "Yes," said the tradesman, "it is like a cockroach's funeral. You kill one and a hundred appear in his place."

The tendency of trade schools has been, and always will be, to reduce wages. Jay Gould, with the operators "graduated" from his Missouri Pacific schools of telegraphy, not only broke the continental strike of operators in 1883, but has succeeded in greatly reducing the wages of these mechanics all over the South-west. As it is in the South-west, so it will be in New York. Every one of these "graduates" will be a menace to unionists in any demand for wages, hours, or fair treatment. They are taught the "good old principle of Ben. Franklin," that if you can't get a dollar a-day, work for fifty cents; if you can't get fifty, work for twenty-five.—*John Swinton's Paper*.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

This department is under the direction of the Strike Committee. Labour News and Contributions to the Fund should be sent to T. BIRNIE, at the Offices.

BRITAIN.

About 450 men employed at the Silksworth Colliery, Sunderland, have received notice to cease their employment. Depression of trade is alleged as the reason for the stoppage.

The whole of the miners employed at the Treharris Collieries, Rhonda Valley, have struck work against proposed reductions amounting in some cases to about 30 per cent.

The miners employed at the Manvers Main Colliery (1,200 in number) have struck work, owing to several grievances which, it is alleged, they were unable to get settled. The men are in no association; but it is expected they will join the Barnsley Association.

After lasting 25 weeks there are at last good indications of a termination of the Staffordshire chainmakers' strike, several of the employers having agreed to grant the advance demanded.

The agitation amongst the seamen of the Tyne for an advance of wages is maintained. At meetings of the men held at North and South Shields, resolutions have been adopted pledging them to stand out for the advance.

At Sunderland, the result of a ballot amongst the seamen and firemen, showed that 21 were content with the present wage (28s. per week), and 301 were in favour of enforcing the demand for an increase to 30s. 4d. per week.

Great distress exists amongst the Lanarkshire miners. A report just received, too late, however, for this issue, discloses such a shocking state of things as might even provoke a "wicked" word from Mr. Bradlaugh.

THE NORTHUMBERLAND MINERS.—In reference to the compromise suggested by Mr. Morley, M.P., in the matter of the Northumberland miners' strikes, there have voted for the continuance of the strike 8238, and for the 10 per cent. reduction 1850. Several collieries refused to vote.

At Rowley, Staffordshire, a dispute has occurred in the nailmaking industry, some of the employers refusing to pay the recognised list of prices. The executive committee of the Nailworkers' Association have decided that the operatives shall be supported by levies made upon the surrounding districts.

The miners of Fife and Clackmannan, numbering upwards of six thousand, have voted, by an overwhelming majority, in favour of terminating the contracts with their employers, in order to compel the coalmasters to concede an advance of 15 per cent. The coalmasters have resolved to resist the action of the men to the utmost.

Last week an indignation meeting of the scavengers employed by the Corporation was held in Glasgow to protest against the recent reduction of wages accompanied with an increase of work. It was stated at the meeting that while 100 per cent. additional work had been imposed upon the men, their wages which previously ranged from 20s. to 30s. per week, had been reduced by 6s. to 10s., whilst the salaries of some of the officials ranging from £600 to £1200 had not been touched.

The Cleveland Steel-works at Eston, belonging to Messrs. Bolckow, Vaughan, & Co., Middlesbrough, where some two thousand men are employed, have been closed, the notices which the men had given to the effect that they would cease work unless they obtained an advance of 10 per cent. having expired last Saturday. It is not expected that the strike will continue more than a week or two, as the men are not organised.—*Later.* The strike has practically ended, the men having accepted the 2½ per cent. advance offered by the masters for the next seven weeks, and then submit the further claims of the men to arbitration.

CONFERENCE OF TRADES' DELEGATES.—At the adjourned conference of trades' societies' delegates in Glasgow on Saturday, a resolution was adopted declaring that a reduction of the working hours to eight per day would tend to the absorption of the surplus labour in the market. The meeting also expressed approval of the Eight Hours' Bill as applicable to miners. Another subject discussed was systematic overtime, which it was agreed should be abolished or so minimised as to distribute labour amongst the largest number of hands. A resolution of sympathy with the miners in their present struggle for an advance was adopted with unanimity.

MINERS' CONFERENCE IN GLASGOW.—A conference of miners' delegates was held in Glasgow on Saturday. The proceedings were private, but at the close it was announced that it had unanimously decided that the men should remain out until a future conference—the date of which is not fixed—unless their demand was meanwhile conceded. The recommendation of the conference was almost universally adopted in Lanarkshire and Ayrshire. At Irvine, however, about 250 men went to work at Merry and Cunningham's pit. The pickets were out, but the firm placed their men under the protection of the police.

NATIONAL LABOUR FEDERATION.—A meeting of the executive council of this body was held on Saturday night at the Carlisle Hotel, Westgate Road, Newcastle. Communications have been sent to the different trades' union councils respecting the legality of their members joining the federation. Several replies were read, which were favourable to the federation, and will no doubt remove a cause that has prevented many unionists joining and co-operating in organising the working classes. It was decided to hold the delegates' meeting on March 26, to which each branch will send one delegate. Arrangements were made for opening five more branches.

DUBLIN.—At a meeting of the Amalgamated Tailors in their Hall, Fishamble Street, with reference to the "sweating" system, the case of the *Southport Chronicle*, which has been mulcted in law costs of nearly £170 by a local tailor for denouncing the system, was taken into consideration. The spacious hall was filled to overflowing. Mr. M'Mahon stated that sweating was carried on in Dublin to an even worse extent than in the large towns of England; all the large firms in Dublin employed sweaters. That day he had been in a sweaters' den, where a woman lay in childbed and where three females and two boys were working. A resolution to assist in indemnifying the *Southport Chronicle*, and thanking its editors, was carried without a dissentient.

THE STRIKE IN THE WELSH TIN-PLATE TRADE.—A demonstration of strikers in the Monmouthshire tin-plate trade was held at Abercarne on Saturday. The strikers formed a procession at the top of the valley and marched down to Abercarne, where they were joined by other strikers. A meeting was held, at the close of which a collision occurred between a num-

ber of the strikers and those who are idle through the strike of the tin-house and mill men. Many persons were roughly handled, the neighbourhood being in a state of riot for some hours. A disturbance having been anticipated, a large number of police had been drafted into the place, and they were able to cope with it, and succeeded in maintaining order. Delegates representing the Glamorganshire and Carmarthenshire works attended the meeting, and stated that they were prepared to afford support to the extent of 14s. per man per week. It was decided to continue the strike resisting the ten per cent. reduction.—*Wednesday.* Disturbances of a similar character occurred yesterday, and the neighbourhood was in a state of riot for some hours.

The weaving trade is so intensely unprofitable that capital is rushing into it like a flood. Scarcely a daily paper can be taken up without seeing that in one district or another extensions are going on. Some firms are extending their sheds, others are building new ones; fresh companies are starting, either to manufacture themselves or to supply room and power to tenants. It looks as though we are to have a repetition of a dozen years ago. We shall have looms put down without limit until the goose is killed that lays the golden eggs. We shall then have lengthy articles about foreign competition, and the employers will be asking for reduced wages. If the operatives are wise they will take time by the forelock. With the demand for weavers now existing, many of them are too apt to assume that because they are comparatively comfortable it will always last, and there is no need to prepare for a rainy day by organising this strength. What is occurring now has occurred before, and we shall as surely have a repetition of 1878 and 1883 as that night follows day. Capitalists want teaching that they have no business to rush their money in a trade till the profits are gone, and then come upon the workpeople to pay for their folly. Now is the time to prepare the lesson, and we shall be pleased to see that at the right time it can be effectively taught.—*Cotton Factory Times.*

THE LOCK-OUT OF GLASS-BOTTLE MAKERS AT ST. HELENS—SWEDES BROUGHT OVER TO TAKE THEIR PLACE—DEMONSTRATION AGAINST FOREIGN LABOUR.

On Saturday afternoon a demonstration to protest against the introduction of foreign labour was held at St. Helens. During the week Messrs. Lyon Brothers, glass-bottle manufacturers, have brought 39 Swedes and Norwegians to supersede workmen whom they had discharged. Of these, sixteen have declined to work when they found that there was a dispute, some not coming to St. Helens and five not working when they did arrive. On Saturday morning the other twenty-three Swedes commenced to work. Messrs. Lyon have arranged some rooms in Corporation Street, about half a mile from the works, for their accommodation, and they are conveyed to and from in a waggonette under a strong police escort. The popular feeling against Messrs. Lyon is very strong. On Saturday fully 6000 workmen joined in the procession, and about 10,000 persons were present at the meeting. Mr. Thomas Glover, secretary to the St. Helens Trades' Union Council, presided, and the meeting was addressed by Mr. Robert Hunter, president of the St. Helens Glass-Bottle Makers' Union; Mr. James Hunter, secretary; Mr. Robert Canning, a discharged foreman; Mr. George Hempinstall, president of the North of England Glass-Bottle Makers' Society; Mr. Edward Tankard, secretary of the Northern Society; Mr. Morgan, vice-president of the Liverpool Trades' Council; Mr. Schumann, Dublin Trades' Council; Mr. Charles Sweeting, Yorkshire Bottle-Makers' Society; and Mr. Graham, president of the Dublin Glass-Bottle Makers' Society. The following resolutions were carried unanimously: "That this meeting of the various trades of St. Helens and surrounding districts hereby expresses its greatest condemnation of Messrs. Lyon in introducing foreigners under false pretences, and thereby turning out their own workmen. (It was stated that the agent of Messrs. Lyon in Gothenburg had represented that there was no dispute in St. Helens.) "That this meeting use all its influence to support the bottle-makers during their dispute." A strong body of police had been drafted into the town and drawn up in position near the Swedish Barracks, but their services were not required. The Strike Committee of the Socialist League immediately on receipt of the news of the arrival of the Swedes, sent a delegate from the Swedish Section of the Socialists to assist the unionists by acting as interpreter between them and the Swedes.

A large open-air meeting was held at Lancaster Market Place, on Monday Feb. 7. J. L. Mahon (delegate from the Socialist League Strike Committee) explained the circumstances of the dispute between Messrs. Lyons of St. Helens and the International Union of Glass Bottle Makers. The following resolution was put and carried with cheers: "That this meeting protests against the mean action of Messrs. Lyons, the St. Helen's glass bottle makers, in enticing foreign workmen to compete against their English brethren; that we send our hearty sympathy to the workers and wish them success in their struggle; and we hope the Swedish workmen will not allow themselves to be used by the capitalist as a means of stirring up rivalry between the workers of different nations."

AMERICA.

Italians of Norway, Mich., have formed an assembly of K. of L.

A French assembly has been organised in Iron Mountain.

In Des Moines, Ia., two sisters are professional paper hangers, hanging paper at the regular rates charged by men in the same line.

The striking car men in San Francisco have established a line of 'busses on Sutter Street to accommodate the people who formerly used the street cars.

The Federation of Trades Unions includes 34,000 cigarmakers, 22,000 bricklayers, 40,000 coal-miners, 20,000 printers, 27,000 iron-moulders, and 30,000 carpenters and joiners.

Ottumwa, Ia., Knights will start a co-operative packing and provision company, employing 1,000 to 1,500 men upon the eight-hour plan, March 1. Capital stock 50,000 dols., shares 10 dols. each.

The gain of the street-car employes in this and other cities, through the strikes of last year, has been absolute. It includes more pay, more leisure, and more men at work. The effect of their combination in New York and Brooklyn was to take an average of three hours and nineteen minutes of work per day from the men employed, and to increase their pay by at least 25 cents per day. That is to say, the street-car employes now work seventy-seven hours per week and earn 2 dols. per day, against a hundred hours and 1 dol. 75 c., as per scale of January last year. They gained nearly two working days of twelve hours each per week, and 1 dol. 75 c. in pay. The cost of these efforts, in wage-loss and expenses, all told, to the wage-earners, was less than 100,000 dols. Over 2,000,000 dols. were added to the wages of this class, and 2000 more men are now employed.—*John Swinton's Paper.*

REVOLUTIONARY RUMBLINGS.

FRANCE.

MARSEILLES.—The women weavers of the La Palud factory at Marseilles, having demanded an augmentation of wages without any result, have now put themselves on strike. With the present tariff it is impossible for the most skilful to earn more than 2 fr. 25 c. a-day.

DECAZEVILLE.—The members of the workmen's Syndicate of the miners of Aveyron at a general meeting held at Decazeville on the 30th of January, nominated Citizen Basly to represent them at the Congress of French miners, which is to be held at St. Etienne from the 7th to the 13th of February.

In spite of all protests and representations, Sieur Lachaise, porcelain manufacturer, will insist on dismissing an employé whom he has found to be a member of the Porcelain Makers' Syndicate and of the Socialist Committee, signifying his intention moreover of reducing the wages of the moulders. His workmen, however, called a meeting and unanimously agreed to leave the workshops if he persists in his unreasonable conduct.

PRISON REVOLTS.—We hear of disturbances in the Central Prison of Alherville (Savoie) and also that of Embrun (Htes. Alpes), the cause in both places being the complaint at the lowness of the labour-tariff in some of the workshops. "Order is now re-established," say the papers, which is a very comfortable assurance to all parties, especially to those who have been reduced to "order" by cajolery, promises, or the prison-cell.

REUILLY.—A correspondent to the *Cri* writes of the farce of an "inspector's visit" which has taken place at the tobacco-factory of Reuilly. It seems that the same inspector who had charge of the inquiry into the Roustan affair at Marseilles was sent thither, and his detailed report arrived at the conclusion that an increase of the women's wage was necessary. This increase accordingly took place, but, we are told, only for the space of a fortnight, after which the former tariff was resumed! The writer adds that in the last ten years the mean of wages has fallen from 4 fr. 50 c. to 2 fr. 95 c., and that a strike is apprehended.

VIERZON.—Féline, lately released from his long-protracted imprisonment, writes a letter of greeting to the *Cri*, announcing his return to the ranks of the "revoltés," and his intention of resuming his work for that journal as correspondent for the department. It is well for revolutionary propagandists, of whatever colour, that the governing bodies do not perceive with what stimulated ardour all those who are active in mind and sincere in their convictions, return from long weeks and months of incarceration to their former posts, or finding those filled up by their long absence, proceed to make for themselves new places! Otherwise would they (our governors) rather seek to ignore the movement, and let the force spend itself prematurely aboveground. But in France at any rate, *Repression v. Intimidation* are the watchwords of the adversary, and the ferment works in darkness.

BELGIUM.

Strikes are multiplying in Ghent just now, some of them being accompanied by a certain amount of disturbance. Persecutions of Socialists are many and vigorous, the bourgeoisie here being particularly vindictive against the movement.

The military repression of last March in the district of Charleroi has cost the country two million francs (£80,000). All that to arrive at the massacring of some dozens of starvelings and the imprisonment of some hundreds of desperate men. Far otherwise would it have been useful and humane to have sent the money's worth in bread and meat to the workers of Charleroi! But that would be noways pleasing to General Vandersmissen—a butchery of men—well and good!—*L'Avant Garde*.

GHEENT.—At a second representation of the *Petit Patriote* at the theatre here, several Socialists allowed themselves the pleasure of hissing the anti-Socialist sentiments of the play, whereupon they were "chucked" and roughly handled by the police, their clothes torn, and so forth. In 1885, on we know not what occasion, the burgomaster of Ghent declared at a sitting of the Council that in buying a ticket of admission to the theatre a man also bought the right to hiss the performers. Dear burgomaster, we should think he did! At the same time, theatre-goers being proverbially good-hearted and lenient, the prerogative is seldom exercised by the gods (except, of course, when a favourite "villain" comes on the stage, who would not be content without this demonstration of disgust at the "wickedness of vice"). But a Socialist who goes to witness an anti-Socialist play does so as a religious duty, and certainly buys with his ticket the right to express his distaste for sentiments inimical to his views. Ungrateful Ghent! A handful of working-men break the monotony of your after-dinner theatrical amusement and add a relish of excitement thereto, and you reward them by opprobrium and abuse!

GERMANY.

The Social Democrats have recently issued an electoral manifesto to the people, in which they explain the position of the Socialist members of the Reichstag, who protested against the augmentation of the army which the Government asked for. Militarism is a serious danger for the peace of nations, the manifesto says; the present organisation of military force which allows of aggressive warfare must be replaced by popular armies, more numerous and efficacious for defence but useless for attack, thereby making an end of fratricidal warfare between nations. The manifesto goes on to explain afresh the programme of the party; annual vote on the budget, substitution of collective production for capitalist production, suppression of indirect taxation, to be replaced by progressive tax upon income, equal rights for all, etc. According to the manifesto, the Social Democrats consider that the electoral struggle opens under circumstances very favourable for them; the last Session having done nothing for the labouring class, it is for these to choose between the Socialists and the enemies of Socialists, who are likewise the enemies of the People.

AUSTRIA.

PRAGUE, February 4.—The speech made by Herr von Pleuer in the Reichsrath in support of his proposition to create labour-chambers is remarkable in many respects. He referred to the importance of the project of law relating to the solution of the social question, although there was a time when the friends of this gentlemen denied all existence of the social question. He spoke of the struggle between capital and labour, of the exploitation of labour by capital, of the necessity to found institutions by which the labourers

should be enabled to withstand the great capitalists. And notwithstanding all this he is an adherent of "economic liberalism" as deputy for the Commercial Chamber at Eger in Bohemia, and he made a difference between Socialists and labourers and spoke of the necessity of combatting the Socialist aims which threaten to root up the present society. The proposition was referred to a committee *ad hoc*. How long it will stay in the committee's hands not even the committee knows.

In the year 1883 there was submitted to the Reichsrath a project of law relating to insurance against disease and accidents, which is still, as we write, only a project of law. More quickly a project of law creating a military levy in mass (Landsturm) became legally binding. The preceding month the respective ministerial executing ordinances were issued. According to that law the territorial militia will be convoked when a war breaks out, in order to maintain order at home, and in case of necessity also against the enemy. The first levy of the territorial army consists of all men of from 19 to 38 years of age who are not soldiers, not blind, deaf, dumb, lame, nor hunchbacked, etc.; the second body, of all men of from 38 to 42 years. According to the dates of the Insurance Society argues that we have in Austria, there are in the first levy 2,148,783, in the second class 518,988; altogether, 2,667,771 men; in Hungary, first levy 1,616,282, second levy 390,374 men; in Austria-Hungary, therefore, 4,674,427 men. That the territorial militia, consisting of men who have never worn a weapon, will avail anything to the Government when the regular army is beaten and dissolved, we may be allowed to doubt. If, after an unlucky battle, the armed people rise and shake off the yoke of absolutism and capitalism!—F.S.

BLANTYRE MINERS.—Feb. 9.—Serious miners' riots at Blantyre, shops sacked, military called out, 17 arrests. A report on the miners' agitation in Scotland will be printed in next week's *Commonweal*.

The trial at Posen of the Polish Socialists has just finished. The long-deferred sentence condemns one man to two years' imprisonment and a second to six months. The rest are acquitted.

SOCIALIST ARRESTS IN GERMANY.—BERLIN, Feb. 7.—A number of Socialist arrests, amounting, it is stated, to twenty-four, were made in Magdeburg and its environs yesterday. The prisoners are charged with being members of an illegal society.

The unemployed of Madrid have been parading the streets demanding "work" of their exploiters; the authorities busy themselves about preparing a sop for Cerberus in the shape of public works. Fancy making work for the people, when so much work remains undone in all directions? The impotency and helplessness of the answer is about paralleled by that of the cry.

PEACE OR WAR?—A crowded meeting of Socialists and sympathisers was held in Cleveland Hall on Tuesday, to protest against the stupid and fratricidal war about to be inaugurated by the bourgeois governments of Europe in order at once to extend their foreign markets and smother the revolutionary propaganda. Wm. Morris took the chair, and speeches were made in several languages by men of the different peoples. A strong resolution was unanimously carried.

"RIOT MONDAY."—On Tuesday evening a meeting was held on Clerkenwell Green, in spite of its having been "proclaimed" by Charles Warren, to commemorate the terrific fright Bourgeoisdom received a year ago. The police succeeded in thoroughly exasperating the people, so much so that some window-smashing and general "rioting" signalled the homeward way of part of the crowd. Some arrests were made. May we suggest Unjust Grantham as the fit and proper person to try the prisoners?

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

NOTICE.—All business matters relating to the Socialist League to be directed to the Secretary, H. A. Barker, 13 Farringdon Road, London, E.C.

Bazaar and Concert postponement.—Circumstances which have arisen since the committee of management announced the date of the Bazaar compel them to postpone the same from February 5 to Saturday March 5.

Paris Commune.

An International Celebration of the Paris Commune will be held at SOUTH PLACE CHAPEL on THURSDAY MARCH 17. All Revolutionists are invited to take part. Charles, Lane, and Cantwell have been appointed a committee to make arrangements.

A Provincial Propagandist Tour.

Comrade Mahon's engagements in the provinces are: Feb. 12 and 13, Nottingham; 14, Sheffield; 15, Clay Cross (miners); 17 to 25, Leeds, Bradford, Bingley, Shipley, etc.; 27, 28, and March 1, Hull; 2, Newcastle. Mahon will be glad to hear from any persons willing to arrange meetings at York, Middlesbro', Shields, or Yarmouth.

Branch (Capitation) Subscriptions.

The Treasurer would be glad if the Branches made every effort during the year to pay up their subscriptions at the end of each month, so that the advertisement of these subscriptions would show the united energy of the League.

Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Birmingham, Hackney, Hull, Leeds, North London, to August 31. Manchester, Merton, Norwich, to October 31. Bradford, to November 30. Croydon, Hammersmith, Lancaster, Leicester, Oxford, South London, to December 31, 1886. Bloomsbury, Clerkenwell, to January 31. Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), to March 31, 1887.

STRIKE COMMITTEE.

T., 1s.; H. C., 1s.; V. D., 1s.; W. M., 1s.; J. L., 6d.; T. B., 6d.; Arthur Thomas, 1s. T. BINNING, Treasurer.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

H. A. B. (two weeks), 1s.; E. B. B. (weekly), 1s.; T. B. (weekly), 6d.; W. B. (weekly), 6d.; Hammersmith Branch (weekly), 10s.; Bloomsbury Branch (weekly), 5s. Ph. W., Treasurer, Feb. 8.

THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

(It is suggested by the Committee that each Branch organised a Concert for the purpose of raising funds.)

Acknowledged last week, £6, 13s.; A. E., 5s.; W. R., 5s.; Webb, 1s.; Arthur, 1s.; Miller, 5s.; O'Fallon, 3s.; Morris, £1; collected in Hyde Park, 4s. 5d.; Regent's Park, 4s. 6d.; Hamilton Branch, 3s.; Leeds Branch (weekly), 2s.; collected by G. S. Farnham, 5s. Total, £9, 11s. 11d.—J. LANE, Treasurer.

BRANCH REPORTS.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, Feb. 2, H. H. Sparling lectured on "Commercial Cannibalism;" good discussion followed. On Sunday, Feb. 6th, Dr. W. M. von Swartwout gave us a very interesting lecture. The ordinary monthly meeting of members was held as announced, at which important Branch business was transacted. The secretary gave out, among other good news, that after settling liabilities up to date, the treasurer had a balance in hand. Members are reminded that a monthly free concert will take place first Sunday in each month, and not to forget to bring their friends. The open-air propaganda in Clerkenwell will soon be started, and we hope members will rally round.—W. B. and T. E. W., secs.

CROYDON.—On Sunday last, Graham Wallas gave an exceedingly interesting lecture on "Education," in which he keenly criticised our present system of instruction; which he pointed out was merely preparatory to really useful education, and was very soon lost after leaving school. His statement, however, that schooling should last from 5 years up to 18 years of age to be really useful, rather startled some of the audience, and provoked a discussion. The Radical Association have passed a resolution expressing sympathy with Mowbray and Henderson, and condemning Grantham. At the West Croydon Liberal and Radical Club the Radical Association also proposed same resolution after a lecture on Lord Palmerston, but the chairman ruled it "out of order." Much sympathy is expressed, however, and we hope to carry similar resolutions in most of the local Liberal and Radical Clubs. Collecting cards now out.—A. T., ast.-sec.

HACKNEY.—On Sunday morning, we held our first open-air meeting at the "Salmon and Ball." Graham and Davis addressed a good audience; no opposition. In the evening, W. C. Wade lectured on "England in the 15th Century, and Now." An interesting discussion followed.—H. MATTHEWS, sec.

HAMMERSMITH AND FULHAM.—With the return of milder weather the attendances at our outdoor meetings, which we have persevered in holding throughout the winter, have much improved. On Sunday, Feb. 6th, we held successful meetings at Beadon Road and at Walham Green. At the latter place in the absence of expected speaker, Hunter Watts, of the S.D.F., who chanced to be in the neighbourhood, kindly delivered an address on our principles, taking for his text Ruskin's statement that there are only three ways of getting a living, viz., by working, begging, or stealing. Toohatti made an appeal for comrade Mowbray's family, and 6s. 2d. was collected. Our recent lectures have been by T. A. Manson on "Burns," Mrs. E. Bland on "Ancient Rome and Modern Babylon," on which occasion the Rev. C. L. Marson took the chair, and on the 6th inst. by H. H. Sparling, who lectured on the "Evolution of Cannibalism."—W.

MITCHAM.—We held an outdoor meeting on Sunday morning on Mitcham Fair Green. Comrade Kitz and other Merton comrades assisted. As usual we were well protected by police. Kitz read a letter received from the Croydon Board of Guardians, offering to receive a deputation of three unemployed workmen. The offer was accepted, and several men gave in their names to form deputation. In the evening in the club-room of the Branch, comrade Barker lectured to a large audience, the subject being "Socialist Morality." The speaker was listened to with rapt attention and sympathy. We sang Morris's chant, "No Master," after the lecture. We are working for the benefit of the wife and family of comrade Mowbray as well as can be expected, considering that our members have had rather a rough time of it lately; we intend to keep the fund open for three weeks, and shall then send the amount to the committee appointed to receive the same.—S. G., sec.

BRADFORD.—On Sunday, Feb. 6, comrade Maguire lectured to a crowded house at the "Exchange," City Road, on "Some Objections to Socialism." After a brief but lucid statement of our aims he reviewed most of the common objections urged by opponents, dealing first with the "Dirty Work" bogey, to the manifest satisfaction of those present. Referring to the "No Incentive" objection, he expressed surprise that such a thinker as Herbert Spencer should put forth such a weak argument, and showed the utter fallacy of the idea, and strongly opposed the inherent baseness of the prevalent notion that the incentive to money-getting was the motor-power of the world's progress. He pointed out that the really able and best men, scientists, thinkers, poets, and painters, did not as a rule seek to gain wealth, but did their work for the love of it and of humanity, and when they did happen to get too much into the pay of the counting-house their "genius" and the excellence of their work too often began to show signs of grievous deterioration. The millionaire, on the contrary, was generally an unscrupulous monster who accumulated his fortune by abusing the hard necessities and inventions of his fellows. The only notion of progress such an one had was the progress of his own banking account, to increase which he would work his fellow creatures—men, women, and children—to death and the devil. "Money incentive" inevitably developed monstrosity, and was really the greatest block to real progress. Against this he put the grand ideal of Socialism, harmonious association in all things, which would develop true manhood and womanhood, and secure comfort, leisure, culture, and happiness for all. Opposition speeches were made by Mr. Garside, an ancient Tory, and Mr. Wilson, who called himself a "go-between." The lecturer was ably supported by comrades Bland and Minty. A remarkable speech was also made by Mr. Robinson, a Conservative, who

roundly condemned the twin curses, competition and capitalism, and acknowledged that Socialists, in contrast to Radicals and Tories, knew very clearly what they were talking about. Their ideal was a noble one, vastly superior to the dubious aims of rival political parties. Mr. Robinson is clearly not far from salvation. Maguire wound up with an eloquent and passionate appeal which quite "carried" the audience.

EDINBURGH.—On Monday, Jan. 31, in large Free Tron Hall, James Campbell lectured on "Social Utopias." In a lecture instinct with the finest feeling and the richest imagination, he passed in review various ideals cherished in the past. Though the lecture was one which it might have been thought tended more to give enjoyment than to provoke discussion, there was nevertheless an animated discussion at its close, in which our friend Mavor, from Glasgow, took part.—J. G.

GLASGOW.—On Sunday, at 1.30 p.m., Glasier addressed an audience of from 200 to 300 on Jail's Square. Afterwards a Socialist friend from England spoke for some time. Some opposition was replied to by Glasier with the manifest approval of the audience. At 5.30 Glasier addressed another large and sympathetic meeting. In the evening in our hall, David McLardy lectured on "The Claims of Labour."

HULL.—On Thursday, 3rd inst., Teesdale spoke at the Radical Club on "Socialism and Social Reform," and met with considerable opposition. On Sunday, Teesdale spoke at the club-room on the necessity of propagandists studying history and political economy, and suggested the formation of "groups" for this purpose. Devlin spoke on the aims of Socialism, which was followed by a brisk discussion, two Radicals opposing.—T.

LEEDS.—On Sunday, 11 a.m., we held an open-air meeting in Vicar's Croft, and Sollett and Maguire addressed an attentive audience of about 400 on "Passing Events." *Commonweal* sold well. In the evening, Maguire lectured on Socialism at the Exchange Discussion Club, City Road, Bradford.—F. CORKWELL, sec.

NORWICH.—We held four meetings on Sunday all well attended, which were addressed by Donald. We collected 15s. for the Prisoners' Aid Fund, and must call upon our well-wishers in Norwich and district to be a little more liberal. If we don't get larger collections it will be a couple of years before our debts are cleared. The meeting in the Market Place should have given at least £3. The propaganda is carried on vigorously with results that have astonished ourselves.—D.

LECTURE DIARY.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street. Friday Feb. 11, at 8.30. Hubert Bland will lecture on "Nihilism."—Members are requested to show more interest in the Branch, and attend the lectures.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday February 13, at 8.30. H. Charles, "Evolution and Revolution." Wednesday 16, at 8.30. William Morris, "Medieval England."

Croydon.—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday February 13. H. H. Sparling, "The Evolution of Cannibalism."—Committee Meeting every Friday at 8 p.m. sharp, at Parker Road.

Hackney.—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 8 till 11. Business meeting every Tuesday at 8.30, members earnestly urged to attend. The Discussion Class will commence on Feb. 10; H. Davis will open.—Sunday 13, at 8.30. H. A. Barker, "Material and Spiritual Consolation."

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Feb. 13, at 8. William Morris, "Medieval England."

Hoxton (L. E. L.).—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sunday Feb. 13, 8 p.m. Lecture.

Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday. Discussions held every Sunday morning at 11.—**Mitcham.**—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11.

Country Branches.

Bingley.—Coffee Tavern. Every Monday at 7.30 p.m. **Birmingham.**—Carr's Lane Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 8.

Bradford.—Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Road Wednesdays, at 8.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. Reading Room and Library open every Wednesday evening, 8 till 10.—Free Tron Hall, Monday February 14, at 8 o'clock. James Mavor, Sec. Socialist League, Glasgow, on "Wages and Prices." Admission, 3d.—Treasurer will receive Subscriptions for Prisoners' Aid Fund.

Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily.—On Sunday, open-air meetings on Jail's Square at 1 and 5 o'clock; members requested to turn up to sell literature. In the evening, at 6.30, in Hall, No. 2 Carlton Place, Clyde Side, Arch. McLaren, M.A., will lecture on "Anarchism."—On Tuesday evening at 8 o'clock, in 84 John Street, Monthly Meeting of Members.

Hamilton.—Branch meets every Thursday at 7.30 in Paton's Hall, Chapel Street. On Thursday first, John Adams on "The Commune of Paris."

Hull.—11 Princess Street, Sykes Street. Club Room open every evening. Lectures every Thursday and Sunday at 7 p.m. Feb. 13. Comrade Sheckell will lecture on "Equality."

Lancaster.—Market Hall Coffee Tavern Lecture Room. Friday evenings at 8.

Leicester.—Silver Street. Wednesdays at 8 p.m.

Manchester.—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening 6 to 10 p.m. Lecture and discussion every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—No. 6 St. Benedict St. Lecture and discussion every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room open every day from 8.30 a.m. to 10 p.m.

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

Open-air Propaganda—Sunday 13.

11.30...Hackney—"Salmon and Ball".....Graham, Davis

11.30...Hammersmith—Beadon Rd.The Branch

11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield Street...Wade, Pope

11.30...Regent's Park.....Nicoll

11.30...St. Pancras Arches.....The Branch

11.30...Walham Green—Station.....Arnold

3.30...Hyde Park (near Marble Arch).....Mainwaring

PROVINCES.—SUNDAY.

Norwich.—St. Mary's Plain, 11; Market Place, 3.

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

CLEVELAND HALL, 54 Cleveland Street (near Portland Road Station).—Sundays at 11.30 a.m. Feb. 13. Victor Dave, "The Social Question and the various Religious Creeds."

THE DECORATOR'S CLUB, 37 Howland St., Tottenham Court Road, W.—Thursday Feb. 17, at 8.30.

Thos. E. Wardle, "The Fallacies of Society." Music.

SWABY'S DISCUSSION ROOM, 103 Mile-end Road.—

Sunday Feb. 13, at 8 p.m. "Did Christ teach Socialism?" Opener, John Dove.

Free Lectures on Socialism, in reply to recent Criticism, will be held in Farringdon Hall, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday mornings in February.—Sunday February 13, at 11.15 a.m. George Bernard Shaw, "The Dangers and Fallacies of Individualism."

Debate on Socialism.—A Debate is taking place at the Hall of Science, 142 Old Street, City Road, E.C., on February 2, 9, 16, and 23, at 8 p.m., between Mrs. Annie Besant and Mr. G. W. Foote, on the question, "Is Socialism sound?"

The friends of our late comrade, Hermann Dussmann, are organising a Social Entertainment for the purpose of assisting his widow, she being now very hard pressed and in somewhat straitened circumstances. Tickets may be obtained from H. S. Hopkins, 7 St. George's Street, Commercial Rd., Peckam, S.E.

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THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 58.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

SIR CHARLES WARREN (no doubt in self-defence and defence of the police) has given a blow to contemporary history as written by the daily press, by a sudden demolition of the very rapidly grown myth of the *Wicked Socialist and the Heroic Butcher*, which is, after all, perhaps the very latest example of the solar myth. The bright and ruddy hero dispelling the murky crowds of the cloudy night with the shooting forth of his bright rays must be, according to the solar theory, what is really typified by this apparently historical incident. Mr. Andrew Lang perhaps could tell us what it might signify according to the explanation of the "customary" theory of myths.

To one person it must have signified victuals and drink, temporarily at least; to wit, to the ingenious gentleman who produced the detailed and dramatic "Siege of a Butcher's Shop" in the *Daily News*. I hope I have all due professional sympathy with our injured contemporary, but I really cannot help saying with Mr. Bounderby in 'Hard Times,' "We are waiting to hear what apology you are going to offer us for going about the country express with no other luggage than a story of a cock and a bull!"

The *Pall Mall Gazette* gave us lately the account of interviews with various business men as to the present condition of trade. The views of these gentlemen were mostly what under the present circumstances may be called optimistic, that is they all seemed to think that things were mending a little. But, after all, what they said amounted to little more than that the public were getting rather eager for investments, which fact may mean nothing more than the beginning of a brief swindle-period.

Judging by the condition of production, which is indicated by the plain statement of facts given in the columns of our own paper under the heading "The Labour Struggle," this seems to be all that it does mean. The hunger-riots of the Scotch coal miners also do not point to our nearing a period of plain-sailing prosperity.

Mr. Bright "is at it again." He really does seem as if he were determined to show that his claim to have been a popular leader was mere moonshine; it would be difficult for any enemy of his to be as successful in this demonstration as Mr. Bright himself.

The *Daily News* the other day was righteously indignant with the sentence of a country magistrate on a labourer, convicted of the terrible offence of setting traps to catch wood-pigeons, for which in the upshot the poor man got two months' imprisonment. Probably, however, such sentences are as common as frosts in winter, and not nearly so much noticed. Our own experience has taught us that, since neither the *Daily News* nor any other bourgeois paper made any comment on Judge Nupkins-Grantham's sentence on Mowbray and Henderson; the *Pall Mall Gazette* joining in the conspiracy of silence, although when convenient it can say a good deal about the doings of one section of the Socialists.

The Chiswick poisoning mystery has been explained, say the daily papers: "the Government analyst has failed to detect any traces of irritant poison of the contents of the stomachs of the two children . . . having regard to the fact that the mother and six children slept in a single bed in a room only measuring 8 ft. by 9 ft., and that the cold and the scanty covering on the bed and the clothing generally in the house compelled them to huddle together to keep themselves warm, shutting out at the same time all ingress of fresh air into the room where for hours there had been a lamp burning, he has, it is reported, come to the conclusion that the cause of the death of the two children was vitiated atmosphere." Misery is a shorter word than vitiated atmosphere, and yet a more explanatory one. I suppose these victims of vitiated atmosphere will not be set among the record of those who were starved to death? (I have not patience to remember the euphemism for that), but starved to death they were.

In his first debate with Mrs. Besant Mr. Foote affected (surely it was affectation) scorn at those who distinguish between competition and emulation, and asked what was the difference between them. Mr. Foote knows well enough that competition, as we use the word in English, means seeking one's own advantage at the expense of one's

neighbours (compare the French *concurrence*). As to emulation, judging by the tone of his attack on Socialism, it is probable that he does not understand what that means, as it is certainly a generous quality. To give the difference between the two shortly, emulation means making the *best* of one's own capacity; competition, making the *worst* of one's neighbour's.

Mr. Bradlaugh was enthusiastically cheered at a meeting held on behalf of the crofters for saying amongst other things "that we had no right to pauperise the crofters by law and then send them into other lands to die." Most true; but how strange that Mr. Bradlaugh should object to the substitution of the word "working-men" for crofters! He has been lately taking some trouble to attack those who are trying to show that we have no right to pauperise, not the crofters only, but all workers, by forcing them to yield to "capital" a tribute for leave to work—that is, to live. How utterly illogical it is in him to attack also a small section of the monopolists of the means of production!

They have exactly the same "rights of property" as every one else has, neither less nor more; and those rights leave them free to use or *abuse* their property according to their own will. If the abuse of their property should be interfered with, why not other abuses of property? And is it not an abuse of property to employ it as a mere means of compulsion to force other men to work for the compeller—or privileged thief? How can it matter whether the instrument of violent robbery is called "land" or "capital"? W. M.

One of the signs of the times is the manifestation of decadence in the superstitious reverence for "law" which was afforded several times during the debate on Mr. Parnell's amendment. Two lawyers, one the son of the Lord Chief Justice, led the attack upon "law-in-itself," and put very plainly and well the position that a "law" is an absurdity and a crime unless "approved by the moral sense of the community at large." Mr. Holmes, the Attorney-General for Ireland, was—and the *Spectator* laments it piteously—in despair over ever again getting people to obey laws in which they do not believe.

Mr. John Morley put into a phrase the other day the history of the people everywhere. It was much more than "the history of Ireland in a nutshell" that he called it. "Unredressed grievances, moral wrongs without a legal remedy, and then the resort to illegal acts to secure justice." S.

THE CRIMINAL CLASSES OF THE FUTURE.

A RETROSPECT AND A PROSPECT.

THE persistent preaching of Socialist principles had leavened men's minds with new ideas, and the old prejudices against the poorer inmates of our jails and convict establishments had given place to a feeling that they were more sinned against than sinning. Bad training amidst filth, squalor, and manifold temptations, were held as (outside the judicial bench) excuses and condonation of offences against property. There, on the contrary, as the feelings of the people became more liberal, the harshness of their decisions became more marked. Shameful sentences and gross partiality were the order of the day. Prison discipline bore the marks of the haters of the people, and the brutal tortures of the past were replaced with refined cruelties. That made a sentence of imprisonment, in many cases, a sentence of death. Pitiful cases of half-starved desperate men sent to jail for stealing food, with the brutal comments of the well-fed magistrate ringing in their ears, of paupers ill-treated with impunity by workhouse jailers, and of myriads preferring to lie and die by the roadside rather than accept the brutal charity of a corrupt Society, were the order of the day. The mass of unemployed workmen were insulted by the paid hirelings of the affrighted bourgeois with schemes of dietetic reforms, sterilisation, etc., etc. It seemed that the old saying that those whom the "Gods seek to destroy they first make mad" was having its illustration in Old England. Alternating with the insults as to raggedness, laziness, and depravity heaped upon the dispossessed, were demands for bludgeons and coercion; and the Russian legislation, hitherto confined to the sister island, was made applicable to the whole kingdom. The police, acting on the cue of their employers, changed their tactics of petty spydom for wholesale arrests, and plots smacking of the "Woolff and Bondurand" flavour were common discoveries.

It was during this social discord, and whilst the social contract was being challenged by simple and learned alike, that the European war-cloud, so long brooding over the Continent, burst. Two great nations, goaded on by vulture statesmen, were at each others throats, and wholesale carnage and desolation spread over their peaceful fields. England led by purblind rulers was insensibly drawn into conflict, but with another combatant. Her antagonist fitted out fleets of privateers who preyed upon her commerce. To transfer her freighting to foreign bottoms was tried and failed, for England had few friends. The American-Irish, with their burning memories of wrongs inflicted, effectually prevented the United States from rendering any indirect assistance. As a consequence her vast populations herded in the great centres divorced from the soil, and dependent mainly upon foreign supplies for food were famine-stricken, and although the propertied classes were preaching to them endurance on patriotic grounds, the spectacle was continuously before them of contractors defrauding the nation and furnishing the soldiers with rotten food and accoutrements, and even supplying the enemy with munitions of war. The trading hucksters waxed fat out of the famine prices extorted from their countrymen whose patriotism they relied on.

Alarmed by the condition of things, the wealthy classes betook themselves to the pleasure resorts yet out of the zone of foreign war. The case of the people was desperate, and in striving to suppress expression of discontent by arresting a Socialist speaker at a large meeting, the fires of insurrection were lit. The capital, denuded of troops for foreign service was only defended by a few regulars and volunteers. At the first a mass of the latter joined the people, whilst the snob clerk element brought about their speedy defeat and destruction by firing on the people. The towns and cities of the country fell one by one, sometimes without a struggle, into the hands of the people. Everywhere the Cause triumphed. Trusty messengers were despatched to Ireland, and at once the standard of revolt was raised. The thin garrisons were powerless against the onslaught, and at one fell swoop Ireland and England freed themselves from the curse of landlordism and capitalism. Strange things happened at the original seat of war, large masses of troops revolted on both sides and fraternised; the officers either fled or were destroyed, and the two peoples passed out of the valley of despair into the dawn of the Social Revolution. In the first flush of rage the English revolutionists desired to destroy the workhouse bastilles and prisons, after emptying them of their unfortunate occupants, but wiser councils prevailed and they were put to a better purpose. For the wealthy who still remained were using their money to overthrow the new regime, and they were aided by the fast returning money-mongers who had fled at the first noise of war. The people, however, through their chosen delegates, declared the old currency null and void, and issued a new one representative only of labour. Gold and silver, so long the curse of nations, were no longer used as coinage, but a base metal of no intrinsic value took their place. By a decree issued simultaneously the idlers, whose monetary wealth was thus rendered useless, were cited to appear before the local Assemblies and give account of themselves, and many haughty dames and *distingué* swells were charged with being without visible means of subsistence. The answers to this charge were many and curious. A local Assembly sitting was occupied with a batch of culprits who had been in their day the *élite* of Society.

Chairman (to first accused): What are you?

Accused: I am the eldest son of Lord Broadlands, now abroad for the benefit of his health.

Chairman: How have you got your living hitherto?

Accused: Oh, I had great expectations and an allowance.

Chairman: Ever done any work?

Accused: Boating, cricketing, lawn-tennis, and so forth.

Chairman: No trade?

Accused: Oh, dear no.

Chairman: You are allowed three weeks to choose an occupation, and as you are unskilled you will have to go the workhouse during this time. Next case!

Chairman (to second accused): What are you?

Accused: I am a stockbroker and shareholder in railways, mines, and so on.

Chairman: You have had a good education, I presume. Ever contributed anything to literature?

Accused: No.

Chairman: Do you know any trade, for your occupation is now gone?

Accused: Oh, dear no.

Chairman: I consider some punishment necessary in your case, for you are one of those who plunged the country into incessant wars in order to get your dividends; three month's hard labour. Next case!

Chairman (to third accused, an austere looking maiden lady): What are you?

Accused: I am the daughter of a colonel in the army, who died fighting for the honour of his country.

Chairman: Indeed! Where did it happen?

Accused: In Mandalay, Burmah.

Chairman: Humph! How do you get your living?

Accused: What impertinence! Well, if you must know, I have shares in some coal mines.

Chairman: Ever done anything useful yourself?

Accused: The idea of such questions. I am the greatest collector of used foreign stamps in England, and my cat has taken a prize at the last cat show.

Chairman: Anything else?

Accused: I have written articles to the *Parish Magazine* how to make vegetable soup for the poor on an economical basis.

Chairman: You must go to the workhouse laundry for a training. Next case!

Chairman (to fourth accused): What are you?

Accused: I am a ratepayer and guardian of the poor. Have been labour master in the union—

Chairman: Stop! Take him away and put him in the oakum shed on bread-and-water; give him his water hot!

F. KITZ.

(To be continued.)

IMPRESSIONS "ON THE ROAD."

II.

(Continued from Vol. II., page 293.)

OUR carriage stops just alongside a signal-box, encased in which stands the over-worked and under-paid slave of the railway company, holding in his hand the lives of travellers. How careful many of us are lest we should be tyrannised over not only by princes and parliaments, by laws and institutions, but mayhap also by comrades and fellow-workers in the cause! And here we submit our fate to the goodwill or ill-disposition of a few fellow-slaves! One pull of his brawny hand—if he so wills it—and we run into death and destruction. Nor is it necessary to conceive the far-fetched notion of a British railway-hand bearing malice towards any one. If but his energies *did* flag, his watchful eye grow dim, and his hand leave untouched the lever which to pull so many times a-day is said to be his duty! Yet are there folk who cannot see how much, how everything depends on mutual goodwill and on the punctual work of public organisation!

How crowded these railroads are; how lightning-like are these vapouring monsters, chasing and shooting past one another, laden with human lives and crammed with dead and living values of exchange! Are not they right who abhor railways as abominations, prosaic and incorrigible? I am no lover of railways in their present nastiness; but I cannot help thinking that those who condemn them altogether and for all times are pouring away the child along with the bath. I find a great deal of good in them, and fancy that they could even be rendered beautiful and vastly enjoyable, if worked by enlightened spirits and for the people's benefit. What makes them so mean and detestable is their present purpose. It is because they are instruments of gain in the hands of commercial speculators that they lack beauty, comfort, and security. There will not be half the number of people travelling in socialistic communities as there are travelling now. If they do, they will mostly travel on foot, and have only their little luggage carried for them. Even now, most men and things on the railroads would not care to travel, if they were not made to; if it were not their business to hurry to and fro and change hands constantly. If goods were made for use instead of for profit, the craftsman could afford to stay at home and wait for their custom, as they did in the "good old times," where a master's brain and handiwork had only one ambition: to suit most fully and enjoyably the purposes for which they were needed.

To-day the makers of goods are seldom masters of their craft or of their tools or of their brains; they are mostly slaves of other people's money or machines. The honest, tailor of the age of chivalry would have as little dreamt of making garments for a man whose taste and whose proportions he knew nothing of as *Æsop* did of telling the traveller how long it would take him to reach the next village before he had seen him walking and could estimate the capacity of his step. Our modern operative seldom sees or knows whom he is working for, whom his labour is to fit or benefit; nay, the child may not yet be born whose baby-shoes are passing through his hands and through the mill at Leicester or Northampton. He helps in making shoes or clothes, not because there are people who need them (the needy are generally left without either) but because his master thought fit to invest his money in putting up machinery, which is calculated with the employment of some leather and human labour to turn out boots. These boots are supposed to find a market, and in the market a sale at a price which leaves the enterprising employer of labour a profit. As there are many who follow his example, and as each one produces without regard to his neighbour, there results a keen competition for the best position in the market. For the machines, once put in motion, cannot wait for customers, but run on without thinking and let the boots and clothes look out for themselves. These are poured in never-ceasing streams into the market, where they knock about, seeking whom they may fit in size and price, in style and quality.

With the poverty and vulgarity stricken crowd in the market-place quality and style are at a discount, and hence the biggest sizes and lowest prices are bound to fetch the gapers. To sell, then, means to be cheap, and to be cheap, production must be intensified and its means economised. This, again, means increased division of labour and the introduction of labour-saving machinery. Hence the wholesale fabrication of specialities, and the fostering of such specialities in certain towns and districts where once the machinery has been planted and the "hands" have been trained to its use. In this wise some towns are growing a population of boot-hands, others of cotton or woollen spinners, others of metal-workers, and others again of clerks and warehousemen, of bosses and speculators. This explains the restless bustle on the railroad; the ceaseless shifting of raw material from the spot of its growth to the "centres of industry"; thence in the

shape of wares to the "centres of commerce"; and thence again through the agency of a host of hawkers and canvassers into the hands of the shopkeepers, the middlemen (the famous "backbone of the nation"), who retail them out to the thrice-cheated, patient and gullible consumer.

Whilst at the beginning of home industry men made things of use which they found themselves most adapted for, first for themselves and then for others who gave them their produce in return, either direct or through a medium of exchange, the workers now are the very last thought of in the distribution of the valuables they make. The object of production then was *the thing of use*, now it is *the thing of profit*. Things are of value only in so far as they are exchangeable, and are handled and bundled about from post to pillar not for the sake of the producer or consumer, but for the sake of the seller, the capitalist.

The hop which grows in Kent is not for the labourer's beer, but travels first to the broker, from whom the labourer must buy it by paying the retailer's keep and rates and taxes; and the brewery labourers in Burton-on-Trent taste little of their own brewing, but must put up with cheaper stuff brewed with polluted water. The fish caught off the South Coast, of course, runs up to London, whilst in Exeter and Weymouth you get the catch fresh from—Grimsby. The silk spinners of Macclesfield and Congleton, and the woollen weavers of the West of England, can hardly afford to buy the shoddy which their brothers at Batley and Dewsbury turn out for the toilers of this mighty Empire, whilst the shoddy-makers themselves go about in rags. The manufacture in this country of cotton for India has ceased to be profitable since the workers there need no wrappers at all, and are, therefore, most "fit to survive" the British factory-hand, and supply him with a shroud when dead.

The same principle is applied to food, which is not grown now to feed the hungry but to enrich those capitalists who force it down the throats of all and sundry who are able to pay for it. If the jolly old English roast beef had become a myth to the wage-workers of these islands only because they had converted themselves to the "eating of the green," nothing could be said; but they are treated to Australian carcasses, brought over in iced coffin-ships to prevent them from rotting and thereby losing their exchange-value. Food is kept from the starving poor and stored up air-tight, the better to bide the changing fortunes of the market. Thus the female factory-hand, who has no time for cooking, if she but owns the money, can get meals ready-made and preserved in "tins of family size, artistically shaped and labelled."

Of course, the right brand, "without which none are genuine," is of some importance (to the manufacturer); hence, you must "see that you get it." Nevertheless, although you *have* got it, I should advise you to make sure about your quality; it is just possible, in spite of Christian assurance and threatening hell-fire, that you have candle-grease instead of butter, and a solution of logwood in vinegar instead of wine. There is at least one place I know of out of a thousand (somewhere in the North-East of Great Britain) from where such grease is sent over to Holland, not indeed for sale, but for the sole purpose of being there branded as "Prime Dutch Estate" butter, and of being sent back again for sale all over the world as what it is not.

Thus men and wares are being hunted to and fro in burning haste with profit-making lies imprinted on their faces. And since Capitalistic Commerce is dirty, mean, and full of thievish trickery, how can its vehicle, the railroad, be clean and noble, and honestly beautiful?

ANDREAS SCHEU.

Labour is wronged and plundered in all countries. The labourer is subjected to the same economic subjection under the Czar of Russia or the Emperor of Germany as in the United States. Labour will be emancipated when the wage-labourers of the world have made common cause. The oppression of labour is international; to be successful the cause of labour must be international.—*Paterson Labor Standard*.

A curious proceeding is reported from Mitchelstown. It appears that there has for some time been some commotion amongst the children of the Christian Brothers and Nun Schools, because the children of an unpopular person in the town were allowed to attend the school. On the 10th inst. seven hundred children absented themselves and paraded the streets, cheering for the Plan of Campaign, and listening to a juvenile band which they had formed. Mr. Cullinan, Poor Law Guardian, addressed the children and advised them not to return to school until the children of their enemies were removed from it.

ARMIES, NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL.—The incarnation of the "patria" is in Bazaine Traitor, MacMahon Fool, Trochu Catholic, Ducrot Boaster, finally in Thiers Vampire, and Gallifet Assassin. Soldiers, "well-disciplined and obedient," drunk with brandy, gold in their pockets, march to the assault of Paris, who struggles for her emancipation, they take the barricades behind which stand their brother-workers, shoot down Flourens, Delescluze, Milliere, Ferré, and many others, and finish by killing out for a time the attempts of the proletariat. Poor gulls, not to perceive that they are killing themselves in massacring 35,000 men of the people, the people whence they too come! This is the "national army". . . See all these sleek men, well-dressed, rich, whose very coats resemble strong boxes, bankers, stockjobbers, swindlers, "bubble companies," organisers of distant expeditions, all coming and going, exchanging, intriguing to-day, governing to-morrow, commanding the slaves of the workshops while their accomplices command the slaves of the army, eating up all, monopolising, starving, stamping beneath their feet all traditions, familiar with every form of shame, trafficking with the daughters of the people, poisoning the world with their journals and writings as they poison it with their goods. This is the international army. When, oh peoples of the earth, will you realise it? When will you also have your international army? Have you not served long enough as playthings to these men who exploit your labour to-day and will cut your throats to-morrow? When shall we see the brotherly greeting and hand-grasp which will overturn all frontiers and barriers, and the abolition of all the privileges which destroy you? When shall come the Revolution which is to bring with it Social Equality?—*Cri du Peuple*.

DESPAIR.

Now, wife, let me out, I say!
I will strive with my fate no more.
I have travelled for scores of miles,
I have halted from door to door.

Work, work, give me work! I cried,
'Tis no matter what sort it be,
So the meed be a slice of bread
For the famishing babes and thee.

I have begged, I have sought in vain,
I have done all that mortal can;
So, wife, get thee out of the way
Of a hopeless and fearless man.

A whisper has come from the pool
That has told me how this may end
And the knife and the rope have looked
Like the face of a faithful friend.

But first these oppressors shall know
That I value not limb nor life.
Let them bury their gold in their hearts—
I will dig out the hoard with my knife!

A curse on the cruel rich,
On the fat of the land o'erfed!
And a curse on all lords and laws
That stand between me and bread!

God! God! God!—nay, there is no God!
'Tis a Devil that rules on high,
For a beast may labour and live,
But a poor man must starve and die.

The dogs of the squire are gorged,
And his ox grows fat in the stall—
Thou God of the Rich I hate,
And I curse thee most of all!

Gilstead, near Bradford.

BEN PRESTON.

Mr. Bright and Trades' Unionism.

FROM THE 'COTTON FACTORY TIMES.'

MR. JOHN BRIGHT has given offence to the members of the Birmingham Trades' Council, owing to the denouncing, in a recent letter to a gentleman of that town, the principles of Trades' Unionism, and averring that a workman would be better off without them than with them. Having been written to by the Council in reference to the contents of his letter, Mr. Bright says there is no condemnation of trades' unions in his letter, and that the criticism of the Trades' Council is not necessary and is not just. We read Mr. Bright's letter, and confess that we put the same interpretation upon it as the Birmingham Trades' Council seem to have done; and however much he may try to wriggle out of the real meaning of his letter, the working classes can only come to one conclusion, and that is that Mr. Bright is no friend to those who join in combination for their own improvement in the social scale, and that he judges the question merely from an employer's point of view. He was never popular with the working classes of Rochdale, and we don't know that he ever assisted the working classes in any great movement having for its object the amelioration of their condition as working men and women. We know that on one occasion when a deputation waited upon him at his mill in Rochdale respecting a dispute which his spinners had with him in respect to their wages, he took the two gentlemen who formed the deputation up a lobby, and opening a door told them to go down some steps. Having done so, he closed the door upon them, and left them in that strange place, surrounded by a high wall, over which they had to climb as best they could; and this was the only satisfaction the deputation received in regard to the spinners' grievances. This circumstance occurred many long years ago, but serves to show what kind of feelings he then entertained respecting trades' unions. We don't suppose he would treat a deputation in these days in such a cool fashion; still he would not be the individual we should expect to receive any favours from in any movement which the labouring classes got up for their mutual advancement. It is well that cotton operatives have not to rely upon men such as he to battle for their cause, and none know better than they the value of good trades' organisations; and whatever Mr. Bright may say to the contrary, his opinion on trades' unions will carry no influence with those who have to earn their bread by daily toil.

A Provincial Propagandist Tour.

Comrade Mahon's engagements in the provinces are: Feb. 17 to 25, Leeds, Bradford, Bingley, Shipley, etc.; 27, 28, and March 1, Hull; 2, Newcastle. Mahon will be glad to hear from any persons willing to arrange meetings at York, Middlesbrough, Shields, or Yarmouth.

WALSALL.—On Wednesday the 9th inst., J. L. Mahon delivered a lecture at the Radical Club, subject, "A Plea for Socialism." The audience was small but highly appreciative, and a Branch of the Socialist League has resulted. Mahon also addressed a meeting of chainmakers and others on Friday the 11th, and was well received.



"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.

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

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

Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s., six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

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

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

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

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday February 16.

ENGLAND	NEW HAVEN (CONN.)—WORKMEN'S ADVOCATE	ITALY
Justice	Portland (Oreg.) Avant-Courier	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Jus	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	SPAIN
Norwich—Daylight	Valley Falls (Kan.)—Lucifer	Madrid—El Socialista
Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung	FRANCE	PORTUGAL
Cotton Factory Times	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Oporto—A Perola
Christian Socialist	Le Socialiste	HUNGARY
Worker's Friend	Le Revolte	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
SOUTH AUSTRALIA	Guise—Le Devoir	ROMANIA
Adelaide—Our Commonwealth	Lille—Le Travailleur	Jassy—Lupta
UNITED STATES	HOLLAND	DENMARK
New York—Volkszeitung	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Social-Demokraten
Der Sozialist	BELGIUM	SWEDEN
John Swinton's Paper	Liege—L'Avenir	Stockholm—Social-Demokraten
Boston—Woman's Journal	Antwerp—De Werker	NORWAY
Springfield (Ill.)—Voice of Labor	SWITZERLAND	Kristiania—Social-Demokraten
Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat	

FACING THE WORST OF IT.

THOUGH we Socialists have full faith in the certainty of the great change coming about, it would be idle for any one of us to attempt to prophesy as to the date of the realisation of our hopes; and it is well for us not to be too sanguine, since overweening hope is apt to give birth to despair if it meets with check or disappointment. Although the oppression and robbery of the past and the present is preparing a certain revenge in the future, yet history has shown us over and over again that retribution is halt-foot; or perhaps, to put it with as little metaphor as language will allow of, great revolutions have to wait till the force which is to destroy the old order and create the new is so overwhelming that there is no chance of any real or serious reaction marring the effects of the hopes and necessities which make great revolutions.

There are two streams of the force which is creating the new order of things, and which, already visible to thoughtful persons, will one day rise into a great flood-tide of change visible to every one, and make a new world. On the one hand the system under which we now live and which is, we are firmly convinced, the last development of the oppression of privilege, is of its own weight pushing onwards towards its destruction. The energy and ceaseless activity which made its success so swift and startling are now hurrying it towards its end; there is no turning back possible, no pausing for the tide of that commerce which bears all life with it in the present; it is not only that its goal is ruin, but the goal is now within sight. Yet though the energy which is now sweeping onward to the sea of destruction cannot falter, yet it may itself create checks—eddies, to keep up the metaphor—in which we now living may whirl round and round a long time. So, that we may not be disappointed and be taken unawares, it is well to consider what these may be.

At the same time, although commercial ruin *must* be the main stream of the force for the bringing about revolution, we must not forget the other stream, which is the *conscious* hope of the oppressed classes, forced into union and antagonism by the very success of the commercial system which their hope now threatens with destruction. The commercial or capitalistic system is being eaten out by its own energy; but that energy may on the one hand create partially new conditions for it, yet, on the other hand, in doing so it will stimulate the energy which is consciously attacking it; and these attacks will be more powerful than its struggles to resist its coming fate, the eddies in the stream above said.

As for these, let us look a little closer to see what form they are likely to take.

First, the downward tendency of commerce may and probably will be checked by recoveries something of the nature of the rebounds from

depression which were the rule for the last forty years before the depression of the six or seven years just passed set in, but far less complete and much shorter lived. We are threatened with such a recovery at present, and there may be some foundation for the threat. of course if it is realised we shall have plenty of discourses addressed to us of the "I told you so" kind, and the advocates of the capitalists who have any power of pen or tongue will be jubilant and noisy. We Socialists, however, need not trouble ourselves much about their joy; because such a period is sure to be fruitful of disputes between the trades-unionists and the capitalists; and it will be our business to stimulate and support the claim to a higher standard of livelihood which the brisker business and consequent bigger profits of the manufacturers will enable the workmen to make with success. The period of recovery will certainly be followed by another depression, and the discontent of the workmen will be much increased by their losing, or their dreading to lose, the advantages gained in the better times; so that after all even this apparent check to the progress of the disintegration of the present system will but lead us so much nearer to revolution by making clearer to the workers the antagonism which exists between them and the thief-class—the employers.

Such recovery as above mentioned would come in the ordinary condition of things, and would mean simply an emptying more or less of the shelves of the salesman. But recovery may come from another and more dramatic cause—to wit, the great European war with which we are now threatened. Such a war would give a great stimulus to trade while it lasted; just as if half London were burned down, the calamity would be of great service to those who were not burned out,—all this, of course, applying only to the idiotic system of rewarding labour under which we now suffer, and having nothing to do with a system in which work means production or service of some sort to the community.

But "good" as the war might be for trade, it could not last for ever; and quite apart from the more specially political results which might come of it, the time would come when some one would have to say, as Owen said after the end of the great war of the beginning of the century, "the war, our best customer, is dead."

Then would come the inevitable reaction, and what between falling prices, and crowds thrown out of employment, and the certain disappointment and disgust which would attend the exhaustion of the finish of the struggle, our present thief-society would receive a rude shake, which one might hope it would scarcely recover. But whether that were so or not, at least the inflation of the war-time would be far more than counterbalanced by the depression of the following peace. Only the most short-sighted of the capitalists can pray for war in the times we are now in, one would think, because behind the brilliant "respectable" war stands its shadow, revolution.

And yet though they may dread war, still that restless enemy of the commercial system, the demon which they have made, and is no longer their servant but their master, forces them into it in spite of them; because unless commerce can find new capacities for expansion it is all over, or will be in a very few years; the partial and brief recovery of trade before mentioned is too insignificant to be worth much notice; the one thing for which our thrice accursed civilisation craves, as the stifling man for fresh air, is *new markets*; fresh countries must be conquered by it which are not manufacturing and are producers of raw material, so that "civilised" manufactures can be forced on them. *All wars now waged, under whatever pretences, are really wars for the great prizes in the world-market.* And certainly if the countries, the chances for whose monopolisation (distant chances too) are now leading Europe into a war the end of which no one can foresee, can be opened up to commerce, and when opened up satisfy the expectations of the national pirates who are "on the account" in this matter, the dissolution of our present system may be somewhat checked. Yet, on the other hand, this very success would stimulate the cut-throat competition of the commerce-gamblers; and once more, since of their plunder they would only yield to the workers as much as the latter compelled them to yield, whatever "prosperity" might follow such enterprises, would, now that the idea of Socialism has taken root amongst the workmen of Europe, be accompanied by fresh demands on their part; and these demands again would necessarily act as a spur to the competition of the gamblers, and make the pace faster and more furious; so that perhaps even the glorious hope of flooding Central Africa and China with trade "goods" which nobody wants, will turn out when attained but Dead Sea apples to the capitalist.

These three chances of checking the onward course of capitalistic commerce to its annihilation, are the only visible ones I think:—1st. The lessening of stocks and consequent slight temporary recovery; 2nd, A great European war, perhaps lengthened out into a regular epoch of war; and 3rd, The realisation of the hopes of important new markets, which hopes are the real causes of hostility between nations. How far they might act as checks on Socialism it is not possible to foretell; but that they will not be unmixed advantages to Capitalism is, I think, certain, nor is there anything about the possibility of their happening, which need discourage us. Probably none of them would have much influence in checking the growing tendency towards the union of the workers in England. Certainly they would have no power to break that spirit of union which already exists among the great nations of the Continent.

Besides these obvious resources of the system we are attacking, there are less obvious possibilities about which one may speculate, perhaps with some profit; these more speculative possibilities point to attempts of Capitalism at avoiding its doom, which would lead to more ruin and suffering than are likely to be involved in even those

above-mentioned. I have not space to call our reader's attention to them at present, so I will end by saying that our part as acknowledged and organised Socialists is, while we watch keenly the development of the causes which would lead to the destruction of the present system, even if there were no acknowledged Socialists at all, to do all we can to aid the *conscious* attacks on the system by all those who feel themselves wronged by it. It is possible that we may live to see times in which it will be easier than now for the labourer to live as a labourer and not as a man, and there is a kind of utilitarian sham Socialism which would be satisfied by such an outcome of times of prosperity. It is very much our business to meet this humbug by urging the workers to sustain steadily their due claim to that fullness and completeness of life which no class system can give them. The claims of non-Socialist workmen go little beyond the demand for a bigger ration, warmer coat, and better lodging for the slave; and even Socialist workmen, I think, are apt to put their claims too low, at least in this country; for, indeed, one must say with a sense of shame in one's own better luck not possible to express, that the conditions under which they live and work make it difficult for them even to conceive the sort of life that a man should live.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

MINERS AGITATION IN SCOTLAND.

GREAT DISTRESS IN LANARKSHIRE—SOCIALIST DEMONSTRATION IN GLASGOW.

REPORTS of the progress of the agitation amongst Scottish miners for an advance of wages have appeared pretty regularly in the Labour Column of *Commonweal*. Readers of that column are no doubt aware that about a month ago the Central Board of the Federation of Scottish Miners recommended the various districts to cease work for some four or five days with the view of bringing the struggle to a crisis and forcing the masters to concede the advance demanded. Acting upon this advice, the great majority of miners in the north and west of Scotland ceased work. As a result of this policy a considerable number of the masters yielded, and their men resumed work at advanced wages. The greater portion of the masters, however, absolutely refused to grant any increase of wages whatsoever. In consequence of this refusal the men in most districts prolonged their holiday. A fortnight ago the Board, fearing the holiday would become an actual strike, recommended the men to return to work in the meantime. This advice was rejected with indignation by the overwhelming body of the miners of the Hamilton, Motherwell, and Airdrie districts of Lanarkshire—the districts, I may say, where Socialist opinions have most deeply penetrated. The serious consequences of this resolution the men knew only too well. For many months now they had been working only five days per week, at a wage of 3s. per day—which, after deductions for doctor, powder, tools, etc., left only some 12s. 6d. per week on which to keep themselves and their families. It is obvious that on such an income the miners would have little or nothing saved to meet the present emergency. Indeed their families in many instances were at starvation's door before the strike began. Their present condition is distressing in the extreme.

Painful scenes have been witnessed in some of the mining villages. Women and children begging for food at their own doors. Little children wandering about the streets crying for bread. In some instances the shopkeepers, partly through sympathy and partly through fear of bread-riots taking place, have distributed loaves amongst the starving people. In one village a butcher distributed half a cow. The authorities, too, alarmed at the aspect of affairs, have advised the merchants to shut their shops early and barricade their windows. In anticipation of disturbance mounted police have been drafted to some of the districts.

And it is thus, in the nineteenth century in Christian Britain, that the workers must plead with their Christian masters for justice—their masters, who plunder them and toil them to death; who strip their little children and cast them naked and famishing out into the winter's cold!

J. B. G.

Since receiving the above the news has reached London of the hunger-riots at Blantyre and elsewhere in the district; but the bourgeois press is usually not anxious to give any real explanation of such occurrences, and has not done so on this occasion; therefore our communication has some interest even at this date.

On Sunday last, the Glasgow Branch of the Socialist League held a great demonstration on Glasgow Green, for the purpose of expressing sympathy with the miners on strike. The local press puts the number present at not less than 30,000. There were three platforms, at which the following resolutions were spoken to by members of the League, Wm. Small, the Secretary, and Mr. M'Munn, Chairman of the Lanarkshire Miners' Association, and other comrades and friends:—

"That this meeting of the workers of Glasgow hereby expresses its heartiest sympathy with the miners, their wives and children, in their present sufferings, and wishes full and speedy success to the resolute effort now being made to obtain an advance in wages; and that it condemns the attitude of the masters as grossly selfish and unjust."

"That this meeting is of opinion that the cause of all those who work for wages is one and the same, that the present struggle is only one incident in the world-wide conflict between the labourer and the capitalist, and that not until the land, mines, and machinery, and all means of production and distribution are held and used by the workers for the common benefit can that conflict cease, and a secure and happier social system be attained."

In supporting the second resolution, Mr. M'Munn said the present

fight was not about 6d. a-day. The masters had made up their minds to fight Socialism, and he admitted that Socialistic opinions were spreading amongst the miners.

Our comrade Glasier writes:

From copies of newspapers sent you will see that our demonstration was a great success. We have allied the miners with Socialism definitely. The press reports give but a poor notion of the speeches. At the platform presided over by comrade McLaren, M.A., three cheers for the Social Revolution were given with great enthusiasm. Not a single hand at any of the platforms was held up against the second resolution, which you will observe was a purely Socialist one. Our meeting has created a profound impression, and has alarmed the bourgeoisie not a little. It is greatly to the credit of our comrades R. F. Muirhead, M.A., and Arch McLaren, M.A., that they bravely came forward and took the chairs at two platforms, as they are both well connected and run seriously the risk of damaging their academical careers. We have given our large room here up to the miners for the time being as a place of call, etc. They are in Glasgow in large numbers collecting subscriptions. We handed over to them as the result of collection £24. In great haste, yours fraternally,

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

84, John Street, Glasgow, Feb. 14.

The *Scotsman* states that the above sum of £24 was collected mostly in copper, which is gratifying evidence of the widely-felt sympathy with the object of the demonstration, notwithstanding the large discount which the capitalist press endeavour to make for "small, ragged, dirty boys," "loafers," and the "respectable people attracted by curiosity." The Branch also distributed 15,000 copies of a stirring, well-written manifesto, which cannot fail to do good in awakening the workers to a sense of the necessity of the Socialists' claim for a change in the basis of Society. Altogether the Branch deserves credit for the admirable manner in which the demonstration was got up and carried through. The news will comfort and encourage the Brotherhood throughout the world.

T. B.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"T. LEMON AND THE S. D. F."

Our friend Sturt's letter should have been sent to *Justice*, as the provocation came in this instance from that quarter. If I had been less moderate and acted with less consideration for the Cause, and unsparingly exposed the "tactics" I only pointed at, it is probable that comrade Sturt's letter would not have been penned, or he might perhaps have shared in the "sore feelings" which in my case provoked the sarcasm, the use of which he deprecates. Removed as he is far from the "madding crowd," and with only partial knowledge of the case before him, he can easily perform the easy task of the candid friend.

F. KITZ.

"ABSENTEEISM."

I quite agree with G. D. L., and yet I hold by the view that if a man receive a thousand pounds or a thousand pounds' worth, it makes no difference where he consumes it. Take the first law of motion, as often expressed: "A body once set in motion will continue to move in the same straight line for ever." It is no contradiction to this law to point to bodies set in motion and then stopping. Again, the law of gravitation is not contradicted by the fact that balloons and other bodies ascend from the earth. Such occurrences merely demand further explanation, which goes towards confirming the general statement.

Suppose that an Irish landlord receives £1000 from his tenant and remains in Ireland. There he spends his £1000—returns it, so to speak, to the Irish; but he returns it for the worth of £1000—he consumes that much. Thus, instead of having a thousand sovereigns less, Ireland has so much less commodities. The landlord, by the hypothesis, does nothing; he simply consumes. How can that increase, *by itself*, the resources of Ireland? Suppose that instead of landlords we had bottomless pits, and that into these pits it was customary to throw rent (Ireland, however, has no pits of her own, so her rents come over to the pits of this country), would Ireland be under any disadvantage then, provided she had not the additional trouble of sending her rents a longer distance? I can see between a landlord and a bottomless pit no difference—except this: a bottomless pit may be harmless, an idle landlord *cannot* be.

Let us again suppose that Irish landowners remained in Ireland and spent their rents there. I am now going to speak of what would happen *under existing circumstances*. Ireland would then become quite a gay, prosperous looking place. Population would increase, and the increase would be of the well-to-do. All these well-to-do people, however, called into being by the needs of the landlords, would practically be creatures of the landlords. There would be just as much misery and suffering as there is now—yea, more, the voice of the suffering would never be heard, it could never penetrate the mass of toadyism that lay between it and the free air. I don't suppose Ireland is any worse off just now than England—I am sure she isn't. Perhaps the briefest way to bring this out is to imagine what the effect in England would be if our landlords were to become absentees—were to spend their rents somewhere else. One very marked effect, and about the first, would be an extraordinary diminution in the number of prostitutes (This just reminds me, by the way, of the high virtue ascribed to Irish women, which they doubtless owe to absenteeism.) Following on this diminution in the number of prostitutes would be the disappearance of all sorts of hells; then would go the oily shopkeepers—The reader, however, may be safely left to fill in the picture for himself. England would then assume its real appearance—a sepulchre; now it is a very much whitened sepulchre; so much so, indeed, that many think it a gay saloon, and exclaim—poor devils!—"Oh, what a happy place is England!"

Absenteeism is a good thing; it brings home to the commonest understanding the absurdity of landlordism; if practised more widely, would soon lead to its extinction. With all this I don't suppose any will more readily concur than G. D. L.

W. B. R.

It has been decided by the Council of the Social-Democratic Federation that there shall be a Church Parade of its members at St. Paul's Cathedral on Sunday afternoon, the 27th of the present month.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

This department is under the direction of the Strike Committee. Labour News and Contributions to the Fund should be sent to T. BINNING, at the Offices.

The Strike Committee.

Since our last report the Committee have been busy in various directions. Immediately on receipt of news that Lyon had succeeded in inducing Swedish workmen to come over (by misrepresenting that there was no strike at his works) to take the place of the English glass-bottle makers at St. Helens, the Committee dispatched a Swedish comrade to meet his countrymen and explain the position to them and persuade them not to allow themselves to be used as tools by the capitalists against their English fellow-workmen, with the result that only about half of them started work.

Our comrade Mahon has also on behalf of the Committee been holding meetings and making propaganda among the chainmakers at Cradley Heath, with good results.

The strike of the Northumberland Miners has also claimed the attention of the Committee, and on Saturday a propagandist was dispatched to that district with a large supply of literature, and with instructions to remain at least a week. A report of work done will be given next week.

A supply of leaflets has also been dispatched to miners on strike at Abercane and other districts.

Funds are urgently needed to carry on this the most important of the League's work, as much more might be done if we had money to do it with.

J. LANE, Sec.

THE LANARKSHIRE MINERS.—Work has been resumed in a large number of the smaller collieries in Lanarkshire at an advance in wages, but the men at the Rosehall Collieries came out on strike on Monday. Owing to the scarcity of coal, Messrs. Baird's extensive iron works at Gartsherrie have been damped down, 1000 men being thereby thrown out of work. It is expected that the Langloan and Summerlee Iron-works will also have to damp down in the course of a day or two. (See special report.)

THE GLASS-BOTTLE MAKERS AT ST. HELENS.—The introduction of Swedish workmen into Messrs. Lyon's glass-bottle works has resulted in much local feeling. On one occasion they were roughly handled by a crowd of about a thousand men and women, and Mr. Lyon was stunned by a large glass bottle. A number of extra constables have been placed on duty to guard the Swedes, and a large force of county police has been drafted into the town.

Termination of the Strike—Capitulation of Masters.—Our Swedish delegate reports that the strike has terminated. The men have resumed work and the Swedes have been shipped back to their own country. This strike shows what the international solidarity of the workers can accomplish.

THE NORTHUMBERLAND MINERS' STRIKE.—Feb. 11.—The Northumberland miners continue out on strike, and the Union funds are about exhausted. The officials of the Union have resigned in consequence of votes of censure having been passed upon their conduct in the negotiations with the masters' executive, when they went so far as to mention a 10 per cent. reduction. The miners as a body contend that they are poorly paid, and are fully determined to remain out of the pits rather than succumb to the demand of the employers, which is a reduction of 12½ per cent. from the wages at hard or steam-coal collieries, and 7½ per cent. at soft or house-coal pits. The secretaries of the Union have issued an appeal for help. Meetings are daily held in the colliery villages.

UNITED SOCIETY OF SHOP-ASSISTANTS.—It is much to be regretted that those having charge of the administration of this society should by their flunkey demonstration in Trafalgar Square on Sunday have to a certain extent discredited the cause of their union. The shop-assistants, like the clerks, have the reputation of being a somewhat spineless class amongst the workers. Being brought into more direct contact with their employers, they seem to have acquired some of the habits of the small-souled bourgeois. But making due allowance for this, it was a little too ridiculous to proclaim their "respectability" by marching into the Square to the jingo-flunkey strains of "Rule Britannia" and "God save the Queen." This it was, and not the "roughs" as the capitalist press pretend, that damned the demonstration. The shop-assistants, if they want the support of earnest men, will have to quicken their paces and march to far different tunes.

STAFFORD—THE SHOE-TRADE.—Trade affairs are still in a very unsettled condition here. Since my last notes a fortnight ago, the lasters (excepting those engaged on weekly wages) employed by Messrs. Peach and Co. have again struck work and many of the men have left the town. The reduction which this firm wish to enforce should be 2s. 3d. per dozen, or about 25 per cent., and not 4s. 3d. per dozen or 50 per cent.; as, owing to the introduction of labour-saving, or profit-creating, machinery, the men will be "relieved" of a portion of the work they have hitherto performed. On Saturday last Messrs. Elley and Co. advertised in a local paper for a number of men to take the places of those on strike, offering from 20s. to 30s. per week. It is well worthy of notice that previous to the introduction of the machine alluded to the men could earn from 40s. to 50s. per week, and they are now "offered" the miserable pittance of 20s. This is a sample of the benefits machinery confers upon the working man. When will the wage-slaves of Stafford be prepared to say that the horrible and abominable capitalist system, which gives them the bare necessities of life while it enables their employers to live in luxury, shall be for ever swept away? How long will they be ere they apprehend "that there is no duty performed by capitalists to-day that cannot be performed equally as well by organised workmen"?—C.

Another Report.—The dispute at Harris and Marson's has been settled by the firm agreeing to withdraw the new statement, and the men have now gone to work on the old wages. It is stated that one of the "scabs" employed by the firm during the dispute is secretary of a (so-called) working-men's Conservative club in the town,—a pretty "working man"! This dispute having been settled, another occurred on Wednesday 9th at Messrs. Elley and Dudley's. These two gentlemen are splendid specimens of the unadulterated British bourgeois. The former, whose father was a workman, has set up for a country gentleman, and at his men's expense apes the territorial plunderers outside the borough. Mr. Dudley is heartily disliked by the great mass of the townspeople. His overbearing, dictatorial manners and his determination to get richer "somehow," have made his name a household word. His wife is now taking a prominent part in the beggarly sham known as the "Woman's Jubilee Offering" to "Her Majesty," and in order to increase his men's loyalty at this juncture, Mr. Dudley proposes to celebrate the jubilee by reducing their wages from 7s. 6d. per dozen pairs to 5s. and even 4s. It should also be stated that a deduction of 3s. per dozen

pairs has already been agreed to by the men on account of the work done by the new heeling machine. About 50 men have decided to "come out," and though unfortunately they are nearly all non-unionists, it is hoped they will succeed. Many men now are not earning more than 5s., 6s., or 7s. per week, and in order to keep body and soul together their wives have to neglect their homes and ruin their health by working at that modern "rack" of capitalism, the "back-strapping" machine. And then the philanthropic Mr. Dudley, who a year or two ago gave a hundred guineas to the local infirmary, proposes to make a further reduction on the present pitiful wage!

BOLTON.—FEMALE LABOUR IN SPINNING ROOMS.—The strike at Lostock Spinning Mills still continues, and without much hope of an immediate settlement. Only one-third of the machinery is running.

HUDDERSFIELD.—WORK AND WAGES.—"Operative," writing to the *Huddersfield Examiner*, says:—In the annual report of the Huddersfield Chamber of Commerce I find it stated that "the operatives of this district have been blessed with good wages and continuous employment." As an operative, I fail to recognise either the blessings of the good wages or the continuous employment. I admit that more cloth has been produced than for a few years back, more cotton been made into warps and cops, and exported, but I deny that the operatives have received the blessings stated in the report. If we turn to our weaving sheds, we shall find considerable additions and extensions have been made during the past twelve months. Slow looms have been taken out and fast ones put in their places, but that has made no improvement in the wages or the employment of the weavers as a body. With the general introduction of fast looms a general and unjustifiable reduction of wages has taken place, for the fast loom statement for men is ignored, and only women's prices paid. At many places where they have been busy, where some have been working overtime, a considerable number of the work-people have not had above eight months' work out of the twelve. In some instances where they have had extensive orders and executed them, they have let out the work on commission, and their own looms have been standing idle. This sort of thing has been done in a very glaring manner at some places. I firmly believe that if the average wages of all weavers in this district could be got at, it would fall short of £1 per week. I say this after much careful thought and consideration. If we turn to the cotton trade, we find that almost all the firms have had slack times in greater or less degree during the past twelve months; and although through having higher speeded machinery they can turn out more weight in the same time than formerly, yet the workpeople take less wage home than before, owing to having been reduced considerably in scale price. The present piecework system, which becomes more general every year, is one of the best ever devised for grinding down the workers. Possibly and probably manufacturers have not felt the pinch like hundreds of our workers in the district have done. Their incomes have likely been as high as usual, and in the ecstasy of the moment they have inserted the above untruthful paragraph in their report. They should remember that their incomes have been wrung from the workpeople by paying small wages, and also by the iniquitous system of bating, which is very common in our mills and workshops.

FRANCE.

VIERZON. There is a new strike of porcelain-makers at Vierzon at the Lachaise establishment, owing to the threatened dismissal of one of the best workers on account of his Socialist opinions having been put into effect. On hearing of this move, all the workers agreed to strike and hold out until the "patron" gave in. There is among these men as great a feeling of solidarity as among their fellow-workers the metallurgists. At the same time, the Sieur Lachaise can hardly be said to be wrong from his point of view to attempt to bluster a little over his Socialist employés; he may well feel a little uneasy, a little suffocated in so revolutionary an atmosphere as that of Vierzon certainly is.

PORQUEROLLES.—It will be remembered that in the summer of last year a great scandal came to light concerning the treatment of the orphans employed in the "Industrial School" in this island. At present the trial of the infamous slave-drivers who direct it is taking place before the "Tribunal Correctionnel" of Toulon, and the details of maltreatment of these unfortunate boys, which come to light in the course of the trial, are, if correctly stated (which there is no reason to doubt) shocking and heart-rending in the extreme. We hear of the half-starved youngsters, too exhausted to get through their daily toil to the satisfaction of the overseer, undergoing as punishment for their "laziness," a sort of body-stretching torture under the burning southern sun, their sufferings pointed with the lash of a leather thong; or else rotting for weeks half-forgotten on the damp stones of the punishment-cells, choking in the pestilential atmosphere. The details in short read pretty much like a chapter of horrors out of one of Mrs. Radcliffe's romances, once the terror and delight of English youth. The organisation of the "Assistance Publique," which benevolently "let out" their stock of orphans to learn agriculture (with "morals" thrown in) of M. and Mme. de Roussen, is already much beloved by the Parisians for various misdeeds: to what height its scarcely enviable popularity will now attain after these disclosures of wholesale child-barter we scarcely know!

BELGIUM.

BRUSSELS.—The zinc-workers and plumbers of the Pierre establishment at Brussels have put themselves on strike owing to the directors attempting to prevent them from joining the workmen's syndicates.

CHATELAIN.—We are sorry to learn that the miners on strike in the Gouffue coal-mines have gone back to work on the same conditions as those under which they worked before the strike.

JOLIMONT (CENTRE).—A general congress of miners has been held at Jolimont on the premises of the co-operative bakers of "Le Progrès." At the afternoon sitting the important question of a general strike among the miners was brought forward and discussed. Although the delegates of the Centre opposed this proposition, a great majority of the other delegates pronounced in favour of a universal strike.

GHENT.—By an inadvertence we omitted to note last week the release of Ansele from prison, and the Socialist celebration of the same. There was considerable excitement in the town on the day of his release, the crowd gradually growing round all the approaches to the office of the *Vooruit* until it became almost impenetrable. The "drapeau rouge" hung from the houses in the streets, the sun came out merrily, the Marseillaise was sung (when shall we have a new revolutionary hymn, an international one, suited to the times?) Ansele and the "Social Revolution" were cheered incessantly, and the fête in short proceeded with great vivacity.

SOCIALISM IN THE PROVINCES.

THE Socialist movement at Lancaster is not very old yet, but it has thriven well. The first token of Socialism was a debate on the subject opened some few months ago at the "Reform Club" by the Unitarian minister of the town, our comrade E. P. Hall. Several Socialists turned up in the course of the discussion, and Hall's masterly rejoinder at the close of the debate won a few more. Some weeks ago a Branch of the League was formed, which is now doing splendid work and growing steadily. The Branch has the advantage of several good speakers among its members. I reached Lancaster on Friday Feb. 4, and on that night had a conference with the members, hearing how they were getting on with their local agitation and telling them all that would interest them about the other branches and the movement generally. A propagandist campaign had been arranged for the three following days, and large red placards posted announcing the series of meetings. The police took alarm, and made all sorts of absurd preparations. At every meeting there were several constables, a sergeant, and the chief of police. The first meeting was held on Saturday afternoon, just outside the town. There was a good and very attentive audience. Rev. E. P. Hall took the chair, and said a few words before and after the address. On Saturday night a successful meeting was held indoors. On Sunday three meetings were held: at the Quay Side, in one of the parks, and, at night, in the Market Square. Each meeting was bigger than the one before it, all of them were attended by quiet and earnest people, and, to the surprise of the police no doubt, it is generally said that the meetings were the best and most orderly that have been held in the town for some time. A meeting to express sympathy with the St. Helens bottle-makers in their struggle, and to protest against the brutal sentences on our Norwich comrades, was announced for Monday night in the Market Square. The police at last took to interfering. When the Sunday night meeting in the Square was advertised, the chief told one of our comrades that he was glad to see that we had chosen a time which would not clash with other meetings. On Sunday night, while the meeting was going on, another comrade was told by the police that we had no right to meet there without special permission from the mayor. On Monday morning the chief constable called upon me to state that the mayor's permission was needed before a meeting could be held. The chief (Mr. Ward) was very courteous, and reminded me that he was merely doing his duty, and that the town authorities were his masters. Having consulted some members of the Branch, I told Mr. Ward that we did not care about asking the mayor's permission unless it were a mere matter of etiquette, as his refusal would not deter us from holding the meeting, and that we would always choose a time which would not clash with other parties or impede the traffic; that the market places were really bits of common land, which any one had a right to use so long as they did not deter others from similarly using them. Our interview ended in the most pleasant manner—firmness and gentleness on both sides. At eight o'clock the meeting was begun. The chief constable was present with a nice little force. We were formally commanded to disperse: we formally refused. Half a dozen names were taken down, and then the police became part of the audience and listened with much attention to the address. I explained the fight which the International Bottle-Makers' Union have carried on against the importation of cheap foreign labour, and a resolution was passed which has already appeared in the *Commonweal*. I also gave an account of the Norwich affair, and a strong resolution was carried with enthusiasm. We then had three cheers for the social revolution, and the meeting quietly dispersed. The Lancaster campaign was thoroughly successful; the meetings were well organised, each one was larger than its predecessor, nearly four times the usual number of *Commonweal* were sold, and other literature went fairly well. The members of the Branch are very enthusiastic and business-like, and are sure to make the propaganda effective.

After calling at Leeds on the 8th to make some arrangements, I got to Walsall on the 9th, and lectured to an advanced Radical club. The members were very sympathetic towards Socialism; the discussion was short and sensible—as, alas! few discussions are—and the literature was taken up eagerly. I walked over to Birmingham on the 10th and attended a Jubilee meeting in the council chamber. A very foolish person who was unfortunately at one time connected with a Socialist agitation in the town got up and made a row over a proposal which no one could understand, embodied in a long document bristling with legal phraseology. This somewhat put me at a disadvantage in urging a peaceful and practical proposal which I afterwards submitted to the meeting in the following words: "As jubilees are eminently suitable times for analysing past progress and making way for future changes in a spirit of general forgiveness, this meeting suggests that a committee of five labourers, five capitalists, and five political economists be selected for the following purposes: (1) To find out why, in spite of our enormously increased power in producing wealth, the contrast between the luxurious idle class and the penurious working class still persists; (2) To find a means of abolishing these class distinctions and realising an economic system which will secure to every man a chance of earning his livelihood and prevent any man from getting a livelihood which he has not earned." This proposal was listened to with attention and suspicion, and, to the disgrace of the meeting, found no supporters. (The meeting was held at three in the afternoon, and consisted almost entirely of respectable professional people.)

Feb. 14.

J. L. MAHON.

An International Celebration of the Paris Commune will be held at SOUTH PLACE CHAPEL on THURSDAY MARCH 17.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

STRIKE COMMITTEE.

W. M., 1s.; P. W., 1s.; Mrs. Gostling, 1s.; E. P., 6d.; S. M., 1s.; Anonymous, £3. T. BINNING, Treasurer.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Hammersmith Branch (two weeks), £1; Bloomsbury Branch (weekly), 5s.; T. B. (two weeks), 1s.; M. M. (three weeks), 3s.; H. Ch. (weekly), 1s.; Mainwaring (sale of *Commonweal*), 5d. PH. W., Treasurer, Feb. 15.

THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

(It is suggested by the Committee that each Branch organise a Concert for the purpose of raising funds.)

Already acknowledged, £9, 11s. 11d. Morris (second donation), £1. Davis, 1s. Arthur, 6d. T. Finn, 2s. Collected in Hyde Park, 3s. 1d. Per H. Davis (card 42): H. Davis, 6d.; L. Lilly, 3d.; E. White, 2d.; H. White, 2d. Collected by Taylor (cards 61, 62): Taylor, 1s.; Morey, 1s.; Watson, 6d.; Barker, 6d. Collected at Walham Green: Feb. 6, 6s. 2d.; Feb. 13, 3s. 1d. Tochetti, 9d. J. W. Browne, £1. Leeds Branch (weekly), 2s. Per W. Blundell (card 48): W. P. Walker, 6d.; Fred. White, 6d.; W. Shelton, 6d.; H. Fuller, 6d.; B. Somerville, 6d.; — Callow, 6d.; F. Taylor, 3d. (members of the Patriotic Club); D. C. Dallas, 6d.; J. Marshall, 1s.; A. Friend, 2s. 6d.; A. Yates, 6d.

J. LANE, Treasurer.

BRANCH REPORTS.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, Feb. 9, Dr. W. M. von Swartwout gave a continuation of "The Only Practical Solution of the Capital and Labour Question;" a very interesting discussion followed. On Sunday, Feb. 13th, Wm. Blundell lectured on "Starvation: Physical and Mental." He referred to the shocking conditions under which the children of the workers derive their scanty pittance of so-called "education," and maintained that the workers should combine to break down the system of commercialism and superstition with which this "education" is enmeshed. Good discussion followed. Other meetings have been attended by members of this Branch with great success. Literature has sold fairly well.—W. B. and T. E. W., secs.

CROYDON.—On Sunday, February 13th, H. H. Sparling gave an interesting lecture on the "Evolution of Cannibalism," in which he showed that the primitive man-eating still persists in the modern labour-theft of landlordism and capitalism. On Thursday, Feb. 10, a resolution expressing sympathy for Mowbray and Henderson, and condemning Grantham, was carried unanimously.—T.

GARRETT AND SUMMERSTOWN.—On Tuesday the 8th inst. our first meeting was held, when a lecture on "Socialism" was delivered by comrade Kitz. An Odd-fellows' demonstration close by, a smoking concert at a club in the village, and a certain amount of police intimidation all influenced our meeting unfavourably. In spite of it all the audience was a good one and the lecture was well received. The lecturer began by explaining the miserable fare and monotonous work that thousands must inevitably be born to with the prospect of the workhouse to die in; and showed that the only remedy was the collective ownership and control by the people of all the means of production, etc. Some questions were satisfactorily answered by the lecturer.—H. H.

HACKNEY.—On Sunday morning, the weather being bitter cold, we moved from our station at the "Salmon and Ball" to the church opposite, and there held what might be called a debate. Mr. Poulson, of the Christian Evidence Society, opened the meeting. After referring to Plato, Sparta, the Republic of Rome, the Paris Commune, and Robert Owen, stating that these had tried Socialism and found it would not work, he went on to say that the Socialism of to-day was "riot and disorder," and repeated all the ridiculous fallacies about dividing up the wealth, etc. By the time he had finished there were about 500 people present, and H. Graham replied to the evident satisfaction of the audience. H. Davis also answered some of the objections. In the evening, H. A. Barker gave a lecture on "Material and Spiritual Consolation." The "material" requirements of man, he explained, were good clothing, good housing, and good food. He showed how these things were unobtainable by the great bulk of the workers. As for "spiritual" consolation, it was too much of a flighty and unreasoning character to be of any material benefit to the workers. After the lecture we had a very lively discussion. Fair sale of *Commonweal*.—M.

MITCHAM.—On Sunday evening we had a good muster to hear comrade Charles, who gave a very interesting account of the "Rise and Progress of the League," showing how a few men united together in a noble Cause could in many ways assist the propaganda. Comrades Harrison and Hill also spoke, and altogether a pleasant evening was passed. We closed as usual with singing.—S. G., sec.

EDINBURGH.—On Monday Feb. 7th, in Free Tron Hall, J. A. Campbell gave a lecture on "Organism, Functions and Environment of Society," in lieu of R. W. Armour, who was to have given a lecture on "The Use of Banks." There was a fair audience.—J. G.

GLASGOW.—Owing to our great demonstration on behalf of the miners on Sunday (an account of which is given elsewhere), we had to abandon our other outdoor meetings. On Sunday evening, comrade McLaren, who had presided at one of the platforms, delivered a lecture on "Anarchism," in which he ably defined and justified the principles of Anarchy. He did not believe, however, that Anarchism could be realised until Socialism had modified the present unsocial habits of the people. In the discussion which followed, John Barlas, B.A., of the S.D.F.—who ably assisted us in getting up our demonstration—took part.

HULL.—On Sunday, at our club-room, comrade Shekell gave a lecture on "Equality," which was well received. Only one opposed, who wanted to know who would do all the dirty and disagreeable work when we were all equal. He was very ably replied to by Shekell and others. We are doing our best for the Henderson and Mowbray Defence Fund, and we have decided to keep the cards open for another two or three weeks longer.—J. D., sec.

LEEDS.—On Friday, February 11, Maguire delivered a lecture to the members of No. 7 Branch of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers on "Socialism and Trades Unions." There was no opposition, but several spoke in support. Among these was our comrade Braithwaite, who said it was urged that profit was the only incentive to production. If this be so, he was surprised that the workers did not give over producing, as it was very little profit they made out of the transaction. A number of *Commonweals* were sold at the close of the meeting. On Sunday afternoon we held our usual open-air meeting in Vicar's Croft. Maguire spoke on the "Work of the Socialist League." Next Sunday morning we shall have comrade Mahon to address an open-air meeting in Vicar's Croft at 11 a.m.—F. C.

NORWICH.—Good meetings were held last Sunday on Tombland in the morning and Market Place in the afternoon, which were addressed by F. Kitz, who also delivered a lecture on "The Russian Nihilists" in the evening, which was well received and discussed by the members. A good meeting was also addressed on Prince of Wales's Road by Morley and Darley. Literature sold well as usual, and 8s. was collected at one of the meetings for the Prisoners' Aid Fund. Next Sunday we commence our open-air meetings at St. Faith's and other country stations for the purpose of developing some of our latent speaking power.

LECTURE DIARY.

London Branches.

- Bloomsbury.**—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street. Friday Feb. 18, at 8.30. W. Utley will lecture.—On Thursday 24th Mrs. Wilson will lecture for the Branch at Cleveland Hall.
- Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday Feb. 20, at 8.30. D. J. Nicoll, "The Charms of Civilisation." Wednesday 23, at 8.30. Edith Bland (Fabian), "Ancient Rome and Modern Babylon."
- Croydon.**—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday February 20. James Macdonald on "Socialism from a Workman's Standpoint."—Committee Meeting every Friday at 8 p.m. sharp, at Parker Road.
- Hackney.**—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 8 till 11. Business Meeting every Tuesday at 8.30. Discussion Class Thursday evenings. On Sunday Feb. 20, at 8.30., J. Lane will lecture on "The Different Schools of Socialistic Thought."
- Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Feb. 20, at 8. Graham Wallis (Fabian) on "The Tithe Agitation."
- Hoxton (L. E. L.).**—Meetings at Exchange Coffee House suspended. Members are requested to meet at new premises, 2 Crondel Street, New North Road, on Sunday Feb. 20, at 8 p.m.
- Merton.**—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday. Discussions held every Sunday morning at 11.
- Mitcham.**—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11.

Country Branches.

- Bingley.**—Coffee Tavern. Every Monday at 7.30 p.m.
- Birmingham.**—Carr's Lane Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 8.
- Bradford.**—Morris's Dining Rooms, 114 City Road. Wednesdays, at 8.
- Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. Reading Room and Library open every Wednesday evening, 8 till 10.—Free Tron Hall, Monday February 21, at 8 o'clock. Patrick Geddes, F.R.S.E., on "Theory and Practice of Social Reform." (Second lecture.) Monday Feb. 28, Edward Carpenter, M.A., Sheffield, "Civilisation, its Cause and Cure." Admission, 6d, and 3d.—Treasurer will receive Subscriptions for Prisoners' Aid Fund.
- Glasgow.**—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily.—On Sunday, open-air meetings on Jail's Square at 1 and 5 o'clock; members requested to turn up to sell literature. In the evening, at 6.30, in Hall, No. 2 Carlton Place, Clyde Side, J. Bruce Glasier, "Socialism in Scottish Song."
- Hamilton.**—Branch meets every Thursday at 7.30 in Paton's Hall, Chapel Street.
- Hull.**—11 Princess Street, Sykes Street. Club Room open every evening. Lectures every Thursday and Sunday at 7 p.m. Feb. 20. R. Muir, "Land Question."
- Lancaster.**—Market Hall Coffee Tavern Lecture Room. Friday evenings at 8.
- Leicester.**—Spiritualist Hall, Silver Street. Fridays at 8 p.m.
- Manchester.**—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening 6 to 10 p.m. Lecture and discussion every Wednesday at 8 p.m.
- Norwich.**—No. 6 St. Benedict St. Lecture and discussion every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room open every day from 8.30 a.m. to 10 p.m.
- Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Thursdays, at 8.30 p.m.

Open-air Propaganda—Sunday 20.

- 11.30... Hackney—"Salmon and Ball" Allman & Davis
- 11.30... Hammersmith—Beardon Rd. The Branch
- 11.30... Hoxton Church, Pitfield Street ... Barker
- 11.30... Regent's Park The Branch
- 11.30... St. Pancras Arches The Branch
- 11.30... Walham Green—Station Johnson
- 3.30... Hyde Park (near Marble Arch)..... Mainwaring

PROVINCES.—SUNDAY.

- Norwich.**—St. Mary's Plain, 11; Market Place, 3.
- Leeds.**—Hunslet Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m.

CLEVELAND HALL, 54 Cleveland Street (near Portland Road Station).—Sundays at 11.30 a.m. Feb. 20. George Bernard Shaw, "Driving Capital out of the Country."

"THE PEACOCK," High Street, Islington.—Tuesday Feb. 22, at 9 p.m. Thomas E. Wardle, "Is Socialism Terrorism?"

THE DECORATOR'S CLUB, 37 Howland St., Tottenham Court Road, W.—Thursday Feb. 24, at 8.30. Thos. E. Wardle, "The Truths of Socialism." Music.

"THREE KINGS," Clerkenwell Close.—Sunday Feb. 27, at 8.30 p.m. Thomas E. Wardle will lecture.

Free Lectures on Socialism. in reply to recent Criticism, will be held in Farringdon Hall, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday mornings in February.—Sunday February 20, at 11.15 a.m. Alexander Donald, "Some Objections to Socialism Answered."

Debate on Socialism.—A Debate is taking place at the Hall of Science, 142 Old Street, City Road, E.C., on February 2, 9, 16, and 23, at 8 p.m., between Mrs. Annie Besant and Mr. G. W. Foote, on the question, "Is Socialism sound?"

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THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 59.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

THE locus-pocus by which the debate on the gross jury-packing in the Irish State trials was set aside, seems to have pleased the Tory mind; and it ought to please us Socialists also, because so far as it goes it is a sign of the growing decrepitude of our great enemy, or rather the great instrument of our enemies, the middle-class Parliament. In short, the disgrace of such a scene as that of the 17th is so clear, that one is really driven to wonder that it could be cheered even by the greatest idiots of the idiotic party of the most idiotic assembly in the world.

The release of the 23,000 odd prisoners in India as a compliment to the Jubilee flunkeyism has a queer mediæval smack about it, and of itself disposes of our pretensions so often put forward to governing India on modern principles of "Justice." Indeed, to some people it will reveal depths of tyranny undreamed of before. Here is a dilemma for our Jubileeists: "If it was dangerous to the public that these men should be at large, why do you release them for the danger of the public? If you can safely release this host of poor miserable tortured people, why did you torture them with your infernal prison?" There is no answer but one: "Because we are unjust, tyrannical, muddling fools!"

The Lake railway scheme has scored a success at last, but one may hope that the bill will yet be thrown out, as such misfortunes must be averted by any means possible, as they are lasting and irremediable.

It would be hardly worth while noticing Mr. Labouchere's bad arguments in favour of the railway if they did not illustrate the anti-social temper of the ordinary bourgeois so-called Radical. Because, of course, Mr. Labouchere is always playing a part, and he is no more the brutal and stupid bagman which he posed as being the other night, than he is the virtuously indignant democrat which he plays on other occasions. He is a very smart and handy person, who has chosen the democratic side of the political game, and is determined to play his part thoroughly and without flinching. So that we can see that his conception of the democratic bourgeois involves a grovelling and sordid utilitarianism, and it is to be feared that he scarcely overdid his contemptible part in speaking as he did on the 17th.

Meanwhile, I would appeal to all Socialists to do their best to preserve the beauty and interest of the country. It is true that it is a part of that wealth in which the workers under our present system are not allowed to share. But when we have abolished the artificial famine caused by capital, we shall not be so pinched and poor that we cannot afford ourselves the pleasure of a beautiful landscape because it doesn't produce ironstone, or of a beautiful building because it won't do for a cotton-mill, and that pleasure will not then be confined to a few well-to-do people, but will be there to be enjoyed by all. Of course, as things go now, the Lake railway is not a question of the convenience of the Amblesiders, or the pleasure of the world in general, but the profit of a knot of persons leagued together against the public in general under the name of a railway company. W. M.

"Respectable" papers are exceeding lachrymose over the "incipient civil war" in Ireland and the beginnings of a rebellion that show themselves occasionally. It is so wrong of the bear to defend himself after his skin has been sold!

An emergency-man has met with his death at the hands of the enraged people against whom his loathsome services had been directed; whereupon the *Spectator* waxes wroth, and says: "Justice is dead in Ireland."

Justice never lived there save when it has been wrought by the people for themselves.

Dr. Croke, Archbishop of Cashel, has published a letter begging Irishmen no longer to pay their taxes:—"Payment is suicidal; and, in the presence of the actual state of things in Ireland just now, it is inconsistent besides. We run the 'Plan of Campaign' against bad landlords, and stop what they call their rent; and we make no move whatever against the Government that pays 'horse, foot, and dragoons' for protecting them and enforcing their outrageous exactions. Our money goes to fee and feed a gang of needy and voracious lawyers, to

purchase bludgeons for policemen to be used in smashing the skulls of our people, and generally for the support of a foreign garrison or native slaves, who hate and despise everything Irish and every genuine Irishman."

"Who follows in his train?"

The presumptuous arrogance of the conventional bourgeois Christian came out well a little while ago at the consecration of All Saint's Church at Allahabad, when the Bishop of Calcutta quoted "Unto thy seed have I given this land," as applicable to the divine disposal of India as a British plunder-ground.

When prelates paint the deity as a glorified carpet-bagger, or missionaries couple their creed with Manchester cottons, it makes the unregenerate smile, and brings home to a Socialist how everything whether "carnal" or "spiritual," is the direct outcome of and moulded by the economic condition of society. S.

NATIONAL BURDENS IN RELATION TO NATIONAL INCOMES.

To the thoughtful of every country the present state of Europe is most alarming. Everywhere there are rumours of wars, and everywhere there are preparations for war, and that, too, on the most gigantic scale. The European Continent is one vast military camp, adding every day to the heavy burdens the toiling millions have to bear. But there undoubtedly will be wars of the most terrible character. In all probability these will be followed by repudiations in many countries. They will also be followed by revolutions in most of the European States.

We complain in England of the enormous weight of our taxation. We complain, and very justly too, that more than two-thirds goes for war debts and war purposes. Nor can we be certain that our war expenditure will not increase. Indeed, an increase is certain to take place. But while we complain of our heavy taxation, we seldom think of the still heavier burdens that have to be borne by the peoples of the Continent. And here it must be observed that taxation must always be viewed in its relation to annual income. In 1840, it would have been impossible for England then to have borne £90,000,000 of taxation. Not only because the population was less than at present, but because our annual income was relatively still smaller as compared with the present day. It is quite true that taxation has increased faster than population, but our annual income has increased faster than both. It is true that many people think but little of the question of taxation, yet if we view the matter as we really should view it, as so much taken from labour, and from labour alone, we find it amount to a considerable sum. Thus in 1883 our total expenditure, national and local, amounted to £156,709,535, and dividing that among the working-classes, it was equal to £34 13s. 4d. for every working-class family.

But we must look at this question of taxation from another standpoint. In 1840, our taxation was only about forty-six millions, and at the present day about ninety millions. At the former period our annual income was only equal to about £19 per head of the population, while to-day it is over £35. The total at the former period being £514,000,000, and in 1883, £1,265,000,000. Our taxation, then is only about the thirteenth part of our annual income. Bearing this in mind, let us look at the case of the leading Continental States.

In 1882, France had an annual income of £965,000,000, and a Governmental expenditure of £142,000,000, being over one-seventh of her annual income. Germany in 1882 had an annual income of £851,000,000, with a total taxation of £103,753,000. Her taxation then was less than one-eighth of her yearly income. Her income was only equal to £18 7s. per head of population, her taxation £2 5s. 10d., leaving a balance per head of £16 1s. 2d. If we take Austria-Hungary, her total income the same year was only £602,000,000, equal to £16 3s. per head. Her expenditure was £76,478,000. As in the case of Germany, the taxation was nearly one-eighth of her total income. In 1882, the total income of Italy was only £292,000,000, equal to only £10 7s. per head of the population. But her taxation was over £61,480,000, being equal to £2 2s. per head, and more than one-fifth of the national income. What a condition for a country to be in, and especially Italy, for whose unity and independence so many

thousands laid down their lives. If we take Russia her annual income is less in proportion to her population than of any of the European States. In 1882, her total income was £760,000,000, only equal to £9 9s. per head of population. But her taxation, £106,322,000, was nearly one-seventh of her income.

Let us take another view of the matter. In England, with an income equal to £35 2s. 6d. per head, and taxation £2 10s. 4d. per head, it leaves £32 11s. 8d. per head for all other purposes. But see how the matter stands in the other States referred to above. In France it is £21 16s. 10d., in Germany £16 1s. 2d., in Austria-Hungary £14 2s. 7d., in Italy £8 5s., and in Russia £8 6s. If taxation is heavy in England, what must it be in the States of the Continent?

Look, too, at the enormous increase of taxation as compared to the increase of population, taking the years 1840 to 1882. This is a matter that should always be kept in view. In England, the increase was from £2 to £2 10s. 4d.; in France, £1 14s. to £3 10s. 2d.; in Germany, 15s. to £2 5s. 10d.; in Austria, £1 to £2 0s. 5d.; in Russia, 10s. to £1 2s. 2d.; and in Italy, £1 to £2 2s. Taking the whole of the European States, the increase was from an average of from £1 to £2 0s. 6d.

Returning to the subject of the coming wars, and taking the five great Powers—Russia, Austria, Germany, France, and Italy, we find the total cost of their peace establishments in 1882 was £109,879,000. The annual average cost per soldier was, Russia, £35; Austria, £51; Germany, £43; France, £46; and Italy, £40. Placing their armies on a war footing, without the recent augmentations, and taking as the basis of expenditure the cost per man on a peace footing, it would raise the total cost to £312,000,000. To which must be added the cost of their fleets, also the destruction of stores, of fortifications, of property of almost every kind, the loss of trade and of commerce, to say nothing of the loss of men. We hear a great deal at times of the horrors and massacres during revolutionary periods, but while the revolutionary movements of 1848 only caused a loss of £10,000,000 and 60,000 lives, the wars between England and France, 1793 to 1815, cost £1,250,000,000, with the lives of 1,900,000 men. The Crimean War cost £305,000,000, and the slaughter of 485,000 men. And taking the thirteen wars from 1793 to 1878, we have a total cost of £3,037,000,000, and a loss of 4,410,000 men. These items represent only the direct cost and the direct slaughter. If we take the waste and the destruction of property of every kind, with the loss of trade and of production generally in those countries which were the seats of those wars, and if we add the loss to the nations by the slaughter of men in the prime of life, it is too fearful to contemplate.

Look, too, at the enormous increase of the war debts of the above Powers from 1852 to 1882. That of Russia rose from £95,000,000 to £553,000,000. That of Austria-Hungary from £118,000,000 to £458,000,000. German States from £82,000,000 to £271,000,000. The French debt rose from £221,000,000 to £912,000,000, and the Italian from £68,000,000 to £353,000,000. The debts of these five Powers rose in 31 years from £584,000,000 to £2,547,000,000. In 1882, the total European debts had risen to £4,223,416,000, with a yearly charge of £220,000,000. Add the cost of the peace establishments, £260,000,000, and the interest on capital sunk in fortifications, £50,000,000, and we have a total dead weight of £510,000,000 for war debts and war purposes. And since 1882 all these burdens have increased enormously. And what will they be at the end of the coming wars? For the people to bear these burdens will be impossible. From those burdens the people must be freed, and the revolution alone can accomplish that.

But cannot these wars be prevented? Cannot the peoples meet in their tens of thousands and protest? Yes, the peoples can meet in numbers as large as they please, and they can protest and protest again and again and as loud as they please, and still the wars will take place. Because the peoples are powerless,—powerless in every European State; powerless against a mere handful of princes and statesmen, because powerless against the organised legions of trained cut-throats; because the peoples are not yet freed from national prejudices and national hatreds; and because the peoples have yet to learn the principle of human solidarity, the brotherhood of the human race.

Yes, while the peoples tolerate princes, peers, and statesmen; while they are content to be divided into empires, kingdoms, and municipalities, they must ever remain powerless, the victims of a thousand tyrannies, crushed to the earth by a thousand oppressions. The wars we cannot prevent, but we can prepare for the revolutions which are sure to follow. We can prepare to aid them, not only by our words, but by our deeds. Let us remember the words of St. Just: "That those who make half revolutions but dig their own graves;" and let us remember also that if the revolution is to be successful it must be universal. We see the reaction everywhere triumphant, despotism everywhere in the ascendant, the tyrant exalted, the worker degraded, and this in the year of grace 1887. After more than eighteen hundred years of preaching and praying under the Christian dispensation, behold Christian Europe one vast military camp. In the midst of all our grand achievements in the arts and sciences, behold the degradation and pauperism of our toiling millions. Yes, the revolution must be universal. Neither Germany, France, or Russia can accomplish a successful revolution. A mere political change may be accomplished, but the revolution that shall ensure the supremacy of labour, that shall place the destinies of the people in the hands of the people; the revolution that shall sweep away both the Church and the State; that shall free Society from tyranny through all its ramifications,

and man from oppression in all the relations of life,—that revolution must be universal if it is to be successful. Let emperors, kings, and princes have their wars, but let the peoples be prepared for the revolution that will follow.

J. SKETCHLEY.

SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

CHAPTER XV.—SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM—KARL MARX.

THE foregoing chapters on modern Socialists may be regarded as leading up to the full development of the complete Socialist theory, or as it is sometimes called, "scientific" Socialism. The great exponent of this theory, and the author of the most thorough criticism of the capitalistic system of production, is the late Dr. Karl Marx.

He was born in 1818 at Treves, his father being a baptised Jew holding an official position in that city. He studied for the law in the University of Bonn, passing his examination with high honours in 1840. In 1843 he married Jenny von Westphalen, sister of the well-known Prussian statesman of that name. Philosophy and political economy, with especial reference to the great social problems of the age, were his special studies on leaving the university. These studies led him towards Socialism, the result of which was that he felt compelled to decline the offer of an important government post. About this time he left Treves for Paris, where he became co-editor with Arnold Ruge of the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*; and he also edited the Socialist journal *Vorwärts*; but in less than a twelvemonth he was compelled to leave France for Brussels. In March 1848 he was driven from Belgium and fled to Cologne, where the revolutionary ferment was at its height. He at once undertook the editorship of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, the leading revolutionary journal, which was suppressed on the collapse of the revolutionary movement in 1849.

We should mention that in 1847, in conjunction with his life-long friend, Frederic Engels, he put forward the celebrated 'Communist Manifesto,' which subsequently served as the basis of the International Association.

After 1849 he went to Paris again, where he remained but a short time, and then left France for London, remaining there with brief intermissions till his death, which took place in the spring of 1883.

The principal part he took in political action during his sojourn in England was the organization of the International Association.

The most important among his works besides 'Das Kapital' are 'Die Heilige Familie,' written in conjunction with Frederic Engels; the 'Misere de la Philosophie,' the answer to Proudhon mentioned in our last article; '18 Brumaire,' an anti-Napoleonic pamphlet; and 'Zur Kritik der Politischen Economic,' which laid the foundation for his great work 'Das Kapital.'

The importance of this latter work makes it necessary for us to indicate the contents of the principal chapters, so as to form a brief sketch of the Socialist economy.¹

Part I. deals with Commodities and Money. The first chapter defines a commodity. A commodity according to Marx is briefly expressed as a socially useful product of labour which stands in relation to other similar useful products of labour. The *value* of such a commodity is primarily the amount of necessary social labour contained in it: that is to say, the average amount of labour carried through a certain portion of time necessary to its production in a given state of society. The young student must take special note that when Marx uses the word *value* by itself it is always used in this sense; i.e., to put it in a shorter form, as embodied average human labour. The term Use-value explains itself. Exchange-value means the relation of one commodity to another or to all others. The ultimate issue of the various expressions of Value is the money form: but in the words of Marx, the step to the money-form "consists in this alone, that the character of direct and universal exchangeability—in other words, that the universal equivalent form—has now by social custom become identified with the substance gold."

The second chapter deals with Exchange. Exchange, says Marx, presupposes guardians or owners of commodities, since these cannot go to market of themselves. A commodity possesses for the owner no use-value where he seeks to exchange it: if it did, he would not seek to exchange it. "All commodities," says Marx, "are non-use values for their owners and use values for their non-owners. Consequently they must all change hands. But this change of hands is what constitutes their exchange, and the latter puts them in relation with each other as *values*, and realises them as *values*. Hence commodities must be realised as *values* before they can be realised as use-values."

Commodities, then, find their universal value represented by one commodity from among them, which has in itself no use-value unless it be that of representing or of symbolising the abstract quality of value.

Chapter III. deals with the circulation of commodities under the money form. Here Marx very justly observes: "It is because all commodities as values are realised human labour, and therefore commensurable, that their values can be measured by one and the same special commodity, and the latter be converted into the common measure of their values—i.e., into money. Money as a measure of value is the phenomenal form that must of necessity be assumed by that measure of *value* which is immanent in commodities, labour time."

¹ We must remind the reader that we do not profess to offer more than some hints to the student of Marx. Anything approaching to an abstract of 'Das Kapital' would take up space far beyond the limits of the present little work.

This long and important chapter proceeds to discuss the theory of circulating money or of currency at considerable length and in great detail. The subject is one of such importance and with respect to which so many fallacies are afloat, that we propose to devote our next article to an exposition of its leading features.

E. BELFORT BAX AND WILLIAM MORRIS.

THE CRIMINAL CLASSES OF THE FUTURE.

A RETROSPECT AND A PROSPECT.

(Concluded from p. 58).

It was ludicrous in the extreme to witness the impotent rage of the "respectables" as they were one after the other passed from the Court on to scenes of really useful labour or condemned to the same penal discipline that in the hour of their triumph they had inflicted upon their fellow-creatures. One or two languid swells whose speech had hitherto been made up of painfully aspirated "aitches," said that, "weally you know," it was quite a change. And in time they became Men instead of the rapid prigs they had previously been. It was also curious to see the unbounded indignation of titled and untitled persons whose precious dignity was infringed upon by the "low fellows" who had charge of them. Scandalous! infamous! they exclaimed. There was in truth wailing and weeping over the tasks they had sentenced others to but now had to perform themselves.

Outrageous as this treatment seemed to be to these handlers of other people's rights and possessions, yet it had been mercifully adopted as an alternative to a policy of extirpation advocated by the more enraged of the revolutionists.

The true spirit of the revolution was not displayed in these acts, but was a policy imposed upon it as a matter of self-preservation. It had however, the effect of softening many who with loud-mouthed persistency had under the old régime advocated these forms of punishment for the poor. The fellow-feeling which Shakspeare has said makes us wondrous kind, was born of the actual experience of the lot to which so many thousands of the now emancipated labourers had been condemned.

Many gave in their adhesion to the new order, and were at once set free to take part in the reorganisation going on outside. A large number were obliged to commence life *de novo*, for none of their previous nefarious occupations were left to them. All forms of usury and profit-mongering were abolished. The land had long since been declared common property, and was being cultivated by the free communities established in the smiling shires of old England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. These *ci-devant* stockjobbers, landlords, rent-mongers, and usurers, formed, in short, the army of useless mouths in the new order of things.

No recruits came from this quarter to the literary, cultured class; but from the ranks of labour, freed from the benumbing process of their rent and profit getting, were reverent students of the knowledge thrown free and open to all. The brain-worker, no longer forced to sell his work in a commercial market, met with full recognition at the hands of the communities to whose refinement and pleasure he contributed; and in no instance was there a desire shown to exact excessive tribute from the communes because of varied or singular capacity.

Inventions from practical workmen were also applied to the most laborious and repugnant tasks; and this class of labour, whilst being equally rewarded, was reduced to a minimum.

The marvellous changes wrought in the capital completely transformed it. Its hideous suburbs, the houses of the smug legal cheats, disappeared and gave place to pleasure resorts. In the centre, the monuments of cant and greed, the monstrous barracks erected by five-per-cent. philanthropists in which to herd a landless, rack-rented population, were levelled amid general acclamation. It is reported that an old, very old man, by name Alderman Lowwater, stood by and wrung his hands at the overthrow of his pet schemes for regenerating mankind and pocketing a profit as well.

The monuments of nonentities and scoundrels that obstructed and disfigured the public places were removed, with other road rubbish, and in their stead arose monuments to the heroes and heroines whose labours in science, art, and letters had liberalised thought and paved the way for the glorious and beneficial change. Applied mechanical science reduced the working day for necessities to the limit assigned it by Hoyle some years before—viz., 1½ hours per diem. Labour rendered attractive by free selection and pleasant environment, with utility as its sole impetus, produced marvellous results, that stood out in bold contrast to the shoddy goods thrown upon the markets by half-starved workers driven by the twin scourges of greed and fear to exhausting toil. No less remarkable was the change wrought in the features and comportment of the people. Freed from cankering care and the fear of starvation and punishment, their manners and looks became more in accord with their happy and free state, but the marks of the fell system so recently destroyed would take a long time to finally obliterate. And as time went on, the younger children came into the colleges and academies; they listened with wonder to the record of how in the past times idlers were rewarded with wealth and honours, whilst the producers endured cold, hunger, and insult; how they had rattled their own chains and been pleased with the music, and echoed the shibboleths of their masters; how wholesale butchers of their kind were belauded and decorated, whilst merit and invention served only to increase the

gains of low cunning commercial gamblers, and moreover allowed that every additional power over the forces of nature tended but to increase their misery. With the aid of models and diagrams the filth, squalor, and crime of the past was illustrated to their amazed gaze; and whilst they uttered joyful thanks that their lot was cast on pleasant lines, where neither thief, pauper, idler, or prostitute existed, they gave a mental tribute of praise to the memories of those who had laboured for the Cause "ere the toil of strife and battle overthrew the curse of Gold."

F. KIRZ.

LITERARY NOTICES.

'Anarchy' (Eau Claire Book Co., Eau Claire, Wis., U.S., post paid 25 cents) is an admirable pamphlet, by C. L. James, the "Socialist Alderman", son of C. P. R. James the novelist. It shows wide reading and intelligent appreciation of the subject, and is worth careful perusal.

In the *Bombay Gazette* of Jan. 21, our comrade D. Gostling has an admirable letter on "the growth of Socialism," with an account, also, of the Henry George contest in New York. This is a concession by an important journal to the growing interest taken in our cause in India.

Articles of interest to Socialists:—*Nineteenth Century*: "Notes and Queries on the Irish Question," W. E. Gladstone; "Scientific and Pseudo-Scientific Realism," Professor Huxley; "The Scientific Bases of Anarchy," Peter Kropotkin.

'The Irish National League Leaflets' (Irish Parliamentary Offices, Palace Chambers, S.W.; 4d. per 100, post free) are a well-written and instructive series, well worthy of circulation among people who are ignorant of the "reasoned enthusiasm" that animates the Irish people in their struggle for freedom.

'An Irish Judge on the Irish Question' (Irish Press Agency, 25, Parliament Street, 1d.) is a reprint of Mr. Baron Fletcher's charge to the County Wexford grand jury in 1814, with introduction by John J. Clancy, M.A., M.P. Coming from a judge of Baron Fletcher's standing, who, it is needless to say was neither a Catholic nor a Nationalist, the deliverance will be found to be one of the most remarkable exposures on record of the infamous oppression to which the mass of the people of Ireland have been subjected under the Union, by the propertied class and the partisans of "law and order." From the same Agency may be procured also the following pamphlets at 1d. each, all of which are worth perusal: 'The Home Rule Question,' by Mr. Sexton, M.P.; 'Facts for Mr. Parnell's Bill,' by John Dillon, M.P.; 'The Treatment of Minorities in Ireland,' by Charles Dawson, Ex-Lord Mayor of Dublin; 'The Orange Bogey,' by John J. Clancy, M.A., M.P.

'The Economic Problem of the Unemployed' is a pamphlet by William Westgarth, Member of the Council of the London Chamber of Commerce, which traces the whole of the evils, such as depression of trade and want of employment, to the "appreciation" of gold, and also lays down a plan of municipal improvements to be carried out with the wealth arising from "natural" or "unearned" increment. If Mr. Westgarth will examine the subject further he will find that, be the medium what it may, commercial competitive exchange can but fulfil its inevitable conditions, and that social use of "natural" increment would swiftly lead to social use of much else, were his suggestion capable of being carried out under the present system—which it is not!—S.

To those who read French and are interested in the genuine Anarchist view of the future Society, we should recommend a series of articles by Peter Kropotkin, which have appeared more or less regularly in the *Révolution* for the past year. These papers, which deal with questions which will arise after the Revolution, must be highly interesting to all Socialists, although many may not agree with the writer's point of view or his suggestions for meeting the economic difficulties which will face us (or our descendants) in the future. Still these suggestions, according to him, resolve themselves into a simple form enough, the revolutionists, namely, taking to themselves all goods, all dwellings, factories, and so forth, and taking care that no works for the manufacture of life-necessaries are suspended, and that circulation of goods is maintained throughout all countries. As he says, our adversaries will discuss these difficulties of the future, being much more fearful about them than we ourselves; we, standing so far without the threshold, can but inadequately deal with the same, and it is unwise therefore to enter too much into details, but that these difficulties will be met successfully in the time to come, there is no reason to doubt. As the writer says: "We are persuaded that when the people put themselves to the work, they will find out how to organise themselves infinitely better than we can now predict of them." Among the articles, I may mention especially those on "Les Prisons" and those on "Les Denrées" (Victuals). In short, we hope that these series will be re-published in pamphlet form (perhaps translated); for the discussion of the conduct of the Revolutionists "the day after" cannot fail to be interesting and useful.—M. M.

Bread-and-water Beecher auctioned off his church pews Sunday for 27,000 dols. Beecher hates an eight-hour man, and thinks the standing army should be brought back from the Indian frontier and used to shoot working-men who cannot buy pews in his church.—*Knights of Labor*.

In reply to a question in the House of Commons the other day as to whether the British Government had sent any expression of sympathy to the Italian Government on account of "the disaster which had fallen on the Italian arms at Massowah," Sir J. Fergusson said: "It would be unsuitable to offer to a great military Power an expression of sympathy on account of such an accident. We ourselves should not like, in similar circumstances, to have the loss of a detachment, which can easily be replaced, treated as a considerable disaster. The Italian Government, with whom we have so many interests in common, are well aware that they may count upon the friendly offices of her Majesty's Government." Mark the cold-blooded way in which Sir J. Fergusson speaks of the slaughter of 500 human beings. They can so easily be replaced by 500 more Italian slaves, and should these get their throats cut, or die of disease, they can as easily be replaced by 500 more. The only inconvenience to the Italian Government is the cost of transport and the loss of kit and war materials, as unfortunately, these poor devils who were killed, and who can so easily be replaced, had their uniforms and accoutrements on at the time of their death. It costs money to replace these. Compare the indifferent way that our politicians speak of the death of 500 men with the maudlin stuff that is spoken when they have to announce the death of one of their own political cronies.—H. S.



"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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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

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

CH. BAGGIO (Carvin, Pas de Calais).—We thank you for pamphlet to hand, and shall be glad to receive following numbers as they appear.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday February 23.

ENGLAND		
Justice	John Swinton's Paper	Liege—L'Avenir
Jus	Truthseeker	Antwerp—De Werker
Norwich—Daylight	Boston—Woman's Journal	SWITZERLAND
Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung	Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
Cotton Factory Times	Springfield (Ill.)—Voice of Labor	ITALY
Glasgow—Pioneer	Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Worker's Friend	Knights of Labor	Turin—Il Muratore
Croydon Echo	New Haven (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate	SPAIN
Financial Reformer	Philadelphia (Pa.)—Carpenter	Madrid—El Socialista
Nottingham Evening News	Cincinnati (O.) Unionist	Barcelona—Acracia
INDIA	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	PORTUGAL
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Detroit (Mich.)—Labor Leaf	Voz do Operario
Allahabad—People's Budget	St. Louis (Mo.)—American Celt	Oporto—A Ferrola
Bombay—Times of India	FRANCE	ROMANIA
Voice of India	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Jassy—Lupta
Bombay Gazette	La Revue Socialiste	DENMARK
SOUTH AUSTRALIA	Le Revolte	Social-Demokraten
Adelaide—Our Commonwealth	Guise—Le Devoir	SWEDEN
CANADA	Lille—Le Travailleur	Social-Demokraten
Toronto—Labor Reformer	HOLLAND	NORWAY
UNITED STATES	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Kristiania—Social-Democraten
New York—Volkszeitung	BELGIUM	GREECE
Der Sozialist	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde	Athens—Ardin

FIGHTING FOR PEACE.

OUR contemporary, the *Cotton Factory Times*, has an article on the Lanarkshire riots and the position of the men there which is worth noting, as showing the kind of prejudices and superstitions which will have to be removed from the minds of the workers before they can attain to that complete union and perception of the interests of labour by which alone they can meet the organization of capital on equal terms: and this is the more worth noting, as the *Cotton Factory Times* is an excellent paper, and really devoted, according to its lights, to the interests of labour.

Our contemporary does not seem to have understood the meaning of these riots, or the necessities of the men who made them. They were distinctly hunger-riots, that is to say the expression of the despair of men driven into a corner, dying by inches of starvation: and we may be sure that such events will, at the rate we are now going, become common and increase in misery and terror, unless the workers become conscious of their present position and its remedy: their position being to speak plainly that they have to pay the piper in the game of cut-throat competition played by their masters, who are themselves forced by the rules of the game to force their men to accept the very lowest wages possible. The result of this famine-test of wages (for that is what it is) must be such misery as we now see in Lanarkshire coupled from time to time with the incident of open revolt: the riots of the other day are a hint to the masters that the wages they now offer are impossible of acceptance.

Surely our contemporary if it had known all the circumstance would scarcely have blamed the miners for not making provision for a rainy day. Alas! it is always a rainy day with these poor people, unless when it is worse; a life of days like the three in the ballad:

"The first day it was wind and weet,
The nexten day it was fire and sleet;
The third day it was birley-banes,
Knocked the little birds' nebs against the stanes."

But what provision can be made against "birley-banes" when even the better days are so bitter?

Here are some questions for our contemporary: How much is it possible to save out of a (precarious) income of 12s. 6d. a week? If it be possible to save anything out of such a pittance without being

actually starved to death, why should a man be put to such torture and degradation as this saving involves, when we all know that he actually produces more than enough to keep him in comfort, unless his labour be utterly wasted? Again, can the getting of coal be carried on gainfully in Lanarkshire? If it cannot, why is it carried on? And if there is a due gain in it, why are the getters starved?

These are the kind of questions which the working-men who profess to be organised must ask and have answered if their organisation is to be of any use: they must not fight against capitalism blindly, as they mostly do now, but be conscious of the nature of the fight, and especially must have a definite aim to end it. Our contemporary is very far from this. He says, e.g.: "A fair stand-up fight between capital and labour with no striking below the belt frightens no one. The best men win, after which both sides can be as friendly as before, with no bitter memories to cherish."

Well, well, if I had but 12s. 6d. a week as the "reward" of hard and repulsive labour, I think I might be bitter without drawing on the resources of "memory." But in fact the fight between capital and labour on the Lanarkshire terms i.e., the capitalist with his money resources to stand by on, and the miner with the three choices of 12s. 6d. a week, death, and the workhouse, is about as fair (if we are to keep up the metaphor of the ring) as the champion against a London errand boy. And again, the writer speaks cheerfully of these "fair" fights; can he possibly think that a condition of industry to which they are necessary (and frequent) incidents can be a stable one? These "fair fights" are but incidents, skirmishes, or battles in the continuous war on which all industrial society is founded at present. Like all other wars it must one day come to an end by the exhaustion of one or other of the combatants: either the workman must be subjugated into a hopeless slave, receiving such housing, clothing, and rations as it may be convenient for his master to give him (and for that matter it could not be less than the "reward" of a Lanarkshire miner), or the capitalist must disappear altogether, and his privilege of usury be a thing of the past; and that whether he be the boss of a big business, or a small shareholder in a "co-operative" store.

Now I will ask our trades' union friends which of the two results of the struggle they are fighting for? They have no choice, it must be one or the other, or indeed is there a choice even between those two results? Is not the final subjugation of the workman impossible? Even now, even when the strikers are least conscious of it, their limited and local fight is really, as I have said, a part of the great labour war: but when they do become conscious of what the end of that war is, to wit, the abolition of private property in the means of production, the inequality between the two combatants will be no longer against them, but against their masters, and the war will soon be over. On the other hand, although the end must come, yet if the workers remain unconscious of what they are striving for, it will probably be long delayed through a period fertile of misery and degradation to the workman, and terror and degradation to the master, and will be brought about at last by the mere break up and ruin of our capitalistic system involving inconceivable horrors of starvation, aimless violence, repression, and revenge.

The choice of these two alternatives gives the reason why sober, thoughtful, and peaceable men, even when they themselves are not pinched by the present system, when they have once learned the economic truths of Socialism are so eager in the Revolutionist propaganda: it is for peace they are working, not war.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

SOCIALISM IN THE PROVINCES.

THE chainmakers of Walsall and Cradley Heath are about the hardest worked and the poorest paid slaves in this country. A strong man, working 10 to 12 hours a day, may average ten shillings a week, and out of this he must buy fuel for his little forge. The development of machinery has scarcely affected this trade at all. Chains are still made by hand, and it is unlikely that machinery will be introduced. When human machines are so cheap and so servile, it will not pay the capitalist to hire an inventor. The work is monotonous and disagreeable, and in a social system organised in the interests of the people, efforts would be made to design machinery, but as under the present system machines are brought out not to do away with disagreeable or degrading labour, but simply to cheapen the cost of production to the capitalists, there is no early likelihood of such attempts being made. Then women and children can help and compete in various ways, and hence the smallness of the husband and father's wage.

There was no time to call a large meeting, so a few of the leaders of the chainmakers got together and I explained Socialism to them. There was no difficulty in getting them to understand it. They were very quick-witted, and what was more surprising and satisfactory, very broad in their sympathies. They are now trying to start a co-operative productive society, which will be as near to genuine as can be under the present system. I advised them to carry out the project if it would better their position in the present society, but I also pointed out the difficulties which would crop up even after they had beaten the immediate employers. Their employers are really only agents or dealers. They furnish the iron, while the tools and coal are furnished by each worker. The employers in their case therefore are the smallest difficulty in the way. It is the innumerable rings of dealers through whose hands the wares pass before reaching the user that are the greatest burden to the chainmakers. It was very encouraging to see how readily these men (who might surely have been excused had they

been narrow minded) grasped the truth that no one section trade of workers can gain much in struggling for its own particular interests, and that all must unite in the effort for their common emancipation.

At Nottingham the Socialist agitation is not in a very satisfactory condition. At one time there were three branches of a Socialist party there, with a heavy membership, and the town was spasmodically agitated for a few months. When this spirit of propaganda died away the place was quite neglected and the local organisations dwindled down in consequence. There is plenty of Socialist feeling in the town, but the disorganised and dilatory way in which the propaganda has been conducted, has estranged this feeling from the Socialist bodies. The cause of this state of affairs is, in my opinion, that from the first the movement had too much politics and too little Socialism in it. The social and economic aspect of the propaganda was over-shadowed by the political: the result being that a very superficial and spurious kind of Socialism was spread abroad, that died out when the election heat cooled off.

From Nottingham I went to Sheffield, where a crowded and successful meeting was held. Next week I shall give an account of the Sheffield Socialists, as it will come appropriately with a report of the opening of their new premises which takes place to-night.

Clay Cross is a slaves den of the most deplorable kind, and there, as to all the mining districts the message of Socialism is most needed. Mr. Haslam, Secretary of the Derbyshire Miners' Association, kindly arranged the meeting, which was addressed by Edward Carpenter and myself. The room was crowded with men whose appearance spoke plainly of hard working and poor faring. Although this was the first Socialist meeting held at Clay Cross the men were very attentive and eager, and seemed to grasp the points very quickly. After the meeting the general expression was that the Socialists had just been saying what they for a long time had been thinking. Arrangements have been made for carrying on a series of meetings at Clay Cross. Comrades Carpenter, Peach, and Besant, are expected to deliver Socialist lectures there in the course of the next few weeks.

What have I done to gain Mr. Bradlaugh's special good-will? He grants my sanity—a favour extended to few of the people from whom he differs. The extract which Mr. Bradlaugh quotes, and which seems to have aroused his patriotic ire, is a correct report of what I said, and is, after all, a well-known commonplace of the Socialist movement. Mr. Bradlaugh is a very careful man, and if he is going to defend the Empire as well as the "rights of property," I hope he will distinguish clearly between his Patriotism and Jingoism. Mr. Bradlaugh's habit of quoting part of what his opponents say leads to misunderstanding. I did not say merely that Mr. Bradlaugh was losing his popularity. I said that, in my opinion, he was losing popularity among the working-class. On the whole I should say Mr. Bradlaugh is getting more popular than ever, and that what he loses in the opinion of the working-class he gains ten times over in that of the middle-class. Since Mr. Bradlaugh became the capitalists' advocate, the bourgeois breast is filled with gratitude to him, and all manner of well-to-do-people—from shop-keepers to Whig Statesmen—yearn to do him honour. The English middle-class, well known for its meanness and want of backbone, is a bit surprised (as most people are) to find such a defender from among the Democrats, and is perhaps a little suspicious that he will not stick to them—let us hope there is reason for the suspicion. I don't, in the least, wish to say that Mr. Bradlaugh is consciously going against the people, but that his fierce and enthusiastic defence of the propertied class, which at present is overshadowing his work for the people, is rapidly getting him the reputation of a respectable Whig.

J. L. MAHON.

February 21.

SOCIALISM IN SCOTLAND.

It is gratifying to be able to state that the adherents of Socialism are increasing even more rapidly in Scotland than in England. It has long been the custom of our journalists to praise the superior intelligence of the Scotch and their great caution, and in this I believe them right, and can see no stronger proof of the truth of the statement than in the striking progress of the Socialist movement there. Four years ago there existed a considerable number of Socialists in Edinburgh and Glasgow, but all of them isolated, not knowing one another, or even being aware that they had any comrades in their neighbourhood; now some of the strongest branches of the Socialist League and of the S. D. F. are to be found in Scotland.

In Edinburgh, which is the most bourgeois town perhaps in Britain, we are able to get our halls filled Sunday after Sunday by the very best class of workmen. You have simply to look at the faces of the audiences and it becomes apparent that these men are not to be trifled with. They mean business, and now that they are convinced of the necessity of expropriating their exploiters, no power on earth will turn them from their purpose. The rapid spread of our doctrines has resulted in a number of men being put up by the exploiters to defend their case. Mr. Flint, a professor in the faculty of Theology in Edinburgh, is the latest opponent of progressive ideas. Mr. Flint is a learned man, but unfortunately his studies do not seem to have quickened his apprehension. The ludicrous blunders he makes when describing what he supposes to be Socialism drive us to the conclusion that much learning has made him mad. Mr. Flint has still another lecture to deliver, and I would advise him to postpone its

delivery for six months. He might take a month's holiday to draw his wits together, and devote the other five months to the study of Socialist literature. He might then be able to make a more intelligent appearance and so retrieve his position.

We learn that the Scotch branches are about to start a monthly journal to deal more effectively with local matters.

In Glasgow our branch has been particularly active. It has not confined itself to the city, but has gone into the country and distributed literature and delivered addresses. The adherents in the country districts around Glasgow are to be counted by the thousand. In the city the regular course of lectures is well attended by audiences composed of workmen and many of the middle-classes. Glasgow is not so prosperous now as it was a few years ago, and the middle-classes are beginning to see that there is truth in the statement that wealth is becoming more and more concentrated into the hands of the few. In Glasgow University we have many adherents to the cause. The intellectual proletariat is greater in Scotland than in any country outside of Germany, and they are becoming keenly alive to the fact that their position is practically identical with that of the artisans and labourers, and that therefore they should make common cause with them. At present the attention of the Scotch people is directed to the revolt of the miners; and it is satisfactory to know that the present agitation and revolt is due largely to the Socialist propaganda.

As will be seen from the reports under the head of "The Labour Struggle" in another column, the Scottish miner, after various deductions have been made, has only about 10s. a-week to feed and clothe himself and family. He gets on the average 9d. for each ton of cheap coal and 13d. per ton for best coal. Where does the difference go between the 13d. a ton the miner gets and the 16s. to 18s. the people pay in Glasgow for it? Allow 2s. per ton for cost of transport to the people's doors, and you still find about 13s. per ton of plunder to be divided amongst royalty owner, mining company, railway shareholders, commission-agents, etc. Is not the miner justified in doing all in his power to alter this state of affairs? Let us do all in our power to help them in their struggle. There are at present 41,000 miners idle in the west of Scotland alone. The east coast miners have also resolved to come out. The advance demanded is 6d. a day, a mere fleabite to the coal-owners; but these greedy vampires have pretty large stocks of rubbish on hand, which they want cleared out, and this they are now able to do at a handsome profit. The hunger-riots of the poor men and women, goaded into madness by the misery of their condition and the insult and oppression to which they have been subjected, are commented on elsewhere. What the police call "order" is now restored, which means that the miners are now starving quietly in the midst of plenty. This quiet starvation is liable at any moment to break into more riot, and so the military are still on the spot, with orders if necessary to shoot down those brave miners whose lives are daily risked in procuring the means by which their very swords and bayonets are fashioned, as well as the fire that cooks their daily rations. There is little doubt, however, that even the soldiers and police are beginning to see that the social question concerns them no less than their brothers in the field, the factory, and the mine. Meanwhile at any rate the workers throughout the country should sustain and encourage their comrades in Lanarkshire in their struggle. Their cause is our cause. An injury to one is the concern of all.

A. K. DONALD.

Scotch Miners' Fund.

Collected on Feb. 20, at Hyde Park, St. Pancras Arches, Hammersmith Club, and Regent's Park (per comrade Cantwell), £1 17s. 4d. Further subscriptions will be received by A. K. Donald, 122, Mercers Road, N., or J. Bruce Glasier, 84, John Street, Glasgow.

FROM THE HOUSE OF BONDAGE.

House of Commons, Feb. 18, 1877.

"Weep with me, all ye that read this little story, and know for those for whom I bleed death's self is sorry." That is to say, that after the able speech of Mr. Arthur O'Connor on the Amendment, that the condition of the Poor needed enquiry, the People's House of Commons promptly negatived the wicked proposal by two hundred and fifty or so to twenty. Surely it is time for Hob the miller to be getting his mill into order to "grind small, small." But in the meantime let every one throw his cap into the air and shout "Thank God we have a High Court of Parliament." M.P.

STRIKE COMMITTEE.

P. Webb, 2s.; E. Pope, 6d.; W. M., 1s.

T. BINNING, Treasurer.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Bloomsbury Branch (weekly), 5s.; Hammersmith Branch (weekly), 10s.; E. B. B. (two weeks), 2s.; W. B. (two weeks), 1s.

PH. W., Treasurer, Feb. 22.

THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

Already acknowledged, £13, 2s. 4d. Fabian Society (weekly) per Annie Besant, for Feb. 12th, 10s.; Miss Emily Guest, 5s.; Walkden, 10s.; Arthur, 6d.; Carruthers, £5; Glasgow Branch (weekly), for Feb. 5th, 12th, 19th, 6s.; C. P., 5s.; S. D. F., Edinburgh Branch, 10s. 9d.; Fabian Society, per Annie Besant, for Feb. 19, 10s.; G. D. Lawie, 2s. 6d.; Bradford Branch S. L., 5s.; J. R. W., 10s.; H. H. B., 10s.; S. G. F., 2s.; C. F., 1s.; C. W. J., 2s.; Walham Green, 2s. 6d.—Total, £22, 14s. 7d. J. LANE, Treasurer.

A Provincial Propagandist Tour.—Comrade Mahon's engagements in the provinces are: Feb. 27, 28, and March 1, Hull; 2, Newcastle. Mahon will be glad to hear from any persons willing to arrange meetings at York, Middlebro', Shields, or Yarmouth.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

This department is under the direction of the Strike Committee. Labour News and Contributions to the Fund should be sent to T. BINNING, at the Offices.

NORTHUMBERLAND MINERS.—There are no signs as yet of the termination of the miners' strike, the men being resolved upon holding out. The comrade who was sent down by the Strike Committee has interviewed most of the local secretaries and other prominent men in the labour movement. He reports a very cordial appreciation of the League's efforts on behalf of the workers and ready assistance in obtaining information. Several meetings have been addressed by him, and he has found a ready acceptance of our doctrines by the men. Much bitterness of feeling exists between the contending parties, as the men are becoming increasingly conscious of the injustice of their exploiters, who in their turn are enraged and alarmed at the growing insubordination of their "hands." Agitation both from without and within has produced an enormous effect, of which a curious proof has been furnished by Mr. Burt's recent action.

NOTTINGHAM—STRIKE OF ENGINEERS AND MOULDERS AT BLOOMSGROVE.—Two or three weeks ago Messrs. Manlove, Alliott, and Co., Nottingham, intimidated through their foremen to their men employed at the Blooms Grove Works that they desired them to accede to a reduction of 2s. on their weekly earning of 34s., the reason assigned being the depression in trade and keen competition. The committee of workmen met to consider the question, and sent a deputation to the head manager (Mr. Paton) for the purpose of talking the matter over with him. The deputation was courteously received, and the matter was fully discussed, but with the result that the firm could not see its way to make any concession, neither could the men accept any reduction, as the wage they were receiving was not more than the average wage paid throughout the district. As a result the firm did not enforce the reduction, but twenty-four men were discharged, all of them society men. The reason alleged for the dismissal was slackness of work. The men raised the question why, if the reduction of hands was only owing to slackness of work, only society men should have been selected for discharge. The executives of the trades' unions interested (the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, the Steam Engine Makers' Society, and the Moulders' Society) took the matter up, and after a full and careful inquiry into the whole matter, resolved to withdraw the remaining members of their societies from the workshops of the firm. A committee has been formed to look after the interests of the men, who have the sympathy and support of their fellow unionists. A hand-bill setting forth the circumstances of the case has been issued, and subscriptions can be sent to the committee at the "George and Dragon," Chapel Bar, where the committee will attend each Saturday from 6 to 8 p.m.

THE SCOTTISH MINERS' STRIKE.

The strike in Lanarkshire enters its fifth week, and there is every sign of its continuation. In some collieries the advance demanded has been conceded, the miners returning to work. These collieries are those not connected with the Mine Owners' Association. It has been resolved that the Fife and Ayrshire miners should come out and join issue with the Lanarkshire and Stirlingshire men. The miners of the Irvine district also intend to join the movement unless an advance is made. The utmost unanimity prevails.

At the Summary Court at Lanark, about a dozen men have been fined from £2 to £5 for breach of the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act. The offence was "picketing."

Forty-nine men have been committed for trial for the riots at Blantyre.

The *Glasgow Mail* of the 19th says: "Again and again the coalmasters have been called upon to justify their refusal to give the moderate advance of sixpence a day, which the men demanded. This advance did not amount on an average to more than twopence a ton on the coal raised, and yet, short as has been the stoppage placed upon the output, the price of coal on the market has advanced six and seven shillings a ton."

The following shows what the miner goes underground for:—"Working five days in the week, at 3s. per day, his gross earnings amounted per week to 15s. From this the following deductions were made: Rent, 2s.; coal, 1s. 2d.; powder, 6d.; lamps, 5d.; pick sharpening, 3d.; check weighman, 3d.; doctor, 3d.; tools, 3d.; funeral society, 3d.; sick society, 3d.; school fees, 2d.; union, 2d.; total, 5s. 11d.; net earnings, 9s. 1d."

The *Glasgow Mail* is not a Socialist newspaper, and only asks in "common justice" that the demands of the miners shall be granted. It continues: "What is this pittance, we would ask, upon which a working-man is expected to maintain himself, and probably a wife and children? Granting that food is cheap, how can body and soul be kept together, and the men expected to toil in the bowels of the earth at one of the most laborious and dangerous of occupations? The mere statement of the case is sufficient to condemn the employers." Speaking of the shifts and tricks adopted by the masters to wring more profit out of the men, the editor says: "Some employers, for example, are in the habit of insisting upon 22½ cwt. of coal from their miners instead of 20 cwt. when reckoning their wages by the ton. . . . Again, scandalous injustice is sometimes dealt out to a miner under a system of forfeiture for dirt or foreign material sent up in a hutch. A man may work hard an entire day under this system, and at the end of it find that his labour has been nearly all forfeited." This rejected coal, which is absolutely stolen from the miners, is now being sold at a good price. Yet, while the coal-winners wear out their lives in the unwholesome mine for the miserable pittance of 12s. or 15s. per week, the Duke of Hamilton is permitted to levy black-mail in rents and royalties to the tune of £122,000. But the day of deliverance is drawing near. These men and women having once grasped the truths of Socialism will not be satisfied with a rise of 6d. a day on their wages, or even with the abolition of royalties, but will make common cause with all the workers in getting rid of all the idlers and extortionate so-called "organisers of labour."

The Fife and Clackmannan coalmasters and miners held a conference at Dunfermline last Saturday, the men having threatened to strike unless an advance of 15 per cent. was granted. The discussion lasted five hours, the masters first offering an advance of 7½ per cent., then of 10 per cent., and finally of 12 per cent., which the men accepted, it being further agreed that work should not be stopped on Monday as threatened. At two large collieries in the Hamilton district the men will to-day (Monday) start work on the understanding that 6d. is to be conceded, they in return giving way on the question of restricting their labour to ten days a fortnight instead of eleven. This is looked upon as likely to lead to the termination of the strike.

The news of this concession has raised the spirits of the Lanarkshire men, and it is certain that if they can hold out a little longer the advance will be given them also. Whatever the immediate result of the present conflict may be, one thing is evident, that the agitation has given quite a new complexion to the labour struggle in Lanarkshire. Subjoined is the substance of a speech delivered a few days ago by our comrade Small, at a mass meeting of the miners, which we feel sure will prove interesting to readers of the *Commonweal*:—"Mr. Small, in supporting the third resolution, said the struggle was not for a paltry 1s. or 6d. per day. It involved far higher and deeper considerations. It was a question as to the right of the men to live, and capital had got the military and police to combine to try to crush the new ideas of the miners. The rising thought of the generation was how did their forefathers work for years and years and died paupers in the workhouse, and yet the men they were working for stole millions and millions of money. The men before him thought their fathers were fools, and were not going to keep by their example. They were determined to share a part of the world's wealth as share for their labours. They had truth, righteousness, and justice on their side, and against these three all the powers of earth would not prevail. Let them continue the struggle, because without doubt before long the victory would be theirs, and instead of being run down by mounted soldiers and batoned by policemen, they would be able to take their position in the barracks and apprehend the employers and the landlords, and drive them off the face of the earth. He wanted to bring back to the miners of Scotland the law of Scotland, which was that the private owners of land were thieves and robbers. The Duke of Hamilton, with his £122,000 a year, was simply taking £11 a year from every miner in the Hamilton district. In the name of God, is that justice? Rise, men, in your strength, and demand that the country give justice to the men that make the wealth. Disperse quietly, men; but until you make up your mind courageously and determine to defy the law, the law will not make any respect for you. The law-makers were the first law-breakers. He was anxious to see the time when soldiers and policemen would obey the democracy of the country rather than the voices of the rotting aristocracy. Agitate, agitate; educate, educate, until they turn the tables of the country, and made the working-men rulers, and put those who robbed them in jail." The speeches of Mr. Small, miners' agent, have of themselves done incalculable good. No more vigorous and truly Socialistic speeches have ever yet emanated in this country from the official of a trades' society.

Socialism has taken root in the minds of thousands, and it will be strange if the Lanarkshire miners do not play an important part in the coming great battle between labour and capital, between the rich and the poor, the plunderers and the plundered.

AMERICA.

A union of hod carriers has been formed at Wichita, Kansas. It is reckoned the membership will be 500 strong by March 1.

The switchmen's strike in Chicago lasted ten hours, and was a complete victory for the men.

ST. LOUIS, Feb. 4.—The employés of Liggett and Myers', and Butler's tobacco factories are pushing the boycott against those firms vigorously. A large amount of their tobacco has already been returned to this city—boycotted.

NEWARK, N. J.—At a meeting of the jewellers' association here, it was decided to join the Knights of Labour in a body, forming a separate district assembly. It will be composed of jewellers, silversmiths and engravers, chain-smiths, watch case makers, and all workers in fancy metals. The association has a membership of about 6,000 persons in the United States.

LORILLARD and Co., tobacco manufacturers, of New Jersey, have thought it well to make terms with their employés. It is really a victory for the workers. There will be no reduction in wages in any department, a five per cent. increase in others, and certain minor grievances will be rectified. The 3,500 employés, 3,000 of whom are girls, stood well together for three weeks.

ATLANTA, GA.—The Knights of Labour here are rejoicing over the victory by the two Sisters Muller. They were saleswomen in Max Katz's dry-goods establishment, who, after being engaged for a year by Katz, were dismissed upon a false pretext. They sued for the year's wages, and their case was taken up by the Knights. The jury gave a verdict for their wages in full, with costs, against Katz. The Knights propose to present a testimonial to the two plucky young sisters, who have rendered a service to a thousand other saleswomen in Atlanta.

NEW YORK, Feb. 21.—An attempt to run the street cars in Cambridge, Massachusetts, yesterday resulted in a riot. A crowd of about two thousand men assembled along the track and wrecked several cars. The police, on attempting to restore order, were stoned and otherwise maltreated. Several arrests, however, were effected. It is stated that the roof of a tenement along the tramway line on the South Boston Road has been converted into a regular arsenal of stones with which the rioters will attack the cars should running by night be recommenced.

NEW YORK.—THE GREAT STRIKE.—Never in the history of industry, of labour organisations of whatever name they may bear, has there been a strike just like the present, and, whatever may be thought of some of the moves, no one, at least no unionist, can help admiring the fraternity which has prompted so many thousands of men to throw away their only chance of earning their daily bread in order that their fellow-labourers, whom they have never seen and of whom they know so little, should receive a few cents more and the organisation of which they are members be recognised. This grand spectacle, let it be remembered, is not participated in only by Knights of Labour. There are thousands who do not belong to that Order that have quit work, and there are hundreds, too, who belonged to no organisation. It may not be wise,—the end will solve that question (and whatever others say we believe it to have been a good thing), this sympathetic striking, which can have no end of possibilities, but it demonstrates to the world that the working-men are ready to sacrifice much for their fellows, that the obligation they have taken is binding and that money cannot induce them to forswear themselves.—*John Swinton's Paper.*

During the present miner's strike in the West of Scotland, and accompanying destitution, a request to come to the worker's terms as to wages was met with the reply, "You have not yet eaten your children." "Grass" for the workers, it will be remembered, was the advice of a certain Frenchman. But this other man is not a miserable vegetarian. On the contrary, he would have the workers increase their standard of comfort by the practice of a sort of new Malthusianism.—G.

TRAMPS.

(ANONYMOUS. Translated by J. L. JOYNES.)

WITH a child on her arm—and in rags—and the trace
Of her tears and her trouble deep-scored on her face—
A woman is standing to beg in the street ;
Sore-distressed is her heart, and sore-weary her feet.

She totters along to the rich man's door ;
He stands on his own soft-carpeted floor ;—
"See, lounging about, as they love to do,
The rascally, idle, beggarly crew !"

"Kind sir, have compassion, and give us bread ;
On a shutter my husband came home to me dead ;
For the terrible cog-wheel had caught him fast,
And his ribs were smashed, and he breathed his last.

"When still he was living, no happier life
Than our's could be found for a man and his wife.
O then we had clothes ; yes, and then we had bread ;
But the terrible cog-wheel—and now he is dead.

"Three little ones fatherless, helpless, forlorn,
And the fourth that ere long will an orphan be born,
All unfriended must struggle with hunger and woe,
And it may be with infamy—what can I know ?

"He was careless, the coroner's jurymen state ;
But the man in your factory met with his fate.
I am helpless and poor, and my husband is dead.
Have compassion, kind sir ; give his little ones bread.

"O think of the winter—'tis now at our door—
And pity the children. You surely have more
Than millions of money, so rich must you be ;
O do not be angry ; take pity on me."

See, the heart of the rich man is touched by her woe ;
To the drawer where his cash-box he keeps does he go,
Gives the woe-begone woman—a guinea !—nay,
He gives her a farthing, and sends her away.

Free Speech in Danger—A Month's Imprisonment.

J. P. Allman, a member of the Socialist League, was charged on Monday before Mr. Hannay at Worship Street Police Court with causing an obstruction by placing a form on Sunday 20th inst. at 8 p.m., at the corner of Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row, Hackney, and addressing a meeting therefrom. The police-constable said that he saw the prisoner standing on a form addressing a "mob o' pipples" of about 150 or 200. Mr. Hannay: "He wasn't preaching from the Gospel?" P. C.: "No, your washup, he was talking Socialism." He went on to say that a neighbour, Mr. White, of the "Goldsmith Arms," had complained of the annoyance. Allman asked him whether he would swear that he was standing on a form on a small four legged stool. Mr. Hannay: "It does not matter what you were standing on. Do you admit standing on a stool in the roadway?" Allman: "Yes." Hannay: "That's sufficient; that was an obstruction." P. C. said he asked prisoner twice to get down and he refused to do so, saying that he intended to do his duty; he was then taken into custody. The road was twenty feet wide. Allman asked him if he saw any carts or passengers obstruct the way. P. C.: "There was no carts, but some passengers found it difficult to pass." Allman: "Are there any present?" P. C.: "None." Allman: "Why didn't you take some names? You failed to do your duty in not doing so." Mr. Hannay, interrupting Allman, who wanted to call witnesses: "There is a law which I can put into force to prevent you calling witnesses. I have the power to decide the case forthwith." Ultimately he allowed H. Graham to be called for the defence—the chairman of the meeting at which the obstruction was caused—who stated that he called on Allman to address the meeting previous to their usual indoor meeting, and that Allman had only spoken two or three minutes when he was arrested. The usher here told Graham that he had said enough. An inspector then interrupted: "This person [Graham] was selling the *Freethinker*." Mr. Hannay said he could not waste the time of the court, and was about to close the case, when Allman pleaded for permission to say a few words in defence. Mr. Hannay: "Oh, you can say what you like, so long as you don't waste the time of the court." Allman pointed out the injustice of the police attacking only Socialists and no one else; and that it was only when a few working men bound themselves together to point out to their fellows how they were robbed that the ruling class put this old law into force. There were hundreds of meetings held every evening, not by Socialists, that really did cause obstruction, that were never interfered with, which showed the partiality of the police. Meetings were held three times a-week by a ranter five yards from where he was arrested for speaking, but the police only looked on. Mr. Hannay, who had several times interrupted, said that he only had to deal with the case before him and not those of other persons who hold meetings, and that a person placing a birdcage on the pathway was causing an obstruction. He here asked the usher whether Allman had offended before. Usher: "Yes, your worship; he was fined 40s. at Dod Street and fined at Stratford—constables are in attendance from both places to prove the previous convictions." Mr. Hannay said under those circumstances he would inflict the full penalty of 40s. or a month. As our comrade Allman specially requested that the fine should not be paid, he is now in Holloway Jail expiating his heinous offence. Before being sent away, some members sent him in a good dinner; and the amount that would otherwise have been paid into the hands of the police will be given to him on his release. The Hackney Branch intend to hold a meeting on Sunday, probably in the Broadway, in order to call attention to this and other difficulties under which Socialists labour in carrying on their propaganda.

JULES VALLES.—The anniversary of the death of Jules Vallès was celebrated at Pere-Lachaise on the 17th inst. Séverine and all the staff and friends of the *Cri du Peuple*, together with representatives of other Socialist groups, assembling in considerable numbers round the tomb of the founder of that journal. Several addresses were delivered over his grave, which was covered with offerings of immortelles and natural flowers.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

Closing of Library.—All members of the Socialist League and others who have borrowed books prior to Monday, February 21st, are earnestly requested to return same to Librarians on or before Monday, March 7th. Members are notified that unless this be complied with, Rule III. (relating to fines) must be enforced, and defaulting members suspended from Library privileges. The Library will be re-opened on Monday, March 21st. (The Librarians will be pleased to acknowledge presents of Socialist books lately published).—LENA WARDLE and WM. BLUNDELL, Librarians.

Lessons in French.—It has been thought advisable to start a class in the French language. Comrade Victor Dave has kindly volunteered his services as teacher. The first lesson will be given on Tuesday, March 1, at 8 p.m. All those desirous of joining the class are requested to send their names to the secretary, H. A. Barker, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.

Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Birmingham, Hackney, Hull, Leeds, North London, to August 31. Manchester, Merton, Norwich, to October 31. Bradford, to November 30. Croydon, Hammersmith, Leicester, South London, to Dec. 31, 1886. Bloomsbury, Clerkenwell, Lancaster, to January 31. Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Oxford, to March 31, 1887.

BRANCH REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—At our business meeting on Friday, Feb. 18th, W. Utley was proposed and seconded to fill the vacant place on the Council caused by the resignation of W. Chambers. A new secretary will be appointed next business meeting.—L. W.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, Feb. 16, Wm. Morris spoke on "Medieval England." He maintained that the feudal serf produced but little to his lord, whereas the modern workman produces for his master a state of luxury of which the old lord of the manor never even dreamed; that the coming change will mean the end of mastery and the triumph of fellowship. A very interesting discussion followed. On Sunday, Feb. 20th, D. Nicoll lectured on "The Charms of Civilisation." Other meetings have been attended during the week by members of this Branch. Literature has sold fairly well.—W. B. and T. E. W., secs.

CROYDON.—On Sunday, February 20th, J. Macdonald lectured on "Socialism from a Workman's Standpoint." He pointed out that although art, literature, music, etc., were good things in themselves, they all sprung from, and were secondary to material well-being. Socialism shows working-men why they are badly off, and indicates the only means whereby they can become better clothed, better housed, etc. For this reason alone, apart from any idealism, Socialism should obtain the allegiance of all workers. The speakers logical exposition and humour were greatly appreciated. Sale of literature and collection good.—A. T. GARRETT and SUMMERSTOWN.

On Tuesday the 15th inst., T. E. Wardle spoke on "Socialism" to a fairly good audience, and was well received. Several questions were satisfactorily answered. Harrison and Gregory carried on the discussion. Several members have been enrolled, but unfortunately we are at present homeless, the police having persistently threatened the publican till he has been forced to deny us meeting any more.—H. HILL, sec.

HACKNEY.—On Saturday last we had a social evening, a large number of members and comrades of the S.D.F. being present. On Sunday morning, at the "Salmon and Ball," H. Davis succeeded in keeping an interested audience together, inclement weather notwithstanding. The evening arrangements were upset by the arrest of our comrade Allman, reported in another column. Received with thanks 1s. 6d. from H. Charles for benefit of Club. The sale of *Commonweal* is increasing. On Wednesday next we open our station in the Broadway, London Fields, and should be glad of speakers to assist.—H. M., sec.

MITCHAM.—At an open-air meeting on Sunday morning at Mitcham Fair Green, comrade Harrison stated result of deputation to Croydon Board of Guardians. They have ordered soup and bread for the men forced by the system around them to pay the penalty of breaking stones, so we have done some good. In the evening in our club-room, comrade Morris lectured to a very large audience on "Monopoly," and met with an enthusiastic reception. Eden, Harrison, Gregory, and others took part in the discussion. We closed as usual with singing. Four new members made.—S. G., sec.

BRADFORD.—On Sunday evening, Feb. 20, J. Mitchell read a paper on "The Basis of Capitalism" at the Royal Oak, Shipley. Two Radical opponents were replied to by T. Maguire and the lecturer. Mahon, who came in from Bingley towards the close, also addressed the meeting.—C. H., sec.

EDINBURGH.—On Sunday morning, Robertson, Baillie, and Rodgers, of the S.D.F., and Tuke walked out to Niddrie. After distributing bills advertising the miners' demonstration to be held next Sunday, and some Socialistic literature, we held a meeting of miners and made a good impression, our audience promising that they would make every effort that the demonstration would be a success.—C. W. T.

GLASGOW.—On Saturday, with the assistance of Hamilton Branch, a meeting of miners was held at the Low Quarries, Hamilton. On Sunday evening, in our Hall, Carlton Place, Glasier lectured on "Socialism in Scottish Song." He showed that the conception of life reflected in our older lyrics was a truly social one, healthy and joyous, and that sentiments of social equality were frequently expressed in them.—J. B. G.

HAMILTON.—A very successful meeting was held on Feb. 17th, in Patons Hall, Chapel Street. Comrade Glasier and Mr. John Barlas, and McCulloch of the S.D.F., delivered stirring addresses, urging the miners present to stand firm and not to rest content with the trivial concession of a 6d. advance on their wages, but to organise for the complete emancipation of labour. On Saturday afternoon, an open-air meeting was held at Low Quarry, when about 1,000 miners were addressed by J. B. Glasier. Little groups of miners afterwards continued to discuss Socialism. A great many handbills have been distributed.—W. M.

HULL.—On Sunday, Feb. 20th, R. Muir lectured on "Land Nationalisation." In the discussion, Teesdale and other speakers showed that the lessening of taxation under the present system did not benefit the workers, but simply enabled the masters to compete more favourably with foreign countries. Nationalisation of the land without the machinery, etc., would still leave us slaves of the capitalists.—J. D., sec.

IPSWICH.—We took the opportunity of a visit from comrade Kitz to hold two outdoor meetings on Sunday, which were well attended. Our comrade gave two very interesting addresses, which were much appreciated. The secretary announced that Annie Besant would lecture in Ipswich on March 9th under the auspices of the Branch, the subject being, "What Socialism is." A lot of literature was distributed.—C. R.

NORWICH.—On Sunday, Tochatti delivered three addresses in the open. In the Market Place at 3, between 2,000 and 3,000 persons were present, and cheers were given for our comrades Mowbray and Henderson, also for Mr. Cunningham Graham, M.P., for his Socialistic speech in the House of Commons. 10s. was collected for the Defence Fund. At 8 p.m., Tochatti lectured at the Branch offices on "Radicalism and Socialism," and was listened to with marked attention. A good discussion followed, in which comrade Councillor Crotch took part. We intend during Tochatti's stay, to push our work forward in various directions. Tochatti will visit Lowestoft on Thursday. Three new members made.—T. M., sec.

LECTURE DIARY.

London Branches.

- Bloomsbury.**—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street. Friday, March 4, at 8.30., Eleanor Marx-Aveling.
- Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday Feb. 27, at 8.30., W. B. Robertson, "Wherein Socialists fall Short of their Teachings." Wednesday 30, at 8.30., A Lecture.—Members' Business Meeting first Sunday in the month, 7 p.m.
- Croydon.**—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday February 27, H. Davis on "The Modern Trinity: Land, Labour, and Capital."—Committee Meeting every Friday at 8 p.m. sharp, at Parker Road.
- Hackney.**—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 8 till 11. Business Meeting every Tuesday at 8.30. Discussion Class Thursday evenings. On Sunday Feb. 27, at 8.30., A. K. Donald will lecture.
- Hammermith.**—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday February 27, at 8, Charlotte M. Wilson, "Authority and Revolt."
- Hoxton (L.E.L.).**—New premises, 2 Crondel Street, New North Road, will be opened on Sunday, March 6, with a lecture by Wm. Morris, at 8 p.m. Committee meet next Sunday at 8 p.m.
- Merton.**—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday. Discussions held every Sunday morning at 11.
- Mitcham.**—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11.

Country Branches.

- Bingley.**—Coffee Tavern. Every Monday at 7.30 p.m.
- Birmingham.**—Carr's Lane Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 8.
- Bradford.**—Morris's Dining Rooms, 114 City Road. Wednesdays, at 8.
- Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. Reading Room and Library open every Wednesday evening, 8 till 10.—On Sunday, February 27, a Monster Meeting will be held in Edinburgh to express sympathy with the Miners. On Monday, Feb. 28, E. Carpenter.—Treasurer will receive Subscriptions for Prisoners' Aid Fund.
- Fulham.**—Address Sec., 34 May Street.
- Glasgow.**—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily.—On Sunday, open-air meetings on Jail's Square at 1 and 5 o'clock; members requested to turn up to sell literature. In the evening, at 6.30, in Hall, No. 2 Carlton Place, Clyde Side, R. F. Muirhead will lecture on "Silly versus Sensible Socialism" (a reply to Prof. Flint's recent lectures).
- Hamilton.**—Branch meets every Thursday at 7.30 in Paton's Hall, Chapel Street.
- Hull.**—11 Princess Street, Sykes Street. Club Room open every evening. Lectures every Thursday and Sunday at 7 p.m.
- Lancaster.**—Market Hall Coffee Tavern Lecture Room. Friday evenings at 8.
- Leicester.**—Spiritualist Hall, Silver Street. Sunday Afternoon, at 2.45 p.m., George Robson will lecture on "Commercial Competition."
- Manchester.**—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening 6 to 10 p.m. Lecture and discussion every Wednesday at 8 p.m.
- Norwich.**—No. 6 St. Benedict St. Lecture and discussion every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room open every day from 8.30 a.m. to 10 p.m.
- Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Thursdays, at 8.30 p.m.

Open-air Propaganda—Sunday 27.

- 11.30...Hackney—"Salmon and Ball".....The Branch
- 11.30...Hammermith—Beadon Rd.The Branch
- 11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield Street...The Branch
- 11.30...Regent's Park.....The Branch
- 11.30...St. Pancras Arches.....The Branch
- 11.30...Walham Green—Station.....The Branch
- 3.30...Hyde Park (near Marble Arch).....The Branch

PROVINCES.—SUNDAY.

- Norwich.**—St. Mary's Plain, 11; Market Place, 3.
- Leeds.**—Hunslet Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m.

Paris Commune.

An International Celebration of the Paris Commune will be held at SOUTH PLACE CHAPEL on THURSDAY MARCH 17.

CLEVELAND HALL, 54 Cleveland Street (near Portland Road Station).—Sundays at 11.30 a.m. Feb. 27. C. J. Faulkner, "Law and War."

"THREE KINGS," Clerkenwell Close.—Sunday Feb. 27, at 8.30 p.m. Thomas E. Wardle will lecture.

Free Lectures on Socialism, in reply to recent Criticism, will be held in Farringdon Hall, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday mornings in February.—Sunday February 27, at 11.15 a.m., H. A. Barker, "The Social Revolution."

Socialist Headquarters, New York.—Library and Reading-room open daily (Sunday included) from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. *Commonweal* always on the table. Gifts in books and papers thankfully received. Address "Free Socialist Library," 143 Eighth Street, New York City, U.S.

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THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 60.

SATURDAY, MARCH 5, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

"It seems almost too monstrous to contend that self-defence is a crime; that organised resistance to organised exaction is an offence against the moral law." So says *United Ireland* in speaking of the Plan of Campaign.

But that contention, so fiercely made, has done great good. It has forced upon popular notice the question of "people v. privilege," and where that is debated who doubts the result?

The longer that the fight is carried on by the Government and their parasitic protégés against the people of Ireland, the further will it advance the revolution and the less battling will be left to be done "next time."

That the people are moving along may be seen by the reports of the Dublin unemployed demonstration. It is quite evident that the workmen who formed the deputation did not regard Home Rule as settling everything.

The only political event of the week worth any notice has been the Burnley election, which, although not so important as represented, is at least a good sign of the breaking-up of the unreasoning prejudice on which the Tories rode to victory at the last elections.

One of the worst parts of the modern commercial war-making for profit and the competition between nations, is the constant perversion of ingenuity in inventing new and still newer engines of destruction.

Every fresh rifle or heavy gun adopted by a nation means not only the enormous waste of labour in making the new arm, but also the absolute loss of all the labour once put into the older weapon.

Anyone of a speculative turn may profitably indulge it nowadays by trying to reckon out the exploitation represented by the expenditure upon re-arming the European armies.

The *Spectator* says: "A correspondent sends us the proposal of M. Albert Tachard for ensuring the safety of Egypt. It is to entrust the country to a Swedish, Belgian, or Swiss force, under the orders of an International Commission, which would keep back the Soudanese and put down internal rebellion, and then to retire. Our correspondent does not seem to detect the immorality of the proposal. It would arm the Pashas with the irresistible strength of civilisation. They could extort as they liked, secure that the European force would put down all resistance. Burke impeached Hastings for that very crime, and it is the one charge upon which he was entirely in the right. If we grant European strength to Asiatics, we must enforce obedience to European ideas." Would our contemporary or somebody explain what is the exact or approximate difference between the "morality" of European and Asiatic ideas?

I have seen more than once Mr. Jones, the manager of the London Co-operative Society, quoted as saying that capitalists will be glad to allow labour to use their money for nothing on the condition that the principal shall be secure. Here is another case (with a vengeance) of "Good wine given away for nothing—to-morrow"? Meantime will Mr. Jones explain how these too sanguine "capitalists" propose to live while they are neither buying victuals with their money or being paid for the use of it? Let us take, for instance, the poor-widow-small-shareholder of whom we have heard so much: will she send her money to a co-operative society and accompanied by a letter couched in such terms as these: "Kind gentlemen, I send you my little all, and trust that you may find it useful; to me it is no longer so, since I am told (and believe it) that people can now live without either working, begging, or stealing; therefore pray send me no dividend, but whatever profit you make of it by employing people to work and taking from them a part of what they produce, keep for yourselves with the blessing of the widow and the orphan." I wonder what her next letter would be like.

W. M.

Levi Lawson's stockjobber sheet, the *Daily Telegraph*, had one of the most idiotic leading articles on Feb. 23rd, anent the German elections that was ever penned. Had Levi hired a street sponge pedlar to write it nothing more silly could have been the result. Berlin is said to be "a hot bed of anarchism" because it returns Socialists to repre-

sent it. This is much as if we were to say that Levi is an honest man because he puts quack advertisements in his paper. Some London workingmen will have something to say about "the atrocities of the Communists" on the 17th inst., which will make the enlightened editor, who has the cheek to pose as the mouthpiece of English sentiment, shiver.

Another of Levi's hirelings feels indignant because certain Socialists kept their hats on in St. Paul's last Sunday. Surely it is well known that the Lord commanded the children of Israel to appear covered in his tabernacle, and when Levi goes to the synagogue he keeps on his cylinder. Why, then, this abominable hypocritical rant about the wickedness of men keeping their hats on in church? Because such rant pays as well as the quack advertisements.

A. D.

LAW AND ORDER IN GERMANY.

THE ELECTIONS.

For several days all eyes have been turned to Germany. Peace or war was supposed to depend on the results of the elections. The anger of Bismarck, the man of blood and iron, was to be appeased at the ballot boxes, and the press is jubilant at the triumph of the Government. True the Government is sure of a majority for the Septennate. It may be true, too, that the Government will be able to secure a majority for most of its measures. But its majority may not be a permanent one. And above all, the triumphs of the Government will not disperse the war clouds of either the West or the East. Those clouds will become more dense, till the almost countless legions are flying at each others' throats. In Germany, as in the other European States, the throne and the altar make war on the people. The principle of absolutism is there arrayed against the liberties of the people. In the councils of the empire the principle of despotism rules supreme. The heaven-anointed emperor with his heaven-born chancellor are more powerful than the forty-seven millions of the German population. Many people cannot understand why the Germans, with manhood suffrage, cannot break the tyranny of both emperor and chancellor; why they cannot destroy the tyranny which there prevails. It was a favourite though a foolish saying of O'Connor, during the Chartist movement, that he did not fear the Crown so long as the power behind the throne was greater than the throne itself. But the throne is always and everywhere a danger, and allied, as it invariably is, to the altar, its power becomes almost irresistible. In Germany the power of the Crown does not depend on the German people. The chancellor and the ministers do not depend on the Reichstag. They are appointed by the emperor, and are responsible only to the emperor. Under such a system there is war between the throne and the people. It is a war of principle, and can end only by the extinction of Imperialism or the subjugation and degradation of the people. The struggle will be a severe one, though it may not be a long one. In Germany there is no question of ministerial responsibility, the emperor declaring (Jan. 8, 1882) his determination "to personally direct the policy of the Government."

In Germany as in other States, there are of course the same political parties, based upon the same class distinctions and of class interests. Nay, the political parties there are so sub-divided that it is difficult to say where party lines begin or where they end. But taking the two extremes of imperialism on the one hand and social-democracy on the other, all that lies between is mere political cant, political expediency, and political humbug. The German National Liberals are very much like Liberals everywhere, moderately revolutionary in relation to imperialism, but decidedly reactionary in relation to the mass of the population. Their great strength lies in their pandering to the mere national or patriotic feeling, so easily aroused among the unthinking of every class. They have gained largely by the elections, while the New German or Free Trade Liberals have been nearly extinguished. The Socialists have also suffered, and no wonder. When we consider the warlike spirit evoked by the action of the Government, the language of Bismarck, of Moltke and others, with the campaign on the part of the official and semi-official press, the Government, in its desperation, accepting even the intervention of the Pope,—what wonder that the Government should have triumphed over all the more advanced sections of the population.

We must bear in mind, too, that Berlin and other great centres are

subject to what is termed the minor state of siege, where the police rule with a rod of iron and almost with unlimited power and authority. That is a matter that must never be lost sight of. Then with regard to the Socialist party, all the force of the Government was brought to bear against them. And not only the Government, but all the imperialist or patriotic parties too. Six of the Socialists returned are in prison. But the action of the Government has been mean as well as tyrannical. We read, from Berlin, Feb. 20: "The Socialists are displaying great energy and activity, but their work is of necessity done in the dark, in consequence of the repressive measures which the Government and the authorities are employing so unsparingly against them. Their leaders have been expelled from many places where they have come forward as candidates, their meetings dissolved, and the literature they have endeavoured to spread abroad confiscated." And that is "law and order" in Germany. Again, we read: "The police have been closely watching the printing offices, and the moment the Socialist manifestoes appear they are seized upon, either at the time of issue or subsequently when they arrive, sometimes in large bales, at the different railway stations, for distribution." What an example of "law and order"! What a splendid display of imperialism! What a grand manifestation of despotism! What a glorious recognition of the sacred rights of property! Yet, notwithstanding all this tyranny, all this despotism, and all this plunder on the part of the authorities, the Socialist vote shows a very large increase. Taking Berlin, the vote has gone up surprisingly. In 1871 it was only from two to three thousand; in 1874, 31,522; in 1884, 68,582; and in 1887, over 95,000. The total number of voters on the register is 314,000; the Socialist vote is therefore a very disturbing element amid the triumphs of the reaction.

In Berlin, the Socialist vote shows an increase of over 26,000 over that of 1884; and in Saxony, although all the seats have been lost, the Socialist vote has increased about 22,000. As showing the spirit evoked by the action of the Government, the press, etc., there was a tremendous vote recorded for the Government by a combination of all the other parties, giving an increase for the Government over the vote of 1884, of over 240,000 votes. And this in Saxony alone. And it was the same in other parts of the empire. But 60 second ballots have to take place, and in from twelve to sixteen of these Socialists are sure to be returned.

The people of Alsace-Lorraine have shared the same fate as the Socialists, in so far as the tyranny and compression of the authorities have gone. Threats, domiciliary visits, expulsions, suppression of newspapers, and imprisonments, all have been resorted to by the government of blood and iron. Yet the population of the annexed provinces refuse to be Germanised. Like the people of Ireland the Alsace-Lorrainers prefer to struggle and wait, and are resolved to resist the process of German absorption.

The German semi-official press complains that the Germans in America have sent funds and words of encouragement to their Socialist brothers at home. Also that French Socialists have sent words of sympathy to their down-trodden brothers in Germany. On this it exclaims, Socialism is international! Undoubtedly, it could not be Socialism worth the name if it were not international. But so too is imperialism, so too is despotism, so too is priestcraft. And when Bismarck invokes the aid of the Pope to crush his political opponents, the Socialists have a right not only to receive, but to invoke the help of the people of every clime to enable them to fight and ere long to crush the crowned Rascality which now rules supreme over forty-seven millions of people.

While every one must rejoice at the progress of the Social Democrats, we must not shut our eyes to the facts of history. Manhood suffrage may not always exist in the German Empire. France won manhood suffrage in 1848 (not to go back further), and lost it when it became dangerous to the "classes." Rome won manhood suffrage in 1848-9, and lost it by the intervention of the "Catholic Powers." Look at German history too in 1848-9. What was then won was very soon lost. The same in other States. And in Germany to-day manhood suffrage may be swept away. "Put not your trust in princes" is an old saying, and the same may be said to-day with regard to Parliamentary majorities.

To Socialism belongs the future. All the imperial scoundrelism in the world cannot prevent it. All the mercenary legions to-day at the command of the despots cannot long preserve the reign of triumphant Wrong. From the icy regions of St. Petersburg to the sunny plains of the South, the tyrants, steeped in crime, are trembling on their blood-stained thrones. But for Socialism to conquer the future, to win the final triumph, it must become more and more revolutionary. Not only must it war against imperialism, but every ism that is opposed to the principle of eternal right, of eternal justice. It must war not only against the despot on his throne of blood, but the tyranny of majorities, whether elected or not. It must war against the tyranny of the State as well as the tyranny of the Church. It must recognise the rights of the individual as supreme above all other considerations.

Socialism must also be international. The principle of usurpation is universal in its application. It is international. The alliance of the despots is nothing new. It exists to-day, and can only be combatted by an alliance of the peoples. Our modern commercial system is also international. It is capable of universal application. Our modern financial system is international and organised, and supreme in all the States of Europe and America. And Labour too must become international, must be organised on an international basis ere it can triumph. It is, then, for the international Socialist revolution for which we must organise, for which we must struggle, and for which we

must fight. The present is the age of Might, the age of Cant, the age of Plunder. Let us inaugurate the age of Right, the age of Truth, the age of Equity. Success to the Revolution, social and universal.

J. SKETCHLEY.

REFLECTIONS ON WINTER.

At this season well-fed indolence frequently finds excitement and pleasure, for when snow is on ground and ice o'er lake, in games and gambles it finds delight. But whether snow or ice be there, from its warm and comfortable drawing-room it can view with satisfaction its happy lot, and thank its stars for not being as other men are, cold, miserable, and hungry. The contrast is striking, even if it be not artistic between this picture and that of the miserable victims of landlord rapacity surveying the smouldered ruins of the mud-built hut they once called home—

"Ah! little think the gay licentious proud,
Whom pleasure, power, and affluence surround,
They who their thoughtless hours in giddy mirth,
And wanton, often cruel riot waste.
Ah! little think they, while they dance along,
How many feel this very moment death,
And all the sad variety of pain!
How many sink in the devouring flood,
Or more devouring flame! How many bleed
By shameful variance betwixt Man and Man!
How many pine in want, and dungeon glooms;
Shut from the common air, and common use
Of their own limbs! How many drink the cup
Of baleful grief, or eat the bitter bread
Of misery! Sore pierced by wintry winds
How many shrink into the sordid hut
Of cheerless poverty!"

These, the words of James Thomson, strikingly portray the selfish brutal indifference of the privileged class to the misery of the proletariat. The thousand joys with which luxury is surrounded render life one continuous whirl of pleasure; the thousand woes that are the workers make his life one unceasing round of hardship. How the keen wintry blast pierces through his thinly and oft ragged-clad body and strikes him cold and empty-stomached, and makes him wonder whether life be worth living! The snow-clad landscape, with ruddy-setting sun, hath to him no charms; he may burn in the sunshine and freeze in the cold, that hollow-headed pomp and pride may shield its gentle head. But 'tis the bloody sweat of the toiler, the slave of indolence, that smoothes its way. The lot of the toiler in winter is hard indeed, doubly hard, for then his misery intensifies, and work and food are harder to get than in the warmer seasons. Frozen out, no work, no bread. No matter how much he desires to work and to live by his labour, unless his masters allow him to, he cannot, must not, but must remain what he is, a starved and wretched being. Even when his masters do will that he shall work, he must do so that he may create for them more wealth and for himself only a little food. To what depths of degradation and misery does the inordinate greed and abominable selfishness of privilege consign the larger part of mankind! It has been asserted by some pious and reforming persons, that though privilege be greedy and selfish, the fact that it is so is a good thing for the workers, because it supplies millions of them with employment. To work hard and eat little of the good things of life is the lot of the most fortunate of the workers to-day; to work little, if at all, and eat much, that of privilege.

Winter to the poor is a veritable hell without the fire, and the wonder is that they do not oftener resort to acts of violence in order that they may satisfy their wants. Hungry men seldom, if ever, reason—it would be strange if they did; and to expect an unnatural law will check their desire to satisfy their natural wants, and make them view with equanimity their miserable condition, is foolish and ridiculously absurd. They want food, and in winter above all seasons, plenty of it. It is no use to tell them to wait for better times, till summer comes or trade revives; they must have food or die. Many a hungry-bellied, anxious father tramps the streets to-day in search of work, that he may feed the hope-gone and woe-become wife and children he has left behind in cold and miserable hovel. And this in a period of progress marked more than any other by man's triumph over the forces of nature; marked in that it gives or should give him greater comfort, and take from out of life much of its sting. But despite this increased power over nature, despite the comparative ease with which the wants of man may be satisfied, the struggle for existence has become harder and the means of subsistence scarcer, so far as the worker is concerned.

But he is growing discontented with society as it is, and the recent riots in Scotland and elsewhere show this in manner unmistakable. Coercive laws, the weapon of a corrupt and rotten society, may be used to crush out the discontent, but its spirit is ever burning, and burn it will and must with greater intensity as time passes on, though coercion be used to stifle it. There are some persons who think that it is possible to prevent the spreading of discontent by quoting statistics designed to prove that the position of the worker is a good one. Statistics can be concocted to prove anything, but they will never convince the starving worker that he is well fed, or that his patched garments are good clothes. They may, however, rid the minds of the comfortable classes of the uneasiness occasioned by the fear that their enjoyment would be curtailed were the proletariat so terribly hard up and ill-used. But figures cannot alter facts. Then let comfort and privilege open their eyes, or they may be painfully opened for them. The worker is opening his, and is beginning to see that neither anti-

quoted political shibboleths or gradual and imperceptible reforms avail him anything. The erstwhile champions of the workers interests may not like the aspect things are assuming, but whether they do or no, their combined efforts to hoodwink the worker, to blind him to his real interests, will prove abortive.

Bleak, cold, and desolate is the outlook for thousands of our fellows to-day: would to wintry winds they could say with Tell, "Blow on, this is the land of liberty."

HENRY A. BARKER.

SOCIALISM IN THE PROVINCES.

THE "Sheffield Socialists" is an independent local society, which by steady work in the propaganda has achieved wonders. On Monday February 21 new premises were opened in Scotland Street, one of the busiest thoroughfares in the town. A large shop serves the double purpose of coffee-house (the Commonwealth Café) and lecture hall. The lecture hall holds about 200 people, and is comfortably fitted up. At the opening meeting Edward Carpenter presided, and reviewed the history of the Socialist agitation in Sheffield. I gave an account of the progress of Socialism in the provinces, and was followed by Maguire from Leeds, who gave a short exposition of Socialism. Comrade Furniss then spoke. He was the first preacher of Communist principles in Sheffield, and is held in high esteem. He is also one of a small Communist group which works and lives in community at a place near Sheffield. They have had a couple of quarries for some years, and have now also taken to agricultural work, their first attempts at farming being aided by a bit of land placed at their disposal by Ruskin. The little community works in the greatest harmony, and the members are not at all narrow in their views, Furniss especially working for the Cause on broad revolutionary lines as well as practising such part of its principles as is possible under the present system. The next speaker was the Rev. Chas. Peach, Unitarian minister. He roused a good deal of enthusiasm by his frank comments on a brother minister who had been attacking Socialism from his pulpit. It seems that a lecture on "The Path to Socialism" which I had given a week previously had roused the wrath of the Rev. Mr. Bland, and led him into making statements about Socialism which no doubt were more the result of ignorance than malice. Several Socialist songs were sung during the meeting. The room was crowded, and the people very enthusiastic. The Sheffield Socialists have now splendid opportunities of making headway with the propaganda, and in Sheffield there is certainly room for it. A more disfigured and disreputable looking town never existed. No wonder old Ruskin rails at it. Its ugliest features, too, are carefully arranged, just to impress the stranger, at the entrances to the town, particularly round the railway stations. The ugliest prospect in all the world is a view from a bridge in Leeds, but next to this stands grimy, sordid Sheffield, with its narrow, steep, slimy streets, abominable buildings, waste-ground spots glaring here and there like great sores, and endless infernal clatter and din of machinery. Heaven never smiles on Sheffield because it never gets a chance—a dense cloud of dirty smoke always intervening. Of course the inhabitants are proud of their town: let us hope their pride will lead them to revolutionise it.

The propaganda in Leeds, Bradford, and the surrounding districts goes on steadily and hopefully. The conditions make the work very difficult, and the pecuniary resources are very small; but in spite of these disadvantages a good deal of progress is being made. We had a very pleasant and business-like gathering of the members of the Leeds and Bradford Branches on Saturday February 19. On Sunday morning a meeting was held at Vicars Croft, in Leeds. This place is the customary resort of the town talkers, and like such places generally, is not very hopeful. In the afternoon a useful open-air meeting was held in Bradford, and at night I addressed a meeting of workmen at Bingley. The Bingley audience was very good, and it seems a hopeful place if it can be persistently worked. On Tuesday night a second open-air meeting was held at Bingley; and on Wednesday night a second open-air meeting at Bradford finished the series. The Branches in Yorkshire are doing excellent work with their limited means. In Leeds they are trying to secure premises for a permanent office and club-room, and it is to be hoped they will soon succeed. The members of the Branch, however, are all workmen, and many of them very ill off. Any of our friends who have a subscription to spare could not put it to a better propagandist use than to forward it to the secretary of the Leeds Branch.

J. L. MAHON.

February 28.

It is not true that capital and labour compete in fair and open field, any more than it is true that an iron-clad war vessel, with heavy ordnance, would compete in fair field with a wooden frigate, equipped with the material in use thirty years ago. Capital is gold-plated, and carries too many guns for unprotected labour. The intelligent capitalist makes the laws affecting master and servant, which the uneducated labourer must obey, but has no effective voice to alter. The capitalist does combine, and has combined, and the result of this combination has been an unfair appropriation of the divisible fund.—C. Bradlaugh, *'Labour's Prayer.'*

WEALTH-CREATORS.—Wherefore is it, then, that the creators of all wealth are the poor? That poor man and labourer, which is wealth-creator, are synonymous terms? That those whose labour first causes the earth to yield its produce, and then converts that produce into every necessary, every comfort, every convenience, every luxury, and every means of enjoyment, and yet, though thus consuming next to nothing of all the riches they create, and still continuing to create riches, still continue to be, proverbially, the poor? . . . The distress of the labouring classes is a phrase so commonly in use that we hear it without surprise; yet, when translated into the language of literal truth, what a strange anomaly does it convey—the poverty of the creators of riches!—Mrs. London.

TO ARMS! TO ARMS!

THE cry be "War"; who talks of peace?
Be scorn and pity on his name
Who strikes not with us to release
His hearth from dread—his land from shame.
From spire to spire the shout be caught;
Clash back fierce peals of wild alarms;
What ho! a battle must be fought;
Up, all men, up! to arms! to arms!

Ha! where's the foe? And do you ask?
O blind and foolish! O thrice blind!
Awake! arise! not hard the task
A host in every street to find.
Hark! hear their murmurs! how my thought
Their muttered wrath—their hate alarms!
What ho! a battle must be fought;
Up, all men, up! to arms! to arms!

In brutish ignorance, squalid want,
In savage filth, in godless crime,
In cursings that for vengeance pant,
And hate and hate and bide their time,
We front a host that scares my thought
With boding fears and wild alarms.
What ho! a battle must be fought;
Up, all men, up! to arms! to arms!

Woe to the land whose cry is "peace",
When peace's hour is gone and past;
Woe! woe! in storm and wreck shall cease
The doting dreams that could not last;
"Too late—too late!" my trembling thought
That oft-heard cry, with dread, alarms;
What ho! a battle must be fought;
Up, all men, up! to arms! to arms!

Up, all men, to the true men's ranks,
To do the work that must be done;
To earn the eternal future's thanks,
Of all our ills, to leave not one!
Crime, ignorance, want, despair, no thought
Of sloth, while one our age alarms;
What ho! a battle must be fought;
Up, all men, up! to arms! to arms!

W. C. BENNETT.

CHURCH PARADES.

THE "parade" at St. Paul's, on Sunday, was certainly a success from the point of view of the promoters. It was a demonstration, and an effective one in a sense. But the propriety of church parades is a question upon which divergent opinions may be, and are, held by Socialists. On the one hand, it is argued that any sort of "demonstration," irrespective of its importance or character, is productive of good. On the other hand, there are those who, like myself, fail to see the special gain in inducing a body of 100, or 150 men to waste a fine Sunday morning, on which useful Socialist meetings might be held, within the four walls of a church. Surely there should be either one of two things. If it is intended to "demonstrate" against the present organisation of society through that "religion" (so-called) which holds such a prominent place in it, then the only logical procedure would be to go in such force to the "place of worship" selected, as to be able to supplant the parson and convert the quondam "service" into a Socialist meeting. But to proceed to church with the determination to "sit out" the morning performance with all the air of devout worshippers, I must confess seems to me to be a somewhat aimless proceeding. I do not think the logical alternative referred to would be worth its "candle" of subsequent prosecution, at least at present, so my opinion of "church parades" is "don't!" E. BELFORT BAX.

PLUNDER AND POVERTY.—"BRYANT AND MAY LIMITED.—According to the report for the year 1886, the net profits added to the balance brought forward were £82,943. From this has to be deducted the interim dividend at the rate of 17½ per cent. per annum, leaving available for distribution £47,943. The directors recommend a dividend for the second six months at the rate of 22½ per cent. per annum, carrying forward £2943. January 1887." Think of the poor wretches out of whose blood, tears and sweat, this monstrous profit has been drained! Is it "survival of the fittest" that capitalist vampires should fatten on the misery of the poor? Surely savagery and cannibalism were preferable to the civilised commercialism of to-day.—B.

The Marquis of Salisbury justifies the coercive measures of his Government in Ireland, because—he says with amusing audacity—"the Irish National League is an organised system of embezzlement." What does the Marquis call the gang of individuals to whom he belongs himself? Whence and how does he get his enormous revenue? This reminds us of the burglar who called the policeman who took the stolen goods from him a thief. Let the most noble and august Marquis be informed that the Irish National League is trying to stop embezzlement; and if the people of Ireland, as well as other countries—including our own colony—had only sufficient common-sense, Salisbury and the like vermin would have less audacity. A man that toils not is a thief or a beggar. Lord Salisbury does neither toil nor beg; ergo—Our Commonwealth (Adelaide).



"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.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

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

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday March 2.

ENGLAND	CANADA	ITALY
Justice	Toronto—Labor Reformer	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Jus	UNITED STATES	Turin—Il Muratore
Norwich—Daylight	Freiheit	Naples—Humanitas
Cotton Factory Times	Knights of Labor	
Glasgow—Pioneer	Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer	SPAIN
Freethinker	New Haven (Conn.)—Work-	Madrid—El Socialista
Worker's Friend	men's Advocate	Cadiz—El Socialismo
Lancaster Observer	Cincinnati (O.) Unionist	
Scotsman	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	PORTUGAL
Southport Guardian	FRANCE	Voz do Operario
Carlisle Patriot	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Oporto—A Perola
Irish Times	Le Revolte	
	Guise—Le Devoir	AUSTRIA
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Lille—Le Travailleur	Arbeiterstimme
SOUTH AUSTRALIA		Brunn—Volksfreund
Adelaide—Our Commonwealth	HOLLAND	Vienna—Gleichheit
NEW SOUTH WALES.	Hague—Recht voor Allen	
Sydney—The Globe	BELGIUM	ROUMANIA
Sydney Morning Herald	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde	Jassy—Lupta
SOUTH AFRICA	Liege—L'Avenir	DENMARK
The Cape Argus	Antwerp—De Werker	Social-Demokraten

"SOCIAL EXPERIMENTS."

I WAS introduced a few months ago to a grey haired old man, as a "real live Socialist," whereupon he told me that he had been an ardent Socialist as a young man, and still admired the theory, but experience had taught him that however good it might be as a theory, it was made impossible in practice by the weaknesses of human nature. When questioned as to how he had become so certain of this he went on to tell me that, as a young man, he had joined Robert Owen and his company, who formed themselves into a Socialist Society, but that it eventually broke down owing to the selfishness of the people and to the growth of petty jealousies among them. What he saw in that experiment had convinced him of the impossibility of putting Socialism into practice until there should be a complete change in human nature. This is but a typical instance of an idea which is very widespread, that Socialism has been tried and has failed, and that if we have a new form we ought to try it, and not ask the people to believe in our idea till we have proved it to be a success. I therefore think that a few words on the question of Social experiments may be of some use.

It will be convenient to divide our experiments into two groups; those which aim at forming separate communities, chiefly self-supporting, and those which aim at merely introducing some form of co-operation into a single branch of industry. Let us take the first group and see what answer we can give to the question so often asked, "Why can't you make a small society succeed on Socialist principles?" First, then, we must notice that no small society can be completely Socialistic while it is surrounded by a large world of competitive life; unless it is to go in for a perfectly simple life with very rude implements and very poor methods of production, it must of necessity be dependent upon the outside competitive world for a very large quantity of the goods it requires, and hence must itself do a large amount of work for the competitive market. This reason alone has seemed to many quite enough to foredoom to failure any attempt to form a community, unless religious enthusiasm and celibacy should be brought in to help. The next point I would notice is, that in a Socialist community the sharp and clever men would not be able to raise themselves above their fellows by large acquisitions of material wealth. This would be a very good thing, and in a completely Socialistic state of society would not seem at all a hardship; if they desired special respect and consideration from others they would turn to the more worthy way of obtaining it, namely, by doing something to deserve it. But in a small community surrounded by competitive life they would be constantly made discontented by seeing how much distinction they could get in the world out-

side, not by doing something worthy of it, but by the much easier way of using their sharpness to get wealth. Now, although Socialists do believe that human nature on the whole is good enough to make a happy communal life possible, if unnecessary temptations are taken away, still we do not think that it can stand the strain of any great amount of temptation to better self easily at the expense of the community, and therefore the fact of a society such as Owen's breaking up on account of the weakness of human nature does not prove that a complete state of Socialism or even Communism is impossible.

One other remark is often made on this matter about which something may be said, it is this: "If you Socialists, a body of picked men, considering yourselves intelligent above the average, all believing in your theories, and many of you really enthusiastic about them, if you cannot make a Socialist society succeed, how can you expect anything but failure when you come to have to deal with a society the majority of whom never think for themselves on any subject, and have no enthusiasm for your belief?" In answer to this I would venture to submit that the very fact of the Socialists being to some extent a picked body makes them the least fitted to form a happy community. In what way are we Socialists picked? Well, to be a Socialist nowadays a man must first have enough discontent with his surroundings to look for something better, hence we are a discontented lot. Now, a number of discontented people are not likely to live very happily together. A certain proportion of them in a community is most valuable to prevent a dull contentment with evil surroundings. Discontented people, like all others, have their work for which they are specially suited, but it is not to form happy communities. Again a Socialist must have considerable originality in thought, sufficient strength of will, and a good deal of reliance on his own opinion to embrace new ideas and disregard the authority by which the old claim his allegiance. Finally, he must have the bump of pugnacity somewhat largely developed, to enter on a contest with all the forces which are arrayed against him. Again I repeat that such men are exceedingly useful to fight for a new idea, or a fresh reform, and to prevent a society from remaining where it is by the mere force of its own inertia, but I very much doubt whether they are fitted to live by themselves in a small community. We are often disheartened by the apathy of men, but a community of men who all had their ideas, and were all bent on converting their neighbours, would be only a little better than the Kilkenny cats! These reasons, I think, are enough to justify us in refusing to start a small sample society of Socialism.

We next come to the group experiments with a more confined aim, co-operative societies or associated homes. The more thorough-going co-operators have hoped that their efforts would lead on to a condition of universal co-operation or Socialism, but unfortunately too many of their rank and file value chiefly the advantages which they themselves get from their society at present. It has been hoped by some that they would be able to turn all manufactories into co-operative works, gradually, and then by a federation of all these works under some communal control to bring about Socialism. This is all very good if it can be done, but I fear it is hopeless. Co-operative production has shown already where its weakness lies. There does not seem to be any difficulty in producing good articles, it is only when they have to be sold in a competitive market that the difficulty arises; in other words, co-operative production setting out to destroy competition is prevented from getting a fair start by the effect of the competitive surrounding. I cannot here go exhaustively into the difficulties of co-operative production, but will hope in a future article to prove more fully my general statement that co-operative production shows no signs of succeeding in the attempt to make all industry co-operative instead of competitive. Hence we must not look to it to solve the social question. I now come to the last point upon which I want to say a few words. That is about the Socialists' attitude towards various kinds of social experiments. I have already expressed pretty strongly in the *Commonweal* my objection to wasting time on mere palliative measures, but these social experiments are rather a different question. In times of great movement in social matters, such as we are now passing through, there are sure to be many experiments tried. I think we are sometimes too ready to believe that anything which does not quite agree with us is set going on purpose to deceive the people. Now I am more inclined to look upon all these experiments as our valuable allies, and am sure they will help to prepare for a more complete change when we are in a position to make one. I do not mean that we out-and-out Socialists should leave our propaganda work to make experiments; by no means, our work is clear, we have to make people Socialists; but then there are many who do not see quite with us, and if they will only make experiments we ought to be very glad of such valuable allies. Most of us, of course, know that any system of communal work and enjoyment can only be practicable when the majority of the people wish for that sort of life; no system of Socialism can possibly work when a great number of the people prefer the excitement and gambling of a competitive life. Now, where it seems to me these experiments are of the greatest use, is in spreading abroad a spirit of community, in teaching, if only a few, how to work and live more on a co-operative basis. If these experiments can effect this much, they will be doing so great a work that we should be fools to throw cold water on them, even if we do not spare any time to help them.

Those who are teaching the working-women to combine and co-operate, though they are not likely to improve their lot materially or over a wide area, are still making it possible for Socialism to come in its due time by educating the people and spreading the sentiment of community amongst them. Another advantage of all co-operative

societies in country districts is that they are about the only means of propaganda likely to do much good. If every country district had a small communist society, such as exists near one of the northern towns, there would soon be a body of opinion in the country to support us even greater than there is in the towns. Such a society not only educates the members and those who come in contact with it in communal work and life, but is a centre of propaganda more adapted to the needs of the country than a branch of a society would be. To convert country people, one must live with them and spend a good deal of time on the process, gradually educating them to new ideas by constant conversations and explanations, they are not so readily converted by a speech or two as the towns people.

To sum up I would say let all who are firmly convinced in their minds that nothing but Socialism will really confer lasting benefit on the people do their best in whatever ways are open to them to convince as many more as possible. But when we see others who are not so firmly convinced and who may still hope to do something by co-operative experiments, let us rejoice that they are really helping on the cause by educating the people and spreading the spirit of brotherhood abroad, and are making it easier for the great revolution which will realize our dream of a society based on mutual helpfulness.

RAYMOND UNWIN.

FOR OPINION'S SAKE.

Edward Leggatt, a carman, has been discharged from his employment because of his being a Socialist. His employer, J. Davis, bedding manufacturer of High Street, Whitechapel, had no fault whatsoever to find with him as to the way he discharged his duties, and until he discovered that Leggatt was a Socialist he was well satisfied with him. He now regards the man who holds views sympathetic with his class as an extraordinarily dangerous individual. Mr. Davis is prepared to give a good character to Leggatt, but he declines to employ a man who may stir up discontent among his fellow-workers.

We are constantly told to be moderate, not to preach the gospel of revenge, but it will be difficult indeed to persuade men to be moderate who not only have been robbed in the most abominable fashion, but who from the very moment that they hold opinions which might bring about a better state of society are persecuted and forced to join the ranks of the starvation army.

OUR IMPRISONED COMRADES.

C. W. Mowbray and Fred Henderson, of the Socialist League, sentenced at Norwich Assizes, Jan. 20, to nine and four months' imprisonment respectively.

Jas. Allman of the Socialist League, sentenced at Worship Street on Feb. 21, to one month for "obstruction."

During the week several meetings have been held in London and elsewhere on behalf of our Norwich comrades. Some of the London Branches of the S. D. F. have also waited upon their local M.P.'s to try and get questions asked in Parliament upon the case.

On Saturday a very successful concert took place at the Club Morgenröthe, Princes Square, in aid of the Prisoners Fund.

THE "THRIFT" DODGE.

Frances Willard says "the central idea of the labour question is, not so much how to obtain higher wages as to make the most of the wages already received." This profound assertion lets the disturbed Christian millionaire employer down very lightly again, after the digs and hits labour agitators, Knights of Labour, "ignorant discontented working-men," etc., have given him, and is very soothing to his troubled soul. After all, then it is a matter not worth mentioning, how great or how small a proportion of the results of labour the producer gets, the central idea; the key to the problem is how the labourer uses the pittance that is granted him. The "disturbed Christian millionaire employer" may grind wages down to microscopic proportions if the employé will but use his microscopic share properly and judiciously, the question is settled, there is no labour question. The troublesome fact, that over two million men earn no wages whatever, and thousands of children are being transformed into dwarfs, demons, and idiots at starvation wages, can be pushed to one side for the present, it is presumed. Only get rid of agitation by putting the working-man at his wits end how to live on less than he does now, and the trouble is over. And so the apologists go on, year after year, and find many followers. And every reason but the right one is eloquently urged as the cause of poverty. Anything that will throw the blame on the miserable victims themselves, and allow the easy-living to go placidly on in the old way that has always worked so well for them, is submitted to the people. Anything but to say outright, "the people are robbed, the privileged classes are stealing their wealth from the producers of it." What the poor man does with the little that is left him cuts very little figure in true economics. We want the stealing stopped!—LIZZIE M. SWANK in *Knights of Labour*.

A CRAVEN RULER.—Dispatches state that the Czar of Russia is exceedingly afraid of the Nihilists, and lives in constant dread. Now this is really too bad. The Nihilists should not be too severe in their persecution of this unfortunate man. What though he does send thousands of their friends and loved ones to the mines of Siberia and the dungeons of the Neva? What though he does tear fathers from their children, wives from their husbands, separate brothers and sisters, murder, pillage, and destroy? What though his minions maim, torture, and outrage helpless prisoners of either sex, and commit the foulest crimes in his name? He must not be annoyed. His nerves must not be disturbed. He must live the life of ease though all his subjects may bow their heads in agony and grief. The craven coward! Let him tremble in his luxury. The curses of his people should ring in his ears, mingling their harsh notes with the cries of his victims, until madness or reason gain the victory over his terror-stricken mind. He deserves no sympathy. Brutal in his life, he deserves the fate of a brute. Sentiment is wasted in such a cause as he represents. Let him but do justice, and our comrades will render justice unto him. Until he does, the struggle will go on to the bitter end, and history furnishes abundant facts from which to predict the inevitable result.—*The Avant-Courier*.

THE SCOTTISH MINERS—GREAT SOCIALIST DEMONSTRATION IN EDINBURGH.

ON Sunday afternoon a demonstration organised by the Edinburgh Branches of the Socialist League and the Social-Democratic Federation took place in the Queen's Park, to express sympathy with the Scottish Miners. The *Scottish Leader*, which gives an excellent report of over four columns, says: "Not for many a day have the green slopes of Arthur's Seat been so packed with people—certainly not since the memorable demonstration in 1885, when Scotland spoke its last decisive word for Reform, and so enfranchised the agricultural labourer. . . . There were some thousands of the best class of working men; crowds of miners from the Lothians, with close-cropped hair and faces washed as clean as a generation's encrustation of grime would permit. The rough element was entirely wanting." There were three platforms, at which stirring speeches were made by several comrades belonging to the League and the S. D. F., as well as by Mr. W. Small, secretary of the Lanark Miners' Association, Mr. Bulloch, President of the Mid and East Lothian Miners' Association, and others. A sympathetic telegram was received from Mr. Cunningham Graham, M.P., apologising for his absence. "At each platform there were two resolutions proposed, seconded, and adopted by acclamation. The first set forth, 'That this meeting of the workers of Edinburgh and district hereby expresses its hearty sympathy with the miners, their wives and children, in their present sufferings, and wishes full and speedy success to the resolute and determined effort now being made to obtain an advance in wages, shorter hours, and improved conditions; and that it condemns the attitude of the masters as unreasonable, grossly selfish, and unjust.' The next was: 'That this meeting is of opinion that the cause of all those who work for wages is one and the same, and that the present struggle is only one incident in the world-wide conflict between the labourer and the capitalist; and that not until the land, mines, and machinery, and all means of production and distribution, are held and used by the workers for the common benefit, can that conflict cease, and a secure and happier social system be attained.' In order fully to appreciate the meaning of these resolutions, it is to be borne in mind that in Scotland alone there are between 60,000 and 70,000 miners, of whom about 30,000 are located in Lanarkshire, the remainder hailing principally from Ayrshire, Fifeshire, and the Lothians. In Lanarkshire the men have returned to their work discontented, and in Ayrshire the 7000 miners on strike have been recommended to go back to the pit 'in the meantime,' and pending the result of the forthcoming Conference. It is more than hinted—and the tone of the speakers bore out the inference—that should that Conference fail, a national strike will ensue. In the west country wages have fallen as low as 3s. per day, while in the east the rate varies from 3s. 9d. to 3s. 11d., for eleven days' work in the fortnight. It was pointed out that a miner, while he got only 4d. or 6d. for raising a ton of coal, paid 6s. to his master for it at the pit-mouth if he wanted to give warmth to his family; that the fines and charges imposed upon him in a day were often more than the total amount of his earnings; and that the net result of all this was starvation to the men and unlimited wealth to the masters, who, in many cases, spent their ill-gotten gains abroad in gambling, or at home in luxury. 'In fact,' said one speaker from the west, 'unless the miners have their grievances redressed, they are determined to make a desperate movement which will shake Scotland from one end to the other.' This observation evoked general cheers. Another speaker—he was from the home counties—averred that there was 'not a stone in the houses of the master miners but had been sealed together by the blood and muscle of the slaving miners.' When the speaking came to an end shortly after four o'clock, the great crowd melted as quietly as it had formed. Before it dispersed, however, and throughout the afternoon, collection-boxes were carried round, into which sympathising persons dropped, chiefly in pence, nearly £12. This sum, it is understood, will be handed over to the Scottish Miners' Federation, whose headquarters are at Glasgow, to form the nucleus of a strike fund, in view of what may happen in a not distant future."

The Skye Crofters have been released and quietly smuggled back to their homes, so as to avoid a demonstration. They have several weeks of their two months' imprisonment yet to run.

THE BLANTYRE RIOTS.—Six more men have been arrested, charged with being concerned in the riots. They have all been committed to prison with the exception of one, who was liberated on account of his youth.

About 500 men engaged in Palmers' Shipbuilding Yard, Jarrow, turned out on strike against an obnoxious overseer—"a ninepenny Jack," as Henry George calls them. The men held a meeting; sent a deputation to the heads of the firm; and resumed work on the understanding that the obnoxious individual was to be removed.

Mr. Gosselin, the Secretary of Legation at Brussels, reports that "a scheme is now on foot for exporting to England the smokeless Charleroi coal, which, the promoters consider, may compete profitably with the Cardiff coal in the London market." It is also interesting to know that the Belgian colliers have resolved, or rather the Socialists of Ghent who lead them have resolved, to declare a general strike towards the end of March. Both sides are now busy preparing for the struggle.

Not among trades'-unionists alone is the pressure of "industrial depression" felt, but also in the ranks of unorganised labour the hunger-competition flourishes. Some idea of the dearth of employment at the present moment may be gathered from the fact that there are 1000 applicants for the post of head-porter to the Hon. Society of Lincoln's Inn. The salary is £150 per annum, with rooms in the historic gateway in Chancery Lane, and among the applicants are many former officers of the army and civil service, as also professional men.

The first Printer's Union of which any record can be found was formed in London in 1810, its object being "to correct irregularities and to bring the modes of charge from custom and precedent into one point of view, in order to their being better understood by all concerned."

Organised labour not only seeks to emancipate woman from wage slavery, but it aims to clothe her with the right of suffrage. The Knights of Labour so declared in their recent Convention at Richmond. A meeting of women suffragists the other day adopted the usual whereases and raised its plaintive voice against the oppression of the sex, but made no allusion to the action at Richmond. It must be inferred therefrom that the professional equal suffragist doesn't want to be "emancipated" unless it is handed to her on a silver platter by the kid gloved gentry.—*Labour Signal, Indianapolis*.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

This department is under the direction of the Strike Committee. Labour News and Contributions to the Fund should be sent to T. BINNING, at the Offices.

BRITAIN.

The miners of Lanarkshire have been compelled through dire want to resume work on masters' terms, which are, that a Conference of masters and men take place in a few days. It is, however, almost certain that if the masters' terms are unfavourable the entire miners of Scotland will come out on strike simultaneously.

A mass meeting of miners of districts adjoining Glasgow was held on Glasgow Green on Wednesday afternoon last week. Some 500 miners were present. Cunningham Graham, M.P., Mr. Small, J. Bruce Glasier, and others, addressed the meeting. A resolution pledging the miners to maintain the struggle against the despotism of Capitalism was carried with great enthusiasm.

TO PRISON FOR "INTIMIDATING."—At Sunderland, on the 18th inst., thirteen men were charged with intimidation at the glassworks of Messrs. Greener and Sons. The firm had employed men from Gateshead, the local men having refused to work on the Monday. The works were invaded by the defendants and other men, and taken possession of, and the managers of the departments assaulted. Four of the defendants were sent to gaol for three months, four fined £5 and costs, or six months' imprisonment, and the remainder bound over to keep the peace for six calendar months.

At a Conference of the West Lancashire miners held at Wigan, the following resolution was passed:—"That this Conference views with much dissatisfaction the replies received from the employers as to an advance in wages. That in consequence of the refusal to grant the increase, and the employers' objection to the miners' scheme of restriction—viz., to commence winding coal at seven in the morning—this Conference hereby decides to recommend the miners of Lancashire to give fourteen days' notice to work five days per week, and eight hours per day, after the 14th of March, believing this to be the only way of improving trade."

WHY BE TRANSPORTED?—The chainmakers' strike in the Midlands still continues. Lieutenant Smith and Colonel Stewart (late of the Afghan Boundary Commission) have visited the district, and addressed the men on the importance of State-directed emigration by sending families to the Colonies, and supporting them for the first twelve months. It was decided to send a petition to Parliament in favour of such a movement. It was pointed out that if such a Bill were passed, hundreds of families would leave the Black Country for the Colonies. The chainmakers' grievances have been very clearly put before the public by the *Sunday Chronicle*, and the articles are reprinted in a small pamphlet, which can be had of Mr. R. Juggins, of Darlaston, the Secretary of the Nut and Bolt Makers' Association. To talk of State-aided emigration to these people is more than a crime.—K.

STAFFORD.—The strike at Messrs. Elley's has ended most disastrously, the men having gone in on the master's terms. They will have to "last" and prepare for the heeling-machine six dozen pairs of boots a-week in order to earn 27s. and 30s., and this amount of work cannot be done. Very few of the men were even trades-unionists; "scabs" were being brought from Northampton to fill their places; and reluctantly the fight had to be given up. It is by such hard lessons as this that the workers are being taught that Socialism alone can arm them against the oppression of the capitalist. Next week the Women's Jubilee Offering collection commences and the half-starved workman (or his wife) will be cajoled and intimidated into subscribing. An advertisement has appeared in a local paper, the *Chronicle*, advising the women to give nothing, and this has considerably roused the ire of some of our local magnates. A large number of leaflets of a similar character have also been circulated by several local Socialists in the various shoe-factories, and it is hoped that the number of names if not of subscriptions will be appreciably diminished by these efforts.—X.

DUBLIN UNEMPLOYED.—On Monday 21st Feb. a large demonstration of the unemployed took place here. About 12 o'clock, several hundred men assembled in Beresford Place, most of whom appeared to be furnished with copies of a proclamation issued by the Irish section of the Socialist League. No speeches were made, but after waiting half-an-hour, the word was passed "To the Mansion House," and the crowd started off to interview the Lord Mayor. Along the route the shopkeepers and other inhabitants of Sackville, Westmoreland, and other streets, were much astonished and alarmed at the unusual sight. Reaching the Mansion House, they found that the Lord Mayor was at a corporation meeting, and so followed him to the City Hall. When they found him, they got nothing for their pains but "soft words which butter no parsnips," and the very doubtful advice to visit the Castle. The crowd wandered helplessly about Cork Hill and Parliament Street for an hour or two groaning at the authorities and police, and then slunk away to their "homes." Some day, doubtless, the workers will learn the value of "self-help" and cease fooling around after mayors or magnates of any kind.

LABOUR STATISTICS.—It seems that the circulars issued from the Board of Trade to employers asking them to state particulars of the wages paid to workers is causing dissatisfaction. The masters object to giving particulars and would rather have the averages made up for employers' associations accepted. It is doubtful if the collection of wage statistics can be complete and reliable enough to repay the trouble; and it is beyond doubt that the masters will instinctively hinder every attempt to get together a fair statement. Many of the largest firms have point-blank refused to fill in the forms (see *Industrial Review*, Feb. 19). After all this matters little; it is impossible to estimate the amount of robbery of labour under the present system. The idea that the statistics would be useful in settling disputes was absurd from the first. Only a person of child-like ignorance of political economy can imagine that any statement of facts, figures, or arguments, will keep employers from screwing wages down to the lowest point. M.P.'s seem crazed on "inquiries" and the collection of information which they never make much use of. The passing of Mr. Bradlaugh's resolution, like the appointment of the Commission on the Dwellings of the Poor, was evidently only a party manoeuvre out of which no good is ever likely to come.—J. L. M.

THE NORTHUMBERLAND MINERS.—Votes of confidence in the miners' officials having been passed by the required number, the officers retain office. An appeal for funds has been made. As the expenses are very heavy and the fund not large, it is hoped that all workers will send subscriptions. Collecting cards are issued, and can be obtained at the offices of the Miners' Association, Ricton Place, Newcastle, where all subscriptions should be sent. It is necessary to inform the public that it is their duty, when they give, to

see that the money is sent to the right quarter, as some persons are about collecting for themselves. At a public meeting of the working people of Alnwick the following resolution was carried unanimously:—"That this meeting, having heard Mr. Grocock's statement of the position of the miners in regard to the strike, hereby expresses its sympathy with them in their struggle against the reduction of wages, and agrees to the best of their ability to support the miners, so long as no fair and equitable settlement of the dispute can be obtained." At a largely attended meeting of the Washington Lodge of the Durham Miner's Association, on Wednesday week, it was unanimously carried to support the Northumberland miners by subscribing 6d. per man each fortnight as long as the strike continues. The enginemen and miners at Victoria Garesfield Colliery, we are informed, will subscribe 1s. a fortnight per man and 6d. each boy, to the Northumberland miners so long as their strike lasts. A circular has been issued by Mr. W. Crawford, M.P., on behalf of the Miners' National Union of Great Britain, appealing for aid for the miners on strike.

AUSTRALIA.

The Trades and Labour Council of Adelaide, South Australia are progressing. They have adopted *Our Commonwealth* as the "Official Gazette of the Trades and Labour Council and Affiliated Trades Unions," with the excellent motto: "They are slaves who will not dare, All wrongs to right, all rights to share." Mr. T. Kean has been appointed editor of the official part of the paper under the sub-title "The Trades Unionist." Unionists everywhere will cordially concur with our contemporary in hoping "that this union will be but the beginning of a stronger federation which by-and-by will embrace the whole working community, excepting only the mischief-workers."

"It cannot be too forcibly impressed upon all trades unionists that the simple fact of being a member of a trades union is not all that is required. That is but the beginning of our work; our ultimate aim, the goal which we are striving for is yet far away. To analyse some of our social troubles and to seek for the remedy will be the Trades Unionist's duty." So writes Mr. Kean in his introductory address. "Social troubles" in that paradise for the workers according to the emigration agents and their patrons! How our colonial brothers must envy us Londoners who have no "social troubles," so leaving the members of the Trades' Council free to attend luncheons, levees, jubilee celebrations, etc., in order to show to an admiring world that princes, peers, landlords, capitalists, bishops and workers, all form but one great united happy family in this great and glorious, etc., etc.

The Adelaide Trades and Labour Council are working hard to give practical shape to a resolution, agreed to unanimously at the Trades Congress, in regard to co-operation, not "as the end of all our desires"; but as "a step towards freeing the workers from the shackles that now enchain them." It appears that some coopers had been discharged because they refused to leave the Coopers' Society. It is therefore proposed to make the coopering trade a test case and funds are being subscribed for this purpose.

An anti-immigration demonstration, organised by the Trades and Labour Council of New South Wales, took place in Sydney on the 16th January. About thirty trade-societies marched with their banners through the main streets to the Domain, where several speakers addressed the crowd, and a resolution declaring the system of State Aid to immigration to be detrimental to the interest of the working classes, was carried.

STRIKES IN AUSTRALIA.—SYDNEY, Jan. 19.—The New South Wales miners are "out" at several places. At Illawarra the company tried to bring the strike to an end by importing "blacklegs," but the strikers "bailed-up" the train at Bulli, and their wives so worked upon the blacklegs' feelings that with one accord they refused to proceed, and returned whence they came.

There is no truth in the rumour that the Mount Keira men have resolved to resume work on the employers' terms; the men are confident of winning the day. Seven blacklegs who arrived by yesterday morning's boat were forcibly seized by the men and compelled to return to Sydney. There was great excitement at the colliery yesterday evening, and Mr. Turner, the police magistrate at Wollongong, went over to read the Riot Act, if necessary. Police have been summoned to Mount Keira from every part of the district.

The Mount Pleasant colliery knocked off work at 3 o'clock yesterday. One hundred and fifty blacklegs, armed with revolvers, marched, led by Mr. Lahiff, the manager at Mount Pleasant, over to Mount Keira, and are now posted on the high flat ground overlooking the colliery. The Keira men are resolved to resist the arrival of the blacklegs. The action of the manager, marching with armed men to Mount Keira yesterday, is strongly condemned. Many of the Mount Pleasant blacklegs are Italians, and it is alleged to be criminal in the extreme to allow such hot-blooded men revolvers and to take them to the scene of probable disorder.

A great meeting was held at the cross roads near Wollongong at 11 o'clock this morning, to consider the question of carrying firearms by blacklegs. It is thought that the matter should be brought under the notice of Parliament, as serious riots, and probably loss of life, are apprehended as a consequence of this foolish action.

A dispute has also arisen amongst the miners at Lambton owing to the Associated Masters having refused a demand of the men that the front shift should be worked. The men in the back shift did not respond to the call to work yesterday, and a letter was then sent to the miners' secretary at Lambton, dismissing them. About 700 men are thus thrown out of employment, and great excitement exists in the locality.

A great strike is also on at the Prospect Reservoir. Large numbers of police are on the spot, but apparently without being required. Labour matters are very bad all over these colonies.

FRANCE.

MARSEILLES.—About a hundred Italian workers in the "Mediterranean" sugar refineries have declared themselves on strike, having been dissatisfied with an overseer whose dismissal they demanded, and demanded in vain. There has been no disturbance.

BESSEGES.—Revolutionary placards are, we hear, posted up on the walls of Besseges, containing menaces of death against priests, bourgeois, bankers, and exploiters in general, and winding up with "Vive la Guillotine!" If these hysteric effusions are genuine, we can but pity the half-starved, hopeless creatures, driven to desperation by their state, their eyes seeing everything in the colour of blood, their minds capable of constructing no plan of release—nothing except a brute-like "revenge" on those who are their immediate or apparent oppressors, and have probably, in the intolerable network in which we are all alike entangled, become so involuntarily and through no "crime" of their own.

SAINT ETIENNE.—Last week was held here the National Congress of French Miners, a few days after that of the Belgian Miners. The scheme which is laid before Parliament on the regulation of work in the mines was discussed at length, the amendments of Basly being all carried, and finally a counter resolution passed. To end up with, a resolution was passed declaring the adherence of the Congress to the Labour Federation of French Syndicates lately established at the Congress of Lyons. When the Congress had finished sitting a large public meeting was held under the auspices of the Miners' Federation, among those there present being the Socialist members of Parliament Basly and Camelinat, besides numerous other members and political men.

ALGERIA.

For some time past the labour-organisation in Algeria has been gradually developing in a satisfactory manner; working-men's syndicates are being formed everywhere, and shortly there is to be held at Constantine a Labour Congress which will discuss social questions and social ills and their remedies.

ITALY.

FINALE EMILIA (Liguria).—The strike of labourers here is still proceeding, maintained by the *esprit de corps* and rigorous self-denial of the strikers. The contractors have tried to get hands from the neighbourhood, but find to their cost a strong sense of fraternity among the other workers.

ALESSANDRIA.—The employés at the "Borsalina" hat-factory here are on strike because the capitalist day by day decreases the salaries, so that while a few years back the men made 35 or 40 lire, they now find it difficult to make between 15 and 20 lire. The master holds out, and endeavours to shake the strikers by dismissing their wives and sisters from the establishment.

RAVENNA.—The electoral committees of Ravenna and Forli, as interpreters of the popular sentiment of Romagna have decided to present for the fourth time the candidature of Amilcare Cipriani, other candidates being withdrawn in his favour. It is of course melancholy to confess to an utter failure, involving as it does the prolonged imprisonment of this energetic revolutionist; but a failure it is, and naturally so; and surely at "the fourth time of asking" it is time to give up the struggle, however much it may irk Cipriani's friends to do so.

Italian revolutionary journals enjoy but a precarious existence, living, as it were, from hand to mouth. The fourth issue of *Humanitas*, an Anarchist publication of Naples, has been sequestered, "in consequence of its writings provocative of class-hatred in all countries," this being the second time already in its youthful existence. A long life and a merry one to this plucky little publication! At Ancona also, we hear, Nos. 4, 5, and 6 of the *Paria* have been seized upon. For all that, says *Humanitas*, this journal will still be maintained, and will continue its publications more busily than ever.

SPAIN.

MADRID.—The number of unemployed in this city is always increasing. The eight-hour movement is always and ever in agitation—whatever it may be worth.

VALENCIA.—The strike of "typos" here is still continued; subscriptions are opened to help them, and we are told there is every hope of success for the strikers.

GRANADA.—The tanners here have demanded of their master an eight hours' working day, considering the laborious and very unhealthy nature of the work. The demand, courteously—alas! humbly—worded, was carried to the office by four delegates, who were not courteously received. The men of the factory are on strike in consequence.

BARCELONA.—The weavers at D. Pablo Salvador's factory have struck, owing to his increasing the number of cloths without increasing the price thereof—a little piece of arithmetic which the ingenuous "master of men" is very apt to indulge in, openly or covertly. The little game "becomes monotonous," and the hands strike. (Some day this metaphorical image of industrial slang will cease to be an image merely, and the hand *will* strike, and the blow will be a very definite one, and fraught with meaning.)

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

NOTICE.—All business matters relating to the Socialist League to be directed to the Secretary, H. A. Barker, 13 Farringdon Road, London, E.C.

Bazaar and Concert.—Distribution of prizes will take place at 6 o'clock on Saturday March 5; Concert at 8 o'clock. All monies and tickets must be returned by first post on that date or will not participate. J. LANE.

Police Interference.—This matter will be under discussion by Council at its next meeting, Monday March 14. All members interested in the matter are requested to attend.

Outdoor Propaganda.—A meeting of out-door speakers will be held on Saturday March 12th at 13 Farringdon Road, at 7 p.m., for the purpose of arranging the outdoor propaganda for forthcoming season. Speakers are asked to attend.

Lessons in French.—It has been thought advisable to start a class in the French language. Comrade Victor Dave has kindly volunteered his services as teacher. The first lesson will be given on Tuesday, March 1, at 8 p.m. All those desirous of joining the class are requested to send their names to the secretary, H. A. Barker, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.

Reports for "Commonweal."—Branch Secretaries are requested to make their reports as brief as possible, dealing with points of general interest as to the progress of the propaganda, rather than attempting to give the substance of the lectures, for which there is not space, even if it were otherwise desirable. Notices should be confined to purely business announcements and written separately. Reports and Notices should be addressed to the "Printer," and cannot be guaranteed insertion unless they reach the office by 2 p.m. on Tuesday.

Closing of Library.—All members of the Socialist League and others who have borrowed books prior to Monday, February 21st, are earnestly requested to return same to Librarians on or before Monday, March 7th. Members are notified that unless this be complied with, Rule III. (relating to fines) must be enforced, and defaulting members suspended from Library privileges. The Library will be re-opened on Monday, March 21st. (The Librarians will be pleased to acknowledge presents of Socialist books lately published).—LENA WARDLE and WM. BLUNDELL, Librarians.

Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Birmingham, Hackney, Hull, Leeds, North London, to August 31. Manchester, Merton, Norwich, to October 31. Bradford, to November 30. Croydon, Hamersmith, Leicester, South London, to Dec. 31, 1886. Bloomsbury, Lancaster, to January 31. Clerkenwell, to February 28. Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Oxford, to March 31, 1887.

STRIKE COMMITTEE.

V. D., 1s.; W., 1s.; P., 6d.; W. M., 1s

T. BINNING, Treasurer.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

T. B. (weekly), 6d.; W. B. (weekly), 6d.; E. B. B. (weekly), 1s.; Bloomsbury Branch (weekly), 5s. Ph. W., Treasurer, March 1.

THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

Already acknowledged, £22, 14s. 7d.; Arthur, 6d.; E. Lacey, 2s.; Leeds Branch (weekly), 2s. 1.; F. S., 1s.; Anon., 2s. 6d.; Birmingham Secular Club and Institute, per E. Burns, 6s. 9d.; Webb, 1s.; Mitcham Branch, 6s. 1d.; Hamersmith Branch, 3s. 3d.; Collected in Hyde Park, 10½d.; ditto, 2s. 6½d.; Collected by H. Watt and R. S. P. (Stafford), 9s. For Mrs. Mowbray—A few Fabians, by Annie Besant (weekly), 10s.—Total, £25, 2s. 1d. J. LANE, Treasurer.

[This was received last week too late for acknowledgment in that issue of the paper. All monies received after noon on Tuesday will be acknowledged the following week.]

BRANCH REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—A. K. Donald was elected secretary by this Branch at the business meeting on Friday, Feb. 25th. W. Utley was also elected for the vacant place on the Council, Chambers resigning.—L. W.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, Feb. 23, A. K. Donald addressed a good audience on the subject, "Scotch Miners." Good discussion followed, and the sum of 2s. 10d. collected for the Miners' Fund. On Sunday, Feb. 27th, W. B. Robertson lectured on "Production." Other meetings have been attended during the week by members of this Branch. Literature has sold fairly well. Branch members' meeting next Sunday, 7 p.m.—W. B. and T. E. W., secs.

CROYDON.—On Sunday, February 27th, H. Davis gave an address on "The Modern Trinity: Land, Labour, and Capital." Good audience and collection.—A. T., ast. sec.

FULHAM.—A large gathering of comrades and friends took place at Walham Green on Sunday morning, in the expectation of hearing a debate between Mr. Green, our usual courteous opponent here, and the Socialist speaker. In the enforced absence of the challenger, his place was supplied by a gentleman whose acquaintance with our views was quite as full and as accurate as, doubtless, Mr. Green's would have been. Sparring gave the Socialist position, and a brisk debate followed. We hope to meet Mr. Green here on another occasion.

HACKNEY.—On Sunday morning, we held a short meeting at the "Salmon and Ball," Flockton and Nicoll speaking. We then went to support Graham at the Broadway, London Fields. Graham and Nicoll spoke to the following resolution, which was carried unanimously: "That this meeting expresses its indignant protest against the unjust sentence passed on James Allman by Mr. Hannay for an alleged obstruction, and calls upon all workers to support the Socialists in their struggle for free speech." A large number of leaflets was distributed. In the evening, H. Graham lectured on "The Realisation of Socialism." Sale of literature increasing.—H. MATTHEWS, sec.

HAMMERSMITH.—On Sunday, Feb. 27th, Mrs. C. M. Wilson (Fabian) lectured on "Authority and Revolt." The Anarchist theory underlying an interesting discourse was criticised by comrades Beasley, Carruthers, Morris, and Radford, who were mainly concerned with the difficulty of finding how the every-day affairs of a community could be conducted without the rule of either majority or minority. It was decided to hold an annual meeting of members on Sunday, March 13th, at 6 p.m. Will members please note?

MARYLEBONE AND NORTH LONDON.—Comrades Brooks, Cantwell, and Charles addressed a good meeting in Regent's Park. Faulkner lectured to a rather small audience in Cleveland Hall on "Law and War." In the afternoon, Mainwaring and Charles spoke to a large audience in Hyde Park. Sir Charles Warren seems to have taken it into his head also to interfere with public rights in the park, and had instructed some of his bullies to hustle the people listening to our speakers. He shall, however, find it will be difficult for him to put down free speech in the parks. Collected in Hyde Park for Mowbray and Henderson Fund, 2s. 6½d.—H. CHARLES, sec.

MITCHAM.—On Sunday evening, comrade Lane lectured on "The Different Schools of Socialist Thought." The audience seemed to be highly interested. A good discussion followed. One new member made.—S. G., sec.

BRADFORD.—On Sunday morning, Feb. 27, some of us attended a morning lecture, "Liberty v. Socialism," by Mr. W. Nelson, an Individualist, who showed a sad want of knowledge of the economic conditions of the working-classes, and an entire misconception of the aims of Socialism. Like many of our individualist opponents, he prepared for his hearers a gigantic State-Socialism bogey in order to knock it down again. Comrade Mitchell opposed the lecturer in a very effective manner. In the evening, G. A. Gaskel lectured at the "Exchange," City Road, on "Socialism v. Individualism," before a good audience. A lively discussion followed.—C. H., sec.

EDINBURGH.—On Monday, Feb. 21, in Free Tron Hall, Patrick Geddes gave his second lecture on "The Theory and Practice of Social Reform" to a good audience. Some of the Socialists present seemed to think that "reform" might be brought about with somewhat more rapidly than the lecturer indicated.—G.

GLASGOW.—On Saturday evening, in the Southern Christian Institute, comrade Daniel M'Culloch gave a lecture on "Education," which he treated from a Socialist standpoint. The lecture was well received, and gave rise to a good discussion. On Sunday afternoon, J. C. McCutcheon, a friend from England, lectured to a large audience on the Jail Square on the "Duty of the People." In the evening in Hall, Carlton Place, McCutcheon took the place of Muirhead, and lectured on "England Arise," maintaining that the use of machinery was incompatible with a healthy and happy state of Society. The lecture excited much interest and discussion.—J. B. G.

LANCASTER.—Sharman lectured for us at the Athenæum on Tuesday night, on "Poverty, its Cause and its Cure." Cleverly criticised the accepted fables of teetotalism, Malthusianism, Christism, competitive co-operation, etc., and gave some telling statistics about wages in the country, concluding by showing that until the People rose against their Haters they'd stay where they are—in their sty. Good and quite sympathetic audience, over which E. P. Hall presided.—LEONARD HALL, sec.

LEEDS.—On Saturday evening, the members of Branch met the Bradford comrades at the Newmarket Hotel, Bradford, to hear an address from comrade Mahon on the "Prospects of Socialism in the Provinces," and to make arrangements for the coming summer, when the Leeds, Bradford, and Bingley Branches are going to co-operate to further the Cause in Yorkshire. On Sunday morning at 11 a.m., Mahon addressed an open-air meeting in Vicar's Croft.—F. C., sec.

NORWICH.—On Sunday morning, good meeting at St. Mary's Plain. Glorious meeting in the Market Place at 3, kept it up two hours, 6,000 there without doubt. Three cheers were given for Henderson and Mowbray, also three ringing cheers given for the Social Revolution.—J. TOCHATTI.

LECTURE DIARY.

London Branches.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street. Friday March 4, at 8.30., Eleanor Marx-Aveling will lecture; and on Friday 11, H. H. Sparling.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday, March 6, at 8.30 p.m., Laurence Gronlund, "Continental Socialism." Wednesday, March 9, at 8.30, A Lecture. See Lecture List in *Pall Mall* and *Daily News*.—Members' Business Meeting next Sunday at 7 p.m.

Croydon.—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday March 6, S. Mainwaring lectures.—Committee Meeting every Friday at 8 p.m. sharp, at Parker Road.

Hackney.—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 8 till 11. Business Meeting every Tuesday at 8.30. Discussion Class Thursday evenings. On Sunday March 6, at 8.30., H. Davis, "The Modern Trinity: Land, Labour, and Capital."

Hammersmith.—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday March 6, at 8 p.m. A. K. Donald, "Political Economy from the Socialist Standpoint."

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—New premises, 2 Crondel Street, New North Road, will be opened on Sunday, March 6, with a lecture by Wm. Morris, at 8 p.m. Subject: "How we Live, and How we Might Live."

Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday. Discussions held every Sunday morning at 11.

Mitcham.—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11. Sunday March 6, at 8.30. H. Hill, "Co-operation versus Competition."

Country Branches.

Bingley.—Coffee Tavern. Every Monday at 7.30 p.m.

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

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

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. Reading Room and Library open every Wednesday evening, 8 till 10.—In Free Tron Hall, Monday March 7, at 8 o'clock, Edward Carpenter, M.A., "Civilisation, its Cause and Cure." March 14, William Morris. Admission 1s., 6d., and 3d.

Fulham.—Address Sec., 34 May Street.

Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily.—On Sunday, open-air meetings on Jail's Square at 1 and 5 o'clock. In the evening, at 7 o'clock, in Assembly Rooms, Bath Street, Edward Carpenter will lecture on "The Mammon-Worship of Five Per Cent." members earnestly requested to turn up.

Hamilton.—Branch meets every Thursday at 7.30 in Paton's Hall, Chapel Street.

Hull.—11 Princess Street, Sykes Street. Club Room open every evening. Lectures every Thursday and Sunday at 7 p.m.

Lancaster.—Owing to some organised boycotting on the part of fat aldermen and magisterial trustees, we have no fixed meeting-place at present.

Leicester.—Spiritualist Hall, Silver Street. Sunday Afternoon, at 2.45 p.m. J. Copeland, "Co-operation Criticised."

Manchester.—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening 6 to 10 p.m. Lecture and discussion every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—No. 6 St. Benedict St. Lecture and discussion every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room open every day from 8.30 a.m. to 10 p.m.

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

Open-air Propaganda—Sunday 6.

11.30...Hackney—"Salmon and Ball"The Branch

11.30...Hammersmith—Beadon Rd.The Branch

11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield StreetThe Branch

11.30...Regent's ParkThe Branch

11.30...St. Pancras Arches.....The Branch

11.30...Walham Green—StationThe Branch

3.30...Hyde Park (near Marble Arch).....The Branch

PROVINCES.—SUNDAY.

Norwich.—St. Mary's Plain, 11; Market Place, 3.

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

Paris Commune Celebrations.

An International Celebration of the Paris Commune will be held at SOUTH PLACE CHAPEL on THURSDAY MARCH 17.

The Socialists of Nottingham combined intend to hold an International Celebration of the Paris Commune on Friday March 18. Tea will be served at 7 o'clock, and after that an Entertainment will be given, and Speeches delivered by Frenchmen and Englishmen, to conclude with a dance.

NORWICH.—The Commune will be commemorated by a large public meeting on March 19th, when Sparling and others will speak. Sparling will also lecture on "The Commune" on March 20th and 21st.

CLEVELAND HALL, 54 Cleveland Street (near Portland Road Station).—Sundays at 11.30 a.m. Mar. 6. "Authority and Revolt."

A Provincial Propagandist Tour.—Comrade Mahon's tour is now nearly ended. At present he is at Newcastle, and will report from there next week. After visiting Norwich and Ipswich, it is expected he will return to town again.

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at 13 Farringdon Road, London

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 61.

SATURDAY, MARCH 12, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

POLITICAL NOTES.

THE "row" in the House of Commons of March 3 gives us an indication of what is coming, if we take it along with the hints as to what the Coercion Bill is likely to be. The Chief Secretary's insults and tall talk mean pretty much the lion lashing his tail just before his wrath (or hunger) takes the practical form of a spring and a blow. Or perhaps it may with greater accuracy be compared with the demeanour of the Highlanders, walking about and snorting to stimulate their warlike spirits before they pull out point-and-edge, as described by Walter Scott in 'Rob Roy.'

The Tory supporters of the Government have bidden them to get angry and act. They are trying to get angry so that they may act, since there is no way out of it; but no doubt their feelings are not very enviable at present. They must be full of dismal forebodings that their action will draw on a state of things which only strong men could deal with and avoid the mingled curses and laughter which accompany absurd failure in "strong"—i.e., tyrannical—measures.

The Irish nation have shown such admirable qualities through this struggle, such steadiness of purpose, and persistence in union, that they may be trusted to deal satisfactorily with this long expected crisis; all the more as they must be seeing clearly final victory drawing nearer and nearer to them. But what allies will they have among English parties outside the sympathy of the outcast Socialists?

As parties or sections what allies can they have? It would be absurd to appeal to the Liberal party to further those aspirations towards freedom which it is its very business to restrain. And as to the Radical party, where is it and what is it except the feeble tail of this same feebly reactionary Liberal party?

The only appeal that can be made is to those few Radicals who have any title to the name to break off from their Liberal party if it shows, as it certainly will show, the slightest sign of wavering in steady opposition to coercion without any great nicety as to the means. For in good truth, if the Government are going to put forward an effective Coercion Bill, as according to all reports they are, they will give the signal for civil war.

Here is the position in all its simplicity. On the one hand a people determined according to its lights to win freedom for itself. On the other hand a government which is determined that this people shall not be free, and after having exhausted all half measures of mingled chicanery and force, with a thin gloss of professed respect for "constitutionalism" (whatever that may mean), is now driven to throw off the mask, and to say there shall no longer be any semblance of freedom in Ireland, and the expression of opinion shall be considered, or even the implication of opinion shall be considered, as treasonable action in the egg and shall be suppressed and shut up in jail accordingly. What is to come out of this position? Who is to give way, Ireland or the reactionary party of Great Britain? If the former is to be crushed, the struggle will not be long before it reappears, not as civil war in Ireland, but as civil war in England. W. M.

CRIMINAL LAW UNDER SOCIALISM.

PROBABLY few persons realise the extent to which crime is reducible to the question of private property. There are few orders of crime which are not traceable directly or indirectly to possession and the desire of possession. In the first place we have the largest and most important section of offences recognised by law, those which may be comprehended under the phrase "unlawful appropriation," i.e., theft and robbery in all their forms. Here, of course, is a vast body of crime which would be practically impossible in a state of society in which the necessities and comforts of life were within the reach of all, and when the fact of possession did not carry with it the possibility of surplus-value. Then, again, there is the indecent class of crime. This is largely a consequence of the hypocritical sexual relations at present obtaining, resulting from the institution of monogamic marriage, which is in its form based on our existing property-relations—although here matters of pure pathology have properly to be taken into account. Thirdly, we have the description of crime coming under

the head of *brutal assaults*, or malicious injuries (including murder). This last is usually associated with one or other of the two former departments, most frequently with crimes against property but not always. Fourthly, must be included perjury or false-witness in all its forms. We shall find that all serious crimes (as distinguished from mere misdemeanour, as it is termed, and from political offences) is comprised within these four categories, the first embracing all crimes primarily against property, the three last all crimes primarily against the person, it matters not whether the question of property enters secondarily into them or not.

Now, largely as the present condition of society is directly responsible for crime, and still more largely as it is so indirectly, we can hardly hope that a change of economic condition would do more immediately than efface the crimes directly connected with property. The gradual elimination of the remainder would be effected in the process of the development of the new order, but not entirely at once. We cannot, therefore, treat this question in the snakes-in-Iceland fashion we were able to do when dealing with civil law under Socialism in a previous article. But, nevertheless, I take it that the *régime* of a Socialist administration will involve an enormous change of attitude in dealing with crime. Firstly, it will without doubt reduce to the minimum the number of actions characterised by the law as crimes. Secondly, it will probably regard the greatest possible consideration for the criminal compatible with the maintenance of social existence at all, as its first duty in the matter. Thirdly, it will assuredly withdraw the right of prosecution from private individuals and vest it wholly and solely in the delegates of society.

The interest of the legal body, so influential in all modern legislatures, is to increase to the utmost the cognisance of the criminal law over actions. In this they are aided and abetted by a number of persons who entertain a pet hobby against particular vices (real or "so-called"), and are always prepared to agitate for their elevation to the rank of crimes. The legal luminaries who assist in this are quite indifferent to the fact, of which they must be well aware, that the wider the range of law-made crime, the greater the chance of innocent persons being, if not convicted at least accused, and their characters thereby blasted. And these, be it remembered, are the gentlemen who are so zealous in defending the law of libel as a necessary protection of character. It is monstrous, they pretend to think, that a man who has done an action deemed discreditable should have it proclaimed on the platform or in the press, but it is a "mere natural" misfortune incident to human affairs that an innocent person should be put to the annoyance and inconvenience of being hauled up before a police-court to answer a trumped-up charge, which it may nevertheless be very difficult to disprove to the satisfaction of the public.

Of course, all that these "legal gentlemen" care for, is to maintain and increase the business of the courts, civil and criminal. To such commercial principles are their zeal for the protection of character and the suppression of crime in the last resort reducible. A Socialist society, whose aim would be to reduce the machinery of law to the minimum, would rely for the preservation of public morals precisely on that publicity which the legal crime-manufacturer tries so energetically to suppress for the protection of character. And in the end, he would undoubtedly find this a more powerful agent for the repression of crime than the most elaborately comprehensive code, designed for laying direct hands on the persons of offenders. When there is no interest at stake in the maintenance of judicial machinery, the number of law-made crimes must inevitably diminish.

That a Socialist administration would treat delinquents with the utmost leniency consistent with the existence of society will, I take it, not be disputed. The failure of organised brutality as a correction to crime has been attested over and over again by experience. Were the brutal punishments of earlier phases of society effectual in repressing crime? The panegyrists of modern civilisation are never tired of impressing upon us the great advances made in respect of crime, both as to diminution and treatment. It has been shown constantly that a particular offence has actually diminished on the repeal of brutal enactments bearing on it. Yet, strange to say, these very panegyrists of modern civilisation are frequently the first to cry out for *deterrent* punishments and long sentences, and to dilate on the maintenance of prison "discipline" (the specious euphemism for the inhumanity practised in our gaols). To convince themselves of the needlessness of so-called "prison discipline," they have only to cast an eye on some of the Swiss cantons (notably Geneva), where imprisonment means little more than simple reclusion, and where they will find that even a bourgeois society holds together without any of the

acts of brutality and petty tyranny dignified in most countries by the name of "prison discipline." A brutal officialism and red-tapeism which pays no attention to individual cases must of itself breed crime.

The bourgeois moralist should at least be consistent. The chief and, indeed, only real advantage (outweighed by its many disadvantages) which the society of to-day has over that of the middle ages, is its relative security from brutal violence, and the relative (I had almost said the co-relative) absence of the more brutal forms of punishment. And the panegyrist of bourgeois society knows this and makes use of it. Of how many a declamatory newspaper leader and platform speech is it not the theme? And yet this same penny-a-liner or platform spouter will often be the first to condemn as sentimentality any protest against the still-existing brutality of our criminal code. He will be anxious to minimise to the utmost one of the few points wherein modern civilisation can show any sort of real superiority to that of earlier ages. Such is the consistency of the advocates of class-society and its methods.

Once more, we have said that a social administration would remove the right of prosecution from the private individual. As to this also I should imagine there could be no doubt, since the right of private prosecution exists only to facilitate recourse to the tribunals in the interest of the legal profession and its offshoots. If an action is injurious to society, it is plainly the part of society to take the initiative in dealing with it, and not allow the individual from his mere lust for revenge to set its judicial machinery in motion. This is also the work of lawyers, whose interest it is to multiply the business of the courts. The individual right of prosecution is a premium on extortion in all its forms and personal malice. As things are at present, the only safeguard a man has against malicious prosecution is the clumsy device of in his turn instituting a prosecution for perjury, which he will probably fail in bringing home to the delinquent.

E. B. BAX.

(To be concluded).

SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

CHAPTER XVI.

SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM—KARL MARX.—II. MONEY.

WE have now come to the point where it is necessary to consider the circulation of commodities; the first means to this circulation is the establishment of a *tertium quid*, or universal equivalent. And in order to have a really universal equivalent it is necessary that use-value should be eliminated from it, since such an equivalent is required to express not the diverse *qualities* of all the various commodities, but the relative *quantity* of embodied human labour which they severally contain.

Money as a mere measure of value is imaginary and ideal, but the bodily form of it must express quantitatively equivalent abstract value—i.e., labour—and takes the form of the precious metals, finally of gold.

Gold has come to be the bodily form taken by the universal measure of value, partly because of its natural qualities—portability, durability, etc., but chiefly because the course of history has invested it with this function; and also because its value, instead of changing from, say, week to week, as is the case with other commodities, changes rather from century to century, so that its value may be considered stable relatively to them, just as one speaks of indigo as a permanent dye, which it is relatively to other dyes, although none are absolutely permanent.¹

Paper money is promises to pay gold, which is directly exchangeable with all other commodities. Paper money, therefore, is merely a symbol of the exchange really effected by gold.

This universal equivalent takes the place of barter, which is the primitive and direct form of exchange,² and at which stage the distinction between buyer and seller has not arisen. It now gives place to the first form of indirect exchange, in which a third term is interposed between the articles which are to be parted with and acquired. Now for the first time the above distinction takes shape. The seller has a commodity which he does not propose to consume, and therefore he acquires with it money, with which money he buys in turn another commodity equal in quantity to that with which he has parted, but different from it in quality. Marx has formulated this transaction by the well-known and useful formula, Commodity, Money, Commodity: C—M—C.

The habit of hoarding which is common amongst ancient societies, and also among barbarous peoples, is a natural concomitant of this stage of exchange, and is the first germ of Capital. It is brought about by the arrest of the above process at its first phase thus, C—M—the seller of the commodity does not go on to buy. Under these con-

ditions money becomes a social power; and being a commodity like other commodities, can be acquired by private persons, whom it invests with social power. Therefore in those states of society which had not outgrown their primitive social ethics, money was considered the embodiment of all evil.

This stage of exchange marks the pre-commercial use of money; after a while it tends to develop into another stage, which carries the exchange a step further. The holder of a commodity which he does not propose to consume exchanges it for money, which he again exchanges for a commodity to be used, not for his personal consumption but to be exchanged once more for money. He would have no object in doing this if his aim were merely that of the simple exchanger (C. M. C.), namely, to obtain an article of consumption different in kind to that which he has exchanged, since in money there is no inherent difference of quality and therefore whatever difference there may be must be one of quantity. Accordingly the object of the exchanger in this second stage is amount, not kind. In going through his process of exchange (the formula for which may be stated thus:

$$C - M - C - M - C),$$

the second quantum of money must be more than the first, or else he will have failed in his object; will have made a bad bargain, as the phrase goes. On the other hand, though this form of exchange differs essentially it nevertheless connects itself with the earlier form, in which money occurs only as the middle term between commodity and commodity, thus distinguishing it from simple barter, because even in the later form the result of the merchant's transaction is a commodity with which he intends to begin a fresh transaction—

$$C - M - C - M - C.$$

This is the form of exchange which was the practice of the developed classical world in its commercial operations. The break up of the Roman Empire, and the confusion that followed, dislocated this commerce, and largely brought exchange back again to its earlier and simple form of the exchange of a commodity for money with which to buy another commodity to be consumed, which was for the most part the character of the exchange of the Middle Ages.

This second form of exchange leads without a break into the third or modern form of Capitalistic Exchange, in which the exchanger, beginning with money, buys a commodity in order to exchange it for money; which money, as in the foregoing stage, must be more in quantity than that with which he began, or his transaction will be a failure. This process differs from that of the last-mentioned stage of exchange in that the result of the transaction is always money, and not a commodity (that is, a use-value), the latter in the long-run appearing only nominally in the transaction.

To make this clearer, we may give concrete examples of the three forms of exchange:

In the first stage, illustrated by the proceedings of the Craftsman of the time of Homer, which were pretty much those of the Mediæval Craftsman also, the village potter sold his pots and with the money he got for them, which, possible trickery apart, represented just the value or embodied labour of the pots, he bought meal, oil, wine, flesh, etc., for his own livelihood and consumed them.

The merchant of the later classical period shipped, say, purple cloth from Sidon to Alexandria, sold his cloth there, and with the money bought gum-Arabic (from the Soudan) and frankincense (from Arabia), which he sold at Athens, where again he shipped oil for another market. He always handled the actual goods he professed to trade in, and the wares which he thus exchanged against the universal equivalent, money, were of various kinds. Similar commerce went on in the Middle Ages, as with the merchants of Amalfi, Venice, etc., side by side with the primitive exchange of the feudal manor, and the market-town with its corporation and gilds.

The modern man of Commerce necessarily begins his transaction with money. He buys, say, indigo, which he never sees, receives for it more money than he gave for it, and goes on steadily in this process, dealing (unlike the ancient carrier-merchant) with one class of goods only; and all the goods in which he deals represent to him so much money: they are only present in his transactions nominally. Money is the be-all and end-all of his existence as a commercial man.

This is an example of the pure form of capitalistic exchange, wherein money is exchanged for commodities, and these again for money plus an increment; the formula for which, as given by Marx, is M—C—M.

The next question we have to consider is how the surplus, the increment above-mentioned, obtained by this process of exchange is realised,—or, in plain language, where it comes from.

E. BELFORT BAX AND WILLIAM MORRIS.

MAGDEBURG, March 3.—A large crowd assembled last night in the Kaiser Strasse in front of the office at which the result of the election for this city was announced, and by hissing and shouting gave expression to their displeasure at the defeat of the Social Democratic candidate. The police proving powerless to cope with the rioters, the authorities sent for the military. Many arrests were made.

It is the sheerest folly ever to suppose that lawyers can ever take any side but that of the vultures of society. They are but the too ready tools of all kinds of class trickery and fraud in legislation. The grossest villainy once finding its way to the Statute Book—and that is easy enough—is, in the eyes of the plundering classes, entitled to receive all the respect due to the Ten Commandments. Immorality, by the stroke of a pen, is transformed into morality.—*Pioneer*.

¹ As a deduction from this, we may say that while on the one hand there was no abstract necessity for the measure of value taking the form of gold, though there was a necessity for it to take a form embodying a certain definite amount of labour; on the other hand, since it has taken that form, labour notes, or mere promises to pay which are of no value in themselves, cannot as long as exchange lasts take the place of gold, which is a commodity having a value in itself and the particular commodity which has assumed that function through historical selection.

² There are transitional stages between barter pure and simple and exchange operated by a universal equivalent, which only partly fulfilled this office: e.g., cattle, in the primitive ancient period, from which the name for money (*pecunia*) is derived; or ordinary woollen cloth, as in the curious and rather elaborate currency of the Scandinavians before coin was struck in Norway: which currency, by the way, has again, in the form of blankets, been used even in our own times in the Hudson Bay Territory.

AFFAIRS IN AUSTRIA.

ZNAIM IN MORAVIA, Feb. 28.—In Trebitsch in Moravia, a Socialist prosecution has taken place. The Socialist Horak, expelled from Vienna, went to Trebitsch, where he obtained great influence over the workers. By this he attracted the attention of the police. He was arrested and charged with scattering seditious pamphlets and with breach of public quiet. Owing to this arrest there happened riotings, and even attempts to rescue. The police were in readiness, and prepared a very shocking story; in an inn a cake was sold by auction on behalf of Horak. That was a new sign that a plot was projected. The houses of the Trebitsch Socialists were searched. At Benesch's they found three copies of an Austrian labour paper, of songs, some writings, and a letter, in which the writer says: "Do you exercise since Horak is imprisoned?" At Krenek's they found some money orders to a labour leaf and to Horak, and in the dress of his wife a photograph of Horak; at Sankoss's seditious writings, eighteen cartridges, and a visiting-card of Horak! With this important booty the State Prosecutor sat down and wrote an indictment charging five Socialists with Socialistic intrigues and with being members of an illegal society, according to 285 sec. and 28 p. of the penal law. But he had made a great mistake. He had not charged the defendants before the Superior Heretic Court at Prague, and therefore they were discharged.

The Government has explained its position against the Labour Chamber Bill. The Marquis Bouquehem said the bill has a tendency to create an organ for guarding the special interests of the labourers. But already on the basis of existing laws, organisations can be founded for that purpose. He referred to the trade courts, to the arbitration courts, to the institution of the trade inspectors, to the commercial and trade chambers, to whoever had published judgments on the labour situation. All these corporations and institutions would be injured in their efficacy. Extreme elements would take possession of the labour chambers, which then would utter only wishes not to be fulfilled. The Premier, Count Taaffe (from an Irish landlord family, who emigrated at the time of the glorious revolution in 1689), spoke very evasively. He said the bill objects to the principle that the legislation consists of the representation of interested groups, not of classes of society, to the principle that only men paying a direct tax can have the suffrage, etc., etc. Such important principles being the matter in dispute the Government cannot give a decisive answer! According to these words of the two Ministers, the labourers find their best friends in the Government. But the facts of the feudal party speak a too distinct language to expect a conversion of the labourers by such hypocritical words. We never can trust in a Government which considers social reform as a reform of the poor law, and which has issued exception ordinances against the labour movement. In spite of having suppressed a true labour press, so that our organs must weigh every word before uttered, in spite of having dissolved legal unions, in spite of having forbidden assemblies, in spite of having incarcerated arbitrarily our comrades, in spite of having passed coercion laws against us, the Government has the impudence to speak of their labour friendliness, while everything protests loudly against these infamous lies! This kind of men will totally have deserved the fate destined for them.

The Low Austrian Peasant Union will present to the Emperor a memorandum describing the melancholy situation of the Austrian peasant. But it must be said that much of this peasant movement is not to be understood. First they fight against landlordism, and petition the Emperor, the upper landlord; they condemn Parliamentarism by showing that our Reichsrath is the representation of the exploiting classes, and are for absolute monarchy; on the other hand, their organ, *Mittelstrasse*, published in a late issue an article praising and sympathising with the Social Democrats. In short, the opinions of the party have not yet classified themselves, but it is remarkable how our peasants begin to feel their interest in the universal labour movement.

To-morrow the delegations will meet. They will debate a credit demanded by the Minister of War, amounting as it is supposed from 50 to 55 millions of florins. His ministerial Excellency will, as all Ministers of War of our times do, horribly brandish the sabre, with much babble about patriotism; and as the delegations compete to surpass each other in this patriotism (read servilism), the credit will be granted without delay. How long this "armed peace" will last not even the great Otto in Berlin knows according to his avowal, but what we know is that such a situation sharpens the present economic crisis, furthers the process of proletarianising of a part of the less well-to-do, and so promotes the revolutionary opinions of the great mass.

With the liveliest interest we here have followed the course of the hot fight of our brethren in Germany. The *Gleichheit* opened a subscription on behalf of the electoral fund, and sent 330 fl. to their aid, a sum small indeed, but proportional to the heart-rending situation of the Austrian workers, and given gladly as a sincere sign of the solidarity existing between us and our fellow-fighters, as a sign of the internationality connecting comrades in the common opposition against brutal oppressors, not hindered even by political boundaries. Even Slav labourers took part in the subscription, showing so their abhorrence of the national hatred of the corrupted bourgeoisie, to which they with joy leave degraded fanatical race division. The immense increase of the votes given for the Socialist candidates shows that our brethren will not for long suffer from the mean rule of united capitalism and landlordism, and from these elevating victories we take the hope that also for the other proletariat, especially for the Austrian workers, that hour will soon strike, the hour of the great social revolution, which will totally and for ever destroy the present infamous "order" of Society, and will bring to all down-trodden the dawn of the better and truer time.—F. S.

In the House of Commons last Friday, Mr. Matthews, in answer to Mr. Fisher, stated that the number of police employed at the Social Democratic Federation meeting in Trafalgar Square, on the 29th of August last, was 2,373. At the demonstration at St. Paul's the number was 3,094, of whom 746 were City policemen specially employed.

A released convict, imprisoned for dishonesty, stated that, while in durance vile, he was employed making pasteboard soles for solid leather boots and shoes! John Bright once declared adulteration of goods to be but another form of competition. This is quite consistent with the hypocritical policy of our class rulers. They set in motion machinery provided at the public expense to punish petty offences against property, even when sheer starvation is the impelling force, but they legalise for their own benefit crimes against life and property thousands of times greater in magnitude! Legality and morality are very often not synonymous.—*Pioneer*.

THE CASEMENT CROSS.

(FERDINAND FREILIGRATH. Translated by J. L. JOYNES.)

THE king a hunting-party gave within his royal castle hall,
The seats were crammed with noble guests, the court musicians lined the wall,
The servants with the foaming wine went hurrying round from side to side,
And in the sultry summer heat the windows all stood open wide.

The nobles leaning out for air, where those high windows open stood,
Saw stretching far and wide beneath the alleys of the cool green wood;
The wood wherein the king so oft mid sound of hoofs and hunters' horns
Would ride till he forgot the cares that made his crown a crown of thorns.

How stiff and stark those castle walls! How troublesome this Prussian land!
How confidently firm and proud upon her rights she still would stand!
And not her noblemen alone! Her towns were throwing off the yoke;
And those there were who fain would free from serfdom e'en her peasant folk.

Brave hearts that knew not how to yield! True heritage of precious things,
Thou sacred love of liberty so hateful to the soul of kings!
As emperors grow pale to-day to see thy flaunting flag unrolled,
So trembled and grew sick at heart the lords of Brandenburg of old.

The king sat feasting with his court mid steam of meat and foam of wine—
"What matters all this petty prate of Parliament to me and mine?"—
When lo, there hurried up the hall a booted rider faint with heat,
A messenger from Parliament with blood-stained spurs and dusty feet.

He gave his budget to the king—"What fresh impertinence is here?"—
The royal hunter glanced it o'er, and paled for anger or for fear.
Across his brow a fitful frown of wrath and indignation passed,—
"Oh foolish folk, your cup is full; this insolence shall be your last.

"As surely as this apple here"—and lo, he grasps with hasty hand
An apple ripe and ruddy-cheeked from out the basket where they stand—
"As surely as this apple now deep into yonder wood I send,
So sure will I of Prussia's pride and boundless insolence make end.

"So surely shall they own their lord, and on my royal pleasure wait;
So surely will I crush the pride of this too haughty subject State;
So surely."—And he raised his arm, and bent his body back to throw—
The nobles stretched their heads to see, and hardly dared to whisper low.

Forth flew the apple—to the wood?—Nay, not so fast! 'Twas wildly thrown;
It whistled through the crowded hall, and—hit the casement's mullioned stone,
Then tumbled on the floor.—Well done! 'Tis but to make a steady stand!
So let this mullioned casement's cross thy pattern be, my Fatherland.

SOCIALISM IN THE EASTERN COUNTIES.

On Sunday February 20 I addressed a meeting of three or four hundred in St. Mary's Plain, Norwich, at 11.30. Good sale of literature. At three in the afternoon I spoke in the Market Place. No opposition; meeting very attentive, and took up the points well. Cheers were given for Mowbray and Henderson, and also for Curningham Graham, M.P., for his Socialistic speech in the House of Commons. In the evening we had a meeting opposite the Agricultural Hall, and at 8 I lectured at St. Benedict's on "Radicalism and Socialism," a good discussion following. On Monday February 21 I spoke outside Colman's factory at 1.40 to about 400 work-people, and was well received; and at 7 we held a meeting outside Smith's shoe-factory of about 200, many of whom followed to hear the lecture on "Land and Rent," given at St. Benedict's, which again was very well received, and good discussion by Mills, Lestner, and other comrades. On Tuesday 22 E. Curson read a paper on "Socialism" at the Queen's Road Improvement Society, the members receiving us with great courtesy and allowing three Socialists to speak in support—Mills, Morley, and myself availing ourselves of the opportunity; and we were convinced that a very good impression was made, and we were invited to come again. On Wednesday we journeyed to Yarmouth, and held a good meeting on the Hall Quay from 3 o'clock to 4. About 500 gathered to listen. An elderly cad, "very much over-fed and under-educated," tried to create a disturbance, but was quickly shouldered out by a sturdy labouring man, and another who attempted to interrupt by asking how much I was paid for speaking, was in turn sent to the right-about, the audience being very sympathetic. A good number of leaflets were given away. On Thursday I again spoke at Colman's, this time to about 700, leaflets being freely distributed. Altogether we had a very good meeting; it could easily be seen they were deeply interested. On Friday we attended an anti-vaccination meeting at St. Faith's, comrade Crotch and myself speaking of the necessity for Socialism to about 400 villagers; and at night I addressed the members at St. Benedict's on Organisation, etc. On Sunday February 27 we had a good meeting at 11.30 at St. Mary's Plain, which was kept up about two hours. In the afternoon, at the Market Place, we had a splendid meeting—about 7000. Darling took the chair, and I addressed the meeting for about an hour and a half. A Christian Mission man named Adie opposed, with the Bible in one hand and Bradlaugh in the other. "Nice man," but his arguments had no hold on the audience, who listened to him with evident impatience. Comrade Crotch also spoke, and was well received. Our opponent's twaddle was easily replied to, and three cheers were given for the social revolution. 11s. 6d. collected, and all *Commonweal* sold. At 7 o'clock I again spoke opposite the Agricultural Hall to about 500, and at 8 lectured at St. Benedict's on "Human Nature and Socialism," the audience being very much interested. Comrade Slaughter announced that he had at last succeeded in securing "Gordon Hall" permanently, and the meeting broke up full of hope for the future success of the Branch. On Monday February 28 I lectured in the Gordon Hall on "Objections to Socialism" to good audience, followed by a good crop of questions. The meeting finished by singing "No Master" and the "Marseillaise." On Tuesday we mustered in strong force at St. Faith's, and had a very good meeting; the "White House" was packed. Comrade Curson took the chair, and I lectured on "Socialism: What it Means." Comrades Mulls, Darling, Shore, etc., strongly supported. On Wednesday March 2 we had a good meeting at Ipswich on the Cornhill; 500 or 600 assembled and showed their approval.

JAMES TOCHATTI.



"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.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

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

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday March 9.

ENGLAND		BELGIUM	
Justice	Boston—Woman's Journal	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde	
Jus	Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer	Liege—L'Avenir	
Norwich—Daylight	New Haven (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate	Antwerp—De Werker	
Cotton Factory Times	Cincinnati (O.) Unionist		ITALY
Glasgow—Pioneer	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio	
Worker's Friend	Portland (Oreg.) Avant-Courier	Naples—Humanitas	
Christian Socialist	Patterson (N.J.) Labor Standard		SPAIN
Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung	Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	Cadiz—El Socialismo	
Practical Socialist	Detroit (Mich.)—The Advance and Labor Leaf		AUSTRIA
		Arbeiterstimme	
INDIA			ROUMANIA
Bankipore—Behar Herald	FRANCE	Jassy—Lupta	
SOUTH AUSTRALIA	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)		DENMARK
Adelaide—Our Commonwealth	Le Revolte		Social-Demokraten
	Le Socialiste		SWEDEN
UNITED STATES	Guise—Le Devoir	Stockholm—Social-Demokraten	
New York—Volkszeitung	Lille—Le Travailleur		NORWAY
Freiheit		Kristiania—Social-Demokraten	
Der Sozialist	HOLLAND		
John Swinton's Paper	Hague—Recht voor Allen		

NOTES ON NEWS.

By some accident or other the people have been granted the wonderful boon of being allowed to boat in the London parks on Sundays—those who can pay for the privilege, be it understood.

That the folk are so miserably beaten down that an hour or two's amusement on some particular day is a great thing to be thought of even by the "comfortable artisan"; this is bad enough in all conscience, but that there are so many found willing to take even this one small streak of colour out of their leaden lives is beyond endurance.

The time is past when the people could be kept quiet by the forcible application of a crude ideal of ineptitude and sanctimonious self-mutilation, or bribed into inaction by the promise of celestial delights.

They want their heaven here and now.

Would it not be well for the present-day "rulers of men" to see what they can do toward a gradual approach to social justice? Lest when we deal with the matter our dealing be characterised by a decisive promptitude eminently subversive of their dignified serenity!

By this is not meant Sunday-boating or very much more extended applications of the *panem et circenses* policy. The people may be amused and so kept quiet for awhile, but the smile presently has rather a grim under-meaning to it, not of good augury for the amusers.

Once more has the City corporation identified itself with a gigantic piece of bribery, but it is quite vain to heap obloquy upon its members as is now being done.

Allow a gang of dacoits or brigands to entrench and arm themselves and store up a mass of plundered wealth; can you then wonder that they defend their position with what weapon comes to hand?

It does no good to stand around and complain to all the gods of their unfair fighting; what must be done is to come to handblows as soon as may be; to resolve on the final extinction of monopoly, upon which rests the power of them and all like them, and then to "fight it out on that line if it takes all summer"!

Meanwhile it is funny to see how impeccable philanthropists, and other self-advertisers—from the purest motives, wriggle and squirm when

the foulness is exposed that lies behind the fair show they turn toward the world.

The report of the Committee of Enquiry into the accommodation for prisoners awaiting trial has been presented and reveals a state of things fondly supposed to have died out with the "Holy Inquisition."

An article dealing with the report will appear in these columns as soon as can be arranged; meanwhile may we suggest to the Government the advisability of instituting a companion enquiry—one into the nature and origin of the causes for there being prisoners to be tried?

The *Spectator* is exceeding wroth over those who look with lenient eye upon "disorder" among an oppressed people. A defender of reaction, it cannot see that *émeutes* in Ireland, Russia, Alsace-Lorraine, etc., are healthy signs in that they show that the healthy instinct of revolt against oppression has not been dragooned or "civilised" out of existence. H. H. S.

Our heavy contemporary *Punch* has lately had a cartoon a long way "after" Albert Durer's marvellous cut of the Knight and Death, illustrated by a "free adaptation" from Fouqué's *Sintram*, to commemorate Bismarck's victory (?) over the Socialists. Our wooden friend with a naïve stupidity quite characteristic of the professional bourgeois jester, has had the impudence to omit the not unimportant figure of Death from his cartoon, although if he had not been quite so dull or so impudently lazy he might have extracted something from Fouqué's romance which would have helped his lame allegory to totter on a step or two.

However we may leave Fouqué's gratuitous interpretation of Durer's immortal work to ask what Durer really did mean by it. For the imagination of the honest and serious craftsman of old Nuremberg, fertile as it was, and though it led him into wild and strange places, was free from any touch of the hysteria which disfigures Fouqué's elegant and even beautiful romances. Durer always meant something definite; and in this case modern historical research has found out what he did mean: his cut is a commemoration of a notable victory over a robber-knight who had long plagued the good town of Nuremberg, and implies a warning to those in high places who live by violence and robbery. The armed man on the war-horse is riding towards no victory, but a shameful death; he has come to "the net end of all his villainies"; and the awful thing that follows him is a tangible image of the crimes of his past life; his greed, rapine, cruelty, fraud, and reckless violence.

So that we may be well content after all to take Albert Durer's "Knight and Death" with his own meaning still cleaving to it, as a figurement of the doom of Blood and Iron of our own day; especially if we look not so much upon the man Bismarck, whom the course of circumstances has so curiously placed in his high position of infamy, but rather upon the type of the armed bourgeoisie, "the strong man keeping his house," which to-day owns all that is made and all that makes, and which after a long period of that confidence of living for ever, which is the natural gift of youth and manhood, is now entering the valley of the shadow of death, and has become conscious of its coming defeat, and of the companions it has made for itself, and so rides on warily and fearfully, Crime behind it, Death before it.

W. M.

THE TRADER'S INTERESTS v. THE PEOPLE'S INTERESTS.

MR. GEORGE HOWELL, M.P., writes in last month's *Fortnightly* on the "State of Trade," which shows how completely he has failed even to see the question, much less to grapple with it. After wading through pages of statistical calculations, he comes to the conclusion that trade is not alarmingly depressed after all. That we are only going through the usual slight depression after an unusually great expansion. Production has been continually expanding, while it is *prices* (not the volume of trade) that has fallen. Now, granting that Mr. Howell has proved what no one ever disputed, how much better are we for his investigations? Mr. Howell alleges that the merchants have suffered a large decrease of profits, and everybody else admits that the workers have suffered a large decrease of wages and suspension of work. What a magnificent system of society we live in; capitalists are getting worse off, and the people are getting worse off, yet "trade" is, on the whole, improving! Profits fall and wages fall, yet production is expanding! Then what are we producing, and what use is it in going on producing if nobody benefits by it? Who the devil cares for trade being prosperous if the people are getting worse off in consequence of its prosperity? For it seems, according to Mr. Howell, that it is competition only and not decline of trade that is doing all the harm. Orthodox political economy is getting into the last stages of idiocy in the process of its decline; and, like a certain poet now in his dotage, will go on babbling long after the time for silence has come. Of course, Mr. Howell cannot be regarded as an economist, but his application of orthodox notions to questions of the day forms an interesting though dismal study. The old fallacy—that the interests of commerce and the interests of the people are identical—has long since been shown up, but it still finds adherents here and there, and they are useful. By their advocacy they bring ridicule on the cause they champion, and thus ensure its complete defeat. Mr. Howell had better go on with his work of explaining the ways of the current economy, and he is certain to bring ridicule on it and himself. J. L. M.

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN IN THE NORTH.

On March 2 I got to Newcastle, and lectured to the Socialistic Discussion Society in the Good Templars' Hall. This society was started some time ago by comrade Pease of the Fabian Society, and has been very useful in bringing Socialism before the public. The audience seemed in favour of the views I took of Socialism and the labour movement. On March 3 I went to Backworth in Northumberland, and addressed about 1000 of the miners now on strike. They received Socialism very well indeed, and were anxious to hear more about it. On Sunday March 6 I addressed two meetings, one at the Sandhill, a place where large numbers of men meet on Sunday mornings, and another in the Haymarket. Both were very successful.

The position of the mining population in Durham and Northumberland is very trying just now. In Northumberland 20,000 men are on strike against a reduction of 12½ per cent. on the wages of all who are earning more than 3s. per day. If the resistance to the reduction fails in Northumberland the Durham mine-owners will undoubtedly insist upon a similar reduction. The Northumberland men are very determined and hopeful, but it is far from certain that they will succeed. The combination against them is powerful and well organised. At the same time there is only too much reason to fear that the labour leaders are not unwilling that the strike should fail. This may seem a hard thing to say, but evidence is strongly in favour of it. The labour leaders are, to say the least, half-hearted. They know that the fight between capital and labour must, in the long-run, end in favour of the capitalists, if the antique methods of trades-unionism are to be the only weapons. Their reluctance to continue the fight is, from the orthodox point of view, justifiable. If the present system is unalterable, as they think, the future of the workers is quite hopeless. To struggle against reductions is only adding to their sufferings. These men, however, refuse to submit without a struggle; and even if they fail—as let us hope they won't—they will have shown that sturdiness of spirit which is only too scarce among the people to-day. The workmen have listened to counsels of moderation too long; they are sick and ashamed of submission to one after another of the slurs cast upon them. If they succeed in warding off the reduction they will still be discontented, and if they fail they will go back to the pits with sore hearts and bitter feeling.

The breach between the miners and their leaders is widening, and before long, I feel sure, the old system of organisation and the old lines of the movement will be radically altered. And there is much need for alteration. I was told by some of the leading men here that the miners were better off now than they had ever been before. If this were true it is a poor boast. There are plenty of miners (not coal-getters though) working for less than 3s. per day; and I was told that, after deducting cost of powder, lamps, and other like charges upon the wages received, the average amount taken home by the miners was from 10s. to 15s. per week. But whether the miners are a little better or a little worse is of little consequence. The main point, and the one ignored by the leaders, is that they are not nearly as well off as they should be. And it is very plain that the miners are ready for a thorough revolutionary movement. Next week I shall have a good deal more to say upon this aspect of the question.

I have now arranged for a thorough campaign amongst the men of Northumberland and Durham. On Friday last I issued a programme of meetings and a short address on a leaflet. I sent a paragraph to all the papers, which many of them inserted. I called upon the editor of the *Newcastle Daily Chronicle* and explained my object: was courteously received, and invited to state my views and plans in a special article. This I have done, and the article, which appeared in the issue of Monday March 7, seems to have made a good impression. John Williams, of the Social-Democratic Federation, had been here a week before I came, and H. Parker, sent by the Strike Committee of the Socialist League, about ten days earlier. At the end of last week J. Hunter Watts also turned up, so that there is now quite a force of Socialist speakers here. The talk is chiefly of Socialism, and it is easy to see there is a strong feeling in our favour. I have worked quite harmoniously with the S. D. F. members, and hope to continue to do so.

There is a splendid chance of pushing the Socialist propaganda here. The workers have got tired of the orthodox movement, and are ready to embrace Socialism. There is no part of the propaganda of such practical and pressing importance as the support of a vigorous missionary expedition among the miners and iron-workers of the north. I trust that friends of the propaganda will not fail to subscribe what they can to the expenses.

I shall write fully every week on the progress of the campaign.

J. L. MAHON.

RIOTOUS BEHAVIOUR OF POLICE IN HYDE PARK.

LAST Sunday, Hyde Park was made the scene of another scandalous attempt on the part of the police to create a riot. The usual meetings were being held near the Marble Arch by Socialists, Home Rulers, and Christians. Shortly after the speaking had begun about fifty police, led by an inspector, appeared on the scene, and began to hustle the people about who were standing on the pathways. It must be understood the way was quite open to all who desired to pass through, so it was an act of pure officiousness on the part of the police to interfere at all. If they wished the pathway to be kept clear, the proper way was to have asked the speakers to invite those who wished to listen to them to come inside the railings. Instead of acting in this common sense manner they hustled the people about in a most disgraceful fashion, which ultimately so exasperated the crowd that they formed themselves in tolerably compact masses and retaliated in like manner on the police. Some mounted police appeared on the scene, which was the signal for more pushing and rushing. Two men were arrested because they objected to be dragged by the police. This riotous behaviour completely spoilt our meetings. This game of the police is a very artful one. They wish to make these disorderly scenes Sunday after Sunday for a few weeks, and get lying newspapers to report "riotous scenes caused by Socialists in Hyde Park," and so endeavour to create an opinion in the public mind that a new rule must be issued prohibiting all meetings in the Park. We ask all friends of freedom to prevent this miserable little trick of the police being successful. In future it would be well to invite the people that listen at our meetings to keep within the railings, and so prevent the police having any pretext for hustling and creating disturbances. I ask the men who read this to consider whether they are prepared to pay police rates, not to get protection but to get assaulted. These policemen, who ought to be looking after preventing the burglaries and other crimes that are continually being perpetrated, are to be found bullying the citizens who feed and clothe them, who have met in their own park to discuss public affairs. This is not the thin end of the wedge that has been got in long ago, this is evidently a deliberate attempt of the police to suppress public discussion. We have yet to learn that Englishmen are prepared to tolerate such impertinence! One would have thought Sir C. Warren would have left the business of creating disturbances at public meetings in the hands of the Fowler, Kelly, and Kenny gang, but it seems not.

ALEX. DONALD.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE AMBLESIDE RAILWAY BILL.

If you can spare sufficient space I would like to lay a few facts respecting the above project before your readers, so that they may judge whether the outcry raised against it (mostly by ignorant outsiders) has good cause or not.

It is proposed to project the Kendal line from Windermere to Ambleside, a distance of only six miles, and not through the "Lake District" but a trifling portion of it. The line will run through woods most of the way, and will thus be hidden from view. It will keep at a considerable distance from the margin of the adjacent lake, Windermere, which although the largest is also the least interesting.

As things stand at present tourists are landed at Windermere Station, an uninteresting place two miles from the Lake, and if, as is natural, they desire to go to Ambleside they must take the coach and pay 2s. or else walk, and this for persons who are only down for the day is a great inconvenience, and an unnecessary expense to those who like myself are not in such favoured circumstances as Ruskin or our friend W. Morris. Once arrived at Ambleside, no one objects to a mile or two of walking to Rydal and Grasmere, but it doesn't pay most folks if they have walked the other part of the way as well. In the *Commonweal* 'Notes' last week, we workers are enjoined to wait for the Socialist millennium before we enjoy the Promised Land even for a day. The Ambleside people will benefit greatly in cheaper coals and provisions, and the artisans of the North will benefit if the hindrances to a proper enjoyment of the neighbourhood are removed. We Cumberland and Westmoreland people yield to no one in our love and respect for the beauties of the district, but we are unanimous in favour of the Bill, and if we had local autonomy would pass it speedily.—Yours fraternally, Carlisle, Feb. 27.

TOM MUSE.

[It seems to me that our friend in his enthusiasm for railways is unconsciously playing into the hands of the capitalist robbers, who are the only persons who will be really benefitted by it as things go. In the first place this railway is meant to be the first step in the invasion of the Lake country, and will certainly not stop at Ambleside if the projectors can help it. The question is nothing less than this, Is the beauty of the Lake country, and the natural wish that people have to see it and enjoy it, to be handed over to be exploited without limitation by a company who looks upon the public as so much material for exploitation? If it is to be so, its beauty will soon be a thing of the past, and when you have taken the trouble to bring people into the once lovely and romantic country they will find that they have come indeed, but come to nothing, and might almost as well have stayed at home, and had far better have strolled into some country side less renowned for beauty, and therefore not so tempting to the runners of those horrible pests, the tourist railway and the tourist hotel. The intention of the capitalists in this matter is to make the Cumberland and Westmoreland "show-country" a mere appendage to their filth-heaps of Manchester and Liverpool, and they allege the necessities of their filth-heaps as a reason for this. But the rest of the country have a good right to say, The concoction of your filth-heaps is no valid reason for your destroying the wealth of the whole country, nay, the wealth of the world; something of the natural beauty of the face of the country has been left in spite of your foul greed and disregard of other people's rights, and that, wofully little as it now is, we are at last impelled to guard against your greed. For my part, while admitting that it is seen in queer places, I cannot help thinking that the spirit which takes this view is a part of the great wave of social feeling which will one day sweep away monopoly and enable every one to have his due share of the pleasures of the world; whereas the feeling of jealousy of local interests and prejudices, even when expressed by a Socialist, is but the remnant of the unsocial feeling forced upon him by the present conditions of life. One may say in passing that the presence of the railway in a new district is not a benefit to it; it brings more trade to it, more employment, and therewithal more competition for employment; it cheapens one thing and raises the price of another; or, if it cheapens things generally, it is clear that it will lower the wages of the labourers, though doubtless it will increase the incomes of those who live on them, which once more is its object. I entreat our friend not to help in killing the goose that lays the golden eggs; it is true that to the company which wishes to exploit us it is of no importance that the golden eggs should cease to come, since they will be other people's eggs; but to us the rest of the public, both that are and that are to come, it is of much importance. Short-sighted brutality wherever it is met with, and whoever and whatever its source may be, is *unsocial*, and should be attacked by all Socialists.]—ED.

'The Industrial Problem Solved,' by W. B. Robertson (Modern Press, 1d.) is a brief but forcible exposé of the current fallacies anent overpopulation and overproduction. It is worth reading.

The verbatim report of the debate on "Is Socialism Sound?" between Annie Besant and Mr. Foote, is announced as shortly ready, price one shilling. We hope that the "cheers" which followed Mr. Foote's melodramatic attitudinising, and other expressions of the audience, will be omitted. The "points" are generally lost when the matter is printed, and the average reader has little interest in the particular feelings—sometimes very partisan—of the audience.

TAKING HIM AT HIS WORD.—At a public meeting held at Enderby, in the Harborough division of Leicestershire, on Thursday evening, March 3, the following resolution was carried unanimously: "That this meeting, accepting in all good faith the statement made in the House of Commons on Monday Feb. 28 by the Financial Secretary to the Treasury in reference to the wages of copyists employed by the Government, that 'men who are in the position of trustees of public money are bound to see that public money is not wasted beyond what is the market price of labour,' beg to call the attention of the Secretary to the fact that in the present condition of the labour market Secretaries to the Treasury might be obtained for less than £2000 each per annum; a Lord Steward of Her Majesty's Household, who would do something for his salary, at less than £2000 per annum; a Lord Chamberlain for less than £2000 per annum; a Master of the Horse, possessing some practical knowledge of horses, at considerably less than £2500 per annum; Grooms-in-Waiting for less than £334 each for a few weeks' waiting; and Lords-in-Waiting who would consent to bear her majesty company at dinner without being paid £702 each for about six weeks of such honourable duties."

CHARITY.—It is a mistake to suppose that the rich man maintains his servants, tradesmen, tenants, and labourers; the truth is, they maintain him. It is their industry which supplies his table, furnishes his wardrobe, builds his houses, adorns his equipage, provides his amusements. It is not his estate, but the labour employed upon it, that pays his rent; all that he does is to distribute what others produce, which is the least part of the business.—Dr. W. Paley, D.D.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

This department is under the direction of the Strike Committee. Labour News and Contributions to the Fund should be sent to T. BINNING, at the Offices.

BRITAIN.

WEAVERS' STRIKE IN ABERDEEN.—The weavers in the employment of Messrs. Richards, Broadford Works, numbering 700, have struck for a five per cent rise in their wages.

THE AYRSHIRE MINERS.—The strike in Ayrshire is now at an end, the men having resumed work on the understanding that whatever settlement is come to in Lanarkshire will also apply to Ayrshire.

YARMOUTH.—The smackmen are about to strike against a "rearrangement of wages" dodge of Messrs. Hewitt & Co. It is expected that 3000 or 4000 men will be affected.

SOUTH STAFFORD.—The ironworkers of this district have given notice to the employers, through the secretary of the Wages Board, of a demand for an advance of 10 per cent. on the present rate of payment. The claim will be considered at the meeting of the board next month.

At a conference of miners representing 50,000 men of South Staffordshire and district, it was resolved to make a general collection in aid of the North of England miners now on strike.

At a meeting of the Hetton Branch of the Durham Miners' Association, it was decided to contribute £10 to the Strike Fund, and they recommend that a contribution of £1000 be at once sent the Northumberland men from the General Fund, the amount to be repaid by a levy of 6d. per member.

The Sleatburn Branch of the Durham Miners' Association have agreed to a levy of 6d. for men and 3d. for lads for the support of the Northumberland men as long as the strike lasts.

The Bolton branches of the amalgamated engineers, engine makers, and metal planers have demanded an increase of wages of 2s. per week, bringing them to the same rate as in the early part of 1886. The masters refuse, and a strike is expected.

The chainmakers strike still continues and there is little likelihood of its terminating. Funds are wanted; great distress prevails; trades' unionists should bring the matter before their respective societies. Next week will be reprinted from the *St. James's Gazette* an account of how chains are forged at Cradley heath.

THE SCOTTISH MINERS.—The miners have all returned to work pending the conference between the Lanarkshire men and their masters. Little hope is entertained of an agreement being arrived at. The men appear sanguine that if the conference fails a national strike will take place, in which case they are confident of victory.

BURNLEY—REDUCTION OF THE HOURS OF LABOUR.—The miners and all other classes of workmen in the employ of the executors of Colonel Hargreaves, many of whom had to work till 4 p.m. on a Saturday afternoon before they received their wages, have been ordered to cease work at 1 p.m. in the future, and all wages are to be paid by that time. This is a distinct gain to the men, who will have three hours of work less and can enjoy a full half holiday on Saturday like all other classes of workpeople.

LEICESTER.—A strike has occurred in the Cardigan branch of Messrs. Pool, Lorrimer, & Tabberer's, hosiery manufacturers, Leicester. Two years ago the men submitted to a reduction of 10 per cent rather than see the machines removed elsewhere. Within the past few days the firm has asked that each workman should take two or three girls to work under him, or submit to see the machines removed to Foleshill, near Coventry. The workmen have refused to entertain the proposal, inasmuch as it would in every instance substitute two or three girls for the same number of men.

At a conference of miners representing 50,000 men employed in East Worcestershire, South Staffordshire, and Cannock Chase, held at Walsall, to consider the propriety of giving notice for a 10 per cent advance of wages, a committee was appointed to draw up a notice to be presented to the employers on the 19th of March (providing the Cannock Chase miners agree to such a course), requiring an advance of 6d. per day in the wages of men engaged in the thick coal seams, and of 3d. per day in the wages of those employed in the thin coal seams.

MANCHESTER BUILDING TRADE.—There are no signs of activity in building work here. The only job of note is the Jubilee Exhibition employing about 1,000 hands, which will be entirely finished in two months, and a large number of hands will necessarily be thrown out of work. The overtime question has again been raised. The majority of employers will not pay extra for any overtime the men are forced to work. A slight attempt has recently been made by the men employed on the exhibition job to defend their interests. A shop meeting was held to discuss the overtime question. It shows up the disorganised state of the men when the "Amalgamated" and "General Union" Societies stand "tamely" by whilst every advantage won by the men in past years is swept away. Manchester building operatives from 1833 to 1877 were to the front in labour movements, at present they are in the rear. When will the "leaders of the unions" lead the men to organise their forces? The Birmingham men are fighting bravely. —GLENER.

THE ASHTON STRIKE.—This strike has now lasted ten weeks, and there is still no sign of settlement. The Northern Counties Amalgamation of Weavers seem fully able to carry on the struggle indefinitely. There has never been a strike in the weaving industry which has been so systematically supported. The funds come in steadily, and the "hands" have no need to be in a hurry. As to the reports that are being circulated in the employer's interest as to the number of looms running, the *Cotton Factory Times* says: "We have taken the trouble to ascertain the class of weavers that are at work in Ashton. The fact is, a great number of them are not weavers, nor likely to be for some time to come. Some of them are warehouse boys, and all sorts of odd hands who work about the mills. It would be nearer the mark if they would count heads instead of looms. We will give our readers a sample of what we mean. We saw an overlooker who was at work a short time since, and he told us that in his section he had fifteen weavers at work, counted by heads. But only two of these were his old weavers, and the other thirteen weavers were very successful in spoiling the work they wove. If the Ashton employers are thinking of being successful in the end by this means, they will find it very costly."

THE DISPUTE IN THE NOTTINGHAM ENGINEERING TRADE.—The fifty or sixty members of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, the Steam Engine Makers, and Moulders' Societies, who recently struck work at Messrs. Man-

love, Alliot, Fryer, and Co., Bloomsgrave Works (owing to the dismissal of unionists by that firm on their declining to accede to a reduction of 2s. on their earnings of 34s. a week), still remain out, and there is no prospect of any immediate settlement. So well organised is the intelligence department of the unions that many of the best skilled workmen have already found employment in the town and neighbourhood, and places so far distant as Southampton have helped to absorb the men who would otherwise have been a burden upon the societies' strike funds. On the other hand, a considerable number of non-unionist workmen remain in at Bloomsgrave, and feeling runs high in Radford in consequence. A number of workmen, recently imported from London, returned on learning the true state of affairs. The monthly report of the amalgamated society just issued, records an improvement in trade generally, and the union officers are sanguine that they will shortly be able to find employment for the remainder of the men. The Strike Committee, which sits daily, is receiving every encouragement and assistance, not only from affiliated societies, but from trade union organisations generally.

LEEDS, March 7.—A strike is now in operation at Messrs. Fowler and Co., Steam Plough Works, Hunslet, against the attempt of the masters to introduce absolute piece-work amongst the turners, some 46 men and boys. They also complain of the actions of the manager, or the middleman, as they term him. It has been the custom so far in Fowler's that the men work for a weekly wage, but also get any balance they may have above the price laid down for the respective jobs. For the last three years there has been a gradual reduction of the prices, so that now, instead of the men making a balance, they are getting further into debt every week, and now the masters want to dock the deficiency out of their weekly wage. Some jobs for which they used to receive three shillings they now get eighteen-pence, and so on right through. There is a hope that the strike will be made general throughout the shop. The masters have been forcing other men in the shop to do the work of the strikers, but the union men say that if the same trick is done to-day (Monday) they will all put on their coats and leave the shop. The story of the men reveals such a system of robbery as would be hard to equal, instances having occurred where the prices have been reduced after the work has been done. On Sunday afternoon the strikers held an open-air meeting on Hunslet Moor. Two of the strikers gave a short address each, showing the terrible conditions under which the hands of Fowler's work. One of them named Bromley, a foreman, openly stated that the masters had offered him a bribe of four pounds weekly to introduce absolute piece-work among the turners, but he being an honest man, spurned the bribe, for which he was suspended. After these had spoken, T. Maguire of the Socialist League addressed the audience, and showed the necessity of the united action of the workers to defeat the masters. He was listened to with much interest, and lustily cheered. He is to speak again to-night at a mass meeting at Penny Hill. Further particulars later on.—F. C.

AMERICA.

The South Boston street railway employes, including track layers and car repairers, have struck for the ten hours' day.

Coopers of Chicago have organised a co-operative factory with 100,000 dollars capital. No one can hold more than twenty-five shares.

The Brotherhood of American Carpenters is the largest trades union in the United States. It now numbers 246 branches with 41,250 members.

NEW YORK, Feb. 20.—It is so rare that an architect, who thinks that he is boss and that mechanics are really machines, apologises to a walking delegate, that when one does so, it is really worthy of mention and record. Such a singular phenomenon occurred last Tuesday. The new walking delegate, Robert F. Farrell, of the United Order of Carpenters, entered a new building on Broadway, on a tour of inspection, in the course of which he ran foul of Architect Young, who ordered him off the building. He went. So did the carpenters. So also did the other workers, 250 in number all told. Then Architect Young saw his mistake, and after a conference with the Board of Walking Delegates, made the *amende honorable*. The delegates will not be ejected from that building during its construction.—*John Swinton's Paper*.

UNION OF CHINAMEN.—The universality of the labour movement is shown in the efforts of the Chinese of New York city to organise a labour union. Here is a despised race, lifted by contact with a higher civilisation than their own, preparing to assert their rights in common with their brothers of other nations. It is a pity our industrial system necessitates our prohibiting the immigration into this country of Chinamen, but so long as the present wages system lasts this prohibition is necessary to prevent our being dragged down to their level. It is not from the fact that those people are Chinamen that the workingmen object to them, but because they can be and are made instruments in the hands of unscrupulous employers to bring Caucasians down to the level of the wants and desires of these Mongolians. Those that are here now we can handle, but no more must be admitted to our shores. Meanwhile may the Chinese laundrymen of New York city be as successful as one could wish in their effort to organise.—*Advance* (Detroit).

COLLAPSE OF THE GREAT STRIKE.

Notwithstanding the heroic efforts of the labour army engaged in this great struggle since the beginning of the year, it has been forced to succumb to the overwhelming forces arrayed against it on behalf of the monopolists. The necessities of the enormous multitude of unemployed labourers thrown destitute upon the streets by the operation of the competitive system of production, have once again been utilised by the cannibal capitalists to defeat the claims of organised labour. But though defeated it is not dismayed. The workers have shown in this fight greater solidarity than was ever known before, and the effect of the present temporary check will doubtless be to bring about such a combination as shall at no distant date not only retrieve the present disaster, but do something towards overthrowing the accursed rule of the exploiters. The freight handlers have suffered the worst of any of those who struck for "sympathy." There are 3000 of them, and their places have been filled in the majority of cases. The weighers' labourers in the Williamsburg sugar refineries have also lost heavily, platform scales having been introduced, by which 150 out of 300 will be without work. The following from *John Swinton's Paper*, of Feb. 20th, shows that the fight was still going on in some quarters: The International Boatmen's Union is composed of about a thousand men, 600 of whom own their own boats. The members have refused to allow their boats to be loaded by "scabs." They say their insurance policies call for skilled labour, and until they are assured that those who load and trim their boats are skilful they will remain tied up. They are a jolly set of hardy fellows, and a visit to

their headquarters the past week was refreshing, because one could see that although they had not earned anything since Jan. 1, they had sufficient to eat and were in good spirits. Many of them had been tempted with large offers of money to break away, but they have held fast. No one can tell how far the results of the strike will extend. Two weeks ago a committee called on the engineer at Jones' flour mills, Lewis and Bloom Streets, and asked him to strike. He refused. The committee threatened to "get even," and next morning the millers struck, 150 men being reduced to idleness. When the strike was declared off by 49, the men returned to work, but Mr. Jones said they must come back as individuals. Again they struck. The firm uses from 1,500 to 2,000 barrels a-day, and M. and E. Connolly, of New York and Brooklyn, had the contract to supply them. The millers induced Connolly's men to strike—160 in both cities. The coopers are well organised, and Connolly could not get men. The firm tried to get barrels from other sources. A. Briggs, of Cherry and Rutgers Streets, supplied some, and the hundred men there struck. Connolly got barrels from other cooperages, and before this reaches our readers there may be a general strike of the coopers.

FRANCE.

MEHUN-SUR-YEVRE.—A public meeting was organised last week by the Corporation of porcelain-makers in consideration of the still-continued strike here. Baudin came from Vierzon and addressed the meeting, which was well attended, and a resolution in favour of the continuance, by hook or by crook, of the strike was unanimously passed.

VIERZON.—The municipality of Vierzon has decided to divide between the strikers and those at work in their place at the Société Française the modest sum of 500 francs which had been voted by the General Council of the Seine in aid of the victims of the stoppage of work there. The strikers decidedly object to this arrangement, and refuse to touch a sou of the sum in question if the "renegades" go shares.

SAINT-ETIENNE.—A serious explosion here has caused much loss of life and trouble among the miners and their families. The scene of the disaster has been examined, and in the interior structure of the galleries some of the supports have been pronounced very insufficient and unsafe. Such catastrophes as explosions may be inevitable occasionally in such a dangerous occupation, but how gratuitous and easily prevented are the accidents arising from economy of material and economy of work necessary for safety of the miners down below!

A large meeting was held in Paris last week by the League for the Suppression of the "Bureaux de Placement" (agencies for procuring employment), at which the female sex, we are glad to note, was well represented. After a discussion concerning the rejection of the numerous signed petition for the suppression of the "Bureaux" which was presented to the Chambre, a resolution was passed directing the deputies Basly and Camélinat, etc., to present for discussion before the Chambre as soon as possible a bill for the official or municipal organisation of gratuitous "Bureaux de Placement" throughout the country.

The current price in Paris for making and finishing a pair of shoes, the *Cri* tells us, is 1 fr. 60 c., which price a certain firm manages to reduce to 95 centimes, with the help of that precious institution, "division of labour," one of the three factors of the product being feminine—and paid accordingly. The workmen at this establishment work on the average eleven hours a-day, and can make 4 or 5 francs, the women work fourteen and fifteen hours, and make with difficulty and rarely 4 francs at this laborious occupation, both being subjected also to all sorts of reductions and trivial expenses necessary for their work.

CETON (Orne).—There is a certain excitement among the population of this town owing to the strike of 300 women in the glove-factory. The director of the workshops had for a long time subtracted 50 centimes a-day from the wages entirely on his own responsibility, making a little supplement to his income of 400 francs a-day. The strikers are exerting themselves in making house-to-house visitations among the women employed at the works, to encourage them to resistance. We gather from the journals that the inhabitants of the district (apparently in want of excitement) joined heartily in the drama, and executed a sort of cheerful war-dance outside the dwelling of the director, and were even impolite enough to burn his woman-kind in effigy. Gendarmerie are in the town—and history goes no further.

A workman at the steel-works at the Quai de Grenelle took it into his head last week to put an end to the pleasures and pains of his "boss" by a pistol-shot, and thereafter to shoot himself through the head. No particular reason for the enactment of this drama has been discovered. That the director had lowered the salaries to a great extent in the last three years, and further had hired Italian labour to the detriment of the natives, can scarcely be looked upon as a reason sufficient nowadays, when such trifles are constantly occurring. The criminal, who thus wisely evaded the law of his country, had been, however, the only member who had ever ventured to remonstrate at any bit of injustice, and had shown himself much discouraged of late by the course of events. His principles may have been those of a "bold bad terrorist," or he may have been merely a discontented worker, at odds with the world and himself, and not quite crushed enough to go along through life licking the shoes of his master and owner uncomplainingly.

ITALY.

The Italian Government has undertaken the arduous task of crushing out of existence the young Socialist party, most of the 133 sections of which, especially those of upper Italy, are constantly dissolved, stifled in their birth, their funds, flags, libraries confiscated and the prominent members dispersed (witness the late trials, and Kerbs of the *Fascio Operaio* expelled from the country). Nevertheless the members of the party thus disintegrated have retained their activity and enthusiasm, and profess themselves as anxious as ever to "spread the word" individually, and we are certain they will do so, in the teeth of the police supervision and State repression which encompasses them.

GORDONA.—This little town becoming more and more impoverished, it was at last decided to refuse to pay the imports due, the result being an attempt at seizures of the farms and dwellings. But at the first farms the soldiers and officials were received by the country-folk with a shower of stones and were finally put to flight. There is a certain cheerful little process known as "trying to get blood from a stone" which the Italian manorial lord puts into practice with more brilliant success than most people. It is not, however, much satisfaction to hear of it failing now and then—it only means there is nothing to give up; the unselfish peasant would not be mean enough to keep goods for himself that were due to his lord and master!

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

Outdoor Propaganda.—The Council at their last meeting passed the following resolution:—"That the speakers at Hyde Park invite the audience to keep within the railings so as not to obstruct the foot-paths; and that all members of the League attending such meetings be careful not to obstruct the foot-ways on such occasions." Out-door speakers are requested to attend meeting to-night (Saturday) at 7 p.m., to consider question of outdoor propaganda.

Lessons in French.—Comrade Victor Dave has kindly volunteered to give lessons in French at the offices of the League on Tuesday evenings, at 8 o'clock. The names of those desiring to join the class should be sent to the secretary.

Reports for "Commonweal."—Branch Secretaries are requested to make their reports as brief as possible, dealing with points of general interest as to the progress of the propaganda, rather than attempting to give the substance of the lectures, for which there is not space, even if it were otherwise desirable. Notices should be confined to purely business announcements and written separately. Reports and Notices should be addressed to the "Printer," and cannot be guaranteed insertion unless they reach the office by 2 p.m. on Tuesday.

Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Birmingham, Hackney, Hull, Leeds, North London, to August 31. Manchester, Merton, Norwich, to October 31. Bradford, to November 30. Croydon, Hammersmith, Leicester, South London, to Dec. 31, 1886. Bloomsbury, Lancaster, to Jan. 31. Clerkenwell, Walsall, to February 28. Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Oxford, to March 31, 1887.

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PH. W., Treasurer, March 8.

THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

Our comrade Mowbray, who has been sentenced to nine months' imprisonment, leaves his wife and five children totally unprovided for. The costs of the trial amounted to £60; this has to be paid and the wife and family of Mowbray provided for during his imprisonment. This means altogether at least £100. Henderson has received sentence of four months' imprisonment. You are earnestly appealed to, to give them all the assistance you can.

Already acknowledged, £25, 2s. 1d. J. Davis, 1s. Collected: Glasgow Branch S.D.F., 3s. 6d.; Blackburn do., 3s. 10d.; Leeds Branch S.L., 2s.; Lancaster do., 5s.; Hackney do., 4s. 10d.; At Cleveland Hall, by Traunke, 7s. 9d.; do., by Cantwell, 1s. 4d.; By Heric, 1s. 6d. Webb, 1s. Arthur, 6d. J. T., 1s. 6d. N. P., 1s. M. G., 2s. 6d. For Mrs. Mowbray—A few Fabians, per Annie Besant (weekly), 10s.—Total, £27, 9s. 4d. J. LANE, Treasurer.

FOR HACKNEY FREE SPEECH—North London Branch, collected in Regent's Park, 3s.

PROPAGANDA FUND—Two German Comrades, 10s.

Comrade Henderson on the Tread-Mill.

The brutality of the bourgeois prison regulations have been strikingly shown in the treatment of our comrade Henderson, a youth of delicate health. He was set on the tread-mill, with the result that he fainted. The prison doctor's attention was drawn to his condition, but this functionary saw no reason to interfere in the matter, and Henderson was accordingly ordered on the "mill" again. He fainted again, and again he was ordered on the "mill"; and not until he had fainted three times did the doctor consent to his removal. If this kind of treatment is continued, the sentence of four months will virtually mean, to a youth of Henderson's delicacy of constitution, a sentence of death, or at best broken health for life.

BRANCH REPORTS.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, March 2, Annie Besant lectured to a good audience on "Means for Staving off Revolution." She pointed out that the proprietary classes are busy in devising plausible schemes to enlist the aid of the workers in maintaining their monopoly, by the creation of large numbers of small holders of property, instancing the Allotment Scheme, Leasehold Enfranchisement, and Peasant Proprietary as measures which it behoved all Socialists most strenuously to oppose. Emigration was another matter that required particular attention, as it tended to denude the country of the most energetic workers, leaving those behind more and more at the mercy of the exploiters. Good discussion followed. On Sunday, March 6th, Laurence Gronlund gave a very interesting lecture on "Continental Socialism." Other Branches should secure the above lecturer for this subject. Several meetings have been attended during the week by members of this Branch. Literature has sold fairly well.

CROYDON.—On Sunday evening, G. Burcham lectured on "The Meaning of Socialism" in place of S. Mainwaring, who was summoned to Norwich. He dealt very ably and exhaustively with his subject, and pointed out the fallacy of supposing that the eight hours' movement or even land nationalisation were themselves Socialism, or that they were anything else at most than approaches to it. His remarks called forth much criticism, to which he replied. Collection good. Next Thursday, J. Fielding delivers a lecture at the West Croydon Liberal and Radical Club on "Malthusian Fallacies."—A. T., ast. sec.

GARRETT AND SUMMERSTOWN.—On Sunday morning last, the members of the Merton Branch mustered outside of the "Plough Inn," Garrett, from which we have been debarred indoor meetings through the action of the police, and we held a successful open-air meeting. A large amount of literature was distributed. We intend to meet the police intimidation by establishing a Branch in the neighbourhood.—F. KIRZ.

HACKNEY.—On Sunday evening, H. Davis lectured to a good audience on "The Modern Trinity: Land, Labour, and Capital." Good discussion. We will give at this Branch a free concert on Saturday, March 19th, to welcome our comrade James Allman, on his release from Holloway Prison. We hope all comrades and friends will attend. All members of the Socialist League and friends that can spare the time should be at Holloway Prison to welcome him on his release on Saturday, March 19th, at 8 a.m. Received *Justice*.—H. MATTHEWS, sec.

MITCHAM.—On Sunday evening, comrade Hill, a local member, lectured on "Co-operation v. Competition." The audience, though not very large, was sympathetic. A good discussion followed.—S. G., sec.

EDINBURGH.—We have begun March month well. On Monday, in Free Tron Hall, Edward Carpenter lectured on "The Morality of Interest." On Tuesday in Trinity Hall, Leith, he had a crowded audience. The lecture is well reported in a local paper. This is perhaps the first Socialist lecture delivered indoors in Leith. On Wednesday, in large Tron Hall, E. Carpenter again lectured, his subject being, "Justice before Charity."—G.

GLASGOW.—On Sunday at midday, Glasier addressed a large and sympathetic audience on Jail's Square. In the afternoon, he delivered a lecture on "The Majesty of the Law" to Glasgow Branch of the Irish National League. The lecture, which was a wholesale condemnation of law and constitutionalism as the whips and fetters of landlords and capitalists, was well received by the meeting. At 5 o'clock, Edward Carpenter had an interesting conference with our members in our rooms. In the evening at 7, E. Carpenter delivered a lecture on "The Mammon of Five per Cent." to a good audience in the Assembly Rooms. The lecturer pointed out the immorality of the exaction of interest and profit, and made an impressive appeal for Socialism.—J. B. G.

HAMILTON.—On Thursday, under the auspices of the Lanarkshire Miners' Association, a mass meeting of miners was held in the Low Quarries. Cunningham Graham, M.P., delivered an address advising the abolition of royalties, and claiming for the miners a participation in the profits of their labour. J. R. McCutcheon, and comrades Small, McMunn, and Mavor also spoke. In the evening, the Branch held a good meeting in Paton's Hall, comrades McMunn and Glasier, of Glasgow, being the speakers. On Saturday, Edward Carpenter addressed an open-air meeting in the Low Quarries. The meeting, which was not large, owing to the announcement being insufficient, listened to the address with much interest. Comrades Muirhead, of Glasgow, and McMunn also addressed the meeting. Afterwards an open-air meeting was held at the New Cross, when Carpenter again spoke. McMunn and Glasier also delivered addresses.—J. B. G.

LEICESTER.—We held open-air meetings on Sunday, Feb. 27th, and again Sunday, March 6th, in Russell Square, at which Barclay, Robson, and Sullivan spoke to audiences about 200 strong. Had friendly discussion, and sold about thirty pamphlets; great interest shown.—T. B., sec.

LEEDS.—On Sunday afternoon, the members of this Branch attended a meeting held on behalf of the men on strike at Messrs. Fowler and Co., Steam Plough Works, Hunslet. After two of the men on strike had spoken, the chairman asked if any one would say a few words for them, upon which our comrade Maguire stood up and received a hearty welcome, and at the close of the proceedings he was invited to address another meeting to be held on Monday night at Penny Hill.—F. C., sec.

MANCHESTER.—Comrade Leonard Hall, of Lancaster, gave an address to the members in our club room on Saturday night. We held an open-air meeting on Sunday morning, at which comrade Prince and Hall spoke. In the afternoon, comrade Hall and Smart spoke at the Flat Iron Market, Salford. C. Hall gave a stirring address at the Crescent Inn, Salford, to the S. D. F. Branch.—F. H., sec.

NORWICH.—We held three outdoor meetings on Sunday, which were all well attended, the speakers being Mainwaring and Lane. The meeting in the Market Place lasted two hours, 6s. 7d. being collected for the Defence Fund. In the evening we had a good meeting at the Gordon Hall, where Mainwaring lectured to our members and a large number of visitors on "Parliamentary Action and Socialists," which resulted in opposition from one speaker, the others being in accord with the lecturer. We are keeping the ball rolling here, and mean to do so.—T. M., sec.

WALSALL.—On Friday, March 4, H. K. Austin lectured on "Socialism, the Why and How," in the place of the Rev. C. Peach, who was unable to be present. The audience was small but attentive.—J. T. D., sec.

DUBLIN.—A meeting of the unemployed, numbering about 3,000, was held on Sunday last at Harold's Cross Green. The chairman, J. B. Killen, B.L., Social Democrat, proclaimed the truth that the land and all the instruments of production ought to belong to the whole community, that the worker should enjoy the fruits of his industry, and that he was justified in using any means whatever in order to get rid of the idle class that fattened upon his misery. Other speeches, notably that of G. A. Apward, were very revolutionary in tone. A large quantity of Socialist leaflets were distributed.—D. K.

LECTURE DIARY.

London Branches.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street. Friday March 11, at 8.30. H. H. Sparling.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday March 13, at 8.30 p.m. Debate: "Is Socialism the Cause of the Present Distress?" *Affirmative:* J. L. Lyons, Liberty and Property Defence League; *Negative:* T. E. Wardle, Socialist League. Wednesday March 16, at 8.30. A Lecture. See Lecture List in *Pull Mall* and *Daily News*.

Croydon.—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday Mar. 13. Thomas Shore on "Socialism according to the Poets."—Committee Meeting every Friday at 8 p.m. sharp, at Parker Road.

Hackney.—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 8 till 11. Business Meeting every Tuesday at 8.30. Discussion Class Thursday evenings. On Sunday March 13, at 8.30., W. Morris, "Monopoly."

Hammermith.—Kelmecott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday March 13, at 8 p.m. W. Clark (Fabian Society), "Fallacies of Emigration."

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—New premises, 2 Crondel Street. Sunday March 13, at 8 p.m. A. K. Donald, "Political Economy from the Socialist Standpoint."

Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday. Discussions held every Sunday morning at 11.

Mitcham.—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11. Sunday March 13, at 8.30. Gregory, "Socialism as it was, is, and will be."

Country Branches.

Bingley.—Coffee Tavern. Every Monday at 7.30 p.m. **Birmingham.**—Carr's Lane Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 8.

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

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. Reading Room and Library open every Wednesday evening, 8 till 10.—In Free Tron Hall, Monday March 14, at 8 o'clock. William Morris, "Socialism: Its Aims and Means." March 21. Percival Chubb, "The Inner Spirit of Socialism." Admission 1s., 6d., and 3d.

Fulham.—Address Sec., 34 May Street.

Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily.—On Sunday, open-air meetings on Jail's Square at 1 and 5 o'clock. In the evening, at 6.30, in Hall, No. 2, Carlton Pl., Clyde Side, R. F. Muirhead, M.A., will deliver a lecture on "Silly versus Sensible Socialism," a reply to Prof. Flint's recent lectures. On Tuesday 15, Monthly Business Meeting of Members, in Rooms, at 8 p.m.

Hamilton.—Branch meets every Thursday at 7.30 in Paton's Hall, Chapel Street.

Hull.—11 Princess Street, Sykes Street. Club Room open every evening. Lectures every Thursday and Sunday at 7 p.m.

Lancaster.—Owing to some organised boycotting on the part of fat aldermen and magisterial trustees, we have no fixed meeting-place at present.

Leicester.—Spiritualist Hall, Silver Street. Sunday Afternoon, at 2.45 p.m. J. Fowkes, "The Chaos of Capitalism."

Manchester.—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening 6 to 10 p.m. Lecture and discussion every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—No. 6 St. Benedict St. Lecture and discussion every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room open every day from 8.30 a.m. to 10 p.m.

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

Open-air Propaganda—Sunday 13.

11.30...Hackney—"Salmon and Ball".....H. Sparling
11.30...Hammermith—Beadon Rd.The Branch
11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield Street...Wade, Pope
11.30...Garrett—Plough Inn.....Kitz
11.30...Regent's Park.....The Branch
11.30...St. Pancras Arches.....The Branch
11.30...Walham Green—Station.....The Branch
3.30...Hyde Park (near Marble Arch).....The Branch
3.30...London Fields—Broadway.....Flockton

PROVINCES.—SUNDAY.

Norwich.—St. Mary's Plain, 11; Market Place, 3.

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

Leicester.—Humberston Gate, 11 a.m.

SOUTH PLACE INSTITUTE, Finsbury.—A series of Debates on Socialism and Individualism will take place during March. II. Sunday 13, at 4 p.m., G. Bernard Shaw *versus* Rev. F. W. Ford.

CLEVELAND HALL, 54 Cleveland Street (near Portland Road Station).—Sundays at 11.30 a.m. Mar. 13. W. B. Robertson, "Over-production and Over-population."

Paris Commune Celebrations.

An International Celebration of the Paris Commune will be held at SOUTH PLACE CHAPEL on THURSDAY MARCH 17.

The Socialists of Nottingham combined intend to hold an International Celebration of the Paris Commune on Friday March 18. Tea will be served at 7 o'clock, and after that an Entertainment will be given, and Speeches delivered by Frenchmen and Englishmen, to conclude with a dance.

NORWICH.—A Public Meeting will be held on Saturday March 19, at 8.30, in the Gordon Hall, Duke St., to commemorate the glorious struggle made by the workers of Paris to emancipate themselves from the tyranny and oppression of the landlord and capitalist class. Tochatti and others will speak. Tochatti will also lecture on "The Commune" on March 20 and 21.

DUBLIN.—An International Celebration of the Paris Commune will be held at 50 Dawson Street, on March 17. Tea will be served at 7 o'clock, after which comrade Fitzpatrick will deliver an address on "Archbishop Croke's No-tax Manifesto." Citizen Coulon, Gabriel, and Schumann will take part.

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The Commune of Paris. By E. Belfort Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. 2d.

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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. 3.—No. 62.

SATURDAY, MARCH 19, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

POLITICAL NOTES.

THE past few days have brought about a change in the political atmosphere, which may perhaps have startled some persons; but it is not difficult to explain. The Government placed between the devil and the deep sea, have been screwing up their hearts for a Coercion Bill. This seems at first sight a simple and natural proceeding for a Tory Government, a thing which everybody would expect from them. But to pass an effective measure of coercion against such a solid opposition as the Irish nation offer to it, and to carry it out when passed, is an adventure which needs the courage of the past ages or of the future—the aristocratic period or the revolutionary one. The age of political farce in which we are now living in England cannot deal consciously with tragedy, though the actors in it can sit and watch many a farce-born tragedy go on before their eyes calmly enough. In fact, the Government swaggers coercion boldly enough but doesn't mean it; all the more as it has no shadow of a Strafford to carry out the policy of "thorough."

Meantime, the "Liberal Unionists" are preparing for a "new departure." Mr. Trevelyan has practically declared himself reconverted to Gladstonian policy, and the greater portion of his party will follow him, since the course of events of late has convinced them the cat is going to jump in the Home Rule direction. Some of the most sanguine of the Liberal prophets are even speculating on the return of Lord Hartington, and have already discounted that of Mr. Chamberlain, whose position, if he does return, would be a rather curious one for a sensitive man, until the lapse of time—say three weeks—shall have reinstated him in his old position of an infallible leader of the democratic party.

The Tory Government then are beaten, and the only question is how they will take their beating, whether they will on the one hand judiciously determine to do nothing, in which case they may yet have a longish lease of life before them, as it is a matter of course that the Liberal party "united" or disunited can have no wish to come in again yet awhile, to accept the responsibility of making peace with the Irish by passing a compromise Home Rule Bill—a somewhat delicate operation.

Or possibly they will ride for a fall by bringing in a fierce Coercion Bill without any hope of passing it, and back this by the promise of a Land Bill to follow it, which the report of the Commission gives them an opportunity of doing. This would give them the chance of appealing to the country with law-and-order in one hand and "remedy" (of the well used delusive kind) in the other; and it is not all so sure, in spite of the Liberal rejoicings now on hand, that they would be beaten in a general election. Yet if they (the Tories) win, what next? And how would they deal with a still unpacified Ireland? And what would their Land Bill amount to? These are questions which they will have to answer if they succeed, although they will certainly forget them deliberately till the moment for answering them comes.

Nor if the United Liberal Party comes in again will its position be either an easy or a triumphant one. The Home Rule Bill must be a compromise, and as such will be accepted by the Irish only as a lever to bring about the full accomplishment of their aspirations. But even before the half measure of Home Rule is gained the underlying question of land and livelihood in Ireland will have to be faced; a question which involves that of the land and livelihood elsewhere. This fact does enlighten a little even the dastardly short-sightedness of Parliamentary politics, as may be noticed in Lord Salisbury's last speech, in which he had the impudence to impugn the patriotism of the Irish, because they have found out that they cannot separate the cause of self-government from that of the livelihood of the people.

Though perhaps he really was saying what he thought on this occasion; for naturally to a Tory the mere *superstition* of nationality is a more important matter than the *reality* of the necessity of dealing with the sufferings of an industrious and honest population.

This necessity will be the Nemesis that will presently overtake not only the Tories and the Whigs but the Liberals and Radicals also; unless those last named will face the real difficulty. When Home Rule has been gained and the party question has been laid, we shall then see if the sympathy now so widely expressed for the cottars of Glen-

beigh and elsewhere in Ireland was genuine or not. If it is not extended to the dwellers in the Wiltshire village and the London slum, and if the same kind of remedies are not proposed for these latter as for the Irish cottars, it will be proved to have been a mere piece of party clap-trap got up for the occasion. We need not fear but that the occasion will be afforded for such practical sympathy: the Irish question will help to sow the seed of revolution throughout the British islands.

To be sure if the Whigs, Tories and Liberals had any foresight or any courage they would have united to stamp it out this time as they have done before. The Unionist Liberals *were* wise in their generation when they turned on Gladstone; they are now in coming under his wing again going to exhibit themselves as fools and cowards as well as reactionists.

Happily it always happens so in revolutions; the nearer the time comes for the defeat of reaction, the more pressing its necessities grow, the more the courage of the reactionists fails them, because they begin to be conscious that their cause has become a mere mass of found-out lies and helpless hypocrisies.

W. M.

WHY WE CELEBRATE THE COMMUNE OF PARIS.

THE "moons and the days" have brought us round again to the anniversary of the greatest tragedy of modern times, the Commune of Paris of 1871, and with it the recurring duty for all Socialists of celebrating it both enthusiastically and intelligently. By this time the blatant slanders with which the temporarily unsuccessful cause was assailed when the event was yet fresh in men's minds have sunk into the dull gulf of lies, hypocritical concealments, and false deductions, which is called bourgeois history, or have become a dim but deeply rooted superstition in the minds of those who have information enough to have heard of the Commune, and ignorance enough to accept the bourgeois legend of it as history.

Once more it is our duty to raise the whole story out of this poisonous gloom and bring it to the light of day, so that on the one hand those who are not yet touched by Socialism may learn that there was a principle which animated those who defended revolutionary Paris against the mingled dregs of the woeful period of the Second Empire, and that that principle is still alive to-day in the hearts of many thousands of workers throughout civilisation, and year by year and day by day is growing in strength and in the hold it has of the disinherited masses of our false society; and on the other hand that we Socialists may soberly note what went on in this story, and may take both warning and encouragement from its events. I have heard it said, and by good Socialists too, that it is a mistake to commemorate a defeat; but it seems to me that this means looking not at this event only, but at all history in too narrow a way. The Commune of Paris is but one link in the struggle which has gone on through all history of the oppressed against the oppressors; and without all the defeats of past times we should now have no hope of the final victory. Neither are we yet sufficiently removed in time from the events to judge how far it was even possible to avoid the open conflict at the time, or to appreciate the question as to what would have become of the revolutionary cause if Paris had tamely yielded itself up to the perfidy of Thiers and his allies. One thing, on the other hand, we are sure of, that this great tragedy has definitely and irrevocably elevated the cause of Socialism to all those who are prepared to look on the cause seriously, and refuse to admit the possibility of ultimate defeat. For I say solemnly and deliberately that if it happens to those of us now living to take part in such another tragedy it will be rather well for them than ill for them. Truly it is harder to live for a cause than to die for it, and it injures a man's dignity and self-respect to be always making noisy professions of devotion to a cause before the field is stricken, on which he is to fight in the body. But with the chance of bodily sacrifice close a-head there come also times of trial which either raise a man to the due tragic pitch or cast him aside as a useless and empty vapourer. To use a transparent metaphor, on the march to the field of battle there are plenty of opportunities for the faint-hearted to fall out of the ranks, and many will do so whose courage and devotion were neither doubted by others nor by themselves while the day of actual battle was far distant. So such times of trial are good because they are times of trial; and we may well think that few indeed of those

who fell sixteen years ago, who exposed themselves to death and wounds at all adventure, were mere accidental braggarts caught in the trap. Of those whose names are well known this was far from being the case, and who can doubt that the nameless multitude who died so heroically had sacrificed day by day other things than life, before it came to that?

Furthermore, it must surely be rather more than doubtful to all thoughtful men if the mere exercise of every-day and civil virtues, even when directed towards the social end, will suffice to draw the world out of its present misery and confusion. Consider the enormous mass of people so degraded by their circumstances that they can scarcely understand any hope for their redemption that can be put before them in peaceful and constitutional times. Yet these are the very people for whom we are working; and are they to have no hand in the work, then? is it to be once more according to the degrading Positivist motto, "everything for you, nothing by you?" Meanwhile in these people, unless we Socialists are all wrong, there are seeds of manly and social feeling, capable of large development; and surely when the time comes that their hope will be made manifest, as it was in the time of the Commune, and will lie before them for their hands to take, they will then have part in the work indeed, and by the act of doing so will at once raise themselves out of the slough of degradation into which our false society has cast them and in which it keeps them. The revolution itself will raise those for whom the revolution must be made. Their newborn hope translated into action will develop their human and social qualities, and the struggle itself will fit them to receive the benefits of the new life which revolution will make possible for them. It is for boldly seizing the opportunity offered for thus elevating the mass of the workers into heroism that we now celebrate the men of the Commune of Paris. True they failed in conquering immediate material freedom for the people, but they quickened and strengthened the ideas of freedom by their courageous action and made our hope of to-day possible; and if to-day any one doubts that they were fighting for the emancipation of labour, their enemies at the time had no doubt about the matter. They saw in them no mere political opponents, but "enemies of society," people who could not live in the same world with them, because the basis of their ideas of life was different—to wit, humanity, not property. This was why the fall of the Commune was celebrated by such hecatombs sacrificed to the bourgeois god, Mammon; by such a riot of blood and cruelty on the part of the conquerors as quite literally has no parallel in modern times. And it is by that same token that we honour them as the foundation-stone of the new world that is to be.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

CRIMINAL LAW UNDER SOCIALISM?

(Concluded from p. 82).

If we consider now the order of heinousness in the respective classes of crimes enumerated, we must admit that the first, those against property, since they spring directly from a rotten economic condition, must be regarded as (barring specially aggravating circumstances) the most entitled to consideration. It will be scarcely necessary, however, to controvert the absurd notion put forward by a certain section of Anarchists, that the mere individual appropriation of the property of other individuals, or in plain language theft (such as that practised by the Anarchist heroes, Stellmacher and Duval), has anything whatever to do with Socialism, and the expropriation it advocates. On the contrary, Socialism deprecates robbery in all its forms. The mere change of individual possession of property does not affect the matter in the least. One can very well exonerate the poor man who steals to satisfy his wants; but when a man who has merely satisfied a personal desire of his own at the expense of another person, seeks to cover this individual act with the mantle of principle, an element of hypocrisy enters into the case which tends considerably to exacerbate our opinion of him. Let him steal if he will, but not as an act of devotion to any cause. This, however, by the way. The fact remains that theft and its allied offences are the immediate result of current economic conditions. It is natural that men should seek to obtain the necessities and comforts of life, legitimately if economic conditions allow them, if not, illegitimately.

The second class of offences named, those connected with sexual matters, from rape downwards, may be viewed from two or three different sides, and are complicated in ways which render the subject difficult of discussion in a journal—well, not exactly intended for "family reading," for to that level I trust the *Commonweal* will never sink—but for promiscuous circulation between the sexes. Here, as in the last case, viz., of theft or robbery, we must be careful in considering such offences, to eliminate the element of brutality or personal injury which may sometimes accompany them, from the offence itself. For the rest I confine myself to remarking that this class also, though not so obviously as the last, springs from an instinct legitimate in itself, but which has been suppressed or distorted. The opinions of most, even enlightened people, on such matters are, however, so largely coloured by the unconscious survival in their minds of sentiment derived from old theological and theosophical views of the universe, that they are not of much value. This is partly the reason, I take it, why the ordinary good-natured bourgeois who can complacently pass by on the other side, after casting a careless look on the most fiendish and organised cruelty in satisfaction of the economic craving—*gain*, is galvanised into a frenzy of indignation at some sporadic case of real or supposed ill-usage perpetrated in satisfaction of some *bizarre* form

of the animal craving—*lust*. Until people can be got to discuss this subject in the white light of physiological and pathological investigation, rather than the dim religious gloom of theosophical emotion, but little progress will be effected towards a due appreciation of the character of the offences referred to.¹

The two last orders of crime named differ from the preceding, in that they do not have even a basis in natural or social instinct as such. A brutal assault or malicious injury (*i.e.*, one not inflicted in self-defence or under immediate and strong provocation) is purely and simply inhuman—criminal without having any direct palliation in the facts of economic conditions, like crimes against property, or in physiological and (possibly) economic conditions combined, like sexual crimes. Brutality and cruelty so far outweigh in enormity the two last as to seem almost to swallow them up. For instance, in cases of robbery or rape with violence, it is the personal violence accompanying the substantive crimes which naturally excites one's resentment most; and properly so, although it is the latter of which the bourgeois law primarily takes cognisance. Any crime causing bodily injury or suffering must surely, in the absence of specially palliative circumstances, be regarded as the most deserving of condemnation at the hands of society.

The same may be said of false accusation of crime, an offence which is now classed together with others much less serious, under the absurd name of Perjury, the idea being that its gravamen consists not in the injury done to the innocent but in its insult to the majesty of the law. The unperturbed sense could scarcely conceive of any crime more monstrous than this,² and yet it is one which is frequently passed over lightly, with the view possibly of not discouraging prosecutions and thereby injuring the legal interest. By being classed under the head of perjury, moreover, it sounds less infamous than it really is, mere perjury being a thing recognised and practised in the best social circles, where the co-respondent in a divorce case who has been committing adultery swears he hasn't, as a mere matter of form.

It seems to us that all the serious offences with which any society would have to deal at present may be grouped under the classes named. Of course there are special orders of offences (such as bigamy) which belong essentially to it and to it alone, and with which we have not dealt. According to one view of the matter, crime may properly be defined as an action proscribed by law, and hence may or may not be immoral, since many of the most laudable actions have been, and are, proscribed by law. But in the foregoing I have confined myself to such crime as would be universally admitted to be directly anti-social—for, of course, it is with such only that the administration of a Socialist commonwealth could be concerned.

What has been said, we should mention, touches only the new society, conceived as having already passed through the transitional period of revolutionary crisis, during which, the one aim of Socialism being the victory of the revolutionary principle, any means which would be conducive to that end would of necessity be adopted. For example, the death-penalty, the *systematic maintenance* of which as an institution is one of the most outwardly repulsive features of the criminal code of civilisation, would probably have to be held to, as the temporary measure of a revolutionary crisis.

And now a final word on the charge of sentimentalism commonly brought against those who object to the repression of crime by organised brutality. It is clear that the distinction between sentiment and sentimentalism in this connection (which has hitherto been conceived as one of degree merely) has been shifted progressively since the sense of horror at the infliction of pain first came prominently to the fore. What in the seventeenth century would have been complacently admitted as a necessity for the repression of crime would now be regarded with loathing (real or feigned) by the most determined supporter of "deterrent" punishments. The notion that there is any fixed point at which justifiable sentiment ends and sentimentalism begins is therefore plainly absurd. But that the distinction has a meaning I am not disposed to deny; although I do not believe it to consist in any question of degree. Sentimentalism is, as I take it, not excessive but *illogical sentiment*—that is, *unequally distributed sentiment*. Where there is a strong sensibility to the feelings of one class or body of persons and a comparative callousness to the feelings of other classes under like circumstances—there, I think, we have *sentimentalism*. And the tendency of the modern bourgeois treatment of crime is precisely in the direction of such sentimentalism.

In the Middle Ages "benefit of clergy" might be claimed by offenders who could read and write, such "benefit" consisting in exemption from the ordinary punishment for the offence. In the modern world all such wicked and unenlightened distinctions are abolished. The law nowadays makes no distinction of persons between men. True; but it makes distinctions between *men* and *women*; and where *law* draws no distinction, *practice* does. "Benefit of clergy" is superseded by "benefit of sex." Not only are all the more brutal features of "penal discipline" still practised on men abolished as regards women, but the

¹ It is a curious circumstance, as illustrating the change of men's view of offences, that an ordinary indecent assault which in the Middle Ages, in Chaucer's time for instance, would have been regarded as a species of rude joke, should now be deemed the most serious of crimes.

² The same applies to *chantage*, which is the attempt to make personal capital out of the knowledge of some misdeed of another, by threats of disclosure. If anything would justify the taking of life it is surely this; and one of the greatest artistic blunders Charles Dickens ever made was in the attempt to awaken sympathy in the reader for such a scoundrel as Tigg, when going to meet his well-deserved doom at the hands of his victim. That Jonas Chuzzlewit, who inflicted it, was a villain himself does not alter the matter so far as Tigg is concerned.

chances of prosecution, of conviction, and if convicted, of heavy sentences, are at least a hundred to one in favour of women. Of course we know that the principle of equality between the sexes, as understood in the present day, demands this, and has been, and is, continually pushing legislation forward in this direction. Unless the social upheaval obliterates current lines of progress beforehand, we may yet live to see "equality between the sexes" realised in laws, whereby no female may be prosecuted for any offence whatever, the nearest male relation being substituted, and where the quiet London wayfarer in a lonely street will be in as dangerous a position as the "unprotected male" in the railway-carriage with a lone woman is now. Of course, any one that points this out is not treated seriously. The sentiment is still on the ascendant, and will have (as things go) to work out its own absurdity by its very excess before it begins to dawn upon the average British intellect that the distinction between the cohorts of Ormuzd and Ahriman is not invariably based on sex—and that persons who would legislate on this assumption are not quite fit to be at large. Meanwhile Ormiston Chant, Garrett Anderson, and Co., will probably have the opportunity of celebrating, in after-dinner speeches, new triumphs of the sexual inequality they have at heart.

In concluding these remarks, we would again point out the truth more than once alluded to in the course of them, that with the establishment of a classless society—a society based on labour for all, leisure for all, and culture for all, through the concentration of its whole productive and distributive capital in its own hands as embodied in its administration—that in such a society crime, and therefore the mode of dealing with crime, must tend to lose its present significance and to become "rudimentary." This is obvious as regards crimes against property and all such as are directly traceable to the present constitution of society. It is none the less true, in the long run, of the rest, which are only indirectly traceable to it. Given a class bred in squalor, and that class is bound to develop a certain number of individuals in whom the dead-level swamp of coarseness inseparable from squalor will overflow into criminal brutality. Given a community in which business capacity is identified with ability to beggar one's neighbour ruthlessly under the name of competition, and where temptation offers you will have (1) direct appropriation by individuals of the property of other individuals—or, theft; and (2) criminal law made use of to subserve private ends—or, briefly expressed, perjury.

But the best illustration of the truth in question is afforded by the relative preponderance of crime in the propertied and unpropertied classes of modern civilisation. From what section is the so-called criminal class recruited but from what Marx has termed the "reserve army of industry"? And is not this the class the precarious conditions of whose existence are continually driving its members to isolated criminal acts, until they become habituated to a life of crime? And yet this reserve army of industry is a necessity of capitalistic production. On the other hand, can crime (in the sense of this article) be said to be common among any section of the well-to-do classes? We have here and there sporadic instances which are commented upon as something remarkable, as showing the depravity of human nature, it is true, but no one can say it is common. If, then, we see an habitual absence of crime in one class, and its habitual presence in another class, both living in the same age and in local proximity, both breathing the pestilential moral atmosphere of the Christian civilisation of these latter days, and differing only in the material circumstances of their life, and the results immediately flowing from these, what stronger evidence can we have of the ultimate dependence of crime on economic condition,—and I may add in conclusion, what greater earnest of the complete disappearance of crime in that future when generations of social morality shall have created human beings, compared with whom the crimeless bourgeois of to-day is but as the brute beast?

E. BELFORT BAX.

LITERARY NOTICES.

The *Revista Italiana* for this month contains among other matters an able article on the "Two Utopias" by N. Colajanni, and some descriptive notes on the late Socialist trial at Milan by F. Turati.

We have received from Turin the first numbers of a little monthly publication called the "Workman's Propagandist Library," which from its form and price should be of some service in spreading ideas among the labouring class. The writings would, however, answer the end in view more effectively if the style were less florid. The March issue consists of an account of the Paris Commune of 1871.

'Ounces of Prevention.' By T. M. Coan, M.P. (Harper. New York. 25 cents.). This pamphlet would be of some use, doubtless, were not its advice so emphatically of the "take hold of a guinea-pig's tail" order. A large part of it is taken up with denunciation of the "devil of worry" which takes such firm hold of most men to-day. The mingled material anxiety and mental self-analysis which go toward making up this worry are not to be got rid of by argument or medicine. They are the inevitable outcome of the economic and social conditions of a bankrupt and decaying civilisation.

W. N. Armfield of Cairns Road, Battersea Rise, S.W., has issued a broadsheet which he styles "The Humanitarian Socialist Tribute to the year of Jubilee" and in which he advocates municipal reform and the establishment of a labour-note currency. These and kindred schemes require too many "buts" to be discussed profitably on the basis of the present system. Social evils are like the Deevs slain by the Persian hero. Kill the chief (monopoly) and all die, but cut down all the minor ones and they spring up again and again revived by their leader's power.

COAL STRIKE IN BELGIUM.—MONS, March 10.—A strike has broken out in the Borinage district affecting about 2,400 miners employed in the collieries at Quaregnon, Paturages, and Wasmes.

HOW CHAINS ARE FORGED AT CRADLEY HEATH.

Colonel C. E. Stewart, late Assistant-Commissioner in the Afghan Boundary Commission, writes to the *St. James's Gazette* as follows:

"On arrival at Cradley Heath, which is a poor-looking village in Staffordshire, we found at least 2000 chain-makers assembled in a large wooden building which had been lent by the Salvation Army for the meeting. On entering, the sight that met our view was a sad one. The greater portion of the assembly was composed of men; though some hundreds of women were present, many with babies in their arms. Such pale wan faces among the women and children! while even the men looked pinched, with hunger. In spite of the hungry look, they were cheerful, and tried to make the best of a very hard lot. While waiting for the proceedings to commence they sang several of Moody and Sankey's hymns in a very effective manner, under the leadership of a Salvationist. After the business connected with our association was finished, I asked for information about chain-making and the strike then going on, and was told by Mr. T. Homer, the Chain-makers' Secretary, and others, the following facts connected with their industry. The work is piecework, the men generally taking the iron to their homes to manufacture, though some masters have it made up on their own premises; but even then the work is paid by the piece. A man working sixty hours in the week, and taking no half-holiday on Saturday, can in that time make 7 cwt. of chain, of $\frac{1}{2}$ in. diameter, for which he receives at the rate of from 1s. 8d. to 1s. 10d. per cwt. Even at the higher figure of 1s. 10d. per hundredweight, this would amount to 12s. 10d. Out of this he has to pay a boy as blower 3s. a-week, also to pay 3s. 6d. for the small coal called 'breeze' necessarily used in working up this amount of iron, and 1s. has to be expended in carrying the materials to the master's place of business. This leaves 5s. 4d. as the full wages of a man for hard blacksmith's work for a week of sixty hours. If two men work together, a blower can be hired between them, to whom each man pays 2s.; and under these circumstances the net earnings of an able man would amount to 6s. 4d. a-week. If 8 cwt. of chain were made in the week the earnings would amount to a little more; but few men can make this quantity, and that not regularly every week, so 6s. 4d. may be considered the full wages that it is possible for an industrious and good workman to earn in a week.

"When the father of a family can by his utmost exertions only earn the above sum it becomes necessary that his wife and daughters, if he have any, should earn their own keep, and women work at the forge at chain-making in very large numbers. Working at a forge with men does not seem an occupation fitted for women and girls, and the evil effects of this work upon them, both morally and physically, are very evident. One woman showed me her hand, which was covered with immense hard corns produced by the constant use of the hammer during so many hours a day, and said should women do work that hurt them like that. The moral results of young men and young women working together at the hot forges often in the scantiest attire, is also lamentable. I have heard sad tales of women forging chains up to a very short period of their confinement. For sixty hours' hard work, only fit for a strong man, those poor women receive about 3s. 6d. clear, after paying for breeze and share of blower's wages. Imagine a wage of 3s. 6d. for a week of such toil.

"At last this state of affairs could be endured no longer, the chain-makers struck for an increase of wages. Several of the most important masters withdrew of the strike, and I understand some actually contribute money. Much help is being given by the Nut and Boltmakers' Association, whose secretary, Mr. Juggins, was present at the meeting. Other associations are also helping. As there are 2,000 chain-makers on strike, and these men and women have many depending on them, the whole number who have been rendered utterly destitute by this strike is about 8,000. They have no union of their own, so it is necessary to raise a considerable sum to give even a little help weekly. They say they worked hard and starved, and now they play and starve. This is the twenty-ninth week of the strike, and the sums that have been collected only allow of four quatern loaves, worth 1s. 4d., and 1s. being paid to each family weekly—making a total of 2s. 4d. per family, consisting of a man, his wife, and one child. If there are more children, a very small increase is given; but the whole sum in bread and money given to a family of ten persons is only 4s.

"These chain-makers ask that a hard-working and efficient man should be able to earn about 14s. a week and a woman 7s.; though they think if the man earned as much as 14s. he could keep his family decently and the women would not be obliged to work at the forges. I was shown a chain such as is used to put over the back of a cart-horse and hold up the shafts. The workmen are paid 1½d. for making these chains; cost of iron, galvanising, etc., about 5½d.; total cost, 7d. But they are sold in retail shops at about 5s. each. The chain-makers ask that out of this enormous profit a little more than 1½d. should go to them."

[The only "remedies" that can be thought of by the gallant Colonel, or the "influential journal" to which he writes, are voluntary almsgiving and State-directed emigration. But, why should cruel injustice have the offensiveness of "charity" superadded, and where in the wide world can chain-makers emigrate to and find employment?—Eds.]

On the 7th a meeting of chainmakers was held in the Salvation Army barracks, Cradley Heath. Mr. Thomas Homer, who presided, pointed out that they had completed the thirtieth week of the strike, and had entered upon the thirty-first. They had not yet gained the victory, and it required the operatives to manifest the greatest determination to have the list prices. On the 9th another meeting was held in the New Connexion Schools, Cradley Heath. Mr. T. Homer presided, and stated that those who were out on strike were very badly off; many of them hardly knew how to exist from one day to another. Poverty amongst them was increasing daily, but he hoped that the present state of things would not last long. The landlords had been very merciful towards them, and not a single case had come under his notice where they had levied a distraint for rent. It was stated that some of the masters were still practising the vile truck system, and refused to give the men orders without they agreed to buy gleads of them. He pointed out that they had played the summer out and the winter the same, and nearly played the summer in again, and he said if things did not alter they would be obliged to call the whole trade out again. It was resolved to continue the strike. On the 11th another meeting was held in the same place, Mr. Homer again presiding. The chairman laid stress on the fact that there was every indication of a better state of trade, and as the warehouses were entirely empty, it only remained for them to be firm in order to achieve a victory. It was decided to continue the strike.

As long as there is competition, liberty is impossible.—Louis Blanc.



"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.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

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

CAPITALIST—May be pronounced either as *cap-italist* or *ca-pit-alist*. The former is the more correct etymologically, and the latter in accordance with the English custom of accentuating the antepenultimate.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday March 16.

ENGLAND		NEW YORK—Volkszeitung		ITALY	
Justice		Freiheit		Milan—Il Fascio Operaio	
Jus		John Swinton's Paper		Naples—Humanitas	
Norwich—Daylight		Boston—Woman's Journal		Brescia—Lo Spermentale	
Cotton Factory Times		Liberty		Lugo—Revista Italiana	
Worker's Friend		Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer		SWITZERLAND	
Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung		New Haven (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate		Zurich—Sozial Demokrat	
Die Autonomie		Cincinnati (O.) Unionist		SPAIN	
Leicester—Countryman		Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt		Madrid—El Socialista	
Southport—Visiter		Detroit (Mich.)—The Advance		AUSTRIA	
Standard		and Labor Leaf		Vienna—Gleichheit	
To-Day		Seattle (W.T.) Voice of the People		ROUMANIA	
Dublin—Evening Telegraph		FRANCE		Jassy—Lupta	
Anarchist		Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)		Revista Sociala	
INDIA		Le Revolte		DENMARK	
Bankipore—Behar Herald		HOLLAND		Social-Demokraten	
SOUTH AUSTRALIA		Hague—Recht voor Allen		SWEDEN	
Adelaide—Our Commonwealth		BELGIUM		Stockholm—Social-Demokraten	
CANADA		Brussels—L'Avant-Garde		NORWAY	
Toronto—Labor Reformer		Liege—L'Avenir		Kristiania—Social-Demokraten	
UNITED STATES		Antwerp—De Werker			
Knights of Labor					

A REVOLUTIONARY COMPANY.

I HAVE lying on my desk before me the prospectus of a new company which is about to be floated, bearing the title of the "Grant Envelope Machine Company." Since the pernicious doctrines circulated amongst the classes in this way, form a constantly increasing menace to society, it would be well if we were occasionally to look into them, in order that when the opportunity arrives we may be able to deal with the prime movers in the way that they deserve.

The prospectus in question, after stating the all important information as to amount of capital required, etc., and the names of the directors (amongst whom are Walter James Waterlow, and Sidney Austin Grant, of Hatton Garden), and other officers, makes the following statement of the objects of the company: "This company has been formed to acquire and develop for Great Britain, France, Germany, Austro-Hungary, etc., all the patent rights of the Grant Rotary Envelope Machine, an important and remarkable mechanical invention, and one which will certainly revolutionise the envelope trade." Of course, as no doubt the reader has often heard, no man proposes a revolution, unless he is likely to gain by it; and the prime movers in a revolutionary movement are always credited with being especially mercenary. This prospectus fully bears out that view. "The directors propose to sell the machine at remunerative profits with an annual royalty, and it is believed that the sales will be sufficient to enable this company within a comparatively short period to pay dividends of from fifteen to twenty per cent. to the shareholders, and to provide bonuses equal to the whole amount paid to the vendors." Fifteen per cent. on £75,000 (the capital of the company) or £11,250 per annum is what the shareholders hope to make by this nice little scheme for causing a revolution in the envelope trade. The Irish M.P.'s were not long ago accused of spending the money collected in support of their League in riot and debauchery in London; one would like to see how far such will be the case with the promoters of this company. But one could forgive them somewhat, if they proposed to do anything really practical and for the benefit of the people. That, however, is not what they want; they intend to be merely sitting at the receipt of custom, to tax the unfortunate dupes who get into their power, and to leave others to do all the work. "The company does not propose to have any manufactory of its own for making the machines, as they will be made on reasonable terms by the present manufacturers of that class of machinery." This shows plainly that instead of meaning any

real good to the community at large, their real desire is to forestall the public in these "reasonable terms," and get a living out of the people by putting a tax on envelopes. For, though of course envelopes will be cheaper, the action of this company will merely prevent the people from getting them as cheap as they ought. We shall now get for a shilling envelopes that formerly cost fourteen pence, but were it not for these shareholders we should get them for tenpence instead of a shilling.

This will be the effect of this "revolution" on the buyers of envelopes. And now what about its effect on the makers of them, the actual workers? The new machine, we are told, will turn out as many envelopes per hour as three of the old form. The workers, therefore, ought not to have to work more than a third of their present hours, and this would indeed be a boon to them; but, unhappily, the revolutionist shareholders do not seem to have contemplated any such thing, for the prospectus naively remarks: "The daily capacity of one 'Grant Machine' of ten hours, at nominal speed, is 100,000." Of course, if the makers are to keep on three times as fast as before, one-third of their number will be able to do all the work, and this is what the shareholders anticipate in speaking of a ten hours' working-day. They mean, though they do not care to point it out in plain words, that two-thirds of the present work-people employed in this trade will be unnecessary, and they will expect the capitalist to pay them 20 per cent. more than the real value of his machine, in consideration of having enabled him to rob two-thirds of his employes of the means of life and pocket their wages for himself.

Suppose, then, that this takes place, and these people lose their employment! What, oh most excellent directors, are you going to do for these, whose means of self support you have assisted another to take, so that you may get your 20 per cent.? Your prospectus, I see, has made no provision for that. Do you begin to talk about competition, and supply and demand, and the struggle for existence? Remember, that two can play at that last game. You say that they can emigrate, or go to the workhouse, where the public may keep them? Yes, capitalist, they can do these things, no doubt; and they can do other things besides. Revolutions are not to be monopolised, like machines; and your revolution in the envelope trade may revolve too far, till you are crushed instead of raised aloft by fortune's wheel. You will take the risk of that, you think, for the sake of 20 per cent.? The odds, observe, are all against you, and we play for life or death.

However, it is little use arguing with swindlers and gamblers; they are never convinced. And so the thing will go on, and the men will lose their work; and as times get harder the unemployed will become more dangerous, and East-end landlords have increasing difficulty to get their 20 per cent. or so in the shape of rents. Whereupon these shareholders, and others like them, having brought about their "revolution," and being anxious to prevent the affair from revolving further, begin to think that it would be a good thing if the public would look to their duty, and help the poor whose wages these particular gentry have got in their pockets, so that they may keep quiet and pay their rent. It is not hard to get round the Lord Mayor, and a hireling bishop or two, and then a public meeting does the job. A Mansion House Fund, or Relief Works whereby public improvements can be done cheap is the result, and our shareholder in the envelope machine company subscribes a hundred pounds. It looks well in print; and doesn't his servant, the bishop, teach him in the words of the hymn:

"Whatever, Lord, we lend to thee,
Repaid a thousand times will be,
Therefore we gladly give to thee," etc.?

Who can tell but this may be the best investment of all? At any rate it is expedient and charitable.

And now, oh shareholder, let us see what your charity amounts to. You have perhaps invested £2,000 in this precious scheme (best not ask how you got it to invest), and you realise your 15 per cent.; that is to say £300 per annum, or enough to keep three families; nay, probably it did support as many again till your "revolution in the envelope trade" diverted it from their pockets into yours. And now you return to them £100 once, out of the £300 that you get every year. Is this what your bishop calls feeding the hungry, to starve three men for your own profit, and then toss back the share of one to divide between them and keep them quiet? Is this your notion of clothing the naked, to strip half-a-dozen and then give back to them enough to pay you again the rent you charge them for their home? Truly it is time the day of reckoning came, when it shall be said to you with authority, "Depart, all ye workers of iniquity!"

You hypocrites! And this is how you have thought to hedge between God and Mammon! You have solved the problem, have you, with the help of your bishops and pastors, and contrive now to make good investments for this world and better for the next? "Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can you escape the damnation of hell!"

G. S.

On Friday, March 4, the House of Lords indulged in a pleasant little chat upon jury-packing, mention of which was, of course, carefully avoided by "intelligent editors" as much as possible. Lords Fitzgerald, Bramwell, and Ashbourne were agreed that jury-packing was *not* jury-packing, "but simply the due care which the authorities, who select the juries, are bound to take not to include men who are under prejudice or under any influence to decide otherwise than according to the evidence." Lord Bramwell showed that it was quite commonly done in England, and the whole course of the conversation went to prove the Socialist allegation that "law" is only an instrument in the hand of the robber-caste, and is duly administered to their benefit alone.—S.

THE CURSE OF SECRET DIPLOMACY.

IN dealing with the subject of secret diplomacy we must dismiss from our minds all bias in favour of the wisdom and integrity of English statesmen, or prejudice against those of other countries. We must endeavour "to see ourselves as others see us." We must remember, too, that neither laws nor institutions are too sacred for examination; that nothing is too holy for investigation; and that when the air is filled with rumours of coming wars and of alliances and combinations among European states, let us not forget that secret diplomacy is the rule with all the states of Europe—a system by which peoples are bought or sold like flocks of geese.

As in 1876, '77, and '78, England is supposed to be hostile to Russia. Let us not be deceived. The English aristocracy have never yet proved to be hostile to the government of that country. But as we may be drawn into hostile demonstrations, just as we have been in the past, let us see what lessons the past contains for our guidance in the present and future; and as we have to bear the curse and scourge of secret diplomacy, let us see a little of its doings in the last few years.

We all remember the diplomatic proceedings that preceded the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-8. During 1876-7 and the early part of 1878, most people believed the English were determined on fighting Russia and on saving Turkey. How the people were deceived let the following facts show. During the discussions among the Great Powers that preceded the war, the English Government agreed to accept the terms and conditions contained in the Andrassy Note, but refused to accept the Berlin Memorandum. That was in May 1876; and as the latter differed but very little from the Andrassy Note, the English Government were much blamed for that opposition. Of course the people of England knew nothing of what the English Government was doing, yet most people thought that having a Conservative Government in, all was going on well. Still there were some who wanted to know what was being done, and as the months rolled on it was necessary for the Government to say something. On the 20th September of that year the late Disraeli went and addressed his constituents at Aylesbury; and in speaking of the refusal of England to accept the Berlin Memorandum, and their supposed inactivity, he said: "Well, we did propose some measures on our own part. My noble friend, Lord Derby, lost no time in laying down principles upon which we thought that the tranquility of the East of Europe might be secured; that is, he laid down the principles on which we thought that the relations between the Porte and the Sultan's subjects could be established. These communications were occurring constantly between Her Majesty's Government and the other five Powers, from the moment we declined entering into the Berlin Memorandum, and gave our reasons for so declining. There were on the part of all the great Powers cordial attempts to act with us in every way which would bring about a satisfactory termination, but by no Power have we been met so cordially as by Russia." In the above the English premier stated distinctly that the English Government did not remain idle. That, through Lord Derby, they submitted to the Powers other propositions; that those propositions were frequently discussed by all the Powers interested; and that Russia gave them a most cordial consideration. Now would any one believe that the above account was not true; that there was not a word of truth in it? That the English Government did not put forth counter propositions, and that therefore no such discussions ever took place? Lord Derby knew nothing about the propositions he was said to have formulated. The Russian Government (Dispatch, Nov. 22) knew nothing either of the propositions or the discussion in reference to them; nor is there a word in the Blue Books respecting them. Then why was the speech made? To gull the English people. And they were gulled.

During the whole of 1876 and '77, the mass of the people believed the Government sincere in its professed hostility to Russia, and that England would never see Turkey crushed. The Russo-Turkish war began and continued month after month, but the English Government did not declare war against Russia. It is true millions of money were voted for war preparations, and we even brought black troops from India. But we did not go to war. Russia was gradually crushing Turkey; still the English did not help the Turk. The English people could not understand it. The Turkish Government at last became impatient, distrustful. But England did not fight Russia. Turkey became suspicious that all was not right; and on December 21, 1877, Musurus Pacha, Turkish Minister at London, called on Lord Derby at the Foreign Office to know whether the English Government meant to interfere on behalf of Turkey. At that time Turkey was straining every nerve to hold her own as far as possible, and in England people every day expected a declaration of war against Russia. Yet what was Lord Derby's reply to the Turkish Minister? In a Dispatch of Lord Derby's to Mr. Layard, our Minister at Constantinople, dated Foreign Office, Dec. 21, 1877, Lord Derby said (par. 2): "As his Excellency referred more than once to the possibility of English intervention, I thought it right to repeat the warning which I had frequently before given, namely, that no such intervention was to be expected, but that Her Majesty's Government would adhere to the conditions of neutrality which they had laid down." There was no mistaking this declaration of the English Government. Yet the Turkish Government could not believe that England had determined to abandon her to her fate. On Jan. 12, 1878, the Turkish Minister made a last effort. He again appealed to the English Government; and Lord Derby, in a dispatch of the same date, addressed to Mr. Layard (par. 2), said, in reply to the enquiry of the Turkish Minister whether the English

Government would not assist the Porte: "I said that I feared not; that, as I had told him from the beginning, we were not prepared to give military assistance to Turkey." And all this time the people foolishly believed the Government were determined not to let Turkey be lost.

But worse remains to be told. Not only were the Government gulling the English people; not only were they deceiving the Turkish Government; but at the very moment they were spending millions in war preparations, they were hand and glove with Russia. Take the following as one piece of evidence. On Dec. 14, 1877, the Turkish Minister called on Lord Derby at the Foreign Office, and enquired if the English Government knew anything of the conditions of peace Russia intended to impose upon Turkey. Lord Derby declared they did not (dispatch to Mr. Layard, same date, par. 2). Mark well the above date. Now would any one for a moment believe, after Lord Derby's denial, that the English Government did know what those conditions were to be? Would any one think it possible that in the June previous the Russian Government, sure of the sympathy of the English Government, had communicated to them the very conditions to be imposed upon Turkey when peace did come? Yet such was actually the case. During the whole of the six months from June 1877, and at the very moment Lord Derby declared to Musurus Pacha that he knew nothing of the intended conditions of peace, the Russian Memorandum containing those conditions was in the Foreign Office. And not only in the Foreign Office, but in the possession of every one of her Majesty's Ministers. When Lord Derby left the Foreign Office and Lord Salisbury became Foreign Secretary, the Conservatives pretended that only Lord Derby knew of those conditions. Mr. J. Mundella wrote to Lord Derby on the subject, and this is Lord Derby's reply: "23 St. James's, London, April 12, 1878. Dear Sir,—I thank you for your note of yesterday. The story of the Memorandum of June last containing the proposed Russian terms of peace having been kept back from the Cabinet is a ridiculous fiction. It was in the hands of my colleagues within a few hours of its being placed in mine," etc. Nor was that Memorandum made public till Feb. 1878, and after we had given the Turkish Minister a final answer that we should not fight Russia.

When Turkey found how she had been deceived by England, she accepted the Russian terms of peace as contained in the Memorandum above referred to. These were embodied in the Treaty of San Stefano, March 26. On April 1, Lord Salisbury sent forth his flaming dispatch, that her Majesty's Government would never agree to the terms of that treaty, pointing out the various conditions one by one, all of which her Majesty's Government would resist. On May 30, the same Lord Salisbury signed a secret Agreement with Count Schouvaloff, Russian Minister at St. James's, agreeing, not only that Russia should have all she wanted, but that at the Congress (of Berlin) about to assemble the English plenipotentiaries should stand by and support those of Russia. That was followed by another secret agreement with Turkey, whom we were still deceiving, and by which we obtained Cyprus.

But it may be asked, did not the English plenipotentiaries at the Berlin Congress save the Turkish Empire? No. On the contrary, Turkey lost, through their action, far more than she would have lost by the Treaty of San Stefano. By the latter treaty she would have lost 78,550 square miles of territory and 4,539,000 of population. By the Treaty of Berlin she lost 95,588 square miles of territory and 5,382,000 of population. She therefore lost 17,038 square miles and 843,000 of population more than she would have lost by the former treaty. By the Treaty of San Stefano Austria would not have been aggrandised at the expense of Turkey. But by the direct action of the English plenipotentiaries Austria received no less than 28,125 square miles of territory and 1,061,000 of population. What a glorious peace with honour!

Take one other instance. During May 1876 there was a debate in the House of Commons on the Central Asian question, and on the 10th Disraeli said: "So far from being alarmed at the progress of Russia, he saw no reason why Russia should not conquer Tartary as England had conquered India." Two days later he received, through Lord Loftus, our ambassador at St. Petersburg, the thanks of the Russian Government for his candid defence of Russian interests in Asia.

Such is the work of secret diplomacy. A disgrace to the age and a curse to the world. Is it strange that England should be distrusted, and condemned as the hypocrite of nations? May the coming social revolution free us from this curse and scourge!

J. SKETCHLEY.

HOSTILITY TO THE JUBILEE CELEBRATION IN SOUTH WALES.—The movement in South Wales for celebrating the Queen's Jubilee is, says the Central News, in many directions meeting with absolute failure. The mention of her Majesty's name was received with groans and hisses at a public meeting at Llanelly on Saturday, and an amendment to the effect that no local celebration should be made was carried by a large majority. On Monday, a deputation waited upon the Neath Town Council, urging that body to carry out the wishes of a public meeting recently held with reference to the local celebration, but the corporation resolved to take no action in the matter, and refused to vote the requisite funds. The jubilee committee at Cardiff, on Monday evening, decided to proceed no further with the movement in that town unless the corporation consented to vote a larger sum of money for the purpose, and a letter was received from the Cardiff Trades' Council, which had been invited to co-operate, stating that it could not recommend the trades "to do anything in the shape of servile admiration of a well-paid servant of the State."

The best gifts of life—leisure and liberty—they are the twin genii that the poor can never see.—*Ouida*.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

This department is under the direction of the Strike Committee. Labour News and Contributions to the Fund should be sent to T. BINNING, at the Offices.

BRITAIN.

A National Conference of Ironworkers is to take place at Manchester shortly. The conference will be thoroughly representative, and important questions affecting the iron industry will be discussed. Manchester Socialists ought to be on the alert.

THE MINERS RIOTS.—Several men, charged with theft at the Coatbridge riots, after having been in prison 28 days, were discharged with an "admonition." The sheriff remarked that there was now no chance of the riots being renewed, and the solicitor for the men gave them excellent characters.

THREATENED STRIKE OF WELSH MINERS.—Notices have been posted up by the miners at most of the Ruabon and Wrexham collieries, demanding an advance of 10 per cent. in wages, to commence by March 14. It is believed that the men will propose a reduction of their hours of labour to eight per day, and also a reduction in the price they pay for coal for their own use.

THE STRIKE AT ABERDEEN.—The strike at Broadford Linen Works, Aberdeen, terminated on the 10th, when the whole of the employes resumed work at the old rate of wages. The works were closed for a week, 2500 persons being thrown idle. The demand of the workers was that their pay be increased at the rate of 5 per cent.

REDUCTION OF WAGES.—Notice has been given of a reduction of wages at the Rother Vale Colliery Company. The men refuse to accept, and 220 men and boys will come out on strike at the expiration of the fourteen days' notice.—The whole of the men employed by the Clay Cross Colliery Company have also received notice of a reduction, which they will resist.—The building employes of Birmingham intend making a stand against a further reduction of wages. The books of the Society show a decrease in the number of men unemployed. A proposed reduction was successfully resisted at Gateshead and Newcastle-on-Tyne.

RAWTENSTALL.—CRIBBING TIME.—At a certain weaving shed in this district it is no uncommon thing to run thirty minutes per day over and above the time prescribed by law, and the extent to which this abominable practice is carried on in this district is making the law a dead letter. At the above mentioned shed, the engineer was remonstrated with by the owner for not running more overtime, whereupon the engineer replied that he thought that half an hour per day is sufficient. The weavers have also to take the waste and fetch the weft during the breakfast time, thus again curtailing the time allowed for meals.

WALSALL.—The committee appointed at the pit's-head conference at Walsall on the 20th ult., to draw up notices to present to the employers for an advance of miners' wages, met at Walsall on March 9. It was found that the necessity for the Carnock Chase miners to give notice had been obviated for the present at least by their employers having agreed to an interview with the representatives of the men at Birmingham on the 17th inst. Dissatisfaction was expressed at the course taken by the employers in the other parts of the district in refusing to meet deputations from the men officially, and it was decided that a circular should be sent to all the employers in the districts, asking them to meet deputations at as early a date as possible, with a view to an amicable settlement. It was also decided to appoint a deputation to wait upon such employers.

MINERS' WAGES.—A conference between the Lanarkshire coal-masters and miners has been held at Glasgow. The masters proposed a sliding scale, the pits to be open twelve days a fortnight, and no workman to interfere with others regarding the amount of work done. The delegates of the men replied they would rather starve than accept these conditions. They demanded an advance of sixpence unconditionally before considering a sliding scale. The conference thus terminated without result.—At a conference between the Airdrie, Slamannan, and Bathgate coal-masters and men, the masters offered the immediate advance of sixpence on condition that the men work eleven days per fortnight and eight hours daily; fourteen days notice mutually before strikes, lock-outs, and reduction or advance of wages, and a mutual arrangement of the sliding scale. The men accepted the conditions. Notices have been posted by the miners at most of the collieries in the Ruabon and Wrexham districts demanding an advance of 10 per cent. in wages, to commence by March 14. A general stand-out is feared.

It appears that the strike in the Northumberland coal trade is complicated by the dual nature of the coal in the county, pits being hard and soft, steam and household, on even the same collieries. At the Walker Colliery the men have sent a resolution to the miners' executive, asking that they try to secure an interview between the owners and miners of soft or house-coal collieries in the county, with a view of having the difference settled and work resumed in these pits. It is generally admitted that the rate of wages in Durham ought to govern those of the soft-coal collieries in Northumberland, seeing that the latter compete in the same market as the house-coal coals of Durham. It is understood that efforts will be made by the executive in the direction indicated by the men. Thus an important section of the industry in this vast district will be affected, and this may influence the duration of the whole strike. Steam collieries are much more numerous and extensive throughout Northumberland, and here the miners preserve an attitude of dogged determination, and the coalmasters have given no sign of further movement. Many of the men are in favour of referring the dispute to arbitration.

NOTTINGHAM.—STRIKE OF OMNIBUS CONDUCTORS.—The residents of Sherwood and Sherwood-Rise were last Saturday morning put to considerable inconvenience by the non-appearance of the late Nottingham General Omnibus Company's vehicles. Those who have patronised that company in preference to the Tramway Company were disappointed seriously. Their accustomed carriages were absent from the road during the first hours of running. The reason was discovered later on, when it appeared that the conductors had refused to work. They did this as a protest against the course the official liquidator of the company adopted towards them. He had recently prosecuted and convicted two of their number for stealing small sums of money they received as fares, and they considered it harsh and unreasonable, theirs being a very hard case, they having to work fourteen hours a day, without intermission, or any kind of relief for meal times, for 10s. per week. In the course of the day some of the conductors were induced to return to their work, and a few of the omnibuses were got on to the road. There was great excitement along the road, those who went to work being hooted. All the old hands were turned away two weeks ago, and the men on strike are a new lot. Starvation or 10s.: free contract.—J. P.

THE "SWEATING" SYSTEM.

A meeting convened by the London Tailors' Machinists' Society took place on Saturday night at the School-rooms, Brick Lane, Bethnal Green, for the purpose of "explaining and condemning the sweating system." Mr. W. Thompson occupied the chair. Mr. L. Lyons pointed out that the evils of "sweating," which caused the workers to labour from six or seven o'clock in the morning until ten or eleven o'clock at night, did not end there, because the neighbourhoods in which the system was carried on became crowded, and rents accordingly rose. One of the chief causes of the miseries produced by sweating was, he considered, the teaching of men only a divisional part of their trade, which left them, in consequence of their ignorance of its other details, victims to the sweater. Resolutions were eventually carried to the effect that the sweating system inflicted serious injury physically, morally, and socially upon the workers, and that the Government should appoint a Royal Commission to enquire into it; and that the present staff of factory-inspectors in East London was insufficient, and that six more, including two women, should be appointed to overlook the tailoring trade.

The Dublin *Evening Telegraph* of March 10 has a striking article on the subject of "sweating," giving details as to the manner in which it is carried on, and the extent to which it prevails in Dublin. It is stated that one-sixth of the whole tailoring work is performed by sweaters, that every Dublin tailor employs some, and in many cases where the work is said to be done on the premises a few men are kept only partially employed as a blind. As an instance of the way in which "the middleman 'sweats' gold-dust from his wretched underlings, just as the Jews used to 'sweat' gold-dust from the current gold coin of the realm," a case is cited where "one particular master sweater occupies a country house himself, and gives employment to fifteen or twenty sweaters in making trousers alone. The master sweater or middleman receives from the tailor so much more than the wages which he pays to the sweaters that he does not require to do any of the manual work himself." The Amalgamated Society of Tailors have done all they can to oppose the system, but the evil has now become too great for them to deal with; and as the writer of the article very pertinently observes, "when authorities on hygienic matters and some of our leading Dublin physicians have condemned the system as being a source of contagion to the public and of degradation to the workers, it is to the interest of society that some remedy should be devised, if not to remove the evil, at least to lessen the danger."

"TRUCKING."

The miners have long been complaining about infringements of the Truck Act, which it was alleged is still rampant in Scotland. In order that some authoritative statement on the subject might be obtained, the Home Department of the Government instructed Mr. Redgrave, chief inspector of factories, to visit the districts where "trucking" was alleged to be carried on, and make a report. His report has just been issued, and we are bound to say that it reveals a state of things of which we had no conception. Speaking of Scotland, and especially of Lanarkshire, it appears that whilst the men are commonly paid fortnightly, or monthly, there are still numerous cases where they are only paid eight, and in some cases four times a-year. We can well understand what an opening this system will give for trucking. The men want something to be going on with, and one way of granting it is by giving the men advances, or, as we call it, "sub," and charging interest for the money. Mr. Redgrave obtained the actual rates of seventeen collieries, at which it ranged from sixpence in the pound to one shilling for twelve. As the collieries generally pay fortnightly, this would be for about one week. One colliery manager was good enough to supply further particulars, from which it appeared that their average "sub" during the fortnight reached £40. This was all deducted from the hard-earned wages of the men each pay day, along with the interest. For a year this latter item came to £43, 6s. 8d. for the use of £40 for about a week in each fortnight, so that the colliery proprietor received over 200 per cent., to say nothing of the fact that the men had already earned the money on which interest was paid. Then deductions are made for rent, medical attendance, for sharpening tools (picks), and other matters. Some of the employers also have stores, which their men are not compelled (?) to deal at, but there is no objection to them doing so if they please. Perhaps the best view of this system is given by what is called a "pay line." This is a pay sheet, on one side of which is marked the quantity of coal got, the rate of pay, and the amount due. On the other is printed the heads of the various items which may have to be deducted, and the balance, if any, is then paid over to the workman. In order that we may not be accused of exaggeration, we give the list of possible deductions, which are grouped under the following heads: Rent, poor and other rates, gas, coal, store supplies, house repairs, surgeon, school, reading-room, cash advances, chimney-sweeping, under-hand. It will thus be seen that where this system is in force the collier is not supposed to be able to attend to any of the duties of civilised life. We question if the old Lanarkshire cotton lords ever did anything like this. The list we have given does not (as some others do) include anything for pick-sharpening; but it appears that in a colliery employing 400 men the profit to the employers on this business reaches £140, 4s. per annum.—*Cotton Factory Times*.

SCOTTISH MINERS AND THEIR MASTERS.

The much talked-of Conference between the Lanarkshire miners and their masters took place in Glasgow last week. As it had been rumoured that the masters intended to submit, as a condition of their granting an advance of 6d. per day, various rules and regulations of an objectionable character, the delegates were instructed to discuss only the question of wages, and to entertain no other proposals until the stipulated advance of 6d. per day was conceded.

On the first day of the Conference the men stated their demand. The masters replied that they could not grant any advance unless better arrangements as to future work were agreed to by the men. The delegates stated that until the advance was first granted they could not discuss other points. The meeting was therefore adjourned for three days to enable the delegates to consult with their constituents.

On Friday the conference was resumed, when it was ascertained that the miners had unanimously instructed their delegates to adhere to their original demand. The masters then put forward an ultimatum to the following effect: "That the men must keep the pits working six days a week instead of five days as at present, that they must agree to give a fortnight's notice of strikes or holidays, and that no workmen shall interfere with a fellow-workman regarding the amount of work done by him." The delegates

expressed surprise at the despotic character of these rules. One of them stated that rather than accept any of these stipulations he would fight to the last drop of his blood. Robert Steele, Motherwell, in a ringing speech, condemned the proposals, and announced the determination of the delegates to withdraw.

The resolute and manly attitude taken up by the Lanarkshire miners' delegates, is one of the pleasantest incidents in the recent labour struggle. That they and their constituents should agree rather to lose the advance of 6d., to obtain which they recently suffered so much, than accept conditions that would destroy their union and place them under the heel of their masters, is a hopeful sign indeed. I cannot help saying that the Lanarkshire miners have in their present conflict with their masters shown a spirit of resolute resistance and determination to assert the claims of labour, that does them great credit and gives their Socialist sponsors some reason to feel proud of them.

A conference also took place on Friday between the Airdrie and Slamannan miners and their masters. The miners' delegates in this case did not display nearly so much manly independence as did their Lanarkshire brethren. They agreed to recommend their constituents to accept a modification of their masters' terms, namely, that they work eleven days a fortnight or give fourteen days notice of cessation of work, and adopt a sliding scale, on which conditions the masters were willing to grant an advance of 6d. per day.

At a meeting of the Scottish Federation of Miners held in Glasgow on Saturday, a resolution was passed approving the conduct of the Lanarkshire delegates, and recommending the men not to accept the master's terms. The conference also recommended that a national strike be organised to compel the masters to concede an advance of wages.

J. B. GLASIER.

WITH THE NORTHUMBERLAND MINERS.

THE miners of Northumberland are taking to Socialism in splendid style. Last week, with the co-operation of J. E. Williams and J. Hunter Watts, I addressed over a dozen meetings. Nearly all the centres of the colliery districts in Northumberland have been visited, and on every occasion the meetings have been most successful. The miners come in great crowds, and are very enthusiastic. The most encouraging and significant thing about the situation is that mere Radicalism and the ordinary lame-footed movement no longer satisfies the miners. They are ripe for a really revolutionary movement, and will soon be organised into one. The grumbling and general dissatisfaction with Burt and his like is very open and general. Of course no personal attack upon these gentlemen has been made by the Socialist speakers. The weakness of their principles and the folly of their present action gives plenty of ground for comment. Our strong and telling point has been, not that they have professed principles which they have not acted up to, but that their highest aims, if fully realised, would be of little, if any, use. The miners see this; they have learnt it by bitter experience; and they are anxious for new and more spirited methods and more definite and thorough-going plans.

For next week we have issued a plan of campaign with eleven meetings, several at towns adjoining Newcastle, but chiefly at the collieries. On Sunday last Williams and I went to South Shields and had a very good meeting. We have arranged to go to North and South Shields next Sunday. The change in the weather has been a drawback, as many collieries have nothing in the way of a decent-sized meeting-place. The co-operative halls are very convenient, but, as yet, not very plentiful. We generally take them when they are to be had if the weather is at all unfavourable. Our smallest meetings amongst the miners number 400 to 500, and we often have audiences of 1500 and 2000. Sometimes the village parson or the village doctor turns out to watch and criticise; but they are always civil, for Socialism is exceedingly popular now, and not to be treated with disrespect. Northumbrian parsons, on the whole, are rather nice fellows. They are a little more able and much more genial than most.

I cannot say much of the strike itself this week; but later on I shall have some very rough-edged things indeed to say about it, and things connected with it.

34 Albert Street, Shieldfield, Newcastle.

J. L. MAHON.

RELEASE OF CROFTERS.—At eight o'clock on Monday morning, six crofters from Kilmuir, Skye, who were sentenced by Lord Mure at the High Court of Justiciary, Edinburgh, last December, to three months' imprisonment for rioting and deforcing a sheriff's officer in Skye, were liberated. They were received at the Edinburgh prison gates by about 100 sympathisers, who marched in procession to an hotel, where the crofters were entertained at breakfast, and afterwards presented with £1 each to help them to make their journey home.

CIVILISED SAVAGERY.—In a private letter from a friend in Madagascar comes the following account of the methods adopted by the French Government to "extend civilisation" in that island:—"In the *Madagascar Times* there is a fearful account of the French in their treatment of some of the tribes on the south-west coast. They send commission agents (natives) into the interior to inform the Bara (name of a tribe who live in the south) that they buy slaves, and five kilogramme of gunpowder are paid to the commission natives for each man brought to Tolia and sold. The Bara go about and catch whom they can and put a rope round their necks, and with their hands tied behind them these captives are brought to Tolia in gangs of six or seven every day and taken to the French and sold at a price. I enclose a list: 2 to 20 kegs of gunpowder, £2; 2 flint muskets, £1 4s.; 2 pieces of French blue cloth, 12s.; 3 4-gallon cooley pots, 8s.; 100 bullets, 100 flints, 100 brass nails, 2 bowls, 2 jugs, 2 knives, and 2 mirrors, £1; total, £5 4s. These slaves on arrival are untied and put in irons, and if the poor wretches say a word they are ill-used in a most shameful way, and some even die from the effects of this ill-treatment. They are afterwards sent to Nosi-Vey to work, in irons, until a vessel leaves for Reunion, when they are shipped, in irons, to that French Colony. Only a few days ago some twenty natives came to Tolia to sell tobacco to the traders. The poor men had come a long way, and the natives here were encouraged by the French to catch them. Seven were caught and sold here. Slavery is carried on openly and to a very great extent. The schooner 'Venus' on her last trip took thirty-three men and women from Nosi-Vey, and now we have a British brig, the 'Town of Liverpool,' which will leave at the end of this month, and will it is reported take a lot of slaves for the Reunion market. I believe by what I am told they fetch £30 to £40 per head. Good profit!"

The reformer labours for the future. His ruling passion is duty. He is not perplexed with the corroding calculations of interest or popularity. The statesman is necessarily a trimmer and a temporiser. He labours for the present, and secures the honours and huzzas of the hour.—*Joseph Cowen.*

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE AMBLESIDE RAILWAY BILL.

The Knoll, Ambleside, March 13.

May I add a few words to your note on Tom Muse's letter on this subject in yesterday's *Commonweal*, apropos of your statement that the proposed railway would lower wages?

By the introduction of thousands of men willing to work at fourpence per hour, into the district between Ambleside and Thirlmere, the Manchester Corporation Waterworks has already reduced the rate of wages paid to labouring men here by one halfpenny per hour. Of course the railway would reduce it further by bringing men seeking work from Kendal and the Lancashire towns, a result probably hoped for by those "employers of labour" who are so ardently desirous of "railway privileges."—Yours truly,

CHRISTINA D. HILLS.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

Lessons in French.—Comrade Victor Dave has kindly volunteered to give lessons in French at the offices of the League on Tuesday evenings, at 8 o'clock. The names of those desiring to join the class should be sent to the secretary.

Outdoor Propaganda.—The Council have passed the following resolution:—"That the speakers at Hyde Park invite the audience to keep within the railings so as not to obstruct the foot-paths; and that all members of the League attending such meetings be careful not to obstruct the foot-ways on such occasions."

Reports for "Commonweal."—Branch Secretaries are requested to make their reports as brief as possible, dealing with points of general interest as to the progress of the propaganda, rather than attempting to give the substance of the lectures, for which there is not space, even if it were otherwise desirable. Notices should be confined to purely business announcements and written separately. Reports and Notices should be addressed to the "Printer," and cannot be guaranteed insertion unless they reach the office by 2 p.m. on Tuesday.

Re-opening of Library.—On Monday, March 21st, the Library will be re-opened for the use of those members who are clear on the Library Record. It must be intimated that a large number of books are still out, and those members who are defaulters cannot use the Library until their books are returned. The Rule relating to a One Penny fine for each week for books kept over a fortnight must be enforced from March 21. A List of Books still out can be seen at 13, Farringdon Road. It is suggested by the Librarians that much confusion and delay will be prevented by each borrower purchasing the 'Library Catalogue,' price 2d. Subscriptions will be gladly acknowledged for the purchasing of new books, binding, etc., etc.

Received for Library Fund: G., 2d.; H. A. Barker, 3d.; E. Snelling, 1s.

LENA WARDLE & WM. BLUNDELL, Librarians.

BRANCH SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID.

Birmingham, Hackney, Hull, Leeds, North London, to August 31. Manchester, Merton, Norwich, to October 31. Bradford, to November 30. Croydon, Hamersmith, Leicester, South London, to Dec. 31, 1886. Lancaster, to January 31. Bloomsbury, Clerkenwell, Walsall, to February 28. Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Oxford, to March 31, 1887.

STRIKE COMMITTEE.

Anon., £2, 10s.; V. D., 1s.

T. BINNING, Treasurer.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

E. B. B. (weekly), 1s.; T. B. (weekly), 6d.; W. B. (weekly), 6d.; M. M. (three weeks), 3s.

PH. W., Treasurer, March 15.

THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

Our comrade Mowbray, who has been sentenced to nine months' imprisonment, leaves his wife and five children totally unprovided for. The costs of the trial amounted to £60; this has to be paid and the wife and family of Mowbray provided for during his imprisonment. This means altogether at least £100. Henderson has received sentence of four months' imprisonment. You are earnestly appealed to, to give them all the assistance you can.

Already acknowledged, £27, 9s. 4d. Baker, 6d. R. M., 5s. Arthur, 6d. Oxford Branch (per C. J. F.), 10s. Croydon Branch (per Thorington), 5s. 4d. Per Cantwell: Hyde Park, 2s. 1½d.; Regent's Park, 3s. 10½d. P. Webb, 1s. For Mrs. Mowbray—A few Fabians, per Annie Besant (weekly), 10s. Collected by Mrs. Taylor, 16s. 6d.—Total, £30, 4s. 2d.

J. LANE, Treasurer.

BRANCH REPORTS.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, March 9, Thos. J. Dalziel lectured to a good audience on "The Happier Epoch," which was, in fact, Socialism as perfect as the lecturer could imagine it, although he did not suggest finality. After depicting the probable state of art, science, language, race, etc., that would be produced by the creation of less crude conditions, the lecturer wound up by answering a number of questions, but carefully avoided being drawn out as to the exact period which would elapse ere this "happier epoch" arrived. On Sunday, March 13th, a very interesting debate took place between T. E. Wardle and J. L. Lyons, L.P.D.L., the subject being "Has Socialism Caused the Present Distress?" Our friend Lyons maintained that it had, Wardle took the negative. After each had given their views on the question, the audience, which was a good one, certainly seemed in favour with the Socialist speaker. Literature has sold fairly well.—W. B. and T. E. W., secs.

CROYDON.—On Sunday evening, Thomas Shore delivered an address on "The Land Question according to the Poets." He read numerous extracts from Irish poetry, and from the poetry of Burns, Shelley, Byron, and others to show how great a part the question of landholding plays in much of our poetry.—A. T.

GARRETT AND SUMMERSTOWN.—Last Sunday, we held an open-air meeting at this station opposite the "Plough Inn." Attendance not so large as previous, owing to severe weather. *Commonweal* sold well. Comrades Eden, Harrison, and Kitz addressed the meeting. Three sergeants, one inspector, and one superintendent listened attentively to our exposition of Socialism, under which we gently explained to them they would be following the avocation they were evidently intended for, namely, cultivation of the soil, instead of stupidly gazing at a few people holding a meeting and trying to intimidate them.—F. Kitz.

HACKNEY.—Last Sunday, a very large meeting at the "Salmon and Ball" was addressed by Westwood, Sparling, and Davis. We also held a meeting in the Broadway, London Fields, Graham and Flockton speaking. In the evening, W. Morris gave a very interesting lecture on "Monopoly." There was slight opposition from a railway working-man. Good sale of *Commonweal*.—H. M., sec.

HAMMERSMITH.—On Sunday, March 13, W. Clarke, of the Fabian Society, lecturing on "Fallacies of Emigration," pointed out while exports and imports to British possessions had increased from £86,926,424 in 1860, to £189,820,426 in 1883, and to foreign countries from £375,520,224 to £732,328,649 during same period, or more than doubled, the population, which in 1860 was 29,000,000, in 1883 was only 36,000,000. From these figures it was evident that although the population is increasing, the production of wealth is augmented at a still more rapid rate. The lecturer said that the production of wealth goes on fastest in the most thickly populated countries, and he justly characterised as absurd the proposal to increase wealth by diminishing the number of wealth producers.—W.

HOXTON.—On Sunday, March 13, A. K. Donald lectured on "Socialism and Political Economy" to a good audience, followed by a lively discussion. Four new members made.—E. P.

MITCHAM.—On Sunday evening, in our club-room, comrade Gregory lectured on "Socialism as it was, is, and will be." Much interest was shown, and the speaker concluded with an earnest appeal for organisation. Good discussion.—S. G.

EDINBURGH.—On Monday, March 7th, in Free Tron Hall, Edward Carpenter lectured to a good audience on "Modern Commerce." He maintained that modern commercialism tended to destroy the human basis of our relationship one to another, and to substitute the cash connection. A most animated discussion followed. One person seemed to think that the capitalist might be moralised, but the sense of the meeting was that nothing less than a complete change of the system would be any cure. Fair sale of literature.—G.

GLASGOW.—On Thursday, comrade Muirhead lectured on Socialism to an audience of over 100 persons at Bridge of Weir, the Free Church minister occupying the chair. The lecture was very favourably received, and gave rise to a good discussion. On Sunday afternoon, Glasier gave a lecture on "The Queen's Jubilee" to the Irish Literary Society. The lecturer made the Jubilee fad a peg whereon he hung a deal of Socialism. In the discussion which followed, Socialism was favourably criticised. In the evening, in Hall, comrade Muirhead delivered a lecture on "Silly v. Sensible Socialism," which was a reply to Professor Flint's Edinburgh lectures. Muirhead pointed out that the Socialism which the professor attacked was a silly hypothesis of the professor's own imagination. He criticised the lectures in detail, and showed conclusively the professor's ignorance of the Socialist principles.—J. B. G.

HULL.—On 6th inst., a chapter on "Competition" from A. Besant's "Modern Socialism," was read and discussed. On 13th inst., the Besant-Foote debate was discussed. Mahon's short visit has been productive of much good, many persons having been led to give up their previous erroneous ideas about Socialism.—E. T.

LANCASTER.—Although, owing to prejudice, we are still without a meeting-place, we keep the ball of agitation rolling, and what is more, gathering. We applied for the occupation of the Oddfellows' Hall here, but certain trustees of the swag-belly order turned up at the committee meeting of the "authorities" thereof, after a prolonged absence from the same, and in spite of the vigorous protest of the sympathising working-men, who are evidently only executive when the aforesaid permit, the application of the Socialists was squelched. Several comrades are suffering already by boycott and discharge for having the courage of their convictions. We are holding meetings from this date forward, at 11 a.m., on the Quayside. On Sunday, Wyatt and Leonard Hall addressed a meeting.—L. H.

NORWICH.—Last Sunday, we had our comrade H. A. Barker with us from London. He held a very good meeting on St. Mary's Plain at 11, speaking to a sympathetic body of working-men on the Labour Question. In the Market Place at 3, our comrade addressed a large meeting, taking for his subject "Socialist Morality," which was listened to throughout with marked attention; 4s. 6d. was collected for Defence Fund. In the evening, comrade Barker lectured at the Gordon Hall on "Spiritual and Material Consolation" in a manner which gave great satisfaction. This week end we shall be celebrating the Paris Commune, several London comrades being expected to take part. We made five new members.—T. M.

DUBLIN.—On Saturday evening, at the Working-men's Club, Wellington Quay, before an audience of about 300, principally artisans, a debate took place on "Free Trade or Protection." One of the speakers, James Keegan, an American, pointed out that neither Free Trade nor Protection would bring any relief to the workers; that their condition could only be improved by the overthrow of the present system of Society. He was well received. On Sunday, about 4 o'clock, about 1500 mostly unemployed labourers assembled at Beresford, and marched thence to the Phoenix Park. From the base of the Wellington Monument stirring addresses, all of a Socialist nature, were delivered by Keegan, J. B. Killen, and Mr. Hall. Large quantities of Socialist leaflets were distributed. It is satisfactory to note that the Socialist propaganda is being favourably received by the workers here, and is making some progress at present, although carried on less ostentatiously than last year. This is partly due to the prevailing distress, and to the fact that the workers are beginning to see that their so-called leaders are unable and unwilling to do anything to better their condition.—O. K.

GRIMSBY.—On 6th inst., Blakelock and Teesdale (Hull) spoke to about 200 people in the Freeman Street, Market Place, for about an hour. Another meeting was afterwards held at the Hall of Science, when about 70 were present, and a number of names were given in for the formation of a Socialist Society.—E. T.

WARRINGTON.—At the weekly meeting of the Warrington Wesleyan Mutual Improvement Society on Wednesday last week, a paper was read by Mr. W. Chapman on "Poverty: Its Cause and Cure." Dealing with the subject from a Socialistic point of view, the essayist said that ignorance was the primary cause of pauperism, men being unable to understand even the first principles that should govern human society—viz., truth, justice, and love; and the bad social condition, causing disparaging inequalities, was the immediate and determining cause. He held that the remedy lies in first educating the human mind to enable mankind to perceive the causes of the evil, in the union of the workers in all lands, to confer with each other in order to decide upon a common course and a common object, and in their hearty co-operation to achieve the common good of all. This was followed by a somewhat animated discussion, the bulk of the members agreeing with the views of the essayist.

LECTURE DIARY.

London Branches.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street. Friday March 18, at 8.30. Lecture.
Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday March 20, at 8.30 p.m. A Lecture. Wednesday 23, at 8.30. Dr. Aveling.
Croydon.—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday Mar. 20. W. Utley, "Socialists and Radicals."—Committee Meeting every Friday at 8 p.m. sharp, at Parker Road.
Hackney.—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 8 till 11. Business Meeting every Tuesday at 8.30. On Saturday, March 19, Free Concert to welcome our comrade Allman. On Sunday March 20, at 8.30., D. Nicoll, "The Benevolent Middle Class."
Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday March 20, at 8 p.m. Hubert Bland (Fabian Society), "What State interference means."—Annual Meeting of Members at 6 p.m.
Hoxton (L.E.L.).—New premises, 2 Crondall Street, New North Road, Sunday March 20, at 8 p.m. A. Howard (Christian Socialist Society), "Christian Socialism."—Members' meeting Friday March 18th, at 8 p.m. Important business.
Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday. Discussions held every Sunday morning at 11.
Mitcham.—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11. Sunday March 20, at 8.30. T. E. Wardle will lecture.

Country Branches.

Bingley.—Coffee Tavern. Every Monday at 7.30 p.m.
Birmingham.—Carr's Lane Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 8.
Bradford.—Morris's Dining Rooms, 114 City Road. Wednesdays, at 8.
Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. Reading Room and Library open every Wednesday evening, 8 till 10.—In Free Tron Hall, Monday March 21, at 8 o'clock. Percival Chubb, "The Inner Spirit of Socialism." Admission 1s., 6d., and 3d.
Fulham.—Address Sec., 34 May Street.
Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily.
Hamilton.—Branch meets every Thursday at 7.30 in Paton's Hall, Chapel Street.
Hull.—11 Princess Street, Sykes Street. Lectures on Sunday at 7 p.m. Class for study of Carruthers' "Commercial and Communal Economy," on Thursdays at 8 p.m. March 20, "The Commune of Paris."
LANCASTER.—No fixed meeting-place at present. On Sunday mornings at 11, meetings will be held on St. George's Quay.
Leicester.—Spiritualist Hall, Silver Street. Saturday, March 19, at 8 p.m. Jas. Billson, "The Teachings of Ruskin." March 26, Geo. Robson, "The Population Fallacy."
Manchester.—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening 6 to 10 p.m. Lecture and discussion every Wednesday at 8 p.m.
Norwich.—Gordon Hall, Duke St. Lecture and discussion every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room open every day from 8.30 a.m. to 10 p.m. A Public Meeting will be held on Saturday March 19, at 8.30, to commemorate the glorious struggle made by the workers of Paris to emancipate themselves from the tyranny and oppression of the landlord and capitalist class. Tochatti and others will speak. Tochatti will also lecture on "The Commune" on March 20 and 21.
Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Thursdays, at 8.30 p.m.

Open-air Propaganda—Sunday 20.

11.30...Hackney—"Salmon and Ball"H. Graham
11.30...Hammersmith—Beacon Rd.The Branch
11.30...Hoxton Church, Pittfield Street ...Wade, Pope
11.30...Garrett—Plough InnEden, Kitz, Harrison
11.30...Regent's ParkThe Branch

11.30...St. Pancras Arches.....The Branch
11.30...Walham Green—StationThe Branch
3.30...Hyde Park (near Marble Arch).....The Branch
3.30...London Fields—BroadwayFlockton Davis

Wednesday 23.

8.30...London Fields—Broadway.....Davis, Graham.

PROVINCES.—SUNDAY.

Norwich.—St. Mary's Plain, 11; Market Place, 3.
Leeds.—Hunslet Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m.
Leicester.—Humberston Gate, 11 a.m.

SOUTH PLACE INSTITUTE, Finsbury.—A series of Debates on Socialism and Individualism will take place during March. III. Sunday 20, at 4 p.m., Mr. Sidney Webb (Fabian Society) versus Dr. T. B. Napier.

CLEVELAND HALL, 54 Cleveland Street (near Portland Road Station).—Sundays at 11.30 a.m. Mar. 20. Joseph Lane, "The National Loaf, Who Earns and Who Eats it."

BELFAST.—Abercorn Hall, Victoria Street. Sunday March 20, at 4.30. An address on Socialism by Samuel Hayes.

The Socialists of Nottingham combined intend to hold an International Celebration of the Paris Commune on Friday March 18. Tea will be served at 7 o'clock, and after that an Entertainment will be given, and Speeches delivered by Frenchmen and Englishmen, to conclude with a dance.

PARIS COMMUNE.

An International Celebration of the PARIS COMMUNE will take place at SOUTH PLACE CHAPEL, Finsbury, E.C. (near Moorgate Street Station), on Thursday, March 17, at 8 p.m., when the following Resolution will be proposed:

"That this meeting of workers expresses its deep sympathy with the heroic attempt of the workers of Paris to bring about the emancipation of labour from the slavery of the exploiting classes, an attempt which was only crushed by mere violence on the part of those whose reign of robbery was so rightly attacked by the Commune of Paris."

The Societies taking part are: Fabian Society; Socialist Union; Socialist League; International Working-men's Clubs of Berners Street, Cleveland Hall, 49 Tottenham Street, and 23 Princes Square; Autonomie Group; Freedom Group; Scandinavian Group; and Franco-Italian Group.

Speeches in English by: Annie Besant, Charlotte M. Wilson, A. K. Donald, P. Krapotkine, Frank Kitz, J. R. Macdonald, W. Morris. Speeches will also be delivered in French, German, and Italian.

The German Choir will sing at the commencement and close of the meeting.

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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. 3.—No. 63.

SATURDAY, MARCH 26, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

THE press has of course busied itself over Mr. Gladstone's speech, and various meanings favourable to this or that hope in the present crisis have been drawn from it, with more or less ingenuity; which ingenuity, to say the truth, has not been less wasted than that which enables people to write the Lord's prayer on a threepenny piece. Any one of the guests at the dinner might have said, like Tennyson's Northern Farmer, "I thought he'd said wha a' ought to have said, and I comed awa." Mr. Gladstone had to say something, and make some show of seeing through a grindstone, and giving those not gifted as himself the advantage of his vision. It was a matter of course that he should accomplish this feat with his usual skill in such exercises.

What his speech really amounted to was party defiance to the Tories; civility to the wavering Unionist Liberals; and a statement that he was in favour of Home Rule, and was prepared to make some concessions. Since all this had to be said, let those of us who have read his speech be glad that we have not got to do so again, and forget it.

Speaking, after all, will not change the position of affairs, which quite simply is this. The feeling for Home Rule is spreading among the English democracy; everybody is noting that; therefore the Unionist Liberals are in terror for their seats, and in terror at the prospect of eating their bold words. The Tories, who vaguely hoped that they wouldn't have to bring in a Coercion Bill, find they have got to do so, and know that it will undo them; and all English political parties are shuffling about from one foot to the other in an anguish of doubt, because they know that the land question must be dealt with by one party after the other, each of whom will make a helpless mess of it.

Needless to dwell long on the fact that all this is accompanied by rather more than the usual amount of conventional twaddle and lies to conceal the fact that the mighty British Empire and its glorious Constitution is being pushed against its will into what, considering its circumstances, are revolutionary measures.

The new Irish Secretary is beginning about as well as possible for the Nationalist cause. The arrest of Father Keller will answer its purpose as far as the Irish are concerned. The setting the seal of Peterloo on the police murder at Youghal by open approval of it, the threats of violence and "thorough"—all this will help to bind the English democracy to the Irish cause. Certainly Mr. Balfour is turning out the very man that the Parnellites would have picked out if they had had to choose.

W. M. O'Connell

In contravention of the Corporation byelaws, a man at Newcastle sent two children into the streets to sell matches. He was prosecuted, the magistrates thought the byelaws invalid, but "stated a case." The case was heard the other day in the Queen's Bench and the byelaws were declared invalid.

Whereupon our Individualist contemporary, *Jus*, raises a shout of delight, and says that the judge "is entitled to the love and gratitude of all little boys and girls."

Anything which tends towards freedom—of exploitation!—is hailed by Individualists as a boon. But the unhappy victims of such freedom? Who looks after their liberty?

About the end of last month, Tantia Bheel, the celebrated robber-chief of Central India, was reported to be on the war-path, and to be plundering right and left. This is a crude uncivilised way of acquiring the product of other men's labour, and the Government is therefore anxiously seeking him out in order to duly impress upon him the folly of his behaviour.

He could so much the more profitably employ his "superior ability" in business, and amass ill-gotten wealth "by way of trade!"

Yet Socialists may be pardoned for hesitating ere they write down Tantia Bheel beside the exploiting Bourgeois. There is at least some manliness left, even amid brutal violence, in the man who takes and gives hard blows, and stakes his life upon the game.

But in the Bourgeois who, entrenched behind his money-bags, from the misery and helplessness of others makes wealth flow to him, his coward skin quite safe the while, we are constrained to recognise the abstracted dehumanised power of capital alone.

The one depends upon a clear head and strong arm. The other upon the class-monopoly of the means of life—a monstrosity begotten of ignorance and greed.

H. H. Spaulding

More talk about extension of the punishment of flogging. The benevolent cleric Horsley indeed expressly included this in his *Pall-Mallian* scheme of improved prison discipline. Thus can the brutal instinct, even in parsonic minds, "abide so fierce and fell." That the advocates of organised torture can proclaim their views without a blush at the end of the nineteenth century is interesting to the Socialist. But in spite of our antipathy to judicial torture as part of a system, we admit that there are cases where it might be useful. For instance there are certain administrators of the law, chairmen of Quarter Sessions, and at least one ex-Home-Secretary upon whom twenty-five lashes with the "cat" might have a "deterrent" effect. There are some natures you can only appeal to through their skins. We promise these gentlemen that should the revolutionary tribunal of the future commune of London decree them some such punishment, we will not interfere with any of the sentimental arguments they so much deprecate.

E. B. Bax.

SOCIALISM IN DENMARK IN 1886.

SOCIALISM was rather long in finding its way into Denmark, notwithstanding the close connexion between this country and Germany. It was not until 1871 that a real Socialistic movement arose, but it looked so trifling that at first it was rather disregarded, the red spectre might easily be exorcised. But the scattered seed came to a fine growth, new seed was disseminated, and the bourgeoisie became aware that its most dangerous enemy had been acclimatised in Denmark. A little newspaper, *Socialisten*, began to issue, and worked well to rouse the working men. As in all other countries, the International was outlawed in Denmark also, but instead of being suppressed Socialism by this even got a new lift.

On the 10th of May, 1874, the first number of the *Social Demokraten* appeared. The paper was a little daily, with but few subscribers. It soon got wind, however, and, notwithstanding the attacks of our adversaries, it succeeded in riding out the storm and clearing the most dangerous rocks and cliffs, so that on the 26th of July, 1885, it could issue a jubilee number with a map, showing the extension of Socialism in Denmark. In 1874, the paper had 3,300 subscribers; 26th of July, 1885, 20,000; now it has about 22,000 subscribers, and its size is augmented three-fold.

It was of the greatest importance for the working-men party to get political influence, and particularly to bring forth their demands in Parliament, and at last in 1884 it succeeded in getting two of the leaders, Holm and Hørdum, elected as members of the Folkething, and the honour thereof is due to Copenhagen.

The political situation here in Denmark:—Ministers governing in spite of Parliament through provisional laws and royal resolutions; the press of the opposition fettered in all ways; and a free word incurring the danger of strong punishments; has made it impossible to obtain anything for the working-men by way of legislation.

In respect of the economical situation the year 1886 began as it ended, with want of employment, and this want surpassed all former like experiences in extent, and made hunger a daily guest of thousands of our comrades. The summer brought a little better situation, but the want of employment did not cease completely, and when the rougher season returned misery seized her victims to a much larger extent even than in the beginning of the year. At least 12,000 men and women in Copenhagen are completely unemployed.

Of course both the political and the economical situation has in the past year had influence on the actions of the Social Democracy. The first thing that our party did in 1886 was to spread a summons for assistance to the unemployed, but out of this private assistance the party has tried to get help by way of politics.

At the end of 1885 the Folkething had voted a bill giving the unemployed direct assistance from the public exchequer, and a great many meetings about the country had declared their agreement with

the bill, but the bill was rejected in the Landsting, according to the wish of the Government.

In Copenhagen the want of employment was hardest, and as this community is one of the greatest employers, it was but a consequence to try to get its magistrate to do something for the working-men. Five different entreaties were transmitted during the winter to the authorities, but these had only fine words, no help to give. Private subscription was the only thing left, and by the 1st of May there was collected 98,419 Kr. 42 Ore (£5,467 14s. 2d.), out of which the Working-men's Unions had collected 45,667 Kr. (£2,537 12s. 3d.).

In October, the Parliament assembled, and the Social Democratic members, together with three other Opposition members from Copenhagen, moved some bills, giving assistance to the unemployed from the public exchequer; a bill for the building of dwellings for working-men and regulation of the over-populated and noxious quarters of Copenhagen; restriction of working on Sundays and holidays; and that alms received from the public and not repaid shall not invalidate electoral franchise. But there is no hope for these bills being sanctioned by the Government, which only thinks of using the country's money and forces for totally destroying the country and the people by fortifying Copenhagen, the military expenses already devouring $4\frac{1}{2}$ times as much as education.

The Socialists tried to get members on the magistracy of Copenhagen. The members being elected by men of 25 years of age who in the past year have paid tribute on 1,000 Kr. (£55) income, most of the working-men are excluded from influence on communal affairs. In the month of March it was tried to get two men of the party elected, but though they got 2,320 and 2,270 votes, we did not succeed; but these numbers, however, give good hope for the future.

Several meetings held during the year also show how our party is increasing. Especially it was evidenced by the grand feast of the 5th of June. This feast in past years has been celebrated by the Socialists in a forest, five English miles from Copenhagen, but in 1886 the number of partakers was so great that the railway and the steamers could not transport them, and therefore it was celebrated on the plain for exercising soldiers outside the town. The show of the working-men through the town therefore was the greatest that Copenhagen ever saw. It numbered 30,000 partakers, divided in 137 unions, and it took one hour fifteen minutes for the show to pass a single point. In the place for the feast were gathered about 80,000 men and women, and order was in every respect perfect because the police let the working-men themselves keep order.

In the provinces, too, we get many fellows and comrades. Especially the meeting at Horsens, a borough in Jutland, on July 18, is remarkable. 16,000 comrades were gathered here and declared their adherence to Socialism. In 1885 there were branches of the Social-Democratic Federation in 24 of the 63 boroughs in the country. In 1886 three new branches have been formed in Kolding, Vejle, and Fredericia; branches also are found in several villages. In the whole country there are 50 Social-Democratic unions (having only political purposes), and in Copenhagen itself there are 60 working-men unions, besides a great number in the provinces.

In the past year the agitation has been carried on as usual; but one of the most effective agitators has for a long time been hindered from travelling about the country, having been kept in prison for his activity in the service of the party.

Of course our party has felt the effect of the ministerial methods of legislation. In order to crush the opposition and our party, the Government already in 1885 had issued their Provisional Penal Law and Press Law, and one of our comrades, piano-maker Holst, was imprisoned a few days after the law had been issued. On 9th January 1886 the editor of the *Social-Demokraten*, S. Olsen, was charged for some articles in that paper, and since then accusations and imprisonments have followed each other quickly, as far as the Provisional Law permitted. On February 20 Holst was charged again, and in July Olsen was imprisoned and condemned by the Court of First Instance to 13 times 5 days imprisonment with only bread and water. The highest court reduced these punishments, but Olsen was imprisoned in July 1886, and did not come out of prison before the 15th of January this year.

The Government also has tried to get Hørdum, M.P., condemned according to the Provisional Penal Law for some expressions of a meeting in Aarhus, the largest borough in Jutland. But though the two first courts absolved him, the judges have been cunning enough to condemn him in costs: a quite new invention this, to be obliged to pay money simply because Government takes a fancy to accuse a man of violating a law, and the judges declare the charge "not proved." Many other instances of prosecution we omit.

The branch-movement has tended to strengthen the organisation. More smaller strikes have been necessary to force the masters to perform their duty toward the workmen, not only in Copenhagen, but also in the boroughs, and some of them have brought a raising of wage. The most important strike in the year was that of the working women at Rubens weaving-factory. Having lasted for four weeks, it ended through mediation with a small increase of pay. This strike acquired importance through the attention it called forth in respect to the bad payment that the rich capitalists offer to working women.

The Danish workingmen-party partook through 14 representatives in the branch-congress at Goteborg in Sweden, August 27-29. Thereby was the band of fraternity tied more tightly between the workmen of the North.

At the end of the year a permanent commission for the working-men-unions' common action was established. In order to acquire the greatest advantages during the present capitalistic system, the "Work-

men's Bakery" was also erected, and the purchasers of its bread are so many that the bakery must be enlarged.

On January 28 the elections for the Folkething took place, and our party proposed four candidates, the two former members of the Chamber, P. Holm and C. Hørdum, in the 5th and 9th wards of Copenhagen. Moreover were proposed the journalist A. C. Meyer for the 8th ward of Copenhagen and J. Jensen, principal leader of the Painters' Union, for Odense in Fyn; the former candidate for the 8th ward of Copenhagen only being released from prison the day after the elections. The result of the elections was not so successful as of the former ones, for we only succeeded in electing one of the candidates—P. Holm, in the 5th ward of Copenhagen. So we lost one of the representatives elected 1884, Mr. Hørdum. However, this was not occasioned by any relapse on the part of Socialists. On the contrary, our candidates got everywhere more votes than before. But our reactionary adversaries made use of the bad economical situation for rigorously squeezing the workmen and thus forcing part of them to vote for the reactionary candidates. The votes for the Social-Democratic candidates were: P. Holm was elected by 6757 votes (5385 in 1884); C. Hørdum got 975 (920 in 1884); A. C. Meyer 540 (Holst in the same ward got 500 in 1884); J. Jensen, the first Social-Democratic candidate, who has been proposed for Odense, 136 votes.

Thus we have no reason for looking upon the future as gloomy. By further elections we certainly shall not only recapture the lost, but gain new wards for our great cause.

For the General Council Social-Democratic Federation,

Copenhagen, March 7, 1887.

P. KNUDSEN.

WHITE SLAVERY.

THE following letter, sent to the editor of *Truth* by a trustworthy correspondent, should be carefully read by folk who up to now have believed in the various "homes," etc., that drive a roaring trade in exporting orphans and other defenceless children:—

"I regret to learn that another batch of little waifs collected from our big cities is about to be sent to Canada. These poor little folks whose lot here is, indeed, hard enough, have at least in the land of their birth the sympathy and companionship of their kind. Transported to the backwoods of Canada, amid drear and strange surroundings, they are there doomed to pass their unhappy childhood and youth, chopping wood; in fact, doing the meanest work, clad in the coarsest raiment, and subsisting on the roughest fare, not always plentiful. The average Canadian rivals the Yankee in his eagerness for the dollar, and he spares neither himself nor others, painstaking, scraping, nor protracted toil. Although Canadian couples are usually blessed with large families, these orphaned waifs are readily 'adopted,' under Dominion law, into the poorer households. Any one who has visited the country districts of Canada cannot but have observed the daily drudgery to which these 'adopted' ones are subjected. Their lives are, indeed, sunless, and the bread given them that of charity. The so-called benevolent scheme for bettering their lives, in the majority of cases, seems to me a cruel sham.

"Let me briefly describe a scene of which I was an eye-witness, and which occurred a few years ago. A lady arrived in Woodville, North Ontario, with a number of little English children for 'adoption.' On the same day she gave a very touching and eloquent description of the way the children had been collected and shipped to Canada. The following morning the little boys and girls were placed 'on view' in the village schoolroom, ranged in a row, as slaves used to be down South, for inspection. The news had been passed about, and the farmers and tradespeople had gathered to make choice. Among the group of little ones were two little twin brothers, who did not seem to realise what was taking place. A farmer 'adopted' one of them, another farmer took the second, the homesteads of the two men being nearly a hundred miles apart. The hour had now come for them to be parted, perhaps for ever, and at any rate their very names to be changed and their identity lost. No one, save an eye-witness, can imagine the look of sorrowful amazement depicted on the little fellows' faces when they realised, in their babyish fashion, what it all meant. A mother, I think, would rather see her children taking the chances of the London streets, than doomed to the soul-starving existence of a Canadian homestead." M. B.

A "GODLY COMPANIE."—Several "noble-minded" gentlemen connected with the City Companies banqueted on the 18th inst., and curiously enough, though they were labelled as belonging to the various crafts—as, e.g., "Master of the Shipwrights' Company"—yet the names given were all those of persons well known as never having done a stroke of real work in their lives, and who would feel very much insulted if any simple-minded person, in his ignorance of "the ways of the world," were to suggest that they had. These fine fellows, having made themselves happy and comfortable by partaking of the good things—a process all the easier effected from their not having to pay for them—proceeded to smile complacently across the table at one another, and to say many good things of themselves and their friends, commencing with the "Jubilee Queen," and proceeding *seriatim* down to the "small fry." The Master of the Loriners' Company spoke in "cordial terms" of the Mayor, and the Mayor performed the same good office for the Master (or, "You scratch my back and I'll scratch yours," as they term it in Scotland). In fact, they were all "honourable, straightforward, and upright men." Sir Robert Fowler spoke in high praise of the "hospitality" of the City Companies—and he ought to know; and a M.P. whose name is not familiar—and whose speech afforded a very sufficing reason for the same—made some original remarks about "the greatest legislative assembly in the world," and ventured his opinion that the charge against the Corporation was "a great mistake." But the feature of the evening, perhaps, was the statement of a gallant gentleman, who said—'tis true it was late on in the evening's festivities—that the Corporation "was daily gaining in strength and in the admiration of Londoners." All which was made to rebound still more to the credit of the Corporation by being reported by at least one "daily" parallel with the enquiry into the charges of malversation against that honourable body.—W. B.

ROBERT BURTON.

THE sixteenth century was three-quarters gone; Sir Thomas More had been dead for forty years; Francis Bacon, a boy of 16, was still at Cambridge, where his dissent from the then orthodox philosophy was beginning to attract attention; Philemon Holland, "Translator-General of his Age," was in the height of his activity; Nic. Grimald was dead, but his translation of Cicero's 'De Officiis' was running through edition after edition; the "Judicious" Hooker was at Oxford, where the next year would see him Fellow of his College; when at Lindley, in Leicestershire, was born "of an ancient and genteel family" one who was destined to touch well-nigh the supreme point of the older learning and render mighty aid in the beginning of the new; one who should do more than but the rarest of them to draw together the threads spun after the fashion of a bygone time, and to further the weaving of a garment for the science that was growing.

A wondrous fermentation was going on in thought and life alike; the old forms of creed or practice were being broken up, to be recombined in a new Society. Still stiffened by the manner of the mediæval schoolmen, drawing the matter of their learning from mediæval and classic sources, the men of this time were yet quickened by the new discoveries of their day, and were fulfilled of the forward-looking, deep-searching spirit, that has produced since then so many marvellous extensions in our knowledge of the universe.

Eastward and westward wended a myriad explorers upon the quest of strange wealth. From all directions came continually tidings of new discoveries of lands unseen hitherto, and of peoples unheard of, or at most but dimly described in some ancient legend or half-mythical tale. Just as the foreign markets thus provided gave the essential stimulus to individual enterprise and the rise of the commercial system, so the increase of knowledge and consequent widening of ideas aroused the minds of men to an intense degree of activity in all conceivable directions.

Among the many books produced at this period that, written as they are while the very substructure of the present system was being built, look beyond it to that which shall succeed it, Robert Burton's 'Anatomy of Melancholy' is one of the most notable. Its author was possessed of encyclopædic learning, had read well and widely for thirty years, when he took paper and pen to analyse the melancholy from which he suffered, and in so doing analysed the weaknesses and failures of men and of Society. "Learning hath gained most," said Fuller, "by those books by which the printers have lost," but this book had falsified his dictum ere it was uttered, for it made its publisher's fortune, and were all its editions collected together, they would fill a fair-sized set of book-shelves. To justify his assumption of the pen-name "Democritus Junior," Burton in his preface described the society he saw around him, and asked: "Who would not laugh at such a mad world?"

"How would our Democritus have been affected to see a wicked caitiff, or fool, a very idiot, a fudge, a golden ass, a monster of men, to have many good men, wise men, learned men, to attend upon him with all submission, as an appendix to his riches, for that respect alone, because he hath more wealth and money, and to honour him with divine titles, and bombast epithets, to smother him with fumes and eulogies, whom they know to be a dizard, a fool, a covetous wretch, a beast, etc., because he is rich? . . . To see so many lawyers, advocates, so many tribunals, so little Justice; so many Magistrates, so little care of the common good; so many Laws, yet never more disorders. . . . To see a lamb executed, a wolf pronounce sentence; *latro* arraigned, and *fur* sit on the bench; the Judge severely punish others, and do worse himself. . . . Laws altered, misconstrued, interpreted *pro* and *con*, as the Judge is made by friends, bribed, or otherwise affected as a nose of wax—good to-day, none to-morrow; or firm in his opinion, cast in his. . . . Laws are made and not kept, or if put in execution, they be some silly ones that are punished."

"To see a poor fellow or an hired servant venture his life for his new master, that will scarce give him his wages at year's end; a country colone [clown] toil and moil, till and drudge, for a prodigal idle drone, that devours all the gain, or lasciviously consumes with phantastical expenses."

Since Burton's day we boast of our advance in "civilisation," of our enlightenment, regard for justice, and so on, but his bitter indictment remains true as when he wrote it:

"A poor sheep-stealer is hanged for stealing of victuals—compelled, peradventure, by necessity of that intollerable cold, hunger, and thirst, to save himself from starving: but a great man in office may securely rob whole provinces, undo thousands, pill and pole, oppress *ad libitum*, flea, grinde, tyrannize, enrich himself by the spoils of the commons, be uncontrollable in his actions, and after all be recompensed with turgent titles, honoured for all his good service, and no man dare to find fault, or mutter at it."

"*Necessitas cogit ad turpia*, poverty alone makes men thieves, rebels, murderers, traitors, assassins, because of poverty we have sinned, Eccl. xxvii. 1, swear and forswear, bear false witness, lie, dissemble, anything, as I say, to advantage themselves, and to relieve their necessities. *Culpæ scelerisque magistra est*, when a man is driven to his shifts what will he not do?"

"Many poor men, by reason of bad policie and idle education (for they are likely brought up in no calling), are compelled to beg or steal, and men hanged for theft; than which, what can be more ignominious—'tis the governours' fault. They had more need provide there should be no more thieves and beggars, as they ought with good policy, and take away the occasions, than let them run on, as they do to their own destruction."

"But whereas you shall see many discontents, common grievances, complaints, poverty, barbarism, beggary, plagues, wars, rebellions, seditions, mutinies, contentions, idleness, riot, epicurism, the land lie untilld, waste, full of bogs, fens, deserts, etc., cities decayed, base and poor towns, villages depopulated; that kingdom, that country, must needs be discontent, melancholy, hath a sick body, and had need to be reformed. Now that cannot be effected till the causes of these maladies be first removed."

Nor has the system of competitive trading in the fullness of its development at any time belied his description of it while yet green and growing:

"Either deceive or be deceived; tear others, or be torn in pieces themselves;

like to many buckets in a well, as one riseth another falleth, one's empty, another's full; his ruine is a ladder to the third; such are one's ordinary proceedings. What's the market? A place, according to *Anacharsis*, wherein they cozen one another, a trap; nay, what's the world itself? A vast chaos, a confusion of manners, as fickle as the air, *domicilium insanorum*, a turbulent troop full of impurities, a mart of walking spirits, goblins, the theatre of hypocrisy, a shop of knavery, flattery, a nursery of villainy, the scene of babbling, the school of giddiness, the academy of vice; a warfare, in which kill or be killed; wherein every man is for himself, his private ends, and stands upon his own guard. . . . In a word, every man for his own ends. Our *summum bonum* is commodity, and the goddess we adore *Dea Moneta*, Queen Money, to whom we daily offer sacrifice, which steers our hearts, hands, affections, all: that most powerful goddess, by whom we are reared, depressed, elevated, esteemed the sole commandress of our actions, for which we pray, run, ride, go, come, labour, and contend as fishes do for a crum that falleth into the water. Its not worth, virtue (that's *bonum theatrale*), wisdom, valour, learning, honesty, religion, or any sufficiency for which we are respected, but money, greatness, office, honour, authority; honesty, is accounted folly; knavery, policy; men admired out of opinion, not as they are, but as they seem to be: such shifting, lying, cogging, plotting, counterplotting, temporising, flattering, cozening, dissembling, that of necessity one must highly offend God if he be conformable to the world, *Cretizare cum Crete*, or else live in contempt, disgrace, and misery."

He sketches briefly but with firm touch in his preface an utopia, in which all things shall be justly done. He will not have bourgeois benevolence in it; needed erections shall not be

. . . "built *precario*, or by gouty benefactors, who, when by fraud and rapine they have extorted all their lives, oppressed whole provinces, societies, etc., give something to pious uses, build a satisfactory alms-house, school, or bridge, at their last end, or before perhaps, which is no otherwise than to steal a goose and stick down a feather, rob a thousand to relieve ten."

For our opponents of the "thrift" and "be content" school he has this reply, setting forth their case as though it were his own, and then turning upon himself with conclusive refutation:

"I say then, *Non adice opes, sed minue cupiditates* ('tis Epicurus' advice), add no more wealth, but diminish thy desires; and as Chrysostom well seconds him, *Si vis ditari, contemne divitias*; that's true plenty, not to have, but not to want riches, *non habere, sed non indigere, vera abundantia*: 'tis more glory to contemn than to possess; *et nihil agere, est deorum*, "and to want nothing is divine." How many deaf, dumb, halt, lame, blind, miserable persons could I reckon up that are poor, and withal distressed, in imprisonment, banishment, galley-slaves, condemned to the mines, quarries, to gyves, in dungeons, perpetual thralldom, than all which art thou richer, thou art more happy, to whom thou art able to give an alms, a lord, in respect, a petty prince: be contented then, I say, repine and mutter no more, 'for thou art not poor indeed but in opinion.'"

"Yea, but this is very good counsel, and rightly applied to such as have it, and will not use it, that have a competency, that are able to work and get their living by the sweat of their brows, by their trade, that have something yet; he that hath birds, may catch birds; but what shall we do that are slaves by nature, impotent, and unable to help ourselves, mere beggars, that languish and pine away, that have no means at all, no hope of means, no trust of delivery, or of better success? As those old Britons complained to their lords and masters, the Romans oppressed by the Picts, *mare ad barbaros, barbari ad mare*, the barbarians drove them to the sea, the sea drove them back to the barbarians; our present misery compels us to cry out and howl, to make our moan to rich men: they turn us back with a scornful answer to our misfortune again, and will take no pity of us; they commonly overlook their poor friends in adversity; if they chance to meet them, they voluntarily forget, and will take no notice of them; they will not, they cannot help us. Instead of comfort they threaten us, miscall, scoff at us, to aggravate our misery, give us bad language, or if they do give good words, what's that to relieve us? According to that of Thales, *Facile est alius monere*; who cannot give good counsel? 'Tis cheap, it costs them nothing. It is an easy matter when one's belly is full to declaim against feasting, *Qui satur est pleno laudat jejunia ventre*; 'Doth the wild ass bray when he hath grass, or loweth the ox when he hath fodder?' Job vi. 5. *Neque enim populo Romano quidquam potest esse laetius*, no man living so jocund, so merry as the people of Rome when they had plenty; but when they came to want, to be hunger-starved, 'neither shame, nor laws, nor arms, nor magistrates, could keep them in obedience.' Seneca pleaded hard for poverty, and so did those lazy philosophers; but in the meantime he was rich, they had wherewithal to maintain themselves; but doth any poor man extol it? There "are those (saith Bernard) that approve of a mean estate, but on that condition they never want themselves; and some again are meek so long as they may say or do what they list; but it occasion be offered, how far are they from all patience?" I would to God (as he said), 'No man should commend poverty but he that is poor,' or he that so much admires it, would relieve, help, or ease others. But no man hears us, we are most miserably dejected, the scum of the world. *Vix habet in nobis jam nova plaga locum* (There is no space left on our bodies for a fresh stripe). We have tried all means, yet find no remedy; no man living can express the anguish and bitterness of our souls, but we that endure it; we are distressed, forsaken, in torture of body and mind, in another hell, and what shall we do? . . . The devil and the world persecute us, all good fortune hath forsaken us, we are left to the rage of beggary, cold, hunger, thirst, nastiness, sickness, irksomeness, to continue all torment, labour and pain, to derision and contempt, bitter enemies all, and far worse than any death; death alone we desire, death we seek, yet cannot have it, and what shall we do?"

Those who can find opportunity to delve in this mine of learning and good counsel, to them a never-ending store of delight is open, but its chief interest for us as Socialists, as that of the writings of More, Hall, Harrington, Earle, Feltham, Fuller, Browne, and Walton, and their kindred, lies in the germ-ideas it contains that have since brought forth such fruit, and in the eager insistence we find in it, as in all great writers of transition periods, upon the social side of human life, and the ideal of Society as a fellowship of men and not a medley of murderers. The international feeling of Burton especially is strongly manifested again and again, in one sentence he sums it:

"'Tis no disparagement to be a stranger, or so irksome to be an exile."

These men were the product of a time of stress; neither they nor those around quite saw what events were bringing forth, but we looking back upon what they were and what they did and what came after, noting also the strong likeness of our own time and the men of it to theirs and them, may well take heart of hope, and fervently work on for the new birth of society that shall supplant bourgeois domination as that supplanted feudalism.

H. HALLIDAY SPARLING.



"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.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

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

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday March 23.

ENGLAND		HOLLAND	
Justice	Boston—Woman's Journal	Hague—Recht voor Allen	
Jus	Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer		ITALY
Norwich—Daylight	New Haven (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate	Rome—L'Emancipazione	
Cotton Factory Times	Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	Naples—Humanitas	
Worker's Friend	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volkblatt		SPAIN
Leicester—Countryman	Detroit (Mich.)—The Advance and Labor Leaf	Madrid—El Socialista	
Glasgow—Pioneer	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	Cadiz—El Socialismo	
INDIA		PORTUGAL	
Bankipore—Behar Herald		Voz do Operario	
SOUTH AUSTRALIA		AUSTRIA	
Adelaide—Our Commonwealth	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Arbeiterstimme	
UNITED STATES		Vienna—Gleichheit	
New York—Volkzeitung	Guise—Le Devoir		ROUMANIA
Freiheit	BELGIUM		Jassy—Lupta
John Swinton's Paper	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde		GREECE
Der Sozialist	Liege—L'Avenir		Athens—Ardin
Truthseeker	Antwerp—De Werker		

THE SCHOOLMASTER ABROAD.

A PAPER entitled *School* has lately been started, as "a medium for the ventilation of all matters of educational interest." We are informed in the editorial column of the February number that the paper has met with most gratifying success, "not the least flattering, perhaps, of the letters received being some in which capitalists have proposed to become possessors of the journal." And certainly *School* seems determined to deserve well of the capitalists; for among the questions "ventilated" we find Socialism occupying a prominent place, it being the contention of the writer in *School* that teachers ought to take the earliest opportunity of impressing the minds of their pupils with detestation of the Socialist doctrines. "It is to be regretted," he says, "that while counter influences are daily acquiring greater strength, correct ideas of their moral and social obligations are seldom systematically instilled into the minds of the rising generation in our schools. Most boys are taught that particular acts of theft from their schoolfellows are wrong, and they are punished accordingly. They may still, however, grow up to have very erroneous ideas regarding their moral obligations to society in these respects, and not scruple in after life to advocate wholesale plunder." It will be observed that the writer of this passage quietly assumes that the Socialists, and not the capitalists, are the "plunderers," and thus begs the whole question which is at issue, thereby illustrating at the outset his profound ignorance of the subject which he essays to teach. He proceeds to urge that both churches and schools must do their utmost "to enforce those correct principles by which legitimate authority and just rights in property can be maintained, and without which the fabric of society would fall to pieces." The *Times* being quoted as a reliable exponent of the enormities of French Communism, principals of schools are earnestly exhorted to inculcate an abhorrence of such revolutionary ideas, and are warned against the peril of engaging French and German masters who may be Socialists in disguise and may thus insidiously corrupt the minds of the schoolboys with their dangerous doctrines. "Quite recently," adds the writer, "the police-reports contained an account of an ex-minister of the Commune who was sentenced for a brutal assault on a woman in this country." The relevance of this remark is not very obvious; for there is, unfortunately, no need to go across the Channel for instances of immoral conduct, which have sometimes been observed even in the case of capitalists and ex-ministers of her Majesty's Government. But we presume that the writer in *School* is of opinion that any stick is good enough to beat a dog with, and that in abusing Socialists the silliest and grossest statements may be usefully employed. All of his "Remarks on Socialism" are characterised by the same mixture of malignity and stupidity, and would be a disgrace to the dullest of the schoolboys whom he wishes to instruct.

Side by side with the misrepresentation of Socialist doctrines, it is the fashion nowadays in our public schools to establish what are known as "school missions" in the poorer quarters of London and other large towns, the object being to make the youthful capitalist take a philanthropic interest in the condition of the working classes. The movement is doubtless well meant, and some little good may possibly come of it indirectly. Nevertheless it is impossible not to feel a certain amount of impatience and indignation at such childish trifling with questions of paramount importance. What is the result of all the subscription-lists and parish visitings, and sermons in the school chapel descriptive of what has been done among the "poorer brethren" of the relieved district? Mainly this; that our pampered and luxurious schoolboys give back in "charity" to the working-classes a very small fragment of the immense sum which their parents annually extort. They establish a "mission" among the very people by whose life-long labour and suffering they are fed, clothed, housed, educated, and supported in every sort of comfort and affluence; and having done this, they naturally and inevitably feel a glow of honest satisfaction and pride; for, as we all know, it is more blessed to give than to receive. With consciences thus made easy, they can devote themselves more unreservedly to the real business of their lives—eating, drinking, sleeping, idling, and self-enjoyment. The position of these school-missions in relation to the working-classes may be aptly illustrated by the American story of the man who relieved the hunger of his dog by cutting off its tail and giving back the bone in "charity" to the original proprietor, after himself enjoying a dish of soup extracted therefrom.

After all, it may at least be said on behalf of our public schools that indirectly and unconsciously they are often powerful revolutionary agencies. The bigotry and intolerance of the tone that is prevalent in these educational centres, the wasteful luxury and gross idleness of the boys, and the rank commercialism of the spirit in which these schools are conducted, are quite sufficient to disgust any thoughtful person who happens to be brought into contact with them, and to set him wondering how and why it is possible that such shameful scandals can exist in this enlightened age. By drawing attention to the connection between Socialism and "matters of educational interest," the writer of the article in *School* may possibly be doing less service than he intended to the sacred cause of capitalism. H. S. S.

'AN UNSOCIAL SOCIALIST.'

ONE result of the spread of Socialist opinion, and the interest thus excited in Socialistic affairs, has been the development of the so-called "Socialist Novel," several works of fiction thus described having already been put before the public. For the most part they have been catch-penny impostures of the most shameless description, made for the market, and compiled by people whose knowledge of Socialism was limited to its name. Another variety, not so numerous, has been the would-be-propagandist novel, with interminable soliloquies and arguments, and innocent of interest in character or plot. It is therefore with very great pleasure that we are enabled to call our readers' attention to a novel, none the less instructive because it is humorous, and none the less interesting because it is intended to instruct.

In 'Cashel Byron's Profession,' Mr. George Bernard Shaw looked at Society as it is through the eyes of a healthy unsophisticated barbarian, and strange enough some familiar things looked when seen through that medium. In his present book the medium is an 'Unsocial Socialist,' a millionaire member of "the International" (which appears in a shape of Mr. Shaw's own invention), a self-dissector and cynic; a strange contradictory product of the "storm and stress" period between the decaying and the coming systems.

Those who already know Mr. Shaw and his work do not need to be advised to read "An Unsocial Socialist." Even those who have read it in periodical snippets should take the opportunity of perusing it as a whole. Those who have not read it should do so as soon as may be, whether they be Socialists or no. Mr. Shaw's view of life is essentially individual and fresh; not invariably of the widest, but still one worth close consideration and some study. Finally, to those whom ill fortune has compelled to read the average novel, into the composition of which the author's theory of political economy has been worked, we would say: Read this, if only to see that economics in fiction need not become stupidity, nor depth of intention be necessarily synonymous with didactic tediousness. S.

The subscriptions in aid of the crofters sent to the *Glasgow Weekly Mail* now amount to £330.

I see that Baron de Worms fell back upon Macaulay in a speech that he made last week to a Primrose Habitation in Marylebone. He might, he observed, say of the Liberals, as Macaulay said, "The bigots pleaded in extenuation of persecution the vices that persecution had created." Might not the passage be better paraphrased thus, "The Tories pleaded in extenuation of coercion the vices which coercion had created"?—*Truth*.

A SOCIALIST BAKERY.—The Fulham Branch of the S.D.F. have passed the following resolution:—"That the Fulham S.D.F. having held two meetings respecting the subject of the Socialist Co-operation, do heartily agree and offer their support to all other Socialist Branches respecting the bakery scheme, and hopes that all other Socialist bodies will forward some practical measure that cannot fail to strengthen and further our Cause, and hopes that all Branches will try and do something toward establishing a Socialist bakery."—T. WHITE, Sec. Fulham S.D.F.

A GOOD HEALTHY WAR.—The following is the cheery way that the *Natal Witness* has of looking at things: Telegraphic advices from home indicate that rumours of war are prevalent, and that foreign bourses are depressed in consequence. A good healthy war just now would relieve the existing depression at home, by keeping down the population, stir up insurance companies, liven up things generally, besides giving journalists something to write about, and removing a few "specials" to other regions, allowing of occupation for other war correspondents.—*The Cape Argus*.

SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

CHAPTER XVII.

SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM—CONVERSION OF CAPITAL INTO MONEY.

SAYS Marx: "The circulation of commodities is the starting point of capital: the production of commodities, their circulation, and that more developed form of their circulation called commerce, these form the historical groundwork from which it rises. The modern history of capital dates from the creation in the 16th century of a world-embracing commerce and a world-embracing market."

The great representative of this circulation is *money*, which is the first form in which capital appears. In history, *money* presents itself to us as opposed to *land*: the merchant is opposed to the landowner; an antithesis which struck people so much at one period that they expressed it by means of a double proverb—"No land without a lord," and "Money has no master." This is, in fact, another way of stating the antithesis between the Mediæval basis of property, viz., *status*, a recognised position in the great feudal hierarchy, and *contract*, the commercial basis, on which is built the position of the modern exploiter.

We must now see how capital is born, and the manner in which it works after it has been born.

It is born out of the operation expressed by the formula $M - C - M$, which we had to take note of in our last chapter. The M in this operation, as we stated before, implies always quantity and not quality; the second M not representing merely the money the operation was begun with, but an increased sum, otherwise the operation would be meaningless. It remains to be seen how this increase has taken place.

It cannot have happened by the mere process of exchange; because that would mean that the whole capitalistic class was living by getting the better of the whole capitalistic class, which is impossible. The increase of money in the capitalistic process must come out of the labouring or productive class.

The *modus operandi* of this capital-making must now be noted. The labouring class is necessary to the production of capital, and the labouring class in a peculiar condition: the labourer, to be fitted for the purpose of the capitalist, must be submitted to the operation of the free competition of the capitalist in the market; that is, his labour-power must be; for with the *man* himself of course the capitalist has nothing whatever to do; neither will his own position as capitalist allow him to consider himself as a man; according to the well-known proverb "Business is business." This position of the labourer is what is understood by the phrase of a "free labourer": his labour-power must be bought and sold in the market on the same terms as any other commodity; there must be no interference with his selling it at the price which it will fetch, a high price when the competition among the capitalists is brisk, a low price when it is slack; and as he has no other commodity to sell except his labour-power, he is *compelled* so to sell it—to be a "free labourer."

It is clear that this relation between the capitalist and the labourer is a conventional and not a natural one; nature does not produce men who from the first are possessors of money which it is their business to turn into capital, nor on the other hand does she produce men who are possessors of labour-power which they are compelled to sell in the free and open market to other men. As a consequence this relation is not common to all historical periods; but has developed from many economical revolutions, which have successively extinguished prior forms of social production.

It will be seen, then, that in the fully developed commercial period the capitalist, the reason for whose existence is the turning of money into capital, and who is the owner and the organiser of the whole of production, cannot carry on his business without having ready to his hand a class who are an adjunct of the machinery necessary to his business, and who, on their side, have no other reason for existence, so long as they are duly obedient to the system under which they live, save acting as such portion of this machinery.

We have now come to the subject of surplus-value, from which is derived profit, rent, and interest. This will form the subject of our next chapter.

E. BELFORT BAX AND WILLIAM MORRIS.

I am convinced if anything is to be done for the great mass of the people—if you are to secure any reform of magnitude—it is to be done by the people resolving to secure it, and totally disregarding the convenience or the existence of political parties in the House of Commons.—Richard Cobden.

A MIDNIGHT WALK.

(By G. HERWEGH. Translated by J. L. JOYNES.)

I wander, when the world is all asleep,
At midnight through the quiet streets at will.
How loudly did these sleepers laugh or weep
A few short hours ago! Now all is still.
Their joy is like a poor plucked flower foredone;
Their fullest cups have ceased at last to foam;
Their troubles have departed with the sun;
The world is weary, let it dream of home.

How all my fretful anger fades away,
Now the loud tempest of the day is o'er;
The moon sheds softly her forgiving ray
On roses ruined by fierce suns before.
Swift as a sound, and silent as a star,
Lit by the pale moon's visionary gleam,
My spirit, conscious of no earthly bar,
Can see through sleep's most inly secret dream.

My shadow creeps behind me like a spy;
I pause before a dismal dungeon den;
In chains a patriot is doomed to lie;
Alas! he loved too well his fellow men.
He sleeps—and does he dream of happier things?
Of oak leaves waving o'er a woodland stream?
Dreams he that Victory folds him in her wings?
O God of Freedom, let him always dream!

Gigantic looms the palace of a lord;
My spirit sees behind its purple curtain,
How one in sleep is clutching at a sword
With look of guilty fear and grasp uncertain.
Pale is that face with fright and helpless wonder;
He harnesses for flight his swiftest team;
He falls to earth; the earth is burst asunder—
O God of Vengeance, let him always dream!

That cottage by the brook—small is its space;
Virtue and Hunger share the peasant's bed;
But God has granted to the poor man grace
To quench in dreams the cares that crowd his head.
He sees the fields through eyelids slumber-furled
Grow ripe and rich with harvest's golden gleam;
His narrow cottage widens to a world—
O God of Pity, let the poor man dream!

At this last house, upon the bench of stone,
One moment I must rest in earnest prayer;
I love thee true, my child—nor I alone—
My love with Freedom's shalt thou ever share.
A dove-drawn cradle bears thee to the skies;
For me wild coursers champ and foam and steam;
I dream of eagles, thou of butterflies—
O God of lovers, let my darling dream!

Thou star, that shinest through the cloudy haze,
Thou night in pall of deepest purple furled,
Too soon O let me not awake to gaze
On that sad face of the dawn-wakened world.
For fancy's dream to daylight's deed must yield;
On tear-drops sparkles the sun's earliest beam;
Freedom to Tyranny resigns the field—
O God of dreamers, let us always dream!

FRANCE.

CARCASSONE.—At the recent municipal election the Socialist list has been much more successful than the Opportunist one, nine Socialists having been elected.

PARIS.—Last week an "Extra-parliamentary Commission" was busy over the proposed national monument in commemoration of the Revolution. It is proposed to erect it on the grounds of the former palace of the Tuilleries; all latitude is left to the artists and architects, who may decide upon one single edifice or several, the principal monument may be either purely symbolic, or may consist in halls in which would be placed statues and bas-reliefs illustrative of the men and scenes of the Revolution. The Commission will ask for a grant of twelve millions for the execution of the plan. We confess to a cold shudder in reading of the "symbolic monument," from bitter knowledge, foreseeing what crime modern sculptural art can perpetrate when it strays from what it is fit for—i.e., executing a faithful and skilful likeness of a "social benefactor" or city alderman, frock-coat, trousers, and all, when it strays from this, the realm of everyday life, to that of false sentiment and humbug. Let us hope that the Government will refuse the grant, and waste the national money some other way, and that we may be spared the pain of a "symbolic monument" raised by hypocrisy and cant.

At the Chateau d'Eau Theatre in Paris a performance of Felix Pyat's "Chiffonnier de Paris" was organised last week by the *Cri du Peuple*, in aid of the families of those who suffered in the St. Etienne explosion. The theatre was crammed, and the performance successful. Several revolutionary songs were sung, and finally, amid great excitement, and the general uprising of the audience, the orchestra played the "Marseillaise." We English folk cannot quite realise without seeing it what an effect this song has on a large French crowd. For the "Marseillaise" sung in England, where we don't know the French words, and find it impossible to shove in all the translated ones in place and time, is a very different thing from the "Marseillaise" sung by a French choir, or played as orchestrated by H. Berlioz and listened to by an emotional crowd who join in with the refrain with a fervour and a precision which is indispensable to the dramatic effect of this fine tune. We should owe a good deal to an English Rouget de Lisle who would come forward with the discovery or invention of a tune as fine, and words more befitting the present period. He would be doing no inconsiderable service to the English revolutionary parties, for no one can deny the utility of appropriate music to any large congregation of folk.—M. M.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

This department is under the direction of the Strike Committee. Labour News and Contributions to the Fund should be sent to T. BINNING, at the Offices.

BRITAIN.

The Lanarkshire miners are working upon the advance of 6d. per day demanded by the men.

The weavers strike at Ashton is still unsettled, but the Central Committee of the Northern Counties' Association are determined to carry it on until success is achieved.

The turners and throwers in the Alloa Pottery have struck work and will be supported by the Glasgow Association, as to a dispute regarding the size of certain pots made at Alloa.

At the quarterly meeting of the Boldon Co-operative Society, on Saturday, it was decided to send £100 to the Northumberland miners, and £25 to the deputies.

The miners on strike in Northumberland have voted by a decided majority against the arbitration proposals, notwithstanding that the third distribution of strike money only allowed of 2s. being given to each adult and 6d. to each child, and after this the funds will be practically nil. A special report on the Northumberland miners will be found in another column.

It has been decided by ballot to forward the sum of £1000 from the funds of the Durham Miners' Association to assist the Northumberland men on strike, and that each lodge shall make a special levy on its members, or a donation from the local funds. Lodges have previously contributed upwards of £200.

A large number of miners, who are unemployed through the flooding of the shaft at Exhall Colliery, Warwickshire, paraded the adjacent villages on the 11th inst. harnessed to a waggon, and soliciting funds for their subsistence. Their novel appeal was liberally responded to, the waggon being hung with joints of meat, loaves of bread, parcels of tea, coffee, sugar, etc. The proceeds were distributed at the close of the day.

The London Council of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers have instructed the members of the society that they cannot be members of the Labour Federation and retain their membership of the Engineers' Society. It is stated that the matter will not rest here, for notice of appeal will at once be given to the general council of the Engineers' Society, as a large number of the members of that society have already joined the National Labour Federation.

There is a strike at the Carnarvon Copper Works, Wales, and, owing to the manager importing fresh men to take the places of those out on strike, disturbances have occurred, the men demanding the immediate discharge of the new comers. It was with great difficulty that the new hands could escape from the works, and three of them suffered rather severely in endeavouring to reach the railway station. The workmen now demand that the remainder should leave the valley, and offer them a chance of going unmolested.

The ironworkers are making efforts to bring together their somewhat shattered organisations. We are not referring to such men as mechanics and ironfounders, or moulders, who already have strong unions. The classes we refer to are the puddlers, millmen, rollers, and others, who, with the exception of those in Darlington, have in recent years gone very much to pieces. They are purposing to form a national association. It is rumoured that the Knights of Labour are making efforts to establish English lodges amongst this class, but nothing definite appears as yet to have been accomplished. On all sides there appears to be a general stirring of dry bones towards unionism as a force for lifting up the workers.—*Cotton Factory Times*.

THE YORKSHIRE MINERS.—The report to the members of the Yorkshire Miners Association for the past two years, which is signed by Mr. Benjamin Pickard, Mr. John Frith, and Mr. William Parrott, says: "The condition of the miner, taking all things into consideration, is not much if any improved since the year 1871. At that time the men were as well fed and as well housed in the majority of cases as they are now. Their work and wages compared more favourably then than now. If a dispute was entered into then they had not the fear of eviction before their eyes, as they now have at a large number of collieries. The Denaby Main and those evictions in Durham have opened our eyes to the extremes to which colliery-owners will go in order to defeat and punish the men, if they dare to stand up for and defend their rights. Many attempts have been made, in almost every part of the country, to solve the labour and wages question. Sliding-scale, arbitration, conciliation, strikes, and lock-outs have figured conspicuously, and have as signally failed to secure the desired end. It was quite clear from the demand of the owners in Northumberland for a reduction of 15 per cent. in their men's wages, that in the very country where the men are the most ardent advocates of and the most loyal to its principles and results, that a sliding scale, even without a minimum or maximum, neither can nor does absolutely meet any condition of labour and wages where there is no check (or determining power) by such sliding scale on the selling price of coal. Here we have a sliding-scale which has been in operation for a considerable time. The owners have been in a position to go into the market and compete with other mining counties most keenly, and, as the sequel proves, most disastrously both for themselves and their employés." One would naturally think the foregoing doleful confession of the absolute failure of the orthodox nostrums to settle the labour question would be the prelude to the advocacy of a new departure. But no; the same feeble platitudes and foolish hopes for an impossible "good time coming," with which we are all too familiar, is all that these "blind leaders of the blind" have to offer. Sixteen years of wealth-production unparalleled in the history of mankind leaves the Yorkshire miners still as poor, as badly fed, clothed, and housed at their close as at their beginning, and yet the poor simpletons go on opening their mouths and shutting their eyes to see what God or the Devil will send them, instead of banding themselves together like men to get the reward of their labour and to send their exploiters to the right about.—T. B.

AMERICA.

In Paterson, N.J., 15,000 employés of the silk-works are still on strike for a reduction of 2½ hours, an increase of 1 dol. per week, and the employing of only union workers.

CHICAGO.—The new scale of wages for compositors has been established by joint agreement. Compositors will henceforth receive 46 cents per thousand "setts" on morning newspapers, and 41 cents on evening papers. Advertisements will be set by the week. No change was made in the hours.

MILWAUKEE, March 1.—This afternoon the compositors in all the newspaper and job offices in the city went out on a strike for an advance of five cents in the price of composition. The proprietors offered to compromise, but the offer was refused by the Typographical union. The scale demanded is 38 for day and 45 cents for night work. The job scale 16 dols. per week.

WORCESTER, Mass.—The labour situation among the shoemakers at Spencer is serious. New workmen are coming in slowly, but have to be guarded by the police and the manufacturers' agents from the station to the hotel.

WHEELING, March 4.—The Labour Fair in this city netted the Trades Assembly 1600 dols. The greater portion of this sum will be used to furnish a hall and reading-room. In three weeks the Trades' Assembly will meet in the finest hall in the Ohio Valley, worthy of the thirty-nine organisations which it represents.

At Cincinnati the contracting bricklayers' association has allowed the demands of the union, which are—50 cents an hour for nine hours work, 4.50 a-day. First-class hands will increase their wages 2.70 dols. per week. The boss stone-masons have allowed the rate asked, which is 45 cents per hour. Stone-cutters will work nine hours.

The 2000 miners along the lines of the Peoria and Pekin, Toledo, Peoria, Warsaw, and Central Iowa railways, who have been out on a strike for several weeks, have reached a settlement with their employers. The miners are to form a co-operative association. The mines will be worked by them, the mine-owners getting three-fourths of a cent per bushel as rental.

ST. LOUIS, March 2.—At the present time almost every trade here is agitating the question of better wages or shorter hours. The carpenters led off with a demand for an increase of 5 cents per hour. It was granted. Wages now, 35 cents per hour, 9 hours a-day. The bricklayers have asked for 50 cents per hour, or 4 dols. a-day for 8 hours. The stove-moulders have asked for an increase, but the chances are that a lockout will result. It is expected that every union in this vicinity will be represented in the St. Louis Trades and Labour Assembly by May 1.

BELGIUM.

A strike of miners, numbering about 2400 has occurred in the Borinage district.

QUAREGNON (Borinage).—At the recent explosion in the mines of Quaregnon nearly 150 men and women and children were killed. Many of them must have guessed at a coming catastrophe, owing to the intolerable and ever-growing heat felt just beforehand. And yet they stayed on, rather risking their lives than risk forfeiting a day's pay!

After the Commission of Enquiry formed last year at the conclusion of the murderous exploits of Van der Smissen, the average wages of women and children working in the pits were fixed at the following prices for an average day's work of twelve hours: Boys from 12 to 17 years, 1 franc 30; women from 17 to 25 years, 1 fr. 45; girls from 13 to 15 years, 1 fr. 15. Such is the wretched sum for which women and children, whose fitting place would be rather at school or in the household, go to risk their lives during twelve or fourteen hours of the day! The report of the Commission even speaks of certain cases where children of 12 have to be in pits for sixteen hours. And yet those who among the men revolting last year in their desperation escaped the balls of the soldiery to fall within the claws of the magistracy, were accused of attempting the destruction of religion, property, and—always the same cry—of the family. Can these folks be said to have *familia*? Misery or demoralisation—mostly the two together—such is the picture formed by these same families that modern society shows itself so touchingly eager to protect—with words.

FRANCE.

SAINT-ETIENNE.—The director of the "Compagnie Beaubrun," by way of showing the paternal care that he lavishes on the men working for the company, apparently thinks he can do so no better than by diminishing the salaries of the men in No. 2 Chatelus Pit by 25 centimes a-day. It is asserted also that he intends to impose on the pitmen a gratuitous day's work to rectify the damage caused in this pit by the late disastrous explosion in No. 1 Pit. Bad luck to him!

MARSEILLES.—Citizen Jean Stemann, on his way to attend the Algerian Working-men's Congress as French delegate, spoke well and ably at Marseilles on the labour question at a meeting there organised for him by the labour party. His discourse was followed by a discussion and asking of questions—a method of procedure more familiar to us in England than to our Continental friends. The interest of the meeting, which was numerous attended, was well-sustained, and the proceedings have produced a good impression in the town.

ITALY.

VERCELLI.—A button-factory here by Bona Bros. is quite a model "prison workshop," petty fines and Neronian orders succeeding each other day by day. Last week the "hands" were surprised by an order forbidding them to read the *Fascio Operaio*, all those discovered so doing to be instantly dismissed. A month back the women employed struck on account of a new rule which compelled them to pay 80 c. for thread to sew on the buttons, which thread could be procured in the shops for 40 c. Five mothers were dismissed in consequence of this manifestation of dissatisfaction, dismissed as "instigators of the strike."—*Fascio Operaio*.

ALESSANDRIA.—The hat-makers' strike here is terminated. The Cav. Borsalina refused to accede to the demands of the strikers, and these have in consequence, for the most part, gone off to other districts and have left the country rather than yield. There exist several labour societies belonging to the different trades in Alessandria, and as is seen in the result of the strike, a certain solidarity exists among the workers. Before the termination of the Borsalina strike (which was among the workers in black straw), the workers in white had paid each out of their weekly wage 75 c. in aid of their comrades. Last week they were assembled and warned that should they hereafter pay any sums to the society in aid of the strikers they would be dismissed. This is merely a sample of the treatment submitted to in Italian factories, where petty tyranny indeed reigns supreme and too often unquestioned.

You wise generations, who have made your god of a yelling steam-engine, and dwell in herds under a pall of soot, and call this—Progress! . . . There are two sides to the medal of Progress. Myself, I cannot see that New York is so much an improvement upon Athens, nor the Staffordshire potteries upon Etrurian Tarquinii. But then I am only an ignorant man, no doubt, who loves the happy laugh of the sun-fed children, and the unobscured smile of the azure skies.—*Ouida: Crispin, in 'Ariadné.'*

THE MINERS' STRIKE IN NORTHUMBERLAND.

PROGRESS OF THE SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN.

The importance of this struggle is being very much under-rated. It is now eight weeks since over 20,000 men went out on strike against a reduction of 12½ per cent. in their already miserably small wages. This reduction would affect all who earned over three shillings per day. It is nine years since the miners of Northumberland were on strike before, so that they cannot be charged with being quarrelsome. The failure or success of the strike may not be a matter of very great moment, but a study of the position altogether will be found very profitable, and a few frank words on the conduct of some of the people's friends will not be amiss.

At one time, and that only a few years ago, the miners were the best paid workmen in the country. From 12s. to 15s. per day was easily earned by an average man at hewing coal. They are now nearly down to the level of the English agricultural labourers or the Irish cottiers. For months past the average wage of the Northumbrian pit men has varied from 10s. to 15s. per week. If the deductions for powder, pick-sharpening, etc., were reckoned, it might fairly be said that 10s. to 12s. per week is the most that the pitmen have taken home to their wives. It is sometimes said that miners can earn 5s. 3d. per day, but this fact alone is misleading. Two or three days work a week is not uncommon, four days a week is a sort of godsend, and five days a week is what the miner may dream about but dare not hope to see. Besides, there are considerable deductions from the ordinarily stated wage. In some mines 6d. a-day for powder alone. I have asked a great number of men what was the average amount of money which they took home after paying sundry charges; the answers seldom varied a shilling, and I should say that 10s. per week is an excessive estimate.

A great deal of humbug has been talked about the "free houses" enjoyed by the Northumberland miners. These houses are mere huts; the outside of them look sadly dilapidated; the streets are shamefully neglected, no pretence of order or harmony in building the villages was ever thought of—in short, the general aspect of a colliery settlement is ugly, dirty, and depressing, chiefly on account of its gloominess and the evident lack of taste or pleasure in its arrangements. But for the co-operative movement hardly a hall could be found outside the town, and seldom even a reading room. The men have often to hold their meetings in publichouses, and this of course encourages drinking. Inside the houses a different picture is met with. The women of Northumberland are cleanly, industrious, and cheerful "beyond compare." Their thriftiness is beyond dispute, since, in spite of the small wage, the miners are as a whole a healthy and good-looking body of men.

Could anything be more disgraceful than an attempt to make these men poorer than they are now? The miners have suffered one reduction after another till they can suffer no longer, and now a bitter fight has begun against any further impoverishment. How the fight will end no one can say. There are plenty of evil prophets declaring that the men will have to give in at the end, and advising them to do so speedily. There are some "candid friends" of the miners who are doing them a great deal of harm by telling the public how poor the men's resources are, and how great the power of their masters is. It is very dangerous to be too ready with advice and help and revelations in a matter of this kind. It must be agreed that the miners know their own business best. It is certain that no one else can teach them much. Two gentlemen (formerly workmen, but now fallen) at Blyth, did a great deal of harm one day last week with their candid and uncalled-for advice. Their remarks included an extravagant denunciation of Socialism and the Socialist missionaries in the county. They were very frothy and very high-toned on the subject, so I sent one of them a civil challenge to make good his words in a public debate. However, he shirked the encounter, and said he was too busy in managing a soup-kitchen. Of course, a man who brags when his enemy is at a safe distance, and then takes shelter behind a soup-tureen when asked to fight, is not worth much notice. Then, the newspapers have set to work against the miners. They are overflowing with heart-rending accounts and sensationally written descriptions of the distress amongst the non-unionists. There is really no special distress amongst the people of Northumberland just now. There is always a great deal of poverty, and this is not generally noticed by the newspapers. But just at the critical time, when the success of the strike depended upon the firmness of the whole of the men, a great wailing is heard about their poverty, and shoals of letters full of the most silly advice, and all with the purpose of making out that the miners are unable or afraid to fight out the strike are readily inserted. This, however, will not effect its purpose. The miners are still determined to hold out and are likely to win.

The Labour M.P.'s are proving themselves a paltry spiritless set of creatures. Never a word in Parliament about the miner's condition, but all over the country is telegraphed the startling and important announcement that "Mr. Fenwick has got a cold" and Mr. Crawford's health has actually undergone a favourable change since his stay at Matlock! Strange days we live in! Hardly a word about the 20,000 men with families dependent upon them, who are being brought to Chinese level, while throat affections of their eminently respectable representatives are telegraphed all over the land as if they were royal princes. If Northumberland had had the good fortune to be situated in Ireland, the House of Commons and the country would be ringing with the tale of their wrongs. But alas! the workmen of England have only a few lisping weaklings to voice their demands. The people of the country do not fully know the condition of the miners, nor the nature of the struggle in which they are engaged. If Burt, Fenwick, Craw-

ford and Co. had any spirit or go in them at all they would kick up a row in Parliament, and follow it up with a stumping campaign through the provinces, and by doing so they would raise enough money to keep the strike going for three months to come at least, and raise a torrent of public wrath against the mine-owners and coal-agents, which would soon bring victory to the strikers.

However the strike goes now, it has given an opportunity for starting a Socialist movement, which will give new hope to the miners. During the past month meetings have been held all over the county at the rate of 12 to 15 per week, and all have been largely attended. Already the popular feeling is in favour of Socialism, and the keenest interest is shown in the discussion of the question. At Bedlington, for instance, on Friday the 18th, the large Co-operative Hall was packed in every corner, and hundreds could not obtain admission. The audience listened attentively for three hours and a half to speeches for and against Socialism. My two opponents were the village doctor and the village curate, both popular men. The rev. gentleman had some very cute and telling points to put, and he put them well; and to the satisfaction of every one, a debate was arranged for the following week between him and myself. The medical gentleman was rather hazy and confused in his ideas, but he at least contributed to the amusement of the audience. The doctor has a genial way of saying the most ruffianly things, and a profound way of saying the most stupid things, which, in a way, make him rather an attractive speaker. He writes poetry. I have read some of it—not much—and I don't intend to read any more, though it is rather good on the whole, quite up to the artistic level of "Tommy make room for your uncle." The meeting altogether was a great success, and did a great deal for the Socialist cause.

A county demonstration in favour of Socialism is being arranged, and steps for founding an organisation in the northern counties are going rapidly forward, and I feel sure that before long the miners of the North of England will be in the vanguard of the revolutionary labour movement.

Newcastle, March 22.

J. L. MAHON.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

NOTICE.—All business matters relating to the Socialist League to be directed to the Secretary, H. A. Barker, 13 Farringdon Road, London, E.C.

Annual Conference.—The Third Annual Conference of the Socialist League will be held at 13 Farringdon Road on Whitsunday, May 29th. Branches are particularly requested to attend to the following arrangements, if they wish to be represented at the Conference: (1) To at once send a return of their membership to the General Secretary. The representation will be based on this return. (2) Branches cannot be represented unless all monthly subscriptions are paid up to March 31 by May 1st. (3) Notices of motion, amendment to Rules, etc., must be sent in six weeks before the Conference—i.e., not later than April 17th. (4) Agenda Paper will be forwarded on May 2nd to Branches complying with these arrangements.

Library.—The Library is now open to members of the Socialist League and affiliated bodies. Country Branches can have parcels of selected books by paying carriage to and fro. Rule III., relating to the renewal of books (each renewal representing fourteen days) must be rigidly adhered to. Books cannot be renewed more than twice. Members failing to comply with this Rule will be fined 1d. for every week that a volume is detained beyond the time at which its return is due. LIBRARY CATALOGUE, containing the Rules, 2d.

LENA WARDLE & WM. BLUNDELL, Librarians.

Lessons in French.—Comrade Victor Dave is now giving lessons in French at the offices of the League on Tuesday evenings, at 8 o'clock. The lessons are free to members, and those desirous of profiting by them should send their names at once to the secretary of the League.

Outdoor Propaganda.—The Council have passed the following resolution:—"That the speakers at Hyde Park invite the audience to keep within the railings so as not to obstruct the foot-paths; and that all members of the League attending such meetings be careful not to obstruct the foot-ways on such occasions."

Reports for "Commonweal."—Branch Secretaries are requested to make their reports as brief as possible, dealing with points of general interest as to the progress of the propaganda, rather than attempting to give the substance of the lectures, for which there is not space, even if it were otherwise desirable. Notices should be confined to purely business announcements and written separately. Reports and Notices should be addressed to the "Printer," and cannot be guaranteed insertion unless they reach the office by 2 p.m. on Tuesday.

BRANCH SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID.

Birmingham, Hackney, Hull, Leeds, North London, to August 31. Manchester, Merton, Norwich, to October 31. Bradford, to November 30. Croydon, Hammersmith, Leicester, South London, to Dec. 31, 1886. Lancaster, to January 31. Bloomsbury, Clerkenwell, Walsall, to February 28. Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Oxford, to March 31, 1887.

STRIKE COMMITTEE.

P. W., 2s.; E. P., 6d.; W. M., 2s.

T. BINNING, Treasurer.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

John Glasse, £5; "A Friend," £8. Hammersmith Branch (two weeks), £1. T. B. (weekly), 6d. W. B. (weekly), 6d.

PH. W., Treasurer, March 22.

THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

C. W. Mowbray and Fred Henderson, of the Socialist League, were sentenced at the Norwich Assizes on Jan. 20 to nine and four months' imprisonment respectively. The costs of the trial amounted to £50, and Mowbray's wife and five children must be provided for during his imprisonment, so that at least £100 will be required. The treasurer of this fund therefore appeals to every one to give all the assistance he can.

Already acknowledged, £30, 4s. 2d. Gleaner, 6d. Arthur, 6d. P. Webb, 1s. Merton Branch, 4s. 6d. Leeds Branch (two weeks), 4s. Glasgow Branch (three weeks), 6s. Socialist Union: W. J., 1s.; Jas. Macdonald, 1s.; D. Macdonald, 1s.; A. J. C. Macpherson, 1s.; Thomas Finn, 1s.; C. Fitzgerald, 5s. For Mrs. Mowbray—A few Fabians, per Annie Besant (weekly), 10s.—Total, £32, 0s. 8d. J. LANE, Treasurer.

BRANCH REPORTS.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, March 16, A. K. Donald lectured on "The Paris Commune" to fair audience. Literature has sold well.—W. B.

HACKNEY.—On Saturday evening we held a free concert to welcome our comrade James Allman on his release from prison, he having served a month for an alleged obstruction. Our room was quite filled by members of the League, the S.D.F., and other societies. Some capital songs were sung by members and friends, and Allman gave us his experience of prison-life, which was listened to with much interest. A collection was made for him, amounting to 9s. 3d. While thanking the friends for it, he refused to take it, and gave one-half to the *Commonweal* Printing Fund and the other half to the Hackney Branch. The singing of "The March of the Workers," "No Master," and "The Marseillaise," concluded one of the pleasantest evenings we have had at this Branch.

MITCHAM.—On Sunday evening in our club-room, T. E. Wardle lectured on "The Fallacies of Society." He pointed out that no hope of better times could be expected until the workers made a Society of their own. Good discussion. The following resolution was passed:—"That this meeting of Mitcham workers expresses its deep sympathy with the workers of Paris who fought and died in the Paris Commune, and expresses its great abhorrence of the capitalist murderers who shot down the workers in cold blood."

BRADFORD.—On Monday March 14 comrade S. A. Gaskell lectured at the Temperance Hall on "Socialism v. Individualism"; Dr. Rabagliati took the chair. The audience listened attentively. An animated discussion followed, which gave the lecturer opportunity to go more into details on several points. We sold a good quantity of literature.—C. H.

EDINBURGH.—In the Free Tron Hall, on Monday, March 21, Dr. Reddie read Percival Chubb's lecture on "The Inner Spirit of Socialism." A good discussion followed. Fair sale of literature.—G.

GLASGOW.—On Sunday, at one o'clock, Glasier addressed a good open-air meeting at Jail Square. No meeting at five o'clock owing to wet weather. In the evening in Hall, Carlton Place, James Mavor gave a lecture on "Miners' Wages and Living." The lecturer, who has been making a personal investigation into the economic condition of the miners, gave some interesting and useful information concerning the wages and subsistence of that class of workers. He showed that in some instances the gross earnings of the miners were so low that they had to subsist on a poorer fare than is given to convicted criminals in our prisons. A discussion followed.—J. B. G.

HULL.—On 21st we celebrated the Paris Commune, speeches being made by several of our members. We also had a short discussion with a sympathetic opponent of Socialism, who thought we could not expect to convert people to our views unless we had some detailed plan of the future Society, after the manner of More's 'Utopia,' and kindred ideal Commonwealths.—E. T.

LANCASTER.—On Sunday, March 20, comrade A. Tarn addressed a meeting on the subject of "Modern Commerce" to a good audience.—J. H.

NORWICH.—We celebrated the Commune and publicly opened our new hall on Saturday evening. After tea a public meeting was held, the chair being taken by comrade Lane, and a resolution in favour of the workers of Paris was moved by Tochatti, seconded and supported by comrades Sparling, Williams, and Crotch. On Sunday six outdoor meetings were held, addressed by Lane, Sparling, Tochatti, and Williams; all spoke on the Commune. In the evening, Sparling gave a lecture on "Evolution of Cannibalism" to a large audience, which was well received. Monday evening, lecture on Commune by Tochatti. Literature sold well. Last Tuesday, a meeting of the Branch was held and re-organised, new officers being appointed.—A. SUTTON.

GRIMSBY.—Last Sunday, several earnest men met at the Hall of Science and formed themselves into a society for Socialist propaganda. The question of affiliating with the Socialist League was held over until the members had studied carefully the 'Manifesto' of the League.—T.

SHEFFIELD SOCIALISTS.—On Monday night, March 14, the Sheffield Socialists rallied together in the Commonwealth Cafe, to hear Charlotte M. Wilson lecture on "The Revolt of the Workers in the Nineteenth Century." The lecture was a clever one, and was listened to with great attention. Socialism is making headway in this town.

PARIS COMMUNE CELEBRATIONS.

On Thursday March 17 a gathering took place of the London Socialist bodies, English and foreign sections, for the purpose of celebrating the Paris Commune, at South Place Institute, Finsbury, E.C. The meeting was a large and most enthusiastic one. Speeches in English were delivered by Annie Besant, Mrs. Wilson, P. Krapotkin, W. Morris, J. Lane, A. K. Donald, J. R. Macdonald, and Frank Kitz. Speeches were also delivered in French, German, and Italian. The great number of Commune celebrations this year is a sure sign of the increasing strength of the Socialist party in this country. Even the would-be silent bourgeois press is compelled to note this; and despite its abortive attempts to belittle the success of the movement here in England, the record which it itself does make, clearly shows that it is no longer possible to treat with supercilious indifference its growing strength.—H. A. B.

Celebrations also took place at many of the Branches of the Socialist League and Social Democratic Federation. On Sunday afternoon last meetings of several thousands were held in Hyde Park. In the evening a large meeting was held in Cleveland Hall.

NOTTINGHAM.—The Nottingham Socialists gathered on the 18th of March in the Secular Hall to celebrate the Paris Commune by a tea-party and ball. After tea the chairman, T. Proctor, made a few remarks on the Commune, after which our French comrade Cou-teaux sang the Marseillaise. S. Whalley then gave a brief sketch of the history of the Commune. Mr. Dautrie, French comrade, and H. Cooper also addressed the meeting, interspersed with a few songs and recitations. At 9 p.m. dancing commenced, and was kept up till 1 a.m. next morning, when the company together sang the Marseillaise amid the waving of red flags. The hall was tastefully decorated, the names of Morris, Hyndman, and prominent Socialists on the Continent hung round the room between red flags and other decorations, across the hall being a large red banner with the words "Vive la Commune!" About 60 were present, and we had an enjoyable evening.—T. PROCTOR.

DUBLIN.—On Thursday March 17th an International Celebration of the Commune of Paris was held at 50 Dawson Street, the following nationalities being represented: English, Welsh, Scotch, Irish, French, Danish, Russian, and American. Addresses on the principles and aims of the Commune, the reason of its failure, etc., were delivered by Schumann and others. A telegram received during the evening from our London comrades was read amidst great applause. A most enjoyable evening was wound up by comrade Coulon singing the Marseillaise in French.—O. K.

LECTURE DIARY.

London Branches.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street. Thursday March 24, at 8.30, W. Utley, "Money."
Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday March 27, at 8.30 p.m. L. Gronlund, "The Familistere of Guise." Wednesday, March 30, at 8.30, Frank Kitz, "History of the Russian Movement."—Committee Meeting first Sunday in each month at 7 p.m.
Croydon.—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday Mar. 27. T. Bolas, "The Aims of Socialists."—Committee Meeting every Friday at 8 p.m. sharp, at Parker Road.
Hackney.—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 8 till 11. Business Meeting every Tuesday at 8.30. On Sunday, March 27, at 8 p.m. A Lecture. On Saturday, March 26, an open-air meeting on Mile End Waste at 8 p.m.
Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday March 27, at 8 p.m. C. J. Faulkner, "Inhuman Arithmetic."
Hoxton (L.E.L.).—New premises, 2 Crondall Street, New North Road, Sunday March 27, at 8 p.m. T. Shore (E.L.R.L.), "The Poetry of Revolt."
Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday. Discussions held every Sunday morning at 11.
Mitcham.—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11. Sunday March 27, at 8.30. F. Kitz, "The Russian Revolutionary Party."

Country Branches.

Bingley.—Coffee Tavern. Every Monday at 7.30 p.m.
Birmingham.—Carr's Lane Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 8.
Bradford.—Morris's Dining Rooms, 114 City Road. Wednesdays, at 8.
Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. Reading Room and Library open every Wednesday evening, 8 till 10.
Fulham.—Address Sec., 34 May Street.
Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. On Sunday, open-air meetings on Jail Square at 1 and 5 o'clock. In the evening at 6.30, in Hall, 2, Carlton Place, Daniel McCulloch will lecture on "Education from a Socialist Standpoint." William Morris lectures on Sunday, April 3, in Waterloo Hall, at 7 o'clock.
Hamilton.—Branch meets every Thursday at 7.30 in Paton's Hall, Chapel Street.
Hull.—11 Princess Street, Sykes Street. Lectures on Sunday at 7 p.m. Class for study of Carruthers' 'Commercial and Communal Economy,' on Thursdays at 8 p.m. Lectures every Sunday at 7 p.m. March 27, "Machinery and the Worker."
Lancaster.—No fixed meeting-place at present. On Sunday mornings at 11, meetings will be held on St George's Quay. March 27, L. Hall, "Slavery and the Way Out."
Leicester.—Spiritualist Hall, Silver Street. Saturday, March 26, at 8 p.m. Geo. Robson, "The Population Fallacy." April 2, Thos. Barclay, "How to bring about the Social Commonwealth."
Manchester.—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening 6 to 10 p.m. Lecture and discussion every Wednesday at 8 p.m.
Norwich.—Gordon Hall, Duke St. Lecture and discussion every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room open every evening. Sunday, Mar. 27, St. Mary's Plain at 11, Market Place at 3.
Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Thursdays, at 8.30 p.m.

Open-air Propaganda—Sunday 27.

11.30...Hackney—"Salmon and Ball".....Westwood
11.30...Hackney—Broadway, Ldn. Fields. H. Graham
11.30...Hammersmith—Beadon Rd.The Branch
11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield Street ...Arnold, Pope
11.30...Garrett—Plough InnBartlett
11.30...Regent's ParkNicoll and Cantwell
11.30...St. Pancras Arches ...Dalziel and A. K. Donald
11.30...Walham GreenThe Branch
3.30...Hyde ParkWardle and Mainwaring

PROVINCES.—SUNDAY.

Norwich.—St. Mary's Plain, 11; Market Place, 3.
Leeds.—Hunslet Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m.
Leicester.—Humberston Gate, 11 a.m.

FREE SPEECH DEMONSTRATION
IN VICTORIA PARK,

On SUNDAY March 27, at 3.30 p.m.,

To welcome Comrade JAMES ALLMAN from prison, and to protest against the interference of the police with the right of public meeting in the streets.

The following is the list of speakers: James Allman, H. A. Barker, H. Charles, H. Davis, H. Graham, F. Kitz, J. Lane, S. Mainwaring, W. Morris, and H. H. Sparling.

Proceedings will take place near the Band Stand.

CLEVELAND HALL, 54 Cleveland Street (near Portland Road Station).—Sundays at 11.30 a.m. Mar. 27. H. Charles, "The Coming Revolution."

SOUTH PLACE INSTITUTE, Finsbury.—A series of Debates on Socialism and Individualism will take place during March. IV. Sunday 27, at 4 p.m., Mr. H. H. Champion (S.D.F.) versus Mr. Wordsworth Donisthorpe (L.P.D.L.)

DUBLIN.—City of Dublin Working-men's Club, Wellington Quay. Saturday, March 26, "The Position of the Working Classes for the last Fifty Years." Free Debate.

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Birmingham: J. Sketchley, 8 Arthur Place Parade.

SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.

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.
Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism. By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). . . . 1d.
The Labour Question from the Socialist Standpoint. By William Morris. . . . 1d.
Useful Work v. Useless Toil. By William Morris. . . . 1d.
Chants for Socialists. By William Morris. . . 1d.
The Woman Question. By Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx-Aveling. . . . 2d.
Art and Socialism. By Wm. Morris. . . . 1d.
Bijou edition, 3d.; Large paper, 1s.
The Aims of Art. By Wm. Morris. (*Now Ready.*) Bijou edition, 3d.; Large paper, 6d.
The Co-operative Commonwealth. By Lawrence Gronlund. Author's Edition, revised and enlarged. Paper covers, 2s.; Cloth, 2s. 6d.
"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.

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

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 64.

SATURDAY, APRIL 2, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

THE Government have got through the first stage of this new coercion adventure with no very triumphant success, though only one Liberal Unionist voted for Mr. Morley's amendment; Mr. Bright in his new character of definite Tory voting for the government as a matter of course. There was nothing very remarkable in the debate that preceded the division. Mr. Gladstone spoke bold words enough as to the opposition which his party were prepared to make to the bill, and it is to be hoped that they will be made good; but one must see it done before one can be sure that it will be: meanwhile, of course, the Tories raise the cry of "obstruction"; as if it were not the business of any minority in the House of Commons to obstruct the passing of any measure that they thoroughly condemn.

A great part of Mr. Gladstone's elaborate speech was taken up with trying to prove that his coercion bill was quite a different thing, and put forward under quite different circumstances than this new measure; and the orthodox Liberal papers were in ecstasies over his success in this attempt. But a reasonable man would think this ingenuity wasted: the Coercion Act on one hand and the action of the National League on the other, are simply acts of war; and it was just the same thing when the Liberal Government passed their Coercion Act. To speak plainly, all this side of the debate *pro* and *con* was simple twaddle; the mere lawyer-like stupidity of never making an admission, which is a habit in Parliament, too. Really, Mr. Gladstone need not be ashamed of changing his mind with the example of Mr. Bright before him, who has become a Tory simply because he could not change his, when things were changing around him.

It would be refreshing to find somebody who would say, when challenged as to the relation of his present to his past opinion, "Yes; I did think that, but I have changed my opinion now," but that seems to be as rare a bird as the man that will say "Yes; I said so-and-so, and I meant it then and mean it now." And it would take a strong lantern to find a man in Parliament who could say either of those things.

As to Mr. Chamberlain, he seems determined to go deeper and deeper into the mire; and surely a man who had been away from the country for two years, and had not seen any newspapers during that time, if he happened on any of Mr. Chamberlain's present speeches, would be likely to say, "Pray what Chamberlain is that? Is it any relation to the Joseph Chamberlain who, when I left England, was going about the country making demi-semi-socialistic speeches?"

The thoughtful soul may, if it pleases, debate with itself whether the German or English people have scored in the game of flunkeydom by the last two exhibitions of that art, the celebration of the Kaiser's birthday, or the Queen's visit to Birmingham. Certainly, the German transaction was on the larger scale, and so more offensive, and there appears to have been an outpouring of sentiment on the occasion, not easy for a sane man to understand, if he chance not to belong to that parish; neither is the superannuated drill-sergeant who was worshipped by the German population—(What were all the Socialist voters about, by the way?)—a very worthy idol. Still, the man is a kind of a real king, and represents, at any rate, the memory of a set of desperate battles, and, 'tis said, does his joss-business of being seen with much assiduity, and his position altogether is not so preposterous as that of our own special joss, which does *not* do its business even of being seen (if that mattered at all), and cannot do anything else of a public kind without being called over the coals for it as an unconstitutional act.

Doubtless, also, a good deal of the enthusiasm at Berlin was of police creation, and it is to be thought that the Birmingham loyalty was more genuine of its kind, and at the bottom of it, probably, lay the hope of the quickening of business a little. Finally, when we take into consideration that Birmingham is a Radical town, I think the palm must be given to the English professors of flunkeydom; their faith is purer, and shines brighter through the wrappages of individual character, political creed, and other accidents than that of any other nation.

W. M.

In the April number of *Harper's Magazine* is an article on "Wages in Europe and America," the outcome of which seems to be in agree-

ment with our constant assertion that in all civilized countries, the workman is in much the same position. What slight differences there are between labour's position in different countries arise from an altered standard of living.

Everywhere the worker is pushed down as far as he can go, and kept down there as long as he will stay.

A letter in the *Spectator* well illustrates the unreasoning fatuity of the average bourgeois. The writer has been giving particulars of the terrible condition of the Austrian workers, and winds up by saying that we in London (Socialists) "have much to be thankful for."

Does he mean *workmen* when he says Socialists? And imply that so long as someone is worse off than ourselves, we should be unfailingly happy; as no doubt *he* would be did he lose an eye, another losing both!

Or, are his words to be literally taken? In that case, he is decidedly illogical, being a bourgeois; for the only feature in the evil case of the Austrian workmen that can please a Socialist is their restiveness under it, and the conviction forced upon us that the capitalists of Austria and elsewhere are serving the revolution well by making their workers' lives intolerable.

H. H. S.

DESPOTISM AND NIHILISM IN RUSSIA.

THE world has once more been startled by another attempt at assassination. The despots are once more alarmed, and the press, as usual, calls for vengeance on the so-called miscreants who attempted to kill even an Emperor. That words of congratulation should be sent to the Emperor with lightning speed need not surprise any one. The same with regard to the blind fury of the hireling press of this and other countries. Yet, it would be best to look at the matter with greater calmness, and think well what the situation is. Let us deal first with the question on the ground of principle.

What is an Emperor? Simply a usurper. One who claims the right to rule in violation of the principle of equal liberty, in violation of the principle of eternal right, of eternal justice. Usurpation can never be the basis of legitimate authority. It can never command the respect of the thoughtful. It will never receive the respect of the free man or the free woman. Usurpation is the greatest of all crimes. Its very existence implies the assassination of the dignity, the liberty, and the independence of a whole people. It implies the degradation and slavery of millions of human beings. Usurpation is the basis of absolute despotism, of the most debasing tyranny. Where usurpation exists liberty is impossible. All the rights of the individual, the liberty of thought, of speech, of free association, are all sacrificed to the supremacy of the usurper. And what is a usurper? A despot, a tyrant, from principle. Behold him on his throne of blood, a rebel against the principle of eternal justice, a traitor to the principle of human brotherhood. He is at war with the people over whom he claims to rule. As a traitor to the holy principle of equal liberty, he is at war with humanity. As a traitor and a rebel he should be everywhere treated as an outlaw. Usurpation is despotism in all its naked deformity. None but slaves can tolerate it. None but sycophants can recognise it. None but courtiers can sing its praises. The glory of usurpation and the grandeur of its saturnalia depend on the plunder and the degradation of the people. And from the curse and scourge of usurpation the people are in duty bound, severally or collectively, to free themselves.

We read of the Imperialism of ancient Rome, and of the religious royalty of the middle ages; we have had the Imperialism of Napoleon the Great, and we have the Imperialism of the German Kaiser; but in the Imperialism of Russia we have the blasphemous claims of religious royalty and the naked rascality of political despotism. There the usurper rules supreme. His will is law. At his bidding ten thousand victims take their death march to Siberia. At his command a thousand men and women ascend the scaffold, martyrs for the holy principle of human liberty. Behold the Czar of all the Russians on his throne of blood and rapine, surrounded by his almost countless legions of mercenary cut-throats; behold him the traitor, the rebel, ever at war with the people over whom he claims to rule; at war with humanity, the only true sovereign. If the usurper be the annointed of

heaven, let heaven protect him. As a rebel against the law of eternal right he deserves no protection from the law.

But the conspirators. Who and what are they? All the truest, the wisest, the bravest, of all classes of Russian society. In a dispatch from St. Petersburg, dated March 12, and quoted in the *Standard* of March 17, we read of the widespread dissatisfaction that exists amongst all classes in the Russian Empire—military, officials, nobles, workmen, and peasants. "These malcontents," it is said, "do not, strictly speaking, belong to the Nihilist or Terrorist party, but they almost involuntarily promote the objects of the active revolutionists, and their number is so great that the gaps caused by executions or arrests, are immediately filled up." We are also told "the number of officers, non-commissioned officers, and military pupils recently arrested for conspiracy, not only at St. Petersburg, but in many other garrisons, is very great, far greater than is generally known, but still greater is the number of those who are equally guilty but have accidentally escaped detection."

In the *Standard* of March 24, we read, "Nihilism, too, in its original form, has, as I have often remarked, died out long ago; but the social revolutionary agitation which it exploited, and which still bears its name, still exists, and will exist as long as the autocratic government, against which its misdeeds are so terrible a protest." The St. Petersburg correspondent of the *Daily News*, March 25, referring to the attempts to get up a show of loyalty in the universities, says: "Public opinion here and abroad is not, however, to be deceived by such artifices. It is really surprising to hear what is said about the state of the country in diplomatic circles. It might be supposed that the revolution so long dreaded is now on the eve of breaking out. I know that the foreign representatives have sent reports to their governments upon the actual state of Russia, and that these reports at all events are not of the brightest colours." On the same date we read that at Odessa, forty officers, some of high rank, had been arrested within a few days. March 26th we are told that ten more officers had been arrested at St. Petersburg. We read that Gatschina is like a regular fortress, with a powerful garrison and hundreds of spies and police. And this is holy Russia!

It may be said that these men are rebels, but they already embrace the best and the truest of every class. Call them rebels if you will; but such rebels are the salt of the earth and the glory of the human race. Place them by the side of the arch-rebel, the arch-usurper, on his blood-stained throne. Behold him, a usurper by birth, a despot from principle, a tyrant in the worst sense of the word, upholding all that is iniquitous, all that is villainous, all that is barbarous, brutal, and corrupt, the enemy of all that is pure and just, of all that tends to elevate the people, or that can raise them to dignity and liberty. Turn to the conspirators, so-called. Who are they? Men and women of all ranks and classes, from the highest noble to the artisans or the peasants. What is their aim? To free their country from the curse and scourge of a degrading despotism; from the tyranny and corruption which there prevail. To raise the great mass of the people, to free them from the thousand tyrannies and oppressions that degrade and enslave them; to make man and woman free—free as the air they breathe, free as the light of day.

But why do they not agitate in a legal manner; why do they not adopt legitimate means? No government, no authority that rests on usurpation can ever be legitimate. The decrees of tyrants can never be binding on a single human being. Nor can any authority be legitimate that does not rest on the freely expressed will of the great mass of the people. To enforce any decree against the will of the people is tyranny, and to impose a single tax without the consent of the people is an act of plunder. The usurper, then, is not only a rebel, but a criminal, a wholesale plunderer, and ought to be treated as such.

But how many men and women has the present Czar of all the Russias sent to Siberia, there to linger out a miserable existence? How many are rotting in Russian fortresses? How many has he sent to the scaffold, murdered in cold blood to prolong for a little while longer his reign as a despot and the slavery of the people? To combat such a system is the duty of every man, of every woman. When there is neither freedom of speech, nor of the press, nor free association, organisation on a large scale is impossible. Secret conspiracy is the only means, and to conspire the most sacred obligation. He who denies to the people their rights and liberties is a rebel against the people, and should be treated as such. And where the people are denied the right of free organisation, of free action, in the words of Suarez, "it is permitted to an individual to kill a tyrant, in virtue of the law of self-defence." And he adds, "For though the community does not command it, it is always to be understood that it wishes to be defended by every one of its citizens individually, and even by a stranger. Then, if no defence can be found excepting the death of the tyrant, it is permitted to every one to kill him." These words are clear and precise, and cannot be disputed. Take the following from our own Milton: "Since the king, or magistrate, holds his authority of the people, for their good, and not his own, then may the people, as oft as they shall judge it for the best, either choose him or reject him, retain him or depose him, though no tyrant, merely by the liberty and right of free born men, to be governed as seems to them best" (*Prose Works*). Let us not forget, too, that our own ancestors not only claimed the right to take up arms against a tyrant, in the person of Charles I., but to try him for treason and send him to the grave headless.

But the right of a people to free themselves from tyranny and oppression has always been recognised, by insurrection if practicable, by any other means if necessary. Blackstone (*Ch. Royal Prerogative*), in speaking of the expulsion of James II., and the right of the people

to resort to insurrection when necessary, says: "Nor will they (the people) sacrifice their liberty by their adherence to those political maxims which were established to preserve it. In these or other circumstances, since law and history are silent, it becomes us to be silent also, leaving to future generations, whenever necessity or the safety of the whole may require it, the exertion of those inherent though latent powers of society, which no time, no constitution, no contract, can ever destroy or diminish." Many other English authorities might be given.

In dealing with the revolutionary movement in Russia, let us not forget the facts of our own history. Above all, let us take our stand on principle; and let us remember that it is the duty of every people to adopt any and every means, individually and collectively, to free themselves from the curse and scourge of a cruel and relentless despotism.

J. SKETCHLEY.

THE IMMORALITY OF INTEREST.

It is not probable that in modern times it has ever entered the head of one Christian in a thousand that to lend money at interest is intrinsically wrong, and denounced not only by the Socialists, but also most vigorously by the Christian Fathers, and condemned in no equivocal manner in the Bible. They know, of course, that usury was forbidden among the Jews, but ignorant of the meaning of the Scriptural term, imagine it has no modern counterpart, at least in this country.

It is written in Deuteronomy xxiii. 19, "Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother; usury of money, usury of victuals, usury of anything that is lent upon usury," and similar divine commands are given in Levit. xxv. 35, 36, 37, and in Exodus xxii. 25. With regard to the meaning of the term, St. Ambrose says, "Many persons, evading the precepts of the law, when they give money to merchants, require the usury not in money, but take some of their goods in payment of the usury. Therefore, let them know what says the law; You shall not, it says, receive the usury of food, nor of anything else. The victuals is usury, the cloth is usury; whatever is added to the principal is usury—whatever name you give it, it is usury." St. Augustine also, on Psalm xxxvii. 26, says, "If you lend your money to a man from whom you expect more than you gave, not money alone but anything else, whether it be wheat, wine, oil, or any other article, if you expect to receive any more than you gave, you are an usurer, and in that respect reprehensible, not praiseworthy." St. Jerome too, on Ezekiel xviii. 10, 17, says, "Some persons imagine that usury obtains only in money; but the Scriptures, foreseeing this, have exploded every increase, so that you cannot receive more than you gave. Others likewise have the habit of receiving gifts of various descriptions for the usurious loans, not understanding that the Scriptures call usury also increase whatever that be, if they receive any more than they had given." Usury seems then to signify any kind of payment made for the loan of anything, and is therefore the generic term for rent, interest, and profit.

It is objected that the Jews were forbidden to exact usury from their brethren only, but were at liberty to charge it to strangers. Regarding this St. Thomas says, "To receive usury from strangers was not permitted as a lawful thing, but rather tolerated for avoiding a greater evil. This dispensation is not extended to Christians who are bound to consider all mankind as brethren, especially under the New Law to which they are called."

That Jesus of Nazareth himself looked upon the practice as iniquitous the whole tenor of his teaching proves. He even forbids it expressly in Luke vi. 34, "And if ye lend to them of whom ye hope to receive what thank have ye? for sinners also lend to sinners, to receive as much again. But love ye your enemies, and do good, and lend hoping for nothing again, and your reward shall be great, and ye shall be the children of the Highest: for he is kind unto the unthankful and to the evil." Nothing could be plainer, and the sincere, conscientious Christian, seeking to obey the precepts of his Master, and possessing sufficient independence and intellectual activity to impel him to examine the Scriptures for himself, can have no hesitation in denouncing the inconsistency and impiety of Christian interest-takers and profit-mongers. He would not dream, for a moment, of disregarding the whole spirit of Christ's teaching, by attempting to justify usury, and would be the first to point out the error of those who so eagerly seize on the parable of the talents as an excuse for the practice. The power of self-interest to blind men to all reason and truth is tremendous, and it is therefore not surprising that when self-interest is reinforced by a superstitious regard for custom, benevolent and ordinarily clear-sighted men should, in good faith, consider the parable as indisputable proof of the divine sanction. It is quite evident, however, that if the parable does sanction it, it belies the whole teaching and practice of Christ; but there can be no doubt it was only intended to picture in a striking manner the reward awaiting the believer who lays out his talents at spiritual usury, by feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, tending the sick and helpless, and caring for the widows and orphans.

So much for the *argumentum ad hominem* addressed to the professed Christian. But in the opinion of those of us who do not bow to the "authority" of the Biblical writers, and who are not inclined to admit their infallibility in ethical questions, the morality of the custom does not depend on the interpretation of Scripture. It can be shown that usury is an infringement of the law of justice, the result of the tyranny of the strong over the weak, and the great cause of poverty with its in-

numerable attendant evils. Whether usury be right or wrong, to it must be attributed the glaring social inequalities of the present time, for these are by no means commensurate with the difference in physical power, intellectual capacity, or moral quality of the members of the community. If usury be justifiable, our working millions must be abandoned to their hopeless struggle with poverty. If, on the other hand, they and their children are ever to have brighter or happier days, usury must be driven out of the world; that is the alternative. Fortunately we are provided by non-Socialists with an estimate of the burdens laid upon the workers by this ogre. According to Mundella the total annual income of the country, that is to say, the quantity of wealth produced each year is 1300 millions. This wealth is, of course, produced only by the workers, manual and mental, and what do these workers get? only 300 millions between them, at the highest estimate 500 millions! Making every allowance, for we have no need to exaggerate, more than one-half of the wealth produced by the workers is taken from them in the name of—usury. Facts like these surely point to usury as the principal cause of poverty. It is true that the poverty of some is due to personal vices, but it cannot be denied that the poverty of the great bulk of the population is caused by circumstances beyond the control of the individual, and by those circumstances mere tendencies in the individual are often developed into vices which would otherwise have lain dormant, so that some deduction again has to be made from the admission above stated as to personal vices. Certainly the individual lies helpless in the iron grip of usury.

We see at present the land and the capital without which the propertyless workers must starve, in the hands of a comparatively small number of the population. To gain access to this God's (sic) earth and to the instruments of production, to wit, the machinery, mills, factories, railways, etc., is of paramount importance to the workers, and accordingly they are obliged to apply to the holders of property for leave to use it. The workers have nothing (through no fault of their own, mind you); the capitalists and landowners everything. If, on being thus appealed to, the latter listened to the teaching of the great and noble minds of the past, and obeyed their generous and better nature prompting them to help their less fortunate brethren, they would hasten to share freely these necessities of life and work with the unlucky ones, or at the very least lend them interest-free on condition of receiving payment for them by easy instalments. Instead, however, of answering their altruistic impulses they allow themselves to be swayed by their selfish and anti-social inclinations, and stifling all sympathy for their disinherited fellows lay upon them the yoke of slavery by a process euphemistically called "free contract." Free undoubtedly the workers are, only however to accept the terms of the propertied classes or—starve.

The terms, too, are: that the workers keep in good order and well-conditioned their masters' land and instruments of work, renewing such of the latter as are worn out by use; that they give their masters all the wealth they produce over and above what is just necessary to maintain them efficient, machine-like toilers and enable them to bring up children to replace them when wrought out. On the one hand they have starvation staring them in the face and on the other that arch-fiend, Usury, standing sentry over the means of work, ready on behalf of his masters to call on the police and even the military to aid him in preventing the proletariat using these means except on the terms mentioned above. It seems as if the only moral law which can be appealed to in defence of usury is that one which declares that "might is right." Yet, after all, it is only the "force" of the superstitious notions the people themselves have about the rights of property which holds them enslaved thus. The moment they realise that they are being robbed daily and hourly in the name of private property, the police and military will be with them; for are not they too of the people?

J. H. S.

(To be continued.)

"THE LAST DAYS OF THE COMMUNE."

The following extracts are taken from an article by an eye-witness, J. B. Marsh, in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' of July, 1871.

"THE atrocities perpetrated upon the Communists—men and women—captured in the neighbourhood of the Rue de Rivoli were shocking. Women were stabbed in the back by soldiers to make them walk more quickly to the places where they were to be shot; and men fated to die were maltreated by soldiers and civilians. The attitude and demeanour of the men was heroic. They bore the insults and the taunts of the soldiers unmoved, and walked defiantly, as though they were going to meet a martyr's death. All the members of the National Guard with whom I conversed were mechanics or clerks; I saw but few of those vagabonds with whose faces and figures the illustrated papers have made us familiar; nor did I see any of those women whose fierceness and cruelty have been so often detailed in English newspapers. On the three days when the insurgents held possession of the First Arrondissement, I frequently saw women armed with revolvers and rifles, marching at the head of companies of armed men; but they were well-dressed, good-looking females, who appeared to be animated by a sense of patriotism. The appearance of a few of these women on the ramparts gave rise to the most exaggerated rumours as to their number. . . . The number of arrests made by the troops was considerably augmented by the police, who followed in their train. House to house visitation was then carried out in the most systematic manner, and hundreds of men and women dragged forth from hiding places. Many of the leading sympathisers with Communism were thus unearthed, and all who were recognised met with immediate execution. The course pursued by the soldiers was to conduct the condemned person to the nearest barricades and there shoot them, but

when one was not near the man or woman was led into the centre of the roadway and there put to death. In the Rue Richelieu was a barricade of formidable dimensions, which had a deep hole excavated in the front, the earth from which was used to face the barricade. At this spot upwards of forty men were put to death. In carrying out the executions, the soldiers in no single instance that I saw raised their rifles to their shoulders, but held them about the level of their knees and fired. The dead, both men and women, lay about the streets, in the squares, on the banks of the Seine, in every direction, until the insurrection was extinguished. Then they were collected in country carts and carried out of Paris, and what ultimately became of them I do not know. . . . But where are the innocent victims of these sad disasters? What has become of the children? The estimates of the number of dead and those made prisoners vary considerably, but according to some statements, there were 20,000 men and women killed in fight or executed between the 21st and 28th of May, and upwards of 40,000 men and women made prisoners. What has become of the thousands of little ones, suddenly deprived of one or both parents? The children were obtruded on the public gaze in every procession of prisoners during the days when fighting was going on in the streets of Paris. Among the sad sights of that terrible week, the saddest to my mind was the spectacle of whole families marching under an escort of soldiers to the nearest place of confinement. In scores of instances a little child too young to walk was carried by father or mother, and the innocent face contrasted strangely with the fierce countenances of the captors and captives. Nor was there anything more horrible than the torrent of oaths which the spectacle of a child carried in the arms drew forth from the people who were drawn together to see the prisoners pass. For the night following their capture the children were allowed to remain with their parents, but the following morning at daybreak they were separated."

WIMBLEDON AND MERTON NOTES.

IN this happy hunting ground of the jerry-builder, whose hideous and insecure handiwork abounds on every side, we are surrounded with a population composed of retired profit-mongers, the clerk and shop-keeping element, and over-worked artisans and labourers. A large proportion of the latter have been tempted by puff advertisements to come and "live a little way out" and rent "those desirable residences," in which roofs leak, ceilings and walls crack, and doors refuse to shut, and which, when "to let," have tumbled down of their own accord. The retired profit-mongers occupy the best and most salubrious portions of Wimbledon Hill, Park, and Common, many portions of which they have "conserved" to their own especial benefit. But the true spirit of selfishness is best shown by the hideous walls erected around their "private" property recently, thus excluding the general public from enjoying some of the most magnificent views in the county of Surrey.

The aforesaid profit-mongers are very solicitous about their final destination hereafter, where, I opine, they think to have some more private property and enjoy the "music and light" all to themselves. Hence parsons and lay spouters, church, chapels, and mission-halls, are nearly as plentiful as the beer-shops and public-houses wherein the tired workmen seek their recreation with publicans and sinners.

The lot of the workmen in these distant suburbs is extremely hard; rising at 4 or 4.30 a.m. in order to catch a workmen's train, he arrives back at night too tired to partake of intellectual pleasures, and must needs seek the "pub" for change.

There is, however, another type, dear to the "master" and after his own heart—viz., the converted working man. He never complains of long hours and short pay. As one said at a local meeting, he would work for 10s. per week, conscious that the "Lord" would supply the deficiency and meet his wants. He regales himself with a pennyworth of gingerette, and takes delight in listening to discourses of converted burglars, prize-fighters, etc., whose "thoughts on awful subjects dwell—damnation and the dead."

Sir John Lubbock, in opening the Free Library here, gave an address upon the pleasure to be derived from the perusal of sterling books; and the Jubileists—of whom more anon—ask £200 to purchase more books for the library. But workmen who "come home in the even too tired and weary to stand" are not likely to benefit unless the institution is open on Sundays—sacrilegious thought.

The Jubileists held a meeting at the Drill Hall on 24th March, to discuss the proposals as to the due celebration of Jubilee by the flunkeys and snobs of the neighbourhood. Amid a scene of the wildest disorder, comrade Harrison and myself put forward an amendment to the effect that the circumstances of the working classes does not warrant any jubilation because an old lady has received over £80,000,000 for fifty years of office. Comrades Eden and Dalchon also attempted to get a hearing, the audience energetically hooting and howling at both sides. "God save the Queen" as a finale was drowned in cat-calls, shouts, and hoarse bellowings. Thus have the loyal bigwigs squandered their money to provide the Socialists with an evening's entertainment. It was dimly understood that a resolution to provide almshouses was carried, but if so, as a local comrade said, the only recipients of such charity would be centenarians who had brought on confirmed curvature of the spine by continual kowtowing to the upholders of cant and hypocrisy.

F. KITZ.

How long will the people of this country feel under obligations to support any political party whose sole purpose in life is to "legislate" them out of their earnings?—*State Standard*.

THE RABBIT AND THE CROCODILE.—A FABLE.—A rabbit complained of hunger to the keeper of a menagerie; whereupon the keeper seized it and threw it into the tank with the crocodile, telling it to make a meal off the reptile. The rabbit protested, saying, "I fear that the conditions preclude the possibility of my obtaining a square meal," and requested to be removed. "Ah," said the keeper, "you have precisely as much right in that tank as the crocodile; therefore neither of you have any ground for complaint."—*America: The land of equal rights and opportunities.*—*Workmen's Advocate*.

PROGRESS.—When one thinks of the Greeks playing, praying, labouring, lecturing, dreaming, sculpturing, training, living everlastingly in the free wind and under the pure heavens, and then thinks that the chief issue of civilisation is to pack human beings in rooms like salt fish in a barrel, with never a sight of leaf or cloud, never a whisper of breeze or bird,—oh, the blessed blind men who talk of Progress! Progress, that gives four cubic feet of air apiece to its children, and calls the measurement Public Health!—*Ouida: Crispin, in 'Ariadne.'*



"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.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

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

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday March 30.

ENGLAND		FRANCE	
Justice	Boston—Woman's Journal	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde
Jus	Liberty	Liege—L'Avenir	Liege—L'Avenir
Norwich—Daylight	Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer	Antwerp—De Werker	Antwerp—De Werker
Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung	New Haven (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate	HOLLAND	HOLLAND
Cotton Factory Times	St Louis (Mo.)—Altruist	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Hague—Recht voor Allen
Worker's Friend	Chicago (Ill.)—Knights of Labor	SWITZERLAND	SWITZERLAND
Die Autonomie	Albina (Oreg.)—Weekly Courier	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
Glasgow—Pioneer	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	SPAIN	SPAIN
INDIA	Detroit (Mich.)—The Advance	Barcelona—Acracia	Barcelona—Acracia
Bankipore—Behar Herald	and Labor Leaf	Madrid—El Socialista	Madrid—El Socialista
Bombay Gazette	Seattle (W.T.) Voice of the People	PORTUGAL	PORTUGAL
Madras—People's Friend	Newfoundland (Pa.)—La Torpille	AUSTRIA	AUSTRIA
SOUTH AUSTRALIA	FRANCE	Brunn—Volksfreund	Brunn—Volksfreund
Adelaide—Our Commonwealth	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	ROUMANIA	ROUMANIA
UNITED STATES	Le Socialiste	Jassy—Lupta	Jassy—Lupta
New York—Freiheit	Guise—Le Devoir	SWEDEN	SWEDEN
John Swinton's Paper	Lille—Le Travailleur	Stockholm—Social-Demokraten	Stockholm—Social-Demokraten
Der Socialist	BEELGIUM	NORWAY	NORWAY
Truthseeker	Combat	Kristiania—Social-Democraten	Kristiania—Social-Democraten

NORTHUMBRIAN NOTES.

THE strike is coming to a very critical stage. There is now considerable distress amongst the non-unionists, and the strike-pay last week was so low that even the unionists are feeling the pinch. The newspapers, relief committees, and the innumerable public advisers of the "pro bono publico" stamp are all entreating the miners to give in. The newspapers raised the cry of famine at least a week before it came, and their heart-rending accounts of the sufferings of the people are all profusely interspersed with arguments on the hopelessness of the miners' struggle. Not a word against the mine-owners or their host of swindling dealers and agents, who get more by the useless process of buying the coal cheap and selling it dear than the miners do for hewing it out of the bowels of the earth.

The good-intentioned people who run charity and relief committees, have an incomparable knack of making themselves a nuisance. People may be qualified to run a soup kitchen, or discharge the useful duties of scullery-maid, and yet be unable to grasp all the difficulties of one of the largest strikes of the present decade. But it is impossible to drive this into some people's heads. A relief committee is formed at Blyth. Its first act is to issue a memorial lamenting its inability to do its work, and praying the strikers to give in at any cost. Unsigned letters appear daily from people who know all about everything, prophesying failure for the strikers, and urging them to yield before they are beaten. Thus every influence is at work to force the men to give way.

It is impossible yet to say how the strike will end, or when it will end. The miners are hopeful and determined enough, but the force against them is very strong. The masters show an unbroken front, the pits are said to have been working at a loss, and the trade is ebbing away. Even when work is resumed, on whatever terms, the lot of the miners will be a very poor one indeed. Their wages were at starvation point. They will certainly go back discontented and bitter, and even if they win, the fight they have had to keep their position will tell heavily upon them, and make them more ready to take up the revolutionary movement.

The Socialists here, of course, have not in any way interfered in the dispute. We have denounced others for interfering; and preached and acted upon the principle that the miners best understood their own business, and that outsiders should interfere when they are asked, and not before. When the strike has begun, every friend of labour should do all in their power to make it a success. The Socialist plan is to

seize the advantage offered by the excitement of the strike and the leisure now enjoyed by the men, to spread our principles.

The miners are not getting the support from outside that they are entitled to. During the past week or fortnight things have greatly changed. The distress is now wide-spread and keen. There has been one or two disturbances on account of the black-legs going to work in the pits at one or two places. The women turned out and gave them a warm escort from the pit-mouths. No serious damage was done, however, and quietness has been restored.

The coal trade altogether is in a very bad condition, and likely to become worse. More pits are being worked than is at all necessary. Northumberland is one of the largest coal-producing places in the country, and yet if none of its pits were ever opened again, the coal trade would hardly feel the effect. When work is resumed, many pits will be working very short time indeed.

By the way, one statement in my letter last week was wrong. I had taken the figures from one place in stating the wages, instead of the average. The highest county average was 9s. 6d. (official statement, 9s.) in 1873. But a great many could get over the amount. In some cases 15s. could be taken, and I have spoken to a miner who remembers earning over £1; but this figure, of course, was rare.

During the last week the propaganda has gone on very well indeed. On Friday afternoon a large meeting was held in the Ashington Co-operative Hall. Addresses were given by Williams, Fielding, and myself. At night I had a debate with a clergyman at Bedlington Co-operative Hall. The place seats about 800 people, but over 1,200 were crammed into it. Every bit of standing ground was packed, and every available corner from the platform to the gallery was made use of. Several hundreds were unable to get in, and Fielding and Williams addressed them in the open air whilst the debate was going on. The feeling of the meeting was very decidedly in favour of Socialism.

Preparations for forming a North of England Socialist organisation are going forward. Next Saturday, a conference will be held in Newcastle, and miners from a number of the collieries and towns of Northumberland and Durham will attend. As members of the Socialist League and Social Democratic Federation have worked equally hard in the district, it would be unwise to force one organisation on to the exclusion of the other. At the same time, any rivalry would be fatal to both parties, and foolish on all grounds. Of course, the men who meet together must decide what is to be done. My own opinion is that a local society, say the North of England Socialist Federation should be formed and issue its own rules, etc. That both London parties and papers should be treated exactly alike, while no official connection should be formed with either. When the re-union and consolidation of the Socialist movement takes place, the local body could join the re-united forces. There might be a general gathering together before long, and in 1888 the United Socialists could hold their first conference in Newcastle-on-Tyne. 'Tis a consummation devoutly to be wished, if no principle were lost in the transaction.

Newcastle, March 28th.

J. L. MAHON.

WORKERS AND SHIRKERS.

SOCIETY is divided into two sections, and into two sections only; the workers and the shirkers. The former by manual labour or as brain-workers provide all things needful to man's physical and intellectual well-being. The latter is a useless class, and, unless frivolity and vice can be said to adorn society, its existence cannot be excused on the ground that it is ornamental, though that they are the sole adornment of society is the idea firmly implanted in the minds of the shirkers. Strange to say, the shirkers are the minority, and it is marvellous that they are able to sponge on the majority for free board and lodgings, and to get them, too, not with scorn and contempt, but with the servile adulation and respect of the workers. Books have been written "in praise of folly" and "in praise of drunkenness." It has not been necessary to write a book in praise of cunning, for on every lip is praise of that supreme cunning which enables one man to live upon the labour of another. Yet it will not be amiss to unmask the cunning now it has got the length that the shirkers are not satisfied to remain idle themselves but enforce the workers to idleness when they cannot toil to their profit. The workers are homeless, but must not build houses for themselves; they are ragged, but must not weave for themselves; they are hungry, but must not win from the soil food for themselves and for their children.

How is it done? The three card trick, the confidence dodge, all the ruses by which the black-leg gets a livelihood are but shallow artifices compared with the fraud upon the workers constantly practised by the shirkers. Force, of course, is an element in the matter, but the force is concealed as much as possible for fear the majority may take lesson from the minority, and by organisation meet force with force. This is the lesson the workers have to learn, which happily they are learning, so we will content ourselves with examining the fraud upon which the system is based. Let us look at the hocus-pocus of the thing. The "class" dodge is the one which has most successfully deluded the workers. The result of generations of good living and of abstinence from toil is that the shirkers have delicate limbs and shapely bodies, while excessive toil and hard living has scarred the features of the workers or made them

uncouth of figure. The workers have been defrauded of their share in the common inheritance, knowledge; schools, and universities founded for the people have been seized upon by the shirkers with the result that the minds, like the persons, of their sons and daughters have been adorned, while the workers have remained unlettered, or received only enough education to make them docile servants. Having in this way artificially created class, the shirkers point to the perfection, or what passes for it, of their own minds and persons and to the mental and physical grossness of the workers as a proof that these are pre-ordained hewers of wood, drawers of water, servitors to their class, and they blasphemously ascribe to the Deity these social inequalities, asserting that he has magnified the rich and set down the poor. Repeating the lie, the hirelings of the pulpit hurl damnation at any who shall dare revolt against that tyranny of the classes which they bless with a text. Grave lawyers, learned doctors, too, support the privileges of the classes. Awed by this show of wisdom, affrighted by these threats, the workers have bowed their heads to the yoke. Heavier and heavier it has grown, but the day draws near when it will be thrown off, and the absurd fiction of class forgotten in recognition of equality—

"Oldest of things, divine equality."

If the class trick has been successfully played off upon them, the workers have been gulled still more completely by the pretension of the shirkers to be the chosen inheritors of the earth. St. Peter may hold the keys of heaven and hell, but they pretend to hold the keys of earth, and will allow no one access to it unless first they pay to them the toll called rent. The notion of private property in land, upon which all of us must live, is as repugnant to common sense as individual proprietorship in the air, which all of us must breathe; but the production of a parchment sheet setting forth that certain acres of the common soil had been given or sold to A. B. and his descendants for ever by some one who had no right whatever either to give or to sell them, has been taken as sufficient title to ownership of that which no man can own—the land. One questions whether they are not sheep in men's guise who permit themselves to be huddled in towns and cities, starved in slums and alleys, that a whole county may be turned into deer-forests and grouse-moors, or that huge estates may rear pheasants and hares, providing sport for the shirkers instead of bread for the workers. Such submission is sheepish, it is not human. But the shirkers are not satisfied with laying claim to the land. Whatever wealth is produced by the workers in excess of subsistence wages, is seized upon by them as interest and profit, tolls which they levy for permission accorded the workers to use to-day the capital which they (the workers) created yesterday. And this pretension of the shirkers to the ownership of the land and the capital—capital the creation of the workers—has so imposed upon the latter that they grovel before the shirkers in gratitude for their kindness in allowing them to till their soil, increase their capital, employ their machinery, without which permission it seems to them they would not be able to get even that scanty fare for which they sweat out their lives. And this brings us to the flimsiest of all excuses for the existence of the shirkers—that they give work, that they encourage the arts and the sciences by consuming the wealth created by others, by purchasing the produce of other men's labour. This sophistry is too feeble for the insect mind, but man has accepted it. The bees with greater wisdom kill off the drones. "What is Jem doing?" "Nothing." "And what are you doing?" "Helping Jem." And so the busy shirkers, the lawyers, the bankers, the stockbrokers, the merchants, and all the flunkey class help the idle shirkers, all of them preying upon the workers, who must rid themselves of the whole pestilent horde. They must sweep the world clean of them before they can make of it once more a temple for man and God, instead of a den of thieves.

J. HUNTER WATTS.

THE CABMAN'S LOT IS NOT A HAPPY ONE.—A cab-driver in the employ of Mr. Knight was recently summoned for plying for hire off a licensed standing in Fleet Street. Police-Constable 450 gave evidence to seeing the defendant put up his hand to two gentlemen standing outside the Portugal Hotel, Fleet Street. Defendant said it was true he put up his hand, but he thought the two gentlemen hailed him, and he believed now that he was hailed. He could assure his worship that the cabman's lot in London was not a happy one. When he left home that morning there was no food in his house, and he was not able to leave his wife the means of getting any dinner for the children. Consequently, he was very anxious to get a fare, and seeing a gentleman hold up his hand he held up his, and drove to him as quickly as he could. Alderman Knill said he believed the constable's evidence, and fined defendant 2s. 6d. and costs.—A cabman in the service of Mr. Pearce was summoned for a similar offence. Constable Walton, 508, said he saw defendant at Chancery Lane hold up his hand to a lady, and at Middle Temple Lane hold up his hand to a gentleman. Defendant said he was a night cabman, and had been on the rank for nearly nine hours without a fare when this occurred. A boy came to him at a quarter to ten in the morning and said a gentleman was waiting by Middle Temple Lane for a cab. He drove up to the gentleman and found that he was waiting for an omnibus. He then drove away, but was stopped by the constable. He would swear that he did not hail a lady at all. Cabmen had great difficulty in earning a little money now, and in was very hard for them to be fined for trying to get a fare. Alderman Knill said as defendant had a clean license he would only order him to pay 2s. costs. Defendant: I have not 2s. in the world.—Cabmen may have children at home starving, or they may even be starving themselves; but the "law" will not allow them to "ply for hire," i.e., hold up one hand, within the "ancient precincts" of the City of London. This, too, is another instance of the honesty of our administrators of the law, and an illustration of the "order" produced by its application. Socialists are often asked by working men how, under Socialism, things would be arranged; as if, whatever arrangement obtained, things could be worse, or even as bad!

H. D.

What doth it profit a man to vote the regular party ticket, while his toes stick out of his boots and his hair seeks the skylight through his hat?—*Voice of Labour.*

CORRESPONDENCE.

SOCIALIST SUPERSTITIONS.

SIR,—I wish to notify to all who may be concerned the existence in the mind of the British Socialist party of two superstitions which I venture to think might be eliminated without disadvantage to the cause. I am aware that they are both of them founded on reason, but the originally reasonable and laudable sentiment has unhappily degenerated until it can only be described as above.

Superstition No. 1. The fact that in France party differences among Socialists are often mixed up with personal squabbles, and these squabbles often occupy a ludicrously prominent place in the party press, has given rise to the superstition that it is "bad form" for one section of the English party to criticise even in the most cool and impartial way the doings of another section with whom they have ever had serious differences. "Oh no, we never mention him, his name is never heard" is the present style of conducting Socialist papers. One section of the party may be doing useful work, although there might be many points in it amenable to criticism, but the organ of the other section does not wish to fully endorse every action of its rival, so in the end the news is absolutely passed over or dismissed in a short paragraph. On the whole, the result is suggestive of the treatment by the hero in 'Great Expectations,' of his whilom friend and associate, the errand-boy—"Don't know yar." To my thinking, this sort of thing must look quite as silly to the independent outsider as the active recriminations of our Continental friends. Surely it is performing a useful function for one section of the party to criticise, in a friendly spirit, the tactics of another section. I maintain the continuance of this well-bred British humbug is a dereliction of the duty of a Socialist press, which ought to comment, favourably or adversely, on every event of party interest.

Superstition No. 2. Because Radicals and Secularists attach undue importance to the questions of the throne and the altar—otherwise expressed, the "monarchy" and "church and chapel"—there is an unwritten law that Socialists are to religiously taboo these subjects, as regards any direct attack. If a Socialist speaker in the course of his speech alludes in denunciatory language to the demoralising influence of a royal family and a court, he is frowned down by the "straiter" sort of his party as pandering to Radicalism. Now there is no one who would resent more than myself the wasting of too much energy in minor issues. But I really fail to see why we should not frankly join hands with Radicals or others when we can do so conscientiously as far as they go, at the same time pointing out to them the futility of attempting to destroy these subordinate evils while neglecting the basal economical question. The point here referred to is illustrated in the attitude of certain Puritanical Socialists who have looked askance at comrade Champion's anti-Jubilee fund, on the ground of its savouring of Radicalism. Now these people express their disgust in private at the Jubilee flunkies, and yet fancy that in public they must talk with bated breath on all that concerns the queen and royal family. Verily, brethren, this also is humbug. If we mean to destroy the present social order, while directing our principal efforts to undermining the foundation, do not let us grudge a few bomb-shells to the superstructure.—Yours fraternally,

E. BELFORT BAX.

"BIRDS OF A FEATHER."

SIR,—The following few lines from Boston *Liberty* may be useful to some of our friends who in their anxiety to be considered "advanced" are very much in danger of becoming reactionists. "A new paper has been started in England, entitled *Jus*, 'a weekly organ of Individualism.' It represents the Liberty and Property Defence League, an organisation consisting principally of British noblemen and formed to resist over-legislation, maintain freedom of contract, and combat Socialism—an organisation, in short, which the State Socialists and the Communists dismiss with a sneer as bourgeois. Bourgeois or not, I find much in it that commands my warm approval. In fact, if it shall prove true to its principles, and if its propaganda is to be conducted on the strict line of liberty without mental reservations, all Anarchists must, I think, consider it a more valuable paper than any of the four principle Socialistic journals of England—*Justice*, the *Commonweal*, the *Anarchist*, and *Freedom*." All the tall talk about Individual Liberty and Freedom simply means disunion, and tends to put off the real emancipation of Labour, which can only be accomplished by collective action as against the monopolists. It is not very easy to understand why the *Anarchist* is classed as a Socialist journal, except to discredit the others. By the way, only a few weeks ago some muddle-headed individual, writing to one of the American labour papers, actually grouped *Liberty* in a similar absurd fashion with some of the American Collectivist organs. I think it is time that a distinct issue was raised, so that there may be less danger of the unwary being led astray by "glittering generalities," meaning anything or nothing. The direct outcome of the Anarchist doctrine, however broad may be the sympathies of its advocates, at least under present conditions, must tell in favour of the monopolists. The workers, therefore, will do well to be very sceptical about this new-found fashionable rage for Freedom in certain quarters.

T. BINNING.

HENRY WARD BEECHER.

Once more the capitalist class has occasion to mourn the loss of one of its high priests. The man who so ably advocated the cause of the chattel-slave a quarter of a century ago, but who proved an enemy to the wage-slaves of the present generation, has passed away. We cannot even express that regret which might be accorded the memory of a high-minded and honest enemy. He had no personal interest in the perpetuation of negro slavery, while his fortunes were cast with the perpetuation of wage-slavery and exploiters of the wage-working people. Beecher is dead.—*Workmen's Advocate.*

He is the rascal who received 20,000 dollars per annum for preaching Christ's word to the poor, and he falsified his God by telling the people, not that no rich man should enter the kingdom of heaven, but that bread and water ought to content the poor. He stole the livery of heaven to serve the devil with. If there is any truth in the Christian religion, Henry Ward Beecher is now having brimstone and fire for breakfast, fire and brimstone for luncheon, and good brimstone and hot fire for supper. He would be glad of that water he urged upon the poor.—*Labor Enquirer.*

The female telegraphists in the General Post-office, Edinburgh, have very properly declined to subscribe to the Woman's Jubilee Offering.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

This department is under the direction of the Strike Committee. Labour News and Contributions to the Fund should be sent to T. BINNING, at the Offices.

BRITAIN.

Apart from the miners' agitation, there is very little to record in regard to the Labour Struggle in Britain at present. There are, however, signs of the awakening of a new spirit amongst the workers; which will undoubtedly very materially alter the character of the labour movement in the near future. The following extract from a recent issue of the *Newcastle Chronicle* is very significant. A full report of the situation is given by our comrade Mahon in another column:

"INFLUENCE OF THE SOCIALIST AGITATION.—The other cause of the determination to hold out is the Socialist agitation in the district. The Socialist meetings afforded the advocates of the strike the very opportunity they wanted. Talk flowed freely there of the greed, dishonesty, and tyranny of the capitalists. The great object of the trading classes is to filch from the workers their earnings, and under the competitive system and with the aid of mechanical inventions, they succeed only too well. Who are the producers of wealth? The workers, of course. To whom should the wealth belong? To the workers, of course. Then what right have a lot of capitalists, who sit in their easy chairs, or walk about with their hands in their pockets all day, to demand a reduction of wages, or even to claim a share of the produce of any man's labour? They have no right, of course. Then the miners are not only engaged in a righteous struggle, but they are entitled to a much larger share of the good things of the world than they would receive even if no reduction in wages took place. Thus the sentiments of the miners found expression from public platforms, drooping spirits were revived, and the mass were inspired with a determination to wage war against that horrid creature, the capitalist. Should the Socialist organisation remain in existence it seems likely that in the future an agitation will accompany every great strike. Capitalists and trades' union leaders may therefore have to reckon in future with this new and awkward factor."

Notice for Newcastle and District.

After six weeks' propaganda in Northumberland and Durham by members of both London Socialist parties, it is felt that steps should be taken to form an organisation for Newcastle and district to carry on the good work already begun. There can be no doubt that the seeds of Socialism have fallen in fertile ground, and it only requires careful work and steady attention in forming a solid and harmonious Socialist party in the locality to make Socialism a power in the North. With a view to carrying out this idea, a Conference will be held on Saturday evening, April 2nd, at 7 o'clock prompt, at the North of England Café Co.'s Rooms, Mosley Street, Newcastle. All sympathisers with Socialism are invited to attend. The details of the arrangements for the county demonstration will be laid before the meeting, and all business will be ended in time to enable friends to catch the late trains from Newcastle.

AMERICA.

WORCESTER, MASS.—The great strike of the boot and shoe makers in Worcester, Spencer, Brookfield, and North Brookfield, which began with the posting of the "free shop" notices by the manufacturers, still continues. A striker who shouted "scab" at Heywood of Heywood's factory, was arrested and sentenced to three months in the House of Correction.

Some 1,200 Italians arrived at Castle Garden recently on the steamer 'Cheirbon.' This is the largest importation of cheap labourers made by one steamer for many years. With the Chinese on the West and foreign cheap labour generally on the East, honest labourers stand a mighty poor chance of maintaining living wages or anything else.—*John Swinton's Paper*.

PEORIA, ILL.—About 100 coloured coal miners arrived here to take the places of the strikers, who have now been out several weeks. They were waited upon by a committee of the strikers, who laid their side of the case before them. The new men had been deceived, as they were led to believe that there was no trouble here, but said their poverty would force them to work. Several white labourers went over to Wesley City, a big mining centre two miles from here, on the other side of the Illinois River, to go to work, but the strikers' wives got after them with broomsticks and kettles of hot water and drove them out of the place.

NEW SOUTH WALES.

SYDNEY, N.S.W., Feb. 3.—Nearly every trade in New South Wales has its union. The maritime bodies are the strongest both financially and numerically. Under this heading comes the Hunter River and Illawarra miners, Newcastle coal-trimmers, Sydney coal-lumpers, wharf labourers, seamen and firemen, cooks and stewards. Their past history can be but of little interest to you, but their present must be; and as a member of one of these unions it will be principally with them that I shall deal. The rest of the unions outside of those I have mentioned, with the exception of the brickmakers, are very small, and are affiliated to the Trades and Labour Council. Last year saw several large strikes. One was that of the Lambton miners, which lasted about six months and then ended in arbitration. They were well supported by the other societies, £1150 being paid out by the Seamen's Union alone. The next was that of the Brickmakers for the eight-hour day, and although not immediately successful, they were eventually, as it came into force on the first of January. The strike of to-day is that of the Illawarra Miners, four pits standing idle. It has now lasted about seven months, and the end seems as far off as ever. It is caused by a determined effort on the part of the colliery proprietors to reduce the wages by 2d. per ton. A party of 50 non-unionists went down in a steamer the other day to take the place of the men on strike. A train was in waiting on the jetty to take them up to the mines. They got aboard; the train started; but farther up the line they found some 500 women and children assembled across the tracks. The engine stopped, and then a scene took place that beggars all description. One woman with a child in her arms threw herself under the wheels, declaring that death was preferable to starvation. They begged, entreated, and coaxed these men not to go to work. They held up their children in their arms, and pleaded with these men not to take the place of their husbands and sons, and thus take the bread out of their infants' mouths. They succeeded in their efforts, for the whole of these men went over to the side of the unionists. But it did no good, for the next batch that came were walked up to the mines between two rows of troopers and constables. The masters took care they didn't lose this lot. The Mount Kembla mine, where the dispute commenced, is owned by British capitalists, and their first tactics

was to order the men out of the company's houses, and to clear off the company's lands by a stipulated time or they would be prosecuted. The weather was not very propitious at the time, and the men with their wives and children had to camp out in the bush, under trees and rocks, in a vain endeavour to escape from the inclement weather. Many, if not all of them, at the present time are living either with their friends in the adjacent towns or in little "humpies" (temporary shelters) which they have run up; but these latter are necessarily of a fragile character, and as the floor consists of the bare earth, it is not very conducive to good health. This is the weapon which the landowning capitalist uses with such telling effect, turning his workmen with their families out of home into the bush and highways of the colony because they the workmen think they are justified in demanding an increase or resisting a reduction. I think nothing is more calculated to expose the co-operative delusion in this quarter of the globe than the following. Soon after the miners dispute commenced, some members of the Coal-Lumpers Association seceded from that body, formed a co-operative coal-discharging company in opposition to the stevedores. Nothing could be more pleasing to the capitalists. The Mount Kembla Co. immediately gave them a contract on condition that they gave a bond to work the coal from non-unionist ships. Previously the coal-lumpers would not discharge coal from ships unless manned by unionists. Neither would the Seamen's Union man ships destined to carry coal from mines worked by non-unionists. But the action of the co-operating seceders effectually crippled the other unions in their endeavour to assist the miners. Another event of great importance is the steadily increasing march of the British Indian Steamship Co. along the Australian coast. Your readers may think it matters but very little as to whether it is British or Australian capitalists that we have to contend against, but I can assure them it makes a great difference. By Australian capitalist I mean a person whose capital is centered wholly and solely in the colonies. In contention with such a person the workman may have a kind of a show; but in contention with the men who have only a portion of their money invested here, and who have concerns in other parts of the world bringing them in large dividends, and who can afford, therefore, to let their investments here realise nothing for an indefinite period. There is absolutely no chance for the workers. The British Indian, or Queensland Co., as it is called, has already bought out one colonial company, and I believe that in a very short time they will have a monopoly of the trade from Cape York to Cape Leeuwin. The capitalists are slowly but surely becoming consolidated; and this I take as a sign that in the near future they will make a determined stand and attempt to break the power of the unions; and if such a conflict should be waged with the old weapon, strikes and lock-outs alone, making it a test of endurance, the workmen, in my humble opinion, would go to the wall. That they must take a leaf from the book of their comrades in the old countries is the opinion of ANGLO-AUSTRALIAN.

FRANCE.

LYONS.—The Petavit firm has refused to keep to the tariff established by the Syndicate of Plumbers of Lyons, and has therefore been black-listed by the men. The Syndicate allows 4 francs per day for each man leaving the employment of the firm and who is without work. The principal items of the tariff which has been refused by the employer are—ten hours a-day at 65 centimes the hour; extra time, 80 c. the hour; night work, 1 fr. 30 the hour.

CHARLEVILLE (Ardennes).—The Labour Party in Ardennes is growing rapidly, and can count at the present time about fifteen groups of some importance. In the Meuse valley many of the workers are hard at it for 12 or 14 hours a-day, at a wage of 2 fr. 50 or 3 fr., and feel the pressure of the times most severely. It is time that Socialism took some hold on them, which it has done pretty strongly.

DUN-SUR-AURON (Cher).—The bakers of this town have struck, whereby the inhabitants are obliged to send carts off to Bourges for the bread necessary for their daily consumption. The excitement is caused greatly by the vote in the Chambre upon the corn-dues, which has made those here who are feeling the general pressure very indignant.

SAINT-ETIENNE.—Yet another explosion of fire-damp with fatal consequences is announced here in one of the pits belonging to the same company that owns the Chatelus pit. The accident is due to the use of blasting-powder, in spite of the well-known presence of fire-damp in large quantities. These economies of the mining companies, at the risk of such constantly recurring accidents, are really monstrous, and so apparent that even a ponderous state-legislation might feel itself bound to move in the matter.

VIERZON.—The strike of porcelain-makers came to an end this week, after lasting for about two months, and being characterised by the greatest determination, quiet and devoid of braggadocio on the part of the strikers. They finally came to an understanding—otherwise a compromise—with their exploiters. But we hear this truce has lasted but a short time; the masters have broken faith with them, and have coolly dismissed from their employment the principal members of the Syndicate or of the Strike Committee, after they had got the men back to work by promising not to "rake up bygones" nor punish the strikers in anywise. The men are extremely indignant, and have formally renewed the strike, their anger being this time louder and more threatening in tone. The Justice of the Peace has been expostulating with the masters, but uselessly; they declare they mean to intimidate the workmen, at any risk.

BELGIUM.

LIEGE.—The puddlers at the iron-works of Sclessin are on strike on the grounds of insufficient wages. This news has produced a great impression on the bourgeois circles at Liège.

HAINES ST. PIERRE (HAINAULT).—A revolt took place last week among the workers employed in the coal-mines of Cronfestu. It seems that for a long time past they had been complaining of the irregularity in the payment of wages, until at last, tired of promises and temporising, they proceeded to the dwelling of the director and besieged it. They were fired upon by him but no one was hurt, and the crowd dispersed after relieving their feelings by destroying whatever they came across in their short visit to the house.

BRUSSELS, March 27.—An imposing demonstration took place at the Alcazar to-day in favour of granting an amnesty to the men condemned for participation in the riots during the strikes in March last. M. Crocq, a member of the Senate, presided, and the hall was crowded by an enthusiastic but orderly audience, consisting chiefly of persons belonging to the commercial class. After several speeches had been delivered by M. Volders, a Socialist, and others, a resolution was unanimously passed in favour of granting the amnesty. The meeting then dispersed.

SOIGNIES (HAINAULT).—A wide-spread strike of quarrymen in the Hainault, which has been expected for some time past, has now come to pass. It is a serious strike, as it comprises most of the workers in the quarries of the district. Revolts are feared, and the masters have received the safeguard of a battalion of the 2nd Infantry, another being expected to come in aid if any disturbance should take place. The number of strikers at present 1600, and will be further increased it is expected. A year since the quarrymen had formed a Co-operative Association or League, and for some time past they have been trying to enter into negotiations with the masters for higher wages and fairer terms; but the latter refused point-blank to treat with the delegates, and declared, naturally enough, that they would never give way before an association formed to resist them. Hence the strike.

MINE INSPECTORS.—The *Avant-Garde* says: "After each catastrophe in the coal-pits, the workers have the right to choose from among themselves inspectors who will pursue their task of inspection at the same time as the State engineers. But—the next day everything remains as it was. It is well known that the engineers do not pay their visits to the mines often enough, and, indeed, they have not the time, being occupied several days in the week by giving lectures in the mining schools, industrial schools, and in the universities.

AUSTRIA.

BRUNN, March 15.—The following extract from the *Wiener Abendpost*, a semi-official paper, given in its issue of January 26, is very remarkable: "We are terrified by the great number of the poor that claimed public relief in Vienna in the year 1885. This metropolis, with a population of 754,000 inhabitants, had 276,000 poor—more than one-third of the population. The expenses for this relief amounted to 6,568,000 florins; thus each of the poor received on an average 24 florins, a ridiculously small amount." Indeed a ridiculously small amount in money, but what a sum of misery and also of indignation and hatred against a society tolerating such a heartrending situation. And especially as this situation grows worse from year to year, from day to day. What do our ruling classes do? Nothing; they dance on this volcano, not knowing, or not willing to know, that in this manner they breed up a revolutionary army, always ready to sweep off an infamous society, which endows the rich bandit with all they wish and which condemns the industrious worker, the great mass, to starvation and to be plundered by profit-greedy capitalists or brutal land-grabbers. But we certainly wrong our benevolent tyrants when we say that they do nothing. We have forgotten the newest sport they have applied themselves to, the pretentious quackery that is termed social reform; we have forgotten the labour-friendliness they manifest by their zealous hunts after Socialists. According to the report of the Prague State Procurator, in the year 1886 241 Socialists have been arrested in the province of Bohemia alone; all were brought to the Superior Heretic Court ad hoc in Prague, under the charge of being members of secret societies; 120 of them were condemned, the others acquitted. These ciphers speak more than large volumes on the mean system we must bear in this Central-European China, and justify at once the approaching political and social revolution, which among us will be without doubt more bloody than in other "civilised" countries.—F. S.

With such a despotism as that which Mr. Balfour proposes to make permanent in Ireland, no man fit to be free can hold any parley. He would be a slave at heart who, confronted by this devilish engine of injustice, had any other thought but one—How best can I destroy this tyranny, and overturn the despotism of the alien oppressor?—*Pall Mall Gazette*. "HEAR, HEAR!"

The Ipswich branch of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, having been invited to send delegates to consider, with representatives of the Odd Fellows and Foresters, the arrangements for a procession on the occasion of the Queen's Jubilee, resolved that the subject should be "postponed till her Majesty's centenary."

MOTHERWELL AND THE ROYAL JUBILEE OFFERING.—The women's jubilee offering is not finding much favour in the Motherwell district. In one of the principal streets the collection amounted to 4½d., and in another the contribution was 9d. Considerable comment is being caused by the lady collectors calling at the houses of miners for subscriptions.

STRIKE OF TAILORS IN LIMERICK.—A number of tailors in the employment of the Limerick army clothing factory have struck work owing to a dispute with the managers of the factory. The strike has resulted in a lock-out on the part of the proprietors of the factory.

DUBLIN.—A Labour League has been started here for the purpose of organising the workers—skilled and unskilled—of the city, and for educating them so that they shall understand their social rights. The inaugural meeting, which was held on Thursday, March 24th, at 2, Bachelor's Walk, was very well attended, more than thirty being enrolled as members. John Cantwell was appointed secretary, and J. E. Masterson, treasurer.

FOREIGN COMPETITION.—On Friday, the 25th of March, the Wolverhampton Chamber of Commerce issued their annual report. They announce that in iron and metal goods competition is far keener than ever. Manufacturers give the palm to Germany, but Belgian and American competition is also severe, and to a lesser extent French likewise. American competition is particularly serious in locks in the colonial markets, and the German lock competition is exceedingly keen in England. The strain of this ever increasing foreign competition, added to competition at home, has now, it is declared, reduced iron and metal goods prices to an almost profitless level.

Free Speech Demonstration in Victoria Park.

A DEMONSTRATION was held in Victoria Park on Monday last, in the afternoon, under the auspices of the Hackney Branch of the Socialist League. The occasion of it was the release of James Allman, member of the Hackney Branch, from prison, after having undergone sentence of one month's imprisonment for causing a legal, i.e., technical obstruction at the corner of Audrey Street, Hackney Road, by causing persons to assemble for the purpose of hearing an address upon Socialism.

Morris, Scheu, Sparling, Barker, Lane, Manwaring, Davis, and James Allman addressed the meeting to emphatically uphold the right of Free Speech on grounds belonging to the public; and a motion protesting against police interference and legal chicanery directed against Socialists, on the false pretence of obstructing the highways, was carried unanimously. The meeting throughout was enthusiastic, and cheers of welcome were given our comrade Allman.

The proceedings closed with the singing of "The Starving Poor of Old England" by W. Blundell, the audience taking up chorus. H. A. B.

How the Rich provide the Poor with Work, and the Poor provide the Rich with Wealth.

In the Life of Robert Owen by A. J. Booth, his visit to Ireland in 1822 is described. At a great meeting the lord mayor of Dublin took the chair, and the Duke of Leinster, Archbishop Murray, and other great persons were present on the platform from which Owen explained his views. We seem to have gone backwards from those days, for it would be next to impossible now to find lords or bishops courageous enough to stand on the same platform with a Socialist, and to support by their presence any such views as those set forth by Owen at this Dublin meeting. The following are extracts partly from the speech made at this meeting by Owen, and partly from his Journal:

"It is a common mistake, arising from the confusion of ideas inseparable from the present erroneous system of society, to believe that the rich provide for the poor and working-classes; while, in fact, the poor and working-classes create all the wealth which the rich possess. The working-classes can provide abundance for themselves and be independent of any other class; but the rich, without the working-classes, would be the most helpless of human beings. The rich, so far from aiding the working-classes, actually prevent them from creating a supply of wealth that would be sufficient to preclude all from becoming poor: they prevent the working-classes from producing far more wealth for the rich than the rich now possess. And this they do in two ways: first, by withholding education from them, so that their intellectual and industrial powers remain undeveloped; and secondly, because they do not supply them with work. Now, it is a fact that cannot be gainsaid, that every man who is properly trained can raise from the ground far more than he requires for his own support; and the reason why the whole of the population is not thus productively employed is because the rich, who are in possession of the natural agents, will not turn them to use unless they can afterwards bring the goods they have produced to market, and there sell them for a profit. Thus at present the production of wealth is limited by the want of markets, and markets are limited by the want of a convenient circulating medium to represent the products of labour as soon as they are created, and to effect their ready exchange; or in other words, the industry of society is restrained by the existing artificial monied system. . . . Although few have money, all have labour-power; and it is labour, and not money, that produces wealth; constitute, therefore, labour the standard of exchange, and misery will cease for ever."

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

Members' Monthly Meeting will be held at 13 Farringdon Road, E.C., on Monday first, April 4, at 9 p.m.

Annual Conference.—The Third Annual Conference of the Socialist League will be held at 13 Farringdon Road on Whitsunday, May 29th. Branches are particularly requested to attend to the following arrangements, if they wish to be represented at the Conference: (1) To at once send a return of their membership to the General Secretary. The representation will be based on this return. (2) Branches cannot be represented unless all monthly subscriptions are paid up to March 31 by May 1st. (3) Notices of motion, amendment to Rules, etc., must be sent in six weeks before the Conference—i.e., not later than April 18th. (4) Agenda Paper will be forwarded on May 2nd to Branches complying with these arrangements.

Lessons in French.—Comrade Victor Dave is now giving lessons in French at the offices of the League on Tuesday evenings, at 8 o'clock. The lessons are free to members, and those desirous of profiting by them should send their names at once to the secretary of the League.

Reports for "Commonweal."—Branch Secretaries are requested to make their reports as brief as possible, dealing with points of general interest as to the progress of the propaganda, rather than attempting to give the substance of the lectures, for which there is not space, even if it were otherwise desirable. Notices should be confined to purely business announcements and written separately. Reports and Notices should be addressed to the "Printer," and cannot be guaranteed insertion unless they reach the office by 2 p.m. on Tuesday.

Library.—The Library is now open to members of the Socialist League and affiliated bodies. Country Branches can have parcels of selected books by paying carriage to and fro. Rule III., relating to the renewal of books (each renewal representing fourteen days) must be rigidly adhered to. Books cannot be renewed more than twice. Members failing to comply with this Rule will be fined 1d. for every week that a volume is detained beyond the time at which its return is due. LIBRARY CATALOGUE, containing the Rules, 2d.

LENA WARDLE & WM. BLUNDELL, Librarians.

BRANCH SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID.

Birmingham, Hackney, Hull, Leeds, North London, to August 31. Manchester, Merton, Norwich, to October 31. Bradford, to November 30. Croydon, Hammersmith, Leicester, South London, to Dec. 31, 1886. Lancaster, to January 31. Bloomsbury, Clerkenwell, Walsall, to February 28. Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Oxford, to March 31, 1887.

STRIKE COMMITTEE.

Mr. Gostling, £3.; W. M., 1s.; P. W., 1s. T. BINNING, Treasurer.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Proceeds of Bazaar and Concert, £17, 4s. E. B. B. (two weeks), 2s. T. B. (two weeks), 1s. M. M. (two weeks), 2s. Hammersmith Branch (two weeks), £1. W. B.: sale of *Commonweal*, 1s; weekly, 6d.—PH. W., Treasurer, March 29.

THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

C. W. Mowbray and Fred Henderson, of the Socialist League, were sentenced at the Norwich Assizes on Jan. 20 to nine and four months' imprisonment respectively. The costs of the trial amounted to £60, and Mowbray's wife and five children must be provided for during his imprisonment, so that at least £100 will be required. The treasurer of this fund therefore appeals to every one to give all the assistance he can.

Gleaner, 2s. 6d. D. Gostling, £9. Leeds Branch (two weeks), 4s. Edinburgh Branch, 10s. Marylebone Branch S.D.F., 5s. P. Webb, 1s. Lancaster Branch: A. J., 8s.; S. J. G., 2s. 6d. Arthur, 6d. For Mrs. Mowbray—A few Fabians, per Annie Besant (weekly), 10s. J. LANE, Treasurer.

BRANCH REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—On Thursday March 24, W. H. Utley lectured on "Money" to a fair audience.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, March 23, Edward Aveling gave a continuation of the subject, "Socialism in America," to a large and attentive audience; good discussion followed. On Sunday, March 27, B. Somerville gave his experiences of "Emigration." Literature has sold well.—W. B. and T. E. W.

CROYDON.—Last Sunday, Sydney Olivier delivered an address on "The Law of the Land," Graham Wallas in the chair. He pointed out the influence of the Roman law upon the national development, and contrasted it with the laws of Alfred, Ina, etc., which were mainly customs reduced to writing and codified. The spirit of the Roman law remains to-day in the "majesty of the law" now about to be vindicated in Ireland. On April 6th, Mrs. Besant will lecture at the Victoria Hall, Tamworth Road, on "Workers and Idlers."—A. T.

HACKNEY.—On Wednesday, March 23, we held a meeting at the Broadway, London Fields, H. Graham speaking. Last Saturday evening we held a very large meeting on Mile End Waste, comrade Hobbs making an effective maiden speech. H. Graham also spoke. On Sunday morning, a meeting was held at the Broadway, London Fields, and in the afternoon we also held a short meeting at the same place, addressed by comrades John Allman and Graham, afterwards proceeding to Victoria Park. See separate report. In the evening, our comrade Brocher lectured at the club-room on "The Familistere at Guise." The lecture was illustrated by diagrams, and was very interesting. Several questions were satisfactorily answered, and an interesting discussion followed. Comrade Brocher, by request of the members, sang "La Carmagnole" in French in splendid style.—M.

HOXTON.—We had a very interesting and instructive lecture by T. Shore on the "Poetry of Revolt," which was highly appreciated by a large audience. The lecture was followed by an animated discussion on the work of poets in helping to rouse the people from their apathy to some effort to better their condition.—E. P.

MERTON.—Bartlett and Kitz held an open-air meeting at Plough Inn, Garrett, on Sunday last. We shall adjourn our open-air work until after Easter Sunday, on which date we shall visit in a brake some of the London branches and clubs.—F. K.

MITCHAM.—On Sunday evening in our club-room, F. Kitz lectured on the "Russian Revolutionary Party," to an attentive and sympathetic audience. Slight discussion followed. We are organising a committee of the Merton and Mitcham Branches to arrange for open-air propaganda on Mitcham Fair Green. We hope to have a good programme for the summer months, and also to further the sale of *Commonweal*. Our members are now most all at work, and we expect that they will now all work together to make up lost time.—S. G.

BRADFORD.—On Sunday, March 27th, P. Krapotkin delivered a lecture on "Socialism, its Growth and Modern Tendencies," at the Temperance Hall, before a crowded house, the number of those present were estimated to be about 1200, several hundred were unable to obtain admission. The lecture proved to be a thorough success, but want of space does not permit of details. After the lecture Krapotkin joined us at a tea, which we had provided for our Leeds and Bradford members and friends. In the evening we spent a couple of hours with comrade Krapotkin at the Newmarket Hotel, where a very interesting and instructive discussion took place, intermixed and finishing up with songs and recitations.—C. H.

GLASGOW.—Owing to the stormy weather no open-air meetings was held on Sunday at mid-day. In the afternoon comrade Glasier addressed a large and very attentive audience on Jail Square. In the evening in hall, Carlton Place, Daniel McCulloch lectured on "Education from a Socialist Standpoint." The lecturer in a vigorous style pointed out how entirely misdirected our present system of training the young was, and how they were pitchforked into trades without any regard to their inclination or ability. A discussion followed.

GRIMSBY.—Last Sunday, Blakelock and Eveleigh held an open-air meeting in the Freeman Street market place. Some opposition was offered and easily disposed of.—T.

HULL.—On Sunday, Shekell lectured on "Machinery and the Worker." A good discussion followed.—E. T.

LANCASTER.—On Sunday morning, Leonard Hall spoke to usual meeting on the quay about organisation and education. New club quarters at Sun Street. Always open, and revolutionary literature on the table.—L. Hall.

NORWICH.—We held a meeting in the Market Place on Sunday, addressed by comrades Crotch and Darley explaining the position of the workers. In the evening, comrade Slaughter gave a lecture on the subject, "Does the Worker get his fair share of the National Wealth?" which he explained in a very able manner. On Monday evening, a lecture on "India," by Slaughter. Collected for Defence Fund, 3s. 6d.

DUBLIN.—At the Working-men's Club, Wellington Quay, on Saturday evening, a debate was opened by Keegan on "The Social Position of the Working-classes during the last Fifty Years," in the course of which he showed that they had on the whole obtained but a very small share of the increased national wealth. An interesting discussion followed, Mullaby, Dublin Trades' Council, fairly bringing down the

house by describing the Knights of Labour, the Nihilists, and the Social Democrats of Germany as being the champions of the workers and the hope of the oppressed in their respective countries. The debate was adjourned until next Saturday night, when two or three Socialists will speak.

SHEFFIELD SOCIALISTS.—On Monday March 21st, at the Commonwealth Cafe, Scotland Street, T. Maguire addressed a very good audience, taking the "Current Objections to Socialism" for his subject. He dealt very clearly and forcibly with the many and varied objections, notably the dirty-work query, showing that the man who sweated large fortunes out of the lives of thousands of his fellows is the man who does the very dirtiest work, while the scavenger does the clean work and is really a benefactor. He dealt splendidly with the objection so often raised as to the incentive to improvement, showing how some men improve under almost insurmountable difficulties, how those difficulties would be removed, and how encouragement would take the place of obstacle. Finally he proved that only under a Socialist system can the fittest survive. A short discussion, after which a Socialist hymn was sung, and the meeting dispersed well pleased with the lecturer.—M. A. M.

LECTURE DIARY.

London Branches.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street. **Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday April 3. Branch Business Meeting at 7 p.m. prompt. Free Concert for members and friends at 8.30 p.m. Wednesday 6th, at 8.30. Eleanor Marx-Aveling, "Socialism in Europe and America."

Croydon.—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday April 3, at 7.15 p.m. H. Charles, "Revolution or Reform."—Committee Meeting every Friday at 8 p.m. sharp, at Parker Road.

Hackney.—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 8 till 11. Business Meeting every Tuesday at 8.30. On Sunday April 3, at 8 p.m. A Lecture.

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday April 3, at 8 p.m. W. B. Robertson, A Lecture.

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—New premises, 2 Crondall Street, New North Road. Sunday April 3, at 8 p.m. G. B. Shaw (Fabian), "Some Fallacies of Individualism."—Members Meeting on Friday April 8, at 8.30 p.m. Business: The forthcoming Conference of the Socialist League, appointment of delegate, etc.

Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday. Discussions held every Sunday morning at 11.

Mitcham.—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11. Sunday April 3, at 8.30. Harrison, "Land Robbery in England."

Country Branches.

Bingley.—Coffee Tavern. Every Monday at 7.30 p.m. **Birmingham.**—Carr's Lane Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 8.

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

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. Reading Room and Library open every Wednesday evening, 8 till 10.—Next week W. Morris will lecture on "Monopoly." Particulars in local papers.

Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. On Sunday, open-air meetings on Jail Square at 1 and 5 o'clock. In the evening at 7, in Waterloo Hall, William Morris will lecture on "True and False Society," Cunningham Graham, M.P., in the chair. Admission, 3d., 6d., and 1s. Other arrangements will be notified in the local press and at our rooms.

Hamilton.—Branch meets every Thursday at 7.30 in Paton's Hall, Chapel Street. William Morris will lecture during the week. The date and subject will be locally announced.

Hull.—11 Princess Street, Sykes Street. Lectures on Sunday at 7 p.m. April 3, "Internationalism." Thursday at 8 p.m., Political Economy Class.

Lancaster.—Addresses every Sunday morning on the Quay Jetty.

Leicester.—Spiritualist Hall, Silver Street. Saturday April 2. Thos. Barclay, "How to bring about the Social Commonwealth."

Manchester.—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening 6 to 10 p.m. Lecture and discussion every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Lectures and discussions every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room open every evening. Meetings will be held on St. Mary's Plain at 11, Market Place at 3, Gordon Hall at 8.

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

Open-air Propaganda—Sunday 3.

11.30...Hackney—"Salmon and Ball"Davis
11.30...Hammersmith—Beadon Rd.The Branch
11.30...Hoxton Church, Pittfield St. ...Barker & Wade
11.30...Garrett—Plough InnThe Branch
11.30...Regent's ParkWardle & Cantwell
11.30...St. Pancras ArchesW. Utley
11.30...Walham GreenThe Branch
3.30...Hyde ParkCantwell & Mainwaring

PROVINCES.—SUNDAY.

Norwich.—St. Mary's Plain, 11; Market Place, 3.
Leeds.—Hunslet Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m.
Leicester.—Humberston Gate, 11 a.m.

DUBLIN.—City of Dublin Working-men's Club, Wellington Quay. Saturday April 2, at 8.30 p.m., Adjourned Debate, "Has the position of the working classes improved for the last fifty years?" Free discussion, open to all.

DUBLIN.—Irish Labour League, 2 Bachelors Walk, every Thursday at 8 p.m. Discussion on all subjects connected with the Labour Question. All interested are requested to attend.

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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. 3.—No. 65.

SATURDAY, APRIL 9, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

LAW AND ORDER IN IRELAND.

THE Coercion Bill and the attempt to drive it through Parliament is really a matter of great simplicity, although the whirl of party politics has made it seem somewhat intricate. It is the mere "outward and visible sign of the inward and spiritual grace" of that Conservatism, Toryism, or Reactionism, whichever you please to call it, to which all the respectability of Parliamentary life gravitates, and which has engulfed not only the grave and portentous Philistinism of the once Tribune of the People, John Bright, but also the gathering ambition and vague aspiration to do something remarkable of Joseph Chamberlain; besides many other luminaries of a lesser order, some of whom have been set down as Radicals, and perhaps thought themselves to be so, but surely only because other people called them so.

However, even this outward and visible sign is a serious thing, not only for Ireland but for England also, and must at the outset be admitted to be far more serious than any other Coercion Bill, not because of any speciality in its provisions, nor even because it is to last permanently (which may mean perhaps as long as next year), but rather because it is to be enacted in the teeth of the disapproval of a great part of the English population. That is to say that the ordinary Englishman supposed that former measures of coercion were passed to restrain a band of plotters and miscreants in Ireland from injuring the ordinary peaceful law-abiding people there, who had no sympathy with their doings. Therefore, though some of the more advanced politicians might oppose such measures on principle, and others because they thought there was no special need for such strong measures, yet the greater part even of those who usually take some interest in politics would pass such matters by with the vague idea that it was a necessary step to take against Fenians and moonlighters, and other rebels, as unreasonable as only Irish can be. All that is changed now, and it is only in Parliament that any one pretends to think that the Coercion Bill is directed against a minority of the Irish people. It is, however vaguely by some persons, felt to be what the *Pall Mall* called it the other evening, a declaration of war against Ireland; to say to a part of the Empire: "We are going, not to suspend, but to abolish your civil rights by the strong hand, and let us see what you dare to do in resistance to this violence," is to admit that such people are in rebellion against the central authority, and are perfectly conscious of their solidarity as against it; and if they had, I will not say any chance of success, but any opportunity, they would make that manifest by rising in armed revolt against the central tyranny, and to a large part at least of the peoples of England, Scotland, and Wales, that rebellion seems a righteous one; to how large a portion no general election will make clear to us, but rather the march of events.

It is a pity indeed that agitation on a really large scale cannot be at once set on foot, so as to show the reactionists that they are rashly playing with fire; but though it can scarcely be doubted that a genuine poll of the country would give a large majority against landlord-magistrate law in Ireland, yet it is hopeless to expect a serious expression of opinion at all in proportion to the dissatisfaction that doubtless exists, still less any expression of opinion which would mean a serious threat of "Don't try that on again!" The politically minded part of the workers who can claim to have any approach to organisation, have unhappily been organised to be at the beck and call of their leaders at election time, and also to forbear even the mildest agitation unless the wire-pullers give the sign. They have been so debauched by allowing themselves to be treated as the mere machinery of a Parliamentary party, that now when the time comes that even that organised hypocrisy, their party, would be glad of their help they can do but little; at the best they can but show that they exist as dissatisfied persons in some numbers, which the reactionists know already, but any genuine

strong and fierce outburst of feeling from them is scarcely to be expected when one thinks of the deep respectability of the gentlemen that lead them.

However, what can be done must be done, and that out of Parliament. The Bill will certainly be passed. The Radical Unionists, all but two or three, will have a sop thrown to them by the withdrawal of the clause for changing the venue of the bigger trials, which was probably put in to be withdrawn, as also perhaps was the "permanency" of the bill, which, however, these precious Democrats have swallowed so sweetly. And then the Reactionists will have their way in Parliament, as is but natural, and all one can hope is that the country will wake up after the bill is passed; though it is no use hoping that anything more will come of that but a dissolution and general election. Home Rule may follow that, though of course only a compromise Home Rule, and the ground will be cleared so far for the question of property in Ireland—and elsewhere. The day of the Tories proper has passed with this Coercion Bill. To-morrow the Liberals in the English Parliament will have to be dealt with, criticised, and resisted. The day after it will be the turn of the Dublin Parliament. Let us hope that true social feeling in Ireland will not have exhausted itself in combining to defeat the English landlords, but will rise with the new condition of affairs and demand freedom not only for the tenants but for all.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

LEGALITY.

THE respect for law as law is one of the most marked characteristics of the bourgeois mind. One is particularly struck with the strength of this superstition on occasions like the recent attempt at St. Petersburg. There are probably few middle-class Englishmen who would in so many words condone the atrocities and murders of the Russian Government. And yet there are probably few who would refuse the word crime to any act of self-defence initiated by its victims. Here is a case in which you have on the one side what every Englishman (bourgeois though he may be) that knows anything about the matter would in his heart admit to be an organisation of brigands, a mass of corrupt officials, seizing and secretly torturing or murdering, on the slightest pretext, any person they imagine to be obnoxious to them, tearing men away from their families at a moment's notice to serve in an army, not of defence, but of oppression—in short, establishing a reign of terror in all the towns of a vast territory. On the other, you have their victims, the population, who are endeavouring to defend themselves against this organised brigandage. There is a difference, however, a vast line of cleavage, between the two. The one operates under the name of "established government," and hence all its transactions, however criminal in themselves, are protected by the trade-mark "legality." The other does not operate under the name of established government, and hence all its hostile transactions, however justifiable in themselves, are contraband as not bearing the trade-mark "legality." For this reason the average bourgeois hesitates or refuses to denounce the one as criminal or to uphold the other as righteous. In this course he is insincere. It may be unhesitatingly affirmed that any sane man who says he believes it wrong to kill the Czar, lies. No man's conscience is so grotesquely twisted as to make him think thus. For it must be remembered this is not a case of Socialism *v.* anti-Socialism, but of the most elementary rights—liberty and life.

The Czar and his bureaucracy render life, even from the bourgeois point of view, all but impossible in Russia for any one outside their own body. The man, therefore, who hesitates to justify to the full any action that may be taken in self-defence is plainly dishonest. But his dishonesty has its explanation; "this defect defective comes by cause." And the explanation of his dishonesty is to be found in his unwillingness to violate that "blessed word," "legality." But whence the magic of this word? Thereby hangs the tale, of personal property, crime, and contract—in short, the tale of civilisation. Law, nowadays, is not usually identified as in Russia with direct personal violence. On the contrary, one of the great planks of the bourgeois in his struggle with Feudalism has ever been security of person and property from overt violence. To this was subsequently added liberty

of conscience and the free expression of opinion. Now these principles are (with one partial exception) at least nominally upheld by bourgeois law throughout Western Europe. So that speaking generally the bourgeois can appeal to *legality* as embodying his notion of justice and the rights of liberty and property—the two things being in the main identical. In Russia, on the contrary, they are for the most part altogether opposed; the pet political nostrum of the middle-classes, constitutionalism, is unknown, all opinion is crushed out. Here, then, our worthy bourgeois finds himself on the horns of a dilemma. He cannot consistently with one side of his principles champion or even condone the Russian Government. On the other hand he cannot without endangering the basis of his social order openly pronounce in favour of conspirators against any established government, however bad even from his own point of view. To do so would be to take the side of lawlessness against law. And is not the sacredness of private property enshrined historically in the conception of "law" and "government"? This is awkward, very. The issue, however, is not long doubtful. Class-interest triumphs. With more or less of hesitation, and in violation of his conscience, he denounces as "assassins" the executioners of a murderous Czar, and as criminals the manufacturers of the munitions of war designed for self-defence against the most infamous band of oppressors the world has ever seen.

For the reason above given, the Socialist alone dare speak the naked truth in the matter of Nihilism *v.* Czarism. He has no obligation to respect "established government" or legality as such, inasmuch as the right of property it enshrines has for him no eternal sacredness. For him it is indifferent whether social and political ends are realised by lawful or lawless means. He has not the slightest objection (if he is sensible) to obtaining what he desires by legal and constitutional methods, but neither has he any moral objection to employing or seeing employed other methods where these fail. Not discerning any sacredness in the fact of legality, not recognising any patent right to criminality as vested in constitutional authorities or governments, he hesitates not to brand their ringleaders as miscreants when crimes are committed in their name. Just as little does he hesitate to recognise as agents of judicial retribution those who, always at the risk, and in some cases the certain sacrifice of their own lives, take upon themselves the social function of judge or executioner. The fact of wearing a particular garb, being paid a high salary, and propounding unctuous platitudes from a "bench," is not for him the *sine qua non* of an administrator of justice. The test of criminal conduct or of judicial functions with him lies in the actions themselves and in the circumstances giving rise to them, and not in the social status or character of those performing them.

The Socialist alone, then, can unreservedly speak what others only dare to think—can express his conviction plainly where others casuistically prevaricate. Even the Radical, inasmuch as he still clings in theory at least to the absolute sacredness of private property, can hardly, if he be consistent, help squirming at the notion of illicit justice. He may have given up many things, but at this he draws back. There is a story of an ancient Tartar prince who one day issued the order to his retinue to draw their bows at every object at which he let fly an arrow, on pain of instant decapitation. He first of all shot one of the royal game. Some of his men hesitating, lost their heads. He thereupon shot one of his best horses. Some of his train held back. Their heads fell immediately. After that he discharged an arrow into the body of his favourite wife. (*N.B.* It must not be supposed that this wife had done anything particular; but as she happened to be there the prince used her as an illustration, which, though it may seem to argue an inadequate sense of the respect due to woman, does not imply any malice on his part). But however, some of his men hesitated, with the same result as in the former case. Striking at higher game, he then proceeded to pierce with his arrow the finest steed of the reigning khan. On this occasion all the bows were drawn and all the arrows flew. Now for the first time the prince saw that he had got his men well in hand, and that henceforth they were ready for the final *coup*. So the next day, riding out with the khan to the chase, he "drew" upon him. The unhappy monarch, to employ the phraseology of historians, fell pierced with a thousand darts, and the prince was that day installed in his place. The moral of this story is evident. Before the working classes are prepared for the Revolution they must place the demands of the Revolution before everything else. The Radical, until he is prepared to transfix that leading steed in the stable of class society—bourgeois legality—is not ready to immolate that society itself and install a more virile one in its room.

But, says the bourgeois, to come back to the case in point, if you admit what is commonly called political assassination, where are you to draw the line? I will tell you. What is commonly but often incorrectly called political assassination may or may not be morally justifiable. In the opinion of the present writer, and that of most Socialists, it is morally justifiable when the right of discussion of social or political questions, either by speech or writing, is suppressed as against those who suppress it, and only then. The reason is that from the point of view of social progress such suppression being the strangulation by brute-force of social aspiration, the removal of its author or authors is a mere act of self-defence. So long as free discussion exists there can be no excuse for the use of terrorist methods, which are in this case at once a crime and a blunder. For in these circumstances, when the people are free to organise for this end, if they do not overthrow, either by constitutional or other means, a system whose rottenness has been exhibited to them on platform and in press, it is clear as the noonday that conditions are not as yet ripe for such a change. When this is so, no amount of terrorism will avail aught. Terrorism

is only effective as the result of a strong but suppressed popular movement; never as the cause. "Rover's cross this morning and won't play," says the little girl to her brother; "what shall we do?" "I know," replies the latter, "wag his tail for him." The idea of the Anarchist to stimulate an unprepared proletariat to revolt by wagging the popular tail with dynamite is just as reasonable.

Applying these remarks, we may observe in conclusion that in Russia, where not only is opinion suppressed, but no man's life or liberty is safe from the autocrat or his myrmidons, terrorism must be pronounced unquestionably both morally justifiable and expedient; in Germany, where discussion is suppressed, though morally justifiable, for various reasons inexpedient; in this country at the present time, and wherever discussion is free, neither morally justifiable nor expedient.

E. BELFORT BAX.

THE IMMORALITY OF INTEREST.

(Concluded from p. 107.)

ONE naturally expects remarkably good reasons to be advanced in justification of a practice so prejudicial to the interests of the people. This is not done, however, the arguments used being ridiculously feeble. Many indeed do not deign to discuss the morality of the custom, and merely sneer like Professor Flint at the inconceivable folly of resuscitating a "medieval economic error." The stock argument is the "abstinence" one. Our masters claim a reward for their meritorious conduct in abstaining to use their capital. The fact, of course, is that they would do anything rather than consume it, for they know the value of having a grip of the means of production. In this demand of theirs, there is a half-expressed truth which we Socialists recognise. It is that in conditions of equal freedom an able-bodied man has no right to expect another to supply him with the capital necessary for the production of the articles he uses. In my opinion this truth should be, and under Socialism would be, acted upon; the capital required to carry on any industry being supplied by the consumers of the products of that industry, each contributing in proportion to his consumption. As the order of things, in which the producer owned the tools or capital required in his trade, has been superseded by the present one in which the machinery or capital is supplied by people not necessarily either makers or users of the goods turned out with the help of their capital, so this again will be succeeded by a new order in which the consumers alone will contribute the capital. The existence of such a system would by no means imply the right of the consumers to determine the conditions of work for the producers. But to return to the argument, the paradox is that at present a capitalist may both eat his cake and keep it—may abstain from using his capital, and yet derive as much, nay more, enjoyment from it than if he did not abstain. The possessor of fifty thousand pounds invested here and there, not virtuous enough to "abstain," might live in a humble way on a thousand a year, and only after the lapse of fifty years get to the bottom of his purse. His philanthropic brother, however, owner of a similar sum, with a laudable desire to benefit the workers, might "abstain," claim and receive his reward in the shape of two thousand five hundred a year, and at the end of fifty years, when his brother had spent his fortune, would still possess his undiminished. My poor Socialistic brains are quite unable to discover that the latter would exercise greater abstinence than the former. In connection with this, too, there is a rather curious problem to be solved. Suppose the workers one fine day were to say to the capitalists, "We really cannot allow you to make such sacrifices for our sake, so pray do not abstain any longer." What would happen? It is evident the capitalists would require to realise their property, for they could not make a personal use of their farms, mines, factories, railways, or ships, of their cottons, woollens, coal, iron, or grain. But the only purchasers to be got would be the workers, who would then have at their disposal the sum up till then paid away as reward for abstinence, viz., the interest. This, or part of it, could be handed to the capitalists each year until the sum paid equalled the principal in value. This request of the workers would be quite a legitimate one, for surely the recipients of a service for which they pay are quite entitled to refuse such a service and keep the price of it. In connection with this argument it is often said by thoughtless people that there would be no inducement to save if no interest was received. Under Socialism, if people wished to accumulate wealth in various forms for personal enjoyment they would require to provide the capital necessary for the production of this wealth, and moreover, in order to entitle themselves to be supported by the community in sickness or old age, would require to help those already unfit for work by paying what may be called a premium to the Commonwealth—a form of saving too. In short, if they did not save, they would reap none of the benefits which flow from saving.

It is sometimes said that interest is merely a premium for insurance against risk. This is not so, however, for much more is paid as interest to capital than what is sufficient to cover insurance. The principal cannot be increased by premiums for insurance, as such, for these payments are merely sufficient to replace that part of the principal which may be lost. A capitalist would be virtually living on his principal were he to consume this payment.

But the most ingenious and far-fetched defence of usury is that of Henry George. He maintains that in certain branches of industry there accrues a natural interest which is due to the generative force of Nature. For instance, in agriculture labour is assisted to a very great extent by natural forces. Between seed-time and harvest the farmer

does comparatively little in his fields, the growth of the crops depending chiefly on the seed, the soil, and the atmospheric conditions. He holds, therefore, that capital utilised in industries of this kind, in which it has the benefit of the co-operation of Nature, has a return which capital employed in such as the manufacturing industries has not. While the farmer rests from his labour, his flocks and herds and crops continue growing; but when the blacksmith or carpenter throws down his tools, no progress is made with the work he was busy with. So, George argues, it is only just that all capital should be put on the same footing, and consequently that which receives no natural increase or interest should receive an artificial increase. It seems to me that he misses the point altogether. Instead of demonstrating that interest of any kind should be allowed to capital, however employed, he merely asserts that there are two kinds of interest, one natural, the other artificial, and that it is right that capital debarred from getting the first should get the latter—which is *not* what was to be proved. We hold that private property in all natural powers (the sources of interest, according to Henry George) should be abolished, in such wise that no charge for their co-operation with labour would be made. The price of commodities should depend only on the labour engaged in their production. The price of wheat, for instance, should depend only on the quantity of labour required to produce it. Nothing should be charged for the part played by Nature.

Well, then, these are the principal arguments used in defence of usury, by no means such as are likely to convince an unbiassed mind. Every social instinct man is endowed with revolts against such a practice when the iniquity of it is laid bare; and the sense of injustice which I believe exists in greater or less degree in every man's breast condemns it in the most unhesitating manner when its full significance is grasped. Usury, that curse of humanity, is the outcome of greed and selfishness, of the anti-social qualities of human nature, and therefore we will work day and night, in season and out of season, to sweep it clean away.

J. H. SMITH.

THE REVIVAL OF TRADE (?).

THE promised revival of trade is long a-coming, apparently. Here are some cuttings from the *Daily News* of Monday 28th March, chiefly concerning the textile trades.

Cotton Goods, Manchester.—In the cloth market the week has been on the whole rather dull but firm; business for the larger eastern markets much restricted by the uncertainties of exchange. . . . The home trade is doing rather more. . . . "printers" quiet. . . . Business in yarns has fallen below an average in most departments.

Woollen Goods, Leeds.—The week's turnover, all kinds of cloth, has been far below the average, buyers being very cautious in their operations, and showing not the least disposition to speculate.

Wool and Worsted, Bradford.—The wool market has a rather more cheerful tone; but the business is still of a restricted character and to cover orders recently taken in yarns.

Leicester.—In the hosiery business as a whole is quiet. . . . Orders are scarce, and profits narrowed by the keenness of competition.

The Boot and Shoe Trade.—But the chief drawback is—not any despondency as to the outlook for the second quarter, which is cheerful—but the narrowness of profit owing to the activity of competition.

In elastic webs the recent revival has not been maintained, there being now a lull and dullness all round.

Nottingham.—Nothing very cheering can be said of the lace trade this week. Although the season is advancing, the business does not appreciably increase. Indeed, so far from business expanding, it is doubtful whether orders are coming to hand so freely as they did earlier in the year. The local manufacturers, as a rule, have little reason to congratulate themselves on the aspect of commercial affairs. . . . Accounts of the hosiery trade are somewhat discouraging.

Birmingham, Hardware Trade.— . . . New orders are not coming forward very freely, and prices are kept on an unremunerative level by the keenness of competition. . . . The shipping trade continues abnormally quiet. . . . Travelling-trunks of the cheaper kinds are in brisk request, though the profits are limited. The fender and fire-iron branch is rather dull.

Sheffield.—There is a decided check in the progress of the iron and steel trades. . . . Steel makers are experiencing a rather slack demand for the best qualities. The production of heaving steel castings is fully equal to the demand, which is less boyant than of late. . . . For bar and hoop iron there is a rather better demand than for some other kinds of manufactured iron; but business is not so brisk as it was hoped it would be.

The italics in the above cuttings are, of course, my own.

W. M.

Professor Levi told the Wolverhampton Chamber of Commerce that he was not in the least disposed to say that there was any great reason for the trading community of the country to be seriously depressed. Of course the learned professor can see no reason for the depression; he is not supposed to. However, the depression of trade has had a serious effect upon trades' union funds. At the close of 1883 the United Society of Boilermakers and Shipbuilders had an accumulated fund of £108,545. It now stands at £21,895, as much as £1000 having been paid in some weeks to members out of work. The struggle to obtain employment gets keener every day, and when obtained the conditions are more burdensome. Last week the coroner had to hold an inquest on William Crocker, a painter in London. He said to his wife, "I can't stand this any longer. I shall go mad!" He had been all day in search of work, and had been unable to obtain any. Afterwards his body was found in Regent's Canal. Professor Levi must reckon all in, and not rely too much on his own figures.

K.

MEETING OF WORKING MEN IN VIENNA.—On Monday a great meeting of working men was held here, at which very strong revolutionary opinions were expressed, so much so that almost every speaker was stopped in the middle of his speech by the police who were present. The congratulatory telegrams from the provincial associations were of so extreme a nature that they were not allowed to be read out.

AT THE QUEEN'S JUBILEE.

FELL fifty years o'er these fair isles
Plump lady Vic had held the sway,
And all the courtly lords had met
To celebrate the crowning day.
"For sure," said they, "it is but right
That loyal subjects every one
Should praise our queen for all the deeds
Her gracious royal hands have done."

So on a glorious day in June
A glittering pageant moved along,
And knights in gay attire were there,
And men in armour stout and strong;
And banners in the sunlight waved,
And trumpets filled the air with sound
While in the midst Victoria rode,
Her head with gaudy jewels crowned.

And far away to right and left
The great crowd stretches silently;
No sound of cheering rose from them
While all the pomp and pride swept by,
But mutterings from clenched teeth,
And angry murmurs rose and fell,
And as she passed, the men-at-arms
Had no light task to guard her well.

The good archbishop all the while
Thought of his goodly golden store,
And pondered deeply in his mind
How to increase it more and more;
And all the bishop friends of Christ
Thought of the very self-same thing;
While at the ropes in many a tower
Stout arms made all the church bells ring.

Far on the outskirts of the crowd
A tattered beggar viewed the pride,
And scorned and jostled by the throng,
Hugged his rags closer to his side,
And muttered underneath his breath,
While down the street the banners passed,
"How long shall earth go rolling on
Ere idle pride shall breathe its last?"

How long before yon sun on high
Shall look upon the earth and see
Freedom's red banner borne aloft
By brave men struggling to be free?
Go on thy way, oh queen, awhile;
Enjoy thy little day of pride,
But all around thy pomp and show
Riseth red revolution's tide.

Go on thy way, the robes thou hast
Are woven out of sighs and tears,
And every hope thy proud heart knows
Is built upon the people's fears.
Hide from thine eyes the sight of those
Whose lives, as mine, are full of woe,
Live out thy little day in peace
Till comes the day when thou shalt know—

That underneath thee all this while
Surges and boils a rising fire:
Whose flame of discontent each day
Grows ever fiercer, ever higher;
It undermines thy throne. E'en now
Methinks I see thy jewelled crown
And all thy pomp and rotten pride
Into the wild flame falling down.

The people waken. All too long
Their ignorance hath kept thee up,
But knowledge spreads with misery,
And while they drink deep sorrow's cup,
Fierce curses in their hearts arise
At thee and all thine idle show,
Thou puppet on a gilded throne
The time shall come when thou must go!

Defender of a useless faith
That tricks the people into prayer,
They find that all the gods are deaf,
And they are crying to the air.
Unconscious heaven will give us naught
Lo, we must up and act as men;
Vampires, who draw our blood to-day,
How we shall sweep you from us then!

I envy not thy pampered ease
Though with keen hunger I may cry,
My rags may flutter in the wind
And life may drag on wearily;
A little longer I can wait,
Nor shall the time be overlong,
Till thou and all thy lordly state
Learn how despair can make men strong!

Ours is the power to destroy
What by our toiling is upheld,
And out of ruin once again
A bright new world of hope to weld.
But thou and all thy crew must go,
Earth has no place for such as thou;
When men shall rise and strike the blow,
Would they were ripe for striking now!

FRED HENDERSON.

[The above verses which it is to be hoped will voice the sentiments of the workers far more faithfully than the fulsome Jubilee jingle of Baron Tennyson, acquire additional interest from the fact that the writer is now unjustly imprisoned in Norwich Castle for directing attention to the injustice of present society.]

LITERARY NOTICES.

We have received the first issues of *Humanitas* (Naples) organ of the Communist-Anarchists. It contains interesting articles each week by F. S. Merlino and others, is well filled up with foreign notes and so forth, and is, in short, a "good halfpennyworth."

In April *Longman's* E. Nesbit has "The Ballad of Ferencz Renyi" in which a revolutionary incident is well and strongly told.

In *Our Corner* Mrs. Besant has an admirable reply to Mr. Bradlaugh, and there is, as usual, a good selection of readable articles.

'The Labor Problem,' is a pamphlet by G. C. Clemens of Enterprise, Kan., U.S., in which the problem is fairly well "stated for the busy and the tired" without any attempt at a solution. No price is stated.

'Our Great Social Problem' is a reprint from the *Southport Guardian* of a most interesting correspondence between our comrade Walter Crane, and a Mr. C. H. Brown. The letters of the latter are chiefly of interest as showing the strange mental contortions an intelligent honest man may unconsciously indulge in.

'An Autobiographical Sketch of August Spies,' with notes, and reports of speeches, and portraits of himself and his noble young wife, has been published by the latter at 25 cents, and may be procured from Julius Bordollos, 104-106 E. 4th St., N.Y.

Articles of Interest to Socialists: *Nineteenth Century*: "Science and Pseudo-Science," Huxley; "An Act for the Suspension of Parliament," Trill; "On Well-meant Nonsense about Emigration," Osborne Morgan; "Liberal Unionists and Coercion," Reginald H. Brett and Earl Cowper. *Blackwood's*: "Free Trade and Depressed Trade," A. Williamson. *Contemporary*: "The Plan of Campaign," S. Laing. *Fortnightly*: "Fluctuations in Trade and Wages," Geo. Howell; "A Model Landlord," A. Williams, M.P. [N.B.—It must not be assumed that every article given in this list from time to time is thereby praised. Some are so included, but some for their foolishness and some for their dishonesty; but all in some way are of interest.] S.

AMERICAN SYMPATHY WITH IRELAND.—Both Houses of the New York Legislature have unanimously adopted resolutions expressing sympathy with Ireland, and protesting against the injustice of the new Coercion Bill. Six other States have adopted similar resolutions.



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

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

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

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday April 6.

ENGLAND		
Justice	Freiheit	Liege—L'Avenir
Jus	John Swinton's Paper	Antwerp—De Werker
Norwich—Daylight	Der Sozialist	
Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung	Truthseeker	HOLLAND
Cotton Factory Times	The Question	Hague—Recht voor Allen
Glasgow—Pioneer	Boston—Woman's Journal	SWITZERLAND
Church Reformer	Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
Christian Socialist	New Haven (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate	ITALY
Our Corner	Chicago (Ill.)—Knights of Labor	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
	Vorbote	Turin—Il Muratore
INDIA	Albina (Oreg.)—Weekly Courier	SPAIN
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Detroit (Mich.)—The Advance	El Productor
Bombay Gazette	and Labor Leaf	AUSTRIA
Allahabad—People's Budget	Cincinnati (O.) Unionist	Vienna—Gleichheit
Calcutta Statesman	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	HUNGARY
	PARIS	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
SOUTH AUSTRALIA	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	ROUMANIA
Adelaide—Our Commonwealth	L'Insurge	Jassy—Lupta
CANADA		DENMARK
Toronto—Labor Reformer	Le Combat	Social-Demokraten
UNITED STATES		
New York—Volkszeitung		

"DOES EDUCATION DIMINISH INDUSTRY?"

THIS is a question often asked and answered by people, well-meaning enough in their way, but most usually unable to grasp anything like a true solution of the apparent enigma. The *Daily News* some time back, in its endeavour to support "technical training" in Board Schools, restated all the old pleas against educating the "common people," but, of course, in these democratic times with somewhat more of circumspect periphrasis and euphemistic expression than the ancient arguments were wont to masquerade in heretofore. The *Spectator*, commenting upon the *Daily News* article, utilised with great effect its long-practised art of sitting upon the fence, but leant as strongly as it dared in the same direction.

Education, runs the doleful song, is destroying the appetite and aptitude for work once possessed by the "lower classes"; "the boys make less trusty workmen, and the girls worse cooks, and housemaids, and laundrywomen"; they "are less handy and more conceited than a former generation, have less liking for work, and more notions." "Education is in itself inimical to continuous industry." "Education cannot be stopped, and if, therefore, education develops an aversion to hard work, humanity will stand in presence of a nearly insoluble problem."

Now, whatever be the impatience with which a Socialist must hearken to these and similar Jeremiads, there is yet some necessity for his answering them when they are put with plausibility and are like to deceive the folk. This terrible pothole about education when examined is found to arise from quite other causes than regard to the welfare of the people or the future of education. No, the fear is for the ending of the period in which the masses consent to be degraded and misused that a few may "devour all the gain, or lasciviously consume with phantastical expenses." But, stated plausibly, and backed by loud-sounding declamation, the pinchbeck philanthropy and assumed foresight of the self-appointed prophets of evil lend a superficial look of validity to their contention, and may confuse the unthinking or unreflective.

Education, so-called to-day, in so far as it is concerned with the working-class, is either a concealed attempt to "fit them for their station in life," to train them to a tame acceptance of their "natural" inferiority, or, more dishonestly inhuman, a pretence at their due development as men and women while it is known that, leaving school, they are to be beaten down again into factory slaves. What it should be is the careful, assiduous drawing out of each faculty possessed by an individual to the fullest extent, consistent with its healthy exercise.

There is only so much of true education as cannot be avoided in that accorded to the children of the workers to-day. But an educated man is a free man, and little of true education as it is that they receive, there is yet enough to make them discontented with their allotted slave-labour and subordinate position.

To define Education and Work is sufficient to explode the fallacy that they are inconsistent, the one with the other. Education, the preparing of human faculties for most effective exercise. Work, the exercise of human faculties toward desired ends. Under the present system, however, work is directed, not to the desired ends of the labourer, but to those of his employer, of the man to whom he has been compelled to sell himself, his power of labour. His labour-power is for a certain period the property of another, and to be exerted only as that other bids; he has sold it, and has no further interest in it than to receive the price agreed upon. Monotonous, intense, degrading toil, constant anxiety, and dread of enforced idleness, while he is "fortunate" enough to be employed; misery and helplessness when "unemployed"; these things are the appointed portion of a worker. If he be ignorant, undeveloped, brutish, indifferent of higher things, he may perchance endure it all with dull, stolid patience, "a poor servile drudge, a very slave"; but the more manhood he possesses, the more that his powers have been stimulated into life, the more bitterly will he resent his unjust subjection and chafe against his fetters.

It is not against work in itself that he revolts, but against its commercial accompaniments, its compulsoriness, monotony, intensity, and want of relation to his own benefit. Knowledge, even though it be of the "commercial" kind, furnished him now-a-days, enables him to see with ever-increasing clearness that his energy, exerted for an employer, bears little or no relation to his needs or to his sustenance. Nor can his aroused mind with its acquired knowledge, scant as that may be, find outlet in his work, save in the rarest instances, for he is becoming continually more absorbed into mere machine-minding; into the servitude of a machine, over which he has but slight control, and which he seldom understands. Even where it is not so, his employer cannot allow any latitude for thought, does he wish to win in the competition-struggle for commercial existence, but must compel him to produce goods "that will sell," with as little expenditure of his brain or body as may be.

But it is not only from its avowed enemies that the education of the working-class is made to suffer. Many a time could education with reason cry out for rescue from its "friends." To these, the Board School and the teaching therein given, is to make everybody healthy, wealthy, happy, and wise. Wage-slavery and learning have met together; profit-making and culture have kissed each other!

What was said of the pupil-teachers by one of H.M. Inspectors in 1880 remains true still and of children as well: "The minds are crowded with numbers of ill-digested facts, and there is no power rightly to appreciate or assimilate these facts." The whole system of teaching in Board Schools is radically wrong; none are readier to admit this than teachers whose heart is in their work. One most intelligent and enthusiastic man, head master of a large school in an important provincial town, admitted to me when showing me over his school, that it was one of his keenest regrets that the system forced upon him allowed no adequate scope for special abilities, but was based upon cut-and-dried competition and the passing of cast-iron standard. This is but part, of course, of the whole method of "education" in vogue at the universities, public schools, and so on; it is, nevertheless, of special import for evil to the working folk.

Children are turned into animated small hoppers; the names and dry bones of ever so many sciences and arts being crammed into them by means of cumbersome, expensive, and wasteful machinery. A multitude of bare facts and figures are forced into them willy-nilly, the meaning and application of said facts and figures being left to the chances of their future life. There are but few faculties called into play in a worker's daily task; fewer still of the things he has learned in school have any bearing thereupon; it is no wonder therefore that most of his faculties become atrophied from disuse, and that his brain rejects the unrelated "learning" got by rote. Thought, long-sustained, is absolutely essential to education, but which of us finds leisure for thought, either while we are at school eagerly preparing for examination upon examination, or in after-life amid the mad struggle we must keep up—or die?

To all but the Socialist, the Education question is a dilemma from which there is no escape, and either horn of which it is equally undesirable to be impaled upon. To maintain Society as it is the workers must remain in subjection; to so remain they must be ignorant. "Wise men are free; fools are slaves." To educate the workers is to rive Society asunder, for it is based upon robbery and buttressed with a lie. Justice and truth alone will satisfy an enlightened people. To a Socialist the dilemma is none, for he sees upon which horn of it Society must impale itself. Some learning is among the people, and as Burton well said: "So sweet is the delight of study, the more learning they have (as he that hath a dropsy, the more he drinks the thirstier he is) the more they covet to learn, the last day is *prioris discipulus*; harsh at first learning is, *radices amaræ*, but *fructus dulces*, bitter rooted but sweet fruited, according to that of Isocrates, pleasant at last; the longer they live the more they are enamoured of the Muses."

Man slowly but surely humanises himself, regulates his desires and directs his powers by a reasoned knowledge of his surroundings. As knowledge increases and the application of it is made sure, man sees not only how he lives but how he might live; and forms of faith or of society, however ancient and respectable, must give way before his

will. Then, when men are leisured, unoppressed by anxiety for the morrow's food, or fear of what the week may bring, it will be possible to train men as never heretofore, and Education will at length have opportunity to show what it can do for man.

H. HALLIDAY SPARLING.

A DAY IN THE COUNTRY.

It was towards the close of a clear bright day in early spring that, leaving the quaint little village of West Wycombe behind, I found myself at the summit of the Chiltern Hills, that intersect the county of Buckingham. For some miles now the road ran along the lofty ridge, affording beautiful prospects of the country on either hand, and only at the rarest intervals varied by a clump of cottages or a solitary farmhouse with its deep-rutted cart-road skirting a sluggish duck-pond. Indeed the desolation seemed almost oppressive; and I felt vaguely that this was a true instinct. Here was proof-positive of the absurdity of "over-population." It is true, indeed, that Malthus dwelt amid the beautiful wilds of Surrey; but then, added to the sophistical training of his order, he had a strong turn for arithmetic: and after all, it is the perplexed dwellers in towns who chiefly support his theory, so true it is that one-half the world does not know how the other half lives. And so commerce desolates the country to crowd the cities, and persuades its imprisoned victims that they are miserable because there is not room enough. A Malthusian should be dropped in the middle of Salisbury Plain.

With such thoughts as these I pursued my way along the lonely heights; and, now that the sun touched the horizon and the air began to grow keen, welcomed the sign-post that showed me the way to the village of Bledlow; and following the winding road deep into the fresh green valley, reached at last the place I sought. I hastened at once to the "Glyde," for which it is celebrated in the guide-books, and found it a sort of leafy precipice, from whose sides innumerable springs trickle with a gentle noise into the pool below, where the cattle are driven down to drink. High above stands the old square-towered church, seemingly in great danger of fulfilling Mother Shipton's ancient prophecy by "falling into the Glyde." And now in the fading light the trees around it seemed to mingle with the glow of the western sky, and nothing but the voices of the birds and the lowing of kine disturbed the stillness of the evening air.

It was twilight when I reached the door of a little alehouse, and stepped, weary and hungry, into the dim parlour. As nothing was to be had but fiery cheese and sour ale, I took them cheerfully: had I been disposed to repine, I should have felt ashamed of it when two or three labouring fellows entered the darkening room and began to talk. The poor widow who kept the house had enough to do to live, they said; and in that little village alone there were twenty men born in those parts then without work. This may seem a slight matter; but if such a thing could be in that little unknown village on the borders of Oxfordshire, what must it be elsewhere? The farmers complained that the land would not "pay" to cultivate. These poor fellows needed no telling that *something* was wrong; the question was, *what*? One of them had a vague but rooted notion that the queen and royal family were at the bottom of it; and I fear that when I spoke of France and America I only helped to destroy the hope he had. Indeed I felt shamed into silence in the presence of these slow-witted peasants, who live and labour and suffer on the land. There was little said; and I looked out of the darkness into the glimmering landscape with a mind full of pity and misgiving.

That morning I had been in London, with all its crowds and noise: now I was in the heart of a beautiful country. With what result? Misery here, misery there. Commerce has done its work, and brought all to extremes. Just as it has created an unhappy rich class and an unhappy poor class, so it has made the towns fierce gambling hells of life and death, and the country an abomination of desolation and cold isolated poverty.

Sentimentalists and lovers of the picturesque should journey on foot among the lovely country districts, using their eyes and ears. It will be strange if they do not come back with the sham sentiment knocked out of them and something more real put in its place. If they really believe in country life, they will do their best to give the whole people a chance of enjoying it, together with *real* social life.

Perhaps on the whole my tour had not been profitless so far, I thought, as I sat late at night in the chimney-corner of the "Rising Sun" at Prince's Risborough; and that which I had heard and seen was with me as I fell asleep, and came to me again through the open casement with the twitterings of birds and the morning light.

REGINALD A. BECKETT.

Some villagers in Egypt have been flogged and their sheik imprisoned for six months *because* a party of British officers first wounded a villager and then on a disturbance arising shot another dead. Justice can scarcely go further than this; even flogging the whole population for having the rebellious impudence to exist, though it would be harder on them, would be a trifle more logical. It will now be a sacred social duty for the Arabs to avoid being shot by British officers, lest their recklessness should involve the whole of their village in a flogging. Bah! the man of modern civilisation is a sickening animal.

NORTHUMBRIAN NOTES.

No alteration has yet taken place in the situation. The mine-owners have been dumb, except that one of them threatens to close his pits unless the men surrender in a fortnight. But this is an old dodge, and the miners know the value of the threat. To have read the Newcastle papers a week ago one would have thought that the miners were just about to give up the fight. But on going amongst the men one finds something quite different. I put this to the test last week. The sensational articles on the distress were then appearing, expectations of the miners' surrender were rife, letters from anonymous wiseacres counselled them to fling up the sponge, impudent editorials and fussy relief-committee memorials demanded the immediate capitulation of the strikers. During three days I went to six or seven different parts of Northumberland and questioned scores of men. They all admitted the distress; some of them were very bitter at the thought of the suffering inflicted on their wives and children by the capitalist power, but *none* of them spoke of giving in.

I cannot say that the miners have much hope of preventing the reduction. It is a dreary fight for them. Victory not very likely, or barren if they gain it. They will have used up nearly all their resources in the endeavour to keep their position, and if the masters try again they will be much surer of success. Again, if the miners do lose, they will be getting less than enough to feed themselves. "Give up the strike," cry the relief committees; "take the masters' terms, we can't keep the soup-kitchens open any longer." But if the men take 12½ per cent. less than they have been getting, the soup-kitchen will have to be made a permanent institution.

The general feeling is that the miners will be beaten, though I think that with better tactics, and the help which they should, but do not, get, a victory might have been secured. But the capitalists will not get an easy victory. There is a dogged determination about the men which bodes no good to their masters. Already the loss of confidence in the ordinary useless labour leaders is very widespread; and it will be lack of ability or industry on the part of the Socialists only that will prevent the general acceptance of Socialism amongst the miners.

The miners have now made advances to the masters to end the dispute by referring it to arbitration. It is not very clear what the result will be, but it looks like the miners losing. However, it may be best for the strike to end. This at all events is clear. The miners have suffered keenly, and their bitterness against the wrongs inflicted on them is greater now than ever before. The mineowners have greatly hastened the spread of Socialism by their inhuman attempts to grind the men lower than they are. The miners feel, too, that it is time they went in for more thorough-going action than hitherto they have done.

The Socialist propaganda has gone on better than ever. Two meetings every day, and all the halls crowded with people. We now find organised opposition and this proves the efficacy of the work done. The opposition is bitter but not formidable and helps to give a zest to the proceedings. I shall send a fuller report next week. The matter of organisation has again been postponed for a fortnight.

Newcastle, April 5.

J. L. MAHON.

BREAKERS AHEAD!

THE present time is a favourable one in which to watch the governments of Europe tremblingly steering their course between their twin great dangers—the Scylla of foreign war and the Charybdis of internal revolution.

Watching one another and "their" peoples the "armed strong men" sit and none can tell what a day or week may bring.

The one thing certain in the uncertain business is that war and rapine—one almost might say also pestilence and famine—depend upon the great financiers, who at a nod can shake Europe.

Peace and war depend upon which the Moneybags can make most out of, by which particular method the blood of the peoples can most conveniently be transformed into the fortunes of financiers.

The *Spectator* says: "If we look below the surface, it is almost everywhere the governing classes who are heartily loyal, but the machine nevertheless rolls on." It explains the secret by the division among the governed peoples as well as the jealousy of nations.

The people are becoming more solidary every day, and day by day the distrust and hatred of "foreigners" decreases. How then for "the machine"?

In another place the same journal admits that "the strife between capital and labour rises black and menacing above the near horizon." How then for "the machine"?

H. H. S.

THE ITALIAN ELECTIONS.—At Ravenna Cipriani has again been elected. This time the Socialist convict has been returned.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

This department is under the direction of the Strike Committee. Labour News and Contributions to the Fund should be sent to T. BINNING, at the Offices.

BRITAIN.

Owing to the continued slackness in the North Wales slate trade several batches of men have been discharged from the South Carnarvonshire quarries in the Nantlle district. At Bethesda there is no prospect of full time being worked, and many of the younger quarrymen are emigrating.

At a delegate meeting of the branches of the National Labour Federation held at Newcastle, Mr. Judge, the president stated that within five months they numbered 10,000 members, and there was every prospect that the progress of the movement would continue.

SCOTTISH MINERS.—A settlement of the present dispute has been arrived at between the employers and the employes at Meiklehill Collieries and Sols-girth Colliery. The employers accept the men's proposal to work eight hours per day and eleven days per fortnight, a holiday being observed every alternate Thursday.

REDUCTION IN SEAMEN'S WAGES.—Last week a crew was shipped at Greenock for the ship *Orissa*, proceeding from Maryport to Townsville, Australia, at the rate of 40s. per month. This is the lowest rate paid to seamen for many years past.

MASONS.—On the 28th ultimo, at a meeting of the operative masons held in the Masons' Hall, Edinburgh, it was agreed to intimate to the employers that the operatives considered that the state of trade warranted an advance of wages from 6d. to 7d. per hour on and after 9th April, and a committee was appointed to notify this to the employers and the different squads in the town.

CHAINMAKERS.—The chainmakers strike in the Midlands still continues, having now lasted for nearly eight months. At a meeting just held at Cradley Heath, it was stated that the public sympathy had not died away, and never had the operatives of any trade met with such liberal support as the chainmakers now on strike. The men express their firm determination not to resume work at the old rate of pay.

BURNLEY—THE STRIKE OF WEAVERS.—The strike at Messrs. Jas. Walton and Sons, Bishop House and Elm Street Mills, still continues. The strike pay is at the rate of 1s. 6d. per loom, the weavers in the great bulk of cases receiving 13s. to 15s. per week from all sources. The prices in dispute are 3½d. to 4d. per cut under what is being paid at Nelson, and also what the Ashton employers are willing to pay. The weavers have entered on this struggle with a determination to win, and the Messrs. Walton are likely to find they have undertaken a tough job.

VIOLATION OF FACTORY ACTS.—In Oldham and its districts the Factory Acts are taken little notice of by mill managers, and are daily and openly violated in various ways. The chief department in London makes no effort to cope with the evil from which thousands of operatives suffer. It was only last week that the inspector for the district had to admit to the borough bench that he was not so sanguine as to suppose that any penalty they could impose would stop overtime in Oldham. Overtime will be resorted to so long as it is more profitable to practice it and run the risk of a small fine.

THE UNEMPLOYED AT BARROW.—The unemployed at Barrow have been holding a series of open-air meetings. The crowd assembled in front of the Town Hall asking to see the mayor, and threatened to break the windows. They also displayed a black flag, on which were a skull and cross-bones, and the words, "Bread or work." The mayor afterwards received a deputation, and said their case would be brought before the Council. He advised them to get out a list showing the number of unemployed, and to interview the Guardians. The list has already been signed by over 600 men. A deputation waited on the Guardians on the 30th ult., at which Mr. Henley, of the Local Government Board, was present. He pointed out that the Guardians were powerless to do anything except to offer the men the workhouse.

AN EIGHT HOURS' LABOUR BILL.—A public meeting of working-men, convened by the Trades' Unionists Eight Hours' Conference Committee, was held on Thursday, 31st ult., at the Feathers Tavern, Warren Street, Fitzroy Square, to consider the above questions, and the following resolution was passed:—"That this public meeting of workers is of opinion that the best means of obtaining permanent work for the vast number of persons at present unemployed is by a reduction of the hours of labour, and sees no other means of obtaining the same except by political action, and therefore pledges itself to endeavour to obtain the passing of an Eight Hours Labour Bill by all legitimate means in its power." Other meetings will be held in different parts of London as early as possible, due notice of which will be given.

HADFIELD—CAUGHT IN THE ACT.—One of the firms in the Hadfield district has been caught by two inspectors. It is the custom in that district to commence at 6.30 in the morning and stop at 6 o'clock at night, but the firm in question one Friday morning commenced before 6.30, and about thirty names were taken. Nearly all the mills in the Hadfield district work a great amount of overtime. At some of the mills the weavers get their meals before stopping time, and are pulling cuts off or picking them, or otherwise cleaning, all the meal hours, which causes the Factory Acts to be a dead letter. It is awkward for the inspector to catch them, as the overlookers have to be on the watch during the meal hours, and go to their meals afterwards, thus breaking the Act of Parliament with impunity.

"A DANIEL."—Mr. Raffles was rather wide of the mark when he said that he thought the South End Dock Labourers' Association was a most stupid and absurd society altogether. It seems that a labourer who was a member of the society was fined 10s. for working with non-society men. He refused to pay the fine, and because the society members refused to work with him he summoned three of them for intimidation, but the case was quashed on the ground that refusing to work with a man was not intimidation in the sense implied in the Act. Mr. Raffles seemed to find fault with the society for making rules of which he could not see the force, but which the labourers had been compelled to frame in their own interests to secure for themselves the terms which are found necessary in their employment. He stated that shipowners had told him that they could not get men to do their work owing to the rules of the society, and for this he condemned them and called it a stupid and absurd society. Dock-labourers have learned from bitter experience while following their laborious employment what is best calculated to serve their cause, and they are far better capable of judging what rules are requisite to harmony, as regards work and wages, than such as Mr. Raffles. —*Cotton Factory Times*.

THE ASHTON STRIKE.

The high-handed and unscrupulous behaviour of the capitalists towards the workpeople engaged in this struggle is severely commented upon by the *Cotton Factory Times*. We quote the concluding remarks of an article in that excellent paper, which are worthy of serious attention. It is, however, strange and regrettable that the writer should have thought it necessary to use such an utterly fallacious and ridiculous phrase as "socialistic robbery":

"We are no supporters of socialistic robbery, but we are hip and thigh opponents of employers having the whip hand. They have no more right to try to intimidate their workpeople than the buyer of a pound of butter has to menace the man who sells it. These matters are gradually finding their level. The working classes will not always allow themselves to be humbugged and divided by those whose interest it is to have it so. All over the world the feeling of solidarity is growing, and whatever be the result of the Ashton strike, it must advance the movement. We are slowly getting down to the point where employers will, like working men, be respected exactly as they deserve to be, irrespective of their wealth. If the chasm which has for many centuries divided one class from the other be widened instead of the reverse, no one will be to blame but employers themselves, and it is bound in the long run to bring a terrible reckoning. Our remarks will be sneered at, just as those were scouted who, fifty years ago, thought that working men should have the rights which they now enjoy. Whether they come true or not depends on the action of employers, but a few more strikes like those now going on in Northumberland, Staffordshire, and Lancashire will do much to make our words true. An incident has occurred in connection with the strike which ought to open the eyes of the workpeople at Hurst. It appears a considerable number of the cottages in the village belong to the firm, and some of the weavers on strike have lived in these houses for fifteen or sixteen years, and some a great deal longer. In consequence of the strike taking place, these people have received notice to leave their homes. The tenants have received an intimation that an application is to be made to the magistrates on the 6th of April for power to remove their goods by force. This is a nice spectacle in a Lancashire town. These people have worked for the firm, some of them, for more than thirty years, and have in no small degree helped to make it what it is, and now, because they refuse to surrender their just rights, the firm is prepared to cast them into the street. This sort of business may have been carried on in Ireland, but we very much question it being carried on in the heart of Lancashire. If there was any evidence wanted as to the way in which labour is respected by capitalists, surely these threatened evictions at Hurst will supply it, and if there is now anything wanted to convince the workpeople of the necessity of acting in a body in order to protect themselves, they are hard to convince indeed. We don't believe for a moment that the firm wishes to turn these people out of their houses; nothing of the kind. The firm want to strike terror into the hearts of the greater number who reside in the village; and if these people allow themselves to be terrified in this way, we think their fellow-workers in the cotton districts may sympathise with them, but unless they take a stand collectively against this conduct they cannot do much to emancipate them. It appears the firm are desirous of standing strictly on their legal rights, whatever the consequences may be. We sincerely hope the tenants will also stand on their legal rights, and that every working man and woman in Ashton will combine in lodging a protest sufficiently strong to put an end to this attempt on the part of capital to crush the very last spark of independence out of them."

FRANCE.

VICOIGNE (NORD).—A general strike of the miners here has taken place. Reports have been spread by the bourgeois press that it has ended by a compromise with the Company, but this is distinctly denied by the correspondents of the Socialist journals.

FIRE-DAMP IN THE MINES.—M. Laur, deputy for the Loire department, has intimated to the Minister of Public Works that he intends to take advantage of the general discussion on the law relative to the delegate miners, to demand the suppression of the use of explosives in mines containing fire-damp, and the institution of a prize of 50,000 fr. for the invention of an explosive or some other method of extracting the coal, which will not be dangerous in such mines. —*Cri du Peuple*.

A BANQUET OF EXPLOITERS.—A number of representatives of the exploiting class dined together last week at the Hôtel Continental; they harangued and mutually congratulated each other; one among them made it known that he had received the cross of the Legion of Honour, another that his last year's illness had left him, etc., etc. Having exhausted these soothing little personalities, they proceeded to deplore the deplorable state of industry. Yet they were not cast down, but with valiant hearts and hopeful minds looked forward to the impetus that they hope will be given to trade by the Exhibition of '89 and the works decided on by the Municipal Council. Let us imitate the spirit of these courageous men, and hope—with a different hope—for better times!

REGISTRY OFFICES.—The agitation against the Bureaux de Placement is still continuing in Paris, and will, we hope, finally lead to their total suppression, after the inevitable long and stupid resistance on the part of Law and Order and their servants. Law and Order distinguished themselves the other day at a manifestation held in Java for this very necessary reform. A numerous attended meeting was held at the Salle Favé. The meeting over, those taking part in it traversed the streets and "manifested" before the Bureaux de Placement. The said manifestation seems to have been of a moderately calm and orderly nature, but the end of the scene was rendered dramatic by the entrance of Law and Order personified by the police, who dispersed the would-be reformers with many blows and buffets, and arrested about a dozen of them. These, of course, have since been convicted of violence to the police and destruction of property, and some of them sentenced to one and two months' imprisonment and fines.

BELGIUM.

The emigration movement is increasing in the Charleroi district. The other day three families left for Anvers, where they embark for Texas. The hamlet of Sart-Allet contains several women, whose husbands emigrated several months back, awaiting impatiently the passage money that their husbands have promised to send from America. Several miners at Gilly set off, leaving wives and large families behind. . . . Several other families are preparing to leave for Brazil. Will they be better off over there than here? That is always the question. In answer we may recall the case of two brothers some time back who set off, and thought themselves lucky in being . . . outfits so as to make up the sum necessary to secure a . . . —*L'Avant Garde*.

"The Belgians have the right to combine together; this right may be subjected to no preventive measure whatever."—The Belgian Constitution, Act 20. "The Belgians have the right to meet together, peaceably, and without arms."—*Id.*, Act 19, etc., etc. A goodly country is Belgium truly! Fifty-seven years of liberty have made of her a Land of Cocaigne where larks tumble ready roasted into the mouths of those who work not, while those who labour are plunged in the depths of misery. Liberty of association, religious liberty, liberty of the press, of opinion, of education, etc., etc., all liberties do we possess, to be found on every page of our Constitution—a very plethora of liberties! But these liberties resemble the collections in our museums; you may look but you must not touch.—*L'Avant Garde*.

AUSTRIA.

BRUNN, March 21st.—On March 13th, as on the anniversary of the March Revolution, garlands were laid on the graves of those noble men who shed their blood for liberty by the Social Democratic Union Wahrheit, by the editors of *Gleichheit*, and by two working-men in the name of the Radical Labour Party. In the afternoon at four o'clock, about 700 labourers assembled at the graves, and with uncovered heads saluted the fallen with thundering cheers. Then they returned to the town in a procession, but were harassed by the police, who as the bourgeois papers report, on horse "cleared" the streets. Two were arrested. Already two days ago some comrades were arrested and forced to sign a document pledging themselves to abstain from unlawful actions. It is to be remarked that the March revolution was a revolution undertaken by bourgeois and proletarians who were the extreme Democrats; but the bourgeoisie has now become, as in 1848, so cowardly as to deny the past, and shelter itself under the wings of Absolutism, fearing the proletariat who grow more and more conscious of the class warfare.

To-day the process began against the fifteen Anarchists who were arrested in the beginning of October, 1886. Six months already wasted. They are charged with having set, or attempted to set on fire, with fire-bottles, several wood magazines in Vienna, in order, as they themselves have confessed, "to excite terror and noise, and to terrorise the great capitalists into complying with the demands of the labourers;" with having attempted to extort money by disguising themselves as policemen searching for forged money. The indictment states further that in Vienna and suburbs secret unions have been formed, who, in order to promote Anarchist means, debated on plans for crimes, procured or prepared means to commit them, and partly also undertook their execution. In order to procure a greater amount of money for the party cash, and also type for an Anarchist printing office, it was resolved to chloroform a pawnbroker and steal his money, then to carry out a burglary at the printing-office of a Jos. Frostler. Shortly the same story, the same use of the known dynamite policy, practised by men thinking to improve their situation, but misled by agents-provateurs, à la Thring-Mahlow, who furnish them with dynamite for bombs, teaching them to use these against and rob innocent private individuals. That the police have concocted the story there is no doubt. It is not by chance that whatever these defendants undertook was prevented by policemen who passed by "accidentally." The process will last about eight days. The entrance into the room of the proceeding is allowed only to men provided with special tickets. The police will ensure a decent public, and therefore communications of bourgeois papers on the process must be accepted with great caution.—F. S.

It is to be regretted that all the notices served upon the North Wales coalowners, demanding an advance of wages of 10 per cent., have been withdrawn by the men, and work resumed on the old terms. This will have a bad effect on the strike in Northumberland; more organisation amongst the miners must take place before there will be any chance of a successful strike.

Constable Dorney, of Killeely, who threw down his arms and refused to take part in the arrest of Father Ryan, has been placed under arrest and conveyed in plain clothes to Bruff. The incident has caused great excitement, and already a movement is on foot to collect funds for a testimonial to the constable, who has 11 years' service, and has always borne a good character. The authorities are apprehensive that Dorney's example may be followed by other constables.

BOYCOTTING MR. CHAMBERLAIN.—The Crofters' Aid Committee met at headquarters in Glasgow on the 1st inst. to consider the question of Mr. Chamberlain's visit to the Highlands, and the attitude the crofters should adopt on the occasion. The following resolution was unanimously adopted:—"That this meeting calls upon the crofters and their friends to stand aloof from Mr. Chamberlain until he severs himself from the Tory coercionists of their struggling Irish brethren, and returns to the party of progress led by Mr. Gladstone." The secretary was ordered to send copies of the resolution to branches of the Highland Land League and kindred societies throughout Scotland. The action of the Crofter Aid Committee may prove effective in boycotting Mr. Chamberlain. It was this Committee which furnished the funds to support the families of the imprisoned crofters, and it consequently wields powerful influence amongst Highland agitators. A second resolution was passed inviting Mr. Davitt to address meetings in the Highlands about the time of Mr. Chamberlain's visit.

It would be interesting to know the history of the men who were at Biggleswade each sentenced to a month's hard labour for stealing potatoes, valued respectively at 9d. and 1s. One man said he was hard up; and the other, who has a wife and three children, said he was driven to the deed by starvation after having walked far in search of work. The cases appear to have been quite independent of each other. At assizes the judges generally make inquiries when such pleas are put in by prisoners, with the result, of course, of severer sentences when the plea is found to be false. We fear, however, that in too many cases the plea represents an amount of actual privation which it is exceedingly painful to think of. Among the destitute the poverty that is unavoidable and the poverty that results from idleness or lack of principle cannot always be distinctly separated; but it is the grossest injustice to judge with iron inflexibility those whom ignorance and starvation almost irresistibly thrust into crime.—*Bedfordshire Times*.

I see no reason why an epicure or idle drone, a rich glutton, a usurer, should live at ease and do nothing, live in honour, in all manner of pleasures, and oppress others, whereas in the meantime a poor labourer, a smith, a carpenter, an husbandman, that hath spent his time in continual labour, as an ass to carry burdens, to do the commonwealth good, and without whom we cannot live, shall be left in his old age to beg or starve, and lead a miserable life, worse than a beast of burden.—*Sir Thomas More, 'Utopia.'*

DAME USURY AND HER GEESE.

DID it ever occur to you how many chances we missed in our boyhood to become posted on sound principles of political economy? This is what rushed into my mind when I travelled back on the wings of memory, the other day, and thought of a fine flock of geese my mother used to have. What have geese got to do with political economy? did you ask? Why, a very great deal I should say, judging by the kind of gabble one hears from political economists. But that's not what I was going to say. This flock of geese, of which my mother was proprietor, used to be caught in the early summer and they had to submit to a process called plucking. It hurt considerably, I judge, as they used to squawk and struggle under the operation. I know now of a pretty large flock of geese who are owned by an old lady named Usury. She catches these geese not only in early summer but at all seasons of the year, and plucks every feather which they can live without, and continue to grow more. The geese miss the feathers, but just when or how they are pulled out they don't seem to be able to discover. Here and there a goose makes an outcry and declares that old dame Usury has no right to steal the feathers which the geese have raised, but the old dame always calls it a demagogue, and can always get enough other geese to hiss it down. I used to feel sorry for my mother's geese, for it wasn't their fault. They couldn't help themselves, and somehow I think that if they had possessed the power of successful resistance they had enough intelligence to have used it. The big flock I've been speaking of have the means of preventing the plucking operation, but they don't seem to have enough intelligence to use it. Indeed, they are always ready to hold the one whose turn it is to be plucked, and thus help old dame Usury to amass feathers. The old dame is cute; of late years she has grown fat and lazy, and to save herself the trouble of plucking the geese herself she sets them fighting and plucking each other—she calls it playing competition—and in that way she gets all the feathers with scarcely an effort.—*Labour Reformer*.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

Annual Conference.—The Third Annual Conference of the Socialist League will be held at 13 Farringdon Road on Whitsunday, May 29th. Branches are particularly requested to attend to the following arrangements, if they wish to be represented at the Conference: (1) To at once send a return of their membership to the General Secretary. The representation will be based on this return. (2) Branches cannot be represented unless all monthly subscriptions are paid up to March 31 by May 1st. (3) Notices of motion, amendment to Rules, etc., must be sent in six weeks before the Conference—i.e., not later than April 18th. (4) Agenda Paper will be forwarded on May 2nd to Branches complying with these arrangements.

Anti-Coercion Demonstrations.—Voluntary help is wanted for the purpose of selling the 'COMMONWEAL' at Clerkenwell Green on Easter Sunday and at Hyde Park on Easter Monday. All who are willing to give assistance are requested to communicate at once with the Secretary at the League Offices.

Lessons in French.—Comrade Victor Dave is now giving lessons in French at the offices of the League on Tuesday evenings, at 8 o'clock. The lessons are free to members, and those desirous of profiting by them should send their names at once to the secretary of the League.

FRENCH CLASS will not meet until Tuesday April 19, in consequence of holidays.

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

Bound Volumes of 'COMMONWEAL' for 1886 can now be had. Price 5s. 6d.

General Meeting of London members adjourned to Monday April 18th.

Reports for 'Commonweal.'—Branch Secretaries are requested to make their reports as brief as possible, dealing with points of general interest as to the progress of the propaganda, rather than attempting to give the substance of the lectures, for which there is not space, even if it were otherwise desirable. Notices should be confined to purely business announcements and written separately. Reports and Notices should be addressed to the "Printer," and cannot be guaranteed insertion unless they reach the office by 2 p.m. on Tuesday.

Resolutions of Council.

I.—J. L. MAHON: "The Executive Council of the Socialist League endorse the actions of their comrade Mahon in Northumberland, and express their fullest confidence in his personal integrity and discretion."

II.—IRELAND: "That this meeting desires to record its indignation at the attempt by the present Government to continue the infamous and effete policy of Coercion in Ireland."

The Council Meeting will be held on Tuesday 12th, instead of Monday.

BRANCH SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID.

Birmingham, Hackney, Hull, Leeds, North London, to August 31. Manchester, Merton, Norwich, to October 31. Bradford, to November 30. Croydon, Ham-mersmith, Leicester, South London, to Dec. 31, 1886. Lancaster, to January 31. Bloomsbury, Walsall, to February 28. Clerkenwell, Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Oxford, to March 31, 1887.

STRIKE COMMITTEE.

Collected in Regent's Park, per Cantwell, 3s. 1d. English, 11d. in French coins. X., 6d.; E. P., 6d.

T. BINNING, Treasurer.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

E. B. B. (weekly), 1s. T. B. (weekly), 6d. W. B. (weekly), 6d. M. M. (weekly), 1s. Ph. W., Treasurer, April 5.

THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

C. W. Mowbray and Fred Henderson, of the Socialist League, were sentenced at the Norwich Assizes on Jan. 20 to nine and four months' imprisonment respectively. The costs of the trial amounted to £60, and Mowbray's wife and five children must be provided for during his imprisonment, so that at least £100 will be required. The treasurer of this fund therefore appeals to every one to give all the assistance he can.

International Club, 49 Tottenham Street, 11s. 3d. Gleaner, 1s. 6d. Arthur, 6d. P. Webb, 1s. Socialist Union:—Bellamy, 1s.; Harrison, 3d.; J. R. MacDonald, 6d.; A. Greaves, 6d.; Thos. Brown, 6d.; John Connor, 6d.; David Brown, 6d.; W. Price, 6d.; J. Beasley, 6d. Samuel Smith, 5s. For Mrs. Mowbray—A few Fabians, per Annie Besant (weekly), 10s.—£1, 14s.

J. LANE, Treasurer.

BRANCH REPORTS.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, March 30, Frank Kitz lectured on "The Russian Nihilists" to a large and attentive audience; good discussion followed. On Sunday, April 3, the members of this branch held their usual monthly business meeting, after which a social concert, attended by members' friends and others, was held, songs and recitations being given by several well-known comrades. Literature has sold well.—W. B. and T. E. W.

HOXTON.—Comrades Allman, Barker, and Pope addressed a large meeting at Hoxton on Sunday morning. Geo. Bernard Shaw (Fabian) lectured in the evening on "Some Illusions of Individualism." In the discussion that followed, the violent language used by some who think they are preaching Socialism was strongly condemned. The lecturer in his reply endorsed this condemnation, and said that such language hindered the spread of Socialism; he also urged the workers to combine to benefit their immediate condition, whilst working towards the complete change in the basis of society. These remarks were highly appreciated by the audience.—E. P.

MITCHAM.—On Sunday evening in our club-room, Harrison lectured on "The Progress of Human Nature." He traced the development of Society through its various stages up till the present time, when the progress of man had so far advanced that it enabled one part of the world to live on the production of the other. A warm discussion followed, which finally ended with a challenge to debate, the question being, "Does Socialism advance the Progress of Human Nature?" Affirmative, C. Harrison; negative, T. Gullup; to be held on Sunday evening, April 17th, at 8.30 p.m.—S. G.

NORTH LONDON AND MARYLEBONE.—Cantwell, Arnold, and Walker (S.D.F.) addressed a meeting of about 200 in Regent's Park. A middle-class man offered some opposition, which was easily disposed of. Sale of *Commonweal* fair.—D. J. N.

NORWICH.—On Sunday, we held a meeting on St. Mary's Plain at 11, addressed by comrade Morley, upon the definition of Socialism; afternoon, at 3, a good meeting in the Market Place, addressed by Slaughter and Crotch on "Ireland or Hell." Crotch spoke strongly upon the grievances of the Irish people. A resolution was carried condemning the Coercion Act and the rent grabbers of Ireland. At 7, Morley and Slaughter spoke to a meeting on the Agricultural Hall Plain, and were listened to very attentively. At 8, comrade Crotch lectured in the Gordon Hall upon Ireland; opposition was given by Slaughter, who contended from a Socialist point of view we ought to keep to our own doctrines, and not bother about Coercion Acts and other Parliamentary machinery. A challenge was offered by the lecturer upon this question of Parliamentary business, and accepted by Slaughter. The debate is fixed for next Monday night week. Collected for Defence, 3s. A meeting was held at St. Faith's, addressed by comrades Mills, Houghton, and White.—A. S.

GLASGOW.—On Sunday at one o'clock we held an open-air meeting on Jail Square. After Glasier had spoken, comrade William Morris addressed the meeting, his concise and vigorous statement of the labour question being listened to with great attention and sympathy by the audience. Comrades Rae and Belbin also spoke. In the evening in the Waterloo Hall, Morris lectured on "True and False Society" to an audience of 800 persons, a large number, when it is remembered that the charge for admission was 3d., 6d., and 1s. The meeting was a unique one. For the first time in the history of Scotland a Scottish M.P. took part in a political meeting held on a Sunday, and for the first time in the history of Britain a British M.P. presided at a Socialist meeting. Although disclaiming the title of a Socialist, Cunningham Graham expressed himself deeply in sympathy with the aims of Socialists, and paid a high tribute to the genius and zeal of William Morris. Morris's lecture was received with great enthusiasm by the audience, and a resolution in favour of Socialism was carried unanimously.

HAMILTON.—On Thursday evening, comrades Muirhead, McLean, and Glasier visited our meeting. Arrangements were made for Morris's forthcoming lecture. On Saturday evening, Glasier, addressed an open-air meeting at the New Cross.

LANCASTER.—We have now opened a club-room in Sun Street, believing the idea of having a rendezvous on the "home" principle to be good. A meeting was held on the Quay on Sunday morning, followed by good discussion.—L. Hall.

BARROW.—The distress here is very keen just now, and there have been some unemployed demonstrations, with the equivocal result of getting a few pence in "relief." Leonard Hall, of Lancaster, accordingly went over there on Saturday, and having been rebuffed by the salaried Liberal official, who was till Saturday supposed to be the friendly mediator between the 1500 unemployed and the powers that be, and with whom he conferred as to the advisability of a little Socialist agitation, he went accompanied by several working-men, who eagerly caught what is quite a new idea in Barrow, to the Market Place. Here a crowd of 500 quickly assembled, and Hall proceeded to address it until turned off by the officials. The ever increasing meeting then unanimously adjourned to the "Monument," where a large quantity of literature was distributed, and the speaker held the unqualified sympathy of the crowd for nearly two hours. Another meeting was held at night, numbering at least a thousand, who cheered every point scored. A discussion of much value ensued.

LECTURE DIARY.

London Branches.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street. Thursday April 14, at 8.30. A. Weiler, "Organisation of Labour."

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday April 10, at 8.30. L. Gronlund, "The Familistere at Guise." Wednesday 13, at 8 p.m. A Public Meeting to protest against the Government Coercion Bill. See announcement.

Croydon.—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday April 10, at 7.15 p.m. C. J. Faulkner, "Inhuman Arithmetic."—Committee Meeting every Friday at 8 p.m. sharp, at Parker Road.

Hackney.—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 8 till 11. Business Meeting every Tuesday at 8.30. On Sunday Apr. 10, at 8 p.m. A Lecture.

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday April 10, at 8 p.m. George Bernard Shaw (Fabian), "The Rent of Exceptional Ability."

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—New premises, 2 Crondall Street, New North Road. Sunday April 10, at 8 p.m. W. C. Wade, "Socialism and Radicalism."

Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday. Discussions held every Sunday morning at 11.

Mitcham.—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11. **North London and Marylebone.**—SPECIAL NOTICE. An important meeting will be held at Cleveland Hall on Friday April 14, at 8.30 p.m. Business: To make arrangements for the summer propaganda, and to elect a delegate for the coming Conference.

Country Branches.

Bingley.—Coffee Tavern. Every Monday at 7.30 p.m. **Birmingham.**—Carr's Lane Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 8.

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

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. Reading Room and Library open every Wednesday evening, 8 till 10.

Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. On Sunday, open-air meetings on Jail Square at 1 and 5 o'clock. Until a suitable hall is found, our Monday evening meetings will be held as formerly in our Rooms at 84 John Street. A Business Meeting will be held in Rooms on Tuesday evening at 8 o'clock.

Hamilton.—Branch meets every Thursday at 7.30 in Paton's Hall, Chapel Street.

Hull.—11 Princess Street, Sykes Street. Lectures on Sunday at 7 p.m. Thursday at 8 p.m., Political Economy Class.

Lancaster.—Addresses every Sunday morning on the Quay Jetty.

Leicester.—Spiritualist Hall, Silver Street.

Manchester.—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening 6 to 10 p.m. Lecture and discussion every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Newcastle.—Meets every Sunday night at the Temperance Hall, Gallowgate, at 7 p.m. Sunday April 10, J. L. Mahon will lecture on "The Meaning of Social Revolution."

Norwich.—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Free Lectures every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room open every evening. See open-air meetings below.

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

Seaton Delaval (Northumberland).—Meeting-place will be announced next week.

Open-air Propaganda—Sunday 10.

11.30...Hackney—"Salmon and Ball"Wade
11.30...Hammersmith—Beadon Rd.The Branch
11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St. ...Barker & Pope
11.30...Garrett—Plough InnThe Branch
11.30...Regent's ParkCantwell & Nicoll
11.30...St. Pancras ArchesWardle & Dalziel
11.30...Walham GreenThe Branch
3.30...Hyde Park.....Mainwaring & Wardle

TUESDAY.

8...Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street...Cantwell & Donald

PROVINCES.—SUNDAY.

Norwich.—St. Mary's Plain, at 11; Market Place, 3; Agricultural Hall Plain, 7.

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

Leicester.—Humberston Gate, 11 a.m.

DUBLIN.—Irish Labour League, 2 Bachelors Walk, every Thursday at 8 p.m. Discussion on all subjects connected with the Labour Question. All interested are requested to attend.

ANTI-COERCION DEMONSTRATIONS.

THE Merton Abbey Branch of the Socialist League will hold a Demonstration on Clerkenwell Green on Easter Sunday morning at 11.30. The speakers will come in a brake from Merton.

Hyde Park.—The SOCIALIST LEAGUE will have a Platform at the Great Demonstration in Hyde Park on Monday. Procession will start from Clerkenwell Green at Two o'clock. The League Office will be open from 12 o'clock. All members rally. Committee: Barker, Mainwaring, Sparling, and Utley.

ANTI-COERCION.

A PUBLIC MEETING will be held at FARRINGTON HALL, 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.,

On WEDNESDAY April 13, at 8 p.m.,

To protest against Coercion for Ireland.

Several speakers will address the meeting, and the following Resolution will be put:

"That this meeting expresses its deep abhorrence of the Coercive Measures levelled against the Irish nation, and is of opinion that, the Land Question being at the root of the Irish troubles, no political change can have permanent value unless accompanied by, or be in the direction of, the abolition of Landlordism in Ireland; and is further of opinion that the Irish nation should be left free to settle with the landlords without any restriction whatever from the English Parliament."

See handbills for further particulars.

SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.

- 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.
- Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism.** By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). . . . 1d.
- The Labour Question from the Socialist Standpoint.** By William Morris. . . . 1d.
- Useful Work v. Useless Toil.** By William Morris. . . . 1d.
- Chants for Socialists.** By William Morris. . . . 1d.
- The Woman Question.** By Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx-Aveling. . . . 2d.
- Art and Socialism.** By Wm. Morris. Bijou edition, 3d.; Large paper, 1s.
- The Aims of Art.** By Wm. Morris. (Now Ready.) Bijou edition, 3d.; Large paper, 6d.
- The Co-operative Commonwealth.** By Lawrence Gronlund. Author's Edition, revised and enlarged. Paper covers, 2s.; Cloth, 2s. 6d.
- The Religion of Socialism.** By E. Belfort Bax. Cr. 8vo, cloth gilt. . . . 4s. 6d.
- "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.

THE 'COMMONWEAL' for 1886

(VOL. II.)

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Birmingham: J. Sketchley, 8 Arthur Place Parade.

Socialist Headquarters, New York.—Library and Reading-room open daily (Sunday included) from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. *Commonweal* always on the table. Gifts in books and papers thankfully received. Address "Free Socialist Library," 143 Eighth Street New York City, US.

Printed and Published by WILLIAM MORRIS and JOSEPH LANE at 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, London

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 66.

SATURDAY, APRIL 16, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES.

In another column will be found an account of the great Anti-Coercion Demonstration held last Monday. However the privileged may sneer at "the howl of the holiday mob," as they call it, it means a great deal.

When the people have lost enough reverence for social fetishes to enable them to "howl" with delight at the prospect of their downfall—those fetishes are in a parlous condition, palliate it however you may!

Nor is it a cheering sign for the exploiters that the Flag of the Revolution was by no means the least popular, and that the nearer a speech came to the uncompromising revolutionary tone, the more it was applauded.

None know better than we how little actual help a great deal of cheering may sometimes mean, but it is at least certain that folk do not cheer what they regard with aversion, and the ever-increasing numbers who show by their presence and applause that revolutionary speakers voice their aspirations, show the effect our propaganda is producing.

Not less so does the enormous trouble taken by the scribes, whom the bourgeois employs to tickle his ear, to explain it all away for his satisfaction. Melancholy performances the explanations are!

As Irish landlords are robbers with a high hand, and the men who aid them are the most loathsome of parasites, it is natural that the Liberty and Property Defence League should be on their side. Landlord and lurcher are each asserting their individual liberty to do as they like at other people's expense. But our L.P.D.L. instructors suddenly forget "individual liberty" when it is the dispossessed who kick.

Let but a "crime" be committed, *i.e.*, let an Irishman resist any one of the laws that *Jus* denounces wholesale, and lo! and look ye! away goes "individual autonomy" and all the rest of it.

Jus says in last issue, "We confess that if by some miscarriage of law, half-a-dozen ruffians who had earned a lighter penalty, accidentally incurred the heavier, we should have no tears to shed for them!"

It has been well nigh proved that the Holy Inquisition was run by men whose distorted souls could reconcile the hellish brutalities they practised with the brotherly love they preached. It is no harder to believe this than to credit the honesty of those who under guise of Liberty preach the rightfulness of robbery and the law of the strong hand.

I quote with strongest approval the words of Mr. Michael Davitt, who said recently: "That if the Coercion Bill should pass, every man who has helped to pass it into law, every official who is employed to carry its provisions into operation in Ireland against the lives of the Irish people, will become the avowed enemy of human liberty; and any man, woman, or child in this country (Ireland) who holds conversation or intercourse with those enemies of human liberty will become the direst and bitterest of the assassins of freedom and justice."

When a man takes to heart the Gospel of Greed, and like the old-time Individualist, Ishmael, sets his hand against all men, if haply the other men hound him forth into the desert he cannot logically complain, it is but part of his accepted risk.

If men recognised how dire was the injury inflicted upon Society by even one man who fights only "for his own hand," they would straightway brand him as Cain was branded, to be henceforth an outcast and wanderer, an example to all time.

H. H. S.

THE IRISH QUESTION: THE UNION.

YEAR by year and generation after generation we have the Irish question always to the front. It is the question of the day, it is the question of the hour. Ireland, the Poland of the West, the victim of centuries of tyranny and oppression, the sport and play and the field for plunder of royal and aristocratic land-thieves. After centuries of misrule, after years of extermination and artificial famines, destroying millions of men, women, and children, Ireland is to-day full of faith, full of hope, full of energy. Who to-day despairs of Ireland—her resurrection and her regeneration?

It is not necessary here to refer to the horrors of the past. That may be done, if necessary, further on. I propose here to deal with the question of the union of Ireland with Great Britain. All that need be here stated is that the Union was not the result of the proved incapacity of the Irish to govern themselves, but the result of the base intrigues, the bloodiest acts of rapine, of murder and treason, of the English party, aided, protected, and rewarded by the English Government. The Union was never the wish of the Irish people. When it was passed 27 counties declared against it. Petitions against were signed by 707,000 people, and the petitions for the Union by only three thousand. ~~The Irish people, therefore, never accepted the Union, nor have the subsequent generations ever recognised it.~~ The people of Ireland, then, owe no allegiance to the Act of Union, and no obedience to the laws of the Imperial Parliament. What treason there is, is on the part of the Parliament, not on the part of the people.

Passing over the so-called rebellion of 1798, the result of treason on the part of the English Government, and the most bloodthirsty deeds on the part of its agents, we come to the year 1799. The proposed union of Great Britain and Ireland was rejected by both the Lords and Commons of Ireland. The notorious Castlereagh introduced his Place Bill, to enable him to buy up the seats of those willing to sell; the said seats to be filled with his nominees, to carry the Union. His terms were: 1st, To every nobleman who had seats, for each seat £15,000; 2nd, Those who had purchased their seats (common both in England and Ireland at that time) to be repaid from the Irish Exchequer the full amount; 3rd, All others who might be losers by the Union to receive full compensation; and, 4th, To carry out the above, £1,500,000 to be raised by taxes from the Irish people. (Wade, p. 639.)

What are we to-day to think of such rascality? Here the people were plundered to furnish the means for their own enslavement, and to reward those for their treason who might turn traitors. Grattan, referring to the means resorted to to carry the Union, said: "The catiffs of corruption were everywhere—in the lobby, in the streets, on the steps and at the door of every Parliamentary leader—offering titles to some, offices to others, corruption to all." (Howett, p. 274.) Corruption did its work. The Union of Great Britain and Ireland was accomplished—on paper. And that is the Union of which the Tories are proud; the Union in which the Hartingtons and the Chamberlains glory. The Union to support which we have had 86 Coercion Acts, and are still going on with Coercion, as though we are blind to the facts of history—dead to the spirit of the age.

But let us look at a few of the traitors, and at their reward for their treason. Mr. J. Bingham became Lord Clanmorris, and received £45,000. Lord Loftus became Marquis of Ely, and received £45,000. Lord Shannon, £45,000; Lord Belvedere, £45,000; Sir H. Langnishe, £45,000; Lord Boyle (son of Lord Shannon), £15,000. Mr. C. H. Coote became Lord Castlecoote, with £7,500; Mr. Rich Hare became Lord Ellesmore; Sir J. C. Blackwood became Lord Dufferin; Mr. H. M. Sandford became Lord Mountsandford; Mr. H. F. Prittie took the alias of Lord Dunally; and so the game went on. But there is one honourable man (?) who must not be forgotten. There was a crack poet of the name of Handcock, who in 1779 wrote some songs, and sang them, against the Union. In 1800 he wrote some songs in favour of the Union—and became Lord Castlemaine. Altogether, 20 of the traitors were raised to the peerage, 10 were made bishops, and 7 made judges. £1,275,000 was thus spent in the promotion of treason.

In addition to lump sums paid many of the rascals thus steeped to the lips in treason, they received very lucrative offices. Thus the Hon. de Stafford got £7,500 and £7,500 a year as paymaster of the foreign troops. Others got pensions for life, as in the case of Mr. W. Fortescue, £3,000 a year; Colonel B. Heneker, £3,500 a year. The seven who were raised to the Bench got £3,300 a-year each. As samples of the compensation paid for treason, two barristers received each £5,000, eight got £3,300 each, one, £1,200, fifteen £600 each, two, £500 each, two £400 each, and three £300 each. This was compensation for loss of practice through all Parliamentary business being removed from Dublin to London. When the traitors were thus rewarded no wonder that treason flourished. And yet that old man now in his dotage, the Hon. John Bright, talks of the treason of the Irish to-day! In the House of Commons, June 23, referring to the Chicago Convention, he said: "The conduct of that Convention, in so far as any persons taking part in it were subjects of the Queen, shows that it was a Convention of traitors. No other accurate name can be given to men who took part in such a transaction, and who are subjects of the Queen, than that they are rebels to the English Crown." Poor Johnny Bright! The Irish leaders rebels to the English Crown! Yes, there is a treason, a treason greater than treason to the Crown, namely, treason to the rights and liberties of the people. And in relation to this latter treason, the Right Hon. John Bright has long been a traitor.

The Union having been accomplished by treason, by wholesale rapine and murder, and by wide-spread corruption with an organised terrorism, have we done justice to Ireland since that time? No. The Union was accomplished by corruption, treason, and terrorism, and it has been maintained by the same means.

At the date of the Union did we give to Ireland the same ratio of representation as England in the Imperial Parliament? No. In 1801, the population of England and Wales was 10,471,000, and the number of members 489, or 1 to 21,660 of the population. In Ireland, the population was 5,393,000, members 100, or 1 to 53,230 of the population. By the Reform Bill of 1832, with a population of 13,091,000, England and Wales had 471 members, being 1 to 27,790 of the population. In Ireland the population was 8,175,000, number of members 105, or 1 to 77,880 of the population. If we come to a later period, 1877, we find the ratio of voters to population equally unjust. In England there was 1 elector to $9\frac{2}{5}$ ths of the population, Wales 1 to $9\frac{1}{10}$ th, Scotland 1 to 11, and in Ireland 1 to $23\frac{3}{4}$ ths. But even with that limited suffrage the late Mr. Isaac Butt could always command a majority of Irish votes for his motion on Home Rule, as the following table shows:

	Irish Vote.		British Vote.	
	For.	Against.	For.	Against.
1874—March 20	48	26	288	
—July 2	53	37	421	
1876—	53	33	257	
1877—April 24.....	54	35	262	

And, of course, after the Reform Bill of 1885, Ireland returned 85 out of 103 pledged to Home Rule.

What, then, is the lesson before us? What are the historical facts with which we have to do? That the Union was accomplished by corruption, treason, rapine, and murder. That it has been maintained, and is now maintained by the same means. That the so-called Imperial Parliament never has possessed, and does not now possess, any legitimate right or authority to rule or govern the people of Ireland. That every attempt to govern a people against the will of the people, is treason, is an act of rebellion against the people. It is not a question of majorities or of minorities, but of the principle of equal liberty for every people, of right, of justice, of independence.

J. SKETCHLEY.

AN UNENVIABLE DISTINCTION.—The treasurer of the Women's Jubilee offering in Sheffield has forwarded to the central treasurer £526, 19s. 10d., that being the amount received up to the present. The subscribers number 14,933. It is stated that the Sheffield contribution is the largest sum yet forwarded from any borough in the kingdom, and the central treasurer warmly congratulates Sheffield on the result.

Why do people think Mr. John Bright's opinion on any subject under the sun worth knowing? Every now and again some one asks him what he thinks about Ireland, and he writes a letter, which is duly published, denouncing the Nationalists for their "sedition" and "disloyalty," and praising the good folk of Ulster for their "loyalty." What wretched cant all this is! Supposing a man doesn't care two straws for the British Constitution, and is "disloyal" to it accordingly, what then? Is he any the worse man for that? We have yet to learn that this precious constitution of ours is so sacred, that to meddle with it is impious; or that the maintenance of the Union between Great Britain and Ireland is part of the Divine economy.—*Christian Socialist*.

THE NORTHUMBERLAND STRIKE.—We sincerely hope that the pitmen in the Northumberland district will be successful in their present resistance to a proposed reduction of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent upon wages, which at present—after deductions and short time—don't average over 12s. per week. We fear, however, that the system of irregular skirmishes—Yorkshire at one time, Lanarkshire at another, and now Northumberland—will only result in the defeat of the miners. A national combination, which shall include all the districts in Scotland and England, is what is wanted; and this combination might with a little patience organise a general demand which dare not be resisted, or if it was, then a general cessation of the production of coal for one week would settle the matter. The so-called Labour representatives in Parliament are a poor, mealy-mouthed lot, and the miners, especially in this and other struggles, have no reason to be grateful to the representatives they subsidise.—*Pioneer* (Glasgow).

EARLY COMMUNAL LIFE AND WHAT IT TEACHES.

It will be well, before describing the various forms of early communal life of which we know, to fix their place in the general development of property, and the area over which they have been known to exist. This will best be done by giving a general account of the development of property, and then expanding the periods which are characterised by communal life. In order that we may get as complete an idea of the ancient customs as possible, we will examine various systems of common property which may be found existing in countries that are still passing through the earlier stages of development. The great variety in the laws and customs of different nations which we see around us is only due in a slight degree to their having struck out on differing lines of development, much more largely is it due to the varying rates at which they have progressed.

This has been strikingly brought out in late years by investigations in several directions, and we are now constantly finding that special features, which we have been accustomed to consider as belonging exclusively to certain races, are in reality only peculiar to a given stage of development through which most races have to pass at one time or another. Thus, for example, Druidic stones had long been considered as peculiar to Celtic tribes, but the discovery of them in Holland, in Germany, Asia, and America, has shown that they extend to many races. In the same way it was thought until recently that village communities such as exist in Russia were exclusively characteristic of the Slavs, but more careful research has shown that similar institutions have at some time existed in Germany and ancient Italy, in Peru and China, in Mexico and India, among the Scandinavians and the Arabs. It is to the works of Emile de Laveleye on this subject that I am indebted for most of the facts given here, and I shall follow pretty closely the accounts of the various forms of communal life as given by him, drawing my own conclusions and lessons therefrom.

So long as primitive man wandered in the forest or on the prairie, and lived by hunting, fishing, and gathering wild fruits, there was very little idea of property, unless it was in the simple weapons which each one used. Tribes would fight to avenge imagined encroachments on their hunting-grounds, but they can hardly be said to have had any idea of property in the soil itself. In the pastoral age, which generally succeeded the savage and formed the next step in development towards civilisation, the idea of property in the soil is only slightly more defined, and in no case assumes the form of private or individual property. Very much the same idea of property as was understood by the pastoral tribes is expressed by two children out in the lanes gathering blackberries when one tells the other to "Get away from my bush!"

It was not till the land was temporarily put under cultivation that any definite idea of ownership grew up; and in the early part of the agricultural age, which gradually succeeded the pastoral, the arable land, the pasture, and the forest, were all farmed in common, the land remaining the undivided property of the clan. Subsequently the land was divided into parcels and distributed by lot, a mere temporary right of occupation being allowed to the individual; the soil returned to the tribe or clan, whose undivided property it still remained, for a redivision at intervals of a few years. This is the system still practised in many of the Russian village communities, and which was once the custom in Germany, as we learn from the Latin writer Tacitus.

By a new step of development the parcels remain in the hands of a patriarchal group of families living under the same roof or within the same enclosure, and working the land for the common good of the family. Such groups were customary in France and Italy in the Middle Ages, and are common in Serbia at the present time. This family ownership seems to be a later development than the village community, where the land is divided, each individual worker getting his share and working to some extent on his own account, but it is not easy to find the place in the long series of developments where one passes into the other; nevertheless, the family community forms a distinct step in development, in which the family have all things in common and cultivate the common domain as one farm, all being ruled by the patriarch or head of the family. In either case the community forms the unit of the state, it is the communes which are taxed and not the individuals.

In many cases the development towards individual ownership seems to have gone on from the village community without passing through the stage of family communes. This seems to have been the case with England, as we shall see further on. In Rome, on the other hand, the family life was very marked, and the authority of the patriarch continued long after the custom of communal property had fallen into disuse.

From the stage of village or family communities to that of individual ownership is a long period marked by very gradual progress. The earlier forms of individual hereditary property were tied down by many fetters of seigniorial rights or compulsory systems of cultivation; nor is land in this country yet free from an aristocratic form of family ownership, I mean the custom of entail; while in theory at least our law declares that no man can own absolutely any land, but can only own an estate in it.

I think we shall be better able to understand these stages in development if we examine the customs of those countries which are still passing through them. Omitting the Barbaric and Pastoral ages, in

which the ideas of property were very vague, and about which a very fairly correct idea seems to be general, we come to the stage at which village communities were formed. The best example of this stage is perhaps to be found in Russia.

Before the emancipation of the Russian serfs in the year 1861 the lords and the Crown between them claimed to own all the lands as well as the serfs, and it was customary to allow each serf the usufruct of a certain portion of land upon which to grow his subsistence. In return for this he had to work three or four days a-week on the farms of the lord. The serfs usually also had the right of pasture on common lands, and of cutting firewood in the forests. At the emancipation the lords managed to get possession of the common-lands and forests, for the use of which they now extract a rent. The measure secured to the peasants about as much land as they had had the usufruct of before, and freed them from the necessity of working for the lords, imposing some annual payment in redemption of the land. In giving the extensive meadow-pastures and the forests to the lords a great injustice was committed, for it was entirely contrary to the traditions of the Russian people, according to which they should have remained the undivided property of the communes.

Before the emancipation, the serfs did not cultivate each his own patch individually, but each village formed itself into a commune, and the land was farmed in common, the product being divided. Now, however, it is customary for the commune to allot a share of land to each, either annually or at longer periods, though there are parts in which the older custom of farming in common is still practised, mostly on lands used for growing hay, where it is evidently most easy to manage.

The Emancipation Acts did not destroy the communes, but rather strengthened them, though causing them to go through some modifications. The commune, or *mir*, as it is called, is the constitutional atom of the Russian State; it forms a civil person, and on it is levied taxation, not on the individual members.

One of the chief features of countries passing through the communal stage is the constitution of the State out of units which are communes, not individual men as is the case with modern countries: the individual has no relation to the State except as a member of a commune. This important distinction changes the character of all legislation. Taxes are levied on the communes, and they are left to collect the individual shares in any way they choose; the commune or *mir* collectively is responsible for them, as also for the finding of recruits for the army. It enjoys complete self-government, and has almost despotic power over individuals composing it, with the right of judging minor offences. It alone holds the land collectively, and is responsible for rent due for any land which it may need to occupy beyond its own domain. The family is the basis of the *mir*, and holds all its belongings in common—house, garden, implements, stock, and movables of all descriptions—just as the land is held in common by the families united in a commune; and as no one family thinks of claiming a share of the land as private property, so no one individual lays claim to the private ownership of a share of the common belongings of the family. Each of these families is under the rule or direction of the head, or "ancient," as he is called, who has great authority over its members. The heads of families form a communal council, presided over by a mayor, whom they elect: he is chief magistrate, and generally represents the commune. Several such communes usually unite and form a larger commune or district, which contains from 300 to 2000 inhabitants. The mayors of the smaller form a council, under another elected president, for administering district affairs. They have to regulate matters connected with the taxes, recruits for the army, the making and maintaining of roads, or any other general communal affairs.

Stepniak tells us that the mayor originally was not the ruler of the *mir*, but its trusted servant; in their own language, "the *mir's* man." But since the emancipation, the Government have made the mayors into officials more after their own heart. From the year 1868 the *mir* has been gradually passing more under the control of the local superintendent of police, who, with his subordinates, usually behaves in a very high-handed and oppressive manner towards the inhabitants.

RAYMOND UNWIN.

(To be continued.)

GETTING READY FOR 1889.—The Prince Regent of Bavaria has given orders that each of his sons is to learn a manual trade, and Prince Rupprecht, the heir to the throne, has become a turner.

The Eureka, California, *Western Watchman* says that the Indians on the Puyallup reservation, Washington territory, will organise an assembly of the Knights of Labour.

THE GHOUL OF GOLD.—"Be content, poor men, you were made to be slaves." Mr. Jay Gould was interviewed on the first of March and had this to say: "After all, after all, what does any man get in this world except something to eat and something to wear and somewhere to live. The poor man ought to be the happiest man. Wealth brings cares without compensation. A man gets rich and then he's a slave. Very mistaken ideas exist on this subject." Yes,—that is all you get, sir, except horses and yachts, and special cars and wine and pictures, music and books, and such other little things. But do you know that the men and women who make all these things do not even get enough to eat? That they have nothing but rags to wear? That they have nowhere to sleep, but must always be moving on? And do you know that the reason they are thus horribly miserable is because you have THIEVED your wealth from them? This wretch that talks to us so flippantly, that affects to despise what he has wrung from our very bones and blood, this sly and scheming rascal whose hands are red with the blood of the poor that his hirelings shot down in St. Louis only a year ago, this hypocritical villain DARES to tell us how to be HAPPY.—*Labor Enquirer*.

"GOD FORGIVE THEE—I NEVER CAN!"

(ANONYMOUS. Translated by J. L. JOYNES.)

THREE shots ring out above the trench behind the frowning fortress wall,
And whoso cares to look may see another rebel's carcase fall;
The monks who wait on death draw near, and bow the head, and bend the knee,
And murmur low in earnest prayer their solemn-sentenced Litany,
"God have mercy upon him!"

"Sharp sudden death has surely shut a foul blaspheming mouth to-day,
Come ye and carry quick the corpse of this dead rebel hound away;
There where his widow weeping waits now make ye haste and carry him—
He should have hung on gallows high, and rotted slowly limb by limb,
But our Prince has had mercy."

So speaks the king's chief murderer.—The times are really not so bad,
A sword is at the scoundrel's side, the slave in uniform is clad;
All silently they take the corpse that throbbed but now with lusty life,
And carry that dead rebel down, and give him to his widowed wife.
God have mercy upon her!

Nay, woman, wherefore dost thou mourn? nay, why so sorely, wife, dost weep?
Two sturdy urchins at thy side, lo, here thou still hast leave to keep;
Lo, there thine aged father sits, the blood-hounds yet have left him free;
They might have stamped in ruins out thy whole rebellious house and thee,
But the Prince has had mercy.

Alas! on her dead husband's name his widow can do nought but call,
Though half-distraught with bitter woe on those two boys her eyes may fall
The father sitting at her side can only cry, "My son, my son!"
Then murmurs low, and grinds his teeth ere half the solemn words be done,
"God have mercy upon him!"

On whom should God his mercy show? He does not speak the words again,
And if of his dead son he thinks or of his Prince 'tis hardly plain.
Yet do we clench the fist in prayer, or do we gently fold the hands?
Meseemeth it, that eldest boy the old man's meaning understands.
God have mercy upon him!

A boy with curly head it is who scarce has seen his fourteenth year;
He puts his childish toys away, and stands beside his father's bier;
A child he stands beside the dead, but 'tis a Man that turns away;
He knows his grandsire's meaning well, and loud and clearly doth he say,
"God have mercy upon him!"

The quiet eve draws on, and shuts in lengthening shadow all the street;
Soft songs are heard; 'tis now the time when happy lovers love to meet;
Hark! through the softer sound of song there echoes wild a scream of pain,
And curious crowds from far and near come thronging through the streets
amain—
"God have mercy upon him!"

Yes, "God have mercy!" is the cry on all men's lips; for bathed in blood
Lo, there the king's chief-murderer lies—the stroke was strong, the aim was good!
Ye waste your words, no questions now will him that did the deed reveal;
This mouth is dumb for evermore, 'tis death's pale hands his lips that seal.
God have mercy upon him!

But there beside his father's grave beneath the gathered gloom of night,
E'en now in prayer there kneels a boy whose voice is firm, whose cheeks are white,
"Dear father, I have ta'en revenge; sleep softly in thy quiet grave;
Three inches of my sharp steel knife clear through thy murderer's heart I drave;
God have mercy upon him!"

"My brother soon will bigger be; the time shall not be far away,
When we will serve the Master's self as I have served his slave to-day.
Dear father, when they struck thee down, the tyrant's blood-hounds little knew
That he, with one brave rebel slain, henceforth would have to deal with two.
God have mercy upon him!"

It is a plain fact that by hard labour no man is able to amass wealth; and it is no less a glaring fact that those who do amass wealth produce nothing at all; they simply appropriate the products of others. The question now to be solved is: How to readjust the laws of distribution so that every worker would get his due portion of the wealth he has helped to create. But does the capitalist party endeavour to honestly grapple with the difficulty? Do they inquire into it on the principles of right and wrong? Certainly not. Expediency is their guide. The problem they try to solve is how to blind the masses, how to pacify discontent, and how to so arrange matters that the wholesale robbery can be carried on in the future without incurring detection by those who are to be robbed.—*Our Commonwealth*.

THE SOCIALISTS AND THE POLICE.—On Sunday afternoon the Socialists assembled in great numbers in Hyde Park, near the Marble Arch. This demonstration was held in response to a handbill signed by John Williams, headed "Coercion in England," and at its close Mr. Frank Connolly suggested that the spectators should all leave by the Marble Arch, so that they might be witnesses of any unprovoked attack by the police. As soon as the crowd reached the outside, about a hundred police, who had been secreted inside the structure, rushed out and began an attack on all who came in their way. Williams was flung underneath an omnibus, and on his remonstrance was "throttled" and taken off to the police-station, surrounded by mounted constabulary, who rode upon the pavement a distance of nearly a quarter of a mile, throwing down several ladies and gentlemen who were walking by. In the meantime the police near the Marble Arch drew their truncheons and used them indiscriminately. Nine persons in all were arrested. Williams was charged and locked up, bail being refused.—*Daily Chronicle*.



"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.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

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

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday April 13.

ENGLAND	Freiheit	Liege—L'Avenir
Justice	John Swinton's Paper	Antwerp—De Werker
Jus	Der Sozialist	HOLLAND
Norwich—Daylight	Truthseeker	Hague—Recht voor Allen
Londner Arbeiter-Zeitung	The Question	SWITZERLAND
Cotton Factory Times	Boston—Woman's Journal	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
Glasgow—Pioneer	Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer	ITALY
Church Reformer	New Haven (Conn.)—Work-	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Christian Socialist	men's Advocate	Turin—Il Muratore
Our Corner	Chicago (Ill.)—Knights of Labor	SPAIN
INDIA	Vorbote	El Productor
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Albina (Oreg.)—Weekly Courier	AUSTRIA
Bombay Gazette	Detroit (Mich.)—The Advance	Vienna—Gleichheit
Allahabad—People's Budget	and Labor Leaf	HUNGARY
Calcutta Statesman	Cincinnati (O.) Unionist	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
SOUTH AUSTRALIA	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	ROUMANIA
Adelaide—Our Commonwealth	FRANCE	Jassy—Lupta
CANADA	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	DENMARK
Toronto—Labor Reformer	L'Insurge	Social-Demokraten
UNITED STATES	BELGIUM	
New York—Volkszeitung	Le Combat	

GODWIN'S 'POLITICAL JUSTICE.'

AMONG those political philosophers of the eighteenth century whose speculations heralded the growth of Socialism, none, perhaps, was more remarkable than William Godwin, the husband of the famous Mary Wollstonecraft and the father-in-law of Shelley. His great work on 'Political Justice' was published in 1793 and created a marked sensation, "carrying," as De Quincy describes it, "one single shock into the bosom of English society, fearful but momentary." The whole book is still well worth reading; but the part which is of most interest at the present time is that which deals with the question of property, treated from a distinctly Communistic point of view, though the remedies suggested by Godwin are not such as commend themselves altogether to modern Socialists.

Premising that the distribution of comfort should be as far as possible equal, and that every man has a right to the means of improvement and pleasure, provided always that he respects the equal right of his neighbour, Godwin points out in clear and powerful language the terrible evils that result from the present system of social inequality. "However great and extensive," he says, "are the evils that are produced by monarchies and courts, by the imposture of priests, and the iniquity of criminal laws, all these are imbecile and impotent compared with the evils that arise out of the established administration of property." Foremost among the disastrous effects to which Godwin refers are the "servile and truckling spirit" which is brought home to every house in the nation by the contrast between wealth and poverty; the wide-spread demoralisation caused by the perpetual spectacle of injustice, and the pernicious love of money-making thus engendered in men's hearts; the immense amount of vice produced "by one man's possessing in abundance that of which another man is destitute"; the encouragement given by large accumulations of property to the warlike ambition of aggressive governments; and, above all, the loss of those intellectual enjoyments which might be shared by all mankind, but are now monopolised by the few. "Accumulated property treads the powers of thought in the dust, extinguishes the sparks of genius, and reduces the great mass of mankind to be immersed in sordid cares, beside depriving the rich of the most salubrious and effective motives to activity." Elsewhere in his 'Enquirer,' written a few years later than 'Political Justice,' Godwin insists strongly on the fact that the rich are in reality the pensioners and dependants of the poor. "It is a gross and ridiculous error," he says, "to suppose that the rich pay for anything. There is no wealth in the world except this—the labour of man.

What is misnamed wealth is merely a power, vested in certain individuals by the institutions of society, to compel others to labour for their benefit." Knowing this, Godwin could not fail to see the hypocrisy of that blatant system of "charity" which is one of the most unhealthy features of our modern pseudo-philanthropy; and he speaks with bitter irony of this "accommodating doctrine," which enables the rich "to make a show of generosity with what is not truly their own." This system he describes as one of clemency and charity, but not of justice. "It fills the rich with unreasonable pride by the spurious denominations with which it decorates their acts, and the poor with servility by leading them to regard the slender comforts they obtain, not as their incontrovertible due, but at the good pleasure and grace of their opulent neighbours."

In the course of his remarks on property Godwin anticipated some of the common and fallacious objections so often made to the possibility of a Socialistic State. He points out the folly of the talk of our "sinking into idleness" when the stimulus of gain is withdrawn, whereas, even now, the love of distinction is seen to be so powerful a motive, and would become still more so in a reformed society. He laughs at Malthus's warnings about the danger of excessive population, since "three-fourths of the habitable globe are now uncultivated," and the difficulty of a population-limit would not arise for many centuries to come. He is at one with modern Socialists not only in his impeachment of the cruelty and folly of the commercial and competitive system, but also in his desire to substitute a new and purer state. When, however, he proceeds to indicate the methods by which he would secure the desired reform, it will be found that his doctrines are no longer in accordance with the Socialist policy, but are rather precursory of the opinions held by Comte and the Positivist school.

In the first place, the system advocated by Godwin is essentially a *voluntary* one. He believes that there is but one mode of improving society, which consists in "rendering the cession by him that has to him that wants, an unrestrained and voluntary action." He is a thoroughgoing Individualist in his dislike of all government and all action of society in its corporate capacity, except for the suppression of bodily force. He believes that the rich can be induced to be unselfish by what he calls "illumination of the understanding and love of distinction," and to these two instruments he would accordingly entrust the whole process of regeneration. So great is his dread of all popular violence and the massacres which, as he says, are "the too possible attendant upon revolution," that he strongly deprecates the use of any kind of force, or of any agitation that could possibly lead to the adoption of forcible measures by the people. He seems entirely to have overlooked the consideration that there are more methods than one in which "force" can be applied, and that the wealthy classes, who have the policeman, the soldier, the gaoler and the hangman, at their beck and call, are in reality in their exploitation of the working-classes under cover of a legal form, employing the very force, ay, and the very massacre, which he considered, rightly or wrongly, to be the worst of all possible calamities.

But though Godwin thus failed to grasp the full significance of the problem with which Socialism has set itself to deal, all Socialists must honour him for his noble enthusiasm in the cause of humanity, and his unanswerable exposure of the folly and wickedness of the capitalist system. In the very choice of the word *justice* as the title of his philosophical treatise, he instinctively struck a true note, and showed that he had correctly divined that this principle of just dealing between the State and the individual, and between man and man, was destined to become the crucial question of nineteenth century politics.

H. S. SALT.

SOCIALIST DEMONSTRATIONS.

THE fortieth anniversary of the great Chartist demonstration was signalled on Monday in London by the biggest meeting in Hyde Park ever held there, and in many parts of the country in a similar manner. All the meetings were held in support of kindred principles to those which animated the Chartists, and at each of them the Socialist League was prominently present.

HYDE PARK.

The Hyde Park meeting was called together to protest against the Coercion Bill (the 87th of its kind in 86 years!) now introduced by the Government. We have said that it was the largest ever held there, but this conveys no clear idea of its gigantic size; the reports of the bourgeois press of course vary and contradict one another in their usual stupid fashion, but even from them it is clear that over 150,000, probably near 200,000, persons were present in support of the meeting; while the lookers-on, all of whom seemed in sympathy, were quite beyond all hope of computation. All this in spite of its being Bank Holiday. In fact, the day was a distinct advantage, inasmuch as the rowdy and snob elements were conspicuous by their absence. There was absolutely no horseplay or levity of any kind; every one apparently felt the greatness of the occasion, and, if one may judge from scattered remarks, was deeply impressed by the vastness and earnestness of the assemblage. From one side of the park to the other there stretched a line of people, hundreds deep, intently listening to what was said, marking with frequent deep-toned cheers their approval of it all. One of the morning papers admits that of the seventeen platforms, that of the League was much the most numerously attended, while the Socialists who spoke at several other platforms proved by their recep-

tion that they were, at the very least, as much in sympathy with the audiences as the most favourite politician who spoke. Many members of the different Radical clubs wore the red conspicuously; while one, the North Camberwell, sent a strong Socialist Section with a distinct banner. Along the route of the procession the Socialist League banner was hailed with cheers, and in the park, as the late comers marched past, it was again and again saluted with hearty cheering. During the return, also, it was greeted as an evident favourite with the workers, one Irish band breaking off the tune it was playing, and starting the "Marseillaise" as it came by.

The proceedings at the Socialist League platform were opened by H. A. Barker, who said that of all the bodies represented there the Socialists had been the very first to uphold the cause of Ireland. Again and again they had met there and elsewhere to protest against the legalised wrong and robbery carried on in the name of the English people. Now the whole body of the people was waking up, and the Socialists came there to continue the agitation and assist with all their might in the work they had taken in hand. H. H. Sparling followed. He said the real thing that animated the resistance to Home Rule was that the parasite class felt their hold upon the people was being loosened, and they were making the last desperate stand in defence of monopoly. It had been said by one of the landlord crew that their "rights" were worth fighting for. If the "right" to be a thief was worth fighting for, was it not still more worth fighting and working for the people's freedom? W. C. Wade showed the falsity of the bourgeois parrot-cry of "law and order," and urged that no true order could be looked for till the law was wholly expressive of the people's will. S. Mainwaring spoke of the plain duty incumbent upon all working men to unite for their own freedom, irrespective of nationality or creed, and paying no attention to the ordinary political parties, who were all tarred with the same brush. Bernard Shaw said that if England had the right to rule the Irish against their will, any foreign nation had the same right to rule the English. D. J. Nicoll spoke of the lies told by the bourgeois press about both Irish and Socialists. The people were finding out these lies, and such meetings as this were the result. Eleanor Aveling, as the only woman speaker on this occasion, spoke of the grand work done for Ireland by its women. At home they helped to support the rent agitation, to resist the forces sent against them, and stand side by side with their men in all phases of the struggle. Abroad they worked unceasingly for Ireland, and from them came great part of the money that enabled the war against oppression to be so well carried on. There were thousands of women present in the park, and although they were not so loudly heard as the men, they were just as much in earnest. Edward Aveling said the battle was not merely between the landlord and tenant in Ireland, it was between the exploiter and his victim the world over. As international knowledge spread, national barriers were disappearing, and the workers were becoming solid and united in their effort to destroy monopoly. T. E. Wardle alluded to the close alliance between the Irish and English democracies, and the effect it must inevitably produce.

The following special resolution was passed at the League meeting, as also was that officially recognised and put forth by the promoters of the demonstration:

"That this meeting expresses its deep abhorrence of the coercive measures levelled against the Irish people, and is of opinion that, the Land Question being at the root of the Irish troubles, no political change can have permanent value unless accompanied by, or be in the direction of, the abolition of Landlordism in Ireland; and is further of opinion that the Irish people should be left free to settle with the landlords without any restriction whatever from the English Parliament."

It may be noted that over 1000 *Commonweal* were sold during the meeting, and many thousands of leaflets distributed there and on the route.

At the Social-Democratic Federation platform, where Michael Davitt, amongst others, spoke, a special resolution was also carried.

THE SOCIALISTS AND THE MINERS.—THE GREAT DEMONSTRATION IN NORTHUMBERLAND.

A MASS meeting of the Northumberland miners and other workmen was held on Easter Monday, at Horton, near Cramlington, for the purpose of forwarding the cause of Socialism.

The men attending the meeting were, for convenience sake, separated into two divisions. The first contingent assembled at Blyth, and included the men from the surrounding neighbourhood. They were addressed in the market place by Wm. Morris and J. L. Mahon, after which a move was made towards Horton. The second division congregated at Dudley Colliery, and was made up principally of miners from Burradon, Seaton Burn, and Dinnington. J. Fielding delivered a brief address, and the men then marched to Horton. Each division, during its progress, was increased by the addition of a number of miners from the villages through which it passed.

The demonstration was held in a spacious field in the parish of Horton, easy of access to people living in the large group of colliery villages that lie around. The place is within comfortable walking distance of Cramlington, Blyth, Bebside, Bedlington, Newsham, New Delaval, Dudley, Burradon, Seaton Burn, Dinnington, and numerous other localities. The commencement of the meeting was fixed for two o'clock, but long before that hour crowds of people began to find their way, singly and in groups, from all directions; and, before the arrival of the processions from Dudley and Blyth, the field was occupied by a considerable crowd of people. The division from Dudley and Annitsford, with its banner and band, was the first to arrive; and, twenty minutes later, the Blyth contingent, which also was preceded by a

banner and band, came into the field. It had originally been intended that speeches should be delivered from two platforms, but the promoters decided to mass the people into one great meeting, over which J. Fielding presided. A rolley was provided, and when A. K. Donald, J. Fielding, H. M. Hyndman, J. L. Mahon, and William Morris took up their positions upon it, they were loudly cheered. When the proceedings began, there could not have been fewer than nine or ten thousand people standing and sitting around the extemporised platform. These included several women, who appeared to take no less interest in the proceedings than their husbands and brothers.

The Chairman, who was received with cheers, said he was glad to see such a gathering of sturdy North-Country men. It was quite evident that the workers in this part of the country thought that their only hope of getting the full reward of their labour was to combine so as to show the capitalists they had got the power, and would no longer be ground down as they had been in the past.

J. L. Mahon moved:—

"That we call the attention of the workers throughout the country to the infamous attempt of the capitalists to reduce the starvation wages we have been receiving for the past few years, and we demand the practical help of all workers in our present struggle."

He said people were not aware of the position and the fight in which the miners had been engaged. From the lying concoctions, compiled by Government statisticians, people were led to believe that the mining population were very well off indeed, and that there was no reason for discontent on their part. He complained of the indifference of the labour representatives in Parliament. They were all here when they had a picnic, but they were all away when they were wanted to do anything useful. (A Voice: "That's true," and cheers.) The great obstacles that stood in the way of the progress of the working-men were—first, the apathy, and very often downright duplicity, of those who pretended to be the leaders of labour; and, secondly, the want of education in the great economical questions. The Socialists are trying to make England a place where every man could get a living who worked for it, and where no man should be allowed to loaf about without doing any work at all. (Cheers.)

Comrade W. Morris seconded the resolution in a stirring speech, which roused the utmost enthusiasm. The resolution was carried unanimously, with three cheers for the strike.

H. M. Hyndman proposed the following resolution:

"That, seeing the hopelessness of getting the just reward of labour under the present system of competition, monopoly, and wage-slavery, we pledge ourselves to organise for a free labour system, in which the land, capital, and all industrial resources shall be owned by the community, and used in co-operation for the good of all."

This was seconded by A. K. Donald, and carried with one dissentient.

A resolution condemning the Coercion Bill was moved by J. L. Mahon and seconded by H. M. Hyndman, and carried unanimously. Another resolution was passed protesting against the clauses in the new Mines Regulation Bill with regard to the employment of women and girls above ground.

The meeting concluded with cheers for the Social Revolution.

A meeting was held in the evening at Ryton Willows, J. L. Mahon presiding, when addresses on Socialism were given by W. Morris and A. K. Donald. A resolution was unanimously passed condemning the Coercion Bill.

WILLIAM MORRIS AT GLASGOW, HAMILTON, PAISLEY, AND COATBRIDGE.

On Wednesday evening, April 6th, on his return from lecturing at Edinburgh and Dundee, William Morris met the members of the Glasgow Branch and a few friends at tea. Over fifty persons were present. After tea Morris read the speech of John Ball, after which the evening was spent in songs, recitations, and speeches. A short report was given by the secretary, and Morris made a brief speech.

On Thursday, Morris lectured at Hamilton, under the auspices of the Hamilton Branch, on "Socialism and the Labour Struggle," McMunn in the chair. The meeting was not so large as was expected, owing probably to the miners being so much dispirited with the result of their recent strike. Those present, however, were entirely sympathetic, and a resolution in favour of Socialism, moved and seconded by the Secretary and President of the Hamilton miners, was carried unanimously.

On Friday, Morris lectured on "Socialism, the Way and the Means," at Paisley, Provost Cochrane in the chair. There were about 300 present. The Provost introduced Morris in a very sympathetic speech. After the lecture a resolution in favour of Socialism was carried unanimously. Names were then given in with the view of forming a Branch of the League at Paisley. At an after meeting, which was of a very hearty description, arrangements were made for this purpose.

On Saturday afternoon, Morris, in company with several members of the Glasgow Branch, held an open-air meeting at the Cross, Coatbridge. Morris, Glasier, and Downie spoke to a crowd of about 200 persons. Some objections were offered in a very fair spirit by one of the audience, to which Morris replied.

On Sunday, Morris spoke to an audience of 1000 to 1200 on Glasgow Green, making a marked impression on the crowd. Glasier, Rae, Curran, and Stewart (S.D.F.) also spoke. A resolution in favour of Socialism was carried with only three dissentients, while one against coercion was carried unanimously. The meeting closed with three hearty cheers for the Social Revolution. Socialism is getting a strong hold in Scotland, and the local men are confident of the future harvest for their present work.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

This department is under the direction of the Strike Committee. Labour News and Contributions to the Fund should be sent to T. BINNING, at the Offices.

BRITAIN.

THE ASHTON WEAVERS.—The majority of the Ashton-under-Lyne weavers, who have been on strike for eighteen weeks, have returned to work upon terms which give a slight advance in wages.

THE STRIKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND MINERS.—The coalowners of Northumberland having declined to accept the proposals for arbitration, the executive committee representing the men on Monday resolved to issue new ballot-papers, enabling the men to decide whether the committee be empowered to make the best terms for a settlement of the dispute, or whether the strike shall be continued.

STRIKE OF SCARBOROUGH FISHERMEN.—On smacks where donkey-engines are employed to raise the trawl beam and net, the men have been paying 5 per cent. on original cost of engine, the master finding oil, etc. The men are now required to pay 6½ and to provide oil. On Saturday last they refused to go to sea on these terms.

GLASGOW.—STRIKE OF POWER-LOOM WEAVERS.—A meeting of the weavers in the employment of Mr. John M'Pherson, power-loom cloth manufacturer, West Street, Calton, who are now on strike, took place on Monday forenoon in M'Keehnie Street Hall for the purpose of considering what action should be taken in the present dispute. The weavers, 150 in number, are on strike in consequence of the employer having increased the length of pieces of cloth without giving a corresponding increase of wages. The employes are now asked to weave 66 yards of cloth for the same amount of money as they were hitherto paid for pieces of 56 yards. "This," added one speaker, "was a fly way of reducing wages." It was stated that a deputation had waited on Mr. M'Pherson, but no agreement was made.

THE MINES REGULATION BILL.—A great demonstration of the miners of Nottinghamshire was held on Friday afternoon, 8th inst., on Bulwell Forest, on the outskirts of Nottingham. Alderman Cropper presided, and amongst the speakers were Mr. Broadhurst, M.P., and Mr. Flynn, M.P. More than 6000 persons were present. Mr. Broadhurst, speaking to a resolution urging all miners in the county to join the Nottingham Miners' Association, said they had had time to look into the Mines Regulation Bill of the Government, and to find many defects in it. The check-weighmen's clause would have to be absolutely altered before it would be satisfactory to the miners of the United Kingdom. The Bill would still leave in the hands of the manager of the mine the power to discharge the check-weighman for anything which he might be pleased to call bad conduct. The position of miners' families was not much altered by the Bill. Indeed, he was not sure whether it had not rather been weakened than strengthened. It was a crime against unborn children that women should be allowed to work at the heavy employment of collieries. They must also insist on an amendment raising the age of boys working in mines from ten to twelve. There were many other points in the Bill which would require the attention of miners' representatives.

"THE FOX AND THE GESE."—We have stated before that the convictions of employers for breaches of the Factories Acts have now become so common that we have ceased to take special notice of them. They are not, however, half so common as they ought to be, and last week we had another example of the reason why. A firm of manufacturers in business near Oswaldtwistle were summoned by Mr. Hamilton in twelve cases for working overtime on March 23. According to the inspector, the engine was not stopped until six minutes after the time for stopping for breakfast. The magistrates fined the firm £1 each in three cases, and costs in the rest. That means that in nine cases no conviction ensued further than what carried costs. We should like to know how many more cases could have been obtained at this firm and at this particular breakfast time. The inspector had only taken the names of twelve, so that we may reasonably assume he could have obtained more. In the face of this, nine out of twelve cases are practically dismissed. We don't particularly blame either the inspector or the firm. We can even to some extent excuse the magistrates, as some of them may be the next "on turn." What we blame most is the system which allows magistrates such a wide discretion. The penalties ought not only to be heavier, but ought to be inflicted in every case. A dozen cases brought forward out of perhaps a possible hundred or more, and then three fines out of a dozen is a travesty of justice which would not be tolerated for a moment if workmen were the defendants. The system will last just as long working people allow themselves to attach more importance to other people's business than their own.

—*Cotton Factory Times.*

"INDIVIDUALISTS."—Of all the disagreeable things connected with industrial strikes, that of having to contend with those who are ever ready to sell themselves for a temporary gain, and act the part of what is best described and understood among workmen as knobsticks, is the most distasteful to trades' union committees and officers of any they have to cope with. There are a numerous class of persons who are always on the look-out for securing subsistence without having to work for it, and as numbers of such persons are to be found in every town and country village, they are sure to put in an appearance when a labour dispute arises, and unless liberally dealt with in the shape of pecuniary grants, or put on strike pay along with the strikers, they are sure to cause trouble and assist the capitalist to defeat the cause of labour. The trades' unions are compelled to spend thousands of pounds annually in giving support to persons who never contributed a penny to their funds, and never will do, and this money has to be spent to buy over dishonest men, and stop them from injuring the cause for which true and good workmen have occasionally to strike. We know of several individual strikes now pending, and those connected with them are having to pay these persons to keep away from the place of the strike, and if no strike existed they would be far away from the locality, and that without any subsidising whatever, as such characters don't really want work, but only the money which they can make by threatening to go to work if it be denied them. Employers who are willing to put up with incompetent workmen during times of labour disputes, are only too ready to avail themselves of the services of unprincipled tramps to assist them in defeating their workmen. Hence it is that these men have to be arranged with, or the chances of the real strikers are greatly endangered. As the means to obtain employment become more restricted, and this is yearly taking place in most trades, the evil to which we allude will increase in intensity, and it will be most difficult to conduct an individual strike to a successful issue unless there be complete organisation in the branch of trade affected by the dispute.—*Cotton Factory Times.*

NEW SOUTH WALES.

SYDNEY, March 5.—THE SYDNEY UNEMPLOYED.—THREAT OF RIOT.—Claims for relief made upon the Government by the unemployed are increasing. To-day 235 tickets, from two to four meals each, were issued to married men, and 1,355 to single men. A representative of the unemployed waited upon the Immigration Officer to-day, and stated that he was deputed by 2,000 men out of work to say that they must have bread or work, and would not accept less than 6s. for a day's labour. If their requirements were not met the representative added that the Government must take the consequences. The Premier on being advised of the covert threat gave directions to the police to hold themselves in readiness to deal promptly with any act of riot on the part of the unemployed.

FRANCE.

MEHUN-SUR-YEVRE.—The strike of the porcelain-makers here still continues and subscription-lists are opened for the benefit of the families of those on strike.

At the Conseil des Prud'hommes last week, an employé in the service of a wine-merchant sued his master for damages on account of his being lamed in the hand in his service. He was of course made to pay. Too cheaply do the workers hold their bodies at; this young man was content to estimate the life-long damage to his hand at about £2, the fee of the doctor who attended him!

ITALY.

A correspondent of the *Fascio Operaio*, writing from Diano Marina, between which town and Mentone the late earthquake was principally disastrous, declares that the distributions of the Relief Committee were disgracefully partial, and in short here as elsewhere "the system of favouritism triumphed;" and while great numbers of the poor rendered utterly destitute received nothing, landowners and householders were favoured with money and goods, and had the face to accept these unfair gifts rightfully due to others whose state clamoured for help. The Relief Fund, was in fact, very badly managed, for Ventimiglia, which suffered but little, if at all, received abundant assistance. In one commune three-fourths destroyed by the shocks rice was sent in sufficient quantity to serve for one distribution; out of this the mayor and several others of "comfortable estate" did not blush to take their share! At Diano Marina the wood and materials sent for the erection of some sort of shelter for the houseless was voted for the use of the church instead, a grim piece of mockery of the consolations and comfort of religion!

SPAIN.

VALENCIA.—The strike of printers at Valencia still continues. They are receiving aid in money from the various labour-associations in the districts where the Labour Party or the Socialist Party hold their ground.

PORTUGAL.

PORTO.—An important strike is announced here among the workers at the tobacco factories. The "hands" number about three thousand. Numerous arrests have been made by the authorities, and it is said the progress of Socialism is somewhat marked in the town.

SOUTH PLACE DEBATES.

"E pur si mouvo"—or in other words, "We still gee"—would have been a fair comment by any one who attended the four debates just concluded. It is not every Sunday afternoon that the capacity of South Place Institute is taxed as it was in March. The ball was opened, as all balls should be, by one of each sex; Annie Besant and Corrie Grant debating on the proposition, "That the existence of classes who live upon unearned incomes is detrimental to the welfare of the community, and ought to be put an end to by legislation." Each debate was cut up into four speeches—twenty minutes to each speaker, and then ten minutes ditto.

Mrs. Besant opening, filled her twenty minutes in her usual logical-cum-emotional manner, cutting out the work for Corrie Grant in a style which noticeably knocked his logic completely out of his head. From his previous record as a somewhat go-ahead Radical, the leader of the last forlorn-hope attack on Woodstock, I had quite a high expectation of what he would be able to do; but the way he brought to mind the old chop-logic story about the horse-chestnut and the chestnut horse upset me. Mrs. Besant strongly insisted on the axiom that all wealth was the product of labour; Grant was bold enough to hazard an attempt to prove the reverse way of using the words was also correct. He was a poor exhibition while making the attempt, but when Mrs. Besant took his logic in hand it was a caution to snakes. Another droll exhibition was the Individualist trying to show what would be the result of any attempt upon the right to hoard up £10,000 in gold for the purpose of drawing upon later in life. "Would a man be committing a crime if he attempted to burgle some of the £10,000 in gold and would the saver-up be committing a crime if he killed the burglar who attempted to burgle what the saver-up had committed a crime in saving?" This may seem a somewhat involved sentence, especially as I purposely do not point it in any way, but it is not one whit more involved or muddled than the matter put before the audience as serious argument. This was immediately shown, by a few figures given by Mrs. Besant as to the total amount of what is called money existent, and by her asking whether it was seriously suggested that the wealth-owners proposed to store their railways and canals, etc., etc., in their back parlours so as to preserve their wealth to themselves; and if that were done, how much wealth would it really be?

Mrs. Besant handled her subject in her mingled fashion of hard logical argument and intense sympathy with the suffering she so emotionally painted once or twice, but she seemed sadly fatigued, or I am satisfied she would have handled her antagonist in the much severer fashion which he laid himself open to. I was completely disappointed in Grant, for I had somehow formed a very much higher

opinion of his power than he exhibited. I should not feel very well satisfied with my counsel if in a tight case no better defence could be made for me by him than was made *re* Individualism.

The second of the series was between G. Bernard Shaw and Rev. F. W. Ford, on the proposition, "That the welfare of the community necessitates the transfer of the land and existing capital of the country from private owners to the State."

Not so exactly punctual as on the previous Sunday did the proceedings begin; but Shaw wasted no time when started in stating his case, which he did neatly and lucidly.

Mr. Ford, a small dark man, wearing glasses, rather long hair, a voice and mannerism of exaggerated distinctness, which recalls Allanson Picton, did not suggest a very go-ahead sort of debate, but if not the most capable debater he was certainly the most energetic and voluble. I am inclined to the opinion that as a debater he was much the strongest, he certainly shirked awkward places the least of any of his fellows; if he did not solve serious doubts he made a fairly bold attempt to grapple with some of them, which is very much more than any of the others did.

At the start he wasted some time in the usual complimentary gush as to Mr. Shaw and his friends "having only the interests of the workers at heart," etc., and so forth. This sort of talk may be all very well in the pulpit, but when a tolerably plain proposition, covering a wide amount of debatable matter, has to be dealt with by two speakers in sixty minutes, I make bold to suggest that the too often insincere gush which is poured out had better be taken as said, and that the points at issue had much better be attacked right away. I do not for one moment suggest that sentiment and emotion is to be banished with political economy to Saturn, but I am sure it is often introduced to lead off the scent and cover retreat.

Mr. Ford led off by asserting that the whole of Mr. Shaw's argument was based on a fallacy. *Cela va sans dire*, according to Individualists when replying to Socialists.

He scored one rather neat point when he argued that the skilled labourer is a capitalist as compared with the unskilled. The argument continued by his next point was rather pretty, but showed just a trifle of its initial weakness. He endeavoured to show an exact parallel between this capital "skill" or "education" with "capital" as generally understood. ("Hereditry" is a capital which it is quite outside the power of any individual to vary to any great extent.) "That greater skill of course fairly demanded greater remuneration, and that this is one of the great factors of present inequality."

It struck me that we were going to have a rather elevated train of argument now. There were one or two fairly strong points made, and I "put forth the tender leaves of hope," but "ma goodness," almost the next breath he came out with that awful bosh of piling up all the wealth in one heap, and then going equal shares. "He fell like Lucifer never to rise again."

Naturally he raised a storm when he said that £93 per annum was the average wage of the workers. He was in worse form still when he tried to paint the terrible chance of everybody having plenty of food, but none of the present spirit of emulation.

He argued that "Liberty" (O thou strangely invoked non-entity!) is an absolute necessity, without which all worth of life would die out, and then in a perfect whirl of words painted the terror of a gigantic State machine which would allow no liberty of action in any one detail, food, dress, marriage, everything by rule, even "commerce will rapidly decline." Fancy that, ye starvelings, who are doing so well by commerce.

G. B. Shaw began his reply by some well-deserved strictures on the noisy section who often break a chain of reasoning to pieces by rowdy interruptions of approval or disapproval as the case may be. As to Mr. Ford's argument *re* skill, exceptional skill, or no skill at all, it was not a matter of pressing moment to find out the exact rate of wages to be paid for each, but he might be allowed to ask whether a Duke has 5,000 times the ability of any labourer; he has 5,000 times the pay, but he was sceptical as to any man having 5,000 times the skill of any other man. He said according to Mr. Ford we are on the horns of a dilemma, and "Smash" was a positive dead certainty.

Mr. Ford, in the concluding speech, dealt with land tenure, and suggested the suppositious case of his great-great-grandfather having taken by *strictly legal* means land, from the g. g. f. of G. B. Shaw, "what should be done with the present owners?" When "Chuck 'em out" from one of the irrepressibles suggested the more than possible solution, and brought down the curtain.

THOMAS SHORE, jun.

(To be concluded).

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

NOTICE.—All business matters relating to the Socialist League to be directed to the Secretary, H. A. Barker, 13 Farringdon Road, London, E.C.

Annual Conference.—The Third Annual Conference of the Socialist League will be held at 13 Farringdon Road on Whitsunday, May 29th. Branches are particularly requested to attend to the following arrangements, if they wish to be represented at the Conference: (1) To at once send a return of their membership to the General Secretary. The representation will be based on this return. (2) Branches cannot be represented unless all monthly subscriptions are paid up to March 31 by May 1st. (3) Notices of motion, amendment to Rules, etc., must be sent in six weeks before the Conference—i.e., not later than April 18th. (4) Agenda Paper will be forwarded on May 2nd to Branches complying with these arrangements.

Lessons in French.—Comrade Victor Dave is now giving lessons in French at the offices of the League on Tuesday evenings, at 8 o'clock. The lessons are free to members, and those desirous of profiting by them should send their names at once to the secretary of the League.

FRENCH CLASS will resume on Tuesday April 26.

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

Bound Volumes of 'COMMONWEAL' for 1886 can now be had. Price 5s. 6d.

General Meeting of London members adjourned to Monday April 18, at 8.

Reports for "Commonweal."—Branch Secretaries are requested to make their reports as brief as possible, dealing with points of general interest as to the progress of the propaganda, rather than attempting to give the substance of the lectures, for which there is not space, even if it were otherwise desirable. Notices should be confined to purely business announcements and written separately. Reports and Notices should be addressed to the "Printer," and cannot be guaranteed insertion unless they reach the office by 2 p.m. on Tuesday.

BRANCH SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID.

Birmingham, Hackney, Hull, Leeds, North London, to August 31. Manchester, Merton, Norwich, to October 31. Bradford, to November 30. Croydon, Hammersmith, Leicester, South London, to Dec. 31, 1886. Lancaster, to January 31. Bloomsbury, Walsall, to February 28. Clerkenwell, Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Oxford, to March 31, 1887.

THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

C. W. Mowbray and Fred Henderson, of the Socialist League, were sentenced at the Norwich Assizes on Jan. 20 to nine and four months' imprisonment respectively. The costs of the trial amounted to £60, and Mowbray's wife and five children must be provided for during his imprisonment, so that at least £100 will be required. The treasurer of this fund therefore appeals to every one to give all the assistance he can.

Arthur, 6d. Leeds Branch, 2s. Collected by Mrs. Dyer, 3s. For Mrs. Mowbray—A few Fabians, per Annie Besant (weekly), 10s.—J. LANE, Treasurer.

BRANCH REPORTS.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, April 6, Eleanor Marx-Aveling lectured on "Socialism in Europe and America." Good discussion followed. On Sunday morning, April 10, a very successful anti-Coercion meeting was held on Clerkenwell Green, being well-attended by local citizens. The Merton Branch and Clerkenwell Branch of the Socialist League amalgamated with the Clerkenwell Branch of the Social Democratic Federation, speeches being delivered by members of these sections. The following resolution was put and carried unanimously: "That this meeting expresses its deep abhorrence of the Coercive Measures levelled against the Irish nation, and is of opinion that, the Land Question being at the root of the Irish troubles, no political change can have permanent value unless accompanied by, or be in the direction of, the abolition of Landlordism in Ireland; and is further of opinion that the Irish nation should be left free to settle with the landlords without any restriction whatever from the English Parliament." Much enthusiasm prevailed, and the meeting closed with three hearty cheers for the Social Revolution. In the evening, at Farringdon Hall, L. Gronlund addressed good audience on "The Familistere of Guise," describing it as mere philanthropy. Literature has sold well.—W. B. and T. E. W.

HOXTON.—W. C. Wade lectured on "Radicalism from a Socialist Standpoint," taking as the base of his objections to Radicalism, that Radicalism is founded on expediency while Socialism is founded on principle. The discussion after the lecture was enlivened by the remarks of an employé of the Liberty and Property Defence League, a Mr. Lyons, who at the close of the discussion challenged us to debate the aims and objects of the L.P.D.L. The challenge was accepted, and notice of the same sent to the secretary of the L.P.D.L.—E. P.

EDINBURGH.—On Tuesday, April 5, Wm. Morris lectured in Free Tron Hall on "Monopoly." Spirited discussion at close, and Socialistic resolution carried. Good sale of literature.—G.

NORWICH.—Large and enthusiastic meetings were held on Sunday and Monday in various parts of the city, addressed by Joseph Lane and others of the Socialist League, in favour of Socialism and against Coercion.

BIRMINGHAM.—At a meeting in the Birmingham Forward Liberal Club last week, the debate on "Is Socialism sound?" which had been debated for four nights, the question was decided in the affirmative. Speakers belonging to the Club, the Fabian Society, the S. D. F., and the Socialist League, took part in the debate, which aroused great interest.

DUBLIN.—Our Dublin comrades are doing right good work, which is having effect. Discussions and meetings are being attended, and occasional lectures given. The leaflet issued by the Irish section is being widely circulated throughout Ireland, and is attracting attention to Socialism. The Labour League lately formed here has also been bestirring itself.

NOTTINGHAM.—On Sunday, April 3, a Conference of members of the Socialist Union, the International, and the Social Democratic Federation, was held to consider the desirability of combining the different bodies in one independent local organisation. I. Hamer was in the chair, and J. Winterton, J. Peacock, P. H. Knight, T. Proctor, H. Cooper (S.U.), and W. Winterton (S.D.F.) spoke in favour of the proposal. It was finally moved by J. Wane, seconded by J. Peacock, "That this meeting form itself into the Nottingham and District Socialist Brotherhood, and use all their united efforts to advance its propaganda, and make the local movement a success. The Brotherhood to be unconnected with any outside society." J. Winterton was unanimously elected secretary *pro tem*. The meetings are held at the Liberty Café, Alfred Street, Central. In the evening a meeting was held in the great Market Place, at which about 2,000 persons were present, and a resolution condemning the Tory Coercion Act for Ireland was unanimously carried. The propaganda among the miners of the Mansfield division was commenced on Thursday night by J. Peacock and T. Proctor; the literature given to them was gladly received, and the speeches made by the two Socialists were loudly cheered.

TO THE TAIL-LESS.—The name of the enterprising capitalist who "employs" apes to break and prepare his hemp for market is Mr. Parkes. He has a farm at Kingston, Kentucky. He has seven of them at present; they were sent to him by his brother in South Africa, and he has already ordered ten more. He says they do the work more rapidly and better than negroes, and at one fiftieth the cost. He cages them at night and feeds them on raw turnips, carrots, and potatoes. It only took him four months to train them. They don't need houses, books, pictures, baby-clothes, nor school-books for their children. It costs about 3 cents a day for their subsistence and when they die, planted in the furrows, they serve as excellent fertilizers. Skinned and tanned their hides make splendid leather, and its use will not be followed by any outcry of horror like that that saluted the utilisation of the Tewksbury pauper. Mr. Monkey also has no vote. Isn't it time for the long-eared, tail-less toilers to WAKE UP?—*Labor Enquirer*.

LECTURE DIARY.

London Branches.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street. A Business Meeting of great importance will be held on Thursday 21st, at 8.30. All members must attend at the Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street. On Friday April 22, at 8.30, G. Bernard Shaw will lecture.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday April 17, at 8.30 p.m. Mr. W. Allen, "Men versus Money." Wednesday 20, at 8.30 p.m. Dr. Drysdale, "Malthusians and Socialists."

Croydon.—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday April 17, at 7.15 p.m. F. Verinder, "The Queen's Jubilee and the People's Jubilee."—Committee Meeting every Friday at 8 p.m. sharp, at Parker Road.

Hackney.—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 8 till 11. Business Meeting every Tuesday at 8.30. On Sunday Apr. 17, at 8 p.m. A Lecture.

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday April 17, at 8 p.m., William Morris, "True and False Society."

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—Club Room, 2 Crondall Street, New North Road. Sunday April 17, at 8 p.m. Eleanor Marx-Aveling will lecture. A CONCERT and Social Evening, will be held on Saturday April 23, at 8 p.m.—admission free. Committee meeting on Friday April 29, at 8.30 p.m.

Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday. Discussions held every Sunday morning at 11.

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

Country Branches.

Bingley.—Coffee Tavern. Every Monday at 7.30 p.m.

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

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

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. Reading Room and Library open every Wednesday evening, 8 till 10.

Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. On Sunday, open-air meetings at the Green at 1 and 5 o'clock. Lecture and discussion in Rooms, 84 John Street, at 7 p.m.

Hamilton.—Branch meets every Thursday at 7.30 in Paton's Hall, Chapel Street.

Hull.—11 Princess Street, Sykes Street. Lectures on Sunday at 7 p.m. Thursday at 8 p.m., Political Economy Class.

Lancaster.—Addresses every Sunday morning on the Quay Jetty.

Leicester.—Spiritualist Hall, Silver Street.

Manchester.—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening 6 to 10 p.m. Lecture and discussion every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Newcastle.—Meets every Sunday night at the Temperance Hall, Gallowgate, at 7 p.m.

Norwich.—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Free Lectures every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room open every evening. See open-air meetings below.

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

Seaton Delaval (Northumberland).—Meeting-place will be announced next week.

Open-air Propaganda—Sunday 17.

11.30...Hackney—"Salmon and Ball" Hobbs & Allman
11.30...Hammersmith—Beadon Rd.The Branch
11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.Pope & Wade
11.30...Garrett—Plough InnThe Branch
11.30...Regent's ParkCantwell & Nicoll
11.30...St. Pancras ArchesWardle & Dalziel
11.30...Walham GreenThe Branch
3.30...Hyde Park.....Mainwaring & Wardle

TUESDAY.

8...Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street...Cantwell & Donald

WEDNESDAY.

8.30...Broadway, London Fields ...H. Graham

PROVINCES.—SUNDAY.

Norwich.—St. Mary's Plain, at 11; Market Place, 3; Agricultural Hall Plain, 7.

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

Leicester.—Humberston Gate, 11 a.m.

Dublin.

A MONSTER MEETING in advocacy of the RIGHTS OF LABOUR will be held on Sunday April 17, at Harold's Cross Green, at 4 p.m. Several well-known Socialists will speak.

DUBLIN.—Irish Labour League, 2 Bachelors Walk, every Thursday at 8 p.m. Discussion on all subjects connected with the Labour Question. All interested are requested to attend.

SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.

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THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 67.

SATURDAY, APRIL 23, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

THE agitation against the Coercion Bill is going on quite as briskly as might have been expected; but of course it is not the kind of opposition which will prevent a parliamentary majority from passing the Bill. Whether the Government will venture to put it in force when passed is another matter. The popular opposition, respectable as it is, does not seem to be of that volume and energy which implies a threat of consequences beyond the ballot-box; and as to the vote, the agitation is discounted by the Tories because they know that a very large proportion of the agitators have not got it, in spite of the assertion of our "light and leading" friend the *Spectator* that "every man has the vote or could have it if he would,"—an assertion, by the way, which those who do not know that estimable journal might suppose to be either a joke or a deliberate lie, but which I may assure our readers is made in good faith, and in the exercise of that curious fatuity which is the chief characteristic of that "official organ" of the Prigs.

This much may at least be said about the anti-coercion agitation (no doubt it has been said often already, but may well be said still oftener), that the wall which parted the Irish from the English democracy has been thrown down. Here at least, if no otherwise is, *union*—that kind of union which comes of men respecting each others' rights.

Nor should the Tories hug themselves too much on their majority. There are not lacking signs that the pendulum will swing Gladstone-wards at the next election. The defeat of the Unionists on the Birmingham Caucus, Mr. Trevelyan's anti-coercion letter, the "raising of Cain(e)" at Barrow, and so forth, are the kind of things that go before the fall of a big parliamentary majority. Of course it goes without saying that a great many Liberal M.P.'s—those chiefly who are not marked for office—will be bitterly disappointed at their success. If only the Irish would turn tail, and accept some "compromise," and then never be heard of again, how glad would these gentry be! Liberalism might then be purified of its last taint of reality.

The way in which the coercionist press tries to belittle the quite successful Easter Monday demonstration is a good example of the by-ways of party guidance. The *Standard* may be taken as the type of these optimists, or rather would-be optimists, whose fury betrays the fact that they are miserably disappointed with our success. One point is worth noting which is expressed in the following sentence in the *Standard*: "The preponderance in the huge crowd of the class which needs no oratory, honest or dishonest, to whet its animosity to law and order was a sinister symptom." Now not even amidst its foaming-at-the-mouth-disappointment can the *Standard* pretend to take exception to the behaviour of the very orderly crowd of Easter Monday: it is agreed on all hands that there was an entire absence of the horse-play which generally winds up these Hyde Park demonstrations. So what the *Standard* means is that the revolutionists and their sympathisers were in the majority there; and the whole coercionist press makes a handle of this fact against the Gladstonites.

Well, well! times are changed, it seems, since the last Hyde Park demonstration which I attended—the Franchise one—where the banner of the Labour Emancipation League was destroyed, and our comrade John Burns hustled by a Radical mob, because he had said a few words of blasphemy against Mr. John Bright. Would the Easter Monday crowd have hustled any one who had taken the trouble to call in question the infallibility of the Quaker pope?

It is much to be hoped that all friends of freedom will rally to our meeting in Hyde Park on the 24th, to sympathise with the Northumbrian Miners. A stronger case for sympathy and help could scarcely be put before the public, as the readers of *Commonweal* must already have noted. It would be shame to us in London indeed if working men here were to allow the political prize-fight to absorb all their attention, when such worthy men as these are suffering so unworthily, and struggling so hard against the tyranny of our idiotic system of sham society.

The *Pall Mall Gazette*, while it has done good service in some directions is certainly curiously inconsistent. It has most vigorously sustained the battle against coercion in Ireland, and apparently is prepared

to go on doing so; nevertheless in the very same issue which contains an attack (most justly deserved) on Mr. Chamberlain for his newly-developed love of the fairly complete form of "freedom of contract" known as the Crimes Bill, contains also a letter, printed with all the honours and obviously with editorial approval, from Madame de Novikoff, the acknowledged agent for quite the completest form of coercion yet known in this world—the modern Government of Russia. This is really rather too grotesque.

On the other hand I read in the *Daily News* that the whole Russian press condemns the Coercion Act!!! It really is too quaint.

Mr. Baggallay asked Mr. Labouchere if he was prepared to repeat in the House his saying in Hyde Park that the policy of the Government was one of the ruffianism of Bill Sykes. "Beyond all question," quoth Mr. Labouchere. This is a pleasant hearing, after the usual explanations and eating of words which are the custom of the House. But then Mr. Labouchere has been always careful to show that he is not a fool; as careful as most M.P.'s are to show the contrary—though certainly they need not labour hard at that business.

Apropos of this subject, Mr. Conybeare should learn to understand that a man should not be too greedy of humble-pie if he wishes to retain any respect from those who in any way profess to be fighting the popular cause. Explanation on the top of apology is—Well, we really want Sam Weller to characterise this excess in the banquet of humility!

WILLIAM MORRIS.

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN IN THE NORTH.

For some weeks the readers of the *Commonweal* have been informed of the progress of Socialism in Northumberland—how we have been holding large meetings in Newcastle and in the villages in the neighbourhood, and how eagerly the people have bought pamphlets and papers that they might study our doctrines at their leisure. In order to bring the agitation to a point it was resolved to hold a demonstration in the centre of the colliery district and to put resolutions to the meeting pledging the men to adopt the principles of Socialism. On the morning of Easter Monday the Socialist missionaries from London proceeded from Newcastle to the colliery villages, and addressed meetings and organised the processions. At every one of these places they were received in the most hearty manner. One thing was very striking—namely, that the strongest supporters of Socialism were usually the most respected men in the villages. It is usual for Cockney journalists to call our supporters a pack of lazy discontented ne'er-do-weels; but the press here admit that we have got hold of the very best of the people. After the local meetings were over, the processions were formed and the march began. In many cases from six to eight miles had to be travelled to reach the meeting-place. Fortunately the weather was of the most favourable kind, and the fresh air and bands prevented the marches being tedious. At the meeting-place, which was a field lent by a kindly farmer, Mr. Hardman, the Socialist League had a representative distributing broadcast the manifesto of their Strike Committee, which was eagerly read by the men. At about two o'clock the processions came in sight; from all points of the compass the banners were seen floating in the air, and the sound of the miners' bands greeted the ear. Some four or five constables put in an appearance, but they looked rather sheepish. They felt, no doubt, that they were a little out of place, as it was hard to see what five policemen could have done against ten thousand determined men. A large waggon was borrowed from a neighbouring farm, and this served as platform. It was immediately boarded by a troop of reporters, who pretty nigh took up all the room. Fielding was appointed chairman, and as soon as he stood up the meeting became quiet and attentive, in which state it remained until its close. An amusing incident however took place with regard to the reporters. The crowd did not know who the army of eminently respectably-dressed men were who were in the waggon beside the speakers. But the moment Fielding opened, out came the note-books, and the reporting business got under weigh. The crowd stopped the proceedings to turn the reporters out. On these gentlemen remonstrating, the spokesman of the crowd stated that the reason they wanted them out of it was because they gave in bogus reports; but he said if the reporters would faithfully promise to give a full and accurate report, or none at all, they would let them

remain. This the reporters agreed to, but only in the case of the *Newcastle Chronicle* was it fairly kept. Fielding then read the resolutions. The first was expressing sympathy with the miners on strike; the second was pledging the men at the meeting to organise themselves to assume collective possession of the land and capital of the country; the last was an anti-coercion resolution.

Comrade Mahon told the men that the workers in other parts of England did not know of the brave struggle the miners of Northumberland were maintaining against the robbers of labour. If the same thing had been going on in Ireland, the country would have rung from one end to the other with the tale of the miners' wrongs. But, he said, the representatives of labour, instead of standing up for their electors, were merely obeying the orders of the wire-pullers, and never uttering one vigorous protest against the unjust demands of the employers. The meeting cheered most heartily when he said that no one need be afraid of Socialism who was willing to work. Only lazy, idle, thriftless drones need feel afraid.

Morris told the men that he did not consider the life they were leading to be life at all in the proper sense of the word. He wanted to see men really full of spirit and vigour, rejoicing in life and fearing death; whereas to-day most people are on the whole rather glad when their end comes. "Rebel you must, or you will die slaves, and your children will call you craven cowards for allowing them to be born into a world so full of tyranny and wrong!"

H. M. Hyndman, in advising the people to pledge themselves to the principle of Socialism, pointed out how impossible it was for any permanent benefit to result from a merely local strike. What would a strike of all miners in Britain mean? It would mean that the capitalist dogs would have to surrender, and that the people would arrange the terms; but now these local strikes merely crippled the funds of the trade organisations, and allowed the mine-owners to work off their surplus stock at increased prices.

A. K. Donald, as in a sense representing the Scottish miners, was very heartily received. In the course of a telling speech, delivered in stentorian tones that were heard by all the vast assemblage, he ridiculed the idea that they were to be satisfied with a few shillings increase in sixty years. They should insist on having the full fruits of their labour, and never rest till every honest worker was secured a decent livelihood. The misery endured by the workmen under the present system was a scandal to the community and a shame to themselves. The idle, wasteful, and vicious drones were exalted, while the hard-working and necessary part of society was degraded and ground into the mire. The mine-owners and landlords were amusing themselves in the gambling-hells of Paris, London, and Berlin on the stolen proceeds of the pitman's toil. The poverty of the poor was caused by the robbery of them carried on by the rich. The wives and daughters of the workers could hardly get sufficient food or decent clothing, while the frivolous and stupid ladies of high society were pampered and bedecked and loaded down with the costly apparel provided from the earnings of the working class. There must be no compromise with this infamous system. The workers must be organised for the overthrow of the tyrannical and thieving system. Cunning and craft and cultured blackguardism must be torn from the place of honour it now occupied, and skill, industry, and honest useful labour revered as the only qualities which should raise a man in the esteem of his fellows.

Loud and repeated cheers greeted the conclusion of Donald's speech. Mahon then moved a resolution condemning coercion. He said it was no use protesting or declaring indignation against this repeated attempt to put down freedom of speech and combination amongst the Irish workers. When the law tried to shut men's mouths and keep them from organising against tyranny, it was time to cry "down with the law, and damn the law." He hoped the Irish would rise in forcible rebellion against coercion.

Hyndman seconded the resolution, and pointed out that the Socialists were consistent in opposing Tory coercion, as they had also opposed Liberal coercion. The landlords and capitalists on both sides of the Channel supported each other, and the workers must combine in a similar manner.

After a resolution had been passed against the employment of women and girls about the mines, the proceedings ended.

In spite of the enormous size of the crowd, the utmost silence was maintained, and the speeches listened to with eager attention. While Morris was speaking he observed some policemen, whom he proceeded to chaff rather unmercifully. He also gave them some very sensible advice. The blue-coats beat an undignified retreat, amid the ironical applause of the meeting. It will surprise our London comrades, however, to know that at this enormous gathering five policemen, and an inspector in a comfortable gig, were the only representatives of law and order. The meeting lasted two hours. The resolutions were all carried with but one dissentient, and the meeting ended with three tremendous cheers for the Social Revolution.

Morris, Donald, and Mahon at once hurried off to the other side of the Tyne, where they addressed a large crowd at Ryton Willows. Comrade Field, once a member of the Hammersmith Branch of the Socialist League, turned up here and made an excellent speech.

This demonstration has now established the power of Socialism in the North. The papers have all had to admit the overwhelming success of the meeting and the great unanimity of the assent given to the Socialist doctrines. The organising arrangements were all planned and carried out by comrade Mahon, the cost being a few shillings under £3. A new victory for the Cause in a fresh part of the country.

D. M.

SOUTH PLACE DEBATES.

(Concluded from p. 127.)

SIDNEY WEBB and Dr. T. B. Napier were the third disputants, the proposition to wrestle with being: "That the main principles of Socialism are founded on, and in accordance with, modern economic science." Sidney Webb said the ground of debate would be principles and not places, and remarked that some Socialists will not care much about economic principles; which brought out some noisy "hear, hears," upon which he scored neatly by saying the "hear, hearers" are the very people who give themselves away,—which is true. He then ran over the names of some of those, from Robert Owen, who have been Socialists ex political economists. "Ran over," I may say, is here no mere mode of expression, for Webb is an exceedingly rapid speaker, but withal very clear. By his rapidity of speaking, closeness of argument, and ready and apt quotation, he covered more various ground and more completely filled his bill than any of the whole eight debaters. He avowed himself a Malthusian, but one who says that the question of population of itself will not in the long run affect the question of Rent. As to controlling all means of production, he claimed to have "all the economists with him, down to the ground." By quotations from Prof. Sidgwick, Cliffe, Leslie, Cairnes, and a particularly strong passage from Mill written in 1865, he claimed to have proved that the whole professors of political economy were on the side of Socialism, which is to-day "only making the principles known to the masses."

Dr. Napier began with the usual admission of being quite at one with Mr. Webb in his sympathy with the workers, and then rolled off a wonderful mixture about Stewart Headlam, General Booth, and Mr. Hyndman. I had noticed while Webb was speaking the Dr. had several times put his hand to his forehead and gazed across the table as if dazed by the job he had in front when his time to reply came. I am sure something happened to him while listening to Webb which drove out all he had intended to say and gave his mind a new direction. Dr. Napier positively never once dealt with the text put before him. I thought Corrie Grant quite enough off his base, but Dr. Napier, by devoting almost the whole of his first twenty minutes to an examination of the results of the introduction of a new machine into the boot trade, and the position of the man who has saved up £4000, quite surpassed all previous efforts in how not to debate a certain text. Dr. N. was quite dramatic in his representation of the cutting up of profits between the capitalist and the worker. There was an excess of interruption by the audience, but addressing so many of his remarks in the form of questions, the Dr. fairly laid himself open to interruption. He made much of frightening away capital, and also by excess of State interference weakening the self-reliance of the workers. He warned the workers against too many Trafalgar Square meetings and church parades, and strongly urged Mrs. Besant's 'Law of Population,' and technical education, free if possible. He made the somewhat bold assertion that Socialists hate statistics.

Webb, in his reply, mentioned that his antagonist seemed to have forgotten that there was a certain proposition to debate, for he had in no one point dealt with it. As to co-operation, of which slight mention had been made, he quoted from Cairnes to show how much that would do. "Individualists," said Webb, "must wake up from the delusion as to orthodox political economy being on their side—it is quite the reverse."

Napier began his second heat by admitting Rent to be a monopoly. He then flew off at a tangent, going into a tirade against the present mal-administration in high places. He admitted the existence of many glaring inequalities, but insisted we must deal with them as practical men, and not be led away by such halfpenny phrases as "all wealth being due to labour."

The last proposition to be discussed was, "That State interference with, and control of, industry is inevitable, and will be advantageous to the community." H. H. Champion to affirm; Wordsworth Donisthorpe, of the Liberty and Property Defence League, to deny. Champion began by an appeal for quiet attention; "he was there to advance and urge certain arguments, not to make any demonstration of force or suggest any such by the amount of noise which part of the audience might be able to make." As to first part of the proposition, there was little need to deal at any length with that. As to the next part, that it has done good and will do more, as abstract questions are best examined by concrete examples, he put the case of two farms belonging to one landlord; one farmer by offering higher rent drives out the other; the remaining farmer gets for himself a bigger income than he had before, the landlord gets a bigger income than he had before, but one farmer and some labourers are driven out of employ, and less food is produced to the community. He dealt with the Cobden Club free-trade fallacy, that cheapness of production is an unmixed good. Champion seemed to me to devote too much time to discussing what his opponent was going to say, which is decidedly a weak line.

Mr. Donisthorpe admitted that to some extent his antagonist was right in his historical sketch re growth of Socialism; but he said "Armies have grown immensely during the last ten years; is Mr. Champion prepared to admit that militarism is a growing feeling among the mass, or that it is any reason for satisfaction?" He raised a laugh by saying Adam was born just exactly five thousand nine hundred and sixty-five years and three weeks ago,—at least, three hundred years ago people had to believe this statement. That was Socialism! Men have been ordered as to how they should dress, eat, drink, sleep, wash, etc., etc.; and on some one putting a question for details, he promptly referred the enquirer to Leviticus and Deuteronomy. He had a droll

cut at Test Acts and vaccination in saying that no one can enter the post-office or the army without accepting State disease at the point of the State lancet, and founded on the objection to this an argument that to add to such State interference would be only to add to present trouble. Tendency, he urged, was very much what the enquirer made it; the Socialist found the tendency to Socialism, the Individualist found the reverse; "each wish was father to the thought." Mr. Champion had mentioned that good had been done by the State interfering with house-farmers; he (Donisthorpe) would submit that the Torrens' Act being followed by six amending Acts proved something not as the Socialist suggested. Such enterprises as the Peabody proved private effort the better agent. Whereat some uproar and denial as to the working class being better housed than in the past. Mr. Champion had urged the case of the Factory and Mines Regulation Acts; he (Donisthorpe) did not believe that any body of men to-day would put children of tender years to such work—"if so, the sooner the country goes to the devil the better." He then gave a cleverly garbled examination of the growth of trades' unions, insisting that if the men had trusted wholly to themselves they would have been better off to-day; but they allowed, invited, accepted State interference, which spoilt the job. Some of which is true, but all of which wanted careful analysis, which I am sorry Champion did not give. Mr. Donisthorpe said he had worked in a mine (some naughty sceptics up-stairs smiled out quite loudly and sarcastically), and "that it was much better to work in a mine with all its much-talked-of dangers, so as to earn a good dinner, than stay at home and starve." He did not stay to examine the statement that the dangers have to be accepted too often with starvation. He dealt in the same fashion with seafaring and its dangers. He made very much of a certain deputation *re* the Mines Acts some years ago, when it was stated those Acts had saved sixty lives from accident and starved 60,000 by reason of want of employ.

Champion began his second speech by a sharp and well-deserved rebuke to those infernal nuisances the people who will carry on the supplementary debate which is the curse of almost all these meetings. Is chivalry quite dead? What would have been thought if in the olden days of the lists each champion (no pun meant) had been liable to assault from a lot of bystanders? H. H. scored one when he wondered what would have been the result to Mr. Donisthorpe had he been brought up as thousands of London children are, and had been compelled to *constantly* work in a mine. He seemed on rather weak ground when he drew an illustration from old Greek society with its chattel-slaves. As to Mr. D.'s argument that private effort has done and will do most good as to housing the workers, he showed that where a company desired to raise capital, but meant to keep the dividend down to five per cent., capital came in very slowly, while to float a new gun company, with a chance of twenty per cent., capital flowed in.

Mr. Donisthorpe, in the concluding speech, allowed that the motive-power behind individualism to be a refined species of selfishness, self-interest. According to Mr. D., "Socialism spreads as new classes come into power; it is a pandering for popularity on the part of each new body of rulers." But the principal reason for the spread of Socialism is, "that there is always a lazy lot of weaklings who believe they will have a better chance if things are better conditioned." I should have thought myself that to be better conditioned was simply giving all a better chance, and didn't want much debating. Labour, he concluded by saying, had really done what the old alchemists were always trying and talking about—turned everything into gold. Therefore "to labour" was the only thing to do. He forgot to say who was to enjoy the fruits of the labour, which was the point in dispute.

Just a few words to conclude. If this series has proved anything, it has proved Socialists have nothing to lose by constant discussion. I am anxious to be as impartial as one mind possibly can be—absolute impartiality is an absolute impossibility—but I feel forced to say that as defenders of a system of society the Individualists just dealt with made a very sorry show. I feel certain there are Socialists who, for purposes of debate, would be able to make a better defence of Individualism than was made by any one of its champions above named. Positively in listening to them—especially Grant and Napier—it seemed they were put up, not to show the strength of the position, but how ridiculous, how monstrous the attempt to defend the present social conditions really is. Then ever and anon this satisfaction is broken into by the recollection that these men have reason to say they have not been able to do their best, because of the noisy interruption they have to endure from possibly well-meaning but certainly ill-advised critics, friendly or the reverse; for there *are* some of both, and both debaters have to endure the annoyance—the Socialist least, no doubt. It is time to make a strong protest on this point. A debate is on a different footing to a lecture; even then interpolated remarks are very unfair. A debate is almost exactly paralleled as I have done above by the suggestion of two knights, and the field should be totally left to them for the time being. A long, carefully worked out chain of argument, each link well made and depending on its fellow, is just as badly spoilt by a burst of applause as by the reverse, when it prevents the speaker proceeding or the audience hearing. Again, thought is an exceedingly tricky sprite, and a speaker must be immensely strong in controlling his thoughts if in the midst of a sustained argument he have a new series of thought-pictures conjured up by some hasty interpolation and yet continue his first intended line; there are not many who can do this without weakening. Further, sixty minutes for two speakers allows no time to waste in gas, platitude, and noise. It is unfair to those who have to teach and those who wish to learn. "O! reform it."

THOMAS SHORE, jun.

"SOCIALISM OR MONOPOLY?"

WE have before us an Italian work on the general subject of Socialism ('Socialismo o Monopolio?'—3s., published by the author), by F. S. Merlino. There is not much latter-day Italian writing treating the subject from a historic standpoint, which lack should render this volume all the more welcome to those who are desirous of pursuing their study below the surface of flowery sentimentalism or street-corner rhetoric. The author of this work begins by giving a sketch of the growth of Monopoly, which is short but comprehensive, and very ably written. He glances at the primitive communities of ancient times, and the remains and traces of the same in the village-life of various countries—the Swiss *allmends*, the Russian *mir*, the *townlands* of the Hebrides. "The road," says the writer, "which has led the human family from community of goods to monopoly is paved through out with violence and rapine. With all peoples and at all epochs the great promoters of monopoly are conquest in the external relations of tribes and folks, and in their internal relations *usurpation*," instancing the success of Athenian commercial enterprise and the Roman conquest that followed on its ruin; their highest development and in their realisation their decay. He reviews shortly the growth of feudalism in England, the monopoly of land, which is followed "hard upon," and naturally, by monopoly of land-products and all goods; for, as he says, when at the usurpation of the barons, the general right survived to the disinherited people of enjoying the use of common lands and common woods, this right was supposed to remain to them at the time of the abolition of feudal property; "but the peasant lacking tools and other necessary means of cultivation, the ex-baron, now become absolute and irresponsible possessor of the soil, takes from him, for a mere nothing, his possession grown useless." Mentioning the gold-discoveries and the feverous and factitious impetus given to commerce thereby, the institution of national or popular banks in England, France, and Italy at the end of the seventeenth century, the writer describes the substitution of the "Grande Industrie" for the "Petite Industrie" in the beginning of this century, and says in closing his review of the past of Monopoly, "The machine and the wage-worker complete the chain of property and crown the edifice of monopoly, imparting to industry that movement whose intensity and rapidity weakens it to-day, and allow the capitalist to accumulate enormous gains in some few hours and then to suspend the process of production." After pointing out that "economic science had at its birth at the end of the last century the well defined aim of discovering means to obviate the evils of monopoly," its first high priests and students writing in all good faith and honesty, the writer proceeds to review modern economy, with its fallacies of free trade, free contract, and the like, private enterprise and monopoly in agriculture, means of transport, finance, and so forth. He likens society to-day to a beleaguered city, in which we are forced to buy all goods at three-fold, four-fold, ten-fold their cost. This is the case certainly with many things (as the necessities of life, house-shelter, and many foods), but with numerous goods—quasi-luxuries, the new-coined "necessaries" of a flash civilisation—there is a certain deceptive halo of cheapness which quite takes in the ignorant, who vaunt the "progress" of social life (a lamentable progress indeed!), and unfortunately are incapable of watching the progress that exists in truth. The short descriptive chapter on the "Theory of Monopolism" is plain and clear, though perhaps wanting in detail. It is summarised on the first page: "Monopoly is born, not of the simple appropriation of the products of nature, or of the difference of utility between goods, and of productivity of labour, but is born of the right which a man arrogates to himself to dispose of natural products, specified or otherwise, under the form of extracting by this means a profit on the labour of others." In one of the "Fallacies of the Economists," however, I am bound to say that I see no fallacy, but a truth—namely, in the definition of Rent. Rent is the difference in productivity between the best-yielding land and the worst, to put it shortly and roughly. But the difference between rent to-day and in a Socialist state of society is that whereas now the proprietor of the superior land gains from the greater productivity of his land, in a reasonably ordered community this surplus will go into the stores of the community, and thus maintain economic equilibrium. Rent of this sort, in countries where the quality of the soil varies, must always be—though, it may be, only implicitly. In giving us an outline of a possible Socialist organisation, he dwells upon the importance of immediate labour-combination the day after the fighting days of the Revolution, laying stress upon the influence for good or bad that the speedy or tardy reintegration of the factors of labour will have upon the character of the social change.

We regret that Signor Merlino has not touched upon the ethical side of Socialism, having given us so clear and able a general view in a much condensed form of its economics. The ethics of Socialism are too much ignored by most expounders of its doctrines. For all this omission, Signor Merlino has very successfully done his work of laying before his compatriots a clear and simple exposition of the ills of Capitalism and the benefits of Socialism; while we may add that there is nothing throughout his writing to ruffle the temper of the most rabid anti-Anarchist of us all.

M. M.

AMSTERDAM, April 13.—Taking advantage of the festivities in celebration of the King of Holland's seventieth birthday, a deputation from the Universal Suffrage Union had an audience of King William, and presented a petition praying his Majesty to pardon M. Domela Nieuwenhuis, who was condemned in June last to a year's solitary confinement for insulting the king. The petition sets forth that M. Nieuwenhuis is seriously ill.



"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.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday April 20.

ENGLAND			HOLLAND
Justice	Boston—Woman's Journal		Hague—Recht voor Allen
Jus	Liberty		
Norwich—Daylight	Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer		SWITZERLAND
Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung	New Haven (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate		Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
Cotton Factory Times	Chicago (Ill.)—Knights of Labor		
Glasgow—Pioneer	Vorbote	ITALY	
Yorkshire Free Press	Labor Enquirer	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio	
Die Autonomie	Albina (Oreg.)—Weekly Courier	Turin—Il Muratore	
Anarchist	Salem (Oreg.)—Advance-Thought	Naples—Humanitas	
Worker's Friend	Detroit (Mich.)—The Advance and Labor Leaf	SPAIN	
	Cincinnati (O.) Unionist	Madrid—El Socialista	
BANKIPORE—Behar Herald	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	Cadiz—El Socialismo	
Bombay Gazette	Douglasville (Ga.) Weekly View	PORTUGAL	
Allahabad—People's Budget	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario	
Adelaide—Our Commonwealth	Seattle (W.T.) Voice of the People	AUSTRIA	
	FRANCE	Arbeiterstimme	
Toronto—Labor Reformer	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Vienna—Gleichheit	
UNITED STATES	L'Insurge	HUNGARY	
New York—Volkszeitung	La Revolution Cosmopolite	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik	
Freiheit	Guise—Le Devoir	ROUMANIA	
John Swinton's Paper	Lille—Le Travailleur	Jassy—Lupta	
Der Sozialist	BELGIUM	DENMARK	
Truthseeker	Liege—L'Avenir	Social-Demokraten	

CONCERNING "JUSTICE."

PLATO and the ancients generally deemed the whole of morality to be summed up in the idea of Justice. And indeed, when looked at closely it will be seen that the notion of *justice* at least supplies the key-note of every ethical system. It is therefore on this notion of *justice* that the crucial question turns in debates between the advocates of modern Socialism and of modern Individualism respectively. The bourgeois idea of justice is crystallised in the notion of the absolute right of the individual to the possession and full control of such property as he has acquired without overt breach of the bourgeois law. To interfere with this right of his, to abolish his possession, is in bourgeois eyes the incarnation of injustice. The Socialist idea of justice is crystallised in the notion of the absolute right of the community to the possession and control (at least) of all wealth not intended for direct individual use. Hence the abolition of the individual possession and control of such property, or in other words, its confiscation, is the first expression of Socialist *justice*. Between *possession* and *confiscation* is a great gulf fixed, the gulf between the Bourgeois and the Socialist worlds. Well-meaning men seek to throw bridges over this gulf by schemes of compensation, abolition of inheritance, and the like. But the attempts, as we believe, even should they ever be carried out practically, will fall disastrously short of their mark, and be speedily engulfed between the precipitous shores they would unite. Nowhere can the phrase, "He that is not for us is against us," be more aptly applied than to the moral standpoint of modern Individualism and of modern Socialism. To the one individual possession is right and justice, and social confiscation is wrong and injustice; to the other, individual possession is wrong and injustice, and confiscation is right and justice. This is the real issue. Unless a man accept the last-named standpoint unreservedly, he has no right to call himself a Socialist. If he does accept it, he will seek the shortest and most direct road to the attainment of justice rather than any longer and more indirect ones, of which it is at best doubtful whether they will attain the end at all. For be it remembered the moment you tamper with the sacredness of private property, no matter how mildly, you surrender the conventional bourgeois principle of justice, while the moment you talk of compensation you surrender the Socialist principle of justice; for compensation can only be real if it is adequate, and can only be adequate if it counterbalances and thereby annuls the confiscation.

It is just, says the Individualist, for a man to do what he likes with his own. Good; but what is his own? The "own" of the Roman citizen of the republic included his slaves. These he could cut up to feed his lampreys if he liked, and he doubtless felt it "unjust" when

the emperors limited his right to the control of his own property, in this and similar ways, by sundry enactments which (to employ a modern phrase) "savoured of State Socialism." Again, the donkey is the costermonger's "own." But if the costermonger stimulates that donkey's flagging energies with a two-pronged fork, the modern State interferes and limits the control of the costermonger over his property. The costermonger perhaps thinks it unjust—"State-Socialistic," and the like; the humanitarian thinks it just, and is so far untrue to bourgeois principles. But, says the bourgeois advocate, this does not touch us; we only refer to the things which are products of industry and which can be, and have been, lawfully acquired. Now the right to property in human flesh is not admitted in the present day in any sense, and therefore it cannot be lawfully acquired. The property in assinine or other flesh is admitted, only with certain restrictions. Have a care, O bourgeois! You concede, then, that the concepts of "right" and "justice" as regards property have changed, for it was not always so. But no matter. It is just, you say, for a man to possess the product of his industry, or what he has acquired in a lawful manner, and to have the entire control of it. Good. But the feudal baron would not have thought it just to have been deprived of his "dues" taken from the industry of his vassals, whom he had acquired with his lands, lands obtained not by industry but by violence. At the sack of a town the mediæval knight would have thought it unjust had his lord, in accordance with nineteenth century notions of equity, magnanimously compelled him to surrender his booty to its original lawful owner. And the rest of the world would have agreed with him, owner included. The Frank who broke the vase at Soissons would not have appreciated the justice of Chlodwig any better had he sought to make him surrender it to the Romano-Gaul who had previously possessed it, and had presumably acquired it in a lawful manner, than he did when he wished to appropriate it himself. But these were bad men, you will say. And it is true that the principle of your middle-class Individualist conception of "justice" is opposed to the "justice" of these men, therefore to you they are bad.

So now, having shown by these one or two examples that justice was conceived differently in the past, we will trace the logical working out of your own true bourgeois conception—that of the right of every man to the full possession and control of wealth acquired by the industry of himself, or of others who have voluntarily given or bequeathed it to him. This conception of right or "justice" you have inscribed on your banner throughout your struggle with the ancient feudal hierarchy—those bold bad men who robbed the honest merchant, oppressed the tiller of the soil, despised the receiver of interest, laid onerous imposts on wares, etc. It was this that lay at the root of your struggle with the old territorial ecclesiasticism in the sixteenth century, with the king and noble in the seventeenth, with the *ancienne noblesse* of France in the eighteenth. Security of property to the *personal* possessor against the remnants of the ancient tribal communism and against the exactions of the feudal head whose power directly or indirectly grew out of it, has ever been your watchword, and is so to-day, even when you demand compensation for improvements and denounce the "unearned increment."¹ And at first you were perfectly sincere; your demand seemed the cry of an eternal "justice," a justice that was absolute in its nature and unalterable in its manifestations. "Wealth" did to a large extent belong to its immediate producer or to those who had acquired it directly from him by gift or bequest. The means of production were within the reach of all. Most of those that were so minded could earn wealth by their labour. All that seriously hindered them seemed the fetters of feudalism and semi-feudalism. On the land the peasant cultivated his own plot with his own implements; in the town the handicraftsman laboured primarily at least on his own account. What the one craved was freedom from the unjust exactions of his lord, and from the tolls and local imposts which obstructed the exchange of his produce. What the other craved was freedom, first from aristocratic custom, laws, and ordinances, and secondly, from the rules and regulations of the guilds—the umbilical cord which still united the new-born social organisation with the feudal order and privilege which was its parent. Even later and till some way into the manufacture period—the first form of capitalism—in spite of the exploitation which went on, the possibility for the vast majority of earning a tolerable livelihood, masked the retreat of truth from within the bourgeois citadel of justice and its occupation by lies. Even the working-classes, for the most part, assumed the "enemy" still to be feudalism, and held that middle-class "justice" was their "justice," that the complete possession and control of the product of industry was involved in the freedom of industry from local custom, and of trade from undue impositions, and nothing more.

We have referred to the evacuation by truth of the middle-class notion of justice. This is the point the middle-class advocate invariably ignores. He assumes that his principle, the right of the individual possessor to the full control of his lawfully acquired property, means the same thing now, has the same application now, as when wealth meant the direct product of the labour of the individual possessor, or of those from whom he had received it by gift or bequest. It does not occur to him that wealth in the modern capitalist world means something very different from this, that neither has this man sinned nor his father in its production, but that on the contrary the modern possessor and his father are alike innocent of having had any share in the process. If it be alleged that the modern capitalist's ancestor in some golden age of the past created by his personal industry the wealth which was embodied in instruments of production, we may well

¹ Just as if any portion of "rent" were earned.

call upon our bourgeois advocate to give us some chronological data on the subject, seeing that the most extended research has as yet failed to discover the primitive ancestral capitalist in question. Go back as we may, we discover nothing but essentially the self-same process as at present, though less in scope and intensity, the formation of capitals from unpaid labour, and their division by the scramble of competition, till we reach the feudal period, when status, serfdom, and forcible appropriation reign supreme. The old original capitalist who has rested from his labours, and whose works do follow him—creative, frugal, and laborious—he looms ever “backer and backer.” It is a beautiful conception this of the first capitalist, and only shows that poetry like hope springs eternal in the human breast—even the economical breast. Like Prester John and the Wandering Jew, he has a weird charm about him that almost makes one love him. But our reverence for an old legend must not blind us to historical fact. The real origin of modern capital is fully discussed by Marx in his chapter on the “so-called original accumulation.”

The contradiction between the assumption contained in his formula and the facts of modern life which he stupidly or designedly ignores, is proclaimed by the Socialist, who shows that the maintenance of private property in the means of production is in flagrant opposition to the concept of “Justice” with which he set out, since the former necessarily involves the workman’s deprivation of the greater part of the product of his labour, as otherwise such property would be of no value. The concept “Justice,” therefore, as meaning the right to the possession and control by the individual of the product of his labour has lost all meaning in modern times. But in the maintenance of the sham, of the assumption, that is, that the meaning remains what it was, lies the whole theoretical strength of the bourgeois position. The means of production are no longer in the hands of the producers, but in those of men or of syndicates who are usually entirely divorced from the process of production. Now the only use of means or instruments of production is to produce wealth and commodities. So that to the non-producers who possess them they are of no use whatever, *except*, and a very important *except* it is, *in so far as they compel others to labour under conditions which allow them only a fractional part of the product of their labour.* The only possible use of these means of production is, therefore, to violate the original bourgeois definition of “Justice.” This being so, that definition of “Justice” cannot be invoked as an excuse for gentle dealings with monopolists, whose retention of these instruments is a cause of injustice. For the removal of the cause of injustice cannot itself be unjust. But if it is not unjust it must be just. It is *just*, therefore, to confiscate all private property in the means of production, *i.e.*, in land or capital. *Q.E.D.*

Now, *Justice* being henceforth identified with *confiscation* and *injustice* with the rights of property, there remains only the question of “ways and means.” Our bourgeois apologist admitting as he must that the present possessors of land and capital *hold* possession of them simply by right of superior force, can hardly refuse to admit the right of the proletariat organised to that end to *take* possession of them by right of superior force. The only question remaining is how? And the only answer is how you can. Get what you can that tends in the right direction, by parliamentary means or otherwise, *bien entendu*, the right direction meaning that which curtails the capitalist’s power of exploitation. If you choose to ask further how one would like it, the reply so far as the present writer is concerned, one would like it to come as drastically as possible, as the moral effect of sudden expropriation would be much greater than that of any gradual process. But the sudden expropriation, in other words the revolutionary crisis, will have to be led up to by a series of non-revolutionary political acts, if past experience has anything to say in the matter. When that crisis comes the great act of confiscation will be the seal of the new era; then and not till then will the knell of Civilisation, with its rights of property and its class-society, be sounded; then and not till then will *Justice*—the *Justice* not of Civilisation but of Socialism—become the corner-stone of the social arch.

E. BELFORT BAX.

LITERARY NOTICES.

‘A Plea for Socialism,’ by J. L. Mahon (*Commonweal* Office, 16 pp. 1d.) advertised in another column, is a well-written and comprehensive exposition of our principles and aims. It is the substance of the addresses delivered by our comrade during his tour among the Northumberland miners, and should meet with ready sale.

‘Is Socialism Sound?’ (Progressive Publishing Company, Stonecutter Street, paper covers, 1s.) is a neat book of 150 pages, containing a verbatim report, revised by both disputants, of the four night’s debate between Annie Besant and G. W. Foote, held at the Hall of Science on Feb. 2, 9, 16, 23, this year. We expressed the hope some weeks ago that all “(cheers)” and so on would be left out; but regrettably enough all the partisan cries of either side appear duly set forth and the pages are studded with parentheses enclosing ejaculations which break up and spoil the speeches in print as they did in the hearing. Of the debate itself we can but say that both causes were well supported. Mrs. Besant was in admirable form throughout, and successively smashed the arguments adduced against her position, opening and closing the series with speeches of rare power and much beauty. Mr. Foote fought well what he must have felt was a losing battle. Altogether it makes a very readable and useful book, one that cannot fail to be of service.

ARRESTS IN ODESSA.—An Odessa telegram states that 260 arrests took place in that city on Easter Sunday, and that in one cellar five men and women were surprised in the act of filling bombs. They were arrested.

CORRESPONDENCE.

“SOME MISTAKES OF MOSES.”

SIR,—Our ancient friend Moses M’Gibbon is, it appears, not dead, as some of our Glasgow friends supposed. This is gratifying. After all, Socialism could ill afford to lose a person of such unconventional method as Moses. Our friend, it seems, has suddenly emerged from the seclusion to which he retired after a brief and visionary appearance before the public as a parliamentary candidate for the Falkirk Burghs over a year ago. He was too earnest a Socialist to contest the seat against a Whig lawyer, so, gracefully commending that gentleman as a “true Liberal,” he disappeared into the isolation to which providence has predestinated him. This of course was a mistake on Moses’ part—not the retiring, but the coming forward at all. The place of Moses’ recent revivification was at Newcastle, where a meeting was held by the local Socialists to determine whether they should join the Socialist League or the Social-Democratic Federation, or form a separate organisation of their own. What induced Moses to go there? What induced him to advise the people to affiliate with a body from which he virtuously severed himself only a year ago? O Moses! be sure your virtues will find you out! Burning with intense anxiety to champion the cause of the oppressed workers, Moses saw that the backs of the miners, over-burdened with labour and sorrow, might become fitting stepping-stones to the high altitude of membership of the Imperial Parliament. Dreading, therefore, above all things the non-parliamentary programme of the League, he heroically and disinterestedly made himself the apologist of the Federation. Here it was that Moses, in his zeal, fell into another “mistake”—for nobody outside one or two of his old comrades in the Federation would think of using a harsher term. Moses informed his audience, as he tells us in last week’s *Justice*, “that the Glasgow Branch of the Socialist League consisted of some half a dozen persons who did no work in propaganda.” How Moses was aware that there existed such a body at all as the Socialist League in Glasgow—not to speak of the S. D. F.—is somewhat of a mystery. That he did not know that there were more than “half a dozen” members in it is not then certainly to be wondered at. That Moses should deem—if he has any knowledge of the matter of which he speaks at all—that the holding of something like 170 open-air Socialist meetings, including one the largest open-air Socialist meeting ever held in Scotland, 60 indoor meetings, including one the largest Socialist indoor meeting ever held in Scotland, as well as being the principal speakers at 40 other meetings—all in the course of one year,—as “no work in propaganda,” only shows what an inordinate notion Moses has of the work “half a dozen” members should undertake.

The only other mistake of Moses to which I shall refer, and it concerns himself solely, is his notion that because the miners of Lanarkshire—on whom he has fixed a kindly eye—returned to Parliament an honest Whig, they are therefore likely to return a sham Socialist. The jingle of money in a trouser’s pocket can frequently accomplish much; but not always, and not all.

Glasgow.

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

EDINBURGH SOCIALISTS AND COERCION.

On Wednesday evening, 13th inst., a meeting convened by the Edinburgh Socialists was held in the Good Templar Hall, High Street, to protest against the passing of the Coercion Bill. Mr. John Leslie occupied the chair, and there was a large attendance.

Mr. HENRY C. NOBLE intimated apologies from Mr. R. B. Cunningham Graham, M.P.; Mr. J. Shaw Maxwell; Mr. Wm. Simpson, of the Land Restoration League, Glasgow; and from Mr. John Fergusson, Glasgow. These gentlemen all expressed sympathy with the object of the meeting.

The CHAIRMAN said he thought that he could not better express the sentiment of every Socialist, and indeed every lover of freedom in the country, than by saying that they regarded the measure with a feeling of the utmost horror and detestation.

Mr. HENRY C. NOBLE moved—“That this meeting, being of opinion that the Coercion Bill is tyrannical, unjustifiable, and insulting to the Irish people, desires to record its solemn protest against the despotic action of the present Government, and it is further of opinion that the bill, if passed into law, will undoubtedly tend to widen the gulf between Great Britain and Ireland.” Speaking as a Radical, he thought the bill was not for the purpose of meeting but of making crimes, and its ultimate object was to strike a blow at freedom of speech, not merely in Ireland, but in Britain. The cause of Ireland was the cause of British democracy, and they could not too strongly resist the passing of such a violent Act. The time had arrived in the history of nations when any country that demanded power to govern itself had a perfect right to do so. What was legislative union compared with the wants and wishes of a nation? What was this superstition of empire compared with the aspirations and needs of a country?

Mr. THOMAS THOMSON seconded the motion. He said that the Socialists of Edinburgh had the hearty sympathy of the working-classes.

Mr. J. BRUCE GLASIER supported the motion. He said that “law and order” in Ireland had been created by landlords to protect their stolen property. He thought that the people of Ireland, who were suffering so greatly under the present system, were justified in using every means in their power to resist it.

Mr. JAMES ROBERTSON moved:—“That this meeting is of opinion force is no remedy for the state of Ireland, since its troubles spring to a large extent from the same economic causes the people are suffering from in Great Britain and elsewhere; but while, therefore, seeing no adequate cure for her wrongs in any merely political changes, we feel bound to assist Ireland in her present struggle against landlordism, as well as make common cause with her in resisting all attempts to interfere with the ordinary constitutional rights of British subjects in agitating for reform.”

Mr. WILLIAM BAILLIE seconded the motion.

The Rev. JOHN GLASSE said he supported this resolution not as a politician, but as a Socialist. In the past British rule in Ireland had been a complete failure, and what was wanted was Home Rule—not only for Ireland but for Scotland.

Mr. LAMOND moved: “That an expression of gratitude and sympathy be heartily accorded to the leaders of the Irish people for the ability and fidelity displayed by them in the cause of Ireland.”

Mr. MACMILLAN seconded the motion.

Mr. NOBLE then moved that a copy of the above resolutions be sent to Mr. Gladstone, M.P., Mr. Wallace, M.P., Mr. M’Ewan, M.P., and the secretaries of the Socialist League and Socialist Democratic Federation in London.

All the resolutions were unanimously adopted.

The meeting, which was of an enthusiastic character, was brought to a close by a vote of thanks to the chairman.—(Abridged from *Scottish Leader*.)

the family are beginning to rebel against the despotic authority of the ancients, they do not care to be told whom and when to marry, and they like when they do marry to form a new home, living in a separate house. In many cases they are forcing a division of the land and other property, which the law allows when there is a majority of three-fourths in favour of it; so far this is generally found to be to the detriment of all.

Another very interesting example of the village commune system is to be found in Java. Rice is the staple food of the Javanese, and they cultivate it almost entirely on the communal principle; this is the more interesting as the cultivation of rice needs very extensive works of irrigation, canals and aqueducts have to be made to bring the water from the higher grounds to the rice fields, which must be surrounded by dykes to keep the requisite amount of water in. These works are carried out by the people under the instruction of the communal authorities, or of a surveyor of irrigations appointed by them, thus showing how extensive improvements can be carried out by communities without waiting to accumulate a large amount of capital, and having to pay interest on it perpetually afterwards. The rice fields are distributed each year much in the same way as was done in Russia; any one reclaiming waste land is allowed the exclusive use of it for a few years in addition to his share, it then passes to the community and is divided with the rest. The fields are usually made to yield a second crop of maize, tobacco, or some other quickly growing plant.

The same village communities have evidently existed all over India in ancient times, but are now only to be found in very remote districts, they have given way before European civilisation; community within the family still exists over the greater part of India, and important family meetings are often attended by relations as remote as fifth cousins.

Before leaving village communities and passing on to family communities, which form the next step in development, it will be well for us to look at our own country and see what evidence can be found here of these ancient customs. Those who live in towns have in that word the first piece of evidence we come to, for the word town means a hedge or fence, and was given at a time when the village alone was enclosed by a fence, each house with its orchard or garden being open to the neighbour's within the fence, and all the country outside being open for any one's cattle to graze upon. All the inhabitants had to assist at keeping up these fences, which were to protect the village and flax gardens from the cattle roaming at large without. The cultivated portion of the territory was divided into three parts, devoted to the same triennial rotation of crops as in Russia. Every proprietor had usually one or more lots in each of these divisions. These scattered lots evidently originated in the old periodic partition which we have seen elsewhere, but they had become private property before we can learn of them in history, though at the time we first begin to get authentic accounts they were still cultivated in the same way and devoted to the same crops.

In 'Doomsday Book' we find frequent mention of forests set apart to provide wood for the fences with which the two cultivated parts of land were temporarily surrounded. After the harvest had been gathered these fences were thrown down with great rejoicing on the feast of Lammas day, which was one of the chief festivals of the year, and was like a momentary return to primitive community. William Marshal, writing about the end of last century and the commencement of the present, says that very few centuries ago nearly the whole of the lands of England lay in an open and more or less commonable state. Each parish or township was considered as one large farm, though the tenantry were numerous. Round the village in which the tenants resided lay a few small enclosures or grass yards for rearing calves, and as baiting and nursery grounds for other farm stock. This was the common farmstead, which was placed as near the centre of the cultivable lands as water and shelter would allow. Round the homestead lay a suite of arable lands for raising corn and pulse, and fodder and litter for the winter and spring months, while pastures for the milk cows were laid out on the outskirts of the arable lands; the steep and rough parts were left for firewood and timber, and for a common pasture for the more ordinary stock of the township, without any further stint than the other lands gave, namely, each could send on as many cattle or sheep as he was able to keep during the winter. The private lands in the township were laid out in plots of different qualities and situations, so that each owner might have his share of each quality of land. The whole was divided into three fields, according to the triennial arrangement of crops. Such is the account given by Marshal of England's land system a few hundred years ago. Sir Henry Maine confirms that evidence, and says that he has found many traces even now remaining of these early village communities. The turf-grown ridges which once divided the three fields are still to be seen in some places. Whatever doubt there may be as to the extent to which community of property was practised, this at least seems certain, that the Anglo-Saxon had ample land to supply his food, while the extensive common pastures enabled him to keep large herds, and the forests found him in timber and firewood, so that his first wants were abundantly supplied. The development from that time to this is a history of the confiscation of the people's rights, and we shall do well to remember this history when we are asked to give compensation for the land. It is outside my present subject to deal with this confiscation more in detail, we can realise it by comparing the present monopolised condition of the land with the picture of open commons given above.

RAYMOND UNWIN.

(To be continued.)

A CLOUD LIKE A MAN'S HAND.

A fierce drought wastes the land; no sign is given
To help the famine-stricken tribes that crowd
Round priests that cut themselves and cry aloud;
Sick unto death, men's weary eyes have striven
With scorching skies each morning, noon, and even:
Only the seer above with body bowed
Prays, and his servant sees a speck of cloud
Swim from the sea into the gaping heaven.

A strong wind stirs the stagnant air and hot,
And stormy music shakes the groves again;
The black cloud spreads, and spreads, and ceases not—
The lonely prophet has not prayed in vain.
O slavish king, prepare thy chariot—
There comes a sound of an abundant rain.

REGINALD A. BECKETT.

AUSTRALIAN INVESTMENTS.

In the *Daily Chronicle* of April 6th, under head of "Money Market," there appears the following paragraph:—"Inclusive of £17,949 brought forward the accounts of the Australian Mortgage Land and Finance Company, Limited, show an available balance of £119,376. From this sum a dividend of 20 per cent. is proposed, half which has already been distributed, leaving £27,376 undivided."

Perhaps this may only interest those folk who have "uninvested" capital, and are seeking 20 per cent., but we Socialists cannot pass it unnoticed. Here is great wealth created by the bone and sinew and brain of Australian workers being appropriated by the few persons who never, probably, earned one of the many meals they've eaten, calling themselves the Australian Mortgage Land and Finance Company, Limited. These people have "grabbed" the land, and now tax labour in Australia to the tune of £120,000 a year for the doubtful good they think they do as manipulators of credit. By legal chicanery and the fraud of interest they are enabled to absorb an amount of wealth which would keep 1,000 families in comfort.

Such facts as these may set intending emigrants thinking that they will escape few of the evils of the old country by settling in Australia, for the iron heel of capitalism grinds alike the factory slave, the Egyptian fellah, and the Australian workers.

No wonder some of our wealthy philanthropists of the Samuel Smith type are so anxious for emigration to be forwarded on a grand scale by the State; 20 per cent. explains a good many wonders, and 20 per cent. cannot be had unless population is planted out to make Australian land valuable.

P. C. WALKDEN.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

Annual Conference.—The Third Annual Conference of the Socialist League will be held at 13 Farringdon Road on Whitsunday, May 29th. Branches are particularly requested to attend to the following arrangements, if they wish to be represented at the Conference: (1) To at once send a return of their membership to the General Secretary. The representation will be based on this return. (2) Branches cannot be represented unless all monthly subscriptions are paid up to March 31 by May 1st.

Co-operative Store.—The Committee attend at the offices at 8.30 p.m. on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. See advertisement on last page.

Lessons in French.—Comrade Victor Dave is now giving lessons in French at the offices of the League on Tuesday evenings, at 8 o'clock. The lessons are free to members, and those desirous of profiting by them should send their names at once to the secretary of the League.

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

Bound Volumes of 'COMMONWEAL' for 1886 can now be had. Price 5s. 6d.

BRANCH SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID.

Birmingham, Hackney, Hull, Leeds, North London, to August 31. Manchester, Merton, Norwich, to Oct. 31. Bradford, to November 30. Croydon, Leicester, South London, to December 31, 1886. Lancaster, to January 31. Bloomsbury, to February 28. Clerkenwell, Hammersmith, Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Oxford, Walsall, to March 31, 1887.

THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

C. W. Mowbray and Fred Henderson, of the Socialist League, were sentenced at the Norwich Assizes on Jan. 20 to nine and four months' imprisonment respectively. The costs of the trial amounted to £60, and Mowbray's wife and five children must be provided for during his imprisonment, so that at least £100 will be required. The treasurer of this fund therefore appeals to every one to give all the assistance he can.

R. L. Allan, 2s. Christian Socialist Society, £1. Webb (two weeks), 2s. A Medical Student, 1s. For Mrs. Mowbray—A few Fabians, per Annie Besant (weekly), 10s.—£1, 15s. J. LANE, Treasurer.

STRIKE COMMITTEE.

Regent's Park, April 3, per Cantwell, 2s. 7d.; P. W., 2s.

T. BINNING, Treasurer.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

E. B. B. (weekly), 1s. T. B. (two weeks), 1s. Hammersmith Branch (three weeks), £1, 10s. M. M. (two weeks), 2s. PH. W., Treasurer, April 19.

HACKNEY FREE SPEECH DEFENCE FUND.—East London International Working Men's Educational Society, 6s. 6d. T. R. COOPER, Treasurer.

BRANCH REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—Weiler gave a lecture last Thursday evening at the Communist Club. On Sunday at the Arches, 5s. was collected for the Provincial Fund, per T. E. W.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, April 13, a very successful anti-Coercion meeting was held by this Branch. J. Lane took the chair, and after a few preliminary remarks called upon Wm. Morris to propose resolution (which appeared in last week's *Commonweal*). This was seconded by H. A. Barker, and supported by T. E. Wardle, H. C. Doughty, Home Ruler; W. P. Walker and F. Baker, of the London Patriotic Club; and S. Mainwaring. The resolution was carried unanimously. Last Sunday evening, at 7.30, we held successful meeting on Clerkenwell Green, which was well-attended by local citizens. W. Blundell, T. Paylor (of the Leeds Branch), and T. Dalziel spoke. At the close we invited them to lecture-hall, at which an interesting paper was read by R. L. Allan, on "Men versus Money." Literature has sold well.—W. B. and T. E. W.

CROYDON.—Last Sunday, F. Verinder delivered an excellent lecture on "The Queen's Jubilee and the People's Jubilee." The difference between the old Hebrew "land nationalising" jubilee, and the present jubilee commemorating fifty years of monarchy and class government, was sharply defined, and a plea entered for keeping this jubilee something after the Jewish method. Mrs. Besant's lecture on the 6th inst. was a great success. She had the entire sympathy of her audience throughout. Over a quire of *Commonweal* sold, and a good collection made.—A. T.

HACKNEY.—Large and enthusiastic meeting was held at the Salmon and Ball on Sunday, Graham and Allman addressed the meeting. Fair sale of *Commonweal*.—G.

HOXTON.—Comrades Pope and Wade addressed large meetings Sunday morning and evening. At our hall, Eleanor Marx-Aveling lectured to a large audience on the "Working-classes of America." She specially urged the Socialists not to stand aloof from Radical clubs and other organisations, but to join them and fraternise with the members, and by these means induce them to enquire into Socialism.—E. P.

MERTON.—Last Sunday a good open-air meeting was held at the Plough Inn, Garrett, by comrades Bishop and Eden. Next Sunday at 11.30, same station, Hartison, Gregory, and Eden.

NORTH LONDON AND MARYLEBONE.—We held our usual meeting in Regent's Park on Sunday morning. Nicoll spoke to a good audience, and collected 1s. 3d. towards the Defence Fund. In Hyde Park in the afternoon, a tremendous crowd assembled, probably on the chance of seeing an affray with the police. Comrades Brooks and Wardle spoke. Police rather more orderly than last Sunday. Sale of literature good.—T. C.

EDINBURGH.—On Wednesday the 13th, a large meeting, convened by the Edinburgh Socialists, was held in Good Templars' Hall, to protest against the Coercion Bill. Fuller report given in another column. On Sunday, several members of the Socialist League and S.D.F. held a meeting with the miners of Rosewell, a village south of Edinburgh.—G.

GLASGOW.—On Friday evening an interesting meeting, organised by local friends of the League, was held at Lochwinnoch, a village about twenty miles from Glasgow, when Glasier lectured on "Socialism," Muirhead in the chair. The meeting was held in the Justice of Peace Hall, and there were over 100 present, a large number considering the size of the place. After the lecture an old man, the village Radical, tackled the lecturer on "how it was to be brought about," and a young man offered objections from the temperance standpoint. A good deal of literature was sold, and after the meeting the men were seen discussing the question in groups. On Sunday at midday, Glasier addressed a good audience at the Green; and in the evening in our rooms, arrangements were made for a forthcoming anti-Coercion meeting.

LEEDS.—On Sunday morning, April 17th, we commenced our open-air propaganda on Hunslet Moor. A. K. Donald and T. Maguire addressed a large and very attentive audience. Donald appealed for help for the Northumberland miners on strike, and notwithstanding the short week 10s. 7½d. was collected. Braithwaite proposed and Hill seconded the resolution adopted by the Socialist League re Coercion and the land question, printed in last week's *Commonweal*. This was carried unanimously with acclamation. In the evening, Maguire lectured at Bingley on "Man and the Community."—F. C.

NORWICH.—Mainwaring addressed a large meeting in the Market Place on Sunday afternoon. 3s. 6d. was collected for the Defence Fund. At seven o'clock, a meeting was held on the Agricultural Hall Plain. Mainwaring lectured in the Gordon Hall at eight on "The Cause of the People." The hall was well filled. Mainwaring spoke at some length, showing the fallacies of governments, and how a better state of society might be brought about by the workers themselves. The lecture was well received, and supported by comrades Morley and Crotch. Comrade Darley visited Mowbray at Ipswich Gaol on Saturday. He reports that Mowbray was looking very well and seemed pretty cheerful considering. Henderson we cannot report upon, he being visited by relatives; we have not heard any tidings of him. We received 13s. proceeds of a collection by the Rev. J. J. Gurney, Church of England. He intends doing the same, I believe, next Sunday, on behalf of our propaganda fund, at his church, and is expected to preach on "Christian Socialism." A public debate was held at

Gordon Hall on Monday evening, subject, "Ought Socialists to take part in Parliamentary Action?" Comrade Crotch led off in the affirmative, Slaughter took the negative.—A. S.

DUBLIN.—At the Working-men's Club, Wellington Quay, on Saturday evening, April 16th, in a discussion on the "Housing of the Working-classes," J. Loomey gave some interesting statistics with regard to the tenement house system in Dublin, and vigorously denounced the rapacity of the Artisans Dwellings Co., who pose as such philanthropic friends of the workers; J. Keegan described the condition of the dwellings of the poor in New York and other large American cities; Fitzpatrick repudiated all "tinkering reforms," and plainly showed that the root of the evil lay in the system of society that necessitated class distinctions. The speeches of all our comrades were well received. We are making a marked impression on the audiences at this club. On Sunday, April 17th, a meeting numbering over 5,000, was held at Harold's Cross Green. Speeches recommending the workers to combine were delivered by Hall, Killen, and Coffey. Fitzpatrick dealt unmercifully with the political fetish, and recommended international organisation. Thousands of Socialist leaflets distributed among the crowd were eagerly read.—O. K.

LECTURE DIARY.

London Branches.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street. On Thursday 21, at 8 o'clock, important Business Meeting. On Friday 22, 8.30, George Bernard Shaw, "The Meaning of Terms used by Socialists." Members, do attend.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday April 24, at 8.30 p.m. A debate will take place on the subject: "That individual ownership of private property should be maintained in its entirety." John Badcock, jun., of the "Party of Individual Liberty," will take the affirmative; H. Davis, Socialist League, the negative. Wednesday 27, at 8.30 p.m. T. E. Wardle, "Ireland."—Business Meeting of Members first Sunday in May at 7 sharp. Important Business.

Croydon.—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday April 24, at 7.15 p.m. W. H. Utley, "Socialism and the Miners."

Hackney.—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 8 till 11. Business Meeting every Tuesday at 8.30. On Sunday Apr. 24, at 8.30 p.m. J. Lane, "The Different Schools of Socialist Thought."

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday April 24, at 8 p.m. G. Brocher, "Colins and his Philosophical and Social System."

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—Club Room, 2 Crondall Street, New North Road. Sunday April 24, at 8 p.m. Frederick Verinder, "The Queen's Jubilee and the People's Jubilee." A CONCERT and Social Evening will be held on Saturday April 23, at 8 p.m.—admission free. Committee meeting on Friday April 29, at 8.30 p.m.

Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday. Discussions held every Sunday morning at 11.

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

North London and Marylebone.—Members will please attend meeting on Friday April 29th, at 96 Judd Street, King's Cross, at 8 o'clock prompt.

Country Branches.

Bingley.—Coffee Tavern. Every Monday at 7.30 p.m.

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

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

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 7.30 p.m. to transact business. Class for the study of 'Das Capital' at 8.15. J. L. Mahon, of London, expected on May 1st. Particulars in local papers.

Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. On Sunday, open-air meetings at the Green at 1 and 5 o'clock. In the evening, at our Rooms, Conference will take place regarding out-door summer propaganda.

Hamilton.—Branch meets every Thursday at 7.30 in Paton's Hall, Chapel Street.

Hull.—11 Princess Street, Sykes Street. Lectures on Sunday at 7 p.m. Thursday at 8 p.m., Political Economy Class.

Lancaster.—Addresses every Sunday morning on the Quay Jetty.

Leicester.—Spiritualist Hall, Silver Street.

Manchester.—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening 6 to 10 p.m. Lecture and discussion every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Free Lectures every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room open every evening. See open-air meetings below.

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

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

London—Sunday 24.

11.30...Hackney—"Salmon and Ball"...Allman, Flockton & Graham
11.30...Hammersmith—Beadon Rd.The Branch
11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.Pope & Wade
11.30...Hyde ParkWardle & Dalziel
11.30...Garrett—Plough InnThe Branch
11.30...Mitcham Fair Green.....Kitz & Dalchon
11.30...Regent's Park.....Cantwell & Mainwaring
11.30...St. Pancras ArchesW. H. Utley
12.15...Ditto.....Debate: Donald v. Rev. B. Woffendall
11.30...Walham Green.....The Branch
3 ...Hyde Park, Reformers' Tree.....Demonstration
in support of Northumberland Miners
7 ...Clerkenwell GreenThe Branch

Tuesday.

8...Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street...Cantwell & Donald
8...Broad Street, Soho.....T. E. Wardle & Bartlett

PROVINCES.—SUNDAY.

Norwich.—Ber Street Fountain, 10.45; Market Place at 3; Agricultural Hall Plain at 7.

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

Leicester.—Humberston Gate, 11 a.m.

A Board Brigade.

It is proposed to have a Board Brigade on Saturday, to advertise the Hyde Park meeting and sell *Commonweal*. Volunteers are requested to attend at the Offices early on that day.

DUBLIN.—Irish Labour League, 2 Bachelors Walk, every Thursday at 8 p.m. Discussion on all subjects connected with the Labour Question. All interested are requested to attend.

"An injury of one is the concern of all."

THE NORTHUMBERLAND MINERS.

A MASS MEETING

will be held at the REFORMERS' TREE,

HYDE PARK,

On SUNDAY, APRIL 24, at 3 p.m.,

under the auspices of

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE,

for the purpose of expressing sympathy with the Northumberland Miners in their resistance to the demands of their employers to further reduce their already starvation wage.

SPEAKERS:

EDWARD AVELING. H. A. BARKER.
A. K. DONALD. FRANK KITZ. J. LANE.
S. MAINWARING. WILLIAM MORRIS.
T. E. WARDLE.

Notice to Readers of the 'Commonweal'

A CO-OPERATIVE STORE

has been started at the

OFFICES OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE,
13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.,

and all Grocery articles can be had at current store prices, or where possible, under. All orders over 6s. will be delivered carriage paid. The Store will be open on Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday evenings after 8.30 p.m.

16 pages One Penny.

A PLEA FOR SOCIALISM,

By J. L. MAHON.

being an address delivered in the course of a campaign amongst the miners on strike in Northumberland.

Prices to Branches and parcels for sale or distribution,
12 copies (post free) 1s.; 50, 3s.; 100, 5s.

Published at 13 Farringdon Road, London, E.C.

THE 'COMMONWEAL' for 1886

(VOL. II.)

Neatly Bound in Red Cloth,

Price, 5s. 6d.

The Labour Question from the Socialist Standpoint. By William Morris. . . 1d.

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

Useful Work v. Useless Toil. By William Morris. . . 1d.

Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, London, E.C.

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

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 68.

SATURDAY, APRIL 30, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

THE great event of the last few days has been the attempt on the part of the *Times* newspaper to climb a step higher towards the place of irresponsible dictator of the United Kingdom by dint of what can only be called a piece of cowardly slander; and the name will apply whether the "accusation" is true or false, since a print that could plot an anonymous accusation of this kind has no longer anything to lose as to character or honour.

As to its truth or falsity, it certainly seems out of character with Mr. Parnell's astucy that he should have written such a document at the time; and that all the more as the killing of Cavendish and Burke was obviously aimed at the very party of which Mr. Parnell is the leader, in order to break up the alliance which was being formed between the Irish Parliamentary Party and the Gladstonites: it was a sore blow to Mr. Parnell. But if it would have been stupid to write such a note then, what can one say of Mr. Parnell if his denial of it now is false? Simply that he is the stupidest man that ever pretended to lead a party; which is far from being a likely story.

As to the challenge thrown out to Mr. Parnell by the Tory party to attack the *Times* in the law-courts under penalty of being considered guilty, this is illustrating our friend Bax's view, expressed in these columns, on the necessity of abolishing the libel law, with a vengeance! So it comes to this, that the enemy of any man, public or private, can trump up an accusation against him, and if the injured man does not submit himself to all the chicanery and uncertainty of a law-court, he is to be held guilty, although nothing whatever is proved against him; and that though his slanderer may have at his back almost unlimited capital to carry on the battle with!

But perhaps the malignity and dirtiness of the *Times*' attack is scarcely equalled by its stupidity. What honest man not blinded by party feeling would think the worse of Mr. Parnell if he had written the letter? Was it not at least a common opinion even in England at the time that Burke had got but what he had long been asking for? And was not this opinion expressed by numbers of people who were shocked at the murder of Cavendish, and thoroughly disapproved of the whole affair; who thought it in fact a disastrous business? I say that this was an opinion often to be met with among persons of by no means extreme opinions at the time.

It must be repeated that the whole business is one of the basest party moves ever made. A baseness in which Lord Hartington must henceforth share after his shuffling with Mr. Dillon the other night: his Whig worshippers must now leave off putting him forward as the soul of honour, as it has been their fashion to do.

It is to be hoped at least that even this dastardly episode may do some good in helping to disgust people with the tyranny of the anonymous press; future ages will scarcely believe the story of our having submitted so long to it. And how puzzled they will be in trying to square the ethics preached throughout society with the conduct of our most respectable, most majestically successful journals.

It is pleasant to turn from these sickening intrigues to the humanity of the Irish police-constables, who have resigned rather than dragoon their fellow-countrymen; as far as it goes it carries out the hope so often expressed by Socialists, that when the uniformed instruments of capitalism come to understand what it really is that they are paid to do, they will refuse to do it. All honour to our Irish friends for showing the way in this matter!

As to the position of the two parties in Parliament since the second reading of the bill, there is not much to be said about it. In spite of his letter to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, Mr. Gladstone seems to be hanging back somewhat; as indeed he is wont to do in a crisis. He seems to think that the chapter of accidents may have something hidden in it which may turn out the Tories without his committing himself any more. The Tories have at least this advantage over their opponents, that they are in, and that the others are not very anxious to take their place. It will be curious to watch the lengths of cowardice that want of confidence in the principles which they profess will drive the Liberals to. Undoubtedly they need have no difficulty in bringing on a disso-

lution if they wish it; and if they shrink from doing what they can to deliver us from the disgrace of the Coercion Bill, they and their leader will earn a title to feebleness and cowardice which one may hope they would seek to avoid—though one cannot help fearing that they will not care much about it.

There may be some meaning in the arrest of the French Commissary on the frontier or there may be none. It scarcely seems possible that such a trifle can really be taken seriously in itself; but it may be a link in a chain of irritations which will lead directly to war. In any case the perturbation it has caused in Paris shows on what ticklish ground the peace of Europe stands. W. M.

Mr. Goschen has brought forth a budget. Such things are usually got up in a sneaking hypocritical way, but, as might have been—and was—expected, the Egyptian juggler has surpassed most of his predecessors in office.

His performance however is far too clumsy to conceal the fact that the British Empire, like all overgrown things is "gone at the knees."

The "poor man's pipe" is a delicious touch of Tory humour, but as a strategical move is rather too late. If the people were already enlisted on the Tory side it would have been a good stroke to have cemented their friendship with a Grecian gift.

But to exasperate the people and put clearly before them in what light they are regarded and then to proffer a pipe of tobacco as a bribe! A pipe is a great soother of the ruffled spirit, but even it will fail to efface the memory of Tory trickery and brutality.

The following figures show the agrarian evictions in Ireland during the past quarter: Ulster, 145 families, 619 persons; Leinster, 143 families, 590 persons; Connaught, 189 families, 953 persons; Munster, 531 families, 2,880 persons. Totals, 1,008 families, 5,042 persons. In Kerry alone 306 families, or 1,766 persons, were evicted. What are the figures for England?

Modern "artists" of the successful type, are never at a loss for a full supply of flunkeyism. They are going in for a grand "Jubilee" costume ball next month, at which they tell us "all artistic London is to be"! Including the Prince of Wales and Sir Frederic Leighton.

What profitable things murder-machines are! The Hotchkiss Gun Company's shares are at 5¼ premium. H. H. S.

THE NORTHUMBERLAND MINERS. DEMONSTRATION IN HYDE PARK.

(Abridged from *London Daily Chronicle*.)

A MEETING was held last Sunday afternoon in Hyde Park, under the auspices of the Socialist League, for the purpose of expressing sympathy with the Northumberland miners "in their resistance to the demands of their employers to further reduce their already starvation wage." The demonstration was fixed for three o'clock at the "Reformers' Tree," but a preliminary meeting was commenced near the Marble Arch entrance to the park, in order to attract a larger audience to the site announced for the demonstration. The promoters of the meeting carried a portable platform, and a red banner inscribed with the title of the League. This preliminary meeting, however, was interrupted by a terrific hailstorm that swept across the park, the banner being utilised as a shield, behind which a large number of persons took refuge from the violence of the elements. When the storm had abated, A. K. Donald, who has recently been on a lecturing tour amongst the Northumberland miners, asked those of the audience who had remained to follow the banner to the Reformers' Tree. At this point a fairly large crowd eventually assembled. The proceedings throughout were most orderly, and the attendance of about 40 or 45 constables, who stood in couples on the fringe of the gathering, seemed somewhat unnecessary.

H. A. BARKER, who presided, opened the meeting, which he said had been called to express deep sympathy with the Northumberland miners who were resisting the tyranny of their employers. The latter had combined to reduce the already starvation wage of the miners

12½ per cent. These incidents were common to the labour struggle throughout the world, and their duty was clear in a crisis like this. The miners were unable without assistance to present an uncompromising front to their, and the workers' generally, common enemy, and the reason was because the workers were in a disorganised state. It was their duty not only to give what they could to tide the miners over a time of difficulty, but to unite so that they might be prepared when the proper time came for sweeping away the common enemy. The Socialists were the only people who really had at heart the cause of the workers. The Socialist League had been formed for the purpose of federating the trade organisations and the workers throughout the world, so that when the real crisis came the struggle should not be alone in this country, but in France, Germany, Belgium, Italy, and in every other country where the iron heel of the oppressor was keeping down the workers. It was their duty to put an end to a state of society such as that which now prevailed. There was a delusion that it was necessary to have an idle class who performed no useful service to the community, and that a class of parasites should exist. The Socialists wished to convince them that such a class was not necessary. When the workers as a body realised this truth, they would sweep the class of parasites away. The present system of society, which allowed the oppression of the miners and other workers, would last so long as they were apathetic and indifferent.

WILLIAM MORRIS moved the first resolution, which was as follows :

"That this meeting of London citizens expresses its warmest sympathy with the miners of Northumberland in their struggle against the system of class monopoly and legalised robbery, by which they are deprived of the just reward of their labour and even of the means of labour."

He said he had recently come from the North and seen the friends on whose behalf they were appealing. All working-men were their friends; all exploiters of the working-man were their enemies. It might be thought that this dispute was a very small one, but it was an endeavour on the part of the miners to prevent themselves from being filched out of the miserable pittance they already received. When they heard of the large wages which miners got it was a lie from beginning to end. These men were earning not even a bare subsistence wage, but a starvation wage—13s. or 14s. per week for men spending their time in the bowels of the earth! Was that a due reward for labour? (Cries of "No.") At the same time, whilst the miners were so poor, were the employers poorer? No; they were riding in their carriages and having the best to eat and drink. He contended that they must get rid of the system. This strike was simply one of the incidents in the great warfare of labour against capital, which the present system rendered it imperative for the working man to carry on. The time would come when the worker will say, "We, who make everything, must own everything." They were there to sustain the revolution which would put an end to all strikes and the war between employers and employed. As long as there were employers and employed there would be war between them. They must be prepared to fight for peace, or they did not deserve to have it. The miners of the North were beginning to look at the matter from the Socialists' point of view, and as soon as the workers clearly understood that they must have their destiny in their own hands, it would not be difficult to get rid of the present system.

A. K. DONALD, in seconding the motion, alluded to the brave manner in which the Northumberland miners were bearing the hardships from which they were suffering. Although they were earning a little under 13s. a week, the mine owners formed a combination to reduce their wages 15 per cent., that being the first proposal. He alluded in strong terms of indignation to the tactics which had been adopted by the mine owners, who had threatened to evict the men from their huts, but they knew well they would not dare to evict the miners, who were determined that they would not die in a ditch. The miners were anxious to remain out a fortnight or so longer, because the Baltic ports were just opening and the mine owners were afraid of losing orders, and they would pocket their defeat rather than lose those orders.

FRANK KITZ also addressed the meeting, pointing out that they were pleading for men who were receiving errand boys' wages for risking their lives. What, he asked, was the glory and greatness of the British Empire to these men, or to those who were living in miserable rack-rented rooms? He complained of the police surveillance to which they were subjected, and which was not extended to other assemblies. He warmly denounced the men who degraded and debauched the class from whom they got their wealth, and said that boundary commissions were required at home to give back to the poor property from which they had been robbed.

T. E. WARDLE, referring to an incident which was distracting the attention of some of the audience, said, "It's only a policeman at the back trying to make a disturbance." It was said that the police were going to have a reduction of wages, and that Sir C. Warren proposed to create a fourth-class at £1 per week, instead of 24s. If the police would only be civil to the Socialists, they would try to benefit their position.

The resolution was then carried.

W. UTLEY next moved :

"That this meeting is of opinion that the only permanent remedy for the existing state of things among miners and amongst all other workers in the community is the collective ownership of the mines, the land, and all other means of production by the State, and their exploitation for the common weal."

J. LANE seconded the resolution.

S. MAINWARING gave a terrible picture of the condition of Welsh miners, and the resolution having been carried, it was announced that the total collection had reached the sum of £3 8s. 6½d.

Three cheers were then given for the Northumberland miners, the meeting was declared to be at an end, and the assemblage dispersed.

To the above report little requires to be added. There was a fair sprinkling amongst the more earnest men of middle-class respectabilities, attracted thither by curiosity, and it was noticeable that scarcely any of these contributed to the collection. One of the tall-tiled gentry on being requested to give, asserted, evidencing thereby both his ignorance and stupidity, that he had "no sympathy with the miners. Why didn't they work like other people?" Considering the state of the weather the demonstration must be esteemed a success. There can be no doubt that if the day had been fine a much larger number would have been present. Most of the speakers were drenched by the storm of hail and rain which fell at the beginning of the meeting, and spoke only with great discomfort and inconvenience. Little notice was taken of the demonstration by the newspapers. They are all too busy with Jubilee Jingoism and the squabbles of foreign states to pay attention to the wrongs of the workers at home. But the day is coming when the cry of the wronged for justice will silence all other sounds, when the miners of Northumberland and all other workers of the world will rise in their might to overturn the cursed society that denies them bread.

W. U.

NOTES FROM NEWCASTLE.

We are now entering the fourteenth week of the strike, and it seems as far from settlement as ever. In spite of the half-heartedness of their leaders, the power of the masters, and the poverty of their financial resources, the men have made a splendid stand. They have fought one of the longest strikes under the most depressing circumstances that has ever been recorded. The miners of Wales and Lanarkshire gave in in far less time.

Of course it is not wise for men to strike too long without a settlement in view; and every well-wisher of the miners would be glad to see an end—but an honourable end—of the dispute. So far, the miners are as dogged and determined as ever they were. The recent vote shows a sweeping majority for no surrender, although many large collieries declined to send in their ballot-papers. The reason for the complexity of the situation is that the miners are fighting their own leaders as well as their masters. The feeling against the leaders is very strong, and well founded,—but that subject is better left alone till after the strike.

Mr. Burt has been "explaining." His journey round the collieries has not been a pleasant one. Everywhere he has been met with a spirit of suspicion and antagonism, for which he has himself to thank. At Bebside most of the miners walked out of the meeting when a vote of thanks was proposed.

The fury of the caucus party against the Socialists is increasing every day. The *Newcastle Leader* lends its columns to all manner of silly attack and scurrilous abuse. The rage of the caucus dodgers is a compliment to the cuteness of our tactics and the success of our propaganda. The *Newcastle Chronicle* has been very fair indeed.

The Hyde Park meeting has made a very favourable impression on the miners here. The speeches of Morris and Donald were well reported in the next morning's *Newcastle Chronicle*. Altogether, the two months' work here has been very successful, and should stimulate our comrades all over the country.

J. L. MAHON.

EARLY COMMUNAL LIFE AND WHAT IT TEACHES.

(Continued from p. 135.)

WE have seen what the village communes were, and how they may even now be found in Russia and Java, and in the remote parts of India, while our own country shows the most unmistakable signs of having once been covered by similar associations. We must now pass on to examine the family communities which so often succeeded them in course of time, probably by the plots of land remaining in the hands of various families and not returning for repartition. In this way has grown up the family life of the Servians, which will, I think, afford us the best example of this system which is now in existence.

In Servia the land is held by family communes, consisting on the average of 20 to 25 people, though there are sometimes as many as 50 or 60; each commune cultivates a farm of about 37 to 45 acres. The buildings are all situated within an enclosure. There is the main building, including the large hall, in which all the members meet for meals and to spend the evenings in singing or telling stories. Round this hall are four or five bedrooms, inhabited by the chief's family, and often another couple and their family. The private rooms of the other members are dotted about the enclosure, often built on piles; within the enclosure are also built stables, barns, and other farm buildings. The chief is elected to manage the commune, and generally resigns when he gets old, being succeeded by the one who is deemed best able to manage the affairs. He is a much less despotic ruler than the head of a Russian commune, at least than modern ones. He is expected to consult the other members on all matters of importance. It is his business to buy what things are needed from outside; these are few, most of the necessities of life being produced at home. He has to sell any surplus produce they may have, and represents the community in any dealings with a third person or with the State. His power is very

much the same as that of the manager of a joint stock company. The wife of the chief, or some other woman elected to take her place, has charge of all the domestic work and sees to the education of the children, she allots the work to the women and is supposed to be consulted in all marriages. A woman leaving the association to marry is allowed a dowry in proportion to the wealth of the community. Occasionally, if labour is needed, the husband is received into the wife's family, but generally the wife passes to the husband's. It is a general custom to allow a newly married couple the exclusive use of a field for one year, in which they grow flax, &c., so that the wife may spin and weave clothes for them and their children. Small home industries are often carried on by individual members, and anything they make by them is their individual property, they are even allowed sometimes to buy a cow with these earnings and to keep it on the common pasture. Members leaving to join the army or to go into the towns have always the right of returning under certain conditions.

The members of these communities are, as a rule, happy and contented, they are not over-worked, and live in rude comfort. Their affection for the family is fostered by the common meals and the evening gatherings, where the children play about their grandfather's knees and listen to stories of the struggles of their race against Turks or other invaders, the women spin or ornament their garments, which they do very beautifully with bright coloured embroidery, and the men are busy mending their tools or making some of the toys and nicknacks which they do so well; all take their turn at entertaining the company with music, singing, or the telling of stories. The social life of these families is a pleasant contrast to the joyless lives passed by so many peasants and agricultural labourers in our own and other countries. They have the further advantage of gaining leisure by the division of labour which they are enabled to practise. There is only one lot of cooking to be done for all the community, only one lot of poultry to feed, or one herd to be watched: the men go out and work for the common good under the leadership of the head man, and they can always summon all the members to help at specially busy times such as harvest. There is in these communities every facility for the introduction of any machinery or other improvements which might be found useful, and for a happy country life it will be difficult to find a better system.

Family communities, exactly similar to these, have existed in France, Italy, and Germany, in the Middle Ages. In France some of them lasted until the end of the last century. One hamlet called Pinon was formed of one of these societies, modified in constitution; it contained 19 persons and 13 servants in 1788. Some idea of its wealth will be gathered from the fact that it gave £600 dowry to any of its women marrying into another commune. Many of these French communities carried on other work in common as well as agriculture; there was a good deal of cutlery done by them. All through the statutes, registers, and documents of the Middle Ages there is undoubted proof of the existence over a very wide area of these family communes. It is only within the last few hundred years that the definite idea of individual ownership of land has grown up, and it is not much longer that the idea of individual ownership of the implements of production has been at all generally accepted.

These are not isolated cases which have been cited, but instances representative of a course of development which in its main features seems, from evidence already collected, to have been almost universal. There can no longer be any doubt that almost all nations have passed through a very long period, the characteristic feature of which was the common use and ownership of land and other means of production by associations based more or less on the family relationship.

Before passing from these examples, to consider what they teach us of the past course of development and of the future, it will be well for us to take a glance at the common lands of Switzerland, for here we find the modern form, if we may so call it, of their primitive customs. There has never been, in the history of the world, so far as we know, a more radical democracy than has existed in Switzerland for a thousand years. In six of the cantons, namely in Uri, Schwytz, Glaris, in the Appenzells, and in the two Unterwaldens, the people govern themselves directly without the intervention of any representative body. In the spring all the citizens of full age meet in the open air to pass laws and to appoint officers charged with the execution of them. Speaking of this ancient democratic government Laveleye says, "Nations did not start with a patriarchal royalty, as has too often been thought from a too exclusive study of heroic Greece, but rather with republican institutions." There is probably a good deal of truth in this, and it reminds us that the kings of Saxon England were elected by the Witan in old times.

But it is with the common property of Switzerland that we are now concerned. In the course of modern development much of the lands has got into the hands of private individuals, but there still remain large tracts of common lands, called *Almends*, which are in many cases enough to provide with the first necessities of life those who have a right to share in the benefits derived from them. The *Almends* may be divided into three chief kinds, the cultivated lands, the pasture, and the forest. On the cultivated land they can grow corn and vegetables, the Alp supplies them with pasture for sheep, cows, and goats, while from the forest they get timber to build and repair their houses, to make furniture, tools, &c., also firewood, dry leaves, and turf. In Stony every occupier is entitled to a little over an acre of cultivated land. In the Canton of St. Gall the village of Buchs allows each of the cultivators an acre and a quarter of good land, firewood for all the year, and Alp pasturage for a considerable head of cattle; in addition to which it derives from its common property a revenue sufficient to

support the schoolmaster and pastor, and to meet all public expenses without imposing any tax. In the village of Wartow each received about two acres of land.

There are various ways of using these common lands, in some Cantons they are let out and the rent goes to defray all communal expenses, to pay for the church and the school. In one district they are chiefly used to provide common repasts, like the old common meals of Sparta, or the early love feasts of the Christians. But however their common property is used the result is always greatly beneficial to the people: their common forests make them the best housed peasantry in the world, and in many cases they are entirely guaranteed from starvation or absolute destitution by the produce they can get from their common lands.

RAYMOND UNWIN.

(To be continued.)

AN ARGUMENT.

A "gentleman" was vehemently denouncing the action of certain strikers for driving from work certain other men who had taken the places of the strikers at lower wages. "Why," said this gentleman, who, if he had been as noisy in defending the action of the strikers, would have been dubbed a loud-mouthed demagogue, "no man has any right to interfere with another in his honest work in any way. The man or men who would prevent by force or intimidation, or any other way, any other man from earning his daily wages, is a villain, an outlaw, and deserves to be shot. He—" "Hold on, friend," said I (and in spite of myself I was getting a little hot); "that won't do. You are too profuse with your hard names. Did you ever stop to think the thing over?" "Think!" he contemptuously repeated, gazing angrily around on the admiring crowd of honest labourers, "ain't the thing evident on the face of it? What right has one man to say to another that he shan't work, and then to drive him away by force if he persists in doing something for his family? If you don't like the wages you are getting, you are at liberty to quit. This is a free country, this is!" And he flashed a triumphant look over his admirers, as if there were no more to be said. But I was not enough to be thoroughly in earnest, and so proceeded to give him a new view of the matter. "Yes, this is a free country, and so it was before the war. A black slave had the same choice as me—he could work like a mule for his bare living, and if he didn't like it he could do the other thing. What does it matter how a man dies, so he ceases to live—whether by the cruel whip of the slave-owner or the more cruel method of starvation by the present class of slave managers? What right has a man, indeed, to interfere with me? If I deprive him of his place and wages, no matter how, then I'm an outlaw, am I? Just so;—what's the difference between getting his place away from him by means of a club or by means of an offer to work for lower wages? The effect is exactly the same." The contempt with which he turned and regarded me was amusing. The men around us, some of whom had not long before been supplanted by cheaper "hands," were too astonished to say anything. One meek-looking man on the outskirts of the little crowd ventured that "the feller was right, after all," but was frowned away by my now angry opponent. "Do you mean to say," he gasped at last, "that I haven't the right to hire a man to take another's place if I choose?" "To a certain extent," I replied; "if he is incompetent, or dishonest, or for any good and just cause, you have that right. But to offer your present employé lower wages, as a pretext for discharging him so that you may hire another in his place, you have no more right than he has to use every means in his power to thwart you. His daily labour has helped you to your present position far more than has your capital; for without his labour your capital would have let you starve to death." "But when I pay him he gets his share," he argued. "His share ends with his receiving his pay out of my capital." "He doesn't draw one cent of his wages from your capital," I answered. "The work he has performed more than increases your capital to the extent of his wages, or you would not hire him. More than that, his share does not end with the receipt of his daily wages. He has helped to build up your business,—he has given his time and best efforts in your behalf—and he is fully as much as you entitled to the resultant benefits of his application." Several of the listeners mustered up courage to nod their heads approvingly. "No he aint!" retorted my opponent, excitedly. "I don't hire him to—" He stopped. "To what?" I asked. But as he was about to turn away from the encounter in lofty disdain, I supplied the words he was about to say. "You don't hire him to help you! Then what do you hire him for? Just to give him employment? Quite philanthropic, truly," I added, not caring to let slip a good chance for a bit of sarcasm. He walked into a saloon not far away, followed, I am sorry to say, by a number of men who ought to have known better. Passing by on my way homeward, a moment later, I saw them all standing at the bar. That was an argument which I was wholly unable to dispute.—KNIGHT, in *John Swinton's Paper*.

THE CHARITY ORGANISATION SOCIETY.—All societies and individuals who have been interfered with by this organisation are invited to write to Mr. F. Johnson of the National Refuge Harbours Society, 17 Parliament Street, S.W., with a view of meeting their charges in the most public way possible.

Persecuting imprisonments and rough police handling have had their effect on the health of J. E. Williams of the S. D. F. At the Marylebone police court on Friday his counsel had to hand in a medical certificate for his absence from the trial arising out of the last piece of petty tyranny on the part of the protectors of the citizens.

A TRUE BRITON.—Mrs. E. H. Britten gave her splendid limelight illustration of views in New Zealand, "The Paradise of the Southern Seas," at Pendleton Town Hall. A gentleman from the Emigration Society, handed Mrs. Britten a letter, asking her to speak in favour of emigration; but Mrs. Britten said she could not, neither would she until the land became the land of the people, which was now in the hands of a few.—*The Medium and Day-break*.

"Cornelius Vanderbilt is erecting a magnificent 80,000 dollar building, at his own expense, for the benefit of the employés of the Vanderbilt railroads centreing in New York. It will be complete with gymnasium, baths, swimming baths, bowling alley, class rooms, library, etc., and will be in charge of the Railroad Department of the Young Men's Christian Association."—*Young Men's Magazine*. It would be a good deal better if he paid his employés better, so that they could have more home comforts and make such buildings unnecessary.—S. S. G.



"HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN
 HATED 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 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 April 27.

ENGLAND	CHICAGO (ILL.)	ITALY
Justice	—Vorbote	—Il Fascio Operaio
Jus	—Labor Enquirer	—Brescia—Lo Sperimentale
Norwich—Daylight	—Albina (Oreg.)—Weekly Courier	—Naples—Humanitas
Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung	—Detroit (Mich.)—The Advance	—SPAIN
Glasgow—Pioneer	—and Labor Leaf	—El Productor
Brotherhood	—Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	—Madrid—El Socialista
Worker's Friend	—FRANCE	—Cadiz—El Socialismo
Bankipore—Behar Herald	—Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	—AUSTRIA
SOUTH AUSTRALIA	—Le Revolte	—Arbeiterstimme
Adelaide—Our Commonwealth	—Guise—Le Devoir	—Vienna—Gleichheit
UNITED STATES	—Lille—Le Travailleur	—HUNGARY
New York—Volkszeitung	—BELGIUM	—Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
John Swinton's Paper	—Liege—L'Avenir	—ROUMANIA
Der Sozialist	—Antwerp—De Werker	—Jassy—Lupta
Boston—Woman's Journal	—HOLLAND	—SWEDEN
Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer	—Hague—Recht voor Allen	—Stockholm—Social-Demokraten
New Haven (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate	—SWITZERLAND	—NORWAY
	—Zurich—Sozial Demokrat	—Kristiania—Social-Democraten

THE IRISH QUESTION.

II.—THE LAND.

It is a true saying that the land question is at the bottom of the whole Irish difficulty. It is at the bottom of the whole Irish question. It is the same in England, it is the same in all the great States of Europe, of America, and throughout the civilised world. How to restore the land to the people is the question of the hour. To do so can never be confiscation, can never be robbery. The confiscation, the robbery, the plunder, exist to-day. That confiscation, that robbery, that plunder will cease only when the land is restored to the people, the public property of the whole people, not excepting one, even the feeblest, in mind or body.

"Before the time of the conquest," said the late John Stuart Mill, "the Irish people knew nothing of absolute property in land. The land belonged to the entire sept; the chief was little more than the managing member of the association. The feudal idea which came in with the conquest was associated with foreign dominion, and has never to this day been recognized by the moral sentiments of the people."

During the debates in the House of Lords on the Irish Land Act of 1870, the late Lord Clarendon described the landlord system of Ireland as legalised robbery. At the Town Hall, Birmingham, October 11, 1870, Mr. John Bright said, "Proprietary right in Ireland had its origin mainly in confiscation." Many other authorities might be referred to if necessary. In Ireland, as throughout the world, the possession of the land has ever been the grand aim of the conquerer, knowing that he who holds the land holds in his hands the lives and liberties of the people. The land once taken possession of by the conquerors, the subjugation and the slavery of the people is only a question of time.

In dealing with the land question in Ireland it is not necessary to go back beyond the middle of the 16th century. Queen Mary, although a Roman Catholic, seized a large tract of land in Leinster, known to-day as King's and Queen's Counties. But with the accession of the good Queen Bess, the work of plunder and extermination began in earnest. To destroy the Catholic religion by destroying the Catholic population was her great aim. In Ireland extermination was reduced to a system. To every English foot soldier who settled in Ireland she offered 120 acres of land, and to every horse soldier 200 acres. But in taking possession of the land they had got to kill off the Irish people, and to do so a war of extermination had to be undertaken. Hollingshead tells us that "the English killed in their advance all prisoners taken, putting to the sword old and young, not sparing the babies at their mothers' breasts. From Limerick in the South to Waterford in the East, a distance of 120 miles, not an Irishman was

to be met with, nor a beast, or fruit of the earth. Those not slaughtered died of starvation." Hollingshead goes on to say that the famished people might be seen to creep forth "out of the woods on their hands, for their legs could not bear them; they looked like anatomies of death; they spoke like ghosts crying out of their graves. They were driven to eat, not only horses and dogs, but the carcasses of dead men." He adds, "the land up to then was populous and rich, plenty of corn and cattle, is now become so barren, both of man and beast, that whoever did travel from one end to the other of the one hundred and twenty miles, would not meet any man, woman or child, except in the towns and cities." Here is a picture of rapine and murder. Can any Englishman be proud of such doings? Can the Irish forget such deeds?

James the First of England, who claimed to be God-like in his attributes, but who could never believe in paying royal debts, carried on the work of plunder to a great extent, taking six whole counties, and other smaller districts. He owed large sums of money to many of the London city companies, and as he refused to pay them, he gave them lands in Ireland as compensation. Thus the Company of Drapers became possessed of 27,140 acres; the Company of Mercers, 21,170 acres; the Fishmongers, 20,451 acres; the Salters, 19,291 acres; the Ironmongers, 12,113 acres; the Grocers, 11,678 acres; the Clothiers, 10,267 acres; and the Skinners Company, 5,062 acres, giving a total of 127,770 acres, with a rental of close on £90,000 per annum in 1879. At the present time about £70,000 per annum. But look at the enormous rise in the rents of the above estates. In 1691 the rental is given at £6,000 a year; in 1782 at £8,000. Here was plunder on a grand scale. Why should not the Companies be proud of their so-called "Property?" It is calculated that not less than one hundred thousand families, or about half a million of men, women, and children, were driven from the richer lands of the north to the barren regions of the south and the west by these forcible clearances. But the most terrible period of Irish history was that of the Commonwealth. During that period over 7,700,000 acres of land were confiscated. Sir Eustace Maurice advised the Government to burn all the crops and put all the people to the sword. General Munroe, in a single day, near the town of Newry, killed seven hundred country people. In West Meath and Longford he massacred the whole population. The people of several villages having fled to the furze on the top of a hill, Sir Arthur Loftus surrounded the hill with his troops and burnt the whole to death. Sir William Cole, an English officer, in one of his dispatches to the Government, says, "Starved and famished of the vulgar sort, 7,000." Six hundred and sixteen thousand perished during this period. What a glorious period for poor Ireland.

But the restoration of the Stuarts brought no restitution to the people of Ireland. In every age from the time of the Conquest, whatever the Government, the plunder of the Irish people has still gone on. A change of government made no difference to the people of Ireland. For seven hundred years she has been the victim of royal and aristocratic plunderers.

In 1675 took place the great so-called Land Settlement in Ireland. Up to that time about eleven million acres had been surveyed. Of that about four million acres were held by Protestants, and in the "settlement" the following arrangement took place:—

	Acres.
To Soldiers who had served in Ireland.....	2,387,915
To 49 officers	450,380
To Adventurers (who had lent money).....	787,321
To Provisors (to whom lands had been promised) ...	477,873
To Duke of Ormond and Colonel Butler	257,516
To Duke of York	169,431
To Bishops (Protestant)	31,596

Total..... 4,599,032

Leaving to the Catholic population 2,328,859

This was divided as follows:

	Acres.
To those who were declared to be innocent	1,176,570
To Provisors—lands promised	497,001
Nominees in possession.....	68,360
Restitutions	45,398
To those transferred to Connought under James I. (above referred to)	541,530

And this was called the grand settlement of the land question in Ireland. But we shall have to see many other settlements in that country.

But after this grand settlement, William III. after the glorious revolution of 1688 confiscated over a million and a half of acres, of which he gave Lord Bentinck, 135,300 acres; Lord Albermarle, 103,603; Lord Conningsby, 59,667; Lord Romney, 49,517; Lord Galway, 36,142; Lord Athlow, 26,480; Lord Rockford, 39,512; Dr. Leslie, 16,000; Mr. F. Keighley, 12,000; Lord Mountjoy, 11,000; Sir T. Prendergast, 7,083; Colonel Hamilton, 5,966.

Here, again, was plunder on a grand scale, truly right royal and aristocratic in its dimensions.

But the people of Ireland have never recognised these robberies and never will. But who are the confiscators? Who are the plunderers? To whom is compensation due?

Many people cannot understand why the Irish people cannot forget these things, and why they do not recognise the claims of the landlords. The late J. S. Mill, in the House of Commons, May 17, 1866, said: "The Irish circumstances and the Irish ideas as to social and agri-

cultural economy are the general ideas and circumstances of the human race. It is the English ideas and circumstances that are peculiar. Ireland is in the main stream of human existence and human feeling and opinion. It is England that is in one of the lateral channels." Now if Mill was right the Irish are right. And here it may be asked how many years, how many generations, how many centuries, must expire before plunder ceases to be plunder and becomes legitimate property?

Instead of the people of England condemning the people of Ireland, would it not be better for the people of Great Britain to look after the land-thieves at home, and, grasping hands with the people of Ireland, help onward the great social revolution, now so near at hand.

J. SKETCHLEY.

SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

CHAPTER XVIII.

SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM.—THE PRODUCTION OF SURPLUS VALUE—THAT IS, OF RENT, INTEREST, AND PROFIT.

THE problem to be resolved is as follows. The owner of money has to buy his commodities at their value, and to sell them at their value, and nevertheless at the end of the process to realise a surplus. This is the end and aim of his existence as a capitalist, and if he does not accomplish it, he is as a capitalist a mere failure. So that his development from the mere money owner to the full-blown capitalist has to take place at once within the sphere of circulation and without it: that is, he must follow the law of the exchange of commodities, and nevertheless must act in apparent contradiction to that law. This problem cannot be solved merely by means of the money which he owns, the value of which is, so to say, petrified. As Ricardo says, "In the form of money, capital has no profit." As money, it can only be hoarded.

Neither can the surplus originate in the mere re-sale of the commodity, "which does no more than transform the article from its bodily form back into its money form." The only alternative left is the change should originate in the use-value of the article bought with the money in the first instance and on which the capitalist has to operate.

"In order to be able to extract value from the consumption of a commodity, our friend Moneybags must be so lucky as to find within the sphere of circulation, in the market, a commodity whose use-value possesses the peculiar property of being a source of value, whose actual consumption therefore is itself an embodiment of labour, and, consequently, a creation of value. The possessor of money does find on the market such a special commodity in capacity for labour, or labour-power."

By labour-power or the capacity for labour Marx understands the whole of the mental and physical capacities in a human being which are brought into action in the production of commodities; in short, the man and all that is in him as a wealth-producing machine.

Now in order that the possessor of money should find this necessity to the accomplishment of his end and aim—viz., labour-power as a commodity of the market, various conditions are requisite.

The man who is to exercise the labour-power for the capitalists' benefit—the labourer—must be "free," that is, his labour must be at his own disposal, and also he must have nothing else to dispose of for his livelihood but his labour-power. On the other hand, any one who has to live by selling commodities other than labour-power must own the means of production, and also the means of subsistence while the commodities are being got ready for the market, and being converted into money.

As to the value of this article necessary to the life of the capitalist, this labour-power, is estimated like the value of every other commodity by the averagetime necessary for its production or reproduction; that is the averagetime necessary in a given state of society; and in plain language this production of labour-power means the maintenance of the labourer. "Given the individual, the production of labour-power consists in the reproduction of himself—or his maintenance."

Labour-power is realised only in action, that is, when it has become actual labour, and is producing a commodity; so that, "the value of labour-power resolves itself into the value of a definite quantity of the means of subsistence. It therefore varies with the value of those means, or with the quantity of labour requisite for their production."

The minimum limit of the value of labour-power is therefore determined by the value of these means. If the price of labour-power falls below that minimum it is destroyed: a higgling as to its price has to be gone through between the buyer and the seller, and the price is fixed by contract though it is not realised until the article is consumed. From what is stated above, it will be seen that this contract is made between two parties; on the one hand the workman, or machine for production, who has no means of producing, on the other the possessor of money who has all the means necessary for working the machine and has therefore become a capitalist. "He who was before the money-owner now strides in front as a capitalist: the possessor of labour-power follows as his labourer. The one with an air of importance, smirking, intent on business; the other timid and holding back, like one who is ringing his own hide to market, and has nothing to expect but—a fling."

The labour process necessary to Capitalism exhibits two characteristic phenomena: first the labourer works under the control of a capitalist, and secondly the product of the labourer is the property of a capitalist,

and not of the labourer, its immediate producer. This product appropriated by the capitalist is a use-value, "as for example yarn, or boots"; says Marx with a grin, "but although boots are in one sense the basis of all social progress and our capitalist is a decided 'progressist,' the capitalist does not for his special purpose look upon them as boots, or any other use-value. He has primarily two objects in view: first he wants to produce a use-value, not, again, for the sake of its use, but in order that he may exchange it; and next, in order that his exchange may be fruitful to him, he wants to produce a commodity the value of which shall be greater than the sum of the values used in producing it—that is, the means of production and the labour-power."

This he is able to accomplish as follows. He buys the use of the labour-power of the workman for a day, while a certain duration of labour in the day is enough to reproduce the workman's expended labour-power—that is, to keep him alive. But the human machine is in all cases capable of labouring for more hours in the day than is necessary for this result, and the contract between the capitalist and the labourer as understood in the system under which those two classes exist implies that the exercise of the day's labour-power shall exceed this duration necessary for reproduction, and it is a matter of course that the buyer of the commodity labour-power should do as all buyers of commodities do—consume it altogether for his own advantage.¹

It is on this industry, the buying of labour-power in the market, and the consumption of all the results of its exercise beyond what is necessary for its reproduction, that the capitalist lives, just as the industry by which the workman lives is the production of commodities.

E. BELFORT BAX and WILLIAM MORRIS.

CHARLATAN CHAMBERLAIN.

THE Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, M.P., has published with Messrs. Swan Sonnenschein and Co., at 1s., a collection of his speeches delivered between 1881 and 1887 under the title of "Home Rule and the Irish Question." The book is "issued under the auspices of the National Radical Union, Birmingham," a mighty body of the Three-Tailors-of-Tooley-Street type.

Not long since, when the quondam Radical was posing as a demi-semi-Socialist, we warned the workers against him. Those of them who get hold of this precious latest production of his will need no warning of ours to enable them to see how carefully he balances himself "upon the fence" and "kicks either which way suits him." From the ramping roaring "ransom"-demander to the prim preacher of law and order is an easy transition for this versatile actor, who does not, however, do justice to this great power of his in the volume before us, from which all that could either offend a Tory or rouse a Radical has been carefully eliminated, or still more carefully balanced against something else. This would seem to mean that the book was colourless—on the contrary it is, like a celebrated coat, of many colours. Of so many mingled hues is the garment of his thought that it is not easy to distinguish any clear colours except those of priggish hypocrisy and indomitable self-assertion. His only consistency is in favour of coercion, which he has defended all along; in all things he has tried to gratify the popular mood of the moment, on this point it is only the excuses that he has varied, the thing itself he has never changed. His hatred of the Irish members, or any one who crosses him, is instructive to behold. Whining out Pecksniffian commonplaces when himself is criticised, he uses every vile artifice to defame or discredit an opponent.

Just now the pseudo-democrat is stumping the country in search of his lost popularity, endeavouring to persuade the people that it was only by optical illusion they saw a wolf when his sheep-skin slipped off—it was their old familiar friend and watch-dog after all! Whether the sheep will listen and be charmed, who knows? If they listen carefully to the honeyed voice the raucous undertone is fully perceptible, but they seldom so listen, and the experienced practitioner upon their gullibility knows it well. However, one would think those at least into whose hands this volume falls, and it is being given away by tons by the "National Radical Union" to all who will receive, should be able to recognise the charlatan for what he is and make his words prophetic, that he was "not going to enter any cave" by leaving him no cave to enter.

H. H. S.

A Bombay native paper referring to the condition of affairs in Europe, says: "We cannot from a distance realise the intensity of the crisis, but it is certain that many crowned heads must be trembling in their shoes."

If you don't put a labour ballot in the box, the time will come when you will have to wrap it around a bullet and deliver it that way.—*Labor Enquirer*.

The "personal rights" people are of course much enraged at the popular support that measures get for shortening hours of labour, etc. It is too much interference with a worker's personal liberty to prevent his being exploited beyond a certain point. His individual liberty to be coerced by his poverty into working himself to death for a parasite's benefit should be left untouched! Liberty was once defined as "the right to do as you damn please with everybody, and not have nobody meddle with you." This is about the standard set up by anti-Socialists.—H. H. S.

¹ Says Mr. Boffin in Dickens's 'Mutual Friend, when he wants to make a show of striking a somewhat hard, but reasonable bargain: "When I buy a sheep I buy it out and out, and when I buy a secretary I expect to buy him out and out," or words to that effect; and the reasonableness of the conditions are accepted on all hands.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

This department is under the direction of the Strike Committee. Labour News and Contributions to the Fund should be sent to T. BIXING, at the Offices.

BRITAIN.

The strike of the fishermen at Scarborough is at an end. The men have assented to the more advantageous terms offered by the masters.

The strike in the building trade in Birmingham continues; but there is every possibility of an early settlement. Delegates have been appointed to meet the masters to arrange terms.

SOUTH STAFFORDSHIRE IRON TRADE.—The Mayor of Birmingham (Sir Thomas Martineu) as arbitrator, has decided against any alteration of the rate of wages fixed in 1886. Isn't the arbitration farce nearly played out?

A singular trade dispute has occurred in Dumfries. The women employed in the tweed mills of Messrs. Charteris and Co. have ceased work owing to the introduction of new machinery, which, they say, will be the means of greatly reducing their wages.

The ironworkers employed at the Ruabon Works of the New British Iron Company, the largest ironworks in North Wales, have given their employers notice for an advance of 10 per cent. in wages. The notices have been given in consequence of the revival of the Welsh iron trade.

An important conference of miners' delegates has been opened at Manchester, fully 400,000 miners being represented. The Mines Regulation Bill and the employment of women at the pit bank have been the chief topics of discussion. Mr. T. Burt, M.P., presides over the conference.

Three men and a boy have been sentenced to three months for mobbing and rioting on the occasion of the Blantyre riots. They are not convicted of theft, and had been waiting two and a half months for their trial. Rather smart sentence, this.

The employees of the various shipbuilding establishments in Belfast have given notice to the effect that unless a satisfactory arrangement is arrived at with respect to the demand to have the wages paid weekly instead of fortnightly a general strike will take place on the 28th inst.

From the report of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, it appears that nearly £41,000 was expended in unemployed allowance, an amount which has only been once exceeded in the Society's history—viz., in the year 1879. This gives but a slight idea of the number of men in this particular trade unemployed, as the relief is given only for a few weeks; and the majority of carpenters and joiners do not belong to the union.

The brick-makers of Homerton, Cowley, and Slough, have struck for an advance of wages of 6d. per 1000 bricks. The agitation is extending, and is causing much excitement. At a meeting of master brick-makers, held at Paddington on the 22nd, it was unanimously resolved to resist the demand, and to close the fields for the next fortnight. Through this resolution, about 1000 "hands"—men, women, and boys—are thrown out of employment.

A meeting of the Board of Management of the Midland Counties Miners' Federation has been held at Walsall. Great dissatisfaction was expressed with the communications received by the secretary from the employers in reply to the circular sent out from the last meeting with reference to the wages question, and it was resolved that the Federation should be represented at the miners' conference at Manchester.

THE EMIGRATION FRAUD.—LABOUR IN CANADA.—Last week in this column we warned workers against the attempt now being made by the Master Builders' Association of Toronto to flood the labour-market in Canada and to break up the trades' unions there by advertising for men in this country. Writing to the *Toronto Globe* the secretary to the St. George's Society, Toronto, says: "The city is full of destitute, unemployed men. The numbers are greater than I have ever known before; not only are they discharged in the cities, but all over the country. . . . Many apply for a committal to prison, so that they may not starve. What to do with all the young men who ask for assistance at the offices of the St. George's Society I am at a loss to know." The Secretary to the Toronto Trades and Labour Council writes (March): "There is no outdoor work in progress yet, and, from a full knowledge of the amount of work in prospective, I have no hesitation in saying that we have five men in every calling ready to work, while it will be only sufficient for one." Other Canadian labour organisations have also sent warning to the trades in this country.

THE CHAINMAKERS' STRIKE.—About two thousand small chain makers in the Cradley Heath district turned out on the 25th, in consequence of the non-compliance of the employers with a demand for a four-shilling list. A large number of the operatives have been on strike during the last thirty-seven weeks, but owing to the unsatisfactory arrangements made with the employers by those who have returned to work, it has been decided that a general strike should be declared. The *Glasgow Mail* says: "The association might almost be said to have been instigated to take this course by her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Factories. Mr. Redgrave says in his report last year, just issued: 'In my report for the year ended 31st October 1879, I described the manner in which the enactments of the Truck Act were evaded in the chain and nail districts of Staffordshire, Warwickshire, and Worcestershire. There existed no 'giving of lines' and no direct compulsion, but it was well known that work would only be given to those who would silently accept work on the only terms upon which it would be given by the employers. I pointed out in my report that in no case during my enquiry would a workman acknowledge that he was in any way coerced to deal for gleeds or provisions in any particular shop or warehouse. Workmen out of work would condemn the system and acknowledge that they had suffered from it, but no direct evidence could be elicited of its actual existence. I regret to state that there has been no alteration since I wrote. It has been impressed upon workmen again and again that they have the remedy in their own hands, but the remedy is so severe, the result so certain to be detrimental, that individual action is powerless, and it would require an amount of courage in an individual which can hardly be expected from one man to fight single-handed the battle of hundreds. Mr. Redgrave quotes the opinion of several authorities on 'the vile system of trucking,' and concludes with this remark: 'It thus rests with the sufferers themselves to come to an agreement not to take work unless their hands are free, as the only means under the existing law of defeating the iniquitous system which prevails.' Meetings have been held during the week under the presidency of Mr. Homer, when it was decided to continue the strike. Subscriptions had been received from the *Daily Post*, Liverpool, amounting to £7, 2s. 6d.; Bookbinders' and Machine Rulers' Consolidated Union of Liverpool, £5, 5s.; Colonel Stewart, of London, £35.

AUSTRALIA.

SYDNEY, March 17.—After a long contest the miners of Illawarra have gone back to work at the master's terms. It was hardly to be expected that a battle fought on such unequal grounds could be won by the miners, for despite the able support they received from all parts of the colonies, the mines were slowly being filled with blacklegs, and the end was as I prognosticated, defeat. The employees in the large works of Messrs. Hudson Bros. have just had their wages reduced 5 per cent. Although wages in many trades and professions are still good, it is counterbalanced by the difficulty to secure employment when once out, and it is no trouble to find men who have been unemployed for four, five, and six months. The unemployed question has now a good grasp on the public mind, and it is not to be pooh-poohed out of existence. Several hundred are employed upon the relief works at the Field of Mars, and various other localities. A young man named McCormick marches his little army of unemployed through the public streets every night; speeches are delivered, and subscriptions consisting of hard cash, tea and sugar, bread, and beef or mutton from the butchers are collected. They have a house in Woolloomooloo, where the food is cooked and distributed, and a shake-down made for as many of the destitute as the house will hold. Rations were given by the former Government, but the present administration are pledged to a policy of retrenchment so they stopped the rations, and here I may say that Parliament will be asked to consider such measures as may be put before them for celebrating Her Majesty's Jubilee. Comment is unnecessary. A deputation from the unemployed waited on the Premier the other day; he pointed out that neither the English or American Governments found work for their destitute. I was rather surprised that the Englishmen on that deputation did not point out that there was no necessity for them to go to the head Government in England, since they had Local Government Boards to appeal to. McCormick was not on that deputation, as the Premier would not receive him, and he (the Premier) also gave the deputation a lecture on the folly of being led away by violent agitators like McCormick, and they obsequiously promised that they would not. The unemployed, to their honour be it said, afterwards stated that no more deputations should go unless McCormick formed part of it. I have heard McCormick speak two or three times, and I have found no trace of that violence which Sir Henry Parkes denounced. He is a quiet, plain spoken man, and the only one in my opinion capable of leading such an agitation. He told his hearers that the direct cause of the unemployed was bad government; that it was the duty of a good government to remove those conditions which allowed the few to roll in luxury, while the many were on the verge of starvation. The Government had poured thousands of destitute Britishers upon the already overstocked labour market of this colony on behalf of capital, and it was the duty of the Government to find them work, not at clearing scrub on such places as the Field of Mars, where they could only earn 2s. 6d. per day, but to settle them upon the vacant Crown lands of the colony; in short, create State farms, so that they would be engaged in reproductive works at rates which would support themselves and families in comfort. Too many of the workers who were in comfortable circumstances were indifferent to the cry of their unfortunate brothers, but if they did not come forward to help them, they should soon advertise themselves open to receive work at a decrease of 30 per cent. upon the ruling rates. The papers, he continued, have lately been holding forth on the advantages of low wages, maintaining that lower wages would release capital at present lying idle. We shall act on that suggestion if you do not come forward and assist us to gain a little more equitable distribution of wealth; the bees are starving while the drones thrive. This is the sum total of his speeches, and they call him a violent agitator. It is a pity that there is no one to assist him in his work, for should he get employment the cause will fall for want of exponents. I think now could be laid the foundation of a solid Labour Party. Nothing could be done without a paper, for there is none in existence that would countenance such a formation. Our elections are just over, the usual meaningless policy of reform and retrenchment. Another government formed to legislate not on behalf of a nation but of a class. Sir Henry Parkes, the Premier, was one of the old Chartist party, but the atmosphere of the colonies did not seem to agree with the progressive ideas of his young days, for he became a sycophant, a groveller, and has received his reward in a K.C.M.G.-ship. He is an ardent admirer of the Queen; he believes that payment of members is not the way to retrench, but celebration of the Queen's Jubilee would be a good step in the path to economy. The House is composed of the usual rich assortment of lawyers, usurers, land grabbers, and capital mongers. Several nominees have been added to the Upper House, notably old Ebenezer Vickery, one of the richest, man-grinding, canting hypocrites in the Southern hemisphere. It is nearly time Mammon was compelled to abdicate. What a satire upon progressive democracy when such as he are put forward to bolster up that rotten institution, the Upper House. True it was of Kenealy when he said, "Liars and lies deceive mankind and rule them, and make them sacrifice the God of Truth to bedlam nonsense."—ANGLO-AUSTRALIAN.

[Our correspondent has fallen into error in supposing that because there are Local Government Boards in England that the English people have local government. This in any real, true sense of the word, is utterly wanting. Beyond the providing of a little stone-breaking or road cleaning at the rate of 1s. or 2s. a-day, nothing so far has been done for the unemployed, who are even worse off here than in New South Wales. The evil is universal, and so must be the remedy.]

FRANCE.

The campaign against the Registry Agencies in Paris is proceeding lustily. It is said that the authorities think fit to place a guard of police round most of the Bureaux de Placement.

ALAIS.—Fifty women employed in the Saillens spinning factory at Alais have declared on strike. They ask for the reduction of the working-day from 12 to 10 hours with the same wages. M. Saillens has replied that he cannot accede to the demands.

MEHUN-SUR-YEVRE.—It appears that the exploiter Pilluwyt is climbing down and inclined to capitulate. At any rate he has written to eight workmen from among the strikers to take them on at the old rate, that is to say without the 10 per cent. reduction which was the cause of the strike.

ARNAY-LE-DUC (COTE D'OR).—In consequence of the strike of file-cutters here, the managers have posted up large notices about Dijon advertising for workmen to replace the strikers. To which the workmen of the same trade in Dijon have replied by a plain-spoken and haughty letter to the managers, every line breathing defiance to the exploiter, loyalty to their fellow-workers, and not a little of that harmless rhetoric and pomposity so dear to the French workman's heart.

The Vierzon strike has come to an end after an eight months' struggle. The working men's syndicate issues a manifesto, tendering their thanks for the help received throughout the country. "No longer hoping for victory," they say, "we have dissolved the strike and rendered to the strikers their freedom of action." This manifesto, simply and clearly written, explaining the defeat, is consistent with the whole character of the strike, which has been all along quiet, firm and persistent in ignoring provocation after provocation to revolt. A tribute of commendation and sympathy is due from all countries to our friends at Vierzon.

BOURGES (CHER).—The condemnation of Baudin on Oct. 5 to two months' imprisonment and the loss of his rights as a citizen, has been confirmed by the Tribunal of Appeal. Last week, being again elected to the General Council, he presented himself in the hall where the council was sitting, where after a warm discussion he was requested to absent himself. The Council was not unanimous in feeling as to how to act, and the president putting it to the vote, it was decided against Baudin by a slight majority. Being again requested to retire he replied by a few home truths, the scene ending dramatically by Baudin leaving the council-hall with the kind "assistance" of four or five officials.

ITALY.

MILAN.—The Tribune of Milan last week, condemned several labourers at Affori to various fines for taking part in a strike, attempting to better their condition.

TURIN.—The workers in the Royal Arms Factory at Turin make many and absurd demands of the management, supported therein by the League of Iron-workers of Turin. They maintain that the persistent reduction of wages brings many of the workers below the point of possible subsistence; that the working-day of 11 hours with 20 minutes rest is too much of a strain on them; that children are received too young into the works, gaining only 9d. a-day, etc. Among their demands is one that they the employés be treated with "common politeness and the civility that free citizens are accustomed to, and not as slaves." This is a modest demand, truly, from the unemancipated of nineteenth century Europe!

"The workman," says this correspondent, "who, in a district like ours without any industries, if he does not make up his mind to emigrate" (oh, the delusion of emigration!), "must stay on without work, or if he finds some, be content to earn the lira (10d.) or 1.50 a day, has to pay a rent equal to 150 lire a year," spending about a third or fourth of his "income" (so grandly to call it) on house room merely. With a view to bettering the housing of the poor—this has come to be a cant phrase to-day, carelessly used by kindly philanthropists—a Society for Economical Dwellings has been formed in one town, possibly by speculators; result as usual, moderately commodious and airy houses a world too costly for those for whom they were said to be built. This is a manifestation of one of the laws of the present economy, which the worthy people who honestly welcome any little reform as a "step in the right direction" will not recognise, though the whole operation goes on yearly under their noses.

A correspondent of the *Emancipazione* (organ of the Roman Labour Party) gives in the last issue a bitter description of the hopeless condition of the poor folk in Veneto, asserting that in the last few years the population has increased out of all proportion, while instead of their housing extending likewise, house demolition goes on largely. Possibly to reconstruct the same? By no means. Some bourgeois count with a long tail to his name wants to extend and beautify his villa, so down come whole streets of tenement houses to make way for "English grounds," carefully-tended wildernesses, mock ruins, cascades, and all the eighteenth century idiocies that delight the vulgar Italian bourgeois mind, for whom the grace and beauty of his native vine-gardens and fruit orchards are not good enough. The result is more of that hideous over-crowding, which, bad as it is in our large cities, makes the width and breadth of Italian country, which should be an earthly paradise, an earthly hell instead, brutalised out of any knowledge of or love for its own beauty.

For listening at a Socialist meeting held a few days ago at Rosewell, near Edinburgh, five miners have been dismissed from their employment. How long will workers hang back from the movement and thus make the few suffer for the benefit of the many? The more Socialists there are the more difficult it will be for the masters to make this mean use of their power. When all are Socialists the masters will not be dismissers, but the dismissed.

"NATIONAL HARBOURS."—The National Refuge Harbours Society sends us from time to time its reports and appeals. With any such work we have of course great sympathy, but can hardly advise Socialists to take much part in the raising of subscriptions for work of the kind. We believe that this and kindred undertakings should be public in the full sense, and not rest on the precarious "benevolence" of the "tender-hearted" bourgeois or the scant pence of the proletaire. They will never be so undertaken while commercialism lasts. The workers' bodies are so cheap that it costs less to spend them remorselessly, taking all risk of other loss also, than to guard against their wholesale drowning. The bourgeois gains his wealth by virtual murder, and his "charity" is but the salve for occasional twinges of conscience. Not until the people take all in hand will any workers' lives be looked after.—H. H. S.

CLASS INDIFFERENCE TO MISERY.—The London newspapers which report at great length the fashionable doings of the great metropolis, are scarcely able to find an inch of space to describe the terrible sufferings of the miners on strike in Northumberland. One cause of the present lowness of wages in the coal districts is the coal tax levied by the corrupt Corporation of the City of London. The struggle in Northumberland is only a forewarning of what is about to happen in other industries. The relations between capital and labour are everywhere breaking down, and their place must be supplied by some Co-operative Labour Commonwealth, in which the workers will be their own capitalists. Meanwhile, it is suggestive that the French workmen have adopted the successful American organisation, the Knights of Labour. Could not something be done in that direction in England? The Knights of Labour here would be a pure labour democracy, in which all who labour would stand on an equal footing.—*Pioneer* (Glasgow).

In our societies, established upon a very rigorous idea of property, the position of the poor is horrible; they have literally no place under the sun. There are no flowers, no grass, no shade, except for him who possesses the earth.—*Rénan*.

CORRESPONDENCE.

WORKERS JUDICIALLY MURDERED.

In the *Commonweal* for July 10 last year, under the heading of "Some Instructive Facts," the stoppage of Messrs. Marshall's flax-mills at Leeds was commented upon, and the probable disastrous result to the workers considered. The statements contained therein were denied *in toto* (with the exception of one paragraph) by one of the partners—Mr. John Marshall—and the article in question dismissed as false and untrustworthy. But unfortunately for this gentleman, the facts were collected by one who had spent many years in the service of the firm, and was in a position where access to all the information—utilised in the *Commonweal*—could be had. The fact that comrade Mahon challenged Mr. Marshall to a discussion in these pages of the points at issue is a substantial factor in determining the truth of the charges. The effect upon the workpeople of the time, by its appearance, was thoroughly satisfactory, but owing to their forced migration throughout the country in search of employment, no visible results were observed.

The disorganisation of the hands was taken into account by an exploiter, who upon the closing of the works made overtures to rent and carry on that part of the business devoted to the weaving of linens. This cormorant's first act was to lower wages all round, knowing that if any demur were made plenty of the unemployed were only too eager to step into the places of the discontented. But the great majority of the workers cast into the streets—what of them? A few hundreds are scattered about the country, or gone to America, in search of work. Those who have reached middle-age, or beyond that, with families dependent upon them, and knowing only the one trade to which they have been brought up—for these the outlook is dark indeed. A few are earning a precarious livelihood by hawking household commodities from door to door. The greater number are drifting aimlessly into beggary. Out-door relief is denied them, and from a sense of shame they are deterred from entering the portals of that English bastille, the poorhouse. One unfortunate fellow has taken such a gloomy view of his probable future that rather than face it, he preferred to drown himself. Some five others have literally died through excessive grief and despondency at their condition.

Released from the "cares and anxieties of business," the members of the erstwhile firm are enjoying that recreation and leisure which is the reward of the "fittest" in the race for wealth. One is disporting himself in the United States, another making heroic efforts on behalf of his country to maintain the Union. Solicitude for the nation's welfare and honour animates the whole batch, and the local Jubilee fund has been considerably augmented by their donations.

The story is one of daily occurrence. The stoppage of a firm; a thousand or two of workers thrown into the streets to become what they may; the lives of a few "hands" shortened; chaos and misery for a time; and then affairs begin to drift into the old state, only to see the same condition of things sooner or later re-enacted. Will the wealth-producers benefit by the lessons so forcibly brought home to them day by day? Or does it need the dumb victims of Capitalism to rise from their very graves and demand justice at the hands of their fellows? If experience—ripe in misery for the workers—is of any avail, they will read these lessons aright.

T. PAYLOR.

A correspondent writes us several suggestions as to the conduct of the co-operative grocery recently set on foot by the League. It may be well to state that it is by no means intended to let this business take such proportions as would overshadow our real work; "to leave the word of Socialism to serve tables": the idea is only that we should supply ourselves in such matters in which it can be easily done, and that all gain resulting therefrom instead of going into the pockets of indifferent persons, or even enemies, should go directly to the funds of the League: there will be no profit to any private member of the League.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

Annual Conference.—The Third Annual Conference of the Socialist League will be held at 13 Farringdon Road on Whitsunday, May 29th. Branch secretaries are urged to send in at once return of membership and subscription to 31st March, which must be paid by May 1st. In order to entitle Branch to be represented at the Conference.

Co-operative Store.—The Committee attend at the offices at 8.30 p.m. on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. See advertisement on last page.

Lessons in French.—Comrade Victor Dave is now giving lessons in French at the offices of the League on Tuesday evenings, at 8 o'clock. The lessons are free to members, and those desirous of profiting by them should send their names at once to the secretary of the League.

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

Bound Volumes of 'COMMONWEAL' for 1886 can now be had. Price 5s. 6d.

BRANCH SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID.

Birmingham, Hackney, Hull, Leeds, North London, to August 31. Manchester, Merton, Norwich, to Oct. 31. Bradford, to November 30. Croydon, Leicester, South London, to December 31, 1886. Lancaster, to January 31. Clerkenwell, Hammersmith, Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Oxford, Walsall, to March 31. Bloomsbury, North London, to April 30, 1887.

THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

Delver, 7s. 6d. Arthur, 6d. P. Webb, 1s. Lansbury, 1s. For Mrs. Mowbray—A few Fabians, per Annie Besant (weekly), 10s. Glasgow Branch (six weeks), 12s.—£1, 12s. J. LANE, Treasurer.

STRIKE COMMITTEE.

P. W., 1s.

T. BINNING, Treasurer.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Hammersmith Branch (weekly), 10s. T. B. (weekly), 6d. W. B. (three weeks), 1s. 6d. E. B. B. (two weeks), 2s. PH. W., Treasurer, April 26.

Northumberland Miners.—Collected in Hyde Park, £3, 8s. 6½d. Regent's Park, 6s. 4d. Croydon Branch, 3s. 9d. Collected by J. L., 1s. 4½d.—Total, £4. JOSEPH LANE.

BRANCH REPORTS.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, April 20, a very lively and humorous lecture was given by Dr. Drysdale on the subject, "Malthusians and Socialists." Numerous questions were asked and replied to. Discussion followed, Dr. Alice Vickery, Sidney Webb, Stewart Headlam, Herbert Burrows, T. E. Wardle, and others, taking part. W. Blundell was in the chair. The lecturer evidently "fenced" in his reply to the arguments put forward by those holding different views. Last Sunday evening, we held preliminary meeting on Clerkenwell Green, and invited those present to come to our lecture-hall, at which an interesting debate took place on the subject: "That individual ownership of private property should be maintained in its entirety." John Badcock, jun., of the "Party of Individual Liberty," took the affirmative; H. Davis, Socialist League, the negative. The audience, which was fairly representative, listened attentively, but it was soon apparent, judging by the applause the Socialist received, which way "the wind blew." The "Party" must try again, but with stronger proof of the correctness of their views. Literature has sold well.—W. B. and T. E. W.

CROYDON.—On Sunday last, W. H. Utley lectured on "Socialism and the Miners." He took a most hopeful view of the chances of the propaganda in Northumberland, and gave a sketch of the way in which the miners are fleeced by their employers.—A. T.

HACKNEY.—On Sunday morning, a meeting of about four hundred people was held at the Salmon and Ball. Graham and Allman spoke. In the evening, J. Lane lectured at the club on "Socialist Schools of Thought," his remarks being much appreciated.

HOXTON.—Last Sunday, F. Verinder, E.L.R.L., lectured on "The Queen's Jubilee and the People's Jubilee." The lecture was followed by an animated discussion.—E. P.

MERTON AND MITCHAM.—The two Branches held a meeting against the Crimes Bill on the Fair Green, Sunday morning last. The weather was against a large attendance. About 400 gathered around, and passed the following resolution unanimously: "That this meeting, whilst protesting against the Government Coercion Bill directed against the right of free speech and action in Ireland, and deeply sympathising with the heroic Irish race in their struggle against the landlords, asks the Irish people not to allow the present agitation to develop into means for creating another class of landlords from amidst its own ranks, but to boldly claim the soil of Ireland as the inalienable right of the whole Irish people, to be used for the benefit of all and not a class." The speakers were Kitz, Eden, and Dalchow.

NORTH LONDON AND MARYLEBONE.—On Sunday morning, Mainwaring spoke to a large audience in Regent's Park, and explained the miners' position at the present time in England and Wales from his own experience, and we collected 6s. 3d. for the Miners' Strike Fund. Members please observe Branch notice and attend to discuss important business.—T. C.

EDINBURGH.—On Sunday afternoon, we held a meeting in Queen's Park. The audience were evidently interested. Tuke, Smith, Bullock, and our secretary spoke. Fair sale of *Commonweal*. We expect a much larger meeting next Sunday.—J. G.

GLASGOW.—A male voice choir to sing revolutionary songs has been formed in connection with the Branch, comrade Moffat acting as leader. The first practice took place on Wednesday night, at which there was a good attendance. From the hearty spirit with which it has been supported, the choir promises to be a success. On Sunday, at noon, comrades Curran and Glasier addressed a good audience on Jail Square. In the evening, a meeting of members took place in our rooms.

HAMILTON.—A meeting of members took place in Paton's Hall, on Thursday. The subject of organising a vigorous summer propaganda was discussed. An open-air meeting, which was to be held on Saturday, had to be abandoned on account of the rain.

LEEDS.—On Sunday morning at 11 a.m., we held our usual open-air meeting on Hunslet Moor. Braithwaite, Maguire, and Hill were the speakers. The audience listened very attentively. At the close of the meeting about thirty copies of the pamphlet entitled "A Plea for Socialism" were sold. In the evening, Maguire lectured at the Royal Oak Inn, Shipley, on "The Irish Question from the Socialist Standpoint."—F. C., sec.

NORWICH.—Interesting report received too late.

BOARD BRIGADE.—Last Saturday afternoon, a *Commonweal* Board Brigade (i.e., *pro tem* "sandwich-men") went out, and made a fairly successful beginning for this year, though this result cannot be said to be due to any response made to the appeal last week for volunteers. Lay members will do well to shake themselves up a bit, and not let such a useful institution flag this summer for want of volunteers. The work is pleasant, and as no special ability is required for its successful performance, none have any excuse for neglect.

SOCIALIST UNION (NOTTINGHAM SECTION).—At a meeting of the above last week, it was decided to commence a vigorous propaganda campaign in Nottingham and District, and to engage a room to hold meetings in and form a club in connection with the section. A room for this purpose has already been engaged 30 ft. by 14 ft., and we are now making an effort to raise funds to furnish and decorate the same, 5s. being collected on Saturday amongst friends, while several members have promised 6d. per week towards making it a success. A large open-air meeting, ad-

ressed by Proctor and Peacock, was held in Snewton Market on Sunday morning, when 3s. 2½d. was collected for our club room. In the evening, Peacock, Proctor, and Wane addressed a large meeting, about 3,000 being present, 5s. 6d. more being collected towards our movement, many inquiries being made respecting membership, and everything points towards a grand success of the movement in Nottingham. Some thousands of leaflets were distributed.—T. P.

LECTURE DIARY.

London Branches.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street. On Thursday 28, at 8.30, Business Meeting.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday May 1, Business Meeting (important) 7 p.m. prompt. FREE CONCERT for members and friends at 8.30 p.m. Wednesday May 4, at 8.30, H. Halliday Sparling, "The Iron Law of Wages."

Croydon.—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday at 7.15 p.m.

Hackney.—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 8 till 11.30. Business Meeting every Tuesday at 8.30. On Sunday May 1, at 8.30 p.m. D. Nicol, "The Benevolent Middle Class."

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday May 1, at 8 p.m. Walter Crane, "The Architecture of Art."

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—Club Room, 2 Crondall Street, New North Road. Committee meeting on Friday April 29, at 8.30 p.m. May 1, J. L. Lyons, "Objects of the Liberty and Property Defence League." An Elementary Singing Class on the Tonic Sol Fa system, will commence on May 4, at 8.30 p.m. Free to members.

Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday. Discussions held every Sunday morning at 11.

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

North London and Marylebone.—Members will please attend meeting on Friday April 29th, at 96 Judd Street, King's Cross, at 8 o'clock prompt.

Country Branches.

Bingley.—Coffee Tavern. Every Monday at 7.30 p.m.

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

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

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 7.30 p.m. to transact business. Class for the study of 'Das Capital' at 8.15. In Free Tron Hall on Tuesday May 3, at 8 p.m. J. L. Mahon will lecture on "The Political Economy of Socialism." Collection for Northumberland miners.

Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. On Sunday, open-air meetings (see below). Wednesdays, at 8, choir practice.

Hamilton.—Paton's Hall, Chapel Street, Thursday May 28, at 7.30, John Adams will lecture on "The Commune of Paris."

Hull.—11 Princess Street, Sykes Street. Lectures on Sunday at 7 p.m. Thursday at 8 p.m., Political Economy Class.

Lancaster.—Addresses every Sunday morning on the Quay Jetty.

Leicester.—Spiritualist Hall, Silver Street.

Manchester.—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening 6 to 10 p.m. Lecture and discussion every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Free Lectures every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room open every evening. See open-air meetings below.

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

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 1.

11.30...Hackney—Salmon and Ball...Hobb & Flockton
11.30...Hammersmith—Beadon Rd.The Branch
11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.The Branch
11.30...Hyde Park.....T. E. Wardle
11.30...Garrett—Plough Inn...Harrison, Gregory, Bull
11.30...Mitcham Fair GreenKitz, Eden, Dalchow
11.30...Regent's Park.....Cantwell & Mainwaring
11.30...St. Pancras ArchesW. H. Utley
11.30...Walham Green.....The Branch
3 ...Hyde ParkNicoll & Mainwaring
7 ...Clerkenwell GreenT. E. Wardle

Tuesday.

8...Broad Street, Soho.....W. H. Utley

Wednesday.

7.30...Broadway, London Fields.....Graham

Thursday.

8 ...Hoxton, Pitfield StreetWade & Pope

PROVINCES.

Edinburgh.—Sunday: Queen's Park, 5 p.m. Monday: East Meadows, 7.30 p.m., J. L. Mahon, "Socialism and the Northumberland Miners." Wednes-

day: Leith Links, 7.30, J. L. Mahon, "Socialism and the Labour Movement." Collection for Northumberland Miners at Mahon's meetings.

Glasgow.—Sunday: Open-air meeting on Green at 12 o'clock, when comrade J. L. Mahon will speak. Members invited to accompany Mahon to Hamilton at 1 o'clock, where he addresses the Miners.

Hamilton.—Mass Meeting of Miners will be held in the Low Quarries at 4 o'clock, when J. L. Mahon will speak on "Socialism and the Northumberland Miners."

Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, 11; Vicar's Croft, 7.

Leicester.—Sunday: Humberston Gate, 11 a.m.

Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place at 3; Agricultural Hall Plain at 7.

DUBLIN.—Irish Labour League, 2 Bachelors Walk, every Thursday at 8 p.m. Discussion on all subjects connected with the Labour Question. All interested are requested to attend.

Notice to Readers of the 'Commonweal'

A CO-OPERATIVE STORE

has been started at the

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and all Grocery articles can be had at current store prices, or where possible, under. All orders over 6s. will be delivered carriage paid. The Store will be open on Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday evenings after 8.30 p.m.

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(VOL. II.)

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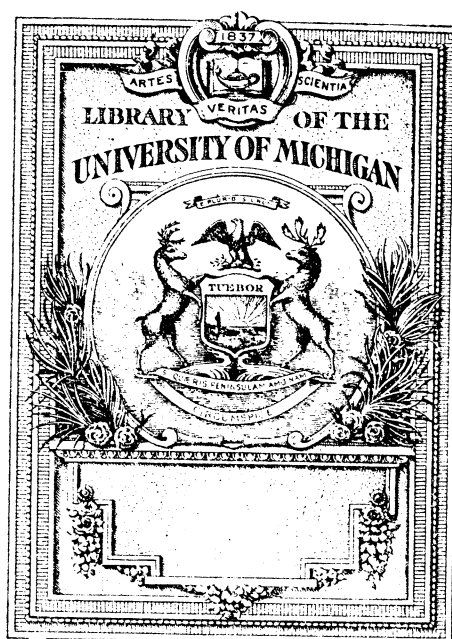
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THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 69.

SATURDAY, MAY 7, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

MR. DE RUTZEN's sentence on the so-called rioters by the Marble Arch is a fitting pendant to the Norwich affair in which the members of the League suffered; and though no doubt Mr. De Rutzen can lay claim to be represented by Mr. Nupkins as well as Justice Grantham, one cannot help thinking that there is something behind that, and that the "worthy magistrate" has had a hint to do a little terrorism, and that the unfortunate persons who were not Socialists, who have found themselves in the same prison-van as the Socialists, must do their best to console themselves with the fable of the cranes who suffered for being found in the same net with the more game birds who were the hunters' real quarry: the members of the S. D. F. were of course the real persons aimed at.

One advantage the "rioters" have at all events, that the affair having happened in London, and chancing to coincide in time with the growing feeling against the Tory government, the press has been compelled to take it up in some way or other. The *Pall Mall*, for instance, has a leader on the subject, which does it much credit, while it had not one word to say about the equally monstrous sentence passed on our comrades at Norwich, prefaced as it was by Grantham's charge to the jury in which he coolly prejudged the case.

As for the disavowal by Government of its agents Poland, Matthews and De Rutzen, which the *Pall Mall* cries out for, that can hardly be expected, unless a general public outcry forces them to give way when the appeal is tried: they have done what they were told to do, and are in their places to exercise arbitrary violence whenever it seems advisable to do so; and the "respectable" mob that backs them is both too stupid and too truculent even to note the grim joke of De Rutzen kindly consenting not to send the accused to a jury, on which they might at least have had a chance of finding one or two honest and un servile persons who would have listened to the evidence and tried to find out what it was worth, instead of taking their opinion from that gross abuse, the summing-up of the judge: they would, I say, have had that chance, though it must be admitted that English juries are grown so servile, that it would be but a chance.

The reactionists are getting on, that must be allowed; to take advantage of a mere slight disturbance, provoked by what was admitted on all sides (except Poland & Co.) to have been the bad conduct of the police, to strike terror into the Socialists, is a considerable advance on their part. Their next step will probably be to drop all pretence of defending the rights of the public to the free use of the highway, or of supporting the police in quelling a disturbance, and to attack opinion directly. There is plenty of law for it, and they will have no difficulty in getting a conviction, if the unsupported evidence of policemen is to be accepted as good enough for the purpose.

The disturbance on Sunday at Kennington was the natural outcome of the police magistrate's decision of the week before not to defend a Socialist from violence. At the same time it may seem to some persons as the result of a deliberate plot on the part of the police to get rid of a Socialist preaching-stand without incurring the trouble and odium of a prosecution for obstruction. In that case it is a simple dodge and seems likely to be an effective one, since there can always be found handy a genuine collection of idiots under the name of a branch of the Primrose League, who, having nothing to say, don't want to hold meetings except amongst themselves, and so need not fear reprisals.

W. M.

The Canadian Parliament by 135 votes to 47, and the Nova Scotian by a large majority, have voted a resolution against the Coercion Bill and in favour of Home Rule in Ireland. This is but a sample of the way "our" colonies regard "us." Imperial Federation may mean more to the Jingo than they will care for.

Some excitement is being caused by the proceedings of the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh and the supposed Irishman who accompanies him. When a great power like England subjects any Indian prince, or other victim of its rapacity, to the usual "civilising influences" of robbery by force, the victim is denounced virulently if he seeks redress, and more so if revenge.

Even the purty *Pall Mall* joins in the outcry against the unfortunate Indian in question and calls out for his incarceration—if caught!

However bad the man may be, he is distinctly entitled to resist England with all his power, and the English Government has treated him and many of his fellows with such brutal treachery that it is hard to blame him if the means he adopts be modelled in too close imitation of the example set him.

Counsel applied in the Queen's Bench Division on 27th ult., for an order to compel the corporation of Birkenhead to grant a licence for a traction engine to Messrs. Fox. The Lord Chief Justice remarked that Birkenhead had not been made for Messrs. Fox and their traction engines, and refused the motion. We know nothing of the "merits of the case," but it is cheering to find that a capitalist may sometimes be prevented from doing just everything he wants to.

A theory quite opposite to that held by the Lord Chief Justice is usually held: That the whole world, and all that in it is, belongs to the bourgeois to do what he likes with.

At the Wimborne police-court lately two brothers were charged with unlawfully wounding their stepfather. Prosecutor had been beaten till he was unconscious, and left by the roadside. He was conveyed from the union workhouse to the police-court, and had his head bandaged and one arm in splints. Prisoners were fined 15s. 6d. each or fourteen days' in default! At the same court a man named Dyatt, against whom there was nothing previously, was charged with stealing four pennyworth of straw, and was sentenced to one month's imprisonment with hard labour, without the option of a fine!

Can it be wondered at that the workers are "becoming infected" with Socialism, when they see how lightly any injury wrought their limbs or lives is regarded as compared with any "infringement of the rights of property"? H. H. S.

THE IRISH QUESTION.

III.—LANDLORDISM.

In dealing with the Land Question in Ireland, and before coming to the economical part of the subject, it may be well to take a general view of the position and claims of at least a few of the great landholders. At p. 178, of Part III. of the 'New Doomsday Book' (for Ireland) published in 1876, we have the following summary.

There are 110, each holding 20,000 acres and upwards, dividing among them 4,151,142 acres, with a stated valuation of £1,512,594. No one must for a moment suppose that the valuation represents the rental. There are 192 holding from 10,000 to 20,000 acres each, making a total of 2,607,719, with a valuation of £1,174,223. There are 440 others holding from 5,000 to 10,000 acres each, giving a total of 3,071,471 acres, and a valuation of £1,453,697. We thus find that 742 persons hold, and claim as their own private property, 9,830,632 acres out of a total of 20,047,572 acres. That the valuation returned amounts to £4,140,514, out of a total of £10,182,681. At p. 186 it is stated that the non-residents only number 1,643, that is, those who very rarely or never reside in Ireland; that these hold 4,513,861 acres with a valuation of £2,139,143. Then there are one hundred and sixty-one companies or charitable institutions (including the London companies), who hold 582,327 acres with a valuation of £234,678. Also 1,350 landlords whose residence is not ascertained, yet who hold among them 615,308 acres, the valuation of which is £331,673. There is no doubt that the total rental taken from the country and spent elsewhere, amounts to at least £5,000,000 to £6,000,000 a year. Such a drain and from such a poor country as Ireland (under present conditions), must of itself produce widespread ruin amongst the population. A drain of five millions a year from Ireland is equal to at least one hundred millions a year from England.

In the county of Fermanagh there are seven great landlords. Of these men one of them, Sir Victor Brooks, writing in the *Standard* of November 24, 1880, in defence of their position as landlords, said: "The larger part of this county is held by the descendants of seven families planted there by the monarchs and statesmen of the last three hundred years." And Sir Victor Brookes thought that was enough as a justification of their claims to the land. Let us look at the holdings of these seven men.

First on the roll is the Marquis of Ely. It will be remembered that the Lord Loftus (formerly spelled Lofthouse) of 1880 was one of the Irish traitors who received £45,000 in money and was made Marquis of Ely for his treachery to Ireland. He holds in the county Fermanagh 34,416 acres; in two other counties 13,153 acres; total, 47,569; and a rental of £22,556. The Earl of Erne, in county Fermanagh 31,067 acres, in three other counties 9,751; total 40,820 acres with a rental of £23,867. The Earl of Enniskillen comes third with 30,146 acres and a rent roll of £13,833. The Earl of Lanesboro has a total of 15,499 acres, and a rental of £15,297; and the Earl of Belmore a total of 20,495, and rental £11,450. Then Mr. E. M. Archall has a total of 34,733 acres and a rental of £17,469. And last, though not least, comes Sir Victor Brookes with a total of 29,312 acres, and £15,630 a year as rental. Here are seven families placed there by the monarchs and statesmen of the last three centuries, and who claim as their own over 218,000 acres of land, and who have the cool impudence to plunder the people on those lands of more than one hundred and twenty thousand pounds a year. And that plunder by seven families is the basis of law and order in the county of Fermanagh.

Let us take a few others of these great land thieves, whose claims rest on the plunder and rascality of ages, and who to day are the representatives of law and order in Ireland.

The Marquis of Lansdowne, famous as a cruel and heartless evictor. He claims as his own, 11,149 acres in England, and in Ireland as follows: County Kerry, 94,554 acres; County Meath, 15,356; Queen's County, 8,311; Dublin, 2,139; King's County, 1,884; Limerick County, 1,606; and Kilkenny, 518 acres; giving a total of 135,517 acres and a rental of £53,465. The Marchioness, his mother, who holds the Barony of Nairne, has 9,070 acres in Perth and 134 acres in Kinross, with a rental of £8,881 per annum. No one will say but that the Fitzmaurices are well provided for.

Another descendant of the great land thieves of the Reformation era is the noble Duke of Devonshire, the head of the Cavendish family. The present Duke holds in the county of Derby, 83,829 acres; in York, W.R., 19,332; in Lancaster, 12,681; in Sussex, 11,062; in Somerset, 3,014; in Lincoln, 1,392; Cumberland, 983; Middlesex, 524; Notts, 125; Chester, 28; and Stafford, 26 acres. In Ireland: County Cork, 32,776; Waterford, 27,540; and Tipperary, 9 acres. Here is a man, a representative of the plundering classes, and who holds ashishshare of the plunder 193,381 acres and a yearly rent-roll of £172,099. The noble Marquis of Hartington also holds in the county of Derby 5,633 acres, with a rental of £6,257. The Hon. R. Cavendish holds in Bucks, 3,379 acres; in Stafford, 2,204; and in Denbigh, 1,444 acres, with a rental of £11,024. Here is one family holding lands, stolen from the people, amounting to 205,991 acres, and a yearly rental of £189,380. What a mass of plunder to be in the possession of one family. Why one years' plunder is enough, and more than enough, to send into penal servitude ten thousand ordinary criminals.

Take another of these noble land-stealing families, the Beresfords. This is another of those noble families on whose right to plunder the people, depends the reign of law and order in Ireland. As I have before explained, James I., of glorious memory and of God-like attributes, having made up his mind not to pay his debts, sent a young man of the name of Tristram Beresford to select lands in Ireland, as a right royal payment to the London Companies. Young Beresford was also to select lands as payment for his own services. Of course, King James was not going to pay him, so the young fellow had to plunder the Irish people. Well, he did so to his hearts content, and to the very happy content of his descendants. But let us see what is to-day the amount of plunder held by this noble family. The Marquis of Waterford holds in the county of Waterford 40,050 acres, and in six other counties in Ireland 69,184, making 109,234 acres, with a rental of £50,642. Other members of the family hold among them 60,783 acres, and a rental of £34,955. It has been calculated that from the time of young Tristram Beresford, this family have taken from the Irish people *over thirty millions sterling*. And the robbery still goes on.

As another instance, take the notorious King-Harman, the present Under-Secretary for Ireland. He holds in county Longford, 32,531 acres; in Roscommon, 29,242; in Sligo, 12,629; in West Meath, 1,415; and 1,024 acres in Queen's County; total, 76,841 acres, and a rental of £42,655. Even the Duke of Marlborough holds in Ireland 16,392 acres, and of course Lord Randy is interested in the Irish question. Of course the Noble Lord cannot be less than patriotic!

One other sample of Irish landlordism. Lord Kenmare, the brutal, heartless exterminator in County Kerry, holds 105,359 acres, with a rental of £26,591. In August last, this splendid specimen of Irish landlordism was protected by 38 policemen at a cost to the county of £3,800 a-year. Kerry is one of the poorest counties in Ireland, the assessment to the income tax being only £2, 18s. 11d. per head of the population, while in West Meath it is £12, 7s. 10d.

We must remember that as regards the great landlords there is no question of their claims resting on purchase. There is not one in ten that even pretends to such title. We have seen how the great mass of the land has been confiscated, and confiscation forms the basis of the whole landlord system in Ireland.

There is another consideration. As the late J. S. Mill pointed out, the average Irish landlord, instead of improving his estate, does not even put up the fences and farm buildings, which everywhere else it is the landlord's business to do; these are left to be done by the tenant. Even supposing the landlords to be entitled to the land, that it were absolutely theirs, they could have no moral claim whatever to the

value of the improvements made by the tenants—houses, outbuildings, fences, roads, etc. Yet, not content with having robbed the people of the land; not content with having plundered them for centuries; not content with all that, by the Encumbered Estates Act, 1849, all the improvements, in roads, in fences, and the increased fertility of the soil; all the houses, and the out-buildings of every description became the property of the landlords wherever evictions took place, and in all cases the rents were raised in proportion to the value of the improvements made. Such a system of wholesale robbery in the name of law never took place in any other age or country. The extermination and plunder of the people is the great and leading trait in the character of the Irish landlords. As an instance of their propensity to rob and exterminate the people, the late J. S. Mill mentioned the following case, which is typical of Irish landlordism: "A number of tenants reclaimed a large tract of land on the sea-shore of Clare, and built the little watering-town of Kilkie. Their leases fell in. The Marquis of Conyngham raised their rents, in some cases 700 per cent., and reduced, by ejectments, the population from 1,879 to 950, driving them off the estate altogether."

Such are the deeds of Irish Landlordism. Too long have they cursed the land of the Sister Isle. Too long have they plundered and massacred the Irish people. And all this in the name of England, of law and order, of civilisation. The time has come when this curse to the Irish people, this shame and scourge of the United (?) Kingdom shall cease. It is for the people to take up the cry raised by Gladstone, it is a struggle of the masses against the classes. And the people, the workers, having right and justice on their side, hold in their hands all the elements of success. Let them carry it to a successful issue against the non-producing plundering classes.

J. SKETCHLEY.

EARLY COMMUNAL LIFE AND WHAT IT TEACHES.

(Continued from p. 139.)

WE have now got some idea of the state of society under the various developments by examining countries which are still passing through the different stages; it remains for us to see whether we can discover any consistent method or purpose in this long evolution of property in society. First we saw the savage living on the spontaneous produce of the earth. He lived on his own energy, depending on himself for everything. He did not co-operate with his fellows, or acknowledge any authority except leadership in war. The individualistic side of his character is brought out to the full extent. The struggle for existence is keen, the strongest surviving, the weakest going to the wall unhelped by any. Soon, owing to increase of population and decrease of the supply of game, it ceases to be possible to live by the chase alone, and men commence to keep herds of cattle, often held as the common property of a tribe, though often also the property of some patriarch such as we are familiar with in the Old Testament. This advance is only possible by the first development of the social side of man's character, that which makes him wish to live and co-operate with his fellows, to consider them and their interests as well as his own. So long as the savage individualistic element was the only one developed, no society was possible; circumstances forcing men to form societies, also compelled them to curb their strong individualist instincts, and so allow the growth of the social side of their nature. Gradually societies become more and more defined. Agriculture brought the nomadic tribes to a permanent halt, the social side of man developed, and communities of all sorts were formed, bound together by strong ties of mutual dependence amongst the members. The patriarchal family, governed by the head or elder, which the pastoral age had so much fostered, formed the basis. The further these family groups developed, the more the individualistic side of man was suppressed, until the time of the village communities was reached. These were associations of families holding the land they tilled in common. The unit of society had ceased to be the individual and had become the family. The heads, as representing the families, elected the governor and arranged all affairs of common interest. The common lands were divided amongst the families, the individual only shared as a member of a family in which all tools for cultivation and other property were held in common. The suppression of the individual reached its height in these communes; he was no longer master of his own body, and had to marry whomsoever the head considered it was for the common good that he should marry.

This extreme suppression of individual liberty and right resulted in the most perfect growth of the social side of man. These societies lived together in harmony, in security and peace. All had enough, and all shared in the common good to which the individual was subordinated. But man having been taught that he was a social animal, that only by co-operation and sympathy with his fellows could he live happily and prosperously, seemed to have forgotten some of the lessons which he learnt when wandering wild in the woods. He had forgotten that each man has a special individuality of his own, different to his fellows, made up of special energy, capacity, and temperament, and that the fullest development of this individuality is one of the greatest purposes of progress. So nature refused to allow mankind to rest in any form of society, however harmonious and beautiful, which did not acknowledge and cultivate the individual unit, did not give to every man and woman in it the chance of the fullest development. The result was

Podsnappian type of bourgeois, who must in consequence perforce assume an appreciation of it, while with music he is under no such obligation. Here, then, we have cant in a double form.

Lastly, we come to the Socialist cant. Here we touch on delicate ground. But we must, nevertheless, face the truth that with the sentimental or semi-sentimental Socialism of the middle-classes there is mingled a good deal of half-unconscious cant. There is a sort of feeling that poverty, squalor, and coarseness are in themselves sacred, and the "good young man" who, instead of joining the Y.M.C.A. takes to studying "social questions," seems to think it incumbent on him to develop a taste for sordid habits and surroundings. A worthy person, with aspect of spotless cleanliness and refinement, was heard to exclaim recently in a moment of wild enthusiasm, that he had rather sleep in a bed infested by noisome insects than eat and drink the wedding-breakfast of a baronet. Now this sentiment, it seems to me, is more fitting in the mouth of a retired bacon-factor turned vestryman and presiding at a soup-kitchen, who wants to keep the poor contented with their lot, than in that of a Socialist. Beds, as above, are within the reach of all, even the poorest of our brethren, but baronet's breakfasts are certainly not within the reach of all. Now if the beds in question are better than the baronet's breakfast, wherefore are we Socialists?¹ The present system supplies even the "reserve army of industry" with beds of this description upon demand at the casual ward, and does not trouble them with Yorkshire hams, cold fowl, and champagne, but gives them rather meat and drink in keeping with the beds. So, on the whole, we live under the best possible of systems in the best possible of worlds. I had always thought Socialists wanted to bring the baronet's breakfast within the reach of all, and only leave enough frowsy beds to supply the wants of eccentric persons like our friend.

Again, I know of a young man who thinks it an act of Socialistic virtue (not an unfortunate necessity, mind) to live on 15s. a-week with wife and children. He started with the view of proving that after all money is rather an encumbrance than otherwise to noble aspirations. Now, I really think this young man ought to be "decorated" by Baron Rothschild or the Liberty and Property Defence League. If he could prove his thesis, no more crushing argument could be brought against those who doubt the perfection of the present system to satisfy all human requirements. Others, again, pretend to like dropping h's (a vile cockney corruption of language having only an incidental connection with distinctions between classes), dirty hands, and uncomfortable third-class carriages (such, presumably, as Sir Edward Watkin's line affords), and many other nasty things—and all because of Socialism. This is very silly, perhaps, but more or less harmless. When, however, middle-class young men take to virtuously entering an already overstocked labour-market, and thus "doing" the proletarian in more than one sense, the same cannot be said.

It is surprising that these essentially individualist and bourgeois notions of the superiority of poverty and squalor, and of the virtue of self-mortification for the mere sake of it, and without any ulterior social object (which are radically inconsistent with Socialism), could ever come to be regarded as having any part or lot with Socialism, the end and aim of which is to abolish all these things. It only shows the influence of old associations and habits of thought.

We have characterised "cant" as an eminently bourgeois vice, and it is certainly true that it is mainly confined to the middle-classes. The working-classes have many faults, as is only natural, but this is not characteristic of them as a class. No working-man, for example, would rather sleep in an insect-haunted bed than partake of cold turkey and champagne—unless, indeed, he were a vegetarian and teetotaller combined. We have only touched upon a few of the forms of cant which have more particularly struck us, but our whole bourgeois civilisation is saturated with it. Other ages have been brutal, but with none but our own has hypocrisy become part of its very nature. The whole subject of "cant" is an interesting one, and well merits a scientific analysis.

E. BELFORT BAX.

MEN WHO ARE NOT SOCIALISTS.

SOME PERSONAL REMARKS UPON MY NEIGHBOURS.

I.

O MINE enemy! how I might revenge myself upon thee had I the will!

There, over the street, just facing my window, Mr. Peebles has a licensed grocer shop. By the terms of his license he is strictly forbidden to sell drink for consumption on his premises. Yet his little back room is never empty of people who, disliking ostentation in all things, prefer to get their drams in a place where, should they be perceived entering, no one may suspect but they are purchasing an ounce of tobacco or half a pound of soap. Just now I know there are several such persons in his back room—amongst them a well-known magistrate and a local medical practitioner.

Mr. Peebles is a deacon in the Kirk; he is also a strong constitutionalist and a devout detestor of infidels and Socialists. Last Christmas he distributed pictorial calendars amongst his customers. There were two designs, which he had selected after much deliberation and a deal of consultation with his back parlour friends; one contained a portrait of the late Lord Beaconsfield, and the other a picture of what purported to be "the child's first prayer." I mention this apparently trifling fact because it illustrates the fine political instinct and simple piety with which Mr. Peebles retails his groceries and spirits. It is

well known, too, that Mr. Peebles takes a deep interest in Sunday-schools and foreign missions.

Until recently, Mr. Peebles and I only knew each other by sight and reputation. He was aware that I was a Socialist; and often when I passed his shop while he was standing at the door keeping a vigilant lookout lest the police should pounce upon him unawares, he bestowed upon me a look of mingled rebuke and compassion that caused me to have serious misgivings as to the rectitude of the course I was pursuing.

I remember being at a political meeting one night. Mr. Peebles had shut his shop punctually at eight o'clock—washed his face and shaved his chin—combed his streaks of straight grey hair—and donned a clean shirt front—and had planted himself, shining like a new cut of bacon, in a front seat beside the parish minister. I was in the seat immediately behind. He and the parish minister appeared to be very warm friends, and from the manner of their conversation they evidently had a common interest in the proceedings. The candidate spoke at length on the political situation, but avoided any reference to the Church disestablishment question or the proposed suppression of the liquor traffic. My friends were obviously suspicious of this omission on the candidate's part; and when questions were invited Mr. Peebles at once rose and asked "if the candidate approved of the iniquitous attempt that was about to be made to disestablish the time-honoured national church, for which their forefathers fought and died, and for which—" He was unable to conclude the sentence, having well-nigh choked himself with excitement. The candidate replied in an ambiguous way that he would. Mr. Peebles and the parish minister gesticulated their disapproval. Mr. Peebles, I could observe, now wanted the minister to question the candidate on his views concerning the suppression of the liquor traffic; but the minister evidently disapproved of clerical interference in politics for the moment, for he soothingly declined. The grocer looked anxiously round the hall to see if any one else would rise to question the candidate upon the subject. All the spirit-merchants and licensed grocers present appeared, however, to be quite as modest as Mr. Peebles touching their own interests. At last, constrained by sympathy for Mr. Peebles, I rose and put the question. The candidate replied that "if a Local Option Bill was introduced by a responsible minister of the Crown, he would feel bound to vote in its favour." Mr. Peebles quivered with indignation, and turning round to me, hoarsely whispered, "I'm not a Socialist—but I'd rather vote fifty thousand times for a Socialist than give a vote to one of those sneaking Liberals, as they call themselves forsooth!"

After this incident Mr. Peebles manifested a kindly interest in my views; he even went the length of saying that if, as "God forbid," he should ever give up his Conservative opinions, he would, he was sure, become a Socialist. Despite the apparent rashness of this statement, it was an exceedingly safe one for Mr. Peebles to make.

The neighbourly feeling that existed between Mr. Peebles and myself was interrupted by a circumstance of a very simple character. One Sunday after church service I saw him enter his shop, Bible in hand, ostensibly for the purpose of feeding his dog. My window being high, I was able to see into his shop, even although the shutters were on the window, as they only reached half way up. No sooner was he inside than he laid down his Bible on a tea-canister and took off his coat. He then began to shift and fill his spirit-bottles with admirable diligence—taking care, however, to do so with as little noise as possible, as he well knew the scandal his proceedings, if known, would provoke in the Sabbatarian neighbourhood. Happening to look my way, however, he became aware of the fact that I saw him. He appeared much discomfited, and immediately drew down the window-blinds. Since then there is a chilly gulf between us. He is generally deeply interested in something across the way when I pass his shop now. Sometimes his glance meets mine, and I can see a peculiar meaning in his eyes. Perhaps he would like to make friends with me again, or wishes a Socialist riot would take place, when he might have an opportunity of picking me down unperceived in the tumult.

For my part, I have no ill feeling whatever towards Mr. Peebles. I would not harm a single one of the hairs that befringe his polished pate for the world. He is a mean man, it is true, and would sell his soul for a few farthings of profit—he violates his license every hour of the day—is a hypocrite in religion and a time-server in politics. But poor Mr. Peebles is not to be blamed for these things. He is no more responsible for these blotches on his character than a cat is for the colour of its skin, or a pool of water for the reflections upon its surface. The dodges to which he has recourse are conditions of life which our present system imposes upon him. When Mr. Peebles—now prematurely old, with bank-note wrinkles on his face—was a chubby little boy, laughing in his mother's lap, who shall say that he was not fitted for a higher destiny than the one meted out to him? Who shall say that if the sunshine of social justice, instead of the damp and darkness of social wrong, had shone upon his heart, that the fungoid growths of selfishness, hypocrisy, and deceit would have ever found a lodging-place in its recesses? No, Mr. Peebles; we cannot condemn, but we pity you. You are not a Socialist, and are never likely to become one—nor would your conversion be of much value in any case—still maybe you are not our worst enemy. If the fight were once over, I am sure you would gladly give up your little money-mongering with all its worrying and deceit, and sit down in the midst of our abundance and peace. And who knows but perhaps your son, despite the fact that he is a lawyer's clerk, and your daughter, despite the fact that her only vocation in life at present consists in banging the piano on week-days and reading Bible-texts to children on Sundays, may both perform honourable parts in the coming social revolution?

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

¹ Perhaps the "worthy person" might retort that the certainty of being bored was worse than the chance of being bitten.—ED.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

This department is under the direction of the Strike Committee. Labour News and Contributions to the Fund should be sent to T. BINNING, at the Offices.

BRITAIN.

The melters and gas firemen at Consett Steel Works have struck—the former against Sunday labour, and the latter for an advance of wages. The strike threatens to become serious.

The chain-makers of Cradley Heath are sticking manfully to their colours, and should have assistance from all trades' unionists in the country. Never, perhaps, has a strike taken place which deserves more general support. This is the thirty-ninth week of the strike.

The weavers at the Old Mill and the Low Mill, Yeadon, are still out on strike, and there is no immediate prospect of their resuming work. The Long Lengths Committee have officially advised them to remain out until their demands are satisfied. Some of the other employés are thrown out of work by the action of the weavers.

The strike in the ship-building trade is making things merry in Belfast. The dispute, however, is only that the men want their wages weekly instead of fortnightly. Not much to get into a panic about, truly. There must be some capitalist dodge at the back of this system of payment, as fortnightly payment exists in many firms where large numbers of poorly-paid workers are employed, and also on most railways.

The first case decided in London under the Shop Hours Act of last year was a very bad one, and we are glad to see that the magistrate inflicted the full penalty. The shopkeeper in question had kept two of his girl hands at work for ninety-seven hours in a week—sixteen hours a day, that is, for six days running. This is a case of slave-driving with a vengeance. But the penalty is only a fine of twenty shillings. A little wholesome boycotting of all shops which are conducted like slave-plantations is what is really wanted. —*Poll Mall Gazette.*

Work has been suspended at the collieries in Fife and Clackmannan. Mass meetings were held on Thursday last, at which the following resolution was unanimously carried: "That this meeting, holding that the contract rules are prejudicial to the interests of the men, pledges itself to use every effort to terminate the present contracts, with the view of taking part in a national movement for restricting the working time to five days per week, and thereby secure more equitable conditions of employment." It was further agreed that notices to finish the contracts should be given on Monday.

UNION OF IRON AND STEEL WORKERS.—A three days' conference of iron and steel workers has been held at Manchester. There were delegates representing 40,000 workmen from all parts of England, Scotland, and Wales. It was decided to form a National Association to secure thorough organisation among the operatives in relation to wages' disputes, and to prevent the employers in any district taking undue advantage.

COLLIERY ENGINE-KEEPERS.—A large meeting of colliery engine-keepers has been held at Hamilton, to hear the answers for an advance of wages. The refusal of the employers caused a good deal of dissatisfaction, as the average wages in Scotland are but what they were twenty years ago, while pits are deeper, machinery more powerful, and boilers more numerous, all adding to engine-keepers' duties and responsibilities. They considered their demands both reasonable and just, the more so that the winding engine-keepers of Northumberland and Durham have more for an eight-hour day besides free house and coal than those here have for twelve hours.

THE CIGAR-MAKERS.—The position of cigar-makers is becoming desperate. Added to foreign competition, female labour is fast supplanting that of men, who may reckon in the near future on being entirely dispensed with. Another illustration of the curse of capitalism is to be found in the fact that in consequence of the proposed "boon" of a 4d. reduction in the tobacco duties, hundreds of men have been discharged, the employers declining to incur the risk of smaller profits for ever so short a time. It is to be hoped that the workers before long will recognise the hopelessness of bettering their condition under the commercial system and will declare solidly for the social revolution.—H. D.

NORTHUMBERLAND MINERS.—The ballot-papers sent in show that there is still a decided majority of the Northumberland miners in favour of continuing the strike. The masters have decided to reopen the pits at a reduction of 12½ cent., as stated already, but the voting shows that the men will not return to work even at a 10 per cent. reduction. The committee of the Miners' Union met on Saturday and decided to call a delegate meeting. Many of the miners are sustaining themselves by collections in Newcastle and other towns in the district. Last Saturday they had a number of singing parties for the purpose of evoking sympathy. In Newcastle they sang the hymns which they had been in the habit of singing at chapel, and many of them having really good voices they raised a considerable sum. In most cases they were accompanied by women and men who played either the violin or the concertina.

BOILER-MAKERS' AND IRON SHIPBUILDERS' SOCIETY.—The 52nd Annual Report says that "during the years 1884, 1885, and 1886 trade has been in a state of depression altogether without parallel, and the resulting strain upon all such organisations as theirs had been enormous. Their monthly list of unemployed members showed the terrible effect of the depression. During 1884 they had an average of 23½ per cent. unemployed members; and during 1886 the average had been about 28 per cent. They had now 214 branches; their approximate number of members at the close of 1885 was 27,695, but by the end of 1886 the members had fallen to 25,341. The expenditure had reached the large sum of £84,260, which was £16,421 in excess of their income; and out of this great sum the out-of-work benefit amounted to £38,967, and during the past three years this benefit alone had cost the society no less than £148,245. Sick benefit during the year had required £17,497, bad trade having a most prejudicial effect upon the health of the working classes. Other items of expenditure had been benevolent grants, £2403; accident benefit, £2400; and funeral benefit, £3441. At the close of the year their balance was £21,895." The same disconsolate tone pervades nearly all the trade-union reports, and must soon culminate. The original function being dead, a new programme must be formulated on the Socialist basis.

THE LONDON CAB-DRIVERS.—A movement has been initiated by the Amalgamated Cab-drivers' Society, having for its object the limitation of the issue in the metropolis of cab-drivers' licences, and meetings of members of the cab trade will shortly be held in support of the movement. It is reported that the distress now existing among metropolitan cabmen is very

extensive, the streets being crowded with many more vehicles than can find employment; and it is suggested that the authorities at Scotland Yard should limit the issue of licences in times of depression, so as to afford the chance of earning a livelihood to old and experienced drivers. Further, it is urged that the unlimited issue of licenses is incompatible with "a stated rate of fares"; that it is "the unseen cause of discord between the drivers and the public, between the former and the police, and also between the drivers and the cab proprietors." Cabmen complain that they cannot refrain from crowding busy thoroughfares, while "the chances of earning a day's work are dead against them" if they remain patiently on the cab-rank. So great has been the distress among cabmen lately that it is said many have been reduced to the necessity of pledging their property in order to maintain themselves and families. James Rowlands, M.P., W. Thompson of the Middle Temple, and Dr. W. R. Gould, among others outside the trade, have consented to advocate the desired limitation of licences and address meetings called with this object in view.

AMERICA.

The coopers are trying to abolish piece-work so far as their trade is concerned.

The German printers of this city, New York, demand that eight hours constitute a day's work after May 1.

The American Federation of Labour comprises thirty-seven national and international trade unions representing a total membership of 550,000.

PITTSBURGH, PA.—The coal miners of the country are discussing the formation of one gigantic organisation by the amalgamation of the National Federation of Miners and the Miners' National Assembly of the K. of L. It is understood that the idea is to have the Federation still retains its organisation, with the understanding that all of its members shall also be Knights of Labour.

CLEVELAND, O., April 17.—All the plumbers in this city struck recently for eight hours, 3 dols. 50c. a day, and against certain rules adopted by employers in regard to apprentices. George S. Paine, President of the Master Plumbers' Association, went to New York and advertised for plumbers, and had 125 applications, but was able to induce only eleven to start for Cleveland. Those who arrived here refused to go to work when they learned the situation and joined the strikers.

Mark the words of a Chicago despatch: "The Union would not permit the men to return to work until the Employers' Association concluded to grant the Union's demands." Mark the phrase, "would not permit." Has the Union a chattel mortgage on the bodies of these mechanics? Men who cannot, or dare not work without asking or begging some other men's "permission" are not American freemen, but the most abject of slaves.—*N. Y. Commercial Bulletin.*—But, Mr. Bulletin! are they not still more abject slaves when the "other men" whose permission has to be asked happen to be employers instead of trade-unionists? You see the men of the Unions decide their own fate by their votes, while they have no voice in the decisions of the bosses.

CHICAGO, April 17.—The 8,000 carpenters have won their strike for 35c. per hour, eight hours per day. All the iron-moulders in the stove factories of Illinois, except those at Peoria and Bloomington, went on strike or were locked out last Monday. Three years ago, the wages were cut 25 per cent., and a restoration of 15 per cent. is now demanded. The St. Louis moulders refuse to touch the work sent there by the Illinois bosses, and strikes and lock-outs followed. The Stove Founders' National Defence Association is doing good service for the men. The stove-founders in Troy, N.Y., have been much agitated over the state of affairs. In Leavenworth and Milwaukee, there are strikes of the moulders. A strike of the trade all over the country against low wages is looked for.

A manufacturer once candidly said that the reason he employed women instead of men was that "woman, being always regarded as an inferior being, has acquired the character of docility and servility to a greater degree than her male competitor," and that "the labour of married women is altogether preferable. The married woman is more tractable and patient than man; she bears bad treatment better; she is more attentive and teachable than the single woman, as she is forced to exert her strength to the uttermost to provide the necessary means of livelihood." He also considers her "a useful trump to be played out against refractory workmen."—*John Swinton's Paper.*

BELGIUM.

BRUSSELS.—The Socialist women of Brussels inaugurated their union last Sunday, on which occasion delegations from Ghent and Louvain, besides several working-women's societies of the capital, arrived to take part in the procession which marched through the principal streets, a manifesto being distributed along the way, urging all women to unite in protesting against the social injustice the workers suffer, and to demand a general amnesty for those condemned at Charleroi.

CARNIERES.—The Working-men's League here has acquired a good-sized bit of land, on which they intend building a large hall, etc., to serve as a meeting-place. It would be well if English workers could here and there collect enough money to do something of the same kind, so that they might be freed from the everlasting hunting from pillar to post that causes so much worry and waste of time.

SOIGNIES.—"The strike of the quarrymen of Soignies," says *L'Avenir*, "is on the decrease. Up to the present time, many of the workers have gone back to work on the old terms. However, if most of them have given way, there yet remain about a thousand who have no intention to submit to the disgraceful extortions of their masters, which latter, indeed, tried to force the workmen to burn their cards of membership of the Workers' League. The town of Soignies is relieved of the presence of the military and police, except for one brigade which still remains on the spot. A manifestation is to be held on the 15th May at Braine-le-Comté in favour of the strikers."

We have often heard it said among the workmen in the Charleroi district that an enquiry into the events of March 1886 and into the ferocious repressive measures ordered by the governors is to be desired. Now the Amnesty Committee has decided to open such an enquiry. We wish it all success. All citizens who are in possession of any details relating to these events, and who were witness to the barbarous conduct of the swashbuckler Van der Smissen, are requested to communicate with the secretary.—*L'Avant Garde.*

Our political liberty is a lie, capital is now the tyrant of labour, and the labourer has to accept any terms from his employer or die of starvation.—*Joseph Mazzini.*

that an opposite course of progress set in, and, following the same method as before, brought out and gave play to the truer individualistic side of man by suppressing the social or opposing side. It is as if we could imagine two forces at work producing the growth of a tree, one tending to throw out long branches and twigs in all directions, the other tending to bind the branches together by strengthening the common root and trunk, and form the whole into a self-contained and graceful shape. These forces, instead of acting with equal strength and so neutralising each other, are alternately suppressed, giving full play to each in turn, and thus rendering growth possible. Such would appear to be the law of growth in human society, for ever since the days of village and family communities the social side of man has been dwindling to make room for a larger development of the energy and enterprise of the individual. But this has not been a backward movement. Like so many laws of growth, it is best represented by a spiral, in which advance represents a coming back to the same side, but on a higher level. The individual of to-day is not the individual of the savage ages; he does not merely wield individual forces, he wields social forces. The land is not left open for all to hunt upon, as in the savage days, but is still used socially, as in the days of communes, only the advantage of its social use, which was then common to all, is now possessed by the modern individual, who wields the power which this possession gives him in addition to his own individual force. Similarly in all forms of industry, associated labour, and the division of labour resulting therefrom, still exist as in the days of family communities, but the power and advantage which were then shared and enjoyed in common are now used by individuals. What is the result of this? The same struggle for existence which is to be found in the savage state returns again, the same uncertainty of life, the same crushing out of the weak. But there is this great difference, that the struggle now is for the possession of the social land and capital, which once possessed, enable its owners to live without work. It is not now free for every one to go and gather what nature offers, the keenest eye, the best shot, and the most industrious getting the best food. The getting of food and the producing of other necessities and comforts of life was made a social work in quite primitive times, and it is accomplished by many working for one object and one benefit. Formerly that benefit was common to all, now it is the great thing which all individuals struggle to get possession of. Those who are endowed with the particular capacity for getting the best in this struggle (*i.e.*, "the fittest") get much greater benefits than were ever open to any in the old days of the communes, but those who are not successful have a much harder time of it, harder and more unpleasant work, and less enjoyment in life.

This is where the course of development has brought us now: the first growth of society having resulted in the almost entire suppression of the individual, and having made the production of wealth quite a social work, by the association of many working together, resulted in a reaction, which, while keeping the social form of production and greatly developing it, has given a great amount of freedom to the individual, including the freedom to take possession of this social production and use it for his own advantage and enjoyment.

The study of this past course of evolution will best help us in our attempt to foresee the direction of future progress; and as I believe it rests with man materially to guide and help the development of society, it will be well for us further to see what practical lessons the past has to teach us. The past development at which we have been looking may be said to a large extent to represent the growth of two great and valuable characteristics of man's nature—one the individualistic, the other the social side. These two are to some extent in opposition, and we find that the growth of each has been fostered by the temporary suppression of the other. It is in the society which shall give the fullest scope to what is best in both these sides, and maintain the best balance between them, that we must look to find the greatest happiness and the greatest goodness.

RAYMOND UNWIN.

(To be concluded).

THE REASON WHY.—During the trial of the Russian Nihilists, Ossipoff, on being asked by the President of the Tribunal how he as a student could take part in this horrible crime, replied, "I did so just because I am a student. I have learned that everybody must be ready to sacrifice his life for the common cause, and I would contribute my part to deliver my unfortunate people. I first decided to murder the Czar revolver in hand, but afterwards I thought it better to use bombs; their effect is more certain."

Here is a bloodthirsty paragraph from a "republican" newspaper, the *Chicago Evening Post*: "What Chicago needs is a mayor, or a sheriff, who is not afraid to use cold steel and powder and lead." If such sentiments were uttered by workingmen's papers there would be a howl about "anarchism" and "riot," but, coming from a capitalistic sheet, and the prospective victims of cold steel, etc., being workingmen, it passes as orthodox. Some of these fine days it may come to pass that the "republican" editor will be "hoist by his own petard."—*Workmen's Advocate*.

BREAD AND WATER.—A wealthy manufacturer donates 1000 dols. to pay off some church debt, and his pious act is published in all newspapers. The next day he reduces the wages of his mill operatives so that in a month his 1000 dollar donation is replaced three-fold. This is not published in the newspapers. So it goes throughout society. Whatever is given us direct we see, whatever is taken indirect is unnoticed. In the industrial world the advocate of mere trade unionism sees only the advance in his wages, and reckons on so much addition to the good things of life it measures, taking no account of the advance in the price of what he eats, wears and what shelters him, or the additional tax imposed for the advanced salary of the place-holder. So he plods along like the stupid animal turning the treadmill, always going but never advancing, and the greater the speed the faster flies the platform from beneath his feet.—*Voice of the People*.

THE TALE OF SILESIA.

(By GEORG WEERTH. Translated by J. L. JOYNES.)

[The starving Silesian weavers, having in their despair made insurrection against their taskmasters, were reduced to order by the rifle bullets of the Prussian troops.]

THEY sat upon the benches,
The table round about;
Each thirsty soul he quenches
In mighty ale his drought.
They knew nor care nor sorrow;
Their hearts were glad and gay;
No past and no to-morrow
Might trouble their to-day.

They sat till mild and mellow
The summer night drew near,
Full many a sturdy fellow
Of York and Lancashire.
The oak-tree's broad-branched glory
Deepened the growing gloom:
They let me tell them the story
Of the German weavers' doom.

Then while the shadow darkened,
The tale did I repeat;
Silent the strong men harkened;
Then sprang they to their feet.
They stared like men astounded,
With clenched fists every one;
Valley and hill resounded,
"Silesia, well done!"

'IL SOCIALISMO.'

WE have before us another Italian work on Socialism ('Il Socialismo,' by Dr. N. Colajanni, Catania), which is an interesting addition to the few Italian works of note on the subject. The author mentions in his opening, and with truth (and "pity 'tis 'tis true"), that sociological studies have not made the same progress in Italy as in other countries, and he certainly helps to fill up the blank pages of contemporary Italian literature by his very able critical study on the all-inclusive subject of Socialism. Indeed, to avoid any disappointment, we may at the outset warn him who would expect from the title a popular exposition of Socialist economy as opposed to the capitalist economy of to-day, that the book is essentially critical and principally interesting to the student of Socialism who has leisure for, or whose occupation it is to go economically and ethically far deeper into, the question than the ordinary enquiring reader ever has opportunity to do.

The author does not enter in detail into the history of the growth of Individualism, deducting thence the indisputable (though so-much-disputed) tendencies of human evolution towards Socialism, but that he is familiar with the same is evident throughout. He concerns himself in this book entirely with the thinkers of the present day, criticising sociology, and commenting on "the antagonism between the conception of the 'social organism' as understood by the sociologists, and the interpretation given to the laws of the 'struggle for existence' by the opponents of Socialism." He combats the quasi followers of Darwin, who, wilfully or unconsciously, be it either which, travestie their great master's concepts and twist and turn the truths of his teaching to witness against and condemn the future for humanity that we Socialists look forward to. He reviews at some length the writings of Malthus and his followers, showing the extreme importance of the population question on the one hand, and on the other pointing out its utter inefficacy alone to solve the problem of life, considering the close relations and interdependence that exists between nations in all their conditions of life. In the chapter on "Man and Nature" some of the big questions on man's struggle with Nature under a Socialist condition are raised, but the author does not allow himself space sufficient to do more than touch upon them. Certainly dissertations on this part of the subject can at best be but vague and speculative, but, we venture to think, productive of much useful speculation. Socialist preachers and writers, therefore, will do well, when they have time to spare from the necessary day-to-day work of propaganda, to project themselves and "him who would be admonished" into the future, raising discussions, not positively or arrogantly, but tentatively, carefully, on the probable development of the coming change. "The study of sociology will kill Socialism": this bold assertion of the laggard Italian press does Colajanni combat stoutly and ardently, pointing the finger of reproof at those who do not see, or feign not to see, the transformations constantly going on in the organisation of society in the direction of Socialism, asserting "that many institutions—slavery and feudalism among others—looked upon as everlasting by contemporaries who saw them in vigorous growth and uncontrasted action, have vanished like clouds blown by the wind." Everywhere, he shows, history witnesses against the permanency of any existing society, "crystallising and mummifying humanity." In his last chapter Dr. Colajanni concludes with a short and clear epitome of the position of revolutionary Socialists of whatever colour,—thus finishing a work which will assuredly find a place among the useful Socialist literature of to-day, and, though capitalism, surplus-value, labour-power, and all details of this "worn-out rotten thing the State," so familiar to our ears, find no exposition in its pages, Socialism finds a sincere advocate, and the sociologists and pseudo-evolutionists a sharp critic. 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.

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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.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday May 4.

ENGLAND		
Justice	John Swinton's Paper	BELGIUM
Jus	Der Sozialist	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde
Norwich—Daylight	Leader	Antwerp—De Werker
Londner Arbeiter-Zeitung	Boston—Woman's Journal	HOLLAND
Brotherhood	New Haven (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate	Hague—Recht voor Allen
Worker's Friend	Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	ITALY
Personal Rights Journal	Knights of Labor	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Church Reformer	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volkstblatt	Naples—Humanitas
Croydon Echo	Seattle (W.T.) Voice of the People	SPAIN
	Cincinnati (O.) Unionist	Barcelona—Acracia
INDIA	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	El Productor
Bankipore—Behar Herald	FRANCE	AUSTRIA
Allahabad—People's Budget	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Vienna—Gleichheit
Bombay Gazette	Le Revolte	ROUMANIA
Calcutta Statesman	L'Insurge	Jassy—Lupta
UNITED STATES	Lille—Le Travailleur	SWEDEN
New York—Volkzeitung		Stockholm—Social-Demokraten
Freiheit		

ON SOME FORMS OF MODERN CANT.

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE PHENOMENOLOGY OF CANT.

It may be not uninteresting to trace the various forms in which the essentially bourgeois vice of "cant" pervades the whole world of to-day, and even creeps in among the Socialist harbingers of a new society. These forms are legion, but there are a few cases that may serve as typical. (1) There is the obvious and in this country at least most important "cant," the religious "cant." (2) There is the ordinary political "cant" of moderation. (3) There is the philanthropic cant; (4) the "purity" cant; (5) the commercial cant; (6) the literary cant; (7) the æsthetic cant; and (8) the Socialist cant. We must premise that by "cant" we understand the ostentatious assumption of a quality (a virtue or vice) that one has not got, or the "puffing" of a quality one happens to have got by nature as a virtue!

Of the general and most usual aspects of the religious cant it is unnecessary to say much, since it is unfortunately too widespread to escape the recognition of any moderately intelligent man. The form, however, which it takes in modern "cultured" circles and which unfortunately in this country is apt to spread outside them is very noteworthy. Repudiation of atheism is a favourite form of speculative cant with us. No matter what a man's belief or absence of belief may be, you may be quite sure in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred he will profess to have conscientious scruples as to calling himself an Atheist. The reason of this is not far to seek. The question of God or no God has very little to do with it. When the popular theory of the mounted policeman up above is discarded, all that remains is a highly subtle philosophical problem which it would be the rankest humbug in any ordinary man to pretend he felt the smallest interest in or even understood. The real point in the "not-an-atheist" cant lies in the fact that the word *atheism* is supposed in the popular mind to imply the rejection of the current bourgeois morality, the avowed sanctions of which rest on the abnormally developed policeman theory. It is bourgeois sentiment which is the well-spring of objection to the word *atheism*, and not suddenly evoked scruples on refined points of metaphysic. If we abstract from the latter and take words in their popular sense, we have a right to say that the man cannot be quite sincere who accepts the doctrine of development as opposed to supernatural interposition in human affairs and who kicks at the word "atheism."

The "cant" of the politician, like the cant of the "religious" man, is also protean in its guise, but its chief method is to explain away words. The politician can always show you that he doesn't mean what he says, but something rather different from what he says. Political cant consists in pretending to agreement with hearers, whoever they may be. This cant is part of the stock-in-trade of every politician, be he Tory, Whig, or Radical, and it is by its means that he tries to haul in stray votes.

The philanthropic cant is seen in its richest luxuriance when in combination with the religious cant, as for example at May meetings,

when the one, so to speak, brings out the flavour of the other. The philanthropic cant has done yeoman's service to modern industrial and commercial enterprise by smoothing the way to new markets for it abroad and by hocussing the workman with sham nostrums at home. Its "anti-slavery," "missionary" (for there is a "philanthropic" side to "missions" to which all bourgeois, religious or not, do homage), temperance (teetotal), and thrift campaigns, have been godsend to the capitalist. On the one side they have constituted him in the eyes of his own middle-class public opinion a saint, and on the other side they have drowned the aspirations of the working-classes in a sea of delusion. No wonder, therefore, that the capitalist pours out his thousands freely for religio-philanthropic objects.

Akin to this is the "purity" cant which animates "Leagues of the White Cross," "Moral Reform Unions," *et hoc genus omne*. This form of humbug, which pretends to regard the fulfilling of a natural physiological function, except under one condition, as something like a crime, may either have at its root deliberate and conscious hypocrisy or else it may arise from the desire to make social capital out of a natural bodily defect or peculiarity—on the principle of the fox without a tail. Now it is a well-known fact that the instinct of sex varies in strength from 100, let us say, to 0. In those exceptional cases where it even approaches the zero it is obvious therefore that the social *kudos* attainable by zeal for the conventional morality must outweigh the natural impulse for "gratification." Here, then, we have the conditions of a highly successful prosecution of the cant of purity without any apparent insincerity that the most hostile eye could detect,—in short, we have the "honest fanatic" of "blameless life." And he or she is doubtless the nucleus of the movements in question, which become the rallying-points for conscious hypocrisy and respectability in the male, and the "sour grapes" of despised love and hope deferred in the female.

The special form of commercial "cant" here selected consists in the favourite pretence in the present day of "having a profession" or being in business. Money-making being the avowed end of life, a man of the middle-classes loses caste if he does not appear to be engaged in some occupation recognised as lucrative. He is like a knight without his spurs, a Roman senator without his toga. It is amusing to see the fortunes men will squander in keeping up bourgeois style by pretending to be following a profession or business. I have known a man who could ill afford it spend at the rate of £500 a-year in keeping a school. Another studies medicine, another the law, another engineering. It is well known, of course, that all these professions are overstocked, and that the average young man is about as likely to receive a "next-of-kin" windfall as to cover his expenses with any of them. But the young man of "means" must "have a profession" or business even though he die in the workhouse in consequence. So he goes through the course, spinning it out as long as possible, and when done takes chambers or offices as barrister or engineer. His expenses cost him two or three hundred per annum, and if his "profession" brings him in ten he is in most cases extremely lucky. When a young man with small means can't afford to go in for a profession, he has to content himself with a small office, where he has his letters addressed. This is sufficient to show he is "doing something." He goes up to town every day, lounges about, reads the papers, and endeavours to obtain the credit of being "a man of business" by, among other things, pretending always to be in a great hurry. In this way he perhaps manages to come off with no more than a loss of £80 to a £100 a-year.

This cant of "business" is peculiarly significant as marking the fully developed bourgeois era. Time was when the middle-class man was proud of posing as the "gentleman-at-large" (the remains of the feudal tradition). Now even when he has independent means, as in the cases supposed, he reckons it necessary to "good form" to pretend to be making money whether he is actually doing so or not, and is prepared to squander his substance in that pretence.

Then there is the literary or rather critical cant. One of its forms is affected hunting after blemishes in style and the pedantry allied thereto. The fact is, of course, that the modern reviewer's taste is not really shocked by half the things he *sics* or otherwise castigates, but he must find something to say and make above all a show of purism. A great deal of the pretended fuss made about confusion of metaphor, for example, is cant. All language is more or less metaphorical, and no one has shown the slightest rational ground why one should not pass from one metaphor to another even in the same sentence. That the sensibility of the ordinary callow critic on the subject is sham is proved by his admiration for Shakespeare's confusions of metaphor. When a man can stand taking "arms against a sea of troubles," he ought to be able to stand anything.¹

The æsthetic cant is a noteworthy product of modern culture. It is a subject about which so much has been said already that I confine myself to noticing one feature of it. Every man aspiring to culture in the present day professes an appreciation of painting. He deems it *de rigueur* that he should be able to maunder "some" on the technicalities of picture-criticism. On the other hand the same type of cultured English Philistine, when the conversation turns on the subject of music, will with an air of smug self-satisfaction (as if he had said a clever thing) tell you that he knows nothing of the subject. One wishes he would only say the same of the sister art, for it would be doubtless quite true. But, unfortunately, painting, or "art" as it is termed (as if there were no other art), is the fashion just now with the

¹ To take the stock instance of "nipping" a tempest "in the bud." Something is likened to a tempest. The tempest is in its turn likened to a blossom. The metaphor of the tempest holds in one connection, of the original fact, the metaphor of the blossom holds in another of the tempest. The metaphor, although a little violent, is not illogical.

NORTHUMBRIAN NOTES.

THE interest of the miners in Socialism is as strong as ever. The Hyde Park meeting had a splendid effect, and the arrival of Donald to assist in the work has been a great help. Last week I broke new ground, visiting Broomhill, Radcliff, and Inble at the extreme North of the country. The miners gave me a good welcome, and many names were given in to form Socialist branches.

The number of ballot papers issued to the miners is getting past all counting. At every vote taken the miners complain bitterly that the questions are put in a most unsatisfactory way. The worst feeling exists between the miners and their leaders. The Wages Committee has at last resigned. At the time of writing this note there is no definite ground for saying that the situation has at all changed. Both parties appear as determined as ever. But to judge from different little signs I should say that the strike cannot continue much longer. It is no use guessing at the terms of the settlement, but even if the miners should entirely surrender they have shown their pluck and determination, and shown it too in a quiet and manly way.

The Northumberland miners are the most thrifty, independent, and best organised set of men in the country. The non-unionists, too, have behaved splendidly, and have proved themselves just as staunch and manly as the members of the union. There is every reason to hope that the miners of Northumberland will be the first to take up Socialism as an active political cause, and they will set an example to the rest of the country by doing so.

We are holding three meetings a day, and at all the places are getting numerous adherents to our views. On Thursday, 28th ult., we had a good meeting at Ashington, and at the end of the lecture there was a little opposition. The speakers' contention was that the working-classes had been steadily progressing in recent years without the assistance of Socialists, and that Socialism would sap the foundations of morality, and in fact bring us back to a state of primitive barbarism! At North Seaton there was some opposition from a man who had left the principal Miners' Union to join another which did not restrict the number of shifts that a man could work. This man's cry was that the Socialists had come down to Northumberland to attempt to break up the Miner's Union altogether. He was what the miners call "a master's man," and yet he deliberately insinuated that the Socialists were paid by the masters to endeavour to smash the men's union. Surely even the Coal Owners' Association would think twice before they engaged in such a dangerous operation as getting Socialists down amongst their men! We have always told the men that they should stand by their Union, and that they should further carry out the principle of unionism by getting all the men in their trade throughout the country united in one society, and then a strike could be made that would speedily bring the masters to reason. The Socialist League has always supported the principle of trade unionism, and only has said harsh things about union men and union leaders when it has found them pursuing "the policy of masterly inactivity," which of recent years has only too frequently been the case. We have pointed out to trade unionists that it is time that they should bestir themselves to put an end to the necessity of strikes, and organise to secure continuity of employment and the whole of the results of their labour.

On Saturday, April 30th, the representatives of about a thousand miners met at Blyth, and formed the North of England Socialist Federation. This is the satisfactory result of our agitation. The movement bids fair to grow in this part of the country faster even than in London, and I am sure that all London comrades will be pleased to find that we have been able to prevent the split in the party extending throughout Northumberland. The only thing that damped the enthusiasm of the delegates was the fact of the division that existed in London and elsewhere, and the Northumberland men are evidently determined to use all their influence to unite the party.

Newcastle.

J. L. MAHON.

"CHARITY ORGANISATION."

WE have received several papers relating to the so-called "Charity Organisation Society," an organisation of which we have often before heard evil reports on good authority. We are not, however, among those that are astonished at the degrading and degraded operations carried out by that society. It represents, perhaps in its basest form, the modern bourgeois ideal of what "charity" should be, a dole sufficient to keep the workers from dying quickly enough to breed a revolt, while participation in the receipt of the dole is guarded and attended by inhuman regulations that heat seven times and again the hell in which the poor sojourn always.

In any sensibly arranged community, a community, that is, in which none willing and able to labour need lack the work to do, having for that work the full fruit of it, being alike masters of their work and of their time, there would be no room for "charity." Each man in his working-years would repay to the community their outlay upon him in childhood and youth, and at the same time store in their hands enough to keep his declining years in comfort.

But, so long as all but a bare subsistence is filched from the worker, anything that happens, without waiting until he is old or sick, may render him helpless. Then it is that the bourgeois "philanthropist" bribes the toadies, bewilders and befools the ignorant, and drowns the cries of the starving with the clamour of committees and soup-kitchens. In all such work there are none more truculently active than the C.O.S. and its supporters.

But the workers must recognise that, vast as the burden of hatred is that this society has laid upon them, it is as naught compared to that imposed inevitably by the capitalist system. Nor can all the hellish brutality charged, with seeming truth, against the C.O.S., compare with that necessarily exercised from day to day upon the helpless people by their exploiting "employers." The *Charity Record* called in a recent number for "such a burst of popular indignation against this prying and persecuting inquisition as would speedily sweep it out of its callous and degraded existence." While this is being done we hope that the power behind it—Monopoly—will not be forgotten. Break the tool only and a new one may be made. Paralyse the arm that wields it and the tool is useless.

H. H. S.

EXPIRATION OF TERM OF SENTENCE OF ONE OF THE NORWICH PRISONERS.

Our comrade Henderson will come out of prison on May 16th, having gone through the whole term of imprisonment to which he was condemned because he preached Socialism and because somebody else broke a plate-class window. Our comrade, who is a very young man, depends for his subsistence entirely on literary work. His attempts to get employment in that line of industry, as often happens with persons of his time of life, had not been successful when they were interrupted by the disgraceful tyranny to which he has been subjected: but he has considerable talent as a writer, and will certainly succeed in the long-run. Under these circumstances, we invite contributions from all lovers of freedom to tide our comrade over a very rough passage of his career. Subscriptions may be sent to the Treasurer, Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road.

THE SCANDALOUS SENTENCES.

Arrangements are being made for the holding of a public demonstration to condemn the sentences passed by Mr. De Rutzen at the Marylebone police-court, on Wednesday April 27, upon certain persons alleged to have been engaged in riotous proceedings near the Marble Arch.

At the first meeting of the General Council of the Holborn Liberal and Radical Association held at the St. John's Schools, Kingsgate Street, Holborn, on Friday April 29, the following resolution was passed unanimously: "That this meeting regrets the severity of the sentences passed on the Socialists as being disproportionate to the offence, and calculated to afford colour to the idea that they were punished so severely because their opinions are unpopular among the monied classes."

Labour Emancipation League: "That this meeting of the Labour Emancipation League enters its indignant protest against the inhuman and Government-inspired sentence of six months' imprisonment passed on our comrade Williams by Mr. De Rutzen, and is of opinion that such tyranny merits the detestation of all true men and women."

Resolutions of a similar character to the above have been passed at a large number of meetings convened by the various Branches of the Socialist League and affiliated bodies.

In the House of Commons on Tuesday Mr. Graham asked if the Government intended to include London among the "proclaimed districts." Mr. Pickersgill and Mr. Conybeare also asked questions as to the convictions and the oppressive bail fixed. The usual shuffling answers were returned. One is almost tempted to wish for a sharp dose of coercion in order to sting the servile apathetic London workers into a more manly attitude towards their oppressors.

LITERARY NOTICES.

'Socialism from the Christian Point of View,' (Walter Scott, Newcastle) by the Rev. Moore Ede, Rector of Gateshead, is a sermon on Socialism called forth by the work of Socialist missionaries in Northumberland. It is written in a kindly strain and expresses emphatic agreement with the socialistic exposure of economic evils. The writer's point of disagreement with the Socialists is expressed in the sentence "Raise the individuals, and so raise society." The reverse of this would be nearer right. The author's fear about the "coercive" methods of Socialism is rather absurd. The following extract is given as a specimen of this excellent pamphlet: "That a few should have a life all leisure while the mass have a life of weary toil, is a condition of things which, stripped of legal sophisms, is essentially unjust. That a few should have wealth far in excess of man's power to enjoy, while many have barely enough to keep body and soul together, is not an expression of the Christian ideal of universal brotherhood. That young ladies should spend their days in playing lawn tennis, and their evenings at parties, while the sempstress who makes their dresses earns such a miserable pittance by long hours of weary toil, she is barely able to maintain life, and is terribly tempted to abandon the dreary labours of honest toil for the larger gains of vice, is not an expression of the Christian ideal of universal sisterhood." M.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

Annual Conference.—The Third Annual Conference of the Socialist League will be held at 13 Farringdon Road on Whitsunday, May 29th.

Co-operative Store.—The Committee attend at the offices at 8.30 p.m. on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. See advertisement on last page.

Lessons in French.—Victor Dave will continue his class on Tuesday next May 10th, at 8 o'clock. The lessons are free to members.

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

Bound Volumes of 'COMMONWEAL' for 1886 can now be had. Price 5s. 6d.

BRANCH SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID.

Birmingham, Hull, Leeds, to August 31. Manchester, Merton, Norwich, to October 31. Bradford, to November 30. Croydon, Leicester, South London, to December 31, 1886. Lancaster, to January 31. Hammersmith, Hackney, Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Walsall, to March 31. Bloomsbury, Clerkenwell, Glasgow, North London, Oxford, to April 30, 1887.

THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

Webb, 1s. A Comrade, 1s. Princes Square, result of Concert, £1, 17s. 8d. E. T. W., 5s. Arthur, 6d. For Mrs. Mowbray—A few Fabians, per Annie Besant (weekly), 10s. J. LANE, Treasurer.

STRIKE COMMITTEE.

P. W., 1s. X., 6d.

T. BINNING, Treasurer.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

E. B. E. (weekly), 1s. T. B. (weekly), 6d.

PH. W., Treasurer, May 3.

Northumberland Miners.—Collected in Regent's Park, 11s. 7d.—J. LANE.

BRANCH REPORTS.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, April 27, T. E. Wardle lectured on "Ireland." Last Sunday evening good open-air meeting was held on Clerkenwell Green, addressed by Dalziel and Doughty (Home Ruler). In hall, after monthly business meeting, a very pleasant "social" was indulged in by members and friends. Literature has sold well.—W. B. and T. E. W.

CROYDON.—Last Sunday, Paul Campbell delivered a lecture on the "Demands of Justice." A good discussion followed.—A. T.

HOXTON.—On Sunday evening, we had a very full hall. A large number were attracted with the prospect of hearing the advocate of the L.P.D.L. severely criticised. The audience was indignant but not surprised on hearing the lame excuse used by the L.P.D.L. to break Mr. Lyons' engagement to lecture, "That their lecture season was over," especially when we were told by one of the audience that he was advertised to lecture at Barnsbury the same morning. Several of our members gave a thorough exposure of the work of the L.P.D.L., which was well received by those present. At the close of the meeting a large amount of literature bearing upon the work of the L.P.D.L. and its members was distributed.—E. P.

MERTON AND MITCHAM.—On Sunday last, we held a good meeting at Mitcham Fair Green, addressed by Kitz and Eden. At Plough Inn, Garratt, C. Harrison and Dalchow held good meeting. We are making headway. On Friday last, we gave the local Radicals help at a most successful anti-Coercion meeting at St. Georges' Hall.—F. K.

EDINBURGH.—On Saturday, April 30, Tuke and G. Hossack visited the miners of Loanhead and district, and disposed of a lot of literature. On Sunday afternoon, in Queen's Park, Tuke, Smith, sen. and jun., Davidson, and Gilray spoke to an audience considerably larger than that of the previous Sunday. Good sale of literature. In the evening, Thomson (S.D.F.) and Tuke held a meeting in the meadows. On Monday evening, Mahon spoke in the meadows to a large audience, and 11s. 6½d. was collected for the Northumberland miners.—J. G.

GLASGOW.—On Wednesday evening, comrade Arch McLaren gave a lecture on Socialism to the Cambuslang Miners' Association. The lecture was well received, and after the meeting was over quite a number of the miners demonstrated their approval by accompanying our comrades to the train. On Saturday evening, J. L. Mahon and Glasier addressed an open-air meeting at Paisley. The audience received our comrades' speeches with much approval. On Sunday evening, after returning from Hamilton, Mahon addressed a meeting of about 1000 people on Jail Square. Comrades Curran, Warrington, and Glasier also spoke.

HAMILTON.—On Thursday evening, Glasier, from Glasgow, addressed a meeting at the New Cross. On Sunday, J. L. Mahon addressed a meeting of the Hamilton miners at the Low Quarries. Unfortunately, owing to Mahon and Glasgow friends having arrived late, a portion of the miners had gone away. Mahon's description of the condition of the Northumberland miners, and his exposition of the labour question, made a marked impression on the audience. Comrades McMunn and Glasier also spoke. A collection on behalf of the Northumberland miners was taken.

NORWICH.—On Sunday morning, a meeting was held at Ber St. Fountain, addressed by comrade Crotch. In the afternoon a large meeting was held in the Market Place, and H. A. Barker, of London, spoke at some length. The following resolution was moved by Slaughter, "That this meeting of Norwich workers expresses its warmest sympathy with the miners of Northumberland in their struggle against the system of class monopoly and legalised robbery, by which they are deprived of the just reward of their labour, and even of the means of labour." Carried unanimously, and 10s. 6½d. was collected for the miners; a subscription list has been opened here for them by us. In the evening, Barker addressed a meeting on the Agricultural Hall Plain, and afterwards gave a very interesting lecture in the Gordon Hall to a good audience, on "Socialism as the Necessary Outcome of the Present System of Society." After the lecture a resolution of sympathy with comrades Williams and others now under sentence of various terms of imprisonment was moved by comrade Crotch, seconded by Barker, and carried unanimously. On Monday evening, Parker lectured upon Northumberland strike. Next Sunday we shall have a church parade, as the Rev. S. Headlam will be here. On Monday, May 9th, we have Kropotkin with us, on May 16th will be the release of our comrade Fred Henderson. We shall meet him in the morning, and in the evening a public welcome tea will be held.—A. S.

WALSALL.—Last Saturday, the Branch held its first open-air meeting in the Market-place. H. Sanders and Deakin spoke, and were listened to with great attention by a good audience. Literature sold well.—J. T. D.

DUBLIN.—On Saturday, April 30th, at the Working-men's Club, Wellington Quay, comrade Karpel, who made his debut as a public speaker in combating the theory that the development of the industrial resources of Ireland would necessarily benefit the whole people, instanced the case of Russia, where, although the government had provided the highest class of teachers to impart technical knowledge to the workers in certain trades, the people were in a more degraded and impoverished condition than in these islands. The only hope for the workers was, he contended, in

the International Social Revolution. The chairman, Mr. Walker, in closing the discussion, knocked the sentimental protection theories "into a cocked hat." On Sunday, May 1st, at Dollymount Strand, a meeting numbering about 1,000 was held under the auspices of the Labour League. Resolutions calling on the workers to combine, and denouncing the conduct of the Corporation of Dublin in reducing the wages of the labourers in their employment whilst they advanced the salaries of the highly-paid officials, were spoken to by Upward, Hickey, Hall, and Toomey. Fitzpatrick expounded the doctrines of International Socialism, claiming for it an impartial examination, and condemned the rascality of the police magistrate De Rutzen in the case of the Hyde Park prisoners. At the close of the meeting nearly thirty names were given in to form a branch of the Labour League in the neighbourhood.

NEWCASTLE.—Successful meetings were held in Newcastle on Sunday at Sandhill and The Market. At the market the police ordered me to stop speaking, but as there was a Salvation Army meeting being held on the other side of the way, I pointed out to the policeman that he would have to stop their meeting as well as mine. "Oh, but," said he, "they are on another tack from you." "Quite so," I retorted, "but I shall continue my speech as long as the others are allowed to." My name and address was taken, but whether the police propose to give a free advertisement to our propaganda remains to be seen. Nothing is wanted at present in Newcastle except a little police interference to make our movement go with increased impetus. The lecture in the Temperance Hall in the Gallowgate was well attended. On Monday, we held successful meetings at Bedlington and at Hartley. Some pertinent questions were put by a Hartley man as to what would become, under Socialism, of a poor man's savings. I pointed out that every man under Socialism would be receiving the full reward of his labour, have his income increased 200 per cent., which would more than compensate him for losing interest on his trumpery investments.—A. K. D.

SOCIALIST UNION (NOTTINGHAM SECTION).—It is doubtful whether we shall be able to keep the room we have taken for a club-room, etc. The agent let it to us, but the landlord objects to it being used for a Socialist meeting-room. After comrade Peacock explained Socialism to him he said he would consider the matter for a week. We have supplied him with a quantity of Socialist literature, including copies of the *Commonweal*, to read in the meantime. This is not the first time we have been boycotted in trying to get a room. In trying to get another room recently we were met with the same difficulty. It looks as if they would sooner keep their places shut up than let them to Socialists. This is boycotting by the landlord class, and in England. Last Sunday, Peacock, Wane, and Proctor addressed large audiences in Sninton on market morning, and Great Market in the evening. Collection in morning 4s., evening 5s., towards furnishing a club-room. A resolution condemning the action of De Rutzen in suspending trial by jury at the bidding of Government official, and sentencing six respectable and peaceful citizens to six months' imprisonment with hard labour on the unsupported evidence of ignorant policemen, was passed unanimously.—T. P.

LECTURE DIARY.

London Branches.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street. On Thursday May 5, at 8.30, Business Meeting, to appoint delegates for the Conference.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday May 8, at 8.30 p.m. J. Lane, "Different Schools of Socialist Thought." Wednesday 11, at 8.30. Stewart Headlam, "The Sins that cause Poverty."

Croydon.—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday May 8, at 7.15 p.m. H. H. Sparling, "The Class Struggle in England and in Ireland."

Hackney.—23 Andrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 8 till 11.30. Business Meeting every Tuesday at 8.30. On Sunday May 8, at 8.30 p.m. A Lecture.

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday May 8, at 8 p.m. A Lecture.

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—2 Crondall Street, New North Rd. Club Room open on Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday evenings from 8 till 11. Singing Class every Wednesday at 8.30. A Literary Class on Friday 13, at 8.30—first part of Joyne's Catechism. On Sunday May 8, at 8 p.m. H. A. Barker, "Socialism the Necessary Outcome of the Present System."

Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday. Discussions held every Sunday morning at 11.

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

Country Branches.

Bingley.—Coffee Tavern. Every Monday at 7.30 p.m.

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

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

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 7.30 p.m. to transact business. Class for the study of 'Das Capital' at 8.30.

Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. On Tuesday, Monthly Business Meeting of Members in Rooms at 8 o'clock. Wednesday, at 8 o'clock, Choir Practice. Other meetings will be locally announced. For open-air meetings see below.

Hamilton.—Paton's Hall, Chapel Street. Branch meets every Thursday at 7.30.

Hull.—No meeting-place at present. Address all communications to E. Teesdale, 20 Shakspeare St.

Lancaster.—Addresses every Sunday morning on the Quay Jetty.

Leicester.—Spiritualist Hall, Silver Street.

Manchester.—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening 6 to 10 p.m. Lecture and discussion every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Free Lectures every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room open every evening. On Sunday morning, a parade to St. John's De Sepulchre Church, Ber Street. Open-air meetings see below.

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

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 8.

11.30...Hackney—Salmon and Ball...Hobb & Flockton
11.30...Hammersmith—Beadon Rd.The Branch
11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.The Branch
11.30...Hyde Park.....T. E. Wardle
11.30...Garrett—Plough Inn...Harrison, Gregory, Bull
11.30...Mitcham Fair GreenKitz, Eden, Dalchow
11.30...Regent's Park.....Cantwell & Mainwaring
11.30...St. Pancras ArchesW. H. Utley
11.30...Walham Green.....The Branch
3 ...Hyde ParkNicoll & Mainwaring
7 ...Clerkenwell GreenT. E. Wardle

Tuesday.

8...Broad Street, Soho.....W. H. Utley

Wednesday.

7.30...Broadway, London Fields.....Graham

Thursday.

8 ...Hoxton, Pitfield StreetWade & Pope

PROVINCES.

Edinburgh.—Sunday: Meetings in Queen's Park and Meadows. Particulars in local papers.

Glasgow.—Sunday: Mahon will address open-air meeting on the Green at 3 p.m., when collection will be taken in behalf of the Northumberland Miners.

Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, 11; Vicar's Croft, 7.

Leicester.—Sunday: Humberston Gate, 11 a.m.

Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place at 3; Agricultural Hall Plain at 7.

DUBLIN.—Irish Labour League, 2 Bachelors Walk, every Thursday at 8 p.m. Discussion on all subjects connected with the Labour Question. All interested are requested to attend.

SOCIALISM AND THE MINERS.

J. L. Mahon is now addressing meetings in Scotland in furtherance of the Socialist propaganda in the interest of the Northumberland miners on strike. A full report will be given in these columns next week. In the meantime, the reports to hand show that Mahon arrived in Leith from Newcastle on Friday April 29, and spoke at Paisley on Saturday night. On the following Sunday afternoon he addressed a gathering of miners organised by the Hamilton Branch of the Socialist League, and on the same evening a large gathering in Glasgow at Jail Square. On Monday night a meeting was held in the East Meadows, Edinburgh. Meetings are also announced for Tuesday night in the Tron Hall, Edinburgh, and on Wednesday night at Leith Links. The announcements of other meetings are as follows:

Thursday May 5th.—Miners' National Federation (Scotland), Mass Meeting at Hamilton Palace Grounds at 3. Hamilton Branch, Socialist League, at 8 p.m.

Friday May 6th.—Paisley, open-air at 7 p.m.; Dyers' Hall at 8 p.m.

Saturday May 7th.—Midlothian Miners, 4 p.m.

Sunday May 8th.—Glasgow Branch Socialist League, Mass Meeting at Glasgow Green at 3 p.m. Edinburgh Branch, Socialist League, at 7.30 p.m.

Notice to Readers of the 'Commonweal.'

A CO-OPERATIVE STORE

has been started at the

OFFICES OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE,
13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.,

and all Grocery articles can be had at current store prices, or where possible, under. All orders over 10s. will be delivered carriage paid in London. The Store will be open on Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday evenings from 8.30 till 10.30 p.m.

16 pages One Penny.

A PLEA FOR SOCIALISM,

By J. L. MAHON.

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

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 70.

SATURDAY, MAY 14, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

THE Tory Government, it is generally said, has made a great mistake about the Privilege episode; even their own papers have blamed them for their conduct, and the whole country will endorse that blame. That may be, and certainly such are the tight places into which *stupid* lying leads most commonly. Yet after all the Tory Government is very strong against any mere constitutional attacks. It has a well-grounded confidence in the strength of party feeling, and the very common wish of the flunkey of all classes to vote for "the Gentlemanly Interest," like the innkeeper in 'Martin Chuzzlewit.' And the Liberal Unionists who hold the balance for it, are prepared to wade through any amount of dirt in defence of their "principles." The division on Mr. Gladstone's amendment moving the appointment of a select committee, and that in the teeth of the *Standard's* disapproval, shows that the Government has some reason for its recklessness, and that we shall have a Tory Government in for some time to come—a matter of small importance, since the alternative is a Liberal Government.

To return to the matter of questions in the House. Honourable members are more easily satisfied with the answers given than a believer in the benefits of Parliament would be likely to expect. Take for example Sir H. Holland's answer on May 7 about the flogging in the Hong Kong prison. Considering that we all know how little a Chinaman can live on, and also that of all scoundrelly oppressors the English colonial or crown-colony one is the vilest, does it not seem as if "the reduction of the diet, the existing scale of which was considered excessive"—prison diet excessive—O Lord!—meant an attempt to starve the prisoners to death? Yet the answer was accepted apparently as satisfactory—probably because the same thing is done here at home both in prison and out of it, and no one is called to account for it—not yet.

It doesn't, perhaps, much matter what a bishop says nowadays: yet if a bishop could have any moral sense at all, he might consider the extreme unfairness of telling lies in the pulpit, where he cannot be contradicted, as he might be at a public meeting. A bishop preaching at the Chapel Royal, Whitehall (not a bad place for lies, by the way), the other day, "urged that the logical conclusion of Socialist views would be the practical carrying out of the motto, 'I squeeze all things flat'"—in short, Mr. Bradlaugh's dull level of mediocrity. Now, there is plenty of Socialist literature for the bishop to read, and if he has read it he lied in his statement; if he has not he is an imposter for preaching on a subject of which he is ignorant. Let him take his choice of either horn of the dilemma.

Some of our Socialist friends may have noticed the attempt, which has already partially succeeded, to force the older universities to set up a new "Honour school"—i.e., a new school of competitive examination—in English literature, and may perhaps have wondered why it has been taken up so excitedly by part of the press. The reason is obvious to those who know something of the universities and the higher class of literary hacks: it means the pushing of a great new *job* for all the clan of the log-rollers in literature. The dishonest and conventional twaddle which has been poured on to the public on this subject is thus easily accounted for; as the professional and other hangers-on of capital have an innate sympathy for any one who is job-hunting. All the big-wigs who have written with such portentous solemnity on the neglect of English literature at the universities know perfectly well that English literature is a thing which can be *learned* but cannot be *taught*, as language and the sciences can be; but they will not interfere

with a poor job-hunter who wishes to feather his nest out of those institutions which our forefathers founded for the education of the *people*, but which, like all other expensive things, are now monopolised by the rich classes.

W. M.

COERCION FOR LONDON.

It may be thought that the patriots who are so eager for the unity of the British empire that they want to use artificial means to make it more specially uncomfortable to live in one part of it than it is elsewhere, are taking unnecessary trouble; that the coercionists are such enthusiasts in the art of coercion that they are hunting it when they have already got it.

It is true that there is a pleasure in making a special and blatant demonstration of success, but it is a pleasure that has to be paid for by the opposition that the attempt to make it stirs up. The wise are contented with having the substance and letting the shadow take care of itself, especially if they have to fight for the shadow when they have got the substance peaceably and easily.

One is compelled by recent events to look on the subject from this point of view. Ireland is to have an extra dose of coercion, but London has already got enough for all practical purposes. A Bill is being put forward and opposed, with great fervour on each side, which, when it becomes law, will enable any *two* magistrates in Ireland to sentence any one who is brought before them and whose looks they don't like to six months' imprisonment. In London, any *one* magistrate has already got that power, and is on occasion not ashamed to exercise it.

It is perhaps worth while to tell over again a short story of the manner in which the coercion machine in London is set a-going, as it can be done in so much fewer words than the Langworthy case.

One Sunday there were, as usual, Socialist meetings going on in Hyde Park near the Marble Arch, during and after which various salesmen were proposing, as usual, to sell Socialist papers outside the park (selling inside being forbidden). The police had for some time past hustled and bullied, and even run in, these Socialist salesmen, although the sellers of other newspapers were not interfered with. On the occasion in question, after the Socialist meetings were over, the crowd, much increased by the news of the high-handed proceedings on former Sundays, poured out through the gate close by, being as a matter of course largely composed of mere Sunday strollers attracted to the Socialist platform—non-combatants, most of them, in the battle of opinion between Socialism and Bourgeoisdom. Well, these people, who would else have gone about their business quietly, were immediately set upon by the police *à la* Donnybrook, and a rough-and-tumble ensued, of the kind which the timid citizen of to-day looks at with pleasure—from a window, and in which you may find yourself half-throttled on the way to the police-station without being conscious of what has led you to that expedition, otherwise than that a policeman tried to knock you down and that you tried to stand upright: such an entertainment being obviously a good occasion for any one of an inventive turn to exercise his capacity for romance as a police-court witness.

The result of this police battue was a pretty good bag, although the police acted rather as the foreigner in Leech's woodcuts, who shoots the foxes and the owls instead of the pheasants, and got hold of more of the above-mentioned non-combatants than Socialists. These "rioters" being brought up before Mr. de Rutzen, were prosecuted by the Government jackal Mr. Poland, the farcical nature of whose opening speech no one, now Dickens is dead—more's the pity—need attempt to render.¹ The farce was continued by various policemen giving what is facetiously called "evidence," and more accurately "swearing the leg off an iron pot"; and Mr. Rutzen, in virtue of his position, wound up with the grand joke of the whole entertainment by saying that since Mr. Poland did not press the case as one of riot, he would treat it as a mere assault on the police, and would be so kind as not to send the accused for trial, but would—Fine them 10s. and caution them, thinks the unsuspecting "cultivated" person, rejoicing in the security of property and person in this civilised and "free" country. No—sentence them, two Socialists (one of whom had not been present in Hyde Park) and five non-Socialists, to six months' hard labour!

This was the end of the first act of the farce called "Justice" in this

¹ I don't know, though: the author of 'Cashed Byron,' though he wouldn't do it with the richness of Dickens, might deal with such a case—why doesn't he?

happy land: though such a finish of the Hyde Park Sunday saunter might well be looked on by the luckless persons who were rash enough to try it as a tolerable tragedy in its way.

However, the farce is not done yet. The convicted persons may appeal to a bench of magistrates—if they can. That is, if they have money, or friends with money; otherwise they must bear the six months' torture of an English jail as well as they can: even if they have been convicted of assaulting the police when they were miles from the spot.

Two of the Socialists, our friends Williams and Pole (which last was the absent man), appealed at once and found bail; and two of the non-Socialists subsequently appealed, one of whom, at least, found bail. The other three must lie in prison for six months, unless Mr. Matthews extends his "mercy" to them—(a lawyer's mercy!)

"But why didn't they also appeal?" says the well-to-do inhabitant of a "free" country. Because they must find bail for their appearance at Westminster on July 16th. Not so difficult, you think? Yes, but the bail *must be liable to the expenses of the appeal if it is rejected*, which in plain terms means that if an ordinary working-man is arbitrarily convicted by a magistrate and sentenced to such a terrible punishment as six months' hard labour, no matter how preposterous the behaviour of the magistrate may be, the working-man *cannot* appeal. The rich man *can* defend himself, the poor man *cannot*.

This is the meaning of there being the same law for rich and poor, of justice never being sold in this country, and the like damned hypocritical twaddle. Justice is *always* sold in this country.

The answers to questions asked in Parliament have enriched the farce with other good jokes. Mr. Matthews had the boundless impudence to declare again (for he has done it before) that he did not know what part the Government had taken in the prosecution—he is a useful article at the price certainly!

Mr. Stuart Wortley refined on the Jorkins business in a manner that shows his fitness for office in the most satisfactory manner, and in short, the answers to questions on this matter illustrate the great leading farce of Parliament as well as need be.

It would be unfair also to leave off without complimenting the so-called labour representatives on their "masterly inactivity" in this matter. Years ago, before the possibility almost of labour representatives was thought of, what an advantage their presence in the House would have been considered! What a row one would have thought such men would have made about such treatment as De Rutzen's of men of their own order!—and now, mum is the word. A London middle-class member, Mr. Pickersgill, and a Scotch landowner, Mr. Cunninghame Graham, have taken upon them the duty of Messrs. the Labour Representatives, who should have made the row—such a row that they ought by this time to be all sitting in the Clock Tower.

Space fails me as to the progress of the affair at Kennington, but it is all a part of this same Coercion Campaign; and no doubt it is well thought of by the magistrates to refuse protection to harmless citizens against hired roughs, since all Socialists are not athletes, and there is a double danger in carrying deadly weapons. The preposterous charge against a physically weak man, like our comrade Blackwell, of attacking the police violently, is seemingly the sort of thing that Socialists must expect to meet with at present.

In conclusion, grieved as we must all be at the torture to which innocent men are being subjected, no Socialist can help reflecting that these fools, Matthews, Poland, Warren, and Co., are doing good propagandist work for us. People generally have some idea of fair play, and the spectacle of such blatant injustice as has been recently exhibited, has to my certain knowledge moved to indignation people not particularly favourable to Socialism. It is still more important that the working-classes should have a further instance of what law means under our system—a cunning instrument for the oppression of the poor by the rich.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

THE IRISH QUESTION.

IV.—RENTS, ETC.

MANY people believe that the Land Act of 1881, to at least a great extent, solved the social problem of Ireland. And, indeed, it is difficult to convince them that such is not the case. It is generally thought that when a Bill becomes law that it must and does accomplish all the good predicted of it. But such is not the case. And this will be clearly seen when I come to deal with that measure and the decisions of the courts with regard to improvements.

Another difficulty arises with reference to valuations and rentals. Even Sir James Caird (p. 97) places the rental lower than the valuation. Whereas the rental is far above the valuation. Even King-Harman stated in the House of Commons a few days ago that the valuation settled in 1854 was 25 per cent. below the letting value of the land, the total valuation being stated at £10,182,681. Yet Sir James puts down the rental in 1857 at £8,747,000, and in 1875 at £9,293,000. At the latter date the rental was estimated at over £16,000,000, and in 1879-80 at over £17,000,000. In many cases the rents were more than three times the valuation. Take the following as an illustration, from county Kerry (*Standard*, Nov. 16, 1880):

Landlord.	Tenant.	Valuation.	Rental.
T. Taylor ...	Thomas Gain ...	£7 10 0	£27 0 0
	Phil. Foley ...	10 6 0	37 0 0
	M'Gowen & Sullivan ...	12 9 0	40 0 0
	Peter Leary ...	9 16 0	36 0 0
Four holdings ...		£40 1 0	£140 0 0

Take four more cases of the same date and same authority, Kerry county.

Landlord.	Tenant.	Valuation.	Rental.
E. H. Downing ...	F. Gain ...	£8 8 0	£27 0 0
Rev. G. Godfrey ...	J. Mansfield ...	53 0 0	130 0 0
R. Oldwell ...	P. Warren ...	7 10 0	22 0 0
" ...	T. Murphy ...	6 10 0	17 0 0
		£75 8 0	£196 0 0

The great rise in rents was from 1870 to 1879. In some cases the rents were more than doubled in seven or eight years. The following will illustrate this:

Parish.	Rental, 1872.	Rental, 1879.
East Ower ...	£57 7 6	£130 3 0
West Ower ...	57 7 6	133 5 0
Laragan ...	26 6 10	65 1 0
Warm Hole ...	28 7 5	62 0 0
Gurthmore ...	48 0 0	98 10 0
Five parishes	£219 9 3	£488 19 2

The *Freeman's* commissioner, in October 1879, gave a list of twelve holdings, the total of the old rent being £486, 15s., and the rents in 1879 being no less than £1158, 17s. 6d.—far above 100 per cent. increase.

But it will be said under the Land Act of 1881 all this has been altered. The evil has been modified, not removed. And when we come to the question of improvements this will be seen. Take also the following, from county Clare:

Clare Co.	Valuation.	Rent, 1879.
A ...	£32 0 0	£84 0 0
B ...	32 0 0	108 0 0
C ...	27 5 0	69 0 0
D ...	27 13 0	54 10 0
E ...	42 0 0	108 0 0
F ...	191 0 0	324 0 0
G ...	160 0 0	450 0 0
H ...	86 0 0	170 0 0
I ...	83 10 0	200 0 0
J ...	78 0 0	160 0 0
10	£759 8 0	£1727 10 0

In consequence of the severe depression in agriculture in 1879, and especially in Ireland, commissioners were sent out by almost every London daily paper, and from their reports samples of rack-renting might be given from every county of Ireland. As a rule, rents were high—double and treble the valuation in the south and the west, while in the north and the east they averaged from 30 to 40 per cent. above the valuation.

It is often contended that the judicial rents are the rents that really ought to be paid; but in most cases the rents as fixed are far above the valuation. Take the following eight cases on estates in Kerry:

Tenant.	Valuation.	Old Rent.	Judicial Rent.
T. O'Sullivan ...	£12 3 0	£20 0 0	£20 0 0
W. Potts ...	10 1 0	17 10 0	15 15 0
Eliza Sully ...	4 12 0	7 10 0	6 7 0
Catherine Coppey ...	16 10 0	30 12 0	25 15 0
John Coppey ...	10 15 0	17 4 0	17 4 0
Tim. Sugren ...	8 8 0	14 5 0	13 5 0

These are tenants of the noble Marquis of Lansdowne. In October 1884 forty-nine tenants of Lord Charles Beresford went to the court and had their rents judicially fixed, and the total reductions averaged 1s. each. We must bear in mind, too, that not one-third of the holdings have yet been dealt with. Taking the Parliamentary Return, 1881, of the different classes of holdings, we find the total 660,185 in number; and taking the return just issued, which brings up the operations of the Land Courts and Civil Bill Courts to March 31 of the present year, the total number of rents fixed was 90,088; the total number settled out of court, 90,134—total, 180,222, leaving over 479,000 yet to be dealt with. Again, out of a total number of applications to the courts, 137,810, 24,728 cases were dismissed, so that it is not every one who applies to the court that gets a judicial rent. Up to the close of 1885 it was calculated that the total reductions averaged about 12½ per cent.; and that the reductions last year averaged nearly 30 per cent.; and that the aggregate of reductions reached £600,000.

How is it then that the Act of 1881 has proved a failure? How is it that the hopes held out by Gladstone have not been realised, that the "Healy Clause" has proved a dead letter? Everything depended on the question of the ownership of the improvements. The Healy clause reads as follows (Sub-section 9 of Clause 8): "No rent shall be allowed or made payable in any proceedings under this Act in respect of improvements made by the tenant or his predecessors in title, and for which, in the opinion of the Court, the tenant or his predecessors in title shall not have been paid or otherwise compensated by the landlord or his predecessors in title." Gladstone, arguing on the great principle involved in the above sub-section in the House, Aug. 9, 1881, said: "The main ground on which I stand is that we do not recognise the principle of compensation by enjoyment for a certain length of time, either as respects the landlord or the tenant. It is much better that those who make the improvements should have the whole benefits of the improvements." A number of test cases were decided, and the decisions of the Courts finally gave the value of almost all the improvements to the landlords. From the *Standard* of October 14, 1881, I take the following as one of the test cases. The tenant claimed £710 as compensation for the following improvements:

	£
For levelling 260 perches of fence, at 2s. per perch	26
For erecting 80 perches of fence at 4s. per perch	16
13 acres of land reclaimed at £12 per acre...	156
10 acres of waste land reclaimed at £5 per acre	50
50 perches of river filled in at 10s. per perch	25
50 perches of new river opened at 2s. per perch	5
Loads of sand per year, 50 years, at 2s. per load	300
Repairs of dwelling-house	40
Outhouses built, value...	80
Repairs of labourers' cottages	12
Total	£710

Here was a clear case on which the Court acted, and a case in which the value of the improvements could be tested. What did the Court do? It awarded to the tenant £46, leaving to the landlord the balance of £664. The result of the test cases was that the Courts held that the improvements belonged to the landlord—

1. Where the tenants held under a lease.
2. Improvements made before the lease began.
3. Improvements made during the lease, except lands reclaimed and permanent buildings.
4. All improvements made before the Act of 1870.
5. The improvable capability of the soil.
6. All other improvements where the tenant has received 5 per cent. per annum on the money invested in said improvements.

It might here be asked, What remains for the tenant? Very little indeed. And yet the renegade Chamberlain tells the world that the Land Act of 1881 has secured to the people of Ireland benefits unknown to the tenants of any other part of the world.

Now what is the position to-day? We will not take the rental of 1879 at £17,000,000, the general estimate at that time, but at £16,000,000, and see how the matter stands. Let us take the reductions at £700,000 instead of £600,000:—

Year.	Valuation.	Rental.	Value of Crops.
1855	£10,182,000	£11,200,000	£63,000,000
1881 (Jan.)	10,182,000	16,000,000	46,000,000
1885	10,182,000	15,400,000	35,000,000
1886	10,182,000	15,300,000	31,700,000

Here is the great economical problem. As rents have increased by millions the value of the crops has decreased by tens of millions. Take another view of the matter:—

Year.	Value of Crops.	Rental.	Proportion of Rent to Crops.
1855	£63,000,000	£11,200,000	17 per cent.
1881	46,000,000	16,000,000	38 per cent.
1885	35,000,000	15,400,000	46 per cent.
1886	31,700,000	15,300,000	47 per cent.

Take also the question of taxation. We must remember too that prior to the great famine of 1846-49, the population was over eight millions in Ireland:—

Year.	Population.	Taxation.	Taxation per head of Population.
1851	6,552,385	£4,006,711	£9 12 2
1861	5,798,564	6,420,378	1 2 1
1871	5,412,377	7,086,593	1 6 2
1885	4,962,693	7,755,000	1 11 3

Thus, as the population has decreased, and the value of the crops has decreased, partly through the fall of prices and partly through the lands being thrown out of cultivation, both rents and taxation have increased. As showing the extent to which lands are being thrown out of cultivation, it may be stated that, taking the agricultural returns, in 1877 over 294,000 acres were thrown out of cultivation and classed as waste land, and from 1876 to 1882 the total was 531,750 acres. And so it goes on from year to year.

No mere modification of tyranny can alter this state of things. Nothing but the entire destruction of landlordism will be of any use. Nothing but a thorough social revolution will accomplish that. The Irish difficulty hastens that revolution, and it is for the workers of England and Scotland, as well as of Ireland, to grasp hands and hasten that revolution, and to make it thorough, and, as far as possible, final.

J. SKETCHLEY.

We call attention to the atrocious sentence passed by the magistrate Bushby on the labourer Restell. The wife of the man flew at him "like a tiger," according to the evidence, and cut his lips open. Thereupon he struck her or pushed her away in self-defence. Penalty, six months' hard. It is stated that the sentence created great surprise in court, and the *Daily News* gives it a place apart among "severe sentences." We congratulate the "woman's rights" advocates on the progress they are making. Oppressed woman has the right of mutilation, it appears. The absolute power of life and death on the part of the wife is not yet perhaps formally acknowledged, but with "public sentiment" tending so strongly in that direction, it will doubtless come before long.—E. B. B.

MORE JUBILEE BOSH.—The Jubilee Committee of Nottingham, in their report to the Town Council, state that they have only been able to raise £453 as yet out of £1500 needed to carry out the arrangements for the 21st of June, and £200 of this have been given by the Race Committee. This is public money, as the racecourse belongs to the town and the Race Committee is appointed by the Town Council, and the £200 is profit from the course, etc. The committee state if more funds do not come in they cannot carry out all the arrangements, but they must have the demonstrations of children in the market place to sing loyal songs, etc., and band to play in different public places, and jubilee medals for the children; but if they cannot get enough money they will not be able to give the children their free meal or tea-party. How thoughtful for the children! This statement has done good, and disgusted many who would have sent their children but will not now.—T. P.

VIC MACHREE.

By T. HUGHES.

[THE following song, addressed to Queen Victoria on her accession, and embodying the arguments for repeal, was written by T. Hughes, one of the many brilliant journalists that Ireland has contributed to the London press. He was a member of the staff of the *Morning Chronicle*, and for some years its Spanish correspondent. He died in 1849. The song was for many years a great favourite, and will bear reprinting as part of the Jubilee poetry of the present year.]

O, the devil a wink I slept last night
For thinking of the Queen!
Sure a purtier by this blessed light
Was never seen.
'Twas Father Kearney from Killarney
Her pictur showed to me,—
My blessings on your purty face,
Vic Machree!

Her faytures all is like a doll,
So gentle and so nate,
If there's deception in her at all,
Faith, she's a chate.
She has such schoolin' in her rulin',
She holds bright larnin's key,—
My blessings on your purty face,
Vic Machree!

There's Melbourne, Peel, and Welling-
ton
Is doin' all they can;
But troth there's not a mother's son
She loves like Dan,
That glory of the Emerald Gim:
O, if 'twas only free,
How it would grace your diadem,
Vic Machree!

Don't mind the thievin' Parliament,
Whatever they say,
But the Liberator's speeches
Read at your tay.
'Tis they will introduce to you
Our case without a fee,—
O, read them at your coffee too,
Vic Machree!

'Tis there our wrongs are tould in
style,
And how we're fixed,
Since first they seized our own Green
Isle
With Tory tricks.
And how they won't concayde our
rights,
Though Wellington and we
Like naygroes fought to guard your
throne,
Vic Machree.

Now would you like the king of France
To ax you for to wear
A dingy blanket while you dance,
An' you so fair?
Or would you like the King of Spain,
Who is, I hear, a she,
Should make you pay her tailor's bills,
Vic Machree?

In troth you'd kick up, if they did,
A rumpus and a row,
An' your army and your navy, faith,
Would make them bow.
Now we must pay the souls to save
Of every Rapparee,
O, to Ould Nick the rint charge send,
Vic Machree!

There's two bad Houses near your nose
In ould Westminster,
O, can't you then be done with those,
My royal spinster?
We'd scorn to ax them,—so should you;
Then grant us for to see
Our Parliament at home again,
Vic Machree.

SOCIALISM IN SCOTLAND.

On Friday, April 29th, I went from Newcastle for a few days propaganda in the lowlands of Scotland. The first meeting held was on the following day at Paisley, where a good audience assembled, and were addressed by Glasier, of the Glasgow Branch, and myself. One or two gentlemen in the crowd took offence at a disrespectful remark of mine in reference to the upper class. After grumbling out their dissatisfaction for a while, they took a practical turn and rushed Glasier off the platform. A slight confusion ensued, but Glasier being a wily orator at once launched off in the most recklessly irrelevant manner into an eloquent eulogy on the virtues of Bruce and Wallace, and quite turned away the wrath of the cantankerous Scotchmen. After this the crowd grew much larger, and listened with great attention and evident sympathy to our remarks.

On Sunday afternoon, a most successful gathering of miners was held in the Quarries at Hamilton, to which I related the chief incidents of the Northumberland strike, and repeated the criticism of the North of England labour leaders, which I had previously made in Northumberland. As the Scotch papers have boycotted nearly all mention of the strike, the miners were greatly interested in the particulars which came to them as news.

On Sunday night about 1000 gathered in Jail Square, in Glasgow, although no meeting had been announced, and received the statement of Socialism with the greatest interest.

On Monday night several hundred people gathered in the East Meadows, Edinburgh, and listened with sympathy for the miners and hearty approval of Socialism. A good collection was afterwards made. On Tuesday night to a good attendance at the Free Tron Hall, Edinburgh, I spoke on "Socialist and Political Economy." This lecture being a statement of the economic principles of a Socialist Society, gave rise to a good deal of useful discussion. The Rev. John Glasie joined in with a telling speech on the necessity for international action, and the futility of struggling for mere reforms such as the abolition of royalties. He pressed upon the audience that the real evil was the principle of competition in social life, and that the working-class, while helping on all good movements, should allow no specialist agitation to overshadow this vital question.

In Leith Links on the Giants Brea, we had a splendid meeting called by the Edinburgh Branch of the Socialist League. A good collection was made for the miners of Northumberland, and the meeting separated with three hearty cheers for the Social Revolution.

J. L. MAHON.

An old saying—"After the Lord Mayor's Show comes the dung-cart," has been about reversed in Skye. Mr. Chamberlain preceded Mr. Davitt.

SOCIALIST CONDEMNATION.—We hear that Baije, an active Socialist propagandist in Holland, has been condemned by bourgeois justice at The Hague to four months' imprisonment.

KNOWS ALL ABOUT IT.—The Pope is about to tell us all what he does not know about Socialism. Does any one suppose, for example, that the reverend father has ever read Karl Marx? Why no. No need to. God tells him personally all about it, don't he, Mr. P(owderly)?—*Labor Enquirer*.

HORDES OF IMMIGRANTS.—People enough to populate a small city have poured into New York from the steerages of the transatlantic steamers during the past week. Just 12,454 in exact numbers of big and little, old young, and middle-aged immigrants came to this port and the New World from Saturday night to Saturday night.—*New York Herald*, April 25.



"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.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday May 11.

ENGLAND	CHICAGO (ILL.)	HOLLAND
Justice	Vorbote	Hague—Recht voor Allen
Jus	Knights of Labor	
Norwich—Daylight	Daily News	ITALY
Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Worker's Friend	Seattle (W.T.) Voice of the People	Naples—Humanitas
Die Autonomie	Cincinnati (O.) Unionist	SPAIN
INDIA	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	Madrid—El Socialista
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Paterson (N.J.) Labor Standard	AUSTRIA
UNITED STATES	Albina (Oreg.)—Weekly Courier	Arbeiterstimme
New York—Freiheit	Detroit (Mich.)—The Advance	Brunn—Volksfreund
Truthseeker	and Labor Leaf	HUNGARY
John Swinton's Paper	FRANCE	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
Der Sozialist	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	ROUMANIA
Leader	Le Revolte	Jassy—Lupta
Sun	La Revolution Cosmopolite	SWEDEN
Boston—Woman's Journal	Guise—Le Devoir	Stockholm—Social-Demokraten
Liberty	Lille—Le Travailleur	NORWAY
Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer	BELGIUM	Kristiania—Social-Democraten
	Liege—L'Avenir	

VOLUNTARY CO-OPERATION.

In discussing Socialism one meets with a number of people who, while admitting the beauty of the Socialistic ideal, and even recognising the absolute justice of the confiscation that we advocate, yet look with horror on the confusion that will undoubtedly arise in the transition period, and turn for consolation to the tendency that is exhibiting itself towards profit-sharing and co-operation. "Let the new era develop in its own way," say they, "so that all this suffering which your sudden change would involve may be avoided." And in this way they hope to put off the evil day for their lives, and avoid the accusations of injustice and robbery that are hurled upon those who advocate confiscation of land and capital.

Such opponents are generally at least comfortably off themselves, and do not wish for any change except in a philanthropic way, so that they may ease their consciences and save their souls in their ideal paradise. They do considerable harm by preaching contentment, and hope in the progress that they say, and seem really to "think," the world is making on the old lines. It may safely be said of them that though they admit for argument's sake the beauty of Socialism, they have never really seen it, or they would not be content to wait whilst the way to the ideal was groped for by the people blindly struggling towards it under the bitter guidance of centuries of baffling experience.

Their notion for the evolution of democracy seems to be as follows. The working-classes must combine to demand from their employers some share (percentage, they suggest) of the net profits derived from their work, after their wages and all other expenses have been paid. Or better still, they must start businesses of their own, and work them on a co-operative system. How they are to get the necessary land or capital without confiscation is seldom suggested, unless it be by borrowing at interest. However, when they have in some mysterious way started their co-operative societies, they must go on to enlarge their scope—O wonderful!—by competition with the manufacturers who do not join them. In course of time (shall we say centuries?) the whole lump will be leavened, and the process will be complete without, argues your opponent, any of that misery and crime which a sudden confiscation of the means of production would be certain to cause, and without the injustice involved in the robbery of that property by which the landlord or man of business lives, and deprived of which he, being unable to labour, must either steal or starve.

Here at last we are distinctly at issue. For admitting even that it would be robbery to confiscate this private property which a few have got, and none can live without, does the individualist think to save his soul from the imputation of robbery because he suggests to the workers to get hold of the employer's capital by competition instead of confiscation? Is there not something which is called the goodwill of a business, which means the certainty of a minimum amount of custom, and

which the master can sell for money? And if this amount of custom belongs to the master, and is part of his realisable property, is it anything but robbery to take it from him against his will, even if you do it by competition instead of confiscation? The former is quite as unjust as the latter, and the competitive plan has the disadvantage of being more underhand, being cloaked by a show of legality and justice.

This answer should suggest itself even to one who would admit that confiscation would be robbery. But we Socialists, who admit no such thing, would say that we had rather see the exploiting class reduced by confiscation of their property to getting a living by plain (and what might be called in comparison *honest*) stealing, than allowed by an unjust possession of property to confiscate thousands of times more of the worker's produce than they would be able to get of it by such stealing. Such, however, would be rather the effect of *Competition*, which means "Ours and not Yours," not of *Confiscation*, which means "Ours and Yours," or literally, one purse for all.

And then further with regard to the relative amount of crime and suffering, under the two methods, Co-operative Evolution and Revolution. The evolutionist looks to the suffering of the exploiting class alone, and hopes to save them by taxing their property gradually, by means of the competition of co-operative societies. I confess I would sooner have my property confiscated right off at once. It cannot be anything but intense suffering, whatever the co-operative evolutionist may say, for a business man to see his living slowly but surely going from him ("robbed," as it is already beginning to be said, by co-operative societies), to have the weary failure protracted through months and years, to see his children sinking (as he believes) to degradation, and himself with no prospect but to end his life in the workhouse. Worse could not befall him in any way, and such misfortunes have frequently driven men to madness, or the "crime" of suicide. Confiscation, on the other hand, might be accompanied by a provision for the maintenance of those helpless beings who, being deprived of the property which had enervated them, would be unable to take their share in the labour necessary to keep them from starvation.

"Ah! but the bloodshed, and savage passions that will be called forth by a sudden change such as you wish to make!" Well, bloodshed there will be, no doubt, but the crime of it will rest on the shoulders of those who begin it, as the exploiters will do by taking up arms against the Right. And as for passions, though some will doubtless be "savage" enough, who can tell but what in the enthusiasm of struggling and fighting side by side in a noble cause, there may be engendered in the workers that glorious comradeship and solidarity which must be the foundation of the reign of Socialism and equality?

And is there nothing worse in this world than bloodshed and savage passions? Dante put into the lowest pit of hell those who injured others in cold-blooded passionless indifference for their own gain. To Socialists, the shedding of blood is nothing as compared to the cruelty that the capitalists would have to resort to in their competition with co-operative societies. Here is a field of suffering which your advocate of co-operative evolution ignores in his sympathy with the unhappy masters. But can we, can the working-classes afford to wait, to submit to perhaps centuries more of injustice and misery and premature death by the legal murder of physical exhaustion, with all sorts of degradation and the terrible monotony of joyless lives; shall we ignore all this in order that co-operative production may, in the course of the dim future, effect a change without the shedding of a drop of capitalist blood? Rather than this there will be twenty revolutions.

But, after all, it is only our opponent's notion of the tendency of the time that is wrong. For the nations will not wait for this, but will (if we Socialists do our duty and join hands together) effect their nationalisation of land and capital before the co-operative societies have well begun to work. Then whatever good has been done by co-operation will show itself, and those who have taken part in it will be among the first to fall into their places in the complete organisation of Socialist Society.

GEORGE STURT.

LITERARY NOTICES.

The Ethics of Social Reform' (Reeves, 2d.) is a neatly-printed pamphlet by Maurice Adams, and is described as a paper read by him "at a meeting of the Fellowship of the New Life, London." It is thoughtful and well-written, full of matter, and states the moral and economic necessity for Socialism in a forcible manner. Its circulation among the unconverted cannot fail in having good results.

'Royal Paupers' (Progressive Publishing Co., 28 Stonecutter Street, E.C., 2d.) is the title of a vigorously-written pamphlet by G. W. Foote, being "a Radical's contribution to the Jubilee," and wherein is given many details of the cost of the queen and her large family, as well as other matter bearing upon royalty and flunkeyism. Here is a sentence from Mr. Foote's pamphlet: "Thousands of men who have worked hard in their younger days for scanty wages, who have paid rates and taxes to support the State burdens, have eluded the sombre end of their lives in the Union and have been buried in a parish egg-box. They were called paupers, and so they were, for there is no disputing the fact. But are not they worse paupers who have never worked at all, who live on other people from the cradle to the grave, who add impudence to their dependence, and glory in their degradation?"

'A Lay Sermon on the land,' by J. Morrison Davidson (Reeves, 185 Fleet Street, E.C., 1d.) is a little tract against land monopoly. In it we get some quotations from the Bible and some very outspoken sentences from half-a-dozen of the saints, which Sir Charles Warren and his agents won't allow we Socialists to re-echo in the streets unmolested. The 'Lay Sermon' very much resembles the clerical article (even to the capital letters), an exception being found in its brevity. The author concludes with an appeal to Mr. Spurgeon to aid him in his endeavour "to convert the clergy of all denominations to Christianity," by allowing him to address them in his (Mr. Spurgeon's) Tabernacle.

W. B.

EARLY COMMUNAL LIFE AND WHAT IT TEACHES.

(Concluded from p. 147).

WE find the conflict between these two principles of Individualism and Socialism raging fiercely in our own time, and the reason is that we are living in one of those ages when the tendency which has been maintained for years is changing. For many generations in this country the individualistic element has been the rising one, and many very valuable results have come from its growth, which could have come in no other way so far as we know, but having risen at the expense of much that was good in the old communal customs, and having developed in itself many evils, the opposite tendency is already setting in. I need not spend time in proving this. Herbert Spencer has done so already, and has made a powerful and desperate effort to stem the rising tide. When we remember what the growth of society is, and how little man can do to influence the general tendencies of its development, one is inclined to wish that so able a man could have used his power in guiding the tendency, which he acknowledges to exist, into the path where it would do most good and least harm, for this it is within the power of man to do, instead of trying to turn back the torrent and make it run up hill, which is beyond the power of gods or men.

And after all if we have not faith enough in the guiding force of the universe, whatever we may call it, to believe that general tendency is for the best, it is little use our working at all!

However we will assume that general tendencies are on the whole for the best, and try to find out how we can modify or guide them for our good. We have seen that the development of individualism has allowed the social forces of production, which were first evolved in the communal ages, to be taken possession of by private men, and to be used for their good, according to the dictates of individual enterprise, regardless of the result to society in general. It is to this fact mainly, I think, that we must attribute the present change of general tendency, and this revival of social or communal influence will not have done its work until all the means of social production are again used, under the direction of society, for the common good, until the land becomes again the property of the people collectively, and is used to grow their food instead of finding rent for landlords, until all the other means of social production, whether machinery, buildings, or other forms of capital, are used to produce the goods which are necessary for the comfort, leisure, and happiness of all, instead of profits for a few.

Those who are afraid that this tendency will sweep away all that has been gained of freedom for the individual, will best prevent this by trying to guide it and guard against these dangers to oppose it, is simply to make the change more sudden and more sweeping when it does come. To try and stay the torrent by damming it back is but to prepare greater destruction when it throws down the obstacle; far wiser is it to prepare for it beforehand, and, leading it harmlessly along in channels made ready for it, to spread it over the fields to fertilise the ground.

There are some dangers in this revival of communal influence, and we will see how best they can be guarded against. In reviewing the old communal days, we were struck by the fact that the individual had no connection with the State to which he belonged, the unit of the large society, of the State, and even of the village community, was the family commune as represented by its head, the individual was in nearly all things subject to this head, and could not impress the least reflection of his own individuality on the society in which he lived. Here is one point in which there is little fear but that a great improvement will be made on the old communes, for whatever form society when organised will take it is pretty certain that it will be a society composed of individual units, in which we will hope each may be able to impress on the community his own individuality to the extent of its real power and value. This was impossible in the old days, because of the restraint under which the individual lived, it is impossible now because power and worth depend so much on the question of wealth.

There is one danger to the individual, and perhaps the greatest, arising out of the general unbelief and want of faith which characterises our times. We are too apt to think that things have been ordered badly, that necessary laws when obeyed still bring all sorts of evils upon us, and so we try to mend our evils by tinkering at them, and do not go to the cause and try to see whether there is not some law or general tendency which we are disregarding, and whether we are not accepting as laws evil customs which are purely of our own making. Had we more faith we should believe that if only the right laws of life and of society could be discovered and obeyed that we should not find them defective, but should find that a good and happy community would be the result. This habit of dealing only with effects is most strikingly illustrated by the way we deal with suffering and poverty. Had half the efforts which have been put forth to help the poor, cure the sick, and raise the fallen been directed against the causes of these evils, we should have seen a very different world around us. If our philanthropists would direct half as much energy towards removing the causes which are constantly creating poverty as they do towards helping the people after they have been crushed down into poverty, there would be some chance of permanently removing that stain on modern civilisation. If our doctors would insist upon the people being able to live in such conditions as to keep them healthy, instead of spending all their energy in curing them when they have

become ill, we should need no such tyrannical laws as the Vaccination Acts. The same may be said of all or nearly all the remedies we try, and the chief danger to individual liberty arises from this tendency to patch up bad laws and customs by arbitrary regulation of actions which should be left to the individual. There are many things which are in themselves evils but which cannot be attacked directly by State intervention without producing evils almost worse; they can only be successfully dealt with by striking at their causes. Such, I think, is the question of women's labour on the pit-banks, for example. There will be very few who will defend this class of labour as suitable for women, and yet for the State to pass a law that no women shall be employed on pit-bank or on any work which is not suitable for them, would produce probably much more misery than it would prevent. This question can only be dealt with by taking away the causes which force women to take to work of any sort, however unsuitable it may be. Legislation which aims at merely patching up a bad system not only produces often as much misery as it prevents, but serves to postpone the real grappling with the causes which can alone be of permanent good. Perhaps one of the chief uses of misery and evil in the world is to serve the same purpose in actual life that the *reductio ad absurdum* argument performs in logic—namely, to force us to correct our premises. The man who tries to cure evil by tinkering at it, without looking back to its cause, is little wiser than a man who might think to put a *reductio ad absurdum* argument right by making it look a little less absurd.

We shall be the more able to guard against the danger of the undue coercion of the individual by such laws as those hinted at, which undoubtedly existed more or less in all revival of social or communal influence, if we remember that all interferences with individual action which are of the nature of tinkering with effects instead of attacking causes are in principle bad, and are only justifiable as a temporary expedient, until the cause can be dealt with, and that as commonly employed to enable the question of cause to be shelved they are utterly without justification.

There is one fact which may give us great hope for the future, and it is interesting in its bearing on the course of development given above; it is the considerable growth of Anarchist opinion and sentiment which may be noticed amongst those who advocate the most complete socialisation of the means of production. That such teaching should be spreading amongst the Socialists of to-day is a most hopeful sign, and makes it easier to look forward with the confidence that those who are working for society to take control of the means of production are fully aware of the importance of leaving the individual free to develop to the full. It is also interesting as showing that when the present development of the social side of man shall have done its work, the force is already gathering which will correct any evils arising from too great suppression of individualism.

In so far, then, as we may be able to guide the course of development, the chief thing we must strive for is that all social forces and means of production shall be managed by society, and all individual forces shall as far as possible be left to the individual. One thing more. We must not think that laws and systems can be planned which will work in spite of the inclinations of a large mass of the people. Social movements are very largely the result of sentiment; and while the sentiment which rules three out of every five is that of individual enterprise with a strong dash of gambling, while men prefer the excitement of a competitive life, while they would rather live in misery with the chance of making wealth, almost too late to enjoy it, than live in quiet happiness, free from the excitement, and secure alike from wealth and poverty,—while this is the prevailing sentiment with a large mass of the people, it is useless to try and impose upon them any other system than the present. Much may be done gradually to change the sentiments of people. New ideas have that effect, and in many other ways, by example and so forth, it may be done, as well by the more mysterious and rapid influence which often accompanies new movements and changes the ideals and sentiments of whole peoples. Unlike some Socialists, I hope for great results in this direction from individual efforts, from men who try to practise common interests and to do useful work, from small societies for working co-operatively in farming and other branches of industry—in short, from all who, by living, in spite of the conditions, as far as possible in accordance with their ideal of life and society, are helping to spread the ideals and sentiments which will make our life in the future happier than it has been in the past.

I hope this little study of primitive property in the communal ages will help us to see what sentiments and customs are helpful to a peaceful and happy social life. By trying to practise and spread these sentiments we shall be greatly helping to bring such a social life out of dreamland into reality.

RAYMOND UNWIN.

And I, too, love peace; but not the peace of slavery.—Danton.

Nihilism is the righteous and honourable resistance of a people crushed under an iron rule. When "order reigns in Warsaw" it is a spiritual death. Nihilism is the last weapon of victims choked and manacled beyond all other resistance. It is crushed Humanity's only means of making the oppressors tremble. God means that unjust power shall be insecure, and every move of the giant, prostrate in chains, whether it be to lift a single dagger or stir a city's revolt, is a lesson in Justice. One might well tremble for the future of a race if such a despotism did exist without provoking the bloodiest resistance. I honour Nihilism, since it redeems human nature from the suspicion of being utterly vile, made up of heartless oppressors and contented slaves. Every line in our history, every interest of civilisation, bids us rejoice when the tyrant grows pale and the slave rebellious.—Wendell Phillips.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

This department is under the direction of the Strike Committee. Labour News and Contributions to the Fund should be sent to T. BINNING, at the Offices.

BRITAIN.

The Worcester and South Staffordshire nail-makers have submitted to a reduction on their wages of 20 per cent.

The Scottish railway servants of all branches have held a meeting to form a union of railway servants throughout Scotland.

The South Wales coal trade continues in a most depressed condition. In the Rhondda Valley, miners are being discharged every week owing to want of orders.

THE SCOTTISH MINERS' JUBILEE POLICY.—It is quite a treat to hear of a trade union with a "policy." The Scottish miners have a jubilee policy which is stated under 21 heads and includes: An eight hour day; one holiday a week; a fortnight's holiday during the summer; and better union among the miners.

CLOSE OF THE GLASGOW JOINERS' STRIKE.—At a mass meeting of the Glasgow joiners, it was reported that the strike in the trade was closed, all the employers having adopted the standard wage, and the 115 men who came out on Saturday having obtained work. The meeting unanimously adopted a resolution expressing satisfaction at the settlement arrived at, and pledging the joiners to use every legitimate means to maintain the standard wage.

THE CHAIN-MAKERS.—Some of the masters in the chain-making at Cradley Heath have capitulated and the men have returned to work. We have received a number of communications respecting the chainmakers which reveal a state of things simply horrifying. We intend to send a commissioner into the district in the course of a few days to see if it is not possible to infuse a little vigour into these wretched slaves and rescue them from the clutches of the "goody-goody" harpies who are now humbugging them in the interest of the exploiters.

NORTHUMBERLAND MINERS.—The strike has reached a culminating point. The masters have absolutely refused arbitration and insist on the "pound of flesh." The miner M.P.—now, with the rest of the officials on half-pay—headed the deputation, but the masters remained firm. At Blyth over 1000 miners have held a meeting and resolved to form a North of England Socialist Federation. There are a number of Socialists now at most of the collieries. The press generally attributes this to "the active Socialist propaganda that has been carried on during the strike." See "Northumbrian Notes," by our comrade Donald.

YORKSHIRE MINERS.—At a largely attended meeting of miners, held at Handsworth, near Sheffield, attended by the officials of the Yorkshire Miners' Association, to consider the strike at Fence Colliery, where the men have been on strike eight weeks, resisting a reduction of wages, it was unanimously resolved that the miners employed at Argreaves and Treeton Colliery (which together with Fence Colliery belongs to the Rother Vale Company) should, with the approval of the association, give notice to cease work. A thousand men and boys are affected.

THE STRIKE OF THE BELFAST SHIP-BUILDERS.—The dispute between the men employed in the local ship-building yards and the masters remain still unsettled, and there is not the slightest sign of an amicable arrangement being arrived at. The men are determined to hold out till a full concession of their rights has been made. At a mass meeting held in the Victoria Park, a strike committee was appointed, and several speakers spoke in the highest terms of praise of Mr. Sexton, M.P. for the West Division of Belfast, and his action in the House of Commons regarding the strike was eulogised by all. It is really a healthy sign, 6,000 Belfast ship-builders throwing old prejudices overboard, letting religion and politics take care of themselves, and sticking shoulder to shoulder for the rights of labour against capital.

A series of mass meetings of the Fife miners are being held for the purpose of considering the condition of the employed. At a meeting held at Hamilton, Mr. W. Small moved the following resolution: "As working miners, perceiving in the royalties on minerals and metals as exacted by private individuals a direct tax upon labour, robbing it of the reward of exertion, an obstacle to enterprise, injurious to native industry, and a violation of existing Scotch statute law, we would urge upon politicians and the Government to immediately introduce such measures as will secure the nationalisation of such resources, and thereby stimulate the expansion of trade, and relieve labour from the aggravation of an unjust impost and direct robbery." This was carried unanimously. A further resolution, urging that all miners' unions form a comprehensive federation to secure an amelioration and improvement amongst miners, was also adopted.

THE IRONWORKERS AND THE COERCION BILL.—About seventy delegates from all parts of the country where iron is manufactured have just held a conference in Manchester. It is ten years since a like national gathering was held. After the trade business was got through, and at the last day's sitting, a resolution was unanimously and enthusiastically passed against the Coercion Bill. Mr. Wm. Aucott (of Wednesbury) was in the chair, and the spokesmen of the men north and south (Messrs. James Capper, Walsall, and Edward Trow, Darlington) spoke warmly in favour of the following motion, which was ordered to be sent to the leaders of the Government, the Opposition, the Irish party, and the whip of the Labour party, by Mr. J. Graham Spencer, secretary of the conference: "That this conference of iron and steel-workers, representing 41,000 workmen of Great Britain, emphatically protests against the Crimes (Ireland) Bill now before Parliament, because it is unjust, unwarranted, and lamentably mischievous; and further, likely to be used against trades' unions in Great Britain."

THE LONDON POLICE.—Last Sunday afternoon, the police held a meeting in Hyde Park for the purpose of drawing public attention to their grievances. The meeting was of good size, and it was stated that it would have been much larger but for the fact that the bills convening it had been pulled down in the station-houses, and signs given that those who attended it would be marked men. A plucky cabman, who had been well supplied with facts, undertook the office of spokesman for the police, and in a racy speech exposed the chief grievances they labour under. Resolutions calling for reform were unanimously adopted. For some weeks past the police have been conducting a correspondence in the columns of the *Weekly Dispatch*, and some of the grievances ventilated there are almost beyond belief. Complaint is made of the mismanagement and the harsh military system of Sir Charles Warren, and "that there is a general feeling of discontent goes without saying." "Several are being continually reduced in rank (and pay) for periods varying from three months to eight years—simply for partaking

of a slight refreshment whilst on duty"—tea or beer makes no difference. "An Old Policeman" complains that "useless orders are issued by old soldiers, who know more about 'saluting by numbers,' or giving lectures on Palestine, than they do about police duty." "There are no less than fifty different orders referring to public carriages, and nearly double that number referring to dogs." "Promotion is, and always was, gained by favouritism," and the administration of the pension system requires radical alteration. One policeman says that the gloomy outlook and the numerous instances of gross injustice before them, is driving the men to study their own personal safety rather than the interests of the public; and another writes that unless redress be forthcoming, "ere long our commissioners may have the pleasing duty to perform of swearing in special and auxiliary constables." We earnestly hope the men will persevere with their agitation, and use every means to make it successful. It should not be forgotten—as we are sometimes inclined to forget—that the police belong to the ranks of the workers, have common interests with them, and their present agitation forms part of that Labour Struggle against the power of Capitalism which every true worker should aid.—W. B.

THREATENED STRIKE OF THE CONSTABULARY IN BELFAST.—Since the appointment of Mr. Cameron to the Town Inspectorship of Belfast from one cause or another great dissatisfaction has crept in among the men. They complain of being hampered in the discharge of their duties in the Orange districts of the town, by orders issued by the Town Inspector to the effect that the constables on duty in these districts are not to interfere with drunk or disorderly characters on the streets lest such interference might rouse the ire of the loyalist inhabitants and lead to disturbance. Now it appears Mr. Cameron, following Mr. M'Hardy's recommendations as one of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the late riots, has intimated that in future each constable will be required to perform daily eight hours' regular duty. It must be understood that the constabulary stationed in Belfast, although not performing up to eight hours' daily of regular beat duty, are never free. When not on actual duty on the town they are as a rule confined to barracks, or obliged to do a variety of work such as the Irish constabulary in the ordinary sense are supposed to perform. In this way they have never what may be called a moment of their own. They are practically never off duty. The new system will impose upon them eight hours' beat duty instead of six, and when relieved in the ordinary course they will not yet be allowed to consider themselves at liberty. The men object to the new system as absolutely unjust. The constables are quite willing to perform eight hours' duty after the manner of the Dublin police, but they want to be paid as well as they are and to enjoy similar privileges. The Dublin constables when they have their number of hours performed are at liberty to dress in plain clothes and go where they will, and the Belfast men think they should be treated in the same way. Meetings of the men have already been held in protest against the new system, and if it is enforced without the privileges claimed being granted, it is probable there will be a general strike of the men, who declare it will be impossible to get constabulary to serve in Belfast on the terms proposed by the town inspector.

AMERICA.

A strike of 90,000 coalminers in Pennsylvania for an advance of ten per cent. in wages is said to be impending.

The machinists in all of the tube works in Western Pennsylvania have made a united demand for an advance of 50 per cent. for night-work, the increase to take effect from May 1. They wish to abolish night-work, so that more mechanics will be put on.

A convention will be held in Pittsburg on June 1, to complete the organisation of a National Machinists' Assembly of the Knights of Labour. Thirty local assemblies of machinists have voted to join the national organisation, and it will begin with over five thousand members.

NEW YORK.—The lock-out of the silversmiths still continues, with the Knights just as firm as ever. The chasers have discussed the opening of a co-operative factory, and a committee will report as to the outlay necessary. The reports sent broadcast that their places have been filled is untrue, as the firms are unable to obtain sufficient hands to take their places.

The great lock-out of stove-moulders is now enforced in nearly every city in the country in which the trade is prosecuted, and bears upon many thousands of men. It has reached Troy and Peekskill in this State, and it has also reached Philadelphia and other parts of Pennsylvania from the States farther west. The end of this vast struggle between capital and labour cannot be forecast.

FRANCE.

In view of the municipal elections at Paris, the Anarchist party have issued an abstentionist manifesto addressed to the workers of Paris, calling on them to reflect before going up to the voting-urns, maintaining that a workman's vote has for forty years been a very useless piece of possession to him, and will be to all eternity.

HISTORY OF THE "PRUD'HOMMES."—In the Middle Ages the term *prud'hommes* (wise, or prudent men) was used for those citizens charged with directing the affairs of their commune. It is at the end of the thirteenth century, under the reign of Philippe-le-Bel, that one first sees traces of the institution of this body. In 1296 the Council of the City of Paris nominated for election 24 councillors, among whose duties were to be those of passing judgment of the "master-piece" which a man had to execute if desirous of entering into the freedom of a guild, of protecting journeymen and apprentices, visiting the shops, etc., etc. Here one sees the germ of the existing jurisdiction in this decree. The law of the 16th August 1790 relative to the creation of justices of the peace makes a great step in the matter. This law sets forth that at the chief town of a canton, besides the justice of the peace, there shall be "prud'hommes assesseurs" who shall "overlook the payment of workmen's salaries and the fulfilment of engagements between masters and their workpeople." A decree of 1806 institutes at Lyons a first council of prud'hommes for textile trades. . . . It is in Paris 1844, and later 1847, that four councils are created—one for the textile industry, one for metal work, a third for the chemical trade, and the fourth for miscellaneous industries.—*Cri du Peuple*.

BELGIUM.

MARCHIENNE-AU-PONT.—At the commune of Marchienne last Sunday, the society of Socialist ironworkers held a meeting to discuss the organisation of the workers and the rôle of women under Socialism. The meeting was naturally well attended by the women, who were much interested in the speech of the delegate from Brussels on that portion of the evening's discussion. An immediate general strike in Belgium was then discussed for and against with much eagerness.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE CHARITY ORGANISATION SOCIETY.

SIR,—This C. O. S. issues "private and confidential" documents, defamations of people's characters. A specimen of which I have before me abounds in falsehoods. The *Charity Record* of Dec. 16 last, denounces it as "a snare to the rich, a curse to the poor, a disgrace to humanity and a mockery to religion." We some of us propose to hold some public meetings and invite the press to report them and this Charity Organisation Society to be present and show if it be a benefit to society and entitled to use the word "charity," or if they be base impostors as the *Charity Record* suggests. No doubt many of your readers know something about them and if they will write me a line in the first instance with some information, I shall be much obliged to them, either so that it may be read publicly or that notice of any meetings may be sent to them.

F. JOHNSON, *hon. sec.*

National Refuge Harbours Society, 17 Parliament St.

NORTHUMBRIAN NOTES.

On Friday, May 6th, very unpleasant news was circulated in the colliery district, to the effect that some men had broken off from the strike and had commenced work at the reduced terms. Whether this will be allowed to proceed without the strikers taking measures to give the traitors a lesson remains yet to be seen. It is the Doctor Pit, Bedlington, where this has occurred. The men are beginning to realise that had they had an organisation that included all colliery workers, engineers as well as hewers, the strike would probably not have been required, and even if it had, it would have been over in a week. The engineers have not behaved well; simply because they were afraid of their employment they declined to allow their brethren to win. Arrangements would have been made by the Miners' Union to prevent the mine-owners dismissing the engineers, had they struck, by making such action on the part of the owners a cause for a further strike. It has been suggested that the miners here should introduce the American system of boycotting. If the miners were to make up their minds to hold no communication with the masters' men, very soon these latter individuals would act with the majority of the workmen. If the workpeople are to have the victory this is the policy that must be adopted. In the case of mining there is invariably required several men to work incessantly at pumping the water out of the pits. If the owners knew that in the case of a dispute their engineers would stop working, they would think twice before engaging in a dispute with the men. No one can dare say that the mine owners in Northumberland could have anything too severe done to them; for on this occasion the men have struck work to prevent their wages being reduced below subsistence point, so they are justified in using any means in bringing their oppressors to terms.

The Socialist propaganda has continued to be carried on vigorously. The men are as interested as ever, and are joining the local organisation in large numbers. The most persistent opponents we meet are the teetotallers. They are very numerous about here, and are as bigoted as usual. It seems impossible for them to get into their heads that it is more important for the workers to prevent the monopolists of the means of labour taking two-thirds of their earnings every year, than to give up consuming a little alcohol, the value of which in a lifetime does not on the average amount to £50. They forget too that working-men teetotallers are seldom very well off, and that drunken capitalists very often are. It is a great pity that temperance advocates should calmly assume that every person is a drunkard that they are speaking to, spending the greater part of his earnings in alcohol; but in Northumberland as elsewhere they assume that as an axiom. The difference between normal and abnormal consumption of liquor cannot be discerned by them.

At the usual meeting of the Socialistic Discussion Society, I opened the evening with an address on "Socialism and Politics" according to request. The discussion was of an interesting character, and showed that Newcastle Socialists are without exception strongly in favour of political action. The only gentleman present who disapproved of political action was the chairman, an Individualist and ardent admirer of Herbert Spencer.

On Sunday, a good meeting was held on the Sandhill, Newcastle. In the afternoon, with the assistance of Mr. Stevens, a well-known local labour speaker, meetings were held in North Shields and South Shields. Mr. Hearne, of North Shields, told me that ever since comrade Chambers held meetings on the Quayside several months ago, Socialism has been the main topic of discussion. The Branch which was then started will be revived, and carried on in future more efficiently. The meeting at South Shields market-place was very satisfactory, and resulted in several members being made. Meetings have been arranged at both places for next Sunday.

A. K. DONALD.

THE DEPENDENCY OF THE WORKERS.—It is as sensible to say that a hen cannot herself lay enough eggs for a sitting, but is dependent upon her master who is daily taking them from her, as to say that the workers are dependent on the idlers for the means of livelihood. The workers are dependent so long they allow the idlers to take all the surplus of their work and no longer.

Socialism proposes that machinery shall do the world's work, and that the whole people shall own such machinery, and reap the full benefit thereof, individually and collectively, not as at present, when machinery is owned only by wealthy individuals and corporations and operated to the degradation of the human machines who attend them.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

In the next issue of the *Commonweal* will be published the first instalment of

A WRITTEN DEBATE

BETWEEN MR. C. BRADLAUGH AND E. BELFORT BAX.

SUBJECT:

"Will Socialism Benefit the English People?"

Affirmative: E. BELFORT BAX. Negative: Mr. C. BRADLAUGH.

Those desirous of obtaining copies of the *Commonweal* containing Debate will do well to give their orders early, as sets will not be kept in stock.

In the same Issue,

A DIALOGUE (By WILLIAM MORRIS) will be commenced, entitled

"The Reward of Labour."

Persons: AN EARNEST ENQUIRER; AN EAST-END WEAVER; A WEST-END LANDOWNER.

Branch Secretaries, Newsagents, and others are specially directed to note foregoing announcement.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

Annual Conference.—The Third Annual Conference of the Socialist League will be held at 13 Farringdon Road on Whitsunday, May 29th. A cold luncheon and a tea will be provided for delegates and others (luncheon, 1s.; tea, 6d.). All who intend to take advantage of the arrangement are requested to send in their names to the Catering Committee at 13 Farringdon Road.

Branch Secretaries and the Agenda.—The Agenda forwarded to Branches must be returned without delay to the General Secretary.

Commonweal Selling Brigade.—Volunteers wanted for Saturday May 21, to attend Anti-Coercion Demonstration in Victoria Park. Secretary will be glad to receive the names of those willing to undertake this work.

Co-operative Store.—The Committee attend at the offices at 8.30 p.m. on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. See advertisement on last page.

Lessons in French.—On Tuesday evening at 8 o'clock. The lessons are free to members.

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

Bound Volumes of 'COMMONWEAL' for 1886 can now be had. Price 5s. 6d.

BRANCH SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID.

Birmingham, Leeds, to August 31. Manchester, Merton, to October 31. Leicester, South London, to December 31, 1886. Lancaster, to January 31. Bradford, Croydon, Edinburgh, Hackney, Hammersmith, Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Hull, Norwich, Walsall, to March 31. Bloomsbury, Clerkenwell, Glasgow, North London, Oxford, to April 30, 1887.

THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

Webb, 1s. Collected by Miss Faulkner, £1, 6s. 3d. A Medical Student (2nd donation), 1s. Arthur, 6d. For Mrs. Nowbray—A few Fabians, per Annie Besant (weekly), 10s.; Donation, per A. Besant, 2s. 6d.—Total, £2, 1s. 3d.

J. LANE, Treasurer.

STRIKE COMMITTEE.

P. W., 1s.

T. BINNING, Treasurer

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

E. B. B. (weekly), 1s. T. B. (weekly), 6d. W. B. (two weeks), 1s. M. M. (four weeks), 4s. PH. W., Treasurer, May 10.

Henderson Help Fund.—W. B., 2s. 6d. Walsall Branch, 2s.

Northumberland Miners—

"Northumberland Miners' Mutual Confident Association, 17 Picton Place, Newcastle-on-Tyne, 7th May, 1887. Received from Socialist League, London, towards men locked-out, the sum of £1, 1s. 7d.—John H. Scott, treasurer." Per A. K. Donald, £3, 10s. Total, £4, 11s. 7d.

BRANCH REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—A business meeting was held on Thursday evening, at which the agenda paper of the Conference was discussed, and comrades Eleanor Marx-Aveling and A. K. Donald were elected delegates for the branch.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, May 4, H. H. Sparling addressed a fair audience on "The Iron Law of Wages." On Sunday, May 8, J. Lane lectured on "Different Schools of Socialist Thought."—W. B. and T. E. W.

HOXTON.—Very successful outdoor meetings morning and evening, addressed by comrades Barker and Pope. Inside, Barker gave a very interesting lecture on "Socialism the Necessary Outcome of the Present System;" good discussion.

MERTON AND MITCHAM.—We held our usual open-air meetings on Sunday. Sale of *Commonweal* fair. The local Tory press is showing our growth by its virulent abuse. They display their "British love of fair play" by inserting scurrilous lying letters against us, and refusing replies. We are forming a committee to conduct the summer campaign all over the district.—F. K.

NORTH LONDON AND MARYLEBONE.—On Sunday morning, at Regents' Park, a good meeting was addressed by Cantwell, Brookes, and Wardle; some slight opposition was offered. At Hyde Park in the afternoon, the meeting was addressed by Brookes, Mainwaring, and Dalchow. The unusual phenomenon of a meeting of policemen to call attention to various grievances in regard to fines, pensions, reductions, etc., somewhat diminished our audience.—H. B.

EDINBURGH.—On Tuesday, May 3, J. L. Mahon lectured in the Free Tron Hall, and on the following evening he addressed a large meeting in Leith Links. On Thursday, Rev John Glasse addressed a meeting of miners in Dalkeith. On Saturday, several of our members, with Mahon as speaker, had a meeting with miners at Loanhead. On Sunday afternoon, Glasier, Tuke, and Gilray spoke in Queen's Park, and in the evening in East Meadows, Mahon and others addressed a large meeting. Mahon spoke at Dalkeith last Monday. Fair sale of literature.—J. G.

GLASGOW.—On Sunday, J. L. Mahon addressed a very large concourse of people on the Green. In his speech he gave an account of the Northumberland miners on strike. Muirhead, Curran, and Warrington also addressed the meeting, and 6s. 8d. was collected on behalf of the miners. At four o'clock, comrade Arch McLaren gave a lecture to the Home Government Branch of the National League on "Socialism," which was very favourably received. This, the largest branch of the National League in Britain, is deeply leavened with Socialism, many of the members being avowed Socialists. In the evening a meeting of members was held in our rooms, when the resolutions to be submitted at the forthcoming Conference were discussed, and the instructions to Glasgow delegate finally determined.

HAMILTON.—On Thursday evening, J. L. Mahon addressed a large audience, chiefly of miners, at the New Cross. Comrades McMunn and Glasier also spoke.

LEEDS.—Last Sunday morning this Branch held a very good open-air meeting on Hunslet Moor. Comrades Hill, Maguire, and Bland (Bradford Branch) were the speakers. At the close of the meeting a quire of *Commonweal* and twenty pamphlets were sold. In the afternoon we met the members of the Bradford and Bingley Branches at Parker's Temperance Hotel, Leeds, where we had tea together. After tea the business of the forthcoming Conference was discussed.

NORWICH.—On Sunday morning, members of this Branch went to hear the Rev. Stewart Headlam on "Socialism" at St. John's de Sepulchre Church. After the service a short meeting was held outside. We then marched to the prison where comrade Henderson is lying, singing outside the prison walls "No Master," then gave three hearty cheers for him. In the afternoon a very large meeting was held in the Market-place, chair taken by comrade Croth; the Rev. Stewart Headlam spoke for a considerable time upon the existing poverty of to-day, and advocating what the workers should do in order to remove this evil; the rev. gentleman was accorded a hearty welcome. A collection was made for the miners amounting to 5s. A meeting was held at 7 on the Agricultural Hall Plain. In the Gordon Hall, Slaughter gave various sketches of the Russian Revolutionary Party, especially commenting upon Kropotkin's career. Monday evening, Kropotkin lectured in the Victoria Hall. Meetings were held at Diss, addressed by Darley and Morley, and meeting at Wymondham by three comrades. On Monday next will be the release of comrade Fred Henderson, when we shall accord him a hearty welcome. In the evening a public welcome tea will be held in the Gordon Hall.—A. S.

WALSALL.—On Saturday, J. Richards and H. Sanders addressed a large audience in the Market-place. Literature eagerly taken up and inquiries made, which we hope will result in increased membership.

LECHLADE.—On Monday, May 2nd, H. H. Sparling addressed a meeting principally of agricultural labourers, at the Swan Inn, Lechlade, Oxfordshire, on "Socialism and Co-operation," showing how far the two movements were related to one another, and how hopeless it was by mere co-operation to attempt more than to make wages go farther for awhile, and thus temporarily ameliorate the worker's condition. The lecture was attentively listened to and much applauded, most of the audience taking literature for distribution, and pledging themselves to assist in the propaganda to the utmost of their ability.—M. M.

PAISLEY.—On Friday evening, comrades Mahon and Glasier proceeded to Paisley with the view of forming a Branch of the League there. An open-air meeting was held on County Square, and afterwards in the Dyers' Hall. Mahon gave a lecture on "The Aims and Methods of Socialism," which was listened to with great attention and evident sympathy. At the close several questions were asked. Comrades Glasier and McCulloch (S.D.F.) also addressed the meeting. Names were then given in to form a Branch.

SOCIALIST UNION (NOTTINGHAM SECTION).—The rooms we tried to get for club-room, etc., we have been unable to get. We could have one if we would not hold Sunday meetings. We are now on the track of other rooms, and hope to succeed in getting one during the week, we shall then be able to push the movement forward with better success. Meetings addressed by Peacock, Proctor, and Wane, were held in Sninton Market Sunday morning, and Great Market in the evening. Collection towards furnishing our club-room, morning 1s. 6d., evening 5s. 3d. Some slight opposition was shown at night, but was easily disposed of. The meeting was very attentive and enthusiastic. Next Sunday evening a collection will be made at our meeting on behalf of the Northumberland miners, when lectures will be delivered on the Labour Struggle.—T. P.

LECTURE DIARY.

London Branches.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street. On Thursday May 12, at 8.30, the 'Socialist Catechism' will be discussed. On May 19, Dr. E. Aveling will lecture—subject, "Radicalism and Socialism."

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday May 15, at 8.30 p.m. George Bernard Shaw, "The Rent of Ability." Wednesday 18, at 8.30. Thomas Dalziel, "Proto Socialism."

Croydon.—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday May 15, at 7.15 p.m. A Lecture.

Hackney.—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 8 till 11.30. Business Meeting every Tuesday at 8.30. On Sunday May 15, at 8.30 p.m. H. A. Barker, "Socialism the Necessary Outcome of the Present System of Society."

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday May 15, at 8 p.m. a Lecture.

Hoxton (L. E. L.).—2 Crondall Street, New North Rd. Club Room open on Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday evenings from 8 till 11. Singing Class every Wednesday at 8.30. A Literary Class on Friday 13, at 8.30—first part of Joynes's Catechism. On Sunday May 15, at 8 p.m. W. H. Campbell (C.S.S.), "Justice before Charity." Committee Meeting on Friday May 20, at 8.30 p.m. Members requested to attend: important business.

Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday. Discussions held every Sunday morning at 11.

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

North London.—Communications to H. Bartlett, sec., 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

Country Branches.

Bingley.—Coffee Tavern. Every Monday at 7.30 p.m.

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

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

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 7.30 p.m. to transact business. Class for the study of 'Das Capital' at 8.30.

Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. On Sunday evening at 7, in our Rooms, a discussion will take place on "How to work for the Revolution." Arch. McLaren will introduce the subject. Wednesday, Choir Practice at 8 o'clock. See open-air meetings.

Hamilton.—Paton's Hall, Chapel Street. On Thursday first, at 7.30, Dan. Kelly will lecture on "The Land Question."

Hull.—Address all communications to E. Teesdale, 20 Shakspeare Street.

Lancaster.—Addresses every Sunday morning on the Quay Jetty.

Leicester.—Office of Hosiery Union, Horsefair Street. Fridays at 8 p.m.

Manchester.—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening 6 to 10 p.m. Lecture and discussion every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Free Lectures every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room open every evening. Open-air meetings see below.

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

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 15.

11.30...Hackney—Salmon and Ball.....Westwood
11.30...Hammersmith—Beacon Rd.....The Branch
11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.....Wade & Pope
11.30...Garrett—Ploagh Inn.....Kitz
11.30...Mitcham Fair Green.....The Branch
11.30...Regent's Park.....H. H. Sparling
11.30...St. Pancras Arches.....Bartlett
11.30...Walham Green.....The Branch
3...Hyde Park.....Davis
7...Clerkenwell Green.....T. J. Dalziel

Tuesday.

8...Broad Street, Soho.....W. H. Utley

Wednesday.

7.30...Broadway, London Fields.....Flockton

Thursday.

8...Hoxton, Pitfield Street.....The Branch

PROVINCES.

Glasgow.—Sunday: The Green, at 1 o'clock; George's Square, at 5 o'clock.

Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, 11; Vicar's Croft, 7.

Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place at 3; Agricultural Hall Plain at 7.

PAISLEY.—Open-air meeting on County Square at 7 o'clock. At 8 o'clock, in the Dyers' Hall, J. Bruce Glasier will lecture on "The Prophecy of Socialism."

DUBLIN.—Irish Labour League, 2 Bachelors Walk, every Thursday at 8 p.m. Discussion on all subjects connected with the Labour Question. All interested are requested to attend.

Notice to Readers of the 'Commonweal.'

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

THE COMMONWEALTH

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 71.

SATURDAY, MAY 21, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

A WRITTEN DEBATE

BETWEEN MR. C. BRADLAUGH, M.P., AND E. BELFORT BAX.

SUBJECT:

WILL SOCIALISM BENEFIT THE ENGLISH PEOPLE?

I.—Affirmative: E. BELFORT BAX.

MODERN Socialism may be defined as a new view of life (i.e., of human relations) having an economic basis. Although its theory has been already many times expounded of recent years by myself and others, it may be deemed necessary on the present occasion for me to go over the ground once more. The economic goal of modern or scientific Socialism, no less than that of the Utopian Socialism of Owen, Fourier, St. Simon, etc., which preceded it, is the equal participation by all in the necessities, comforts, and enjoyments of life, and the equal duty of all to assist in the necessary work of the world. But while the Utopian Socialism believed this to be attainable by mere individual initiative and example without any special reference to the condition of the world as a whole, Modern Socialism finds the earnest of its ideal in the facts of social evolution¹—and it is on this rock of the ages, with its many-hued strata of economic-formation, that the modern Socialist builds his faith.

Society it is generally admitted in the present day, began to expand under the ægis of a limited, unconscious and crude tribal Socialism in which property was in common, and morality and religion consisted in devotion to the social unit. This in the course of progress lapsed, owing to its crudity and limitation in scope, and was gradually supplanted by Civilisation with its basis of Individualism in economics, morals, religion, etc.; the latter, in its turn, is as Socialists believe, now after many a century, in the moment of its completest realisation, destined to undergo a transformation in which its fundamental principle will be sacrificed and the old solidarity again assert itself, purged from its imperfections, and with the seal of completeness and universality upon it.

Such, in a few words, is the skeleton of the historical theory of Socialism. With what we may term the first transformation of society (from Tribal Communism to Civilisation) it would be beside the present question to deal further. I therefore, having stated the fact, pass on to consider in more detail the development of the completest form of Civilisation viz., modern Capitalism, with the nature of the process by which Socialists believe its transformation into a real social order will be effected; and lastly the reasons why such social order must benefit the English people no less than every other people.

Modern capitalism and the civilisation which is its expression, is the most extreme antithesis in every respect of tribal society. All the ties which formerly bound the individual to his group, are ruptured. Modern society is based on the nominal independence of the individual as unit. Let us briefly trace the development of this independence on its economic side from the Middle Ages downward. The earliest distinctive form of mediæval society, that of the feudal estate, was for the most part, an industrial whole, the links connecting it with the outer world being few, and seldom indispensable to its existence. Wellnigh everything produced on the estate came from its soil. The *villein* and his sons tilled the ground, reaped the harvest, hunted the wild animals, raised domestic stock, felled the trees, built the dwelling, etc.; his wife and daughters spun the flax and carded the wool, which they worked up into articles of clothing; brewed the mead, gathered the grapes, made the wine, etc. Division of labour and a system of exchange in a society on this plan were obviously unessential. This system, as every one knows, continued the dominant one throughout Europe for centuries. But in the course of time it gradually gave way before the growing town industrial organisation of the guilds. Each man here worked to maintain himself or his family at a *particular* handicraft, by exchanging or selling the product of his labour. In this way specialisation of labour and a more extended commerce arose. But the mediæval burgher was neither free nor a capitalist in the modern sense. Though only indirectly if at all, under the domination of a lord, he was

under the very strict *surveillance* of his guild. The guild by regulating the number of his apprentices and the quality of his material and work, took good care that he should not develop his individualistic instincts. The burgher class of the Middle Ages was nevertheless the forerunner of the modern middle-class. As the mediæval system broke up, the guilds gradually declined. A floating class of journeymen wage-labourers came into existence and flooded the towns, while the burgher class became restive at the restrictions of their own guilds, of which wealthy cliques soon obtained the entire control, while a new middle-class established itself outside the chartered cities. This development, essentially the same throughout the progressive races, is typically represented in England. The symptoms of the dissolution of the economical conditions of the Middle Ages were, the uprooting of the people from the soil and the abolition of the old feudal and communal rights, the dissolution of the monasteries and the old feudal establishments, the opening up of a world-market, the new inventions, etc. Such was the soil out of which modern Capitalism grew as expounded by Marx in the second volume of 'Das Kapital' (English translation.) Modern Capitalism, and therewith the modern "middle-class," its embodiment, dates from the Sixteenth century. Its industrial course has been marked by three phases (1) simple co-operation of a number of handicraftsmen under the lead of a wealthy burgher; (2) the manufacture or workshop system; and (3) the "great machine industry" which arose at the end of the last century and has been expanding itself in scope and intensity ever since. With this, its last phase, production for use has given way completely before that production for profit which breeds to-day the commercial rottenness we see around us. Wares of all kinds are now produced for a forced sale, by means of their cheapness—"gluts" succeed to "booms"—till trade-depression becomes permanent. The small capitalist is continually being thrown upon the labour-market by inability to hold his own in the competitive arena. Capital tends thus to become concentrated in fewer and fewer hands, while the reserve army of labour tends steadily to augment. The result is increasing riches for the few and increasing poverty for the many. The "increase of national wealth" at the present day means increase of misery for the mass of the people.

The economical change toward complete Individualism, the issue of which is the modern capitalistic system, has been accompanied by political, moral and religious changes intimately connected with it, but which, important as they are, I can only notice very briefly here. (1) The break-up of the feudal estates helped to consolidate the power of the crown. This it was which completed that economical revolution in breaking down the local centres or feudal groups with their common lands, traditions, customs and jurisdictions, isolated the individual, and laid the foundation of the modern centralised national systems of Europe. (2) The economical backbone of the landed class as a class being broken, the political power passed both by gradual process and revolutionary crisis into the hands of the new capitalist or monied classes. This was partially effected in England by the "glorious Revolution" of 1689; in France more completely by the Great Revolution of 1789. From the sixteenth century downwards political history is the history of the middle or trading-classes in their efforts to free the individual from the fetters of feudalism and monarchy to the end that on the one side there might be a body of free and landless labourers, and on the other a body of moneybags free to exploit them. To effect the end in view, political power was necessary, and though obtained in this country in principle, in 1689 or even at the Commonwealth, was not finally and fully realised till the Reform Act of 1832.

(3) Then again, the individualistic tendencies of bourgeois economics is reflected in its religion and ethics. As I have elsewhere shown, Christianity is through and through individualistic. But during the Middle Ages its individualism was subordinated to the current communal and pagan tendencies it took on from the barbarians, and the form it assumed was largely coloured by these tendencies. Hence Catholicism has been in many respects the least objectionable form of Christianity, precisely because its spirit is the least Christian. Just as every member of the local community of peasants had a right as such to the common land, etc., so every member of the universal church or community of saints had a right as such to the heavenly pastures. The Reformation, the religious side of the rise of capitalistic individualism, affirmed salvation to be a matter solely of personal concern. It tore the individual away from his spiritual moorings, just as it had torn him away from his temporal moorings and left him to shift for himself. It pretended to be a restoration of primitive Christianity, and this was true as regards spirit if not as regards doctrine. For primitive Christianity was also the ideal expression of the dissolution of communal life—in this

¹ We are so much accustomed to the idea of Evolution in the present day, that we can with difficulty understand its absence. Hence the fallacious antithesis made between Evolution and Revolution. The true antithesis to the notion of social Evolution is not that of Revolution but the idea of the possibility of isolated individuals or groups being able to change society, so to say, abstractly and of their own initiative, irrespective of the general current of human progress.

case the civic life of the classical world. Protestantism has always accentuated the doctrine of individual responsibility to the deity. Religion under Protestantism became personal and matter-of-fact, i.e., eminently bourgeois.

(4) With ethics proper it has been just the same. The highest Protestant conception of goodness is, not zeal for social ends but a ~~maundering~~ self-introspection, having personal holiness for its end.

The results of commercial Individualism we see at the present day on all hands, and nowhere in richer luxuriance than among the "English people," unless it be in the United States, where the economic development has gone further even than in this country. Let us only look around at the material aspect of things—the universal empire of shoddy goods, jerry-buildings, foulness and squalor. As one enters London or any other large city, what is it that greets the eye? A vast agglomeration of filth in every conceivable variety of form—railway works, factories, slums—indicative of human misery that no tongue or pen could adequately describe. Had Dante lived now and wanted material for his vision of hell, he would only have needed to take the South-Eastern train on landing at Dover, and depict the place he saw as he entered the English metropolis. And for what ostensibly is human nature, and for what are the vast majority of human lives ground down to being thus *the slave of the mere process of production and distribution*? Forsooth, in order that a relatively small class may live either without labour at all or with the labour of the gambler¹—which latter the literary *flâneur* glorifies under the name of the *aleatory*.

In my own eyes, statistics have no great value, experience showing that they can be made to prove any proposition in the hands of a clever manipulator. To my thinking, a day's journey through the slums of a great city proves more than tons of statistics. One fact outweighs a thousand figures. But since I am not writing altogether on my own account, but also on behalf of the Socialist League, and many persons like to see figures in an article of this kind, here are some. First you have H. M. Hyndman's figures: £1,300,000,000 annual revenue of the country, of which £300,000,000 only accrue to the working classes who produce it, the remaining 1,000,000,000 going in various proportions to the non-producing classes. I am not aware how Hyndman arrives at these figures, but I have never seen them seriously controverted, and they seem to me to express admirably the ratio one would expect to obtain, on a rough estimate, judging from the facts of modern social life. Then you have the statistics carefully compiled by G. B. Shaw in Fabian Tract No. 5. These give a similar total, but the proportions as £800,000,000 to the non-producers and £500,000,000 to the producers. In a footnote, however, to page 9 of the document in question, the amiable and witty author significantly remarks that these statistics assume regularity of employment and take no account of deductions for ground-rent, which being interpreted must mean that a sum not very much less than £200,000,000 has to be taken off the lesser and added on to the greater amount, so that after all we are brought back approximately to the Hyndman figures quoted above. But as I before said, such figures as these have no value to me except as a "cut-and-dried" statement of the fact obvious in itself without the aid of any figures at all—to wit, that society is composed of two fundamental classes, a relatively small class of monopolists that possesses the bulk of the wealth produced, and a very large class of producers that consumes only a fraction of that wealth. These classes, of course, shade off into one another, but the fact of their existence and of the antagonism of their interests still remains an indubitable truth.

It is this great curse of civilisation which Socialists would fain see abolished. Many would doubtless gladly have a wave of barbarism sweep this rottenness away as it swept away the effete classical civilisation. But the Socialist knows that this would only mean the martyrdom of nineteenth century progress, or something like it, having to be gone over again. There is no effective putting back the clock of human evolution. No, Civilisation can be only definitively overthrown by Socialism. The state-world, the *civitas*, can only become a social world, a *societas*, by a revolution generated in the fullness of its own development. The means of the present exploitation of labour, the cause of the present horrible state of things, is monopoly. Its *modus operandi* is the extraction of surplus value from the labourer by compelling him to work a whole day while receiving only so much of the results of his labour as is necessary to keep him in bare subsistence. Remove the monopoly from the hands of individuals, and you do away with the possibility of surplus value. The above revolution then consists in the assumption by the people themselves, organised to this end, of the means of production, distribution, and exchange (as explained in the Socialist manifestoes), and in the working of them in their own interest, that is, in the interest of the whole community. This would, of course, soon result in the extinction of that "private enterprise," whose exploits consist in destroying all the worth of life under pretence of enhancing it, but really in the interests of individual greed. That "stimulus of personal interest" which spreads like a cancer through artistic and literary productivity, flooding the world with cheap and nasty work, would be finally cut up by the roots. Industry would be regulated consciously with a view to the needs of Society so far as ascertainable. Wealth would be produced for *use*, and not for *profit*.

With the abolition of classes, consequent on the abolition of monopoly,

national rivalries, at present mainly reduced to questions of commerce, would come to an end. The break-up of the present State-nationalities of Europe would be one of the first results of Socialism, which is nothing if not international. The sphere of politics would be gradually merged in that of industrial direction. With no independent nations there would be no national interests, as such; with no classes there would be no class interests, as such. Bourgeois civilisation at an end, there would be no longer any object in maintaining the sham of a creed to which the modern proletariat as a class has never attached itself, and in which nine-tenths of the educated middle-class have not only ceased to believe by their own confession, but for which even the sentimental attachment they may have had some decade and a half back is rapidly waning. Finally, with the consummation of individualism in Economics comes the destruction of individualism in Ethics, whether in its brutal form of (so-called) Utilitarianism or self-interest, or in its inverted and apotheosised form of introspective maunderings having "personal holiness" as an end. Both must give place to an Ethic in which social and individual interest have ceased to conflict, which has as its foundation the principle that the *perfect individual is realised only in and through the perfect society*, and which hence abandons the morbid striving after individual perfection for the healthy endeavour after social happiness. Politics will thus become ethical and ethics political. Personal will be no longer divorced from public character. Social order will supervene on anarchy.

Will Socialism benefit the English people? Will fresh air benefit the suffocating man? Will food benefit the starving man? Will rest benefit the weary man? If not, perhaps Socialism will not benefit the English people. Otherwise, the question "Would Socialism benefit the English people?" would seem to partake of the ironical.

E. BELFORT BAX.

THE IRISH QUESTION.

V.—AGRARIAN OUTRAGES AND EVICTIONS.

IN dealing with the question of agrarian crime, we have to bear in mind that the English connection for over seven hundred years has been one high crime against the Irish people; that the landlord system is, and from the middle of the sixteenth century has been, one great crime of rapine and murder—of legalised plunder on a national scale. For more than seven hundred years it has been a war of extermination against the Irish race. What wonder, then, that we should meet with little episodes of retaliation, or rather of self-defence. If the tyranny of a day is so odious, is it less so when practised for centuries? If the robbery of a coat or a watch deserves a severe punishment, how much greater punishment should be given to the great land-thieves who live from generation to generation on the plunder of the people. But while the great land-robbers, making the laws, are protected by the laws, the people who object to the plunder are condemned and punished as rebels.

A few weeks ago a Parliamentary Return was issued showing the number of outrages for each year from 1880 to 1886. It is not necessary to take every year; it will be enough to analyse the returns for one or two years. Take 1881. Crimes against—

	The Person.	Property.	The Peace.	Total.
Ulster ...	18	66	330	414
Leinster ...	39	105	687	833
Connaught ...	87	186	954	1235
Munster ...	153	317	1520	1957

It is true this list looks formidable enough. But they are not ordinary crimes, but are the natural outcome of the still greater crimes of the landlord system in that country. Most of these so-called crimes are only letters or notices which any police or landlord agent can write. Look at these returns again.

	Total.	Letters, etc.	All others.
Ulster ...	414	247	167
Leinster ...	833	587	246
Connaught ...	1235	710	525
Munster ...	1957	1062	895

It will be remembered that 1881 was a remarkable year, crime, as it is termed, being very heavy in the last three months, owing to the Compensation for Disturbance Bill being thrown out by the Lords. It will therefore be best to take a later year. In 1884 the outrages are given as follows:

Ulster.	Leinster.	Connaught.	Munster.	Total.
73	138	116	417	744

These are classified as—Crimes against the person, 7; against property, 201; letters, etc., 423; other petty offences, 62. These are the so-called outrages of which we hear so much, the very nature of which indicates at once the foundation of Irish society.

It is necessary now to take another class of agrarian crimes; not commonly so called, but which are of a more brutal kind than those to which we have just referred—namely, evictions. In speaking of the two classes of outrages, Gladstone (House of Commons, May 24, 1882) said: "Eviction is the exercise of a legal right which may be to the prejudice of your neighbour, which may involve the highest responsibility, nay, even deep moral guilt. There may be outrages which—all things considered, the persons and the facts—may be less guilty in the sight of God than evictions." Truer words were never spoken. Considering that the landlord system is nothing more than "legalised

¹ It is amusing and instructive, as illustrative of bourgeois humbug, to listen to middle-class paterfamilias and his holy horror of Monte Carlo and similar establishments, where gambling is at least honestly and straightforwardly carried on, while this same worthy himself thieves and gambles every day in "business" or stock-exchange speculations.

felony," and that evictions are the nineteenth-century war of extermination against the Irish people, there can be no doubt that evictions are far greater crimes than the so-called agrarian outrages—more brutal, more inhuman, and more monstrous,—crimes that can never be condoned. Nor do the landlords care to act according to the law even of their own making. In 1852 Sir Chas. Wood called the attention of the House to the wholesale evictions then going on. Large districts were depopulated, and at the Quarter Sessions of Ballina alone 6400 ejectment processes were taken out. Sir R. Peel in reply said: "It would appear from the evidence of Major M'Kie, who was employed by the Poor Law Commissioners, that the forcible ejectments were illegal; that previous notice had not been given; and that ejectments were perpetrated under circumstances of great cruelty. The time chosen for the most part was night, on the eve of the new year. The people were forced out of their houses with their helpless children, and left exposed to the cold on a bleak western shore on a stormy winter's night; that some of the children were ill; that the parents implored that they might not be exposed, that their houses might be left till morning; their prayers for mercy were in vain, and some of them have since died." Who in these cases were the criminals? who the murderers? who the rebels? Will the Right Hon. John Bright tell us? But take the returns for the four years ending Dec. 31, 1852. There were evicted—

	No. of Families.	No. of Persons.
1849	16,686	90,440
1850	19,949	104,163
1851	13,198	68,023
1852	8,591	43,494

Here we find these "merciful" landlords, these plundering miscreants, in four years evicting no less than fifty-eight thousand four hundred and twenty-four families, consisting of two hundred and twelve thousand one hundred and twenty men, women, and children. And that, too, in the middle of the nineteenth century, to preserve the supremacy of law and order, those grandest of gems in our English civilisation.

We have taken the so-called agrarian crimes for the years 1881-4, let us take the evictions for those two years. They were as follows:

Year.	Ulster.	Leinster.	Connaught.	Munster.	Total.
1881	1,219	692	750	784	3,445
1884	1,044	617	1,246	1,279	4,186

Now, where the claims of the landlords rest on no moral right, where these claims have never been recognised by the moral sentiments of the people, every one of those evictions was a crime against the individuals, a crime against the people, and a crime against humanity. The question again occurs: Who in these cases were the criminals? who the murderers? who the rebels? Will the Right Hon. John Bright tell us? Mr. Mulhall states that the total number of men, women, and children evicted during the fifty years ending 1886 was not less than three million six hundred and sixty-eight thousand. Think of that ye canting hypocrites who prate about law and order. What a glorious item to be remembered in this glorious Jubilee year! Will the white-throated black-bats of Westminster Abbey think of it? Will they lay the death-stained record at the feet of Her Most Gracious Majesty?

Let us turn again to Mulhall. During the same period there have died of famine, one million two hundred and twenty-five thousand men, women, and children. Pause and think of it. Famine in the midst of plenty, famine the result of landlord robbery, of landlord plunder. One million two hundred and twenty-five thousand landlord murders! Was there no crime, no murder here, Johnny Bright? Will the pious hypocrites of Westminster Abbey lay that record of blood before Her Most Gracious Majesty on the celebration of her Jubilee?

Mr. Mulhall also tells us that during the same fifty years four millions one hundred and eighty-six thousand have left the shores of Ireland to seek a home in distant climes. A number equal to nearly the present population of that country. No wonder that to day when the population ought to be thirteen or fourteen millions it is less than five millions. These millions and their sons and daughters form a large percentage of the population of America, where they are rich and powerful. They prosper in Canada, they flourish in our Australian Colonies. These millions are still Irish. They may be rebels to the British Crown, to British tyranny, to British oppression, but they love their country, they love those left behind, and they may yet help even more to free their mother-land from the curse and scourge of royal and aristocratic plunderers. To do it is a most sacred right, a most imperative duty. As an evidence of their devotion to their mother country, Mr. Mulhall states that during the last half century they have sent to those left behind them the enormous total of £24,500,000. And that during the single year of 1881 they sent £1,510,000. What a proof of self-sacrifice; what an evidence of devotion; what a guarantee for the future liberty and independence of old Ireland! Let Englishmen think of it, of what it means, and let them say if they are prepared to emulate such heroic devotion for their own redemption.

But there is another matter. Mr. Mulhall gives the value of the labour of the four millions and odd who have been driven from their native land by British tyranny at the enormous sum of £665,000,000. If Ireland had that wealth to day, what prosperity, what happiness, would not be the fate of her population! To insult her with charity and relief bills in face of these facts—facts that point to the domination of the English royal and aristocratic land-thieves as the one great cause of Ireland's ruin. See the natural, the inevitable result. Note the figures carefully. While it is the boast that pauperism in England

is on the decrease, in Ireland the case is just the reverse. The returns tell their own sad tale:

Year.	Indoor.	Outdoor.	Total.
1859	114,594	39,112	153,706
1871	181,032	44,478	225,510
1884	253,342	46,621	299,963
1885	329,550	120,939	450,489
1886	357,621	348,205	705,826

And during those years the population has decreased by more than two millions. Connaught, with a population of rather over 800,000, has 247,134 paupers, or about 307 to every 1000 of its population. Is British tyranny, supported by British bayonets, never to cease? Is this war of extermination never to end? It is for the workers of England, the workers of Wales and of Scotland to answer the question. It is for the workers, victims of the same tyranny, plundered by the same classes, cursed and scourged by the same system, to say whether this shame to England, to Wales, and to Scotland, and this curse to Ireland shall cease, and WHEN!

J. SKETCHLEY.

NOTES.

"A CURIOUS meeting was held in Hyde Park, . . . to discuss the grievances of the police—whatever they may be" (sic!). This is how the Renegade Radical organ, the *Echo*, speaks of the policemen's protest against a fraudulent reduction of their wages.

What is the worth of a "Radical" paper which does not trouble to enquire into such affairs and which impudently proclaims its ignorance?

In the same issue of the same paper great surprise is expressed as to the "little interest shown in the Land Transfer Bill," and Welsh Home Rule is sneered at.

Apparently the *Echo* now circulates little among the workers, or it would hardly wonder at the lack of interest shown by its readers in which particular thief it is that gets the land; nor would it dare to sneer at any folk seeking to rule themselves.

Had not the *Echo* better drop its motto, "Be Just and Fear not"? The celebrated "statement of policy, Either which way at once," would suit it so much better.

Since our magistrates have shown how little the law troubles them it can be seen how gratuitously brutal was Mr. Cooke of the Marylebone police-court to the heroine of the "painful story" related there on the 9th of this month.

In a case which he might easily have dismissed, he went out of his way to fine, and heap costs upon her. And of such is English Justice!

Defending himself under a charge of perjury, a constable at Cardiff swore that lying on one another's behalf was common among the police—"they always stuck together." Any one who did not do so would "lead a dog's life."

When will the workers learn that they must "stick together," and that he who stands out deserves to "lead a dog's life"?

The *Vegetarian Messenger* makes a very foolish allusion to what it calls "a terrific onslaught against Vegetarianism" made in our columns last August. We have often pointed out that against this creed in itself we have no quarrel.

All that we attack is the claim made by the more ignorant vegetarians that the whole social problem can be solved by abolishing "kneophagy."

Our attitude is exactly the same toward teetotalism, anti-tobaccoism, and all the rest of them. Each one of these may be equally well true or false without affecting Socialism, but not one of them or all of them will solve the social question.

So little has Socialism to do with opposing these things that one of the brightest and best of our advocates is an adherent of all of them at once!

H. H. S.

LITERARY NOTICES.

Comrade Van Doeslaer, a Dutch Socialist, has very ably translated for the Dutch paper *De Werker*, the Manifesto of the Socialist League.

El Productor, Socialist weekly journal of Barcelona, contains each week some well-written notes on passing politics, one or two interesting letters on the doings of the Socialist and Labour parties in Spain, miscellaneous notes, and in short has its columns well-filled with matter likely to interest the workers.

North and South (15 D'Olier Street, Dublin, weekly, 1d.) is a very well-got-up and apparently impartial Irish newspaper and review. A recent number contained a very good letter from our comrade M'Carthy.

May we venture to suggest to the *People's Budget* (Allahabad) that it is doing but small service to its workmen readers by the "evil speaking, lying and slandering" indulged in by its New York correspondent? A glance on any given week at the New York papers would expose this gentleman's persistent falsehood. He is apparently incapable of telling the truth upon any labour matter. Our attention was drawn to his vagaries some time ago and a detailed examination of his productions has not elicited one example of honest writing. The *N. Y. Leader* might look him up and expose him.



"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 May 18.

ENGLAND		
Justice	Boston—Woman's Journal	BELGIUM
Jus	Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer	Antwerp—De Werker
Norwich—Daylight	Hammonton (N.J.) Credit Foncier	HOLLAND
Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung	San Francisco (Cal.) The People	Hague—Recht voor Allen
Practical Socialist	Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	ITALY
Brotherhood	Labor Enquirer	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
INDIA	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	SPAIN
ankipore—Behar Herald	Seattle (W.T.) Voice of the People	Madrid—El Socialista
SOUTH AUSTRALIA	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	HUNGARY
Melbourne—Honest	Detroit (Mich.)—The Advance	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
CANADA	and Labor Leaf	ROUMANIA
Toronto—Labor Reformer	New Haven (Conn.)—Work-	Jassy—Lupta
UNITED STATES	men's Advocate	DENMARK
New York—Freiheit	FRANCE	Social-Demokraten
Truthseeker	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	SWEDEN
John Swinton's Paper	La Revolution Cosmopolite	Stockholm—Social-Demokraten
Der Sozialist	Lille—Le Travailleur	

CIGAR-MAKING IN ENGLAND.

THIS trade, owing to its peculiar nature and comparative smallness, has received but little attention from those not actually engaged in it. Its importance, however, is by no means small, as will be seen by the account, necessarily incomplete, I intend to give respecting it. As a commencement, therefore, a word as to how a cigar is made may not be out of place. Cigar-making is a very light occupation; and were it not for the long hours one has to work at it—the average being eight per day, terribly long, when the nature of the craft is understood—and bad pay, it would be an exceedingly pleasant industry.

A cigar consists of pure tobacco, sometimes of one quality, sometimes of various qualities. The *modus operandi* is as follows: A "bunch"—i.e., basis—is first produced by rolling long dry strips of leaf-tobacco (these strips vary in length) in a leaf which is suitably moistened—this is called a "bunch-wrapper"—thus producing a basis of the shape required. Then another moist leaf, generally of finer texture and colour, is employed, which is cut into long strips and used as the outside "wrapper." Considerable experience is required to produce a "bunch" of suitable shape, and a good deal of economy in cutting the wrapper. The most peculiar and certainly the most skilful process in making a cigar is forming the point.

When made, the cigars are sorted according to colour, and then "bundled" or "boxed," then dried in a room fitted up with gas-stove, racks, etc. They are then ready for the market.

The price paid for labour in this trade is determined, both by the unions and trade generally, by three factors—namely, weight, shape, and quality of material. Cigars have to be made by weight, so many to the pound—which, by the way, is a fruitful source of dispute between the employers and the men, and a frequent cause of difficulty for the unions. The most difficult-shaped cigar is that which is known by the brand "Flor de Fuma," which now commands the highest price. The different kinds of tobacco now used in the manufacture of cigars in this country, are known by the following names, which also indicate their quality: Esmeralda, German, Giron, Japan, Java, Seed, Manilla, Sumatra, Mexican, Cuba, Yara, and Havana. There are other kinds of tobacco used besides those mentioned, but they are the principal.

Fifty years ago cigar-makers were considered highly skilled mechanics, and were paid accordingly; the rate of wages at that time was much higher than it is to-day. A cigar-maker often obtained from £2 to £3 per week; in fact, £2 seemed rather the average than a particularly high wage. The average wage to-day is difficult to arrive at; but from all I am able to learn, it would appear that £1 per week probably covers the average among union men. There is one very worthy feature in connection with the men in this trade, which I think deserves to be recorded: that as early as 1835 they were organised in unions.

In this trade as in every other the meanest shifts have been adopted by the employers in order to coerce the men; while on the other hand deeds of great merit have been performed by some of the workers. The

lightness of the cigar industry has ever been a source of danger to the position of the men, and is especially the case to-day. Women and children, in consequence, have been attracted to it, and, thanks to the employers, who have not been slow to take every advantage of the position, the trade is fast slipping from our grasp. The firm of Copes, in Liverpool, were among the first to introduce female and child labour on a large scale, and still employ them in large numbers. As an illustration of the greed and cupidity of the employers, I think it right to mention here what took place in 1857. The employers proposed an immense reduction in the prices of work all round the trade, which was at once refused, and the men struck. The employers sent immediately to Holland for cigar-makers to take the place of the men here. The Hollanders responded, and large numbers of men were landed here at the docks daily. Our men were not to be done in that fashion; so they met the newcomers and in very many cases prevailed on them to leave the country, we bearing the expense of their return. A number of them, however, would not leave, and worked under the reduction, some of whom are now employers themselves. I feel confident that a similar dodge on the part of the masters would not succeed in the slightest degree to-day. We have made various grants to the cigar-makers of Holland since then, and there is every reason to believe that there is a much greater feeling of solidarity between us now than existed some years ago.

Machinery has made no great headway in cigar-making. True, there has been a mould introduced, which has pretty well succeeded; this mould is used to form the "bunch" and give it the shape by pressure, thus rendering it much easier for women and young persons to learn the trade. Of course, it will be at once seen that by this contrivance, although persons might learn to make a cigar with less labour, they would not possess the skill one would have under the old hand-style. There has also been a machine introduced which takes up the work where the mould leaves off, and finishes the cigar. One of these machines was exhibited in the Colonial Exhibition last year, by the firm of Wright's. There are two reasons for the comparative non-introduction of machinery in this branch of the tobacco trade—first, the very element which is the cause of success with machinery in other trades, is the cause of failure in ours.

Uniformity of action, uniformity of pressure, is the secret of success with machinery in other trades; while in the manufacture of cigars the very reverse—*variation of action, variation of pressure*—is required. The leaf to be rolled, even in itself, is of variable tenacity, and therefore requires to be manipulated with great delicacy, the pressure varying with the unevenness of texture; failing to obtain such conditions the leaf is broken and thus spoilt. Machinery in other trades *lessen* the cost of production, hence, its efficiency; while in the manufacture of cigars there is a tendency to *increase* the cost of production, a sufficiently strong reason, under the present system of competition, to prevent any very serious introduction of machinery in an industry of this character. It was found that the machine, which was the new and approved patent, was only of use when the leaf to be used was selected, and, in fact, was highly suitable to it in every respect; while most of the leaf could not be worked by it at all.

The speed of the machine also was by no means satisfactory; sixty cigars an hour being, I understand, the limit of its powers, a speed very often reached by the human hand. The second reason for the failure of machinery in the cigar industry is, that the capitalist soon discovered that he could obtain human machines as cheap, or cheaper, than iron ones. With the mould at his disposal, and women and children to boot, he could engage nimble human fingers, with all the requisite variations of pressure, a quality which, up to the present time, has been found wanting in the iron machine.

The workmen are paid by the hundred. The prices range from 1s. per 100, to 4s. union prices. There are some very fine work sometimes made at from 4s. 6d. to 6s. It will be seen at once that machinery is not needed when it is understood that the employers pay women and children about one-third or less what they would have to pay union men. There have been several attempts to organise the females into unions, but without success.

This trade affords the close observer a full view of the horrors of capitalism. The man who sits enjoying his cigar, scarcely ever knows under what conditions the "fragrant weed" has been produced.

In many factories the silent system reigns supreme. A man is in danger of losing his employment for uttering a word. The factories themselves are mute but eloquent appeals to the factory inspector, but that functionary is rendered proof against their mute eloquence by his eternal absence. The workers make the cigars, but they are scarcely ever allowed to smoke them. There are a few firms who treat their employes once every general holiday to a "smoke," but even then they only give what are of no earthly use to themselves. These cigars are the "off-colours" as they are called.

There are very few cigar-makers who can be called moderately healthy, as the unnecessarily long hours they have to sit in the factory causes them to contract all sorts of diseases. So well known is this morbid tendency amongst cigar-makers, that many benefit society doctors will not accept them as members. A cigar-maker may nearly always be known by his saffron complexion.

H. DAVIS.

(To be concluded).

At the commencement of the capitalistic era of production, workman was pitted against workman, now sex is pitted against sex, and, later on, age against age. Men must make way to women, and women to children. This is the "moral order" of industry.—August Bebel.

THE REWARD OF LABOUR.

A DIALOGUE.

Persons: AN EARNEST ENQUIRER, an EAST-END WEAVER, a WEST-END LANDOWNER.

Scene: Outside a philanthropical meeting on Social Science.

Earnest Enquirer. Excuse me, gentle—h'm, gentlemen! neither of you seem quite comfortable after the noble sentiments showing the harmony that should exist between the rich and the poor, and the inculcation of altruism, and self-sacrifice on both sides, which we have heard in there. You, sir (*to the Weaver*), whom I take to be a soldier in the noble army of industry, seem discontented; a little sour—sulky even, if I may say so. And you, sir (*to the Landowner*), you also (again a million apologies!) seem sulky: although, probably because of the restraint which the refinement of hereditary culture and habits of command makes easy to you, I can't think why.

Landowner (somewhat languidly). Not at all. I assure you I was much interested. The subject is a very interesting one; I heard much which I did not know before. (*Lapses into thinking of something else.*)

E. E. Were you puzzled?

L. No, I quite agreed with it all.

E. E. All? was it all alike then?

Weaver (with a grin). Pretty much.

E. E. Eh! what's that? Would you answer me a question or two, my friend?

W. Well, yes, so long as it's not chaff and you really want information. You began as if you were going to chaff me openly, and him slyly. Now, you know, you said I was sulky, and perhaps I am; anyhow I know I am irritable because of my liver (you'd know why if you was me); and being irritable, I can't stand chaff. So if you do chaff me, since I'm not big enough to hit you, I shall be off.

E. E. Well, thank you. I really didn't mean to chaff you; one must begin somehow, you know. (*To L.*) And you, sir, will you answer me a question or two?

L. Well—yes; though I have a suspicion of what you are driving at. Begin with this good man; I am curious to hear what he has to say; he looks thoughtful and intelligent. (*Aside.*) Might get something out of him; looks like an ultra-Radical—perhaps a Socialist; and we're all expected to be so damned original in the House now.

E. E. (To W.) You heard that gentleman who moved the vote of thanks just now, and who spoke so—well, so elegantly on the compensation which the working classes have for their apparently inferior position; and how necessary it was for the progress of civilisation that there should be this division of labour and life; and what a noble position it was for the workers to hold; and how the slight sacrifices they had to make they ought to make cheerfully and almost as a matter of religion, that new religion of Humanity, considering their position as the foundation of all the culture, thought, light and leading which is the glory of Humanity. What did you think of all that?

W. What's the use of asking me such questions as that? I shall go away at once if you haven't got something more than that to say to me.

L. (to W.) My dear sir, if you would but pay a little more attention to such speeches as that which this gentleman is speaking of, it would be a very good thing for you.

W. Think so? Do you know what he meant by it?

L. Yes, I think I do.

W. (to E. E.) Do you know what he meant by it?

E. E. No, I think I don't.

W. Well, I think I do. Besides, it ain't quite new to me, you see. But that's neither here nor there; don't waste your time by asking me what I think of a vote-of-thanks speech, but ask me something about my work and my earnings, and the sort of way I live in.

E. E. Well, well, I was going to, but allow me a little explanation, I want to find out something about that compensation which our altruistic friend in there did apparently think was due to you for your apparently inferior position; which, indeed, so far as I can see, is abundantly apparent to me. Your clothes are old, worn, and when they were new they were bad; you're not very clean, you don't speak like an educated man (though I perceive in you some of the intelligence which this educated man here spoke about so patronisingly) and worst of all you don't look properly grown or healthy; you are stunted, sallow, and ugly—there, don't bounce out at me! I cannot fail to see that some compensation is due to you, if all this, as I suppose, is the result of your being the foundation of the progress of civilisation, and a bearer of the palm branch of martyrdom for the behoof of the religion of Humanity. No, no, don't go! That vote-of-thanks speech will stick in my memory, as meaningless words often will, when they are spoken according to art. What I want to get at is how you get that compensation above spoken of. So here goes for my definite questions. What is your occupation?

W. I am a silk weaver.

E. E. Is that difficult? Does it take skill to do?

W. Well, you wouldn't ask that if you had seen a weaver at work, taking care that his pattern doesn't work out longer or shorter than it should; mending half-a-dozen of the fine silk threads of the warp, for instance.

E. E. As difficult as a barrister's work, for instance?

W. I'm sure I don't know—it's not so easy as lying, at any rate. But don't get off the subject.

E. E. Is it a useful occupation?

W. It seems so. People will have silk; and why not since they can? It is pretty stuff and clean, and wears well. Didn't you notice that lady at the back of the platform, the young and pretty one, who went to sleep during the lecture, and how nice she looked in her new silk gown. Well, I wove her gown.

E. E. Well, your work is useful and requires skill; let's see on what terms you carry it on. How many hours a day do you work?

W. As many as I can. That's none too many as things go I assure you!

E. E. You mean to say that you are sometimes out of work.

W. Sometimes!!

E. E. And you take all the work you can get? You're not one of those lazy ones of which I have heard a good deal?

W. Now I want to keep my temper, and I really think you don't believe that 'good deal' you have heard.

E. E. Well, no I don't. But tell me, would you work eight hours a day if you could?

W. Eight hours! I shouldn't get a job if I didn't put it through as quick as I could; ten at the very least.

E. E. Well, now as to payment. Suppose you worked ten hours a day all the year round except Sundays, how much would you earn?

W. From 35s. to 40s. a-week.

E. E. Say £90 a-year?

W. No, I won't say £90. Haven't I just told you that I've got to sit and look at my loom many and many a-day? I should think it a good years' work in which I got nine months full employment. I'll say £60 if you like—and don't I wish I may get it, year in and year out!

E. E. Have you got a family?

W. Wife and five children.

E. E. Do they make anything?

W. My wife gets a job now and then weaving plain silk or winding, and one of the lads is a half-timer in a shoe-shop; it don't come to much altogether; £75 a year, since we must put it in the grand style, will cover it all.

E. E. H'm, well (*aside*: Poor devil!) Rent's cheap, I suppose in the East-end, since you are all working-men there?

W. (in sudden wrath) No, it's not, I pay £26 a-year for my house; how much do you pay for yours?

E. E. Well, never mind.

W. Yes, I know; and then the whole of my house together isn't as big as your drawing-room.

E. E. Well what sort of a house is your house?

W. Good enough for me, I suppose; it's a weaver's house.

L. (with sudden interest) Dear me, I should like to see it; it must be quite curious.

W. Should you? Well I shouldn't like you to see it; it isn't fit for a gentleman.

E. E. (to L.) Excuse me, sir, let me have our friend to myself; think about the sort of questions I am likely to be asking you presently. (*To W.*) Well, certainly I haven't come to the compensation which we all think you have a right to claim as a representative of that noble army of labour which we all praise so highly—especially at election time.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

(*To be concluded.*)

AGRARIAN COMMUNITIES IN ITALY.

IN Italy, as in all other countries, one finds everywhere below the surface, so to speak, of the existing social organisation based on individual property and exploitation of labour, the community of the peasants, which is the natural form of the economy of equality. On traversing the south, one comes upon vast private lands, formerly possessed by the barons, and now by their descendants or by wealthy bourgeois, who are also members of Parliament, senators, or mayors—in short, the masters and factotums of the lands; and side by side with these immense stretches of country belonging either to the Government (such as Sila) or to the municipalities, by whom they are leased out to speculators, often to the councillors of the commune itself by the intermediary of their confederates and men of straw. . . . These last lands belong by right to the people, and properly to the poorest peasants, to whom the Acts of 1806, 1807, abolishing feudality, reserved these in compensation for the lost rights of cutting wood, pasturage, etc. . . . But while these rights were lost directly the Acts were passed, the parcelling out of the land to-day in spite of the 80 years that have passed, is still to do, and the poor peasants are obliged, whilst waiting, to work their own lands as common labourers for the profit of my lords the speculators and municipal councillors.

This situation being insupportable, there have occurred in the southern provinces of Italy these frequent revolts of peasants against the municipality and against the large usurping proprietors, which are at once the outcome of the past and forerunners of the future. While this agrarian community forms the historical substratum of the existing proprietary constitution in Italy, there are here and there places where it still exists in the light of day. In the province of Ancona alone, according to an official document (*Atti della Giunta per l'Inchiesta Agraria*, Vol. XI., tome ii., 384), this number reaches 351 spread over 37 communes. The character of these communities or universities or consortia is identical with that of all agrarian communities. The land is divided into three parts: Wood, pasturage, and arable. . . . In some communities, as that in the Vestignano territory, they even sow the grain in common and divide the produce.—*Le Rivolte*.

DEATHS FROM STARVATION IN THE METROPOLIS.—A return issued shows that the number of deaths from starvation or accelerated by privation during 1886 in the metropolitan area was 40. In the eastern division of Middlesex there were 16 deaths; in the central division, 15; and in the western division, 1. In the city and liberty of Westminster, the Greenwich division of Kent, and the city and borough of Southwark, 2 each; in the Newington division of Surrey and the liberty of the Duchy of Lancaster, 1 each.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

This department is under the direction of the Strike Committee. Labour News and Contributions to the Fund should be sent to T. BINNING, at the Offices.

BRITAIN.

A meeting of female telegraphists has been held for the purpose of consulting as to how they may improve their position and get their grievances remedied. They want more pay, fewer hours of work, and longer holidays.

The Annual Report of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants of the United Kingdom has just been issued, from which it appears that some railway companies have effected reductions of wages during the year, while others have exacted more labour without additional payment.

The Darlaston nut and bolt makers have been successful in five prosecutions for violations of the Truck Act. One shopkeeper, who supplied groceries on an employer's order, used also to lend the men money at twopence per shilling per week, or 866 per cent. per annum.

Two thousand members of the body of amalgamated engineers, steam-engine makers, and metal planers are on strike at Bolton for an advance of 2s. per week. The dispute, which has assumed various phases, has extended over a year. A general lock-out appears probable, and 10,000 hands would be thereby affected. The masters are determined to resist the demands.

At a representative meeting of chainmakers at Cradley Heath it was stated that nearly all the leading employers had conceded an advance, but there were still about 2000 operatives out on strike owing to small employers refusing to concede the advance. It was reported that upwards of £100 had been expended in providing relief for starving families, and it was announced nearly £50 had been received from newspaper proprietors at Liverpool. It was resolved to continue the strike.

The whole of the miners employed at the New British Iron Company's Wynnstay Collieries, Ruabon, the most extensive mines in North Wales, struck work on Friday 13th, in consequence of a dispute with the manager. About 500 of the men marched up in a body to the residence of the general manager, and surrounded the house. Police were sent for, a riot being feared. The grievance having been settled, the men returned to work.

At a meeting of all classes of railway servants held at Bathgate last week, Mr. Henry Tait, general sec., referred to the advantages that had been and were to be derived from organisation among railway employés. He advocated a universality of hours of labour, and held that if there were half of the population going idle for want of work while the other half were working nine hours per day, no man should work more than his share, and this would give work for all.

RATTENING IN THE CHAIN TRADE.—During Sunday night the chain factories of Mr. Allen Beasley and Mr. Neale of Cradley were broken into, and 14 pairs of bellows were destroyed. A large number of workmen have been thrown out of employment in consequence. It is alleged that the workmen employed at these factories have been working under the required list of prices. The leaders of chainmakers' associations have publicly condemned the outrages.

AVERAGE DURATION OF LIFE OF THE WORKERS.—Dry grinders of forks, 29 years; razor-grinders, 31; edge-tool grinders, 32; spring-knife and file grinders, 35; saw and sickle-grinders, 38; workers in copper, lithographers, moulders, engravers, watch-makers, 48; "Every grindstone-maker is cut down with consumption at or soon after the age of 24—hardly one escapes"; flint-cutters, glass-polishers, under 30; stone-masons, 36; weavers (hackling, carding, sorting, and dressing), 44; workers in lead (lead-miners, painters, plumbers, compositors, type-founders), 48; carpenters, joiners, cabinet-makers, 49; flour-millers, 47; bread-bakers, 47. Consumption is in all cases the chief cause of death, brought about by irritating dust-particles (which is also, with exhaustion, responsible for intemperance). The following are some percentages of deaths from consumption: Needle-makers, 70 per cent.; file-makers, 62; steel-grinders generally, over 40; lithographers, 48; flint-cutters, glass-polishers, 80; flax-mill workers of Belfast, 60; cigar-makers and tobacco-workers, 36; brush-makers, 49; artificial-flower makers, 36. This is a vastly important subject, with far-reaching consequences, and receives but little attention. Those desiring to pursue it further, and in more detail, should consult 'Germs, Dust, and Disease,' by Andrew Smart, M.D., F.R.C.P.E., who tells us—as, indeed, we know well—that this great evil is capable, by proper arrangements, of being prevented.—W. B.

"SAVING" LABOUR.—By the prospectus of the "Universal Simplex Typewriter, Limited," we learn that "enormous fortunes have frequently been made out of small inventions. There is, in fact, a fortune to be acquired in the simplest article of utility which meets a universal demand," and evidently the company is on the right track. "For," says the prospectus, "it is estimated that 150,000 'Simplex' Typewriters will be sold in the first twelve months, but even this will show a nett profit sufficient to pay a dividend of 50 per cent. on the capital issued, after paying working expenses." The price of the Simplex is to be 10s. 6d. We are also told that "this wonderful invention will effect as complete a revolution in writing as that effected by the sewing machine in taking the place of hand-work with the needle." Tell it not in Gath! Whose benefit has the sewing-machine been? Not the sempstress; not the workers. There is now, spite of sewing machine, as much slavery as when the "Song of the Shirt" was written, in their lives. And type writers will do as little for copyist and clerk. All the advantage will be appropriated by these people of the "per cent." Per cent. is their god, and in their scheming worship they have not a thought for those whom their "labour-saving" machines have sent to the wall.—P. C. W.

AMERICA.

The Pennsylvania miners have withdrawn their demand for an advance in their wages and have asked for arbitration.

Strikes and lock-outs in the building trade are reported from Chicago. Six thousand men are out of work and still further suspensions of work are expected. There is some talk of trouble as the men are getting desperate.

The stove-moulders of Troy, N.Y., have refused to work on the "scab" patterns of Bridges and Beach, St. Louis, and a shut-down at the stove-foundries is the consequence.

The organised carpenters of Chicago have achieved a great victory. Eight hours and 35 cents per hour are positively established, and all union men are employed.

PITTSBURGH, May 4.—A general strike was begun in the Connellsville coke region to-day, and upward of 1200 ovens have shut down, and 13,000 men are

idle. By the refusal of the strikers to draw the ovens at Connellsville a loss of between 50,000 and 75,000 dollars was suffered by the capitalists.

BELGIUM.

BRUSSELS, May 13.—The *Peuple* to-day announces that a strike has commenced among the miners of the *Basin du Centre*. Great excitement prevails throughout the affected district and a rapid spread of the movement is apprehended. The journal adds that the voting by the Chamber of the tax on the importation of meat has greatly excited the people.

CHATELET, May 16.—The strike is spreading here, and is assuming alarming symptoms. Troops have left Charleroi for the place. The whole of the Civic Guard in the neighbourhood of Charleroi is on foot.

TILLEUR, May 16.—At a meeting, attended by a large number of workmen, held here to-day, a general strike in the Liège Coal Basin was decided upon for Thursday next.

FRANCE.

MIRAMONT (Hte. Garonne).—The knitters of Miramont are on strike to the number of 310, declaring they cannot accept the last reduction of wages—i.e., down to one franc a-day for the men, and 50 centimes for the women.

RONCHAMP.—The syndicate of miners of Ronchamp have addressed to the mining company a vote demanding fortnightly payment of wages. To which the company has "replied by silence." And yet the claims of the syndicate are most moderate and carefully weighed and considered. "Does the company mean to push the workers to a strike? Does it mean to provoke manifestations which the syndicate will be the first to regret?" say the miners, giving in the *Cri* a sort of ultimatum to the company of Ronchamp.

ANGERS.—The beauties of the system of prison-industry as at present carried out are brought out day by day in some fashion or another. At Angers, for instance, where there is a gaol, in the basket-work industry there is a struggle going on between the "free" labour (so to call it) and the prison work. A certain contractor for the prison work, in spite of the many efforts made by the syndicate of the trade, has succeeded in throwing upon the market goods whose price is lower than that of the free-labour industry by 60 or 70 per cent., thus causing an inevitable standstill in the corporation. After months of warfare, this enterprising contractor revenged himself on the sturdy syndicate that had the folly to resist so long, by assembling the masters of the workshops in the town to talk over their own interests, and to come to the conclusion that their men were too well paid and in danger of getting fat: which conclusion being come to—hey, presto! down go the tariffs.

SAINT-QUENTIN.—At a little village near Saint-Quentin there exist looms for the manufacture of "imitation antique tapestries." About ten years ago the workman could earn 7 and 9 francs a-day at a hand-loom in his own house, whereas now at the same work, with much more toil, because the models are more difficult and the "points" more numerous, working 15 or 16 hours a-day, he earns 90 centimes! This almost incredible change in hand-work is due of course to the enemy, Mechanism, the hand-workers meanwhile dying of hunger. We must add that we think a mechanical loom plenty good enough for the perpetration of imitation-tapestry, the more so as the worthy Parisian bourgeois who buys cannot for the most part detect any difference between the machine-made and the hand-made atrocity, and certainly cannot detect the atrocity itself from the real old work—and if he did would delight far more in the misplaced skill and ingenuity of the imitation.

AGRICULTURAL NOTES.

Enclosed I send a copy of one of the many hideous advertisement circulars which confront one everywhere. It refers to the latest engine of destruction for that down-trodden being, the agricultural labourer. The self-binding reaper is doing a part, with Enclosure Acts, and landlords, in depopulating rural England. One might be inclined to suppose that persons interested would say as little as possible about it. R. Hornsby and Sons, however, deem it expedient, apparently, to add insult to injury in the exquisitely ugly and highly coloured lithograph headed the "Old Style and New Style." The master-man is represented under "Old Style" as sitting on a fence, with umbrella and cigar, watching thirty labourers getting his harvest. In "New Style" a Hornsby binder and two horses, with master-man as driver, does the work, while the thirty men sit on the fence—without either cigars or umbrellas. How very nice!

But our farmer master-men are having a rough time of it, spite of Hornsby binders that were to "save" labour, and a lot besides. At a meeting of Cambridgeshire farmers on April 23, met to consider the present depression one is reported to have said that 90 per cent. of farmers are unable to pay twenty shillings in the pound. The meeting was almost unanimous in supporting "fair"-trade speakers; and protection against the "foreigner" was the main cry. Another speaker said he should propose a poll-tax on foreigners arriving in England, as he felt "sure half the socialistic rubbish which was talked came over with 'foreigners.'" Poor man!

Not a word was spoken about the fleecings industry undergoes in the forms of rent, taxes, tithes, etc. The halo of the law rests about them, and the law is more sacred than religion with English farmers.

The majority of our farmers are most incompetent, and are themselves to blame (speaking from the bourgeois point of view) for a great deal of the fix they're now in. Many of their own labourers know far more of cultural direction and detail.

Probably no industry exists in which the instruments of production are so entirely in the workers' hands, and none could be more easily worked for the community's benefit. The men have many shrewd heads among them, and when they are more united will make their power felt. The great lacking is the want of solidarity, which must exist to a greater extent, though, in such a scattered life, than in our large towns.

Nothing has helped to make the labourer feel his dependency on the "master" so much as the enclosures that have been carried on within the last fifty years; and some of the older men remember with a shake of the head how it was all managed by landlord and money-bag for their own benefit. A history of enclosures has yet to be written, and a dismal record it will be.

Royston, Cambs.

P. C. WALKDEN.

Government in this country is not a union of the people to protect themselves, but an aristocratic contrivance to make the poor men keep the rich; to compel industry to maintain idleness; to make rich men richer, and poor men poorer.—'Black Book' of the Chartists.

THE COMING OF DEMOCRACY.

[Astronomers say that the "Star of Bethlehem" will be visible this year.—*Vide Press.*]

SPAKE the wise men of the nations, keeping watch at midnight stations,
"Lo! the hour is now at hand when, rising in the heavens afar,
Should the messenger be sighted, in a robe of glory lighted,
Bringing tidings of New Birth and shining out a beacon star.

"O! the days have travelled slowly and the nights were dark unholy,
But the Christ to men was promised, yea, his coming is foretold,
All too long the poor ill-fated in their weariness have waited,
And the hour is now upon us written by the seers of old.

"With the day-star onward guiding, we must seek his place of hiding,
Where the blasts of winter enter, whistling through the shaky door;
In abodes of want and sorrow we shall find him on the morrow,
And the star shall shed its halo o'er the hovels of the poor.

"His abiding place a stable! Ere his little limbs are able,
We shall find him in the mines and workshops labouring hard and long;
Cares and spurs and burdens bearing, in the woes of others sharing,
Ever battling for the weak against the haughty and the strong.

"Spite of sneers and high disdaining we shall find him growing, gaining
Strength and wisdom, knowledge; gathering, garnering Truth's beloved
store:

Ripening unto godlike kindness, kindling eyes gone out in blindness,
Breathing words of love to those that knew but bitter thoughts before.

"But he comes no more a dreamer! He shall smite the foul blasphemer;
Scribe and high-priest who have mocked him and have bartered him for
gold.

Yea, he comes his house to straighten, warring with the wiles of satan,
And the hell-wolves long since loosened on the shepherd's slumbering fold.

"Even now the star appeareth, lo! the hour of triumph neareth,
Christ-Democracy ariseth, big the world is with New Birth;
Blessed now ye poor ill-fated! who have waited—wept and waited—
For the dawn of happier days is breaking o'er your nights of dearth."

T. MAGUIRE.

SOCIALISM IN SCOTLAND.

On Thursday, May 5, the Scottish Miners' Federation inaugurated a movement for restricting the working-time to eight hours per day and five days per week. Meetings were organised all over the mining districts, and the men instructed to come out on the 5th and make that the first holiday. Unfortunately, the Fifeshire miners hung back. They made a deal of delay and bother about giving in their notices, and finally put off for a fortnight. They have since then resolved to stand aside from the movement. More than half the collieries refused to come out when it was known how Fife had acted. The meetings were held, however, and great numbers of miners came together. I spoke at the Kirkintilloch demonstration in support of a resolution for the abolition of royalties, but was of course careful to point out the uselessness of striking at any special evils. The men seemed well inclined towards Socialism. The Rev. John Glassey spoke at Dalkeith, and was splendidly received by the miners. A bad impression was made, however, at the beginning of this meeting by a crankish imitator, in a feeble way, of Thoreau. This person gave a hour's dreary recital of some commonplace incidents in his career, while he carefully avoided anything which might be construed into a reference to the object of the meeting, and also inflicted some villainous original poetry on his hearers. However, Mr. Glassey happily did away with the bad impression made by the afore-mentioned gentleman. On the same night Glasier and I went to Glasgow and got an exceedingly good meeting in the open-air. The miners, however, are greatly depressed by their late defeat, and seem quite spiritless.

Next day several open-air meetings and a good indoor one were held at Paisley, where preparations for carrying on a regular propaganda and forming a branch of the League were carried out.

On Saturday, the Edinburgh members prepared a meeting at Loanhead in Midlothian. I tried hard to make a speech, but the surroundings would have discouraged the most adroit orator. Within two yards on my right was the Salvation Army, consisting of a dozen queer females of forbidding aspect and terrible vocal powers; a friendly bystander firmly interjected his shrill "hear, hear," at the wrong points; half-a-dozen policemen executed some mysterious manoeuvres in the rear of the crowd; and to add to all this a band of Scotch bag-pipers relentlessly chimed in. Now I am not afraid of ordinary interruptions. I despise a thunderstorm, and have even prevailed against the Salvation Army big drum; but the Highland bag-pipes with their mingled drone and screech and chirrup are enough to discourage a fog-horn. Presently the man in charge of the police came up officially and spake thus: "Now then, you must not block up the road with your Socialistic ideas!" This speech was well meant, but the crowd grinned and after some good-natured chaff the officer withdrew with considerable loss of dignity. In spite of these drawbacks the crowd was interested in Socialism, and a fairly large amount of literature was sold.

On Sunday at Glasgow Green, I gave an account of the miner's strike in Northumberland, and the same night I spoke to a very large audience in the meadows at Edinburgh. On Monday and Tuesday meetings were held at Dalkeith, and arrangements made for starting a branch and carrying on a regular series of meetings with the help of the Edinburgh branch. On all sides the Socialist movement in Scotland is progressing wonderfully well. The Edinburgh and Glasgow branches are very active, and becoming quite a power in their own districts. A good deal of work is done outside these two towns; this will be very much enlarged, and several new branches will soon be in good working order.

J. L. MAHON.

Peace, well-being, and order for all are the real aims of Socialism. To obtain these the one thing necessary is the combination of the workers; they, who create all wealth, must learn to understand that Socialism means the change from fighting each with each for life like beasts, to working together for life like men. They must get to know each other, and agree together that this change *must* be made, and then it *will* be made.

SOCIALISM IN NORWICH—RELEASE OF OUR COMRADE HENDERSON.

On Sunday morning a meeting was held at Trowse, addressed by comrades Crotch and Morley; in the afternoon a large meeting was held in the market-place, chair taken by comrade Darley; comrade Crotch spoke at some length; 4s. 8d. collected for the defence. In the evening Parker gave an address on the Northumberland miners' strike, giving a full explanation of the present desperate struggle of these poor fellows, and urging for help. Comrades Slaughter and Crotch also spoke. On Monday morning comrade Fred Henderson was released, after four months' imprisonment. He was released an hour before the usual time; a few comrades were waiting. Henderson waited till the usual time of releasing prisoners, when a large crowd assembled, cheering lustily for Henderson and the Cause. The crowd then followed him from the prison gates to the market-place; there he spoke a few words, telling the people that he was not reclaimed, but intended carrying on the work with more vigour than he had ever done before. He then proceeded to the Gordon Café, and had breakfast with a few friends. In the evening a large "Welcome" Tea was held in the Gordon Hall, the demand for tickets being far greater than could be supplied. After tea, a public social meeting was held, a band being in attendance; songs and recitations were given by comrades and friends. Fuller report next week. Fred Henderson will address Welcome meetings here on Sunday. A. S.

The North of England Socialist Federation

is steadily increasing in membership. It is not expected that much can be done until after the strike is over. Meantime, however, a committee of miners is engaged in drawing up rules and formulating plans for carrying on the propaganda and extending the organisation. There are now twelve branches with over twelve hundred members, and this strength will be easily increased by one-half when the pits open again. Comrade Donald has now returned from his visit to Northumberland after addressing upwards of thirty meetings in three weeks. Mahon is back from Scotland and is at work again in Northumberland carrying on the propaganda.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

Annual Conference.—The Third Annual Conference of the Socialist League will be held at 13 Farringdon Road on Whitsunday, May 29th. A cold luncheon and a tea will be provided for delegates and others (luncheon, 1s.; tea, 6d.). All who intend to take advantage of the arrangement are requested to send in their names to the Catering Committee at 13 Farringdon Road.

Branch Secretaries and the Agenda.—The Agenda forwarded to Branches must be returned without delay to the General Secretary.

Commonweal Selling Brigade.—Volunteers wanted for Saturday May 21, to attend Anti-Coercion Demonstration in Victoria Park. Secretary will be glad to receive the names of those willing to undertake this work.

Co-operative Store.—The Committee attend at the offices at 8.30 p.m. on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. See advertisement on last page.

Lessons in French.—On Tuesday evening at 8 o'clock. The lessons are free to members.

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

BRANCH SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID.

Birmingham, to August 31. Manchester, Merton, to October 31. Leicester, South London, to December 31, 1886. Lancaster, to January 31. Bradford, Croydon, Edinburgh, Hackney, Hammersmith, Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Hull, Leeds, Marylebone, Norwich, Walsall, to March 31. Bloomsbury, Clerkenwell, Glasgow, North London, Oxford, to April 30, 1887.

THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

F. Sturt, 5s. Arthur, 6d. Webb, 1s. *For Mrs. Mowbray*—A few Fabians, per Annie Besant (weekly), 10s.—Total, 16s. 6d. J. LANE, Treasurer.

STRIKE COMMITTEE.

P. W., 1s.

T. BINNING, Treasurer.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

T. B. (weekly), 6d. W. B. (weekly), 6d.

PH. W., Treasurer, May 17.

Northumberland Miners—

Collected in Regent's Park, Sunday May 15, per Cantwell, 17s. Four Shop-mates (per T. Binning), 2s.

The sum of £3, 17s. 0½d. has been paid to the miners' strike fund by J. L. Mahon. The sum was collected during his lecturing tour in Scotland. The items are as follows: Edinburgh—May 2nd, East Meadows, 11s. 6½d., 3rd, Tron Hall, 2s. 8d.; 4th, Leith Links, 12s.; 1st and 5th, Hamilton, 4s. 2d.; 8th, Glasgow Green, 6s. 8d.; 9th, R. M., Edin., £2.

BRANCH REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—A business meeting was held on Thursday, May 12, and arrangements were made for comrade Aveling's lecture on the 19th.—U.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, May 11, Stewart Headlam addressed a good audience on "The Sins that Cause Poverty." On Sunday, May 15, G. Bernard Shaw lectured to large and attentive audience on "The Rent of Ability." Lively discussion followed. It was unanimously carried that "heartly greetings" be sent to Henderson on his release from prison.—W. B. and T. E. W.

HACKNEY.—H. A. Barker delivered an instructive and interesting lecture on "Socialism the Necessary Outcome of the Present System;" good discussion.

HOXTON.—Very successful outdoor meetings morning and evening. Some opposition from a teetotaler, which was answered to the satisfaction of those standing round. In the evening, W. H. Campbell delivered a splendid lecture on "Justice before Charity," which was well received by the audience.—E. P.

NORTH LONDON AND MARYLEBONE.—On Sunday morning, at Regents' Park, a good meeting was addressed by Sparling on "Thieves, Large and Small." The audience showed their sympathy by donating 17s. for the Miners' Strike Fund. At Hyde Park in the afternoon, a large audience was addressed by Brookes and Davis. A number of questions were asked, evincing the interest of the hearers. These being disposed of, Nicoll followed and closed a successful meeting. Very good sale of literature. Members will be notified of next branch meeting in next issue.—H. B.

EDINBURGH.—On Sunday afternoon, in Queen's Park, Smith, Tuke, and Gilray spoke to a good audience, who seemed by their attention to be much interested. No opposition was offered. Good sale of literature.—J. G.

GLASGOW.—On Sunday, at two o'clock, Glasier addressed a good meeting at the Green. At five o'clock, Curran and Glasier spoke to a large audience on George's Square. In the evening in our rooms, Arch. McLaren gave an address on "How to Work for the Revolution." McLaren pointed out the numerous methods of propaganda which we can adopt without compromising our principles, and which will lead us directly and speedily to Socialism, and deprecated "parliamentary action" as being likely to obscure our aims and fritter away our efforts. Macfarlane led off on the parliamentary side, and contended strongly in favour of using parliamentary and every other means that would enlist the sympathy of the people on our side. Quite an animated discussion followed. Fisher, McLaren, Gilbert, and Glasier supported McLaren's view, and Warrington and Shaw Maxwell speaking in support of the views of Macfarlane.

HAMILTON.—On Thursday, Arch. McLaren and Bruce Glasier, of Glasgow, addressed a meeting in Paton's Hall.

PAISLEY.—Comrades Curran and Glasier, of Glasgow, addressed a large and very attentive meeting on the Causewayside. Several additional names were given in as members of the new branch.

SHIELDS (NORTH AND SOUTH).—This branch held three meetings last Sunday, Donald, Mahon, Hearne, and Stevens being the speakers. In the morning a large gathering at the Quay Side listened to animated speeches from the above. Considerable opposition was given by some local Liberals, but was fully answered by Mahon and Donald. One Radical was anxious to know what the Socialists would do if a Liberal or Tory candidate were before the constituency, to which Mahon replied that the workers should go to the ballot box and write on the papers, "Damn 'em both." In the afternoon, a meeting was held on the sands at South Shields, where Donald delivered a trenchant speech to a large crowd. At 6.30, a tremendous audience assembled in the Market Place at South Shields. This branch has been holding large meetings for the last six weeks, and is now considerably enlarged in membership.—J. H.

WALSALL.—On Saturday evening we held a meeting in the Market Place, addressed by H. Sanders, and a good impression was made upon the audience. Fair sale of literature.—J. T. D.

SOCIALIST UNION (NOTTINGHAM SECTION).—We have secured a neatly furnished room for our club over Bailey's tobacco shop, near the Mechanic's Hall, Milton Street, one of the best streets in the town, and shall now be able to collect our members together, increase our numbers, and do some sound work. On Sunday morning, Peacock and Proctor lectured in Sninton Market to a good audience; collection for local propaganda, 3s. 2d. In the evening we had a splendid and enthusiastic mass meeting. The Temperance Crusade Band, which had volunteered its services, played a selection after a few remarks from comrade Knight, who took the chair. Comrade Peacock then delivered a spirited address on the "Labor Struggle," chiefly referring to the struggle of the miners in Northumberland, and pointing out to the audience that the only way to finally solve the struggle will be to make the mines, railways, etc., the property of the people. A collection was then made on behalf of the Northumberland miners on strike while the band played another selection. Wane and Proctor also spoke. The collection amounted to 17s. Several names were taken to join our movement. *Commonweal* have all been sold out, and we have now doubled our order.—T. P.

LECTURE DIARY. LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street. On Thursday May 19, at 8.30. Dr. E. Aveling, "Radicalism and Socialism."

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday May 22, at 8.30 p.m. T. E. Wardle, "Jubilee Coercion Bill." Wednesday 25, at 8.30. Wm. Morris, "True and False Society." No lecture on Sunday May 29, the Conference being held on that date.

Croydon.—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday May 22, at 7.15 p.m. A Lecture.

Hackney.—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 8 till 11.30. Business Meeting every Tuesday at 8.30. Sunday May 22, at 8 p.m. S. Mainwaring, "Liberty."

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday May 22, at 8 p.m. Fred. Verinder, "The Queen's Jubilee and the People's Jubilee."

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—2 Crondall Street, New North Rd. Club Room open on Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday evenings from 8 till 11. Singing Class every Wednesday at 8.30. Committee Meeting on Friday May 20, at 8.30 p.m.: important business. Sunday 22, at 8 p.m. H. H. Sparling will lecture on "Subsistence Wages." Literary Class, Friday 27, at 9—Joyne's Catechism.

Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday. Discussions held every Sunday morning at 11.

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

North London.—Communications to H. Bartlett, sec., 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

PROVINCES.

Bingley.—Coffee Tavern. Every Monday at 7.30 p.m. **Birmingham.**—Carr's Lane Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 8.

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

Dublin.—Irish Labour League, 2 Bachelors Walk, every Thursday at 8 p.m. Discussion on all subjects connected with the Labour Question. Saturday May 21, at 4 p.m., at Custom House Steps, Beresford Place, a Mass Meeting will be held, under the auspices of the Labour League. Two Socialist speakers will address the meeting.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 7.30 p.m. to transact business. Class for the study of 'Das Capital' at 8.30.

Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. On Sunday evening at 7, in our Rooms, a discussion will take place on "Local and municipal action as a means of propaganda." Arch. M'Kechie will introduce the subject. Tuesday, at 8, Business Meeting to discuss new scheme of organising work of the Branch. Wednesday, at 8, Choir Practice. See Open-air.

Hamilton.—Paton's Hall, Chapel Street. On Thursday at 8 o'clock the Branch will hold an open-air meeting at Burnbank.

Hull.—Address all communications to E. Teesdale, 20 Shakspeare Street.

Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, 11; Vicar's Croft, 7. **Lancaster.**—Addresses every Sunday morning on the Quay Jetty.

Leicester.—Office of Hosiery Union, Horsefair Street. Fridays at 8 p.m.

Manchester.—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening 6 to 10 p.m. Lecture and discussion every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Free Lectures every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room open every evening. Open-air meetings see below.

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

Paisley.—On Friday at 7.30, open-air meeting at the Causewayside.

Shields (North and South).—Meeting on Sunday mornings at 10.30, Quay-side. Communications to be sent to the Secretary, J. Hearne, 32 Clive Street, No. Shields. Sunday: Debate between Wallace (Socialist League) and Mr. Leslie Johnson.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 22.

11.30...Hackney—Salmon and BallThe Branch
11.30...Hammersmith—Beadon Rd.The Branch
11.30...Hoxton Church, Pittfield St.Wade & Pope
11.30...Garrett—Plough InnKitz
11.30...Mitham Fair GreenDalchow
11.30...Regent's ParkBrookes & Wardle
11.30...St. Pancras ArchesBartlett & Dalziel
11.30...Walham GreenThe Branch
3 ...Hyde ParkDavis, Mainwaring, Nicoll
7 ...Clerkenwell GreenWardle & Blundell

Wednesday.

7.30...Broadway, London FieldsPaylor

Thursday.

8 ...Hoxton, Pittfield StreetThe Branch

PROVINCES.

Edinburgh.—Sunday: Queen's Park, afternoon at 3.

Glasgow.—Sunday: The Green, at 1 o'clock; George's Square, at 5 o'clock.

Hamilton.—Thursday: at Burnbank, at 8.

Norwich.—Sunday: Ber Street Fountain at 10.45; Market Place at 3; Agricultural Hall Plain at 7. Eaton, at 11.

Paisley.—Friday: Causewayside, at 7.30.

A Free Concert and Ball will be held at the Hackney Branch on Saturday 28th, at 8.30.

ANTI-COERCION DEMONSTRATION, VICTORIA PARK.—The Socialist League contingent will leave Clerkenwell Green on Saturday afternoon at 3 o'clock with London Patriotic Club.

NOTICE.—The Holborn Division of Finsbury intend celebrating the Queen's birthday, May 24, by a mass meeting on Mount Pleasant, at 7.30 p.m., to protest against the Jubilee Coercion Bill. The meeting will be addressed from two platforms. The Rev. Stewart

Headlam and Mr. Walter Blott are the chairmen. All lovers of liberty are invited to attend.—T. E. W.

CENTRAL FINSBURY REFORM ASSOCIATION, "Three Kings," Clerkenwell Close.—Sunday May 22, at 8.30. Wm. Blundell, "Landlordism from a Socialist Standpoint."

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THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 72.

SATURDAY, MAY 28, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

A WRITTEN DEBATE

BETWEEN MR. C. BRADLAUGH, M.P., AND E. BELFORT BAX.

SUBJECT:

“Will Socialism Benefit the English People?”

II.—*Negative*: Mr. C. BRADLAUGH.

1. The question which ought to have been discussed between Mr. Bax and myself is, “Will Socialism benefit the English People?” Having carefully read the opening paper by Mr. Bax, on whom is now the duty of affirming the proposition that Socialism will benefit the English people, I am afraid that such a discussion is unlikely if conducted on the lines of that opening paper.

2. The first step should, I submit, have been to make clear precisely what it is that Mr. Bax means when he uses the word “Socialism”; and that then there should have been some attempt to show how such Socialism could be put in practice in this country; what were the beneficial results to the English people to be expected as the consequence of such Socialism in practice; and why any such benefits, if secured by the English people, were to be regarded as solely or mainly attributable to Socialism. In the first step Mr. Bax has, I think, failed, the other points he has not even touched, unless the very vague generalities I shall notice presently are considered by him sufficient.

3. Mr. Bax says that he defines “Modern Socialism” “as a new view of life (i.e. of human relations) having an economic basis,” and, he adds, that “the economic goal of modern or scientific Socialism” “is the equal participation by all in the necessities, comforts, and enjoyments of life, and the equal duty of all to assist in the necessary work of the world,” and he afterwards affirms that Socialism is to be realised “in the assumption by the people themselves, organised to this end, of the means of production, distribution, and exchange, and in the working of them in the interest of the whole community.”

4. But it is no definition to say that Socialism is a new view of human relations upon an economic basis unless the “view” and the “basis” are both clearly explained, and this explanation has certainly not been given by Mr. Bax in the paper to which I am now replying. He does speak of the “economic goal,” but can scarcely mean that the “goal” to be arrived at is with him the equivalent for the “economic basis” from which the Socialistic system starts.

5. Then Mr. Bax says that the economic goal of the Socialism which he ought to affirm, “no less than the Utopian Socialism of Owen, Fourier, St. Simon, etc.,” is—I will omit the “etc.” as much too vague for serious discussion, and will ask Mr. Bax does the “no less” mean that the Socialism he affirms is at least that of, or at least the equivalent of, those of Robert Owen, Charles Fourier, and Claude Henri St. Simon? That is, does he mean that the Socialism which he maintains includes and accepts the whole of what he calls the Utopian Socialism of these eminent persons, and in addition affirms something else (and if yes, what?) which makes it “modern or scientific” in lieu of being “Utopian”? I must not be understood as admitting that the theories of Robert Owen, Charles Fourier, and St. Simon are identical or even workable together.

6. Mr. Bax objects that Utopian Socialists, such as Owen, Fourier, and St. Simon, believed equal participation by all “to be attainable by mere individual initiative.” This seems to me inaccurate, but as it is scarcely relevant to the issue I only note the point as perhaps enabling me to distinguish the Socialism Mr. Bax now affirms. I understand Mr. Bax, in this, to maintain that Mr. Robert Owen and his friends were Utopian because they tried to reduce Socialism to actual practice in groups, and that Modern Socialism is practical in entirely avoiding any such experiments. If I am wrong in this interpretation perhaps Mr. Bax will state precisely what it is that he means, as I fear I do not quite know what he intends by the concluding sentence of his first paragraph.

7. If Mr. Bax attaches any importance to the words, “special reference to the condition of the world as a whole,” with regard to any attempt now or in future to establish Socialism in England, I shall be glad to have this explained, the more so as I see that he declares that Socialism “is nothing if not international.” Does this last phrase mean that no plan of Socialism could succeed in England unless that plan were also adopted by other European countries, or does the condition of the world, as a whole, involve that Socialism must be accepted in Africa before it can succeed here?

8. As I see that Mr. Bax is of opinion that “the break up of the

present State nationalities of Europe would be one of the first results of Socialism,” I would ask him to state distinctly what other results, if any, of Socialism he anticipates in England as occurring prior to the expected break up of European State nationalities? I would further press him as to what he means by the break up, say, of the Swiss, Italian, French, and German nationalities? and what kind of governments, if any, he looks for, as likely to be existing, or which he may desire to exist, in each or any of these countries respectively after such break up? and whether he anticipates that such break up of State nationalities would be a slow and peaceful process? and if yes, why? or whether he regards such break up as in any case likely or desirable to be rapidly effected? and if yes, how? and whether if State nationality is to cease in England, as one of the earliest results of Socialism, he will briefly state the form of government, if any, which he hopes for in this country, and how he thinks it can exist without representing State nationality, or some federation of State nationalities.

9. If I rightly apprehend the note by Mr. Bax, he denies the possibility of any social change being effected by isolated individuals or groups. It is true he limits this denial by the words “abstractedly and of their own initiative, irrespective of the general current of human progress,” but the first word, “abstractedly,” is here meaningless, and to the last eight words it is only necessary to say that the general current of human progress has been made up of innumerable instances of isolated and individual effort ultimately co-operating and coalescing for the desired end, and thus ensuring the progress. To be told that the modern Socialist builds his faith on a “rock of ages” with “many-hued strata of economic formation” is marvellously pretty, but it has the disadvantage of not being necessarily clear in its meaning to the hearer or reader.

10. Not finding a definition of Socialism in these words of Mr. Bax, I will state my own view. I define Socialism either as affirming (1) that organised society should own all wealth, direct all labour, and compel the equal distribution of all produce, or as affirming (2) that organised society should take possession of land, capital, all means of production, distribution, and exchange, should control all labour, regulate all distribution, and conduct all exchange. That is, I understand a Socialistic State to be one in which everything would be in common as to its user, and in which all labour would be State-controlled. I therefore identify Socialism with Communism. Does Mr. Bax accept either of these definitions?

11. Mr. Bax says that there is to be “the assumption” (does this mean the taking away from the present owners? and if yes, by what means and on what conditions as regards the present owners?) of the “means of production, distribution, and exchange,” and that there is then to be “equal participation by all in the necessities, comforts, and enjoyments of life” (this, I suppose, means that under scientific Socialism every one is to have an equal share of everything), and that the people are to be “organised to this end.” I would ask Mr. Bax to tell me whether in so using those words he means that the organised people should take into their possession as a common stock and then own all wealth and equally participate in all produce, and if not, what distinction he draws? I would also ask him whether he includes all conceivable wealth under the words “means of production, distribution, and exchange, necessities, comforts, and enjoyments of life,” or whether he means to except any of the results of production? and if he makes any such exception, why?

12. In his third paragraph Mr. Bax promises to state “the nature of the process by which ‘the transformation of what he describes as capitalism’ into a real social order will be effected,” and further promises then to give “the reasons why such social order must benefit the English people.” I hope he will not think me rude in saying that I find no trace in his paper of any attempt to fulfil either promise.

13. There is one statement of Mr. Bax—i.e., that “civilisation can be only definitely overthrown by Socialism”—which if Socialism could widely prevail would very possibly be accurate. I am unable, however, to see that the definite overthrow of civilisation either in England or everywhere is shown by Mr. Bax to be probably, or even possibly, beneficial to the English people. Mr. Bax adds that the “State world” is to become a “social world” “by a revolution generated in the fulness of its own development.” I would respectfully ask Mr. Bax to explain to me how and when he thinks this English State is to become some other kind of English society other than a State? and in what way this is to be effected “by a revolution generated in the fulness of its own development”?

14. Mr. Bax affirms that Socialism “would of course soon result in

the extinction of that private enterprise"—that is, in the extinction of some private enterprise he objects to. I venture to ask him whether Socialism, if realisable, would not certainly result in the complete extinction of all private enterprise, or what kinds of private enterprise he thinks would resist and survive? and why? If I pass almost without examination, and with but very slight contradiction, Mr. Bax's inexact presentment of history, it is because I believe it absolutely irrelevant to the question Will Socialism benefit the English people? and this is the only question I intend at present to discuss.

16. When Mr. Bax says that "Christianity is through and through Individualistic," I would ask him—if it be in any degree material to the issue between us—to explain how such a proposition is reconcilable with Acts ii. 44; iv. 32?

17. I see in Mr. Bax's paper occasional, but not precise, references to other works from his own pen and to the writings of others. I would respectfully ask him to requote here any words or statistics which he may think necessary to his argument. I have hardly the time for research outside my own bookshelves, and without exact reference might not light upon the intended passage, and our readers might some of them be in similar difficulty.

18. Mr. Bax makes the following statement with great confidence, and as if one of indisputable fact:

"The small capitalist is continually being thrown upon the labour-market by inability to hold his own in the competitive arena. Capital tends thus to become concentrated in fewer and fewer hands, while the reserve army of labour tends steadily to augment. The result is increasing riches for the few and increasing poverty for the many. The 'increase of national wealth' at the present day means increase of misery for the mass of the people."

I very much doubt whether any portion of the paragraph is true as to this country, except the one that the "army of labour tends steadily to augment". This I have always maintained, and have no doubt that the evils of society resulting from tendency of population to increase until positive checks operate are of a most serious nature. I would, as to the rest of the paragraph, ask Mr. Bax to refer me to the particular trades in which, during the last twenty years in England, the small capitalist has in any large numbers been so thrown upon the labour market. Also I would ask him whether the individual possessors of capital in England are not more numerous in proportion to population than they were forty years ago, and whether there is not now less pauperism in proportion to population in England than there was forty years ago? Mr. John Morley, speaking at Cobden Club dinner, said:

"In the years 1874-5 to 1884-5 the incomes between £200 and £1,000 per year have increased by 30 per cent., though the population has only increased by 10 per cent. Incomes over £5,000 a year have decreased by 10 per cent. You come to this as a general conclusion—that the lower the income the more rapid has been the rate of increase."

Does Mr. Bax dispute these figures? I admit that with the increasing education of the past thirty years there is an increasing consciousness of suffering and augmented discontent against unfair life conditions. I have done my best to increase this consciousness and discontent in order to compel ameliorating changes. I admit that with the increase of population in great centres you have limited areas of exceedingly acute misery, disease, and crime, which are probably in excess of what was possible in small centres of population, but I deny that there is increase of misery for the mass of the people, and assert on the contrary that the condition of the masses in England has certainly improved during the past fifty years. As the burden of proof is on Mr. Bax I invite him to give me the exact figures and references on which he relies to prove the allegations I traverse. I quite admit that it is true that there are unduly large landed estates and unduly large fortunes in too few hands. The land evil may, I think, be dealt with by legislation under existing institutions. The undue accumulations of capital are a little more difficult to check, but even this may be only a question of limiting power of bequest, of imposing cumulative tax on inherited personalty beyond a certain figure, or of higher and graduated income tax in excess of a certain amount. I would also submit that the large accumulations of our richest capitalists form only a small portion of the gross national wealth. Mr. Bax quotes, on the authority of Mr. Hyndman, some figures as to which he admits that he does not know how they have been arrived at, but which he says he has never seen "seriously controverted." I do not know whether Mr. Bax means that he does not regard objection from myself as serious, but he will see that in the debate with Mr. Hyndman, p. 30, I specifically challenged these very figures, and Mr. Hyndman, though alluding to this, p. 34, never disputed the returns I relied on. I have not seen the other statistics referred to by Mr. Bax. If they are material, I should be obliged by his giving them in detail in his next paper, as the lump totals given do not enable me—even if I understand them—to do more than challenge their accuracy. I say "even if I understand them," because Mr. Bax writes that money not earned by producers—that is, the estimated increased value—should be added to the income of the non-producer—that is, that something not brought into existence should be reckoned as part of the income of someone who cannot be benefitted by this non-existent quantity. Mr. Bax may mean something by this. Will he kindly explain.

19. I exceedingly doubt whether Mr. Bax is right in saying that in England "the break-up of the feudal states helped to consolidate the power of the Crown." And if he did not mean this to apply to England, it is irrelevant to the issue we are discussing. Nor is it true that the history of this country from the sixteenth century to the present time "is the history of the middle or trading classes in their

efforts to free the individual from the fetters of feudalism and monarchy, to the end that on the one side there might be a body of free and landless labourers, and on the other a body of moneybags free to exploit them." In any case Mr. Bax omits to show any connection between these alleged past sins of the English trading classes and the proposition he has undertaken to affirm.

20. Mr. Bax says:

"The means of the present exploitation of labour, the cause of the present horrible state of things, is monopoly. Its *modus operandi* is the extraction of surplus-value from the labourer by compelling him to work a whole day while receiving only so much of the results of his labour as is necessary to keep him in bare subsistence. Remove the monopoly from the hands of individuals, and you do away with the possibility of surplus-value."

This paragraph is an accumulation of inaccuracies. It assumes that at present some unnamed individuals have a monopoly either of all labour or of certain unspecified kinds of labour. Neither of these assumptions is true. It assumes that there is always or generally a surplus-value of considerable amount which the labourer has earned, to which he is morally entitled, but which he does not get. This is sometimes true, but seldom to the extent suggested by the form of the statement. The margin of profit over cost of production is usually very small. Then Mr. Bax says that by Socialism you "do away with surplus-value," but he does not explain how manufacture will be possible if no part of the result of labour is to go for plant, the expenses of conduct of the works, outlay for raw material, cost of exchange and distribution, which must necessarily be incurred, whether any particular industrial enterprise is exploited by an individual, by a corporation, or by a community.

CHARLES BRADLAUGH.

THE REWARD OF LABOUR.

A DIALOGUE.

Persons: AN EARNEST ENQUIRER, an EAST-END WEAVER, a WEST-END LANDOWNER.

SCENE: Outside a philanthropical meeting on Social Science.

(Concluded from p. 165.)

E. E. (continuing to L.) But I am a stranger in London, and will you believe it, don't know what the East-end of London is like; but I have heard of so much being done for the benefit of the East-end, People's Palaces, Mosaic pictures, and the like, that I suppose by now it is quite a pleasant place; that small and squalid as your house is, you can get out of it at once into fresh air, pleasant gardens, roomy squares; and that it is well supplied with libraries, baths, and, in a word, all the benefits of civilisation—(aside) whatever that may mean.

W. Well, sir, you suppose a great deal. What's the use of building a People's Palace in Hell, or putting up a Mosaic picture on the walls of the devil's scullery. If the parsons are right about that job, and some of us do happen down there, we shall beat Old Scratch; for he will scarcely be able to make it so nasty that we shan't think we have got back again home. Excuse me, I told you that I was a bilious subject.

E. E. No excuse needed; I must get on, and indeed make an excuse to you for what I am going to say. Perhaps both I and this frock-coated, shiny-hatted gentleman here were after all wrong in thinking you intelligent; perhaps that's only a show—eh, Mr. Landowner?—to cover that dangerous discontent of the inferior part of the lower orders, which is getting to be so prevalent; and ain't you perhaps stupid, unable to seize hold of your advantages;—there, I don't want to hurt your feelings, I am only speaking of you as a type of a large body of men.

W. Never mind my feelings, I shan't get in a rage; I'm used to you now. Well, I'll answer as a type, and say I'm no stupider than other people, high as well as low; and at all events I am able to do my work—come!

E. E. (aside.) Well, the secret of the compensation to the working classes for their inferior position does rather elude my grasp, certainly; like trying to hold an eel when one hasn't sanded one's hand. Well, let's try once more, and try the moral side of things. (To W.) As I understand, we have got so far: you are a skilled workman, not stupid especially, you produce useful things, and yet you are poor; for that is the word we use, Mr. Landowner, to express a condition of life that you know nothing of, so that the word doesn't carry much meaning in it for you; nor as much as it should for you either, Mr. Weaver, because you don't know what being rich is, or what a soft and comfortable life it means, in spite of the moralists. However, I will just tell you both what being poor means, so that henceforth you, Mr. Landowner, may attach some meaning to the word, and you, Mr. Weaver, may understand partly what the word rich means. To be poor is to live in perpetual anxiety about satisfying the very simplest wants, and to have all kinds of wants besides which you have no chance of satisfying. Do you understand that, Mr. Landowner?—no, scarcely yet, I am afraid. Well, it can't be helped—he who lives will see. And now to my search for compensation again. You are, as it seems, skilful, industrious, useful—and poor. Yet, perhaps, you may be compensated even for that; for you know that according to the story, in ancient times the philosophers, whom you may look upon as a kind of reasonable parsons, were poor as well as useful, but they had their compensation in being much honoured and respected. Let us hope that it is the same with you, and that you are looked upon with a sort of

reverence because you add so much to the wealth of the community and take so little from it.

[A faint smile is observed to play on the features of the Landowner, who has been listening a little lately].

W. Yes, I thought we should get to the chaff again, or else where have you been dug up from to ask such a question? A working-man honoured and respected! Yes, when he's a working-man representative. But look here, as to the respect I'm held in, I don't want to be vague, so I ask you to take the trouble to notice the way in which a policeman (a public servant, mind you) speaks to an East-ender and a West-ender; that will enlighten you as to the respect paid to me as a philosopher; and as to those of ancient days, 'tis hard to understand; and apart from it being, as the old woman said, "a long way off and a long time ago," I can't help suspecting that some of them were dodgers. Excuse me again, I am but a weaver, and therefore ill-bred.

E. E. Well, it comes to this, then, that you're skilful, industrious, useful, poor, and despised—one of the lower class?

W. Just so—a working-man.

E. E. Why?

W. Why? Because I'm a working-man.

E. E. Well, well, can't we get any further than that with our reason?

W. No, not yet. However, here is this gentleman, an educated man, an M.P., who has of course considered this sort of thing. Begin upon him now. And since he has stood by and listened to me, perhaps he won't object to my doing the same by him.

E. E. By all means stay, and if you can set him a-going when he sticks by a word in season, I shan't grudge you. (To L.) Well, sir, now for it! And I like the prospect of questioning you. You are burly and healthy looking; your step is firm, your eye bright, your features well cut. If it were still the old slave-times of the world, and our friend the weaver and you were by the fortune of war offered to me for sale, I think I should prefer speculating in you. You would last longer, for one thing.—Now, without further preamble, tell me what is your occupation?

L. I am a landowner.

E. E. Yes, I know that. What does that mean as to the work of it? What do you do?

L. Do? Well—why—well, I manage my estates.

E. E. You manage them? And pleasant work too, since they are yours. But is your statement quite accurate? Come now, on your honour, as an English gentleman.

L. Well, you understand; my lawyer does, and my steward, and my bailiff, and—

E. E. Yes, I see. Well, what else do you besides—not managing your estates?

L. (with hesitation) Well, you heard what the weaver said, I sit in Parliament.

W. (sotto voce) O Lord! That's what he does!

E. E. Well, I needn't follow up the enquiry further on that line, as it's clear that that trade, when successful, consists not of doing anything, but preventing things from being done. Do you do anything else?

L. Well, I suppose you won't call shooting doing anything?

E. E. Well, it doesn't do much service to others—not even the partridges.

L. Or horse-racing? At anyrate that's as useful as stock-jobbing.

E. E. I am happy to be able to agree with you.

W. And stock-jobbing isn't so bad as sweating.

E. E. Hilloa, my friend! That subject would lead us further, before we have done with it: let me stick to the honourable member's usefulness.

W. Like the breeches to the legless man!

E. E. (To L.). Well, all this—shooting, horse-racing, yachting, and the like—we had better not trouble ourselves as to its details; it can all be called by one generic name, can't it?

L. Yes; you mean amusement, I suppose.

E. E. You have said it. So that your work consists in your amusing yourself?

L. Yes (sadly)—or boring myself.

E. E. What are you paid for it?

L. Eh, what's that?—paid for it?

E. E. Yes, paid for it: you can't feed and clothe yourself on the game you shoot; it wouldn't pay powder and shot, I doubt. Shall I put it in another way? Who keeps you?

L. Keeps me? I keep myself, of course. My father used to keep me; he couldn't get a decent Government place for me.

E. E. Well, never mind your family history: we can guess at it. I must put my question another way, since you will be so obtuse. What do you get?

L. Oh, you mean my income? Well, my rent-roll is ten thousand a-year; but it doesn't come to much after all outgoings. First there's—

E. E. Excuse me; never mind those details, I am not a tax-gatherer. What's your income, all deductions made?

L. (blurted out). Six thousand a-year—there!

E. E. Well, and what do you think the reward for doing nothing ought to be?

W. (eagerly). Nothing.

E. E. Yes, but I didn't ask you. What do you say; Mr. Landowner?

L. Nothing.

E. E. Well, well, this is sad. You get £6000 a-year for doing nothing, for which our friend here thinks you ought to have nothing,

and you have nothing to say to it. Your position is a strange one. Where does your £6000 a-year come from?

L. From my property, of course.

E. E. Where does that come from?

L. Come, come! you want to know too much. Suffice it, the property is mine, and that I came by it legally.

E. E. Well, I might press you on that point; but as I know that you are your father's son, as the saying goes, I had rather ask the questions I might ask you, as to where the property comes from, of a self-made man—that is, a man who has made money; which means he has "collected" it. But now, suppose me to be a man from another world, and answer me this: You live softly and comfortably, you can have everything you want, even to the point of the satisfaction of your desires boring you, and you do nothing useful.

L. (interrupting). Does any one?

E. E. What, not the men who supply you with food? Well, perhaps they don't, if that's all they do.

L. Well, you know what I mean.

E. E. No, I'm damned if I do—unless 'tis "nothing" once again. But you interrupted me with your meaningless pessimism. I say you do nothing, and for that you have and spend the livelihood of a hundred silk-weavers. You take a great deal out of the stock of wealth of the world, and put nothing into it. As an inhabitant of another world, allow me to ask, don't people look down upon you, jeer at you for this?

L. Certainly not; I am much respected, looked up to—liked even.

E. E. Why?

L. Well, I'm a good-natured sort of fellow.

E. E. You should be that at least, considering your easy life. But I wonder are you very clever? Perhaps a poet;—no, of course not: you would have let me know that long ago—but are you very clever?

L. Certainly not a poet, not even an inarticulate one; and not specially clever, I admit. But look here, if I were, I shouldn't be respected any more: I am respected because of my property, my position.

E. E. Well, I haven't much else to ask you; but tell me this: If you were employing two workmen, and one did his day's work well and straightforwardly and ate workman's victuals, and the other you had to feed on venison and champagne, and his day's work came to nothing, would you respect the second workman more than the first—as his employer, you know?

L. Of course not; but you see I'm not in the same position as the second workman. You see, my dear sir, the complexity of civilised society—in short, your question is quite wide of the mark.

W. Oh, oh!

E. E. I must put the case otherwise, then. Here is a man (pointing to Weaver) who works hard and usefully and is paid for it with £60 a-year and contempt; and here is another (pointing to L.) who does nothing at all and is paid for it with £6000 a-year and respect. As an earnest enquirer, I ask if you can tell me why?

L. These inequalities are necessary for the maintenance of society.

E. E. But it seems to me that it is an injustice, a gross one. Don't you really think so too? Come, try to throw away caste prejudices, and answer me like a man.

L. Well, perhaps it is—in the abstract.

E. E. Then injustice is necessary to the maintenance of society—why?

L. Because there must be rich and poor or there would be no society.

E. E. That is saying the same thing in other words. Again I ask, why?

L. I know it always will be so, that's all.

W. Then it's a bad look-out—that's all.

[While they have been talking, a small crowd has gathered about them, under the impression that an open-air meeting is going on. Enter to them a policeman, under the same impression, who pushes through the ring, and, seeing the Weaver, catches hold of him and gives him a rough shake, and says, "Come, you get out of this." Exit Weaver, hurriedly, glad to get off so lightly. Then policeman turns round to Landowner, who is very nicely dressed, touches his helmet, and says, "Shall I get you a cab, sir?" Landowner nods and moves off to meet the cab, and the small crowd disperses. Earnest Enquirer walks off slowly, soliloquising.]

E. E. I must try to find out why; for as the weaver said, 'tis a bad look-out. Society should mean something else than organised injustice; and somewhere there ought to be the germs of a society of which no one need ask the question, "Why does it exist?"

WILLIAM MORRIS.

"DRIVEN TO MADNESS BY THE CRUELITIES OF CASTLE GOVERNMENT."—The N. Y. Herald of May 7 contains an account of the "arrival of thirteen late members of the Royal Irish Constabulary" who "resigned for conscience sake," from which it appears that one of them, Patrick M'Donough, "a fine-looking young fellow of thirty-six," had become insane. Shortly after embarking, he commenced raving about the horrible scenes he had witnessed, and imploring some imaginary persons to forgive him for doing his duty.

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS IN PARIS.—The result of the recent municipal elections in Paris has been on the whole satisfactory, for the Socialist Labour Party have returned eleven representatives, while in the last municipal council they were but four, hence a gain of seven seats. L'Intransigeant gives a full list of the results of the ballot, from which we abstract for the interest of our readers the following details: The new Council consists of 56 "Autonomistes," of which 45 are Socialist Radicals (so to call them!) and 11 Revolutionary Socialists; 13 "Opportunists" (as against 27 in the last Council) and 11 "Reactionaries."



"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.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

O'B. (Cork).—"The Fenian Song" was published, with music, by H. M. Higgins, 117, Randolph Street, Chicago, in 1864. Whether it can still be procured we do not know. We have never seen it for sale in this country. "The Rallying Song" ("Shouting the Battle-cry of Freedom") is included in Boosey's "Musical Cabinet," No. 88, 1s.; "Garryowen" is in No. 693 of Boosey's "Universal Music."

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday May 25.

ENGLAND		
Jus	Seattle (W.T.) Voice of the People	SWITZERLAND
Norwich—Daylight	Albina (Org.)—Weekly Courier	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung	Cincinnati (O.) Unionist	Geneva—Bulletin Continental
Brotherhood		
Die Autonomie	FRANCE	SPAIN
INDIA	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Madrid—El Socialista
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Le Socialiste	Cadiz—El Socialismo
Allahabad—People's Budget	Le Revolte	PORTUGAL
UNITED STATES	L'Insurge	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
New York—Freiheit	Lille—Le Travailleur	Voz do Operario
Truthseeker	Guis—Le Devoir	HUNGARY
Der Sozialist	BELGIUM	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
Leader	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde	ROUMANIA
Boston—Woman's Journal	Liege—L'Avenir	Jassy—Lupta
Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer	Antwerp—De Werker	DENMARK
Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	HOLLAND	Social-Demokraten
Labor Enquirer	Hague—Recht voor Allen	SWEDEN
Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	ITALY	Stockholm—Social-Demokraten
Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio	NORWAY
New Haven (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate	Naples—Humanitas	Kristiania—Social-Democraten
	AUSTRIA	GREECE
	Vienna—Gleichheit	Athens—Ardin

NOTES ON NEWS.

THE Coercion Bill is being slowly dragged through committee, and attacks are being made on its details with more or less success, so that there are not wanting genuine anti-coercionists who are beginning to feel elated at the prospect of the bill coming out of the mill something quite different from what was intended. I would remind these persons that it will in any case still be a coercion bill for Ireland; that is to say a bill for the manufacture of special crimes in that country, which do not exist in England, Scotland or Wales, and that the Tory Government and their Liberal allies will be quite satisfied with it in that form: a few words more or less, what do they matter?

In fact this struggle over the bill in committee illustrates very well the impotency of minorities in Parliament, even when they are important, respectable, and numerous, and the futility of attempting to use that body as a means of safeguarding the people from oppression. The bill becomes law after all this sifting out of parts of it that are any ways siftable; nor, as the division on Sir W. Harcourt's amendment shows, can the Opposition get rid of any of its principle; nevertheless anti-coercionists, and those as aforesaid, not of the mildest, are already beginning to look with a kind of complacency on the altered bill, are considering it to a certain extent as the work of their own hands, as indeed it is or will be; the effect of their guardianship of the liberties of the people will be visible in it, and will take the edge off the resistance of moderate opponents of the measure, or timid people, who will say, we have done all we can do in the matter—through our representatives in Parliament—and it isn't so bad after all: now let us go eat our dinners and forget the Irish question.

That is of course just what all Governments reckon on in such cases; they don't expect to carry a measure condemned by the democracy by the mere force of the accidental majority of that odd jumble of a body, the voters of the United Kingdom; they have always the fraud of Parliamentary representation to help that force, and can depend on the juggle of "determined opposition in committee" to do all they want for them and enable them to pose as persons who are carrying out the will of the people and are trying, so far as is possible, even to satisfy the perhaps not unreasonable prejudices of the minority.

How different a figure the bill would have cut if instead of going night after night to fight the air in committee, the real opponents of coercion had said after the second reading: Well, the force of the majority is yours and the bill is carried; we have opposed it as well as we could, and henceforth will have nothing to do with it, there is none of our handiwork in it; the whole measure is yours, face the public with it in your hands as the only persons responsible for it. If they had said that and then gone home till the business was over, would not anti-coercion have been by now in a better position than it is? Possibly in that case the Government might have put forward the bill in all its hideous nakedness and so have courted open revolt, thereby shocking the moderates into serious opposition: more probably they would have felt extremely nervous under their ill-omened freedom from opposition, and would not have ventured as far as they are venturing now under opposition; but in that case the public would have understood clearly enough that their forbearance was caused by cowardice, whereas they now suppose that they have yielded to reason as expressed by the Opposition. In either case the Coercion Bill would have been much more obvious for what it is, an impudent attack on the most elementary liberties of the country. The Parliamentary sham-fight of compromise and expediency has once more served the purpose it is sustained for, that is keeping the people down; and that in spite of the thoroughly organised and sincere opposition of the Irish members, who have done everything that they could have done—as a Parliamentary party. For the kind of abstention I have alluded to could not be done by a Parliamentary party.

Something has already been said in the *Commonweal* about the case of the pit-brow women; but owing to Mr. Burt's amendment to the Mines Regulation Bill the matter is again before the public, and is now put before them with sentimental and even theatrical embellishments which tend to obscure the real question at issue, which is briefly this: Are these women to be used for doing work which is unfit for women for the purpose of reducing the wages of working people? The capitalists very naturally answer "Yes," the working men as naturally answer "No." The public, confused as it well may be by the fact, amongst others, that the women engaged in this beastly work (also quite naturally under the present muddled slavery of labour) do not wish to lose their employment, doesn't know what to say. It may therefore be explained to them once more that the women would not be employed unless at lower wages than men would have to be paid, and that this is the case whenever women are employed on work which they are not especially fitted for. Whatever boon, therefore, may be conferred on the women by allowing them to work amidst filth for a small wage, it will be no boon to the working people in general.

A word may here be said to the "women's rights" group. They are far too apt to put women forward as competitors with men, and thereby injure the cause of the emancipation of women which every Socialist is bound to further. They are therefore blind to the fact that the capitalist employment of women for the general cheapening of labour is founded on that very dependence of women which they (and we) want to get rid of. Under reasonable conditions of society every woman will be free to earn her own livelihood as every man will be, but for that very reason there will be no competition between the sexes; and women will neither get nor seek employment in work which man can do better than they can. Capitalism forces them to accept such work now—at starvation wages; just as it forces males to accept work which is not fit for human beings. As long as men are slaves, women can be no better. Let the women's rights societies adopt that last sentence as a motto—and act on it.

The East-end people may be congratulated on the new "palace" they are getting, though the word is an unsavoury one in the mouth of the people. But what a number of East-ends there will be whose poverty will prevent them from using it! People too ragged, dirty, ignorant—in a word, too degraded to use it. And even those of the workers who can use it, can they do so with due pleasure and content? Surely not, when they contrast its magnificence with their own narrow, inconvenient, sordid dwellings and their wretched surroundings. Until their private houses are roomy, comfortable, and pleasant, they cannot really enjoy splendid public buildings; they have got to go back again to their narrow, shabby lodgings, and beastly workshops—and live there. Surely when true society takes the place of false, we shall raise beautiful and magnificent halls with their surroundings for the use of all. But the contrast will not then be between splendour and sordidness, but between splendour and special beauty and the due simplicity of the dwelling of a private person which is quite consistent with beauty and convenience.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

SHORT DRAMA IN TWO SCENES.—First scene: Millionaire seated in an easy chair; by him stands a Poor Man in a supplicating attitude.

Millionaire: "Ahem! Very sorry, my young friend, that I can do nothing for you. But I can give you a word of good advice—economise!"

Poor Man: "But when a man has nothing to—"

Millionaire: "Nonsense! Under such circumstances a man must know how to save."

Second scene: The Millionaire is drowning in a pond; the Poor Man calmly regarding him from the shore.

Poor Man: "Sorry, my friend, that I can do nothing for you, but I can give you a word of good advice—swim!"

Millionaire (choking): "Bub-bub-but wh-when a man can't swim!"

Poor Man: "Nonsense! Under these circumstances a man must know how to swim."—*Newcastle Chronicle*.

THE MORROW OF THE REVOLUTION.

WE Socialists are often asked the question, what would you do if you found yourselves with power in your hands to-morrow? This question is not an unreasonable one, and I think it is one that Socialists should discuss before the day finds them unprepared. In Paris sixteen years ago the problem had to be faced in a practical manner, but the leaders of Paris were then unhappily in utter confusion as to its solution. It is true they performed the ordinary executive functions of an administration admirably; and it is sufficient to point to their example to confute those who affect to laugh at the notion of men unacquainted with official red-tape being put in responsible positions. But when it came to the question of any new departure to be made the council-room of the Commune was the battle-ground of rival propositions. Now it seems to me that it is not unprofitable for Socialists to enter upon the discussion of such points as these at once, and as far as may be to "thrash them out," before rather than after they are called upon to act.

The usual reply to the question referred to in opening is that we intend to nationalise or communise the means of production and distribution. This is undoubtedly strictly and literally correct, but from the questioner's point of view it may possibly be regarded as what a celebrated character of Dickens' would have called an "evasive answer." If further elucidation is required we proceed to explain that we mean to take over the big industries, railways, factories, banks—all, in short, that are sufficiently concentrated to admit of being worked by the State—and to proceed by the erection of communal or municipal workshops and stores on a large scale to undermine by competition the individualist-capitalist production and distribution. So far so good. But all this takes time to work itself out; "While the grass grows," says Hamlet, etc. An objection may be raised, therefore, that in a period of revolution it would be necessary to take certain immediate steps of an *ad interim* character to satisfy legitimate popular demands and to forestall the *panem et circenses* schemes of reactionary demagogues—Tory and Liberal "democrats," to wit. In other words, it may be insisted that the purely economic action of the organised Socialist administrative must be supplemented by legislative and judicial action for the former to have the chance of taking effect. That this is the case I am myself convinced. What action, then, would be the right one to be taken in addition to the orthodox economic readjustment above referred to, and which would of course be the mainspring of fundamental social reconstruction? In this instance, as in many others, I find the traditional three courses present themselves; with this difference, that here, as I take it, not one only, but all would have to be followed, since they are all more or less interconnected. To be brief, the first is the reduction of the working day to eight hours or less; the second, the all-important correlative of this action (without which I fear the limitation of hours would be merely illusory)—viz., the enactment of a law of *maximum* and *minimum*; and the third the abrogation of "civil" law, especially that largest department of it which is concerned with the enforcement of contract and the recovery of debt. As to the first of these provisions, it is unnecessary to say much, the reduction of the working day having become a plank in the working-class platform throughout the world. But the second and third may need a word of explanation. By a law of *maximum* and *minimum*, then, we mean the fixation of a maximum or compulsory price for all the necessary articles of everyday consumption—ordinary food, clothing, firing, etc.—and a minimum or lowest wage for the day's work in every industry, or at least in all the more important industries. This it seems is a necessary concomitant of a reduction of the working day, otherwise the price of necessities must tend to rise in proportion to the increased cost of production, or wages to fall, or perhaps both. Of the abolition of civil law I have elsewhere spoken, showing this law to be indeed the logical result of an individualist society and the indispensable corollary of such a society, but to have no reason of being in one based on collective possession of the means of production and distribution. The grounds of this are obvious. In an individualist society, where every man is fighting for his own hand in the *mêlée* of competition, he requires as the first condition that the laws of the war should be observed—that is, that plunder and murder should follow the prescribed rules, since if they are departed from his position as a combatant is prejudiced. In fact, without the enforcement of such rules the fight itself would be impossible, so that they are vital even to the very existence of competition or the commercial system.

On the other hand, under a Collectivist *régime* they are neither necessary for the system nor for the individual. The latter has his livelihood already assured by the constitution of society in return for his share of its needful work, and is no longer under the necessity of struggling as an individual with his fellows for his share of the produce of labour. Hence, he is not dependent for his subsistence upon any contract or agreement he may choose to make with other individuals. Any such agreement must therefore become a purely subsidiary and private matter, with which he has no right to expect Society to concern itself. Socialism implying that contract has ceased to be the cornerstone of economic conditions and social relations, it would be but natural that a revolutionary government should proclaim that fact in abolishing its legal sanctions. But there are additional reasons, and those of expediency, why this should be an immediate measure: (1) The abolition of enforcement of contract (including recovery of debt) would instantly put a stop to an enormous mass of swindling now carried on under the eyes of the law; (2) would effectually preclude the possibility of even temporary competition with the government or

municipal industries; and (3) would as effectually prevent any evasion of the law of *maximum* and *minimum*.¹ In fact, the abolition of the courts taking cognisance of contract (including the recovery of debt) would of itself so dislocate the whole commercial system, as to render its resuscitation during any period of temporary reaction well-nigh impossible.

These three provisions, I take it, ought to be the immediate issue of the attainment of power by a Socialist government. For the rest it might be further asked by one desirous for light, what attitude would a Socialist administration adopt towards the existing criminal law? To this also, so far as I am personally concerned, I am prepared with an answer. The customary laws of Anglo-Saxon tribal society, which form the basis of the so-called common law of England, as they became inappropriate to the new conditions, have been gradually superseded by legislation or by statutes, and these form the main body of our modern criminal law. Westminster has dictated statutes which have taken the place of the local "common law." This is necessarily the case as primitive society merges into civilisation. Civilised law, which is based on the independence of the individual and on the personal possession and control of property, is necessarily opposed to "customary law," which presupposes the dependence of the individual on a group and the collective ownership of property by that group. The latter (viz., customary law) will stretch and may be modified, it is true (as evidenced by the English "common law"), up to a certain point in accordance with the changed conditions; but beyond this it has to be supplemented, and is finally superseded by legislative enactments or statutes. Now, as Socialists, we believe that civilisation is destined to pass into a new and higher communism, just as tribal communism has passed into civilisation, and that therewith the whole of modern legislation will become obsolete. But, meanwhile, and until the economic change has worked itself out in ethical change, it is clear that a criminal law must exist. The only question is whether its basis shall be a mass of anomalous statutes and precedents or a logical system. In the one case the sweeping changes which it would be necessary for a Socialist government to make, would be complicated and hampered in a thousand ways. In the other they could be effected with ease. Now the most perfectly logical and connected system of jurisprudence is admitted by all students of law to be the Roman or civil law, and in modern times the system founded upon it was prevalent over a part of the Continent, and known as the "Code Napoleon."

My answer then to those who would know the proper course for a revolutionary government to take in the matter of jurisprudence, is that in my view such a government should, in countries where the "Code Napoleon" does not obtain, immediately suspend the existing criminal law and replace it by this code, at the same time appointing a committee of urgency to expurgate and amend it in accordance with the new Socialist morality. Such expurgation, it is possible, might leave little of the original in the end, but that original would have acted as a working basis and so served its purpose. The crucial distinction, it must never be forgotten in all these matters, between the old Society and the new, is that the one is based on the absolute sacredness of personal property, the other recognises the welfare of the community alone as the one absolutely sacred claim, all other claims having validity only in so far as they are derived from this one.

E. BELFORT BAX.

NORTHUMBRIAN NOTES.

IN Northumberland we have had a visit from the harmless old gentleman who commands the British army. He was opening a big show which is making a stir here just now. It was very funny and very degrading to see how thousands of people flocked after and cheered this person. The shopkeepers, however, in the most disloyal manner, tell one that they are in favour of the Jubilee fuss if it brings them more trade, and against it if not. Their straightforwardness is refreshing, even if their motives are not of the highest.

Socialism in the North of England is now on a secure footing. The gratifying outcome of our agitation is the establishment of the North of England Socialist Federation—a solid labour organisation, chiefly miners, at present consisting of twelve branches and over 1200 enrolled members. Rules are being drafted by a committee, and everything is going on in the most satisfactory manner.

The strike is now practically settled. By a large majority the men have decided to give the Wage Committee power to settle on the best terms they can obtain. This means little short of surrender. But the men have no disgrace attaching to their defeat. For seventeen weeks they have stood out, living on a few pence a-day, maintaining a quiet and peaceful demeanour, but with a dogged determination that nothing could overcome. That they have suffered keenly no one who has seen them and known them can doubt. Their battle was rendered doubly hard by the bitter knowledge that their leaders, who ought to have cheered them on and fought for them, hung back, gloomily predicting defeat before they had made an effort for victory.

The men feel and say that they could have won this fight had their leaders fought with them; but from the first, defeat seemed certain, since the leaders not only predicted it, but did nothing, where they could have done much, to avert it. The strike has taught many lessons, but most of all the lesson that *unity* is essential to the miners cause and the cause of all the workers.

The men have fought splendidly. There is nothing in the annals of the last quarter of a century of the labour-struggle to surpass it. Perhaps the sturdy chainmakers of Cradley Heath should be excepted. But here the whole county have fought magnificently against their foes and against their generals too. By standing out they have shown the true grit they are made of. They have also given the masters a lesson that they had never expected but fully deserved.

J. L. MAHON.

¹ The reason of the inefficacy of the mediæval laws against usury, which has been the subject of so many homilies on the part of orthodox economists, was simply owing to the fact that concurrently with the anti-usury laws, there existed laws for the recovery of debts.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

This department is under the direction of the Strike Committee. Labour News and Contributions to the Fund should be sent to T. BINNING, at the Offices.

BRITAIN.

The members of the Hackney Radical Club have organised a subscription in aid of the pitmen who are on strike in Northumberland.

At Darlaston there is a partial strike of the nut and bolt trade, owing to the attempt of one of the firms to enforce a reduction of wages and the alleged resort in other cases to violation of the Truck Act.

Several delegates of the Knights of Labour have recently arrived in England from the United States, and are now engaged in constituting assemblies of that order. They are said to be meeting with some success, and already several have been formed in the North of England.

The strike in the coal trade at Hebburn is now at an end. The men at the "C" pit came out in December last. The dispute was eventually referred to arbitration, and a settlement was arrived at in Durham on the 18th. The miners recommenced work on Monday. Between 600 and 700 men have been "out" for five months.

Intimation has been given by the Gourock Rope-work Co. (N. B.) to the whole of their workpeople of a reduction in wages of from 7 to 15 per cent. This reduction comes into effect at once, and extends to both male and female workers. As the works have been running only four days per week for some time, the reduction will be severely felt.

As a consequence of Mr. Goschen's budget arrangements as to the duty on tobacco, a large number of men, it is reported, have been discharged for three weeks from the firm of Messrs. Levy Brothers, tobaccoists, Shoreditch. Many operatives have already been discharged from other firms, and the new arrangement is likely to cause the closing of at least two large factories in the East-end.

The chainmakers have the satisfaction of being able to report several firms conceding the advance. At these firms work has commenced. At a recent meeting, Mr. Homer, the chairman, said they intended to boycott those men who had been at work during the time they had been on strike. They were determined not to resume work till they had attained their object. It was unanimously resolved to continue the strike. This is the 42nd week. A. K. Donald is now in the district as a delegate from the Strike Committee of the Socialist League. His report will probably be given in this column next week.

STRIKE OF BOYS.—On the 16th, the boys to the number of 32, who perform the duties of "putters-up" and "takers-in" at the new gas tank house of Londonderry Bottleworks, Seaham Harbour, belonging to Messrs. Candlish and Sons, struck work, and men have had to be engaged in their places, so that the men employed in gathering, blowing, and finishing will not be stopped. The refusal of the boys to go in is said to be owing to the adoption of a new code of working rules by the firm, by which the former allege their wages are considerably reduced.

The Northumberland miners have now reached the last stage of orthodox strikes. At the meeting last Saturday the result of the vote on the terms of surrender was decided, and the Wages Committee are empowered to make the best terms. The M.P. and other "trimmers" of the miners' organisation, have gained a decided victory, and have assisted the masters to a great extent in bringing about a conclusion to the strike. This will probably be the last strike bossed by the "old gang" who, on the slightest pretext play into the capitalists' hands and leave the men to fight both enemies and quondam friends. It is to be hoped the next turn-out will be a Socialist movement. The terms of the settlement are reductions of 12½ and 6½ respectively on different classes of coal.

THE STRIKE IN THE BELFAST SHIPBUILDING TRADE.—The employers are acting in the most high-handed manner. A deputation of the Queen's Island workers waited on the heads of the firm and were told if the men were not willing to go back to work under the old conditions the employers were prepared to "let the grass grow on the yard." Messrs. Harland and Wolff have decided to close their yard for at least a month, and have discharged the apprentices and clerks. Notwithstanding that subscriptions are coming in very slowly, and that the men are beginning to feel pinched, they are still determined to hold out. At a recent mass meeting, on a show of hands being called for, not a dissident was to be seen in the entire assembly.

BOLTON.—The strike in the iron trade seemed likely to come to an end. The Mayor intervened—taking the tide in the affairs of the disputants which was thought might lead to a settlement. The ironworkers however rejected an offer by the masters, who suggested that the men should continue at work for three months, withdraw their objections to overtime, and then consent to the refereeship of the Mayor in the matter of wages. A counter-proposal was made to the masters, which was not divulged.—The spinners engaged at the Vernon mills, have struck against a reduction of wages.—It is satisfactory to see that Herbert Fletcher, owner and manager of the Lady Shore Colliery, was fined £20 and costs for refusing to comply with the award of an umpire to stop working the mine with naked lights. The award was backed by 300 men who were employed by the defendant.

BELGIUM.

GREAT STRIKE IN THE MINING DISTRICTS.—"La Grève noire" has been spreading through the mining districts with telegraphic rapidity. In the Centre work has been completely stopped at the forges at La Hestre, Haine-Saint-Pierre, Baume, the workshops and smelting factories at La Croyère, etc. Military assistance has been called into requisition, and in several places the military have come into contact with the enraged strikers at the mouth of the pits. At La Croyère, the gendarmes charged the strikers very indiscriminately and killed and wounded several among their number. In the Charleroi coal basin the spread of the strike has been less rapid, though at Gilly, where as at Châtelet it is principally accentuated, the collieries and several of the workshops are guarded by a squadron of lancers which arrived from Tournai. The strikers in the Centre number over 3000. In the Borinage the number of those on strike has been 6000, but has since considerably diminished. Several arrests have been made, among them being Looor and Coureur, editors of the *Combat*.

CHARLEROI, May 22.—Numerous meetings have been held here to-day, at which a general strike was decided upon for to-morrow. The Burgomaster has asked for a battery of artillery to be sent here this evening. The District Court is sitting uninterruptedly, and great anxiety prevails.

CIGAR-MAKING IN ENGLAND.

(Concluded from p. 164.)

This trade is the only one, the raw material of which is heavily taxed by an excise duty. It is owing to this fact that in the early spring of the year the trade becomes "slack," and men are thrown out of employment. The employers are ever expectant of an alteration of duty, and await anxiously the introduction of the Budget in the House of Commons. In 1878, Sir S. Northcote, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, raised the duty on leaf tobacco from 3s. 2d. to 3s. 6d., an increase of 4d. on the pound. The employers at once commenced an agitation, in which they succeeded, to obtain an increased duty on foreign and Continental cigars, "to equalise the tariff and protect the home market." In the meantime, the employers took good care to well stock their warehouses with tobacco before the new and increased duty came into operation, thus gaining 4d. on every pound of leaf cleared. Not content with this, they also in many cases forced a reduction in the prices they were paying to their operatives, contending that the consumer would not pay the enhanced price for tobacco and cigars, and that they would be at an enormous loss to continue manufacturing at the old prices. We were obliged to give way.

The duties remained as above until the 21st of April, 1887, when Mr. Goschen, Chancellor of the Exchequer, introduced the Budget, and to the surprise of every one proposed to take off the 4d. Sir S. Northcote put on, this to come into operation on the 21st of May. As soon as this became known, the employers began to discharge their "hands" until that time. The unions at once decided to send deputations to the employers with a view of arresting the wholesale discharge of the men, and at the same time to seek the co-operation of the employers in requesting the Chancellor to either give a rebate of 4d. on all tobaccos cleared out of bond until the 21st of May, or bring the new tariff into operation as early as possible. They assured our deputation that they could rely on their support in what we were doing, and even promised to keep the men at work on short time rather than discharge them, a promise they forgot to keep in a large number of cases. Many of the employers offered a reduction as a condition to keep the men at work, and in the case of a very "respectable" firm in Long Acre, they offered a reduction of 6d. per hundred to the cigar-makers and 20 per cent. to weekly servants, which was persisted in until the news of the rebate granted by the Chancellor reached the firm.

I am glad to say that both in London and the country the female section of the trade have greatly aided us in resisting all offers of reduction in this crisis.

We have been repeatedly told that the interests of the employers and the men are identical, and yet, while the unions were endeavouring to bring the new tariff into operation as soon as possible (to the employer's benefit in the long run), the Masters' Association were in solemn conclave, and resolved "to strongly recommend the Chancellor to adhere to May 21st for the reduction of the tobacco duty in order that the manufacturers might have time to clear their stocks!" So much for identity of interests!

The Chancellor also proposes to make it illegal to sell tobacco containing more than 35 per cent. of water. The extent to which adulteration has been carried with smoking tobaccos since 1878, has attracted the attention of the novice as well as the expert. As much as 65 to 70 per cent. of adulteration has been discovered in the commoner kinds of tobacco, thus increasing the already enormous profits of the manufacturers.

It is not generally known that every large spinner of tobacco has his chemical laboratory, in which "scientific" experiments are carried on and applied to this industry—an example of stimulus to invention which Socialists hear so much about to-day. The employers, therefore, are quite angry with Goschen for tampering with it, and are loudly protesting against the interference with their genius.

In the *Tobacco Trade Review* for this month (the employers' journal) there are several letters of protest against the proposed alteration. The following is an extract from a letter by some one who signs himself "W. D.": "My impression is that the boon offered by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the reduction of the tobacco duties is more than neutralised by the restriction of the amount of added moisture permitted. Doubtless the working man will get more tobacco for his 3d. and perhaps of better quality. The retail shopkeeper also will do better, because his roll and common shag will not shrink on his hands, but there will be much inconvenience caused by the extinction of the wholesale dealers, for whose profits and expenses no margin will be left." He concludes by asking: "Would it not be better to leave the question of added moisture to the operation of the natural law of trade competition? (The italics are mine.)"

The above is a good sample of the "cheek" of those "gentlemen" who fill the *Review* with "trade requests" and nostrums of doubtful utility. Another correspondent (a retailer) writes to ask a very "ticklish question," eminently useful as indicating the general efficiency of prohibitory enactments: "Sir, can you or any of your readers give me any idea how the authorities are going to carry out the clauses restricting the sale of tobacco containing over 35 per cent. of moisture? A roll of thick twist as a whole may be within the limit, but the outer laps will be very much so, and the inner core probably just as much over-weighted with increase. Will the Excise take the average of the roll, or the outer laps, or the inner ones, for the purpose of testing? And what are the penalties imposed for infractions?"

These letters are sufficiently suggestive to any one to show that there

are always opportunities afforded manufacturers to adulterate their goods in spite of the Government regulations.

Before closing this review, a word as to the unions in existence among cigar-makers in England is necessary. There are two societies, the Cigar-makers' Mutual Association (to which I belong) and the Provident Society. The latter have about 250 members, and I believe their financial position is fair. A few facts and figures pertaining to the former association may be interesting and instructive. The figures I am about to give will illustrate the ravages made by the recent depression in trade on our financial position. The general fund on April 25th, 1885, was £1283, 4s. 5d. Up to Jan. 23, 1886, we paid to men out of work £1508, 4s.: there were 1003 members on the roll at that time. We were now, however, to experience a still heavier strain on our funds. In the following quarter, from Jan. 23, 1886, to April 24, we paid to men out of work £571, 2s., and £156, 2s. 6d. to men on the sick list, which ultimately brought our general fund to the small figure of £733, 1s. 3d., or a loss on the quarter of £390, 16s. 4d. In the next three months we paid to men out of work £414, 1s. 6d., and another £110, 8s. 6d. to men on the sick list, losing on the quarter, one way and another, £74, 16s. 10d., our funds standing at £658, 4s. 5d. We therefore paid in out-of-work benefit alone during the period from April 25, 1885, to Jan. 21, 1887, £2625, 9s., while our membership has decreased to 917; the funds standing at £913, 14s., a loss of over £370 in just on two years, showing we are rapidly losing ground as trades' unionists.¹

Socialism has made but little progress among cigar-makers up to the present time, but there is every indication that the men are every day becoming more willing to listen to anything pertaining to their position as workmen. They are for the most part a fairly intelligent body of men, many of whom have displayed in the past a self-sacrificing spirit for the general good; and I have no fear that, as time rolls on, and the great social change for which Socialists strive looms up in the distance, those engaged in the cigar industry will not be found wanting.

H. DAVIS.

SOCIALISM IN NORWICH—HENDERSON'S RELEASE.

On Sunday morning Morley gave a short address near Ber Street Fountain. In the afternoon a very large meeting assembled, notwithstanding the rain had been falling incessantly. Henderson was greeted with a hearty welcome, it being the first meeting since his release. He spoke for some time. The following resolution was carried unanimously: "That this meeting of Norwich workers considers that the imprisonment which Charles Wilfred Mowbray is now suffering is an unjust one, and calls for his speedy release." After the meeting, cheers were given for Henderson. Collected for defence, 7s. In the evening Henderson and Slaughter spoke on Agricultural Hall Plain. At the Gordon Hall, which was crowded, many being unable to get in, comrade Slaughter in the chair, Henderson lectured on "Civilisation of Prison Life," giving some experience of his recent imprisonment. He spoke of the many martyrs who had suffered for their opinions and still continued carrying on their mission, amidst frequent bursts of applause from the audience. Morley and another comrade also spoke. A good meeting was held at Wymondham, addressed by comrades Morley, Reux, and Stone. Literature has had a good sale; all *Commonweal* sold out. A. S.

The following additional particulars of the release of our comrade Henderson, taken from a report in a local paper, will no doubt be of interest to our readers. It has been known for some days past by Norwich Socialists that Fred Henderson would be released from the Castle yesterday morning at about seven o'clock. Arrangements were therefore made to give him a hearty welcome on his return to public life, and at that hour a goodly number of people had assembled in the vicinity of the Castle gates, amongst whom were comrades Crotch, Sutton, etc. But the object of their search had left the place of his temporary retirement an hour previously, having, we are told, been pressed to leave the prison even as early as five o'clock. However, Henderson was not far off, for presently putting in an appearance he was cordially greeted by his old friends, and a procession was formed for the Market Place, where a short meeting was held. The hero of the "demonstration" was cheered and received with manifestations of welcome. He thanked them for their kindness in thus meeting him, and said he hoped to be able to re-commence his work on behalf of Socialism in the city. An adjournment was then made by a select few to the Gordon Café, Duke Street, where a substantial breakfast was eaten, served by comrade Slaughter. In the evening there was a welcome home tea and social gathering at the Gordon Hall, the rendezvous of the local branch of the Socialist League. The tea was supplied by comrade Slaughter, and 150 persons sat down. After tea a social entertainment of a miscellaneous character was held, under the chairmanship of comrade Sutton, who was supported by comrades Slaughter, Crotch, and Henderson, the guest of the evening. The hall, which was densely crowded, was tastefully decorated with red baize, Socialist mottoes, cartoons, and portraits, among which were those of Henderson, Mowbray, Morris, Kropotkin, and others. Letters and telegrams were received during the evening from Annie Besant, giving "cordial congratulations and good wishes;" from Mahon, who is with the Northumberland miners, "with hearty greetings," and stating that they had in Newcastle just started a Socialist Federation there with 1200 members; from the Clerkenwell Branch, with "hearty greetings;" from the Social-Democratic Federation, giving "hearty congratulations;" etc. The programme consisted of songs, selections by a brass band under the direction of Crotch, recitations, readings, and short speeches. Comrade Slaughter gave in felicitous terms the toast of "The Prisoners for the Cause throughout the World," and it was responded to by Fred Henderson in an eloquent speech, in which he declared his intention of never faltering in his agitation. He regarded the Cause as the only thing worth living for. His remarks were listened to with deep attention, and applauded frequently. Comrade Crotch, on behalf of the local branch, presented Fred Henderson with Byron's Works, two volumes, and 'Tales of Revolution and Patriotism,' by the daughter of Joseph Cowen of Newcastle. In response to the toast of "The Visitors," Mr. E. Burgess, Rev. Charles Roper, B.A., and Mr. J. F. Thorn delivered short addresses. The assembly broke up at a late hour.

Powderly and the Labour Party.—A series of resolutions passed by the Portland (Oregon) Eureka Assembly K. of L. are in type, but unavoidably held over by press of matter.

¹ We pay 9s. per week to men out of work, for thirteen weeks, and 6s. per week for the next thirteen. The same to men on sick-list.

FOR THE CONFERENCE.

Whitsunday, 1887.

THOUGH Pentecost but faintly now recall
The rushing mighty wind and tongues of flame
Wherewith the universal spirit came
Upon the faithful at the festival,
When all the startled strangers in the hall
Heard them in divers tongues one truth proclaim,
And in the concord of a common aim
They gave their goods each for the good of all;

Yet if like them we seek the highest good
In earnest union, and cast out to-day
The evil spirit of mistrust and strife,
Our tidings shall be told and understood
Through all the nations, and our hands shall lay
The new foundation of the house of life.

REGINALD A. BECKETT.

Anti-Coercion Demonstration in Victoria Park, on Saturday May 21st, 1887.

No. 10 was the platform occupied by the Socialist League, and although neither Liberal, Radical, nor pseudo-Socialist spoke therefrom, a large and enthusiastic audience assembled around it, despite the unpropitious nature of the weather, which on this occasion was enough to make the stoutest heart quail. The proceedings were opened by

H. A. BARKER, who stated that they were there that day to make their voice heard on behalf of freedom and against coercion, not because the coercion on this occasion emanated from the Tories. From whatever source it came—Liberal or Tory—they denounced it, and not in mere party fashion, but because they hated coercion and loved liberty. The history of both political parties showed that neither had scrupled to use this hateful weapon when the interests of the monopolists were threatened.

WILLIAM MORRIS moved the first resolution, which was as follows:

"That this meeting expresses its deep abhorrence of the Coercive Measures levelled against the Irish nation, and is of opinion that, the Land Question being at the root of the Irish troubles, no political change can have permanent value unless accompanied by, or be in the direction of the abolition of Landlordism in Ireland; and is further of opinion that the Irish nation should be left free to settle with the landlords without any restriction whatever from the English Parliament."

In moving it he declared that this question of coercion concerned the people of England, Scotland, and Wales equally as much as it did those of Ireland. That unholy trinity, Salisbury, Hartington, and Chamberlain were doing all in their power to maintain entire what were called "the indefeasible rights of property." He warned his hearers not to allow themselves to be hounded by this trinity, who, after all, were not concerned so much about Home Rule for Ireland as they were about the domination of the privileged class, a class which depended for its existence upon the robbery of the worker. They had all learnt that commandment which said, "Thou shalt not steal," let them learn another, viz., "Thou shalt not be stolen from."

G. BERNARD SHAW seconded, and in doing so asked his hearers to drop all pretence of special sympathy with the Irish people, the English people were as bad off and as hardly used as were the Irish. In most cases in Ireland the tenant was not evicted unless he owed at least six months' rent; such was not the case here, where folk were turned out without owing anything like that amount of rent. The fact was our hardships were just as great as those of the Irish, we were oppressed just the same, and the only difference between them and ourselves was that they protested, warred against their oppressors, while we bore in silence the very same oppression.

W. C. WADE, in supporting the resolution, declared that when the abolition of slavery was proposed all privilege stood up against it, and to-day as then privilege was up in defence of its rights, rights which could only be enforced at the expense and misery of the workers. To-day they were wage-slaves, formerly they were chattel-slaves, and until they freed themselves economically they must remain so.

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

H. DAVIS then moved:

"That this meeting firmly believes that the English, Scotch, Irish, and Welsh people are enslaved by the present capitalist system, which by means of the monopoly of the means of production robs every working-man of the results of his labour, and determines to do whatever is necessary to do away with the slavery of labour."

J. LANE seconded, and remarked that if they were to be free they must free themselves. The present capitalist system must result in bringing about a social revolution, and it was coming whether they wanted it or not, and it behoved them to so act that when the crisis came it would find them prepared and able to take possession of the land and the means of production, and to use them in the interest of the whole community.

S. MAINWARING, in supporting the resolution, descanted upon the hardships of the worker, and spoke with much animation. On some of his remarks being called in question by a man in the crowd, he concluded by enforcing upon his hearers the necessity for combination, without which the cause of the workers was hopeless.

The resolution was carried by a large majority, which, considering its nature and the mixed character of the meeting is most encouraging.

This concluded the meeting so far as the League was concerned; and wet and steaming the occupants of Platform 10 drove from the park, leaving behind it knots of people discussing what they had just heard of Socialism and seen of its advocates.

H. A. BARKER.

THE STRIKE IN THE BOLTON IRON TRADE.—IMPORTATION OF FOREIGN WORKMEN.—In connection with the strike in the Bolton iron trade, Messrs. Wood, a local firm of engineers, have imported a number of foreign workmen, whom they wished to provide with sleeping accommodation on the premises. The strike hands on Tuesday night intercepted a quantity of bedding and assailed the up-holsterers with stones and other missiles. Great excitement prevailed.



OFFICES: FARRINGTON ROAD E.C.

Annual Conference.—Morning, 10 to 1. Afternoon, 2 to 5. Evening, till business is concluded.

French Class.—Discontinued during the summer months.

BRANCH SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID.

Birmingham, to August 31. Manchester, to October 31. Leicester, South London, to December 31, 1886. Bradford, Croydon, Edinburgh, Hackney, Hammersmith, Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Hull, Ipswich, Lancaster, Leeds, Marylebone, Merton, Norwich, Shields, Walsall, to March 31. Bloomsbury, Clerkenwell, Glasgow, North London, Oxford, to April 30, 1887.

STRIKE COMMITTEE.

P. W., ls. T. BINNING, Treasurer.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

T. B. (weekly), 6d. W. B. (weekly), 6d.
PH. W., Treasurer, May 24.

THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

Memo., per Christian Socialist, 3s. Dutch Section, International Club, Tottenham Street, 7s. Webb, 1s. For Mrs. Mowbray—A few Fabians, per Annie Besant (weekly), 10s.—Total, £1 1s. J. LANE, Treasurer.

HENDERSON HELP FUND.

H. Wood, 2s. R. S. P., 2s. H. Wall, 6d. A. Pearse, 6d.

Northumberland Miners—

Collected in Regent's Park, Sunday, May 22, per Cantwell, 7s.

BRANCH REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—A large meeting assembled on Thursday to hear comrade Aveling lecture on "Radicalism and Socialism." The lecture was listened to with much interest. A few questions were asked, and in the discussion which followed George Bernard Shaw and others took part.—U.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, May 18, T. Dalziel addressed a fair audience on "Proto-Socialism." On Sunday, May 22, T. E. Wardle lectured on "The Jubilee Coercion Bill."—W. B. and T. E. W.

HACKNEY.—H. Graham addressed a good meeting at the Broadway, London Fields, on Wednesday last. On Sunday morning, Vanderhout addressed a large and attentive audience at the Salmon and Ball.

HOXTON.—On Sunday evening, H. H. Sparling gave a very instructive and interesting lecture on "Subsistence Wages," which was well appreciated by the audience.

MERTON.—We held a good open-air meeting on Mitcham Fair Green. Sale of *Commonweal* fair. Kitz and Eden were the speakers.—F. K.

NORTH LONDON AND MARYLEBONE.—On Sunday morning, at Regent's Park, a very good meeting was addressed by Cantwell, Brookes, and Nicoll. Somebody rather roused the ire of the audience by claiming that stock-jobbing was a proper means of livelihood; 7s. collected for Miners' Strike Fund. At Hyde Park in the afternoon, Brookes, Mainwaring, and Davis addressed a rather variable audience, but a good crowd gathered to hear comrade Morris. One individual ventured to suggest that Morris was a paid agitator. Fair sale of literature. Members please note branch meeting, place, and time.—H. B.

GLASGOW.—On Sunday afternoon, Glasier addressed a large meeting of the Legislative Independence Branch of the National League. In the evening, a most successful open-air meeting was held on George's Square, several hundred of the better-to-do class being present, who listened to comrade Glasier's exposition of Socialism with much attention. *Commonweal* sold well. A meeting of members was afterwards held in our rooms.

HAMILTON.—At a meeting of the Hamilton Branch of the Socialist League, held in Paton's Hall, Chapel Street, a very interesting paper was read by Michael Kelly, one of our local members, on "The Land Question."—J. M.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.—J. H. Stevens made a short address on Sunday night at the Cattle Market, and sold a large number of the *Commonweal*. Thomas Mann and Laideler, and other members of the S.D.F. delivered speeches. Mann got a good hearing, and was very well received by the audience. Meetings have been held by the S.D.F. at Byker and Gateshead as well, and in spite of the inclement weather there were good attendances.—J. L. M.

PAISLEY.—Comrades Curran and Glasier, of Glasgow, addressed two open-air meetings, one at the County Square and one at the Causewayside, on Friday evening.

SHIELDS (NORTH AND SOUTH).—A debate was held on the Bury Side on Sunday morning last at 10.30, between W. Wallace (Socialist) and Mr. Leslie Stephens (nondescript, but supposed to be Individualist). The discussion was animated, the crowd very large,

and on the show of hands the chairman declared a majority had voted for the Socialist. In the evening at 6.30, Mahon addressed a meeting in the Market Place at South Shields, Wood taking the chair. At 8 Mahon spoke again on the other side of the water, and a meeting of the branch was held at 9 in the Gladstone Hall. J. H. Stevens was unanimously elected delegate of the branch to the Conference. A further meeting was arranged for the following Thursday to complete arrangements for carrying on the propaganda, and for discussing the advisability of joining or co-operating with the North of England Socialist Federation.—J. H., sec.

WALSALL.—Comrade A. K. Donald arrived here on Friday night, and on Saturday afternoon visited Wednesbury and Darlaston, accompanied by H. Sanders and Deakin. Owing to the wretched weather we were unable to get up a meeting at Wednesbury, but had a fair gathering at Darlaston, which Donald and Sanders addressed. At night, Donald and Sanders spoke to a good number of people on the Bridge, Walsall, but owing to a heavy storm coming on were prevented from taking up our usual position in the Market-place. On Sunday morning, the Roman Catholic Church was attended to hear a sermon upon "Socialism" by the Rev. Dr. McCarten, on which comrade Donald will report. In the afternoon we journeyed to Willenhall and held a fair meeting, Donald, Sanders, and Deakin speaking, and returned to Walsall at night, where Sanders opened a meeting and was followed by Donald, who was listened to by an audience of several hundreds, who appeared greatly interested. At the close a number of questions were put to Donald and satisfactorily disposed of. A good quantity of literature has been sold, and the cause considerably helped forward here by Donald's visit. To-day (Monday) he goes to Cradley Heath to investigate the condition of the white slaves of the chain-making trade.—J. T. D.

BRISTOL.—After successful winter work in our meeting-room, 45, Old Market Street, we began our open-air work on Tuesday last. We had some thousands of leaflets distributed, and the result was a good meeting both in numbers and attention. The portions of the addresses most strongly condemning the present competitive system were loudly applauded, and the Socialist remedies for existing evils were warmly approved. There is no doubt that Socialism is making good progress in Bristol.—R. W.

DUBLIN.—At the Custom House Steps, Beresford Place, a meeting was held on Sunday, May 22nd, by the Labour League. Despite the inclemency of the weather more than 800 persons were present. Excellent speeches on the various phases of the Labour Question, all of a strong Socialistic character, were delivered by Hall, Brown, Cantwell, and Keegan, the last-named arguing forcibly against political agitation, and showing the necessity for international combination amongst the workers. The meeting was guarded by more than 20 policemen and 3 inspectors, each of whom was presented with a copy of the Socialist leaflet, "Ireland a Nation."

SOCIALIST UNION (NOTTINGHAM SECTION).—Peacock and Proctor lectured to an attentive audience on Sunday morning in Sninton Market; collection for propaganda, 3s. 0d. In the evening, Peacock lectured to a good audience in the Great Market Place on "Religion and Socialism." Wane and Proctor spoke on the events of the week, collection 4s. 3d. Good sale of literature and *Commonweal* sold out. A meeting in our club-room was held afterwards, and more names enrolled. Our club-room is being decorated and fitted up, and will be opened by a social evening and tea on June 1st.—T. P.

North of England Socialist Federation.

Rapid progress is being made with the organisation. There are now nineteen branches, and during the week Mahon will open several others in Durham. The committee for drafting principles and rules met on Saturday at Blyth, and agreed to a proposal which will be submitted to the branches. A further Conference of delegates from all the branches will be held on Saturday, June 12, in Blyth at 3 p.m.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street. On Thursday May 26th a Social Evening will be held. Coffee will be provided, and the members are requested to come and bring any friends. Those who have power to entertain their fellow comrades are requested to place it at the disposal of the Branch.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday May 29, no lecture. Wednesday June 1, at 8.30. Wm. Morris, "True and False Society." Business Meeting on Sunday week, June 5, at 7.15 p.m.

Croydon.—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard.

Hackney.—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 8 till 11.30. Members are urgently requested to attend next Tuesday at 8.30 p.m. Monthly Business Meeting; election of officers, etc.

Hammersmith.—Kelmascott House, Upper Mall, W. **Hoxton (L.E.L.).**—2 Crondall Street, New North Rd. Club Room open on Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday evenings from 8 till 11. Singing Class every Wednesday at 8.30. Members Meeting on Friday

June 3, at 8.30 p.m.: important business. Sunday June 5, at 8 p.m. J. R. Macdonald (F.S.), "The Signs of the Times."

Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday. Discussions held every Sunday morning at 11.

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

North London.—Members' Meeting at 32 Camden Road, June 5, at 8 p.m.

PROVINCES.

Bingley.—Coffee Tavern. Every Monday at 7.30 p.m.

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

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

Dublin.—Irish Labour League, 2 Bachelors Walk, every Thursday at 8 p.m. Discussion on all subjects connected with the Labour Question. A Mass Meeting will be held at the Custom House Steps, Beresford Place, on Sunday May 29, at 4 p.m., under the auspices of the Labour League. Well-known Socialists will speak.

Dalkeith (Edinburgh).—Wednesday 1st June, at 8 p.m. lecture on "Christian Socialism" in Scientific Hall.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 7.30 p.m. to transact business. Class for the study of 'Das Capital' at 8.30. (See "Open-air" below.)

Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. On Sunday evening at 7, in our Rooms, a discussion on "Our attitude towards Trades' Unions." See "Open-air." Notice—We have rented our present Rooms at 84 John Street for another year. As it is intended to make them much more attractive than hitherto, members are earnestly requested to contribute in money, books, newspapers, and useful articles, according to their ability.

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

Hull.—Address all communications to E. Teesdale, 20 Shakspeare Street.

Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, 11; Vicar's Croft, 7.

Leicester.—Addresses every Sunday morning on the Quay Jetty.

Leicester.—Office of Hosiery Union, Horsefair Street. Fridays at 8 p.m.

Manchester.—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening 6 to 10 p.m. Lecture and discussion every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Free Lectures every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-rooms open every evening.

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

Paisley.—On Friday at 7.30, open-air meeting at the Causewayside.

Shields (North and South).—Meetings every Sunday, Quay-side and Market Place. Branch meetings on Thursday nights at the "General Gordon," Bath Street, Maxwell Street, South Shields. Secretary, J. Hearne, 32 Clive Street, No. Shields. A Public Debate is being arranged between Mr. Leslie Johnson and J. L. Mahon.

North Shields.—Irish National League. On Sunday June 5th, at 3 p.m., Gladstone Hall, J. L. Mahon will lecture on "The Irish Question."

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 29.

11.30...Hammersmith—Beadon Rd.The Branch
11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.The Branch
11.30...Mitcham Fair GreenThe Branch
11.30...Regent's ParkNicoll
11.30...St. Pancras ArchesBartlett
11.30...Walham GreenThe Branch

Wednesday.

7.30...Broadway, London FieldsGraham

Thursday.

8 ...Hoxton, Pitfield StreetWade & Pope

PROVINCES.

Edinburgh.—Sunday: Queen's Park, afternoon at 3.

Loanhead (Edinburgh).—Saturday, at 7 o'clock.

Glasgow.—Sunday: Jail's Square at 1 p.m.; George's Square, at 6 o'clock.

Paisley.—Friday: Causewayside, at 7.30.

A Free Concert and Ball will be held at the Hackney Branch on Saturday 28th, at 8.30.

Hawick.—Persons in Hawick desirous of forming a Branch are requested to address the Secretary of the Socialist League, 4 Park Street, Edinburgh.

GRAND CONCERT AND DRAMATICAL ENTERTAINMENT will take place at the International Working-men's Educational Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Rd., E., on Friday May 27, the proceeds to be devoted to the Norwich Prisoners Fund. Commence at 8 o'clock. Admission by Programme, 6d.

THE 'COMMONWEAL' for 1886

Neatly Bound in Red Cloth, price 5s. 6d.

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

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 73.

SATURDAY, JUNE 4, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

HOW WE LIVE AND HOW WE MIGHT LIVE.¹

THE word Revolution which we Socialists are so often forced to use, has a terrible sound in most people's ears, even when we have explained to them that it does not necessarily mean a change accompanied by riot and all kinds of violence, and cannot mean a change made mechanically and in the teeth of opinion by a group of men who have somehow managed to seize on the executive power for the moment. Even when we explain that we use the word revolution in its etymological sense, and mean by it a change in the basis of society, people are scared at the idea of such a vast change, and beg that you will speak of reform and not revolution. As however we Socialists do not at all mean by our word revolution what these worthy people mean by their word reform, I can't help thinking that it would be a mistake to use it, whatever projects we might conceal beneath its harmless envelope. So we will stick to our word, which means a change of the basis of society; it may frighten people, but it will at least warn them that there is something to be frightened about, which will be no less dangerous for being ignored; and also it may encourage some people, and will mean to them at least not a fear but a hope. Fear and Hope—those are the two names of the two great passions which rule the race of man, and with which revolutionists have to deal; to give hope to the many oppressed and fear to the few oppressors, that is our business; if we do the first and give hope to the many, the few must be frightened by their hope; otherwise we do not want to frighten them; it is not revenge we want for poor people, but happiness; indeed what revenge can be taken for all the thousands of years of the sufferings of the poor?

However, many of the oppressors of the poor, most of them, we will say, are not conscious of their being oppressors (we shall see why, presently); they live in an orderly quiet way themselves, as far as possible removed from the feelings of a Roman slaveowner or a Legree; they know that the poor exist, but their sufferings do not present themselves to them in a trenchant and dramatic way; they themselves have troubles to bear, and they think doubtless that to bear trouble is the lot of humanity, nor have they any means of comparing the troubles of their lives with those of people lower in the social scale; and if ever the thought of those heavier troubles obtrudes itself upon them, they console themselves with the maxim that people do get used to the troubles they have to bear, whatever they may be.

Indeed, as far as regards individuals at least, that is but too true, so that we have as supporters of the present state of things, however bad it may be, first those comfortable unconscious oppressors who think that they have everything to fear from any change which would involve more than the softest and most gradual of reforms, and secondly those poor people who living hard and anxiously as they do, can hardly conceive of any change for the better happening to them, and dare not risk one tittle of their poor possessions in taking any action towards a possible bettering of their condition; so that while we can do little with the rich save inspire them with fear, it is hard indeed to give the poor any hope. It is then, no less than reasonable that those whom we try to involve in the great struggle for a better form of life than we now lead should call on us to give them at least some idea of what that life may be like: a reasonable request, but hard to satisfy, since we are living under a system that makes even conscious effort towards reconstruction almost impossible: it is not unreasonable on our part to answer, "There are certain definite obstacles to any real progress of man; we can tell you what these are; take them away and then you shall see."

However I propose now to offer myself as a victim for the satisfaction of those who consider that as things now go we have at least got something, and are terrified at the idea of losing their hold of that, lest they should find they are worse off than before and have nothing. Yet in the course of my endeavour to show how we might live, I must more or less deal in negatives. I mean to say I must point out where in my opinion we fall short in our present attempts at decent life. I must ask the rich and well-to-do what sort of a position it is which they are so anxious to preserve at any cost? and if after all it will be such a terrible loss to them to give it up? and I must point out to the poor that they, with capacities for living a dignified and generous life, are in a position which they cannot endure without continued degradation. How do we live then under our present system? Let us look at it a little.

And first, please to understand that our present system of Society is based on a state of perpetual war. Do any of you think that this is as it should be? I know that you have often been told that the competition, which is at present the rule of all production, is a good thing, and stimulates the progress of the race; but the people who tell you this should call competition by its shorter name of *war* if they wish to be honest, and you would then be free to consider whether or no war stimulates progress, otherwise than as a mad bull chasing you over your own garden may do. War or competition, whichever you please to call it, means at the best pursuing your own advantage at the cost of some one else's loss, and in the process of it you must not be sparing of destruction even of your own possessions, or you will certainly come by the worse in the struggle. You understand that perfectly as to the kind of war in which people go out to kill and be killed; that sort of war in which ships are commissioned, for instance, "to sink, burn, and destroy"; but it appears that you are not so conscious of this waste of goods when you are only carrying on that other war called commerce; observe, however, that the waste is there all the same.

Now let us look at this kind of war a little closer, run through some of the forms of it, that we may see how the "burn, sink, and destroy" is carried on in it. First, you have that form of it called national rivalry, which in good truth is now-a-days the cause of all gunpowder and bayonet wars which civilised nations wage. For years past we English have been rather shy of them, except on those happy occasions when we could carry them on at no sort of risk to ourselves, when the killing was all one side, or at all events when we hoped it would be. We have been shy of gunpowder war with a respectable enemy for a long while, and I will tell you why: It is because we have had the lion's share of the world-market; we didn't want to fight for it as a nation, for we had got it; but now this is changing in a most significant, and to a Socialist, a most cheering way; we are losing or have lost that lion's share; it is now a desperate "competition" between the great nations of civilisation for the world-market, and to-morrow it may be a desperate war for that end. As a result, the furthering of war (if it be not on too large a scale) is no longer confined to the honour-and-glory kind of old Tories, who if they meant anything at all by it meant that a Tory war would be a good occasion for damping down democracy; we have changed all that, and now it is quite another kind of politician that is wont to urge us on to "patriotism" as 'tis called. The leaders of the Progressive Radicals they would call themselves, long-headed persons who know well enough that social movements are going on, who are not blind to the fact that the world will move with their help or without it; these are the jingoes of to-day. I don't mean to say they know what they are doing: politicians, as you well know, take good care to shut their eyes to everything that may happen six months ahead; but what is being done is this, that the present system, which always must include national rivalry, is pushing us into a desperate scramble for the markets on more or less equal terms with other nations, because, once more, we have lost that command of them which we once had. Desperate is not too strong a word. We shall let this impulse to snatch markets carry us whither it will, whither it must. To-day it is successful burglary and disgrace, to-morrow it may be mere defeat and disgrace.

Now this is not a digression, although in saying this I am nearer to what is generally called politics than I shall be again. I only want to show you what commercial war comes to when it has to do with foreign nations, and that even the dullest can see how mere waste must go with it. That is how we live now with foreign nations, prepared to ruin them without war if possible, with it if necessary, let alone meantime the disgraceful exploiting of savage tribes and barbarous peoples, on whom we force at once our shoddy wares and our hypocrisy at the cannon's mouth.

Well, surely Socialism can offer you something in the place of all that; it can offer you peace and friendship instead of war. We might live utterly without national rivalries, acknowledging that while it is best for those who feel that they naturally form a community under one name to govern themselves, yet that no community in civilisation should feel that it had interests opposed to any other, their economical condition being at any rate similar; so that any citizen of one community could fall to work and live without disturbance of his life when he was in a foreign country, and would fit into his place quite naturally; so that all civilised nations would form one great community agreeing together as to the kind and amount of production and distribution needed; working at such and such production where it could be best produced; avoiding waste by all means. Please to think of the amount

¹ This paper has been delivered as a lecture on several occasions; and I have been often asked to reprint it: hence its appearance in *Commonweal*.

of waste which they would avoid, how much such a revolution would add to the wealth of the world! What creature on earth would be harmed by such a revolution? Nay, would not everybody be the better for it? And what hinders it? I will tell you presently.

Meantime let us pass from this "competition" between nations to that between "the organizers of labour," great firms, joint-stock and other capitalists in short, and see how competition "stimulates production" among them: indeed it does do that; but what kind of production? Well, production of something to sell at a profit, or say production of profits: and note how war commercial stimulates that: a certain market is demanding goods, there are say a hundred manufacturers who make that kind of goods, and every one of them would if he could keep that market to himself, and struggles desperately to get as much of it as he can, with the obvious result that presently the thing is overdone, and the market is glutted, and all that fury of manufacture has to sink into cold ashes. Doesn't that seem something like war to you? Can't you see the waste of it—waste of labour, skill, cunning, waste of life in short? Well, you may say, but it cheapens the goods. In a sense it does; and yet only apparently, as wages have a tendency to sink for the ordinary worker in proportion as prices sink; and at what a cost do we gain this appearance of cheapness! Plainly speaking, at the cost of cheating the consumer and starving the real producer for the benefit of the gambler, who uses both consumer and producer as his milch cows. I needn't go at length into the subject of adulteration, for everyone knows what kind of a part it plays in this sort of commerce; but remember that it is an absolutely necessary incident to the production of profit out of wares, which is the business of the so-called manufacturer; and this you must understand that, taking him in the lump, the consumer is perfectly helpless against the gambler; the goods are forced on him by their cheapness, and with them a certain kind of life which that energetic, that aggressive cheapness determines for him: for so far-reaching is this curse of commercial war that no country is safe from its ravages; the traditions of a thousand years fall before it in a month; it overruns a weak or semi-barbarous country, and whatever romance or pleasure or art existed there, is trodden down into a mire of sordidness and ugliness: the Indian or Javanese craftsman may no longer ply his craft leisurely, working a few hours a day, in producing a maze of strange beauty on a piece of cloth: a steam-engine is set agoing at Manchester, and that victory over nature and a thousand stubborn difficulties is used for the base work of producing a sort of plaster of china-clay and shoddy, and the Asiatic worker, if he is not starved to death outright, as plentifully happens, is driven himself into a factory to lower the wages of his Manchester brother worker, and nothing of character is left him except, most like, an accumulation of fear and hatred of that to him most unaccountable evil, his English master. The South Sea Islander must leave his canoe-carving, his sweet rest, and his graceful dances, and become the slave of a slave: trousers, shoddy, rum, missionary, and fatal disease,—he must swallow all this civilisation in the lump, and neither himself nor we can help him now till social order displaces the hideous tyranny of gambling that has ruined him.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be continued.)

CO-OPERATIVE PRACTICE IN AID OF SOCIALISM.

CO-OPERATION, the offspring and natural handmaid of Socialism, having been seduced and perverted by the sons of Capitalism, has too long been treated as a stranger by us. Signs are not wanting, however, of a permanent and mutually-beneficial *rapprochement* between these closely-related movements. Co-operators are beginning to learn that self-interest, apart from higher motives, must draw them on to Socialism. Socialists are recognising that, although true social co-operation is impossible without the previous destruction or automatic collapse (as the case may be) of the present social structure, they as a party, or in private groups, may profitably employ for the advancement of their cause the services of such co-operation as is now available. The co-operative Socialist bakeries and press in Belgium, the projected Social-Democratic bakeries in London, and the recently established grocery stores of the Socialist League, are so many indications of the way the wind blows.

Let us, then, review the field which lies before us, with a view to the intelligent and therefore successful organisation of this co-operative campaign.

In the first place, what are the objects to be gained by it? Let me commence by anticipating any charge of utopianism—I adopt the vulgar spelling along with the vulgar meaning of the word—by disclaiming any hope of creating at present the framework of the co-operative commonwealths of the future. Such co-operative or even communistic experiments as we may now inaugurate can only be regarded as means and not as ends. We shall be constructing upon healthy and enlightened principles the temporary habitations of the artificers of the new structure, but not (unless accidentally and incidentally) laying any part of its foundations. For the same reason we shall effect no monastic schism or separation of Socialists from the rest of the world; on the contrary, we shall aid each other to live and work to the best purpose in it.

The chief objects, I think, of such efforts as I refer to, are or should be the following: (1) Mutual benefit and insurance: making the pro-

fession of Socialism less dangerous to its actual disciples, less deterrent, if not entirely attractive, to its potential or would-be disciples by improving their material position—at the expense, *bien entendu*, of the trading and capitalist classes. (2) Having diverted from the pockets of private employers and taken much of the surplus returns or profits now contributed to them by Socialists, to employ them as "sinews of war" for the cause. (3) By such means also to accelerate (in a merciful spirit, of course), on the principle of "every little helps," that disintegration and decomposition of the Old Order which so few of us deplore. (4) To acquire during the same processes experimental data, by means of which a more conscious and therefore more rapid evolution of the New Order may be furthered, the aim and operations of the revolution rendered more scientific, and its immediate results more sure and abiding. To create meanwhile models and precedents for the imitation of municipalities, trades' unions, and other public bodies. (5) To provide a training in co-operative industries or services, and the administration thereof, to many Socialists now deficient in it, and a new sphere for many desirous of aiding the Socialist movement but unsuited or disinclined for agitation or other work connected with the direct propaganda. (6) Applying to communities only, and not to purely industrial co-operative enterprises: To provide as complete practical training¹ as possible for the work of the day after the revolution, while affording to contemporary workers in the cause recreative retreats and centres of social communion and mutual edification, missionary centres for country districts, and, last but not least, educational centres for the young.

Secondly, how are such objects to be attained through co-operative practice? That is to say, what forms of co-operative enterprises should be promoted, by whom should they be promoted respectively, and how should the necessary capital be obtained for starting them? I am not going to attempt in this article to answer all these points in order or in detail, although I hope hereafter to submit satisfactory answers to them. But I will conclude by indicating some of the means and forms through which I think the above objects may be attained.

I shall roughly divide all possible co-operative enterprises into two classes—(1) the Industrial Co-operative, including co-operation in production, distribution, and accessory or miscellaneous services separately and in combination, and (2) the Communistic, embracing community of use, service, and consumption, with or without socialised forms of production. This class, as Raymond Unwin has pointed out in the *Commonweal* of March 5th, is best adapted for country districts, but I think communistic constitutions might be devised of a sufficiently elastic character for application to colonies in the neighbourhood of London, Paris, Berlin, Glasgow, New York, and other large cities, where educational and missionary establishments are desirable, and where such establishments can only be well and economically conducted (as appears to me at least) in connection with a real community. Such colonies would have to acquire sufficient land, on suitable terms, both to render them self-supporting by communistic practice (*i.e.*, by the socialisation of production, distribution, and consumption alike) as regards the usual necessities of life, and to enable them in addition to supply the outside public at competitive rates with market-garden produce or manufactured commodities in regular demand. All adult able-bodied members would be required to work their appointed time in the communal services, but that time would only be sufficient to supply the community directly or (in a few departments, such as tea and coffee) indirectly with the said necessities of life. Members not otherwise occupied in the neighbouring city would be expected to devote part of their surplus time to the co-operative industries selected by the colony, the greater part of the net returns from which might be devoted to the promotion and formation of other co-operative enterprises in the interest of Socialism, and to the propaganda funds of the respective societies to which members of the colony belonged, *pro rata*. In other towns communities might be established not owning land, and not necessarily producing any of their necessities, but associated on the club principle for co-operative house-keeping (so far as usual necessities are concerned) and for mutual service and social communion. Such communities might be catered for by co-operative societies promoted and organised by their own members. Other co-operative industries and services, depending for their revenue partly upon comrades but chiefly upon the outside world, would in time grow up from the same roots and prey upon the vitals of commercialism. In all these cases practical communism in the necessities of life is treated as the starting-point, the lever of success. Independence of the competitive labour-market is, barring trade and political organisation, the only weapon with which it is possible to defy the Ogre of Capitalism. It is the only true basis of mutual insurance.

As to purely industrial co-operative societies started without such communistic foundations, the most hopeful without doubt are those started on a large scale; and these require either a large initial outlay of capital, large credit such as could only be obtained by promoters well known for their technical experience and skill as managers, etc., of older concerns, or else the support of important public bodies. If the trades' unions were enabled to employ their funds in the promotion of co-operative enterprises within their respective trades, or still better in alternative but simple and necessary trades requiring but slight instruction, and to appoint joint committees for regulating the exchange between them, they could then provide a much more efficient and (to the capitalists) formidable relief for their members on strike than by "sotering" them away in allowances. But as the trades' unions are not yet educated up to this mark, there is no reason why the Socialist

¹ Physical and industrial, as well as moral and social.

party should not show them the way. I should say that, mapping this "United Kingdom" out into natural provinces of from one to five million inhabitants in each, such as London District, South England, Wales, Lancashire District, Northumbria, Scotland, Ireland, etc., the Socialist groups in each might, as soon as they feel themselves strong enough, set an example to the world by uniting for the promotion of constructive enterprises of this character. If the skill and capital of a considerable number of the smaller employers could be attracted, as I think by judicious management it could, the initial expenses to be provided by the promoting syndicates or societies would be very small. I am confident that the smaller trading and manufacturing capitalists would prefer in many cases to become managers of local branches—with, say five years' certain tenure at a fair salary and re-eligibility after expiry of this term, together with proportional shares in profits during office and fixed interest on their capital during life—rather than maintain their present very precarious struggle against their bigger neighbours. I believe also that they would place at least as much confidence in the respectable and (financially) disinterested promoters of such co-operative societies as in the amalgamation company-mongers who have formed such prominent figures in the commercial and financial drama of the last few years. A certain percentage of the annual profits of such enterprises might be made payable to trustees for the provincial Socialist committee for the time being. The rest might be equitably apportioned between labour and capital (the latter terminable with the life of the investor). Wordsworth Donisthorpe, of the Liberty and Property Defence League, has indicated a method by which this apportionment could be effected in a little book entitled 'The Capitalisation of Labour'—intended, of course, to knock the bottom out of Socialism, but which may be turned by Socialists to better account.

But if the Socialist party at large is not here or anywhere strong and united enough for such constructive efforts, is not the time ripe for the foundation of a society for this special purpose? A few determined and unanimous persons will often succeed where a larger number would fail. The only advantage I can see in the multiplicity of societies and groups, is that they should each undertake special departments of propaganda on the division of labour principle. And if a new society cannot yet be formed for studying and promoting the organisation of such enterprises, is there no existing society competent for this purpose and in want of a job?

J. BRAILSFORD BRIGHT.

THE IRISH QUESTION.

VI.—CONCLUSION.

IN dealing with the question of Home Rule, it is often contended that the Union being an accomplished fact it ought to be held sacred and binding on the Irish people. To this it may be answered that, in the first place the Irish people never accepted the Union and have never recognised it. And in the second place, the rights of every generation being equal, it is the living, the people of to-day who have a right to determine their own destiny. Again, the rights of a people can never be alienated. They can never be abdicated. It is the living and not the dead to whom belongs the right of self-government. And by self-government I do not mean the supremacy of either kings, or princes, or priests, or peers, or of any representative assembly, or the supremacy of any majority however large. I mean the right of the people of every generation directly to determine the institutions they require, and the free selection of those deemed the best and the wisest for all the purposes of administration. As the rights of the individual are sacred, so are the rights of every people. Neither the one nor the other can ever be abdicated or alienated.

Then it is objected that the Irish have never shown any great aptitude for self-government. Have the English, or the Scotch, or the Welsh? We in England to-day are governed by Queen, Lords, and Commons. We tolerate a throne, we tolerate an aristocracy, and we tolerate a State Church. The workers recognise the supremacy of capital, although they are crushed to the earth by the very supremacy they recognise. The mass of the workers in Great Britain are not moved by the holy spirit of liberty, which ought to find a home in the bosom of every man and of every woman. In Ireland, at least the mass of the people aspire to be free, to be independent, to be a nation, to have the right to determine their own destiny. The workers of Great Britain should encourage their Irish brothers, should cherish the holy principle of liberty, and being greater in numbers if they are also greater in wisdom, let them guide, direct, and assist in the glorious work of political and social regeneration.

Then it is said that to grant Home Rule would be to place the loyal North at the mercy of the Catholic majority. But the North never has been loyal. It was the North that won the independence of the Irish Parliament in 1782. "The United Irishmen" was a military organisation of the North. Again, who has forgotten the great Orange Conspiracy of 1835-6, for the overthrow of William IV., and to prevent the accession of her present Majesty by placing the Duke of Cumberland on the throne. The North is not loyal to-day.

It is also argued that it is a question of religious supremacy. It is nothing of the sort. From 1782 to 1795 the United Irishmen struggled for the abolition of the penal laws, and for equal rights for their Catholic brothers against the English ascendancy party then supreme in the Irish Parliament. Then, in all the struggles of the Irish during

the last one hundred years, the bulk of the leaders have been Protestants. How many of the leaders to-day are Protestants?

Nor is the North exclusively Protestant. The total number of Catholics in the North is only about seventy-seven thousand less than the Protestants. But Englishmen should not do anything whatever to rouse the spirit of religious intolerance, from which England, as well as Ireland, has suffered so terribly in the past.

Then it is stated that the North is the richest part of Ireland. It is nothing of the kind. It is generally assumed that because a majority of the population is Protestant, it must be the most intelligent and because the most intelligent it must be the most progressive, and therefore the most prosperous. Taking the returns to the income tax for 1879-80, and the population of 1881, the following is the state of the case:—

	Population	Assessment to Income Tax.	Per head of Population.
Leinster ...	1,282,881	£13,272,202	£10 6 6
Munster ...	1,323,910	7,980,276	8 0 7
Ulster ...	1,739,542	9,952,289	5 14 5
Connaught	813,506	2,995,438	3 13 7

Here we see Ulster is lowest but one, being lower than even Munster; and although her population is nearly half a million more than that of Leinster, her assessment to the Income Tax is over three millions less. Nor does it alter the matter if we omit all the parliamentary boroughs from the calculation. Ulster still remains third on the list, as the following table will show:

	Population	Assessment.	Per head.
Leinster ...	932,853	£7,378,105	£7 18 2
Munster ...	1,093,242	5,881,789	5 7 8
Ulster ...	1,437,690	7,104,002	4 18 10
Connaught ...	794,600	2,902,054	3 13 1

Thus the whole story about the loyal rich North falls to the ground. There is nothing in it; and most of those who raise the cry do so only for party purposes, to gull the public, and still longer to divide and hold in slavery the mass of the people.

We are told that to grant Home Rule would be to make the Nationalist party supreme, and who would expropriate the landlords without compensation. But the landlords are bound to go. Nothing can prevent it. Gladstone knew it, Salisbury knows it, the people know it, and the landlords know it. As for compensation, who is to compensate the millions for the loss of their liberty, their ease, their comforts, the fruits of their industry, and who have been driven from their native shores to seek a home in distant regions? Who can compensate, who can call from their graves the hundreds of thousands who died of want in the midst of the abundance produced by their labour? Talk of compensation! Shall we compensate the thief, the criminal, the rebel, the murderer? No, never—a thousand times never!

We are also told that to grant Home Rule would be to render separation possible. A simple absurdity. But suppose separation were possible—nay, suppose it were probable. What then? Shall we make the union secure by keeping the people in bondage? Shall we preserve the union by making it still more hateful to the Irish people? But assume for the sake of argument that the people of Ireland wish for entire separation. What then? Shall we English, we who applauded the Italians, who glorified Kossuth and the Hungarians, who have ever sympathised with Poland, who have rejoiced at every success of the French, and who hope ere long to see the whole Continent ablaze with the sacred fire of revolution,—shall we deny to the people of Ireland the liberty we claim for ourselves? Have we sympathy only for the peoples of distant regions and none for our brothers on the other side of the Channel?

And England's greatness, what is it? It depends neither on princes, priests, or peers; not on the slavery of the masses, either of Ireland or of Great Britain, but on the labour, the skill, the perseverance of the toiling millions, on the development, the triumph of the holy spirit of freedom, the sacred flame of liberty and love, the supremacy of the principle of eternal right, of eternal justice.

J. SKETCHLEY.

PROHIBITING "CORNERS."—ALBANY, N. Y., May 5.—The Assembly yesterday passed a bill defining conspiracy. The bill provides substantially that if any two or more persons, companies, corporations or individuals shall agree, directly or indirectly, to withhold from the public markets or the ordinary channels of trade in the State for any period any staple article, merchandise, food, etc., and shall agree to place on the market only a limited or specific quantity within a certain time, they shall be guilty of conspiracy.

THE REAL OBJECT OF EMIGRATION.—The following is an extract from a circular quoted in the N. Y. *Leader*, sent out by Henry Clews, a well-known Wall Street banker and broker: "The tide of emigration this way, the arrivals yesterday being at least 10,000, which is the largest on record for any one day, should be considered as a favourable feature, especially as the newcomers are largely from the Continent and bring funds with them for their immediate support. In the present disturbed condition of labour, this large flow of emigration comes at an opportune time. What this country needs more than anything else is the same competition in the labour-market as is found in all manufacturing and product markets. Competition will out-manœuvre in the end all the generals who are leading the Knights of Labour. Competition alone will prove the only pacifier of labour dissatisfaction and uprising. All American citizens, therefore, who want peace and prosperity should unite in encouraging the European surplus population to flock to our shores, to bring about the true remedy for our present labour evils, which is the only cloud now overhanging our at present prosperous country."



"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 Farrington 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 Far-
rington Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.**

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday June 2.

ENGLAND	Seattle (W T) Voice of the People	SWITZERLAND
Jus	Albina (Oreg.)—Weekly Courier	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
Norwich—Daylight	Cincinnati (O.) Unionist	Geneva—Bulletin Continental
Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung	FRANCE	SPAIN
Brotherhood	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Madrid—El Socialista
Die Autonomie	Le Socialiste	Cadiz—El Socialismo
INDIA	Le Revolte	PORTUGAL
Bankipore—Behar Herald	L'Insurge	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Allahabad—People's Budget	Lille—Le Travailleur	Voz do Operario
UNITED STATES	Guise—Le Devoir	HUNGARY
New York—Freiheit	BELGIUM	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
Truthseeker	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde	ROUMANIA
Der Sozialist	Liege—L'Avenir	Jassy—Lupta
Leader	Antwerp—De Werker	DENMARK
Boston—Woman's Journal	HOLLAND	Social-Demokraten
Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer	Hague—Recht voor Allen	SWEDEN
Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	ITALY	Stockholm—Social-Demokraten
Labor Enquirer	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio	NORWAY
Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	Naples—Humanitas	Kristiania—Social-Democraten
Port Worth (Tex.)—South West	AUSTRIA	GREECE
New Haven (Conn.)—Work-	Vienna—Gleichheit	Athens—Ardin
men's Advocate		

NOTES.

The Colonies and India is anxious for the extension of the Empire and the spread of civilisation. It says :

“It is inevitable that the search for gold will lead to the rapid extension of settlement northwards of the Limpopo until the Zambesi is reached, and it is very probable that, just as in the case of the Tati gold fields, the fresh discoveries which are being made further inland will prove of greater value than those which have preceded them.” “Steps should at once be taken to secure the ‘refusal’ of the control of Matabeleland and the whole of the territories which lie between the Transvaal and the Zambesi. If this is not done, it fears that, judging by the incessant activity of Germany, German influence and control will speedily prevail in Matabeleland, and shut the door to Central Africa in our faces. *We have a just title to claim our natural line of extension (!) through that country, and we must not shrink from any responsibility, trouble, and expense which it may involve to secure our interests.*” “The matter will not wait our leisure; the apparition of German travellers in the threatened region betokens trouble, as surely as flights of petrels at sea foretell a storm.”

What is the "just title" of the natives of the country? Or, have they none when they are confronted by the thievish propensities of the all-conquering race? Would it not be better to drop the hypocrisy that prosecutes and imprisons burglars, even when they go about in yachts, and at the same time organises plunder-expeditions on a large scale?

In connection with the emigration fraud and the thrift humbug the following news is interesting. The monthly report for March of the Savings Bank of South Australia shows that while the increase of depositors was 249, the present number of depositors being 56,317, the decrease in deposits £4,112, 19s. 1d. O, yes ; of course ! How jealous these rooks are as to which of them shall get first pluck at the pigeon !

A man who died recently leaving £161,300, was described as a "financier." Is this polite for "swindler," or what else does it mean?

Several friends are assisting the Editors very much by sending in news and comments upon labour matters from week to week. This must be much extended, however, if the paper is to continue its increase in efficiency. Every reader who is interested in the success of the paper and the cause should give all the aid he can. Branches might well become centres for the collection as well as diffusion of information. Every one willing to help but not quite knowing how to proceed should write to the Editors, who will give all requisite advice.

CHAINS AND SLAVERY.

A WEEK IN THE BLACK COUNTRY.

The Strike Committee of the Socialist League commissioned me to pay a visit to South Staffordshire for the purpose of getting accurate information about the chain-makers on strike, and to endeavour to start branches of the League there. The first meeting was held at Darlaston, a considerable-sized town near Walsall. We were well received, and made arrangements to visit Darlaston regularly in future. In the evening a meeting was held at the Sister Dora statue, Walsall. We had made arrangements to visit Wolverhampton on Sunday morning, but the rain prevented us; instead, we went to hear a Roman Catholic clergyman preach on Socialism. His sermon was quite a surprise to us and to many of his congregation. He said the principle at the bottom of all Socialist schemes was that property and privilege should be shared by all. This, he said, was the principle recognised by the founders of Christianity; and however inconvenient it might be to the rich, that principle still was and would remain a fundamental one. This good priest's special abhorrence was the man that entered a town with a shilling in his pocket and ultimately became its richest citizen, or the sour-faced gentlewoman that marches into poor folk's houses with a tract in one hand and a flower in the other, and no end of good advice on thrift, temperance, etc. Dr. M'Carten did not disapprove of Socialism; that he regarded as the best form of human society. It was the means that Socialists use to achieve their aim that he characterised as "unholy." This objection is very vague, and very difficult to deal with. When Dr. M'Carten makes specific charges, then it will be possible to deal with them; meantime I find it difficult to believe that arguing with the people and organising them into Socialist societies is in any way objectionable.

In the afternoon we held a meeting in Willenhall. The country-side is thoroughly permeated with Methodism, and it is difficult to get the people to listen to what they consider unimportant secular concerns on a Sunday. In spite of this, our addresses were listened to with attention by several of the people, and we were invited to come back to Willenhall some week-day. In the evening a very large meeting was held in Walsall, many of Dr. Mc'Carten's congregation coming. A good deal of discussion took place, and many of the listeners provided themselves with pamphlets to study the matter at their leisure.

On Monday morning I went to Cradley. In walking from the town of Dudley to Cradley you pass through a fairly typical part of the Black Country. Everywhere the ground is covered with enormous heaps of refuse from the mines and the blast-furnaces, and tall chimneys send forth huge volumes of smoke that help to blacken the atmosphere and the houses. For nearly a mile along the left-hand side of the highway from Netherton to Cradley the houses have become seriously damaged, and in many cases have fallen in completely, owing to sinkages of the ground caused by undermining. Some of the houses were built by workmen by the aid of building societies. All their saving has gone for nothing, as the Earl of Dudley gives them no compensation for having undermined them, and so causing their houses to tumble.

We arrived at the place of meeting in Cradley, the Salvation Army hall, a curious wooden structure that was formerly used as a theatre. The hall was filled with strikers, very nearly as many women as men. It was a painful sight. I have never before seen such a number of anxious, careworn, and pinched faces. They were willing away the time by singing a hymn. The meeting soon opened, and the people had the report of collections made in their behalf by Mr. Juggins and Mr. Homer. I had an opportunity of addressing them, and said that while as a hand-to-mouth move their present demand was perhaps the best thing they could do, they should make up their minds immediately to organise to free themselves entirely from the power of the masters. Not a small increase of wages, but the whole that they earned should be their demand. I found that the people, if their cheering could be taken as a guide, were in entire agreement with me. After I had spoken, Mr. Malcolm Guthrie, Liverpool, addressed the meeting, and said that there was one part of my speech that he approved of—viz., where I advocated that the people should endeavour to become their own employers. He thought that “co-operative production” was the first step they should take, and intimated that he would very likely be able to help them to get the required capital to start the undertaking. The meeting over, under the guidance of Mr. Henry Price, an old convert of Herbert Burrows’, I visited the people at work.

Chain-making is a home industry. There are one or two factories, but the great mass of the chains are made at home. The workshops are very ugly places, with bare brick walls, very often of a tumble-down character. The lighter chains—such as dog-chains—are made by women; but even that work is hard, and the muscles of the women's arms are strongly developed. First they have to work the big bellows to make the iron red-hot; then the end of the rod is bent on an anvil, the proper length for each link is cut, and the two ends welded. The speed at which the women work is surprising. Their faces are firmly set, and a look of intense worry everywhere prevails. Not only have they to wield the hammer, but also to stand all day long. This makes the work doubly hard. In hot weather the high temperature obliges them to work uncovered to the waist. The work is very monotonous—link after link, link after link, not a bit of change in the dull, dreary toil from one year's end to another. When girls get married they don't stop the work, but go on as usual working with their husbands, so that their homes are left entirely untended until after their day's toil, this, as can be easily imagined, leaves them very untidy. The place

they spend most of their lives in is the very ugly hell of a workshop. No wonder that handsome women are few in Cradley, and that they prematurely age there. Very often they work at the forge until four or three days before confinement, and are at work again in three or four days afterwards. It is by no means an uncommon thing to see babies rolling about in the workshops, the mothers having nowhere else to leave the children and having no one to tend them; so they are compelled to have them in the workshop; as a result, accidents from burning very often happen.

The men perform the same kind of work only the chains are heavier. It is of a very exhausting character, and those chain-makers—a very small number—who manage to live to a decent age, hardly appear to belong to the same species as the fat old aldermen one can see any day about the Mansion House.

Chains at the net cost to the chain-master of 8½d., including labour and material, rent, and all charges, male work, what is known as rudder chains, for going over the saddles of heavy cart-horses, retail in London at from 3s. 6d. to 4s. 6d. Dog chains, for keeping dogs in kennels, with swivel and everything complete, cost the chain-masters 3½d., labour and material included, and retail in London at 1s. 6d. each.¹ Allow, in the first case, 3½d., a large sum, for expenses between chain-master and retail purchaser, and you have 3s. 6d. profit to be divided amongst the different thieves—chain-masters, wholesale warehousemen, and retailers—no wonder the chain-makers are poor. The masters cheat the men by obliging them to truck, to buy gleeds (*i.e.*, firing) from themselves or their Tommy-shop-keeping relatives, at double market price, and by sometimes getting steel palmed off on the men instead of iron, so getting steel chains made at the same price as iron. No lawyer, no Jew clothes peddler, could cheat worse than some of these chain-masters.

Before the strike began, forty-three weeks ago, fifty-six to sixty hours work a week enabled a woman to earn four shillings, and a man about double, or perhaps ten shillings. This is a high, not a low estimate. I carefully ascertained from several sources that this is correct, and no doubt some of my informants will say I have grossly exaggerated their earnings. Put it down at that sum, and consider how it is possible to procure food, clothes, and shelter with it. The poor toilers usually are in rags, and have to dine off bread and water. Weak people could not earn nearly so much as amounts given. Now the prices obtained from those masters who have acceded to the strikers' demands, are such that incessant toil will enable a woman to earn eight shillings a week, and a man sixteen to eighteen shillings. It is quite clear that if these chain-makers are to be true to themselves they will speedily have to strike again.

How is it that these people are so badly off? Because they were not organised. Their masters could deal with them one at a time, and so make them submit to any terms. The chain-makers have, in times gone by, not hung together, and consequently now they are reaping the results of disorganisation. Again the chain makers have not only to compete with one another, but they have outsiders such as colliers, who are engaged at their own work during the day, who have chain-makers for their wives, and when these men come home from their work, they help their wives chain-making for two or three hours, they often are willing to work for less than the proper list price. This conduct is disgraceful. How would the colliers like it, were the chain-makers, after having done a turn at their own work, to go to the pits and offer their services under the usual scale? Until the working-classes act together, and be honest to one another, the capitalists will be able to go on robbing them. The chain-makers now have an organisation, and under Mr. Homer's able management their strike has been fairly successful; but they must take care immediately to still further strengthen their society, so that they will be able to increase in the near future the starvation wage they have just won.

I held a large meeting at Cradley, numbering between two and three thousand persons, on Tuesday evening in the open air. H. Sanders, of the Walsall branch, also spoke. The people were evidently impressed by the addresses, the result was that we formed a branch of the League. A meeting was held in Dudley market which resulted in the names of some friends being given in towards a branch. Most of them were stray readers of Socialist literature and papers, who were anxious to organise, but who were unknown to one another. Staffordshire only requires systematic working to be the seat of a strong Socialist party.

A. K. DONALD.

Two miners were discussing Socialism, when the "human nature" argument cropped up. "It's no use," said one—an obdurate individualist—to a fresh convert, "you can't abolish the present system; it is the best that human nature is fit for." "Do you think," said the other cautiously, "that human nature makes my master rob me?" "Yes, of course," readily replied the other; "what more natural?" "But don't you also think that human nature should make me try to stop him?" Discomfiture of the enemy.

AN ENDLESS STORY.—We are half a mind to begin to write a story that may never end, founded on facts that are ever obvious. Hippodromus, taking his morning walk in the streets of Lucignano, comes upon Theodectes, a labourer, and says to him: "Why are you always at work?" Theodectes answers: "I am always at work to get money to buy food to give me strength to do more work that I may get more money to buy more food to get more strength to do more work to get more money to buy more food to get more strength to do more work to get more money to buy—" This is the beginning of the story without end, and the facts on which it is founded, they are without end also.—*Winsted Press.*

¹ Samples of these chains are exhibited at the office of this paper.

A PRAYER.

(By G. HERWEGH. Translated by J. L. JOYNES.)

BREATHE, O God, the breath of tempests through this stillness of the grave,
Sound a deep Dead March for Freedom, no mere idyll of the slave;
Warm with throbbing blood the pulses of this poor old chilly world;
Rouse to battle her avenger, though his banners now be furled.

If our foes deny us freedom on our hearth and in our home,
Let us find, at least to die in, some green island o'er the foam,
There at least to die rejoicing in the free and open air,
Watering with our wounds the blood-red roses in the graveyard there.

Let us drink but once again from Freedom's sacramental cup;
Build a shrine where we our choicest gifts may gladly offer up;
Clear for us a place of meeting, one free space of open heath—
Prisoned close our trusty swords have long been weary of the sheath.

Out alas! for Freedom's storm has passed us by and left us slaves;
Lo, the golden ship of hope that like a cradle o'er the waves
Steered with sound of song to usward, and such ample treasures bore,
Rots a wreck black-stoled and shrouded, like a coffin on the shore.

Must the People still surround this rotten wreck with useless cries?
Shall the force of all their fury fade away in empty sighs?
Sounds there never through their sorrow resolution's thunder-tone?—
Not so long do tyrants loiter ere they cross their Rubicon.

Think ye then that peace and quiet will ensure your happiness?
War at worst can only slay ye, peace will slay ye none the less.
What though in the wild war-struggle hearts may throb with fiercer heat,
On the frozen fields of Russia Freedom's pulses cease to beat.

If your plants ye do not water, they will die in choking dust,
If ye never draw your swords, their blades will ruined be by rust;
Now and then a vein to open all for Freedom's sake were good,
Lest your tyrants falsely swear that ye are weak for lack of blood.

But and if the men be cowards, earthward bending still their brows,
Hear our voice at least, ye women; wreath a sword in myrtle boughs;
Hide a sword in myrtle branches; since, meseemeth it, if ye
Fail to fight with us for Freedom, never will the world be free.

POWDERLEY AND THE LABOUR PARTY.

THE following is published by request of the Portland (Oregon) Eureka Assembly:

"Whereas, L. A. 8133 K. of L. has had its attention called to the recent public utterances of G. M. W. Powderly, in which he congratulates the workers on the defeat of the Labour Party in Chicago, thereby lending the support of his official position to the mis-statements of a venal press which has industriously represented that the labour vote in Chicago had fallen off through general disgust at the Socialistic tendencies of the party, although as a matter of fact it showed an increase of 6,269 over that of last fall, the vote of the Chicago Labour Party being then only 17,300 as against 23,579 on the 5th inst.; and

"Whereas, The G. M. W. knows well that this means a far greater victory than the mere gain of 6,269 votes, inasmuch as the 23,579 who voted on the 5th inst. voted knowingly for the overthrow of the competitive system, the issue being, for the first time in American politics, put in plain and absolutely unmistakable terms; and

"Whereas, An attempt has again been made to lead the people astray by representing that the Labour Party (though it bases all its teachings on the Declaration of Independence) is endeavouring to overthrow the American flag, because some of our members also reverence the red flag, as emblematical of the life-blood which flows alike in the veins of workers of every nationality, and knits them in the bonds of a common brotherhood; and

"Whereas, This antiquated attempt to divide our forces by playing upon old race antipathies, though regarded by all conscientious men as an unpardonable crime, has nevertheless commended itself to the pious Catholic spirit of Bro. Powderly, who has not hesitated to desecrate our country's flag by waving it in the cause of Know-Nothingism, and to plant himself squarely on the side of the capitalists who are labouring to build up what they call an 'American party,' hoping to discredit as 'foreign' those liberal ideas that the struggles of the oppressed in Europe are giving birth to, which, like all great ideas, are rapidly becoming the heritage of the whole world; and

"Whereas, This Assembly, having carefully watched the course of the G. M. W., has long since recognised that he has proved false to the noble principles of liberty, and equality of opportunity, for all of which he so assiduously professed during the years that he was a member of the Socialistic Labour Party; and

"Whereas, He has now given, in the opinion of this Assembly, final proof that he is using his official position to hinder the march of the workers on that journey, the goal of which is the final extinction of slavery by placing all the sources of production equally and unreservedly at the disposition of all workers, regardless of nationality.

"Resolved, That, in the first place, we congratulate our brother workers in Chicago on having forced the G. M. W. at last to show his hand, and thereby disillusionise those who have been hitherto blinded by admiration for a name and office; and that, in the second place, we urge them, and all other true Knights, to follow up the good work by taking such steps as shall result in the summary deposition of one who has been false to the trust reposed in him by over a million organised workers, who elected him to office believing him to be the uncompromising foe of that capitalistic monopoly which is to-day finding in him one of its most powerful allies."

"E. GIRARD, M. W."

"RICHARD HARPER, R. S."

[SEAL.]

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

The nut and bolt makers are suffering from reductions, and are meditating starting a co-operative factory.

At Cradley Heath the masters that trucked the "gleads" (i.e., small coke used as firing) charged 11d. for the same quantity the workers can now get for 6½d. from outsiders—thus making a profit out of the men of 4½d. a sack.

Over 1000 Staffordshire rivet-makers have given notice that they will strike unless an advance is conceded. Hard work at present prices enables a man to earn about 18s. a-week on an average.

The employés of the Great Eastern Railway at Stratford have received notice that they are to work one day and a-half (Monday and Saturday) for the benefit of the People's Palace. It is necessary to add that this is not Coercion, but those who disobey orders will be dismissed.—T. C.

In consequence of the operatives in the rivet trade, in the South Staffordshire and East Worcestershire district, having been called upon to submit to a series of reductions in wages during the last twelve months, they state that they cannot get a living at present prices, and on Saturday they gave a fortnight's notice for a substantial advance. If the employers do not concede the required advance a general strike will be declared. About 1000 have given notice.

The Cradley Heath chainmakers have been so far successful in their strike. Only 700 people now remain out. Most of the masters have conceded the advanced list, and trucking is nearly abolished, only one master named Bannister persisting. A Liverpool magistrate has promised to endeavour to provide funds to start a co-operative factory. This is a trade in which very little capital is required, and so steps might immediately be taken by the people to employ themselves.

Wm. McKeown, ship-yard artisan, was at Belfast, on Tuesday, returned for trial on a charge of entering the yard of Messrs. Macilwaine and Lewis, Queen's Island, from which he had been discharged, and destroying all the principal belting in the place, in consequence of which several hundred men were thrown idle. A mass meeting of the men on strike, after an interview with the delegates from the English Shipbuilders' Society, almost unanimously decided to continue on strike. Five thousand artisans were present.

HALF-TIME IN THE COTTON TRADE.—At a meeting of master cotton-spinners held last week, the following resolution was unanimously carried:—"That, in the opinion of this meeting, it is most desirable, in the interests of the trade, that all spinners shall at once resort to short time; that such short time shall consist of a reduction of the working hours equal to half-time, for a period of eight weeks from the 30th May, and may be carried out either by closing three days a week, by alternate weeks, or by continuous stoppage; the resolution to take effect only in the event of spinners representing two-thirds of the spindles sending in to the Cotton Spinners' Association an undertaking to carry out such resolution."

A singular scene was witnessed at Bolton on Monday night in connection with the strike in the engineering trades. Messrs. Wood, Victoria Foundry, imported eight or nine Scotchmen, who arrived on Monday. Lodgings could not be obtained for them, there appearing to be a general boycott, so the men were taken to the foundry, followed by a large demonstrative crowd. Beds and bedding were ordered from a local furnisher, but he had the utmost difficulty to land the goods, stones being thrown freely. When the gates were opened at six o'clock on Wednesday morning the imported men made their escape, and being joined by some of the Strike Committee, were furnished with funds to take them back to Scotland. They expressed themselves glad to go, and said they had been brought under a misapprehension. With the departure of the importations the excitement was at an end. The men's counter-proposals to that of the employers, forwarded through the Mayor (Ald. Fletcher), are under consideration.

STRIKE OF QUARRYMEN AT POLLOCKSHAW AND BANNOCKBURN.—For about a couple of weeks past the quarrymen in the employment of Messrs. Stevenson, at Pollockshaw, near Glasgow, have been on strike to resist a reduction of wages. The men are at present very poorly paid, while the nature of their work is toilsome, dangerous, and unhealthy in the extreme. As the quarry is tunnelled, the men have to work in very confined spaces, breathing sand dust and the fumes of naphtha lamps. The quarrymen are consequently very short lived. The Messrs. Stephenson—who are thus, for their own selfish gain, attempting to make the lives of these poor slaves still more miserable—are reputed to be very wealthy, and one of the members of the firm was elected some time ago by the workers of Glasgow to represent their interests in the Town Council! The quarrymen, who are now attempting to form a union with the quarrymen in other parts of the country, were addressed last week by William Small of the Hamilton branch of the Socialist League, and J. Bruce Glasier, of the Glasgow branch—no other political or trade society taking any interest in their struggle. Some of the men stated that they had been previously thinking about Socialism, and had come to the conclusion that it was their only hope of redress. A strike of quarrymen has also taken place at Bannockburn—for ever glorious in Scottish memory as the place where Bruce overthrew the power of Edward in Scotland. "Bruce's address to his troops at Bannockburn," better known as "Scots wha hae," is Scotland's battle song of Freedom. Whether the poor quarrymen who, having recently submitted to two reductions in wages, now desire an advance, will obtain much consolation from singing the patriotic ode, or contemplating the glorious heritage of freedom, which they can enjoy while walking over the famous battlefield with empty pockets and empty stomachs, is rather doubtful.

MANCHESTER.—Building operations at the Jubilee Exhibition here are now at an end, and large numbers of joiners, bricklayers, painters, and labourers of all grades are now to be seen wearily wandering about the streets vainly searching for a permit of the employing classes to exist a little longer. During the construction of the exhibition buildings, Manchester was overcrowded with operatives in the building trades from all parts of the country. The enterprising caterer for the refreshment department of the show is now paying the extraordinary price of 6½d. per hour to joiners, whom he employs erecting extra dining rooms, etc., and he can get men at the price, in spite of the fact that the headquarters of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners is located in this city. This society boasts of its capital of over £50,000. To this add that some of its members are grumbling at paying 1s. per week contributions, and also periodically heavy levies to keep up the funds, etc., and yet see so little done by the executive in a progressive sense

for the interests of the society. The waitresses employed at the Jubilee Exhibition are paid the "Jubilee" sum of 5s. per week with their day's food each day, their lodgings cost them in some instances 5s. per week, and in other cases a larger sum. How these young women manage to pay for their food on Sunday's, also for their clothing, is an open question, yet how many of the "mashers" and other visitors to the show give a thought to this unfortunate sisterhood I cannot discover. These young women are employed each day out of the six from about 9 a.m. to 10 p.m., and from what I have seen scarcely get an hour's rest the whole of the day. On the very practical executive Committee, there are editors of local newspapers, Radicals of great notoriety, also Liberal and Tory philanthropists and political leaders of local fame. The waitresses have no friends who will take up their cause. The "ladies" of the "women's suffrage" movement have no time it seems to help their exploited sisters. The above facts I have from the women who suffer. There is not a single trade union leader with the back-bone of a red herring in him, or we should hear these grievances of oppressed womanhood exposed.—GLENER.

AMERICA.

The Central Labour Party in Denver, Colorado, have resolved in consequence of a threatened 20 per cent. rise in rents, to organise a No-Rent Campaign. It is proposed to camp out in tents, and a committee has been appointed to make arrangements. Enthusiastic meetings have been held, and great determination shown.

BELGIUM.

BRUSSELS, May 25.—A strike commenced to-day among the engineers employed in the factories in the Brussels district, and several important workshops, including those of Deville, Chalet, Van Goethem, Reallier, Bollinck, Dejaer, Cail, and Halot, are at a standstill. The Burgomaster of Molenbeek has "taken every precaution for the maintenance of order." May 26.—An order has been issued by the Public Prosecutor to enforce the law against the sale of arms.

LIEGE, May 35.—Troops have left here for Seraing. The strike has become general at the Cockerill works. May 26.—The state of affairs in the Seraing coal basin has this morning become more serious. There are now 1759 men on strike, comprising colliers and ironworkers. A detachment of troops is stationed at Seraing, in readiness for any emergency. Considerable agitation prevails along the left bank of the Meuse.

CHARLEROI, May 25.—The strike assumed larger proportions in the Charleroi coal-district this morning, and there are now 7000 men idle. Fears are entertained that the movement will spread still further.

The strike in the Hainault and the Liege province is becoming more and more serious and widespread, although the Central Committee of the Labour Party have up to the present held aloof from declaring for a general strike, believing that unless backed by a strong labour organisation it would be virtually inefficacious. Nevertheless, in the face of present events, it is possible that the committee will feel bound to march with the rest, and in the various meeting-places of the different towns the question of a general strike is being vigorously discussed. In the meantime the strike is proceeding and gaining fresh adherents every day. A mass meeting was held on Sunday at Liege, which passed resolutions in favour of universal suffrage, amnesty for the prisoners, etc. The current number of *L'Avenir* (Liege) fills its front page with an address to the "Workers of the Liege Coal-basin," headed 'The Forerunner to a Revolution,' calling upon all workers to assist the movement "by all legal means in their power," which phrase we confess to considering a very feeble one to use towards serious men engaged in a serious struggle, whether that struggle be the preface to the Revolution, or merely, as we consider, one of these thousand and one expressions of revolt against the chains of toil which we watch with so much interest and sympathy, and which end in a concession here and concession there from the industrial masters, in short, a sop to Cerberus to stay his many-voiced howling for another while. At the same time this spontaneous movement of the mining population—with or without the sanction of Central Committees and the like—is somewhat encouraging, and of the greatest interest to workers in other countries.

CORRESPONDENCE.

SIR,—In your last number I am spoken of as the author of 'Facts for Socialists,' recently issued by the Fabian Society. Will you allow me to state that the tract twice underwent careful scrutiny, discussion, and amendment in committee of the whole society, and must not therefore be taken as the unaided and unchecked work of an individual member. But the "amiable and witty author" of the draft upon which the committee worked, and which they substantially adopted, is Mr. Sidney Webb, and not your obedient servant,
G. BERNARD SHAW.

29, Fitzroy Square, W., May 24, 1887.

"THE IMMORALITY OF INTEREST."

SIR,—I have just read an article in the *Commonweal* under the above title. Were it not that this article is written by a man of marked ability, I should not have troubled you with the following question. But, as the matter stands, I should like to ask him whether it is through inadvertence or design that, while enumerating sundry absurd arguments in favour of "usury," he omits to notice the most important of those upon which political economists rely? This argument is that money is itself of the nature of a "commodity," for the use of which it is both reasonable and right that usury should be required. The price of this commodity, like the price of every other commodity, is determined by the ratio between demand and supply: thus the rate of interest varies, not in an ordinary way, but in accordance with this demand and supply. Therefore, until it can be shown that in some way or another the commodity called capital differs from all other commodities—including even that of manual labour—it must be merely illogical to single it out as exceptionally deserving of abuse, or to represent that there is any peculiar injustice attaching to hire of it.—I am, yours, etc.,
A PROFESSOR OF SCIENCE.

[It will be seen that the writer of the above is not a professor of the science of political economy. It is true that money is a commodity, and that we must pay for its use. It is also true that chairs are commodities and that

we must pay for their use. But what has either of these facts to do with that other fact that every year a sum of £250,000,000, called interest, is paid by those who earn it by labour in various departments of industry to those who do not? Our professor suggests that the 250 millions is the price or hire of the money used by the nation. But how does he know that it is not the hire or price of the chairs used by the nation? Both, he says rightly, are commodities; and he protests against money being "singled out." Why then does he single it out to account for interest? The interest-receiving class have no more a monopoly of money than they have of chairs. The production of money is a State industry, the profits of which go into the Treasury and have nothing whatever to do with the 250 millions. When money is scarce, it can be made to do more work by the fall in prices; and if it became so scarce as to hamper exchange, the result would be a national dead loss, which hardly explains the payment of 250 millions to a class not specially connected with the scarcity. Any economist will tell the professor as much; for he is mistaken in supposing his defence of interest an accepted one. Orthodoxy is more ingenious than that. Interest is held to be the reward of abstinence, that is, the consideration by which a man is induced to refrain from immediately consuming his wealth—to postpone enjoyment of it to a future date—to save it, in short, and to permit others to use it in the meantime. His interest is paid out of the "increase" due to its employment as capital. This is a more plausible explanation than the other; and I leave the professor to exercise his skill in discovering the fallacy in it.—G. B. S.]

A PLAN OF CAMPAIGN.

THE increasing strength of the Socialist party in these islands, and the activity of our revolutionary propaganda, is bearing fruit amongst the masses of our industrial population, and, as a consequence, the hostility or indifference of a few years back is now changed for a sympathetic and attentive attitude.

Our missionaries, however, have no light task in striving to awaken in the minds of the workers a true sense of the magnitude of the evils of our present society, and the necessity of a thorough revolutionary change. As a capitalistic writer has said recently in answer to a labour question: "If the work was unfitted for them, they have become fitted for the work." And this "survival by fitness;" or, in other words, moral degradation, has been achieved by middle-class supremacy in production and the great industry—"the Press."

When grasping dimly the ideas preached by our advocates, the anxious enquirer puts the query, "How will you bring it about?" or, "We must have some one at top." If a stage further advanced, the querist asks, "How are we to bring it about?" and that, in short, is the question in the minds of teachers and listeners alike. We have to raise the moral tone of a class who have always looked for amelioration, or indeed emancipation, at the hands of their masters acting as legislators, and deluded by political catchwords, have joined the party strife going on between manufacturer and land thief. The non-political policy of abstention from voting inculcated by the Socialist League simply opens up to the workman the possible alternative of bloodshed, and whilst he sanctions the hideous butcheries, perpetrated to extend the Empire, and even offers up himself and kin as victims, to be slain and maimed in bondholders' wars, he shrinks with horror and dismay from the prospect of having to shed blood to free his own country from the domestic enemies who have made it a hell upon earth to the workers.

Confronted with this state of feeling, it is not surprising that some should try to reach the mass by the usual means, and talking down to their hearers, seek in Parliamentary agitation an easier way of rousing the people.

In their heart of hearts the advocates of Parliamentary action do not believe that any real good will ever come to the people from such action, and they confessedly only seek this line of action from policy and not principle. I hold it is highly immoral to tell the mass that their emancipation can be achieved by means which must fail. When one looks at the incidents of Parliamentary strife, the huxtering, the pestering lobbyists, the traps and pitfalls laid by the legal crew who have shipping and railway enterprises to promote, it may be asked, "Can an honest man preserve his integrity in such an atmosphere?" When Bradlaugh pleaded at the Bar of the House against his exclusion therefrom, he covered the House with praise as an honourable assembly with time honoured traditions. The revolutionary Socialists whom the "gentleman" styles fools or worse, judging the House both by its past tradition and present pretensions, will say that it is a monstrous anomaly, a swallower up of public liberties, an aggregation of the most sinister interests in the country, a legislative assembly, whose legislative capacity is based upon the most fraudulent pretence of representation, even majority rule, for a majority in the House, as most division lists show, represents the minority outside. An assembly moreover whose Acts have caused wholesale misery and bloodshed, the spoliation of peoples abroad, and preservation of domestic abuses and monopolies at home. An appeal to such a body is but the hope deferred that maketh the heart sick, and will lead to the bitterest disappointment.

In our local and municipal elections, however, I see an opportunity for Socialistic work without, I think, loss of principle. In nearly all our local and civil bodies the bourgeois reigns supreme, and this is mainly due to the apathy of the working-class, who allow cliques of selfish, cheating traders to monopolise what power of local government is left to the people. Ancient liberties, vast sums of money, and public estates are maladministered by these gradgrinds and market riggers. Is it not possible to arouse enthusiasm on matters that lie at our doors, without incurring the charge of being reactionary? The revolution is inevitable, and it is possible to hasten its advent, and give it shape and form, by contesting every inch of ground now occupied in local bodies by the bourgeois. The Socialist who, in every locality, would ransack the archives in search for records of ancient public rights, lapsed through ignorance and apathy, or, of robbed trusts, would unearth such a mass of middle-class rascality as would bring the class war near its culmination. The foul records of our city and its guilds has shown that enough wealth is wasted in its corrupt hands to supply the educational and material wants of the greater portion of the Metropolitan poor.

Let the Socialist enter these coteries as the champion of ancient liberties, and with a mandate from his constituents to widen their scope, until they include the control over land, and means of production, instead of now merely to determine the site of a dust-bin or lamp-post, or sell contracts. Let him also violate, on every possible occasion, the legal claim of the central authority to control local liberty of action, and strive, with his associates, to break down the monstrous pretensions of the Imperial power, and bring every municipality and local authority where the Socialist element prevails, into defiant collision with the huge overgrown monster of

Imperial centralisation, and the first attempt to coerce by imprisonment or violence will be the signal for the revolution.

Where the local circumstances exclude the mass from representation upon these bodies, let their councils be disturbed by irruptions of the unenfranchised "outsiders." In making these suggestions I am guided by a desire first, to give our party something to whet its appetite with work that will hold it together, with a distinct aim wherein no loss of principle is needed. The early history of the French communes and mercantile cities of Italy and Flanders shows that of old the middle-class in their insurrections against feudalism won their civic enfranchisement from prince and knight with artisan help and blood; and our own municipal institutions have been won from a titled aristocracy by a mercantile one; the working-class have ever been the pawns in the game, the bourgeois has triumphed over the aristocrat, and is already on the downward incline, let us hasten his downfall and use the institutions he has won with the help of our class, as the thin end of a wedge that will split up modern society, and lead to the establishment of free federated communes in the place of the life suffocating criminal centralisation of to-day.

F. KITZ.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Third Annual Conference of the League met at 13 Farringdon Road on Sunday last, May 29, 1887, when twenty-four Branches were represented. The following resolution was passed: "Whereas the primary duty of the Socialist party is to educate the people in the principles of Socialism, and to organise them to overthrow the capitalist system: this Conference endorses the policy of abstention from parliamentary action hitherto pursued by the League, and sees no sufficient reason for altering it." Minutes of proceedings will be issued to the Branches shortly. The following were elected to form the Council for the ensuing year: James Allman, W. Blundell, Burcham, Cantwell, Davis, Graham, F. Kitz, J. Lane, S. Mainwaring, W. Morris, May Morris, D. Nicoll, H. H. Sparling, Tarleton, and Ph. Webb. W. Morris and H. H. Sparling were appointed Editor and Sub-Editor of the *Commonweal*. Further particulars will be given next week.

Executive.—At the first meeting of the Council, Tuesday May 31, the following officers were elected for the ensuing year: H. A. Barker, General Secretary; Philip Webb, Treasurer; T. Cantwell, Lecture Secretary; and W. Turner, Financial Secretary.

London Members.—The first meeting of London Members will be held on Monday the 4th of July.

BRANCH REPORTS.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, May 25, H. H. Sparling gave very interesting lecture on "English Guilds." Good audience and discussion. No lecture on Sunday, May 29th, the hall being used for the purposes of the Socialist League Conference.—W. B. and T. E. W.

NORTH LONDON AND MARYLEBONE.—On Sunday morning, Cantwell, Brookes, and Nicoll spoke at Regents' Park, and had good sale of literature. 2s. 2d. collected for Strike Committee.

GLASGOW.—On Friday evening, Glasier addressed a meeting of 200 quarrymen, now on strike at Pollockshaws. In addition to the quarrymen, a large number of other working-people were present. Glasier gave a full exposition of the labour problem, and pointed out that the only remedy for the grievances of quarrymen and all other workers was the abolition of private property in means of production and distribution. His address was received with great approval. Comrade Small, of the Hamilton Branch, gave an address to the quarrymen on the preceding Monday. On Sunday at one o'clock, comrade Curran addressed a capital meeting on Jail's Square, Glasgow, when nine names were received as members of the League. In the afternoon, comrade Arch McLaren gave a lecture on Socialism to the Legislative Independence Branch of the National League. There was a large audience, and the lecture was very well received, one member declaring that when Home Rule was obtained they would transform the Branch into a Branch of the Socialist League. In the evening, comrades Carmichael, Curran, and Glasier addressed a large meeting on George's Square. Afterwards a meeting of members was held in our rooms.

EDINBURGH.—On Wednesday, May 25, Smith, sen., Tuke, and Gilray addressed a meeting in Scientific Hall, Dalkeith. On Sunday, Smith, jun., Davidson, and Gilray spoke in Queen's Park. A somewhat violent wind blowing interfered with our having a very satisfactory meeting, and threatened to undertake a gratuitous distribution of our literature, and thus to waft the story of Socialism through a benighted world. In the evening in the Meadows, a good number of *Commonweal* were disposed of.—J. G.

BOLTON (LANCS).—On Sunday afternoon, Joseph Waddington, of Manchester, lectured at the Town Hall Square, on "The Conflicts of Capital and Labour." In the evening, an audience numbering several hundreds were addressed by same speaker, on "Our Homes, What they Are and What they Might Be." The lecturer asked those present why the worker was debarred from enjoying the comforts and luxuries of a home furnished with art furniture, beautiful pictures, and tasteful decorations? The answer was, The rich held possession of the land and the means of production, and until the workers discovered and recognised the necessity of taking their own from the exploiters, so long would they be debarred from comfortable homes, decent lives, and those arts and pleasures which make life worth living. Good collections were made at both meetings for the propaganda fund of the local branch of the S.D.F. Re the engineer's strike, there is a grand opportunity for a good Socialist propaganda and organisation.—J. W.

DUBLIN.—On Thursday, May 26, at the Labour League, 2, Bachelor's Walk, Fitzpatrick delivered an address on "The Housing of the Poor." Seven members were elected to serve on the committee, five of them being Socialists, Fitzpatrick, Karpel, McCarthy, Olgoman, and Swords. During the summer, meetings will be held in all the towns near Dublin, and Branches of the Labour League formed wherever practicable.

SOCIALIST UNION (NOTTINGHAM SECTION).—Last Sunday, Proctor lectured to an attentive audience in Sninton Market in the morning. In the evening, Proctor took the chair, and Wane addressed a good audience, Peacock following with a spirited address. Collection for propaganda, including morning meeting, 4s. 1d. *Commonweal*, which order we had again increased, all sold out. Three young men joined the Section and Club after the meeting. Several members had an enjoyable tea at the club on Monday. Our club is now getting into working order.—T. P.

Branch Reports must be addressed to Sub-Editor, and cannot be inserted if they reach the Office later than first post on Tuesday Morning.

SPECIAL NOTICES.

The Debate on Socialism.—E. Belfort Bax's reply to Mr. Bradlaugh will appear in next issue.

J. L. M' hon will also give full report of the North of England movement.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

- Bloomsbury.**—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street.
- Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday June 5, at 7.15 p.m., Branch Members' Business Meeting. FREE CONCERT at 8.30. Wednesday June 8, at 8.30. W. W. Bartlett, "The Meaning of the Social Revolution."
- Croydon.**—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard.
- Hackney.**—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 8 till 11.30.
- Hammersmith.**—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday June 5, at 8 p.m. J. L. Mahon, "The Labour Movement amongst the Miners."
- Hoxton (L.E.L.).**—2 Crondall Street, New North Rd. Club Room open on Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday evenings from 8 till 11. Singing Class every Wednesday at 8.30. Members Meeting on Friday June 3, at 8.30 p.m.: important business. Sunday June 5, at 8 p.m. J. R. Macdonald (F.S.), "The Signs of the Times."
- Merton.**—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday. Discussions held every Sunday morning at 11.
- Mitcham.**—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11.
- North London.**—Members' Meeting at 32 Camden Road, June 5, at 8 p.m.

PROVINCES.

- Bingley.**—Coffee Tavern. Every Monday at 7.30 p.m.
- Birmingham.**—Carr's Lane Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 8.
- Bradford.**—Morris's Dining Rooms, 114 City Road. Wednesdays, at 8.
- Dublin.**—Irish Labour League, 2 Bachelors Walk, every Thursday at 8 p.m. Discussion on all subjects connected with the Labour Question.
- Dalkeith (Edinburgh).**—Scientific Hall, Wednesday June 8, at 8 p.m., a Lecture.
- Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 7.30 p.m. to transact business. Class for the study of 'Das Capital' at 8.30. (See "Open-air" below.)
- Glasgow.**—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. On Sunday evening at 7, in our Rooms, Discussion. See "Open-air" below.
- Hamilton.**—Paton's Hall, Chapel St. Every Thursday at 7.30.
- Hull.**—Address all communications to E. Teesdale, 20 Shakspeare Street.
- Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, 11; Vicar's Croft, 7.
- Lancaster.**—Addresses every Sunday morning on the Quay Jetty.
- Leicester.**—Office of Hosiery Union, Horsefair Street. Fridays at 8 p.m.
- Manchester.**—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening 6 to 10 p.m. Lecture and discussion every Wednesday at 8 p.m.
- Norwich.**—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Free Lectures every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room open every evening.
- Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Thursdays, at 8.30 p.m.
- Paisley.**—On Friday at 7.30, open-air meeting at the Causewayside.
- Shields (North and South).**—Meetings every Sunday, Quay-side and Market Place. Branch meetings on Thursday nights at the "General Gordon," Bath Street, Maxwell Street, South Shields. Secretary, J. Hearne, 32 Clive Street, No. Shields. A Public Debate is being arranged between Mr. Leslie Johnson and J. L. Mahon.
- North Shields.**—Irish National League. On Sunday June 5th, at 3 p.m., Gladstone Hall, J. L. Mahon will lecture on "The Irish Question."

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 5.

- 1.30...Hackney—"Salmon and Ball"J. Allman
- 11.30...Hammersmith—Beadon Rd.The Branch
- 11.30...Hoxton Ch., Pitfield St.Davis, Wade, Pope
- 11.30...Garrett—"Plough Inn"The Branch
- 11.30...Mitcham Fair GreenThe Branch
- 11.30...Regent's ParkN. London Branch
- 11.30...St. Pancras ArchesThe Branch
- 11.30...Walham GreenJohnson
- 3 ...Hyde ParkMarylebone Branch
- 7 ...Clerkenwell GreenThe Branch
- Tuesday.**
- 8 ...Ossulton Street, King's Cross...Brookes & Nicoll
- Wednesday.**
- 7.30...Broadway, London FieldsLane
- Thursday.**
- 8 ...Hoxton, Pitfield StreetThe Branch

PROVINCES.

- Edinburgh.**—Sunday: Queen's Park, afternoon at 3.
- Loanhead (Edinburgh).**—Saturday, at 7 o'clock.
- Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail's Square at 1 p.m.; George's Square, at 6 o'clock.

Hamilton.—Saturday: at 6 o'clock.

Motherwell.—Saturday: at 6 o'clock.

Paisley.—Friday: Causewayside, at 7.30.

Hawick.—Persons in Hawick desirous of forming a Branch are requested to address the Secretary of the Socialist League, 4 Park Street, Edinburgh.

BRANCH SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID.

Birmingham, to August 31. Manchester, to October 31. Leicester, South London, to December 31, 1886. Bradford, Croydon, Edinburgh, Hackney, Hammersmith, Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Hull, Ipswich, Lancaster, Leeds, Marylebone, Merton, Norwich, Shields, Walsall, to March 31. Bloomsbury, Glasgow, North London, Oxford, to April 30, Clerkenwell, May 31, 1887.

STRIKE COMMITTEE.

Collected in Regent's Park, Sunday May 29, per Cantwell, 2s. 2d.

THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

Pakenham Beatty, £2. International Club, 23 Berners Street, 4s. 9d. For Mrs. Mowbray—A few Fabians, per Annie Besant (weekly), 10s.; Glasgow Branch (five weeks), 10s.—Total, £3 4s. 9d.
J. LANE, Treasurer.

Concert and Ball.—At CLEVELAND HALL, Cleveland Street, W., on Monday June 6, at 8.30, a Grand Concert and Ball will take place, organised by the Socialist League on behalf of the Norwich Prisoners' Fund. The following, and others, will take part: Fred Henderson, Mr. O'Brien, Miss Powell, H. H. Sparling, Wm. Blundell, Mrs. Wardley, H. A. Barker, J. Brooks, James Anderson, Ed. Witthoff, Mr. Steward, Mrs. Taylor. Admission by Programme, 6d.

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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 3.—No. 74.

SATURDAY, JUNE 11, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

A WRITTEN DEBATE

BETWEEN MR. C. BRADLAUGH, M.P., AND E. BELFORT BAX.

SUBJECT:

"Will Socialism Benefit the English People?"

III.—Affirmative: E. BELFORT BAX.

I AM sorry that Mr. Bradlaugh is dissatisfied with my opening statement of the Socialist position, wherein I sought to show the historic evolution of the present system of society, more especially with reference to England, and thence to deduce the Socialistic as the only issue possible to benefit the English people. But Mr. Bradlaugh, I am sure, is aware of the disadvantage under which the opener of a debate on a subject like the present labours. As it is, I had to trespass on his courtesy by taking up more space than was originally agreed upon for my still necessarily incomplete survey. To judge from Mr. Bradlaugh's remarks, he would have had me eliminate *holus bolus* the historical side of the question. This I could under no circumstances have done. The Socialism I am defending is indissolubly bound up with the past as well as the present of human society, and is incomprehensible except as the result of an historical development. I must therefore respectfully urge upon Mr. Bradlaugh to deal with the historical side of my article, as upon this the theory of modern Socialism largely hinges. I am quite willing for him to confine his attention to England, since this country may quite well be taken as typical; but I must protest against one of the most important parts of my argument being waived aside with the epithet "inexact," or with mere bald denials of the facts contained in it.

I will now proceed to deal with Mr. Bradlaugh's paragraphs *seriatim*. Nos. 1 and 2 I have animadverted upon in opening these remarks. (3 and 4) I contend that my definition of Socialism is perfectly clear—i.e., as clear as any definition can be which does not assume the proportions of an exposition. I do not see that Mr. Bradlaugh's definitions are as definitions any clearer than mine, but with them I will deal in the proper place.

No 4 consists of a play upon the words "goal" and "basis"—this at least is all that I can make out of it. The economic "basis," I thought I made tolerably evident, was that historic development of industry up to modern capitalism, which Mr. Bradlaugh objects to discuss; the "goal" is of course the Socialism which we contend is its outcome. My whole article consisted in an endeavour to state the "basis" and the "goal." The statement of the "basis" Mr. Bradlaugh has ignored; the statement of the "goal" he has understood variously, but never, I think, according to the ordinary sense of the words used by me.

(5, 6, 7) The relation between utopian and scientific Socialist theory is that they are both products of the same intellectual movement at different stages, just as astrology and astronomy, alchemy and chemistry are alike products of the scientific spirit, the one of its infancy, the other of its maturity. The attempt to reform the world by founding model communities or otherwise by groups of individuals is analogous to the attempt of Goethe's Wagner to "distil" a human being out of a retort. Mr. Bradlaugh is right in taking me to imply that this quasi-practicality is at least one distinctive feature of Utopianism.

(7, 8, 9) By Socialism being "nothing if not international," I certainly meant that there is no possibility of the definite establishment of Socialism anywhere without a concurrent movement among the proletariat of the whole *civilised world*. I cannot regard England or any other western country as isolated from the general movement of civilisation. The condition of the civilised world as a whole is the immediate basis on which modern Socialism founds. This basis is the capitalistic system, the growth and nature of which I have already sketched. By the "break up of nationalities" I refer to the existing centralised State-systems of Europe. At present, although for obvious reasons each nationality has to work out its own Socialist movement more or less independently, yet this independence is recognised by all Socialists to be only provisional—that the centralised State of to-day will eventually be merged in a federation of all socialised communities. The centre of the larger (as opposed to the smaller or communal) social organisation will be shifted from the nation to the group of nations constituting the socialised world. But, says Mr. Bradlaugh, how long after the first establishment of Socialism will this political readjustment take place? Will a period of six weeks and three days elapse, or seven weeks, or how long? I am very sorry, but I really cannot inform him. The two events may be simultaneous or they may not,

according to the circumstances under which the crisis of the social revolution accomplishes itself. I can only affirm the fact of the logical connection of these events, and that the one must follow sooner or later upon the other. Would the "break up" be a slow and peaceful process? asks Mr. Bradlaugh. Possibly yes, but probably no.

(9) Mr. Bradlaugh rightly conceives that I deny the possibility of any social change being effected by isolated individuals or groups. The word "abstractedly" which he alleges, however, to be meaningless, contains the gist of the whole note, which affirms the impotence of individual effort *abstracted* from social condition. In answer to Mr. Bradlaugh's strictures I may say that "isolated and individual effort" has never been (and never can be) effective save as the expression and outcome of an underlying social movement. It is the social circumstances and intellectual atmosphere of his age which makes the individual what he is. The mere aggregate of individuals existing at a particular moment does not constitute society, any more than 'the mere aggregate of cell and tissue here and now constitutes the man—in both cases, it is the structural *synthesis*, the organic *form*, which determines the *reality* of the *thing*. I am sure if Mr. Bradlaugh considers the matter he will see that his "innumerable instances" of individual initiative, as contributing to progress, simply resolve themselves into cases of individuals having given *voice* and *definiteness* to tendencies already *born* of that social and more particularly economic development which maintains itself as *one* movement irrespective of the individuals, generations, and even races, through which it is manifested. My contention is that if people cut themselves off from the main stream of this development their action is futile.

(10, 11) I submit that Mr. Bradlaugh's first definition of a "Socialistic State" (which he would substitute for my own) is much too vague to be of any use for purposes of discussion. As it stands certainly no modern Socialist would accept it. His second is open to less objection, and taking the words in their ordinary meaning, I should not be indisposed to adopt it¹ as it is little more than a blurred re-statement of my own definition. The explanatory rider is of course indefensible. "Everything common as to its user" forsooth!—that's just what it wouldn't be. Mr. Bradlaugh really seems to credit Socialists with the fatuous absurdity of advocating a general scramble for hats and coats. The *use* of a thing as to its being "individual" or "common," must be entirely determined by the nature of the thing itself—whether it is a palace or a pair of boots, for example. It is quite true that Socialism by implication affirms that personal possession shall be limited to objects of personal use, but certainly does not imply that every pocket-handkerchief, coat, hat, stocking, petticoat, chemise, "shall be common as to their user." The remark, however, is obviously only one of those touches of playful humour which for those who can appreciate them, lend a charm to so many of Mr. Bradlaugh's speeches and articles; and I should not have essayed to refute it but for the fact that the British public is so dense at seeing a joke. Again, as to all labour being State-controlled, it is only necessary to say that after Mr. Bradlaugh had performed his share of the work necessary to the maintenance of the community of which he was a member, he could labour as uncontrolledly as he pleased under a Socialistic *régime*. With regard to Socialism and Communism I may say that the words Socialism, Communism and Collectivism are with me interchangeable, and mean economically the communisation of the means necessary to production, distribution, and exchange—and nothing else. You may of course affirm if you like that this would eventuate in the communisation of the product to a very large extent, but this would be an after and indirect and not an immediate and direct result of Socialism.

(11) By the "assumption of, etc.," I mean the taking away from the present owners by any means constitutional or otherwise, as circumstances may dictate, of the means of production, etc., now in the hands of private persons or syndicates. Socialism only proposes to confiscate wealth used for production on a large scale, i.e., as capital, in the fullest sense of the word.

(12) How the new social order is to be inaugurated, to wit, by the taking over of capital in the above sense, I certainly thought had been sufficiently indicated by me in more than one place. As to the benefits thence resulting to the English people, I also thought I made sufficiently clear that since the capitalist system with its results as described, is so fully developed in England that *ergo* the English people must especially benefit by its abolition.

(13) Civilisation means primarily the domination of property as held

¹ In saying this, I assume that "all labour" means all social labour, not the labour an individual might perform for his own amusement.

privately, with the corresponding distinction of a propertied, dominating class and a propertyless, dominated class. It is seen fullest developed in the modern capitalist world—with its empire of profit-mongering. Hence the abolition of capitalism implies the abolition of the last phase of the civilised or State-world which is based on the above class-antagonism.

(14) The private enterprise I referred to is that which has material personal gain for its end. I see no reason why under Socialism any other form of private enterprise should be extinguished.

(15) I must again ask Mr. Bradlaugh to deal with the historical side of my paper.

(16) That the early Christians as a matter of temporary convenience believing the end of the world to be at hand, chose to form a mutual benefit society does not affect in the least the principles and ultimate tendencies of Christianity. That its principles were not communistic would be, for that matter sufficiently proved by Acts v. 4, if Mr. Bradlaugh regards the book of 'Acts' as having any special historical value. As our friend William Morris remarked to me the other day, the vaunted communism of the primitive Christians is essentially the same as the donation of a thousand pounds by a Birmingham manufacturer to a cause he takes an interest in. The self-sacrifice might have been greater in the former than in the latter case, but the transaction is identical in kind.

No 17 I will bear in mind, though as regards the statistical Fabian Tract I have seen it in a place I should have thought not altogether inaccessible to Mr. Bradlaugh.

(18) I must confess I was somewhat staggered by Mr. Bradlaugh's challenging my statement that the large capitalist swallows up the small one. This everyday occurrence seemed so incontrovertible, and has never to my knowledge been questioned by any one. Probably Mr. Bradlaugh's own constituents at Northampton could tell him something about this in connection with the boot-making industry. I will, however, endeavour to satisfy his passion for figures by procuring some on the subject in my next article. Meanwhile, surely Mr. Bradlaugh will admit that goods can be thrown on to the competitive market cheaper and more rapidly when produced with large capital than with small, and if he admits this he admits that the result described *must* ensue. Is there not now less pauperism in proportion to population than forty years ago? Very possibly less pauperism, but certainly more poverty. The middle-classes have taken care to suppress pauperism and reduce the rates at the same time by wellnigh abolishing out-door relief and making the workhouses worse than prisons. What has Mr. Bradlaugh to say about the perennial unemployed question?

Space presses, but I shall revert to No. 18 in my next unless Mr. Bradlaugh should prefer to restate the points there raised by him in his reply to this.

(19) Mr. Bradlaugh "doubts" but does not criticise certain historical truisms put forward by me. He also alleges that I have failed to show their connection with the subject in dispute. But surely before one can judge whether Socialism will benefit the English people it is desirable to show why its antithesis, capitalistic individualism, *hasn't* and *won't* benefit the English people.

(20) Mr. Bradlaugh further characterises a paragraph of mine as "an accumulation of inaccuracies." I can only say I am prepared to stand by it to the very letter. I never said anything about "monopoly of labour." The "unnamed individuals" constituting the capitalist class have a *monopoly* of the means by which alone labour can become economically productive, which of course gives them a *command* over those who possess nothing but their labour-power. The margin of the final profit may, as Mr. Bradlaugh says, be very small or *nil*, and yet the rate of exploitation or of the production of surplus-value may be a hundred per cent., as Marx has conclusively shown ('Capital,' vol. I. c. ix. p. 201 *et seq.*). I am surprised to find this confusion between the concepts surplus-value and profit in a person of Mr. Bradlaugh's acuteness. However, there it is. Then, again, the final sentence. On the hypothesis that the whole community owns and works the means of production, etc., for its own behoof, to whom, I would ask, are the "expenses" named to be incurred? Surely there is here also some confusion of ideas.

In conclusion, if I might do so without giving offence, I should like to ask Mr. Bradlaugh to formulate his objections in a more comprehensive and less detached fashion. It is easy to fire off thirty or forty questions in two columns, which it would take thirty or forty to answer properly. With fair play given me to reply to a series of such articles as Mr. Bradlaugh's last, I have my misgivings lest the English people might have established Socialism before I had succeeded in convincing Mr. Bradlaugh that it would benefit them.

E. BELFORT BAX.

The McGlynn and George party becomes more turbulent and Socialistic daily.—*Daily News* Correspondent.

FATHER M'GLYNN ON MR. O'BRIEN.—NEW YORK, June 6.—Mr. O'Brien's refusal to attend the labour demonstration here on Saturday night is the subject of general discussion to-day. The members of the Labour Union are outspoken in their opinions, and consider themselves affronted. The matter was debated at a largely-attended meeting of the Anti-Poverty Society yesterday, at which Mr. Mackin, chairman of the Labour Demonstration, and Father M'Glynn, spoke in condemnatory terms of Mr. O'Brien. Father M'Glynn said: "O'Brien is himself a landlord at heart. It is only a question of 10 or 25 per cent. between O'Brien and Lord Lansdowne. They are birds of a feather. Mr. O'Brien blackguards Lord Lansdowne because he cannot jew him down 25 per cent. O'Brien admits that the land belongs to Lord Lansdowne. We say it does not belong to him. We therefore intend to take it from him."

HOW WE LIVE AND HOW WE MIGHT LIVE.

(Continued from p. 178.)

LET those be types of the consumer: but now for the producer; I mean the real producer, the worker; how does this scramble for the plunder of the market affect him? The manufacturer, in the eagerness of his war, has had to collect into one neighbourhood a vast army of workers, he has drilled them till they are as fit as may be for his special branch of production, that is, for making a profit out of it, and with the result of their being fit for nothing else; well, when the glut comes in that market he is supplying, what happens to this army, every one of whom has been depending on the steady demand in that market, and acting, as they could not choose but act, as if it were to go on for ever? You know well what happens to them; the factory door is shut on them; on a very large part of them often, and at the best on the reserve army of labour, so busily employed in the time of inflation. What becomes of them? Nay, we know that well enough just now. But what we don't know, or don't choose to know is, that this reserve army of labour is an absolute necessity for commercial war: if our manufacturers had not got these poor devils whom they could draft on to their machines when the demand swelled, other manufacturers in France or Germany, or America, would step in and take the market from them; so you see, as we live now, it is necessary that a vast part of the industrial population should be exposed to the danger of periodical semi-starvation, and that not for the advantage of the people in another part of the world, but for their degradation and enslavement. Just let your minds run for a moment on the kind of waste which this means, this opening up of new markets among savage and barbarous countries which is the extreme type of the force of the profit-market on the world, and you will surely see what a hideous nightmare that profit-market is: it keeps us sweating and terrified for our livelihood, unable to read a book or look at a picture, or have pleasant fields to walk in, or to lie in the sun, or to share in the knowledge of our time, to have in short either animal or intellectual pleasure, and for what? that we may go on living the same slavish life till we die, in order to provide for a rich man what is called a life of ease and luxury; that is to say, a life so empty, unwholesome, and degraded that, perhaps on the whole, he is worse off than we the workers are: and as to the result of all this suffering it is luckiest when it is nothing at all, when you can say that the wares have done nobody any good; for oftentimes they have done many people harm, and we have toiled and groaned and died in making poison and destruction for our fellow men.

Well, I say all this is war, and the results of war, the war this time not of competing nations, but of competing firms or capitalist units: and it is this war of the firms which hinders the peace between nations which you surely have agreed with me in thinking is so necessary; for you must know that war is the very breath of the nostrils of these fighting firms, and they have now, in our times, got into their hands nearly all the political power, and they band together in each country in order to make their respective governments fulfill just two functions; the first is at home to act as a strong police force, to keep the ring in which the strong are beating down the weak; the second is to act as a piratical body-guard abroad, a petard to explode the doors which lead to the markets of the world: markets at any price abroad, uninterfered with privilege at any price at home, to provide these is the sole business of a government such as our industrial captains have been able to conceive of. I must now try to show you the reason of all this, and what it rests on, by trying to answer the question, Why have the profit-makers got all this power, or at least why are they able to keep it?

That takes us to the third form of war commercial: the last and the one which all the rest is founded on. We have spoken first of the war of rival nations; next of that of rival firms; we have now to speak of rival men. As nations under the present system are driven to compete with one another for the markets of the world, and as firms or the captains of industry have to scramble for their share of the profits of the markets, so also have the workers to compete with each other—for livelihood; and it is this constant competition or war amongst them which enables the profit-grinders to make their profits, and by means of them to take all the executive power of the country into their hands. But here is the difference between the position of the workers and the profit-makers: to the latter, the profit-grinders, war is necessary; you cannot have profit making without competition, individual, corporate, and national; but you may work for a livelihood without competing; you may combine instead of competing. I have said war was the life-breath of the profit-makers; in like manner, combination is the life of the workers. The working-classes or proletariat cannot even exist as a class without combination of some sort. The necessity which forced the profit-grinders to collect their men first into workshops working by the division of labour, and next into great factories worked by machinery, and so gradually to draw them into the great towns and centres of civilisation, gave birth to a distinct working class or proletariat: and this it was which gave them their mechanical existence, so to say. But note, that they are indeed combined into social groups for the production of wares, but only as yet mechanically; they do not know what they are working at, nor whom they are working for, because they are combining to produce wares of which the profit of a master forms an essential part, instead of goods for their own use: as long as they do this, and compete with each other for leave to do it, they will be and will feel themselves to be simply a part of those competing firms I have been speaking of; they will be in fact just a part of the machinery for the production of profit; and so long as this lasts

it will be the aim of the masters or profit-makers to decrease the market value of this human part of the machinery; that is to say, since they already hold in their hands the labour of dead men in the form of capital and machinery, it is their interest, or we will say their necessity, to pay as little as they can help for the labour of living men which they have to buy from day to day: and since the workmen they employ have nothing but their labour-power, they are compelled to underbid one another for employment and wages, and so enable the capitalist to play his game.

I have said that as things go, the workers are a part of the competing firms, an adjunct of capital. Nevertheless, they are only so by compulsion; and even without their being conscious of it, they struggle against that compulsion and its immediate results, the lowering of their wages, of their standard of life; and this they do and must do, both as a class and individually: just as the slave of the great Roman lord, though he distinctly felt himself to be a part of the household, yet collectively was a force in reserve for its destruction, and individually stole from his lord whenever he could safely do so. So here, you see, is another form of war necessary to the way we live now, the war of class against class, which, when it rises to its height, and it seems to be rising at present, will destroy those other forms of war we have been speaking of; will make the position of the profit-makers, of perpetual commercial war, untenable; will destroy the present system of competitive privilege, or commercial war.

Now observe, I said that to the existence of the workers it was combination, not competition, that was necessary, while to that of the profit-makers combination was impossible, and war necessary. The present position of the workers is that of the machinery of commerce, or in plainer words its slaves; when they change that position and become free, the class of profit-makers must cease to exist; and what will then be the position of the workers? Even as it is they are the one necessary part of society, the life-giving part; the other classes are but hangers-on who live on them. But what should they be, what will they be, when they once for all come to know their real power and cease competing with one another for livelihood? I will tell you: they will be society, they will be the community. And being society—that is, there being no class outside them to contend with—they can then regulate their labour in accordance with their own real needs. You have heard of supply and demand, but the supply and demand usually meant is under the sway of the gambling market; the demand is forced, as I hinted above, before it is supplied; nor, as each producer is working against all the rest, can the producers hold their hands, till the market is glutted and the workers, thrown out on the streets, hear that there has been over-production, amidst which over-plus of unsaleable goods they go ill-supplied with even necessities, because the wealth which they themselves have created is “ill-distributed,” as we call it—that is, unjustly taken away from them. Well, I say when the workers are society they will regulate their labour, so that the supply and demand shall be genuine, not gambling; the two will then be commensurate, for it is the same society which demands that also supplies; there will be no more artificial famines then, no more poverty amidst over-production, amidst too great a stock of the very things which should supply poverty and turn it into wellbeing. In short, there would be no waste and therefore no tyranny.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be continued.)

LITERARY NOTICES.

‘The Life of Ernest Jones,’ by Fred. Leary (*Democrat* office, New Bridge Street, 1s.), is about to be published, if enough copies are subscribed for to ensure the writer against loss. It is surely time that an account of the life and deeds of this great man should be published, and everybody should help to that end who can.

‘The Irish Question’ (3d.), by our comrade Sketchley, has been revised and reissued, and any one hitherto unable to obtain it may now do so from the author, at 8 Arthur Place Parade, Birmingham. A large part of the pamphlet is taken up with statistics very ably handled.

‘Confessions of an Anarchist’ (Clarke, High Street, Chelmsford) is a small paper-covered volume of forty-three sonnets, most of which give token of some power, the third being really fine. Some of the sonnets are of the kind that raise the question as to their reason of being, and we advise the writer to be more sparing in production and more lavish in workmanship. Forty-three sonnets in nine months is “over-production.”

‘Our Christianity tested by the Irish Question,’ by Josephine E. Butler (Fisher Unwin, 6d.), is an admirable exposé of the hypocrisy, cruelty, and fraud perpetrated upon the Irish people in the revered names of law and order and Christian charity. In reading such pamphlets as this, or indeed anything bearing upon the same question, the wonder seizes one that one folk should possibly be able to inflict and one to endure such hellish misery.

John Mitchell’s ‘History of Ireland’ is too well known to need much comment at this time, but the enterprise of Messrs. James Duffy and Sons (15 Wellington Quay, Dublin), calls for a word of praise. They are advertising an edition of Mitchell’s ‘History’ at 5s. complete. For those who can better afford to buy it in parts, it may be had in sixteen numbers at 3d. or four parts at 1s. Any one desirous of reading up Irish affairs during the most important period could very easily do worse than invest in Mitchell.

‘Edward III. and His Wars,’ by J. H. Ashley, M.A., and ‘The Misrule of Henry III.,’ by Rev. W. H. Hutton, M.A., are part of a series called ‘English History from Contemporary Writers,’ edited by F. York Powell, M.A., and published by David Nutt (207 Strand) at 1s. per vol. The series aims at presenting the happenings of each period as they appeared to the living onlookers. The extracts are from good writers, references to authorities are numerous and complete, great impartiality is shown, salient events are illustrated. The books are well printed and bound, and altogether this forms one of the best series yet submitted to the public. S.

SONNET.

Woe to you rich who eat but will not toil;
Whose hands with plunder of the poor are filled,
Alms-givers in the sight of men, who build
High churches with a portion of the spoil,
Whose greedy souls not deepest Hell could soil
Blacker than their own hue: the life blood spilled
Has cried aloud for vengeance, and has thrilled
The heart of Justice, whom ye shall not foil.

Lo, from the ocean of the worker’s tears
Riseth the tempest cloud of discontent,
Darkening the sun of your false lives with fears,
Anger and sorrow in its frowning blent,
Hiding within its midmost heart of gloom
The lightning of the people’s wrath, your doom.

FRED HENDERSON.

THE UDSTON DISASTER.

THE Udston Colliery disaster brings home to the workers, in terrible reality, the price they have to pay for liberty to exist under present competitive capitalist conditions. The mines, it is said, could be worked in safety with electric light, but competition has cut the profits so low that it would not pay the capitalist to furnish such security, and these disasters help to clear off that surplus labour which, Mr. Bradlaugh affirms, has a tendency to outgrow the needs of society. The capitalist, of course, loses something by the damage and stoppage of his works, but he looks upon it as an insurance premium, for he gets a compensation in the increased security he derives from the workers not becoming too numerous for his purposes. His purposes are best served with just enough workers to enable him to get his work done for the lowest subsistence wages, but not enough to drive them desperate and goad them to the resolve of “if we cannot share your heaven, you shall share our hell.”

A glance at the ages of the victims caught in this disaster should strike a warning note both to the capitalists and the workers. It tells us that the contented workers of the uneducated past are now almost killed out, and the young on whose shoulders the burden of this important fundamental industry now rests can read and *think* for themselves. Already they are asking, “Our fathers! where are they?” They see that length of days is not theirs, neither are the products of Nature, and they want to know the reason why. They recognise that a ton of coals firmly embedded in the bowels of the earth is of little value to society until their labour is expended on it, and they are quite sure the Duke of Hamilton has no right to receive a larger share than they while he renders no assistance and runs no risks in securing the prize. The Duke of Hamilton’s income is “the lives of men and boys,” and so are the incomes of all who take from society that for which they render no equivalent service. The collier receives less for digging, filling, and hauling a ton of coals in the bowels of the earth in this dangerous part of Scotland, than a coal heaver gets in Glasgow for carrying, free of danger, the same quantity to a cellar from the street.

It is very suggestive that none of the victims of this disaster had reached over 60 years of age, and that only one-third was over 30 years. The list as published in the capitalists’ organ shows 50 killed under 30 years, and 25 between the ages of 30 and 60 years. The injured numbered 40 under 30 years, and 20 between the ages of 30 and 60 years. It is also very suggestive to read that the majority of the young victims were “the only support of a widowed mother.” A study of these points will suggest where and how their fathers are gone, and reveal conditions of existence not altogether worthy of praise in the Jubilee year.

We read that wee Jamie Gaw, aged 13 years, had escaped the pursuit of the School Board officer, who was searching for him. His widowed mother having need of the wages had sanctioned his going to the pit. Poor fellow! he has now escaped the officer’s grasp, and his widowed mother has to lament the loss of her help and hope. A collier’s widow always needs help, for his wages are calculated in snug and well-furnished offices in proportion to the price of provisions. His wages are calculated in the same manner as the upkeep of a machine. A large colliery manager told his men lately that 14s. per week according to the present price of provisions was sufficient to keep a collier and his family. Economists put the labourer and what he produces on the same footing—supply and demand—but, they forget, the product cannot revolt and the man can. Man is not a commodity to be thus disposed of. He is the being for whom all other commodities exist.

GEORGE MCLEAN.

Jamaica Place, Cambuslang.

It is worth while putting on record some words of a magistrate in Hull. The Hull German Communist Club has been the victim of a police plot, by which two detectives obtained drink from the steward at a dance held on the premises. The steward and secretary were summoned for a breach of the licensing laws, but were eventually discharged, Mr. Twiss, the magistrate, saying that those belonging to the club had taken very great pains to keep it as a club. In his opinion it was not a bogus club at all, and he had nothing to do with their principles or politics. Rather rough on the promoters of the prosecution, who have tried this game on several times, hitherto without success. Unfortunately, however, they have succeeded in breaking up the club for the present.—E. T.



"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.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday June 8.

ENGLAND	Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer	ITALY
Jus	Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	Milan—Il Fascio Operato
Norwich—Daylight	Labor Enquirer	Brescia—Lo Sperimentale
Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	Marsala—La Nuova Eta
Brotherhood	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	AUSTRIA
Church Reformer	New Haven (Conn.)—Work-	Vienna—Gleichheit
Freedom	men's Advocate	Brunn—Volksfreund
Personal Rights Journal	Hammonton (N.J.) Credit Foncier	SWITZERLAND
Justice	Albina (Oreg.)—Weekly Courier	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
INDIA	Cincinnati (O.) Unionist	Geneva—Bulletin Continental
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Philadelphia Carpenter	SPAIN
Allahabad—People's Budget	Detroit (Mich.)—The Advance	El Productor
Bombay Gazette	San Francisco (Cal.) The People	Madrid—El Socialista
SOUTH AUSTRALIA	FRANCE	PORTUGAL
Adelaide—Our Commonwealth	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
CANADA	Le Socialiste	Voz do Operario
Toronto—Labor Reformer	Le Revolte	ROUMANIA
UNITED STATES	Lille—Le Travailleur	Jassy—Lupta
New York—Freiheit	Guise—Le Devoir	DENMARK
Truthseeker	BRUXELLES	Social-Demokraten
Der Sozialist	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde	SWEDEN
Tax Reformer	Liege—L'Avenir	Stockholm—Social-Demokraten
Volkzeitung	Antwerp—De Werker	NORWAY
Leader	HOLLAND	Kristiania—Social-Demokraten
Boston—Woman's Journal	Hague—Recht voor Allen	

NOTES ON NEWS.

SPEECHES of Mr. Chamberlain; letter of Mr. Bright; Birmingham meeting, and solemn sermon by the Birmingham organ of Coercion Joe; Glasgow anti-coercion meeting; progress of Mr. Gladstone, once the Liberal King, now a kind of rebel leader, striving rather for a glorious end than for his lost crown. These are the preparations for the Liberal reunion, the hope of which some persons cling to so fondly. It does not directly concern us Socialists much, as after all it only forecasts the formal inauguration of the reactionary party which has been in working order some time already. But indirectly it will, one may hope, add to the confusion and ineffectiveness of Parliament, and so tend to disgust the people, and at the last disgust them so much that they will relegate it to its due place as a mere rowdy debating society, that sensible persons will give a wide berth to, till the happy day comes when one can squelch out its noisome existence.

"Over the whole plain of labour and trade you saw society in conflict. No arms were used, and yet men were struck down; no blood was spilled, and yet men died. Neither giant nor feudal lord was any longer there; a new tyrant reigned in their stead, more omnipresent and pitiless than they, whose name was Capital."

So says Mr. G. J. Holyoake in his prose poem on co-operation; nor is the picture overdrawn. But will not his words serve to describe the present as well as the past? Surely our own Labour Struggle column is enough to answer that question. It is true that the rule of the "tyrant" is now questioned, but no longer by the co-operationists but by the Socialist. The former seem to have a veil cast over their eyes which makes them see their old tyrant in very different colours to what they used to; for they can scarcely deny that he is there still.

✧ The fact is, the very success of co-operation shows how very far it is from being a solution of the labour question. Let us admit that they have exploded the superstition that workmen could not combine in production and distribution, that the autocratic one-man capitalist was a necessity for carrying on a business successfully: but with all their success, what else have they done? They have shown us that co-operation is desirable; but they are not allowed to co-operate: they must borrow money and pay interest, they must hire premises and pay rent to an individual or a company, they must buy the land that is theirs and the factories that they have made; they must pay a profit on every thing they buy outside their own association, either to consume or to transform into other wares. In short, not being allowed to co-operate, they have acted as all people must do under our present

system—pay tribute to the owners of property for being allowed to live. And meantime they have established a form of joint stockery differing slightly (scarcely at all in most cases) from that already established; which to some of us cannot but seem a rather pitiful outcome of those perfectly genuine hopes for the regeneration of society which they began with earlier in the century, and all the energy developed from those hopes. Let them now, without casting aside the individual advantages they have gained, turn their eyes to Socialism, the real movement of labour, which will make the workers the arbiters of their own destinies.

The *Engineer* says, apropos of the Belgian strikes:

"Capital does not receive the common interest of the country when laid out in the coal mines, the workmen and their families cannot possibly subsist on a pittance of 1s. 6d. to 2s. 6d. at most a-day for ten hours' work in a deep mine, and the price of coal cannot be raised if it is to be disposed of. If economy in plant and working is no further possible, the look-out is a dreary one indeed."

Just so; and if "economy in plant and working" can be carried further than at present by squeezing the ingenuity of the capitalist and the terrible dull patience of the workman to the utmost, how long will the new improvement in the prospects of the coal capitalist last? Just as long as the increased competition which will immediately spring up will allow it. The look-out is dreary indeed—to the capitalist. But to the Socialist, even when viewed through all the suffering of low wages and strikes, and riots consequent on the tyranny of the last squeeze of despairing capitalism, it is not so dreary—because he can see the end drawing near: the capitalist, finding his profits cut down by competition, while the workman, growing more and more enlightened, claims more and more.

Mr. Haigh, of Barnsley, in speaking to a large number of miners and the officials of the Yorkshire Miners' Association, complains bitterly of the bad effect on trade of the high mining rents and royalties in Great Britain. He explains the depressed state of the coal trade by the depressed state of the iron trade, and he uses the following remarkable words:

"Whilst as a nation we were almost the sole makers of iron and steel, and had no foreign competitors, we could supply our home trade and other countries without feeling the effect of these royalties and charges quite so much; but the moment we are face to face with a foreigner in the markets of the world, who has very small rents and royalty charges to pay—and even these charges go into the national exchequer to assist in meeting the expenses of the State—we are run out of the foreign markets, and even driven from our own."

The readers of the *Commonweal* are pretty familiar with this view of the state of trade and the prospects of capitalism in Great Britain; but as an utterance from the capitalist side it is worth noting. And what is to be done, pray, Mr. Capitalist?

For why should we take the profit from the poor land-owner, who is already moaning dejectedly in another corner of the field about the pining away of his rents? Some of our non-Socialist working-men friends will say and think that the British working-man will get something out of it. Will he? To do justice to the paper who reports Mr. Haigh's speech, *The Engineer*, it can see through the flimsiness of that hope: "The speaker did not explain how it was that in spite of all this, the Belgian workman works for starvation wages."

Yes, indeed, that is what it must come to in one way or other as long as we work for the profit of a master. At the best, one group of workmen thriving somewhat at the expense of another, that is what *has been* in this country, and what the "patriots" of all countries put before them as an ideal to be striven for, blind fools as they are! What most certainly *will be*, and before very long too, if the Social Revolution does not intervene, is that all workmen throughout the world will be reduced to a "dead level," not of "mediocrity," but of starvation for the satisfaction of the tyrant, Capitalistic Competition.

International Capitalism and the workman a hungry machine; International Socialism and the workman a free man and the master of his own destiny—it must be one or other of these two. All the feeble compromises that aim at checking the power of the capitalists, and yet allowed them to keep their position, will be speedily found out, one after another, by the monster which the Age of Commerce has made by dint of such mighty effort and cleverness, and which it must now feed by anything that may be handy. Honour, justice, beauty, pleasure, hope, all must be cast into that insatiable maw to stave off the end awhile; and yet at last the end must come, and the sooner it comes the less of a desert the world will be after the storm which is inevitable.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

WHAT THE WORD "HIRE" MEANS.—"The labourer is worthy of his hire. Yes, but the word 'hire' means not what he usually gets for his labour, but what he really should get for his labour. It is the violation of this simple law that has ruined several nations and is now breeding barbarians in our midst. No man should give his labour to any one for one penny less than it is worth. And all working-men should strive to abolish the present system of competition, which makes it impossible for them to demand the real value of their labour. Remember Christ's teaching. Take up the cross of the new crusade, and in a little while you will see that the old monks were right when they taught that 'laborare est orare'—to labour is to pray."—Dr. McGlynn.

THE REAL IRISH QUESTION.

LITTLE as the Irish may think it, it is not coercion that makes them worse off than slaves, nor being governed by a foreign nation. Nor is it on the other hand, as some affirm, obedience to the pope or to political agitators. The origin of their slavery is neither religious nor political, it is social. Here is the latest symptom of social slavery amongst the Irish. It refers to an attempt to benefit Ireland by philanthropy, instead of justice; an attempt which, though probably well meant, is practically nothing but an offer of gall and vinegar to the tortured nation, to ease somewhat the otherwise unbearable oppression. I copy from the *Daily News* of May 19th:

"One of the drawing-room dresses has a special patriotic interest apart from its artistic beauty. It is the work of the Irish embroiderers employed by the Donegal Industrial Fund, 43 Wigmore Street, in whom the Queen and the Princess of Wales have taken a warm personal interest. The train was of hand-spun linen, wholly covered with Kells embroidery. . . . This is a new form of lace, called the "Kells," introduced by the Donegal Industrial Fund with the object of founding a new Irish industry, for which workers are being trained under the auspices of Mrs. Ernest Hart in order to rival the Austrian laces now so much worn."

How "patriotic," truly! How kind of the Queen and Princess of Wales to take such warm interest in the poor Irish, and how charitable of the lady who wore the dress (doubtless too busy to make her own dress) to permit the Irish embroiderers to earn a little money so that they need not starve! Is it not a merciful dispensation which enables a woman to combine charity with the convenience of getting other women to do her a service? Perhaps some one who "takes a warm interest" in industrial matters will answer me this question: Why should not Irish women and girls,—all with immortal souls in them, and with possibilities for looking quite as pretty and behaving quite as becomingly as any English ladies—why, I ask, should not they be making lace for themselves to look nice in; if indeed it should be really necessary to take so much trouble about it? Or at least why, since no one will attempt to argue that they do it from anything but sheer necessity, why should there be any necessity for Irish women to toil in poverty to make other women look becoming? You cannot lay this to coercion, nor to foreign rule, nor yet to the pope and political agitators. No; the cause is social injustice, of which all political grievances are only the outside shell.

An unbiassed man, not up to the doctrine of "Rewards for abstinence" and the rest of it, would be inclined to say (in his ignorance) that it was a monstrous thing for one woman to be able to persuade many more (by terror of possible starvation if they did not comply) to make finery for her, while they had scarcely clothes enough to cover them. Probably if any should expostulate with him and tell him about the rights of landlords, he would ask, How the devil the landlords got such rights? And then they would have to refer him to the devil for an answer, for I am sure no other authority knows at all why one man should grow potatoes, and instead of satisfying his hunger with them in a reasonable manner sell them and give the money to another man; going hungry himself unless his wife can earn some of that money back again by making lace for the other man's wife; or his daughter by cooking the other man's dinner for him. I doubt if the devil himself could persuade an unbiassed man that such a position for the workers was aught but slavery and injustice, and it is high time our Irish friends recognised that, as Coercion and Castle Government have not caused it, neither will Home Rule cure it. It is true that English Government is favourable to it, and seeks to perpetuate it by means of Coercion, and consequently that Government must be replaced by Home Rule. But it will then be time for the Irish people, having cracked the political shell, to deal with the social kernel of the question, and they will discover that misery like theirs is not to be met by any tinkering philanthropy, however well meant;—that, in fact, it is no good to "make work" for them;—the cultivation of their land and beautifying of their homes will be plenty for them to do; and what they need is to have the produce of their labour for themselves, so that their wives and daughters may adorn their own persons and cook their own dinners; leaving their whilom employers to go and do likewise, if they want dinner and clothes. This problem, which is already before England, will face Ireland too as soon as she has got Home Rule; and it is our duty to educate, agitate, and organise, so that when the time comes the democracies of the two countries may unite in one sufficient effort to shake themselves free of this slavery, and institute the reign of freedom and social equality.

Then will it be seen with perfect clearness how much assistance the working-classes will owe to that "warm" (very warm) "personal interest" which not only the Queen and the Princess of Wales, but the whole of the "upper" classes are sure to acquire in the cause of the suffering workers.

GEORGE STURT.

Mr. John Roland Phillips, the West Ham magistrate, is dead. He was one of the few, the very few, honest and impartial men upon the bench. Even Socialists when they came before him received fair and courteous treatment, and he never followed the dishonest lead of those who made themselves counsel for the prosecution and forget their judicial functions.—S.

It is but seldom that a member of the wealthy class lets out anything tending to cast a doubt on the purity of motive which leads his class to take up charity-work, but this is what Mr. F. B. Grotian, M.P. for East Hull, did the other day at the annual meeting of an orphanage in Hull. He expressed the opinion "that the philanthropic spirit of the present generation was the effort of the rich and cultured classes to escape from the dull inanities and the purposelessness of an idle life." A Socialist could not have put the thing straighter than did this Tory M.P.—E. T.

'THE SERVICE OF MAN.'

SOCIALISTS must sometimes supply themselves with fugitive literature, however much against their will, as all modern writing contains references more or less direct to our propaganda and principles. This book is chiefly a summary of the argument against Christianity, but is chiefly interesting as embodying the views of an ordinary educated man on social matters. It is one of those numerous modern essays which conceal all manner of confusion of thought under a semblance of logical method, and is characterised by imperfect application of other men's science.

The chief aim of the book is to show how theologies have sacrificed the welfare of men to the service of gods, and that the tendency is now to reverse the process. This is a good positive idea, and is capable of great and suggestive application, which however it does not here receive. The negative critique of Christianity, which is the greater part of the book, is thin of its kind; many of the points are neatly put and several scientific analogies well worked out, but the basis of it is a repetition of old scandals of monks and nuns, and the popular theological slang of "heaven" and "hell." The author's mental confusion here is great. In some places he tries to show that religion discourages morality in favour of "salvation" (whatever that antithesis may mean), so that "penitence is everything and morality nothing"; and in others that the Christian standard of morality is too high,—expects people to be too moral, in fact!

It must be said that Christianity will not suffer much from attacks of this sort, its essential thought has not been touched; it is as if one were to combat Darwinism in the persons of those who profess to understand Darwin, but don't. Perhaps it would be fair in this connection to apply to himself the author's remark on people like Napoleon, who regard Friendship and Love as a snare and delusion; they are out of court, never having felt in themselves the emotions they despise. I think it unlikely that much enthusiasm will be aroused by the invitation to bow down to an inscrutable Something, "the impersonal and unknowable reality behind phenomena, which the last word of recent philosophy propounds as the only rational object of worship."

To come now to the surer and more familiar ground of sociology, our author states in his preface that he has been unable from illness to complete the work as he had intended, but shows pretty clearly the line he would have taken. He sees well enough the rottenness of the present industrial system, recognises the meaning of national competition for the world-market, but suggests this view with all the diffidence of an unsupported discoverer of truth. His complaint against the modern system is "not that it is ugly and destroys rural beauty (the artistic view); not that it makes a few capitalists very rich and many workmen very poor (the current Socialist view); but that it cannot continue upon its own line; it will be destroyed by its own inherent vices, for which there is no remedy." This is practically all that Marx has to say; yet Mr. Morison is not a Socialist; he says indeed that there is a Socialism of love and mutual helpfulness as well as a Socialism of hate and spoliation; but he does not show how we can realise the one without the other, nor does he even define their differences. His notions of the question appear to be derived from a study of the later literature of the Federation, such as letters in the *Times*, suggesting construction of artisan's dwellings, provision of meals in Board Schools, etc.; with reference to which proposals and similar ones he asks, Why not supply the working-classes with boots, corduroys, and, in fact, all other necessities or even luxuries at the expense of the well-to-do? Why not, indeed?

But in truth, the author's Socialism is but a name. What are we to think of a "scientific" man, who first talks about over-production of goods, and then of the rapid increase of population? The work is freely bespattered with the usual pseudo-scientific cant about "the survival of the unfittest"; and the writer has absolutely no suspicion that these "unfittest" have been rendered unfit by centuries of social wrong, or that a return to right and justice might stamp the brand of unfitness upon the class to which Positivist philosophers mostly belong.

After reading this book carefully the conclusion is that social evils have been laid bare rather well for a non-Socialist, but that, beyond vague talk of "the better distribution and moralisation of wealth," no remedy has been proposed. But to be exact, there is a suggestion that habitual criminals (nobody else at present) should be locked up, not as a punishment, but to prevent the propagation of their species. Great systems, like great men, often utter quite a series of last words before finally departing; and we may well hope that this is not the very last word of Positivist philosophy. If, however, this modern application of the ancient fable of Danaë should come to pass, doubtless Jove will still find means of deliverance.

REGINALD A. BECKETT.

A MAYORESS.—The first lady in the United States to be elected to the position of mayor is Miss Dora Salter, of Argonia, Kan.

INGERSOLL'S LOGIC.—Says Colonel Ingersoll in *North American Review*:—"In a world filled with millions and millions of acres of land waiting to be tilled, where one man can raise the food for scores, millions are on the edge of famine. Who can comprehend the stupidity at the bottom of this truth?" The same article contains also the following: "Will they (workers) ever feel and know that they have no right to bring children into the world that they cannot support?" Unless the average family of the working-men is over forty children at least, the fame of Colonel Ingersoll will hardly be perpetuated by such logic as this.—*Labor Enquirer*.

'The Service of Man.' By JAMES COTTER MORISON. (Kegan Paul and Co.).

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

A strike of rivetters affecting about 900 men has taken place in the Rowley and Halesowen districts. The men want an increase of 30 to 40 per cent. on the present rates.

The annual report of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers states that the amount paid to unemployed members amounted to over £84,000, and the expenditure during the past year exceeded the income by £3,451 13s. 0½d.

The rivet workers in the Rowley, Blackheath, and Old Hill districts have given notice for a return to the old 4s. list of wages. It is declared by the operatives that rivets which used to be paid for at the 4s. list prices are being made as low as 2s. 6d. per cwt., showing a reduction of about 37½ per cent.

At a largely attended meeting of the West Lancashire Coalowners' Association, held on the 31st ult. at the North-Western Hotel, Liverpool, Mr. Alfred Hewlett in the chair, it was resolved that a reduction in the wages of the colliers was absolutely necessary; and a committee of the masters was appointed to meet the men's representatives on the subject.

FURTHER DIFFICULTIES IN THE CHAIN TRADE.—At a large meeting of chain-makers at Cradley Heath the other day, it was stated that in consequence of a section of the employers refusing to pay their workmen the recognised wages, it had been decided to institute legal proceedings, and that it had been found necessary to send the town-crier throughout the district requesting the operatives not to take out more iron until the four-shillings list of prices was conceded. It was resolved to continue the strike at several factories.

The Executive Committee of the Operative Spinners of Lancashire, Cheshire, Yorkshire, and Derbyshire on Saturday discussed the cotton corner in Liverpool, and the proposal to run short time to defeat it. A resolution was passed expressing sympathy with the master spinners of the four counties in the difficulties in which the position of the cotton market places them, and recommending the appointment of a committee to co-operate with the Masters' Association in carrying out any movement that may be decided upon.

The 59th Annual Report of the General Union of Carpenters and Joiners lies before us. In it occur statements which bear out the assertions we have so often made as to trades' unions. It says that a retrograde movement has been going on for ten years, and contrasts the state of the craft then with what it is now under the more strongly competitive system. It condemns piece-work as carried on at present, but looks forward to the "better times" always delusively dangled before working-men. Expenditure exceeded income during the year by over £450! How long is it that this kind of thing is to go on before trades' unions take the matter up in sterner fashion than hitherto?

THE TELEGRAPH CLERKS' GRIEVANCES.—The first-class telegraph clerks engaged at the Central Telegraph Office, having memorialised the Postmaster-General on the subject of their present unfavourable prospects in the service, have just received the following, in reply to their petition:—"I am directed to convey to you the Postmaster-General's decision, that after very carefully considering your claims, and while fully recognising the good service which you render to the department, he regrets that he does not see his way to recommend to the Treasury that any alteration should be made in your scale of pay.—I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant (signed), H. C. FISCHER, Controller."

THREATENED STRIKE OF MINERS.—A largely-attended and very unanimous meeting of miners employed at Monk Bretton Collieries, near Barnsley, was held last week at Barnsley, to receive the report of the deputation which had waited on the manager respecting certain grievances which have been the subject of discussion at several meetings. The deputation reported that the manager declined to remedy their grievances. It was therefore resolved that all the men, numbering five or six hundred, should give fourteen days' notice to leave work on the 15th June; further, that the grievances be laid before a meeting of the executive of the Yorkshire Miners' Association to be held shortly.

With regard to the strike in the Bolton engineering trade, there are some negotiations in progress with a view to a settlement of the dispute, but it is very doubtful whether in their present shape they will lead to any satisfactory issue. The employers are in no mood to depart to any material extent from the position they have taken up. During Tuesday night a number of windows were broken at Messrs. Wood's foundry, and it was found necessary to station a detachment of police on the premises. A number of Scotchmen who have been brought over by Messrs. Wood to take the place of the men on strike have very properly been boycotted by sympathisers with the strike hands, and they have found the greatest difficulty in obtaining lodgings.

STRIKERS AT BRISTOL.—In order to expedite the discharge of the grain cargo of the steamship *Worcester*, just arrived at Avonmouth from New York, the stevedores, Messrs. King and Sons, with the concurrence of the Bristol Docks officials, placed on board a steam elevator. The result of this was that a large number of men struck work, and caused the others on board to cease having anything to do with the elevator. Disorderly scenes and excitement ensued; the local police were called, and had to be strengthened by thirty others, who still remain near the ship to prevent breaches of the peace. Men from Liverpool to discharge the vessel were telegraphed for, but the strike was settled before their arrival by the firm agreeing not to use the elevator unless there is insufficient manual labour.

THE FORTH BRIDGE WORKMEN ON STRIKE.—The men employed at the Forth Bridge Works struck work on the 3rd inst., demanding an advance of wages to the extent of a penny per hour. They hold that owing to the dangerous nature of their occupation they ought to be better remunerated. The present rate of pay is—for carpenters, 7d. per hour; engineers, 6½d.; and labourers, 4½d. to 5d. The sudden action of the men took the managers of the various departments completely by surprise. An informal meeting of a number of the men was held at noon on Saturday at South Queensferry, and a deputation waited upon Mr. Scott, the manager of the works, to endeavour to arrange terms. The result was that the deputation were informed that the contractors will pay extra wages, on the recommendation of the foreman, to men engaged in difficult and dangerous work.

Last week a meeting of the workmen employed at Broomhill Colliery was held at Broomhill, to take into consideration the rent question, which is the cause of the stoppage at this colliery. It appears that, previous to the strike,

the owners were paying to their workmen living in rented houses the sum of 2s. per week. At the termination of the strike, they intimated that they would no longer pay 2s., but 1s. 6d. per week. There was a crowded attendance at the meeting. Mr. R. Robinson presided, and in opening the meeting said that as he was informed there were reporters present, he would ask them to leave the room, as the proceedings were of a private character. The reporters accordingly withdrew from the room. It is understood, however, that after a long and animated discussion, in which every point was fully dealt with, a resolution was passed that the men start work at 1s. 6d. per week rent, and arbitrate regarding the other sixpence.

AMERICA.

EIGHT HOURS IN BROOKLYN.—MAY 28.—Mayor Whitney yesterday notified the Brooklyn Park Commissioners that the employes of that department are entitled, under the law, to the benefits of the Eight Hour law. "Contracts between the municipality and its employes may provide for a term of daily labour not exceeding eight hours," writes the Mayor, "but overwork for an extra compensation, by agreement, is permitted. The rule should be made universal in all the departments, wherever practicable."

CHICAGO (ILL.)—Serious trouble is expected here. A gigantic conspiracy is going on, which is likely to lead to strange complications. Sometime since the carpenters, to the number of 8,000, struck for shorter hours and higher pay. They were successful, and their example was followed by the painters and afterwards by the bricklayers. At last the bosses formed an offensive alliance and declared a general lock-out, to include all building trades. Not being successful (principally on account of the friendship for the men of the small contractors) they were joined by the real-estate men, the architects, and later by the manufacturers of and dealers in building material. It now looks as if united capital had made up its mind to strangle organised labour, and the struggle, which is exceedingly bitter, is rapidly extending to other cities. No man knows where it will end or what the outcome will be, and both sides are preparing for serious work.

NAUGATUCK, May 18.—A few days ago the boys employed in the card-room of the Dunham Hosiery Company went in a body to the manager and asked him to raise their pay ten cents a-day. They were receiving seventy-five cents. This he positively declined to do, and informed the boys that he could get all the boys he wanted to take their places for fifty cents a-day. The boys put on their coats and left in a body, and so far it has been found impracticable to replace them. The strike, of course, affects other departments in the factory, and interferes seriously with running the works. A man had been hired by the manager to work in another part of the mill, but was ordered to take the place left by the boys. This he refused to do, though earnestly besought by the manager, who finally offered three dollars a-day and two policemen to protect him; but even this would not prevail, and the man left the mill to seek employment elsewhere. The work for which he was offered three dollars was the same work the boys got seventy-five cents for.

NEW SOUTH WALES.

The New South Wales Government are making special efforts to dispose of the unemployed difficulty. Great distress is said to prevail among the unemployed at Bourke, and, in response to an urgent appeal by the mayor of that town, the Premier has authorised an expenditure of £500 for providing the men with food. With a view of finding work for about six hundred men who are now out of work in the metropolis, the Government have entered into communication with twenty-six municipalities, asking them to find employment on any works of improvement, and offering to pay 2s. 6d. a-day towards the wages of each man employed by the municipal bodies. Nearly 2300 men are now employed on the various relief works, the average wages earned amounting to 3s. 10d. per day, the expenditure on relief work thus being at the rate of about £140,000 a-year.

A UNION MAN.—A union man is one who insists that it takes two to make a bargain, and who combines with his fellows in order to maintain the equal right of the men with the bosses to fix the rate of wages and other conditions of work. The non-union man believes that it only takes one to make a bargain—and that the boss is that one.—*Grand Rapids Workman.*

Strikes are bad, as a rule, because they don't settle anything—that is, if the men strike with the intention of going back to work for the same parties again. All that is determined by such a strike is, which of the two parties is the stronger at that time and the better able to endure the fight. But if a trades' union have quietly laid up funds for the purpose of striking for keeps; if they have thus prepared to set themselves to work when they strike, and strike with the intention of hereafter working for themselves; if they take the capitalists at their word and let them "invest their capital in other business," as has been threatened, meanwhile producing co-operatively—as they can if they have the mind—all that the market needs; that were a strike well worth the while.—*Cleveland Workman.*

In the distant State of New Mexico there is a certain breed of mules that, when one of them is attacked, place themselves in a circle, with their heads to the centre, and kick at their enemies; then the air is thick with hoofs. Working-men do about the opposite. If one of them gets a slap in the face, he holds out his other cheek for more; and when they do kick they kick each other. That's just what the capitalists want. While the Irish, English, and German working-men are dividing on national issues, the capitalists are uniting, and always seek to create division among the workers in order to more easily conquer them. The French and German "governments" are doing their best to foment national hatred among the people, so that the blinded dupes of soldiers may distribute bullets among themselves while their masters divide the gold. There has been much nonsense told by the capitalist press about Socialists, and yet those "bloody" agitators—those "bloodthirsty" Socialists—are the only ones in Europe that have protested energetically against wars and massacres. They tried it in this country also, when they endeavoured to foment strife between this country and Canada on the fishery question, but they didn't succeed, and they won't. All that we want is that the labourer shall receive the full value of his labour, and still there are some who come with their courts of arbitration. Courts of arbitration are nonsense. I don't want any. Of what use are they when the commissioners are paid and bribed by the capitalists to decide against us? Away with them! Do business with the devil and you'll be swindled. The nationalisation of railroads and land cannot alone help us. We want the full value of our labour—that's all.—WALTER VROOMAN in *Workmen's Advocate*.

THE CO-OPERATIVE CONGRESS AT CARLISLE.

THE nineteenth Annual Co-operative Congress was inaugurated on May 28 by a reception concert to the delegates in the County Hall, Carlisle. Speeches were afterwards delivered by George Howard, Sir Wilfred Lawson, and Sedley Taylor of Cambridge. The latter stated that "Co-operation has a great goal, and it is no other than what is now called the emancipation of labour, the freeing of the working man from the kind of industrial bondage in which he now stands towards his private employer and labour."

On the same day an exhibition of co-operative manufactures was opened in the Drill Hall by Judge Hughes. The products shown embraced boots and shoes, cotton and woollen goods, cutlery, printing specimens, and furniture and household requisites. The latter goods were from the Strawberry Works, Newcastle, which was represented at the exhibition by Edward Pease (Fabian Society). The whole of the goods shown were of first-class character: just such as we may expect to see when production for use takes the place of production for profit only.

On Sunday 29th two Congress sermons were listened to by the delegates. The Rev. W. Labrum, Wesleyan, preaching on "Filthy Lucre," severely denounced various unclean modes of getting a living, such as by stock-jobbing, jerry-building, bread-adulterating, etc. At the cathedral, in the afternoon, the Bishop of Carlisle preached from Acts ii. 44, 45. As became a Galileean in receipt of £4500 a-year, he, of course, totally ignored his text, and said he felt quite sure that equality amongst men could never be brought about by an alteration of "the social basis of mankind." He finally recommended the co-operators present (Holyoake and Co.) to receive the Holy Ghost, as "co-operation would be dangerous unless inspired by" that shadowy particle. By the way, the "Holy Ghost" is a long time in moving the rev. bishop to part with his substance as his predecessors did.

On Monday morning the inaugural address was delivered by G. J. Holyoake in the Victoria Theatre. The pit was occupied by over 500 delegates from co-operative distributive and productive societies. The president in his opening remarks pointed out that "over the whole plain of labour you saw society in conflict. No arms were used, and yet men were struck down; no blood was spilt, and yet men died. Neither giant nor feudal lord was any longer there; a new tyrant reigned in their stead—more omnipresent and pitiless than they—whose name was Capital. It held in its hand the food of the people and the means of labour. In a population of thirty million persons equally invited to Nature's table, one million of fortunate persons commanded all the seats and thirty millions sat wistfully looking on, and the waiters never came their way. All that fell to them were crumbs from the trenchers of Dives."

This was a promising beginning, but when he wound up with the usual clap-trap glorification of "divi"—"oh, what a falling off was there!"

An agreeable change awaited us in the next speaker—Mrs. Failes, president of the Sociologic Society of America. In a paper on "the condition of the industrial classes of America," she remarked that "the competition which had produced good in the past was now reversing its action and militating directly against the progress of society, and its nature, as it worked itself out through advancing civilisation, was to break down and destroy weaker industries, and finally to concentrate wealth to such an extent as to injuriously affect the entire industrial and social system, and necessitate the re-organisation of society upon a co-operative basis."

M. de Boyve, of Nismes, a French delegate, followed next. His speech was somewhat reactionary after his fair predecessor. He remarked that "Revolutionary Socialism is increasing every day in the number of its disciples, gathered from all who were discontented and all who had nothing to do. To that they opposed the International Co-operative Union, which would be the enemy of disturbance," etc., etc.

The second day's sitting was presided over by Sir W. Lawson, who considered himself unfitted to preside at a working-men's gathering such as this one. Firstly, because he was a "country gentleman"—i.e., one who never did any work—and secondly, because he was a landlord, "and landlords at present were looked upon with distaste and suspicion throughout the whole civilised world."

In a discussion which followed on "Co-operative Production," a Leeds delegate gave some interesting particulars as to how about 200 Jewish tailors in Leeds had tried to start a co-operative workshop in order to free themselves from the yoke of the sweaters, but had failed through lack of funds. The Productive Committee intends to advance to them the requisite sum as a loan, so it is to be hoped they will have better success next time.

On the last day of the Congress "Co-operation and Agriculture" came in for a good share of discussion. A Darlington delegate declared himself strongly opposed to the principle of buying land for co-operative purposes. He advocated the principle that the land belonged to the people, and that private property in land was an injustice. Some reactionists tried to stop him here, but the chairman interposed in his behalf, so he had his say. Another delegate stated that landlords always asked an exorbitant price when co-operators wanted land.

The proceedings throughout were fairly harmonious. This might be due to a strong protest which was uttered early on. From it I gathered that a split was feared. That struggle I believe will be fought out sooner or later. It will be between the "butter and cheese" co-operator who would be content with distribution merely, and the "co-operator of ideas" who advocates profit-sharing production as a means, and the emancipation of labour as the end.

T. MUSE.

A section of the Indian native press is against the extension of railways, on the ground that they only benefit British capitalists. The *Bangabasi* says:—"The English merchants wish the Government to extend railways on its own responsibility, and borrow money from British capitalists. Their desire would be satisfied if the Government would borrow forty crores of rupees. They have raised the question of the welfare of both England and India. They wish to prove that the natives of India will be benefitted by the extension of railways, and that the English people will also be benefitted by it. We have already shown that the English people only will be benefitted. We wonder at the argument set forth with a view to betray the natives of India and the Indian Government. The extension of railways will increase the sale of English goods. There is no necessity for raising the question of the welfare of the natives of India. Our Government will not do any good to the natives, even if it has the desire to do so. It must undertake work which will do good to the English people. So the railways will be extended. It is idle to talk of the welfare of the natives of India."—*Engineer*.—True, doubtless, but for one correction; it is not for the benefit of the people of England, but for the governing classes of England that all this is done.—W. M.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"THE IMMORALITY OF INTEREST."

SIR,—It is hardly necessary to say anything in reply to the letter from "A Professor of Science," after G. B. S.'s admirably lucid note; but as I am asked a direct question, I should like to answer it.

It could be neither through inadvertence nor design that I omitted to notice the defence of usury referred to, simply because I was unaware before reading the professor's letter that there was such a defence. Even yet, I am unable to see that it is worthy of serious consideration. His argument is, in effect, this: Usury of commodities is reasonable and right (the very proposition he ought to prove); money is a commodity; therefore, usury of money (I notice the professor uses "money" and "capital" as identical terms) is reasonable and right. Now I did not single out usury of money as specially deserving of disapprobation, but condemned usury of every kind as being morally indefensible, and criticised the stock arguments in its favour—the absurdity of which I am glad the professor recognises and admits. The matter standing thus, there is no call to discuss the laws of the variation of the rate of interest, or any minor point on which I may differ with him.

J. HALDANE SMITH.

MARX'S THEORY OF VALUE.

SIR,—Mr. Mallock in the current number of the *Fortnightly Review* attempts to disprove the theory of Marx and Ricardo, that the exchange-value of all commodities is measured by the amount of average human labour embodied in them. His strongest argument is derived from the statement of Mr. Laurence Gronlund (*The Co-operative Commonwealth*, p. 35) that "the whole agricultural class in the United States, consisting of 7,600,000 persons, did not create more wealth in 1880 than our manufacturing operatives alone, 2,700,000 in number." Here, says Mr. Mallock, we have two aggregates of "common human labour measured by time," each embodying itself in a corresponding aggregate of commodities; and yet, though the labour embodied in one set is nearly three times as great as that embodied in the other set, the two sets of commodities are in value nearly equal. The Socialists, therefore, are evidently mistaken as to that primary fact of existing industrial life, on the analysis of which their whole system is founded.

I am myself a believer in the theory of Marx and Ricardo, but I must confess that the above appears to be a strong argument against it. Can you or any of your contributors show its fallacy?—I am, your obedient servant, May 31.

E. PETERS.

"THE WESTERN AVERNUS."

SIR,—A book just published, entitled, "The Western Avernus; or, Toil and Travel in Further North America," constitutes a very clear exposure of the emigration fraud. The author—a man of education and culture, and of physical strength and pluck withal—tired of the soul-choking atmosphere of London life, resolved to seek for a freer, wider, and manlier one in America. He became a shepherd on the plains of Texas, farm labourer, contractor's labourer, and railroad navvy in Iowa and Minnesota, glad when by the hardest work he could gain a bare living, and quite elated when he had a dollar to share with a companion. In St. Paul, Minnesota, he got hired with about 100 more to go to the Rocky Mountain Section of the Canadian Pacific Railroad as a navvy. Amongst the magnificent scenery of the Rockies he worked for two months and then left, partly because he wanted to get further West and partly because of the domineering spirit of one of the "bosses." With a companion named Fritz he tramped across the Selkirk range of the Rockies to Kamloops, in British Columbia. For nearly two years he lived in British Columbia, Oregon, and California, working with farmers, in saw-mills, on railroads, in vineyards when he could find work, and half starving when he could get none. In the famous city of San Francisco he met with his bitterest experiences, loafing about with 20,000 other unemployed men vainly seeking for leave to toil. Then an avenue opened for him to get back to England and civilisation, and the companionship of uneducated men became intolerable to him. And so he swiftly returned to England, satisfied, I presume, that the commercial spirit rules as completely in America as in England, and that it is as difficult to live nobly there as here. The author is evidently a just and noble-minded man, whose right post is in the camp of the Socialists helping to establish an industrial and economic system in which honest men can lead honest lives. Young Socialists who have an eye towards America or the Colonies as a refuge from the depressing conditions of life here, should read "The Western Avernus," it may save them much pain and disappointment.

Carlisle, May 21, 1887.

G. D. LAWIE.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

London Members.—The first meeting of London Members will be held on Monday the 4th of July.

Resolution of Council.

At the meeting of the Executive Council on Monday evening the following resolution was passed:—"That all monies collected at open-air meetings must be duly handed to the treasurer of the League, and the receipt of same acknowledged in *Commonweal*."

BRANCH SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID.

Birmingham, to August 31. Manchester, to October 31. Leicester, South London, to December 31, 1886. Bradford, Croydon, Edinburgh, Hackney, Hammersmith, Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Hull, Ipswich, Lancaster, Leeds, Marylebone, Merton, Norwich, Shields, to March 31. Bloomsbury, Glasgow, North London, Oxford, to April 30. Clerkenwell, Walsall, to May 31.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Hammersmith Branch (weekly), 10s. W. B. (two weeks), 1s.

FOR PROPAGANDA.

Collected at Walham Green, June 5, 3s. 9½d. Collected in Regent's Park, June 5, 10s. 3½d. Ph. W., Treasurer, June 7.

THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

Salford Branch S.D.F., 3s. 6d. Pakenham Beatty, 2s. (£2 2s. instead of £2 should have been acknowledged last week). For Mrs. Mowbray—A Few Fabians, per Annie Bessant (weekly), 10s.—Total, 15s. 6d. J. LANE, Treasurer.

REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—On Thursday, June 2, a business meeting was held at which the Conference delegates gave in their report, after which the Branch considered its position with regard to the decision of the Conference. The Committee of Management, consisting of the following officers, was then elected:—General Secretary: W. H. Utley; Lecture Secretary: T. E. Wardle; Lecture Committee: A. K. Donald and Shirley; Treasurer: Lena Wardle; Steward: Harnett; News-vendor: Shirley. The speakers of the branch held large open-air meetings on Saturday in Hyde Park; on Sunday, in Regent's Park, Hyde Park, and at St. Pancras Arches; and on Sunday night comrade Donald addressed an attentive and enthusiastic audience at the Peckham Reform Club. A resolution was passed authorising the speakers of the Branch to make collections for the Propagandist Missionary Fund started some time ago, of which Lena Wardle is the treasurer.—U.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, June 1, William Morris lectured on "True and False Society." Good discussion followed. On Sunday, June 5, a business meeting was held, at which our Conference delegate presented report. Annie Taylor was appointed secretary in place of T. E. Wardle retired; W. Blundell re-elected treasurer; and T. E. Wardle, lecture secretary. After business meeting, members and friends attended a very successful concert held by the Branch. Literature has steady sale.—A. T. and W. B.

HACKNEY.—Lyons, H. Graham, and James Allman addressed an attentive audience at the Salmon and Ball, on Sunday morning. At the club in the evening, H. Sparling spoke on "Irish National Poetry," in the course of which he pointed out that some of the best poetry ever written has been composed by working-men. By special request of the audience this lecture will be repeated here in a few weeks time.

HOXTON.—On Sunday evening, a very interesting lecture was given by J. R. Macdonald on "The Signs of the Times." Good discussion after the lecture.

MARYLEBONE.—On Sunday afternoon, we held a very good meeting in Hyde Park, addressed by Mainwaring and Donald. Good sale of literature.—T. C.

MERTON AND MITCHAM.—Kitz and Eden spoke on Mitcham Fair Green last Sunday. Good attendance in our club-room. At night, a full meeting of members of both branches was held to discuss the situation of the branches, and agitation for the district.—F. Kitz.

NORTH LONDON.—On Sunday morning, at Regent's Park, a large audience listened very attentively to Donald's account of the miners' and chainmakers' circumstances; Cantwell and Brookes also spoke. 10s. 3d. was collected for the Propaganda Fund. Good sale of literature.—H. B.

EDINBURGH.—On Wednesday, June 1, in Scientific Hall, Dalkeith, Gilray read an essay on "Socialism," Tuke in the chair. Considerable interest was aroused on the subject. On Saturday, Tuke spoke at Lornhead, and disposed of about a quire of *Commonweal*. On Sunday afternoon, in Queen's Park, Smith, sen. and jun., Tuke, and Gilray spoke. Some opposition was offered at the close by a man who thought that the parable of the talents told against Socialism. This mistake pointed out, it was shown to the satisfaction of the audience that it was rather a dangerous thing for one to go to the Bible for arguments against Socialism. In the evening, Tuke spoke in the Meadows. Good sale of *Commonweal*.—J. G.

GLASGOW.—On Saturday, comrades Pollock and Glasier went to Motherwell—an important industrial town some 14 miles south-west of Glasgow—and addressed a meeting of some 400 working-men, who received their exposition of the labour question with great approval. On Sunday, at 1 o'clock, Curran addressed a good meeting on Jail Square. In the afternoon, Adams gave a lecture on "The Commune of Paris" to the Legislative Independence Branch of the National League, while Glasier gave a lecture on "The Majesty of Law" to Coatbridge Branch of the National League. No meeting was held on Georges' Square on Sunday evening, owing to the police having forbidden meetings of any kind being held there in future.

LEEDS.—This Branch held an open-air meeting on Hunslet Moor last Sunday morning. Comrades Paylor, Maguire, and Braithwaite addressed a very attentive audience. At the close of the meeting, 1s. was collected to help us furnish our new rooms. One quire of *Commonweal* sold. In the evening, comrade Paylor addressed a large and attentive audience in Vicar's Croft, on the attitude of the London police towards the Socialists. Comrades Maguire and Sollitt also addressed the meeting. At the close 1s. 8d. was collected to help us furnish our room.—F. C.

WALSALL.—On Thursday, several members of the Branch visited Cradley, and addressed the chain-makers on strike. We had a good meeting, and at the close a further list of names were given in towards forming a Branch there. On Saturday, H. Sanders spoke in the Market Place, Walsall. Fair sale of literature.—J. T. D.

DUBLIN.—On Sunday, June 5, a meeting was held by the Labour League at Howth, a fishing village about nine miles from Dublin. A special excursion steamer was run for the convenience of those attending the meeting. The principles of the League were ably expounded by Hall, Cantwell, Brown, Fitzpatrick, and others. At the close of the meeting more than fifty names were given in to form a Branch in the neighbourhood. Thousands of Socialist leaflets were distributed among the crowd.

THE SOCIALIST UNION.

BRISTOL SECTION.—A meeting was held in the large room of Stephen's Coffee Tavern, 45, Old Market Street, on Thursday, Mr. Blackmore being in the chair. After preliminary business the meeting considered "The Progress of the Socialist Idea for the last Fifty Years." It was shown that the "right" of man to own man was an inevitable outcome of the primitive state of society. Civilisation was an improvement on the old system; but a state of society founded on a competitive basis was not so great a step from the primitive as at first might appear, for although in the former man cannot possess man as property, and, may be, eat him, man does possess man in another way, and in such a manner not all in favour of those possessed. The slave under the old system had the care such as a master would pay to his horse. He would be brought up, and fed sufficiently to keep up his strength, whereas at the present time the worker was often starved out, and more often led a life of semi-starvation. Under the competitive system masters had found it cheaper to hire slaves than to buy them. Competitive civilisation was a state of warfare, and was an improvement on the old more in the freedom which must be the immediate result from it than in what it was in itself. The evils resulting from it had become so patent: just before the passing of the first Factory Acts, the fatality of children was so frightful under it, that the Legislature was bound to take cognisance of it, and in doing so made an onslaught on the so-called "freedom of contract," a precedent which had been repeatedly followed since, and which would be rapidly followed in the future. It was beginning to be seen that the antipodes of the primitive state lay in the direction that the weak should not be oppressed by the strong, which was a recognition of the truth of the Socialist idea, and of the necessity of progressive society travelling in that direction.

NOTTINGHAM SECTION.—Peacock and Proctor addressed a good audience in Sninton Market on Sunday morning. In the evening, Wane, Peacock, and Proctor lectured to a large audience in the Great Market. *Commonweal* sold well. Collection for propaganda, including morning meeting, 5s. 11d.—T. P.

NORTH ENGLAND SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

I have never known, through the whole course of my experience, any movement that has taken hold of the people with such earnestness as Socialism has done here. Whether it is that the working-men are becoming more intelligent, or that bitter experience has taught them that some change is necessary and that change will have to be brought about by their own action through some definite organisation, and which must put an end to all capitalists and profit-mongers, but certainly the people are taking to Socialism with astonishing rapidity. I spoke at Byker Bridge end last Sunday morning, and when I came to speak of the chain-makers, when I told them of the chains I had seen in the Socialist League office, they listened with marked attention. When I told them the conditions under which those poor wretches have to work, and the price they get for making the chains, several cried "Shame! shame!" I sold at this meeting a good many *Commonweal*; Donald's article on "Chains and Slavery" took well. I then went to the Sandhill, and had a good sale there. After that, I took the boat to Shields, where I met comrades Brown, Chorton, Wood, and a whole host of others, and nothing would satisfy them but a meeting in the "General Gordon," and a large and enthusiastic meeting we had. I held another meeting in the Market Place at night, where I spoke at some length, and sold all the papers, Donald's article again receiving a considerable amount of praise. Some disappointment was felt at the absence of Mahon in North Shields, but it has been arranged to meet there next Sunday for the purpose of fixing a date for his debate with Johnstone, the secretary of the Shields caucus. I hear they are doing all they can to pack the meeting when it takes place, but the North Shields comrades will not be slow to prevent such work as this. I believe that this debate will do a great deal of good to the Socialist movement.

J. H. STEVENS.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, W. On Thursday June 9 Rev. Stewart D. Headlam will lecture—subject, "Christian Socialism." On Thursday June 16 George Bernard Shaw will lecture—subject, "The Rent of Ability."

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Free Lectures every Wednesday and Sunday at 8.30 p.m.

Croydon.—Parker Road.

Hackney.—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 8 till 11.30; Saturdays, 7 till 12.30. Sunday June 12, at 8.30, Wm. Morris will lecture on "True and False Society."

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday June 12, at 8 p.m. A Lecture.

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—2 Crondall Street, New North Rd. Club Room open on Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday evenings from 8 till 11. Singing Class every Wednesday at 8.30. On Sunday June 12, at 8 p.m., W. H. Utley will lecture, "Society of the Future." Members' Meeting on Friday June 17th, at 8.30

Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday. Discussions held every Sunday morning at 11.

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

North London.—Communications to H. Bartlett, sec., 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

PROVINCES.

Bingley.—Coffee Tavern. Every Monday at 7.30 p.m.

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

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

Dublin.—Irish Labour League, 2 Bachelors Walk, every Thursday at 8 p.m. Discussion on all subjects connected with the Labour Question.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 7.30 p.m. to transact business. Class for the study of 'Das Capital' at 8.30. (See "Open-air" below.)

Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Saturday's meetings will be announced in Rooms. On Sunday evening at 7, in our Rooms, Discussion. See "Open-air" below.

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

Hull.—Address all communications to E. Teesdale, 20 Shakspeare Street.

Lancaster.—Addresses every Sunday morning on the Quay Jetty.

Leeds.—17 Chesham Street, Sweet Street. Club and reading room open every evening. Business meetings every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Leicester.—Office of Hosiery Union, Horsefair Street. Fridays at 8 p.m.

Manchester.—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening 6 to 10 p.m. Lecture and discussion every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Free Lectures every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room open every evening.

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

Paisley.—On Friday at 7.30, open-air meeting at the Causewayside.

Shields (North and South).—Meetings every Sunday, Quay-side and Market Place. Branch meetings on Thursday nights at the "General Gordon," Bath Street, Maxwell Street, South Shields. Secretary, J. Hearne, 32 Clive Street, No. Shields.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 12.

11.30...Garrett—"Plough Inn".....The Branch
11.30...Hackney—"Salmon and Ball".....Davis, Allman
11.30...Hammersmith—Beardon Rd.....The Branch
11.30...Hoxton Ch., Pitfield St.....Barker, Wade, Pope
11.30...Mile-end WasteLane
11.30...Mitcham Fair GreenKitz & Eden
11.30...Regent's ParkMainwaring
11.30...St. Pancras ArchesThe Branch
11.30...Walham GreenThe Branch
3 ...Hyde ParkNicoll
7 ...Clerkenwell GreenThe Branch

Tuesday.

8 ...Ossulton Street, Euston Road.....Sparling

Thursday.

8 ...Hoxton, Pitfield StreetWade & Pope

PROVINCES.

Cambuslang.—Saturday: at 6 o'clock.

Edinburgh.—Sunday: Queen's Park, afternoon at 3.

Glasgow.—Sunday: Jail's Square at 1 and 5 o'clock; Stobcross Street at 6 o'clock.

Motherwell.—Saturday: at 6 o'clock.

Paisley.—Friday: Causewayside, at 7.30.

Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, 11; Vicar's Croft, 7.

Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place at 3; Agricultural Hall Plain at 7.

Hawick.—Persons in Hawick desirous of forming a Branch are requested to address the Secretary of the Socialist League, 4 Park Street, Edinburgh.

LEEDS BRANCH.—We have now secured rooms at 17 Chesham Street, Sweet Street, and would be glad of any little help in furnishing them. Books would be thankfully received to help form a library for the use of our members. The following papers and magazines have been promised by some of our members, and current numbers will always be kept on the table: *Weeklies*—Co-operative News, Reynolds's, Justice, Newcastle Chronicle, Brotherhood, Denver (U.S.A.) Labor Enquirer, United Ireland. *Monthlies*—Practical Socialist, Christian Socialist, Common Sense, To-Day, Financial Reformer, Our Corner, Freedom. Business meetings every Wednesday at 8 p.m.; club and reading room open every evening.—F. L. CORKWELL, sec.

HACKNEY BRANCH.—A Free Concert on Saturday June 18, at 8.30. All members of the League invited.

HOXTON (L.E.L.).—Excursion on July 10th to the Rye House. Those wishing to take part in it can obtain full particulars from the secretary.

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 75.

SATURDAY, JUNE 18, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

THE O'Brien incident in New York is worth noting. It must be admitted at once that Mr. O'Brien would have injured the present prospects of the cause of Home Rule—that is, more explicitly, the establishment of a semi-independent Irish parliament at Dublin—if he had identified himself with the Land Nationalisers and semi-Socialists of New York. But on the other hand, his refusal has also injured the cause of Irish independence, looking at it from a broader point of view. The Land Nationalisers and other more advanced politicians may well say, Is it a foregone conclusion, then, that all the Irish Parliamentary Party look forward to is an imperfect form of peasant-proprietorship—i.e., the creating of a number of small landlords in place of the few big landlords already existing?

Well, as a matter of fact that is the idea of the parliamentary Irishman; and if he went further than that he would be ahead of the ordinary Irishman—in Ireland, at all events. Nor need we wonder at that. The land question is the side of the question of exploitation which naturally thrusts itself forward in Ireland; and the share that the cottar tenant has in it is a war between his industry on one side and a poor soil and a coarse form of robbery on the other; and any alleviation of his lot will for the time put him in heaven, so to say, and make him a very conservative and property-loving character. All this, of course, is what the parliamentary Irish politician is reckoning on, and consequently he won't trouble himself to even consider the landless labourer who will still remain after the advent of peasant proprietorship, or indeed the future of the peasant proprietor himself, which will, in two words, be ultimate ruin.

Perhaps sometimes we Socialists have been tempted to envy the simplicity of the one-plank platform of the Irish agitator, but such an incident as this of Father M'Glynn *versus* Mr. O'Brien shows the dull side of it. In fact revolutionists cannot evade the duty of keeping their true aim clearly before them, and asking themselves if it is worth the trouble, and they must accept as a necessary consequence of the carrying out of that duty all the unpopularity and lack of support and jeers at their want of practicality which they are sure to encounter if they go straight to their object.

Meantime a Socialist can hardly help chuckling when he thinks that Father M'Glynn, who has really made a straight revolutionary hit at that terrible revolutionist Mr. O'Brien, may in his turn find himself denounced as a capitalist-saver one of these days: may, or certainly will, unless he moves forward with the times. To-day there can be found respectable people who are moved to indignation by the spectacle of a certain class of landlords exercising their undoubted legal rights to the full; though the greater part of landlords, since they are not driven to act so dramatically, are allowed to do as they please without comment. At some future time not far distant there will be found probably respectable persons who will wish to take away this legal power from all landlords. There, however, the respectable people will stay their advance, for the next step will be the attack on all capital—that is, really, property; and all respectable people have capital in some form or other. Well, so it goes—he that endureth to the end shall be saved.

The triumphant Tories are determined to show us how feeble a barrier Parliament is between any faction that may have crept into power and the liberties of the people. By the time of the date on this number of *Commonweal* the parliamentary resistance to the Coercion Bill will be at an end, and for all practical purposes it might as well have never been begun. As to Mr. Smith's urgency resolution it was taken sheepishly enough by the House, and was clearly looked upon as a matter of little consequence. And indeed it is not of much consequence, considering what Parliament is.

It may well be hoped that one day the people will take possession for their own use of the noble buildings which their forefathers built in the days when they were striving to break the bonds of feudal tyranny, and had not yet foreseen the straiter bonds of capitalism. All Socialists therefore should join in the protest which Mr. Frederick Harrison made at the meeting of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings against the destructive tomfoolery now going on at

Westminster Abbey. It is an easily read token of the sincerity of the *conservatism* of the bourgeois, when a building, which is still perhaps, in spite of all the degradations it has suffered the most beautiful in Great Britain, is to be subjected to the risk of total destruction, and the certainty of great damage for an idiotic piece of Court humbug that nobody, not even the very flunkies themselves, cares a rush for.

Apropos of this grievous nonsense our readers may have noticed some of them perhaps with disapproval, that there has not much been said about the Jubilee (one is really ashamed to write the word) in the pages of the *Commonweal*. That is to be explained, I suppose, by the mere contempt with which Socialists look upon the whole subject. But the "great event" of it is so near that one may perhaps say as much as this, that the powers that be are determined to use the opportunity to show what a nuisance the monarchy and court can be as a centre of hypocrisy and corruption, and the densest form of stupidity.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

FREE COMPETITION.

BEHIND THE SCENES.

In an article on "Social Experiments" published in the *Commonweal* of March 5th, I promised to give at some future time a more full account of the difficulties which the competitive form of industry places in the way of co-operative production. The present seems a good time to fulfil my engagement, as the question of co-operation and our attitude as Socialists towards it has been brought up in the issue for June 4. I will start, then, by trying to answer the question, Is co-operative production likely to upset the present system?—I mean, of course, what is generally understood by the term co-operative production. Now, from the societies which already exist or have existed for the purpose of co-operative production I think we may learn that the difficulty does not lie in the producing of goods. It is quite possible and comparatively easy for a body of working men, having the requisite amount of capital, to hire competent men and start a factory for the production of some articles of general use. They can get workmen as skilful as any one else can, and foremen as well able to look after the work and see that it is done properly. But unfortunately the production of good articles is not the chief difficulty about a modern concern; it is the buying of raw material and selling the finished article which requires the special "business faculty" of which so much is made and which gets paid so highly. The result of competition is to render trading very much like gambling. The constant fluctuations in prices, the careful watching and successful foreseeing of which is very often the chief cause of a man's financial success, make it almost impossible to carry on business with any certainty of being able to make both ends meet.

Another great cause of difficulty is the rapidity with which fashions will change. A firm settle down to make a certain class of goods, and behold, by next month nobody will buy them! Some one else has brought out something newer and managed to get it into fashion, and the success for the present is his. The following month, perhaps, he is cut out by a third man; and so it goes on, the element of gambling being uppermost again. Now the faculty which can always see the way things are going to turn and always manage to be on the paying side of these changes, is a comparatively rare one, and consequently can command a high price. Now it seems to me that co-operative productive societies are likely to fail chiefly through want of this faculty in their managers. As a rule they do not start with very large capitals, and cannot afford to give a very high salary to tempt a first-class business man to take the management. And the first-class business man can always get credit and do so well on his own account, that he will only take the management of another concern on condition of receiving a high salary.

It is found sufficiently difficult to keep old established businesses going without some special competitive faculty, and the difficulties are enormously increased with anything just starting. Many readers of the *Commonweal* will have heard that Mr. Thompson of Halifax has turned his cloth-factory into a co-operative concern. He was lecturing in Oxford last term on his scheme, and I asked him whether he thought there would be any chance of success for a concern started by working men. He said that any business started afresh would have scarcely any chance at all. His business is an old and well-established one, and

he is still to remain as manager. If he is right, the only hope for co-operative production would be for a large number of successful employers to voluntarily turn their places into co-operative concerns. Now this is hardly likely to happen, because the nature which as a rule makes a successful business man is not the nature which would give up for the good of the workers generally.

For collective management to be successful there must be some system which can be followed and which only needs revising occasionally. While the present confusion exists in trade it must be managed by individual heads, either as owners or managers, who are not much hampered by a committee.

Take the grocery trade, and let us look at a few forms which competition assumes there. Now sugar is a commodity the price of which is regulated a good deal by chance. Supposing there is a small fall in the wholesale price of sugar amounting to less than a halfpenny per pound. Now it is entirely a question of the strength of competition whether the retail price will be maintained and the additional profit go into the pockets of the grocers, or whether the retail price will come down a halfpenny and so leave perhaps a slight loss for the grocers. Any one of the chief competitors in the town has it in his power to bring down the price and do all the trade out of that extra amount of profit. We have only to remember that all the chief articles of commerce are constantly hanging in the balance, as it were, like the sugar, to realise into what a condition of confusion our industry has got.

This instance shows us that the individual is not free under this system of competition, but that he is practically bound by the actions of his neighbours; if they adulterate an article in order to sell cheaper, he must either do so too or sell at a loss. And if we follow the details of working still further, we see such a display of evil motives, selfishness and meanness that it is fairly astonishing that any one in business should uphold the system. Supposing our grocer has an assistant with good business faculty, he will be constantly afraid lest this man should set up in opposition, consequently he will give him fair wages to keep him in his place. But he will not stay many years; he saves up a little capital, borrows some more, and starts an opposition shop. Henceforward he and his late employer are the greatest of enemies; he will use the meanest tricks in many cases to get customers away from the old shop into his, he will sell some leading article at less than cost price to attract them, and make it up on little things the values of which are not so well known to his customers. All this is justified as good business faculty—"all is fair in love and war," and this is war sure enough.

Let us take another instance of the freedom (?) which exists under this system. In many provincial towns of late years there has been a movement set on foot to close the shops for a half-day's holiday each week, but when it has been tried, generally a few shops refuse to close. What is the result? Why, in most cases the movement fails because the shopkeepers who might be willing to close if every one would, when consequently they could lose no custom by it, are not willing to allow an afternoon's custom to go to their enemies. So we see that the freedom which exists is the freedom of two or three to force all the rest against their wills.

Let us take another example of the spirit of competition, this time in the wholesale trade; here prices are more flexible, more beating down is done, the keen customer beats the merchant down, the less keen has to pay for it. In an iron merchant's business, say he will supply iron to large iron-works or collieries, and also to little blacksmiths. The large works are keen, they know what iron costs, and but for the convenience of being able to get in smaller quantities from the merchant just what sort they want, they would buy from the makers, hence the merchant puts on a small profit to them, but the small blacksmiths in the country are not up to this, they deal always with one merchant and pay pretty much what he asks, always beating him down half a sovereign or so to satisfy their opinion of their own business faculty, the merchant of course putting the same amount on for that purpose. Thus the poorer man who gives the merchant credit for dealing honestly with him has to pay for the wealthier one who trusts no one's honesty, on the principle of serving worst the one who gives him credit for most honesty! This and similar processes lead to what is called the survival of the fittest, which is often another word for the greatest knave.

I think it will be pretty evident by this what the "business faculty" consists in, and also it will be clear that a body of workers trying to start a productive concern and trying to buy and sell in this competitive market is pretty likely to come to grief, unless by a great stroke of luck they happen to get hold of a manager with the aforesaid business faculty, who is willing to give them the benefit of it at a comparatively low figure. Therefore, it seems to me that it will be necessary to be to a large extent independent of the competitive market if co-operative production is to succeed.

I do not wish in any way to throw cold water on to such schemes as are proposed by our comrade J. B. Bright, on the contrary I think with him that very much good, both in helping the propaganda and in general experience and education, will result from the practice of co-operation either in distribution or production, and if the attempts fail they will at least help to convince co-operators that this awful rage of competition must be put a stop to, before any real good can be done.

And now a word to those who always want to know how we are going to obtain and reward this business faculty in a state of Socialism. The answer is simple enough, so simple that the business part of the community will be a long time before they take it in. We shall neither attain it nor reward it at all, for the very good reason that it will be perfectly useless! When competition shall have passed away

the relative values of things will be established on a rational principle based on the amount of labour, and possibly partly on the kind of labour needed to produce them, these relative values will be fixed and only revised at intervals. The managing of trade under this system will be so easy that there will be no scarcity of men able to do it, and so no need to reward them outrageously.

I spoke of the kind of labour having an influence in the prices of articles. I meant the pleasantness or otherwise; things the manufacture or obtaining of which necessitate unpleasant or unhealthy employments, would probably be relatively higher priced than now, as probably the workers employed in these trades would work less time for the same reward. I have only touched upon a few of the evils of competition, the great question of over-production would require an article by itself, but I think we must all feel the degrading character of the whole business, and wish to see some better and more noble system established in its place.

RAYMOND UNWIN.

HOW WE LIVE AND HOW WE MIGHT LIVE.

(Continued from p. 187.)

WELL now, what Socialism offers you in place of these artificial famines with their so-called over-production, is, once more, regulation of the markets; supply and demand commensurate; no gambling, and consequently (once more) no waste; not overwork and weariness for the worker one month, and the next no work and terror of starvation, but steady work and plenty of leisure every month; not cheap market-wares, that is to say, adulterated wares, with scarcely any good in them, mere scaffold-poles for building up profits; no labour would be spent on such things as these, which people would cease to want when they ceased to be slaves. Not these, but such goods as best fulfilled the real uses of the consumers would labour be set to make; for profit being abolished, people could have what they wanted, instead of what the profit-grinders at home and abroad forced them to take.

For what I want you to understand is this: that in every civilised country at least, there is plenty for all,—is, or at any rate might be. Even with labour so misdirected as it is at present, an equitable distribution of the wealth we have would make all people comparatively comfortable; but that is nothing to the wealth we might have if labour were not misdirected.

Observe in the early days of the history of man, he was the slave of his most immediate necessities; nature was mighty and he was feeble, and he had to wage constant war with her for his daily food and such shelter as he could get. His life was bound down and limited by this constant struggle; all his morals, laws, religion, are in fact the outcome and the reflexion of this ceaseless toil of earning his livelihood. Time passed, and little by little he grew stronger, every step serving him as a lever to mount the next, till now after all these ages he has almost completely conquered nature, and one would think should now have leisure to turn his thoughts towards higher things than procuring to-morrow's dinner. But, alas! his progress has been broken and halting; and though he has indeed conquered nature and has her forces under his control to do what he will with, he still has himself to conquer, he still has to think how he will best use those forces which he has mastered. At present he uses them blindly, foolishly, as one driven by mere fate. It would almost seem as if some phantom of the ceaseless pursuit of food which was once the master of the savage was still hunting the civilised man; who toils in a dream, as it were, haunted by mere dim unreal hopes, born of vague recollections of the days gone by. Out of that dream we must wake, and face things as they really are. The conquest of nature is complete, may we not say, and now our business is and has for long been the organisation of man, who wields the forces of nature. Nor till this is attempted at least shall we ever be free of that terrible phantom of fear of starvation which, with its brother devil, desire of domination, drives us into injustice, cruelty and dastardliness of all kinds: to cease to fear our fellows and learn to depend on them, to do away with competition and build up co-operation, is our one necessity.

Now, to get closer to details, you probably know that every man in civilisation is worth, so to say, more than his skin; working, as he must work, socially, he can produce more than will keep himself alive and in fair condition; and this has been so for many centuries, from the time, in fact, when warring tribes began to make their conquered enemies slaves instead of killing them; and of course his capacity of producing these extras has gone on increasing faster and faster, till to-day one man will weave, for instance, as much cloth in a week as will clothe a whole village for years: and the real question of civilisation has always been what are we to do with this extra produce of labour—a question which the phantom, fear of starvation, and its fellow, desire of domination, has driven men to answer pretty badly always, and worst of all perhaps in these present days, when the extra produce has grown with such prodigious speed. The practical answer has always been for man to struggle with his fellow for private possession of undue shares of these extras, and all kinds of devices have been employed by those who found themselves in possession of the power of taking them from others to keep those whom they had robbed in perpetual subjection, and these latter, as I have already hinted, had no chance of resisting this fleecing as long as they were few and scattered, and consequently could have little sense of their common oppression. But now that, owing to the very pursuit of these undue shares of profit, or extra earnings, men have become more dependent on each other for production, and have been driven, as I said before, to combine together

for that end more completely, the power of the workers, that is to say of the robbed or fleeced class, has enormously increased, and it only remains for them to understand that they have this power. When they do that they will be able to give the right answer to the question what is to be done with the extra products of labour over and above what will keep the labourer alive to labour: which answer is, that the worker will have all that he produces and not be fleeced at all: and remember that he produces collectively, and therefore he will do effectively what work is required of him according to his capacity, and of the produce of that work he will have what he needs; because, you see, he cannot use more than he needs, he can only waste it.

If this arrangement seems to you preposterously ideal, as it well may, looking at our present condition, I must back it up by saying that when men are organised so that their labour is not wasted, they will be relieved from the fear of starvation and the desire of domination, and will have freedom and leisure to look round and see what they really do need. Now something of that I can conceive for my own self, and I will lay my ideas before you, so that you may compare them with your own, asking you always to remember that the very differences in men's capacities and desires, after the common need of food and shelter is satisfied, will make it easier to deal with their desires in a communal state of things. What is it that I need, therefore, which my surrounding circumstances can give me—my dealings with my fellow men—setting aside inevitable accidents which co-operation and forethought cannot control, if there be such?

Well, first of all I claim good health; and I say that a vast proportion of people in civilisation scarcely even know what that means. To feel mere life a pleasure; to enjoy the moving one's limbs and exercising one's bodily powers; to play, as it were, with sun and wind and rain; to rejoice in satisfying the due bodily appetites of a human animal without fear of degradation or sense of wrong-doing: yes, and therewithal to be well-formed, straight-limbed, strongly-knit, expressive of countenance—to be, in a word, beautiful,—that also I claim. If we cannot have this claim satisfied we are but poor creatures after all; and I claim it in the teeth of those terrible doctrines of asceticism, which, born of the despair of the oppressed and degraded, have been for so many ages used as instruments for the continuance of that oppression and degradation.

And I believe that this claim for a healthy body for all of us carries with it all other due claims: for who knows where the seeds of disease which even rich people suffer from were first sown: from the luxury of an ancestor, perhaps; yet often, I suspect, from his poverty. And for the poor: I have heard a distinguished surgeon say that the poor suffer always from one disease—hunger; and at least I know this, that if a man is overworked in any degree he cannot enjoy the sort of health I am speaking of; nor can he if he is continually chained to one dull round of mechanical work, with no hope at the other end of it; nor if he lives in continual sordid anxiety for his livelihood, nor if he is ill-housed, nor if he is deprived of all enjoyment of the natural beauty of the world, nor if he has no amusement to quicken the flow of his spirits from time to time: all these things, which touch more or less directly on his bodily condition, are born of the claim I make to live in good health; indeed, I suspect that these good conditions must have been in force for several generations before a population in general will be really healthy, as I have hinted above; but also I doubt not that in the course of time they would, joined to other conditions, of which more hereafter, gradually breed such a population, living in enjoyment of animal life at least, happy therefore, and beautiful according to the beauty of their race; though you must remember that the very variations in the races of men are caused by the conditions under which they live, and though in these rougher parts of the world we lack some of the advantages of climate and surroundings, yet if we were working for livelihood and not for profit we might easily neutralise many of the disadvantages of our climate, at least enough to give due scope to the full development of our race.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be continued.)

Dr. Isaiah S. Tuppins, a negro, has been elected Mayor of Rendville, Ohio. He owes his election mainly to the votes of the miners.

PAUPER EMIGRANTS TO AMERICA.—NEW YORK.—The Commissioners of Immigration have decided to send back to Ireland sixteen families, comprising nearly 100 persons, assisted hither by Mr. Wynne, secretary of the Killarney Emigration Society, arriving on an Inman steamer a few days ago. The agent had paid the passage, and given each family from 15 to 20 dollars besides. In deciding, the Commissioners had before them the recent correspondence between the British Minister, Sir L. S. West, and Mr. Bayard. The former called upon Mr. Bayard for information whether emigrants assisted hither by public funds, with the assurance of support by friends in this country, would be permitted to enter. The Secretary replied that so far as permission to land was concerned the law was clear, and the officers charged with its execution were required to examine each case, and with them rested the decision whether the person seeking entrance into the United States should be permitted to land. No general assurance could be given covering the point raised. In view of this policy and these laws, concluded Mr. Bayard, the United States Government could not fail to look with disfavour and concern upon the sending to this country by foreign governmental agencies and at the public cost persons not only unlikely to develop the qualities of thrift and self-support, but sent here because it was assumed that they would have friends here able to support them. On the strength of this letter, the Commissioners decided that the families should be sent back to Ireland. Then the families were examined one by one, and it was proved that they all were pauper immigrants. They will be put on board the steamer on Saturday unless the question of the Board's authority be tested in the Courts.

SONNET.

Who would live on in such a world as this,
Where gilded shams usurp the place of Truth;
Where wrong is robed in purple, and men hiss
At scorned Justice as a thing uncouth;
Where poison cells of lust are delved deep,
And Love's clear stream defiled with foulest spite;
Where Selfishness on softest down doth sleep,
And generous hearts bankrupt their owners quite;
Where Honesty, a beggar, hugs his rags,
Splashed with the mud from Fraud's rich carriage wheels;
Where Law, the cunning harlot, daily brags
That crime can buy, if gold the bargain seals;
Who would live on that sorrow did not sway
To strive towards changing this dark night to day?

FRED HENDERSON.

GRASE THE FAT SOW.

BY TIMOTHY WHACKSTRAW.

(Reprinted from *The Bristolian*, 1872.)

I'se a poor hignorammus an' knows little or nuffin,
Thanks ta squire an' parson, ther church an' ther skule;
No wonder, methinks, that sum calls I a ruf'un,
An' tha folk up in Lunnun a pig an' a fule.
Still I rokes things about wen I goes out a-cartin',
An' turns up a thort as I foller ma plow,
An' I ses ta miese' wi' a luk that menes "sartin",
Tha rich be detarmined to grase tha fat sow.
Grase the fat sow,
Grase the fat sow,
Tha rich be detarmined to grase the fat sow.

I'm danged if I dwon't take ta pothooks an' hangers,
An' rite ta tha peepers tha leetle I knaws,
I'll tell bit o' truth 'bout oursels an' our gangers,
An' games as be played by tha hawks and tha crows;
Thay gie I ten shillin's a week to keep six wi',
For seventy-two hours at steables and plow,
An' not a bit more ta tha people I mix wi',
An' keeps all tha rest for ta grase tha fat sow, etc.

Thay telled I 'twere wicked ta sing an' ta whissle,
An' danged if I chirrured for meny a year,
Fur I felt loike a jackass content wi' a thissle,
An' trembled all over when master were near.
Thay telled I ta pray and I prayed loike a good 'un,
I prayed for a fortin', some sheep, an' a cow,
But while I were prayin' they stole all our common,
Because it were wanted ta grase tha fat sow, etc.

Tha squire has jest bin an' taken ma gardin',
An' sent a poor chap off to jail for a hare;
So I tellee tha loife as we lade be a hard 'un,
An' danged if I think we shall change it by prayer.
I'se fund out tha humbug o' parson's religun,
For I turns it all over wile drivin' ma plow,
It prepares a poor fule to be plucked loike a pigeon,
An' helps tha rich squire ta grase the fat sow, etc.

Thare be good texts in Scriptur' but parson dwon't hade 'um,
Thare be sum that poor people cud well understand,
An' tha time's comin' fast when we poor folk 'll rade 'um,
An' prache 'um a sarmint on labour and land.
All thare prayin' an' prachin's dun little or nuffin'
Ta raise sich as I from this terribul slough;
I'se fund out thare sarmints be only goose-stuffin',
Or else it be summat ta grase the fat sow, etc.

Lawyers, merchants and such folk, who properly and originally earn nothing for the public, being only a kind of gamblers who play with one another for the labours of the poor.—*Sir Wm. Petty.*

While the past fifty years have been such an uncommonly happy time for the rich, it is impossible to say so much for the poor. Out of the thirty-six millions, or thereabouts, forming the population of the United Kingdom, six-sevenths, or thirty millions, have so narrow a margin between income and the necessities of bare sustenance that they cannot pay the annual cost of their children's education, and are obliged to have it spread through all their lives by means of rates and taxes.—*J. A. Picton.*

An equal distribution of riches through any country ever constitutes its happiness. Great wealth in the possession of one stagnates, and extreme poverty with another keeps him in unambitious indigence; but the moderately rich are generally active: not too far removed from poverty to fear its calamities, nor too near extreme wealth to slacken the nerve of labour, they remain still between both in a state of continual fluctuation. How impolitic, therefore, are the laws which promote the accumulation of wealth among the rich; more impolitic still in attempting to increase the depression of poverty.—*Oliver Goldsmith.*

ECONOMY.—Universal economy would kill the goose that lays the golden egg. Men can "retrench" until a mud hut, a wooden bench, a cup of corn meal and a pan to bake a hoe-cake in, is all he needs. But what becomes of all the trades and occupations which furnished people with the "needless" luxuries of life? What becomes of progress, refinement, education? Individual economy is only successful when it exceeds the economy of those surrounding the economiser. If he can live on less than the worker's usual pittance, in time he gains an advantage over his fellow-toilers; but if they all economise the next successful man must starve himself just a little more than the first one has done. Economy is a fraud; it is a species of robbery. The brain, heart, mind and body are defrauded of their natural rights and chances for development, that a few individuals may revel in excess of enjoyments. The world's resources are limitless; the skill and strength of men and the wonders of science are inexhaustible. Why should we go without a single article that would add to our comfort, enlightenment or enjoyment?—*Lizzie M. Swank.*



"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 June 15.

ENGLAND	CHICAGO (ILL.)	HOLLAND
Brotherhood	Vorbote	Hague—Recht voor Allen
Die Autonomie	Albina (Oreg.)—Weekly Courier	Liege—L'Avenir
Justice	Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer	Antwerp—De Werker
Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	SWITZERLAND
Norwich—Daylight	Hamamton (N.J.) Credit Foncier	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
INDIA	Troy (N.Y.) Christian Pulpit	SPAIN
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Pateron (N.Y.) Labor Standard	El Productor
SOUTH AUSTRALIA	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	AUSTRIA
Melbourne—Honesty	New Haven (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate	Vienna—Gleichheit
UNITED STATES	San Francisco (Cal.) The People	Brunn—Volksfreund
New York—Freiheit	Seattle (W.T.) Voice of the People	Arbeiterstimme
Truthseeker	FRANCE	ROUMANIA
Der Sozialist	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Jassy—Lupta
Volkszeitung	Le Socialiste	DENMARK
John Swinton's Paper	Le Revolte	Social-Demokraten
Herald	Guise—Le Devoir	SWEDEN
Boston—Woman's Journal	Lille—Le Travailleur	Stockholm—Social-Demokraten
Liberty	ITALY	
	Turin—Il Muratore	

NOTES.

SAID Mr. Champion, the barbarians are within and not without the so-called pale of modern civilised society. They have been engendered by it. Let the cultured and leisured classes look to it, before these barbarians rise in all the might and misery of their wrongs and with avenging hands bring red ruin and destruction to that society that has fed and fattened on their sufferings.

It may be, as was asserted, that there is much Socialism among the educated classes, but so long as it remains hidden it is of small value. Let the educated classes make their Socialism manifest in unmistakable manner, let them labour with all their might for its realisation.

To-day it is the despised street-preaching Socialist that bears the brunt of the battle, who endures persecution and suffers imprisonment for the advocacy of its cause.

If there is so much Socialism among the cultured and leisured, let them come from behind the "screen" and show it to the world. Let them take up its cross and bear it.

Socialism has too few advocates, but would soon have many did the cultured and leisured get to work and teach its principles.

Socialists are rebels against society as it is to-day; they rebel not in silence, wherever they go they declaim against it.

A cultured, leisured and silent rebel runs no risk of persecution or imprisonment; but did all the silent rebels proclaim themselves rebels, the social revolution would be nearer. H. A. B.

C A writer (anonymous) in our contemporary *Justice*, has found out a new definition of Anarchism. According to our friend Anarchism means abstention (for whatever reason) from parliamentary action. I fear this new definition is scarcely exact enough to satisfy either Anarchist or Collectivist.

Our friend also writes as if the Socialist League had made some new departure at the late Conference. He had better read again the resolution of the Conference as printed in the *Commonweal*, which will set him right in this matter, since it asserts the indisputable fact that the policy hitherto pursued by the League has been one of abstention from parliamentary action.

I must venture to call the end of his note as to the constitution of the Council of the League impertinent, since the domestic concerns of

a body with which he has nothing to do, do not concern the writer. However, it may be as well to remind our friends that while our Council sits in London we have Branches in various parts of Britain; who cannot possibly send up one of their members to sit on the Council once a-week. A real delegate Council would be impossible under such conditions, and a bogus one would not be desired by a body like the Socialist League, which has always shown what I must consider a very laudable objection to "bossing." W. M.

The Albert Medal founded 25 years ago by the Society of Arts, and presented to such men as Rowland Hill, Wheatstone, Whitworth, Siemens, Bessemer, Armstrong, Liebig, Hofman, Lesseps, Holker, Doulton, and Pasteur, is proposed to be given to the Queen in this Jubilee year. If ever there were any good object served in providing the men above-named with a circular plate of metal called a medal, that good object will be entirely eclipsed by the bestowal of that which is awarded for "distinguished merit in promoting arts, manufactures, and commerce," on an old woman who has done nothing to deserve the insane, debasing, and unnecessary flattery with which she is inundated.

Personally we regard her much the same as many other women, and we have no doubt she is well informed of the Socialist movement in Germany,—she, as many a hundred of the trained men and women (with brains) who compose the thieving classes, or to put it a little milder, the predatory classes, must estimate the twaddle and fuss now made at its true value.

We know many of these people who live upon unearned profit and increment, who acknowledge that the people who provide them the means by which they live are mostly fools, and as long as they are allowed to gather in profits will do so, for the very good reason that until the workers show by united action that they will allow this system to exist no longer, it would be absurd to change the condition in which we now live, that is until an organisation of honest and true workers come forward and claim their own.

The best effort we can make, therefore, is to educate and prove our position to the masses. Labour should unite as it has never yet united to withstand the common enemy, the profit-thief. Strikes should be made no more possible, but a strike far-reaching and universal should be made on behalf of any section or separate trade by the whole of the workers throughout our country. When this is made possible, then the battle we are now fighting will be half won. A.

SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

CHAPTER XIX.

SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM.—CONSTANT AND VARIABLE CAPITAL.

MARX goes on to develop further the process by which the capitalist exploits the labourer under the present system of wages and capital.

We now come to the two instruments which the capitalist uses in his exploitation of labour, and which are named constant and variable capital; constant capital being the raw material and instruments of production, and variable the labour power to be employed in producing on and by means of the former.

The labourer, as we have seen, adds a value to the raw material upon which he works; but by the very act of adding a new value he preserves the old; in one character he adds new value, in another he merely preserves what already existed. He affects this by working in a particular way, e.g., by spinning, weaving, or forging, that is, he transforms things which are already utilities into new utilities proportionately greater than they were before.

"It is thus," says Marx, "that the cotton and spindle, the yarn and the loom, the iron and the anvil become constituent elements of a new use-value."

That is, in order to acquire this new value, the labour must be directed to a socially useful end, to a general end, that is, to which the general labour of society is directed, and the value added is to be measured by the average amount of labour power expended; i.e., by the duration of the average time of labour.

Marx says: "We have seen that the means of production transfer value to the new product so far only as during the labour-process they lose value in the shape of their old use-value. The maximum loss of value that they can suffer in the process is plainly limited by the amount of the original value with which they came into the process, or in other words by the labour-time necessary for their production. Therefore, the means of production can never add more value to the product than they themselves possess independently of the process in which they assist. However useful a given kind of raw material, or a machine, or other means of production may be, though it may cost £150, or say 500 days labour, yet it cannot under any circumstances

add to the value of the product more than £150. Its value is determined not by the labour process into which it enters as a means of production, but by that out of which it has issued as a product. In the labour process it only serves as a mere use-value, a thing with useful properties, and could not therefore transfer any value to the product unless it possessed such value previously."

The matter is succinctly put as follows: "The means of production on the one hand, labour-power on the other, are merely the different modes of existence which the value of the original capital assumed when from being money it was transformed into the various factors of the labour process. That part of capital which is represented by the means of production, by the raw material, auxiliary material, and the instruments of labour, does not in the process of production undergo any quantitative alteration of value. I therefore call it the constant part of capital, or more shortly *constant capital*."

At first sight it might be thought that the wear and tear of the machinery, and the seeming disappearance of part of the auxiliary material (as e.g., the mordants used in dyeing cloth or yarn, or the gums, etc., used in textile printing) contradict this statement as to the alteration of value; but on closer view it will be seen that the above wear and tear and apparent consumption enter into the new product just as much as the visible raw material does; neither are really consumed, but transformed.

In the following chapters Marx enters into an elaborate and exhaustive analysis of the rate of surplus value, i.e., of the rate at which the creation of surplus value takes place; and he also deals with the important subject of the duration of the working-day. But as this is after all a matter of detail, in spite of its very great interest and importance we must omit it, as it would carry us beyond the scope of these articles.

Marx distinguishes between *absolute* and *relative* "surplus value;" the *absolute* being the product of a day's labour over and above the necessary subsistence of the workman, whatever the time necessary for the production of a definite amount of product may be. The *relative* "surplus-value" on the other hand is determined by the increased productivity of labour caused by new inventions, machinery, increased skill, either in manipulation, or the organisation of labour, by which the time necessary for the production of the labourer's means of subsistence may be indefinitely shortened.

It will be seen once again by all this, that whatever instruments may be put into the hands of the labourer to bring about a result from his labour, in spite of all pretences to the contrary, the one instrument necessary to the capitalist is the labourer himself living under such conditions that he can be used as a mere instrument for the production of profit. The tools, machinery, factories, means of exchange, etc., are only intermediate aids for putting the living machine into operation.

E. BELFORT BAX and WILLIAM MORRIS.

'COMMON-SENSE SOCIALISM.'

THE first word of the above title is usually a sort of danger signal to the wary reader to avoid boredom and confusion. "Common-sense" as applied to knotty questions usually meaning the ignoring of the main issue, or the putting forward of a remedy difficult to apply and useless when applied. This is so well understood by persons with not more than the average amount of time for throwing away on futile and foolish literature, that the title of this book will probably prevent many people from looking into it at all. This is a pity, although before the end of the book the author justifies this well-grounded fear—a pity, because two-thirds of it or more, which is devoted to the criticism of the present state of things, and the remedies proposed by non-Socialists and semi-Socialists, is on the whole clearly put and well reasoned. The author points out the growing discontent, the insufficiency of the reward of labour; the futility as remedies of thrift and temperance, of preaching Malthusianism, of land nationalisation, peasant proprietorship, etc. But then having condemned capitalism by showing its inevitable results, and having condemned all the "tinkering" methods of reform which we Socialists know so bitterly well, he puts forward his own nostrum, which, after all this labouring of the mountain, turns out to be one of the smallest and feeblest of mice ever brought forth. The competition, which he sees very clearly to be producing a condition of industrial production which will end in a dead-lock, is to be checked artificially; and how? By regulating the hours of labour in factories where machinery is used!

For he expressly excepts field labour, the building trades, etc., which etc., by-the-by, must include at present at least, the labour of the coal-brewers and our hapless friends the chain-makers.

It is true he adds to this "remedy" some sort of semi-Georgeite

land-tax (having argued well and clearly against Mr. George in an earlier chapter), and the restriction on heritage usually advocated by those who take up that form of tinkering, as also a tax on speculation; but he does not seem to set any great store by these latter remedies, his great invention being the limitation of the day's work in machine-using factories and workshops.

What lies at the bottom of this curious aberration seems to be an ingrained tendency in the author to utopianism. Mr. Kempner seems incapable of conceiving of the class-struggle, or the historical evolution of industrialism, or of understanding that the real point at issue is when and how the workers shall emerge from their condition of pupillage and be masters of their own destinies.

In spite of all this the book may be recommended to young Socialists, as the destructive part of it is, once more, clear and well reasoned, and the would-be constructive part so feeble that it is scarcely possible that anybody could be misled by it, or attracted to it.

It is worth while to note apropos of the attempt some persons make to draw a hard and fast line between Socialism and Communism, that Mr. Kempner uses the latter word in the sense that it is used in the 'Manifesto' of Marx and Engels, of 1847. A Communist is with him one who advocates the communisation or nationalisation of the raw material and instruments of labour and distribution. W. M.

SOCIALISM IN THE WEST END.

On Saturday afternoon, at the French Hall, St. James's Restaurant, Piccadilly, H. H. Champion lectured on Socialism to a middle-class audience, Stepniak in the chair. The room was crowded to excess, and the address was listened to with interest. Mr. Champion stated that he was speaking solely on his own responsibility, though he believed that many, if not all, Socialists would agree with what he had to say. The first step was to realise the amount of suffering that existed. When a man of sincerity understood the foundation of misery on which modern civilisation was built he was unable to prevent himself becoming a Socialist. The returns of the Registrar-General show that the material conditions in which the poorer classes have to live are such that their lives are shortened, in some cases to such an extent that the rich live twice as long as the poor. The children of the poor are to an alarming extent insufficiently fed; and as the result of careful enquiry last winter it was found that in the poorer Board Schools one-third of the children were insufficiently clad and shod. In winter in the East-end and other poor districts in London half the males are out of work. In spite of all this poverty, the poor have to pay rent at a higher rate per cubic foot than the rich in the West-end. It is not uncommon for a poor family to have to pay a quarter of its total income to the landlord, while one-fifth or one-sixth is the usual proportion. The sanitary condition of these exorbitantly rented houses was shown to be abominable by the commissioners appointed by Lord Salisbury for enquiring into the housing of the poor, and yet all that was done was to pass an Act giving the tenant of the unsanitary den, with an income of perhaps fifteen shillings a-week, the power to raise a civil action against the landlord, the initial expenses of which would cost him perhaps a month's income. No such action has yet been raised; one might venture to foretell that no such action ever will be raised. The position of working women especially calls for comment. Samuel Morley, of chapel-building renown, bought hosiery from middlemen who paid their women workers at the rate of nine shillings a-week. Deduct half-a-crown or three shillings for rent, and you leave tenpence a-day for the women to supply themselves with food and clothing. How can it be done? Bryant and May, Limited, paid last half year twenty per cent. dividend on their capital, and earned this profit, among other ways, by making women make match-boxes at 2½d. per gross, the women having to find their own work-room, firing, and paste. In London three thousand shopwomen are killed yearly by diseases brought on by the long hours they have to stand and run about.

These are some of the miseries to which the poor must submit. Under such material conditions who can wonder that some of the poor are drunken and vicious. The wonder is not that they are so bad as they are, but that they are as good as they are. The gin-shop is the poor man's drawing-room, and hence it is that he so often goes there. The rich are able to save now £250,000,000 per annum, in spite of the bad times. What are the middle classes going to do under the circumstances? One thing is certain—this state of things cannot last. Left alone, the poor will become poorer and poorer; those who have nothing to lose will form an overwhelming portion of the population, and a revolt may be expected of such an extent that the world's history cannot parallel. On the other hand, there may be yet time for the middle classes to enter the field of battle and help the workers to a peaceful transformation of society. It is not only to the sense of fear that Socialists appeal when they address the propertied classes; they believe that there is no nobler career for a middle-class man than for him to aid in the peaceful transformation of our present society into a co-operative commonwealth. If any one thought that Socialism was not the remedy, they should come and explain what they conceived to be the remedy.

At the close of the lecture a few questions were asked. A somewhat excited person—a clergyman, I thought—championed Samuel Morley the chapel-builder. The audience seemed to be bored by the reverend gentleman. A. K. D.

In his new book on 'State Purchase of Railways,' Mr. Waring says:—"Government activity in the acquisition of railways has increased very much in quite recent years. In 1875 there were on the Continent 69,246 miles of railway, of which 14,268 miles, or about 20 per cent., belonged to Government. Seven years later the mileage had risen to 88,782, of which 32,663 miles, or about 36 per cent., were in the hands of the Government. Further acquisitions since 1882 have placed about 50 per cent. of the continental lines under the management of the State. In Germany the transfer of the entire railway system to the Government is nearly complete, and in Belgium it is only a question of time. Out of sixteen continental Governments twelve are proprietors of railways."

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

A sliding scale for the regulation of wages has been signed between the representatives of Messrs. Bolckow, Vaughan & Co. and the men employed at their Cleveland Steel Works. The sliding scale is to be in operation for two years.

The strike in the iron shipbuilding trade in Belfast continues. About 6000 persons have now been upwards of six weeks idle and a large proportion of them are in a most destitute condition. Several efforts at an agreement by arbitration have failed, and the men still firmly declare they must receive their wages weekly else they will not return to the shipyards.

The General Committee of the Iron Trades Employers' Association have decided to place the funds of the Association at the disposal of the Executive Committee to expend as they may see fit for the assistance of the employers in connection with the strike at Bolton. When will the workers make common cause in like manner, recognising that an injury to one is the concern of all?

A local auctioneer, who had occasion to clear some premises the other day, came upon a mass of interesting papers in reference to foreign-made articles, chiefly scissors, brought to Sheffield to the order of Sheffield houses. These were mainly invoices of goods, and they proved—some two dozen of them shown to me—that the business in foreign scissors and other kinds of cutlery was very considerable indeed, and engaged in by merchants and manufacturers who were not supposed to encourage foreign work.—*The Engineer*.

FORTH BRIDGE.—The men at the Forth Bridge, owing to the great number of accidents that have recently taken place, have made a demand for one penny an hour more wages. The dispute has been going on for some days and a strike is threatened, though the masters state that they will bring surplus labour from the Tay Bridge, which is now nearly completed. The contractors want to deal with each workman separately, but it is to be hoped the men will hold together and not allow the bosses to manipulate them.

The award in the wages dispute in the West Cumberland coal trade was issued last week. The umpire finds that the wages for the quarter preceding April 1st were after the rate of 6½ per cent. above the fixed standard, and as this was an advance on the previous quarter, the men are entitled to receive wages at the same rate, because there is no fall in the price of coal of a full 1½d. per ton below the point which caused the advance. The wages, therefore, remain at 6½ per cent. above the standard.

THE STRIKE OF CHAIN-MAKERS.—A meeting of chain-makers was held on June 10 in the Salvation Army Barracks, Cradley Heath, under the presidency of Mr. Thomas Homer. The chairman said that certain masters had not been paying the list price for work executed. He believed that, let them work at whatever price they might, the masters would not be satisfied, but would still try and force reductions upon them. The following subscriptions were announced: from Bristol, £2; Colonel Stewart, £15; Mrs. Jope, 15s. It was resolved to continue the strike.

The Preston Operative Spinners' Association have issued an address in which they say:—"The ring of New York and Liverpool are cornering cotton to such an extent that the master cotton spinners of Lancashire and adjoining counties are earnestly engaged in agitating the trade to run short time, their object being to crush out of existence the gambling cotton speculators, who hamper and worry the trade to such a ruinous degree that the margin between cotton and yarn is approaching a miserably low figure. We feel it our duty to fight on the side of the employer shoulder to shoulder, against the common enemy of our trade, the gambling speculators."

On Saturday afternoon a delegate meeting of Mid and East Lothian miners was held in the Scientific Hall, Dalkeith, Mr. W. Holman, Niddrie, presiding, to consider the claim of the miners employed by the Clippens Oil Co. for remuneration for the carrying of propwood, consequent upon a change in the internal working of the mine known as the "long wall system," which is alleged to involve more labour and an extra risk of accident. After a long discussion the meeting agreed to recommend that the Clippens' miners adopt the five days a-week system with a view to arriving at a satisfactory settlement of the dispute, failing which that the County Board support the men should circumstances necessitate the extreme measure of a strike.

At Wood Green there is a large sweet-factory known as Barrett's Factory, at which a large number of persons are employed. Besides those working in the factory, women are supplied with work at their own homes, in making up and packing sweets. They are obliged to fetch the materials and goods from the factory, and carry back the finished packages themselves. For this work the pay is from 1½d. to 2½d. per gross of small packets. By the most attentive toil this cannot be earned under at least an hour. This is a parallel case with that of the match-box makers. It is not known whether the proprietors make 22½ per cent. on their capital as Bryant and May, Limited, are reported to do, but they are doing a "tremendous" trade. I could not ascertain the wages paid to those working in the factory, but one can form an idea from the above of what it might be.—P. C. W.

NEW TREDEGAR, MONMOUTH.—There is a serious misunderstanding about the price of cutting the 3-feet seam in Elliott's pit, New Tredegar, which it is considered must now be determined. The vein is only three feet thick with a bottom of fourteen inches, which makes it much more difficult for the miner. The price paid is only the same as in the old pit, which the workmen say is very unfair. A first-class workman can only earn 17s. 6d. per week, out of which he has to pay for blasting powder. Mr. P. Jones, the overseer, has visited the place several times, and when he brought the matter before the Sliding Scale Board, he was told that it was not understood that there was any misunderstanding. The workmen are determined to have a settlement. They are willing to submit to arbitration, but if that is not accepted, then a notice of termination of contract will be handed in. *Later*.—It has been determined by the workmen that a month's notice be given for the completion of all contracts, to end the 30th June.—*Tarlan-y-Gweithawr*.

THE STRIKE IN THE BOLTON IRON TRADE.—On Monday the ironworkers of Bolton entered upon the fifth week of the strike, which has been begun with a view to getting a return of the reduction made in wages 16 months ago to the extent of about 7½ per cent. As a consequence of the strike some hundreds of non-society hands are now idle, and it is estimated that altogether nearly 2000 men are out of employment. The society men state that assistance is coming in from near and far, and that they will be in a position for some weeks to keep up the full rate of strike pay. The mayor of Bolton (Mr. Ald. Fletcher) was much disappointed at the failure of the

conference brought about by him between employers and employed, and will try to bring representatives of the contending parties together again, with a view to an agreement or understanding being arrived at by which the men may resume work.

THREATENED STRIKE OF MINERS IN SOUTH YORKSHIRE.—At a meeting of the Executive of the Yorkshire Miners' Association, held at the Miners' Hall, Barnsley, on Saturday, under the presidency of Mr. Cowey, the dispute at Monk Bretton Colliery, one of the largest in South Yorkshire, and the decision of the men to give in their notices was considered at some length. A deputation from the men employed at the colliery attended before the executive, and the following resolution was passed:—"That the Monk Bretton case be left in the hands of the officials of the association to arrive at an amicable settlement, if that is at all possible, between now and next Council meeting. That Mr. B. Pickard write to Mr. Pepper, sen., stating the facts of the case, and that the matter go before the district for their consideration and decision as to whether the men go out on strike or not." Mr. B. Pickard, M.P., states that the officials are opposed to a strike, but the men are very determined and declare they will send in their notices.

The North Yorkshire and Cleveland Miners' Association held their sixteenth annual demonstration and gala on Wednesday week. Addresses were delivered from a platform to an appreciative assembly. Mr. Joseph Toyn, agent and president of the Cleveland Miners' Association, presided. Mr. Joseph Arch was one of the speakers, and the following resolution was passed:—"This meeting, believing (1) that the present system of land tenure is detrimental to the interests of the nation, and (2) that decentralisation of government is necessary to enable Parliament to deal with this and other questions of national importance, is of opinion that the reform of the land laws and the question of local self-government should receive the earnest and speedy attention of the Government, and calls upon them to introduce into Parliament at the earliest possible moment Bills dealing in a comprehensive manner with these most important subjects." A resolution condemning the Crimes Bill was also passed.

The short time project in cotton spinning is being strongly supported in Oldham, Ashton, and surrounding districts. In Rochdale all the limited spinning companies have signed in favour of the proposal of the Manchester Cotton Spinners' Association. It is now stated that the mills in Darwen will soon close entirely. At Church and Accrington it is understood the mills have agreed to support the united movement. In several directions lessened production on a free scale has already commenced. In addition to a long stoppage at Whitsuntide, the following companies will close entirely the whole of next week:—Prince of Wales, 68,500 spindles; Tonge Vale, 55,392 spindles; Abbey, 45,100 spindles. The Star Company (103,536 spindles) is still closed. The large spinning mills of Messrs. H. Whittaker and Sons, Royton, have begun to work three days a-week. The Oldham Twist Company, Hollinwood, have stopped for an indefinite period eight pairs of mules. At Church, Messrs. Watson have begun to run half time, and Messrs. B. and R. Walmsley have closed one mill. Short time in spinning and weaving is reported from Smallbridge, near Rochdale.

A meeting of the Heckmondwike Auxiliary of the English and Scotch Carpet-Weavers' Association was held at the Mechanics' Institute and Club, Heckmondwike, on June 8th, Mr. F. Fisher being elected to the chair. There was a fairly good attendance of weavers—one of the best that has been held for some time. The deputation to the joint meeting of masters and men, held at Carlisle last Friday, gave their report, the first speaker being Mr. Joseph Lodge. He mentioned that the proposition upon the masters' programme of a reduction of 10 per cent., and also of a lowering in the price of tying on short lengths in broad looms, had been abandoned on the ground of informality, no intimation of such reductions having been previously given to the Weavers' Association. The only propositions of the weavers granted were to pay for half yards, and that the 1d. to the shilling for winding be paid 2d. per yard extra. Mr. Goodall, the other delegate, having spoken, the report was eventually adopted, and several suggestions were made for the better government of shop committees, etc., also to offer different facilities to the weavers for weighing off at Messrs. Kelley's.

FRANCE.

At the Hotel de Ville on Wednesday last week the Socialist Municipal Councillors of Paris placed before the sitting a motion "inviting the Director of Works to proceed immediately to the opening of the greatest possible number of work-yards, to take all possible hygienic measures to assure the health of the population and those employed in the works," etc. This motion has not yet received full consideration and discussion at the Hotel de Ville; when it does, the discussion will assuredly be a lively one.

MARSEILLES.—*L'Intransigeant* says, "This evening (June 9th) at the meeting-place of the Union of Labour Syndicates, a preliminary meeting relative to the formation of a labour-fund has taken place, the municipality and the General Councillors representing the canton of Marseilles, taking part in the same. The formation of a labour-fund was agreed upon, and the mayor has promised the moral and financial support of the town. A committee will be named for the elaboration of the scheme, the members to be composed of Municipal Councillors and those belonging to the Syndicates."

LE CREUSOT (SAONE-ET-LOIRE).—The *Cri* gives in one of its latest issues some information concerning the situation of the miners at Le Creusot. At present, it seems, the mines only employ below ground 150 workers at the most, under the pretext that there is scarcely any coal to be extracted now. These 150 slaves are bound to extract more than 580 tonnes of coal in the twenty-four hours; their work comes to one-third beyond what they were accustomed to some time before, and their wages from 75 to 50 centimes less per day, the pay averaging formerly 4 fr. 75 c. and the maximum now being 4 fr. 25 c. per day. In some branches of the work the wages from 3 fr. 50 c. are lowered to 2 fr. 50 c. These miners, it seems, are in happy possession of a *Watrin* for an overseer, to use a word coined by the foreign Socialist journals since the execution of that hero.

MEHUN-SUR-YEVRE.—The syndicate of porcelain-workers of Mehun thank the syndicates of fellow-workers who have kindly sent subscriptions to the strikers. The strike, finishing in a demi-victory, leaves on the street some five-and-twenty men with families absolutely without resources.

BELGIUM.

In the Charleroi coal basin most of the strikers have gone back to work, with many a fair promise of reform and attention to their needs from the Liberals ringing in their ears. Wherever they return to their former work, the most intelligent, the most active among them being considered as the "leaders," have been dismissed pitilessly. So much for the "good faith" of the capitalist—and so much for the "universal strike" that was to bring

great things with it. "Thanks to the good sense of the Belgian workers, work has recommenced," says one of the bourgeois journals, rubbing its hands with sleek satisfaction.

"The Belgian coal industry is a question of life and death. Its existence depends upon cheap production. It has keen competitors in German collieries on one side and French on the other, though it has itself been organising an opposition to the English trade in the direction of exports. The nature of the mines renders the extraction of coal costly in the way of machinery and waste, so that a low price can only be maintained by cheap labour. Belgium has a dense population, and though the people are intelligent enough, they have yet to become acquainted with correct ideas on the subject of their own industry. In their ignorance they give too much heed to the doctrines of Socialists and Anarchists."—*M. André in the 'Colliery Guardian'*.—Ignorant truly! Not to see the overwhelming importance of an industry that in order to keep itself going must reduce them to mere starvation! But, Messieurs the Belgian Capitalists, what is to be done? You can it seems work your mines with half-dead men, a fact which surely redounds to your ingenuity, and your usefulness as Captains of Industry; but not even your ingenuity can work them with men wholly dead. Don't you wish it could? Surely in that case the governments would issue game licenses to kill for that purpose, not partridges, but men. O you damned scoundrels!—W. M.

[Branches, members, and readers might easily do a great deal to assist in rendering more complete this weekly record of the Labour Struggle. Every one should send any information in their possession to the SUB-EDITOR at this Office, by Tuesday in each week, marking envelope "Labour Struggle".]

NORTHUMBRIAN NOTES.

THE strike being now a thing of the past, the affairs in Northumberland are resuming their usual aspect. Many of the pits are not at work yet, but there is little reason to fear that any of the trade of the district was lost during the strike. Amongst the men, however, there is a bitter feeling that their agents (as they call the leading officials of the Union) are very much to blame for the failure. At some collieries the men are threatening to leave the Miners' Union, so much are they disgusted with it. This, however, would be a terrible mistake. They should stick to their union, make it stronger than ever, and above all make their officials servants—not masters as they are now and have been.

During the past 16 years the miners' wages in Northumberland have been reduced fully 45 per cent. The miners get 15s. 9d. now for the same work that brought 30s. in 1874. This gives a better indication of the "National Progress" than Messrs. Giffen and Mulhall's figures. These are the dry unquestioned facts about one of the largest and most important trades in the country.

Some miners want to know why Mr. Burt's salary should not be reduced at the same rate as their wages. At the annual meeting of the union delegates a motion was made to this effect, and only lost by a narrow majority.

At Burradon (Northumberland) last week, four miners worked seven shifts and got 27s. for the whole of the work. A shift is seven hours from the time of leaving the pit bank till the returning. These men working hard got less than one shilling for seven hours' work. This may seem incredible to many people, but I have it on unimpeachable authority.

The Northumberland miners' gala will be held on July 30th at Blyth Links. The ballot for the election of speakers is now going on. The nominations at present include the Bishop of Newcastle, C. Bradlaugh, William Morris, John Morley, A. K. Donald, C. V. Conybeare, H. M. Hyndman, J. L. Mahon, etc. Generally Mr. C. Bradlaugh heads the poll in the ballot, the speaking being in the open-air, and Mr. Bradlaugh being the most effective open-air orator in the country. The newspapers carefully conceal that any Socialists have been nominated at all.

St. James's Gazette has a very ill-informed article on the strike. The usual silly application of the profit and loss test of the usefulness of the strike is put forward. In most strikes the amount lost in wages exceeds what is gained by the advance on the averted reduction. In this strike the loss has been both ways, for the reduction has not been averted. But it is ridiculous to think that therefore the strike was an error and a failure. The great value of such strikes as that just ended is that they are an active protest on the part of the workmen against the injustice inflicted on them. If the strikes are a dead loss it makes the protest all the more significant. It would be well if some of these journalists would really consider the full meaning of a strike like that just ended. It has many lessons which they do not see, and which are full of the gravest warning. J. L. MAHON.

FACTORY ACT PROSECUTION.—At Walsall, on Friday last, Ralph Richman, draper, was summoned for having, contrary to the Factory Act, had six young persons at work in his dressmaking department at ten to eleven at night. The defence was that he personally knew nothing about it. He was ordered to pay four fines of 20s. and costs, making £6 19s.

MR. DAVITT AND IRISH EMIGRATION.—Mr. Davitt has sent a telegram to Mr. Fitzgerald, president of the Irish National League in America, suggesting that the friends of the Irish cause and the Knights of Labour should visit President Cleveland, "with the object of calling his attention to the fact that England is driving thousands weekly from Ireland to the United States. The workers of America should protest against pauper labour being forced on their market."

Mr. Samuel Smith has been addressing his constituents. He referred to the tithe question, and said "the tithe seemed to be levied on principles which appeared very inequitable, and that complaint seemed to hold in England as well as in Wales. But the main objection which the Welsh people had to paying the tithe was that it went to support a church with which the bulk of them were not connected. He exhorted the people of Wales, however, to be patient until the Liberals were again in power." Wales can remember the Liberals being in power several times, and has not forgotten the advice which she received on those occasions. Wales was always told to be patient. When the Liberals are in Opposition, Wales has to be patient until they come into power. When the Liberals are in power Wales has to be patient to keep them there. Wales is not going to be patient any more, but is going to have the reforms she wants by sheer force. Wales has tried centuries of patience and got nothing. She is now going to try a strong dose of coercion. Wales has never lacked advisers like Mr. Smith. What she wants is somebody who will fight without knowing when he is beaten, and who will persevere until the necessary reforms have been obtained.—*Cambrian News*.

CORRESPONDENCE.

MARX'S THEORY OF VALUE.

The Mallock fallacy is absurdly obvious. "Our manufacturing operatives," were working during the year on materials and with machinery which already contained a vast amount of "crystallised labour," which of course is reckoned into the final product.

The agriculturalists of the United States were working on the bare earth and except perhaps in the case of the Bonanza farms, with the usual simple implements in use in small agriculture. *Hinc ille lachrymæ.*

E. BELFORT BAX.

CHRISTIANITY, POSITIVISM, AND SOCIALISM.

COMRADE,—Our friend Beckett, in his criticism of Cotter Morison's book, has, I think, missed the real point of the inconsistency in the Positivist's attitude with regard to Christianity. The "essential thought" of Christianity lies in the notion of "holiness"—i.e., a special relation between the individual soul and "God." This has as its correlate what is sometimes known as the "ethics of inwardness"—that is, a morality which centres in the personality and the attainment of this quasi-mystical relation with the divinity—or in other words, "Salvation." As a consequence, Christianity, though retaining elements of barbaric ferocity in its theology, in its moral sentiment invariably tends to become maudlin, and its practice commonly to hypocrisy.

Now Positivism, while abandoning the theological side of Christianity, retains its introspective and individualistic attitude in Ethics. The ethical aim of Positivism, like that of Christianity, is the perfecting of the individual character, and according to what is virtually the same standard, as is proved by the retention of so many Christian forms in the Comtean *cultus*, and still more in the adoption of the introspective and mystical *Imitatio Christi* of Thomas à Kempis as a text-book of life and conduct.

Socialism alone, in effect, definitively abandons this old ethical standard, and the code of morality growing out of it, by proclaiming the great modern truth, that Social Happiness, in its plain sense, is the one object of all moral conduct, and in refusing to be turned aside from this principle by specious attempts to reintroduce the rags and tags of a theological morality under another name. Morison is evidently sensible in a vague way of the distinction between Christian or personal morality (with "Salvation" for its end) and Social Morality, but he is apparently oblivious of the fact that Positivism has sucked in the former wholesale while rejecting the basis with which it is both logically and historically connected.—Yours fraternally,

E. BELFORT BAX.

A WORKMAN.—Your letter will be inserted in next number.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

London Members.—The first meeting of London Members will be held on Monday the 4th of July.

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.

Outdoor Lecturers.—A special meeting of the outdoor lecturers will be held at the Offices, 13 Farringdon Road, on Saturday June 25, at 7 p.m., for the purpose of arranging the lecture-list for coming quarter. Branches are specially requested to send delegates.

Resolution of Council.

"That all monies collected at open-air meetings must be duly handed to the treasurer of the League, and the receipt of same acknowledged in *Commonweal*."

BRANCH SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID.

Leicester, South London, to December 31, 1886. Bradford, Croydon, Edinburgh, Hackney, Hammersmith, Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Hull, Ipswich, Lancaster, Leeds, Marylebone, Merton, Norwich, Shields, to March 31. Bloomsbury, Glasgow, North London, Oxford, to April 30. Clerkenwell, Walsall, to May 31.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Hammersmith Branch (two weeks), £1.

FOR PROPAGANDA.

Collected at Regent's Park, 4s. Collected at Hyde Park, 1s. 5d.

PH. W., Treasurer, June 14.

THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

For Mrs. Moubray—A Few Fabians, per Annie Besant (weekly), 10s.

J. LANE, Treasurer.

REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—On Thursday, June 9, Rev. Stewart D. Headlam lectured on "Christian Socialism" to a large audience. There was considerable discussion. After the lecture a business meeting of members was held. On Sunday, an open-air meeting was held at St. Pancras Arches, 1s. 10d. being collected for the Missionary Fund.—U.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, June 8, W. W. Bartlett lectured on "The Meaning of the Social Revolution." Lively discussion followed. On Sunday, June 12, we held excellent meeting on Clerkenwell Green, addressed by Blundell and Wardle, and Doughty (H.K.) A resolution protesting against the Irish evictions was carried unanimously. Sold all literature we had with us, including 21 *United Ireland*. We want assistance at this station for Sunday mornings. In our hall, after the outdoor meeting, a large audience had gathered to hear A. K. Donald on "The Chain-makers of Cradley Heath." A very successful week taken altogether.—A. T. and W. B.

HACKNEY.—The monthly meeting of members of the Branch was held at the club on Tuesday, June 7. The following officers were elected for the ensuing month:—Treasurer: J. R. Cooper; Secretary: G. Cores; Librarian: J. J. Smith; Lecture Secretary and Managing Steward: H. Graham; Auditing Committee: James Allman, W. Wess, and C. Hobbs. Good attendance of members. A good meeting was addressed by Graham and J. Lane at the Broadway, London Fields, on Wednesday. Fair sale of literature.—G. C.

MARYLEBONE.—On Sunday afternoon, we held a good meeting in Hyde Park, addressed by Cantwell and Mainwaring, the latter speaking upon the attitude of the Irish Parliamentary party to the Labour question, followed by Nicoll, Turner, and John Williams, who spoke on the same lines. Sale of literature good.—T. C.

NORTH LONDON.—On Tuesday evening last, we re-opened our station at Ossulton Street. Meeting was addressed by Cantwell, Brooks, and Nicoll. Good discussion followed. On Sunday morning, at Regents' Park, Cantwell, Brooks, and Mainwaring spoke. Some questions were answered satisfactorily by Mainwaring. 4s. was collected for the Propaganda Fund. Good sale of literature.—H. B.

EDINBURGH.—On Wednesday, June 8, in Scientific Hall, Dalkeith, Tuke spoke on "How we are Poor." Gilray in the chair. On Saturday, a good meeting was held at Loanhead, with Tuke and G. Hossack as speakers. The latter must surely be one of the youngest speakers in the whole movement. Good sale of *Commonweal* at Loanhead meeting, and an agent got to take it on sale. On Sunday afternoon, Smith, Davidson, Paterson, and Gilray had a most attentive audience in the Queen's Park. No opposition. Fair sale of *Commonweal* at this meeting, and in the evening in the Meadows.—J. G.

GLASGOW.—On Friday evening, Paterson and Ward had a good open-air meeting at Paisley. On Saturday, Glasier, Paterson, Anderson, and Carmichael had a large meeting in Cambuslang. On Sunday, the branch had a successful meeting in Jail Square. On the same day, three branches of the Irish National League were addressed by various members of our Branch. Glasier spoke to the Parkhead Branch, McLaren to the Coatbridge Branch, and Brown to the Legislative Independence Branch. All were excellently received, and it looks as if the Irishmen will soon be prominent in the Socialist movement.

LANCASTER.—At weekly meeting of members at our club, Sun Street (on Friday nights), E. P. Hall read extracts from Shelley's notes to poems, followed by hot discussions on marriage and the "Political Situation." The handling of the former subject evinced much intelligent appreciation of the moral aims of Revolutionism.—L. H.

LEEDS.—On Sunday morning, Maguire and Braithwaite addressed an open-air meeting at Hunslet Moor. In the evening, Hill, Paylor, and Maguire spoke in Vicar's Croft. Sale of *Commonweal* for the day two quires.—F. C.

NORWICH.—On Thursday, 9th inst., we held a meeting at Dereham, addressed by Henderson and Slaughter. On Sunday morning last, Henderson and another addressed a meeting at Wynondham. In the afternoon we held our usual meeting in the Market-place, Henderson speaking at some length on Socialism generally, Morley in the chair. In the evening at 7 o'clock, we held our usual meeting on the Agricultural Hall Plain, addressed by Slaughter and Morley. At 8 o'clock in the Gordon Hall, Henderson gave a lecture on "Co-operation." All meetings well attended. During coming week we intend to visit Aylsham, North Walsham, Dereham, and Yarmouth.—J. S.

WALSALL.—On Saturday, H. Sanders held a meeting in the Market-place, Walsall. The meeting, which was large, was several times interfered with by drunken persons, who had evidently been put on for such purpose, but no disturbance ensued. On Sunday evening, Sanders and Deakin addressed an audience at Wednesday, where we hope to form a Branch in a short time.—J. T. D.

DUBLIN.—On Thursday, June 9, at the weekly meeting of the Labour League, Swords moved a resolution that steps be taken to bring public opinion to bear upon the Corporation for its neglect in enforcing the sanitary laws; that the compulsory demolition of unsanitary tenements and the erection in their stead of healthy dwellings be demanded. After a lengthened discussion, in which Karpel, Coffey, Coulon, and others took part, the proposal was adopted. It was also decided to appeal to the Knights of Labour and the Labour Union in America for funds to carry on the labour agitation in Ireland.

WOOLWICH.—On Sunday evening, R. Banner and A. K. Donald held a meeting at the Arsenal Gates. The audience was large, and purchased 6s. worth of literature. A few questions were put and satisfactorily disposed of. 5s. 4d. collected for propaganda.—R. B.

THE SOCIALIST UNION.

NOTTINGHAM SECTION.—On Sunday morning, Proctor and Wane addressed an interested audience in Sninton Market. In the evening, a large meeting was held in the Great Market-place, addressed by Peacock and Proctor. A little opposition was shown, but was soon disposed of. Some thousands of leaflets were distributed, and were eagerly received. Collection for club and propaganda 4s. 6d., after which a friend gave 1s. making 5s. 6d. *Commonweal* sold out. A meeting was held at the club afterwards, and another member enrolled.—T. P.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, W. On Thursday June 16, at 8.30, George Bernard Shaw will lecture—subject, "The position of exceptionally clever men under Socialism, or the Rent of Ability." A Business Meeting will be held before the lecture, at 8 p.m. On Thursday June 23, Mrs. Annie Besant will lecture.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday June 19, at 8.30 p.m. W. Blundell, T. E. Wardle, Annie Taylor, and others, "A Jubilee Recognition." Good singers wanted on this occasion. Wednesday June 22, at 8.30, W. Uley.

Croydon.—Parker Road.

Hackney.—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 8 till 11.30; Saturdays, 7 till 12.30. Sunday June 19, at 8.30, S. Mainwaring lectures, "Socialism and the Worker."

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday June 19, at 8 p.m. H. H. Sparling, "Rebel Songs of Ireland."

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—2 Crondall Street, New North Rd. Club Room open on Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday evenings from 8 till 11. Singing Class every Wednesday at 8.30. Members' Meeting on Friday June 17th, at 8.30. On Sunday June 19, at 8 p.m., W. C. Wade will lecture, "Henry the Eighth's Legacy."

Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday. Discussions held every Sunday morning at 11.

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

North London.—Communications to H. Bartlett, sec., 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

PROVINCES.

Bingley.—Coffee Tavern. Every Monday at 7.30 p.m.

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

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

Dublin.—Irish Labour League, 2 Bachelors Walk, every Thursday at 8 p.m. Discussion on all subjects connected with the Labour Question. A mass meeting, under the auspices of the Labour League, will be held at Kingstown on Sunday June 19, at 4 p.m. Two Socialists will speak.

Dalkeith (Edinburgh).—Scientific Hall, Wednesday June 22, a Lecture.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 7.30 p.m. to transact business. Class for the study of 'Das Capital' at 8.30. (See "Open-air" below.)

Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Monthly Business Meeting in Rooms on Sunday evening at 7 o'clock. (See "Open-air" below.)

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

Hull.—Address all communications to E. Teesdale, 20 Shakspeare Street.

Lancaster.—Addresses every Sunday morning on the Quay Jetty.

Leeds.—17 Chesham Street, Sweet Street. Club and reading room open every evening. Business meetings every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Leicester.—Office of Hosiery Union, Horsefair Street. Fridays at 8 p.m.

Manchester.—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening 6 to 10 p.m. Lecture and discussion every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Free Lectures every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room open every evening. On Sunday at 8 o'clock, lecture by Fred Henderson—subject, "The Fifty Years' so-called Progress of the Victorian Era."

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

Paisley.—On Friday at 8 o'clock, open-air meeting at County Square.

Shields (North and South).—Meetings every Sunday, Quay-side and Market Place. Branch meetings on Thursday nights at the "General Gordon," Bath Street, Maxwell Street, South Shields. Secretary, J. Hearne, 32 Clive Street, No. Shields.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 19.

11.30...Garrett—"Plough Inn".....The Branch
11.30...Hacaney—"Salmon and Ball".....The Branch
11.30...Hammersmith—Beardon Rd.The Branch
11.30...Hoxton Ch., Pitfield St.Wade & Pope
11.30...Mile-end WasteDavis
11.30...Mitcham Fair GreenThe Branch
11.30...Regent's ParkNicoll & Brooks
11.30...St. Pancras ArchesBartlett & Donald
11.30...Walham GreenThe Branch
3 ...Hyde ParkKitz & Mainwaring
3.30...Victoria ParkDavis
7 ...Clerkenwell GreenThe Branch

Tuesday.

8 ...Ossulton Street, Euston Road ...Nicoll, Brooks

Wednesday.

8 ...Broadway, London FieldsThe Branch

Thursday.

8 ...Hoxton, Pitfield StreetWade & Pope

PROVINCES.

Baillieston.—Saturday: at 6.30.

Edinburgh.—Sunday: Queen's Park, afternoon at 3.
Glasgow.—Sunday: Jail's Square at 1 o'clock; Stobcross Street at 6 o'clock.

Hamilton.—Saturday: at 8 o'clock.

Motherwell.—Saturday: at 6.30.

Paisley.—Friday: County Square, at 8 o'clock.

Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, 11; Vicar's Croft, 7.

Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place at 3; Agricultural Hall Plain at 7.

NORTH ENGLAND SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

MEETINGS—JUNE.

Friday 17—*Backworth Market Place*, at 7 p.m.
Saturday 18—*Seaton Delaval*. Mrs A. Besant lectures on "Why Workers should be Socialists," in the Co-operative Hall, at 7 p.m.

Sunday 19—*Byker Bridge End*. Stevens, 11 a.m.
N. Shields, Quayside. Mahon, 10.30.
S. Shields, Market Pl. Mahon, 2.30.

Monday 20—*Consett*. Town Hall, at 7 p.m.

Wednesday 22—*Jarrow-on-Tyne*. Boat landing, at 7.

Friday 24—*Seaton Delaval*. Foot of Harpers, at 6.30 p.m.

STAMFORD HILL AND TOTTENHAM.—Comrades and Friends living in this district desirous of forming a branch of the Socialist League are requested to address John Floeckton, 3 Sussex Terrace, Markfield Road, Broad Lane, Tottenham, or to the Secretary of the League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

KINGSLAND GREEN.—Balls Pond Branch N.S.S. Sunday, at 11.30, H. A. Barker, "Spiritual Consolation and Material Satisfaction."

WOOLWICH.—Arsenal Gates, Sunday at 7 o'clock, Robert Banner, "Wages."

HACKNEY BRANCH.—A Free Concert on Saturday June 18, at 8.30. All members of the League invited.

HOXTON (L.E.L.).—Excursion on July 10th to the Rye House. Those wishing to take part in it can obtain full particulars from the secretary.

SOCIALIST LEAGUE GROCERY.

13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

THE STORE is open on Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday evenings from 8.30 till 10.30 p.m. All Grocery Articles can be had at current store prices, or where possible, under. All orders over 10s. will be delivered carriage paid in London.

AN ANTI-STATIST, COMMUNIST MANIFESTO.

"In vain you tell me that Artificial Government is good, but that I fall out only with its abuse. The thing—the thing itself is the abuse!"—BURKE.

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JOSEPH LANE, 38 Ainslie Street, Bethnal Green Junction, E.

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Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, London, E.C.

AGENTS FOR 'COMMONWEAL' IN THE NORTH OF ENGLAND.

Wholesale—J. L. Mahon, 48 Shield Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
BLACKHILL—S. Simpson, 18 Foundry Road; Armstrong, Derwent Road

BLITH—F. Garret, Regent Street

BYKER—J. H. Stevens, 107 Conyers Road

BENWELL—J. M'Intosh, 2 Adelaide Terrace

BIRLEY—J. Lorrain

CONSETT—Cockburn, 3 Front St.; Coruforth, 21 Middle Street

CHESTER-LE-STREET—Mr. Bland, newsagent

FATFIELD—Humphrey

JARROW-ON-TYNE—Henderson, Walter Street

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE—P. Weston, 77 Newgate Street

SEGHILL—Cooper, Seghill Mill

SHIELDS, NORTH—J. Hearne, 32 Clive Street

SHIELDS, SOUTH—T. Brown, 24 Alfred Street

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

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 76.

SATURDAY, JUNE 25, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

A WRITTEN DEBATE

BETWEEN MR. C. BRADLAUGH, M.P., AND E. BELFORT BAX.

SUBJECT:

“Will Socialism Benefit the English People?”

IV.—*Negative*: MR. C. BRADLAUGH.

(1) MR. BAX says that I have ignored the “basis” of Socialism; but, having again referred to the first paragraph of his first paper, I find that, though he speaks of “an economic basis,” he nowhere in that paragraph, or as far as I can see elsewhere, explains what he means by these words. He says his whole article is an endeavour to afford such an explanation. I, after a careful re-reading, am unable to gather the supposed explanation from either of his papers, and therefore will ask him to kindly state briefly, and as clearly as he can, what it is that he holds to be the “new view of life (*i.e.*, of human relations), having an economic basis.” As he puts these words as affording his definition of the Socialism which he affirms is to benefit the English people, it is absolutely necessary—especially as various schools of Socialists differently define the word—that I should know precisely what he means, if I am to discuss the probable effects of the Socialism intended by him, and the making clear our meaning will certainly be for the advantage of our readers.

(2) It is true that Mr. Bax says that “the condition of the civilised world as a whole is the immediate basis on which Socialism founds.” But here, again, I do not understand what he means. If he means that there is sameness of condition for the working classes in any two civilised peoples, I must traverse this. Type, temperament, climate, soil, general life conditions, political conditions, social conditions, transmitted predispositions, vary considerably in every nation, and you cannot usefully lump these into a whole in order to propound a political or social theory for the English people. The wants, the miseries, the comforts, the means in possession, the facilities for gaining a livelihood, the legal hindrances, the amount of liberty enjoyed, differ in almost every country. So also there is an enormous difference as to the available means of reform and amelioration at the disposal, or within probable command, of various peoples.

(3) Nor am I quite sure how much of the world Mr. Bax intends by “the civilised world,” for he elsewhere explains “civilisation” to mean the existence in the same country “of a propertied dominating class and a propertyless dominated class.” This curious definition is wide enough to include nearly every country in the world, so far as I have any information.

(4) It is the more necessary that I should press Mr. Bax for a clear and concise definition of what he means by Socialism, because his objections to the definitions put forward by me in par. 9 of my last paper hardly render his own view more clear. I gave two definitions—

(1) “that organised society should own all wealth, direct all labour, and compel the equal distribution of all produce.” This, says Mr. Bax, is “much too vague.” While I can understand that it may not be the definition Mr. Bax thinks accurate, I avow it seems to me tolerably clear and explicit. He adds that “as it stands no modern Socialist would accept it.” But is this last declaration quite true? The definition is divided into three sub-heads: That organised society should (a) own all wealth; (b) direct all labour; (c) compel the equal distribution of all produce. I shall be obliged if Mr. Bax will state as against each sub-head the respects in which he thinks it vague and inaccurate.

(5) As to my second statement of Socialism—*i.e.*, “that organised society should take possession of land, capital, all means of production, distribution, and exchange, should control all labour, regulate all distribution, and conduct all exchange”—I understand Mr. Bax to accept these words with the qualification that “‘all labour’ means all social labour, not the labour an individual might perform for his own amusement.” I do not quite appreciate the qualification, and should be glad if Mr. Bax would state some instances of the labour a man or woman might perform, and the raw material on which he might work, in a Socialistic state without being under the control which Mr. Bax says is to be applied to “all (other) labour.” The acceptance of the definition involves the advocacy of the possible dispossession by force, that is, after a civil war, in which those who at present have possession of land and capital and of the means of production, distribution, and exchange, would resist the dispossession.

(6) Though accepting the words just quoted, Mr. Bax objects to the “explanatory rider” that “everything would be common as to their

user,” but I understand him to say that “personal possession” would be limited under Socialism “to objects of personal use.” Does he regard, say, an eight-roomed house and a one-acre garden attached as an object of personal use? or would a four-wheeled cab and the horse and equipments be objects of personal use? Can Mr. Bax state any formula which he thinks may distinguish the objects of which the user would be common from those of which the user would be personal and private? If everything is not to be common as to its user, how can there possibly be the “equal participation by all in the necessities, comforts, and enjoyments of life”? Does Mr. Bax think that a man wearing Lancashire wooden clogs can equally participate in the enjoyment of my long and supple leather fishing-boots?

(7) Mr. Bax frankly enough says that “the words Socialism, Communism, and Collectivism are interchangeable, and mean economically the communisation of the means necessary to production, distribution, and exchange,” and he concedes “that this would eventuate in the communisation of the product to a very large extent.” That is, he agrees with me that to a large extent Socialism would mean Communism as to the products, as well as to the means of production. I would ask him to explain how he thinks this communisation of products would operate to a large extent, and how the operation would be stopped at any point?

(8) To par. 5 of my paper Mr. Bax offers no real answer. In his first paper he affirmed that the “economic goal of modern or scientific Socialism, no less than that of the Utopian Socialism of Owen, Fourier, St. Simon,” “is the equal participation by all in the necessities and comforts of life.” Questioned by me specifically as to this (par. 5), he gives an answer which, if it means what it says, declares that the Socialism of Robert Owen, Fourier, and St. Simon, stands to the Socialism of Mr. Bax as astrology does to astronomy. If this be true, it is difficult to characterise Mr. Bax’s first statement without being rude.

(9) More than once Mr. Bax challenges me to deal with what he describes as the historical side of his opening paper. So far as his paper does not purport to state the history of the English people, I decline to do so, as being outside the question I have agreed to debate. For the rest, I am unable to find that Mr. Bax has furnished any historical statement which I can identify with English history. He has presented a very ably-written romance, sometimes consonant with fact, sometimes utterly conflicting; the whole is put in language often exceedingly poetic; but I prefer to break up what he beautifully describes as “this rock of the ages, with its many-hued strata of economic formation” into plain and prosaic statements of fact which may be identified as to meaning, and which if material to the issue may be challenged or verified. Mr. Bax objects to “being waved aside with the epithet ‘inexact,’ or with mere bald denials,” but I answer that the affirmer of a proposition is bound in such a debate as this to put forward at least some evidence in support of the statements challenged. To answer that what I consider his romances are “historical truisms” is scarcely convincing.

10. In answer to paragraphs 7, 8, and 9 of my reply to Mr. Bax’s first paper, he states “that there is no possibility of the definite establishment of Socialism anywhere without a concurrent movement amongst the proletariat of the whole civilised world.” If those words really mean anything more than a vague expression of opinion, they would mean that “the definite establishment of Socialism” cannot be possible in England until there is a concurrent movement (whatever that may mean) amongst the peoples of all Europe, of the greater part of America, of some parts of Asia and of Africa, and of some parts of America. This makes the possibilities of the definite establishment of Socialism in England so extremely remote as to considerably diminish the usefulness of our discussion. I desire to discuss here the probable influences of Socialism on the happiness of the English people during the present and immediately succeeding generations. I do not desire to waste time in this debate in arguing as to remote possibilities of what may or may not happen some centuries hence.

(11) Mr. Bax says that by the “break-up of nationalities,” which he alleged in his opening paper “would be one of the first results of Socialism,” he means “that the centralised state of to-day will be eventually merged in a federation of all socialised communities.” He very fairly says that he cannot say when this is likely to happen. But as this is to be one of the “first results of Socialism,” it is surely a little unpractical to discuss the conjectural happiness of the English people, if it is admittedly contingent on the happening of an event in any case improbable—perhaps impossible—and as to the time of the happening of which Mr. Bax cannot even hazard a conjecture, except

that it is to be "one of the first results" of the establishment of Socialism in this country. As the break-up of nationalities, which Mr. Bax affirms is to be one of the first results of the establishment of Socialism in England, is declared by him to be probably not a peaceful process, it seems to me therefore clear that in this respect, at any rate, whenever it happens, Socialism is not likely to benefit the English people. All violent changes result in great immediate misery to the poorer classes affected by and taking part in such changes. All violent changes have hitherto been followed by periods of reaction, and have often, in consequence of the demoralisation attending armed conflict, temporarily placed the masses under the control of a military dictator.

(12) Mr. Bax says that "assumption, etc.," does mean the taking away from the present owners "of the means of production, etc.," and that this taking away is to be "by any means, constitutional or otherwise, as circumstances may dictate." This is so very large that it includes the violent taking, at the mere discretion of the takers, and Mr. Bax is requested to explain who is to judge what it is that circumstances are likely to dictate in relation to property in the hands of others to those who as yet have it not. I cannot conceive that the encouragement of assumption of property by violence is likely to improve the general happiness of those so taught to acquire. I can conceive that it may totally demoralise the public mind. Mr. Bax does not answer any of the other questions in paragraph 10, and yet a clear understanding on those points is most vital to the issue between us.

(13) Mr. Bax does say that "Socialism only proposes to confiscate wealth used for production on a large scale." Does he really mean by this that Socialism will allow private wealth to be used for production on a small or on a moderate scale? Does he mean that under Socialism there may be small employers paying wage to those they employ? Unless he means this, his limitation of the confiscation proposal is absurd.

(14) Mr. Bax says that the only private enterprise Socialism sees reason for extinguishing is "the private enterprise which has material personal gain for its end." Will he please give me some illustration of personal enterprise in labour upon raw material which does not come within this definition.

(15) Mr. Bax originally said that Christianity was through and through Individualistic. When I in par. 16 showed him that as to property this was not all true, he does not attempt to in any way explain the positive words of Acts ii., 44: "And all that believed were together, and had all things common;" or of Acts iv., 32: "And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul: neither said any of them that ought of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common;" except by the bold declaration that these words "do not affect in the least." He says that the principles of Christianity were not communistic is proved by the fact stated in chap. v., verse 4, that Ananias might have kept his property if he had not joined the Christian community and had not professed to give up to that community all his possessions. I cannot see the force of this as a reply. Mr. Bax apparently forgets that he introduced into this debate the principles of Christianity as affecting the ownership of goods. My only course was to point out that his statement was inaccurate and misleading. It is no part of my duty in this discussion to express any opinion on the special historical value of any of the Christian books.

Instead of expressing surprise that I challenge his statements as to the increase of the number of small employers and owners of small accumulations, Mr. Bax should remember that the onus is upon him to prove the whole of the statements he makes, and I especially wait for him to do this on the facts and figures alleged by him and challenged by me in paragraph 18. The vague reference to "the boot-making industry" here clearly marks Mr. Bax's absolute unacquaintance with the subject. I ask him to take on this Kettering, Leicester, London, Northampton, including the country villages, Norwich, and Stafford, and compare these with their condition forty years ago.

Mr. Bax admits that there is very possibly less pauperism in proportion to population than there was forty years ago, but he alleges that there is more poverty. I ask him to prove his allegation not by loose statements, but by giving precise and detailed facts relating to the counties, towns, and cities, with names of each, in 1847 and 1887. Mr. Bax asks me what it is that I have "to say about the perennial unemployed question." Unless Mr. Bax can show that Socialism will provide employment in England for the unemployed of this country, the answer would not be relevant to this debate, and in any event should be given by Mr. Bax as part of his case. My general views on the unemployed population are fully stated in the volume containing the verbatim report of the defence of myself and co-defendant in the case of *Reg. v. Bradlaugh and Besant*. I do not see that they make in any way in favour of the proposition which Mr. Bax undertook to affirm.

This paper is already so long that I reserve until my next my rejoinder on surplus-value.

CHARLES BRADLAUGH.

(For previous papers see *Commonweal* for May 22; May 29; June 12.)

HOW WE LIVE AND HOW WE MIGHT LIVE.

(Continued from p. 195.)

Now the next thing I claim is education. And you must not say that every English child is educated now; that sort of education will not answer my claim, though I cheerfully admit it is something: something, and yet after all only class education. What I claim is liberal education; opportunity, that is, to have my share of whatever knowledge there is in the world according to my capacity or bent of mind, historical or scientific; and also to have my share of skill of hand which is about in the world, either in the industrial handicrafts, or in the fine arts; picture-painting, sculpture, music, acting, or the like: I claim to be taught, if I can be taught, more than one craft to exercise for the benefit of the community. You may think this a large claim, but I am clear it is not too large a claim if the community is to have any gain out of my special capacities, if we are not all to be beaten down to a dull level of mediocrity as we are now, all but the very strongest and toughest of us.

But also I know that this claim for education involves one for public advantages in the shape of public libraries, schools, and the like, such as no private person, not even the richest, could command: but these I claim very confidently, being sure that no reasonable community could bear to be without such helps to a decent life.

Again, the claim for education involves a claim for abundant leisure, which once more I make with confidence; because when once we have shaken off the slavery of profit, labour would be organised so unwastefully that no heavy burden would be laid on the individual citizens; every one of whom, as a matter of course, would have to pay his toll of some obviously useful work. At present you must note all the amazing machinery which we have invented has served only to increase the amount of profit-bearing wares; in other words to increase the amount of profit pouched by individuals for their own advantage, part of which profit they use as capital for the production of more profit, with ever the same waste attached to it; and part as private riches or means for luxurious living, which again is sheer waste,—is in fact to be looked on as a kind of bonfire on which rich men burn up the product of the labour they have fleeced from the workers beyond what they themselves can use. So I say that in spite of our inventions, no worker works under the present system an hour the less on account of those labour-saving machines, so-called. But under a happier state of things they would be used simply for saving labour, with the result of a vast amount of leisure gained for the community to be added to that gained by the avoidance of the waste of useless luxury, and the abolition of the service of commercial war.

And I may say that as to that leisure, as I should in no case do any harm to any one with it, so I should often do some direct good to the community with it, by practising arts or occupations for my hands or brain which would give pleasure to many of the citizens; in other words, a great deal of the best work done would be done in the leisure time of men relieved from any anxiety as to their livelihood and eager to exercise their special talent, as all men, nay, all animals are.

Now again, this leisure would enable me to please myself and expand my mind by travelling if I had a mind to it: because, say for instance that I were a shoemaker; if due social order were established, it by no means follows that I should always be obliged to make shoes in one place; a due amount of easily conceivable arrangement would enable me to make shoes in Rome, say, for three months, and to come back with new ideas of building amongst other things which would perhaps be of service in London.

But now in order that my leisure might not degenerate into idleness and aimlessness, I must set up a claim for due work to do. Nothing to my mind is more important than this demand, and I must ask your leave to say a good deal about it. I have mentioned that I should probably use my leisure for doing a good deal of what is now called work; but it is clear that if I am a member of a Socialist State I must do my due share of rougher work than this—my due share of what my capacity enables me to do, that is: no fitting of me to a Procrustean bed: but even that share of work necessary to the existence of the simplest social life. In the first place, whatever else it is, it must be reasonable work; that is, it must be such work as a good citizen can see the necessity for; as a member of the community, I must have agreed to do it. To take two strong instances of the contrary, I won't submit to be dressed up in red and marched off to shoot at my French or German or Arab friend in a quarrel that I don't understand: I will rebel sooner than do that. Nor will I submit to waste my time and energies in making some trifling toy which I know only a fool can desire: I will rebel sooner than do that. However, you may be sure that in a state of social order I shall have no need to rebel against any such pieces of unreason; only I am forced to speak from the way we live to the way we might live. Again, if the necessary reasonable work be of a mechanical kind, I must be helped to do it by a machine, not to cheapen my labour, but so that as little time as possible may be spent upon it, and that I may be able to think of other things while I am tending the machine. And if the work be specially rough or exhausting, you will, I am sure, agree with me in saying that I must take turns in doing it with other people: I mean I mustn't, for instance, be expected to spend my working hours always at the bottom of a coal pit. I think such work as that ought to be largely volunteer work, and done as I say in spells. And what I say of very rough work I say also of nasty work. On the other hand, I should think very little of the manhood of a stout and healthy man who did not feel a pleasure in doing rough work; always supposing him to work under the con-

"If every man did his share of labour, and wasted effort were stopped, four hours' labour a-day would give to everybody all the wealth they could use." Thus said Benjamin Franklin over a hundred years ago, and how much truer is it now, with the then inconceivable improvements in the means of production which have been made since he wrote.—E. T.

ditions I have been speaking of—namely, feeling that it was useful (and consequently honoured), and that it was not continuous or hopeless, and that he was really doing it of his own free will.

The last claim I make for my work is that the places I worked in, factories or workshops, should be pleasant, just as the fields where our most necessary work is done are pleasant. Believe me there is nothing in the world to prevent this being done, save the necessity of making profits on all wares; in other words, the wares are cheapened at the expense of people being forced to work in crowded, unwholesome, squalid, noisy dens: that is to say they are cheapened at the expense of the workman's life.

Well, so much for my claims as to my necessary work, my tribute to the state. I believe people would find as they advanced in their capacity for carrying on social order, that life so lived was much less expensive than we now can have any idea of, and that after a little people would rather be anxious to seek work than avoid it; that our working hours would rather be merry parties of men and maids, young men and old, enjoying themselves over their work, than the grumpy weariness it mostly is now. Then would come the time for the new birth of art, so much talked of so long deferred; people couldn't help showing their mirth and pleasure in their work, and would be always wishing to express it in a tangible and more or less enduring form, and the workshop would once more be a school of art, whose influence no one could escape from.

And, again, that word art leads me to my last claim, which is that the material surroundings of my life should be pleasant, generous, and beautiful; that I know is a large claim, but this I will say about it, that if it cannot be satisfied, if every civilised community cannot provide such surroundings for all its members, I do not want the world to go on; it is a mere misery that man has ever existed. I don't think it possible under the present circumstances to speak too strongly on this point. I feel sure that the time will come when people will find it difficult to believe that a rich community, having such command over external nature, could have submitted to live such a mean, shabby, dirty life as we do.

And once for all, there is nothing in our circumstances save the hunting of profit that drives us into it. It is profit which draws men into enormous unmanageable aggregations called towns for instance; profit which crowds them up when they are there into quarters without gardens or open spaces; profit which won't take the most ordinary precautions against wrapping a whole district in a cloud of sulphurous smoke; which turns beautiful rivers into filthy sewers; which condemns all but the rich to live in houses idiotically cramped and confined at the best, and at the worst in houses for whose wretchedness there is no name. I say it is almost incredible that we should bear such crass stupidity as this; nor should we if we could help it. We shall not bear it when the workers get out of their heads that they are but an appendage to profit-grinding, that the more profits that are made the more employment at high wages there will be for them, and that therefore all the incredible filth, disorder, and degradation of modern civilisation are signs of their prosperity. So far from that, they are signs of their slavery. When they are no longer slaves they will claim as a matter of course that every man and every family should be generously lodged, that every child should be able to play in a garden close to the place his parents lived in; that the houses should by their obvious decency and order be ornaments to nature, not disfigurements of it; for the decency and order when carried to the due pitch would most assuredly lead to beauty in building. All this, of course, would mean the state, which as I have told you should mean all society duly organised, the state having in its hands the means of production, and can only be done on those terms; on any other terms people will be driven to accumulate private wealth for themselves, and thus, as we have seen, to waste the goods of the community and perpetuate the division into classes, which means continual war and waste.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be concluded.)

BRISTOL—ANTI-JUBILEE MEETING.—An extraordinary incident occurred here this morning (21st inst.). An open-air meeting was held in the centre of the city at 9 o'clock in the morning, at which there was a large attendance, consisting chiefly of working men. Several prominent working men spoke to the assembly, and the following resolutions were carried in the most enthusiastic manner: 1. "That, having regard to the immense cost of monarchy, and the fact that it is maintained exclusively in the interest of the privileged classes, of which it is the centre, and seeing that the progress of the last fifty years has been greatly retarded by these classes, this meeting recognises no further cause for rejoicing at this period of the Queen's reign than the grand fact that the working-class organisations of this city decline to participate in the so-called Jubilee, notwithstanding an enforced holiday; and this meeting protests against such enforced holiday, and the use of public money and the national forces, as a despicable attempt to promote sham sentiment on which to bolster up a useless institution." 2. "That in view of the want, misery, and absolutely hopeless lives of the workers of this country (to say nothing of poor Ireland), this meeting earnestly protests against the continuance of this state of things in the face of the immense wealth of the nation, produced by the workers, as not only evidence that the working classes have no cause for joy at this time of so-called Jubilee, but as a disgrace to civilisation and opposed to all true ideas of justice and humanity."

One of the regiments taking part in the procession pro-Jubilee, coming in the vicinity of this meeting and somewhat interrupting the business, as it was thought designedly, was loudly hooted and hissed at. The "city's" procession in celebration of the Jubilee was nearly wholly composed of soldiers, and the proceedings were absolutely wanting in enthusiasm—not a single cheer along the whole route; and the affair only required the Dead March in "Saul" from one of the bands to make its funereal character complete.—R. G.

Society is barbarous until every industrious man can get his living without dishonest customs.—Ralph W. Emerson.

THE CONVICT.

(By L. WITTIG. Translated by J. L. JOYNES.)

WITH iron chains on neck and feet,
And forehead earthward sunken low,
Brown coat and uniform complete—
'Tis thus the convict plies his hoe.
He once, like him who walks beside
With rifle ready in his hand,
Wore coat in brighter colours dyed,
And served his native land.

For times were bad, and corn was dear,
And hope in every heart was dead;
And all around there smote the ear
The poor man's bitter cry for bread.
"O spare a crust, that we may eat;
In vain we've looked for work to-day,
And still must loiter in the street,
And lounge the time away."

But when indeed they knew the worst,
And prayers for bread were wasted
breath,
Beneath the rich men's feet there burst
The mine whose womb was big with death.

Hark, "Work or Death," is now the cry
Through all the limits of the land;
Sedition's flames are raging high,
By Famine's fury fanned.

And now the thunder of the drum
Is heard the angry cries between;
The grenadiers in order come,
Their aim is sure, their swords are keen.

As though for sport on measured ground,
Where marksmen strive but to excel,
Are rifle-bullets handed round,
Sharp hunger to reel.

And hark, a cry! On either hand
Dense crowds in narrow streets are pent;
Lo, face to face two armies stand,
The starving and the well-content.

See there! that yet the People's flag
May soar aloft and flaunt the sky,
They hoist a torn and tattered rag,
Defiantly on high.

"Bread," cry they, "brothers, give us bread!
Nor let your answer be a stone;
That we to-night no more may dread
To hear our starving children wail.
Put by your lead; a single pound
Of bread will still our sharp desire."
Hark! through the serried ranks re-sound
The words "Make ready! Fire!"

The volley cracks; the people run;
Five only in their blood remain;
Their hunger with their life is done;
An end is put to all their pain.
The colonel's eye was on his men;
Its glance was keen their aim to see;
And woe betide the culprit then,
If any such there be.

Yes, one there was who would not do
That murder; what though he had worn
A soldier's uniform, he knew
He too was of the People born.
His heart was beating fast for shame,
And trembling sore his every limb;
The foes on whom his eyes took aim
Were brothers unto him.

Before court-martial is he brought,
Because, despite the soldier's creed,
He fearlessly has felt and thought
As though he were a man indeed.
The doom of death is quickly said;
What sentence else could meet the case?
To prison packs him off instead
The king's especial grace.

THE SAME OLD BOGIE!

READERS of newspapers have become so sated with the high-spiced Jubilee fare provided for them, and the monotonous imbecility of the "arguments" brought forth against the Irish people, that a new move is necessary. The sea-serpent is played out, and the green gooseberry not marvellous enough. Editors are in despair for "items," and the "Authorities" for something to stiffen the British Lion's courage to coercion pitch.

Here, then, is a difficulty; but the Able Editors and Law-upholding Authorities are much too good stage-managers to allow their drama to drag so pitifully for long. The desperate dynamitard and the conspirator who is "known to the police" are brought out once more from the theatrical property-room; they are carefully dusted, the requisite shade of ferocity imparted to their appearance, and they are "produced with great applause"!

The police refuse information they do not possess; the "leading journals" have a passing fit of scolding and good advice; the public buy the papers and shake their sapient heads over the evil spirit shown by "those horrid rebels"; and law and order, loyalty, and several things else, are greatly strengthened.

Meantime all that can be done is being done to exasperate the oppressed—English and Irish—and to show them the uselessness of legal and constitutional means. Can it be wondered at if mayhap some embittered exile or hunted "felon" should learn the lesson that the press is preaching so loudly? S.

THE TITHE WAR IN WALES.—The utmost excitement prevails throughout the disturbed districts of North Wales, where the military and police are again expected to enforce the sales on the distrained stock for tithes. Immense bonfires are erected on the various mountain ranges, and will be at once set ablaze on the approach of the authorities. Cannon are fixed on the hill slopes, and horns, 6 ft. long, are held in readiness at the farmsteads. The local magistrates have received instructions to hold themselves in readiness to proceed with the military for the purpose of reading the Riot Act. The future movements of the military and constabulary are, however, kept a profound secret. Concerning the proceedings at Colwyn Bay, and the alleged attack by the police on the crowd, a correspondent telegraphs:—The wounds produced were not mere scratches, but were deep cuts, and in some cases serious results may follow. The number of very old men thus wounded was remarkable, though the majority were of course able-bodied labourers. Another feature of the affray was that kicking was freely resorted to, and several complained of severe bruises about the legs.—Daily News, June 18.

Never grow faint-hearted, for there is a larger promise of dawn painted in the skies than ever before, and it needs only push, push, push, to swing wide open the gates of the morning.—B. G. Haskell.



"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.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday June 22.

ENGLAND		
Justice	Herald	BRUSSELS—L'Avant-Garde
Jus	Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer	Liege—L'Avenir
Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung	Fort Worth (Tex.) South West	
Norwich—Daylight	Hammond (N.J.) Credit Foncier	HOLLAND
Practical Socialist	Paterson (N.J.) Labor Standard	Hague—Recht voor Allen
	Milwaukee (Wis.) Volksblatt	
	New Haven (Conn.) Workmen's Advocate	SPAIN
INDIA	San Francisco (Cal.) The People	Madrid—El Socialista
Bankipore—Behar Herald		Cadiz—El Socialismo
	FRANCE	
UNITED STATES	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	PORTUGAL
New York—Freiheit	Le Socialiste	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Der Sozialist	Le Revolte	
Volkszeitung	Guise—Le Devoir	ROUMANIA
John Swinton's Paper	Lille—Le Travailleur	Jassy—Lupta
Boston—Woman's Journal	ITALY	
Chicago (Ill.) Vorbote	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio	GREECE
Labor Enquirer		Athens—Ardin

AN OLD SUPERSTITION—A NEW DISGRACE.

As was said last week, the contempt with which all Socialists must necessarily look on the idiotic court ceremony of the week has prevented anything more than a mere hint being given in the *Commonweal* about the Jubilee. And besides this, Socialists feel of course that the mere abolition of the monarchy would help them little if it only gave place to a middle-class republic; such an one, for example, as that which butchered so many thousands of citizens at Paris in 1871 and now in 1887 grown respectable and liberal, still blocks the way to all progress in France, and holds out a hand to the corruption of society there. Nevertheless, now the monstrous stupidity is on us (for I am necessarily writing before the event), one's indignation swells pretty much to the bursting-point, and I really must take advantage of my position to relieve my feelings, even at the expense of being considered somewhat old-fashioned. And we must not after all forget what the hideous, revolting, and vulgar tomfoolery in question really means nowadays, or how truly its hideousness and vulgarity of upholstery symbolises the innate spirit which has forced the skinny twaddle on a nation that is in the habit of boasting (how vainly!) of its practicality. Such a ceremony would once have meant something very different to what it does now. Time was when the central figure in the procession from palace to Abbey would have been a man or woman whose personality would have been felt, though acting according to the ethics and maxims of feudality. The central figure in the procession would at the worst have been also in the centre of the feudal warriors gathered for the battle, and not seldom in the centre of the enemy's host. The administration of affairs, the balancing of the various claims of the groups of the feudal hierarchy, the assertion of the due rights of the great manor (scarcely yet a country)—all these would have been the duties of the central figure of a great royal procession; and no monarch of England, not even the worst of the Angevines or the most faineant of the Plantagenets could altogether neglect such duties; they had to do the deeds of men and women, however faulty or perverse, and not the deeds of a gilt gibbie-stick; they were each of them a part of the public, and an active part too.

All that is as dead as King Harold now. The nucleus of that grievous mass of flunkeyism which has been a disgrace even to disgraceful

London (although the coolness with which her duties are neglected is from time to time noticed by the public and the press) is on the whole considered as a satisfactory representative of what she does represent; so satisfactory that we are called upon to take part in a set of antics in her honour compared with which a corrobbery of Australian black-fellows is a decent and dignified performance.

What is it then that this central figure does represent? Not the feudal hierarchy, dead centuries ago; not the queer pedantic divine-right-of-kings, whose struggle with the bourgeois divine-right of parliamentary majority played such an important part in developing the supremacy of that bourgeoisie. No, it does not represent these extinct superstitions, but, superstition as it is itself, it represents commercial realities rather: to wit, jobbery official and commercial, and its foundation the Privilege of Capital, set on a background of the due performance of the conventional domestic duties; in short, the representation of the anti-social spirit in its fulness is what is required of it.

That is the reason why the career of the present representative is, in spite of those few grumblings aforesaid, so eminently satisfactory. It has been the life of a respectable official who has always been careful to give the minimum of work for the maximum of pay, to keep the public well at arm's length, and to abstain from any fantastic act of generosity, which might have been taken as a precedent in the future. All this has been expected of it and it has performed it in a way which has duly earned the shouts of the holiday-makers, the upholsterers, fire-work makers, gasfitters and others who may gain some temporary advantage from the Royal (but shabby) Jubilee Circus, as well as the deeper-seated applause of those whose be-all and end-all is the continuance of respectable robbery. For us Revolutionists it is clear that the gibbie-stick line of conduct is better than one with some show of human interest in it would have been; so that we have nothing to complain of. The more reaction is stripped of sentiment the better for us.

One word before this loathsome subject of the Jubilee is consigned to its due dust-heap. Fifty years ago the country was yet in the throes of that unorganised but formidable insurrection which followed on the industrial revolution, and the reckless greed of those benefitted by it—the capitalists, to wit. That insurrection was damped down by the commercial successes which so much increased the numbers and power of the definitely middle classes, so that twenty-five years ago a survivor of the discontent of 1837 might well have thought that all was over. But unbridled competition has forced the pace more than any one could have guessed it would; fifty years is gone, and once more we have "discontent" amongst us, if not wider spread than before, yet at least deeper seated, and with no apparent staving-off remedy before it except Mr. Chamberlain's feeble attempts at peasant-proprietorship. And even this vulgar Royal Upholstery procession, trumpery as it is, may deepen the discontent a little, when the newspapers are once more empty of it, and when people wake up, as on the morrow of a disgraceful orgie, to find dull trade all the duller for it, and have to face according to their position the wearisome struggle for riches, for place, for respectability, for decent livelihood, for bare subsistence, in the teeth of growing competition in a society now at last showing its rottenness openly.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

The labour movement is a world wide movement. It is limited neither by oceans, races, nor creeds. It is not one organisation, or two or ten; it is a combination of all organisations, Knights of Labour and Trades' Unionists who are seeking the economic emancipation of the wage-slave. The man whose view of the labour movement is limited by any one organisation is a victim of prejudice, ignorance, and intolerance. The amelioration in the condition of all men will be brought about not by overbearing insolence on the part of one side or the other, not by bullying or tall talk, not by the isolated action of any organisation be it ever so powerful, but by the combined strength, wisdom, and fraternal efforts of all organisations of wage labourers throughout this country and throughout the world of modern industry.—*Paterson (N.J.) Labour Standard.*

TOADYING TO ROYALTY.—At a meeting of the American Section of the Socialist Labour Party of America, of Providence, R. I., held Sunday evening, June 5, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—"Whereas, The celebration of the anniversary of the coronation of Queen Victoria is to be held June 21 in this country, we, the American Section of the Socialist Labour Party of America, hereby declare that, Whereas, The idea of upholding or otherwise celebrating the anniversary of any monarch is repugnant to any and all liberty-loving people, especially to citizens of a republic like ours; and, Whereas, The worship of a figurehead who receives an income of estate and salary combined of 15,000 dols. per day, while subjects and citizens of Great Britain and Ireland are suffering from the want of the mere necessities of life; and also the sending out of beggars to solicit money from the working people for the benefit of royalty, which is nothing but a name for a method of keeping people in wage-slavery and poverty, are wrong; therefore be it, Resolved, That the Providence Section of the Socialist Labour Party of America hereby condemn the action of toadies to English royalty and English capital as an insult to all free people."

A FREE-TRADER'S VIEW OF THE LABOUR QUESTION.

I.

WHAT a blessing it must be to have a clear head, unclouded by any Socialist nonsense! Here have I been for the last seven or eight years looking with increasing attention at the great Labour Question, sometimes one side and sometimes another, under the impression that it was a sort of polygon or many-sided figure, if not rather an innumerable number of radii, each leading to Socialism as a centre, with many lines drawn across, like a mysterious but beautiful cobweb. But it seems all that is to be changed now, for a thinker has come forward in the person of Mr. Edward Atkinson, of Boston, U.S.A., and (thanks to an article about him in the *Pall Mall Gazette*) we have at last seen that after all there is no real ground for any labour difficulty, it being merely a question of comparisons to be solved by measuring two or three straight lines (drawn *parallel*, as if typical of how they will never bring you to the *point*), one long one to represent the share the workers get of the proceeds of a business, and one little short one for the profit of the capitalists, with a few others to make it look pretty and even and business-like. All that you want besides is a rule to measure and compare the lines with, and having done that the result will be the answer required, namely, that "the present division of profits between labour and capital is just," *Q.E.D.*, and so we need not trouble ourselves further about it. What could be more simple? Truly Mr. Atkinson deserves to be boss of the Hub of the Universe for this discovery! If only he would settle religious questions in the same way, how many poor souls might be saved from eternal perdition!

Nevertheless, I can't all at once clear the Socialist cobwebs out of my brain, and should like to trace two or three of the most important radii that seem to me to run across these beautiful parallels from Boston, like trees across a railway. I must first, however, give a few more details about Mr. Atkinson's argument.

The whole case is founded on an imaginary example, chosen probably for convenience of reckoning and measuring. Mr. Atkinson imagines three capitalists owning a cotton-mill built at a cost of 1,000,000 dols. They would employ 950 hands, who would produce in a year 17,500,000 yards of cotton cloth, which would sell for 1,100,000 dols. A diagram, drawn out to scale, shows how this sum is divided. I will take the three most important items, viz., 575,000 dols. paid for raw material, 285,000 dols. for mill-labour, and 60,000 dols. for the final profit of the capitalists, or 6 per cent. on the cost of the mill. Three other diagrams with descriptive letter-press deal respectively with the other expenses, the "spending of the profits," and with what is "consumed and saved" by capitalists and labourers. It is with the first, however, that we have most to do.

To begin with: to my prejudiced Socialist judgment a doubt occurs whether this 60,000 dols. can accurately represent the share of the produce which the capitalists would receive. For this amounts (as is pointed out to us) to 6 per cent. on the cost of the mill, and Mr. Atkinson's case therefore imagines that the three capitalists will invest nearly three-quarters of a million dollars in raw material, etc., and not require any interest on it—a thing quite against the nature of capitalists to do. Wherefore I think it just possible that the whole thing is founded on a false hypothesis. However, not being in the cotton trade myself, I will try to believe that the supposed case is a true example of facts as far as cotton-spinning is concerned. But if so, I must demur to its being taken as an example of "the present division of profits between capital and labour." 60,000 dols. is about $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the total 1,100,000 dols. proceeding from the business, which is by no means the average percentage of proceeds which is taken by the exploiters of labour. For instance, Mr. Atkinson's second diagram shows that the total profit made by the exploiting classes out of the manufacture of 17,500,000 yards of cotton is, for farmers, merchants, mill-owners, and all, 145,000 dols. out of the 1,100,000 dols., or $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; whilst we have only to turn to the accounts of English railways to find dividends of 50 per cent. of the gross receipts. Five and a-half per cent. is therefore far below the average share taken by the capitalists.

Not that I mean to admit that the capitalists have the least right to even $5\frac{1}{2}$ or any percentage whatever of the proceeds, merely as interest on capital. It is plain that the shares of the capitalists and labourers consist of the value added to the raw material in the mill. To create this value, capital was necessary and labour was necessary, and if any one likes to amuse himself guessing how much is due to capital and how much to labour, I don't much object, provided he does not go on to confuse the labourer with his labour, and the capital with the capitalist, as Mr. Atkinson has done. For I beg to submit that capital and capitalist are not synonymous, and that when it is said that such and such a share of the proceeds of business should go to capital, it by no means follows that that share belongs to a capitalist, even though he is said to be the owner of the capital. In the first place I should question his means of acquiring the capital, and his right to retain it; and even supposing that could be established, it should be asked what part the capitalist took in producing the proceeds of which he claims a share, though it was other men's labour which called forth the uses of his capital. If he managed the business, he deserves wages for what necessary or useful work he has done in that capacity; but it is not necessary to suppose that a capitalist takes any share in production, for though we cannot have labour without a labourer, we can (and will) have capital without a capitalist.

Again, Mr. Atkinson's black lines make it look as if the three mill-owners were very moderate in their demands, and the labourers in the mill had the best of the bargain; 285,000 dols. amongst 950 workmen is 300 dols. (about £60) each. But 60,000 dols. amongst three capitalists is 20,000 dols., or £4,000 each. A considerable difference here! considering that the whole of the extra value (60,000 dols. included) was added by the labourers, and that the only part the capitalists took in the production was the easy task of lending to the labourers capital they could not if they would have used themselves. Clearly the 60,000 dols. belongs to the labourers who produced it just as much as it would do if there were no capitalists to levy taxes on the use of the capital. Mr. Atkinson's simple diagram might be improved and still further simplified by eliminating altogether the share of the proceeds which the capitalist claims, since he, being useless, should receive no share of the gains.

It is probable that in opposition to this, Mr. Atkinson would argue that even if what I have said is true, the 60,000 dols. divided between 950 men would only give them a paltry 62 dols. (or about £12) extra all round, and that by driving away the capitalists this is all we should gain, instead of all the advantages promised by Socialism. We are told, "The poor are not poor because capital takes a bigger share than it ought. The poor are a great deal less poor . . . than they would be except for the service of capital, of which they enjoy the greater part of the benefit." (Please observe how the writer dare not put "capitalist," though he means us to understand it.) Therefore, since capitalists are not the cause of poverty, the nationalisation of capital would do us little or no good, and some other remedy must be found. Such I take to be the train of thought which Mr. Atkinson's article is intended to suggest, and his pretty parallels seem to be the lines he has prepared for the train of our thoughts to run upon.

GEORGE STURT.

(To be concluded).

THE NORTH OF ENGLAND SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

WE have received the following Principles and Programme of the North of England Socialist Federation:

PRINCIPLES.

The North of England Socialist Federation has been formed to educate and organise the people to achieve the economic emancipation of labour.

While fully sympathising with and helping every effort of the wage-earners to win better conditions of life under the present system, the Socialist Federation aims at abolishing the Capitalist and Landlord class and forming the workers of society into a Co-operative Commonwealth.

An employing class monopolising all the means of getting and making wealth, and a wage-earning class compelled to work primarily for the profit of these employers, is a system of tyranny and slavery.

The antagonism of these two classes brings about fierce competition—for employment amongst the workers and for markets amongst the capitalists. This gives rise to class hatred and class strife, and destroys real independence, liberty, and happiness.

The present system gives ease and luxury to the idlers, toil and poverty to the workers, and degradation to all; it is essentially unjust and should be abolished.

Our aim is to bring about a Socialist System which will give healthy and useful labour to all, ample wealth and leisure to all, and the truest and fullest freedom to all.

All are invited to help the Socialist Federation in this great cause. Adherents shall acknowledge truth, justice, and morality as the basis of their conduct towards each other and towards all men. They shall acknowledge NO RIGHTS WITHOUT DUTIES: NO DUTIES WITHOUT RIGHTS.

PROGRAMME.

The Socialist Federation seeks to gain its ends by working on the following lines:—

- (1) Forming and helping other Socialist bodies to form a National and International Socialist Labour Party.
- (2) Striving to conquer political power by promoting the election of Socialists to Parliament, Local governments, School Boards, and other administrative bodies.
- (3) Helping Trade Unionism, Co-operation, and every genuine movement for the good of the workers.
- (4) Promoting a scheme for the National and International Federation of Labour.

All Socialists will wish the new society success; to which wishes I must add for my part the hope that our friends will find out the futility of sending (or trying to send) Socialists or any one else to Parliament before they have learned it by long and bitter experience. They will find their work cut out for them in carrying out Nos. 3 and 4 of their programme, and useful and necessary work it will be. At the same time I heartily congratulate them on not holding out the bait of a long string of "stepping-stones"; measures which no bourgeois Parliament would pass, and which yet would be out of date in the very first days of a Revolution; promises not capable of fulfilment, nor worth fulfilment.

W. M.

Socialism proposes scientific, intelligent, enlightened government, or free co-operation on the basis of liberty, equality, fraternity, and solidarity.

Socialism would perfect the educational system by entirely abolishing the present lack of system. The state would educate every child thoroughly, and, as they advanced, give them an opportunity to master any science, art or mechanical pursuit for which their tastes or abilities adapted them. Hence there would be no uncongenial pursuits or employments, as each would choose that in which he would be most likely to excel. Hence there would be very few bad mechanics, unskilled workers, or quacks at anything.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

THE STRIKE IN THE BELFAST SHIPBUILDING TRADE.—The dispute which has existed for nearly seven weeks has at last been amicably settled. The works of Harland and Wolff were opened last Friday and the system of weekly wages will be established.

THE ENGINEERS' STRIKE AT BOLTON.—It is stated that the executive of the Ironmasters' Association has decided to vote the Bolton employers £25,000 to support their action in the present dispute; and if that sum be expended, and the men are still out, notices will be issued to all members of the association for a general lock-out, as in 1851.

TOBACCO TRADE.—Although the Budget agitation may be said to be settled, there are still hundreds of cigar-makers out of employment. The union has just lost another shop, which has been given over to female labour. In this the Jubilee year the tobacco trade in general is in a depressed state, which is likely to continue.—H. D.

THE CHAIN-MAKING TRADE.—In the House of Commons, last Friday, Mr. Matthews, replying to Mr. Curzon, said the wages in the chain-making trade at Cradley Heath, Staffordshire, were probably not more on the average than 7s. per week. The truck system prevailed to this extent that the middlemen who gave out the work only gave it to those who bought goods at their shops. This did not bring them within the law, but the right hon. gentleman invited evidence of any violation of the statute. He had great sympathy with the workmen in their privations, but it was impossible for the Government to interfere between employers and employed.

INDIVIDUAL CAPITALISM, JOINT-STOCKISM, MONOPOLY.—Ten years ago there were fifty firms engaged in the production of burning oil in Scotland; now there is less than a dozen. This diminution in the number of companies has taken place conjointly with an increased output. Finding that competition among themselves injuriously affected their dividends, a conference was held in Glasgow last week to consider a scheme for amalgamating the Scottish Mineral Oil Companies into one, and some progress was made. The first resolution agreed to by the conference was a reduction in wages all round, from 1s. 6d. per week on miners, 2s. on underground oncost men, 10 per cent. on retort men, and a like reduction on coopers. These reductions are to take place immediately, and some of the men are agitating for a general strike.—J. S.

THE CHAIN-MAKERS' STRIKE.—At a meeting of chain-makers in the Salvation Army Barracks, Cradley Heath, Thomas Homer, who presided, said they had some gentlemen down from Southport urging them to establish a co-operative society. He had received a promise that assistance would be rendered them in disposing of the chain they manufactured at Manchester, which was the centre of the co-operative movement. He was strongly in favour of starting such a society. When the society was established there would be no working one under the other, but they would all have the same price; consequently there would be no strikes. The advocates of the scheme had handed him over a cheque for £50. The masters had again been resorting to some of their bad ways. The had won the four-shillings list several times, but had let it slip through their hands. Consequently he considered the whole of the trade would have to turn out again. It was resolved to continue the strike.

THE DORSET AGRICULTURAL LABOURER.—A farm labourers wages are now 11s. per week and a house valued at 1s. per week free of rent. He is also allowed from 15 to 20 lug (perches) of ground for potatoes; this potato ground is an allowance for extra work during the hay-making, for which he is not otherwise paid. During the summer he will probably have six or eight weeks piece-work, turnip hoeing and wheat tying, at which he will earn from a £1 to £1 5s. a-week, but it must be remembered that when he is working at piece-work he often works from 4 o'clock in the morning till dark, and also that he requires ale to quench his thirst and extra food to enable him to do the extra work. Hedgers are paid from 6d. to 8d. a lug (perch). I may say that lug is the local name for a rod, pole, or perch of ground. Shepherds get about 13s. or 14s. a-week and house rent free, and an allowance of faggots, potato ground, and sometimes ten hundred of coals per year, also about a £1 or £1 10s. extra called harvest money. They also have a small allowance for each lamb they succeed in rearing. It is difficult to calculate the exact income of a shepherd, but probably it is not much less than 17s. or 18s. a-week. I am of opinion that the earnings of a carter are about the same as the shepherd. I know one farm on which the carters are paid 11s. per week and house rent free, 20 lug of potato ground free, and £4 per year instead of faggots, coal, or ale. A carter, however, has the hardest place on a farm; he goes to the stable at 4 o'clock in the morning, to work in the field in all weathers at 6 o'clock, at 2 o'clock he returns with the horses to the stable, at 3 he goes to dinner, at 4 he is in the stable again till 6 o'clock, and at 8 o'clock he is again in the stable to serve the horses for the night, and this is the slavish state of the poor carter at the present time. Of course the position of the labourer, bad as it is now, was much worse 50 and even 30 years ago. Fifty years ago the farm labourer was only paid 7s. per week; at that time he had little besides barley cake, potatoes, and swedes stolen from the farmer's fields. They also stole all the wood for cooking, and who can blame them? I don't. In fact they were obliged to steal or starve. The farm labourers wages rose about a shilling a-week in every ten years till it reached 10s. per week, and at the formation of the Labourer's Union the wages rose to 13s., 14s., and in one case to 15s. per week, but the farmers gradually lowered the wages till it declined to 11s. per week, and in some villages it is as low as 10s. a-week.—John Smith, Whitechurch.

FRANCE.

ARMENTIERES.—The weavers of the firm of Louis Dulac have declared themselves on strike to the number of 250, having suffered a long time from many petty tyrannies and numberless fines. The head of the firm thinks fit to guard his weaving-sheds by a small troop of gendarmerie, which makes up in self-importance and pomposity for what it lacks in number—consisting of four men commanded by their brigadier. It is touching to picture this brave and devoted little band "rallying round" M. Dulac, and defending his sacred person against the encroachments of the "bold, bad striker" who endeavours vainly to seek an interview with his master, daring to think of discussing with him the conditions of work and wages of himself and his fellow-workers!

A representative of the *Cri du Peuple* has been wandering about the Champs de Mars among the works progressing for the construction of the

Eissel tower and the military school not far off. The navvies labour ceaselessly under the sun in the stifling and airless trenches. "What do you earn?" is the first question asked them. "Only 45 centimes an hour (less than 4½d). They deduct one centime an hour to ensure the master against the accidents that may happen to us. The regular price is 60 centimes, but—well, one must live!" For 45 c. an hour these men have to get through a task which one would not venture to impose on convicts. Facing the military school are the sheds of one Jonclard, the forges de Franche-Comte. Same price, same deduction, the regular tariff again being ignored. Gloomy and desolate is the aspect of the Champs de Mars; from 150 to 200 labourers at most in all these immense works. Not a song, not a burst of laughter breaks the monotony of this desert, nothing but an occasional hammer-stroke to be heard. So much for these works so derisively promised the Parisian workers; people saying to them for several years, "Have patience a little longer."

AMERICA.

BOSTON, June 9.—There is no longer any doubt that the great struggle between employers and employés in the building trades will begin at once. The demand of the master builders that their union employés shall work with non-union men, if required, will be met with absolute refusal. Leading men in the Amalgamated Building Trades Union say emphatically that the point will never be yielded while their union exists. Members of the Building Trades Council expect that strikes and lock-outs will now begin, and within two weeks will become widespread. The union men credit the master builders with a determination to make a decisive fight on the issue raised. The address of the Master Builders' Association to the Amalgamated Building Trades' Council, insists on the right of employing non-unionists as well as unionists. It also quibbles upon other points. It is practically a breach of agreement. Their action is part of the great national scheme of Master Builders which took shape when the Chicago lock-out was declared a few weeks ago.

CHICAGO.—The master masons who started the great lock-out are getting but few recruits under the new rules, and these are set to work upon the most urgent jobs. The offer of compromise made by a few of the contractors was rejected by the men. Many of the masons are at work for the smaller employers, and many others have got jobs out of town. It looks to-day (June 9th) as though the carpenters, at the end of this week, would again lay down their tools unless the employers go back on their determination to re-establish the nine-hour working day. The association of the master carpenters includes over 300 contractors, who employ nearly four-fifths of all the carpenters in Chicago; and they have endorsed the working rules of the master masons, including the nine-hour rule, and fixed wages at a minimum of 30 cents per hour. The men demand the eight-hour rule, at 35 cents per hour. General Secretary McGuire, of the Brotherhood, is in Chicago, and though he is a very moderate man, he advised the journeymen to adhere to their terms.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"THE IMMORALITY OF INTEREST."

Sir,—I send you the following, suggested on reading the letter of a professor of science on "The Immorality of Interest." The relationship of capitalist, employer, and workman may, I think, be exhibited in the following manner:—At every engagement of wage labour, the employers, seeing an opportunity to production, and seeing a number of workmen, usually more than is wanted, with nothing in the world to sell but their labour, say, being by law and by custom enabled to do so, "Now, you compete among yourselves for work, and we, employers, will compete (!) among ourselves for your labour." The workmen submit, that is, they do so every time they accept wages. But this system of production, it was observed, afforded so large a return to the employers, that it was seen to be possible and of sufficient advantage to the parties concerned for the mere capitalists to unite with the would-be employers in the work of production, and then to share between them the returns which before went to the employers only. This being done, and the market for capital being thrown open to all, the "reward of abstinence" became determined by the ratio between the supply of and demand for capital. If this be a correct statement, not of the actual origin of interest perhaps but of the manner in which it might have originated under present conditions, it will be seen that the payment of interest depends on the possibility of making the wages contract. It is then, I take it, not a question of the morality of the payment of interest by employer to capitalist, which is a mere question of the division of the spoil, but it is the morality of the wages contract which must come under consideration, the capitalist being considered a party to it on the side of the employer.

This question of the morality of the wages contract I do not myself feel competent to deal with, yet I cannot fail to see that the present competitive system is a mere struggle for the benefits and advantages of wealth, wherein employer competes with employer, workman with workman, and the working-class competes with the employing class for the product of industry. More especially ought the working-class to realise the true nature of this last phase of the competition, that war, as I believe, is the true name for it, that in this strife, no more than in war, does any moral consideration whatever exist to prevent them demanding for themselves the whole of the product of their labour. It is this struggle for the product of industry which I, a workman, should like to see carried out to its only possible conclusion. Let once the workmen recognise the true nature of this competition, that in spite of all our boasted law and order it is nothing but a fight for wealth; let them but realise that it is individual ownership of the means of production, involving competition and the wage-labour system, which is the cause of the most of our poverty, ignorance, and crime, and they will at once, unless human nature fail in the very important element of selfishness, take action to secure the overthrow of the present competitive system, and the abolition of our present barbarous industrial relationships.—Yours truly,

A WORKMAN.

June 9th, 1887.

Indirect slavery—nominally the least odious, practically the worst of its forms—is now enthroned high and unquestioned. Disinherited man! you ask through your trades' unions and labour conventions only a modification of the inferior condition that has been forced on you, and which you accept.—*The Odd Book.*

NORTHUMBERIAN NOTES.

THERE is a remarkable leading article in the *Newcastle Chronicle* for June 13, on "Dwellings for the Poor," in which the following passage occurs:

"In schemes for the 'elevation of the masses,' the mistake is too often made of including under the head of 'the masses' the intelligent skilled artisan and the unskilled and casual labour class—and the schemes proposed are usually such as will further improve and develop the intelligence and artistic tastes of the former—but leave the lowest and poorest class untouched. There are hundreds of thousands of the latter so deadened by abject poverty, so steeped in misery, so absorbed in the passionate struggle for the morsel of daily bread, so densely herded together, that the little smattering of education they may once have possessed has been lost in the fight for existence, and they have neither the desire nor the power to avail themselves of the higher culture agencies provided."

The great mistake the average middle-class person makes is to assume that the difference between rich and poor is not getting bigger because the "working class" gets so-and-so much wages on the average. This is just a case where averages only conceal the truth. One of the rotten elements in "reforms" of this kind is that the benefit (if there ever is any) goes to those who need it least, and those who needed it most are left as poor, and getting poorer than before.

There is some fear of the strike breaking out again. The men are very bitter at having to resume work at such a miserable rate of wages, and they are, again, dissatisfied with the action of their agents in the way they are settling the new sliding-scale. The talk about the men going back "joyfully" to work is all bosh.

The spread of co-operation in the north of England has been enormous. The concentration of the work of distribution of course bears hard upon the small shopkeepers. The feeling of the traders against the co-operative stores is getting very bitter, and they are preparing to express it. A shopkeepers' agitation will soon be started against the co-operators, and we shall have a lively fight between them.

The men at Sir William Armstrong's Elswick works had a meeting and decided to work on Jubilee day. They think that the race-week holidays are much more important or more interesting than the Jubilee tomfoolery.

I held a most successful meeting at Consett last week. The condition of the men at these famous iron and steel works is such that they must soon become Socialists. Steel is gradually superseding iron for most purposes. The making of steel only requires about half the number of men and a less quantity of steel serves in the place of iron. Thus the men are thrown out of work and kept out. Plainly, the disturbance caused here will smash the trade union, unless it becomes a Socialistic body. The men are beginning to see this, and get more eager to hear the Socialist speakers.

The North of England Socialist Federation is making good progress. During the past week over a dozen thoroughly successful meetings have been held and several new branches organised. The miners are taking up the work of organisation very energetically, and the propaganda goes on as effectively as ever. There has been none of the waning in enthusiasm so confidently foretold by the enemies of Socialism down here. Since going back to work the miners have shown as much resolution as ever, and seem to be fully conscious of the great and pressing need for pushing on the spread of Socialism. Great good was done by Mrs. Besant's spirited and convincing lecture to the miners at Seaton Delaval last Saturday. Donald's return to help in the work is looked forward to with interest, and arrangements are being made with the Rev. Stewart D. Headlam for a series of meetings.

J. L. MAHON.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

Co-operative Store.—The Committee attend at the offices at 8.30 p.m. on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. See advertisement on last page.

London Members.—The first meeting of London Members will be held on Monday the 4th of July.

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.

Outdoor Lecturers.—A special meeting of the outdoor lecturers will be held at the Offices, 13 Farringdon Road, on Saturday June 25, at 7 p.m., for the purpose of arranging the lecture-list for coming quarter. Branches are specially requested to send delegates.

Resolution of Council.

"That all monies collected at open-air meetings must be duly handed to the treasurer of the League, and the receipt of same acknowledged in *Commonweal*."

THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

Proceeds of Concert at Cleveland Hall, £1, 8s. 6d. For Mrs. Mowbray—A Few Fabians, per Annie Besant (weekly), 10s. J. LANE, Treasurer.

THE "COMMONWEAL."—SPECIAL NOTICE.

Owing to the extraordinary demand for last week's issue of the *Commonweal*, it is now out of print. Branches and others who have any unsold copies are requested to forward same to manager without delay.

REPORTS.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, June 15, D. J. Nicoll lectured on "Our Political Parties." Lively discussion followed. On Sunday, June 19, we held good meeting on Clerkenwell Green. In our hall, after the outdoor meeting, a large audience had gathered to hear "The Jubilee Recognition." The proceedings commenced by singing "The March of the Workers," every one standing up and joining in heartily. Then followed the reading of some lessons, by T. E. Wardle, from Joynes's 'Socialist Catechism.' After this, "No Master" was sung lustily by the audience, and then T. Dalziel gave short treatise to the "Goddess of Truth." W. Blundell followed, taking as his text, "Do unto others as you would be done by." He pointed out the fearful misery existing in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, and yet the people were asked to throw up their caps and rend the air with shouts because of the completion of a fifty years reign by Mrs. Guelph. He had no hesitation in describing it as only fit (especially the latter part) to be classed with the barbaric age. The meeting closed with the "Marseillaise." A large number of 'Chants for Socialists' were sold. Annie Taylor rendered valuable assistance at the piano.—A. T. and W. B.

HOKT N.—Sunday morning very successful outdoor meeting. Sunday evening W. C. Wade gave a very interesting historical lecture—"Henry VIII's Legacy."

HACKNEY.—Graham addressed a very successful meeting at the Broadway on Wednesday evening. Hobbs and Allman spoke to a good meeting at the Salmon and Ball on Sunday morning. An interesting lecture on "Liberty" was delivered by S. Mainwaring at the Club on Sunday evening. The lecturer clearly showed the evils of parliamentarianism, and exposed the fallacies of government, etc. This subject will be enlarged upon by Mainwaring at the Club on July 24. We recommend all members of the Socialist League to hear this lecture.

MARYLEBON.—A rather lengthy meeting was held at Hyde Park Sunday afternoon, addressed by Cantwell, Doughty, Mrs. Taylor, Mainwaring, Samuels, and Turner. One opponent endeavoured to show the utility of a monarch in modern society. Sale of literature fair.—T. C.

MILE-END.—Good meeting on the Waste on Sunday. Good work may be done here. Those willing to co-operate in forming a Bethnal Green and Mile-end Branch are requested to correspond with H. Davis, 12 Florida Street, Harts Lane, Bethnal Green. A meeting will take place for the above object at 95 Boston St., Hackney Road, on Tuesday June 28. All those interested are requested to attend.—H. DAVIS.

NORTH LONDON.—We held a very good meeting at Ossulton Street on Tuesday. Comrades Sparling and Blundell spoke, and we sang the "Starving Poor of Old England" amid considerable enthusiasm. *Commonweal* sold well. On Sunday morning Mainwaring and Brooks spoke to a variable audience. Sale of literature fair.—H. BARTLETT.

DALKEITH.—On Wednesday June 15 J. H. Smith of Edinburgh, read a capital paper on "Socialism," Tuke in the chair. Gilray also spoke. Persons wishing to join the Branch here please communicate with John Thomson, secretary, 146 High Street.

EDINBURGH.—On Thursday June 16, in place of our usual study of 'Das Capital,' we read and discussed certain portions of the article "Socialism" in the present issue of the 'Encyclopedia Britannica.' The article is exceedingly able and very sympathetic; but Mr. Kirkup (the writer) completely misrepresents Marx in saying that he (Marx) taught that manual labour was the sole source of value. On Saturday evening, at Loanhead, Jno. Smith and C. W. Tuke spoke to a good meeting. On Sunday evening we were successful in having a meeting larger than any we have lately had in the afternoon. We will meet in future in the evening. Jno. Smith and Gilray spoke. One question was put—as to how work would be rewarded in a Socialist State. Tuke spoke in the Meadows. Average sale of *Commonweal* kept up.

GLASGOW.—On Saturday Paterson and Carmichael proceeded to Motherwell and explained the principles of Socialism to a fairly large audience. They afterwards went to Hamilton and met Glasier. Here they found a religious meeting on the ground before them, but in spite of this disadvantage our comrades succeeded in securing a satisfactory audience. On Sunday in Jail Square some hundreds of people listened with appreciation to addresses from Glasier, Carmichael, and Belbin. On the evening of the same day M'Kechin and Belbin addressed a meeting in Stobcross Street.—A. M.

LEEDS.—On Sunday morning, we held our usual open-air meeting on Hunslet Moor. Comrades Maguire and Hill addressed the audience on "Passing Events." In the afternoon we met the Bradford comrades at Cleckheaton, where we had tea together. After tea we held an open-air meeting in the Market-place. The bulk of the audience were very attentive, and were addressed by comrades Maguire, Paylor (Leeds), Mitchell and Minty (Bradford). A good many back numbers of the *Commonweal* were given away. At the close of the meeting we went to Liversedge and held another open-air meeting. Comrades Bland (Bradford), Maguire, Hill, and Braithwaite (Leeds) addressed the audience on the "Principles of Socialism." The audiences at these two meetings had apparently never heard a Socialist speaker before, but we think that with a little work a good branch may be started in that quarter.—F. C., sec.

NORWICH.—On Thursday last we held a large meeting at Dereham, addressed by Henderson and Morley. On Sunday morning a large meeting was held at Diss, addressed by Lane, Slaughter, Morley, and Houghton. Two meetings were also held at Lyng, addressed by several comrades. At Norwich in the afternoon, we held our usual meeting in the Market-place, where a large concourse of people were assembled, and carried a resolution calling for the release of our comrade Mowbray on the Jubilee day. Henderson, speaking at some length, gave a case that had been drawn to his notice of a young man dying of destitution earning 6s. a week, and had to keep a blind mother and pay 1s. 6d. per week rent. Some opposition was given by Mr. Scurbes, which was replied to by Henderson to the satisfaction of all, 5s. being collected for Propaganda Fund. In the evening, Henderson addressed a meeting on the Agricultural Hall Plain. At 8 o'clock, Henderson lectured in the Gordon Hall on "Fifty Years National Progress," which was listened to with great attention.—J. S.

WALSALL.—On Monday evening, H. Sanders addressed a good open-air meeting of chain-makers at Cradley Heath. About 700 men are still on strike, and recognising that there is no likelihood of their obtaining the advance asked for, so long as portion of the trade are at work and masters thereby able to execute orders, have decided to have a general turn out again and establishing a co-operative society as a means of bettering their condition. The *Commonweal*, containing comrade Donald's report of his visit to the district, was well distributed and much satisfaction expressed with it. On Saturday, Sanders spoke in the Market-place, Walsall, to large and most attentive audiences on "The Jubilee" and "The Cause of Poverty." Fair sale of pamphlets and *Commonweal*.—J. T. D.

On Sunday morning, H. A. Barker lectured on Kingsland Green under the auspices of the Ball's Pond Branch of the N.S.S., to a good audience.

NOTTINGHAM SECTION SOCIALIST UNION.—On Thursday, June 16, at the club, a tea and social evening was held, which was well attended. On Sunday morning in Sneinton Market, Peacock and Proctor addressed a good audience, and 2s. 3d. was collected. In the evening, the same speakers addressed a large and interested meeting in the great market-place; 5s. 1½d. collected, making for the day 7s. 4½d. for club and propaganda work. *Commonweal* sold out, and a great demand for more which we were unable to supply. A meeting was afterwards held at the club, and seven members enrolled.—A. C.

WOOLWICH.—On Sunday evening Banner and Donald held good meeting at Arsenal Gates. Literature sold well. 4s. 3d. collected for propaganda.—R. B.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, W. On Thursday June 23, at 8.30, Annie Besant will lecture—subject, "The Prosperity of the Working Classes."

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday June 26, at 8.30 p.m. T. Bolas, "Capitalism, its Growth and Delimitation," Wednesday June 29, at 8.30, H. H. Sparling, "Rebel Songs of Ireland." Members' Business Meeting first Sunday in July, 7.15 p.m. sharp.

Croydon.—Parker Road.

Hackney.—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 8 till 11.30.; Saturday, 7 till 12.30; Sunday 11 a.m. till 12 p.m. Lecture next Sunday, June 26, on "Evolution and Socialism," at 8.30, by H. A. Barker. Social Educational Class for members on Monday at 9. Business meeting on Tuesday at 8.30. The Library is now being reorganised, and any comrades and friends having books or pamphlets to spare should forward them to the librarian at the Club. The Club is in need of a piano, and any friends able to assist are requested to do so.—J. C.

Hammersmith.—Kelmecott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday June 26, at 8 p.m. W. Morris, "Monopoly."

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—2 Crondall Street, New North Rd. Club Room open on Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday evenings from 8 till 11. Singing Class every Wednesday at 8.30. Special Members' Meeting on Saturday July 2, at 7 p.m. Committee's report; election of officers. On Sunday June 26, at 8 p.m., a lecture.

Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday. Discussions held every Sunday morning at 11.

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

North London.—Communications to H. Bartlett, sec., 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

PROVINCES.

Bingley.—Coffee Tavern. Every Monday at 7.30 p.m.

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

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

Dublin.—Irish Labour League, 2 Bachelors Walk, every Thursday at 8 p.m. Discussion on all subjects connected with the Labour Question.

Dalkeith (Edinburgh).—Scientific Hall, Wednesday June 22, a Lecture.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 7.30 p.m. to transact business. Class for the study of 'Das Capital' at 8.30. (See "Open-air" below.)

Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Monthly Business Meeting in Rooms on Sunday evening at 7 o'clock. (See "Open-air" below.)

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

Hull.—Address all communications to E. Teesdale, 20 Shakspeare Street.

Lancaster.—Addresses every Sunday morning on the Quay Jetty.

Leeds.—17 Chesham Street, Sweet Street. Club and reading room open every evening. Business meetings every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Leicester.—Office of Hosiery Union, Horsefair Street. Fridays at 8 p.m.

Manchester.—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening 6 to 10 p.m. Lecture and discussion every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Free Lectures every Sunday at 8 p.m. Business meeting every Monday at 8.30 p.m. Speakers' Class every Sunday at 10.30 a.m. Social evening every Saturday at 8 p.m. On Sunday at 8 o'clock, lecture by Fred Henderson—subject, "Parliamentary Action."

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

Paisley.—On Friday at 8 o'clock, open-air meeting at County Square.

Shields (North and South).—Meetings every Sunday, Quay-side and Market Place. Branch meetings on Thursday nights at the "General Gordon," Bath Street, Maxwell Street, South Shields. Secretary, J. Hearne, 32 Clive Street, No. Shields.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 26.

11.30...Clerkenwell GreenJ. Lane

11.30...Garrett—"Plough Inn".....The Branch

11.30...Hackney—"Salmon and Ball".....Nicoll

11.30...Hammersmith—Beadon Rd.The Branch

11.30...Hoxton Ch., Pitfield St.Wade & Pope

11.30...Mile-end WasteGraham

11.30...Mitcham Fair Green.....Kitz

11.30...Regent's ParkAllman

11.30...St. Pancras ArchesThe Branch

11.30...Walham Green.....The Branch

3 ...Hyde ParkTarleton

3.30...Victoria ParkNicoll

7 ...Clerkenwell GreenThe Branch

Thursday.

8 ...Ossulton Street, Euston Road.....Nicoll

Wednesday.

8 ...Broadway, London FieldsBarker

Thursday.

8 ...Hoxton, Pitfield StreetWade & Pope

PROVINCES.

Aylsham.—Alternate Tuesdays: Market Place, at 7.

Baillieston.—Saturday: at 6.30.

Dereham.—Thursday: Market Place, at 7.15.

Diss and Wymondham.—Alternate Sundays at 10.30 and 11 respectively.

Edinburgh.—Sunday: Queen's Park, 6.30 p.m.

Dalkeith.—Wednesday 8.15 p.m.

Loanhead.—Saturday 7 p.m.

Glasgow.—Sunday: Jail's Square, 1 o'clock; Paisley Road Toll at 5.

Govan Cross.—Thursday, 8 o'clock.

Hamilton.—Saturday: at 6 o'clock.

Motherwell.—Saturday: at 8.

Partick.—Saturday at 7, Gasworks.

Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, 11; Vicar's Croft, 7.

Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place at 3; Agricultural Hall Plain at 7.

Walsall.—Saturday, at 6.30 pm.

Yarmouth.—Wednesday: On the Quay, at 7.30.

NORTH ENGLAND SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

Fri. 24—**Seaton Delaval.** Foot of Harpers, 7 p.m.

Men from Cramlington, E. Holywell, and Hartley requested to attend.

Sat. 25.—**Chevington,** 10 a.m. **Broomhill,** 1 p.m.

Amble, 4.30 p.m.

Sun. 26—**N. Shields,** 10.30 a.m. **Byker,** Bridge end, at 11 a.m. **Tynemouth,** 2 p.m. **South Shields,** Market Place, 6.30 p.m.

Mon. 27—**Consett,** nr. Town Hall, 7 p.m.

Tues. 28—**Bebside Colliery,** 7 p.m.

Wed. 29—**Jarrow,** Boat landing, 7 p.m.

Thur. 30—**Wallsend,** nr. the café, 7.30 p.m.

Fri. July 1—**Backworth,** 7 p.m.

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—Excursion on July 10th to the Rye House. Those wishing to take part in it can obtain full particulars from the secretary.

STAMFORD HILL AND TOTTENHAM.—Comrades and Friends living in this district desirous of forming a branch of the Socialist League are requested to address John Flockton, 3 Sussex Terrace, Markfield Road, Broad Lane, Tottenham, or to the Secretary of the League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

WOOLWICH.—Arsenal Gates, Sunday at 7 o'clock, W. H. Utley.

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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. 3.—No. 77.

SATURDAY, JULY 2, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

A LEGAL VIEW OF SOCIALISM.

WHEN good old Burton attacked the generality of lawyers and wrote them down as "a purse-milking nation, a clamorous company, gowned vultures," as "irreligious harpies, scraping, griping catch-poles," he wellnigh forgot to except the "worthy lawyers that are so many oracles and pilots of a well-governed commonwealth." To-day men are quite as prone to overlook the presence of good honest men among lawyers, and write them down as being equal with the worst. E. B. Bax has proved to his own satisfaction, and that of some others, that a judge cannot think, or honestly hold his position. An advocate is writ down a mercenary bravo, and a judge as an inhuman weighing machine or partisan trickster.

It is unhappily true that the majority of the legal profession is hopelessly corrupt; that there is no cause too foul and no wrong too hideous for lawyers to espouse for pay or promotion; that in the whole course of history there has been no cause too noble to be opposed or betrayed from the same high motives. Laden with no conscience and impeded by no principle, there have always been found men to do the dirty work of tyranny, legal or commercial. Yet there have been innumerable instances, on the other side, of men who at the Bar defended or upon the Bench upheld the majesty of Justice; who, disregarding bribery and the applause of the powerful, dared to think for the people and speak truth. Such men we shall see again in the fitting time of stress and trial. Meanwhile we may hail with pleasure the spectacle of the Lord Chief Justice of England daring to denounce the ghastly mockery of "free contract." We may also in great measure count him heroic when we consider his position and surroundings, and find him questioning the "sacred rights of property" and reasserting the grand old axiom, *Salus populi suprema lex*.

To the annual meeting of the Glasgow Juridical Society, a few weeks ago, Lord Coleridge delivered an address which he called "Thoughts on the value of clear views upon the laws regulating the enjoyment of property." It is the most searching criticism of one special subject that has been made for a very long time, and should be printed and circulated widely. He began by adjuring his hearers in all controversies to begin by clearly understanding each other's meaning, and by ascertaining whether the difference between them were one of principle or no. It remains as true as it was in the days of Bishop Butler that "few persons exercise their judgment upon what comes before them in the way of determining whether it be conclusive or holds"; and again, "arguments are often wanted for some accidental purpose, but proof as such is what some persons never want." To clear the mind, to see things as they really are, to deal with an opponent's statement as he makes it, and either admit or deny it, these are the first necessities of fruitful controversy; without them the argument degenerates into an endless and unprofitable wrangle. Yet generally the first step is to mistake the proposition impugned, and the commonest argument is consciously or unconsciously to misrepresent it. Controversy is not perhaps the best intellectual atmosphere for a man to dwell in; yet honest controversy has a bracing effect upon a healthy mind, and the effect is lost if we dispute for triumph rather than truth; and although we do not clear our own mind, succeed perhaps in darkening another. And surely if clear views and lucid statements are important in any sort of intellectual pursuit, they are of special importance in things connected with law, the science of the rules of life, of order, of conduct; ignorance of which is grave misfortune; fallacies in which are followed by cruel evils to those who fall into them, more cruel still to those who are the subjects of them. Yet there is no more common confusion than that which is so habitually made between the principles which underlie all law, which are indeed its virtual elements, and the applications of those principles to states and circumstances that rise and pass away, changing with the generations of men, and, as man himself, never continuing in one stage. Yet a present application or illustration of a principle is constantly mistaken for the principle itself, and those who demur to the application of the principle or go about to reform it, are assailed as though they denied the principle itself or desired its destruction. Many examples were cited in proof of the position maintained, that men confound forms with the substance of which they are the outward manifestations, and deal with those who differ with them in point of form as if they were denying the existence of that of which the various forms are but the various clothings.

In the present day there is perhaps nothing as to which this confusion is greater or more mischievous than as to property itself—the

idea or principle of property, and as to the laws of property—the rules by which the practical enjoyment of property is regulated in these islands. The distinction is so obvious that one would think it impossible to be disputed. Perhaps none dispute it in words, but though it undoubtedly exists it is as undoubtedly often utterly forgotten, and that not only by men who cannot grasp a clear thought, and who purposely pass it by, but by men of reflection and cultivation, who seem to lose in their dealings with this question the judgment and temper which education ought to create or to improve.

The right of property, that is the right to possess peaceably what you have yourself acquired, underlies all society. Some sort of right is taken for granted in all communities, even the most savage; without some such right no society could exist. Now what is that right? It is very well put by Sir W. Blackstone in his second book, *It is still better put in the 'Treatise on the Law of Forfeiture,' which remains the sole evidence to these times of the brilliant but unhappy Charles Yorke. The end of property, he says, is subsistence, by which end nature has branded our pretensions to it. Hence in a state of nature we cannot assume more than we use, nor hold it longer than we have it, longer than we live and are capable of using it. The manner of acquiring property in a state of nature is by occupancy, an act of the body not of the mind, which last would give a title to property too precarious and disputable. In transferring property the consent expressed gives a right to the alienee against the alienor, and occupancy confirms that right against everyone else. But after death there can be no such expression. All other modes of transmission or acquiring are acts of positive and civil law which prevents the property of the dead from reverting, as it would do in a state of nature, to the common stock; and no such modes are manners of acquiring property necessary for the subsistence of mankind or to support the purposes of nature. You may find the same thing elaborately described by Blackstone in the beginning of his second book, and by the writers whom Blackstone himself quotes from and adopts. You will also find it very clearly shown in these and other writers of authority, on grounds of reason and by the distinct evidence of history, that all the complicated and conflicting systems, by which in various civilised countries the powers of the possessors of property have been in various ways now narrowed, now enlarged, are systems of positive law, and that the right of property, as Mr. Austen has shown, has never existed even in its most absolute form without some restriction.*

Many laws, among them those dealing with primogeniture, entail, and mortmain, made it clear that the English State claimed to prescribe the conditions on which its citizens should deal with property. It seems also to be reasonably clear that the power which prescribes rules can alter them; that plain absurdities would follow if this were not so, and that the consent of nations and the practice of ages has long since established this simple truth. But the consequences that follow from it are not always apprehended or recognised by those whom they concern. You will hear men talk as if a rule, once laid down, were laid down for ever; as if the rules of enjoyment became part of the thing enjoyed; and as if everyone who presumed to question the wisdom of the rules questioned the existence of that which is the subject of the rules, and that he who dares to propose an alteration should propose it, as in the old Greek Republic, with a halter round his neck. This seems absurd enough, but I put it to anyone of common fairness of mind, and the most ordinary knowledge of history, whether it is not now too much the fact, and whether it was not in times not quite gone by awfully and disgracefully the fact. The terrible penal laws which even so lately made capital crimes of insignificant offences, were defended by men of great power and high character, who always based their resistance to reform on the ground that to abrogate those laws was to attack property, and that to attack property was to subvert society itself. It is necessary to examine these examples of a state of feeling long since passed away, as old-world as the curfew or the sale of a ward's marriage. Necessary for this reason, that the feeling is not dead; the confusion of thought which is supposed to qualify the feeling is as prevalent as ever, though these particular examples may exist no longer.

It has been shown that the institution of property rests upon the general advantage. The particular rules by which the enjoyment of property is regulated, differing in every country of the world, must rest at last upon one and the same foundation—the general advantage. In this respect the laws of property resemble all other laws. The defence of any law must ultimately rest on this, that it ensues to the general advantage. Despots, if they condescend to a defence of their despotism, base it on this ground. In free countries one cannot con-

ceive of a law resting on any other. It seems an elementary proposition that a free people can deal as it thinks fit with its common stock, and can prescribe to its citizens rules for its enjoyment, alienation, and transmission. That 50 or 100 gentlemen, or even 1,000, should have a right, by agreeing to shut the coal mines, to stop the manufactures of Great Britain, and to paralyse her commerce, seems unspeakably absurd. And again, as to perpetuities, no man can give what he did not receive, and as no man can himself have a perpetuity, so he cannot give it to anyone else. It would indeed be difficult, in the face of bills passed by the hundred every year through both Houses of Parliament, to deny that private property may be rightly interfered with for the public good. But then it is said you have no right to do it except on proper compensation. What is the exact meaning of these words, especially "right" and "proper?" Is the absolute right—right, not power, for that no man questions—is the absolute right of the State intended to be denied to deal with the common stock with or without compensation? And by "proper compensation," is it meant that the compensation is to be proper in the opinion of the person compensated, or the person compensating, or whom? Men to whose personal loss the law is altered are, as matter of common fairness, to be considered in every way, and nothing should be done to their detriment that it is possible to avoid, but it has been decided for centuries that they most certainly have no claim—no legal right—to compensation. All the laws of property must stand upon the footing of general advantage: a country belongs to the inhabitants: in what proportion and by what rules its inhabitants are to own it must be settled by the law, and the moment that a fragment of the people sets up rights inherent in themselves, and not founded on the public good, "plain absurdities" follow. Property is not inherently in this class or in that, or in this man or in that, but laws of property are, like all other laws, made by the State for the State, and are the expression of what is from time to time the judgment of that cultivated intelligence which in a free country controls and leads the opinion of the State upon the various subjects of the laws. Every change should be made with care and tenderness, without unnecessary disturbance, with compensation satisfactory, if it may be, even to the persons unfavourably affected by the change, and doing no violence to the great principle that right must not be compassed by wrong, nor evil done that good may come of it; but, it is not wrong to change the law on good reason of fair terms; it is not evil to vindicate the supremacy of the State over that which is being employed for its destruction. It would be well that all owners of property, from the largest to the smallest, should recognise distinctly that their title to the enjoyment of it must rest upon the same foundation—law, whether positive or presumptive; law, which is practical and intelligible; not upon anything sacred or mystical and transcendental, and that the mode and measure of their enjoyment of the common stock of the State, if it injures the State, can no more be defended, and will no more endure, than can any other public mischief or nuisance, be it criminal or be it civil. It is no doubt often said that to change laws of property involves, as a rule, an interference with free contract; but freedom of contract implies that both parties to it are really and not nominally free. There can be no free contract between a slave and his owner; none with a little child; none where one party to a so-called contract can impose, and the other party to it must accept, its terms, however burdensome, however inherently unjust. Let those who idolise freedom of contract remember what they generally forget, that they must, in consistency, denounce every statute which allows of and regulates bankruptcy, from James VI. of Scotland to Mr. Chamberlain.

Those who rabidly attack Socialists should ponder these utterances of one of the greatest lawyers of the age. To him who reads aright it can but be evident that here a great mind has been weighing the subject without bias, and has spoken upon it as one anxious to aid in its being understood, though he is no partisan of a particular interpretation.

To the Socialist it shows that the ideas for which he fights are making way not alone in the street and in the study, but in every place in which the minds of men are formed or their energies put forth.

H. HALLIDAY SPARLING.

FATHER M'GLYNN AND THE VATICAN—NEW YORK, June 23.—The officers of the Organised Labour party, after the mass meeting held in Union Square on the night of the 18th inst. to do honour to Father M'Glynn, sent a cablegram to Cardinal Simeoni declaring that 100,000 Catholics denounce the threat to excommunicate Father M'Glynn, and protest against ecclesiastical interference with the rights of Americans.—ROME, June 24.—A few days have still to elapse before the term of 40 days assigned to Father M'Glynn for submission to the Papal See expires. It is not believed in clerical circles that he will now obey the Pope's summons to Rome; and if he continues recalcitrant, the sentence of formal excommunication will be pronounced.

HOW IT IS DONE NOW, AND WHAT MAY BE THE FUTURE.—*First Year*:—Labourers (humbly): "Please, Mr. Capitalist, give us a little better wages; our homes are little better than dog-kennels, our families are starving, our—" Capitalist (sternly): "Oh, get out! You people are always whining! Do you want the earth?" *Second Year*:—Labourers (respectfully): "We cannot work longer for such small wages; we must live and have decent houses for our families." Capitalist (ironically): "You needn't work for me if the wages don't suit you. This is a free country, and you are at perfect liberty to leave and go somewhere else." *Third Year*:—Labourers (angrily): "We cannot and will not stand this oppression any longer. We produce the wealth and we propose to have it." Capitalist (terrified): "What is this? Police! Socialists! Anarchists! Communists!" *Fourth Year*:—Labourers: Boom!!! No capitalists henceforth heard from.—Cato, in *Denver Labour Enquirer*.

HOW WE LIVE AND HOW WE MIGHT LIVE.

(Concluded from p. 203.)

To what extent it may be necessary or desirable for people under social order to live in common, we may differ pretty much according to our tendencies towards social life. For my part I can't see why we should think it a hardship to eat with the people we work with; I am sure that as to many things, such as valuable books, pictures, and splendour of surroundings, we shall find it better to club our means together; and I must say that often when I have been sickened by the stupidity of the mean idiotic rabbit warrens that rich men build for themselves in Bayswater and elsewhere, I console myself with visions of the noble communal hall of the future, unsparing of materials, generous in worthy ornament, alive with the noblest thoughts of our time, and the past embodied in the best art which free and manly people could produce; such an abode of man as no private enterprise could come anywhere near for beauty and fitness, because only collective thought and collective life could cherish the aspirations which would give birth to its beauty, or have the skill and leisure to carry them out. I for my part should think it much the reverse of a hardship if I had to read my books and meet my friends in such a place; nor do I think I am better off to live in a vulgar stuccoed house crowded with upholstery that I despise, in all respects degrading to the mind and enervating to the body to live in, simply because I call it my own, or my house. It is not an original remark, but I make it here, that my home is where I meet people with whom I sympathise, whom I love. Well, that is my opinion as a middle-class man. Whether a working-class man would think his family possession of his wretched little room better than his share of the palace of which I have spoken I must leave to his opinion, and to the imaginations of the middle class, who perhaps may sometimes conceive the fact that the said worker is cramped for space and comfort—say on washing day.

Before I leave this matter of the surroundings of life, I wish to meet a possible objection. I have spoken of machinery being used freely for releasing people from the more mechanical and repulsive part of necessary labour; and I know that to some cultivated people, people of the artistic turn of mind, machinery is particularly distasteful, and they will be apt to say you will never get your surroundings pleasant so long as you are surrounded by machinery. I don't quite admit that; it is the allowing machines to be our masters and not our servants that so injures the beauty of life nowadays. In other words, it is the token of the terrible crime we have fallen into of using our control of the powers of nature for the purpose of enslaving people, we careless meantime of how much happiness we rob their lives of.

Yet for the consolation of the artists I will say that I believe indeed that a state of social order would probably lead at first to a great development of machinery for really useful purposes, because people will still be anxious about getting through the work necessary to holding society together; but that after a while they will find that there is not so much work to do as they expected, and that then they will have leisure to reconsider the whole subject; and if it seems to them that a certain industry would be carried on more pleasantly as regards the worker, and more effectually as regards the goods by using hand-work rather than machinery, they will certainly get rid of their machinery, because it will be possible for them to do so. It isn't possible now; we are not at liberty to do so; we are slaves to the monsters which we have created. And I have a kind of hope that the very elaboration of machinery in a society whose purpose is not the multiplication of labour, as it now is, but the carrying on of a pleasant life as it would be under social order; that the elaboration of machinery, I say, will lead to the simplification of life, and so once more to the limitation of machinery.

Well, I will now let my claims for decent life stand as I have made them. To sum them up in brief, they are: First, a healthy body; second, an active mind in sympathy with the past, the present, and the future; thirdly, occupation fit for a healthy body and an active mind; and fourth, a beautiful world to live in. These are the conditions of life which the refined man of all ages has set before him as the thing above all others to be attained. Too often he has been so foiled in their pursuit that he has turned longing eyes backward to the days before civilisation, when man's sole business was getting himself food from day to day, and hope was dormant in him, or at least could not be expressed by him.

Indeed, if civilisation (as many think) forbids the realisation of the hope to attain such conditions of life, then civilisation forbids mankind to be happy; and if that is the case, then let us stifle all aspirations towards progress—nay, all feelings of mutual goodwill and affection between men—and snatch each one of us what we can from the heap of wealth that fools create for rogues to grow fat on; or better still, let us as speedily as possible find some means of dying like men, since we are forbidden to live like men.

Rather, however, take courage, and believe that we of this age, in spite of all its torment and disorder, have been born to a wonderful heritage fashioned of the work of those that have gone before us; and that the day of the organisation of man is dawning. It is not we who can build up the new social order; the past ages have done that for us; but we can clear our eyes to the signs of the times, and we shall then see that the attainment of a good condition of life is being made possible for us, and that it is now our business to stretch out our hands to take it. And how? Chiefly, I think, by educating people to a sense of their real capacities as men, so that they may be able to use to their own good the political power which is rapidly being thrust upon them;

to get them to see that the old system of organising labour for individual profit is becoming unmanageable, and that the whole people have now got to choose between the confusion resulting from the break up of that system and the determination to take in hand the labour now organised for profit, and use its organisation for the livelihood of the community: to get people to see that individual profit-makers are not a necessity for labour but an obstruction to it, and that not only or chiefly because they are the perpetual pensioners of labour, as they are, but rather because of the waste which their existence as a class necessitates. All this we have to teach people, when we have taught ourselves, and I admit that the work is long and burdensome; as I began by saying, people have been made so timorous of change by the terror of starvation that even the unluckiest of them are stolid and hard to move. Hard as the work is, however, its reward is not doubtful. The mere fact that a body of men, however small, are banded together as Socialist missionaries shows that the change is going on. As the working class, the real organic part of society, takes in these ideas, hope will arise in them, and they will claim changes in society, many of which doubtless will not tend directly towards their emancipation, because they will be claimed without due knowledge of the one thing necessary to claim, equality of condition; but which indirectly will help to break up our rotten sham society, while that claim for equality of condition will be made constantly and with growing loudness till it must be listened to, and then at last it will only be a step over the border and the civilised world will be socialised; and looking back on what has been, we shall be astonished to think of how long we submitted to live as we live now.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

SOCIALIST FEAST IN COPENHAGEN.

DURING all the years in which the political conflict has been going on in Denmark, the 5th of June has been a field-day for the parties. The Social Democratic workmen party also has made that day a feast, not exactly in memory of the charter of the constitution (for to this the working-men are not very much indebted), but a feast which gives us an opportunity for encouraging ourselves to fight for our rights. Year after year the partakers in the feast have grown in number. Last year it was evident that the feast-place was too small; therefore, this year it was enlarged from 21 to 35 acres of land. As in 1886 it was a part of the place for exercising soldiers.

The show was arranged at 1 o'clock in "Norre-Boulevard." 135 unions with their (mostly red) ensigns and banners were present, and 18 bands of music were distributed throughout the procession. All the partakers wore red ribands on the breast; many of them had a red paper, with the words "liberty, equality, brotherhood" in white, on their hats; some carried little red banners with the same words in gold. Foremost in the show walked the Council of the Social Democratic Federation and the Redaction of the *Social Democrat*; after them followed the members of the Federation with the old ensign of "Internationale," which the Hussars in vain tried to capture at the first great workmen's meeting in Copenhagen. At 2 o'clock the show proceeded from the rendezvous through the main streets; along the road were large masses of people standing to see it pass, and from most houses it was saluted with cheers and flowers. The show was greater than last year, and especially should be noticed 500 women, who with their own ensigns formed a separate division. About 30,000 men and women took part in the show, and it had a length of two English miles, the ranks marching very near each other. It lasted more than two hours before the foremost reached the festival place, the entrance to which was marked with flags and the inscriptions, "Liberty, equality, brotherhood;" "The people's will is the supreme law." The place was enclosed by green branches, and from the enclosure waved the flags of all nations. Upon a hill was raised a decoration of flags, and on a pole 70 ft. high, from which an electric light at night enlightened the place, was hoisted a red flag with the inscription, "Welcome!" As a union arrived at its platform, it stopped and planted there its ensigns and banners. It was a magnificent appearance that of the large show with its many, and for the most part valuable, silken banners, among which red was the prevailing colour, entering the place.

Before the procession arrived, about 20,000 men and women were gathered in the feast-place, and more entered with it, so that at 6.15 o'clock about 70,000 people were assembled around the platforms. At a given sign all the bands played, and the partakers in the feast sang a song glorifying Liberty, and then the speeches began.

The smith Hurop, the joiner Berg, and the cigarmaker Olsen were in the three chairs, while the painter J. Jensen, the secretary Hordum, and P. Holm, M.P., spoke courageously and stoutly about liberty; and after a song for Socialism, the secretary of the Federation, P. Knudsen, the joiner C. C. Andersen, and the treasurer of the Federation G. C. Olsen, spoke about Socialism. At last a song, "To the worker," was sung, and then the partakers, who had enthusiastically cheered the speakers, spread to the different refreshment-tents, while dancing began upon the places set apart for it, which were illuminated by coloured lamps. At midnight the feast ended, and it was again made evident that the working-men themselves keep the best order, and that the constables had nothing else to do beside listening to the speeches, and seeing how the working-men succeeded in celebrating their annual liberty-feast. To the feast telegrams of congratulation arrived from 24 Social Democratic Unions in the country. In most of the towns the workmen party also held liberty-feasts. Especially should be mentioned the feast in Aarhus, the second town in Denmark. Fourteen

unions and about 8,000 men and women were present there, and the speeches of Marott, editor of the *Demokraten*, of Harald Jensen, and the typographer Nielsen, were highly applauded.—With Socialistic greeting,

Copenhagen, June 11, 1887.

P. KNUDSEN, Sec. S.D.F.,
Norregade 5.

NORTHUMBRIAN NOTES.

THE masters in some cases are preparing to boycott the Socialist Federation branches. At Broomhill the notices stuck up at the pit heap were taken down by order of the managers, although all kinds of notices are usually placed there. The men, however, are not easily cowed, and a little of this kind of action will be useful to the movement.

The dissatisfaction of the men at the action of the Miners' Union agents is getting stronger, and there is a growing settled conviction that a thorough reorganisation of the union is necessary. It is rather discouraging to hear that many miners intend to leave the union. This action is decidedly wrong, and if persisted in will mean the practical smash up of the union. The men have certainly been shamefully used by their leaders, whose action cannot be excused and should not be tolerated, but there is another way of looking at the matter.

In the past the miners, just like all trades' unionists, have been very regardless of the business of their organisation. As long as things went with seeming smoothness they were quite careless of what the officers did. Now when a crisis is at hand it would be cowardly as well as foolish to desert the union. The men have the power to make their society what they wish, and the fault is very much their own that hitherto they have had no definite ideas as to how things should be done, and what aim should be kept in view.

The discussion on the Mines Regulation Bill is a fine example of the uselessness of the present labour M.P.'s. The excessively moderate proposal to reduce the working hours for boys from 54 to 48 per week, was spoken to by Mr. Burt in a way that put an excuse for pitching it out into Mr. W. H. Smith's hand. "I shall vote for this as a matter of policy, but I hope it won't be carried," was the very apparent meaning of what Mr. Burt said, and Mr. Smith, of course, pointed out that as the chief labour M.P. did not care for the amendment the Government would not accept it.

Mr. Bradlaugh fairly outdid himself when he opposed the attempt to put a stop to women working about the pits. As a matter of principle Mr. Bradlaugh objects to interfering with what he calls the "freedom" of labour. Under the present system women are set to do this and other degrading kinds of work because their labour is cheaper than men's; the present organisation of industry forces them to compete against their husbands and brothers, and the capitalists do all they can to encourage it. To ignore the fact that the women are forced into this work, and then to proclaim the wickedness of interfering with their freedom, is really too absurd.

There is a very able article by George Julian Harney (U.S.A.) in the Jubilee supplement to the *Newcastle Chronicle* for June 22nd, giving a sketch of the Chartist movement, and a useful reminder that the extended political liberty of the last fifty years has simply given more power to the capitalist as against the landlord, and not to the worker as against the employing class.

J. L. MAHON.

One of the coalowners that insisted most firmly on the reduction—Potter—has just died. Curiously enough, Potter's father died immediately after a strike which terminated adversely to the men some years ago. Superstitious people might say that this was another solemn warning to the Potter family against grinding down the wages of the workers.

In an article in the *Co-operative News* G. J. Holyoake says that J. Brailsford Bright's article in the *Commonweal* is the first sign of a disposition on the part of Socialists to regard co-operation with a friendly eye. It is a pity that a representative man like Mr. Holyoake should know so little of the present Socialist movement and its relation to other progressive movements. In spite of the fact that some Socialists, by no means of a representative standing, have railed against co-operation, the party generally is in sympathy with the aims of co-operators. Sometimes unfortunately mere dividend-hunting arrogates to itself the title of co-operation, and then it deserves condemnation not because under present conditions it is wrong for workmen to get dividends when they can, but because they put forward their dividend-hunting as a remedy for the present system of exploitation.

A. K. D.

"O'Brien is a MAN. Honour and praise to that courage that refuses the protection of the capitalist troops, even when his life is menaced.—*Denver Labor Enquirer*. Well, "you can't most always sometimes tell." This same O'Brien sought the protection of the "saviours of society" in New York, June 4, and he successfully escaped being publicly worshipped by the hero-worshipping workmen. He was horrified to think that the "mudsills" want to abolish private property in land. He wants none of that, and yet he has been lauded as an Irish patriot! D'ye call that a man?—*Workmen's Advocate*.



"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.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday June 29.

ENGLAND		SWITZERLAND	
Justice	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat	
Jus	Hammondon (N.J.)—Credit Foncier	Geneva—Bulletin Continental	
Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt		
Norwich—Daylight	New Haven (Conn.)—Work-		
Die Autonomie	men's Advocate		
	Albina (Oreg.)—Weekly Courier		
INDIA		HOLLAND	
Bankipore—Behar Herald		Hague—Recht voor Allen	
UNITED STATES		SPAIN	
New York—Freiheit	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	El Productor	
Truthseeker	Le Socialiste	Madrid—El Socialista	
Der Sozialist	Le Revolte		
Volkszeitung	Guise—Le Devoir		
John Swinton's Paper	Lille—Le Travailleur		
Boston—Woman's Journal			
Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote			
Labor Enquirer			
Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer			

NOTES.

The *Pall Mall* is sanguine enough to see a hope of Liberal reunion in Lord Hartington's speech; a less sanguine supporter of Liberalism would see in it the ordinary utterance of a Tory in Whig's clothing (which is the wolf and which the sheep?). But really to take any serious notice of such people as this lazy Whig-Tory lord would be beneath the part of the mere journalist even, if it were not for the worship of Parliament which is such a curious part of the modern Englishman's creed. Meanwhile there is one comfort, not all the Queen's horses (even with artificial tails and stuffed ears) and all the Queen's men can put the Liberal party together again. There is an end of that piece of humbug at any rate.

It is said in the daily papers: "An illuminated address of congratulation on the event of the Jubilee will be presented to her Majesty to-day by Sir James D. Linton and Mr. Alfred Everill on behalf of the Royal Institute of Painters in Water Colours. It is bound in the form of an album in crimson plush," etc. Only by a printers' error, I suppose, the statement is omitted that the plush was cut from the seat of a pair of breeches of that material hitherto reserved for the wear of the President of the illustrious society—the loss will be supplied.

The amendment to the Mines Regulation Bill designed to put an end to the work of the pit-brow women was thrown out. This was a foregone conclusion, considering the amount of ignorance of economy shown on both sides of the question, mingled with the determination to do nothing likely to put a spoke in the wheel of capitalism, which is the natural atmosphere of the House of Commons. Mr. M'Laren, apparently quite innocently, gave the key-note to the whole debate when he said, "No objection had been urged against the employment of women on the pit-bank that could not be urged with as much force against the whole factory system of this country."

To Mr. M'Laren that seemed a conclusive argument;—and to us it seems so also. It would not be worth while attacking here and there a special abuse, a special horror of the present labour system, unless through it we were attacking the whole capitalistic system; we don't want to improve the system which Mr. M'Laren obviously thinks as necessary to the production of commodities as the sun is to the production of plants, but to sweep it away.

The case of the pit-brow women has been put more than once in the *Commonweal*, but as not everybody who may get hold of this number will be a subscriber to the paper, it may shortly be stated again thus:

that these women are employed on work unfit for women in order to reduce the wages of men in the coal industry. That is the whole matter in a nutshell.

W. M.

A letter on "The Labour Struggle," signed "Oswald Birchall," and dated "Buscot Rectory, Lechlade, Jubilee Day," appears in the *Co-operative News*, in the course of which the writer says, "I am glad to learn from the *News* that co-operation is to be started at Cradley Heath, but for such news I am generally obliged to turn to 'The Labour Struggle' in the *Commonweal*, of which I send you the current number. I do not know how far the picture made up by the various items there may be accurate or not; but surely it is as dreadfully startling as ever, and ought to be looked into by all co-operative associations, with a view to productive experiments, without waiting for any other objects." I am sure I may venture to inform our friend that, if there be any inaccuracy in the "dreadfully startling" account presented in the "Labour Struggle," it is certainly not in the direction of overstating the case.

T. B.

A FREE-TRADER'S VIEW OF THE LABOUR QUESTION.

II.

This, then, is the second proposition that presents itself in considering Mr. Atkinson's view of the relations of labour and capital: That the nationalisation of capital, attended as it would be by the division of the profits of the capitalists amongst the working classes, would give such slight additional advantage to the latter as to render it, even if just, not worth the trouble of doing.

As I have already pointed out, most capitalists get far more than 5½ per cent. of the total proceeds of their business; railway shareholders, for instance, taking more than one-half, or over 50 per cent. In such cases there can be no question whether it is worth while for the labourers to claim their rights. I must leave it to the men who live on £60 a-year to determine whether an extra £12 is worth striving for. All I know is, that it is *not* worth their while to work as they do for what they can buy with £60 a-year.

Let us, however, suppose, for the sake of argument, that Mr. Atkinson's figures represent truly the "present division of profits," and that, divided all round, the capitalists' share would not make five pounds a-year difference. Ought not the workers, then, to be satisfied, and Socialist agitators shut their mouths, and settle down in peace? Surely nothing more could be desired?

Well, as I said before, the labour question does not to my mind run on one line only; it is a figure of many sides, of which this of wages and the division of profits is perhaps the least important. We Socialists believe that the day will come when there will be no more profit-making, nor working for wages or money at all, but all will work for one common aim, as may sometimes be seen amongst the brothers and sisters of one family.

But before that blessed time arrives other things besides wages must be readjusted. For there are far more important relations between capital and labour than those which affect wages. Here, for instance, is something connected with another side of the question: "A general meeting of the cotton-spinners of Lancashire, Cheshire, and the neighbouring districts was held in Manchester yesterday, when it was resolved to run the mills upon half-time for eight weeks. This step is attributed to the adverse effect upon the spinners of the speculations of cotton-brokers at Liverpool" (*Standard*, May 28). I will not now go into the effect of this decision on the wages of the working people; but it is a fair example of "the service which capital does to labour in assisting it to economise time." The main thing, however, to be noticed in this extract is the proof it affords of the almost absolute power which the capitalist has over the labourers so long as he has control of the capital. It is possible for him to compel them to work themselves to death, or to stand idle and starve, according as it pays him best.

Still worse even than this is the misdirection and waste of labour which goes on when the working classes are at the mercy of the holders of capital; for the latter have absolute power to employ the labourers at whatever they may please—useful, useless, or absolutely harmful, as it suits their fancy. This it is which is the real, or at any rate by far the most fruitful cause of overwork. Every labourer who is taken away from the production of what he or his class needs, becomes a drag on those who are left. They have to produce the food he eats, the clothes he wears, and everything that he uses; and he does nothing for them in return, but is "employed" by some capitalist or master to do unnecessary work for him. And yet Mr. Atkinson tries to make believe that it is a blessing to the labourers to have a capitalist to "give further employment to labour," and thus prevent the working classes from enjoying that leisure which the introduction of machinery should have afforded them. If all the flunkies and domestic servants, all the makers of articles of luxury and builders of large mansions and churches, all the carriage-builders picture-painters, tailors, advertisers, and innumerable others whose work is now absolutely wasted on those who are utterly useless but whose possession of capital enables them as a class to compel the labour of all these producers,—if all these said producers or hangers-on were to leave off working for another class and merely toil for the needs of their own class, even without the help of modern inventions they would by working very short hours be able to produce all that they needed; and with "capital" in the form of

machinery they might reduce almost to nothing the time occupied in the production of their necessities, though it must not be forgotten that the manufacture of this machinery would take some of them away from more healthy and happier work.

This would be the advantage of capital to the labourer, if it were not for the capitalist; so that it is entirely wrong to talk of capital and capitalist as if they were one and the same thing; the former being a blessing to mankind, were it not for the curse imposed on us in the person of the latter.

Surely this is a most important side of the labour question, and yet Mr. Atkinson's straight lines don't lead us to it at all. One begins to suspect that after all his view of the affair is only easy because so extremely narrow, and the simple look it has is the sham simplicity put on to hide dishonesty of thought. What other opinion can one hold of such expressions as these: "Every capitalist who puts his money into useful work—into cloth, food, fuel, metals, and the like—saves every workman a deal more than he takes from him"; "For every cent that almost every great capitalist receives, the workmen are saved ten cents somehow or other"?

But it is weary work to dwell so long on such stuff as this, and I will pass on to the last paragraph, where we learn that "forty or fifty years ago the men and women in the cotton-mills worked thirteen or fourteen hours a-day, while they only earned half as much wages. . . . It was just the same in every other kind of work. . . . Where it took thirteen or fourteen hours then it now takes but ten hours. By and by it will take less. Very likely the next generation will be able to get just as good a living, and perhaps a better one than the present by working eight hours a-day; but they won't get it by Acts of Legislature."

I commend this, especially the last sentence, to the consideration of all. The evident idea is to show that the capitalist is the benefactor to whom the workers owe the shorter hours of labour which we are told they enjoy. Whereas the fact is that in every instance the capitalists have as a body resisted every concession in the way of shortening the hours of labour that has hitherto been requested. What little advantage has been gained has been rendered more possible by machinery and the increase of capital, but has been all but spoilt by the capitalists; and all benefits the workers enjoy are due almost wholly to their own determined agitation. Bearing this fact in mind, we must toil on, recognising that one truth of Mr. Atkinson's, that we shall not get anything by Acts of the Legislature, and organise ourselves in such a way that ere long we may experience the blessing of capital, *without* its present attendant curse.

Meanwhile, I shall feel amply rewarded for what trouble I have had in following Mr. Atkinson's dreary lines if I have succeeded in tearing up any of them, so as to bring those who have been travelling along them to the final break-down of the train of thought which must precede their walking in the better paths of Socialism.

GEORGE STURT.

LITERARY NOTICES.

Our Corner for July is an excellent number. John Robertson's article on "Culture and Reaction. A Chapter in Political Science," is scholarly and thorough. The second and concluding instalment will appear next month and will be looked for with great interest. Annie Besant has a good article on "The Future of the Workers in England," that the "If not, why?" style of argument would have some difficulty in meeting. There are several other readable and interesting contributions, including poems by E. Nesbit and Fred. Henderson, the sonnet by the latter written in prison.

'Socialism: For and Against,' by Annie Besant and Charles Bradlaugh (Freethought Publishing Co., 4d.), is a written debate upon Socialism, which does not bring any new point very strongly forward, but once more restates the old objections and ably answers them.

'The Socialist Movement,' by Annie Besant (Freethought Publishing Co., 6d. Fleet Street, 3d.), is a reprint of an article in the *Westminster Review*. It is a calm, clear statement of Socialism and its aims; an eloquent exposition of the forces that work toward its realisation. A temperate and impartial explanation is given of the attitude of differing schools of Socialists on the most important points; and altogether this is a most valuable pamphlet for students of the subject.

'Radicalism and Socialism' (same writer, publisher, and price) is an endeavour to show Radicals that their political principles rightly held and applied should make them Socialists, and that the whole tendency of modern legislation is socialistic, a tendency so developed as to be beyond successful interested resistance. Mrs. Besant says truly, "The main difference between Radicals and Socialists . . . is that Radicals take the steps towards Socialism without recognising whither they are going; while the Socialists see the goal as well as the separate Acts of Parliament." There are those of us, of whom the talented authoress is not one, would say that one of the lessons she taught in this pamphlet is that Radicals are perfectly competent to do all that can be done on parliamentary lines, and that for Socialists the rôle of teacher and agitator was the one most open. S.

THE CONCENTRATION OF CAPITAL.—From 1863 to 1869 there were 4,782 new limited companies, from 1870 to 1876 there were 6,905; from 1877 to 1883 there were 8,643; and in 1883, 1,634, the largest number of new companies ever started in one year. These figures show rapid and enormous concentration. A large proportion of these fail, but that is simply the survival of the fittest companies. This shows the growth of large capitals. Here is the smashing up of the small. Bankruptcies and composition with creditors from 1870 to 1875 rose gradually from 5,002 to 7,899; by 1879 they reached 13,132. Since then they have gradually decreased, the slaughter of the superfluous being fairly well accomplished for a time. The great increase of large fortunes is also a proof of the concentration of capital. The co-operative stores have smashed up hundreds of shopkeepers.—J. L. M.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE MARGIN OF PROFIT.

Owing either to their extraordinary dulness or to their impudent dishonesty, several of our opponents persist in using "profit" and "surplus-value" as identical terms, and in maintaining that if the margin of *profit* is proved to be small, it necessarily follows that the workers would not be benefitted to an appreciable extent were they to receive in addition to their wages all the *surplus-value* they create. Over and over again it has been pointed out to these people (manifestly without effect) that even when little or no profit is being made there may still be produced an enormous amount of surplus-value.

To prove this once more, I append the balance-sheet for 1886 of an Ayrshire farmer, which appears in a report on 'Farm Rents in Scotland,' drawn up by Mr. Lucien J. Walker, United States commercial agent in Dunfermline. I choose this balance-sheet out of several at hand, of various industrial concerns, because agriculture, it is frequently asserted, is the most unprofitable industry in the country, and is therefore likely (if all that our opponents say be true) to be the industry in which the least surplus-value is produced. We are led to expect that the rate of exploitation is very small indeed—so small that farm labourers would receive only a few pence in addition to their present wage were they to get the full fruits of their labour. Contrary to expectation, however, we find in the case of this farm that although the profit is *nil*, the rate of the production of surplus-value is over 200 per cent. In plain English, for every £100 paid out of the net produce as wages to labour, £200 is paid as rent and interest to capital. It is evident that if the exploitation of labour were put an end to, the wages of labour on this particular farm might be *trebled*, as the workers on it are at present robbed of £2 out of every £3 the net produce of their labour brings in the market!

Balance-Sheet of an Ayrshire Farm in 1886.			
RECEIVED.		PAID.	
Grain	£40 16 0	Manure, Feeding Stuffs	£74 15 0
Green Crop	13 0 0	Rent	200 0 0
Hay	60 10 6	Interest	40 0 0
Stock	40 0 0	(Deduct small percentage for insurance and depreciation.)	
Dairy Produce	201 10 0	Wages	64 17 0
Grazing	75 0 0	Ditto. Balance left farmer to pay taxes, etc., and to feed, clothe, and educate his children	51 4 6
		Profit	<i>nil</i> .
	£430 16 6		£430 16 6

The words in italics are mine.

Let us hope we shall have no more of the margin-of-profit juggle.

J. HALDANE SMITH.

"CHRISTIANITY, POSITIVISM, AND SOCIALISM."

FRIEND,—That Christian or any other morality may easily be, and is, distorted to suit selfish individual ends is not only credible, but undoubtedly true; yet it is difficult in the light of early Christian teaching to altogether accept Mr. Bax's views.

The "notion of Holiness," while conveying the sense of the relation of the individual soul with God, equally necessitates the highest *social* morality; and this double teaching—generalised in the words "Love the Lord thy God and thy neighbour as thyself"—is amplified throughout the whole of the New Testament. The writer who said "What doth it profit though a man say he hath faith and have not works? Can faith save him?" certainly had not the notion that the requirements of the Christian faith ceased at an introspective holiness; while the works implied have no connection with introspection. Again, the general and, to a modern individualist, meaningless denunciations of the rich are but examples of social teaching which, we may take it, had their partial result in the semi-communism lately mentioned. This teaching, well set forth in the epistle quoted, is also apparent throughout the whole of the Testament, and is entirely inseparable from the introspective which apparently gives such offence.

It were perhaps unjust to apply Mr. Morison's Napoleonic quotation to Mr. Bax, yet this ignoring of the twofold nature of Christian teaching would certainly seem in some measure to warrant it.

While recognising the present social condition to be the result of a purely human disease—selfishness—to which social evolution is applying a divine remedy—brotherhood—is it just to attribute either directly or indirectly such condition to a religion which, in its primitive teaching at least, while asserting individual responsibility severely condemned individual selfishness?—Yours sincerely,

CHARLES J. GLADWELL.

McGlynn has set New York in a roar by saying that O'Brien is only Landed with twenty-five per cent off! This hit harder and truer than the Canadian brick.—*Denver Labour Enquirer*.

"I am for Ireland and Ireland alone. I will touch nothing else."—WILLIAM O'BRIEN. Then what are you doing here? We, organised workmen, are men of all nationalities, and contend for the workers of the world, including the Irish. William, you're a disgrace to humanity.—*Workmen's Advocate*.

"BRAIN" WORK.—Jay Gould: "Want a yacht, eh? Well, you've got to make the money to buy it. I'll take a walk down street." Son George: "Yes, father." "I'll slip on the pavement." "Yes, father." "And have myself brought back in an ambulance." "Yes, father." "Then stocks will drop and you buy." "Yes, father." "Then I'll go out on the front pavement and dance a jig." "Yes, father." "Then stocks will go up and you sell."—*Denver Labour Enquirer*.

That the labourers are entitled to life and the means of life; that they are entitled to the full benefit resulting from their labour; that in order to secure these, they must control the means; and that any system which makes it possible for individuals to enslave others is wrong and must be abolished—these are the principles that animate the real labour movement. Carry on the agitation for principles; be as radical as you please, but don't make idols of men and worship them.—*Workmen's Advocate*.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

The Dundee masons came out on strike on Saturday, for an advance of a halfpenny on their present wages of 7d. per hour.

At a meeting of cotton spinners in Heywood, on the 24th, representing 250,000 spindles, it was decided unanimously to run short time.

Meetings of joiners have been held in Dundee to consider the wages question, with a view of enforcing the standard rate in all the workshops in Dundee.

The strike of masons, which took place in Dundee last Saturday, has been partially settled by several of the employers conceding the advance of a halfpenny per hour on the standard rate of wages, 7d. per hour.

The whole of the limited spinning companies in the Ashton and Stalybridge district have agreed to commence three days a week for two months. At Oldham, short time has started at Sun Mill, Gladstone, and other companies.

India mills, which are the largest in the Darwen district, have now been closed for about six weeks, and are not expected to recommence work until after the Darwen fair holidays, which commence in about a month. Cotton Hall Spinning Mill and Darwen Spinning Company's Mill are also closed owing to the state of trade.

The weavers employed at the Lower Darwen and by Messrs. Thomas and Richard Eccles are out on strike. The weavers allege as their reason bad material, contending that it cannot be worked properly. The mill is closed, and is not likely to be again opened for some time unless, it is said, the workpeople make a special request to the employers.

BLACKHEATH STUD AND PEG TRADE.—On Saturday the operatives in the stud and peg trade in the Blackheath and Rowley Regis districts gave their employers 14 days notice for a return to the 1881 list of prices.

COLLIERY ENGINEERS' WAGES AT BRIERLEY HILL.—Fourteen days' notice was given on Friday last at the Earl of Dudley's collieries in the Brierley Hill district for a reduction of 4d. a day in the wages of colliery engineers—from 3s. 8d. to 3s. 4d. a day.

The London Trades Council Annual Report is to hand, eight pages, of which four and a half are devoted to the proceedings connected with the visit to Sandringham, and eight lines to strike movements. There is a good deal of implied abuse of Socialists which will be dealt with next week.

The Edinburgh Trades' Council at a special meeting resolved, by a majority of 14 to 12, to refuse the ticket of admission to the Westminster Jubilee service, which had been forwarded to the President by the Secretary of the National Union of Conservative Associations. In consequence of certain expressions used towards him by one of the members, Mr. George Mackay intimated his intention of sending in his resignation as President.

On Monday morning, three chain shops at Dudley Wood and New Town, near Cradley Heath, were blown up by gunpowder. The shops are said to have been used by workmen who have been working under price, and an inspection of the buildings shows that they have been destroyed by canisters of gunpowder being dropped down the chimneys to which fuses were attached. The hearths and buildings are completely destroyed.

On Friday the 24th ult. a deputation of about 100 workers residing at Bloomfield, Tipton, waited upon the Poor Law Guardians, and applied for relief. It was stated that about 400 ironworkers and their families were starving, through the stoppage of the ironworks, some of the men not having broken their fast for several days. The Chairman and other Guardians sympathised with the men, and stated that the only relief they could give was to send them into the workhouse.

At a representative meeting of chainmakers on the 24th ult. at Cradley Heath, it was stated that at meetings of the operatives held throughout the South Staffordshire and East Worcestershire districts, they had unanimously decided to cease work on the 1st July, in consequence of a number of employers having disregarded the recognised list of prices. The result will be that upwards of 3000 operatives will turn out on strike. Arrangements are being made to provide co-operative works on an extensive scale, which, it is contended, will deprive the obnoxious middlemen of their occupation.

BROXBURN—SHALE-WORKERS' WAGES.—Notices have been posted up at Newliston and Holmes intimating that, in accordance with an agreement come to by the whole of the oil companies, the miners and oncost men will have their wages reduced by one-sixth after next pay day. It is expected that a similar notice will be posted at Broxburn Oil Works in a few days.

END OF A STRIKE.—Some few days ago the colliers working in Wester Gartshore Pit, W. Scotland, struck work owing to the attempted imposition of a scale of deductions for "dirt" sent up in the hutches, which the men regarded as unreasonable. A meeting between the masters, the men, and the miners' agent for the district has resulted in the scale being withdrawn, and the men have resumed work.

GLASGOW BAKERS.—A meeting of the operative bakers of Glasgow was held last week for the purpose of considering their hours of labour; Mr. David Fortune presided. It was moved by one of the bakers, "That this meeting is of opinion that the present state of trade demands the gravest consideration, inasmuch as the position of the operatives has become such that it is simply impossible that they can in any adequate measure fulfil the duties devolving on them as citizens of the commonwealth." This resolution was seconded by Mr. H. Tait, general secretary of the Scottish Railway Servants, and supported by Mr. Drummond, secretary of the Scottish Typographical Society (the latter of whom remarked that, in his opinion, twenty-four hours would settle any dispute if the men chose to stop supplies), and was unanimously passed.

GLASGOW TRADES' COUNCIL.—This Council met on the 22nd, Mr. R. C. Grant, president, in the chair. Mr. Hunter reported on behalf of the bakers that they had held a meeting on the preceding night to take steps to improve their trade. He went on to state how things were now managed in the Co-operative Society. Until recently the men working there had not started work before four o'clock, although they were confessedly straitened for room; but, strange to say, now that they had opened splendid premises, with plenty of room and all the latest improvements, they had found out that they required to begin work at 1 o'clock with the prospect of being advanced to 11 o'clock. This, he thought, was not creditable to the co-operators, who were many of them working-men, and many of them trades' unionists. He

had also heard that other little pleasant surprises were expected to be in store for them, notwithstanding that at the present time more work was screwed out of them than in any shop in the city. A considerable number of men in the Council who are co-operators said they would take the earliest opportunity of inquiring into the matter.

THE LOTHIAN SHALE MINERS.—A mass meeting of the shale miners of Broxburn, Uphall, Holmes, Newliston, etc., was held on Thursday night at Broxburn, to consider the proposed reduction of their wages. Mr. Wilson, agent, pointed out that there had been no change in the oil trade during the past twelve months to warrant this reduction. He denounced the Broxburn Company—a company which could pay 15 per cent., and had £25,000 undivided profits—for proposing to reduce the men's wages, many of whom, he said, were not earning as much, after paying deductions, as it would require to keep them and their families in the poor's house. With the exception of four men, who held that they should not begin work on the reduction at all, all present (about 1,000 men) agreed to resort to a four-days-a-week policy, the onus thus falling on the employers if they were locked out. The reduction of wages is to the extent of one-sixth. Workers, miners especially, ought to see the need for "a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull all together," to put an end to this monstrous capitalistic system with its under-payment and over-work for the many and its leisure and luxury for the few. Petty local strikes can have little or no effect. Workers in all industries must combine and quietly but determinedly set aside all landowners, shareholders, dividend-drawers of all kinds, and other drones; and work the land, the mines, and the capital of the country for behoof of the industrious only. To organise and educate the workers to this end is what the Socialist League sets before it, and therefore all intelligent working-men ought to enrol themselves as members.

LONDON APPRENTICES.—At the instigation of Sir E. Currie, on behalf of the trustees of the People's Palace, the London Trades' Council has through its secretary, Mr. George Shipton, issued an invitation to the trades to attend a meeting of workmen to be held in the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, and by the time this is in print the meeting will have been held. The trustees of the People's Palace, with the assistance of the Trades' Council, propose "to establish an extensive scheme under which apprentices in all trades of the metropolis should be asked to compete for various prizes in their respective industries with a view, if possible, of showing that the charges sometimes made against English workmen that they are inferior to their foreign rivals cannot be sustained." The object of calling the meeting is "to formulate a plan for reaching the apprentices in all trades throughout the metropolis, and inducing them to exhibit specimens of their individual work of the particular industry in which they may be serving their time." An exhibition of the works is to take place in the Queen's Hall of the People's Palace, and prizes of considerable value are to be given. The Executive of the Trades' Council adds: "The question of apprenticeship is one of vital moment to England's workpeople and their industrial future." There is a sort of pseudo-mediævalistic smack about all this nonsensical twaddle. The apprentices of the metropolis, compared to the number of youths engaged in the various forms of industry, how many of them are apprentices in the old English sense of the word? Few indeed, very few. Besides, the present-day method of producing goods has done away with the necessity for apprenticeship in the proper sense and meaning of the term. Ever since the rise of the industrial system, ever since the invention of labour-saving machinery, the processes of production have become more and more divided. Even in industries that machinery has not directly affected, subdivision of craft has been made. To-day the boot-maker is only in part a boot-maker; he is either laster, rivetter, finisher, clicker, or something in the leather line. In other trades it is much the same, and there are very few trades to-day in which may be found the entire workman, the maker or doer of the craft right out. As the capitalistic method of production has developed, so gradually has been wrought an entire change in the character of the industries of the country. Of course, all this is obvious to the most superficial observer. The point to note about this ostentatious business, is the attempts that are being made from time to time by the various City Companies to make the workers believe that they have an ever-watchful eye for their interests. The Plumber's Company has lately been bestirring itself. The Master of the Draper's Company, the newly-made knight along with a number of others, are now a-fussing about and talking, if even they be in earnest, about matters they know little or nothing about. The words London apprentices have about them an old-fashioned charm, and this probably accounts for the action of the London Trades' Council in the matter. To-day I simply draw attention to the meeting, and refrain from discussing in detail its object. I hope to be able to do this after the meeting has been held.—H. A. BARKER.

FRANCE.

It appears that a new period of expulsions is likely to go on. Comrade Luigi Parmeggiani has received last week orders to leave France, because he is a Socialist, and only therefore, for he has done nothing whatever against the so-called "law and authority." He at once declared that he refused to go, having the right, as an international Socialist, to live anywhere he likes. The *Cri du Peuple* says that the same measure will be applied to several other "foreigners," and gives them the good advice to do the same as Parmeggiani.

At Montluçon, 1500 glassbottle-makers are on strike. They have decided not to resume work until their "masters" have accepted their proposals—8 hours of work for each 24 hours, and all bottles thrown aside to become the property of the workers. This last condition is a very important one, because the exploiters throw aside a great quantity of bottles, which in reality they afterwards sell at the same price as the well-finished bottles, without paying any salary for them. To this swindle the workers intend to put an end. We are invited by the *Chambre Syndicale* (Trades Union) of the glassbottle makers of Montluçon to warn English glassbottle makers not to cross the Channel and accept work there.

BELGIUM.

Agitation is going on amongst the unfortunate workers of this country. At Mons, at Charleroi, at La Louvière, at Liège, Seraing, in all the miners districts, the general impression is that in a very short time a general strike will again break out, and it is said that the Executive Council of the Parti Ouvrier is intending this time to take the head of the movement. The Socialists of Ghent also are said to prepare themselves to join in the struggle. Everywhere, in order to make the next outbreak a success, the workers are endeavouring by all means to secure a good and strong organisation, and, as matters stand now, they hope that the final result of their efforts will be beneficial to them.

GERMANY.

Twenty-two new arrests have been made in Magdeburg, and the accused have been ordered to Leipzig for high treason. Eighteen other Socialists have been expelled. Perquisitions are made every day. It is in Magdeburg that resides the omnipotent M. Krieter, police councillor, who recently published a book entitled "The Secret Organisation of Socialism in Germany."

The State of Siege for Leipzig and district has been prolonged for the term of one year. Never mind! Socialism is spreading all over Saxony all the same.

According to the laws against the Socialists, the police director of Berlin has prohibited the circulation of the pamphlets of the International Revolutionary Library edited in New York. Since that prohibition was issued, several thousand copies have been distributed throughout Germany. The best answer indeed!

The Socialist paper *Leipziger Volksblatt* has been suppressed, and Albert Seebach, the publisher, and Albert Schmidt, the chief editor of the paper, have been expelled from Saxony.

In Elberfeld and Barmen the Socialists have distributed secretly during the last week 10,000 copies of a large size pamphlet entitled 'Address to the German Voters.' The business as a whole was performed very successfully, two Socialists only having been arrested, and we know that two out of a dozen is not much in the police-blessed land of Germany.

At Hamburg, the police "authorities" have lately made several perquisitions in all the streets which are in the vicinity of the Lake Binnen-Alster, and they have discovered immense quantities of pamphlets, leaflets, Socialist papers, mostly published at New York and at Berlin, but they have made no arrest, "because," says a Hamburg bourgeois paper, "they ought to have arrested all the inhabitants of that part of the town, all being Socialists." Right so!

ITALY.

CARRARA.—A correspondent to the *Emancipazione* (Rome) writes very warmly in a late journal of the miserable condition of the day-labourers and navvies at work in the town. Of late some drainage-work, enlargement of the cemetery, etc., were put up to auction by the municipality—Italian officials are more impudently frank and open in their doings than others—and were of course knocked down to some conscienceless speculators who kindly offered to do the work for an impossible price; whereafter the curious observer might watch the mushroom growth of a slave-driving organisation "in little," in which the slaves work some 14 hours a-day with as little respite as may be for the necessary stowage of food, ruled with the rod of iron of petty despotism, cursing their fate and bearing with it out of sheer force of habit.

WAGES OF RAILWAY EMPLOYEES.—The wages of railway employés in Italy are regulated by the different companies on the basis of the strictest economy. I will give one or two examples that may be interesting to those whom "work and wages" concern. The clerks of the Roman-Provincial line, after working several months on day-wages, enter into a monthly salary of 100 lire (£4) or less than £1 a week; after 10 or 12 years they can rise to between 130 lire and 175 lire (£4 to £7). On the Southern line the monthly rise is only from 5 to 15 lire in such long periods that the life of Noah himself would scarcely suffice for a hard-working clerk to touch the princely salary of 18 lire monthly. The pay of the rest of the "personale" is meted out in like proportion. There is perhaps nothing out of the common in these figures for Italian wages, and with one more instance I will have done, that of the pointsman who has to be, or should be a man of trust, and whose obviously important duties should be proportionately paid—this man on the Roman-Provincial receives a wage of 1s. 2d. per day!

GRAVE DANGER.—"Dr. McGlynn in grave danger," says a headline in the *Kansas City Times*. And what do you suppose is the nature of this "danger?" Why, the senile Mr. Pecci, of Rome, is said to threaten to excommunicate him if he does not present himself before the ecclesiastical tribunal in that city within a certain specified time! What terrors such a prospect must have for a healthy mind!—*Lucifer*.

SENTENCE ON RUSSIAN NIHILISTS.—The verdict has been pronounced in the trial of the persons charged with murdering Colonel Soudeikin, chief of the St. Petersburg secret police, in December last. Seven of the accused were sentenced to death, fourteen to terms of hard labour, and two were acquitted. It seems to be the first time that a Russian court-martial has ever acquitted political criminals.

THE BLACK FLAG IN CORK.—In consequence of the action of the Mayor of Cork in hoisting a black flag on the municipal offices on Jubilee Day, and also what the authorities regard as a prejudiced disposition to deal leniently with offenders of a certain class, Captain Plunkett, divisional magistrate, has taken magisterial charge of the city. He has issued instructions to the police to permit no prisoner to be discharged on the mayor's order, and to have all prisoners tried by a resident magistrate.

THE FAMINE YEARS IN IRELAND.—We are often asked to give the statistics of the exportation of food from Ireland during the famine there. Here are some. The first figures are taken from two returns made to the House of Commons of the exports from Ireland into Great Britain for the quarter ending July 5, 1846. Of the first account: wheat, 59,478 quarters; barley, 18,417 do.; oats, 245,067 do.; flour, 242,257 cwts.; oatmeal, 138,241 do. Of the second: oxen, bulls, and cows, 33,850; calves, 1293; sheep and lambs, 56,669; swine, 124,762. 14,369 barrels of oats were exported from Limerick to London and Glasgow the third week of November, at the same time that £210 duty was paid on the importation of Indian corn. From the same port 47,000 firkins of butter were shipped from 1st May. From other returns we find that the total export of provisions from the ports of Waterford, Cork, Limerick, and Belfast, from the 1st of August 1846 to the 1st of January 1847 was: pork, barrels, 37,123; bacon, flitches, 222,608; butter, firkins, 388,455; hams, hgsds., 1971; Beef, tierces, 2555; wheat, barrels, 48,526; oats, barrels, 448,232; barley, barrels, 12,029; oatmeal, cwts., 7210; flour, cwts., 144,185; pigs, 44,659; cows, 9007; sheep, 10,288. A careful census of the agricultural produce of Ireland for the year 1847, made by Captain Larcom, as a Government Commissioner, gives the total value of that produce as £44,958,120 sterling, which would have amply sustained double the entire people of the island. If all the figures of the famine years, of which these few are a fair sample, were gathered together, it would be found that there was no necessity for a famine at all, were it not for "law and order" and the "rights of property"; and that English rule and landlordism are to be credited with a million and a half deaths of hunger.—S.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

Co-operative Store.—The Committee attend at the offices at 8.30 p.m. on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. See advertisement on last page.

London Members.—The first meeting of London Members will be held on Monday the 4th of July.

Open-air Propaganda.—The Lecture Secretary requests that all the League lecturers will attend the General Meeting on Monday next, and that London Branches send delegates to assist the arrangement of a rotation of lecturers and other business connected therewith.

Resolution of Council.

"That all monies collected at open-air meetings must be duly handed to the treasurer of the League, and the receipt of same acknowledged in *Commonweal*."

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Hammersmith Branch (two weeks), £1. Edward Carpenter (two quarters), £10. K. F. (weekly), 1s. Medical Student (don.), 5s.—Total, £11, 6s.

FOR PROPAGANDA.

Collected at Regent's Park—19th, 2s. 8½d.; 26th, 4s. 4½d.

Ph. W., Treasurer, June 28.

REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—On Thursday, June 23, Mrs. Besant lectured to a crowded audience on "The Prosperity of the Working Classes." A few questions were asked, and there was a slight discussion after the lecture. On Sunday, W. H. Utley lectured to a large crowd at the Arsenal Gates, Woolwich, on "Socialists and Radicals." Large quantities of literature were sold at this meeting, which comrade Banner also addressed.—U.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, June 22, T. Bolas opened a very interesting discussion on "Limitations of Communism." On Sunday, June 26, we held a good meeting on Clerkenwell Green, addressed by Annie Taylor, Somerville, Lane, and Blundell. In our hall, after the outdoor meeting, T. Bolas lectured on "Capitalism, its Growth and Delimitation." Several questions were asked and answered, and then a rather lively discussion followed. *Commonweal* and pamphlets keep steady sale.—A. T. and W. B.

HACKNEY.—D. Nicoll addressed a large meeting at the Salmon and Ball on Sunday morning. At the club on Sunday evening, H. A. Barker delivered a lecture on "Evolution and Socialism" to a good audience. Discussion followed.

MERTON AND MITCHAM.—Last Sunday morning Eden addressed a good meeting on the Fair Green. In the evening Winkworth, Hardesty, and Kitz made a propagandist tour around Garrett, Tooting, and Wimbledon, distributing literature from house to house.—F. KITZ.

NORTH LONDON.—On Sunday morning, in Regent's Park, we held a very good meeting, addressed by Cantwell, Brooks, and Mainwaring. Some opposition was offered by an American, who was astonished that such a number of Englishmen stood quietly by and heard their Parliament called "a den of thieves," and was satisfactorily replied to.

EDINBURGH.—On Saturday evening, C. W. Tuke and J. Smith had a good meeting at Loanhead. On Sunday evening, in Queen's Park, a large and very attentive meeting was addressed by Davidson, Tuke, J. H. Smith, and Gilray. *Commonweal* sold out at this meeting, and good sale in Meadows.—J. G.

GLASGOW.—On Saturday, Paterson, Carmichael, Glasier, and McMunn addressed a good meeting at Motherwell, and in spite of interruptions from some Orange rowdies they were listened to with great attention. Good sale of *Commonweal*. On Sunday, at Paisley Road Toll, a large audience gathered to hear Glasier and Burns. *Commonweal* sold well. On the same day, McLean gave a very thoughtful and interesting lecture on Socialism to the Coatbridge Branch of the Irish National League. There was a large and enthusiastic audience.

NORTH SHIELDS.—Large and successful meeting was addressed by A. K. Donald. Quire of *Commonweal* and other literature sold on Sunday morning. A collection for expenses was made.

NORWICH.—On Sunday, we held a successful meeting at Wymondham, addressed by Henderson and another. *Commonweal* sold well. In the afternoon, we held our usual meeting in Market-place, addressed by Henderson and Darley. In the evening a large meeting was held on Agricultural Hall Plain, Morley and Slaughter speaking. Many adjourned with us from there to Gordon Hall, which was crowded. Henderson lectured on "Parliamentary Action."—J. S.

SOUTH SHIELDS.—A large meeting was addressed by A. K. Donald in the Market-place on Sunday evening. A number of questions were put and an unabated interest shown in the cause. Good sale of literature. Friends wanting to join, please communicate with J. Wood, 105, Bath Street.

WALSALL.—On Monday, June 20, Sanders and Deakin spoke at Wednesbury on "The Meaning of Socialism." Names were given in for a Branch, and many pledged themselves to push forward the work of organisation. Pelsall, a mining village four miles from here, was visited on Wednesday, Sanders speaking on the Green or common. We were well received, and at the close asked to come again. On Saturday evening, in the Market-place, Walsall, Sanders spoke to large audiences. Fair sale of literature.—J. T. D.

DUBLIN.—At the Labour League on Thursday, June 23, I. Cantwell delivered a highly instructive address on "Organisation" in the course of which he pointed out that the condition of the labourers would never be improved so long as they looked up to the middle-class for leadership, that they should rely entirely upon themselves. An interesting discussion followed, in which Coffey, McGuinness, a popular temperance reformer, and others took part. A letter from comrade Kitz, Merton, anent the Jubilee celebrations, was read amidst great applause.—O. K.

NOTTINGHAM SECTION, SOCIALIST UNION.—On Tuesday, June 21, the members, to escape the tomfoolery connected with the Jubilee, held a picnic at Gotham, a village seven miles from Nottingham, where no public celebration was held. In the evening, with the help of the inhabitants, we held a large meeting. Waine, Proctor, and Peacock delivered strong Socialist speeches, which were well received. On Sunday morning, in Sneinton Market, Peacock addressed a very good meeting. At night, in the Great Market-place, Waine and Peacock spoke. There was some opposition, which was easily disposed of by Peacock. Collections for the day, 5s. 8½d. *Commonweal* eagerly bought and soon sold out.—A. C.

NORTH OF ENGLAND SOCIALIST FEDERATION.—The propaganda this week has been very successful. Donald and I went to Jarrow-on-Tyne, and to Seaton Delaval on Wednesday and Friday last. On Saturday, Donald spoke at Seaton Sluice, East Holywell, and Blyth, while I addressed good meetings further North at Chevington, Broomhill, and Amble. On Sunday, Donald spoke to large meetings at North and South Shields and enrolled several members, while I went to Sunderland and Monkwearmouth, and after a squabble with the police and a few wrangles with some roughs and a clergyman, got two large meetings and sold a good deal of literature. On Monday night Donald lectured to the miners and ironworkers of Consett, in Durham, while I went to New Delaval. On Tuesday night successful meetings were held at Bebside and Throckley.—J. L. M.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, W. On Thursday June 30 a Business Meeting of Members will be held, to be followed by a Social Evening. All members are requested to attend. On Thursday July 7, at 8.30, F. Verinder will lecture.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday July 3, Branch Business Meeting of Members, 7 p.m. Concert by W. Blundell and Friends, 8.30 p.m. Wednesday July 6, at 8.30 p.m. Edward Aveling, "Means of Propaganda."

Croydon.—Parker Road.

Hackney.—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 8 till 11.30; Saturday, 7 till 12.30; Sunday 11 a.m. till 12 p.m. Lecture on Sunday July 3, at 8.30: J. Lane, "The National Loaf; who Eats and who Eats it." Monthly Business Meeting of Members, Tuesday 5th at 8.30: election of officers and other important business. A free Concert on Saturday July 2—all members of the S.L. invited.

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday July 3, at 8 p.m. J. Brailsford Bright, a Lecture.

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—2 Crondall Street, New North Rd. Club Room open on Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday evenings from 8 till 11. Singing Class every Wednesday at 8.30. Lecture on Sunday July 3, at 8 p.m.: Wade and Pope, "A Night with T. Moore."

Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday. Discussions held every Sunday morning at 11.

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

North London.—Branch meets at 32 Camden Road, N.W., for reception of new members and other business, on Wednesday evenings at 8 o'clock, until further notice. H. Bartlett, sec.

PROVINCES.

Bingley.—Coffee Tavern. Every Monday at 7.30 p.m.

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

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

Dublin.—Irish Labour League, 2 Bachelors Walk, every Thursday at 8 p.m. Discussion on all subjects connected with the Labour Question.

Dalkeith (Edinburgh).—Open-air meeting Wednesday at 8.15. Members especially invited, to make arrangements for summer months.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 7.30 p.m. to transact business. Class for the study of 'Das Capital' at 8.30. (See "Open-air" below.)

Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Meeting of Members in Rooms on Sunday evening at 7 o'clock.

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

Hull.—Address all communications to E. Teesdale, 20 Shakspeare Street. See Open-air meetings below.

Lancaster.—Addresses every Sunday morning on the Quay Jetty.

Leeds.—17 Chesham Street, Sweet Street. Club and reading room open every evening. Business meetings every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Leicester.—Office of Hosiery Union, Horsefair Street. Fridays at 8 p.m.

Manchester.—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening 6 to 10 p.m. Lecture and discussion every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Free Lectures every Sunday at 8 p.m. Business meeting every Monday at 8.30 p.m. Speakers' Class every Sunday at 10.30 a.m. Social evening every Saturday at 8 p.m. On Sunday at 8 o'clock, lecture by Fred Henderson—subject, "The Marriage Question."

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

Shields (North and South).—Meetings every Sunday, Quay-side and Market Place. Branch meetings on Thursday nights at the "General Gordon," Bath Street, Maxwell Street, South Shields. Secretary, J. Hearne, 32 Clive Street, No. Shields.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 3.

11.30...Garrett—"Plough Inn".....The Branch
11.30...Hackney—"Salmon and Ball".....The Branch
11.30...Hammersmith—Beadon Rd.The Branch
11.30...Hoxton Ch., Pitfield St.Barker
11.30...Mitcham Fair GreenEden & Kitz
11.30...Regent's ParkSparling
11.30...St. Pancras Arches.....Bartlett
11.30...Walham GreenThe Branch
3Hyde ParkLane
3.30...Victoria ParkMainwaring
7Clerkenwell Green.....Sparling

Tuesday.
8 ...Ossulton Street, Euston Road.....Nicoll
Wednesday.
8 ...Broadway, London FieldsMorris
Thursday.
8 ...Hoxton, Pitfield StreetThe Branch

PROVINCES.

Edinburgh.—Sunday: Queen's Park, 6.30 p.m.
Loanhead.—Saturday 7 p.m.
Galashiels.—Monday evening.
Hawick.—Tuesday evening.
Dalkeith.—Wednesday 8.15 p.m.
Glasgow.—Sunday: Jail's Square, 1 o'clock; Paisley Road Toll at 5.
Blantyre.—Saturday: 6 o'clock.
Cambuslang.—Saturday: 8 o'clock.
Hull.—Open-air meetings will be addressed by J. L. Mahon as follows: Monday July 4, Hesse Road, "Socialism and the Miners." Tuesday 5th, St. George's Road, "Practical Work for Socialists." Wednesday July 6th, Waterloo Street, "Socialism, Trades-unionism, and Co-operation." All beginning at 8 p.m.
Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, 11; Vicar's Croft, 7.
Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place at 3; Agricultural Hall Plain at 7.
Aylsham.—Alternate Tuesdays: Market Place, at 7.
Dereham.—Thursday: Market Place, at 7.15.
Diss and Wymondham.—Alternate Sundays at 10.30 and 11 respectively.
Yarmouth.—Wednesday: On the Quay, at 7.30.
Walsall.—Saturday, at 6.30 pm.

NORTH ENGLAND SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

MEETINGS—JULY.

Fri. 1—Backworth, 7 p.m.
Sat. 2—Cambor's colliery, 3.30 p.m. Blyth Market Place, 6.30 p.m.
Sun. 3—N. Shields, Quay Side, 11 a.m. Sunderland, the Garrison, 2.30 p.m. South Shields, Market Place, 6.30 p.m.
Mon. 4—Consett, near Town Hall, 7 p.m.
On Saturday July 9 an important Delegate Meeting will be held at the Grey Mare Inn, Blyth, at 3 p.m.

HOXTON (L.E.L.).—Excursion on July 10th to the Rye House. Those wishing to take part in it can obtain full particulars from the secretary.

STAMFORD HILL AND TOTTENHAM.—Comrades and Friends living in this district desirous of forming a branch of the Socialist League are requested to address John Flockton, 3 Sussex Terrace, Markfield Road, Broad Lane, Tottenham, or to the Secretary of the League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

WOOLWICH.—Arsenal Gates, Sunday at 7 o'clock.

GRIMSBY.—J. L. Mahon will give three lectures on Sunday July 3. In Freemans Road Market Place at 11 a.m. and 3 p.m., and in the Hall of Science at 7.

United Socialist Societies of London.—ANNUAL EXCURSION TO EPPING FOREST (ROBIN HOOD), on Sunday July 10, by railway to Loughton Station, for the benefit of the condemned comrades in Chicago. The procession will start from the West-end at 9 a.m., corner of Tottenham Street and Charlotte Street; and from the East-end at 9 a.m., from the Club Morgenroethe, Princes Square, Cable Street, with full brass bands, banners, and standards. Trains leave from Liverpool Street Station at follows: morning, 8.53, 9.53, 10.30; afternoon, 12.8, 2.28, 3.22, 5.50.

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Published on the 15th of each month at the MODERN PRESS, 13 Paternoster Row, London.
Printed and Published by WILLIAM MORRIS and JOSEPH LANE at 13 Farringdon Road, London

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL 3.—No. 78.

SATURDAY, JULY 9, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

The Irish members the other night abstained from voting on the Coercion Bill, and thus took the step at last which they ought to have taken at first; but the ugly words "too late" will pursue them; the mischief is done, the time for a great demonstration is lost, and at the cost of great trouble and expenditure of energy, they have been playing into the hands of the Tories all this time. Once more the moral: when you are in Parliament you must play the parliamentary game, even if you know you are throwing away your hand by doing so.

The Federation of Radical Clubs having met and discussed the advisability of holding another great demonstration against the Coercion Bill, has decided to forego it. This sounds disappointing enough; but they were probably right; at the best such a demonstration would not have come up to the Easter Monday show; and even if it had surpassed it, it would have been little use unless the agitation could have been kept up and gone on increasing, and developed into threatenings of something more serious than Hyde Park and Trafalgar Square meetings. For all this the Radicals are not prepared; so they must take the Tory rule quietly, and will probably have plenty of opportunities for the exercise of the useful virtue of patience.

The Unionist chuckers-out at the Kensington Town Hall, who like the honest bravo of past times who insisted on killing his man when paid for it, even when his employer had changed his mind, thought that they were bound to give value for the money received, and chucked out chiefly the wrong persons, have had a narrow escape from gratis lodging in a public building, but are quit for the fright. One of them in his account of his secondary use of a brass curtain rod, embellished the story unnecessarily; but it must be admitted that it is not easy to get clear evidence of what has happened at "a rough and tumble." At the same time one can't help thinking that if they had been Socialists accused of rioting, much clearer evidence would have been forthcoming in all due abundance, and the jury would not have been so scrupulous as to the identity of the rioters.

The frightful sea-tragedy that has just come before the public is miserable and depressing to hear tell of; an under-manned ship and overworked men were probably at the bottom of the slaying of the Malay. But from the first I couldn't help asking myself if the crew would have treated in the same way an English shipmate who from drink-madness or other madness had become dangerous to them? Isn't the jingo spirit which has given us much bigger horrors, from blowing mutineers from guns down to flogging a whole village because one of the villagers has foolishly allowed himself to be shot by a British officer, responsible for this last wretched piece of sordid misery on the high seas?

The tribe of Nupkins seems to be increasing, and the last specimen brought forward (by himself) for exhibition is certainly not a pretty one. One can judge by the behaviour of Nupkins-Newton in this "mistake" which he has made, what his usual conduct is to poor girls who are not "respectable," and who are guilty of the crime which under various names is almost the only one punished by our robber-society—poverty to wit.

It is a curious characteristic of the present day that the stiffest defence of the rights of private property is blended with attempts towards crude State Socialism not merely in the same society, or in the same assembly, but even in the same man. Here is Mr. Bradlaugh, for instance, the doughty champion of the rights of monopoly in one form of the means of production, bringing in a Bill to force people to use their land in the way which he thinks that it ought to be used, or else give them up and be "compensated" for it. It doesn't matter that such a Bill is not likely to pass and would not be effective if it were passed; the intention at any rate is to *compel* people to give up something which they call their property and don't want to give up. It seems not unlikely that Mr. Bradlaugh and Mr. Henry George will presently be running in the same coach. After that we shall see.

The improvement in trade that many persons were so cock-sure of

a few months ago, has gone to join the majority of prophecies now it seems. As gauged by the railway returns we are pretty much where we were last year. Most of those who have anything to do with business, either as employers or employed, will make rather a worse tale of it than that. We were promised a miracle and it hasn't happened. There will be plenty more of that before we have done. W. M.

THE "LIBERTY-TO-PLUNDER DEFENCE LEAGUE."

THAT the above title befits the L.P.D.L. far better than their own, few can doubt who read the record of their work issued by themselves, or the circular sent by them to M.P.'s and others, asking for opposition to sundry Parliamentary measures. The L.P.D.L. is on the side of "personal liberty;" the "autonomy of the individual" is much too sacred to be interfered with even for the defence of the whole community; Liberty (*and* property) should not be touched by legislative enactment, or anything else indeed; and the L.P.D.L. is just *the* most enlightened, just, magnanimous, and civilised body of people on the face of the earth. Hence the L.P.D.L. feels itself bound to remove as much of the strain as it can from legislative brains, and so steps forward with a tabulated alphabetical scheme of rejection, generously free of charge, that will enable any lawmaker, to the satisfaction of all concerned, without any trouble of argument *not* to make laws. This is very nice for the M.P., who can ask, "Is it on the list?" and so record his vote dumbly; but it may be that in their laudable ambition to "stay the tide of revolution," the L.P.D.L. have unwittingly told the truth too plainly, and thus their curses after all may be blessings in disguise? Suppose even that they may have betrayed themselves as unscrupulous and sordid advocates of legalised plunder and chicanery?

"Your opposition" is "earnestly requested" to a Bill, the object of which is to prevent the payment of any portion of his wages to a farm-labourer in beer, cider, or other alcoholic drinks. Other proposed enactments as to wages that rouse their wrath are: That which amongst other things provides that miners' wages in Devon and Cornwall shall not be withheld from them longer than 14 days; that they shall be paid by weight and have power to appoint their own check-weigher; and that which forbids coal-miners being paid in public-houses. Does not such opposition imply that "liberty" is wanted for employers to pay wages when and how they like, and "liberty" for the workers to take them or—?

"Your opposition" is also asked to two Bills which would render penal the fraud of passing off oleomargarine on the public as butter; fixing penalties, and appointing inspectors. These wicked Bills provide that butter shall be labelled butter, and oleomargarine so marked, and that tyrannical officials shall look to see that it is done. Another proposed measure would compel quarry-owners, lessees, or occupiers, to fence in all quarries, in use or abandoned, for the public safety. To the unregenerate mind the question rises: Does Liberty (*and* property) interfere in the interests of a people frantically desirous of eating oily-margarine for butter, and of dashing itself down quarries? Or, is the sacred name of Liberty (*and* property) invoked on behalf of those who desire to have their hands freed for the reckless and brutal spoliation of all who by ignorance, poverty, or accident are delivered into their hands?

"Your opposition" is of course asked to a measure which enjoins the providing fit and proper means for raising and lowering miners; for supervision of mine ventilation; for precautions in the use of explosives; for covers to cages in the shafts and flanges to the drums; for fencing machinery and fitting boilers with safety-valves and water-gauges; for the keeping of stretchers and bandages. "Your opposition" is requested to the enactment that railroad companies shall adopt the block system; provide for interlocking points and signals; furnish passenger trains with continuous, and goods and mineral engines with powerful brakes; affix to all vehicles such couplings as shall render it unnecessary for men to go between them; provide efficient communication between passenger and guard; adopt a safe standard height for passenger platforms; make monthly returns to the Board of Trade of all men who have been on duty for more than 12 hours at a time or without an interval of 9 hours rest. "Your opposition" is asked to a Bill for the sanitation of London; to provide for the building of healthy houses and the prevention of unhealthy

ones; to look after house-drains and sewers; and generally to guard the public from epidemics and preventible diseases. All these things you should oppose in the holy name of Liberty (and property). Let miners be slain, their wives widowed, and their children orphaned; let railway passengers and servants be smashed and mangled one by one, or by hundreds at a time; let pestilence and plague stalk rampant or glide slowly through the crowded streets; precautions for common safety would cost money and diminish profits; wherefore let us have none of them. Liberty (and property) forbids them!

"Your opposition" is implored with special fervour, an asterisk directing you to a note saying that engrossed petitions against it, ready for signing (*a la* Bidmead?) may be had from the secretary "free of cost on application." And this fearful Bill, which will no doubt shake Society to its foundations, is only "to give the public unrestricted access along the banks (except riparian gardens not exceeding 10 acres) of all rivers, streams, and natural lochs in Scotland for the purpose of fishing for fresh water fish (other than salmon species, except in Crown salmon fishing waters): unless owner has provided a pathway along such banks he shall have no claim for compensation for damage to crops or fences." At first sight not a revolutionary measure; even, apparently, an over-mild one; but, then, think of the possible consequences! Some Wynans or Argyle, as man of Liberty (and property), while strolling over *his* land, by *his* river, under *his* sky, might perhaps come near or even run against poor little Steenie or Sandie, representing "liberty" without property, with cotton and bent pin inveigling *his* valuable minnow or well-preserved stickleback to an untimely fate; having most probably stolen *his* worms for bait. "Your opposition;" can you refuse it? Of course it is not sordid greed that prompts the resistance to this "threatened invasion of their rights;" nor can it be that the Men of Money, having already reserved salmon, trout, and all big fish from the common herd, are now resolved that there shall no minnow move or eel wriggle for any but themselves!

There is little fear that the L.P.D.L. will ever have much support from the masses of the people; strong support it should and will have from all interested in buttressing wrong and upholding monopoly; for wherever there is an attempt to ease the folk of some burden, or to restrict some robbery practised upon them, there is the L.P.D.L. fighting on the side of privilege against the people. In their own statement of work done during five years they boast of crippling or damaging Bills for Inspection of Dwelling Houses; for Security of Corporate Property; for dealing with Bengal Tenants; Irish Labourers; Housing of English Working Classes; Factories and Workshops; Early Closing; Employers' Liability; Continuous Brakes and Better Ventilation on Railways; Merchant Shipping (Fishing Boats); and many others; *not one stroke for the people, but all for the Liberty to plunder*. Individualism seeks to buy "your opposition" with its fine phrases of personal autonomy, individual liberty, and whatnot; but it requites the capitalist more solidly for his subscriptions, in that it fights on his side for his unlimited license to make money as he will. In other words, these are the priests and prophets of the Moloch of Capitalism, some honest in their professions of belief, some not; but all equally harmful and dangerous to the people whom they try to keep quiet in passive submission while thousands upon thousands with their wives and children are iniquitously sacrificed before the monstrous idol, into whose hands they are delivered bound. We seek to cut the people's bonds, and rouse them from their slumber of submission. Their bonds are falling in all lands, and they are stirring as they wake. Can the L.P.D.L., or a myriad societies like it, now rebind the bonds or bring back the fatal slumber? H. HALLIDAY SPARLING.

THRIFT.

SUPPOSE that all the men in the United States should swear off smoking, for instance, and decide to save the money they spent for tobacco. Of course, this action would result in closing cigar and tobacco factories all over the country, and their employes would be thrown on the labour market to compete with other men in work for employment. The farmers in Wisconsin, Virginia and elsewhere would not find a market for the tobacco raised. And then suppose every one turned teetotaler, so that society could save the 900,000,000 dols. spent in liquor every year. Of course, all the distilleries and breweries and saloons would close, and their employes would join the cigar makers in the search for employment. And then every one could say that the theatre was vicious and should be avoided, and the money spent should be saved. Of course, all actors and theatre attachés would look for something else to do. And then people could say that reading costs too much money. Lots of people have lived till they were 80 to 100 years old and could not read, so we will save that money, and the result would be that type stickers, paper makers, printers, binders, and others in that class would join the army of brewers, cigar makers, and actors. Of course, every one could do as our friend the capitalist says he did, "live two-thirds of the time on bread and water." Of course, the butchers and men at the stock yards, with teamsters, etc., could join the rest that are "out" of work. And if by this time the labour market was not overstocked with men willing to sell their labour at starvation prices, those who were fortunate enough to still have employment could take to wearing cast-off clothing and going barefoot in summer, so as to "save" a little more. Woollen, cotton, and linen factory operatives, and shoemakers, leather makers, etc., could quit work with the various clerks, salesmen, etc., and when the railroads discharged a half or three-fourths of their force on account of dull business, our friend the capitalist could join the rest of the capitalists in urging the governor of the state to call out the militia to put down the "mob," who would be parading the streets shouting for "Bread or Work."—A WAGE-WORKER, in *Chicago Labour Enquirer*.

Since the essential principle on which private property is based is to assure to all persons what they have produced by their labour, it cannot apply to what is not labour product.—*John Stuart Mill*.

NORFOLK NOTES.

THE Dean of Norwich has been preaching against Socialism. The idiocy shown in his sermon has given an idea of our opponent's weakness, even to our foes themselves. "Honour thy father and thy mother" was his text, and this, he argued, was synonymous with "Honour the powers that are over you." His argument was that as the existing authorities were ordained by God, "it is as profane as it is vain to attempt to subvert them."

But it was not until he tried to deal with the position of the people to-day that he showed how deep his insanity is, and how splendidly he is fitted for his post of priestly boot-licker to the privileged classes. The present division of men into classes, he said, was of divine ordination, and "riches and poverty formed one great means in the hand of God whereby the rich could show their generosity and kindness, and the poor might be trained in the no less beautiful virtues of thrift, industry, and submission to their lot."

"Submission to his lot" is a virtue easily displayed by a dean with £3,000 a-year.

The dean deplored that a great amount of discontent was abroad, and that men were becoming dissatisfied with their position and envying what was above them. Why the deuce did he give grounds for an idea like that by giving up his position as a teacher and taking a deanery at £3,000 a-year?

One part of his sermon was comical enough. He believed that the Queen's Jubilee had roused up the English loyalty to such an extent that Socialism had been practically killed. Strangely enough from the dean's point of view, I was neither stoned nor mobbed on the following Sunday when I spoke in Norwich Market-place. The men whose feelings of loyalty ought to have been roused by the Jubilee to such a pitch that they would never give ear to the "pernicious doctrines" again, listened with enthusiastic approval, and cheered for the Social Revolution most heartily. The prospect of displacing the dean, and giving him a chance to show the "beautiful virtue of submission to his lot," did not seem to arouse their anger in the least.

The feeling of loyalty aroused by the Jubilee is being followed by its reaction of disgust at the whole thing; and society, awaking from its feverish dream of loyal excitement, is beginning to say, Titania-like, "Methought I was enamoured of an ass."

Last week I visited a wretched little court in the heart of Norwich to enquire into a case there. A young man, nineteen years old, had been out of work during the winter, and that meant out of food too. At the beginning of spring he got work as a striker at 6s. a week. Out of this he had to pay 1s. 6d. a week rent for the hole he lived in (a hole not fit for an animal to crawl into) and keep his blind mother. Growing weaker through privation, he went to his work as usual on Monday morning at 6 o'clock, and at 8 dropped dead at his task. "Submission to their lot," says the Dean. And this is their lot!

On Sunday morning I held a meeting at Wymondham, and the previous Sunday at Diss. There is a charm in speaking at these country towns and villages, which seem so far away from the ordinary civilised life of to-day. On a glorious summer morning, with the breath of hay new cut around one, and the men lying in rows upon the grass, taking in the sun and Socialism at the same time, there is an inspiration to dream of the coming day, and half imagine it realised, were it not for the faces and clothes of the men, and the homes of them seen here and there.

Might I suggest to other Branches the worth of a plan we have adopted here? One of our great wants is more speaking power. To meet this we have started a Speakers' Class, where we study the economy of the subject and practise speaking. Our country meetings then form fitting starting places for our developing orators, who gradually gain more power and confidence in themselves.

FRED HENDERSON.

When he was in Canada O'Brien looked like a whale, but his recent splash in New York shows him to be but a minnow after all. It is not consistent to fight for the rights of the Irish in Ireland and to stand in with the landlords and bosses who oppress them in America.—*Denver Labour Enquirer*.

In charging the grand jury at Norwich Quarter Sessions, the Recorder "thought it was a matter for great rejoicing that such good feeling existed between the rich and the poor, and they might depend upon it that the kindness of the rich went home to the hearts of the poor, who were thus kept from turning to crime." As a comment on this lie, came, amongst other cases, one in which a labourer aged 52 was indicted on the charge of stealing one calico shirt, value 9d., the property of the Guardians of the Mitford and Launditch Union. Sentence: six months' hard labour. In the same court, John Carr (66) labourer, was charged with stealing a hen, value 2s. Prisoner said he had been out of work and had nothing to eat; he stole the fowl for food. In passing sentence of two months' imprisonment, the chairman said prisoner was "old enough to know better than talk such stupid nonsense." Perhaps his honour intended his kind words to go home to the heart of this poor man, and thus keep him from turning again to crime.—F. H.

NORTHUMBRIAN NOTES.

A CONTRIBUTOR to the *Newcastle Chronicle*, who signs himself "Coal Hower," argues that the proposal to shorten the hours of labour of boys in mines would, if carried, result in a lowering of the men's wages, the stoppage of the double shift system, and the abandonment of the thin seams, the working of which would become unprofitable. This string of calamities is surely exaggerated. A slight increase in the cost of production, and a little trouble in the rearrangement of the hours of work, would really be all that would ensue.

The miners, however, are beginning to lose interest in the reform of mines regulations. They see that every penny spent by the masters for their safety is soon taken from wages. No one, of course, would belittle the importance of saving life and health even under the present system and at a loss of wages; but these reforms have not the great political importance which the Labour M.P.'s wish to attach to them.

No wonder Positivists get a poor name from those who wish a thorough-going social change. Nothing more lame and scatter-brained could be imagined than Mr. Malcolm Quin's letter on the "freedom" of labour for women. The "free contract" nonsense is still held as a great economic truth by many people. The forces that drive women to unsuitable work, and compels them to offer their labour cheaper than men's, are entirely ignored by or unknown to many who assume a profound knowledge of the working of our social system.

The putter boys in Northumberland can scarcely live on the wages they now get. A movement amongst them to demand an increase of wages has failed. At Seghill, Ashington, and other places the movement has collapsed.

On Saturday July 2 I left Northumberland after four months of steady and successful propaganda, leaving the foundation of a Socialist organisation which will soon be as strong in itself as any of the older Socialist bodies. The miners of Northumberland have taken a firm grip of the Socialist doctrines and they are not the men to let them slip again. Donald is carrying on the work of propaganda and organisation in the district. J. L. MAHON.

EXCOMMUNICATE THE POPE.—There is a needless amount of ill-feeling over the threatened excommunication of Dr. McGlynn. A simple way out of the impending collision of interests, and an effectual quietus on all attempts to interfere with the liberty of individuals in this age of enlightenment is this: Let the Catholics excommunicate the Pope.—*N. Y. Standard*.

Little Isaac Moses, whose grandfather began life as an errand-boy and finished as a millionaire, was paid by his mother a penny a-dozen for pins picked up from the carpet, to keep the baby from getting them. "Nurse," said little Isaac, as his stock of pennies increased, "do you know what I am going to do when I have sixpence?" "No," answered nurse. "I am going to buy a paper of pins, and scatter them all over the floor, and then pick them up," replied the young financier, who was barely six years old.—*Co-operative News*.

BAD TIMES WITH THE WEALTHY.—In the *Graphic* for June 18 is an article on Yachts, from which I take the following instructive figures, showing the number of yachts possessed by the wealthy in this country in several years, together with their tonnage:

Year.	No. of Yachts.	Tonnage.
1850	503	22,141
1864	895	39,485
1878	1883	89,020
1887	2867	130,912

It is instructive to notice that bad times have no effect on the increase. The rest of the world owns 1211 yachts as against our 2867.—R. U.

I KNOW WHEREOF I SPEAK.—You call yourselves *men*, contemptible shams that you are. You call yourselves *men*, and you cringe before the masters who rob you, you sneak away from meetings frowned on by the police, you shake in your boots at an adverse criticism of a blackmailing capitalist press, you keep your jaw shut when your liberties are boldly and openly stolen, and you go to the polls like cattle to vote a continuance of your own slavery. If my husband were as great a coward as you I would disown him; if my baby boy grows up to be such a sneak I would deny him a mother's love and give him but the contempt of a thinking woman. Are there no *MEN* in these degenerate days? Are there no souls who dare to even speak for Liberty? Where are the students, where are the youths, where are the brave and earnest young souls, where are the stalwart farmers, and the courageous mechanics of our Early Republic? Where, oh God, are the *MEN* that dare to speak and to do for Liberty, for Justice, and Truth? Point me not out this coward's spawn and call them the sons of the sires who did deeds that made them worthy of woman's love,—and of places in the Capitol. Their dead mothers blush for them, and their fathers disown them even in the grave. If there be none but these to act as the sentinels of liberty, then, alas! for the Republic, and alas for the helpless women who starve beneath its stars.—ANNA HASKELL, in *Denver Labour Enquirer*.

A civilisation which not only permits but actually encourages the dwarfing of its future citizens, both in mind and body, cannot be said to have reached a desirable stage. In no State in the Union are the deplorable effects of this vicious system more apparent than in this State of New York. I claim that one reason why there are so many idle adults is because there are so many employed children of both sexes. If the system of child labour were abolished to-morrow, idleness would be a thing of the past, crime would be diminished, debauched girls would become fewer, and the country would be healthier and happier every way. It is a grievous fact that children are stunted and degraded in our mills and factories. It is not alone in New York City and other large cities, but in greater degree in the country towns and villages. I believe the factory inspectors of other States have observed a similar condition of things.—*Inspector Connolly*.

TO A BOY.

MAN of the Future, what shall be
The life of Earth that you shall see?
What strange new facts the years will show?
What wonders rare your eyes shall know?
To what new realms of marvel, say,
Will conquering science war its way?
Your sight, as years shall pass, shall scan
New knowledge-gifts, new powers to man.
Man of the Future, men shall be
Mightier in act and thought than we.

Ah, yes, but will their knowledge bring
To fruit the hope to which we cling?
Will gladness come? will all men call
A common good the right of all?
Will knowledge, one with wisdom, dare
To make all men all comfort share?
Will want and woe and ignorance cease,
And war and hate be lost in peace?
The brotherhood of man to be,
Will you behold, more blest than me?

See, what the souls Thou mak'st endure!
O God, have mercy on Thy poor!
Put in this human heart a thirst
To cure of human ills the worst!
But his work of life to give
All men should have to all that live;
To pamper self let him not lust,
But, Christ-like, to be gladly just;
And may all men be even as he,
That heaven at last on earth may be.

W. C. BENNETT.

REPLY TO A PHILANTHROPIC APPEAL.

THE following pertinent reply to a philanthropic appeal has been sent to us by a friend; and as it is general and public in character, we print it as given.

SIR,—I have read your circular with interest, having a sympathy for all educational work and being the father of a family. Moreover, I am convinced that the originators of the movement in which you work were sincere persons and were not actuated by selfish aims. I regret, however, to say that it is in my knowledge that the cause of teetotalism is now supported very largely for sinister motives. I personally know teetotalers who aspire to reduce their men's wages by "temperance," and to get their rents increased as well. As to your special branch of the movement, it is, on the face of it, good, so far as it is an educational movement; but the fact remains (and a strong physiological fact it is) that no young people ought to be allowed to have intoxicating drink or intoxicating food. And certainly 200 innocent boys and girls ought not to be paraded before a large audience in an ill-ventilated room till 9.30 on a winter's night, and then turned out into such weather as there chanced to be—which I was greatly pained to see in this village a few months ago. I felt it to be nothing less than a crime, although not premeditated as to results, to have the number of young children cooped up in a hot "pen" and then turned out into the cold at half-past nine o'clock. You presume to treat drink as the cause of all misery (or nearly so). I presume you do so in ignorance of the true cause of misery; and as you are now acting in a public capacity, I beg to submit to your consideration a wider view of the case.

Misery is the result of poverty and ignorance acting and reacting each to produce the other and misery. Ignorance and poverty are produced by slavery, the workers in this country and other so-called civilised countries being in fact slaves, and having the results of their labour as completely taken from them as had the negroes in New Orleans before the Harriet Beecher-Stowe war. Indeed the negroes had the enjoyment of a larger share of the products of their labour than the agricultural labourers of Hertfordshire do. If you will take the trouble to observe, you will find that the present basis of "civilisation" is to give the workers a bare subsistence, just enough to "keep body and soul together" and reproduce the former in the shape of children for the posterity of the robbers (for they are nothing else) to carry on the iniquitous game with. The remainder of the produce of these workers' labour is absorbed by tithes, rents, profits, and dividends, and squandered in a profligacy worse than that of ancient Rome by loungers whose very existence seeks relief in an "effort to escape from the dull inanities and the purposelessness of an idle life" by collecting charities in a so-called philanthropic spirit.

I have not the honour of any acquaintanceship with you; I am merely writing to you as to a person in a public position. I write bitterly, you may say. I am bitter. There have been ten millions of premature deaths during the last fifty years in this much-united kingdom. I am within 300 yards of thirty horses with no back door. I have one child dangerously ill and three recovering from highly infectious though preventable diseases brought into my house by the constant circulation of fever-stricken air from a condemned parish containing 1500 persons and not a drop of pure water unless fetched by those who consume it (in small pails), often by aged and infirm women, and more often by young children not fit to lift half the weight, much less walk with it. With no sewer worth the name, and an abundance of cesspools that have not been emptied in living memory, with the light and air measured and sold, and with water polluted and all but denied; with a simple people carried to the poll under threat of dismissal if they do not vote for a dull aristocrat whose only sincere promise to them is that they shall have *pure beer*—if he can get it. With these for your gods, you ask us to believe we live in a land which can be improved by Bands of Hope!

The battle against poverty is not to be decided by the blare of trumpets and the beating of bass drums. It is not to be decided either by torchlight processions, thronged arenas, flowery rostrums, and pathetic diatribes against capital. It is to be settled in accordance with the distinctively co-operative principles of modern finance, enlarged and extended so as to cover the entire community. The organisation of trades' unions is a step in the right direction. Those bodies have done many things which they ought not to have done, and have left undone things they ought to have done; but they are founded upon the true principle, and only need to have a more practical direction.—*Nelson Black*.



"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.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

J. O'C.—Yes. O'Donovan Rossa has published 'Edward O'Donnell: a Story of Ireland of our Day' (S. W. Green's Son, 69 Beekman Street, N.Y., paper 50 c., cloth 1 dol.) and 'Irish Rebels in English Prisons' (D. J. Kenedy, 5 Barclay Street, N.Y., 1 dol. 50 c.). Both are good. His wife has also published a volume of very pleasing patriotic lyrics. John Mitchell's 'Jail Journal' is published by Cameron and Ferguson, Glasgow, 1s. 2d. post free.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday July 6.

ENGLAND		AUSTRIA	
Justice	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	Vienna—Gleichheit	
Jus	New Haven (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate	ROUMANIA	
Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung	Albina (Oreg.)—Weekly Courier	Jassy—Lupta	
Norwich—Daylight	Corning (Iowa)—Revue Icarienne	ITALY	
Die Autonomie	Paterson (N.J.)—Labor Standard	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio	
Christian Socialist	San Francisco (Cal.)—The People	Lugo—Revista Italiana	
Freedom	St Louis (Mo.)—Altruist	SPAIN	
UNITED STATES		El Productor	
New York—Truthseeker	FRANCE	Madrid—El Socialista	
Der Sozialist	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	HOLLAND	
Standard	Le Revolte	Hague—Recht voor Allen	
Boston—Woman's Journal	Guise—Le Devoir	SWEDEN	
Liberty	Lille—Le Travailleur	Stockholm—Social-Demokraten	
Denver (Col.)—Labor Enquirer	BELGIUM		
Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	Liege—L'Avenir		
Hammondon (NJ)—Credit Foncier	Antwerp—De Werker		

THE MORROW OF THE REVOLUTION.

[Our friend, Citizen Paul Lafargue, has communicated the following interesting article to us, which is surely well worth our attention; it is probable that his view of the question will be nearer to that taken by most of us in the League than that of our comrade Bax.—Ed.]

OUR friend Bax has treated this question, which we are very full of in France, the country of revolutions above all others; where, since the beginning of the century, with the regularity of a sidereal movement a revolution breaks out every eighteen or twenty years. Permit me to put before you our way of looking at this question.

In 1871, the power fell into the hands of the people when they were not prepared to receive it. In a revolutionary period to take the power is a thing relatively easy; to keep it, and above all to make use of it, is a thing far more difficult. The Commune when master of Paris was not able to take any really Socialist measures; there are numerous causes which explain this helplessness towards Socialism, but which it is not worth while going into at present. However, the bourgeois may be sure, that if ever events should bring the Socialists into power again, the immediate measures which they will take will strike so much at the root of things, that even if the reaction should triumph, it would not be able to bring back matters to the state in which they were before the revolution.

The morrow of the revolution the Socialists will have, 1st., To organise the revolutionary power and provide for its defence; 2nd., To satisfy the immediate needs of the people; and 3rd., To upset the capitalist order of things, and to lay the foundation of the Socialist order.

In France the revolutionary party will find itself face to face with three classes, having different, and even opposing interests; the workman class belonging to the great industries; the peasant class, and the capitalist class with its hangers-on, the little bourgeoisie, industrial and commercial.

In the industrial towns the working-class will be master; they will become so many revolutionary centres, which will have to federate in order to gain the country for the revolution, and to overcome the resistance which may spring up in the commercial and maritime towns.

In the industrial towns the Socialists will have to get hold of the local governments, to arm and give military organisation to the workmen (said Blanqui, "He who has gunshot has bread!"), to open the prisons to let out the petty thieves, and put under lock and key the

big ones, such as bankers, financiers, big manufacturers, land-owners, etc. Not that one would do them any harm, but to treat them as hostages responsible for the good behaviour of their class.

The revolutionary government would constitute itself by simply taking possession, and it would not be till it was master of the situation that it would think of ratifying its acts by so-called universal suffrage. The bourgeois have so long kept the non-possessing classes out of the suffrage, that they must not be over astonished if all ex-capitalists are disenfranchised until the revolutionary party is absolutely victorious.

Up till now in France it has been Paris which has given the word of command, and has made the revolution for all France. This concentration of the revolutionary movement has only been possible because the revolutions of the epoch have not been real revolutions, but ministerial crises accompanied by barricades and musket-shot, and pompous declamations on the great principles of liberty and justice, and other twaddle.

The French are fond of melo-dramatic stage-plays, and the new politicians give them their fill of these to their heart's content. But while the drama is being played out in the streets, these politicians slip into the yet warm places of their forerunners, and economic matters go on their usual road. But since the next revolution must be an economic one, and not a mere change of governors, it will not have just merely to spring up in Paris, but must break out in all the industrial centres, which as soon as the local revolutionary government is constituted, must organise by means of delegations or otherwise the central government charged with the function of taking general measures in the interest of the revolution, and of preventing the formation of a reactionary party.

But in order that the revolutionary government may be supported by the mass of the working class, and in order that even if conquered it may leave behind it a work which no reaction can destroy, it is necessary that it should immediately satisfy the needs of the workers in town and country, and that it should begin the transformation of capitalist property.

It would have to return to the primitive idea of society, and consider all its members as members of an immense family, which would have to provide for the first needs of their lives, until a redistribution of all products could be made on a basis of equality. The revolutionary government would in each city have to house, clothe, and feed all its inhabitants. To that end it would decree all house-property national, and would undertake the arrangement of lodging. It would drive the idle rich from their mansions to install the workers in them, reserving those best situated for families having many children. In Paris, while it would lodge women with child on the first floor, it would relegate to the fifth and sixth floors the big-bellied capitalists, so as to thin them down by staircase exercise. The unwholesome hutches of the poor would be demolished and their sites cleansed by fire.

The revolutionary government would nationalise the big shops of the Peter Robinson and Moses kind, and would treat their proprietors as thieves if they dared to embezzle so much as a single reel of cotton. Commissions would be organised by streets and quarters to distribute the contents amongst the workers, who for the first time in their lives would be clad in the good and handsome stuffs which they themselves have made.

But before lodging and clothing the working population it would be necessary to think about their food. The revolutionary government would set up great common restaurants in the various quarters, where a minimum of substantial nourishment would be given to the inhabitants every day. The cooking would be done in common, and those who wished to eat their meals at home could take away their food: but it would be good to encourage meals in common, so as to develop fraternity and equality. During the revolution of the last century, the Commune of Paris organised fraternal meals; tables were spread in the middle of the streets, and each inhabitant brought his own food there, which was eaten in common.

In order to feed the population, the revolutionary government would take over the provision-stores, wine-vaults, breweries, etc., and would at once organise a municipal catering service, which would put itself into communication with the market-gardeners and small peasants of the suburban country. This service, which would suppress the middlemen between the buyer and the consumer, would allow the peasant to obtain a better price for his products. To gain the peasant over to the revolutionary cause is one of the first duties of the Socialist party, and for that purpose, besides general measures (such as abolition of interest, of debts of all kinds, of taxes and the conscription, etc.) we must not hesitate to increase his gains, and make his labour easier by advancing to him seed and manure of the best quality and the most improved agricultural machines.

The workers of 1848, to allow Louis Blanc, Garnier Pagès, Lamartine, and the other bourgeois of the Provisional Government, to found their Republic, "put three months of poverty at their disposal." When at the dissolution of June the people came to claim the fulfilment of their promise, the bourgeois reaction answered them with grape-shot. The Socialist revolution will begin the foundation of the social-republic by putting three months of comfort at the disposal of the workers.

The party which will take these measures on the morrow of the revolution will be invincible; it will be supported by the mass of the workers, full both of enthusiasm and astonishment at finding a government which is occupying itself with their needs.

PAUL LAFARGUE.

(To be continued.)

WIMBLEDON AND MERTON NOTES.

We have survived the Jubilee here. The local toadies got up their jubilation in secret, for fear that after what took place at the Drill Hall the dreaded Socialists would mar their plans. The Mitcham celebrators provided a tough dinner to persons over 68, mostly toothless; and their Merton congeners expressed their thankfulness to the Queen for being born by taking, an extra dose of preaching and letting off some squibs. We Socialists enlivened the enforced tedium of the day by inundating the neighbourhood with Socialist leaflets. In this wise we met a procession of schoolboys on jubilee parade, and before their teachers were aware of our purpose we had given to every lad a leaflet. "Give them up," shouted the irate pedagogue, when he discovered the nature of the bills, "or I will stop all your medals." These said medals being a bit of tin impressed with the puffy features of Evictoria. But the boys refused, and risked their medals. With insinuating manners and, I grieve to say, false speech on our tongues as to the real nature of the "goods" we were disposing of—such as "Take a tract, mum," etc.—we "worked"—to use the expressive but inelegant language of one of our colporteurs—a quantity of leaflets into hands that would otherwise have refused them. Their disgust and horror when they discovered their mistake was laughable, but they nevertheless kept the bills and read them, and so we were rewarded.

Some curious instances occur in the course of this propagandist work, and are, I think, worth noting here. When alone on tram or railway journeys, I take the opportunity of placing the leaflets with which I am always provided on seats of waiting-rooms and vehicles, or where a workman's face is an index of its owner's receptivity, a leaflet is bestowed with a casual remark. "H'm," said a weary-looking young railway servant to me on giving him a bill, "that's what we want in this country, is Socialism." "So," I ventured to rejoin, "you are not afraid of the Socialists?" "Why should I be?" said he; "all my waking hours are spent in watching and working, and I have to submit to tyranny of officials and the insults of these sort of passengers," pointing to a trainload of city men and some members of the "demi monde" intermixed. "Do you think them a useful class?" said I. "I don't know," he answered; "any road, they take it easy—ten till four—and some don't look as if they troubled much." "It is possible," said I, "that they in their shareholding and stockjobbing way are living upon and causing the overwork of your railway men, and under Socialism you would be men, instead of a source solely of profit to those who despise you." "Hear," he said, "and the sooner they are swept away the better." I may supplement the railway-servant's observation by saying that the manners of these hucksters and quill-drivers towards working men in the trains is insufferably contemptuous. It is an interesting sight, and one that is a strange commentary upon the statement that there is no class antagonism except what is stirred up by the Socialist, to see these popinjays and their bedizened upstart women shrink from possible contact or speech with the tired workmen who may chance into the same carriages when they are on the way to and fro their city "operations" and their paltry villas. Snobbery is contagious, and every wretched overworked clerk or shopman imitates it, instead of fraternising with their fellow-workers, the artisan and labourer.

Before entering my train I gave a Jubilee bill to a burly engineer. After reading a few lines only, he said: "Whoever wrote that ought to be locked up." Being the writer a guilty feeling overcame me. I took stock of him. "Here is an amiable specimen," thought I; "whoever writes what this man disagrees with must be imprisoned. What a fossil!" He probably ekes out his wages with the miserable profits of a chandlers' shop, and because he is satisfied in the sense that donkeys are when oats abound, no one else must protest. It is these curmudgeons who comprise what it pleases the scribes of the press to style the bulwark of divinely ordered society. England might wash her hands in the blood of all nations, and tramps and paupers increase, but he has got work, continued work, and with work he is satisfied. "Briton's never shall be slaves."

Leaving this "survival by fitness" I entered the train, into which I had already thrown my leaflets. Presently a number of workmen entered and the train started. The leaflets caught their eye and they speedily read them. Said an elderly man: "It's all very fine for them 'ere Socialists to talk, and what they say is right, but it will never come about. It always was so, rich and poor. We must have a head, and if we was to share out to-morrow we should all be back again next week worse off than before; them 'ere lazy chaps as won't work would collar the lot." I looked fixedly out of the window while a fierce controversy raged betwixt the speaker and the younger men, who, by the way, although they showed the glaring illogic of what is called common sense, in their converse yet were sympathetic to the new idea. I now mildly joined in, saying that I knew something about those Socialists, and had even been in the company of one that very day, who had been my personal acquaintance since he was a child. I asked the first speaker if he had ever heard or read of a Socialist who advocated the sharing out principle, and if he further didn't think that the idle and dissolute had already "collared the lot." Perhaps I diffidently suggested the Socialist might want the mines whence comes the fuel that warms, and the fields where grows the produce that feeds mankind, so as to be the property of the miners and peasants who worked them, instead of the property of the Lonsdales and Fitzwilliams, who neither delve nor dig, but live upon the sweat of other's bodies. If rich and poor, moreover, were as he alleged always to be, did he think it right that the rich should be those who didn't work or produce, and the poor the producers of the riches. The way of the world, I humbly remarked, was a little changed, for the vehicle we were riding in proved it, and would it not be better for the mass of the people to be educated physically and mentally into self-governing men and women than to cling to the selfish slavish idea that there must always be a head, and that head perchance belonging to a rogue or idiot made, in short, of the same material that British hearts are alleged to be made of, viz., tough timber? I asked him, in conclusion, whether he was assured of ending his days free from want, and he sorrowfully shook his head, but he added, "You'll never alter it." The younger men combated this notion, and I made an earnest appeal to them to work in the cause of labour emancipation, and as they left the train they cordially wished me "Good-speed!" and promised me help, and so ended another effort in the favour of the Cause.

In a public-house, where the same cause led to a heated debate, one vituperative antagonist said triumphantly, "Is not the landlord worthy his hire?" but when I asked what reward the landlord of rack-rented fever dens was justly entitled to, deponent said nothing.

F. KIRZ.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"CHRISTIANITY, POSITIVISM, AND SOCIALISM."

I must thank comrade Bax for his valuable remarks on the above subject, and ask leave to state my own view clearly.

In the earliest records of Christianity the notion of "holiness" (which is the key-note of many other religions) is subordinate to that of "love," that is, the impulse to do right out of mere regard for others which "saves" men from the anti-social vices. This is the principle expressed in Paul's "All things are yours," John's "Perfect love casteth out fear," and James's "Perfect law of liberty," down to the arch-individualist Luther's

"Wer liebt nicht Weib, Wein und Gesang
Bleibt ein Narr sein Lebenlang;

(Who loves not wine, woman, and song,
Abides a fool his whole life long).

and to this principle the gigantic blunder of asceticism is totally opposed.

Positivism is primarily a philosophical generalisation of the sciences; but whether owing to the personal vanity of Comte, or the genuine necessity for a religious side to the system, an attempt to elevate it into a religion was made. Comte himself, I believe, philosophically forgetful that the feminine nature itself is exceptionally religious, proposed the worship of women, a notion too childish and exaggerated even for modern tendencies of thought. At all events it was, I think, not as a logical necessity but as an empirical expedient that the current and superficial sides of Christianity were absorbed into Positivism. The 'Imitatio Christi' of course went with them; but anything further than that book from the spirit of the early Christian writings can hardly be imagined; as for example, "True quietness of heart is gotten by resisting our passions, not by obeying them."

Socialism among all the great systems of the world, is not alone in aiming at social happiness, but in making it economically possible; in removing the obstacles to the fulfilment of the religious aspirations. It may indeed be necessary and right to accentuate the new half-truth of the *perfect man through the perfect society*; but if the old half-truth of the *perfect society through the perfect man* be wholly lost sight of, it will have to be re-asserted some day with unnecessary emphasis.

REGINALD A. BECKETT.

Extracts from a "Sermon to Parsons," by Henry Broadhurst, M.P.

FROM THE 'CHURCH REFORMER.'

Vast numbers of the people are impressed with the idea that the pulpits of the religious communities, and especially those of the church as established by law, are being used as platforms from which the rights of property are defended and advocated with great force and persistency; while the unjust privileges of the classes, the wrongs done to labour, the neglect of the poor, and the general law of might as against right, are seldom denounced.

In the long struggle for political emancipation and social advancement, I am not aware of any one occasion on which the church has espoused the popular cause and the rights of the poor. By the cause of the poor I do not mean aiding them by the distribution of soup and the loan of blankets. I mean causes and policies that are calculated to enable the workers to provide themselves with the necessities of life, or, in other words, to secure an adequate reward for their industry.

Ministers must read up and expound the real Christian principle, which insists that we are all members of one family, and that the industrious members of that family have the right to lawfully remove all man-made impediments that stand between them and the necessities of life. They must also recognise the fact that men were made before laws, and laws should only be made to assist and protect honesty against fraud, and the weak from the oppression and injustice of the strong. That any law which upholds or in any way facilitates extortion, enabling men to reap where they have not sown, is a licence to rob, and should be so endorsed, and treated accordingly. That they who for the sake of economy patronise and avail themselves of cheapness that is only rendered possible by starvation wages, are participants in wrong and oppression.

I think the ministers of our churches would be much aided in getting a firmer grip of the old faith if they had opportunities of fully realising the hardships of a life of labour. This could be done by adding two experiences to their present studies. 1st. Six months as working miners in one of the worst ventilated and worst managed coal mines. 2nd. Six winter months before the mast on the Dogger Bank on board a fishing smack. If an explosion in the mine, or a gale of wind, or some other of the many causes of loss of life in connection with these industries, did not bring their studies to a sudden and final termination, the men that went through these experiences would enter the ministry equipped for their work in a form calculated to give much earnestness and force to the cause which always commanded the special sympathy and aid of their Master.

It is even now not too late for the churches to enter into competition with the secular champions of democracy; but to be successful the competitors must offer the same earnest and honest counsel and practical help in fighting the battles of life as is given to the people by their more secular friends. So far as my limited and personal experience goes, I have but little hesitation in saying that Trades' unionism has kept burning in this country a purer and more practical Christian light than almost any other institution or corporation of men.

Trades' unionists daily practice some of the leading injunctions of the New Testament. 1st. They subordinate personal aggrandisement to the general welfare of their fellow members. 2nd. When any of their members are out of employment they render them substantial and prolonged assistance. 3rd. They provide relief for their sick members and visit them during illness. Some of the unions have for many years, long before Hospital Saturdays and Sundays were heard of, contributed to hospitals and kindred institutions, thus enabling their members to obtain admission by right and not by charity. 4th. When their members are injured too seriously to again live by their usual calling, the unions provide a substantial sum to assist the sufferers to gain a livelihood in some other manner. When accidents are immediately fatal, similar assistance is given to the widow. 5th. Superannuation provision is made for old age. This, if not a sufficient sum for sole maintenance, at least affords considerable help. Other material provision is also made for members and their families.

Now if these are not religious acts they at least embody some of the great principles of Christianity that cannot be properly left out of any religious code.

I ask, what is the record of the church in relation to these associations? I do not of course mean in its individual action, but in its corporate capacity. Have the unions been aided, encouraged, or defended by the church? No; not a word or look has been given to aid them in their prolonged struggle for freedom and just laws. But I fear it would be easy to produce evidence of the contrary position of the church towards these bodies; and not be very difficult to multiply instances similar of what many people consider to be anti-Christianity on its part.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

A strike has taken place in the boot trade at Northampton, caused, it is said, by workmen objecting to deficient ventilation in the workshops.

The railway spike and gimp nail-makers at Halesowen have decided to give their employers notice for an increase of wages.

THE LANARKSHIRE COLLIERIES.—The coalmasters last week posted notices at their collieries intimating a reduction of wages by $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. This represents from 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. to 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. of a reduction per day.

The mill-furnacemen and bolters at Messrs. Willcock and Henry Jones, Rotherham, have been given fourteen days' notice for a reduction of 10 per cent. in their wages. The notice expires to-day (Saturday).

Ironworks in the neighbourhood of Skipton have been stopped, owing to "depression of trade" (i.e., do not produce enough profit), and great distress prevails. Appeals for help have been made on behalf of the ironworkers and their families.

At a large meeting of the workmen—chiefly retort-men—employed at Uppall Oil Works on June 30 it was unanimously resolved to cease work on 7th July, the date that the reduction comes in force, unless the reduction be withdrawn.

THE CHAIN-MAKERS.—The majority of the operatives in the chain trade at Cradley Heath and adjoining districts have again ceased work at the various workshops. On Saturday Mr. Homer and other members of the Chainmakers' Association attended a Conference at Manchester with respect to the co-operative movement.

Last week the retort-men employed by the Broxburn Oil Company held a meeting in a field near the works. The deputation appointed at last meeting to wait on Mr. Henderson, manager, not having received any definite reply that the reduction would be withdrawn, the meeting unanimously resolved that unless the notice was withdrawn before the reduction came into effect they would strike work.

The agitation in the bedstead stud and peg trade was shown at a meeting of operatives at Blackheath, when complaints were made that during the past few years enormous reductions in wages had been enforced, amounting in some instances to as much as 40 per cent. It was resolved to come out on strike Saturday July 9 in the event of the employers refusing to concede the 1881 list.

WAGES IN THE NAIL TRADE.—A few days ago Mr. John Price, of Rowley, received a communication from an employer at Halesowen, calling his attention to the fact that some of the masters were paying at the rate of 40 to 50 per cent. below the list framed in 1879. Mr. Price at once laid the matter before the officials of the Nailmakers' Association, but it was felt that it would be useless to call a meeting of trade delegates at present.

STRIKE AT WEST CALDER.—A meeting of miners and retort-men, numbering nearly 200, was held on July 1 to discuss the proposed reduction of wages. Mr. Alexander Leitch in the chair. After a long discussion, the meeting passed a resolution that a strike take place should the reduction be persisted in by the masters. A deputation was appointed to wait on the manager and inform him of the decision.

THE CARLUKE MINERS.—The miners employed in the coal-pits belonging to Shotts Iron Company in the Carlisle district have received notice that a reduction of wages will take place, amounting to about $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Some of the colliers employed at Carlisle and Law collieries for a short time past have been working on broken time. On July 1 an open-air meeting of miners was held in the Market Place, Carlisle. Mr. Bernard Tracey presided. Mr. Small addressed the meeting, and it was agreed to follow the policy of eight hours a-day and five days a-week, if the miners of Hamilton district should agree to this restrictive policy.

WAGES IN THE MALLEABLE NAIL TRADE.—Notice has been given by the masters of the malleable nail trade of Birmingham for a reduction of 10 per cent. in the wages of the operatives. It is said that there is a difference of 20 per cent. in the rates of wages paid in Birmingham and the trade in other centres, and the reduction is asked for to prevent other districts from taking away the trade of the Birmingham employers by underselling. The workmen held a meeting on Tuesday June 28, and unanimously resolved not to accept any reduction, but to do all in their power to bring about the equalisation of the wage prices in the trade throughout the country towards which end, we are informed, the men are prepared to spend £500.

THE STRIKE OF DUNDEE MASONS.—This strike still continues, and at present there is no likelihood of a settlement. A number of the employers have given the halfpenny per hour of an increase asked, and work is proceeding at their jobs; but the majority of the masters are still holding out, and their employes decline to resume work at the old rate of wages. Men are now becoming scarce in Dundee, and several employers who have large contracts on hand are anxious for a settlement. Work in other towns is plentiful at present, and a considerable number of men have left Dundee and got employment elsewhere. A number of the quarry-masters in the district have taken a curious action, and a notice which savours somewhat of boycotting those employers who have granted the increase has been issued to the Dundee Master Builders' Association as follows: "Dundee, 1st July 1887.—We, the undersigned quarrymasters in meeting assembled, this day resolved as follows: 'Until the existing dispute in the building trade is settled we shall not supply you with any more material.'"

MR. BRADLAUGH AND THE SHOE-MAKING INDUSTRY.—Apropos of the debate on the question "Will Socialism benefit the English people?" now going on in the *Commonweal* between Mr. Bradlaugh and our comrade Bax, several communications have been received from workers in various industries as to the optimistic statements of Mr. Bradlaugh. The shoemaking business has been specially mentioned, and the following remarks are from the letter of a Nottingham workman: "I started in life as hand-stitch workman, or as we term it, a woman's man; as such worked for some of the best shops in country—London, Northampton, and Stafford. I am now a finisher of rivet or machine-sown work; have been employed on half-time this last year or two. The goods that sell in this town are manufactured in the low-wage districts of Kettering, Northampton, and Leicester; Norwich and Bristol are low-wage towns. Now, forty years ago trade may have been bad in those districts or indeed all through the country, but boots and shoes were more generally manufactured in every town or village throughout the kingdom; a workman could tramp from town to town and get work; now he's got to tramp till he gets to the big shoe centres before he gets work. I have sent you your trade report for May, which is issued to us in June; you will

observe that trade is only good in those large manufacturing districts where cheap goods are produced, which proves that big manufacturers are crushing out of existence lesser ones. You will see that the London trade is going to Northampton for cheapness. I might say that, considering the riveting and finishing is a young industry, wages have gone down rather rapidly."

"MR. BRADLAUGH AND THE TRADE UNIONIST RING.—The debate in Committee on the Coal Mines Regulation Bill has been chiefly remarkable for the rebuke received by the Trade-unionist M.P.'s at the hands of Mr. Bradlaugh. Messrs. Burt, Broadhurst, and their "tail" in the House have been making every endeavour inside and outside Parliament, to strike a blow at the freedom of women's labour at the pit bank. This attack is being sustained under cover of a thick coating of unctuous philanthropy. It is pretended that the pit-brow women are undergoing a process of degradation, and that they must be saved from themselves and their taskmasters, the colliery proprietors. The lamentations of these Chadbands are of course meant to be misleading. Their benevolence is purely self-regarding. The prime object of trade-unionism, so it is held, is to raise wages. As the presence of these weak women tend to lower rates, they must be cleared out of the way—entirely for their own good and salvation, of course. Mr. Bradlaugh has stripped the parliamentary trade unionist ring of their white chokers and black gloves, and has treated them to a little social philosophy with no humbug in it."—*Jus*, July 1. No man can serve two masters. He cannot be at the same time the advocate of the monopolists and the champion of the workers. There is practically little difference between Mr. Bradlaugh and his ardent admirers of the Liberty and Property Defence League, except that he is to use a mild term, somewhat more illogical. Under these circumstances it seems to me that in selecting such a pronounced antagonist of collectivism to speak at their annual gala, the Northumberland miners are unwittingly endorsing the foregoing insult to the whole body of trades unionists.—T. B.

THE BOLTON ENGINEERS' STRIKE.—June 30.—The engineers' strike at Bolton is putting the town into a state of great ferment. The importation of foreign workmen is greatly exciting the men, and last night the streets near the works where it is known that the strangers are located were besieged by great crowds. Near the works of Messrs. Hicks, Hargreaves, and Co., in Crook Street, an immense crowd gathered, and stones were thrown in profusion. Two arrests were made, and a third apprehension took place, but the third man escaped. A rush was then made to the building in a back street where the beds put up for the accommodation of the strangers were situated, and more stones were thrown. The police for a time were powerless, but their number was augmented, and the crowd kept in check.—July 1.—There was a renewal of disturbances at Bolton last evening, which culminated in a serious conflict between the police and the populace, by which a number of persons were injured, including an inspector of the borough force. The introduction of two hundred county constables appears to have aroused public feeling, and about six o'clock, in the vicinity of one of the works affected by the strike, a large crowd assembled. Stones and bolts were thrown freely, and a considerable number of windows were smashed. The police drew batons and repeatedly charged the mob, which had got more demonstrative. The conflict lasted over an hour, and many were hurt. Half-a-dozen arrests were made, and the greatest excitement prevails. July 2.—There was a renewal of disturbances at Bolton last evening, and sixty more constables were early drafted to the scene of Thursday night's disorder, making a force there of over one hundred strong. The crowd, numbering quite eight thousand, became very demonstrative at dusk. Walls in the vicinity were pulled down, and the materials used as weapons. The police endeavoured to clear the streets, but failing, the military were summoned from their billets, and on arrival were received with hootings and a fusillade of stones. Order was obtained by keeping the main streets clear, but the greatest excitement prevailed. The public-houses in the neighbourhood of the works affected were closed by order of magistrates. A later account:—The crowd has increased twofold. Hundreds of windows are being wrecked by stones and other missiles. The policemen are powerless. The Mayor and other magistrates, accompanied by the town clerk and magistrates' clerk, have just proceeded to the scene of disturbance, being escorted by the Hussars. The excitement increases, and an outbreak of a serious nature is feared, threats being made to burn the works down. The military are now engaged clearing the thoroughfares amidst showers of brickbats, stones, blocks of wood, and other materials lying handy. The riot was ultimately quelled by the military which charged the mob repeatedly, during which a large number of persons were injured, and one Hussar was thrown to the ground, his ankle being broken. The police tried to effect several arrests, but this was not persisted in owing to a shower of stones. The Mayor and other magistrates remained on the scene until midnight, when the crowd began to disperse. During the struggle at one point fifty persons were knocked down and trodden upon. July 5.—By latest accounts the excitement still continues and the military are camping near the town to be ready for emergencies.

FRANCE.

The *Cri du Peuple* announces that in a few days (the date is not as yet known) a mass meeting will be held at Paris, under the auspices of the Watchmen Committee of the XIII. district (*Comité de Vigilance du XIII. arrondissement*) in order to publicly denounce a series of inhuman and barbarous practices perpetrated at the sugar refinery, Say and Co., who employ over 4,000 workers. Mind you, that Say is the learned member of the French Academy, the former Minister of Finance of the French Republic, and the most distinguished representative of bourgeois political economy in our nineteenth century! It is impossible to give a description of this hell, where human beings are obliged to work completely naked during fifteen and often seventeen consecutive hours, in holes heated at from 60 to 80 deg., and where they suddenly pass into backcourts, where the temperature is at 15 deg. below zero. The least mistake in the work is invariably punished by immediate discharge! We need not say that these poor refiners, even if they were strong and robust men, soon become weakened and sickly, and die an untimely death. A few days ago a general diminution of one franc has been imposed on all salaries, and so 4,000 slaves are reduced to starvation wages, whereas that abominable Say makes a gross profit of one franc per sugar loaf, and 40,000 sugar-loafs are produced daily! And whilst these miserable slaves have their wages reduced from day to day, and live a life of pain and starvation, that M. Say writes books, voluminous and pedantic, on the accord between capital and labour, and receives the warmest congratulations of the Academy of moral and political science!

At the iron works of *Le Creusot*, where reigns and governs M. Schneider, the blacksmiths, whose salary has been reduced from 5 fr. to 4 fr., have stopped their work and are now on strike. Of course, M. Schneider is an archi-millionaire!—D.

GERMANY.

At Breslau, several perquisitions have been made and proved unsuccessful. But comrade Bruno Geiser, chief editor of the *Neue Welt*, and formerly member of the Reichstag, has been arrested. Nobody knows, not even the police, for what reason.

The deputy Lalance, who represents Alsace in the Reichstag, has been expelled from the very district of which he is the chosen representative. So he sits in Parliament for a province which he is not allowed to visit, and that is one of the "beauties" of the representative system.

Another member of the German Reichstag, the Socialist deputy Kräker, of Breslau, has been arrested on leaving, at the close of the Session, the Parliament. He was taken away by the police on the very steps of the House in which he was sent to represent his fellow countrymen,—and that is another of the "beauties" of the representative system!

From the fifty Socialists who have been tried at Magdeburg, thirty-one have been sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying from nine months to fourteen days.

At Danzig, a dozen Socialists are now on their trial, and although their condemnation has not yet been pronounced, we may fairly say that they will be sent to prison. Their acquittal would be a wonder, and Germany does not work wonders—at least of that kind.—D.

BELGIUM.

The Belgian papers announce that the king of that unfortunate country has presented his son-in-law, the heir presumptive of the Austrian crown, with a splendid estate, situated in Hungary, which he has recently bought for the trifling sum of *twenty-eight millions of francs*! This enormous sum of money has been stolen away from the wretched workers, who receive for twelve, fourteen, and often sixteen hours of labour, a salary varying between 5 fr. (four shillings) and 1 fr. (tenpence) a-day.

As our readers are aware, the members of the Belgian Worker's Party (*parti ouvrier belge*) have made it a part of their programme to try by all means to enter in the town councils, in the provincial councils, and even in the House of Parliament. Although they have succeeded in getting some of their friends in various of these councils, they have of course not obtained anything whatever of all the reforms they aimed at. The same electioneering propaganda is going to commence for the communal elections of the next month of October. However, we are glad to say that the strongest part of the Belgian organisation, the Socialist Federation of Ghent, represented by the *Vooruit* and by the daily paper, the *Toekomst*, have seen at last the fallacies of that representative humbug system, and they declare to the Socialist Federations of Brussels and Liege their intention not to proceed to the ballot boxes in company with the Radicals. As it appears, the Federation of Antwerp is likely to follow the same line as our friends in Ghent.—D.

HOLLAND.

It will be well for Socialists to remember the name of C. G. Bergér van Hengst, the director of the Penitentiary of Utrecht, where our comrade Domela Nieuwenhuys is imprisoned for not having written an article which appeared in *Recht voor Allen*. The tormentor of the Utrecht jail seems to be of the same sort as the chief jailer of the hard labour prison of Halle, in Prussia, he uses the same methods. Domela Nieuwenhuys, who has been very ill and was ordered to have the food of the prisoners at the infirmary, has again been deprived of this "favour." All letters addressed to him are now destroyed. Our comrade Croll, who has power of attorney for Domela, has been refused further permission to communicate with him on behalf of the prisoner's children. In the beginning of his imprisonment he had leave to have books in his cell; all books have now been removed and his detention is in the full sense of the word a most brutal and infamous solitary confinement.

In answer to the growing persecution of Socialists in Holland, our friends have decided to issue their organ *Recht voor Allen* instead of twice *three times weekly*, from the 1st of July, and without any change in the subscription price. Bravo!—D.

OUT OF THE MOUTHS OF CHILDREN.—Nellie: "Let you and I play inventor." Fanny: "How shall we do it?" Nellie: "Why you, the inventor, go in and get some cakes out of the cupboard, and I, the capitalist, come along and eat them all. You'll get all the fame; I'll tell mamma it was you who took the cakes, and she will tell papa."—*Newcastle Chronicle*.

SYDNEY, May 21.—SOCIALISM.—A public debate on "Socialism" was held at the Royal Standard Theatre (upstairs), on Wednesday evening. The debate was opened by Mr. A. M. Pilter, of the London Socialist League. He treated the question from an historical standpoint, and dealt very ably with the conflict between labour and capital. Messrs. Flower, Howard, and others led the opposition. Mr. M'Namara spoke in favour of Socialism. Another speaker relied mainly on land nationalisation.—*Sydney Evening News*.

The number of persons employed in connection with mines in this country was 600,000, and the quantity of minerals raised annually was between 150 and 200 millions of tons. Every 150,000 tons of that enormous quantity represented a human life lost, very often by causes which were preventable. The juggernaut of selfish mismanagement exacted a tribute of life and limb at a rate which exceeded 25 for every week the whole year round. These accidents were not the result of sudden and therefore presumably unavoidable explosions, but generally of carelessness and selfishness on the part of colliery-owners. Inasmuch as colliers were not in a position to enter into contracts with their employers upon equal terms, the State was bound to interfere for their protection.—A. O'Connor, M.P.: Speech on the Mines Regulation Bill.

SHIPBUILDING ON THE CLYDE.—There is no hope of a speedy revival of this trade. There is an over-production of ships at present; the carrying power is far in excess of the demand. The average tonnage of ships built on the Clyde half-yearly since 1878 has been 126,953 tons, the past half-year only 86,780 tons were built, about two-thirds less than the average amount. The orders on hand give no hope of better times. In a well organised state, instead of masses of workmen hanging about Govan and other places on the Clyde waiting for orders to build ships that never will be given, these men would be drafted up to Glasgow to aid in demolishing Glasgow slums, and in building houses for those families that are at present living in one-roomed houses. Perhaps the Lord Provost and Town Council of Glasgow might consider this suggestion. Where the welfare of the State is at stake, his lordship and councillors should not allow themselves to be terrorised by the holders of "vested interests."—A. K. D.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

The Debate on Socialism.—E. B. Bax's reply is in type, but we are unfortunately obliged to hold it over till next week, as it arrived too late to allow of concurrent publication in the columns of the 'National Reformer.'

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

Co-operative Store.—The Committee attend at the offices at 8.30 p.m. on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. See advertisement on last page.

Monthly General Meeting.—At this meeting the following recommendation by Council was adopted:—"That all London branches do make collections at all open-air meetings for the general expenses of propaganda, such collections to be handed intact to the treasurer. The treasurer to be empowered to allow to lecture secretary the travelling expenses of those speakers unable to bear their own." The reports of *Commonweal* Manager, Ways and Means, Strike and Co-operative Committees were also presented. The following Branches reported on the work done by them since last meeting of members:—Bloomsbury, Clerkenwell, Croydon, Hackney, Hammersmith, Hoxton, Marylebone, Merton, Mitcham, and North London.

BRANCH SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID.

Leicester, South London, to December 31, 1886. Bradford, Croydon, Edinburgh, Hackney, Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Hull, Ipswich, Lancaster, Leeds, Marylebone, Merton, Norwich, Shields, to March 31. Bloomsbury, Glasgow, North London, to April 30. Clerkenwell, Hammersmith, Oxford, Walsall, to June 30.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

W. B. (three weeks), 1s. 6d. K. F. (weekly), 1s. C. J. F. (weekly), 2s.

FOR PROPAGANDA.

Collected—Merton, 1s. 3d. Donation—Mitcham, 1s.

Ph. W., Treasurer, July 5.

THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

Medical Student (3rd donation) 2s. 6d. For Mrs. Mowbray—A Few Fabians, per Annie Besant (two weeks), £1. J. LANE, Treasurer.

REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—On Thursday evening last, an important business meeting was held, which was well attended.—U.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, June 29, H. H. Sparling gave very interesting discourse on "Rebel Songs of Ireland." The meeting closed with "God Save Ireland." On Sunday, July 3, we held a good meeting on Clerkenwell Green, addressed by Blundell, Sparling, Mainwaring, and Wardle. Literature sold well. The usual monthly "social evening" of members and friends was very successful.—A. T. and W. B.

HACKNEY.—H. A. Barker spoke to an attentive audience at the Broadway, London Fields, on Wednesday evening. Graham and Westwood addressed the meeting at the Salmon and Ball on Sunday morning. At the club, on Sunday evening, J. Lane lectured on "The National Loaf, who earns and who eats it." Members are requested to attend these meetings as often as possible.—G. C.

MERTON AND MITCHAM.—Last Sunday morning, Kitz and Eden addressed good meeting on the Fair Green. Collection, 1s. 1d. From Mitcham in the evening, Kitz and Buteux visited Battersea to push *Commonweal*, and distributed a large amount of literature.—F. KITZ.

EDINBURGH.—On Saturday, Donaldson and G. Hossack addressed a meeting at Loanhead. On Sunday, Davidson, John Smith, and J. H. Smith had a large and very attentive audience in the Queen's Park. *Commonweal* sold well.

GLASGOW.—On Saturday afternoon, a very successful meeting was held at Blantyre. Addresses were delivered by Small, Glasier, Gilray, Carmichael, and Paterson. On the same day Gilray, Glasier, and Paterson spoke to a large audience at Cambuslang. They had a good reception. On Sunday forenoon, Glasier and Gilray addressed a meeting in Jail Square. In the afternoon, we held our usual meeting at Paisley Road Toll, Glasier and Gilray speaking. There was a large audience. The police have interfered with our meeting here, and as we intend testing the right of free speech, all friends interested in Socialist propaganda are earnestly requested to turn up there next Sunday at five o'clock.—J. M. B.

LANCASTER.—Are spreading the gospel as usual, in ways most expedient in such a camp of the Philistines as this, and have distributed a number of Jubilee leaflets. Two more of our active members are leaving the place through the practical stoppage of one of our largest and most tyrannical workshops. The always vast procession of unemployed on the main roads between Barrow, Lancaster, and Preston is on the increase. On Friday, at our club-house, had usual gathering, when Leonard Hall read chapters from E. B. Bax's 'Religion,' and we had a genial farewell to our departing comrades.—L. H.

LEEDS.—On Wednesday evening, at new open-air station in Meadow Lane, Hill, Maguire, and Paylor addressed a fair audience. On Sunday morning, Braithwaite, Hill, Maguire, and Paylor held a meeting; and at night in Vicar's Croft a large crowd listened attentively to Maguire, Paylor, and Braithwaite. The quarterly election of Branch officers took place on Friday.—T. P.

NORWICH.—On Wednesday evening last, we held a splendid meeting at Yarmouth, a large audience listening attentively to Henderson and another comrade. On Sunday morning a meeting was held at Diss, and in the afternoon in Norwich Market-place, Henderson speaking at both places. Morley in the chair. In the evening, Slaughter spoke on the Agricultural Hall Plain, Sutton in the chair. At 8 o'clock, the Gordon Hall was well filled. Henderson lectured on the "Marriage Question," brisk discussion; Moore in the chair.—J. S.

WALSALL.—Pelsall was again visited on Wednesday, June 29, and a good meeting on the Green was addressed by H. Sanders, Weaver, and Deakin. At the close there was a little opposition from a teetotal friend, who was ably replied to by Weaver and Sanders to the entire satisfaction of the audience. On Saturday evening, Sanders addressed large audiences in the Market-place, Walsall. During the week the teetotallers have been carrying on open-air meetings with the help of special lecturers, but although publicly challenged by Sanders to debate the point as to whether teetotalism would solve the problem of low or insufficient wages and the difficulty of getting employment, they have not taken it up.

HULL AND GRIMSBY.—On Sunday, June 3, I addressed a series of meetings at Grimsby, where a Socialist body had been started some months ago. I addressed a meeting there in February last, and a number of men met afterwards to form an organisation. They then determined amongst themselves to work locally. They have since held regular meetings, and got together a band of very earnest

and energetic comrades. The meetings were well arranged, and the audiences good and sympathetic. The morning lecture was in the open-air, and dealt with the case of the miners of the North of England. The afternoon address dealt with the attitude of Socialists towards co-operators and trade unionists. A brisk discussion followed. In the evening a large audience gathered at the Hall of Science to hear a discourse on "How Socialism Might be Realised." The scheme seemed satisfactory to the audience, and an interesting discussion ensued. Several new members were enrolled afterwards, and preparations were discussed for extending the work of the society and having more speakers down. Altogether the prospects of Socialism in Grimsby are decidedly hopeful. —J. L. M.

PECKHAM.—On Sunday evening W. H. Utley lectured at the Peckham Reform Club on "Socialist Politics." The lecture was well received and a large quantity of literature was sold.

SOCIALIST UNION (NOTTINGHAM SECTION).—On Sunday morning in Sneinton Market Proctor and Peacock spoke to a good audience, 2s. 2d. collected. In the Great Market Place at night a large meeting to hear Waine, Proctor and Peacock speak on Socialism; 5s. 6d. collected. At the meeting at the Club four members enrolled. —A. C.

WOOLWICH.—Last Sunday R. Banner spoke to a large gathering at the Arsenal gates. Literature as usual sold well. £1 2s. 6d. collected for propaganda.

North of England Socialist Federation.

Seghill meeting addressed by J. L. Mahon on Friday. **Backworth.**—Good meeting, addressed by A. K. Donald. Fair sale of literature.

Blyth.—A large meeting was addressed in Blyth Market-place by A. K. Donald on Saturday evening. Branches of the Socialist Federation will please remember delegate meeting at Grey Mare Inn, Blyth, at 3 p.m., on July 9.

Newcastle.—Thomas Mann, S.D.F., has held a number of meetings in the town in the course of the week, which have been well attended. An effort is being made by the branches of the S.D.F. to raise sufficient funds to have a speaker permanently in Northumberland.

North Shields.—A. K. Donald lectured on Quayside on Sunday morning to a large audience. Arrangements are being made to give an indoor lecture next week, at which ample opportunity will be given to opponents of Socialism to state their views. Mr. Leslie Johnstone has intimated that he wishes the debate adjourned some weeks.

Sunderland.—A meeting was addressed by Donald and Wood on Sunday afternoon. A teetotal employee of the N.E.R., in receipt of 30s. a-week, was indignant at Donald's exposition of the N.E.R. balance-sheet. He thought the shareholders fully entitled to their plunder.

South Shields.—An address was delivered by Donald in the market-place on Sunday evening to a good audience. Several new members were made. Friends desiring to join the Socialist party please communicate with J. Wood, 105 Bath Street.

Consett.—A. K. Donald lectured at the pump on Monday evening.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, W. On Thursday July 7, at 8.30, F. Verinder will lecture, "Land Nationalisation." 14. Eleanor Marx-Aveling, "Socialism and Political Action." 21. W. H. Utley, "Malthusian Socialism." 28. Business Meeting and Social Evening. August 4. Edward Aveling, "The Value of Brain Work."

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday July 10, at 8.30 p.m. George Bernard Shaw, "Socialism and Radicalism." Wednesday July 13, at 8.30. W. Utley, "Socialist Politics."

Croydon.—Parker Road.

Hackney.—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 8 till 11.30; Saturday, 7 till 12.30; Sunday 11 a.m. till 12 p.m. Members Business Meeting every Tuesday at 8.30 p.m. Sunday July 10, at 8.30, no lecture. Special Notice—all members are requested to attend Saturday July 9, at 8.30.

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall. W. Sunday July 10, at 8 p.m. Alfred Howard (Christian Socialist Society), "Christian Socialism not Socialistic Christianity."

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—2 Crondall Street, New North Rd. Club Room open on Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday evenings from 8 till 11. Singing Class every Wednesday at 8.30. Sunday July 10, Excursion to Rye House. Brakes leave 2 Crondall Street at 9 a.m. Tickets (booked beforehand) 2s. 6d.

Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday. Discussions held every Sunday morning at 11.

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

North London.—Branch meets at 32 Camden Road, N.W., for reception of new members and other business, on Wednesday evenings at 8 o'clock, until further notice. H. Bartlett, sec.

PROVINCES.

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

Dublin.—Irish Labour League, Temperance Hall, 57 Francis Street, every Thursday at 8 p.m. Discussion on all subjects connected with Labour Question.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 7.30 p.m. to transact business. Class for the study of 'Das Capital' at 8.30. (See "Open-air" below.)

Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Meeting of Members in Rooms on Sunday evening at 7 o'clock.

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

Hull.—Address all communications to E. Teesdale, 20 Shakspeare Street.

Lancaster.—Addresses every Sunday morning on the Quay Jetty.

Leeds.—17 Chesham Street, Sweet Street. Club and reading room open every evening. Business meetings every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Leicester.—Office of Hosiery Union, Horsefair Street. Fridays at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Free Lectures every Sunday at 8 p.m. Members' Meeting, Monday at 8. Speakers' Class, Sunday mornings at 10.30 and Wednesday evenings at 8 p.m. Singing Class, Saturday evenings.

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

Shields (North and South).—Meetings every Sunday, Quay-side and Market Place. Branch meetings on Thursday nights at the "General Gordon," Bath Street, Maxwell Street, South Shields. Secretary, J. Hearne, 32 Clive Street, No. Shields.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 10.

11.30...Hammersmith—Beadon Rd.The Branch
11.30...Mitcham Fair GreenEden & Kitz
11.30...St. Pancras Arches
11.30...Walham GreenThe Branch
7 ...Clerkenwell GreenBlundell
7.30...Garrett—"Plough Inn"Kitz & Bull

Tuesday.

8 ...Ossulton Street, Euston Road.....Nicoll

Wednesday.

8 ...Broadway, London FieldsMorris

Thursday.

8 ...Hoxton, Pitfield StreetThe Branch

PROVINCES.

Edinburgh.—Sunday: Queen's Park, 6.30 p.m.
Glasgow.—Sunday: Jail's Square, 1 o'clock; Paisley Road Toll at 5.

Cambslang.—Saturday: 6 o'clock.
Motherwell.—Saturday: at 8 o'clock.

Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, 11; Vicar's Croft, 7.30. Friday: Corner of Christ Church, Meadow Lane, at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place at 3; Agricultural Hall Plain at 7.

Aylsham.—Alternate Tuesdays: Market Place, at 7.
Dereham.—Thursday: Market Place, at 7.15.

Wymondham.—Sunday: at 11.

Yarmouth.—Wednesday: On the Quay, at 7.30.

Walsall.—J. L. Mahon will arrive here Thursday July 14, and address two open-air meetings on that date—on The Bridge, Walsall, at 8 p.m., and High Bullen, Wednesbury, at 6 p.m.

NORTH ENGLAND SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

MEETINGS—JULY.

Sat. 9—Blyth, Market Place.

Sun. 10—North Shields, Quayside, at 11 a.m. Sunderland Garrison, at 3.30 p.m. South Shields, Market Place, at 6.30 p.m.

Mon. 11—Consett, Pump near Town Hall, at 7 p.m.

Tues. 12—Throckley, at 6.30 p.m.

Fri. 15—Backworth, near Market, at 6 p.m.

HOXTON (Labour Emancipation League).—An Excursion of members and friends of the above will take place on Sunday first, July 10, to Rye House, by brakes from 2 Crondall Street, Hoxton, at 9 a.m. A few tickets to be had, price 2s. 6d.

NORWICH BRANCH.—It was arranged at a meeting of members to have an outing in August, on Bank Holiday, to Cromer. Tickets 4s. 6d. each, including railway fare, dinner, and tea.

SOUTH-WEST HAM RADICAL ASSOCIATION, Congregational Schoolroom, Swanscombe Street, Barking Rd.—Wednesday July 13, at 8 p.m. H. H. Sparling, "The Iron Law of Wages." Aug. 24. "The Rebel Poetry of Ireland."

STAMFORD HILL AND TOTTENHAM.—Comrades and Friends living in this district desirous of forming a branch of the Socialist League are requested to address John Flockton, 3 Sussex Terrace, Markfield Road, Broad Lane, Tottenham, or to the Secretary of the League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

WOOLWICH.—Arsenal Gates, Sunday at 7 o'clock.

United Socialist Societies of London.

ANNUAL EXCURSION TO EPPING FOREST (ROBIN HOOD), on Sunday July 10, by railway to Loughton Station, for the benefit of the condemned comrades in Chicago.

The procession will start from the West-end at 9 a.m., corner of Tottenham Street and Charlotte Street; and from the East end at 9 a.m., from the Club Morgenroethe, Princes Square, Cable Street, with full brass bands, banners, and standards.

Trains leave from Liverpool Street Station at follows: morning, 8.53, 9.53, 10.30; afternoon, 12.8, 2.28, 3.22, 5.50.

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Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, London, E.C.

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

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL 3.—No. 79.

SATURDAY, JULY 16, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

A WRITTEN DEBATE

BETWEEN MR. C. BRADLAUGH, M.P., AND E. BELFORT BAX.

SUBJECT:

“Will Socialism Benefit the English People?”

V.—Affirmative: E. BELFORT BAX.

I REGRET that Mr. Bradlaugh's second paper should not have contained a more distinct criticism of the modern Socialism set forth in my opening article than it does. Mr. Bradlaugh in his last complained that I had not made myself clear to him on certain points. These I endeavoured to explain in a few sentences. He now again says he does not understand what I mean. Briefly then, once more, the “economic basis” of modern society is production for profit, through the monopoly of the means of production by the named and unnamed individuals constituting the capitalist class, in its various sections. The “economic basis” of Socialism is the collective ownership of these means of production by society as a whole, and their working not for the profit of individuals or classes but for the use of society as a whole, both collectively and individually. I believe, as I before said, that the tendency under Socialism would be increasingly towards a collectivisation of the product, but when, how, and the precise proportions in which this would take place I do not pretend to prophesy. In fact, when Mr. Bradlaugh pursues me with four wheeled cabs, wooden clogs, and his long and supple leather fishing-boots, and says, what of these? who shall ride in this cab? who shall wear these boots? how do you know that he who wears the boots will like the boots he wears? there is only one truthful answer I can make him, and that is, “I don't know, and I don't care”; and in saying this I am sure I express the sentiments of the immense majority of modern Socialists. Such conundrums have not the slightest practical interest at the present time; and if Socialism pretended to answer them it would thereby proclaim its own absurdity and worthlessness. If Mr. Bradlaugh wants to discuss such interesting details as these, I commend him to the Positivists, who will further inform him how many times a man is to tap his forehead or scratch his left ear (I forget which) before going to bed in the society of the future.

And this brings me to the point where, with due respect to Mr. Bradlaugh, I should like to signalise what I think is the cause of Mr. Bradlaugh's failure (as I cannot but deem it) even so much as to touch the question at the root of the issue between us. Mr. Bradlaugh seems to be looking out in my exposition for something he doesn't find, and he is disconcerted because he doesn't find it. Hence his unwillingness to deal with the historical and other points put forward by me, and his anxiety to waive aside so many things as “irrelevant to the issue between us.” This latter practice or proceeding reaches its acme of eccentricity, if I may so call it, when Mr. Bradlaugh intimates his opinion that the question of the unemployed has nothing to do with Socialism, and challenges me to prove that Socialism would benefit the unemployed! Now I submit that though human nature can stand a great deal in controversy, yet there is a limit to all things under the sun. And I do think that Mr. Bradlaugh might have borne in mind the elementary fact that Socialism by its very definition excludes the possibility of there being any “unemployed” to benefit. The “unemployed” belong to present society, and it clearly devolves upon Mr. Bradlaugh as the champion of present society as against Socialism to deal with this great problem of modern times. He may say, of course, that Socialism is wrong and impracticable; but granted Socialism and *ex hypothesi* there is no such thing as an “unemployed” class. However, I will not press this point.

The question then arises, what is this “something” Mr. Bradlaugh is trying to find in modern Socialism, and can't? I think I am not far wrong in saying that what Mr. Bradlaugh is looking for is (1) a handy and portable conspectus of future society, which, when found, he might proceed to pull to pieces at his leisure; and (2) an attempted application of such a scheme to the English people as English—i.e., considered as an isolated whole and without reference to the rest of civilisation. Unfortunately, in neither of these respects can modern Socialism oblige Mr. Bradlaugh. The Socialist of to-day does not profess to carry in his pocket any ready-made detailed scheme for the future of human society. Such schemes he regards as mere quackery nowadays. All he professes to do is to proclaim a law, or a system of laws, if you like, of social evolution. He shows the development of society in the past, exhibits the logical tendency immanent in that development, and

deduces therefrom the main principle of the next stage of social progress. For this reason an international Socialism, with the means of production and distribution concentrated in the hands of society, as advocated by modern Socialists, could not have taken place in any previous period of the world's history. As to the details of the arrangement, whether immediate or ultimate, these no human being can see. All we say is, let the working classes, organised to this end, take over the means of production, distribution, and exchange; first the land, railways, mines, factories, credit establishments, and the larger warehouses and retail stores, which stand ready organised to their hand; at the same time let the executive proceed to establish new workshops, warehouses, and stores on a large scale in those trades where they do not already exist, and so undermine the smaller establishments possessed and worked by individuals, and which might for that matter remain unmolested until this happy consummation. Beyond this we do not profess to make any definitive proposal as to production or distribution. The rest must be left to time and circumstances to work itself out. (The above is, I think, in itself a sufficient answer to Mr. Bradlaugh's paragraph 7. It will be seen from this why I regard Mr. Bradlaugh's first definition as inadmissible on all the three sub-heads he mentions.) Before leaving this question of “detail,” I should like to illustrate the common absurdity of requiring a detailed plan of the new society in its completed form, of its pioneers to-day, by asking Mr. Bradlaugh if it would have been very reasonable to have expected a member of the Long Parliament (let us say) to give a detailed exposition of the political and social relations of the modern commercial world? The Puritan townsman of the seventeenth century undeniably represented the principle of the supremacy of the middle classes as against Feudalism, and yet we know how little he could have pictured to himself the ultimate issue of this principle as presented in nineteenth-century England. Yet the parallel is feeble, seeing that his principle had already made some practical headway, and the change from the social life of the seventeenth to that of the nineteenth century is immeasurably less in scope than that from a fully-developed capitalistic civilisation to a fully-developed Socialism.

To come to the other point. Modern Socialism is unable to deduce the social change it deems imminent, from the idiosyncracies of a particular people, or to conceive Socialism as applied exclusively to any one people. The modern European States (with the various colonies which are their offshoots) had their origin in loose feudal confederacies with little or no national cohesion. (I should not have insulted Mr. Bradlaugh with references for this elementary historical fact but for certain remarks in his last paper; as it is, I refer him, as regards England, to almost any page of Green, Freeman, or Stubbs.) We regard the modern national stage as merely transitional; Mr. Bradlaugh, on the contrary, seems to regard it as a sort of thing that was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be. Already we see the nationality idea becoming a mere cover for financing operations, market-hunting, and capitalist competition generally. The “differences” of type, temperament, etc., are but surface-differences compared with the fundamental laws governing the development of all human society. The most diverse nationalities were once united under the very inelastic civilisation of Roman antiquity. Western Europe, irrespective of race, was, again, dominated by the feudal system; the whole civilised world is now alike under the iron heel of modern capitalism—i.e., profit-mongering and wage-slavery. Mere racial differences may be quite well left out of account in dealing with the deeper problems of social development. If Mr. Bradlaugh would deign to notice my brief historical sketch, he would find the essential identity, irrespective of nationality, of Western development from Feudalism to capitalism there indicated. Nay, even the Socialist movement has already taken hold in greater or less degree of the workers of the whole of modern civilisation from the Pacific to the Volga. A few years ago there was no Socialist movement either in England or America; it is now daily advancing by giant's strides. Mr. Bradlaugh makes a difficulty as to what I mean by the well-known phrase modern or western civilisation. I mean of course the economic, political, social, and intellectual life of Europe and its colonies, including the greater part of America. In economics this means modern capitalism, with its railways and great machine-industry; in politics, middle-class “constitutional” government (monarchical or republican); in social relations, the particular compound of vulgarity veneered with culture sometimes termed Philistinism; in religion, the organised hypocrisy which assents to, or does not reject, a body of dogmas, rites, and ceremonies the plain meaning of which is obsolete or no longer believed in by the educated classes. But, says Mr. Bradlaugh, how about Russia, there is no constitutional

government there? No, and every one recognises the Russian despotism as an anachronism—that is, as something out of place in nineteenth-century Europe. There are, of course, “backward” countries in Europe that fail as yet to reach the standard of completed bourgeois perfection, as realised in England and the other important Western nations. The attainment of this, however, as we have often seen, is only a matter of a few years. But modern capitalistic civilisation, I may observe, *re par*, is not the only form of civilisation. There have been other and more immature forms of civilisation, the “economic basis” of which has been serfdom or chattel-slavery. Some of these survive still in a stationary or decaying state—notably in Asia, and here and there in Africa. These (with the barbaric and savage populations of the globe) may be left temporarily out of account. They are outside the main stream of modern social development.¹

As regards Mr. Bradlaugh’s paragraph 3, I would like to ask him in what *purely* barbaric or savage community he finds a dominant *class* of exploiters and a dominated *class* of exploited within the community, it being understood that we are not talking of cases here and there of rapacity on the part of individual chieftains; or what is more to the point, I would ask him to explain how my definition of civilisation can be made to apply to the internal economy of those primitive tribal communities, by the gradual consolidation of which all centralised nations were formed, and the last remaining survivals of which may be seen in the Russian Mir, the Swiss Alllemen, the Hindoo “village,” etc., etc.² (cf. Maine’s ‘Village Communities’ and other works, Laveleye’s ‘La Propriété Primitive,’ Maurer’s ‘Deutsche Markverfassung,’ also Mommsen’s ‘Römische Studien,’ and first volume of ‘Roman History,’ etc., etc.). *Appropos* of this I might quote Emerson’s words with one alteration: “Society is *civilised* (Emerson said *barbarous*) until every industrious man can get his living without dishonest customs.” When this latter is the case we shall have Socialism.

Mr. Bradlaugh’s paragraph 8 evidently implies more than it says. I am sure Mr. Bradlaugh would not feel inclined to be rude without thinking he had some very good cause. Notwithstanding, as I really cannot see the terrible *lapsus* I am supposed to have made, I must still adhere to both my statements as to Owen, Fourier, and Co., to wit, that though the *end* of modern Socialism is, broadly speaking, similar to that of Utopian Socialism, as I understand it, yet that as a science or theory of Society it stands in much the same relation to the latter as modern chemistry does to alchemy, or astronomy to astrology.

In paragraph 9, Mr. Bradlaugh again discredits the historical side of my opening paper without discussing it. He says I ought to bring forward some evidence in support of the statements challenged. This I should have been most happy to do, if I had known what *were* the statements challenged. But seeing that Mr. Bradlaugh admits my account to be “sometimes consonant with fact,” I had surely a right to expect that he would name the points where, in his opinion, it was “utterly conflicting” therewith, and briefly state his reasons for so thinking. It seems to me this would have been more germane to the issue (seeing the importance modern Socialism attaches to its “historical basis”), than propounding impossible riddles as to the precise point where communisation of the product will begin and end in future Society, problems which obviously can only be solved by experience, and upon which modern Socialism does not profess to dogmatise.

One last word on the point about Christianity incidentally raised in my first article. What I meant was that the *essential principle* of Christianity, that upon which its whole theory of life and conduct is based, is an assumed relation between the individual soul, and the divinity directly revealed in it and to it. The *end* of the individual’s being and conduct is his union with this divinity, all moral action is in the last resort subservient to this as its supreme source and object. My aim was to place this morality in contrast at once with the old tribal morality of the early world and with that of modern Socialism, the object of which was and is, not the perfection and apotheosis of the individual soul but the welfare of the social body. I still contend that isolated passages in the Acts (which, *bien entendu*, may or may not represent historical facts) do not “in the least affect” my position. A policy pursued under special circumstances as a matter of convenience cannot be taken as affirming a principle. I may say, however, before leaving the subject, that I can find not the slightest justification in the text for the gloss Mr. Bradlaugh has put upon the Ananias incident in his last paper.

And now then for the promised facts and figures relative to Mr. Bradlaugh’s paragraph 18 in first paper, and the progressive concentration of capital in fewer hands. Does Mr. Bradlaugh know that (1) in the bakery trade a complete transformation has taken place within the last few years; that whereas every baker used to bake his own bread, now there are hundreds of bakers in London who sell but do not bake

bread? (The reason of this is that large firms like Neville are able to bake bread and deliver it cheaper than retailers can bake it.) (2) In the fancy bakery trade I am told the same fact is still more noticeable, where firms like “Huntley and Palmer,” and the “National Bakery Company,” are ousting the small capitalist completely out of the field. Moreover, in this as in other departments, it is becoming general for large grocers to supply cakes and biscuits made by the firms in question, thereby completely crushing the small specialist retailers. (3) Take, again, the refreshment trade, and the same process will be found to hold good, as evidenced by the success of the “Aerated Bread Company,” “Lockhart,” etc. (4) I am informed by a correspondent of large experience in the glass bottle trade, that he is convinced that the whole of the smaller makers must before long “go to the wall.” One of the largest glass-bottle makers in England has absorbed, to his personal knowledge, eight small factories within a few years, and no new ones have sprung up to take their places, or are likely to do so. (5) Again, Joseph Chamberlain’s (or rather Nettlefold’s) screw-making business has, it is well known, very nearly crushed all other screw-makers out of existence. Lipton’s is also a case in point. (6) The business of transportation shows precisely the same phenomenon, large men crushing small men, and large companies crushing small companies. An immeasurably larger amount of the carrying trade, as every one knows, passes into the hands of the few large shipping companies than into that of all the small firms combined. The instances pointed out, I think, fully bear out my friend, Alexander Donald (who has for two or three years passed been specially investigating this matter at first hand and in detail) in writing: “The facts (relative to this subject), which have not been reduced to tabular form by any one, simply because the bourgeoisie don’t want information on the subject, leave no doubt as to the truth of your statement.”

I will not weary the reader by running through the gamut of the various trades and industries, which, so far as I am aware, all without exception tell the same tale; but here are a few official statistics:—From 1863 to 1869, there were 4,782 new limited companies started; from 1870 to 1876 there were 6,905; from 1877 to 1883 there were 8,643; and in 1883 alone there were 1,634, the largest number ever started in one year. Of course, a considerable proportion of these fail; in the sharp competition there is among them it is the fittest to cope with existing conditions only, which survive. But here again the main element of success is practically unlimited capital, wherewith to “hold on” and to “push.” I would ask Mr. Bradlaugh to consider the amount of concentration of capital all this means, for statistics in this case where every company is officially registered must obviously be rigidly accurate. The same remark applies to the figures respecting bankruptcies and compositions with creditors, which form part of the obverse of the same medal. Here are a few taken haphazard:—The bankruptcies and “compositions,” which in 1870 were 5,002, in 1875 realised 7,899, and in 1879 attained the enormous total of 13,132.

Of course, I must accept Mr. Bradlaugh’s statement that the boot-making districts are better off to-day than forty years ago. I must only call Mr. Bradlaugh’s attention to the fact that forty years ago the industry of the country was only beginning to settle down from the acute crisis caused by the introduction of the great machine industry. Now no one denies that the sudden and severe misery caused by this subsided for a time, during the flourishing period of British manufactures and trade, otherwise the Cobden-Bright school of politicians could never have got the ear of the English working-classes as they did. It may well be that the after-glow of this period of “leaps and bounds” lingers still in some industries and in some districts. Our contention is that, taking things all round, and setting aside this as well as temporary trade “booms,” etc., the tendency toward a polarisation of wealth and poverty is making itself apparent in a yearly accelerating ratio. When Mr. Bradlaugh asks me to furnish statistics of every important town in Great Britain in 1847 and in 1887, he is, I respectfully submit, making a somewhat unreasonable and unnecessary demand upon me. My opinion of the value of such statistics considered *per se* is not such as would induce me to undertake elaborate researches on that head. On this point I am entirely of Carlyle’s way of thinking. Figures which appear so orderly and beautiful and convincing, are but abstractions; they are only serviceable as a shorthand registration of a conclusion arrived at by other means. The, in most cases insuperable, difficulty of initial verification, the difficulty of finding out the precise data on which they are based, the facts they suppress and the facts they express, render them practically valueless. Statistics have a fraudulent appearance of an accuracy which they can only possibly possess in a very few special cases. Hence the superstitious belief in figures on the part of the modern mind. For my own part, no number of statistics would have ever made me a Socialist, and no number of them would *unmake* me one; so Mr. Bradlaugh must pardon my declining to treat the statistical side of this question as possessing any but a purely secondary and formal interest.

In concluding my share of this debate, I must again apologise for the length of this paper, only pleading the largeness and importance of the subject in excuse. At the same time I should like to express my sense of the uniform courtesy of Mr. Bradlaugh in the conduct of his side. The subject, “Will Socialism benefit the English People?” as I believe, is necessarily decided in the affirmative by an understanding of what Socialism (in its modern sense) means, and can only be profitably discussed on this issue. Hence the direction I have endeavoured to give to the debate.

E. BELFORT BAX.

¹ To mention one point only, as regards nationalism. Under nationalism the capitalist can play off the imported foreign workman against the native, or can transport his capital to other lands, where he will find a crowd of starvelings to do his bidding. This could not happen were the national barrier broken down. When Mr. Bradlaugh looks at the interconnection of modern industry and commerce throughout the modern world-market, he must surely see that the establishment of Socialism in England implies the immediate co-operation of at least the nations constituting the van of civilisation.

² The not unfrequent existence of slavery in its cruder form in barbaric societies, while apparently contradicting my contention, does not really do so. The captive taken in war is reckoned a chattel precisely because he is not in the tribal society, within the limits of which alone social life is as yet recognised. There is no exploitation of tribesman by tribesman.

THE MORROW OF THE REVOLUTION.

(Concluded from p. 220.)

ONE great idea which dominates all others has taken firm hold of the brains of all Socialists, *the suppression of individual property*. The Anarchists themselves, who are, without knowing it, the representatives of the "*laissez faire, laissez passer*" of property, are drawn into its current. The idea of the suppression of individual property is not one which has sprung up spontaneously in the human skull; it is the intellectual reflexion of the economical phenomenon which is evolving in the capitalist world.

What is the true characteristic of individual property. It is that the owner should work on his own property: this is so true that the peasant, the propertied animal above all others, when he grows too old to cultivate his land, rather than see it worked by hirelings divides it between his children, although this surrender of his land, his only love, is as torturing to him as the tearing out of his entrails. The old French proverb, "Property is the fruit of labour," expresses this fact. Consequently the only true property-owner in the old sense of the word is the peasant who cultivates his own land, the landlord who inhabits and repairs his own cottage, the shopkeeper who buys and sells merchandise in his own shop, the carpenter who himself uses his own saw and plane. All that these property-owners possess belongs to them in all justice, it is the fruit of their labour and not of that of others, for no wage-earner has worked on "their property."

But is it the case that capitalist property presents this character? Are the owners of mines, of railways, of great warehouses, the landlords who own hundreds and thousands of acres, and whole quarters of towns, really property owners? Have they ever worked on their "property"? They only know it by the rent it brings them in; it is the wage-earners and not the owners who work on their property. In the capitalist world we must correct the ancient proverb, and say, *Property is the fruit of labour, and the reward of idleness.*"

The capitalists by not working on their property, but by using it to lay hold of the fruit of the labour of others, have destroyed the essential character of individual property.

The capitalist property-owner is a being absolutely useless in the scheme of property; all the shareholders and bondholders of the railways might be drowned in the Channel, and yet the railways of Europe would go on carrying passengers and merchandise. The capitalist property-owner is a useless mouth which consumes a terrible quantity.

Everything that is eaten by a rich man, and the domestics and other folk who serve and satisfy his tastes and needs, is consumed in pure loss. It is as if instead of burning coal in a machine to transform its heat into force, one were to burn it in the open. The capitalist being useless therefore ought to be suppressed to lessen the expense of social production. The Socialist revolution will be bound to accomplish this economical operation; it will not destroy property, it will free it from its parasites.

The very day of the revolution the first decree of the revolutionary government will be the confiscation of capitalist property (mines, spinning-mills, foundries, railways, etc.), and its transformation into social property.

Bax and the English Socialists think that the State will take the place of the capitalist property-owners, and continue the exploitation of the great instruments of labour as in the past, but at the same time bringing in certain ameliorations in the lot of the worker, such as shorter hours and higher wages, etc. Their ideal is the capitalist public service (post-office, telegraphs, police, etc.), brought to perfection.¹ But for us, we believe that as a consequence of the very fact of the establishment of the revolutionary government, the State with its public offices (post-office, national debt, police, magistracy, army, etc.), will disappear. The State is a machine cunningly organised to serve the interests of the capitalists, and to keep the proletarian mass in slavery. The revolutionary government which will temporarily replace it, will have to disorganise the bourgeois machine and to draw all its power from the proletarian mass, and so to lay the foundations of the new order.

Instead of its being the State which will be the manager of the post-office, and telegraphs, the minter of money, and director of the railways, as it is now in nearly all capitalist countries, instead of its being the State which will be the manager of spinning, and weaving, and director of the mines, etc., as Lassalle wished, and as the English Socialists now wish, the revolutionary government will have to act in such a way that it will be the workers themselves who will become their own employers and their own directors.

The revolutionary government will not have to impose on the workmen, their directors, the rules of their labour, or rate of wages on the workmen, the telegraphists, the employés of the railways, or the miners, foundrymen, etc. On the contrary, the workmen will come to an understanding among themselves as to choosing their engineers and foremen, and on the sharing of the gains of their business. The nation will put at their service the instruments of labour; special commissions will be charged with drawing up a table of charges; that is to say, a rate of wages which can be claimed for services rendered, the sum which it will be necessary to set aside for the repairing and improving of the

¹ Comrade Bax must speak for himself, but I cannot think he would endorse this statement of his views; and there are other "English Socialists," among them the editor of the *Commonweal*, who would not walk across the street for the realisation of such an "ideal." The fact that a French Socialist who knows so much of England as Citizen Lafargue does, can have such an impression of the views of "English Socialists," shows the danger of coquetting with palliative measures.

machinery, and the sum to be paid into the public treasury to assure to each member of society victuals, lodging, and clothing.

On the morrow of the revolution, the work to be done will be so colossal, that it must not be increased still more by turning the revolutionary government into a director of spinning mills, or a shoe manufacturer; on the contrary, it must hasten in the masses themselves, the development of all the organisers and directors of social labour. Capacities towards direction exist, since it is the wage-earners only who direct all production, and it is only a matter of grouping them to find those commissions which will be charged with regulating scientifically the production and equitable distribution of products.

For the end of the social revolution is *to work as little as possible, and to enjoy as much as possible*, and that can only be attained by a continuous improvement of machinery and a scientific division of labour amongst all the members of Society, and by ensuring a just proportion of production to the needs of Society.

But before arriving at this Communist Society, in which labour and pleasure will be free and in common, we must pass through a transitional period, in which it will be necessary to maintain wages and to keep the due proportion between them and the service rendered and the effort given. For our part we believe that the workers themselves have more qualities to enable them to distribute the hours of labour and the gains, than the functionaries of any State would have.

For the rest we only formulate here the desiderata; events will force us on the road to be followed; and it is more than probable that the two systems will be combined in various proportions.

The Morrow of the Revolution the revolutionists will have to arm the wage-earners and organise them as soldiers; to lodge, feed, and clothe them gratuitously; and to confiscate and nationalise capitalist property. The nation which has once tasted this Socialist regime, even if it were but for a month, will be gained for ever for the Social Revolution.

PAUL LAFARGUE.

SCOTTISH NOTES.

A statue of Sir William Wallace, the greatest hero in Scottish history, was recently unveiled at Abbey Craig, Stirlingshire, and the one man in all Scotland deemed worthy of performing the ceremony was—the Marquis of Bute!

Scotchmen are Liberal in politics, Presbyterians in religion, they adore Wallace and worship Burns, but they would not for the world permit the statues of their dead heroes and poets to be unveiled by a mere man if anything bearing a human shape with the title of lord could be found within the four quarters of the earth.

Wallace was no patriotic fanatic or bully. He was the arch-agitator, conspirator and traitor—the Socialist of his day. His army was filled with the victims of poverty and oppression—*les misérables*. Rogues and vagabonds of every description followed him, and fought and bled like heroes under his banner. Probably it is as a representative of these latter that Lord Bute was asked to unveil the statue of the warrior hero, but in that case a great injustice is done to the memory alike of Wallace and the companions of his toil.

Lord Bute it is true is a plunderer—a most colossal one; but he plunders the poor because he is rich, not the rich because he is poor. So far from being a representative of the poor oppressed and outlawed soldiery who strove manfully against the oppressors of their time, he is a lineal descendant and representative of those very oppressors whose law was their swords and whose swords were law. Were Wallace alive to-day, his enemies, instead of being foreign hirelings or predatory aliens, would be the titled and untitled knaves of his own country who rob the people of their land and every means of sustenance and happiness; and Scotchmen if they had anything of the spirit of their "glorious ancestors who wi' Wallace bled," would be leagued together—gathering with them the unfortunate, the ragged and torn from the highways and the byways—to wage war against their common oppressors, who make their lives miserable and scourge the land with a more terrible devastation than the fire and sword of Edward's feudal hordes.

At a meeting of the Trades Council held here last week one of the members, a comrade of ours, Mr. Carson, brought forward a resolution declaring that inasmuch as the policy hitherto pursued by trades unions had achieved practically nothing for the workers, it was necessary that the workers adopt a more advanced programme, demanding the full fruits of their labour. The motion was lost by 17 votes to 4. Had our friend moved a resolution that a testimonial be presented to Lord Rosebery or Mr. Andrew Carnegie, or anything that might testify the Council's appreciation and respect for the interests and rights of anybody but the people for whose weal they profess to confer together—it would no doubt have been carried with acclamation.

The *Scottish Leader* calls the attention of those virtuously indignant against the practice of boycotting by the Irish tenant-farmers, to the fact that in Aberdeen where the masons had succeeded by a strike in compelling a number of employers to grant an advance of wages, the principal quarrymasters of the district have signed an agreement with the masters who held out against the men, to supply no material to any master mason who has conceded the advance!

The miners' union in Scotland, except in one or two districts, has practically collapsed. In Lanarkshire, where the union did brave work some time ago, the men have become quite disorganised and demoralised, and have submitted to a reduction of 7½ per cent. without protest. Still it would be unwise not to recognise the fact that the men are submitting to the iron law of capitalism merely because of their present helplessness, and that the feeling against their oppressors is bitter and deep, and may very soon become dangerous.

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

If the social condition of a great part of the English people and of the whole mass of the Irish people be ignored, there is nothing to interrupt the strain of national self-glorification appropriate to a jubilee.—*N. Y. Times*.



"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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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

E. W. A. (King's Langley).—Thanks, but fear readers too sick of the subject.
C. W. T.—Account of Bolton affair already in type when yours received.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday July 13.

ENGLAND	John Swinton's Paper	FRANCE
Justice	Boston—Woman's Journal	Le Revolte
Jus	Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	SWITZERLAND
Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
Norwich—Daylight	Hammonton (N.J.)—Credit Foncier	AUSTRIA
CANADA	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	Vienna—Gleichheit
Toronto—Labor Reformer	New Haven (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate	ROUMANIA
UNITED STATES	Philadelphia (Pa.)—Carpenter	Jassy—Lupta
New York—Truthseeker	Paterson (N.J.)—Labor Standard	DENMARK
Der Sozialist	San Francisco (Cal.)—The People	Social-Demokraten
Volkszeitung	St Louis (Mo.)—Altruist	SWEDEN
Leader	Portland (Oreg.)—Avant-Courier	Stockholm—Social-Demokraten

NOTES ON NEWS.

WHEN one has said that the Coercion Bill has passed its third reading, there seems little more to be said on the subject at this stage of the proceedings, except perhaps to express wonder at the meaning of all the fine phrases about the civilisation of the times, the freedom under which we live, the progress we have made in the toleration of the expression of opinion, the power of rational minorities, and the like. It is as well to descend to earth after all those fine flights, and to remember what the whole event means. Simply that political changes which are purely political and seem to lead nowhere, are accepted with little struggle as mere shifting in the rules of an amusing game, in which there must be a certain amount of give and take; while on the other hand changes that threaten ever so little the sacred "rights of property" are to be defended by any means, fair and foul.

And these means are really only manifestations and forms of one when once the possibilities of fraud are exhausted, and that one is mere brute-force. That really lies behind all the junketing and gentilities of modern society, all its philanthropy and cant, and self-satisfied priggism. Brute-force is the foundation of all that, neither more nor less than it was of the devastations of Atilla or Timur: neither is it any more forgiven than in the days of the older brutalities, when once it is known for what it is. From that point of view we owe some thanks to the Tory Government and its steady majority of nobodies; in this instance of Ireland they have stripped the veil of pretence off their actions, and they say to the Irish, "Dog, do this because it is profitable to us!" It will be a good day for the Social Revolution when the masters of society generally are forced into the same course, and dropping all pretence, to say openly to their slaves, "Work for me (mostly gratis) or die."

The Liberal successes at Spalding and Coventry, and the reduction of the Tory vote at North Paddington, are no doubt promising to the "outs" in the game of "ins and outs" as it is now being played. But hear the *Daily News* as to the spirit abroad among the working men at North Paddington:

"A number of working men who possessed the vote could not be got to use it, being swayed by an overmastering impression that in regard to the two parties in the State it was 'six of one and half-a-dozen of the other,' and that neither cared a straw for the interests of the working man. 'Why should I trouble about voting? What is it to you or me who gets in? They're both a set of humbugs, promising you anything and everything to get in, and doing nothing when they get there.'"

Yes that is why the Tories are able to keep their places, and why their party is being continually helped by persons once called Liberals and Radicals: because the working-men voters have got hold of one truth at least, that Parliament, with its parties, auxiliary newspapers,

and the like, is not kept going for them but for their masters. This is encouraging to Socialists and other honest men—who will all be Socialists presently.

The Government has sustained a sharp defeat, owing to their own inconsiderate folly and want of foresight in not seeing how probable it was that the Cass incident would be taken up by the shop-keeping group, and what dangerous enemies they are. On the other hand, so good-natured and easily-pleased (and one must add so stupid) the general English public is, that the House of Commons has considerably reinstated itself in public opinion by voting, by a very narrow majority, that it may be wrong for a policeman and a magistrate to commit an act which is at once (for a wonder) illegal and unjust, and for a great official to decline to consider such a proceeding.

Again wonders will never cease! The martinet Sir Charles Warren has issued instructions to the police not to go beyond the law in persecuting poor girls in the streets, who are doing what our present society insists that some women shall do; that is, to serving as a safeguard to the chastity, or a veil to the respectability, of their richer sisters.

As to Mr. Newton, what can one say but that he has acted after his kind? What he did in the case of Miss Cass he does, no doubt, every day: only this time to injustice, brutality, and cruelty he added a mistake. He thought he was dealing with a defenceless person, and lo! the shopkeeping class spring up behind her like a jack-in-the-box. No doubt he will take care not to do it again;—that is the mistake, not the injustice, brutality, and cruelty. W. M.

Some idea of how landlords plunder the unhappy devils in their clutches may be gathered from the figures that appear now and then in the press. The *Daily News* of July 8 said, in commenting on a return of judicial rents in Ireland, then just published: "We have it on the authority of the Land Commissioners that seven tenants whose aggregate rental was £372 ought not in equity to be required to pay more than £157; that one man has been paying fifteen guineas for land not worth more than five pounds; another £54 for land not worth more than £20; a third £107 for land not worth more than £50."

Knowing what "in equity" and "not worth" mean when used in a capitalist organ, this reads as a strong condemnation of the landlord system.

The *Saturday Review* has been lucubrating upon modern society and its evil condition. In the course of its remarks it says: "There are several great influences that influence the destiny of nations: one of these is the social condition of a people; the fountain-head and mainspring of which in this country is London society. It is composed of the wealthiest, richest, and best-born in the land!"

It is difficult to see how those whose social function is consumption only can be the "fountain-head" of anything, nor, supposing that a "social condition" is furnished with a "mainspring," is it easier to understand how those who "toil not, neither do they spin," can supply that useful portion of machinery.

I am not acquainted with the difference there is intended to be made between the "wealthiest" and "richest"; nor, after the disclosures so often made, with what may make men the "best-born"; but I would suggest that when even a "respectable paper" like the *Saturday* can talk of the "rottenness and degradation" of those who form the "fountain-head and mainspring," that it is time something was done toward making a new "fountain-head and mainspring."

Of course the old series of dread examples is duly trotted out to show that great wealth brings luxury and deterioration upon a people and has wrecked all great empires hitherto; but, from lack of logic or otherwise, it is carefully kept out of view that these results have ensued upon great wealth in the hands of a class.

The experiment of a people free from class-rule and monopoly, holding wealth as a social possession, has not yet been tried. But the time comes, and that right soon, when it shall be, and succeed! S.

CONCERNING USURY.

THE new Socialistic economy is rapidly taking root in the popular mind and conscience, but there are points connected with it still involved in considerable obscurity and doubt. Take, for example, the subject of "Interest," as it is called. Henry George, in his great epoch-making work, 'Progress and Poverty,' sanctions a form of that dreadful social cancer which, to my mind, is a deplorable blemish. Why? Because it leaves a door still open for a section of the community to live in idle luxury on the produce of other men's toil. "The produce of labour," said Adam Smith, with wonderful penetration, "is the natural reward or wages of labour." The converse of this proposition is obviously: Idleness produces nothing, and is therefore entitled to nothing.

Those economists who maintain the validity of "interest" do not in so many words deny that idleness should go without any reward. What they contend is that idleness which has once been industrious and produced something, should be entitled to live happily ever after—

wards on the product of that product. In a word, they affirm the justice of what the Bible calls "increase," in despite of the Hebrew Lawgiver, who, in my opinion, saw very much further into this milestone than any one or all of them combined. All interest and increase are unjust in principle, and calamitous in their effects, and should simply be stigmatised generally as "usury."

Permit me to recall a few historical facts relating to usury. The Saxon laws in restraint of usury were sufficiently severe. Edward the Confessor forbade usurers to remain in any part of the kingdom, outlawed their persons and confiscated their property. A clergyman convicted of usury had his goods distributed for pious uses. Usury was thus defined: "*Est usura suus si quisquis tradit mihi nummos spe lucri. Fenus duplex usura vocatur*"—"It is usury if any man lend me his money in the hope of gain. Compound usury is called *fenus*."

"For the honour of God and the good of this realm," Edward I. inflicted the heaviest penalties on usurers. In the City of London alone he hanged two hundred and eighty Hebrews of the Rothschild and Goschen stamp *pour encourager les autres*. Coke, in his 'Institutes,' expressly declares that "all usury is directly against the law of God." Indeed, it is not till the time of Henry VIII., and what Cobbett not unjustly calls the Protestant "devastation," that we find the scourge of usury sanctioned by Act of Parliament. By 37th Henry VIII. the rate of interest was fixed at ten per cent. The first "Defender of the Faith" is remembered chiefly for his matrimonial exploits; but these were of small importance compared with his heretical innovation in the matter of usury. In less than seven years, however, our Bluebeard's Act was repealed by Edward VI., who enacted that "No person should lend on usury or increase to be hoped or received beyond the sum lent." This statute was in turn repealed fourteen years later by that dreadful person "Good Queen Bess." The "Jezebel of England," as John Knox appreciatively called her, revived her father's ten per cent. statute, declaring at the same time, with inimitable hypocrisy, that "all usury is against the law of God, sinful and detestable!" In 1625 James I., "the British Solomon," in his wisdom reduced the rate to eight per cent., his statute concluding, "Provided that no words in this law contained shall be construed or expounded to allow the practice of usury in point of religion or conscience." Oliver Cromwell brought down the rate from eight to six per cent., and Queen Anne reduced it to five.

Holy Writ is one unbroken testimony against usury, which it aptly compares to "the bite of a serpent." All the early Fathers of the Church vehemently denounced it. Let me instance first some of the sacred texts bearing on the matter.

"If thy brother be waxen poor and fallen in decay with thee, then thou shalt relieve him; yea, though he be a stranger, or a sojourner, that he may live with thee. Take thou no usury of him or increase, but fear thy God, that thy brother may live with thee. Thou shalt not give him thy money upon usury, nor lend him thy victuals upon increase."—Leviticus xxv., 35-37.

"Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother; usury of money, usury of victuals, usury of anything that is lent upon usury."—Deuteronomy xxiii., 19.

"If thou lend money to any of my people that is poor by thee thou shalt not be to him as an usurer, neither shalt thou lay upon him usury."—Exodus xxii., 25.

"He that putteth not out his money to usury, nor taketh reward against the innocent; He that doeth these things shall never be moved."—Psalms xv., 5.

"He that hath not given forth upon usury neither taken any increase, . . . he is just, he shall surely live, saith the Lord God."—Ezekiel xviii., 8, 9.

"Thou hast taken usury and increase, and thou hast greedily gained of thy neighbours by extortion and hast forgotten me, saith the Lord.

"Therefore have I poured out mine indignation upon them; I have consumed them with the fire of my wrath: their own way have I recompensed upon their heads, saith the Lord God."—Ezekiel xxii., 12, 31.

Christ the Son of Man, the Heir of all the Ages—He of the perfectly-blended head, heart, and will—went even further:

"Give him that asketh of thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not away."—Matthew v., 42.

"If ye lend to them of whom ye hope to receive, what thank have ye? for sinners also lend to sinners, to receive as much again.

"But love ye your enemies, and do good, and lend, hoping for nothing again; and your reward shall be great, and ye shall be children of the Highest."—Luke vi., 34, 35.

Christ taught no formal system of politics or economics, but every system that does not square with His profound ethical doctrines is assuredly founded in error, and can lead to nothing but injustice and misery.

On the subject of usury the consensus of opinion of the Fathers of the Church is complete, but only one or two sentences from them need be given. Says St. Augustine:

"If you lend your money to a man from whom you *expect* more than you gave, not money alone, but anything else, whether it be wheat, wine, oil, or any other article, if you expect to receive any more than you gave you are an usurer, and in that respect reprehensible, not praiseworthy."

St. Jerome:

"Some persons imagine that usury obtains only in money; but the Scriptures, foreseeing this, have exploded every increase, so that you cannot receive more than you give."

St. Ambrose:

"Many persons, evading the precepts of the law when they give money to merchants, require the usury not in money, but take some of their goods in payment of the usury. Therefore let them hear what says the law: You shall not receive the usury of food, nor of anything else. The victuals are usury, the cloth is usury, whatever is added to the principal is usury—whatever name you give it is usury."

Is it not, then, with such a cloud of witnesses testifying to the truth, something astounding that in a professedly Christian country, all ranks and orders of men should practise this abomination of usury not merely

without compunction, but as if it were positively meritorious? You never hear *usury* even named. The vile thing gets disguised in a complete mask of cunning, delusive, heathenish terms—to wit, interest, consols, omniums, funds, debentures, securities, and God knows what not. The clergy and the Government encourage the workers to put their surplus earnings, if they have any, into savings banks, so as that they may join the ranks of the great army of fleecers, and exploit the labour of their fellow-workmen. A savings bank is, in reality, one of the most dangerous institutions in the country, because it teaches one class of workmen to prey upon the industry of their less fortunate fellows, and thus perpetuates the horrible social system under which the masses groan. Like insurance offices these banks are simply symptomatic of deep-seated social disease.

Of the effects of usury what need to speak? The great Unnational Debt we have already paid four times over, and, like the farmer with the squire's claret, we are "no forarder." It hangs like a millstone about the nation's neck.

"Usury," writes Tacitus, "was an early canker of the Commonwealth, the frequent cause of tumult and sedition. Laws were made to repress the mischief while yet the manners were pure and uncorrupted. . . . By a law of the Twelve Tables it (interest) was reduced to one per cent. More was declared illegal. In process of time a new regulation proposed by the Tribunes, lowered it to one-half; and finally it was abolished altogether." It unfortunately reappeared with the Empire, and eventually ruined the State.

"Usury," says Rollin ('Ancient History'), "has always caused the ruin of States where it has been tolerated, and it was this disorder which contributed very much to subvert the constitution of the Roman Commonwealth, and gave birth to the greatest calamities in all the provinces."

Says Gregory, of Nyssa:

"The usurer's life is both indolent and insatiable; the pen is his plough; the paper his field; the ink his seed, his rain and season for to luxuriate his money crops; he has barns and granaries to hoard up and thrash the property of the wretched; looks upon all men's property as his own; prays adversity to his neighbours, that they may have recourse to his refuge; he hates the affluent, and considers those his enemies that will not enter his books. He is for ever in quest of gain, yet always insatiable; he accommodates all borrowers, not through motives of charity, but excessive avarice. Let not gain be the mainspring of your good works, and God will repay you with interest."

Says Professor W. J. Beal, of New York:

"No blister draws sharper than does the interest. Of all industries, none is comparable to that of interest. It works all day and night, in fair weather and in foul. It has no sound in its footsteps, but travels fast. It gnaws at a man's substance with invisible teeth. It binds industry with its filth, as a fly is bound in the spider's web. Debts roll a man over and over, binding him hand and foot, and letting him hang upon the mesh until the long-legged interest devours him. There is but one thing on a farm like it, and that is the Canadian thistle, which swarms with new plants every time you break its roots, whose blossoms are prolific, and every flower the father of a million seeds. Every leaf is an awl, and every branch a spear, and every plant like a platoon of bayonets, and a field of them like an armed host. The whole plant is a torment, and a vegetable curse. And yet the farmer had better made his bed of Canadian thistles than be at ease upon interest."

Usury, Aristotle pronounced *abhorrent to nature*; and so it is. It is at best the product of a product; the further fruit of labour already remunerated. It simply means that labour must both toil for its products and pay for their use, the payment in this country amounting to a total drain on industry of £250,000,000 per annum! Mr. Henry George, if I apprehend him correctly, holds that the lender has a right to share with the borrower in the increase towards which his capital in combination with nature's reproductive forces has contributed, but in no other case. Thus A lends B £2,000, with which B purchases a flock of sheep. At the end of two years the flock has increased fifty per cent. How many fleeces and lambs, or their equivalent in money ought B to give A, in addition to returning the £2,000 borrowed? The answer is obviously, "Neither fleece nor lamb," otherwise "the produce of labour is *not* the natural reward or wages of labour," inasmuch as B has had all the trouble of tending the flock.

Were the whole flock to die of the rot before the end of the second year, B would lose all his labour and still be responsible to A for the £2,000 which A would have wholly lost (his labour included) had he personally invested in the sheep. A's position is virtually that of a "sleeping partner" who makes money in his sleep, sharing profits but repudiating losses, in defiance not merely of justice but, in a measure, of law. By 28 & 29 Vict. c. 86, § 5, the man who lends to a partnership, the interest varying according to profit, in event of the firm's failure, can recover no portion of principal or interest until the claims of all the other creditors have been satisfied.

But A is not without his *natural* reward. B has acted as the custodian of his money,—no small service inasmuch as decrease not increase is the characteristic of all so-called capital,—and A has benefited along with the rest of the community in cheaper wool and mutton. The power of increase, animal or vegetable, is, in point of fact, a property of the land, and is, in justice, inseparable from the rent which Mr. George has so triumphantly demonstrated belongs inalienably to the whole people.

How, then, are we to crush this monster usury, or render him innocuous? The reply is—*Repeal all laws that guarantee the collection of usury in whatever form*. Put all such debts precisely in the position of gambling debts—"debts of honour," as they are called—and the fangs of the serpent will be effectually drawn. He may die hard, but he will die, and the world will profit a hundredfold by his decease.

J. MORRISON DAVIDSON.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

The furnaces of the New British Ironworks at Ruabon, the largest iron-works in North Wales, have been blown out in consequence of the continued depression in the Welsh iron trade. A large number of "hands" are thus thrown out of employment.

Following the example of the operatives in the small trades in the surrounding district, the jump-plate and spike-nail makers at Halesowen have commenced an agitation for a higher rate of wages. The operatives in this branch of the nail trade complain that their wages have recently been reduced to a miserably low point, and there being no organisation amongst them, they have not been able to withstand the repeated reductions enforced.

STRIKES OF OIL WORKERS.—The proposed reduction of oil workers' wages not having been withdrawn, the men employed at Uphall and Holmes are now on strike. It is expected that the men at these works will join the Miners' Union. At Holmes the miners have been ordered by the contractors to clear their places, a lock-out being expected. The Deans Oil Company having given notice that a reduction of 10 per cent. was to take place, the men have unanimously agreed not to resume work, and to resist the above reduction. In accordance with the resolution come to by the Oil-Works Association, a reduction has been announced in the wages at the Burntisland Oil-Works, the men to the number of 700 have consequently struck work.

LANARKSHIRE MINERS.—The reduction of miners' wages is only partial, being confined to the employers who are in the Masters' Association. The collieries affected, though extensive, do not include such wide-spreading concerns as are owned by Mr. Archibald Russell, Messrs. Colin Dunlop and Co., and several others. The men affected by the reduction are expected to resume work as usual; but, as a start to reopening of the late agitation, the Lanarkshire Miners' Central Board have resolved to ask the districts to send representatives to a conference to reconsider the advisability of starting anew the old restrictive policy.

CLOSING OF IRONSTONE PITS.—Kilbirnie and Dalry parishes, in the West of Scotland, are suffering severely from the depression in the iron trade. The Eglinton Iron Company have abandoned their clayband ironstone workings on the lands of Todhills, Kersland, and Brownhill, and are now removing their machinery from these pits, while Messrs. Merry and Cunningham, who a year ago abandoned Ryesholm Pit, have just given notice to their workmen that Highfield Pit will be closed in a fortnight. It is also stated that they intend closing their offices at the villages of Mossend and Birkip; and altogether it looks as if they were about to sever their connection with the district.

The *Daily Telegraph* of July 6 contains the following advertisement:

FOUR FEMALE SORTERS WANTED at once. Salary 6s. per week.—Apply at 112, Southampton Row, W.C.

This kind of advertisements completely answer the queries of hypocritical Chadbands who want to know why so many women are "on the streets." The Regent Street tradesmen perhaps know this; and want the ugly fact removed from their street. When these pure-minded tradesmen hold their next meeting, will they be good enough to state which particular street the women are to perambulate? The recent stir about "women" of a particular class is one of the most glaring pieces of hypocrisy conceivable in this age of shams.

A short time ago a signalman was found dead in his box on the Carnforth line. A correspondent to the *Manchester Weekly Times*, signing himself "Signalman," says: "I am surprised there are not more cases of sudden deaths in signal-boxes, considering the long hours and mental strain a signalman has to contend with. I am a signalman in the employment of the Cheshire Lines Railway. I am stationed at a junction box, and have to work 12 hours a-day without a single minute to call my own out of the 12. At the week's end I have 18 hours to work, from 6 p.m. on Saturday night to 12 at noon on Sunday. There are about 60 men on the same line that work 90 hours a-week, year in year out, without a Sunday to themselves, and nearly 200 trains pass the boxes on the main line in 24 hours. I would ask you if you think this sort of slavery is right and just!"

BIRMINGHAM NAILMAKERS.—A meeting of operatives in the local malleable nail trade has been held in Birmingham, to consider the following notice from their employers: "The masters find that the difference between the rate of wages paid in Birmingham and the rate paid at some other places mentioned at the meeting is fully 20 per cent.; in some cases the difference is found to be even more. To equalise this the masters therefore propose that the rate of wages now paid in Birmingham be at once reduced 10 per cent., and that the club at the same time use its influence to get the rate of wages paid at the other places advanced 10 per cent., thus bringing the whole of the yards to very nearly a level rate of wages. As soon as this is accomplished, the Birmingham masters will be willing, if the other yards go with them, to advance the general wage rate 10 per cent., bringing it back to the present level, and thus securing a uniform rate of wages throughout the trade." The men unanimously resolved not to accept any reduction, but to do all in their power to bring about the equalisation of the wage prices in the trade throughout the country, towards which end the men are prepared to spend £500.

STRIKE AT THE MANCHESTER JUBILEE EXHIBITION.—At one o'clock on the 5th a number of the attendants at the Exhibition gathered beneath the central dome preparatory to marching out of the Exhibition grounds, the object of the demonstration being to express the feeling of the attendants with regard to the charges made for refreshments. The attendants have for some time been agitating for a reduction in the refreshment tariff, but hitherto without success; and they determined that on Tuesday they would leave the place in a body and get their meals outside. In consequence of the dispute with the Committee the attendants struck work and the machines in the Machinery Section were, with one or two exceptions, at a standstill from the opening in the morning to the close of the Exhibition on the 6th. The machinery at the Exhibition was stopped throughout the whole of Thursday, in consequence of the absence of the attendants as the result of the dispute between them and the Executive Committee in connection with the supply of refreshments. This state of things is now, however, likely to be put an end to, for the committee of the Machinery Section met and decided to meet the wishes of the attendants to the extent of providing them with a building in which they can take their meals, and supplying them with hot water for tea and other purposes. The tickets of a number of the men who had taken an active part in the agitation had been stopped, but

these, we understand, will be returned, and it is expected that the machinery will now be run as usual.

GLASGOW UNITED TRADES' COUNCIL.—This Council met on July 6th, Mr. R. C. Grant in the chair. Discussion was resumed of the debate adjourned at a previous meeting on a motion by Mr. Carson: "That the present methods of maintaining and advancing the rights of labour by strikes, arbitration, and conciliation practised by the Trades' Unions of this country having failed practically to accomplish this object, this council is therefore of opinion that some other method better calculated to attain this result is necessary in the interests of labour, and for the due maintenance and advancement of its just and natural rights." Mr. Carson argued that no plan could be said to have done what was needed that did not secure a far greater share to the producer of the wealth produced, and showed how vastly capital had increased of late years, and as yet the working-man had got no advantage from it, for although they might get a rise of wages, that had at once been neutralised by a rise of rents and provisions. Trades unions, he maintained, had not been aggressive enough. Mr. M'Pherson, in seconding the motion, said that as a rule trades' societies had occupied too much of a negative position. Mr. Wilkie moved as an amendment: "That trades' societies had done as much for the object they professed to have in view as could be expected, when the number who did not connect themselves with them was taken into consideration. He thought Mr. Carson should have pointed out what would better effect the objects we had in view. Mr. Howie, in seconding, said he would have liked something more definite than the motion, and thought that were tradesmen better united and did more to raise up those lower than themselves great good would result. Mr. Hodge said it was not the unions that were at fault, but the men who did not give them a fair chance. After further discussion the motion and amendment were put to the meeting, when 17 voted for the amendment and 4 for the motion. The Council then adjourned till the 27th inst.

SHORT TIME IN THE COTTON TRADE.

A large number of firms in all parts of Lancashire, Cheshire, and on the borders of Yorkshire are now running short time, with the object of defeating the cotton corner. The workers have volunteered to assist the producing capitalist to defeat the exploiting "corner" capitalist. This action simply means semi-starvation to thousands.

In the Yorkshire doubling trade are several mills running short time. At Bolton a partial stoppage of machinery at several mills is reported. At Oldham, Bamford, Baglsate, and Bury are many fustian sheds running short time.

Nearly all the mills in the Whitworth Valley are working short time.

Three of the largest mills in Blackburn, and in which there are about 16,000 looms and 40,000 spindles, have been stopped for an indefinite period, and several hundred people are thrown temporarily out of employment. Messrs. Harrison and Sons have also stopped their three mills for an indefinite period, in order to defeat the cotton "corner." The mills contain some 1700 looms and about 35,000 spindles. Several other large mills in the town and district are running short time, and it is not improbable that others may follow the example set and close altogether.

THE BOLTON STRIKE.

A great number of the men arrested in connection with the recent rioting have been sentenced. Considering the gravity of the charges—far more serious than the charge against comrades Henderson and Mowbray—the penalties are very light. "Bound over," 14 days with the option of a fine, and for a month's imprisonment a policeman was nearly killed. Very few of the persons arrested were strikers.

Last Saturday, all the imported hands in the employ of Messrs. Dobson and Barlow, about twenty-two in number, left the works and returned to their own homes. Messrs. Dobson and Barlow decided to close the works for a week, to afford an opportunity for the necessary repairs to be carried out. This decision will throw a large number of workmen out of employment.

The money voted by the Masters' Union is not exhausted, so the conflict goes on merrily.

A large number of additional importations are expected in Bolton daily, notwithstanding the recent outburst of popular feeling against the admission of "strangers" to the iron foundries. Every precaution is taken by the police against the recurrence of rioting, as many as thirty policemen being stationed in each of the four large works where provision has been made for "knobsticks." To relieve the monotony of the life of the importations at Messrs. Hicks and Co.'s Soho foundry, a smoking concert was recently given upon the premises. A piano had previously been standing in the works for the benefit of the men.

On their side the strike hands remain in capital spirits, placing their reliance in what they term the justice of their case. They have support from every hand. So healthy, indeed, is the state of their funds that the Strike Committee are taking a census of the children under ten years of age of the men on strike (society and non-society alike) with a view to granting a weekly sum per child, in addition to the ordinary strike pay.

The Strike Committee have issued a manifesto, in which they say:—"We wish to draw attention to the unscrupulous manner in which our employers, who are all magistrates, with one exception, have done their best to implicate our men in the various disturbances which have taken place in the town through their own action in importing knobsticks. They have also closed our public houses, and for what reason. Simply because they find that the publicans have thought fit to do as they like with their money—namely, support the men. Our public park has been changed into a military camp, just to please the employers, to the inconvenience of our townspeople and their children. The town has also been packed with county police and private detectives, who so far have done their best to implicate some of our men, but without avail. Up to the present our action in this justifiable strike has commanded the respect of all parties save the employers."

FRANCE.

The glass bottle makers at Montluçon are still on strike and they seem well determined to hold out to the utmost of their power. Last week, James Hunter, General Secretary of the Glass Bottle-makers' International Association, sent to the strikers in the name of the General Council, a letter expressing their warmest sympathy and best wishes for success in their struggle, and a hearty invitation to join the International Union. At the same time comrade Hunter asked his fellow-workers to forward an account of their financial position. We are not yet in possession of the answer of the Montluçon strikers. We are very glad to see that the International Union makes every effort to develop its organisation, and we may rest confident that the union will become one of the strongest associations in the British Isles.—D.

BELGIUM.

The Socialist printer, Joseph Hubez, who in January last was sentenced at Frankfort-on-Main to four months' imprisonment because he belonged to a prohibited association, and who went afterwards to Belgium, has been expelled from that country. The Catholic Minister of Justice, M. de Volder, becomes more and more the servant-of-all-work of M. von Bismark, and, in fact, for fifty-seven years Belgium has not had so miserable a Minister as this de Volder. It is the same scoundrel who has allowed comrades Neve and Gross to be extradited to Germany without any legal form at all. As our readers know, only one of them, Gross, has been released.

The General Council of the *Parti Ouvrier* has issued a manifesto to all worker's associations in Belgium, inviting them to an extraordinary Conference to be held at Mons on the 14th and 15th of August next. The order of the day will be: *General Strike*, discussion and organisation. It is apprehended that the debate will bear a very acute character, and that the Conference might come to some important resolutions both for the *Parti Ouvrier* itself and for the special question of the *black strike*.—D.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

At Villach, a new Socialist paper has been issued since the 3rd of June, under the title *The Labour* (*die Arbeit*). The first number was allowed to pass unmolested, the second has had three different issues, the first and the second were confiscated by the police; the third issue was permitted to circulate. It is a very good paper, and we wish it every success.

Comrade Bleicher who was sentenced to eight years' hard labour in one of the former Austrian trials, died in the prison of Stein, where one of his friends of the same trial, F. Schreiblechner, died also some weeks ago.—D.

GERMANY.

The Hamburg police have succeeded in confiscating a considerable amount of literature which our comrades intended to send to Berlin. The trunks contained 100 copies of Bebel's 'Woman in the Past, Present, and Future'; 800 copies of a text-book of German Socialistic songs, and several thousand copies of the paper *Sozial Democrat*.

At Weimar, the cabinet makers' trades' union (*Fachverein der Tischler*) has been dissolved by the police. The reason was that the chairman of the union is a Socialist, hence, all the members of the union cannot but be Socialists! That is the logic of the police in the ancient city of Goethe!

The ghost of Lieske has returned on earth and visited last week M. Frohsee, the imperial attorney who asked so bitterly for the head of the Anarchist, although he was obliged to admit afterwards that he was not quite convinced of his guilt,—and, in fact, all those who are somewhat acquainted with the affair of police-councillor Rumpff, know for certain that Lieske was not the man who dragged Rumpff to death! M. Frohsee has been confined in an asylum, the execution of Lieske "having worked like madness in his brain." Nemesis! goddess of the vanquished, soon may thy reign arrive, for innumerable are those who all over the world have committed the same crime as M. Frohsee!

Eight Socialists who assisted at the secret Conference held recently at Haidhausen, near Augsburg, have been arrested. At Nuremberg, five Socialists have also been imprisoned on a charge of "anarchical conspiracy!" What does that mean? Surely some police joke!—D.

ITALY.

The Italian democrats are working up a popular agitation in that country, manifested at present by a series of deliberative meetings in Rome, Naples, Perugia and elsewhere, to discuss the condition of the working-class and its possible amelioration, the various working-men's associations sending delegates, and the working-class generally being invited more especially to take part in the "popular congress" of their district.

That the workers should be taxed for their holidays and festivals, which they can scarcely be said to enjoy, as well as for every conceivable necessary of life (directly or indirectly) is a refinement on the noble art of taxation indeed. A certain "maritime captain" of Marsala on being subjected to such a grievance writes to the *Nuova Età* of that town to proclaim the same, which was that when having occasion to pass through the *dazio* (local taxation) a quantity of wine, beyond the official tax of the tariff an extra tax of two centesimi the *litre* was imposed for the festival of St. Giovanni, which was about to take place. This taking advantage of a public holiday to extort money when more poor folk are on the move than usual, reminds one of the conduct of most of the omnibus and tram companies in the Jubilee week here in London (may I be forgiven for "raking up old bygones," as Mark Twain says!) when the workman out in holiday attire, bodily and mentally, found that all fares were raised and that any journey in tram or bus would involve an extra expenditure he had not counted on.—M.

SPAIN.

The congress of workers in metal held at Madrid in June has issued a manifesto addressed "to the exploited classes," stating at some length the position of the workers and calling upon them to rise in the cause of their own emancipation and replace Authority, Property and Religion by Anarchy, Collectivism and Science. I may say in passing that Collectivism in Spain has a different meaning from that which we give it, the Anarchists maintaining that they retain the original meaning of the word, which has, they say, since been usurped by the "authoritarian" Socialists. Yet the modern Collectivist says "organise," and the Anarchist says "organise," so that in one important point at least they are at one.

A serious riot broke out at Aloira on the 10th, against the octroi duties. The rioters attempted to set fire to the doors of the barracks, whereupon the Civic Guard fired upon the crowd, killing four persons. Reinforcements were despatched to restore order.—M.

A Newcastle correspondent says: "In a letter just received from my brother, who is a large employer of labour in Canada, the following remark on the scarcity of hands occurs... He says: 'I wish some of you good, poor people would come out here. My sister cannot get a woman to work for less than a dollar (4s. 2d.) a day,' etc.—*Reynolds*." Everyone must feel sorry for the sister; but if the emigration of good poor people means the reduction of the wages of the Canadian workwoman, the good poor people had better stay at home.

WHAT ARE "AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS"?

I AM sending this across the ocean, to seek information I cannot gain in my own native land. I have enquired of leading journals and been quietly ignored; I have asked eminent literary people and received only looks that questioned my sanity and civilised citizenship; I have interrogated working-men, and they simply become terrified. I have decided to enquire of a "blasted furriner." I only want to know—what are "American institutions"? Or rather, what are the characteristics of American institutions which distinguish them from English, Russian, German, or French institutions? So much seems to depend on a proper attitude toward these revered mysteries, that I am anxious to be informed.

"If we would preserve the integrity of our American institutions, we must put a stop to all this anarchistic talk from the labouring classes," shrieks the great American press. "If we would preserve, etc., etc., we must prevent the foreigners from crowding to our shores," scream the lesser lights of journalism in grand responsive chorus. "If we would p. t. i. o. o. A. i.," yells the Citizens' Association, "we must hang the men who find any fault with them." And then the solos and duets come in from the states: "Kansas cries, 'Imprison those who marry themselves without a priest, and guard the morals of our people by laws—Sunday laws, prohibitory laws, plenty of laws of all sorts.'" Pennsylvania and Ohio sing together, "Arrest the agitators—let no anarchists be heard." Virginia cries, "Shut up that earnest old woman who is shocking society with unwelcome truths"; and Illinois, bolder than all the rest, disarms her citizens, forbids the discontented to murmur, makes it a crime to tell of the people's wrongs, passes "conspiracy," "boycott," and "strike" bills, forbids the singing of the song that thrills all Europe with its liberty tones, disperses meetings of citizens at her pleasure, and enforces her commands with an army of Pinkerton brutes, regiments of State militia, the most powerful police system in the world, and the dark shadow of the gallows in the background; growling in the meantime continually, "We are preserving the integrity of our American institutions."

During the great trial and since, somebody is always saying "Spies, Schwab, Engel, Fischer, and Ling, coming from a foreign land, and seeing poverty existed here as elsewhere, and not understanding our American institutions, became anarchists and iconoclasts—wanting to destroy society merely because they could not comprehend its organisation!"

I am as American as a person can be who is not a full-blooded, copper-coloured Indian. My forefathers were here before we had any "institutions," and helped to fight a foreign institution that we might have some of our own. I am as near civilised as my fellow-workers, and have average intelligence, and yet at this date I do not understand our "American institutions." I once thought I did; I believed the ballot was one of them. I have seen working-men carried to the polls and voted like so many cattle by their employers, when they knew and cared nothing about the two candidates offered them. I have seen a struggling labour party beaten again and again by fraud and trickery; and I have been told that in England and Germany popular suffrage is really a power and the people make themselves felt through it. So that the privilege of ballot is not peculiar to America surely.

One time I believed equality was one of them. But when I see a nabob drawing an income of seven dollars a minute, living on the greatest luxuries of earth and holding at his beck and call the services of ten thousand men, and know that because of him there are a thousand paupers in the land, I must give up that idea. "Free homes" figured in my imagination as one. But it costs the best years of one man and woman's life and banishment from all they have held dear to win a home, at best; and usually it costs years of toil and deprivation just to try; while the mortgage-holder and usurer gets the "home" in the end.

But to the last I fondly dreamed that free thought, free speech, and free press were certainly American institutions. My experience as a citizen of Chicago has dispelled that illusion. In the whole world outside of Russia there is not a more oppressed, authority-ridden city than Chicago. The police are feared as though they were demons. Meetings are broken up, Anarchists are forbidden to sit or stand in groups of two or three, the "Marseillaise" is forbidden, men can be hung without proof for what somebody else did, and working men have no rights which a capitalist is bound to respect. All this for the "preservation of American institutions." What are they? Our free school system? They have better schools in other countries for all the children. Our old chattel-slavery institution? That perhaps was peculiar to America. Our land-owning, "big-rent," speculating institutions? They are common as civilisation itself. Our wage-slavery system? Our "peasantry" works as cheaply and obediently as any in the world. Our "profit" system? Men can roll up bigger fortunes through unlimited profit when once they get the upper hand by vested rights, and this perhaps is particularly American?

Can our English friends inform us what American institutions are?

Chicago, June 18th.

LIZZIE M. SWANK.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

Co-operative Store.—The Committee attend at the offices at 8.30 p.m. on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. See advertisement on last page.

Notice to Branch Secretaries, Members, etc., etc.—The Librarians of the Socialist League are pleased to notify to Branch Secretaries, members, etc., etc. (including affiliated bodies), that the Exchange Papers for the first quarter of this year, including English, American, French, German, and other Continental papers, are now ready for sale, and the Librarians are willing to accept offers. The importance of the record of the International movement should not be lost sight of, and this is an opportunity which should not be missed. The proceeds will be acknowledged in *Commonweal*, and devoted to the Propaganda Fund. (See *Commonweal* for January, February, and March weeks for list of papers).—WM. BLUNDELL and D. J. NICOLL, Librarians.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

K. F. (weekly), 1s. C. J. F. (weekly), 2s. T. B. (two weeks), 1s.
PH. W., Treasurer, July 12.

THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

For Mrs. Mowbray—A Few Fabians, per Annie Besant (weekly), 10s.
J. LANE, Treasurer.

REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—On Thursday last, F. Verinder lectured on "The Bible and the Land Question." There was a fair audience, and a slight discussion followed.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, July 6, Edward Aveling lectured on "Methods of Propaganda," and on Sunday, July 10, George Bernard Shaw on "Socialism and Radicalism." Excellent discussions followed each lecture.—A. T. and W. B.

EDINBURGH.—On Sunday evening, in the Queen's Park, Smith, Paterson, and Gilray addressed a large meeting. *Commonweal* and pamphlets were selling well, when we were informed by a park officer that no selling was allowed to go on within the park. It is even said that it is not permissible to present a tract to any one within the Queen's Park. We sold some more of our literature "without the gates," but the rain coming down rather heavily prevented us doing any more in this way for the rest of the evening.—J. G.

GLASGOW.—On Saturday afternoon, Paterson addressed a good meeting at Cambuslang. On Sunday forenoon, Glasier lectured on Socialism to the Cambuslang Branch of the Irish National League. There was a good audience, and our comrade had a hearty reception. In the afternoon at Paisley Road Toll, Glasier had a very large audience, and although the police were there in force no interference took place. In consequence of the Fair holidays, there will be no out-door meetings this week.—J. M. B.

LEEDS.—On Wednesday evening, a meeting in Meadow Lane was addressed by Maguire, Paylor, and Hill. On Sunday, Mahon delivered three lectures in the open-air, and was assisted by Mitchell (Bradford), Corkwell, Hill, Braithwaite, and Maguire. The evening lecture was attended by about 500 people, and the result was most satisfactory. We expect an acquisition of members as a result of the day's work. Sale of literature good.—T. P.

NORWICH.—On Wednesday evening last, Henderson and another spoke at Yarmouth. On Thursday, Henderson spoke at Dereham. Sunday morning Henderson and Rose spoke at Wymondham. A meeting was also held at Long Stratton by Morley and Houghton. In the afternoon Henderson spoke in Norwich Market-place. During the afternoon a meeting was also held at Lyng by this branch. All meetings even more successful than usual. Good sale of *Commonweal*.

WALSALL.—On Monday, July 2, several members of the Branch visited Dudley, and H. Sanders and Deakin addressed a meeting of about 500 persons in the Market-place. Another visit to the same town was made on July 9, Sanders speaking to a large gathering on the "White Knobs." On Wednesday, Sanders, Weaver, and Deakin spoke at Pelsall to a well-attended meeting, and on Saturday, Sanders spoke to large audiences in the Market-place, Walsall. On Sunday, July 10, we went on a propaganda tour to West Bromwich, Smethwick, and Oldbury, holding good meetings at each town, and disposing of a fair quantity of literature.—J. T. D.

BOLTON.—After having a pleasant chat with the comrades of the Lancaster Branch last Friday night, I took the train on Saturday to Bolton, to see how affairs were going on there after the late riots. I was supplied with a large bundle of *Commonweal* for free distribution. I spoke twice on Sunday, afternoon and evening, along with the comrades of the S.D.F. Two good collections were made for the strikers. Although it was raining at one time pretty heavily, our audience of between three and four hundred listened very attentively. Comrade Walkden made a splendid speech, his references to local affairs being heartily applauded. Judging from the impression made, I have not the least doubt that very soon Bolton will be a Socialist stronghold. After the meeting we retired to the club-room, where I said a few words in reference to working together and intending to do so. I then left, but not until three hearty cheers were given for the coming Revolution. I hope this week to be able to do some work in Derbyshire and Leicestershire, etc., on my walking tour to London.—CHARLES W. TUKE, Edinburgh Branch.

NOTTINGHAM SECTION, SOCIALIST UNION.—On Sunday, Waine and Proctor addressed meetings which were somewhat spoilt by the rain, in the morning in Sninton Market, and in the evening in the Great Market-place. 2s. 8½d. was collected and some leaflets were disposed of.—A. C.

North of England Socialist Federation.

Blyth.—The delegate-meeting, owing to the amount of business that came before it, adjourned till next Saturday, when it is hoped all the delegates will be present. There is important business remaining to be considered.

Consett.—A meeting was addressed by E. R. Pease and Donald on Monday. After the meeting, the men who desired to form a branch held a private business meeting. It was arranged to take a hall in the course of the week for the purpose of an indoor lecture.

East Holywell.—A large meeting was addressed on Saturday by A. K. Donald. One or two speakers who appeared to oppose the Socialists previously have come round, and are now prepared to support the cause.

Middlesboro'.—A branch of the Labour Federation has just been started. Our comrade who is working in the north is making arrangements to give a lecture there next week.

Newcastle.—The local branch of the S.D.F. have now got T. Mann back. He is energetically pushing the cause forward in Newcastle and district. A very successful meeting was addressed by him on Sunday

night at the Cattle Market. John Hall, Donald, and several local men addressed the meeting, which lasted till 10.30 p.m. Steady progress is being made here.

North Shields.—A successful meeting was addressed on Sunday morning by A. K. Donald. The Labour Federation, profiting by the vigorous example of the Socialist party here, propose to hold a series of open-air meetings on Sundays during the summer. In view of that, he advised all members of the Labour Federation to study Thomas Binning's valuable pamphlet addressed to "Organised Labour," and disposed of a large number that he happened to have with him.

Seaton Delaval.—A. K. Donald addressed a meeting at Harpers on Friday; a good deal of questions and discussion. Branch progressing favourably.

South Shields.—A large meeting was addressed by Donald in the Market Place on Sunday evening. An excellent speech in support of Donald was delivered by an advanced local Radical, Mr. Derby. Good sale of literature. Friends desiring to join the Society please address J. Wood, 105 Wood Street.

Stockton-on-Tees.—The Labour Federation are getting their branch into working order.

Sunderland.—Two meetings were addressed on July 6th and one on Sunday by Donald. Several members were made, and good quantity of literature was disposed of.

Throckley.—A meeting was addressed on Tuesday by A. K. Donald. Good lot of miners turned out to hear his address.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, W. On Thursday July 14th, at 8.30, Eleanor Marx-Aveling, "Socialism and Political Action." 21. W. H. Utley, "Malthusian Socialism." 28. Business Meeting and Social Evening. August 4. Edward Aveling, "The Value of Brain Work."

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday July 17, at 8.30 p.m. Wm. Blundell, "A Few Words on Property Qualification." Wednesday July 20, at 8.30. H. A. Barker, "Evolution and Socialism."

Croydon.—Parker Road.

Hackney.—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 8 till 11.30; Saturday, 7 till 12.30; Sunday 11 a.m. till 12 p.m. Members Business Meeting every Tuesday at 8.30 p.m.

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday July 17, at 8 p.m. Graham Wallas (Fabian Society), "Man and the State."

Hoxton (L. E. L.).—2 Crondall Street, New North Rd. Club Room open on Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday evenings from 8 till 11. Singing Class every Wednesday at 8.30. Sunday July 17, at 8, lecture by H. H. Sparling, "Old English Guilds." Meeting of Council and General Meeting on Saturday at 7.30. A full attendance requested.

Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday. Discussions held every Sunday morning at 11.

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

North London.—Branch meets at 32 Camden Road, N.W., for reception of new members and other business, on Wednesday evenings at 8 o'clock, until further notice. H. Bartlett, sec.

PROVINCES.

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

Dublin.—Irish Labour League, Carpenters' Hall, 75 Augier Street, every Thursday at 8 p.m. Discussion on all subjects connected with Labour Question.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 7.30 p.m. to transact business. Class for the study of 'Das Capital' at 8.30. (See "Open-air" below.)

Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Meeting of Members in Rooms on Sunday evening at 7 o'clock.

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

Hull.—Address all communications to E. Teesdale, 20 Shakspeare Street.

Lancaster.—Addresses every Sunday morning on the Quay Jetty.

Leeds.—17 Chesham Street, Sweet Street. Club and reading room open every evening. Business meetings every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Leicester.—Office of Hosiery Union, Horsefair Street. Fridays at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Free Lectures every Sunday at 8 p.m. Members' Meeting, Monday at 8. Speakers' Class, Sunday mornings at 10.30 and Wednesday evenings at 8 p.m. Social Evening, Saturdays.

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

Shields (North and South).—Meetings every Sunday, Quay-side and Market Place. Branch meetings on Thursday nights at the "General Gordon," Bath Street, Maxwell Street, South Shields. Secretary, J. Hearne, 32 Clive Street, No. Shields.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 17.

11.30...Garrett—"Plough Inn".....The Branch
11.30...Hackney—"Salmon and Ball".....Graham
11.30...Hoxton Ch., Pittfield St.Barker
11.30...Mile-end WasteLane
11.30...Mitcham Fair GreenJohnson & Eden
11.30...Regent's ParkMainwaring
11.30...Walham Green.....The Branch
3 ...Hyde ParkNicoll
3.30...Victoria ParkDavis
7 ...Clerkenwell GreenGraham

Tuesday.

8 ...Ossulton Street, Euston Road...Nicoll, Graham

Wednesday.

8 ...Broadway, London FieldsSparling

Thursday.

8 ...Hoxton, Pittfield StreetThe Branch

PROVINCES.

Edinburgh.—Sunday: Queen's Park, 6.30 p.m.

Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, 11; Vicar's Croft, 7.30. Friday: Corner of Christ Church, Meadow Lane, at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place at 3.

Diss.—Sunday at 11.

NORTH ENGLAND SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

MEETINGS—JULY.

Fri. 15—Backworth, near Market, at 6 p.m.

Sat. 16—Dudley, 5 p.m. Blyth, 8 p.m.

Sun. 17—North Shields, 11 a.m. Sunderland Garrison Field, 3 p.m. South Shields, 6.30.

Mon. 18—Consett, 7 p.m.

On Sunday 24th, Mrs. Besant will lecture at South Shields. Time and place will be announced.

NORWICH BRANCH.—It was arranged at a meeting of members to have an outing in August, on Bank Holiday, to Cromer. Tickets 4s. 6d. each, including railway fare, dinner, and tea.

SOUTH-WEST HAM RADICAL ASSOCIATION, Congregational Schoolroom, Swanscombe Street, Barking Rd.—Wednesday Aug. 24, at 8 p.m. H. H. Sparling, "The Rebel Poetry of Ireland."

WOOLWICH.—Arsenal Gates, Sunday at 7 o'clock, J. L. Mahon.

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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 3.—No. 80.

SATURDAY, JULY 23, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

A WRITTEN DEBATE

BETWEEN MR. C. BRADLAUGH, M.P., AND E. BELFORT BAX.

SUBJECT:

“Will Socialism Benefit the English People?”

VI.—*Negative*: MR. C. BRADLAUGH.

ALTHOUGH I can hardly think that in these letters there has been any real debate of the question, “Will Socialism benefit the English people?” yet, as my opponent has been throughout courteous and credits me with showing like courtesy, it is possible to hope that our good-tempered exchange of phrases may not have been as wholly useless to others as I am afraid it has been to myself. In this last reply it would, of course, be unfair for me to open out any other issues than those already within the purview of this correspondence.

In his second paper Mr. Bax referred me to Karl Marx on capitalist production and the rate of surplus-value (*Capital*, vol. I., chap. ix., p. 201, *et seq.*), as if in some way showing error on my part. Having carefully re-read the words of Mr. Marx, I do not see that the contention as to surplus-value—a contention which I cannot accept as there stated—helps Mr. Bax at all. His assertion in his first letter, that in consequence of monopoly a surplus-value was unfairly extracted from the labourer, I answered in paragraph 20 of my first letter. Mr. Bax rejoined that he did not say “anything about monopoly of labour”; that his use of the word “monopoly” was not intended to include monopoly of labour, and only referred to the monopoly of the means of production; but as he says that this monopoly gives the command, *i.e.*, control, that is, the monopoly of the control of labour, I scarcely appreciate the correction. Mr. Bax writes as if, under community enterprise, no expenses would be incurred in production; but this is surely not arguable, and can hardly be seriously meant. He says the surplus-value may be 100 per cent. and the profit *nil*. This is impossible unless you regard the labour as the only necessary element in realising value, and treat the other matters necessary to efficient production, and stated by me in paragraph 20 of my first letter, as being purely imaginary. “Surplus-value” is a mere phrase jingle unless it means value added in the production over and above all the cost of production.

Mr. Bax says that

“the ‘economic basis’ of modern society is production for profit, through the monopoly of the means of production by the named and unnamed individuals constituting the capitalist class in its various sections.”

And that the

“‘Economic basis’ of Socialism is the collective ownership of these means of production by society as a whole, and their working not for the *profit* of individuals or classes but for the *use* of society as a whole, both collectively and individually.”

It is worth noting on this (1) that while it is true that the artificially created land laws of this country have given in England a practical monopoly of metal and mineral raw material to the comparatively limited number who have the control of the bulk of the land, and while it is also true that of wealth, other than landed, the distribution has in a few instances thrown enormous accumulations into individual hands, it is not true that there is otherwise any “monopoly by any distinct class of the means of production as against all workers”; and (2) that it is not quite easy to understand how the English people could work say cotton, wool, coal, and iron, and their results, for foreign consumption otherwise than by manufacturing for profit. The land monopoly created by law may be broken down by law. The unfair distribution may be gradually corrected without destroying present society as proposed by Mr. Bax.

Mr. Bax jests with the questions stated for his consideration in paragraph 6 of my last paper, and his serious answer to me is that having at the outset declared his Socialism to mean “the equal participation by all in the necessities, comforts, and enjoyments of life,” he neither knows nor cares what the expression means or how it would work itself out. This may be enough for Socialists, but it is hardly useful to an enquirer or satisfactory to a critic. Robert Owen—whom Mr. Bax names as agreeing with modern Socialists in teaching “equal participation,” but whom he has here never verbally quoted—held, as Mr. Bax holds, that in a Socialistic State all things should be in common; but Robert Owen held this in the ordinary meaning of words, and never pretended that such doctrine was not the absolute negation of private property.

When Mr. Bax affirms that

“Socialism by its very definition excludes the possibility of there being any ‘unemployed’ to benefit,”

it is not very easy to consider him serious. I at once concede that if writing in a decree, or formulating in a constitution, that no men, women, or children should ever be hungry would avoid the necessity for procuring by labour the means of subsistence, Mr. Bax would have a strong case, but even Mr. Bax cannot mean this. If Mr. Bax merely means that as he proposes to abolish employers there would be no unemployed, this is more ingenious than ingenuous. In the programme of the Social Democratic Federation, formally accepted by Mr. Bax for the purposes of this debate, I find

“organisation of agricultural and industrial armies under State control on co-operative principles,”

as one of the proposals of that Socialist body, and I do not gather how or why the Socialistic State in England is to be presumed always to be able to employ in productive work the whole of the population; or how, without such productive work, it is to be always in position to provide the whole of the population with the necessities of life. Mr. Bax says:

“The Socialist of to-day does not profess to carry in his pocket any ready-made detailed scheme for the future of human society.”

But as Mr. Bax advocates the destruction of the present state of society, even by force, in order that the Socialistic scheme may be worked out in practice, he ought to have been ready to at least outline some probable or possible working scheme, especially as he undertook to affirm that this scheme would in its actual working benefit the English people.

If the Socialist has no detailed scheme for the future, why did Mr. Bax, as one of the preliminaries of this debate, explicitly, and without reserve accept the following declarations of the Social Democratic Federation:

“The land, with all the mines, railways, and other means of transit, to be declared and treated as collective or common property.”

“The production of wealth to be regulated by society in the common interest of all its members.”

“The means of production, distribution, and exchange to be declared and treated as collective or common property.”

If there is no plan of treatment what becomes of clauses 1 and 3? If there is no plan of the regulation of the produce of labour, what is the meaning of clause 2? If Mr. Bax has no detailed Socialistic scheme for the future of the English people, how is it possible even to guess whether or not Socialism will in its attempted practice prove beneficial to the English people? His latest explanation of the assumption of wealth and the then conduct of enterprise, in reply to paragraphs 12, 13, and 14 of my second letter, deserves examination:

“All we say is, let the working-classes, organised to this end, take over the means of production, distribution, and exchange; first the land, railways, mines, factories, credit establishments, and the larger warehouses and retail stores, which stand ready organised to their hand; at the same time let the executive proceed to establish new workshops, warehouses, and stores on a large scale in those trades where they do not already exist, and so undermine the smaller establishments possessed and worked by individuals, and which might for that matter remain *unmolested* until this happy consummation. Beyond this we do not profess to make any definitive proposal as to production or distribution.”

Large properties and industrial enterprises are to be taken over, that is, are to be taken away, from those who have them, and this whether the owners are single individuals or hundreds, or associated small owners or shareholders. Nothing is said of any compensation on this taking over. In the programme of the Social Democratic Federation, railways are proposed to be taken “with or without compensation.” The smaller manufacturers and tradesmen are to be “undermined,” that is, gradually ruined, and Mr. Bax gravely argues that this will—either in the process of ruining or as an ultimate result—benefit the English people. To do him justice, really Mr. Bax does nothing of the kind. Although in his debate he undertook to prove that Socialism would benefit the English people, he now says:

“Modern Socialism is unable to deduce the social change it deems imminent, from the idiosyncracies of a particular people, or to conceive Socialism as applied exclusively to any one people.”

But was it not a pity then to engage to debate the question, limited to the English people, as it expressly was by its wording? Mr. Bax now explicitly admits, that is, that Socialism must be world-wide or non-existent, and he has no suggestions as to how many centuries must elapse before world-wide Socialism may be feasible.

On statistics, Mr. Bax is simply marvellous; he introduced statistics

in his first paper, he gives more statistics in his last; challenged upon the accuracy of his figures, and utterly unable to verify them, he boldly and blandly writes:

"The, in most cases, insuperable difficulty of initial verification the difficulty of finding out the precise data on which they are based, the facts they suppress and the facts they express, render them practically valueless. Statistics have a fraudulent appearance of an accuracy which they can only possess in a very few special cases. Hence the superstitious belief in figures on the part of the modern mind. For my own part, no number of statistics would have ever made me a Socialist, and no number of them would unmake me one."

It, of course, simplifies discussions on Socialism, when the Socialist states facts and figures, but refuses to verify them, and *per contra* denies the right of his antagonist to go into details in any of these matters.

In his first paper Mr. Bax said:

"The small capitalist is continually being thrown upon the labour-market by inability to hold his own in the competitive arena. Capital tends thus to become concentrated in fewer and fewer hands."

In paragraph 18 of my first paper I challenged this, and at last Mr. Bax gives a statement which he considers proof: (1) There are fewer bakers who bake as well as sell; (2) that in glass-bottle manufacturing a few large manufacturers swallow up the small ones; (3) that Nettlefold's have nearly crushed out all other screw-makers; (4) that the carrying trade passes into the hands of large companies; (5) that a friend of Mr. Bax says that the facts (admittedly not reduced to tabular form by anyone) leave no doubt as to the truth of Mr. Bax's assertion; (6) that limited companies are on the increase.

1. If Mr. Bax's statement as to bakers were true, it would not show that there were not as many or more vending bakers with small capital, or that the sale of bread-foods by others than the actual bakers had on balance thrown small capitalists back on the labour-market. It might show that there had been economy in the manufacture of some bread-foods. Mr. Bax gives no figures, and perhaps limits his remarks to London. The Census for 1881 (General Report, p. 42) alleges an increase in the purveyors of bread and vegetables of 12.5 per cent. since 1871. These include the fancy bakers and pastry-cooks.

2. Mr. Bax gives nothing beyond his mere statement, and therefore furnishes no means of testing it. The Census for 1881 (General Report, p. 41) says that glass manufacture has increased 10 per cent. since 1871. It is, however, a small manufacture, only employing 19,338 men and 1,692 women.

"Of the 21,630 persons engaged in it, 5,984 were enumerated in Lancashire, 3,591 in the West Riding, 2,884 in Durham, 2,769 in London, 2,089 in Worcestershire, 1,752 in Warwickshire, 1,151 in Staffordshire, and only 1,410 in all the other counties."

3. I am unable to test this statement, of which Mr. Bax offers no evidence, and which, if true as to one small industry, would have very little weight. The Census (General Report, p. 49) says that in 1881: "The makers of bolts, nuts, rivets, screws, and staples numbered 8017, and had also increased very greatly, the uncorrected total in 1871 having been 5726."

So far as it goes, this is directly the opposite of Mr. Bax's assertion.

4. The Census 1881 shows an enormous increase of persons engaged in the carrying trade, and as a railway or steamship company is made up of very many shareholders of unequal holdings, Mr. Bax's present statement in nowise helps as evidence of his original assertion that "small capitalists are being thrown on the labour market."

5. I do not know anything of the investigations of Mr. Alexander Donald. I do know that a gentleman of that name did attend some lectures delivered by me, and advanced as if facts some most extraordinary statements, which clashed with all accessible statistics. Whether or not this is the same gentleman, his statement is vague, and his animus against the bourgeoisie (a class to which he and Mr. Bax belong) weaken the value of his too general corroboration.

6. The increase of *bona fide* limited liability companies for manufacturing purposes is direct evidence against Mr. Bax. It proves the existence of a large number of persons with small capital clubbed together for enterprise too large to be usefully undertaken except by such association.

To roughly sum up the argument. The definition of a Socialistic state now advanced by Mr. Bax in his three letters, is that state in which the working classes organised to that end [the manner and method of the organisation, and the character, duties, and responsibilities of the organisers being unstated] shall take over [that is seize and appropriate, and probably by force] the means of production, distribution, and exchange [nothing being said as to what is to happen to the present possessors in case they should not agree to or should resist this transfer]. There is then to be "collective ownership of these means of production by society as a whole" [all details as to the manner of the exercise of this ownership being positively refused], and all working is to be "not for profit of individuals or classes, but for the use of society as a whole, both collectively and individually" all the matters specified are to be common property, but there is still to be private property in some wealth, not specified. There is to be "the equal participation by all in the necessities, comforts, and enjoyments of life," the production of wealth is to be regulated, and industrial armies are to be controlled. But, according to Mr. Bax, the foregoing does not mean, and no modern Socialist would admit that it means, that organised society should own all wealth, direct all labour, and compel the equal distribution of all produce. Mr. Bax must pardon me if I can only construe words in their ordinary everyday meaning, and to express my regret that he should have been party to signing Socialistic manifestoes, which, as read in their natural sense, mean one

thing without adding a caution that the Socialist declaration were intended in a non-natural sense.

Mr. Bax has no scheme either for the taking possession or for the common owning, or for the equal participation, and he frankly says that he neither knows nor cares what will be the detailed results. Yet he contends that this Socialism will benefit the English people.

There are very many points of interrogation, and of traverse, in my first and second letters, which Mr. Bax has passed in silence. These are so numerous that I content myself with recalling the fact which I leave to the judgment of the readers.

C. BRADLAUGH.

(For previous papers see *Commonweal* for May 21; May 28; June 11; June 25; July 16.)

SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

CHAPTER XX.

MARX'S DEDUCTION OF THE HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF MODERN INDUSTRY.

CAPITALISM cannot be said even to begin before a number of individual owners of money employ simultaneously a number of workmen on the same terms, that is to say before the development of a concert of action towards profit among the employers, and a concert of action towards production for the profit of the employers among the employed.

"A greater number of labourers working together at the same time in one place (or if you will, in the same field of labour) in order to produce the same sort of commodity under the mastership of one capitalist, constitutes, both historically and logically the starting-point of capitalist production."

It differs from the mediæval system, that of the guilds and their craftsmen only by the greater number of the workmen employed; but this change to a new form of organisation made at once considerable difference in the rate and manner of production: there was less comparative expense of the means of production, *i.e.*, buildings, tools, warehouses, etc.¹ A consequence of this concentration of workmen under one roof was the development of the function of direction in the master as independent of his qualities as a craftsman, and the forcing on the system of this function as a necessary part of production. The master of the guild craftsman period held his place because he was a better workman and more experienced than his fellows; he did not differ from them in kind but in degree only; if he fell sick, for instance, his place would be taken by the next best workman without any disturbance in the organisation of the workshop; but the master of even the earliest period of capitalism was from the beginning unimportant as a workman (even when he worked, as he often did at first) but all-important as a director of work.

"Simple co-operation," says Marx, "is always the prevailing form, in those branches of production in which capital acts on a large scale, and division of labour and machinery play but a subordinate part." This sentence leads to the next development of capitalism, that of the division of labour, which brings us into the system of manufacture, as the word is generally understood; though it has a final development, that of machinery and the factory. This period of the division of labour, more or less pure, extends from the middle of the 16th to the end of the 18th centuries, when it was brought to perfection; but it must be understood that these systems overlapped one another considerably.

The division-of-labour or manufacturing system starts under two conditions.

The first is where the employer collects into one workshop workmen of various crafts, the results of whose labours are finally combined into one article, as *e.g.*, a carriage-maker's in which wheel-wright, coach-builder, upholsterer, painter, etc., work each at his own occupation, and their products are combined into the one article, a finished carriage.

The other is the system in which the employer collects his workmen under one roof, and employs the whole of them as one machine in the simultaneous production of one article which has to go through various processes, these processes being apportioned to various parts of the workman-machine. This system affords a distinct example of evolution by means of survival of the fittest; sudden increase of production seems to have been called for, and the work accordingly had to be reorganised by being apportioned to different workmen in order to save time. Thus this system is the reverse of that illustrated by the carriage-making, in which a number of crafts had to be combined into the manufacture of one article; whereas in this (pin or needle-making may be taken as an illustration) a number of processes which once formed portions of one craft, now become each of them a separate craft in itself.

From this follows the complete interdependence of each human being forming a part of the workman machine, no one of whom can produce anything by himself. The unit of labour is now no longer an individual, but a group.

But all these processes, however sub-divided, and however combined,

¹ The master worker of the guild-system was not really a master at all even after he began to employ journeymen, because their number was limited very closely, and they were all sure to become masters in their turn: the real "employer of labour" was the guild and the "master" of that period was simply a foreman of the guild; the great change consisted in the breaking down of the position of the guild as employer, and the turning of its foreman into a real master or capitalist.

were still acts of handicraft; the same necessities which forced the simple co-operation of the first capitalistic period into division of labour, now forced the latter system to yet further development; though, indeed, other causes besides merely economic ones were at work, such as the growing aggregation of people into towns and the consequent increasing division of labour in Society itself as to the occupations of its members. This final development was the substitution of the machine and the complete factory-system for the division of labour and workshop-system. Under the new system the group of workmen, every member of which by the performance of a special piece of handicraft turns out some special part of the article made, gives place to a machine which produces the results of all these manœuvres combined together; or to an association of machines acting in a group, as the workmen acted. The workman is no longer the principal factor in the work, the tools which he handled are now worked by a mechanism connected by another mechanism with the power, whatever it may be, which puts the whole in motion. This is the true machine of modern times, as contrasted with the mere tool-machine of the earlier period, which was an aid to the workman and not a substitute for him. Furthermore, the workshop gives place to the factory which is not a mere assemblage of machines under one roof, but rather a great machine itself, of which the machines are parts; as Marx says: "An organised system of machines to which motion is communicated by the transmitting mechanism from a central automaton is the most developed form of production by machinery. Here we have in place of the isolated machine a mechanical monster whose body fills whole factories, and whose demon power, at first veiled under the slow and measured motion of his giant limbs, at last breaks out into the fast and furious whirl of his countless working organs."

This is the machine which has produced the great revolution in production of our epoch. The workman once a craftsman, having all control over the article he produced, next became a part of a human machine, and finally has become the servant and tender of a machine; and by means of all this the fully developed modern capitalist has come into existence.

E. BELFORT BAX and WILLIAM MORRIS.

POSITIVISM AND SOCIALISM.

ALTHOUGH the number of those who profess Positivism as a social creed is not very large, still there are many who oppose Socialism much on the same ground, and who look for improvement in the condition of the workers to the spread of humane ideas amongst the employers, so that it will be well to deal with this larger class of opponents at the same time as the smaller section, who have a more complete system of their own to propose. We will first then build up our straw man Positivism, and I will try and make him as much like the original as I can, then we will proceed to the pulling down process. The entire value of such argument, of course, depends upon whether the straw man resembles in essential points the real thing for which it stands. If I mis-state Positivism I shall be very glad to be corrected.

Comte's Positive Philosophy, as I understand it, is an attempt to bring the whole field of man's knowledge and research within the range of a single system; this to some extent Science had done, and Comte claims originality chiefly in that he first brings Sociology under the same system. It is with his statements and proposals about Sociology that we shall have to deal chiefly. The use of the word Positive I take to indicate the elimination out of the whole field of man's research of what Comte calls the theological element, and which I take to mean any spiritual influence outside the laws of Nature. He does not absolutely deny the existence of any spirit, but having come to the conclusion that we can know nothing about it, he ignores it, and only deals with the relations of phenomena as they can be known and investigated by the intellect.

He arranges the sciences in order, beginning with the one he considers to be the least complex, and about which he thinks we know most, and ending with the most complex about which we know the least. Thus Astronomy comes as one of the first and Sociology the last. He argues that Astronomy is the most simple, and that its phenomena are the most general; the laws which govern the movements of the heavenly bodies which are investigated by astronomy, are fewer and more simple than those which are dealt with by any other science, therefore it is that we know most about astronomy and that it is the most exact of the sciences. Physics comes next as being more complex than astronomy and less complex than chemistry, and so he ascends the scale through physiology which deals with the individual animal, up to sociology which treats of organisations of individuals. This last, dealing as it does with the most complex organisations of the most complex animals, is the science about which he maintains least is known.

I have been obliged to give this short sketch of Comte's positive philosophy, as otherwise we should not have been able to understand where some of his ideas as to the practical organisation of society come from, particularly his great division of power into the spiritual and temporal.

Starting with his scale of sciences he says that in astronomy, the simplest and most easily understood of them all, the general public do not assume that they can know anything about it without special study, but accept the teaching of the specialists and believe it; how much more when the science is Sociology, the most difficult and com-

plex of them all, ought they to distrust their own uneducated opinions, and follow the teaching of those who have made the science their special study! Thus he seeks to demonstrate the fallacy of democratic government, and in his system erects what he calls a spiritual authority, to consist of the wise and learned, of what he calls the speculative classes, or those who deal with abstract knowledge as opposed to those who put it in practice. In the Positivist state the speculative is to be the highest class, and to have charge of education, and supply the theories of sociology, etc., which the next class or the temporal authority is to carry out.

The temporal authority is to consist of those who have the most abstract and most extensive scope in the industrial world, the bankers, merchants, and manufacturers, in order as given. The spiritual authority is to educate the temporal authority, and show it what to do, also to see to the education of all individuals in morals as well as intellectual knowledge, and it is upon the efficacy of this education that the proper working of the system is to depend. The manufacturer and merchant are to be educated to use their positions and wealth for the good of their workpeople and society generally, and public opinion is to be educated to make them do it. The modern Positivists follow this system, though perhaps wording things rather differently. They argue that wealth is a social product, and that the wealthy must hold it in trust for the rest of the community, using it not for their own exclusive benefit but for the good of all; and they wish to educate public opinion to such a pitch that it shall force men so to use their wealth by means, if necessary, of a social boycott. They say that modern industrial enterprises are best managed by individuals, and that the workers must be subordinate to these. Moreover, the industrial questions being the chief affairs now-a-days, these leaders in industry are the best people to have political power, their experience is the widest, and they are most accustomed to deal with complicated relations.

As Professor Beesley put it in a lecture at Oxford last term on the subject of this article, "Government must be vested in the hands of the wealthy, not as the Socialists say, wealth must be vested in the hands of Government," the whole to be directed and instructed by a priesthood without any religious or theological functions.

That is the theory of the Positivists so far as I have been able to gather it. That larger class which I spoke of above, while not going in for any "government by the wealthy" or "spiritual authority," still thinks that the manufacturers will become more humane to their employees through the influence of education, Christianity, and public opinion. It remains for us now to examine this theory critically, and compare it with Socialism as a solution of modern social problems.

As Comte bases what I may call the aristocratic tendency of his government, using the word in its best sense, upon his order of the sciences, we must first deal with that. For a complete refutation of the pretension of science that its so-called laws of nature are representations of the absolute facts of nature, see 'Modern Science,' by Edward Carpenter. He there shows very clearly that what science is fond of calling laws of nature are nothing more than hypotheses, made to fit our present extent of observation, which have to be revised as our field of observation widens. It is not necessary for our argument to go further into that question than to give the criticism on the order of the sciences, which may be found more ably put in the pamphlet I allude to.

Now we saw that Comte maintains that we know most about such sciences as astronomy and least about such as sociology.

But is this not rather an assumption which on the face of it is surprising? When we consider the comparatively few people who even make observations of the stars and their movements, and that every single person makes innumerable observations on physiology, or the things relating to individual organisation and growth, and still more on the relations of different individuals, the way they influence each other and the way they are influenced by different causes. When, moreover, we consider the little we can possibly know about bodies millions of miles away, and also the infinitesimal portion of time during which observations have been recorded, compared with the ages which form the life of one of the least of the heavenly bodies, are we not likely to know much more about man and society than about astronomy, seeing that we have recorded histories in many cases of the entire progress of societies from barbarism up to our present time, and that we have geological evidence forming almost a continuous revelation of the ways of man from the very first? Is it not rather that because we know so very much more of men and society that we find it more difficult to frame hypotheses which shall fit so wide an extent of observed phenomena? And is it not more likely that the exactness which we boast of in astronomy is due to the comparative ease with which we can frame hypotheses to fit the few motions which we have been able to observe, whereas the real life of the universe of stars may be infinitely more complex than our social system, had we the power and the requisite time to make observations? It is as though an observer when planted for one day on a ship, he sees the men go to work for eight hours and then rest for eight hours, and proceeds to make a law that men work eight hours and rest eight hours, and he predicts their actions for the next day or two; the observer dies, and the next generation of observers dies the following day, all convinced of the truth of his law about the actions of these bodies, but on the seventh day the ship gets to port and all work is stopped for some days, where is their law of nature then? Similarly, what can science tell us of the movements of the stars on the seventh day of their lives?

RAYMOND UNWIN.

(To be continued.)



"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.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

P. L. (Paris).—Letter duly forwarded.

A. K. D.—Space demands!

E. A. S. (Walsall).—Address of A. K. Donald is 48 Shield Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne. We have advised him of your letter.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday July 20.

ENGLAND	FRANCE	SPAIN
Justice	Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer	Madrid—El Socialista
Jus	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	PORTUGAL
Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung	L'Autonomie Individuelle	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Norwich—Daylight	Guise—Le Devoir	AUSTRIA
Die Autonomie	Lille—Le Travailleur	Vienna—Gleichheit
SOUTH AUSTRALIA	Liège—L'Avenir	Brunn—Volksfreund
Adelaide—Our Commonwealth	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde	Villach—Arbeit
UNITED STATES	Ghent—Voruit	HUNGARY
New York—Der Sozialist	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
Boston—Woman's Journal	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio	ROUMANIA
Liberty	Marsala—La Nuova Eta	Jassy—Lupta
Chicago (Ill.)—Labor Enquirer	SWITZERLAND	DENMARK
Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	Geneva—Bulletin Continental	Social-Demokraten
Hammonton (N.J.)—Credit Foncier		NORWAY
New Haven (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate		Kristiania—Social-Democraten
Albina (Oreg.)—Weekly Courier		

NOTES ON NEWS.

The Government Land Bill does not need much comment from a Socialist; it is all that might be expected of it, and is in fact so bad that it will at least injure the Tory party, and may turn out a bigish nail in the coffin of the Government, though perhaps hardly so big a one as the Cass case, because the average English politician will not take the trouble to go into its details; nor indeed has he any occasion to do so: it simply means trying to do nothing under the guise of doing something.

The mountains are now in labour with a new (!) National Party, which, if it ever comes to the birth will, as a novelty, be a ridiculous mouse indeed. But setting aside the novelty, and the absurdity of making that which is already made, the party is a formidable one, and Joe Chamberlain and Co. are wise in their generation to take care to belong to it. It has long governed England under various names, and for convenience sake one must call it by the one under which it has hitherto been most respectable, the Whig Party. It may after all be worth the while of the reactionists to sacrifice such an empty thing as a name to it, and to admit, what is obvious, that the whole of the Tory party that has any power or capacity belongs to it. Ye shall know them by their fruits.

The charge against our comrade Williams has been quashed at the appeal, a fact of which every honest person, Socialist or not, will be glad; but it is doubtful, if it had not been for Mr. Newton's good deed in the guise of a bad one, and his rashness in meddling with a person who had the shop-keeping class behind her, whether the bench would have considered the evidence so carefully. I must also call attention to the fact (and all papers that do not aim at being considered supporters of injustice should do the same) that there are still two men in prison working out their sentence who were convicted on similar evidence to that on which the "learned" magistrate convicted our friend Williams. And lastly, I must once more call attention to the EQUAL LAWS under which we free people live, which condemn these innocent men to a cruel punishment simply because they have no friends rich enough to be responsible for paying the expenses of the appeal if it chances to fail. Nor must we forget even if these poor men are released now, they will have been in prison for many weeks; the injustice remains in any case. Well, it is but what must be looked for; for a society founded on robbery must be sustained by violence and wrong.

W. M.

Another piece of Jubilee tomfoolery has been combined with as bold a piece of mendacity as can very readily be found. An Address to the Queen has been presented, signed on behalf of Welsh mineowners by Sir W. T. Lewis, and "on behalf of the miners" by Mr. W. Abrahams, Labour M.P. for Rhondda Valley. Among other "jubilations," one is indulged in on account of the improved position of the men!

"There was never any other period in the history of this country in which your workmen were so much taken care of, nor more prosperous. They never had better housing; they never had such good clothing, nor such good food; and the past has never shown such an example of pleasure and happiness. We are indebted for these blessings to the reign of your Most Gracious Majesty!"

These lies, for they are nothing less, are signed by a man supposed to "represent" the miners and who was an honest man before he went into parliament. How they are viewed by his constituents may be judged by one meeting out of many that have considered them.

A meeting of the house-coal colliers of Rhondda and other districts of Glamorgan was held at the Nelson Inn, on Saturday 9th, Mr. Joan Llwyd, chairman, Mr. Isaac Evans, secretary. There were present 37 delegates, representing between 5000 and 6000 miners. A motion was passed *nem. con.* utterly repudiating that portion of the loyal address which is given above and strongly condemning the misuse of their names to it.

As for the "care" taken of them, the annual average of accidents will show that; for their "prosperity" twenty-five years ago they could wear broadcloth on a Sunday and now put up with shoddy. Their houses have stood unchanged for over fifty years except in the matter of rent, which has advanced. "Her Majesty's" reign may therefore have caused them to be "indebted," but not in a way to increase "pleasure and happiness."

"Good food"! In 1878, when they were even better off than at this present happy time, it was not uncommon for a miner to go down to ten hours' work on a lump of dry bread, with perhaps another for supper, and a meat dinner Sundays!

A good workman thinks himself lucky to get 18s. every third or fourth week, and 10s. or 12s. meanwhile. These wages are *nett* and rent, coals, and all else must be paid for.

These men who toil unremittingly, are maimed and bruised, and cast aside to die unrewarded, must be made by a time-serving sycophant his catspaw in pandering to a silly superstition! Verily, so long as they are content with "labour representation," who can wonder?

The *Pall Mall* has had another attack of hysteria; no uncommon event, but this time it is a bad one. A clerk in a department of the Metropolitan Board of Works is said to have used his position to help his relatives in their competition with other traders. Of course, if this has been done it is an abuse of trust and should be punished, but it savours of dishonesty to have on one page an interview with the accused, in which he promises proofs of innocence, and on another page an article full of virulent attack and damaging insinuation—"New Journalism"?

We all know that this kind of thing is done. The *Pall Mall*, when it was booming J. G. Blaine the other day, knew that he was the most renowned lobbyist of modern times, and that he lost the last presidential election *on that account*. There is a "lack of cohesion" somewhere.

Herr Krupp is dead. Not a bad man in himself, but the biggest maker of murder-machines of his time. He was very free from national prejudice and sold his wares to any government with cash to pay for them. So long as the workers allow themselves to be used as pawns in the imperial game, such a trade as Krupp's will prosper. So long as they allow it their lives will be spent in paying for his game. Whoever will take the cost of one of his big man-smashers, and reckon how many workers its price would support for a year, will be surprised.

S.

LEADERS OF THE PEOPLE.

THERE are so many men to-day in the political arena that are looked on as the champions of the people, that one is puzzled at times to discover what claim, judging them by their acts, they have to be so regarded. Many of these leaders of the people are leaders, not because they are the chosen of the workers, but because they have asserted themselves to be so.

The utterances of some of these self-styled leaders are of a character that can only be designated as humbug. Although associated with and professedly belonging to the most advanced school of political thought, they are, despite their protestations to the contrary, really the disguised friends of the workers' enemies. Here is a typical specimen of the blatant orator. Just listen to him.

"Fellow-workers,—No one will charge me with sympathy with and regard for the rights of monopolists; all my life I have fought on the side of the people. I have been instrumental in bringing about much improvement in their condition. (Oh, oh!) The persons who cry oh, oh! are no doubt in the pay of the Tories. (Cheers.) Beware

of them. (Cheers.) Don't associate with them; they are your enemies and mine. (Loud cheers.) To-day, the food you eat is wholesome, and there is an abundance of it. We import twelve times as much bacon and ham per head of the population as we imported thirty years ago. Royal Commissions have sat and made enquiry into the housing accommodation of the people, and have reported thereon. The clothes you wear are *woollen*; they were cotton formerly. (Cries of "Question.") That dirty ragged-looking person who cried "Question" is evidently too lazy to work, or he would enjoy the same comforts as his fellows. Resuming: The wealth of the country has increased 124 per cent. during the last fifty years. Wages are 25 per cent. higher, rent is lower, and so are taxes. (Interruption.) It is quite evident, friends, that the Tories are here to-day in full force; they wish to create a disturbance; I shall therefore refrain from addressing you further, or the peace may be broken and some of you arrested and taken to prison—a place where no honest workman would be seen."

This is not an exaggerated specimen, but is taken from life. The arguments used by this befooler of the people form part of the stock-in-trade of numbers of the advanced school of political reformers. Just analyse them, and what do they prove? That the workers eat twelve times as much bacon as they did thirty years ago? That because the national wealth has increased from £4,100,000,000 to £9,210,000,000 the masses have been advantaged in a ratio corresponding to this enormous increase of wealth? That because wages are 25 per cent. higher they have benefited in proportion to the increase? That because Royal Commissions have enquired into the housing accommodation of the workers slums do not exist?

Mulhall, who is responsible for these figures, after having built up a huge edifice of them for the purpose of showing the enormous progress made by this country during the last fifty years, answers these questions in the most satisfactory manner. He says (pp. 99, 100 'Fifty Years of National Progress'): "After making all deductions, we find the working man earns 20 or 25 per cent. more than in 1840, and the prices of necessities have mostly fallen. *These advantages are counter-balanced by the rise in rent, for whereas house-property averaged a value of £30 per inhabitant, it now stands for £75—a proof that rents have risen exactly 150 per cent.*" Further, on pp. 101, 102 he quotes with approval Professor Huxley's statement that "the inhabitants of the poorer quarters of London and other large towns are condemned to a mode of life far more degraded and uncivilised than that of any tribe of Western Africa." From these statements we are able to estimate the enormous gain brought the workers by the progress of the last half-century. An enormous gain, truly! Wages have risen 25 per cent., but the increase of rent and taxes has more than counterbalanced the increase of wage. It is on this rise in wage and increase of national wealth that the sophistical tribune of the people dilates; everything which shows that the rise is only *nominal*, and not real, he takes no account of. If perchance he should do so, it is by deliberately ignoring those circumstances which, if they were taken account of, would show the fallacious—to use no stronger term—nature of his argument. For example, in dealing with the rise in rent he will dispose of the question in this manner: "It is asserted that rents have risen greatly during the past fifty years. I question it. The large renters of land (*i.e.*, farmers) pay little if any more rent than they did fifty years ago. In Ireland rents have decreased. In England most landlords have made reductions of 20 per cent.," etc.

We have here an example of the professional hoodwinker at his best. With the aid of Mr. Mulhall, let us examine his argument. Since the tremendous rise of the manufacturing industries, agriculture has greatly declined, so much so that the number of persons engaged in it to-day are only 2,420,000 as compared to 3,820,000 in 1841, the prices of produce have greatly fallen, and although there is more land under cultivation to-day than in 1840 in proportion to population it is much less. "The combined value of grain and meat produced yearly is less now than it was forty years ago, but rent and taxes have increased 36 per cent. This increase in rental value we are told is only nominal, the actual rental not exceeding 52 millions, the same as fifty years ago. If agricultural rent has not greatly increased, taxes and tithes have more than doubled. In the period 1841-50 the amount paid was £10,200,000; in 1886, £25,400,000. The balance in favour of the farmer after payment of rent, taxes, and tithes in the first-mentioned period was £54,300,000; in 1886 it had diminished to £27,000,000. But although profits have decreased, wages have risen from 9s. per week to 15s.; but the labour of three persons now produces as much value as that of four persons in the decade ending 1870, or five persons in the years 1841-50. The rise of wage here, I suppose, is *real*, not *nominal*, as in the case of rents. These facts reveal a most pleasant state of things so far as the agricultural population is concerned; nor are those engaged in the manufacturing industries in a better condition, as I shall show presently. "Ah," says the wily apologist of the agricultural landed interests, "we want a protective duty on food imports. Free trade has ruined the agricultural industry; before the corn laws were abolished the price of corn was nearly 30 per cent. higher, and farming was a profitable undertaking." Now there is no doubt that if a protective duty was imposed on food imports a great impetus would be given to agriculture; land would increase in value, rents would rise in proportion to the increased value of farming land, the result of which would be that food would be greatly increased in price, and the advantage to the workers would be nothing, but to the landlords increased rent. "We want the people back on the land." Yes, and what for? their benefit, or the landlords'?

The free-trader, the advocate of unrestricted competition and the free breakfast table, stumps up and down the country anathematising and denouncing the wickedness of the protectionist. This party will dilate on the cheapness of food and the enormous increase of trade which has resulted from the adoption of free trade, and then by inference from this assume that because food is cheaper and trade greater that the workers have been materially benefitted in consequence. This free-trade argument takes no account of the enormous increase of labour-saving machinery and the lessened demand for hand and skilled labour, and the many devices resorted to for cheapening the cost of production, which, so far from benefitting the worker, have made employment more scarce and uncertain.

H. A. BARKER.

(To be concluded.)

CORRESPONDENCE.

LAFARGUE V. BAX.

I really do not think there is a tittle of real difference between my friend Paul Lafargue and myself. I entirely agree with his paper, which is, as he describes it, a formulation of "desiderata." My article was, on the other hand, an attempt to formulate a plan for getting at these desiderata. He says himself that before "arriving at this Communist society, in which labour and pleasure will be free and in common, we must pass through a transitional period, in which it will be necessary to maintain wages and to keep the due proportion between them and the service rendered and the effort given." Now, it was of the initial stage of this transitional period that I was speaking. My subject was the *morrow* of the revolution, not the next generation or even for that matter the next decade.

Lafargue goes on to say, "For our part, we believe that the workers themselves have more qualities to enable them to distribute the hours of labour and the gains than the functionaries of any State would have." In this sentence the very opposite is assumed to what I assumed—namely, that the "workers themselves" would not be the functionaries. Now of course I took for granted that the revolutionary executive would be largely composed of really "representative workers." A new industrial organisation doesn't fall like Lucifer from heaven upon the "workers" beneath. When time is ripe for its birth, it has to be delivered somehow. It was of the process of accouchment that I was speaking. The result of the social revolution will of course be the disappearance of the State, but as I believe, this result will be brought about by the turning of it and its machinery against itself rather than by a policy of mere destruction.

E. BELFORT BAX.

LITERARY NOTICES.

We have received Nos. 1 and 2 of the 'Biblioteca Humanitas,' being little pamphlets issued by the journal *Humanitas*. 'La Fine del Parlamentarismo,' by F. S. Merlino, is a brief history of and critique on Parliamentaryism, the writer drawing his illustration nearly entirely from English Parliamentary history. Merlino lays bare the defects (and crimes) of this system of administration, but either space does not permit, or he does not deem it necessary to "point the moral" and discourse on the question of Socialists in Parliament. 'Alleanza Anarchica Internazionale,' by the same author, constitutes a kind of manifesto or declaration of Italian Anarchism, and is interesting as such. Under the heading of "Organisation," Merlino insists strongly on the necessity of the same both at the time of revolutionary crises and in settled times for the pursuit of all the arts of life, *organisation*, he holds rightly, not being *authority* of one over another. Now, far ahead, when the knowledge of men and women is widened, and they will work into each other's hands for mutual convenience, association and organisation will be looked for; but I put it to Anarchists to-day, whether at the time of a crisis (unless between now and then propaganda on all sides moves not considerably faster than at present) the distinction may not have to be put aside for a while with a frank confession of our many imperfections?

El Productor (Barcelona) is a very useful weekly journal representative of Spanish Socialism; it contains diversified matter, good articles, and is well filled up with notes and news on home and foreign subjects. M.

STATISTICS.—A witty statesman said you might prove anything by figures. . . . Tables are like cobwebs, like the sieve of the Danaides; beautifully reticulated, orderly to look upon, but which will hold no conclusion. Tables are abstractions, and the object a most concrete one, so difficult to read the essence of. . . . With what serene conclusiveness a member of some Useful Knowledge Society stops your mouth with a figure of arithmetic! To him it seems he has there extracted the elixir of the matter, on which now nothing more can be said. It is needful that you look into his said extracted elixir; and ascertain, alas, too probably and without a sigh, that it is wash and vapidity, good only for the gutters.—*Carlyle*.

STATISTICAL QUACKERY.—Some years ago it was quite popular to "go in" for bureaus of Labour statistics. It was hoped by the working-men that the publication of facts concerning the relative positions of employers and employes, the relative value of production, and the reward of the producer, might in some way be placed before the public for consideration. Well, we have had pages of figures "piled up," and volumes of opinions upon this or that phase of labour, volumes of sentiment, and clouds of dust. Even the sophistical Edward Atkinson, in a paper read before the third annual session of Labour Commissioners at Boston, had the sense to remark that statistics could become a snare and deductions from them might be untrue. Later at a meeting held in New Era Hall in Boston, he declared that the statistics "gathered up" by the National and State Bureaus of Labour were of no value whatever and that those which he used were compiled from sources over which they had no control. The miserable toilers who spend their waking hours in monotonous activity within factory walls need no statistics to tell them that they are miserable. Those of them who are sufficiently educated to seek information in statistical reports are also well informed as to the relative advantages enjoyed by capitalists and labourers.—*New Haven Workmen's Advocate*.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

PROPOSED REDUCTION OF ENGINE-TENTERS' WAGES.—The colliery engine-tenters in the employ of Lord Dudley have received notice for the reduction of 4d. per day in their wages.

MINERS' WAGES.—The miners working for the firm of James Gardner and Sons, Limited, Meiklehill, Kirkintilloch, Scotland, began work Monday 11 on a reduction of 6d. per day. We understand notice of a similar reduction has been posted at Wester Gartshore Colliery.

BELFAST CARTERS.—The dispute between Messrs. Mecrea and M'Farland and their carters, which threatened to end in a strike, has been settled. The majority of the men have hitherto had only 16s. a week, but now the employers have acceded to the demand to have 18s. per week paid to all hands.

The dispute in the malleable iron trade may yet terminate in a strike. Notices were posted at several of the Birmingham works intimating that the yards would be closed on Saturday July 16th, unless the men accept a reduction of 10 per cent. At the works where the notices have been posted there are about 300 men employed.

BRICKSETTERS' LABOURERS' WAGES.—At Stockport, the bricksetters' labourers are agitating for an increase of wages from 5d. to 5½d. per hour, and threaten to come out on strike if their request is not granted. The members of the Master Bricksetters' Association are not willing to give the advance, on the grounds that 5d. per hour is what is paid in other towns.

THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY.—At the half-yearly meeting of the Cleveland Blast Furnacemen's Association, just held at Middlesboro', it was resolved to give a hearty support to the proposal which will be brought before the forthcoming Congress of Ironworkers, with the object of getting the hours of labour reduced to eight per day. The general secretary (Mr. W. Trow) was appointed to represent the Association at the Congress, and to cordially support the resolution.

The Scotch Miners' Federation announce that they intend contesting several seats at the first general election. Labour candidates have already been adopted by them for North Ayrshire and Stirlingshire. The men will be independent of party. It is expected that the Liberal associations in the two constituencies named will adopt the miners' nominees. The Federation state that it is their intention to form a new Labour Party in the House of Commons, the present Labour Members having in their opinion failed in the performance of their duties.

THE STRIKE IN THE CHAIN TRADE.—At a mass meeting of chainmakers at Cradley Heath, the president of the Chainworkers' Association stated that, in consequence of a number of employers having broken faith with the operatives, the majority of the operatives had turned out on strike, and he believed that in a few days the whole of the workmen would have ceased to work. It was announced that a number of gentlemen at Stourport had sent cheques for the relief of the chainmakers amounting to £82. Additional policemen have been drafted into the district.

STRIKE OF MINERS AT CRADLEY.—The miners in the employ of Messrs. King at the Netherend Colliery have turned out on strike in consequence of a dispute. The men state that about a fortnight ago the allowance for ripping down rock was taken from them without any notice being given of the change. They were, it is said, formerly paid at the rate of 1s. 2d. per yard for this kind of work. Other complaints are made by the men, who appear determined to resist encroachments upon their rate of wage. The men have made an appeal to their fellow workers to support them in their struggle.

PUMPHERSTON (LINLITHGOW) OIL-WORKERS.—Last week a mass meeting of shale miners and retort men of Pumpherstons Oil-works was held in the sports field. A deputation to the manager reported that he was willing to concede 2d. of the reduction, the men losing 3d., and that this offer was final. The retort men reported that Mr. Fraser would give them no concession at all. The miners and retort men being now in one union, it was agreed to cease work forthwith until the miners got at least 3d. back, and the retort men half the reduction. The works were consequently closed.

UPHALL AND HOLMES OIL-WORKERS.—Last week a meeting of the men on strike at Uphall Oil-works was held near the village. Mr. Wilson, miners' agent, addressed the meeting, advising them to offer to resume work on half the reduction, or on condition that any settlement which applied to the miners would apply to them. He held that it was injudicious to strike at the present time, and urged them to get into union and be prepared to strike two months hence if necessary. On the motion of a workman, however, who declared the majority were prepared to stand to the new year, the meeting resolved to remain on strike till they got the full reduction back, only three men voting for the proposal to start on half the reduction.

A Clyde correspondent to an evening paper writes: "The result of a survey of the past six months' labour proves that matters in the shipbuilding and engineering industries of the Clyde are decidedly worse than they have ever been during this protracted period of depression. There is every reason to fear that the total output for 1887 will prove a sad falling off from even its immediate predecessors, bad as they have been. As regards prospects, really nothing of an encouraging nature presents itself. The only scrap of comfort for the hungry unemployed thousands who populate the districts on each bank of the Clyde is the somewhat negative one of this dreadful depression having reached its height in a season of exceptional sunshine and genial warmth."

In a letter to the *Manchester Weekly Times*, a signalman says: "As I have spent about eight years in a signal-box as a signalman, you will perhaps kindly allow me to say a word or two on the subject. I am stationed in a box on a main line, and I work 12 hours a-day, for which I receive 3s. per day, i.e., 3d. per hour. Now such hours and wages are not exceptional. Our railway companies employ thousands of 12-hour signalmen. I am sorry to say there are but few 8-hour boxes. A large number of signalmen have not time to get a meal while on duty, yet if any of us commit a slight error, the company will surely visit the erring one with merciless severity, forgetting, of course, that the best of men can make mistakes. Signalmen ought to receive more consideration at the hands of the companies than they do, in view of the fact that our responsibility for the safe working of railways is very considerable. If the companies will not remedy the state of things I have described, we should help ourselves, and to do so we must combine. If this power, which is within the reach of all railway men, be called into requisition with sufficient force, we should have a safeguard for our labour. Unfortunately we are now disunited, and our disunion constitutes a serious

drawback to us. What is needed is united action to lead us on to a better state."

BOLTON ENGINEERS.—The strike in the Bolton engineering and iron trades has now entered its eleventh week. There are no indications of either side giving way. The men, at any rate, do not think of yielding, and it is taken for granted that the employers are equally determined. The men continue to receive promises of support. The Executive Committee of the Operative Cotton Spinners' Association have voted the sum of £50 to the strike fund, £30 is expected from the Weavers' Association, and on Saturday a large sum was realised by a band contest held on the Bolton Wanderers' Football Ground. Last week was paid, for the first time, a sum of 1s. for each child under ten years of age belonging to the men on strike. The grant will be made weekly. There are at present about 30 police in each of the four foundries where importations are lodged or are expected, and on Sunday religious services were held for their benefit. It is stated that two ministers who had conducted services were hooted in the street, and that a musician who was suspected of having attended the smoking concert at the Soho Works has been similarly treated. On Monday, Messrs. Dobson and Barlow re-opened their Kay Street Machine Works, which were closed all last week for repairs. Nearly all the men not previously on strike presented themselves, and work was recommenced. The importations, it will be remembered, left the premises on Saturday week, but it is said that some of them are prepared to return. There was a renewal of excitement in Bolton last week in connection with the strike. About fourteen men arrived at the Trinity Street railway station, presumably from Scotland, to take the places of the men on strike. The importation, on alighting, were conducted by a strong body of police to an omnibus which was in waiting. Guarded by ten mounted constables, and with as many more policemen seated upon the outside of the vehicle, the men were driven off to the Soho foundry of Messrs. Hick, Hargreaves, and Co., where they had evidently been expected. In a short time, however, the omnibus came out from the foundry with twelve strangers in it, and, with the same escort, was driven through the town to Messrs. Dobson and Barlow's, Kay Street works. The vehicle was followed by a large and excited crowd, and there was some hooting. After the lapse of a few minutes from the men being taken into Messrs. Dobson and Barlow's premises, the omnibus reappeared with the police guard, and it was then seen that four importations remained inside. These were taken to the spindle works of Messrs. Ryder Brothers, in Folds Road, and lodged in a part of the works specially provided for them. Other importations have arrived singly, and a larger number than has yet come is expected. It is stated that the moulders of Bolton contemplate leaving work as a protest against the importation of strangers. Only one or two of the branches have as yet held meetings, but there is a very strong feeling among the workmen that they should take some practical step in support of their brethren in kindred branches of the iron trade. Another batch of imported men arrived at Bolton on the 18th for one of the works, and proceeded to their destinations in a cab closely guarded by mounted police and ordinary constables, followed by a demonstrative mob. Great excitement prevailed, but beyond the throwing of a few stones and hooting, the crowd did no damage. All the apprentices at Kay Street works, numbering 180, have given notice to leave in a week.

NEW SOUTH WALES.

THE UNEMPLOYED.—SYDNEY, May 18.—The extent of the distress among the working classes of New South Wales may be imagined by an answer given last night to the member for Queanbeyan by the Premier. The latter was asked the number of men now employed on the relief works, and if applications were still being made for employment. From this it will be seen that though over four thousand men have been provided for by the Government, we have by no means touched bottom in the movement. Every day men are coming in from the country districts, while hundreds of skilled artisans, who have held out as long as they could, are now asking for pick and shovel work at the hands of the Government.

BRISBANE, May 18.—The Trades and Labour Council last night drew attention to the statements in the circulars of the Imperial Emigration Bureau that there is a demand for brickmakers here. The representative of the Brickmakers' Society stated that 100 were without work, and that there was no sign of improvement.

FRANCE.

The eighth annual Conference of the Federative Union of the Centre of France (section of the Universal Federation of the French Socialists) will be held from the 7th to the 15th August next, at Paris, Salle du Commerce, 94 Faubourg du Temple.

The Montluçon glass-bottle makers are being well-supported in their strike. The French Socialist papers have opened subscription lists in their columns in aid of their comrades who are carrying on the struggle with good prospects of success. It is worth noting that the bourgeoisie of Montluçon is strongly sympathising with the strikers, the reason for this is that they know that the glass-bottle makers have only gone on strike after having exhausted all conciliatory means with their employers.

L'Avenir du Travailleur, of Lille, has been obliged to stop its publication, owing to the numerous prosecutions it has lately undergone.

A new paper, the *Cri du Travailleur*, will be soon started at Roubaix.

At Alger, the Socialists intend to issue in a few weeks a revolutionary paper *L'Action Révolutionnaire*, which will have two editions, one in French and the other in Spanish.—D.

BELGIUM.

The Belgian workers are very fond of co-operative stores, and are of opinion that such institutions are helping them in the solution of the social question. Now, the co-operative society, La Populaire at Liège has just issued the balance-sheet of the three first months of their operations, and what do we notice therein? The 1st week they received for drinks 1577 f.; the 2nd week, 1521 f. 3 c.; the 3rd, 1093 f. 63 c.; the 4th, 1077 f. 30 c.; the 5th, 884 f. 10 c.; the 6th, 756 f. 41 c.; the 7th, 988 f. 15 c.; the 8th, 1227 f. 12 c.; the 9th, 1620 f. 92 c.; the 10th, 891 f. 85 c.; the 11th, 898 f. 20 c.; the 12th, 891 f. 75 c.; and the 13th week (only 4 days) 603 f. 98 c. They reckon that on these sales, mind you, *drinks*, they have made a profit of 2135 f. 67 c., that is to say, more than 700 francs profit per month. On the other hand, they have received during the same three months, for the sake of Socialist propaganda, the enormous sum of 10 f. 22 c. (say eight shillings)! A rather curious way of promoting the solution of the social question!—D.

GERMANY.

At Magdeburg, 400 cabinet-makers are on strike for higher wages. During the last fifteen months they have earned from 12 to 15 shillings a week.

At Leipzig the strike of the masons and bricklayers has proved successful, the workers having had their claims granted by the exploiters.

Louis Cohn, editor of the *Breslauer Volkszeitung*, was tried last week for an article written by him *five years ago*, and was condemned to *one year's* imprisonment.

At Leipzig, six Socialists have been arrested, because they had participated in a secret conference, held in the month of March at Heidhausen, near Munich. Their lodgings were searched by the police, who found more than 40,000 pamphlets which were intended to be distributed among the soldiers.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

At Prague, after an interruption of several years, the Socialist paper *Věk Svobody* (the *Way to Freedom*) has again made its appearance. The editors of the paper are comrades T. Burstial and W. Korber.—D.

OUR FOOLS' PARADISE OF CHEAPNESS.

We hear a great deal about the blessings of cheapness. Mr. Edward Atkinson, particularly, seems to measure all mundane good in terms of cheapness. If a yard of cotton cloth or a barrel of flour costs less money now than formerly, why look we for a millennium to come? Unfortunately there are facts about cheapness that writers like Mr. Atkinson never take the trouble to see. Goods, indeed, are cheap, but why and how and with what results? One of those great railroad corporations that are bringing flour from the northwest so cheaply that Mr. Atkinson is lost in wonder, is disabling 800 men a year. The superintendent was asked why he did not provide a protection that some of them asked for. "Men are cheaper than shingles," was his frankly brutal answer.

That is the blunt, hard truth. That is what half our cheapness means. Men are cheaper than shingles, and women are cheaper than edging and thread; "and as one woman selects, well pleased, garment after garment, daintily tucked and trimmed and finished beyond any capacity of ordinary home sewing, marvelling a little that a few dollars can give such a lavish return, there arises, from narrow attic and dark, foul basement, and crowded factory, the cry of the women whose life blood is on these garments." What wonder is it that year by year the tenement house population becomes more hopeless and incapable. Is it strange that children are born without the physical vigour and the mental and moral qualities that make up efficiency and thrift? Need we feel any surprise that such unfortunates, finding themselves literally cheaper than shingles and thread, are easily worsted in the struggle with fate—that they fall easy victims to vice, and that the permanently pauperised class becomes year by year a heavier social burden?

These evil implications of cheapness raise issues of practical economy and personal duty. Ought we to resist, as far as we are able, the tendency to excessive cheapness? Ought we to buy goods that we know have been made by reasonably well paid labour in preference to cheaper "bargains?" Should we accomplish any good by such a course, or should we do unintended mischief?

Those political economists who see one side of a subject so clearly that they are cock-sure that they see it all, have a ready reply to these questions. It is very pitiful, they admit, that free competition does, in some cases, cause such distress. But we should only make the evil greater, they tell us, if we virtuously resolved to buy only the dearer goods made by labour that was well rewarded. "You see," they explain, "your incomes are not unlimited. If you buy dear goods when cheap ones would answer as well, you necessarily curtail your savings. If a great many people do the same thing, there will be a serious loss of capital. Not so many new enterprises can be undertaken. Fewer farms will be improved, fewer new railroads will be commenced, the multiplication of mills and shops will not keep pace with the growth of population. Wages will be reduced below the lowest present limit; and the distress you have tried, in your mistaken, sentimental way, to relieve, will be increased tenfold."

This is plausible, but it is a fallacy that convicts a good many self-satisfied economists of very superficial thinking. The capital that seems to be saved by cheapness is not saved in fact, if the cheapness is produced at a ruinous expenditure of physical and moral vitality. If, in making the cheap articles, human life has been degraded, if health and mind and morals have been injured, then, not only has the productive power of working-men and women been cut down, but a positive burden of pauperism and crime has been thrown on the community. The losses and expenses so entailed may more than use up all the capital that seemed to have been saved. The ability of industrial society to extend its operations and demand for labour, instead of being increased, may be seriously impaired.

As in so many other matters, so here, the instinct of those right feeling men and women who question the morality of buying at the bargain counter is truer than the precepts of a one-sided science. The more comprehensive political economy of the younger thinkers, which is rapidly supplanting the old dogmas, reaches conclusions in accordance with our highest instincts of humanity and justice. It is economic wisdom, as it is a philanthropic duty, to set our faces against the craze for cheapness. It is thrift as well as humanity to refuse to buy the goods that there is reason to believe have been made cheap by the degradation of labour. We are living in a fools' paradise.—*Work and Wages.*

The Montlucon Glass-Bottle Makers.

The glass-bottle makers have always worked throughout eight months of the year in two shifts of 12 hours each; in the hot season, the four summer months, in three shifts of 8 hours. In 1886 this was changed by the masters to two shifts working 5½ hours and resting 5½, making 11 hours work to 5½ hours rest. During the first fortnight in June the heat was so excessive that not a single workman was able to work regularly. On the 15th of June at 10 p.m. the men on going to work had the door of the yard shut in their faces, and their delegates next day were threatened and insulted. The men have resolved on the following as the only terms of return:—(1) Re-establishment of eight hours working-day in summer. (2) Guaranteed salary, as heretofore, of 3 f. 55 c. (2s. 11½d.) per working day. (3) All bottles sold by the masters to be paid for to the men; bottles thrown aside to be broken in the presence of the men and men to have the right of breaking them. (4) No striker to be dismissed. Anyone able and willing to aid should send contributions to Charles Mazelier, Rue du Canal, Montluçon.

WISHES AND WISHES.

(By FRANCIS DAVIS. Reprinted from *The Nation*.)

[Francis Davis was a weaver of Belfast, who wrote his poems while working at his trade.]

O, know ye the wish of the true, the true?
O, know ye the wish of the true?
'Tis to see the slave's hand
Whirling liberty's brand,
As its toil nurtured muscles could do,
And the wide-world oppressors in view;
God ripen the wish of the true!

Then hurrah for the wish of the true, the true!
Hurrah for the wish of the true!
And another hurrah
For the fast-coming day
When the many shall preach to the few
A gospel as pure as the dew!
O, there's hope in that wish of the true!

O, know ye the wish of the proud, the proud?
O, know ye the wish of the proud?
'Tis to empty their veins,
'Mid the clashing of chains,—
Ay, the veins of their heart if allowed,
So the neck of oppression be bowed.
What a holy wish that of the proud!

Then hurrah for the wish of the brave, the brave!
Hurrah for the wish of the brave!
And hurrah for the hand,
And the casque-cleaving brand,
That the rights of a nation can save,
Or redeem by its world-lightening wave:
Heaven bless the broad brand of the brave!

THE SATISFIED CLASS.

Capital has always claimed, and still claims the right to combine. Manufacturers meet and determine prices, even in spite of the great law of supply and demand. Have the labourers the same right to consult and combine? The rich meet in the bank, the club-house, or the parlour. Workingmen, when they combine, gather in the street. All the organised forces of society are against them. Capital has the army and the navy, the legislative, the judicial and the executive departments. When the rich combine, it is for the purpose of "exchanging ideas." When the poor combine, it is a "conspiracy." If they act in concert, if they really do something, it is a "mob." If they defend themselves, it is "treason." How is it that the rich control the departments of government? In this country the political power is equally divided among men. There are certainly more poor than there are rich. Why should the rich control? Why should not the labourers combine for the purpose of controlling the executive, legislative, and judicial departments?—will they ever find how powerful they are?

In every country there is a satisfied class—too satisfied to care. They are too happy to be generous. This satisfied class asks no questions and answers none. They believe the world is as it should be. All reformers are simply disturbers of the peace—when they talk low, they should not be listened to; when they talk loud, they should be suppressed.

The truth is to-day what it always will be, those who feel are the only ones who think. A cry comes from the oppressed, from the hungry, from the down-trodden, from the unfortunate, from men who despair, and from women who weep. There are times when mendicants become revolutionists—when a rag becomes a banner under which the noblest and bravest battle for the right.

It is impossible for any man with a good heart to be satisfied with this world as it now is. No one can truly enjoy even what he earns—what he knows to be his own—knowing that millions of his fellow-men are in misery and want. When we think of the famished we feel that it is almost heartless to eat. To meet the ragged and shivering makes one almost ashamed to be well dressed and warm—one feels as though his heart was as cold as their bodies.—*Colonel Ingersoll.*

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

Co-operative Store.—The Committee attend at the offices at 8.30 p.m. on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. All Groceries can be had at current store prices. Orders over 10s. will be delivered carriage paid in London.

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

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

K. F. (weekly), 1s. C. J. F. (weekly), 2s. W. B. (weekly) 6d. T. B. (two weeks), 1s.

FOR PROPAGANDA.

17th July.—Collected in Regent's Park, 3s. 8d.

PH. W., Treasurer, July 12.

THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

W. H. C., 10s. For Mrs. Mowbray—A Few Fabians, per Annie Besant (weekly), 10s. J. LANE, Treasurer.

REPORTS.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, July 13, Wm. Utley lectured on "Socialist Politics," and on Sunday, July 17, Wm. Blundell on "Property Qualification." Excellent discussions followed each lecture.—A. T. and W. B.

HACKNEY.—On Wednesday, July 13, W. Morris lectured to a good audience at London Fields, Graham and Allman also spoke. On Sunday evening, we had a social meeting of members. We intend next Saturday to have a free concert.—J. F.

HOXTON.—On Sunday morning a most successful outdoor meeting was held, addressed by J. L. Mahon and H. A. Barker. Literature sold well. In the evening in the club-room, comrade H. H. Sparling gave a very interesting lecture on "Old English Guilds," which was followed by discussion, in which comrades Barker, Pope, and McKenzie joined.

MERTON AND MITCHAM.—During past week, comrades Eden, Harding, and Kitz have visited Sutton, Carshalton, and surrounding districts, distributing a large amount of literature. Good meeting on the Fair Green on Sunday, addressed by comrade Eden and A. Johnson, of the S.D.F.; collected 1s. 9d.

NORTH LONDON.—On Tuesday evening, we held a very good meeting at Ossulton Street, Cantwell, Brooks, and Wardle spoke, good discussion followed. Two friends gave in their names as members. At Regent's Park, on Sunday morning, Cantwell, Brooks, and Mainwaring addressed a good audience; slight opposition by a Welshman, who was satisfactorily replied to. Collected 3s. 8d. for Propaganda Fund. Good sale of *Commonweal*. Members are urgently requested to attend Branch meeting on Wednesday.—H. BARTLETT.

EDINBURGH.—On Sunday evening, in the Queen's Park, John Smith read to a large meeting parts of Morrison Davidson's article on "Interest," and afterwards delivered an address. Gilray also spoke. Some *Commonweal* sold outside the Park.—J. G.

GLASGOW.—On Saturday evening, comrades Glasier and McLean held a meeting at Kilsyth. This is the first Socialist meeting that has been held in that place. There was a good audience, who listened to the gospel of labour with the greatest interest and approval. After the meeting many came forward and heartily thanked our comrades for giving a new light and a new hope. No meetings were held in Glasgow owing to the Fair Holidays.

LEEDS.—On Wednesday evening, we held our usual meeting in Meadow Lane, at which Hill, Paylor, and Maguire spoke. On Sunday morning, Braithwaite and Paylor addressed a good audience on Hunslet Moor. In the evening, a large crowd assembled in Vicar's Croft, and listened to Braithwaite, Bland (Bradford), Paylor, Maguire, and Sollitt.—T. P.

NORWICH.—Good meetings at Yarmouth on Wednesday and on Thursday at Dereham. On Sunday morning last, Henderson and Morley held a good meeting at Diss; 2s. 1d. collected for Propaganda Fund. In the afternoon we held a very large meeting the Market Place at Norwich (Slaughter, chairman) addressed by Henderson, and Fielding of the S.D.F., from London, who spoke at some length. A meeting was held on the Agricultural Hall Plain by comrades Morley, Darley, and Slaughter. Henderson lectured to a good audience in the Gordon Hall, on the "Aims of Socialism." The lecturer made an earnest appeal for men to join our movement, and he frequently received outbursts of applause from the audience. Three new members made. Next Sunday, Henderson will, by special request, repeat the lecture he gave a fortnight since, which was severely attacked and misrepresented by a local weekly paper.—A. S.

WOOLWICH.—Last Sunday, Mahon addressed a large gathering at the Arsenal Gates. We sold as usual a large amount of literature, and collected 6s. 1½d. for propaganda. Friends desirous of assisting at carrying on these meetings are requested to give in their names next Sunday to the chairman.

Our comrade Mahon has just finished another journey round some of the important towns in Yorkshire and the Midlands. There is only room this week for a brief notice of the meetings.

Hull.—A very successful meeting was held on July 4th, good sale of literature and fair collection. The police caused some trouble at the meeting, but had to withdraw. The Hull branch is getting on very well.

Goole.—New ground was opened at this large and busy town. The meeting was very large, and the audience deeply interested. Two hours' discussion ensued after the lecture.

Leeds.—On Sunday, July 10, three meetings were held in different parts of the town. The meeting at night at Vicar's Croft was exceptionally large, and the audience quite favourable. The Leeds Branch will shortly open a course of meetings at its new branch club-rooms.

Sheffield.—Under the auspices of the Sheffield Socialists a large meeting (chiefly of miners) was held in the open-air on July 11th. The audience listened with great attention, and thoroughly endorsed the Socialist position. A good sale of literature and some slight discussion ensued.

Clay Cross.—A large meeting of the Derbyshire miners was held. Raymond Unwin and Mr. James Haslem also spoke. Mahon explained the lines on which the Socialist organisation of the Northumberland miners had been formed, and sixty names were at once given to form a similar society.

Nottingham.—Mahon gave an address at the Socialist Club on July 13, on "The Progress of Socialism," which greatly interested the members.

Wedsbury.—A meeting arranged by the Walsall Branch was held on July 14th at 6.30 p.m., and was thoroughly successful. A number of names were given in.

Walsall.—A good meeting was held on July 14, at the top of Park Street. This branch is making exceptionally good progress, and has already formed two others in towns near to it.

Pelsall.—A gathering of miners was held on July 15th on the common. The meeting was a thorough success, a large number of names were taken for the branch, and there was a good sale of literature.

Before leaving Birmingham, Mahon made arrangements for the more systematic carrying on of the propaganda there and in the district, and has now proceeded to Scotland to fulfil some engagement with the Scottish Land and Labour League.

North of England Socialist Federation.

Annitsford.—A lecture was delivered at the branch meeting place last Saturday by A. K. Donald. Mr. Coombe of Seghill made an excellent speech. Very successful meeting. Friends desiring to join will please give names to F. Cooper, secretary, Railway Rd.

Blyth.—The delegates met on Saturday, and made arrangements for active propaganda work being carried on during the summer.

Backworth.—A. K. Donald addressed branch on Friday night. New members made, and branch making satisfactory progress.

Consett.—A meeting was addressed by Donald at the Fountain on Monday. Information regarding society, rules, etc., can be had from John Walton, Medously Road, Consett.

Lealgate.—Donald addressed a meeting of miners on Monday.

Newcastle.—The local branch of the S.D.F. held a large meeting at the cattle market on Sunday. Tom Mann, Laidler, John Hall speaking. Meetings were held in Sunderland, Jarrow, etc., during the week. We are informed that the branches in district are going to retain the services of T. Mann for vigorous propagandist work for some time to come. It is to be hoped that the No. of Eng. S.F. and the S.D.F. branches may come to an arrangement whereby they can co-operate with one another.

North Shields.—Usual meeting on Sunday morning. McDonald replied to certain objections and difficulties that have been discussed during the week. We would like very much if our opponents would come forward at our meetings, and not bring out their difficulties in private. Persons desirous to join, address J. Isbister, at Mr. Foster, 33 Clive Street.

South Shields.—On Tuesday evening A. K. Donald addressed the largest meeting we have yet had in South Shields. A gentleman opposed, but as the lecture progressed Allen began to find that Socialism was very reasonable, and procured some pamphlets to study the question. Mr. Darby supported the lecturer with a good speech. J. Wood, 105 Bath Street.

Sunderland.—Donald addressed a good meeting at the Garrison Field on Sunday afternoon. The meeting was much better attended than on previous Sunday. Large sale of literature. Next Sunday we shall hold the meeting in the east end of the town.

Throckley.—A branch was formed here at the close of Donald's lecture. We have had a number of supporters for some months at Throckley, and have now got our men together. Friends desiring to join, communicate with John Irving, Double Row.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, W. On Thursday July 21, at 8.30, W. H. Utley, "Malthusian Socialism." 28. Business Meeting and Social Evening. August 4. Edward Aveling, "The Value of Brain Work."

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday July 24, at 8.30 p.m. T. E. Wardle, "The Franchise Fraud." Wednesday July 27, at 8.30. Eleanor Marx-Aveling, "Socialism and Political Action."

Croydon.—Parker Road.

Hackney.—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 8 till 11.30; Saturday, 7 till 12.30; Sunday 11 a.m. till 12 p.m. Members Business Meeting every Tuesday at 8.30 p.m. Lecture on Sunday July 24, at 8.30. Wm. Blundell, "Property Qualification."

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday July 24, at 8 p.m. Ernest Rhys, "The New Poetry."

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—2 Crondall Street, New North Rd. Club Room open on Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday evenings from 8 till 11. Singing Class every Wednesday at 8.30. Sunday July 24, at 8, lecture by D. Nicoll, "Reform or Revolution." The members and friends of the League are hereby notified that the Labour Emancipation League will remove to another Hall on the first Sunday (the 7th) of August, at the Globe Coffee House, 227 Hoxton High Street, opposite the Beautiful Gates. Members in arrears are earnestly requested to pay up subscriptions and rally round the League. C. J. Young, sec.

Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday. Discussions held every Sunday morning at 11.

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

North London.—Branch meets at 32 Camden Road, N.W., for reception of new members and other business, on Wednesday evenings at 8 o'clock, until further notice. H. Bartlett, sec.

PROVINCES.

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

Dublin.—Irish Labour League, Carpenters' Hall, 75 Aungier Street, every Thursday at 8 p.m. Discussion on all subjects connected with Labour Question.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 7.30 p.m. to transact business. Class for the study of "Das Capital" at 8.30. Members are expected to appear at out-door meetings, and in some way assist. (See "Open-air" below.)

Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Meeting of Members in Rooms on Sunday evening at 7 o'clock. As many members as are able are earnestly requested to attend all meetings.

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

Hull.—Address all communications to E. Teesdale, 20 Shakspeare Street.

Lancaster.—Addresses every Sunday morning on the Quay Jetty.

Leeds.—17 Chesham Street, Sweet Street. Club and reading room open every evening. Business meetings every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Leicester.—Office of Hosiery Union, Horsefair Street. Fridays at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Free Lectures every Sunday at 8 p.m. Business Meeting, Monday at 8.30. Speakers' Class, Sunday mornings at 10.30 and Wednesday evenings at 8 p.m. Social Evening, Saturdays. Lecture on Sunday July 24. Fred Henderson, "The Marriage Laws."

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

Shields (North and South).—Meetings every Sunday, Quay-side and Market Place. Branch meetings on Thursday nights at the "General Gordon," Bath Street, Maxwell Street, South Shields. Secretary, J. Hearne, 32 Clive Street, No. Shields.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 24.

11.30...Garrett—"Plough Inn".....Kitz
11.30...Hackney—"Salmon and Ball".....Lane
11.30...Hoxton Ch., Pitfield St.....Pope & Wade
11.30...Mitcham Fair Green.....Nicoll & Heaford
11.30...Regent's Park.....Eden
11.30...St. Pancras Arches.....Dalziel
11.30...Walham Green.....The Branch
3...Hyde Park.....Sparling
6.30...Victoria Park.....Morris
7...Clerkenwell Green.....Mainwaring

Tuesday.

8...Ossulton Street, Euston Road.....Nicoll
8...Mile-end Waste.....Allman & Davis

Wednesday.

8...Broadway, London Fields.....Barker

Thursday.

8...Hoxton, Pitfield Street.....The Branch

PROVINCES.

Glasgow.—Sunday: Jail's Square, 1 o'clock; Paisley Road Toll at 5.

Cambuslang.—Saturday: 6 o'clock.

Motherwell.—Saturday: at 8 o'clock.

Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, 11; Vicar's Croft, 7.30. Friday: Corner of Christ Church, Meadow Lane, at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place at 3; Agricultural Hall Plain at 7.

Dereham.—Every Thursday, Market Place at 7.

Wymondham.—Sunday: at 11.

Yarmouth.—Every Wednesday on the Beach at 7.

EDINBURGH (SCOTTISH SECTION).

J. L. MAHON'S MEETINGS.

Saturday 23.....7 p.m.....Loanhead

Sunday 24.....3 p.m.....Calton Hill

6.30 p.m.....Queen's Park

7.30 p.m.....Mound

Monday 25.....8 p.m.....Hawick

Tuesday 26.....8 p.m.....Galashiels

Wednesday 27.....8 p.m.....Comely Park, Dunfermline

Thursday 28.....8 p.m.....Stn. End, Cowdenbeath

Friday 29.....8 p.m.....Kirkcaldy

Saturday 30.....8 p.m.....Burntisland

Sunday 31 (as on previous Sunday).

Ipswich.—On Sunday H. A. Barker, of London, will address a series of meetings.

WOOLWICH.—Arsenal Gates, Sunday at 7 o'clock, W. C. Wade.

NORTH ENGLAND SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

MEETINGS—JULY.

Fri. 22—Sunderland, Café, A. K. Donald, 7 p.m.

Sat. 23—Blyth.

Durham—Miners' Demonstration.

Sun. 24—North Shields, A. K. Donald, 11 a.m.

South Shields (Secular Society) Mrs. Besant, Sunderland Garrison Field, Donald, 3 p.m.

South Shields, A. K. Donald, 6.30 p.m.

Mon. 25—Blackhill, A. K. Donald, 6 p.m.

Consett, Fountain, A. K. Donald, 7.30 p.m.

Tues. 26—Throckley, A. K. Donald, 6.30 p.m.

Fri. 29—Sunderland, Café, E. R. Pease, 7 p.m.

Sat. 30—Blyth, J. L. Mahon.

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 81.

SATURDAY, JULY 30, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

THE BOY-FARMS AT FAULT.

THE silly season in the newspapers is beginning briskly with a rain of letters from distressed parents concerning their troubles in dealing with their male children home for the holidays. This is a kind of twaddle which is always recurring: this well-fed, well-housed bourgeois on the hunt for some artificial trouble or another, some sham grievance, since he has no real ones, except his own inherent stupidity and vacancy; but on this occasion there is, if the said bourgeois only knew it, a moral to be drawn. I can imagine the "boy," "the enemy of the human race," as Dickens called him, retorting on his injured parent somewhat in this style:

Father. Well my lad, haven't you nearly had enough of it?

Son. Enough of what, Pa?

F. The holidays, my lad, the holidays.

S. No, Pa.

F. Because if you haven't, I have. No answer? Now you're sulking.

S. Well what am I to say? You're always badgering me.

F. There, there! Say something that isn't mere peevishness. I can see that you are sick of the holidays or else you wouldn't be like that.

S. Very well; I will then. Why do you want me back at the boy-farm? What have I been doing that's wrong?

F. Boy-farm! What do you mean by that impudence? As to what have you been doing; that's just it. You've been doing nothing, while here I am feeding, clothing and housing you, and having you expensively educated (not that I suppose you learn anything) and then you come home and kick your heels about, and do nothing but gorge and make a noise.

S. (with a grin) What do you do, Pa, when you're not having a holiday?

F. (seeming to swallow something and turning very red) Why, I do business and make money for you.

S. (rudely) O ah! I know what that means; precious hard work that is, isn't it?

F. (with dignity) Yes it is; as you'll know when you grow up and have to face the troubles of life.

S. (with increased rudeness). Come, I say, Pa, how much will you take to don't? I remember you taking me to your office last Christmas holidays when I was to be measured for a suit of clothes; and there I sat all the morning, and as I hadn't a book to read I fidgetted, and you nagged me; so I said to myself now I'll just take notice of what the governor does. Well, first you read the newspaper and warmed your front at the fire; and then you didn't read the paper and warmed your back; and then you were crusty with me; and then one of the junior clerks came in to ask you a question and you were beastly rude to him and I wonder he didn't punch your head for you (I heard him say he should like to as he passed me). And then you went and talked to the senior clerk, that little dry grey old chap; and you were civil enough to him, and I could see that you were rather afraid of him and that he did all your business; and then that chap came in that dines at home sometimes, and he was deuced smartly dressed, and he asked you to come to lunch at two o'clock; and you said you couldn't, and hitched your head over your shoulder at me; and he said, "Oh, never mind! bring the shaver along." And you were sulky, but you said "All right," and he said, "Well, I must go and order lunch." And then you sat down and wrote a letter, and that took you a quarter of an hour; and then you were crusty and told me not to sniff, and you stood and warmed your back again; and all the time the clerks were scribbling away as hard as they could, and chaps kept coming into the office and talking to the head clerk about business; and the head clerk came to you with some papers and a gentleman, and I heard you say "damn it" to yourself; but you were mighty politeful to him; and you went away with him and were away for half-an-hour; and then you came back and said "Come along and don't sniff." And then you went with me to an awfully swell place to lunch where there were lots of flunkies in blue coats and orange-coloured plush breeches, and then we had lunch with that other chap and another chap; and it was a mortal gorge and very jolly; only you and the other chaps would talk about Russia and France and Austria; awful rot, don't you know, like Mr. Toots and the other fellow in 'Dombey.' So that took till four o'clock, and the other fellows asked you to come and play at whist with another fellow, and you couldn't because you had to take me to the tailor's; and then you took me back to the office and the head-clerk said something to you, and you didn't pay much attention to him; and then you said to me "Come along and don't sniff," and so we went home and you couldn't eat much for dinner, and Ma said, "I'm afraid you're not well

dear." And you said "I've had a very tiring and anxious day in the city, my dear." So I suppose that sometimes you have a less tiring day than that; and if that's the case I think you are soon tired.

F. Well what do you mean by all that rigmarole I should like to know? Are you qualifying yourself to write a realistic novel, pray?

S. Bosh! You know what I mean. You're always bullying me about the holidays and say I do nothing in them; and all the time you do nothing in the days that ain't your holidays.

F. You're a young fool and don't understand these things.

S. And then you are always saying that you are spending money on me. Well, I should like to know who spends money on you, since you don't do anything to earn it?—not even Latin prose.

F. Ah, well, you will be wiser one of these days when you have sons of your own.

S. (grinning). Come, Pa, turn to and make me wiser now by telling me how it is that you can't stand me doing nothing and boring people through the holidays, and you keeping me gratis all the while; and there you are all the while doing the same thing, and being kept gratis; and you would be very much surprised if they were to send you off to a man-farm and try to get something out of you in the way of work—a big strong chap like you.

F. Come, I'm not going to stand this any more.

S. Very well, then, why did you begin bullying me? You may think yourself very lucky to have such jolly long holidays. Why, the other day when you came on that chap who was carpentering upstairs, and he was having a nap after his dinner—my! how you did bullyrag him for resting twenty minutes! and he looked sheepish as though he had been caught doing wrong. I say, I wonder why you don't look sheepish.

F. Just take yourself and your wonder out of the room. I never heard such a parcel of impudent rubbish as you've been talking now you have found your tongue.

S. Very well, then, why did you begin bullying me? [Exit.

F. Really! I wonder what will happen to that boy. Suppose he should turn Socialist when he grows up!!! WILLIAM MORRIS.

INHUMAN ARITHMETIC.

Most words have in the course of human development changed greatly in meaning. Our lords and ladies, our art and commerce, are not more distant from their prototypes than is the arithmetic of to-day from that orderly arrangement to which it originally referred. If, for example, in ancient times a certain number of sheep had to be put up for the night into two sheep-folds of different sizes, the number of sheep put into each would have been accommodated to the size of the fold; if a number of men, women, and children had to occupy tents or houses, they would have been distributed among these with due consideration, not only for the mere number of persons in a tent, but also for the natural fitness to each other of the persons set to occupy the same abode, whether of men or of women or of children. The sheep and people, when so distributed in natural or convenient order, were *arithmetized*, in the ancient sense of this word. We still deal with sheep in that natural way, but we *arithmetize* our fellow-creatures in very inhuman style.

Our modern arithmetic has about it a kind of arrangement, a kind of symmetry, at least in words. We take say fifty people, and put forty of them into a house with ten small rooms, and ten of them into a palace with forty large rooms. Here the ten people are counted as of more consideration than the forty; they are reckoned as being in a better position, and all things about them are in accord with this idea; their palaces are also in a better position, are better lighted, more open and airy. The remote invention of the Hindoos of an Arithmetic of Position is thus applied in quite a surprising way.

Consider the number 10. There is the unit-digit 1, but this is raised into importance by its position, by being placed on the back of the other zero-digit 0. The "one" is taken to mean ten times as much as it ordinarily means, being thrust into a high position by something which has no value of itself, but is only of use in supporting this "one" in its "elevated position." In the same way 1000, 10,000, or even 1,000,000 may be taken to mean individuals supported in still higher posts, even as princes or millionaires, on the shoulders of a thousand, ten thousand, or a million zero persons, who are of no consideration except for the purpose of bearing up these elevated persons. And it is no light labour to bear them up and to save them from falling. In the treadmill of society it is weight alone, common coarse weight alone,

that turns the wheel; the myriads that are ever striving upwards, but so as never to raise themselves higher, go on with dull content; they even seem delighted that it should take so much trouble to grind the rough material of an ordinary baby into a polished bishop or a millionaire. The People of Position look down with beneficence on their supporters, as may be seen in the lately issued 'Report of the Royal Commission on Trade Depression.' These Royal Tradesmen say something like this: "We should regret, on social as well as economical grounds"—they have not time to tell us the difference between these two grounds—"we should regret to see our myriads curtailed of the portion of leisure and freedom from the treadmill which they now enjoy; but we must point out to them that a failure in regular work is sure to lead to the distressing result, that there will be fewer jewels, less polish, a smaller number of the imperial, episcopal, and military adornments of life." People of position, then, have some pity on the thousand or million of their fellow-creatures on whose shoulders they stand; they would regret that these myriads should be reduced to absolute zeroes. To avoid this, and at the same time to avoid disturbing their own position, they have gone into the study of inhuman arithmetic.

Giffen, Mulhall, Gladstone, and other great professors of this science have created a strange monster called an Average—a horrid being, without human pleasures or hopes, free from passions, virtues, and vices, but ready, as the beasts are, to grind ever at the mill; satisfied with less than a beast's reward, with narrow allowances of air and water, more or less stinking, and scanty shares of corn, enough to keep it going.

Thus men are reduced to arithmetical terms, and can be labelled 1, 2, 3, 4 and so on to hundreds of thousands, as if they were sheep or wheelbarrows. Under the names of *hands* or *operatives*, they are counted along with spinning-machines, ploughs, or railway-engines.

The invention of the monster Average is due to the desire on the part of our professors to put a pleasant face on the realities of our system. It is a natural sequence from the base mode of measuring men by their money. Has one man £1000 a-year and another man nothing? Never mind, say our professors, if a very good farm produces 1000 tons of grain, while a piece of bog gives us nothing, this is just the same—for us the professors—as two farms of average fertility. Let us then dismiss from our minds the luxurious thousand-pounder, and not trouble ourselves about the starving beggar, but think rather of the two average substitutes, each with his comfortable £500.

There are in the United Kingdom about 7 millions of country people, i.e. about 1½ millions of agricultural men, with women and children. Now 5000 dukes, lords, millionaires etc., own some 36 million acres, or about half of the whole. But, say our professors, this is an average of about 20 acres apiece, and they put before us 1½ million male agricultural monsters as fairly representing our land system, each of them with a little farm of 20 acres.

Our professors, in their capacity of Royal Twaddlers on Trade Depression, tell us that in 1885 "property and profits assessed to the Income-Tax" came to about a thousand million pounds a-year. This does not include the scanty incomes of the wage-earning class, and besides this we know that many fish both great and small slip through the Income-Tax net. The professors on other occasions have set down the total annual income of the nation at twelve or thirteen hundreds of millions. But even a poor thousand millions, as they point out, is an average of some £25 per head, not per family, but per head, man, woman, and child. The happy mudlark, the delighted seamstress, might go off with the somewhat surprised bourgeois shopkeeper, with £25 each, and live cleanly and content. But let us look more closely into what our Royal Twaddlers call "a better distribution of profits." They discuss the increase in the "incomes of £200, £1000, and £5000 a-year," and point out that the £200 incomes have increased in number more than the higher ones. They put down the total number of persons drawing incomes of over £200 a-year at somewhat less than a quarter of a million. This would correspond to a population of about one and a quarter millions. But our professors do not know or do not choose to tell us the total of what may be called the shopkeepers' incomes, of incomes, that is, of £200 and upwards. It would not do for them to go too much into details, or they might tell us what portion of their thousand millions a-year is swallowed up by the shopkeepers' "£200 a-year and upwards" before we can begin to calculate how much those get whose incomes fall below £200 a-year. The professors, perhaps, do not know, but such evidence as there is on the subject all points in the same direction, and indicates that one and a quarter or one and a half millions, men, women, and children, of the shopkeeper class, including landlords, bankers, and money-lenders, manufacturers, merchants and salesmen of every kind, take at least two-thirds of the whole, and leave one-third for the remaining 33 million heads of the population. Thus the members of the shopkeeping class get out of the thousand millions a yearly average of £450 per head, while the rest have an average of £10 a-head.

This is a come-down from the delusive £25 per head of the Royal Twaddlers; and if we go on farther we only fare worse. We come to the dirty mudlark, the starved seamstress, the careworn land or factory slave; and find that by the time the shopkeepers have taken their huge slice out of the national cake, and the skilled hands of the well-to-do artizan have picked out all the plums from the rest, there is left for the great mass of the population, for at the least nine-tenths of our whole body, a very scanty and tasteless fare: a fare so poor, so scanty (and this is not the worst part of it) that it sinks below an average of £5 a-head. At this level, however, it is supplemented in various ways. "When toy-makers pay their girls 2s. 6d. a-week, when binders pay their folders 5s. a-week, when brush-makers pay their drawers 4s. 6d.

a-week, . . . these women make up the necessary sum for rent, food, and clothes by the sale of their bodies" (*Pall Mall Gazette*, July 1—"Women of the Pit-brow and Elsewhere," by a Woman). By the easy process of averages these numbers can be reconciled with Giffen's statement that at Bradford in 1884 children earned 11s. 6d. a-week by spinning. But in the wilderness of figures we find nothing to reconcile our consciences to such things.

Even if we confine ourselves to so base a conception of society as to think of it merely as an arrangement for the distribution of food, what can be said of its professors who continually din into our ears that there is £25 a-year for each head of us to spend on food and shelter, but omit to say that a small minority of less than one in ten take so much of the whole as to leave to each head of the great majority less than £5 a-year on which to feed, clothe, and house itself? But any one with human feeling would protest on higher grounds than these against an Inhuman Arithmetic which tells us that one very rich man and nine hundred and ninety-nine beggars make a good society; and against professors of averages who regard an army of Lilliputians ordered about and domineered over by a few Brobignagian officers as a good substitute for a natural society of men of manly stature both in mind and body. I protest against the substitution of averages for men. Such calculations are meant to delude, and to draw us away from the real question, which is surely not one merely of sufficient food and shelter, but whether all have such chances for the whole enjoyment of life, for the full development of their faculties, as the physical surroundings of nature admit of.

There are certain very simple beings having animal life, without eyes or ears, without smell, taste, or feeling, and so far as we can see, fitted only to grind simple food in a rudimentary stomach or bag, and to produce in an unconscious way, according to their several kinds, it may be a puff ball or an oak-gall, it may be the mould suited for cultivation, or the beautiful coral which we prize so highly. These molluscs are unconscious of the beauty, or worthlessness, of what they produce; but they can scarcely be more unconscious than our average "hand" or "operative" is of the worth, or uselessness, or waste of the work to which he is set. He cannot be called animated; but under the guidance of our professors, acts as a kind of digestive bag, and turns out in a dull, machine-like way, it may be butterine, or shoddy coats, or even the glory of a jerry-built palace. Our professors congratulate themselves on having "reduced the cost of production," without troubling themselves as to the worth of the product, so long as it will just hang together till it can be sold. They point out that the Adult Male Digestive Bag can turn out stuff which can be sold for £150 a year, and more, while they need only stoke him at the rate of 3d. or at most 6d. a-day, i.e. £5 or £10 a year. Something can even be made out of women and children; so they continue their calculations, and turn the whole human population, man, woman, and child, into mere averages and digestive bags.

In carrying out their scheme they apologise for the very incomplete arrangements made by an inefficient deity. They appoint a large body of bishops, judges, teachers of theology, political economy, and benevolence, together with organisers of People's Palaces and so forth, and they bid them amend matters. The teachers of political economy proceed to show how cheaply a man can satisfy hunger. He can do it for much less than 6d. a-day on brown bread and porridge; excellent food doubtless, but, without some other form of amusement, likely in the long run to prove monotonous. The teachers of benevolence go even beyond the economists, and are likely to revolutionise society with penny dinners. Then come the bishops, ministers and theologians in general, and urge the populace to aim at becoming good contented machines, not to exercise their minds nor care whether they are stoked with oats and water or with beef and champagne, but rather to put before themselves the cultivation of thrift, and the strict limitation or even reduction of the quantity of brown bread and porridge which they consume. By telling them that thrift here will lay up treasures for them somewhere else, and by threatening them with hell-fire if they ask questions and do not do as they are told, they have been very successful, and vast numbers of poor zero Average Machines content themselves on even so little as three pennyworth a-day of bread and porridge, or of more tasteful food.

C. J. FAULKNER.

(To be continued.)

The deaths from mining explosions in the course of the first half-year of 1887, contrasts most unfavourably with those which took place during the same period of 1886. In the first six months of the present year there were seven fatal explosions, resulting in the loss of 124 lives, against four explosions with a loss of 13 lives in the same period of 1886. From the evidence adduced at the various enquiries which succeeded each catastrophe, it appears that almost every one of the explosions of the present year were preventable.—*Labour Tribune*.

THE POLICE AND THE SOCIALISTS.—Our friend Pole of the S. D. F. has had his appeal against the sentence of Mr. De Rutzen rejected, though the magistrates have reduced his term of imprisonment from six months to two. The public who know nothing about the case will think that the bench of magistrates have acted with clemency and have administered a snub to Mr. De Rutzen. But it is perfectly well known that Pole was not at the Park at all, and that Messrs. Nupkins have (to say the least of it) blundered again. It would be instructive to see what the evidence was that was brought before these good people; who, it is to be feared, having let our comrade Williams go, thought it necessary not to go too far in acknowledging facts. Meantime it is also instructive, and far more so, to note that innocence is no particular protection to any person who is so unfortunate as to be brought before the Middlesex magistrates—or to say the truth right out, before any civilised court of "justice."

POSITIVISM AND SOCIALISM.

(Continued from page 235.)

I am inclined to think that Comte's reason for attacking democracy will not hold, and that we might reverse his line of argument, and say: As men who know little about astronomy, yet feel themselves competent to judge between the conflicting theories of the professors, so much the more ought they to feel competent to judge between the conflicting theories of the teachers of sociology, seeing that they have themselves nearly as large opportunities of making observations. In all probability the common-sense of the community generally will have quite as correct an idea upon many political and social questions as the professors. For sociology is a science in which it does not do to ignore spiritual influences which are beyond the ken of science. A knowledge based on hypotheses may be very good for predicting eclipses or making steam engines, but it does not follow that it will be the best for organising men, where that which most acknowledge to be behind phenomena, call it spirit or what you will, exercises a most marked influence.

So much for the principle of authority for which Comte contends; now for the details. It seems to me that he has chosen the form of society in which the temptations to corruption are greatest, and trusts to being able to breed a continuous race of men so far above the average in morality as to be able to stand against the very strongest temptations and not fall.

I should have thought that if history teaches anything, government by the wealthy is proved to be one of the most corrupt, and to the mass of the people, most degrading forms of government. Rather by far have government by the strong, for the strong have generally some magnanimity, and are above trampling on the very helpless! Rather have government by one man, for you may get a king better than his compeers, out where was ever a wealthy class better than the average of the people? Moreover, if the one is very bad he is only one to be removed. Government by the wealthy has been practically what we have had for some time, and the only redeeming places in it are where something has been forced on them against their wills by the non-wealthy. I will not say much about the spiritual authority. True wisdom and knowledge will always get a hearing in due time, and to erect the learned into a superior caste is only to put in their way temptations to which they are bound to fall victims. The maintaining of their class will become of more consequence to them than the maintenance and teaching of truth. Has that not been so with all priest castes? Remember the Jewish, the Roman Catholic, and the English priest-hood, which of them has been open to receive any truth which went against their own influence?

But even in Comte's description of these classes the cloven hoof shows through. He is careful to show how nicely they will balance each other; how the spiritual authority is to befriend the working portion against the employers, the temporal authority, because its only chance of being able to defend itself is in the support of the same working class! What have we here but a repetition of the little game which has been going on in this country for some time? The landed interest siding with labour against capital lest capital should do too much harm to it. And what would it result in? Why just what it has resulted in now, both land and capital find the game is a bad one, and the losses are too heavy, so they form a mutual alliance; land won't hurt capital if capital won't hurt land, and they'll both squeeze labour for their mutual advantage. It would in all probability be much the same with the spiritual and temporal authorities. But we have got past this sort of thing, people will no longer look for a society to be held together by mutual fear; society must have some organic principle, mutual fear can hardly be called such; mutual helpfulness is likely to form a much firmer and more harmonious principle upon which to base society.

Professor Beesley, in the lecture above referred to, complained very much of our views of human nature; in fact, strange to say, at one part of the lecture we trusted too much to it, and at another we were blamed for trying to make some arrangements which would render any improvement in the aforesaid human nature unnecessary. He said that we did not take enough account of the self-interest there is in man, and that our Socialist state could not exist because of human selfishness; that was the first charge he made against us on this head. Let us compare our view with the Positivist's. We say, given that any man and every man can get his living, surely and with a reasonable amount of work under conditions as pleasant as possible, there will be in all a sufficiently high morality and a sufficiently great regard for the common good for them to do their share of the work, and do it well, and that they will be content to receive their fair share of the result of the common work; human nature, even as we know it, I think warrants us in this assertion. The Positivist, on the other hand, does not depend on a general average of human nature being better under better conditions, but depends upon one class of the community having an enormously large share of disinterestedness and love for the common good, so large indeed that it shall be willing at all times to go quite against its own interests for the sake of all. Moreover this class is to be composed of the wealthy, who are peculiarly open to the temptation to selfishness owing to their greater opportunities of gratifying their own whims, and who are also to be trusted with temporal power, thus having another temptation put in their way. And we must remember that this wealthy class, by the very nature of the way in which money is obtained, is to some extent a selection of the more selfish members of the community. For it is certain that in

a competitive system a man must love himself and his belongings very considerably if he is going to exert all the energy and stoop to all the meanness which are needful to amass wealth for himself.

From a class selected thus, and put under these temptations, Positivists expect heroic devotion to the common good, and then find fault with us because we hope that when the temptations of competition, and the spur of uncertainty are taken away, men will be a little less selfish and have a little more regard to the common good. I leave any one to judge which party has the most reasonable expectation. But the Professor, not content with charging us with having too high an opinion of human nature, went on to object that we tried to make such arrangements in society as would render any great amount of unselfishness unnecessary. I cannot help feeling that there is something rather inconsistent in these two charges. For if we are all as selfish as the first would lead us to suppose, surely it would be a good thing to arrange society in such a way as to render our selfish propensities as little harmful as possible. But I do not think the Positivists need fear that we are going to render public spirit and unselfishness quite useless. No system will work happily if every one seeks his own advantage regardless of others; but whereas in the present system, and largely under a Positivist system also, the competition forces each to look after his own interests exclusively, and even makes it appear that that selfishness is for the general good, under Socialism it will be apparent to all that selfishness is not for the good of all but just the reverse.

Another of the Positivist doctrines seems to me inconsistent; they acknowledge that wealth is a social product and belongs of right to the community, but yet they uphold private ownership of wealth, merely calling the owners trustees. Now a trustee is a person who manages the money, etc., of some other person who is either unable or unwilling to manage it himself; he has no right to use a penny of it for his own purposes, being paid for his work at a fixed rate; and moreover when the person for whom he is trustee is old enough he is bound to consult him in what he does. He is appointed by the owner either past or present to carry out his wishes. The resemblance between this trustee and a Positivist one is very faint, the latter owns the wealth he is trustee of; he is self-appointed; he does with it what he thinks is best for the rightful owner (that is, assuming of course, that their trustees would do so much); and he pays himself out of the property according as he thinks right! The only regulation which the rightful owner has over him is by a vague public opinion about which he may not care much. I think the Socialist plan would be much more in keeping with their doctrine that wealth is a social product; the Socialist proposes that the community shall elect trustees to manage its wealth for it, that it shall pay them for their work, and be consulted by them as to the purposes to which such wealth shall be put. Professor Beesley also objected on behalf of the Positivists to our mode of distributing the produce, he maintained that the right to equality could not be demonstrated, as it is quite impossible to make comparisons between different kinds of labour, and that Positivism was superior to Socialism, because it did not attempt to reduce the share of each to anything like an equality. If, as Professor Beesley says, and I quite think he is right, it is impossible to estimate the comparative amounts of skill required in the different occupations; if it is quite impossible to compare an organiser of labour, a doctor, and a labourer, and to decide the relative skill required by each, and in this way to estimate their several shares in the general produce, then it seems to me that the Positivists are more at sea than we are; for I cannot find that they have any ground of estimate at all, but must leave it to competition just as it is now, so that their system would leave things pretty much where they are; which most parties agree is not to be desired. For if it is going to be left to the individual capitalist to divide the produce of his business as he chooses, how is he to know what will be a fair reward to keep for himself? In all probability he would have to fall back upon the plan now adopted, the more so as it would in most cases suit his taste best, and would keep as much as he could. Now, although this is a point about which there is a good deal of difference of opinion amongst Socialists, still we all have an ideal towards which we are working, and it depends chiefly upon our estimate of human nature and of the general state of education as to how near the ideal we each think it would be wise to go at first.

RAYMOND UNWIN.

(To be concluded).

C THE SOCIALISTS AT DURHAM.—The North of England Socialist Federation was represented at the Durham Miners' Gala by Mr. A. K. Donald. He addressed meetings in the Market Place, and from each of the platforms after the official programme was finished. The speaker insisted on the necessity of a more vigorous action on the part of trade union leaders. He said that a large part of the union funds were handed over practically as a voluntary contribution to the poor-rates, in the shape of out-door relief to the unemployed, and to aged workmen, and that it was because of this way of using their funds that the capitalists occasionally patted the unionists on their backs. A national federation of miners was advocated for offensive and defensive purposes, and the men advised never to be satisfied with their position until they were their own masters, and the present idle classes earned their own living. The following resolution was put at both platforms, and carried unanimously at one, and with one dissentient at the other: "That the miners of Durham see the necessity of organising, along with their fellow workers of all ranks, for the purpose of realising a society where all shall work and all shall enjoy the fruits of their labour." Meetings were addressed by Mr. Donald yesterday at North Shields, Sunderland, and South Shields. —*Newcastle Chronicle*, July 25.



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

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

KARL (Kjbenhavn).—No. The William Morris who wrote a book of travels was no connection of the author of the 'Earthly Paradise.' In the B. M. Catalogue he is described as "of Swindon."

BORDOLLO (N. Y.).—The *Leader* has been acknowledged several times during the preceding two months. When it does not appear in the list it is because it has not arrived during the current week.

H.—The 'History of the Penal Laws,' by R. R. Madden, does not deal with the infamous laws as known in Ireland, but with Protestant persecution of "Catholics" in England.

C. (N. Y.)—We shall not notice it. "He that wrestles with a soot-bag shall be besmeared whether he fall upper or nether."

SONG.—The 'Shan van Vocht' was published with music, and there is a copy in the British Museum. Perhaps some reader may be able to say if copies can be bought anywhere.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday July 27.

ENGLAND		ITALY	
Justice	New Haven (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio	Marsala—La Nuova Eta
Jus	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	SWITZERLAND	
Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung	Seattle (W. T.) Voice of the People	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat	
Norwich—Daylight	San Francisco (Cal.) The People	Geneva—Bulletin Continental	
Labour Tribune	FRANCE		SPAIN
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	El Productor	
UNITED STATES		Madrid—El Socialista	
New York—Der Sozialist	Le Revolte	Cadiz—El Socialismo	
Freiheit	Question Sociale	AUSTRIA	
Truthseeker	Guise—Le Devoir	Arbeiterstimme	
Standard	BELGIUM		Vienna—Gleichheit
Leader	Liege—L'Avenir	ROUMANIA	
John Swinton's Paper	Antwerp—De Werker	Jassy—Lupta	
Volkszeitung	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde	SWEDEN	
Chicago (Ill.)—Labor Enquirer	Ghent—Vooruit	Stockholm—Social-Demokraten	
Vorbote	HOLLAND		GREECE
Knights of Labor	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Athens—Ardin	
Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	Amsterdam—Voorwaarts		

HENRY GEORGE AND SOCIALISM.

FROM New York come tidings of an interesting intellectual struggle between the followers of Henry George and the Socialists or disciples of Gronlund. The occasion was the calling of a meeting of a convention of the United Labour Party of New York State, in a manifesto which ignores the evil effects of the wage system at the same time that it lays almost exclusive stress on the land theories and "remedy" of Henry George. Gronlund, deeming this a most unfortunate retrograde step from even the modestly-revolutionary constitution of the party, appears with a pamphlet entitled, 'The Insufficiency of Henry George's Theories,' in which he endeavours to convince the members of the error of their ways. His criticism attempts to prove that George's doctrines are altogether too narrow and one-sided, and his "remedy" impracticable and inadequate, opposing to them the teachings of modern Socialism.

George, he says, is stone-blind in one eye. He starts the inquiry in 'Progress and Poverty,' with a foregone conclusion in his mind, in accordance with which he distorts every subject he touches. His great first discovery is that "the cause which gives to the landholder is the cause which denies to the labourer and capitalist." Again, he eliminates the element of "profit" altogether from his enquiry, as being too loose and unscientific a term, when, as a matter of fact, it is the foundation of the modern industrial system. George's attempt by abstract deductive reasoning to distinguish land from the other means of production is easily exposed.

Gronlund then calculates that the enormous surplus revenues which George expects as the result of his "remedy" will probably not be realised; and next demolishes the notion that mere land nationalisation would benefit any but the capitalists. He further remarks: "In Great Britain land is the first means of labour to revolutionise. This is the most remarkable thing about George, that he, an American, should have hatched such a British idea, and one at the same time so un-American." The pamphlet is concluded by a brief but clear

statement of the aims of Socialism, which though sufficiently exhaustive, recommends making a beginning by nationalising telegraphs, railroads, etc., and appeals to the party to stick to the whole programme.

The *New York Herald* of June 25 has a characteristically flippant leader on the whole controversy, from which, however, it appears that "the Gronlund split in the United Labour Party is somewhat formidable." George, according to this paper, seems to be at fault. He is reported by the *Sun* as saying, "If I am wrong, and the changes I advocate do not effect the reforms I desire, then I shall not hesitate to seek those reforms by further changes, perhaps in the direction which the Socialists insist to be the right one, perhaps in some other direction." The *Herald* rightly calls this "a mighty odd statement and admission," and adds, "The general public is listening to the controversy and will be edified by it. The wage earners are also listening, and in the end they will have very definite convictions, not based on George's theories, or Gronlund's theories, or anybody else's theories, but on their own tough, sinewy, common-sense." With this last sentiment we can but heartily agree.

REGINALD A. BECKETT.

LEADERS OF THE PEOPLE.

(Concluded from p. 237.)

THE argument advanced by the free-trader, that the impetus given to trade by the repeal of the corn-laws has placed the labourer in a more advantageous position than he was before their repeal, is answered by Mill, who says, "When by improvements in agriculture, the repeal of the corn-laws, or other causes, the necessities of life are cheapened, . . . wages will fall at last, so as to leave the labourers no better off than before." Here we have Mill endorsing what Socialists are always asserting, that the removal of those restrictions which were supposed to hamper industry—i.e., protective duties—has not improved the condition of the workers.

It is quite obvious, even to the most superficial observer, that the development of labour-saving machinery must with each new development throw out of employment numbers of workers engaged in those industries in which the newly-invented labour-saving appliance is used. Here is an example (*Pall Mall Gazette*, July 13) "of labour-saving appliances which must create a revolution in the industries in which they are used. The machines, which are the invention of Mr. Myers, practically make the manufacture of packing-cases and dry bulged barrels an automatic operation. The wood for the packing-cases is cut, planed, and nailed together with a rapidity that is remarkable. In the same way the staves for the barrels are cut and rounded off, and, without any manual labour, they are put together and the barrel is trussed and set on end ready for the head and hoops. The head is also rounded off mechanically, and the finished barrel is turned out at a rate which would astonish any one who has ever been in a cooperage and watched the laborious hand process. With a set of machines, 5000 packing-boxes can be turned out in a day, at a labour-cost of £1, as compared with £21 by the old method; while in the case of the barrels they can be turned out at the rate of 800 to 1000 per day, at a labour cost of £1, as against £13 for hand labour." The result which will follow from the use of these inventions will be the same as that produced by the supersession of hand-labour by machine-labour in other trades. The majority of those engaged in it will be driven into the ranks of the unskilled labourers, or take their chance of picking up an odd job now and then at their old calling.

The revolution wrought in production by machinery has not only cheapened its cost, but has made it possible to create wealth at a most rapid rate. But despite the comparative ease with which wealth can be created, the labourer is in a far worse position than he was before the beginning of the modern industrial system; and while it obtains it is absurd to expect it to be otherwise.

That we may be enabled to fully appreciate the change wrought in industry by the use of steam and machinery, Mr. Mulhall has prepared for us the following table, which he premises thus: "Hand-labour, as a rule, cost ten times dearer than what is done by horse, and steam is three times cheaper than horse, so that one million foot-tons of energy by hand costs as much as thirty millions by steam. The proportions in which the work of the United Kingdom has been done at different dates were as follows:

	1840.	1860.	1885.
Hand	14.5	8.5	4.7
Horse	57.3	35.8	17.5
Steam	28.2	55.7	77.8
	100.0	100.0	100.0

Further on, he says, "An Englishman of to-day can do as much work in three hours as would have taken nine hours in the year 1840, or reckoning on the basis of the latter year, we should require now a population of 107 millions to do our work."

With these forces at its control, labour should indeed be strong. I said at its (labour's) control, but alas! it slumbers in ignorance, unconscious of its power.

With the growth of trade and manufacture, industry has become more and more concentrated, and this concentration has caused the workers to fly to its centres. The effects of this has been to centralise and over-people them, and there where industry is concentrated most, slums most abound.

"But let us," says the Malthusian, "remedy this evil by the practise-

ment of conjugal prudence, and limit the number of workers to the available means of subsistence. The fact of the matter is, there are too many of us, we are over populated. And besides, no man has the right to recklessly satisfy his carnal appetites, and thereby to put upon the community the responsibility of discharging obligations which, but for his thoughtlessness, it would not be weighted with."

Now let it be clearly understood that it is not denied that there is much to be said in favour of Malthusianism. But what is asserted is, that the acceptance of the teaching of the modern Malthusians will not abolish poverty. And when they assert, as the majority of them do, that the miserable condition of the workers is self-inflicted, is caused by their ignorance of their teaching, they state that which facts do not justify. A great cry has lately gone up at the spectacle presented by the revealment of the long-concealed misery of the workers, and the tender hearts of the well-to-do and governing classes have been throbbing with emotion in consequence. "What's to be done to remedy this state of things?" they have been asking. "Benevolence is no good, it only fosters habits of thriftlessness." And in high excitement, they asked again, "What's to be done?" And lo and behold, the Malthusian came forth and answered, "Verily I say unto you, there are too many mouths to eat and stomachs to fill for the food that is in our stores to satisfy, therefore many are hungry and wretched. And the homes that the people dwell in are foul and unclean because they herd together like swine and pay no heed to the laws of health." But is it true that the mass are poor and miserable because of the greatness of their number? Let us see. The population of the United Kingdom has increased during the last fifty years from "26 to 37 millions, an increase of 42 per cent.," but wealth in the same period has increased 124 per cent.—i.e., from "4100 to 9210 millions," which is "almost £250 per inhabitant, or £100 more than in 1840."

In the face of these facts, is it not idle to assert that the reason why the workers are half-starved is because they are too numerous? There are undoubtedly too many of them crowded together in the large centres of industry to enable them to live healthy lives, and it is possible that at some remote period of history we may be over-populated. This eventuality, however, can be dealt with after the monster Capitalism has been conquered and slain; to-day it is not a matter of the first importance. What the workers have to recognise is that their acceptance of the doctrines of the Malthusians, or of those of the temperance and thrift parties, cannot of themselves permanently improve their condition. They are only half-truths. The whole truth is only to be found in the principles of Socialism, therefore, workers, embrace them, for only by their acceptance can you ever be freed from the curse of capitalism.

Henceforth let your ears be deaf and your eyes blind to the seductive allurements of those who claim to be your leaders. Be on your guard, lest in the name of Liberty they rivet the chains of slavery tighter to you.

H. A. BARKER.

A VICTIM.

(WHOSE NAME IS LEGION.)

O! I am tired of factory toil,
Of starveling virtue, tired am I;
It is so hard to be poor and good,
It is so hard by degrees to die;
Easier it were to take heart and drown
In the river that winds the factory town.

The factory air is choking close:
Without in the streets it's cool and sweet—
And the factory bully, that comes and goes,
Has never a word—save a curse—to greet.
It is not so in the streets without,
Where all are free to go gaily about.

My cheeks are pallid, they once were red;
My eyes are saddened, they once were bright;
And weary, and faint, the steps I tread,
Though once I carried me firm and light;
The breath of the grave has damped my brow,
But the world seemed never so fair as now.

O what in return does Virtue give?
She has stolen my hopes away;
She has stolen (and sore I grieve)
The laugh from my lips and the light from my day!
And nought in return does Virtue give
But a tomb—and toil while her votaries live.

If toil and the tomb be Virtue's lot,
If Vice be ever the world's elect,
They may be chaste who are tempted not,
Or have the means to be circumspect;
But let them not of temptation tell,
Till they look at the streets from a factory hell!

'Tis but a step from the factory door
To the streets—to laughter and song and wine,
To the sullen river but one step more,
And there is an end to this life of mine.
Through one or the other must I, one day,
Pass from this with my shadow away!

T. MAGUIRE.

CORRESPONDENCE.

CONCERNING USURY.

May I make a few additional remarks on this subject? Mr. Davidson in his excellent article on the subject in the *Commonweal* (p. 229) somewhat magnifies the power of Parliament to remedy the evils of interest. He says, "Repeal all laws that guarantee the collection of usury . . . and the fangs of the serpent will be effectually drawn." Would they? I think not. In States where society is based on monopoly, competition, individualism, and capitalism, history shows that laws are as powerless against usury as against any other product of such society—prostitution, for example. And for the very simple reason that the modern capitalist system creates the demand for money-lending, and hence for usury, its necessary accompaniment.

Suppose a law were passed to-morrow rendering interest incapable of recovery by law—that is, on all future loans—what would be the result? The demand for money by the needy on the one hand, and the desire to make profit on accumulations by the rich on the other hand, still continuing, future loans would be conducted in a way so as to evade the law. A man with a hoard, on being asked for a loan free of all interest, would naturally reply, "Why should I risk losing my money for nothing? No; if you will pay me half a year's interest in advance I will lend you the sum; and so long as you pay me the interest regularly every six months, so long may you use my money. But if you get into arrears in paying the interest I shall be obliged to sue you for the whole capital, as I cannot now sue you for the interest." That is very much the practice even now of many money-lenders. The interest is paid for a certain time in advance, the money is lent for that time, and secured by a bill of exchange. When the bill falls due, it may be renewed on payment of another period of interest—otherwise the capital has to be returned and the transaction closed.

I fear usury will never be abolished so long as there are rich men wishing to lend for profit and poor men desiring to borrow.

Interest is a species of rent. Ordinary rent is money paid for the use of another person's land or house. Weekly or monthly payments for the hire of a sewing-machine or of a piano, is another kind of rent. And interest is simply the rent for using another person's money. And these and all other kinds of rent are inseparably connected with the present system of society, and will never disappear until it is exchanged for that of Socialism.

T. S. BARRETT.

TO SOCIALIST CYCLISTS.

While the summer is still with us, I should like to call the attention of those of our comrades who may come under the above designation—and they must be many—to a "plan of campaign," whereby they may take their cycling pleasure and advance the Socialist cause at the same time. The plan is this: Let them in their future "runs" into the rural districts carry with them a stock of pamphlets and leaflets for judicious distribution on the road and at the villages and other likely places they pass *en route*. The surrounding districts within the limits of an accomplishable run should be mapped out into routes, and named No. 1, 2, 3, and so on. The routes should all be gone over once in their order with one pamphlet, and then over again with another. In order to obviate the useless expenditure of time and money in "papering" a route twice with the same literature, only one kind of pamphlet, etc., should be carried on each journey, and a note taken of what is left on each route. A good plan (advocated some time ago in *Justice*) is to *stitch the pamphlets in brown paper covers*, and leaving them "to be called for" on the next journey, others being then exchanged for them. Of course, in selecting the literature, regard should be paid to the locality in which it is intended to distribute it. Thus, a tractate dealing with the land question would hardly be the best obtainable for leaving in a manufacturing district, or *vice versa*. (Of course, too, it need not be pointed out that the "plan of campaign" now advocated can be adopted not only by the owners of cycles, but also by the possessors of any other special means of locomotion.)

Those who try this plan for the first time will be as surprised as delighted to note the gratitude with which Socialist literature is accepted, and the eagerness with which it is perused; while after a time they will find themselves amply rewarded by the interest and pleasure with which their periodical visits are looked forward to. An effort might then fairly be made to extend the circulation of the *Commonweal*; and very many will easily be found who, after learning what Socialism is from pamphlets gratis, will gladly avail themselves of the opportunity of studying its progress from its organs in the press. Meanwhile, the Socialist cyclists are wanted before the Socialist converts can be made. May they not be "wanted" long! Literature suitable for this kind of propagandist work can be had at so low a figure (a few pence will purchase thousands of copies), that a splendid opportunity of doing a little practical good in their day and generation is now open—where, perhaps, it was before denied them—to all who have a "wheeler" and a will.

ÆGZATCE.

SAUCE.—The will of Mr. Perrins, the Worcestershire sauce-maker, has been sworn at £665,000. The "inventor" of the sauce was a Mrs. Grey, friend of Sir Chas. Grey, who brought it from India. Mrs. Grey fell into poverty, but never got a farthing from the firm. Lea and Perrins were at first a small firm of chemists.—J. L. M.

The present state of the refined-sugar market is very critical. The cessation of a prominent refiner announced last week throws the London manufacture into the hands of five firms, and yet, although the numbers are so small, the quantity made is nearly as large as when there was a greater number of manufacturers. Happily grocers need fear no adverse "combination," for the ever-increasing imports of Continental granulated—a form of sugar that suits the public taste, but which our refiners do not turn out to any great extent—will, in any event, effectually prevent exaggerated prices of home-manufactured goods.

There is such a thing as having the gospel preached at too high a price. Take for instance what is going on in connection with the Bolton strike. Boycotting on an extensive scale and in peculiar ways is taking place. The vicar of Holy Trinity Church has found it necessary to give spiritual courage, and he last Sunday preached to the "knobsticks" at the affected foundry. Afterwards, to show their parson that they were not sympathisers with non-unionists, if he was, the ringers refused to ring the bells. Nearly all the food and drink for the men lodged at the foundries has had to be fetched from Manchester.—*Labour Tribune*.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

STRIKE OF WEAVERS.—Unless some agreement can be come to between the manufacturers and their workpeople at Barnoldswick, a general strike is expected to take place in a few days, which will seriously affect the whole town. The weavers allege that they are underpaid, and demand the Burnley list.

At a mass meeting of the chainmakers at Cradley Heath last week, a resolution was proposed to ask the employers for a still further advance in wages; but it was rejected. It was, however, resolved not to resume work at the 4s. list of prices until the employers unanimously agreed to send for the operatives. Upwards of 3,000 operatives are now on strike, some of whom are undergoing great privations.

At a mass meeting of spike nailmakers belonging to the South Staffordshire and East Worcestershire districts, at Halesowen, it was unanimously resolved to declare a general strike, in consequence of the employers having enforced a reduction in wages ranging from forty to eighty per cent. It was stated that the operatives were undergoing the greatest privations at the present rate of wages.

A large meeting of men engaged in the malleable nail trade has been held at Birmingham, to concert measures for resisting the reduction of 10 per cent. in wages proposed by some of the employers. The feeling of the men was unanimously in favour of determined resistance to the reduction. In the course of the discussion, it was remarked that if the men could remain out for 20 weeks, as they had done before they had a society, they were prepared to remain out at least as long now that they were fully organised.

The Midland Railway Company have just announced an alteration in the mode of payment to their drivers and firemen. Instead of guaranteeing six days' pay they propose only to pay the men by the trip. This is objected to, and an indignation meeting of the men employed in the district was held at Wellingborough on Sunday evening last, when the various districts proposed to take means of laying their views before the directors as early as possible.

THE SHORT TIME IN THE COTTON TRADE.—At a directors' meeting of the Cavendish Spinning Company, Ashton, held on Wednesday, it was decided to continue short time. The Heywood mills are continuing short time. At Todmorden there is no change in the condition of the short time movement. The same may be said of the Rossendale and Whitworth Valleys, and also of Preston. The Bridge Mills, Whitworth, has a small gain for the past six months. In Oldham the short time movement has practically collapsed.

NORTHAMPTON.—STRIKE IN THE SHOE TRADE.—Last Friday afternoon all the shoe-lasters employed by Messrs Cove and West, Northampton, came out on strike. The men complain that the prices for various kinds of work had been systematically cut down, and they accordingly appealed to the Shoe Rivetters and Finishers' Association, by whom a price list for work was prepared. After several conferences it was submitted to the masters. At the end of the week allowed for consideration the employers refused to treat with the men, who accordingly packed up their kits and left. The strike will probably affect a large number of men.

BOLTON ENGINEERS' STRIKE.—The eleventh week of the struggle between employers and employed in the Bolton engineering trades has passed without any settlement being arrived at, although further efforts in that direction have been made by the mayor, whose suggestions are still the subject of consideration. Meanwhile the force of military and county mounted constabulary remains at its full strength. There have been several importations of workmen during the week, but these have not been on the extensive scale anticipated, and have not been attended by disturbances. A batch of men from Scotland, on realising the state of affairs, refused to remain in the town. A number of the apprentices employed by Messrs. Dobson and Barlow gave a week's notice to leave, but this action was not inspired by the Strike Committee, who have in fact rather discouraged it. On Saturday 16th a special meeting of magistrates, at which there were 23 present, after discussion resolved to retain the hussars and other military in the town as "their presence was required for the public safety." On the following Thursday night a meeting of ratepayers was held at the Coffee Tavern, Bradshawgate, "to arrange for an indignation meeting against the employment of the county police and military for the purposes they are being used." The large room was crowded to excess, many being unable to obtain admittance. The speakers said Capitalists had regarded working men too much as serfs and slaves, but labour was equally valuable with the capital that employed it. No one could agree with the way in which the authorities were using their power by employing the police and military to escort men who were taking the bread from the mouths of their own people. The police and military had been brought into the town, not to preserve order but to assist a few employers to fill their works with imported labour at the public expense. The bringing of the military was the act of an interested party. The introduction of the county police was not conducive to the peace of the town. It was a menace and an act of tyranny. On the night of the so-called riot their conduct was scandalous—hitting people without regard to age, position, sex, or mercy. The question was whether ratepayers should be called upon to pay for the support of the large body of police and military for that purpose? There was neither justice nor reason in it. There was a plot between the employers and the magistrates, for whenever imported men were expected word was sent to the Town Hall, and at once the mounted police were in readiness, the platform was cleared, and the pickets were prevented from laying before the strangers the true facts of the case. The authorities placed all the advantages on the side of the masters and all the disadvantages on that of the men. One firm in the town though they did not give way to the demands of the men had acted in a fair and honourable manner, and not one pane of glass had been broken, not one policeman needed to protect the works. There had been riots before in Bolton, when the working men of the town had been called to assist the authorities in the protection of life and property. In his opinion the reason why the magistrates did not adopt this course was that they knew there were not a hundred men in Bolton who would support them in their unfair conduct.—Mr. Holt, 60, Higher Bridge Street, was appointed secretary, and a committee was elected to organise a requisition to the Mayor, calling upon him to hold a town's meeting at the earliest possible date in the Albert Hall.—A subscription list was opened; and liberally responded to for the payment of preliminary expenses.

The masons in Dundee are still on strike. Many have left the town, and men are scarce, so much so that the employers are getting anxious for a settlement.

The agitation begun at Aberdeen and Peterhead by the fishermen for higher prices for herrings has spread to the women of the Banffshire coast, as far west as Burghead. The fishwomen have resolved to strike for higher wages, and to flog and boycott all women who work at old rates.

LOCK-OUT OF MINERS.—The trade in Fife and Clackmannan is at present particularly dull at all the collieries, and large bodies of men have been dismissed within the last few weeks. At Lochore and Capletrae Colliery, notices have been posted up enforcing a reduction of 11 per cent. The result is that about one half of the men at the colliery have been paid off, as the men are determined to resist the reduction. Those men who occupy the colliery dwelling-houses are allowed to remain in the meantime, but the reduction is understood to effect the general body of the workmen.

A serious crisis has been reached in the North British oil trade. The tremendous firm of Young's Mineral Oil Company cannot pay a dividend this year. The shares of four companies, the Broxburn, Clippens, Burnt Island, and Young have fallen in value £1,423,000. The estimated loss over all the oil companies is three millions (*Mercantile Age*). American competition and the growth of the Russian industry is the immediate cause of this. The Scotch oil companies make no pretence of being able to cope with this competition. The American companies, especially the Standard, have resolved to smash all rivals in the trade. The only makeshift which the Scotch companies can resort to in their helplessness is to restrict the output.—J. L. M.

AIRDRIE MINERS.—A mass meeting of the miners of Airdrie was held on Thursday on the Daudie Hill, Rawyards. There was a large attendance. Mr. Gibb presided. Reports from the various collieries showed that the majority were idle, while others were working wholly and partially, but all working on the reduction. A motion was made that "We accept the reduction in the meantime, and organise ourselves to be in a position to resist." An amendment to take a fortnight's holiday finding no support, the motion was carried unanimously. It was also agreed that "We return to the five days a week and eight hours a day," and "That we protest against the present reduction, and that a return of it be demanded as soon as possible." Strong strictures were made in regard to the fourteen days' notice, but no action was taken in the meantime.

BELGIUM.

Last week three Belgian Socialists, Moreau, Kats, and Seconde were tried before the Court of Assizes for having, in public meetings held at Brussels, incited people to refuse to obey the laws, and specially the laws on military conscription. Moreau gives to the magistrates of his native country a great proof of his confidence—namely, by absconding. Kats and Seconde are present, and their attitude is very worthy. Kats says to the magistrate: "I am a Republican, a Socialist, and an Atheist. I have attacked the laws, it is true, but the laws are unjust. I have told the young soldiers not to fire on their fellow-brothers on strike, and I am proud to have said so!" Seconde made a brilliant speech to the same effect, and then, of course, they were convicted and sentenced, Kats to four months', Seconde to three months', and Moreau, the lucky absconder, to one year's imprisonment. And so it stands nowadays in free Belgium!

In our issue of last week we have told our readers that the attorney-general who caused Lieske to be executed at Francfort for a "crime" not perpetrated by him has become a madman and is now in an asylum. At Brussels another attorney-general, the odious Demaret, who has acted as prosecutor in a great number of charges made against the strikers of the miners districts (strikes of 1886 and 1887) and who obtained against them condemnations up to twenty years' hard labour, as in the cases of Schmidt and Falleur, has been ignominiously chased out of the ranks of the court. That monster, who in his speeches against the workers always invoked law, authority, and morality, has been found guilty of the most abominable vice which can dishonour a man—sodomy. That scandalous wretch was one of the most energetic and brutal prosecutors of Socialists who for the last ten years have made their appearance in Belgian courts.

In the *Werker* of July 24 the Antwerp Socialists, by the organ of their Executive Committee, publish a resolution declaring that the emancipation of the workers can only be brought about, after due organisation, by forcible means; they further declare that they repudiate all kinds of compromise with radical bourgeois parties to effect electioneering purposes, and that they only can approve of political action in as far as such action, in certain given circumstances, would be able to penetrate the people with the spirit of revolution. Certainly this resolution will not meet with the approval of the executive of the *Parti ouvrier* at Brussels! Bravo, Antwerp!

The revolutionary paper *Le Combat* made its re-appearance on the 17th of this month at Brussels. Our readers are aware that this paper was obliged to stop its publication, owing to the fact that its editors, Loor and Conreur, had been arrested at the time of the last strikes in the province of Hainault. *Le Combat* declares that the editors intend to start a new party—the Socialist Republican Workers Party—in opposition to the *Parti ouvrier*, with a view of preparing the general black strike.

Comrades Loor and Conreur have now been released from jail—without trial!

HOLLAND.

A group of Socialists of Amsterdam is about to publish the posthumous works of one of the bravest forerunners of the social revolution in Holland, the tailor H. Gerhardt. At the time of the foundation of the International Workingmen's Association, he was the first Dutchman to incite his fellow brethren to join the movement, and he has been one of the most energetic organisers of labour in his country. He was also one of the creators of the workers' press in Holland. The posthumous works of our much regretted friend will make three volumes, and F. Domela Nieuwenhuis has written a biography for this edition of our clever and noble Gerhardt.

Last Friday the Court of Appeal at the Hague confirmed the condemnation to one month's imprisonment previously pronounced by the police magistrate against comrade Boei, chairman of the Hague section of the Dutch Social-Democratic party.

We recommend those of our friends who understand the Dutch tongue to read a very remarkable series of articles, written by S. E. W. Roorda van Eysinga, in *Recht voor Allen*, and explaining in the most striking manner the fallacies of the parliamentary humbug.—D.

FRANCE.

Last Thursday the Anarchists Deherme, Moreau, and Niquet were tried before the Court of Assizes of Paris for having, on the 22nd of February last, addressed a manifesto to the young soldiers, giving them the very good advice to let capitalists in future themselves defend their capital, and landowners their land—the same prosecution as in Belgium. All three were assisted by the Anarchist Thevenin, who is not a solicitor nor a lawyer of any kind, but who proved to be as able as any one of the bar to say what there was to be said for the sake of his friends. Moreau and Niquet got two months; Deherme, who apparently had no time to attend the magisterial farce, got one year's imprisonment. Vive la République, comrades! D.

GERMANY.

At Berlin seven Socialists, forming the Central Executive Committee of the party, have been arrested, on the denunciation, it is said, of the former cashier of the Committee, who informed the Police Councillor Krieger of all the details of the secret organisation of the Berlin Socialists.

At Hamburg, eight more Socialists were arrested Wednesday last, in consequence of the perquisitions which were made lately at Magdeburg.

On an order from the Berlin central police authorities, the police of Breslau have made enquiries in several houses of the suburb Schweinitz. They have found a considerable deal of pamphlets and leaflets, addressed to the workers and to the soldiers.

At Mayence we will have in a few days a new trial for secret conspiracy. Eight Socialists are charged with that abominable crime: Franz Tost, member of the Landtag; Carl Konrad, shoemaker; F. Pfeiffer, clerk; A. Zimmermann, merchant; E. Stoll, carpenter; J. Loos, tailor; T. Romberg, cabinetmaker; and M. Anderhub, member of the municipal council.

At Altona also a new trial is going on for distribution of considerable quantities of prohibited literature. D.

LITERARY NOTICES.

'English as She is Taught' (Fisher Unwin, 2nd ed., 2s.), by Caroline B. Le Row, is a delightful book. Before it the stern professional frown relaxes and the jest of it has to be enjoyed to the full before a properly critical attitude can be resumed and a "moral drawn." Such "definitions" as "*Republican*—a sinner mentioned in the Bible"; "*Demagogue*—a vessel containing beer and other liquids"; "*Franchise*—anything belonging to the French," are sufficient to shake the straitest composure. But then there comes afterward a cooler moment, when there is apparent a cruel undermeaning to the whole thing. This book is compiled by a school teacher from the answers given in a large school to examination questions, and, rightly read, is a scathing condemnation of the whole modern system of education; and as that is an essential part of the present system of life, it is of a necessity an equal condemnation of capitalism. Mark Twain has written an introduction to the little book, in the course of which he says: "A large part of the pupil's 'instruction' consists in cramming him with obscure and wordy 'rules,' which he does not understand, and has no time to understand. It would be as useful to cram him with brickbats; they would at least stay." A curious light is thrown upon the little thought that is given in these days to *thinking*. So many facts for so many marks, so many marks for so much money—that is the trade of school; just like the trade of after life, with its sordid greed and restricted vision. Some of the youngsters in their poor little endeavours at thinking with brains untaught how, hit upon some wonderful discoveries that "take one in a sudden and unexpected way." Here are a few:

"The men engaged by the gas company go round and speculate the meter."

"There are a good many donkeys in theological gardens."

"The imports of a country are the things that are paid for; the exports are the things that are not."

"John Bright is noted for an incurable disease."

"The Constitution of the United States is that part of the book at the end that nobody reads."

"Beneficence—a state of insanity."

"If you listen closely you can vibrate a pitchfork."

"A simple pendulum is an imaginary point hung on a thread."

Our open-air speakers should note:

"Distinct articulation cannot be made unless we have a tongue, our lips, and our teeth."

"It is a very important thing to breathe."

"Vowel sounds are made by keeping the mouth wide open, and consonant sounds by keeping it shut."

And this is a cruel hit at—somebody:

"Prose tells things that are true right along just as they are, and poetry makes it up as you go along."

'Arcady: For Better, for Worse,' by Rev. Dr. Jessop (Fisher Unwin, 7s. 6d.). A kindly, cheerful man, and one whose acquaintance would be worth the cultivation; one of keen insight and great sympathy. Without any special axe to grind, he observes closely and describes well. Those of us who are fiercely in earnest over our ideal of life and the mode of realising it; who are battling strenuously for our own hand and, as we think, for humanity, may revolt now and then at an apparent cynicism or seeming levity. But it is only apparent; under it all the while there is a strong man who feels and sees even as we see; but, not seeing any remedy very clearly, he is impelled to put the problem as fully as he can, with as little fuss as may be, and leave it for solution. Of course, we poor Socialists come in for a little scolding: we are violent, and too much in a hurry, and so on; but this kind of thing we take as a matter of course, and keep on. Against his "abuse"—that is much too strong a term for it—we can set his defence of village communities, his attack upon peasant proprietorship, and much else. It is a desolate picture that he gives of the condition of agricultural labourers and their prospects; in one part of it that appals him we cannot help seeing our chief hope. The discontent, and insubordination of the labourers is but part of the growing dissatisfaction of the workers with their degraded position. And even the feeling, of which, because it is old, he cannot but speak respectfully—the feeling that makes men of near parishes "foreigners" to one another—is becoming hardly more antiquated than the same feeling as between nations; and the workers in many lands are learning the same lesson, that it is not a question of large or small farms, or large or small men, that faces them. The question is: how to secure to the producer the fruit of his labour, and how to secure that no non-producer have power to extort any share of it. In spite of Dr. Jessop's dislike to such procedure, there is no doubt that appreciable strides are being made, year by year, toward the answering of the question. Meanwhile, so long as it does not interfere with our work, we are always glad to welcome such a pleasant talker as Dr. Jessop, even though, like Coleridge, he "start from no premisses and come to no conclusion."

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Council Meeting will be held on Tuesday next, and not on Monday, being holiday.

London Members' Meeting will be on Monday August 8th.

Co-operative Store.—The Committee attend at the offices at 8.30 [p.m. on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. All Groceries can be had at current store prices. Orders over 10s. will be delivered carriage paid in London.] E.E.A.

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FOR PROPAGANDA.

Strike Committee, 24th July.—Per Cantwell, Regent's Park, 3s.; Hyde Park, 3s. 5d.—Total, 6s. 5d. Ph. W., Treasurer, July 26.

THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

Proceeds of Concert at the International Working-men's Club, Berner Street, 16s. 9d. For Mrs. Mowbray—A Few Fabians, per Annie Besant (weekly), 10s. J. LANE, Treasurer.

REPORTS.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, July 20, H. A. Barker lectured on "Evolution and Socialism;" good discussion followed. On Sunday, July 24, a good open-air meeting was held on the Green, addressed by Wardle, after which T. E. Wardle lectured in the hall on "The Franchise Fraud." Literature has steady sale.—A. T. and W. B.

HACKNEY.—On Wednesday, July 20, we held our usual meeting at the Broadway, London Fields, which was addressed by H. Sparling. We had a good audience, and some opposition from a Christian. On Sunday evening, Wm. Blundell lectured on "Property Qualification," which was opposed by J. Lane, he taking the Parliamentary side of the question, to the great surprise of the audience.—J. F.

Hoxton.—On Thursday evening, a large and enthusiastic open-air meeting was held opposite Hoxton church. Comrade Allman spoke well, carrying the sympathy of the audience with him. A member of the S.D.F. also addressed the meeting. Fair sale of literature. On Sunday evening, D. Nicoll, of the Socialist League, lectured on "Reform or Revolution." A lively and interesting discussion followed. Comrades Pope, Allman, Binning, and our venerable old friend Burnham taking part.—C. J. Y.

MARYLEBONE.—We held our usual meeting in Hyde Park on Sunday afternoon, addressed by Cantwell, Sparling, Mainwaring, and Samuels; the audience was very appreciative. We collected 3s. 5d. for the Strike Committee.—T. C.

MERTON AND MITCHAM.—During the week we have visited Wimbledon Camp, distributing literature. On Saturday, comrades Hill, Kitz, and Eden attended a meeting convened by Liberal League on Garrett Green; 23 *Commonweal* sold, and large amount of leaflets distributed. Comrades Eden, S.L., and Heatford, S.D.F., spoke on Mitcham Fair Green on Sunday. Sale of *Commonweal* for Mitcham and Merton, 30; total, 53.

MILE END.—On Sunday, William Morris addressed a large and sympathetic audience in Victoria Park on "Monopoly and Socialism." Some opposition was offered by a person who began by stating he was a workman, and speaking at the close of his remarks as an employer of labour. He also stated that he was a Radical. His objections were satisfactorily answered. Davis also spoke. Altogether this was one of the most enthusiastic meetings held in the park this season. *Commonweal* sold well.—H. M.

NORTH LONDON.—On Tuesday evening, July 19, we held a very good meeting at Ossulton Street, addressed by Cantwell, Brooks, Nicoll, and Deaghty. A Conservative opponent undertook to debate here on Tuesday the 26th, on "The Agricultural Depression." On Sunday morning we held a meeting at Regent's Park; Cantwell, Brooks, and Mainwaring spoke; some interesting discussion followed. Collected 3s. for the Strike Committee.—H. BARTLETT.

GLASGOW.—On Sunday, Glasier held a very successful meeting in Jail Square. He received a good deal of opposition; but the objections were ably answered by our comrade, assisted by friend Muir. At our new station, Paisley Road Toll, a large and attentive audience listened to the expositions of the same comrade. At both meetings *Commonweal* sold well.—A. M'K.

IPSWICH.—On Sunday, H. A. Barker, of London, gave two vigorous addresses to good audiences here. Arriving rather late, a camp meeting of religionists had taken up our old accustomed place. We, however, soon obtained a large gathering. Literature sold fairly well.—J. READ.

LEEDS.—Large meeting in Vicar's Croft on Sunday evening, addressed by Hill, Paylor, and Sellitt. A growing sympathy with Socialism is perceptible in this town, and there is no doubt we shall soon increase our numbers.—T. P.

NORWICH.—During the week, good meetings have been held at Yarmouth, Dereham, and St. Faiths, addressed by Henderson. On Sunday morning last, one was held at North Walsham by Henderson and Darley; at Wymondham, by Morley and Slaughter. In the afternoon, Henderson spoke in Norwich Market-place, Reux in the chair. In the evening, Henderson, by special request, repeated his lecture on the "Marriage Question," Sutton in the chair, when the misrepresentations published in *Daylight* were disposed of to the satisfaction of the audience. Collected for propaganda, 8s. 6d. Reux left us on Monday for France.—J. S.

PELSALL.—Wednesday evening, Weaver and Deakin spoke to a good meeting here.—J. T. D.

WALSALL.—Monday, July 18, Sanders addressed a large audience in the Market-place, Dudley. At close of meeting good number of names given in to form branch. A most successful open-air meeting was held at Wednesbury on Thursday, Sanders and Weaver speaking. Good discussion at the close. On Saturday, Sanders spoke in the Market-place, Walsall.—J. T. D.

DUBLIN.—At the weekly meeting of the Labour League, on Thursday, July 21st, comrade I. E. McCarthy was unanimously elected secretary for the ensuing quarter. Five other Socialists were elected on the committee—we now have a majority of the whole committee. Fitzpatrick, who was in the chair, called the attention of the meeting to a report in the public press of an interview between Mr. I. Foley, President of the Irish Industrial League, and the manager of the Ringsend Bottle Company, in which the former recommended the company to dispense as far as possible with manual labour and employ machinery, so that combination of the workmen might not interfere with the development of the company's trade. If this, contended our comrade, was the kind of protection advocated by the Industrial League for the working people of Ireland, the sooner the hollow mockery was exposed the better. J. S. Hall and McCarthy, who took part in the discussion, forcibly repudiated the pretensions of the Industrial League to represent the working-people of Ireland.

WOOLWICH.—Wade and Banner spoke at the Arsenal Gates, last Sunday, to a very large gathering. Sold out all our literature, and collected for propaganda, 4s. 9d.—R. BANNER.

North of England Socialist Federation.

Blackhill.—We held our first meeting at Blackhill on Monday evening. We purpose endeavouring to work up this part, where we have even now a good many supporters.

Blyth.—We had our usual lecture in the Market Place on Saturday. A very unseemly interruption was made by a member of the S.D.F. regarding the position of our society. M. Mack, 4 Back Marlow Street, secretary.

Burradon.—A meeting was held in the Schoolroom at Burradon on Wednesday. A. K. Donald addressed the meeting on behalf of the S.F. An excellent speech in support of lecture was given by Mr. Whitefield.

Consett.—A. K. Donald lectured at the fountain on Monday evening. Persons wishing to join the branch, address J. Walton, Medonsby Road, sec.

Durham.—At the Market Place on the Miners' Gala day, A. K. Donald addressed a meeting. He also, supported by Mr. Bell of Chester-le-Street, addressed large meetings from the platforms in the ground, at which this resolution was carried by acclamation: "That the miners of Durham see the necessity of organising, along with their fellow workers of all ranks, for the purpose of realising a society where all shall work and all shall enjoy the fruits of their labour."

North Shields.—regular meeting on Sunday morning was addressed by A. K. Donald. In spite of the rain the attendance was good. Collection made. J. Isbister, 3 Cockerill's Cottages, secretary.

Newcastle.—The local branch of the S.D.F. held its usual meeting at the Cattle Market on Sunday evening, which was well attended. A number of meetings have been held by Thomas Mann in the district during the week. A. K. Donald addressed the employees of Armstrong Mitchell and Co. at the work-gates on Tuesday.

Sunderland.—The branch was addressed in the Station Coffee Tavern on Friday by Donald, comrade Black in the chair. Open-air meetings were addressed on Friday night and Sunday afternoon at the Garrison Field. John Armstrong, 6 Westberry St., sec. pro. tem.

South Shields.—A lecture was delivered on Tuesday last in Lockhart's Cocoa Room by Donald. A good deal of discussion followed. Open-air meetings were addressed in the Market Place on Tuesday and Sunday nights. Mr. Darley also addressed the Sunday meetings. Collection made. Mrs. Besant lectured on behalf of the Secular Society on Sunday morning on "Why I preach Socialism." J. Wood, 105 Bath St.

Scottish Land and Labour League.

Arrangements have been made for carrying on an extensive and vigorous propaganda in the eastern counties and forming branches. Mahon began the campaign on Saturday at

Loanhead, where a good and attentive crowd of miners gathered to hear our views. There were some interruptions, which were stopped by several of the audience voluntarily ejecting the disturbers. Take also addressed the meeting.

Edinburgh.—On Sunday three very successful meetings were held—in the afternoon on the Calton Hill, at 6.30 in the Queen's Park, at 7.30 at the Mound. The new station at the Mound has proved a great success, nearly 900 people gathering at the first meeting. A good collection for the propaganda fund was made in the Queen's Park. Report of the Freshire meetings next week.—JOHN GILRAY, secretary.

LECTURE DIARY.**LONDON.**

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, W. On Thursday July 28, Business Meeting and Social Evening. August 4, Edward Aveling, "The Value of Brain Work."

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday July 31, at 7.15 p.m. Business Meeting. FREE CONCERT by Wm. Blundell and Friends, 8.30 p.m. Wednesday Aug. 3, at 8.30, T. Dalziel, "Communist Art."

Croydon.—Parker Road.

Hackney.—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 8 till 11.30; Saturday, 7 till 12.30; Sunday 11 a.m. till 12 p.m. Members Business Meeting every Tuesday at 8.30 p.m. Debating Class every Thursday. Thursday Aug. 4, at 9 o'clock, John Flockton, "Socialist Politics: What is it."

Hammer Smith.—Kelmecott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday July 31, at 8 p.m. William Morris, "The Policy of Abstinence."

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—No indoor meeting on Sunday. On August 7 we open at the Globe Coffee House, 227 High Street, Hoxton, with a lecture by George Bernard Shaw. The new Hall will seat over 200 people. Members and friends are urged to make special efforts to make the meeting successful.

Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday. Discussions held every Sunday morning at 11.

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

North London.—Branch meets at 32 Camden Road, N.W., for reception of new members and other business, on Wednesday evenings at 8 o'clock, until further notice. H. Bartlett, sec.

PROVINCES.

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

Dublin.—Irish Labour League, Carpenters' Hall, 75 Augier Street, every Thursday at 8 p.m. Discussion on all subjects connected with Labour Question.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Important Business Meeting Thursday Aug. 4, at 7.30. Class for the study of 'Das Capital' at 8.30. Members are expected to appear at out-door meetings, and in some way assist. (See "Open-air" below.)

Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily.

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

Hull.—Address all communications to E. Teesdale, 20 Shakspeare Street.

Lancaster.—Addresses every Sunday morning on the Quay Jetty.

Leeds.—17 Chesham Street, Sweet Street. Club and reading room open every evening. Business meetings every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Leicester.—Office of Hosiery Union, Horsefair Street. Fridays at 8 p.m.

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

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

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 31.

11.30...Garrett—"Plough Inn"Kitz
11.30...Hackney—"Salmon and Ball"The Branch
11.30...Hammer Smith—Beadon RoadVanderhout
11.30...Hoxton Ch., Pitfield St.Barker & Pope
11.30...Mitcham Fair GreenEden & Yewen
11.30...Regent's ParkNicol
11.30...St. Pancras ArchesBartlett
11.30...Walham GreenG. E. Shaw
3 ...Hyde ParkMainwaring
6.30...Victoria ParkDavis
7 ...Clerkenwell GreenBrooks

Tuesday.

8 ...Ossulton Street, Euston RoadNicol
8 ...Mile-end WasteThe Branch

Wednesday.

8 ...Broadway, London FieldsLane

Thursday.

8 ...Hoxton, Pitfield StreetThe Branch

PROVINCES.

Glasgow.—Sunday: Jail's Square, 1 o'clock; Paisley Road Toll at 5.

Cumshaw.—Saturday: 6 o'clock.

Motherwell.—Saturday: at 8 o'clock.

Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor. 11: Vicar's Croft, 7.30. Friday: Corner of Christ Church, Meadow Lane, at 8 p.m.

Loanhead (Edinburgh).—Friday: at 7 p.m.

Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place at 3; Agricultural Hall Plain at 7.

Derham.—Every Thursday, Market Place at 7.

Diss.—Sunday at 11.

Yarmouth.—Every Wednesday on the Beach at 7.

SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.

J. L. MAHON'S MEETINGS.

Friday 298 p.m.Kirkcaldy
Saturday 303 p.m. and 7 p.m.Burntisland
Sunday 3111 a.m.Leith, foot of Walk
3 p.m.Calton Hill
6.30 p.m.Queen's Park
8 p.m.Mound
Mon. Aug. 17.30 p.m.Tower Knowe, Hawick
Tuesday 27.30 p.m.Galashiels
Sunday 7 (same as previous Sunday.)

NORTH ENGLAND SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

(Outside propaganda as usual.)

Fri. 29—Sunderland, E. R. Pease, Station Coffee Tavern, 7.30 p.m.

REV. STEWART HEADLAM'S LECTURES.

Aug. 6—Dudley, Hall, 3 p.m.
Sat. 6—Blyth, Town Hall, 7.30.
Sun. 7—Backworth, Reading Room, 10.30 a.m.
" Seaton Terrace Co-operative Hall, 2.30 p.m.
" Newcastle, 7.30 p.m.
Mon. 8—Consett, Assembly Rooms.
Tues. 9—North Shields, 7.30 p.m.

IPSWICH.—On Sunday H. H. Sparling, of London, will address a series of meetings.

WOOLWICH.—Arsenal Gates, Sunday at 7 o'clock.

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NOTTINGHAM.—C. W. Clarke, 56 Melton St.
NORWICH.—A. Moore, 24 Rose Street, St. Augustines; Thompson, Magdalen St.; P. C. Crotch, 11 Georges Middle Street; H. Parker, 14 Cross Glob Street, Union Place; H. W. Darley, 113 Mill Hill, Catton; Gordon Cafe, 5 Duke Street
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OXFORD.—Miss Foy, 5 The Plain, St. Clement's; F. H. Plummer, bookseller, Broad Street
SEGHILL.—Cooper, Seghill Mill
SHEFFIELD.—Commonwealth Cafe, Scotland Street
SHIELDS, NORTH.—H. Foster, 33 Clive Street
SHIELDS, SOUTH.—T. Brown, 24 Alfred Street; Market Place news-stall
SOUTHPORT.—Mr. J. Davenport, 159 Eastbank Street Bridge
SPENNYMOOR.—Wm. Tunstall, 62 High St.

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

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 82.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 6, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES.

MR. WALTER BESANT, as hon. treasurer of the Working Women's Conference, is appealing to people in general to give him information as to the wages and conditions of life of working women. The result of this may be useful, or it may not be. In the first place it will be useless if the information is not thoroughly genuine, if it is allowed to be influenced by the spirit that often creeps into such collections of "information": the spirit that tries to create the impression that things are not very bad, and that even if they are bad they can easily be altered for the better a little, and that—there, that will do.

But supposing a great deal of genuine information gathered and published; what will be the use of it, and to whom will it be useful? It will be absolutely no use unless it is used, so far as it goes, for the purpose of putting both sexes of workpeople into a totally different position from their present one. And under those circumstances it is hard to see how it can be useful to any but those who are striving to change the basis of society, to make all women working-women, and not force either marriage or prostitution on any of them as a profession—in other words, to free labour from the tyranny of monopoly. Those people who are trying to do this are usually called Socialists, and I fear that Mr. Besant can hardly be classed as one of these, in spite of his apparently genuine sympathy with the joys and troubles of working people.

Apart from those middle-class persons who have had the good luck to be convinced of the truths of Socialism and are actually working for it, I have met with two kinds amongst persons of good will to the popular cause: first, persons of very strong and marked advanced opinions who are so far from thinking that the holding of such opinions involves any sort of action on their part, that they rather (or indeed very much) plume themselves on their superiority over those who act on their opinions, whatever they may be;—of course, such persons are desperate pessimists. The other kind are persons whose opinions are not very advanced, but have a sort of idea that they should act upon them, such as they are, and will undertake cheerfully any little job that may turn up, from total abstinence to electioneering, with a cheerful confidence in the usefulness of their work: but all the while they have not even faced the question as to the necessity of changing the basis of society; they suppose that the present system contains in itself everything that is necessary to cure the evils which they are to some extent conscious of; and indeed some of them are very anxious to stave off the radical change which Socialism proposes by exhibiting the said evils in course of being cured by—well, I must say it—rose-water.

I know this latter group of well-disposed middle-class people exists, and I rather think Mr. Walter Besant belongs to it. If I wrong him by so thinking I shall be glad to be convinced to the contrary. And meantime this group of people may yield converts to Socialism when they have found out by practical experience that the evils they are good-temperedly attacking are not accidents of the present system but essential to it. Then they may make up their minds to attack the system itself.

☞ Till within the last few years St. Alban's Abbey used to be one of the most interesting of the historical monuments of England; not because it was the longest church in the world, nor even altogether because it comprised some of the most beautiful work of the most perfect period of architecture, but also because all kinds of varied historical interest centred in its site and building. Partly built of materials from Verulam, it became in the early part of the Middle Ages the refuge and home of the chroniclers of the time. Some of the most interesting and heart-stirring passages in the Peasants' War, that outburst of Mediaeval Communism, took place around it. It witnessed two of the battles of the Wars of the Roses, the second of which was the bloodiest of all; and till within the last few years, though it had suffered some indignities, was still the stout and beautiful old building that had seen so many dramas played round about it. It is not too much to say that it stood in the homely Hertfordshire fields one of the wonders of the world.

☞ Well, to-day it has been deprived of most of its beauty and two-thirds of its historical interest. How and why? Insurrections, battles, changes of religion, had left it pretty much unhurt; but the damage

they couldn't do has been done quite lately by such a thing as a common parliamentary lawyer, a cleverish vulgar man, once called Sir Edmund Becket, now Lord Grimsthorpe, who coveted the glory of "restoring" this ancient monument; and although the ruin he proposed to make of it was disapproved of by most of those who had the guardianship of this piece of public property, all opposition went down before the shaking of his money-bag, and 'tis all done, or on the point of being all done; and the whim of a parliamentary lawyer has proved to be more destructive than miller Grindecobbe's bills and bows, than Henry the Eighth's greedy barons, or Cromwell's lobster-tails! Truly the money-bag has more to answer for than the destruction of works of art and monuments of history; yet the wantonness and irremediable character of this kind of destruction, joined with the preposterous vulgarity of the instrument of it, makes it hard to bear.

WM. MORRIS.

LABOUR FEDERATION.

ONE of the best indications of the progress of the labour movement is the growing feeling amongst trades-unionists for a federation of all workers. This feeling is vague and unsettled just now, but it is very widespread and it is growing stronger. The trades-union leaders who occasionally speak in favour of it do nothing to carry it out; indeed it is plain that with their narrow spirit and inability to move out of the accustomed rut, they are really afraid of it and want to see it smothered. But in spite of this the mass of the workmen feel more and more strongly that a closer bond of union should exist amongst them, and that the interests of the workers in all trades and in all lands are much the same.

This means a good deal to the Socialists. Everything that shows a growing feeling of solidarity amongst the wage-slaves is in the right direction. The labour struggle has always been weakened by petty jealousies, splits, and contradictions amongst the workmen. In the past it has been difficult to get the men of one trade to agree to act together against the capitalist and impossible to get several trades to co-operate. This is passing away. The miners see one district after another go on strike and get beaten. While the miners of Northumberland were being starved into submission, the miners of Yorkshire, Lancashire, Derbyshire, Durham, Wales, and Scotland, were producing extra coal to supply the market. The capitalists are a helpless lot in themselves, a mere nothing against the workmen; but they generally get the best of it, because they play off one part of the working-men against the other. It was not the mine-owners who beat the miners of Northumberland in the late struggle. It was their fellow-miners elsewhere. The miners see this now and so far as Northumberland is concerned, they will leave no stone unturned in preparing to present a solid and organised front to their employers in the next fight. Coal is essential to every other industry in the country, and were the men thoroughly combined they could compel society to render up their rights or dislocate the whole system by temporarily stopping production.

The great benefit of labour federation must be apparent to every workman who knows anything of the present crisis in the labour organisations. The Socialists have preached it for a long time. The efforts of Karl Marx to weld the working-men of all countries into an international union though unsuccessful (chiefly because the times were not ripe) are full of interesting lessons which no friend of labour can afford to neglect. But as the trades-unionists got their first lesson in labour federation from the Socialists they would do well to learn it thoroughly. A federation of all workers *merely to force a rise of wages* would be useless. If that were its only object it could only appeal to one section of the working-class, it would never raise the universal enthusiasm and fervid devotion that a great popular cause must have behind it, and for these two reasons it would be easily smashed up by the capitalists and their catspaw the Government. Even if it conquered all these difficulties, however, it would still be cheated out of its object. If the capitalists could not resist a rise of wages they could force a rise of prices and get back in one way what they were compelled to yield in another. Let us say that to-day the average wage is 20s. per week and the average cost of living 17s. In three years a Labour Federation well enough organised to stop production in a few industries (say coal, iron and cotton) for one week, might force a general rise of 50 per cent in wages. The average wage would then be 30s. per week. But the traders could immediately raise prices 50 per cent, and then the

cost of living would be 27s. The benefit therefore would be a *bogus* one.

Labour Federation to be effective must mean Socialism—that is, the abolition of the capitalist class. The miners, engineers, fishermen, weavers, etc., must train themselves for the purpose of actually seizing upon the mines, factories, shipping, railways, etc., and carrying on production for the common benefit of all the people. This must become the declared object of the labour movement. This means labour emancipation. Everything in the direction of it is in the right. Everything that stops short of it is a delusion and a waste of effort.

By thoroughly educating the workmen on this subject and pushing forward the laggard leaders of trades-unionism, Socialists will be at once forwarding their own cause and winning the gratitude of the workers for the practical help they are rendering in the labour struggle.

J. L. MAHON.

INHUMAN ARITHMETIC.

(Continued from page 242.)

It must however be allowed that the arrangements of the deity are very faulty, by which society is burdened with three or four useless women and children for every male machine who works. Bungling as his system is, yet society by the use of faculties which cannot have been given by so bad a political economist as he obviously is, has seen how to amend it. If these useless beings can live on 3d. a-day, it is criminal to allow them 6d. a-day. It only enables them to indulge the fancies planted in them by the aforesaid bad political economist, and it is a direct temptation to luxury and waste: it leads indeed to riot and debauchery very unbecoming in well-conducted Monsters and Digestive Bags. If, then, the whole population, man, woman, and child, are thus transformed, and if society allows each of them 6d. a-day, they are being dealt with most generously; they have more than sufficient to support life comfortably. The difference between the 6d. allowance and the truly necessary 3d. will by proper thrift suffice to give them some of the highest pleasures and most ennobling relaxations in life; can they not often view our magnificent commerce from the deck of a penny steamer? or spend a holiday in greeting their most gracious Queen and Empress as she comes to open the Stock Exchange or a new Palace? or if they wish for quiet enjoyment, can they not take a penny dose of Liberal or Tory sentiment on Parliament and the divorce courts, and glow with pleasure at the missionary energy which shows itself as readily in the evangelisation of two or three blacks, as in the sending of three or four thousand of them at one bang to the next world? But it must be allowed that thrift is by no means their strong point, and that, as McCulloch says, they are more given to tobacco than to tea, and are only too apt to turn aside to pleasures of a lower kind. As to their thrift, do they not marry in a reckless way, without first enquiring of the professors whether their calculations show that it is possible to make any more sixpenny, or even threepenny, allowances to wasteful children and porridge-eaters. And the way they haunt the gin-shops, instead of building coffee-palaces for themselves, is dreadful. A careful study leads us to the hope that by reducing the allowance to 3d. a-day, and by closing both museums and gin shops on Sundays, they may be induced to go where bishops and other society prophets may impress upon them the salutary tale, which can never be too often repeated, of the hell-fire which awaits the thriftless, and all mutinous Monsters who show discontent with the allowance thought sufficient by the Professors of Inhuman Arithmetic.

The great majority of people are, I think, naturally benevolent—Socialists in heart, if they only knew it, but with minds cramped by the petty teachings of the cliques into which we are divided. Charity, that is sympathy, is not to be expressed in money. There is no more horrible characteristic of the times than the fetishes, shibboleths and formalities, which keep class penned apart from class, and put the sham of money-subscriptions in the place of that mutual rendering of help which it is as natural for man to give, as it is for man to need. When once a class is started on the path of pretence, they are lost to all sense of shame. It is only in this way that we can excuse the noise and self-glorification of the People of Position over what they call their charity. This money-charity of theirs comes to very little. Take the Mansion House Fund of the year 1886. It was intended to relieve the dire distress of London in the winter of 1885-86. When the Registrar General reports, as he often does, that 30 or 40 people more than the average have died in London, in some unusually cold and rainy winter week, he says it comes from "diseases of the respiratory organs." True, and that means destitution, half-starvation, wet feet and scanty clothing, endured not for a week, or month, or year, but from childhood to the end. For this distress, after an immense stir and clamour, there was collected by the middle of 1886 the sum of about £80,000. After this, to quote the newspapers, "the money ceased to come in." There was no evidence that the distress had ceased to exist. But the novelty had worn off, and the temporary excitement had vanished like that of a worked-out bazaar.

It is difficult to estimate in London the genuine workers, the place being crammed with the flunkies, servants, and hangers-on of every description, who wait upon the Loafers and Wasters of society. But the poor zero Machines and their incumbrances cannot be under a million. Even 3d. a-day for each of these would mount to £12,500. So that the fund would, even at this rate, be exhausted in rather less than a week. What a picture of charity! Here are the orthodox wasters and guzzlers, lolling in idleness, gorged with meat

and wine every day of their lives; and under their eyes are the despair and misery of the millions, whose ceaseless toil provides those luxuries. They mock at the despair, they grumble at the nuisance that the misery of others is to them, and they subscribe enough to give three-penny-worth of starvation relief for about a week to each of "the poor devils."

Again, the classified 'Directory of Metropolitan Charities' puts the income in 1885 of bible societies and missions, of hospitals, orphanages and reformatory institutions of every kind in the metropolitan circle, at four and a half million pounds. The population of the circle is about five and a half millions. It is very doubtful how many of these institutions can be called charitable; a large portion of the total income, moreover, comes from the rent of land and similar sources, and can in no sense be considered as due to the charity of the present generation. Taking the total, however, as it stands, and allowing that the same rate of contributions for similar purposes goes on all over these islands, where we have a population of thirty-five millions, we should arrive at a total of thirty million pounds as the national contribution under the name of charity. This is probably far beyond the actual sum; and whatever that actual sum may be, all evidence goes to show that very large portions of it go towards comfortable stipends to secretaries and other officials.

And what does this money-charity come to? The rich idlers and wasters, and the comfortable shopkeeper class in general, draw a thousand millions a year, and the above most liberal calculation gives thirty millions as the sum total of their charity. Out of every £100 which the poor zero machines grind out for the idlers, these return less than £3—not in charity—no, but in mending their damaged machines, in oiling and greasing them, to the end that they may go on again with their grinding.

It is not the genuine feeling of human sympathy, it is not charity that can be satisfied by that which lies before our eyes, as the result of all this ceaseless toil. The adult male average machine produces each year stuff which can be sold for £150, and has to be *stoked* at 6d. a day, or about £10 a year! Three women and children to each adult monster, mere encumbrances on his usefulness, and continually distracting his attention from his proper work, cannot justly claim more than 3d. a day each. But as they are idle and improvident, this necessary allowance is increased under the name of charity to the same figure, 6d. a-day, as the adult monster gets. These burdens on Society, therefore, raise the total annual allowance to £40, which has to be made out of the £150 produced by each adult machine. Instead, therefore, of the full sum, our professors can only reckon on £110 from one out of four of the whole population of the United Kingdom, i.e., on £110 from each of about 9,000,000 persons.

And what becomes of this vast sum of £1,000,000,000? It belongs to the orthodox wasters, to the professors of inhuman arithmetic, and to their assistants, the bishops, the managers of orthodox starvation-benevolence, and of money-charity in general. It is a reward for their skill in improving the commonplace arithmetic of position, as invented by the poor Hindoos and other ancient peoples, who were content to live with their wealth in common, and who used their art to count bags of wheat or flocks of sheep. A splendid reward is due to professors, who have shown that the art could easily be adapted to conditions however extraordinary, and, indeed, that by it a delightful society of castes and classes might be arranged, wherein a man, though no doubt in one sense a unit, a mere figure 1, may yet be raised by the change of his position, and by the labour of a number of mere zero average machines, to the higher level of a ten, a thousand, or a million. In this improved system a man is born or steps into a high position, by having below him a number of the mere zero class; he is counted as being of a higher position, the more of this worthless class that are under him.

C. J. FAULKNER.

(To be concluded?).

POSITIVISM AND SOCIALISM.

(Concluded from p. 243.)

The Socialist would argue that all men come into the world endowed with certain faculties, and that they are all equally useful to society, each in his place. If it is said that many come only capable of mere hand labour, and only a few capable of being good engineers, doctors, or scientific investigators, we may reply that society needs them in that proportion, needs many bricklayers for one architect, many labourers all through to one doctor or scientist, and if we had to do without either class, we should be least able to spare the hand labourer. If society see to the education of these, each for what he seems best fitted, we do not see that there is any just reason why the rarer abilities should get paid more highly; we say that they each fill their place and are each entitled to their share of the general result of the community's labour. If there is any difference it should be in favour of the most unpleasant occupations. Probably these could best be recompensed by letting them work for shorter hours. If any, by reason of their occupation, require greater sustenance or more expensive surroundings in any way, this should be taken into account, in short the ideal towards which the Socialist works is "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs"; let each help the community as he best can, and as there will be enough for all we hope that each will be able to take what he needs. This is the ideal towards which we work, and I maintain that in working towards this we have a much more rational system than the Positivist who leaves it to be settled partly

by each getting what he can and partly by each keeping what his conscience will let him.

We now come to the ground which is common to the Positivists and a large section of outsiders, namely, the general belief that the employers are able and will soon be willing to give better terms to their working people. I have alluded above to the probability of the employers coming to be content with less, I will only here remind people who build up hopes in this direction that apart from direct action of self interest there is the indirect action which makes us see things from our point of view only, and this often in spite of the very best intentions; how many Socialists or others who happen to hold a middle position, having an employer over them and perhaps servants under them, look at things with the same feelings in both relations! The employer refuses a holiday, we will say, and we think what a mean set these employers are, they care nothing for their men; next week the servant asks us for a night out, which is not quite convenient, and we refuse, how unreasonable these servants are, they always want to go out just when it is inconvenient. The employer cannot see the real side of the worker, he exaggerates the worker's carelessness, indolence, and all the rest of it, and thinks he gets what he is worth; and this no good intentions and no love for the common good can quite get over.

But for the sake of argument let us grant that the Positivists and others have persuaded all the employers that they ought to think of their men first, that they ought to receive a small share themselves in order that they would be able to pay higher wages; even if we grant all this Positivism would still be far from having solved the social question. Competition would spoil it all. Here is a capitalist who is only just making ends meet, sometimes he is losing, and there are numbers in that fix now; how is he to raise the wages of his men? But if he does not raise his wages and his more successful rival does, his men will strike and he will have to shut up. Competition will simply rage more keenly, bringing even more confusion than at present. For the smaller the margin left for profit the greater the tendency to cut out the less successful men and add to the success of the most successful. If there is a profit of 20 per cent. for the successful, the less successful can still do if he makes 5. But if the most successful only keeps for himself 1 per cent. how can the less successful pay the same wages and exist? It would result in greater concentration into few hands, and those would be constantly shifting, causing no end of confusion and misery to the workers, who are starving, while things are righting themselves after each upset. Nor can it be urged that there would certainly be a gain in putting more work into the hands of the most successful, for it by no means follows that it is the inferior qualities of goods which pay least, or that the most successful man produces the best article. The difference often merely consists in a greater or less competitive faculty, a greater or less ability to take advantage of every one and be taken advantage of by none.

I maintain that with the best intentions in the world it would be absolutely impossible for the employers to do well for their men while they are engaged in warfare with all their competitors. Nothing but the organisation of industry on a basis of co-operation, and the entire abolition of the competitive system, could enable employers to do fairly by their men, and if any Positivists seek to organise industry and to give to the workers the full share they are entitled to, they are seeking Socialism and not Positivism.

To organise industry on a co-operative basis is not a light task, none know this better than the Socialists; but if it can be shown, as I think it can, that while we keep the present basis of competition no alteration, no reform, and no amount of good intentions can save society from an inevitable break up sooner or later, brought on by the necessary results of the system—if this, I say, can be shown, then surely it is no answer to the only proposition which deals with the root of the question, to say that it is difficult to see how we can put it in practice. It was difficult, in ancient days, to see how society could be made to exist without slaves, so difficult that the wisest of ancients thought it impossible, but it has been done. And so will organisation of industry be done, and if we fail to do it we shall be wiped out from the face of the earth, as many ancient civilisations were which could not solve the social problems of their day. Let us rather face all difficulties bravely, having faith to believe that there is always a way to put justice and truth into practice, if we can only find it. If we face the difficulties manfully many will vanish, and we shall look back and wonder how wise men in the nineteenth century held that it was impossible for a community to live except by internal strife.

RAYMOND UNWIN.

WHY WE ORGANISE.—Many men joining labour organisations ask themselves the question: "What good is it to me? Can I make anything out of it?" To all such the answer is "No." If you enter it in that spirit, you will be disappointed, and you had better remain outside. The proper spirit in which to enter a labour organisation is with these questions on the lips: "Of what good can I be to it? Of what good is it to humanity?" If you have a desire of personal advancement, pecuniary benefit, or a vain ambition to achieve, you are not fitted to join the ranks of the workers who are labouring for the best interests of their fellows. Anyone who expects to receive a financial benefit as soon as they join a labour organisation is ignorant of the purpose for which labour is organised, and needs educating. Labour is organised not to confer direct benefits upon the individual members of the organisations only, but to elevate and benefit the working classes as a body, and this result has been largely attained during the last few years. Organisation is the only power that will lead to the emancipation of the toilers. Concentration of wealth is the power of the capitalists; the organisation of labour the force of the workingmen.—(Quoted from the *Commonwealth*.)

LEIPSIC, 1845.

BY FERDINAND FREILIGRATH WHEN AN EXILE IN SWITZERLAND.

TRANSLATED BY J. L. JOYNES.

SHE came across the lake in widow's weed
Of folded crape, as is her wont, like death:
The willow bowed before her, and the reed
Was shaken at the passing of her breath.
I saw her come through mist and gathered gloom,
And at my desk I sat me down to write;
Her shadowy form was present in the room,
And darkly loomed upon my awe-struck sight.

"I am the Night of St. Bartholomew;
My feet are blood-stained, veiled in cloud my head:
Again at bidding of a princely crew
Fresh victims have been added to my dead.

"Ha! how the roofs were rolled in murky cloud
That night of blood three centuries ago,
When from his window firing on the crowd
The famous Charles had leant him forward low!
Yea thence—most Christian king that e'er was crowned—
He hounded on the scoundrels in his pay,
Till foully murdered on the reeking ground
The noblest Huguenots in their hundreds lay.

I am the Night, etc.

"Less blood to-day than then the slayer sheds;
'Yet' screamed the grape-shot hurtling o'er the scene,
'The victims fall—what matters counting heads?
All's one if thirteen hundred or thirteen.'
The triggers snapped when princes gave the word;
A cry of ruth went up from all mankind;
The people shrieking fled; the hirelings heard,
And shot them down like cowards from behind.

I am the Night, etc.

"Their foes forsooth have said, 'It served them right!
What reason had the rascals to rebel?
How dared the knaves resist us in our might,
And smash the royal chandeliers as well?
All honest folk to righteous wrath were stirred:
What! the glass rattled on the ground like rain!
It may be. But I never yet have heard
That men must mend with blood a broken pane!

I am the Night, etc.

"They had already fled! Yet though they fly,
The grape-shot overtakes them as they go.
Yes, flying folk and helpless passers-by
The royal troops with royal lead lay low.
Face downward there a woman and a child
Lie dead—O sight to make the heart-strings ache!
Why clench thy fist in helpless fury wild,
Thou homeless poet by the fair Swiss lake?

I am the Night, etc.

"What should I tell thee of the funeral weeds?
The Dead March sounds; its deep-toned notes complain;
Slowly from every house of woe proceeds
A coffin'd corpse, dark banners in its train.
Black-robed the mourners follow like a flood;
In every eye the starting tears are seen;
No more shall Leipsic lose the stain of blood,
Nor aught avail to wash her pavement clean!

I am the Night, etc.

"Man hath a voice: the midnight should be dumb!
And yet I cry aloud, Shall nought atone?
Upon man's head the ancient curses come;
The fault is with the faith of kings alone.
O German land, wilt always hug thy chain?
What cruel wrong thy faiths and kings have done!
And wilt thou still a helpless child remain,
Nor let one link be loosed from thee—not one?

I am the Night, etc.

"Yet here no scoff beside the up-turned sod!
Quench thy soul's thirst at thine own sacred spring.
Hew out as best thou may'st thy way to God—
Yet if to God, what wilt thou with a king?
Nay, wake! Bethink thee of that royal wight
Who shot his subjects down in ancient time!
Farewell! I go to haunt the Priests to-night,
Fit heirs of those who fathered first my crime!

I am the Night of St. Bartholomew;
My feet are blood-stained, veiled in cloud my head:
Again at bidding of a princely crew
Fresh victims have been added to my dead."

A SOCIALIST PARLIAMENT.—In the Charing Cross Parliamentary Debating Society the Socialists are so numerous that they have had to form a ministry. H. H. Champion is prime minister, Mrs. Annie Besant home secretary, George Bernard Shaw president of the Local Government Board, Sidney Webb chancellor of the exchequer, Hubert Bland secretary for foreign affairs, and Stewart Headlam secretary for Ireland. The other ministers are F. Podmore, Graham Wallas, G. W. Allen, E. Fanning Gye, Sidney Olivier, and Harold Cox. Mrs. Wardle and W. H. Utley are secretaries to the treasury, and from them any further information may be obtained.



"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.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

H. K. (Hampstead).—Not in our line.

C. W. B.—"It is the Day," and "Awkward for the Coo," accepted with thanks. "London," d. w. t.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday August 3.

ENGLAND		HOLLAND	
Our Corner	Chicago (Ill.)—Labor Enquirer	Vorbote	Hague—Recht voor Allen
Justices	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	Amsterdam—Voorwaarts	
Jus	Hammondon (N.J.)—Credit Foncier		
Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung	New Haven (Conn.)—Work-		
Labour Tribune	men's Advocate		
Church Reformer	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt		
Freedom	Philadelphia (Pa.)—Carpenter		
To-Day	Denver (Col.)—Labor Enquirer		
	Albina (Oreg.)—Weekly Courier		
SOUTH AUSTRALIA		ITALY	
Adelaide—S. Austral. Register		Milan—Il Fascio Operaio	
Melbourne—Honesty		Marsala—La Nuova Eta	
INDIA		SWITZERLAND	
Bankipore—Behar Herald		Zurich—Sozial Demokrat	
United States			
New York—Der Sozialist			
Freiheit			
Truthseeker			
Leader			
John Swinton's Paper			
Volkszeitung			
Boston—Woman's Journal			
Liberty			

BOURGEOIS VERSUS SOCIALIST.

WITHOUT wishing to carry on the debate any further which has been going on in the *Commonweal* between comrade Bax and Mr. Bradlaugh, it is natural that we should print a few words on it, as it is clear that there must have been a good many words said on the subject.

In the last paper, Mr. Bradlaugh complains that there has been no real debate on the question Will Socialism benefit the English people? Perhaps after all this is likely to be the case in all so-called debates where the disputants differ as to principle: clearly they must take some things for granted or they would stick fast from the first. This debate is now the third I have noticed carefully, and in all the three the disputants on either side, though in all cases very able persons, seemed, so to say, to find it hard to get at each other and strike the big stroke. However, one thing they can do and should do, if they are to claim any success; each may at least state what his position is; and though this is specially incumbent on the one who takes the affirmative or positive side, yet even the one who takes the negative side must not be so wholly negative as not to show the basis of his objections: he must not be a mere objector, but must object on principle.

Now it seems to me that in this debate our friend Bax has stated his position quite clearly, and to every one not prepared from the first to pick holes in his statement, quite unmistakably. Mr. Bradlaugh, on the other hand, has done nothing but make objections, some of them merely verbal and frivolous, others rather what I should call debaters' objections—the sort of thing which catches cheers in an oral debate; and some, no doubt, the objections of the kind which naturally occur to a person prejudiced against a change in the basis of society. Bax has been under the disadvantage of having in his second paper to follow Mr. Bradlaugh through the whole string of questions which he thought proper to put, so that his restatement of his position had to be deferred to his last paper, which was somewhat languidly replied to by Mr. Bradlaugh; of whom in truth I fear it must be said that he does not take much interest in the whole subject. In fact throughout he has not really been attacking Socialism, but rather has been desperately defending a statement which he stumbled on in his anxiety to be considered "practical," that there may be or is an essential difference in

the economic basis of life between the various countries that make up civilisation; and he has also been fighting against the admission that modern production compels the aggregation of capital. It is hardly worth while arguing seriously against either of these queer pieces of perversity; but it is really strange to find a man of ability who has not been struck by the international character of modern capitalism, and who cannot grasp the argument that if capitalism is international, the foe that threatens it, the system which is put forward to take its place, must be international also. As to the other point, which, though not an essential one for the general argument, Mr. Bradlaugh defends very stoutly and returns to more than once, the denial of the tendency toward the aggregation of capital under our present system, what can one say but that it is one of the commonplaces of the day that competition forces people to produce cheaply, and that you can only produce cheaply by producing on a large scale? Anybody who doubts this and has money to throw away had better try it in practice—as I have done. Mr. Bradlaugh in his last paper taunts Bax with not being able to bring more instances of this generally admitted fact; I may perhaps be allowed to give another, as coming under my own notice. Textile printing used to be done wholly by means of blocks on long tables, and there used to be a great many small businesses of this kind, employing down to as few as ten or a dozen men; but when the cylinder machine was perfected, and a man and two boys at one machine could do the work of 200 blockers and their attendant "tearers," these businesses had to shut up, as they could not find work for even one machine. Again, in my small business I am obliged to refrain from doing certain kinds of weaving I should like to do because my capital can't compass a power-loom. But really there is no need to multiply examples to prove what is patent: one can only stand aghast at Mr. Bradlaugh's hardihood in denial.

In short, Mr. Bradlaugh thinks Socialism an unpractical matter, and therefore cannot bring his mind to bear upon it sufficiently to conceive of it. He has not even tried to understand what Socialists mean by monopoly, and says, though rather guardedly, that he sees no class in the country which has the monopoly of the means of production. Again, one can only say that if he were a manual workman he would soon find out whether he could work for his livelihood without paying the tribute demanded by the monopolist; nor would he be long in doubt as to the fact that his master was not an individual but a class, when he sets to work to try how much more reward he could get for his labour from Peter than he could from Paul.

It is a pity that Mr. Bradlaugh will not try to understand his Socialist opponents, but in this matter he acts pretty much as the ordinary bourgeois does, and shows the usual persistency in reading incidents characteristic of the present condition of things into the future. At the bottom of all this lies, not, it may be, a want of information as to the mere facts of history, but an entire incapacity of understanding their significance and their continuity; in short, a practical denial of the doctrine of evolution. To persons of this turn of mind the class struggle in the past is nothing more than a confused contest, with no steady, though often unconscious, aim in it; to such persons at some arbitrary point determined by the interest, prejudice, or taste of the individual, all that contest comes to an end, and Society, which has been ever changing through so many thousands of years, is at last stable, though it lacks no element of revolution which the last epoch of change had, but holds them all, possibly changed in form but certainly not in essence. To such persons it is a kind of theological proposition that the status of Society consists of a great middle-class with an unnecessary encumbrance above it in the shape of the aristocracy, and a necessary encumbrance below it in the shape of a proletariat. The presence of the workers cannot be wholly denied, because they are there before our eyes, weaving, metal-working, building, and the rest of it; but they are not looked upon as a class with common interests, which force them to act together even against their wills, but as a series of accidents; they are a mere collection of potential middle-class persons, or failures from the middle-class.

And what is to be done with these abnormal persons? That is not a question which presses for solution, think our friends who sustain the orthodox holiness of bourgeoisdom. To reduce the numbers of the successive generations of them, and to raise the wages of those that would be left—that were good if it could be done, but it doesn't much matter, because, whether or no, Society is stable on its present basis (established by the Reform Bill of 1832).

It is true that some glorious but dim vision floats before the eyes of these "practical" persons of a time when the whole of these accidental misfortunes in a human form shall, by the exercise of thrift and Malthusianism, be absorbed into the great middle-class, cleared by that time of its upper encumbrance, and a bourgeois paradise will supervene, in which every one will be free to exploit—but there will be no one to exploit. How the great middle-class will then live, deponents say not; but the setters forth of this doctrine are happy in the fact that their Socialist opponents are not in the habit of asking them many questions as to their Society of the future. On the whole, one must suppose that the type of it would be that town (surely in America and in the neighbourhood of Mark Twain) that I have heard of, whose inhabitants lived by taking in each other's washing.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

¹ By the way, when I was last lecturing in Scotland I got on more than one occasion "a dressing" for using the word English in too inclusive a sense (though I meant no harm by it). Perhaps the same thing would happen in Wales—let alone Ireland.

Let the hiring scribblers and spouters call us what they will. We cannot please them except by being cowardly and treacherous, and it is not wise policy to gratify our enemies. Let us not crave for or expect praise from them. It is our duty to disarm them, and they know it, if we don't.—RADICAL JACK in Chicago *Labour Enquirer*.

SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

CHAPTER XXI.

SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM: CONCLUSION.

MARX now goes on to trace the development of the capitalist in the present epoch, indicating the latest phase of the class-struggle; he points out the strife of the workman with the machine, the intensification of labour due to the constant improvement of machinery, etc. He then gives what may be called a history and analysis of the Factory Acts, the legislation to which the employing class found themselves compelled, in order to make it possible for the "free" workman to live under his new conditions of competition; in order, in short, to keep the industrial society founded by the machine revolution from falling to pieces almost as soon as it was established.

The point of the intensification of labour is so important that it demands a word or two in passing; the gist of the matter as put forward by Marx resolves itself into this: As the organisation of production progresses towards perfection, the wear and tear of the workman in a given space of labour-time is increased; and this is true of the organisation of the division of labour period, only it is limited by the fact that the man himself is the machine, and no such limitation exists in the period of fully developed machinery, in which the workman is an adjunct of the machine, which latter dictates to its supplement, the workman, in its constant craving for increasing productivity, the amount of wear and tear of his body in each hour's work. This emphasizes as plainly as possible the subjection of the man to the machine.

Marx also deals with theory of compensation to the workman displaced by machinery; that is, the common view, that by the labour-saving of machinery, which at first sight would seem to tend to the lessening of the number of men employed, more capital is set free for employment.

But, says Marx: "Suppose a capitalist to employ 100 workmen at £30 a-year each in a carpet factory. The variable capital annually laid out amounts therefore to £3,000. Suppose also that he discharges 50 of his workmen, and employs the remaining 50 with machinery that costs him £1,500. To simplify matters we take no account of buildings, coal, etc. Further, suppose that the raw material annually consumed costs £3,000 both before and after the change. Is any capital set free by this metamorphosis? Before the change the total sum of £6,000 consisted half of constant, half of variable, capital. The variable capital, instead of being one-half is only one-quarter of the total capital. Instead of being set free a part of the capital is here locked up in such a way as to cease to be employed in labour-power; variable has been changed into constant capital. Other things remaining unchanged, the capital of £6,000 can in future employ no more than 50 men. With each improvement in machinery, it will employ fewer."¹

And again: "The labourers when driven out of the workshop by the machinery, are thrown upon the labour-market, and there add to the number of workmen at the disposal of the capitalists. In Part VII. of this book it will be seen that this effect of machinery, which as we have seen, is represented to be a compensation to the working-class, is on the contrary a most frightful scourge. For the present, I will only say this: The labourers that are thrown out of work in any branch of industry, can no doubt seek for employment in some other branch. If they find it, and thus renew the bond between them and the means of subsistence, this takes place only by the intermediary of a new and additional capital that is seeking investment; not at all by the intermediary of the capital that formerly employed them, and was afterwards converted into machinery."

The remainder of this Part V. of Marx deals with various questions connected with the great industry, and the changes produced by it on Society. Part VI. deals with the transformation of the value or price of labour-power into wages; with time wages, price wages, and the national difference of wages. Part VII. deals with the important subject of the accumulation of capital: First, with its simple reproduction, afterwards with the conversion of surplus value itself back into capital, and with the transition of the laws of property, that characterise the production of commodities into the laws of capitalistic appropriation. This part also contains a sarcastic refutation of the now exploded stupidity (scarcely to be called a theory) of "abstinence" as the source of capital; it also deals with the old wages-fund theory and other fallacies of bourgeois economy. This part concludes with a long and elaborate chapter on the general law of capitalistic accumulation in its various aspects. The last Part (XIII.) treats of the so-called primitive accumulation, of which Marx says: "This primitive accumulation plays in political economy about the same part as original sin in theology. Adam bit the apple, and thereupon sin fell upon the human race. Its origin is supposed to be explained when it is told as an anecdote of the past. In times long gone by there were two sorts of people, one, the diligent, intelligent, and, above all, frugal *élite*; the other, lazy rascals, spending their substance and more in riotous living. The legend of theological original sin tells us certainly how man is to be condemned to eat his bread in the sweat of his brow; but the history of economic original sin reveals to us that there are people to whom this is by no means essential. Never mind! Thus it came to pass that the former sort accumulated wealth, and the latter sort had at last nothing to sell except their own skins. And

from this original sin dates the poverty of the great majority, that, despite all its labour, has up to now nothing to sell but itself, and the wealth of the few that increases constantly although they have long ceased to work. . . . In actual history it is notorious that conquest, enslavement, robbery, murder, briefly *force*, play the great part. In the tender annals of Political Economy, the idyllic reigns from time immemorial. Right and "labour" were from all time the sole means of enrichment, the present year of course always excepted. As a matter of fact, the methods of primitive accumulation are anything but idyllic."

Marx then proceeds to give an instance of one important form of "Primitive Accumulation," the expropriation of the peasants from the land, taking affairs in England as a type of this idyllic proceeding; as also the legislation at the close of the Middle Ages against vagrants, etc., that is, those who had been expropriated; and, besides, the enactments for the forcing down of wages. He then describes the birth of the capitalist farmer of modern times, and the reaction of the agricultural revolution on the town industry; the creation of the home-market for industrial capital, etc. A chapter follows on the historical tendency of capitalistic accumulation to work out its own contradiction; it becomes necessary to quote a passage here as it bears reference to the future of Society: "The capitalist mode of appropriation, the result of the capitalist mode of production, produces capitalist private property. This is the first negation of individual private property, as founded on the labour of the proprietor. But capitalistic production begets with the inexorability of a law of Nature its own negation. It is the negation of negation. This does not re-establish private property for the producer, but gives him individual property based on the acquisitions of the capitalistic era; i.e., on co-operation, and the possession in common of the land and of the means of production. The transformation of scattered private property, arising from individual labour,¹ into capitalistic private property, is naturally a procession comparably more protracted violent, and difficult, than the transformation of capitalistic private property, already practically resting on socialised production, into socialised property. In the former case we had the expropriation of the mass of the people by a few usurpers; in the latter, we have the expropriation of a few usurpers by the mass of the people."

A chapter on the modern theory of colonisation concludes the book, which it must always be remembered is but the first volume (in the original German issue) of a book intended to cover three volumes, but which, nevertheless, as a criticism of capitalistic production may be treated in most respects as an independent whole.

E. BELFORT BAX and WILLIAM MORRIS.

Arrest of Fred Henderson at Norwich.

On Wednesday 27th July Lord Salisbury visited Norwich and held a large meeting on the Agricultural Hall Plain. As a counter demonstration, a meeting was held in the Market-place to protest against the policy of coercion. At this meeting Michael McCarten, M.P. for South Down, spoke at some length. Seeing that the resolutions were purely condemnatory of coercion and did not put forward a merely political alternative to the Tory policy, our comrades resolved to support them, and Fred Henderson spoke. The meeting, a very large one indeed, was intensely Socialistic in feeling, and, except as to the Irish member, gave our comrade by far the heartiest greeting of the evening. Again when another speaker wished the meeting to show "their enemies that Norwich workmen were Radical," he was at once interrupted by cries of "Socialist," and when he asked what it was that Socialists wanted that Radicalism could not give, received a storm of answers.

The meeting concluded with three tremendous cheers for the social revolution, called for by Henderson, who asked the audience to go to the Agricultural Hall Plain, right in front of where Salisbury was indulging in coercion ravings. The crowd went down London Street cheering, and reached the Plain (a recognised open-air station). Henderson took up a stand under the lamp, intending to hold a meeting, when the mounted policemen on duty rode through the crowd at the speaker and ordered him to desist or he would ride him down. Seeing that this unwarrantable interference with the right of public meeting was exciting the anger of the crowd, Henderson called out, "No violence. Give three groans for Salisbury." Right heartily the crowd responded to this appeal, and then the mounted police, driving to and fro amongst the people, created a disturbance, and tried to excite the people to riot. One constable, No. 40, named Mills, excelled in brutality all the others, and seemed to be animated with a desire to show the public what a miserable ruffian he was. He galloped his horse at full speed along the crowded path, knocking several people down, and, with his fellows, tried to separate Henderson from the rest. They succeeded in this at last, and arrested our comrade in most brutal fashion, Mills striking him severely about the head. Having secured him between their horses they galloped to the station, and Henderson had to pass the night in the cells, charged with riotous conduct. Needless to say, the charge utterly fell through, and the magistrates next morning discharged our comrade without hearing a witness on our side, recognising at once the insufficiency of the police evidence. We are glad to hear that the matter is being taken up, and an inquiry into the conduct of the police will be instituted.

"Of all the instruments of the farmer's trade, the labour of man . . . is that on which he is most to rely for the repayment of his capital. The other two—the working stock of the cattle, and the . . . carts, ploughs, spades, and so forth—without a given portion of the first, are nothing at all."—Burke.

¹ Constant capital, raw material, and the instruments of production; variable capital, money paid in wages.

¹ It is important not to misunderstand this phrase as used here. The labour of the Middle Ages, though individual from its mechanical side, was from its moral side quite definitely dominated by the principle of association: as we have seen, the "master" of that period was but a delegate of the Gild.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

Humber & Co., Beeston, near Nottingham, discharged fifty workmen last Saturday, slackness of orders being reason given.

The joiners in the Middlesborough shipyards have struck for an advance in wages.

BOLTON—FORTHCOMING TRADES' DEMONSTRATION.—The strike committee of the men now on strike in the engineering trades are organising a monster trade demonstration to take place on the 13th August. All trade societies in the district, as well as neighbouring towns, will be invited to join, and the proceedings will be on an elaborate scale.

Considering there has been no strike or lock-out of any magnitude or duration in the Midlands for several years, the position of the workers is such as to call for the gravest consideration. In both the coal and iron trades scarcely a week passes but some works are closed. There are thousands of men who have no employment whatever, and those who have situations are not doing more than half time, the rule being considerably less than that, and with constantly diminishing wages to boot. Such are the conditions under which Midland coal and iron workers are trying to establish strong unions, with a view to remedying some of their grievances.—*Labour Tribune.*

THE CHAINMAKERS' STRIKE.—An evening paper thus reports:—"The long strike of the chainmakers at Cradley Heath still drags on, and this week—being the fifty-second week of the strike—it has lasted just one year. The men seem as united and determined as ever, but, unfortunately, also, the masters seem equally determined to withstand the demands of the men. The sad condition under which the work is carried on, and the employment of women and children in this rough trade, surrounds this strike with peculiar circumstances, and makes it all the more pitiable that it should drag on to such a length. At one of the last meetings of the men it was, however, determined to carry on the strike still further." Since the above, news comes to hand that the operatives in the employ of twelve firms have resumed work at the advanced rates.

IRON AND STEEL WORKERS' CONFERENCE.—A conference of the Associated Iron and Steel Workers of Great Britain opened its sittings on Monday. Delegates were present from Bilston, Wolverhampton, West Bromwich, Walsall, Wigan, Bolton, Parkgate, and other centres of the iron trade in Staffordshire, South Yorkshire, Lancashire, and the North of England. The organisation is a new one, which aims at uniting the whole of the iron-workers of the country in one union, and it was practically constituted at a conference held at Manchester in April last. Since that conference draft rules have been considered in the various branches, and proposals concerning them will be submitted. The districts which have formed branches represent about 40,000 iron-workers, and already from 7000 to 8000 actual members have been enrolled.

STRIKE OF WEAVERS.—A strike of the weavers employed at Messrs. Newsome, West, and Co.'s, Staincliffe, near Dewsbury, has taken place, and over 200 of them are out. It is alleged that the fine imposed upon the workpeople for bad workmanship is the cause of the dispute. No settlement has taken place between Messrs. Bracewell and Sons, Barnoldswick, and their weavers, who are still out on strike from Butts and Wellhouse Sheds, nor does there seem to be any probability of the dispute being settled as yet. The majority of the weavers employed by the other firms in the town have signed the "round robin," and their notices may be served upon the masters at any time if they do not pay the Burnley list. All the masters have received a letter from the secretary of the Northern Counties Weavers' Association, stating that a deputation from the association was quite willing to meet the masters in order to discuss the present state of wages, but no meeting has taken place.

MIDLAND RAILWAY LOCOMOTIVE SERVANTS.—MEETING IN NOTTINGHAM.—THREATENED STRIKE.—A circular was recently issued by the directors of the Midland Railway giving notice to the enginemen and firemen of the locomotive department of their intention to change the basis of payment for time off duty. At present the men, whether called on duty or not, are paid their week's wages, but by the proposed new rule the directors do not guarantee a full week's wage unless the man has been on duty the whole of the week, and this notwithstanding that they require him to be in readiness at any moment to go on duty. With the new regulations and conditions the men are extremely dissatisfied, and both in London and the provinces meetings have been held to consider what steps shall be taken. They feel that, as the company require them to be at their call fifteen hours out of the twenty-four daily, their ordinary week's wages should in fairness continue to be guaranteed to them as now, because during those hours they are practically in the company's service, and dare not undertake any other employment. In Nottingham, not less than in other towns, there has been great excitement amongst the men, and a strong determination to resist the new rules. On Sunday, a meeting of the men was held at the Assembly Rooms, Low-pavement, to consider their course of action. There was a very large attendance, upwards of 200 being present. A long discussion took place on the new rules, the speakers being unanimous in their desire that stern resistance should be offered to the company's proposals. Ultimately a resolution was submitted that they stand out against the rules, and that if the notices which had been issued were not withdrawn, to cease work at midnight on the 4th inst. This resolution was unanimously adopted. About three-fourths of the men are unionists, and if they come out on strike will be supported by the funds of their society. The non-unionists, however, are not less hearty in the decisive step which has been taken than the rest of their fellow-servants, and at all costs are determined to withstand their employers. A great deal of sympathy is felt for the men in their struggle, and we are informed that one or two of the directors are strongly opposed to the changes which the directors propose. It is believed, however, among the men that if they stand firm the directors will withdraw the notices. We understand that under the new rules the men will be paid as follows:—Engine-drivers: First six months, 5s. 6d. per day; second six months, 6s. 6d. per day; next four years, 7s.; full pay, 7s. 6d. per day. Firemen: First twelve months, 3s. 6d. per day; afterwards, 4s.; when passed, 4s. 6d. per day.

BOLTON ENGINEERS' STRIKE.—On Wednesday 27th ult. great excitement prevailed in Bolton owing to the arrival from Birmingham of nineteen men to take the places of those on strike from Messrs. Dobson and Barlow's Kay Street Machine Works. The new men were conducted to an omnibus in waiting, in the presence of a great crowd, and were escorted by mounted and

foot police to their destination. Many persons followed the party, and on the return of the vehicle some stones were thrown, one of which smashed a bus window. Shortly before midnight on Tuesday, four imported workmen arrived in Bolton, and were conveyed in a cab, guarded by police, to Messrs. Wood's Victoria Foundry. There was no disturbance. On Wednesday one of the men left the works, it is said, and appeared before the strike committee. Four of the imported men appeared before the strike committee on Thursday, and returned home. One man, who had entered the town the previous day only, said he had done very well out of it, having had 1½ lb. of steak, four pints of beer, and some tobacco. It is estimated that over 200 imported hands are at present lodged and fed in the foundries, in addition to nearly an equal number of policemen. A number of fussy individuals are trying to humbug the men into arbitration, which so far they have very properly declined. Some disappointment has been created in the town, owing to the mayor having refused to call, in answer to a requisition signed by over a thousand ratepayers, a town's meeting to consider the advisability of dispensing with the services of the county police and the military at present in the borough. He would not promise that the military and police should be sent away nor would he do anything in this direction till he could see a different state of things in Bolton. In spite of the mayor's refusal, a public meeting of ratepayers will be held. A meeting of magistrates was held on Thursday, when it was resolved by a large majority that the police and military be kept in the town for the present. It is understood that the mayor refused to answer for the peace of the borough if the precautions against disturbances were in any way relaxed. On Thursday five persons were charged at the Town Hall with offences arising from the existing strike. Three women were summoned for creating a breach of the peace on Sunday by hooting at the vicar of Holy Trinity Church (the Rev. C. Lowe) while he was leaving the Soho Ironworks after conducting divine worship for the "rats" and the police there. The reverend gentleman was followed by a crowd of about 800 persons, and had to have police protection. Defendants were called upon to find two sureties for three months or go to jail for one month. Two men were charged with a similar offence during the arrival of imported hands, and were ordered to find sureties for six months, with the alternative of a month in prison. The funds of the strike hands continue to swell, there being a larger balance this week end than at any time since the dispute commenced.

STRIKE OF DOCK-LABOURERS IN LIMERICK.—Thursday, 28th ult.—The great excitement which prevailed this evening when it became known that a body of men had come from Waterford to assist in the discharging of the Clyde and Limerick and Liverpool boats has just (10.45 p.m.) resulted in a riot, attended with bloodshed. The labourers on strike, accompanied by some three or four thousand persons, and bearing a lighted tar-barrel, the playing of a band drawing contingents from all directions, proceeded down the quays. Passing the Arranmore, one of the Clyde vessels, there was tremendous hissing and groaning at the men engaged in discharging the boat. The police, with loaded rifles, kept the people back. A volley of stones was then thrown, the police being hit with several of the missiles. It was feared that the constabulary would retaliate by firing on the crowd, as they were too few in number to charge the dense mass. District Inspector Jennings, however, kept his men well under control, and after a while the people moved on towards the dock where the Ardnault, belonging to the Limerick and Liverpool Company, on which the strike commenced, was being unloaded. The police followed in their wake, and when the near end of the docks had been reached Mr. Jennings placed a number of armed constables in charge of the entrance. By this time the multitude of people had gone round to the south side of the dock, so as to get as close as possible to the Ardnault. When opposite the vessel excitement rose to fever heat, and stone-throwing commenced immediately. But for the intervening wall the crowd would have burst in on the vessel, but, being unable to do this, they poured stones in large quantities on the boat. The noise of the falling missiles, the smashing of the glass roof of the shed near the vessel, and the general confusion tended to increase the fury of the mob. After the stone-throwing had continued for fully half an hour the police rushed out and charged. Several men were instantly placed *hors de combat*, and blood besmeared the ground. Two labourers had their skulls fractured and were carried off in an insensible condition. Mr. Jennings, head-constable Wall, and sergeant Whelan were struck, and constable White received such injuries that he had to be conveyed to hospital. The main body fled, and for a time there was general consternation. When the police dispersed the people they withdrew, but the crowd reassembled, and further stones were thrown. *Friday evening.*—The mayor and Mr. J. B. Irwin, R.M., were sent for, and arrived about half-past eleven with a strong force of police, and dispersed the people. The Waterford men worked at the ship all through the night, but struck work at ten this morning, alleging that they had been brought from Waterford under misrepresentations. They demand to be sent back at once. The city magistrates, the mayor presiding, held a meeting this afternoon, and agreed, by a majority, to ask for a force of one hundred extra constables to be drafted into the borough until the present strike has been settled. Bands are also to be warned against playing in the city at night, and this prohibition is to be strictly enforced, and notices sent to the different bands that it will apply until revoked by the magistrate. Some labourers brought from Tralee to-day to replace the others on strike refused to work, and the Ardnault steamship is now lying at the quays without any one to discharge her cargo.

If it is a crime to be in earnest, then I am a criminal. If it is villainy to esteem the lives and welfare of human beings at a higher value than lifeless property, then I am a villain. If it is treason to despise, denounce, and oppose the systems by which the workers are subjected to and robbed by the idlers and extortioners, then I am a traitor.—**RADICAL JACK** in Chicago *Labour Enquirer.*

There are many men who join labour organisations merely to have the name of being members and who have not the remotest notion of fulfilling any duties, who, once initiated, never go near the organisation. Such men are worse than "scabs"; they desire to have the credit of being members and any advantages that may accrue, and yet are unwilling to take their part in securing those advantages. No man is in any proper sense of the word a member of a labour organisation unless he takes some interest in it and some part in the business of it. A man who keeps out altogether is bad enough, yet he can at least claim an honest purpose, but the man who hypocritically joins, that he may secure the benefits, and is yet unwilling to share any of the work is beneath contempt. Such men are traitors to their fellows and traitors to the cause.—*Canadian Workman.*

CORRESPONDENCE.

"CONCERNING USURY."

Mr. T. S. Barrett fears that "the repeal of all laws guaranteeing the collection of usury" would not "abolish usury so long as there are rich men wishing to lend for profit and poor men desiring to borrow."

Possibly he is right. Theft is penal yet there are thieves. Still the experiment is obviously well worth trying and, should it prove to be inefficacious for the reason assigned by Mr. Barrett—viz., that usurers would evade the law by exacting interest in advance and then suing for the principal, the next step to take would be to render loans themselves irrecoverable by legal process.

I have long held that it is contrary to the public interest that a lender should enjoy any other security than the simple good faith of the borrower. If you don't like this, don't lend.

J. MORRISON DAVIDSON.

LITERARY NOTICES.

'English Misrule in Ireland' (Swan Sonnenschein, 1s.), by A. J. Dadson is called "a short sketch," and a very short one it is. Indeed, it could not be otherwise in less than 150 8vo pages of large type, and that loaded. It is correctly done, "so far as it goes," but the unfortunate need of covering so much ground in so small a space gives rise to a general impression of scamper and skip. There is really a very great deal of information in it, but (to use an Irish expression) it is rather the *makeings* of a book than one in itself.

'England's Ideal' (Swan Sonnenschein, 1s.), by Edward Carpenter, takes its title from the first of the nine papers on social subjects of which it is a collection. Some of them have already been noticed in these columns; all of them deserve notice; it would be hard to speak too well of them. For those, and they are many in these days, who feel ill at ease; their material prosperity failing to satisfy their demand for a fuller life; their vague unsatisfied longings turning in many vain directions; there could scarce be healthier reading than these papers. We that are Socialists already may read them with a great deal of pleasure; everything is put so freshly, soberly, and, not least, *neatly*.

'Jottings from Jail,' by the Rev. J. W. Horsley, late and last chaplain of H.M. prison, Clerkenwell (Fisher Unwin, 2nd ed., 3s. 6d.). This book is a collection of articles that have appeared in many places, upon the manifold experiences of a ten-years prison chaplaincy. Good-hearted always, wrong-headed sometimes, but even then with an earnestness and honesty that are propitiative. So few folk are ever in so favourable a position for examining the human wastes of our delightful system, that even so scrappy and sketchy a book as this is a boon. Were the time or other requisites not wanting to Mr. Horsley for the working out of the subject in due fulness, the book might be one to make its mark. Even now, as is proved by a second edition being necessary, it is being read; but most of the really terrible indictments of modern procedure lose great part of their effect from the way in which they are told. Take for instance the damning fact as to the effects of work-house training upon girls. It is enough, well put, one would think, to blow the present arrangements to the four winds; but as it is, it will be passed by the vast majority of readers without its full significance being seen.

'How the Classes Rule the Masses,' by T. R. Threlfall, the ex-president of Trades Union Congress (Heywood, 1d.), is an excellent and readable addition to the list of Socialist pamphlets. It is a successful endeavour to show that the belief extensively prevailing among the masses is well founded, that the "classes" have monopolised law-making as all things else, and have looked to their own profit exclusively. The various interests are gone through, and in each the same process shown at work. Our comrade is right in calling for a labour party to set the matter right, but opinions differ very much as to the wisdom of encumbering the new party with the antiquated paraphernalia of Parliamentarism.—S.

'WEALTH AND POVERTY.'—Socialists who are familiar with French should look up a series of articles in the *Revolte*, entitled 'La Richesse et la Misère,' of which the article in the current number (continued from recent issues) contains a good description of the situation of the peasantry in the agricultural parts of different countries. Dealing with the South of Europe chiefly, the writer points out the bitter contrast between the luxuriance and fertility of the richest Italian provinces and the degradation and misery of their inhabitants; remarking truly that bad as the condition of the workers on the soil is in the malaria-stricken districts, it is far worse in the healthy regions such as Lombardy. An account of the method of exploiting the rural population of the southern districts is quoted from F. Lenormant, who has penetrated South Italy in every part, in his 'La Grande Grèce.' He describes the districts in which, in the cleaning out of the ditches of the marshy fields, women, girls, and children are employed instead of beasts to carry on their heads the baskets of mud which has thus laboriously to be cleared out of the fosses. These "beasts of burthen" are literally soaked beneath the mud that oozes forth from the ill-joined osiers on to their heads and garments. Looking upon womenkind merely as a thing of a certain utility in the economy of nature (which it is the affectation of many "advanced thinkers" to do), what a race of stalwart, deep-chested men we may hope to see reared by these misery-stricken creatures!

AN ERROR CORRECTED.—Our friends of the *Humanitas* office have kindly called our attention to an erroneous statement in the literary notices of the number of the *Commonweal* issued July 23rd. In a note on the publications of *Humanitas* we said that F. S. Merlino was the author of a pamphlet called the 'Alleanza Anarchica Internazionale,' whereas the authorship is attributable to several writers on the staff of *Humanitas* and not to our comrade Merlino.—M.

A hundred years ago the world as we know it was scarcely dreamt of. At that date Marat was a veterinary surgeon at the royal mews in Versailles, Danton and Robespierre were obscure provincial lawyers, Murat was about to enter a religious order, Ney was eking out a scanty existence as a copyist, and Bonaparte himself was only second lieutenant of bombardiers of Autun in Regiment de la Père. France lay basking in security, expecting that to-morrow would be as this day and even more abundant. But that to-morrow brought with it a social thunderstorm, and when the war-clouds rolled away, as they did not until about the time when our Queen Victoria was born, Europe as we know it had begun to think and live.—*Christian Million*.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

Monthly Meeting of London Members' will be held on Monday next, August 8th, at 9 p.m.

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THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

For Mrs. Mowbray—A Few Fabians, per Annie Besant (weekly), 10s.

J. LANE, Treasurer.

REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—On Thursday, July 28th, the monthly business meeting was held, and was adjourned to the following Thursday. Afterwards the deputation from the Council was received.—U.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, July 27, Eleanor Marx-Aveling lectured on "The Woman Question." Brisk discussion followed. On Sunday, July 31, a good open-air meeting was held on the Green, addressed by Somerville, Blundell, Dalziel, and Brooks. In our hall, a successful "social" was held by Blundell and friends, after open-air meeting. T. E. Wardle lectured on "The Franchise Fraud," at the "Three Kings," Clerkenwell, on same evening. Altogether very good work is being done in this district by a small knot of active workers; will others come forward and assist? Literature has steady sale.—A. T. and W. B.

HACKNEY.—A good meeting on Wednesday, July 27, at the Broadway, London Fields, addressed by H. A. Barker and James Allman. Fair sale of *Commonweal*. On Sunday evening, in our club-room, we had a free concert, which was largely attended by members of the local Radical clubs.—J. F.

HOXTON.—Last Sunday evening, H. A. Barker addressed an outdoor meeting opposite Hoxton church, and was attentively listened to by a good audience, who warmly applauded at the finish. In the morning a large meeting was also held, addressed by H. A. Barker and J. Pope. Literature sold well.—C. J. Y.

MARYLEBONE.—We held our usual meeting in Hyde Park on Sunday afternoon, addressed by Bartlett, Brooks, and Mainwaring. The audience seemed well in accord with what our comrades had to say. Good sale of *Commonweal*.

MILE END.—On Sunday, very good meeting in Victoria Park, addressed by Davis and Westwood. *Commonweal* sold well.—W. M.

NORTH LONDON.—On Tuesday evening, July 26, a discussion was held at Ossulton Street, between Wardle and a well-known Conservative, on "Agricultural Depression." As the proceedings were interrupted by a heavy shower of rain, it was decided to resume the discussion on the following Tuesday. The usual meeting took place in Regent's Park last Sunday, addressed by Brookes and Nicoll. Collected 5s. 5½d. for the Strike Fund.—H. B.

IRSWICH.—On Sunday, two large and interesting meetings were addressed by H. H. Sparling, of London, both of which appeared to make an unusually good impression. At the one in the afternoon some questioning and a lively discussion followed, the principal opposition coming from an editor, who admitted the social evils but despaired of any remedy for them. He had lived long enough to grow thoroughly disgusted with the political tomfoolery of parties, and he thought on the ground of sociology, as expounded by Spencer, we had a hopeless task before us. He was well answered by Sparling, much to the satisfaction of the audience.—J. R.

NORWICH.—Saturday good meeting at Yarmouth, Henderson and another speaking; Sunday large meeting was held in Norwich Market Place, Turner (of London) in chair, Henderson and Cantwell spoke; in evening a much larger meeting than usual was held on the Agricultural Hall Plain, owing to our insisting upon the right of holding our usual meeting, in spite of the arrest of Henderson for the very same thing on Wednesday last, meeting addressed by Cantwell, Henderson, and Turner; at the Gordon Hall, Cantwell lectured to a large audience, subject "No Master," which was well received and frequently applauded; Turner, who was chairman, took part, also Henderson. Literature sold well. Collected for Propaganda Fund, 15s. 3d.—A. S.

WALSALL.—On Monday evening last, H. Sanders opened meeting in the Market Place, Dudley, but was at once requested by the police to desist, as they had orders to prevent any further meetings being held. On enquiry we found that this new regulation had already been visited on the Salvation Army and Church Army, and we therefore moved on to "Porter's Field," where Sanders and Weaver addressed a fair audience, and at the close several new members were enrolled. On Thursday night we had a large gathering in the Market Place, Wednesbury, addressed by A. K. Donald, Weaver, and Sanders. Good progress was made, and a number of questions put at close of the meeting were satisfactorily disposed of by Donald. On Saturday, we had a large audience at Walsall, Sanders spoke.—J. T. D.

CLAY CROSS.—A good meeting was held on Tuesday evening, July 26th, at the Angel Inn, addressed by Haslam, Cree, and Unwin. A motion approving the purpose of forming a local Socialist Society was carried unanimously. Lester was appointed secretary; a treasurer and committee were also elected. A meeting will be held next week to draw up rules and adopt a programme; it is probable that the programme of the Durham miners will be chosen. The miners at Clay Cross have been for some time in a bad way, and have recently been subjected to additional reductions and injustices. They are getting fully alive to the necessity of abolishing private property in the means of production.—R. U.

DUBLIN.—At the weekly meeting of the Labour League, on Thursday, July 28th, Fitzpatrick delivered the first of a series of lectures on the "Rights of Labour" before a very good audience, the bourgeoisie element being fairly represented. He traced the condition of the labourers from the time of Henry VIII. to the present; sketched the rise and progress of trades' unionism, showing the causes of its comparative success in the past, and of its inability to hold its own at present, and completely demolished the nostrums of the temperance and thrift advocates, and of the political reformers. Keegan and Hall also spoke. This was the most successful indoor meeting that has been held here for a long time.

SHEFFIELD SOCIALISTS.—On Sunday, July 24, a meeting was held at Rotherham, sympathising with the men on strike against a reduction of wages. We had a very good and successful meeting. On Monday, a very good meeting in Bramhall Lane, Sheffield. During the summer months we have several times been to this place, where there is no doubt we are making many study the question of Socialism.—M. A. M.

SOCIALIST UNION (NOTTINGHAM SECTION).—On Thursday, July 28, Proctor lectured in our club-room, subject "What is Socialism?" A short and interesting discussion followed. These lectures are to continue every Thursday evening, with a view of educating our members and friends, and bringing out new speakers for propaganda. Peacock, who has not been well for some time, is away recruiting his health in Scotland. His return home as a valuable and active worker in the cause is anxiously looked for at the end of this week.—T. P.

WOOLWICH.—At the Arsenal Gates, last Sunday, R. Banner addressed a large gathering of people, and at the close of the meeting collected 6s., which will be handed over to the Metropolitan Radical Federation as a contribution towards the expenses of their Irish delegation. Literature again sold out.—R. B.

Scottish Land and Labour League.

A meeting of the Edinburgh branch was held on Thursday, at which the officers of the branch were rearranged, preparations made for opening up new ground at Broxburn and district, and resuming the work at Leith. J. L. Mahon was appointed Organising Secretary of the League. Meetings held during the week as follows:

Hawick.—New ground was opened here last week. A very large audience of workmen attended Mahon's meeting and heartily sympathised with the speech. A good collection and sale of literature was made, and a number of names given in to form a branch. There was no opposition.

Galashiels.—The meeting announced for last Tuesday could not be held in consequence of the rain. It was agreed amongst those who did come out in spite of the rain to adjourn till next Tuesday. A few friends were consulted, and arrangements for a good meeting for the following week were made.

Dunfermline.—On Wednesday July 27 a very large and successful meeting was held in the public park. After Mahon's address comrade Peacock of Nottingham, who was on a bicycling tour, also spoke, and being a native of the locality was well received. No opposition and sale of literature and collection satisfactory. A large number of men from the Forth Bridge works attended.

Cowdenbeath.—This is the largest mining village in Fifeshire, and the first Socialist meeting was regarded with some interest. The miners turned out in good force, and listened with close attention to Mahon's exposition of the aims of Socialism. They all seemed well impressed, and arranged another meeting for the following week. There was some slight opposition. Collection and sale of literature good.

Kirkcaldy.—The town bellman boycotted the Socialists and nearly spoiled the meeting. This impudent official, with the conceit of a lord and the impudence of a footman, insolently refused to announce the meeting. However, a few people were got together, who listened with interest to a short address, bought some literature, and promised to help to make the next meeting a thorough success. A miner from Dysart also attended the meeting and arranged for Mahon to address his fellow-workmen on the following Monday.

Loanhead.—No meeting held, on account of Trades' Holidays.

Burntisland.—A meeting of the shale-miners now on strike was held in the football field on Saturday afternoon last. A great number of the men had left the district, but all who had not done so attended and seemed in thorough agreement with the Socialist principles and policy as laid down in the speeches of Mahon, Davidson, and Donaldson. No collection was made, as the men were on strike, but there was a good sale of literature.

Broxburn.—Tuke and Smith went out on Saturday night, addressed a sympathetic meeting, and arranged for Mahon's visit. A good quantity of literature was given away.

Leith.—Hossack and Mahon addressed a meeting on Sunday morning, and arranged for regular meetings to be held in future.

Edinburgh.—Meetings on Carlton Hill and Mound had to be abandoned owing to the rain. A fairly large meeting was held in Queen's Park, at which Smith, Mahon, and Tuke spoke. Good collection made at the close. CHAS. WM. TUKE, sec.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, W. On Thursday Aug. 4, at 8 sharp, adjourned Business Meeting; at 8.30, Dr. E. Aveling on "The Value of Brain Work."

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday August 7, at 8.30 p.m. FREE CONCERT by Wm. Blundell and Friends. Wednesday Aug. 10, at 8.30. Mr. P. Barry, "Scientific Boycotting for Trade Combination."

Croydon.—Parker Road.

Hackney.—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 8 till 11.30; Saturday, 7 till 12.30; Sunday 11 a.m. till 12 p.m. Members Business Meeting every Tuesday at 8.30 p.m. Debating Class every Thursday.

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday August 7, at 8 p.m. H. Halliday Sparling, a lecture.

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—Globe Coffee House, 227 High St., Hoxton. Committee Meeting on Saturday evening at 8 o'clock. On Sunday evening, August 7, George Bernard Shaw will lecture—"Why Socialists don't act up to their principles." Members and friends are earnestly requested to attend and make the opening meeting at our new address a great success.

Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday. Discussions held every Sunday morning at 11.

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

North London.—Branch meets at 32 Camden Road, N.W., for reception of new members and other business, on Wednesday evenings at 8 o'clock, until further notice. H. Bartlett, sec.

PROVINCES.

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

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 7.30 p.m. to transact business. Class for the study of 'Das Capital' at 8.30.

Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily.

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

Hull.—Merrill's Dairy, 36 Walker Street. Mondays, at 8 p.m. August 8, "The Meaning of Socialism."

Lancaster.—Addresses every Sunday morning on the Quay Jetty.

Leeds.—17 Chesham Street, Sweet Street. Club and reading room open every evening. Business meetings every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Leicester.—Office of Hosiery Union, Horsefair Street. Fridays at 8 p.m.

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

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

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 7.

11.30...Garrett—"Plough Inn".....Lane
11.30...Hackney—"Salmon and Ball".....Allman
11.30...Hammersmith—Beardon Road.....The Branch
11.30...Hoxton Ch., Pitfield Street.....Barker
11.30...Mitcham Fair Green.....Sparling
11.30...Regent's Park.....Kitz
11.30...St. Pancras Arches.....Bartlett
11.30...Walham Green.....The Branch
3...Hyde Park.....Davis
6.30...Victoria Park.....Mainwaring
7...Clerkenwell Green.....Blundell

Tuesday.

8...Ossulton Street, Easton Road.....Nicoll
8...Mile-end Waste.....Davis & Allman

Wednesday.

8...Broadway, London Fields.....Allman & Flockton

Thursday.

8...Hoxton, Pitfield Street.....The Branch

PROVINCES.

Glasgow.—Sunday: Jail's Square, 1 o'clock; Paisley Road Toll at 5.

Cambuslang.—Saturday: 6 o'clock.

Motherwell.—Saturday: at 8 o'clock.

Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, 11; Vicar's Croft, 7.30. Friday: Corner of Christ Church, Meadow Lane, at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place at 3; Agricultural Hall Plain at 7.

Dereham.—Every Wednesday, Market Place at 7.

North Walsham.—Sunday: at 11.

Wymondham.—Sunday: at 11.

Yarmouth.—Every Thursday on the Beach at 7.

SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.

OFFICE: 4 PARK STREET, EDINBURGH.

Friday 5. Cowdenbeath, South Park at 4 p.m. Dunfermline, the Public Park at 7.30.

Saturday 6. Dysart and Bowland Miners. Dysart, Dubbie Green at 4 p.m.

Kirkcaldy, the Post Brae, High St. 6.30

Burntisland, the Links at 5 p.m.

Leith, 10 a.m., Quayside.

Edinburgh, Grassmarket 3 p.m.

Queen's Park 6.30; Mound 8 p.m.

Dundee, J. L. Mahon will address a series of meetings.

Monday 8. Hawick, Tower Knowe at 7.30—Tuke.

Tuesday 9. Galashiels, Market Place at 7.30—Tuke and Walker.

Thursday 11. Edinburgh, Discussion Class at Park St.

Saturday 13. Burntisland, the Links at 5 p.m.

Sunday 14. Same as August 7.

Meetings will also be held at Forfar, Carnoustie, and Arbroath during the week.

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Sat. 6.—Blyth, Town Hall, 7.30.

Sun. 7.—Backworth, Reading Room, 10.30 a.m.

Seaton Terrace Co-operative Hall, 2.30 p.m.

Newcastle, 7.30 p.m.

Mon. 8.—Consett, Assembly Rooms.

Tues. 9.—North Shields, 7.30 p.m.

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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. 3.—No. 83.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 13, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES.

The hot words and straightforward quarrelling which took place at the miners' gala on July 31st at Blyth Links, were not more than might have been expected from our downright brethren of the north. Some people will be lamenting the appearance of disunion amongst a most important body of workers after a defeat in an ordinary labour struggle. But it is rather a matter of certainty than of hope that there is more at the bottom of it than that. That the indignation of the more thoughtful of the men at the "soft-fighting" of their leaders shows a gathering determination for real union founded on a complete sense of the fact that the interests of all workers are the same, and that workers, organisations cannot stop short at merely fighting a matter of wages in the passing day; but must aim at the one thing worth aiming at, a condition of things in which the workers should control their own affairs, and not as now pay the heavy price of slavery to the employers for managing matters for them.

Mr. Fenwick who (very naturally certainly) seems to have got very angry at the attacks made on him, and who attacked our comrade Mahon in turn, got much mixed up in talking on Socialism. He seemed to feel that a defence of the capitalists as masters was not likely to be well-received by such an audience, so he attempted the defence of capital by enrolling the workers also in the capitalist army on the grounds of their invested savings. This sort of thing catches those who do not understand (as probably Mr. Fenwick himself doesn't) that it is the individualistic capital itself and not the holders of it, that is the enemy we are fighting against. The working classes by the practice of "thrift," which to a man who knows what the life of an honest man, duly contributing his share of labour to the world should be, is horrible even to think of, manage to save a little money, which under the present system they are compelled to "invest," that is, to hand over to be used by the very monopoly which prevents them from managing their own affairs.

The capital earned by the labour of the working-classes will not be taken away from them; on the contrary, it will be resumed by them. Each man will not have a special portion of it to call his own, i.e., to have the power of preventing other people from using it; but each person will have the full share that he needs for developing his powers of producing wealth in concert with his fellows—that is, *he will have as much of the means of production as he can use.* Which means in other words that not only he need no longer have a scanty livelihood won by over-toil, but also that his livelihood *will be no longer precarious.* "Thrift" in the sense in which that much abused word is used, meaning saving, will be transferred from the individual to the community.

In short, instead of the chance which Mr. Fenwick offers to the workers as bait to them to hook themselves on to capitalism—the chance, viz., of becoming owners of a very very small share of the privilege to make people pay for the right of working, Socialism offers to every one of them his full share of all that he needs in order to work like a man and live like a man.

There is an interesting article in the current number of the *Contemporary* on the Great Depression in Trade, by Mr. Wells, which is well worth the attention of a Socialist. Beginning by pointing out what a serious blow the opening of the Suez Canal was to the warehousing business of England, he goes on to show the great "displacement" of human labour which has taken place during the last ten or twelve years, owing to the rapid strides towards the perfecting of machinery which has been forced on civilisation by the competition of the world-market. The facts he gives tend to show that the last decade has introduced a new revolution in industry (a new phase in its evolution, to speak more correctly) approaching in importance to that of the introduction of modern machinery itself, the phase of the perfecting of machinery and the acquirement of the knowledge of its full commercial use.

Mr. Wells is a cheerful specimen of the commercial optimist, and does not trouble himself with the consequences of this new phase, except to sing in an undertone, as it were, a quiet hymn on the enormous cheapening of wares that is resulting from it. But a Socialist

¹ "Thrift" means the art of thriving, not the practice of starving yourself into a mummy while you are young to prevent the robber class from sending you to the workhouse-prison when you are old.

will be inclined to ask him, "How long do you think you can prevent those that do work and those that could work if you would allow them, from sharing in these advantages? For if you the monopolist owners of the civilised world are so incapable of organising the labour whose fruits you are so jubilant over, that there are vast numbers of unemployed and starving people in civilised countries, and a far vaster number much below anything approaching to a reasonable standard of well-being, amidst all this so easily created wealth, then the facts condemn you as incapable to carry affairs on much longer, and you and your monopoly are hastening to an end."

One other Socialist deduction from such facts. The pace of the march towards the change in the basis of society is increasing decade by decade; if we are not prepared to deal with the crisis when it comes, we shall make but a sorry job of "the morrow of the revolution." Surely we ought to make no delay in doing our very utmost in getting the workers to see their real position, and as a consequence uniting together in a great and inclusive federation of labour which should form a new society under the old dying one with its parliaments and artificial "laws"—a new society which would form habits of thought and action that would be "laws" indeed without being called so, and which would take the place of the old society of monopoly and usurpation naturally and surely, whether that takes place with or without a dramatically obvious crisis.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

MEN WHO ARE NOT SOCIALISTS.

II.

MR. JOHN HOPE occupied an office next door to the one in which I served my apprenticeship. He was a man of some 45 or 50 years, of a robust and somewhat intellectual appearance; and although, at the time referred to, his business—that of a commission agent—was apparently not of a very lucrative order, yet he was esteemed in the neighbourhood as being a man of some ability.

I observed that he generally invited his customers to a restaurant over the way, and that he invariably issued therefrom engaged in what appeared to be a political or religious discussion, as he seldom liberated his friends' hands with a final hearty wring until he had imparted half an hour's speech to them on the pavement. I learnt that he devoted some attention to spiritualism, and that he was a devout believer in phrenology.

I frequently met him on the stair, and although I was but a lad he always gave me a friendly nod as he passed. This circumstance induced me to form a favourable opinion of Mr. Hope, for I esteemed his taking notice of me as due to his detecting in my youthful physiognomy indications of that early genius which, I was then secretly convinced, I possessed in a marked degree.

My esteem for Mr. Hope was greatly increased by an incident that occurred. One day, coming into the office in which I was employed, to borrow a measuring tape, and my master happening to be out, he asked permission to "read my bumps." My heart fluttered, and I tremulously wondered whether he would pronounce me to be a coming great poet or the future founder of a new school of philosophy—my mind at that time not being quite made up as to which of those high intellectual altitudes my genius was most gifted to ascend; although, having read the life of Shelley, I had a humble confidence that I might achieve equal distinction in either or in both.

After a lengthened topographical survey of my cranium with his fingers, he said: "Well, my laddie, you've rather a strange kind of a head; its not like anybody else's that I've felt before, and I'm somewhat puzzled with it. Some parts are like my son James', and he's a young man of great promise. You're high in the crown—the bump of veneration—a grand sign in young folks; you've a capital crop of hair too, and the outside thatch is often not a bad indication of the folk you'll meet with inside the house." This deliverance pleased me; for although he did not tell me point-blank that I was a prodigy, I set the omission down either to his imperfect skill or his fear of ministering to my youthful vanity.

Some time afterwards, Mr. Hope removed his place of business, and I heard little of him for several years. One day, however, I noticed in the newspapers that he had successfully sued a railway company for some £1,500 as compensation for injuries received in a collision on the company's lines. I subsequently learnt that his injuries had in no

way interfered with his ability (after the suit was settled) to perform his commercial duties. Indeed, the railway collision appeared to be but a rude method which fortune had taken of apprising him of her favour, for soon afterwards he started several sons in business, purchased a villa in a suburban village, and became known as a successful City man.

I renewed my acquaintance with Mr. Hope about the beginning of the present year, a friend introducing me to him in a restaurant. My friend, who knew him well through business intercourse, informed me that he was very popular in the little town where he resided. He was chairman of the local literary society, and a member of the School Board. Mr. Hope, together with two lawyers, a doctor, a butcher, a retired publican, and an M.P. clergyman, had constituted themselves a kind of non-official committee of public safety in the village. Their meetings—at which they sat in judgment upon local scandals, and swayed as with an unseen sceptre the destinies of all local appointments and institutions—were held in a tavern; and when it was found necessary to prolong their deliberations beyond the authorised hours the sergeant of police was invited to form one of quorum, and thus fortified with the visible presence of law and order by their side, they continued their conferences without fear of reproach till an early hour in the morning.

Mr Hope did not recognise me on my being introduced to him, and when my friend informed him that I was a Socialist, he exclaimed, "Ah! I was once a Socialist myself,—but I found Socialism a dream—a mere dream!" "Is he a bit of a poet?" he musingly enquired of my friend. My friend replied that he did not think I was guilty in that respect. (My friend has only a superficial acquaintance with my literary habits; besides, he is rather a dull sort of fellow.) "Not a poet?" Mr. Hope replied. "Hem! Mr. Bradlaugh, you know, has divided Socialists into two classes—poets and fools—and your friend I am sure does not belong to the latter category." Here Mr. Hope laughed cheerily. "Explain," he said, addressing me, "what you mean by Socialism." I did so in a brief way. "It will never do—never, I assure you!" he exclaimed. "You don't understand the world—you don't know human nature as I do." Then he added, "Don't misunderstand me; I am a Socialist myself—a true Socialist. I have every sympathy with your ideal, but I don't believe in equality, I believe in the survival of the fittest. Have you ever read Darwin?" I replied that I had, and that I accepted his theory. "You have not understood him, then. Listen." And here Mr. Hope entered into a lengthy history of his own career. He had been a miner, had turned mechanic, had worked abroad, had managed by native talent and industry to acquire a little fortune, had set up his sons in business, married two of his daughters well. "And now," he demanded, triumphantly, after bringing his career up to date (omitting, however, any reference to the railway accident affair), "what about your equality now? how does your Socialism apply to my case?" I replied that genius and special ability on the one hand, and stupidity and indolence on the other, were the product of conditions anterior to and outside the individual, and that an equality of such conditions, which Socialism would certainly do much to attain, would tend to make men much more equal, physically and mentally, than they now were. "You have mentioned genius," he interrupted, "speak to me about that; what have you to say about some men having genius and others none? I am interested on the point; I have a son— But never mind—go on." I went on, and favoured him with some deep ethnological, physiological, sociological views on the subject (I rather pride myself upon my ability in this respect) while he listened with impatience,—which, I regret to say, even some of my Socialist friends exhibit when I get "under way" on this subject.

Before I had concluded, Mr. Hope, who, with manifest bad taste had been glancing at an evening newspaper, which had just been brought in, rose suddenly from his seat, and bringing his clenched fist down on the table with a bang, exclaimed, "The damned scoundrels!" "Who? what?" my friend and I asked at once. "Who?" he shouted in quite a wonderful passion, "those lazy, drunken, good-for-nothing miners! Why, I gave £5 to their Strike Committee, and it appears, forsooth! they were threatening to strike the villas on the hill in my village last night!—injure their best friends, the people who have maintained them for weeks! Bah! don't talk to me of Socialism, sir! That is Socialism—robbery, outrage, murder! Socialism, ha! ha!" Here Mr. Hope sat down and laughed derisively. I told Mr. Hope that I thought he was too excited to discuss Socialism calmly—a very obvious statement of fact—and I suggested that we might have another round of toddy (another is a very serviceable adjective!). "No, sir!" he cried, "I would not take whiskey from you, if you are a Socialist! I would not drink with a Socialist! I am going away!" My friend here interposed. He asked Mr. Hope to remember that everybody was not as able as Mr. Hope to grasp the subtleties of such questions. Men, as Mr. Hope himself had remarked, had different mental capacities: was it any wonder, then, that they came to different conclusions? He was quite sure that if his friend had the advantage of a few further discussions with Mr. Hope he would no doubt modify some of his opinions. The wrath disappeared from Mr. Hope's countenance like mists before a mid-day sun, and he insisted on being allowed to pay for the next round himself. He then told a few funny stories, the telling of which still further improved his humour; and on bidding me good-bye he shook my hand heartily, saying, "After all, I like to meet a young man with strange notions; it shows he has some brains. I had strange notions myself when I was young. Good-bye; I hope I shall meet you again."

"At the barricades?"

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

INHUMAN ARITHMETIC.

(Concluded from p. 251.)

THE Professors, to avoid long phrases, state it briefly that according to his position, a man has the right to the work, *i.e.*, a right to the £110 a year produced by each one of it may be 10, or 100, or 1,000 of these zeroes. In other words the man of position is a moneyed man with the right to £1,000, £10,000, or £1,000,000 a-year, and he is esteemed accordingly. It is his position which settles the amount of money to which the professors give him the right, so that money is a convenient measure of his position. Our motto is "Money makes the man," that is the men of position; the rest are Average Machines and mere Digestive Bags, not entitled to be called men at all; nor on this system can their women and children claim to be human beings.

This surely cannot be the aim of the toil of the people. Such a result cannot be consciously aimed at. It is a mere mechanical result, most mean and scanty, miserable for all, both rich and poor. It is scanty because the system degrades us to machines, of which one half undoes what the other half puts together. It is miserable for all because men are not machines, though chained to act like machines, and more miserable still because the thing is all out of joint and distorted.

The great fault of our Inhuman Arithmetic is that it thus counts men as parts of machines, and as influencing each other like the wheels of a clock, but not otherwise. It assumes that in everything one and one make two, or that twice one is two, propositions axiomatically true if the elements taken together do not affect each other, but very misleading if applied in other cases. We can scarcely deal with the most elementary kinds of matter without seeing this. Salt, for example, taken in a moderate quantity is an important article of food, but if ten times as much is taken it ceases to be food and becomes a violent poison.

A man at work by himself does a certain amount. If we take two men they will not do twice as much, the amount will depend upon whether they are friendly together, and whether their capacities are properly related. Otherwise, they may do together less than either separately, half their time being wasted in attempts to damage each other, or in using tools unfit for the work. One man or one horse dragging at a waggon may not be able to move it at all. If there are two men or horses, there may be and will be more wasted toil but no more result, unless they pull together. Then, indeed, they may move the waggon and do useful work. One rainy day may do good, while two would make a disastrous flood. The fact is that twice a thing may be infinitely more or infinitely less than a single unit, so far as its effects are concerned. It is so in life universally. In the most important thing of all, more important than food and shelter, the single unit can do nothing, nothing I mean in deriving happiness from his work. It is the fellowship of society, even of two, the working together and in union, which produces infinitely more than mere material wealth, and brings that without which the material results are almost worthless.

Inhuman Arithmetic, however, continues to reckon that the man of position, who gets £1,000 a-year out of the labourer is twice as good as one who only gets £500. It never asks itself the question, Why is he better? or, Why is he better off? £1,000 will not buy twice as much happiness for a man as £500. It is true that in our system the ideas are very base, and are mostly limited to the purchase of frippery, and to eating and drinking. But a man with £1,000 cannot eat twice as much as one with £500, and even if he could he would not get twice as much happiness. Nor is he likely to do twice as much good. Quite the contrary, for Inhuman Arithmetic shows his fellow-men to him as mere machines, who are fully satisfied (or ought to be so) with their 6d. a-day. The man, therefore, in the higher position has nothing else to do but to lay field to field, and house to house, and gold to gold. He spends his time in guarding these from trespass; he condemns himself, so to speak, to solitary confinement. Poor wretch; but even he is human, for he thinks to do a good to others when he leaves the rest of his substance to his babes. He does as he is told, and is ignorant of the legends of Midas and Scrooge.

As the rich men count their money and their houses and have no joy in them, so they count the poor zero workers as beings incapable of pleasure, and as mere machines fitted to turn out as much stuff as possible with the least consumption of fuel, and "when past work" to be thrown aside as so many leaky kettles. Machines have no rights, fuel being only supplied to them while actually working for the benefit of the people of position. But these latter are counted according to their money-bags, and are entitled to take a corresponding proportion of the produce. From long continued custom they are held to have acquired rights proportioned to their money-bags, but not involving any duties. Such rights in the orthodox wasters begin with life and continue up to the very day of death. The work of their hands or of their head has nothing to do with it. They do quite as much work as sucklings, or when they are at their last gasp as they do in the day of their full vigour. But they say that by custom they have an everlasting right to the productions of their machines, independently of the kind of exertion or idleness which they may indulge in, equally whether they lie in bed or follow the hounds, or dawdle in one or other of the ordinary aristocratic frivolities.

Occasionally (I wonder it is not more often) the poor zeroes resent being treated as machines. The Irish landlords are persons in very high positions, and live on the produce of 10 or 100 or 500 zero workers. These have turned out produce with more or less regularity during five or six hundred years. Just now, however, they are begin-

ning to think like men, and instead of leaving a half or two-thirds or three-quarters of their produce to the people of position, they are looking into the justice of the case. It makes one smile to see the members of other privileged classes running to the rescue of the Irish landlord, and bringing to bear the doctrines of Inhuman Arithmetic. Mr. Giffen, one of the greatest Arithmeticians, points out that his friends have as much right to their rents as ever. This is true. He goes on to argue that they ought to be compensated for the failure in their zero machines to work according to contract: he suggests that the compensation should be 20 times the year's rent. Having got this, they could use another method of managing their machines, called taking 5 per cent. interest, and would receive, with a glow of benevolent satisfaction, as large an annual product as before, to be continued for ever, or at all events as long as usury continues. How ingenious is Giffen, thus with a little shuffling of figures, in the usual Inhuman Arithmetic way, to persuade the very easily persuaded self-interested people that they are at one and the same time keeping all they had before, and also acting with generosity towards their slaves. But if we put on one side this money-juggle, with all its unclean accompaniments and diplomacies, and look for any practical product in the way of justice between man and man, there is just nothing at all.

Justice is not estimated in the processes of Inhuman Arithmetic. All that is ever brought into account there is the interest, the money-bag interest of these all-devouring people of position. No argument can be given why they should have twenty or ten or five years' purchase of their rents, except that this latter kind of usury has been paid to them and their ancestors for a great many years. That may be in form an argument, but it is not reason, and the unhappy workers, not only in Ireland, but all over the world, are beginning to ask for reason and justice. The cry of the privileged, "Give, give," is unjust, and to yield to it is unreason. Even the privileged would see this, if it were not that the unholy jumble of the Law, cursed with the curse of the Roman Empire, has been forced on us in the place of Justice. It is the people of position who have done this, and thus bind both themselves and others to try all things by the measure of Inhuman Arithmetic. At every point the Law deals out compensation, not to men, but to their accidental belongings. The person of position gets much if his money-bags are touched; the poor zeroes get nothing even when the life is all but crushed out of them. One of these works till he can work no longer and is then turned into the gutter. Do the rich consumers who have fed on his work all their lives club together to keep him, even in such poor luxury as he has lived in? Yes, at a cheap rate; they raise him from the gutter into a hospital,—is it a rise? It is all we can expect when men are treated as machines, and we see the evil effect over all parts of society. The rich cease to have any human feeling, and as they stupidly pile up riches they become wasting machines, even in a more real sense than their slaves become working machines. This is inevitable; nothing in the long run can prevent a clique of men from becoming like these among whom they live. The zero machine is poor indeed in all his surroundings: he lives in the midst of filth, and his thoughts have to be turned ever to the question whether he and his wife and children will have enough for their next meal. His toil is unremitting, and he has no time to read. But though all this keeps him down, it is not directly degrading, nor does it stifle kindness, and the natural social impulse to aid his neighbours in their need.

The people of position, on the contrary, by their very conditions, are impelled towards the selfish object of preserving their riches. Their thoughts naturally centre on this, as unremittingly as necessity drives the poor to labour. Selfishness is more degrading than any labour, and thus the rich cannot raise their ideas above frippery and ugly luxury, or sports, sometimes brutal, sometimes silly.

Such are the results of the application to the affairs of life of the Inhuman Arithmetic of Position and Averages, or as it is sometimes called, Political Economy. It would seem, however, that to be political it should not leave out of sight altogether the social instincts of man. This it does when it sets before him competition as the best element in society. Before it can claim to be economy, its processes must be made less wasteful than those of the internecine war of competition. The fact, however, is that it does not really pretend, except as a matter of respectable form, to advance a scheme for the improvement of mankind or for the management of human affairs in a good way, but merely states how men will act if they act under the motive of their basest desires.

The Economy which all should try to establish has for aim "the multiplication of human life at its highest standard"; and to effect this we must first "determine the noblest type of man, and aim simply at maintaining the largest number of persons of that class" (J. Ruskin). But we cannot have this result till we have conquered for ourselves some of the wisdom of which a letter of Carlyle's published a short time since in the newspapers said, "it is evermore the highest of conquests to every son of Adam, nay, in a large sense, the one conquest: and the precept to every one of us is ever,—Above all thy gettings, get understanding. . . . In this pursuit the greatest help is one's own earnest reflections and meditations, and to begin with, a candid, just and sincere mind in oneself." The one difficulty to be surmounted in our progress toward real Political Economy is, then, the getting of understanding, and the greatest help to this is a candid, just and sincere mind. The getting here spoken of, and the candid and just temper of mind suitable thereto, cannot have a greater contrast than the getting of money, and the grovelling inhumanity which is fitted to it.

C. J. FAULKNER.

POST MORTEM.

Made in the image of God,
The author of *Genesis* saith—
Formed by his hands from a clod,
Brought into life by his breath:
Yet here is the crown of creation struck
down in the stupor of death.

Lo, thus are all secrets revealed—
In Love, and in Death, its eclipse:
The motionless form unconcealed
Is akin to the lover who strips
For the blissful embrace of the body and
the passionate pressure of lips.

Naked here lying at length,
Two corpses—a man and a boy;
One seeming shorn of his strength
By a world that is strong to destroy,
The other with infantile limbs that can
hardly have tasted of joy.

What little their lives were worth
The world has cruelly wrecked;
Here Pity in vain stepped forth
And the doom has taken effect.
Who cares for their bodies, unclaimed,
unknown?—they will do to dissect.

Brain, be thou steady and still,
Heart, be thou hard as a stone;
Grasp in the vice of the will
The sickness and sorrow unknown;
Forget that the blood in those veins is
the same that is bursting thine own.

The surgeon draws with his knife
A long line carefully planned
In the late habitation of life,
And deep in it plunges his hand;
Then calmly explains the disease that
the students may understand.

So strange a phenomenon still
Seems Death, that I watch with surprise
For the dead man handled so ill
To turn in his torment and rise
With scorn on those motionless lips and
wrath in those lustreless eyes.

Do I deem that he should not have died?
Nay, I doubt not that death is a boon;
And life may not ever abide
In the splendour of morning and noon;
But here was a life without sunshine,
and the darkness has fallen too soon.

Doctor, what do you expect?
Do you call that a man lying there?
A man walks free and erect,
With a countenance open and fair.
Your knife is at fault—there is tissue
and blood—but the spirit is—
where?

'Tis the mission of Science to heal,
And to slay is the mission of war—
The commonest cant; yet I feel
That Science is bloodier far:—
So calm in pursuit of its object of seeing
all things as they are.

Full many a soldier who stood
Half dead with abhorrence and fright
Has looked on the shedding of blood
Till he suffered no pain at the sight,
And at length with a bloodthirsty madness
has plunged in the thick of the fight.

But the raw scientific recruits
And dexterous doctors derive
Much wisdom from innocent brutes
Stretched out and unable to strive,
That are tortured and flayed and cut
open and poisoned and roasted alive.

This butchery benefits us?
I will die in a gutter instead!
Is humanity happier thus
For the ocean of blood that is shed?
And still you demand living victims,
and scratch at the bones of the dead.

When myriads daily endure
An existence with pestilence rife
That nothing but Nature can cure,
And you mock them with poison and
knife,—
This is but a science of death—I will
teach you a science of life.

To live is to labour and rest,
To swim and to ride and to run,
To delight whom delighteth us best,
To rejoice in the wind and the sun,
To learn all the lessons of Nature that
body and soul may be one.

There are forests and uplands of grass,
Sweet orchards and valleys of wheat,
Still pools, and swift rivers that pass
The unruly green billows to meet,
Where the days and the nights and the
varying seasons are wholesome
and sweet.

And sometimes in Nature I scan
A shadow of longing and pain,
As if she were waiting for man
And feared that she waited in vain;
As a bride well adorned for her husband
who knoweth not yet he is slain.

And what is it holds them apart?
Make answer, thou hideous foe
That drainest the blood from the heart
Of the people of earth lying low,
Thou vampire of Civilisation, thou
worker of ruin and woe.

But at thee in the pride of thy strength
Shall a fearless defiance be hurled
From the people made ready at length
With the banner of Freedom unfurled,
And the wrath of a just retribution
shall smite and destroy thee, O
World.

And sages, when thou art destroyed,
Shall scan thee, but they shall be
few;
For the people of earth, overjoyed
At the vision of ages come true,
Shall forget all the shame of the old
in the fulness of life in the new.

REGINALD A. BECKETT.

DUBLIN PAWNBROKERS.—Nearly all the pawnbrokers of Dublin, acting in conjunction with the police, have decided to curtail the long hours during which the pawn offices are open for taking in pledges. Hitherto these pawn offices have been kept open on Sunday mornings until two or three o'clock, doing no doubt a brisk, but at the same time a wretched class of business. In fact the hours tended to public demoralisation and the new regulation will be hailed with satisfaction.

"The *Labour Tribune* is very wroth with the miners of Scotland for saying anything against the labour party now in Parliament. I daresay this fact will not affect the Scotch miners very seriously, since the fickleness of that journal on labour questions has prevented it from ever gaining any real hold on the miners here. Its whole *raison d'être* seems to be to bepraise the labour members, and denounce employers and Tories. A little hearty denunciation is all very well in its way. So too is praise when deserved, but indiscriminate praise is as bad as undeserved denunciation. Mr. Bradlaugh, for example, is continually being lauded to the skies, just because he happens to be Mr. Bradlaugh. By their fruits ye shall know them, is a very good rule of judgment, and Mr. Bradlaugh's recent conduct in connection with the Truck Bill is worthy of the Toryism of fifty years ago."—*Cummock News*. Well said! The features here complained of have been too prominent to escape notice, and we thoroughly endorse the writer's comment, particularly the latter portion of it. We should indeed think poorly of the Scottish miners if they were altogether satisfied with the so-called labour party now in Parliament, or with the *Labour Tribune* as their advocate. The labour party of the near future, we may hope, will be much more sturdy, and less "respectable," than our present meek and mild members; and the *Labour Tribune* will have to improve considerably, and not bury its head so much to the obvious tendencies of the times, if it is to continue to hold any position among the labour press.



"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.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

JONASSON.—Regret we cannot use it.
E. TEESDALE, Hull, asks for name of any book containing pretty complete resumé or analysis of Factory Acts.
E. R., Stratford, J. M'C., Glasgow, and others.—The George M'Glynn movement is of course of great value but is not all-sufficing. Nothing further than this has been said.
"A SUNDERLAND LABOURER" writes urging the need for earnest study on the part of the workers generally.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday August 10.

ENGLAND		HOLLAND	
Justice	New Haven (Conn.)—Work-	Hague—Recht voor Allen	
Jus	men's Advocate	Amsterdam—Voorwaarts	
Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	ITALY	
Labour Tribune	San Francisco (Cal) The People	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio	
Christian Socialist	St Louis (Mo.)—Altruist	Marsala—La Nuova Eta	
	Die Parole	SPAIN	
INDIA			
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	El Productor	
UNITED STATES		Cadiz—El Socialismo	
New York—Der Sozialist	Le Revolte	AUSTRIA	
Truthseeker	Guise—Le Devoir	Arbeiterstimme	
Leader	Lille—Le Travailleur	ROUMANIA	
John Swinton's Paper	BELGIUM		
Boston—Woman's Journal	Liege—L'Avenir	Jassy—Lupta	
Chicago (Ill.)—Labor Enquirer	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde	DENMARK	
Vorbote	Ghent—Vooruit	Social-Demokraten	
Hammonton (NJ) Credit Foncier	SWITZERLAND	SWEDEN	
	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat	Stockholm—Social-Demokraten	

LOG-ROLLING.

OUR outspoken kinsmen in America have invented an expressive phrase to characterise the trade of politics. Neighbours in the uncivilised west help each other to roll the logs of which their houses are to be built. So the civilised Political Tradesmen say to each other, "Help me to roll my coercion log for the repair of Castle Rackrent; I'll lend a hand in bringing chicory-logs when you are building a Coffee Palace." Neither side is troubled by the character of this kind of mutual payment for services rendered. For as De Foe says, when speaking "of telling unavoidable trading lies," "there is some difference between an honest man and an honest tradesman," and "there are some latitudes, like poetical licences in other cases, which a Tradesman is and must be allowed, and which by the custom and usage of trade he may give himself a liberty in, which cannot be allowed in other cases to any man, no, nor to the Tradesman himself out of his business; I say, he may take some liberties, but within bounds; and whatever some pretenders to strict living may say, yet that Tradesman shall pass with me for a very honest man, notwithstanding the liberty which he gives himself of this kind, if he does not take those liberties in an exorbitant manner."

The Political Tradesman takes liberties, but within Parliamentary bounds, such liberties as, let us hope, he would not attempt to take "out of his business." So long as the log which he may roll for a friend is not exorbitantly dirty, that Tradesman shall pass for a very honest man in the bosom of his family or at church. There is a letter about TEMPERANCE AND POLITICS, dated July 12, from a Mr. T. W. Russell, M.P., who is both Teetotaler and Unionist, and a star distinguishable from the general Milky Whey of Parliamentary Nonentities. His letter puts neatly, or at least in a short space, the log-rolling idea or rather mixture of notions. Says Mr. Russell, "It is none of our business if they choose to import politics into a non-political movement," but it is not clear which of the two, Teetotalism and Unionism, should not be mixed with the other, as being one or both or neither political or non-political. When this honest Political Tradesman, as he says, "resigned his membership of the United Kingdom Alliance," apparently he thought that he could resign too his beliefs on the subject of temperance. "Too many who call themselves honest tradesman, and would take it very ill to have any one tax their integrity" (De Foe), yet seem to slip these beliefs on and off without much mental exertion. The distilling of spirits is spoken of in awful terms from temperance platforms, and the whole system of alcoholic drinks is denounced as the cause of untold misery in this world and in the next.

But when the Political Tradesman has ceased to deal in those denunciatory wares, he takes quite easily to the drink business. As Mr. T. W. Russell, the quondam member of the United Kingdom Alliance, quite naively puts it, "he does not ask whether the candidate he supports is a distiller." I suppose such men do not think, when they roll on the barrel filled as they say with untold misery, whether this is an exorbitant price to pay for getting rolled forward their own particular log.

C. J. F.

THE LOCK-OUT OF THE SCOTCH SHALE-MINERS.

ON August 3rd I paid a visit to the shale-miners locked-out at Broxburn, and a short account of their condition and struggle will be useful to our comrades generally, and in particular to our miner comrades.

When the lock-out began, about 2200 men were thrown idle. The places affected were Burntisland, Broxburn, Linlithgow, Niddry, Newliston, Pumpherston, and Philipstoun. Since then the Pumpherston men—300—have gone in at half the reduction, by consent of the Miners' Association. In the other places the lock-out still goes on, and at present there is little prospect of its ending. The men work nine hours per day, and get from 1s. 8d. to 2s. per ton—which means that they can earn from 2s. 6d. to 3s. 6d. per day. At one time in some places the price was as high as 7s. 6d. per ton. Although the price per ton is as high now as it has been for some years, the amount earned is always getting less. This is because the pits get more and more difficult to work as the seams are followed further down. The men live in the employers' houses and are charged higher rents than other houses in the town. A "double" house, two small rooms, costs 2s. 6d. per week and 3d. for water-rates, and is often inhabited by a family, a lodger, or even two families. A "single" house, one room, costs 1s. 9d. per week, and is sometimes inhabited by as many as six and seven people in some exceptional cases by as many as twelve or thirteen. The rent is kept out of the men's wages, so that no arrears are allowed to gather. While in this condition the masters demand that the men should all submit to a reduction of one-sixth, and abandon their policy of restricting their output. It was, however, openly stated by several managers that the chief aim of the masters is to break up the miners' newly formed union. The men stuck to their restrictive policy and refused to work more than four days per week. The masters then locked them out and are waiting till the men are starved into submission. Here is a statement of second last pay received before the lock-out:

GROSS WAGE PER DAY.		DEDUCTIONS PER DAY.	
1 ton 19 cwt., at 2s. ...	£0 3 11	Gunpowder ...	£0 0 4
		Pick-sharping ...	0 0 0½
		Wear and tear of tools ...	0 0 1
		Oil and cotton ...	0 0 2
		Doctor and school fees ...	0 0 0½
		Check-weighman ...	0 0 0½
		Coal ...	0 0 2½
		Rent and water-rates ...	0 0 5
		Total deductions per day	£0 1 4½
		Nett wage ...	0 2 6½
	£0 3 11		£0 3 11

This 3s. 11d. is an exceedingly good wage, the average being not more than 3s. 6d. If the reduction of one-sixth be enforced, the men will have a gross wage of 2s. 11d. or a real wage of 1s. 6½d. per day on which to provide food and clothing and luxuries for themselves, wives and families. Five days work a-week is the average, giving a nett wage of 7s. 8½d. With this must not be reckoned the loss of time by holidays, sickness, and moving from one working to another, amounting to from two to three months per year. This gives an idea of the condition of the wage-slaves of the mines in Scotland; and be it remembered that the shale-workers have harder work, and are generally supposed to be better off, than the Scotch coal-miners.

It will be as well to say here where the fruits of these men's labour goes to, not by way of making a charge or raising animosity against any particular person or body, but just to show the bare facts of the case. Lord Cardross draws the royalties for the Broxburn district. The rate of royalty is 1s. per ton, or in other words this useless lord gets half as much for doing nothing as the miners gets for producing the shale. In fairly good times the total royalties paid to Lord Cardross amounts to £300 per week. The Broxburn Oil Company has been formed about eight or nine years. In the first six months that work began they paid at the rate of nine per cent.; from then till last year the dividend was 25 per cent., and last year it was 15 per cent. The total profits for the year 1885-6 was £89,000, and of this £49,000 was paid in dividends.

The men have now formed a union, and are standing nobly together for their interests. The bitter feeling between Irish Catholics and Orangemen, national rivalries and all sorts of national feeling and prejudices, are being swamped to promote harmony and unity in the labour movement. The condition of the men is so low, and the force of their employers so formidable on every hand, that this recognition of the solidarity of labour is being thrust upon them by sheer pressure of circumstances. The meetings held by the Scottish Section of the Socialist League in the district have been thoroughly successful, and a large adherence of new members is certain as soon as the strike is over. Every help is being given to the men by the Scotch Socialists, and their case will soon be brought prominently before the public by means of a mass meeting.

So far, my experience amongst the Scotch miners confirms the impressions made by the north of England and midland miners—that these men will be the advanced guard of the Socialist labour movement.

J. L. MAHON.

Mr. Fenwick's very "mixed" reception by the Northumberland miners was just what might have been expected. The English democracy are getting tired of half-hearted men and half-hearted measures. They want men in the House of Commons who will fight the classes, whether Tory or Liberal, and who will not be put off with smooth promises and deceitful phrases. It is nearly time that the working-class constituencies took this matter in hand. They have tolerated too much; they have been patient too long. Nothing will be obtained by anybody from any English government unless you make yourself unpleasant, and a man who is not prepared to do this has no business in the House of Commons.—Reynolds.

A LETTER FROM AMERICA.

Perhaps no country in the world affords such opportunities for social experiments, for the quick and rapid development of new ideas and for putting into practice mentally well-matured schemes as the United States of America.

For the last fifty years the bourgeois people in Europe closely watched with immense admiration and intense satisfaction the marvellous growth of a State constituted on the principles advocated and expounded by their most renowned and able philosophers. Towns sprang up where but a short time previous the buffaloes were calmly grazing or the Red Indian was carrying on the life of a savage. Stimulated by fabulous land-grants, endless railroads were built and before long the locomotive whistled along the whole continent. Industry, trade and commerce leaped onward with gigantic steps and the wealth of the nation increased a hundredfold.

"The social problem solved," cried the politician, the journalist, and all the other hired slaves of the capitalist classes throughout Europe. "Emigrate, emigrate, emigrate," became the watchword wherever the social class-antagonism produced bubbles. "Go to the land of the free, the rich and independent" and you will be happy. Many a wretched fool believed and many a fool suffered bitterly, and even now immigration in the States increases yearly. These tales of wealth, of luxury, of independence, blinded for some time the well-wishers to humanity, till at last a more correct version has become known to the people of Europe.

They have learned that pauperism, crime, and trampism are well represented in the States and that within a very short period the Government at Washington would be confronted by the same problem as all other nations based on possession of property in severalty. However, little as yet was known of so-called labour troubles. Marvellous as the development of capitalist industry may have been to the respectable citizens of England, still more marvellous must have appeared to the English toilers the Minerva-like birth of a well-shaped, strong and healthy labour movement in the States.

Up to 1879 such a thing as a labour-organisation of any importance was a myth in the eyes of an American captain of industry. But alas! how things have changed since then. To-day the exploiting class has to meet face to face a foe more than worthy to be called a foe. Not one but a hundred organisations, labour combinations, groups, etc., hold the field, and wherever labour and capital openly clash it is not always for the immediate benefit of capital. The labour-forces as arranged to-day may perhaps—nay, unquestionably do—give good reasons to a Socialist, especially a Socialist belonging to an advanced school, for a grumble, but it is to be remembered that not even God Almighty could create the world in less than six days. If all labour-movements were in such healthy, strong, enduring and energetic condition as the movement over here the look-out for a speedy hand-to-hand battle with capital might be more cheery.

Some timid people, on the other hand, complain about the effect of that Chicago bomb. It is to be admitted that the affair created in the minds of a good many workers a prejudice against Socialism; but ever since that, Socialism has been talked about, studied, analysed, and argued over nearly everywhere and anywhere. The prejudice will duly vanish, the interest in Socialism as the only remedy will remain and increase.

The all-absorbing topic at present is the excommunication of the Rev. Dr. E. M'Glynn. Edward M'Glynn became conspicuous during the Hewitt-George campaign for his stout advocacy of the principle of land nationalisation in spite of all threats. The Roman Catholic Church organisation of course could not afford to appear to side with the rag tag and bobtail against the property owners and promptly instructed its New York chief, Archbishop Corrigan, to suspend from his pulpit the rebellious chief. M'Glynn, however, refused to retract one single word of any of his utterances, and continued to advocate the doctrines of his so-called twin-brother Henry George. Most of his parishioners took the part of their late sky-pilot and Rome did not desire to lose at once so many sheep. Rome played as usual the waiting game; the rebel was told to come to Rome, to explain, perhaps to convert the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda. M'Glynn knew better. He comprehends the inner working of that sinister organisation; he was well aware he could go, but whether he would ever return—well that's another point. He refused to go and persisted in his refusal. Another month or two of waiting on the part of Rome. M'Glynn did not move. Then he was told to present himself at the Vatican within forty days, that is before the beginning of July, under penalty of excommunication. M'Glynn not only did not go, but in an interview with a newspaper reporter called the Pope, Propaganda, and the Cardinals some pretty names and gave the people some valuable information about the construction and principles of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy. The Pope, of course, could no longer hesitate without appearing ridiculous in the eyes of the Faithful; the cable carried the necessary instructions to his obedient servant Archbishop Corrigan, which were promptly acted upon. The excommunication was pronounced and Edward M'Glynn is to-day a religious outcast. This is in short a history of the M'Glynn affair.

M'Glynn is, like Henry George, to all intents and purposes, an upholder and defender of individual private property. It is needless to go here into the details of Georgism as 'Progress and Poverty' is well known to every reader of the *Commonweal*. M'Glynn is, without doubt, honest, a man of burning eloquence and passionately devoted to every cause he believes to be just. He is sometimes compared to Martin Luther; but this comparison is highly absurd. Luther was only, and never pretended to be anything else but, a reformer of religious dogmas. M'Glynn, on the contrary, declares he is and will remain to death a Catholic, and only desires to bring about social reforms. A comparison with Jesus Christ would be more to the point.

I have dwelt so long on the M'Glynn business because I know it to be of immense importance. It is well known that revolutions never go backward, and in this theory is involved the opinion that whatever does not go forward to the logical end goes backward. Therefore any political party that does not tend in the direction of the development of a revolutionary programme, that hesitates under the inspiration of a conservative spirit, is more or less reactionary in its tendencies. The coming revolution in its economical aspect logically interpreted, aims at the destruction of individual private property in ALL the means of production. The abolition of landownership simply would consequently be a reactionary step. I do not believe George-M'Glynn will be powerful enough to achieve a lasting success; however, the real revolutionists will have a hard fight.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

New York, July 23.

A people can never rise from low estate as long as they are engrossed in the painful struggle for daily bread.—Winwood Reade.

CORRESPONDENCE.

TO SOCIALIST CYCLISTS AND OTHERS.

Your correspondent *Ægzyæ* has started a very useful propagand for Socialist cyclists, that is, to deliver tracts and leaflets on their tours. As a walker I thought of doing something in this sort of work myself.

In the *St. James's Gazette* for June 6 the editor was kind enough to print some very good and useful Socialistic literature in an article entitled "Some East-end Readings." One was "The Thirteen Articles of Faith," written in the style of some Hebrew prayer, and circulated amongst the Jews of the East-end. I have shortened this somewhat and made it into ten paragraphs, and if you, sir, would print this in leaflet form, I should be happy to take 2000 of them for distribution during my coming holidays and Sunday walks.

D.

[Below are the Articles of Faith, which will be reprinted in large type as a leaflet, as suggested by our correspondent:]

- I. All able-bodied adults who derive wealth from the labour of others, they themselves not working, are plunderers.
- II. Poverty will never cease until all able-bodied adults be compelled to work according to their strength, and receive of their labour according to their needs.
- III. The working-classes will remain slaves, as they are now, so long as one individual is suffered to rule over others, and a few are allowed to make laws for the many.
- IV. War, and all its consequences, will exist, and thousands will be slaughtered upon the battle-field, so long as "force" prevails and one country can derive temporary financial advantage from the ruin of another.
- V. Women will be the slaves and playthings of men so long as they are dependent upon them and do not enjoy the fruits of their own labour.
- VI. Labour which supplies all the needs of man, will be despised in the eyes of all, so long as the working-classes toil to fill the pockets of those who sit still and idle.
- VII. Murderers, thieves, prostitutes, and all kinds of criminals, will not cease so long as poverty remains to give birth to them.
- VIII. Things will get to such a pass that men will figuratively devour each other alive, unless a new light soon dawn upon humanity, and working men rise as one to throw off the yoke of capital, and put on terms of equality those who now oppress them.
- IX. The moral and intellectual faculties of mankind can achieve all, the time for reflection has come, action must soon follow, after that men will live as a band of brothers, and all civilised nations form one united family.
- X. It is those who are now despised and robbed, the workers and consequently the wealth-producing class, who will have to decide how long the present state of things shall last.

"LEADERS OF THE PEOPLE."

Mr. Barker says wages have risen 25 per cent., rents 150 per cent. Why? Well, I don't know the average per head of the population for England or Ireland, but I would very much like to know, and also for the large cities and towns; but the average for Glasgow is over £6 per head—probably near £7, as a considerable portion of the population sleep on stairs and in parks, not to mention the thousands, if not tens of thousands, who sleep in model and other foul lodgings. What is the cause of the Scotch being highest rented and taxed, and Glasgow the worst housed? The cause is, the land laws of Scotland afford a better security for invested capital than those of England. If you wish to spot exactly where the shoe pinches, you have got to compare the powers possessed by the landlords of the three kingdoms under the laws of hypothec and distraint respectively, and you will get at the root of the matter. One indication of the difference in the value of these is this: in England any tenant can borrow on a bill of sale over his furniture. It is not so in Scotland. The Scotchman's household gods are "his landlord's hypothec," and for financial purposes count as the landlord's; and woe to the man who dares to lay a finger on the landlord's hypothec.—Yours,

J. M'G.

Moral: Abolish hypothec and distraint. But who will you get to undertake to propose such sacrilege?

LABOUR FEDERATION.—Comrade Mahon has asked us to point out an arithmetical error in the article on "Labour Federation" in our last issue. 10s. added to 17s. is obviously an increase of more than 50 per cent. This in no way affects the argument, but is worth correcting.

When Hercules cleaned out the Augean stable he was not scared from his task by the stink of the muck he was moving, nor should we be scared by the stink of the rotten press that is being disturbed by our shovels and brooms.—RADICAL JACK in *Chicago Labour Enquirer*.

A curious argument appeared in a curious leader in the *Labour Tribune* last week. It is there stated that the adverse result of the recent strike of Northumberland miners had justified the opposition to it on the part of Mr. Burt and his colleagues! This line of argument might pass if used on behalf of the capitalists, but coming from a labour paper it sounds "mighty queer."

THE MINERAL WATER SOCIETY.—In the House of Commons last Friday, Mr. Matthews, in reply to Mr. Bradlaugh, said that he had ascertained that by the articles of association of the Mineral Water Bottle Exchange Society, with 179 members as manufacturers, the employers agreed not to re-engage for two years any servant who had left the employment of any member except with the consent of the late employer. He had observed that in a case heard before Mr. Justice Chitty it was held that the rule was an unreasonable restraint on trade, and a motion to enforce it was refused with costs. The case was now pending before the Court of Appeal, and if the decision of Mr. Justice Chitty was upheld the rule would be inoperative.

A movement is on foot in Bolton for the establishment of a co-operative ironworks, based on the principle of partnership of labour, in consequence of the prolongation of the strike and the knowledge amongst the men that when a settlement is arrived at a large number of those who have taken a prominent part in the dispute will be weeded out. The movement for the establishment of such works, which finds much favour with the leaders of the men, has been taken up by the Bolton Co-operative Society, one of the wealthiest of its kind in the country, and the directors of that organisation have made arrangements for the holding of a meeting, to which the strike hands have been specially invited. There is every probability of the scheme being taken up and carried out.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

The Trades Council of Ashton-under-Lyne, have been discussing the practicability and advisability of forming a federation of trades unions in the United Kingdom.

BRICKLAYERS' LABOURERS' WAGES.—At Stockport the agitation for an increase of wages from 5d. to 5½d. per hour, before referred to, is still going on. The labourers have formed an association, and threaten to strike if their wages are not increased.

THE SPINDLE AND LOOM.—The outlook in the cotton spinning and manufacturing industry of Lancashire is very gloomy. In the district of Bury and Eton at the present time out of 40 large mills three are closed (and one has lately been unsuccessfully offered for sale). About half-a-dozen others are working short time, and one large firm, in consequence of the bad state of trade, is on the point of closing their premises after finishing the orders at present in hand. In addition to this several other mills are compelled to work for stock.

GOUROCK MASONS' STRIKE.—The masons in the employment of Messrs. Watt and Wilson, contractors for the Greenock section of Gourrock Railway have struck work against a proposal of the contractors to pay the hewers piece-work rates in place of weekly wages, paid since the work commenced. The builders have taken the side of the hewers, and consequently the work at the new Greenock Station has been stopped.

NORTHAMPTON SHOE TRADE.—The strike still continues, and Messrs. Cove and West, who possess one of the largest factories in the town, have closed for eight days. The men maintain that they are insufficiently paid, and assert that best work is done for the price of seconds. The lasters assert that their average wages for the past twelve months come to but little over 18s. a-week. It is not long since Mr. Bradlaugh cited the staple trade of Northampton as an instance against the Socialist assertion that the workers were unemployed and badly paid.

THE RIVET TRADE.—A meeting of the operatives was held on Monday at Black Heath; a workman presiding. It was stated that all the masters, with the exception of one in the Old Hill district, had resumed work at the list demanded. The master referred to had declined to give the advance; at the same time he wished his men to return to their employment at a lower rate. The operatives in his employ are out on strike, and are being supported by levies from their fellow-workmen.

SCOTCH MINERS.—The Airdrie, Motherwell, and Lanarkshire miners have decided to work five days a-week and eight hours a-day. Every endeavour is being made to get all the Scotch miners to adopt the same policy. At a mass meeting held at Hamilton it was unanimously agreed "that, inasmuch as the great majority of the mineowners in Lanarkshire have reduced wages by 7½ per cent., combined with the depreciation in the value of coal, and the enormous increase of stocks, we deem it advisable and strongly urge all the county immediately to return to their former policy of eight hours a-day and five days a-week, to avert further reductions and enhance the value of coal."

An organisation known as the Associated Iron and Steel Workers of Great Britain was formed at Manchester in April, and the first general conference of delegates in connection with the society was held this week, at the Queen's Head Hotel, Attercliffe, Sheffield, but the proceedings were private. Some years ago there was a difference in the National Association with regard to a proposal for a centralised fund, and since that time the operations of the National Association have been chiefly confined to the north of England, while the Midland districts have been governed by the Conciliation Board. There has been a feeling that the formation of one body for the whole of the country, including the Scotch ironworkers, would strengthen the position of the men, and with that object the new association was formed. A communication was favourably received from Mr. Threlfall, of Southport, as to the direct representation of the operative ironworkers in Parliament, following up their resolution at the Manchester conference.

THE STRIKE OF WEAVERS.—Matters at Barnoldswick in connection with the trade dispute have assumed an acute phase. The police force has been increased, and more officers are to be sent there. Messrs. Bracewell are placing all available "odd hands" at the vacant looms, and those thus employed are being boycotted by the weavers on strike. One night an effigy, supposed to represent a "knobstick," was carried shoulder-high along the streets, which were lined with people, and the police had difficulty in keeping order. Over 30 summonses have been taken out on charges of intimidation, etc. A strike at the large works of Messrs. Newsome, West, and Co., Staincliffe, well-known manufacturers, is attracting some attention. In consequence of bad work done, the firm have made stoppages in the wages of the weavers, this being for "shady" pieces, and the earnings of some of the hands have in consequence been much reduced; but Messrs. Newsome, West, and Co. have been compelled to take this step to ensure more careful workmanship. It is expected a conference will take place between a deputation of the weavers and the heads of the firm, in order to arrive at a settlement if possible.

THE CRADLEY HEATH CHAINMAKERS.—The men and women engaged in this struggle deserve to win, for seldom has a strike been carried on so energetically. The strike has lasted just a twelvemonth, and great privations have been undergone. It was announced at meetings held at Cradley Heath, that upwards of twenty-five employers in the South Staffordshire nail trade had conceded a substantial advance in wages, and work would be resumed forthwith at these factories. Upwards of twenty employers have conceded advances in the chain trade, and there was a partial resumption of work. On August 4th, a meeting of chainmakers was held in the Salvation Army Barracks, Cradley Heath; Mr. J. Edmunds presiding. The Chairman pointed out that they had completed the fifty-second week of the strike, and during that time he considered the trade had been greatly improved. Messrs. T. Price, of Spinners End, and Messrs. Underwood, of Old Hill, had requested the society to allow their men to resume work. It was decided to allow the men to do so at once. The following subscriptions were announced:—From the Railway Servants' Society of London, £10; Tailors' Society of London, £7; Weavers and Hatters of Manchester, £3; Colonel Stewart, £2 11s.; Manchester Newspaper, £13 19s. 8d. Other smaller sums were announced, amounting to £40.

NAIL TRADE.—STRIKE RIOTS.—On Wednesday, August 3, a number of cast-nail makers, who have been on strike against a reduction in wages, marched to the works of Messrs. H. and F. Shaw, in Glover Street, Birmingham, and because the firm refused to allow them to return to work,

except at the reduced price, they began throwing stones and breaking the windows. The police, however, arrived before much damage was done. There are only four cast-nail making firms in Birmingham, and three of them had given notice of reduction on the ground that wages in Birmingham are 20 per cent. higher than at Bristol and Shrewsbury. The nail makers appear to be incensed because Messrs. Shaw have engaged a number of unskilled workmen, under two skilled men, to take the place of those on strike. On Saturday the 6th, a number of men from Cradley, Halesowen, and Bilston, assembled opposite the manufactory of Messrs. Shaw and Sons, Glover Street, where some men are still working, and demanded that they should come out. Some of the men obeyed, but the remainder kept at work, and the difficulty was to smuggle them out of the place, which was surrounded by an excited crowd of strikers. It was found necessary for the safety of the men to pack them in sacks, and send them out of the works in vans as bags of nails. When the men outside found they had been duped, they commenced an onslaught on the factory, smashed all the windows, and did great damage. One of the employers had to be escorted home by the police.

THE LIMERICK DOCK LABOURERS' STRIKE.—Friday, Aug. 6th.—The dock labourers' strike against the Limerick and Clyde Steamship Companies still continues, nor is there any apparent sign of a settlement. The Clyde Company are working their boats with their own crew hands, but the crew of the Ardnamult (the Limerick Steamship Company's boat) has struck, and 28 men brought down from Waterford last evening struck work at ten this morning. Some men were also brought up from Tralee, but they also refused to work on learning the facts of the dispute. A house to house collection was made during the day, and the men from Waterford and from Tralee were all sent back this afternoon. As matters at present stand there seems no likelihood of the Ardnamult, which is timed to leave for Liverpool on Sunday, being discharged within the next fortnight unless a settlement is arrived at. Much sympathy is expressed with the dock labourers.

STRIKE OF THE MIDLAND ENGINE-DRIVERS.—On the 15th July the directors of the Midland Railway gave notice of a new method of working and pay for engine-drivers and firemen—the substitution of precarious piecework for weekly wage. The new scheme aroused great opposition all over the line and efforts were made to induce the directors to postpone the alteration. This they declined to do and a strike is the consequence. There is little or no prospect of success, as the men have not all turned out and many have gone back. Great assistance has been given the Midland by other companies, and as the number of unemployed is great, men have been readily obtained to fill the places of the strikers. The depression of trade has seriously affected railway incomes, and to make the dividend the workers generally suffer. Strikes to be successful must be wider in their scope. Why have not the signalmen been induced to co-operate? Every Midland man knows why the guards failed some years ago; it is a pity that another strike should have been entered upon to court the same fate. That the engine-men will fail there is little doubt, though their cause deserves the sympathy of every worker. The leaders, too, have shown a want of boldness and decision, and to this must be partly attributed the failure of the present strike. What is wanted is a federation of all workers, embracing all branches of trade and industry; until this is accomplished this column must continue to chronicle disastrous strikes, reductions of wages, and the inability of the trades' unions to perform the function for which they were founded. A nominal subscription could meet this demand, and the friendly society benefits might well be left to the option of the members. Workers must learn to know that the injury to one is the concern of all; when this is recognised success will attend labour in its struggle against capital, and the future will be open to the workers. A particularly noticeable feature in the present struggle is the unscrupulous hostility and hypocrisy of the press in regard to the strikers. The virtues of the directors of the Midland Railway Company have been extolled *ad nauseam*, and lying statements by the column were inserted as to the collapse of the strike almost before it had begun. This and the sickly cant of "moderation" and respect for so-called "public opinion," as manufactured by the organs of the exploiting classes, has paralysed the cause of the men, who, until they learn to stick together, and fight shoulder to shoulder, will neither win nor deserve to win.

THE BOLTON STRIKE.—The great strike in the engineering trade at Bolton has now entered into its thirteenth week. The Mayor is making another effort to bring the dispute to an end, having written to both the employers and the joint committee of the men, suggesting that the whole question of radius from Manchester, whether 12 miles as suggested by the employers, or three miles as claimed by the men, should be left to the Recorder of Bolton to decide. Meanwhile the employers are, it is said, making every effort to import labour into the town. The report is that one large firm are erecting an additional building for the convenience of men lodged upon the premises, and that provision will be made for religious worship and for concerts. On the other hand, the men are being encouraged by subscriptions and counsel to continue the struggle. In issuing the eleventh weekly report, the Strike Committee state that they have a splendid balance of over £1,100, an increase of £200 on the week. London contributes £40, Manchester district £60, Blackburn £25, Bury £30, Rochdale £12, Oldham £40, Preston £6, and Liverpool £6. The Bolton Co-operative Society have forwarded a fourth weekly contribution of £25. The Vigilance Committee has cost £21 and £160 has been distributed in relief. On Saturday, nine of the imported men left the town after appearing before the Strike Committee, by whom they were assisted home. There was hooting at one of the employers on Saturday, and two "knobsticks" recognised in the streets came in for like attention. Thirteen men were imported into Bolton on Wednesday to take the places of men on strike. The strangers entered a 'bus in waiting, and were guarded by police. A number of cases arising out of recent disorders were dealt with by the borough magistrates on Monday. The offences were hooting, principally, and one woman was charged with breaking the window of an omnibus in which some importations were seated. It is understood that copies of resolutions passed at the ratepayers' indignation meeting on Monday, protesting against the bringing of Hussars and county constabulary to the town, have been forwarded to the Home Secretary. Imported men arrived in Bolton from Leeds on Wednesday. They were guarded by sixty policemen, mounted and on foot, and speedily landed into an omnibus in waiting. They were delivered at Messrs. Dobson and Barlow's works, Kay Street. Trinity Street was blocked by strong cordons of police during the arrival of the men. A gentleman aged 86 years, called at the headquarters of the Bolton Strike Committee on Sunday, and made a donation of £20. He refused to give his name, but said he lived on the outskirts of the town, and had been a member of a trade society for 65 years.

CONTINENTAL NOTES

BELGIUM.

The *Parti ouvrier* (workman's party) of Belgium will hold its annual congress at Mons on the 15th inst. The labour troubles of Belgium, as *Dispatch* observes truly, are only momentarily in abeyance, but they have in no way ceased. Our readers are aware of what happened in 1886 in the coal districts of Charleroi, Borinage, Mons, etc. This year a new attempt was made to organise a general strike—the so-called *black strike*. The fact that the Executive Council of the Workman's Party did not support this wholesale strike has been the subject of much dispute among the Socialists of Belgium. The forthcoming Congress will now have to decide whether the effort shall be renewed, and, this time, with the united support of every labour organisation in the country. As a general strike in Belgium, supported by the whole *Parti ouvrier*, would deeply affect the political and the social interests of the country, we are anxious to know what will be the result of the Mons Congress. We are, however, not of opinion that the Executive Council of the *Parti*, or the delegates of the Congress to come, or any body of men, can *organise* a general strike,—for a strike of that description means no more and no less than revolution, and a revolution cannot be fixed for to-day or for to-morrow, but comes forward, irresistibly, with or without the sanction of parties, *as soon as times are ripe for it*. Therefore we may suggest to our friends in Belgium to carry on their *local* organisations as well as they possibly can, and not to let them be used for mere *political* purposes, as it is done at Brussels, and then, as soon as they think the time has come, not to wait a watchword for going forward. Certainly, the support of the whole Party may be morally useful, but the *command* of an executive would most decidedly be disastrous.

A few days ago some liberal members of the Belgian miniature-Parliament, MM. Guillery, Houzeau, and others, have again brought in a bill for the revision of the Constitution, a necessary preparation for another bill establishing universal suffrage. After three or four hours chit-chat and nonsense retailed by the law-makers, the clerical majority of the Chamber has refused even to take the bill into consideration, so that it will not be discussed, but at once thrown away in the waste-paper basket. A good job too! For, if it had been otherwise, the workers would have been abused further on by these political dodgers and those in the workers' party who patronise them. Perhaps they now at last will open their eyes and listen no longer to those who preach, as remedies for all social evils, parliamentarianism, universal suffrage, and economical pea-soup kitchens!

The 25th of last month was the day appointed for the trial of comrade Jahn, a young Anarchist who, at the time of the last Belgian strikes, had pronounced several "most incendiary" speeches, and, we are told, "dynamited" a little bit "against a window." Now, the trial has been postponed for three months, because the public prosecutor was to be the scandalous Demaret, who, of course, is now prevented. But just look at the justice of the matter: Jahn will have to undergo three months further imprisonment, because Demaret has done—what you know! D.

FRANCE.

The French "Republican" journalists are nice fellows indeed! Katkoff died last week—what he ought to have done at least twenty years ago—and at once these Republican scribblers feel it their duty to send wreaths of laurels and letters of condolence to the family of one of the most atrocious scoundrels of the nineteenth century! Why? Because Katkoff was a hater of the Germans and has become, in his latter days, a friend of the French. He was all-powerful in Russia, and promised to support France against Germany in the next gigantic bloodshed which the European diplomats are now preparing. And the French *Republicans* call that patriotism, cleverness! And the sempiternal clown of patriotism, the ridiculous Derouledé, is dispatched to Petersburg, in the name of the Association of Republican and so-called Socialist journalists! Have they forgotten that Katkoff was a renegade of the liberal ideas of his youth, the most energetic supporter of the most absolute despotism, the enemy of reform and progress, of liberty and justice, the councillor and friend of Alexander the Hanger? Have they even the right to forget that Katkoff encouraged by all means the brutal and ferocious resistance of Russia against the movement towards freedom and independence which threw thousands of heroic men in the mines of Siberia and in the steppes of Arkangel? that he was one of the vanquished Poles? and that he stimulated Alexander the Third, as he had done Alexander the Second, to maintain under his iron claws, in oppression and misery, an immense nation of one hundred million men? We cannot help thinking that the "French Republican journalists" have acted scandalously by honouring the memory of that arch-scoundrel Katkoff!

Our readers will remember that in the great Anarchist trial at Lyons, in January 1883, where Krépotkine, Bérdat, and others were sentenced to several years of imprisonment, a miserable wretch, the pseudo-Anarchist Georges Garou, *alias* Valadier acted as a police spy. This villain has now received the just reward of his infamous action: some ten or twelve Socialists have thrown him in the lake of Zürich, where his corpse has been found in a state of putrefaction. D.

GERMANY.

On the 5th of this month a new Socialistic paper has made its appearance at Berlin, *Berliner Volks Tribune*, under the editorship of Max Schippel. This is certainly a courageous attempt, and we wish every success to our weekly colleague. The editor says in his first number that he is fully aware of the fact, that in publishing a journal for the workers under the circumstances under which Germany lingers nowadays, politically and socially, is a most dangerous enterprise, but nevertheless he will try it and do his best. At any rate a trial is worth while.

Socialism is spreading rapidly in the German army. Last week, at Augsburg, a staff-officer and two soldiers have been arrested, because they had attempted to introduce in the barracks several hundred pamphlets for distribution among the soldiers. At Munich, two officers have been arrested because they have distributed among the men under their command invitations to assist in an open-air meeting to be held in a forest near the town.

In the same city of Munich, there are no less than 150 Socialists now awaiting their trial for various "Socialistic" offences, most of them for distributing prohibited literature. Socialism is growing fast!

At Ludwigshaven, where several thousands of the pamphlet, 'An Appeal to the Voter,' have been thrown in the streets, F. Ehrhardt, an upholsterer, the leader of the Socialists in that town and a candidate for the Reichstag,

has been arrested under the suspicion of having introduced the pamphlets there. Ehrhardt is well known among the Paris and London workers.

At Königsberg, we will have shortly a trial for conspiracy, where for the first time in Germany, Socialist students and women will be tried.

At Darmstadt, the paper *Freie Presse*, has been suppressed in accordance with the laws against Socialism.

At Altona, twelve Socialists will be tried next week, among whom is the well-known contributor to the paper *Bürgerzeitung*, L. W. Molkenbuhr.

At Mannheim, six Socialists were sentenced last Saturday for distribution of Socialist literature, to terms of imprisonment varying from three weeks to ten months.

The German Socialists, both Social Democrats and Anarchists, are spreading in considerable quantities their pamphlet literature all over Germany in spite of Bismark and his blood-hounds. We recommend the lecture of these pamphlets to all those who understand the language, and we suggest that the translation of most of them into English would be an excellent enterprise. Up to date, the Anarchist series includes: 1, 'Appeal to the Proletariat'; 2, 'The Hell of Blackwell's Island'; 3, 'The Plague of the God-idea'; 4, 'The Descent of Man.' The Social Democrat series comprises the following: 1, 'Communitistic and Private Property'; 2, 'The Trial of K. Marx at the Court of Assizes of Cologne'; 3, 'The Future of Socialism'; 4, 'Marx's Revelations on the Communist Trial at Cologne'; 5, 'Our Aims'; 6, 'The Thousand Million of Silesia'; 7, 'Socialistic Lectures'; 8, 'The Dead Schulze against the Living Lassalle'; 9, 'Materialism in Political Economy'; 10, 'The Programme of the Workers'; 11, 'William Weitling'; 12, 'Christianity and Socialism'; 13, 'The Lodging Question'; 14, 'Babouf and his Conspiracy'; 15, 'The Science and the Workers'; 16, 'The Chartist Movement.'

In one of our next issues, we intend to analyse at some length these pamphlets, the first series of which are issued at New York, and the second at Zurich. D.

HOLLAND.

On the 1st of this month, a mass meeting was held at Amsterdam, organised by the Union Society for the promotion of social science, with a view of obtaining the liberation of F. Domela Nieuwenhuis, imprisoned at Utrecht since the 17th of January past. The president of the Union, M. G. Ribbink, was in the chair. After he had stated that a great number of petitions, asking for Nieuwenhuis' release, had already been sent to the government, that twenty professors of law at the various universities of Holland, had sent in a legal memoir proving that the prisoner was not sentenced in accordance with the laws, that every organised body of workmen in the country had passed resolutions in favour of their friend (although Domela Nieuwenhuis himself had never condescended to write one single line on his own behalf) the chairman called on Prof. Dr. A. Pierson who moved that "the committee of the Union on behalf of the people gathered in the Hall Stroucken at Amsterdam, should be instructed to call on the Minister of Justice and demand the immediate release of the prisoner." This resolution was seconded and supported by Dr. Benjamins, Prof. Kemman, Dr. van der Goes, and comrades van der Stadt, Fortuyn, Kooper, and Simons. All the speakers protested against the idea of asking the king's *pardon* for Nieuwenhuis; they asked only for immediate and unconditional release.

Recht voor Allen has adhered, in the name of the Dutch worker's organisations, to the resolutions put forward by the Socialist organisation of Antwerp relating to the political interference of the workers in the parliamentarian and radical humbug. They strongly contend against having anything whatever to do with Radical or non-Radical bourgeoisdom. In the long run, all fallacies will vanish and be swept away! D.

SWEDEN.

Comrades Palm, Nordman, and Danielson have just returned from a long propaganda campaign in the provinces, and their report states that they were exceedingly successful. They have noticed almost everywhere a good spirit of solidarity among the workers and a strong desire to check the evils of commercialism. They intend now to set forth their work of propaganda by issuing at regular periods pamphlets of a theoretical character. As comrade Palm, who has been until now the editor of the paper *Social Demokrat*, at Stockholm, has been sentenced to one month's imprisonment and has further on to answer two other charges for contempt of the legislative chambers, the editorship of the paper will in the future rest on comrade Hjalmar Branting. D.

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.

Co-operative Store.—The Committee attend at the offices at 8.30 p.m. on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. All Groceries can be had at current store prices. Orders over 10s. will be delivered carriage paid in London.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

A Special Meeting of the London Members will be held on Monday next, August 15, at 9 p.m., for the purpose of discussing the London Propaganda.

BRANCH SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID.

Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League) to June 30. Clerkenwell, Mitcham, Walsall to July 31.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Norwich, 3s. Merton 3s. 2d. Mrs. Schack, 5s. Walter Crane, £1. Hammer-smith Branch (2 weeks) £1. E. B. B. (3 weeks) 3s. K. F. (2 weeks), 2s. C. J. F. (2 weeks) 4s. J. L. (2 weeks) 1s. P. W. (2 weeks) 1s. Per Blundell from sale of exchange papers, 5s. 7d.

P. WEBB, Treasurer, Aug. 9.

THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

C. Walkden, 11s. For Mrs. Mowbray—A Few Fabians, per Annie Besant (weekly), 10s. J. LANE, Treasurer.

FOR PROPAGANDA.

Per F. Kitz, 2s. 6d.

REPORTS.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, August 3, T. Dalziel lectured on "Communist Art." Good discussion followed. On Sunday, August 7, an open-air meeting was held on the Green, addressed by Blundell. In our hall, a successful "social" was held by Blundell and friends, after open-air meeting. Literature has steady sale.—A. T. and W. B.

HOXTON.—On Thursday evening last, the usual outdoor meeting was held opposite Hoxton church, comrades Pope and Allman addressing a good audience. On Sunday morning, the outdoor meeting was a very large one. H. A. Barker, who addressed the meeting, met with a most hearty and enthusiastic reception. Good sale of literature. In the evening, at our new place of meeting, Geo. Bernard Shaw gave a very interesting lecture on the subject, "Why Socialists don't act up to their Principles," followed by a good discussion, in which comrades Jas. Allman, J. J. Allman, Ackland, Larner, Pope, Turner, and H. Barker joined.—C. J. Y.

MERTON AND MITCHAM.—On Sunday last, comrades Fitzgerald (Socialist Union), Sparling, Kitz, and Eden (Socialist League), addressed an attentive audience on the Fair Green, Mitcham. In the evening at Merton club-room, comrades Morris and Lane met the members of the Mitcham, Merton, and Croydon branches, and an interesting discussion took place as to the best plan of agitation for the district. The following proposals were adopted: A speakers' class be formed, whereat the most difficult points of Socialism should be threshed out, and the speakers' class should be also a literary circle, purchasing what books of reference are needed, and thus increase the library at the disposal of these branches; further, that we take steps to form a co-operative community in the immediate vicinity of London, and with that end in view issue shares to purchase one of the many estates which are now going begging to the jerry builders. We opine that such a community would have a ready sale for its farm produce in London, and would also afford a pleasant rendezvous to Radical and Socialist clubs for outings. Sale of *Commonweal* this week, 52. Collection, 2s 6d.—F. K.

NORTH LONDON.—The adjourned debate was resumed between comrade Wardle and Morley on Tuesday last. Brookes and Doughty also addressed an attentive audience. At Regent's Park, Brookes, Mainwaring, and Beckett spoke. A debate is arranged for Sunday next, subject: "Will Parliamentary Action further the interests of Socialism?" Collection, 5s. At Hyde Park, the largest audience we have as yet had, listened to our speakers last Sunday. Brookes, Turner, Nicoll, Mainwaring, Sampson, and Murphy spoke. Collection, 2s. 10½d.

GLASGOW.—On Sunday forenoon, Glasier, and Lamont (S.D.F.) addressed a good audience on Jail Square. In the afternoon, meetings were held at Paisley Road Toll and Jail Square, Glasier, Downie, and Warrington being the speakers. In the evening in our room a business meeting was held. There was good sale of *Commonweal* at all the meetings.

LEEDS.—Taking advantage of the fine weather during the holidays, a few of us determined upon a little propaganda into the outlying districts of Leeds, and selected Rothwell—a mining district—for our first experiment. We distributed a quantity of literature, and created an unusual stir, and in making the acquaintance of four sympathetic men on the way home, who promised to help us in our future propagandist arrangements in Rothwell, and with whom we are now in correspondence. On the Tuesday we visited Churwell and Morley, and distributed five goodly-sized parcels of literature. At the latter place we got a meeting together, and Braithwaite, Hill, and myself addressed them for about an hour. The affair was a success, and will, I believe, result in the formation of a branch.—T. PAYLOR.

NORWICH.—On Monday, the 8th inst., we held a meeting at Coltishall, being our first visit, which was very successful. On Thursday, Henderson and Cantwell addressed a large meeting at Yarmouth. On Sunday morning, a meeting was held at Diss and also at Coltishall, at which latter place we sold a good stock of *Commonweal*. In the afternoon a large crowd assembled in the Norwich Market-place. At the close of Henderson's lecture, opposition was called for but was not forthcoming. In the evening on the Agricultural Hall Plain, Slaughter and Morley spoke. At eight o'clock in the Gordon Hall, Henderson lectured on "Emigration."—J. S.

PELSALL.—On Wednesday, comrade Weaver, of Walsall, addressed an outdoor meeting here, and was attentively listened to by a good audience. Meetings will be held here every Wednesday outdoor, so long as weather permits. This branch has every appearance of being a powerful centre of ironworkers and miners. On Sunday last, comrades Weaver and Russell visited several outlying towns for the purpose of arranging for lectures and distributing literature.

WALSALL.—On Tuesday last we broke new ground at Great Bridge, a small town five miles from here, right in the heart of the Black Country. Hundreds of skilled workmen are on the verge of starvation, and the people generally and their homes show clearly the rottenness of the present system. The men seemed to fully realise the hopeless position in which they are placed, for they applauded our speaker's references to the delusive dogmas of Liberals, Tories, and Radicals. Deakin and Sanders were the speakers.

WEDNESBURY.—This branch will very soon be in thorough working order. Up to the present a great difficulty has been experienced in getting a suitable meeting-room. On Thursday evening, comrades Deakin, Weaver, and Sanders, of the Walsall Branch,

spoke for them in the Market-place. The audience numbered several hundreds, and listened attentively. Several questions were put at the close, of the usual block type. A good sale of literature, and several more names to the branch closed a good meeting.

WOOLWICH.—At the Arsenal Gates, last Sunday, Hennessy spoke to a large audience, and was supported by Thornton, Macdonald, and Banner. Literature again sold well, and 7s. 1d. collected towards defraying expenses of Irish delegation.—R. B.

Scottish Land and Labour League.

Galashiels.—A very large meeting—the first in the town—was held on Tuesday last in the market square. Mahon challenged a temperance speaker who was abusing Socialism, but this went unheeded. After the Socialist meeting had closed, Mahon was called upon by the audience and went to the temperance platform, and an animated discussion ensued, which went on till after ten o'clock. A large amount of literature was sold.

Broxburn.—Mahon spent two days amongst the shale-miners locked-out in Broxburn and the surrounding districts. Two very large meetings were held, and Socialist principles met with hearty acceptance. The first meeting was presided over by one of the checkweighmen and the second by Mr. John Wilson, the popular and energetic secretary of the Shale-Miners in Scotland. A full report will be found in another column.

Cowdenbeath.—The second Socialist meeting was held here last Friday afternoon. A large attendance of miners gave a most sympathetic hearing to the speaker. Mahon, in passing, severely criticised the Labour M.P.'s, and condemned the action of the Five miners who voted £100 to the salaries of Burt and Fenwick, M.P.'s. The men did not seem to know that this had been done and were unanimously against doing it. A good collection was made; fair sale of literature and 24 names taken to form a branch.

Dunfermline.—On Friday night a meeting was held in the public park. The address dealt chiefly with trade depression and labour federation. The inhuman conduct of the responsible officials at the Forth Bridge works was severely commented on. Some questions were asked, and answered to the satisfaction of the audience. Mr. M'Allister, chairman of the "Glasgow and West of Scotland Vigilance Association," made a general attack upon Socialism, and was answered in lively and effective manner. It was arranged later on that a two nights' set debate should be held in Dunfermline.

Leith.—A splendid meeting was held at the Quay-side on Sunday morning at ten o'clock. Tuke and Mahon spoke. The police interfered with us for obstructing the street, but ten yards off the ground belonged to the Dock Company, and here the meeting was continued. There were some very interesting questions and some discussion also. Good collection and sale of literature, and some names taken for membership. Some seamen were present, and one of them spoke to the members after the lecture. In a few weeks we will have some special meetings of seamen and get them or, anised if possible.

Edinburgh.—On Thursday evening at our weekly discussion class we had a visit from some fifteen or sixteen German Socialists, who are at present working as glassblowers at Portobello, a place about three miles from Edinburgh. We got a very interesting account of how the cause is progressing in Germany from one of them. They kindly consented to our request to hear a revolutionary German song, and sang the Marseillaise in splendid style. Before parting, we all joined in giving three cheers for the coming social revolution.

Calton Hill.—A meeting of railway men in connection with the strike on the Midland Railway was announced for last Sunday afternoon, and Mahon and Smith went there with the expectation of addressing them; but for some reason or other none turned up. A good meeting was held all the same, and a fair collection got and a good quantity of literature disposed of. **Queen's Park.**—In the evening Smith, Mahon, Gilray, and Tuke spoke to an audience of over four hundred. Two names taken for membership. Good collection and fair sale of literature made.

CHAS. WM. TUKE, sec.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloom-bury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, W. On Thursday Aug. 11, H. Samuels, "Socialism and Parliamentary Action: a Challenge to Parliamentarians." 18. Thos. J. Dalziel, "Communist Art." 25. Fred. Lessner, "Socialism on the Continent." Sept. 1. Edward Aveling, "The Value of Brain Work."

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday August 14, at 8.30 p.m. Fred Verinder, "The Bible and the Land Question." Wednesday Aug. 17, at 8.30. Sydney Webb, "The Political Duty of Socialists."

Croydon.—Parker Road.

Hackney.—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 8 till 11.30; Saturday, 7 till 12.30; Sunday 11 a.m. till 12 p.m. Members Business Meeting every Tuesday at 8.30 p.m. Debating Class every Thursday.

Hammer-smith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday August 14, at 8 p.m. G. Bernard Shaw, "Wages."

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—Globe Coffee House, 227 High St.,

Hoxton. On Sunday August 14, H. A. Barker will lecture—subject, "What Socialists Want." On Saturday at 8 p.m., Members' Meeting; special Business; a full attendance of members earnestly requested. There will be a Concert in aid of the League on Saturday August 30. A list of names of friends who will sing or recite will be advertised in the *Commonweal* next week. Programmes will also be printed.

Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday. Discussions held every Sunday morning at 11.

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

North London.—Branch meets at 32 Camden Road, N.W., for reception of new members and other business, on Wednesday evenings at 8 o'clock, until further notice. H. Bartlett, sec.

PROVINCES.

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

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 7.30 p.m. (prompt) to transact business. Discussion Class at 8.30.

Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Sunday Aug. 14, meeting of members in Rooms.

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

Hull.—Merrill's Dairy, 56 Walker Street. Mondays, at 8 p.m.

Lancaster.—Addresses every Sunday morning on the Quay Jetty.

Leeds.—17 Chesham Street, Sweet Street. Club and reading room open every evening. Business meetings every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Leicester.—Office of Hosiery Union, Horsefair Street. Fridays at 8 p.m.

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

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

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 14.

11.30...Hackney—"Salmon and Ball"Barker
11.30...Hammersmith—Beacon RoadThe Branch
11.30...Hoxton Ch., Pitfield StreetWade & Pope
11.30...Mitcham Fair GreenBull & Eden
11.30...Regent's ParkNicoll
11.30...St. Pancras Arches.....Dalziel & Wardle
11.30...Walham Green.....The Branch
3Hyde Park.....Lane
6.30...Victoria ParkThe Branch
7Clerkenwell Green.....Blundell

Tuesday.

8Ossulton Street, Euston Road.....Nicoll
8Mile-end WasteThe Branch

Wednesday.

8Broadway, London Fields.....The Branch

Thursday.

8Hoxton, Pitfield StreetThe Branch

PROVINCES.

Glasgow.—Saturday: Jail's Square, at 8 p.m. Sunday: Jail's Square, at 1; Paisley Road Toll at 5.

Cambuslang.—Saturday: 6 o'clock.

Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, 11; Vicar's Croft, 7.30. Friday: Corner of Christ Church, Meadow Lane, at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place at 3; Agricultural Hall Plain at 7.

Dereham.—Every Wednesday, Market Place at 7.

Yarmouth.—Every Thursday on the Beach at 7.

SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.

(Scottish Section of the Socialist League)

4 PARK STREET, EDINBURGH.

Fri. 12.—Cowdenbeath, South Park at 4 p.m.
Dunfermline, Public Park at 7.30 p.m.

Sat. 13.—Edinburgh: Demonstration in aid of Shale-miners locked-out, Queen's Park at 5.30.

Leith: Demonstration in aid of Shale-miners, Giant's Brae, Links, 6.30 p.m.

Sun. 14.—Leith (J. B. Glasier), Quayside at 10 a.m.
Edinburgh (J. B. Glasier), Grassmarket 3 p.m.; Queen's Park 6.30; Mound 8 p.m.

Dundee (Mahon), 11 a.m. Greenmarket; 3 p.m. West Port; 7 p.m. foot of Hilltown.

Mon. 15.—Hawick, Tower Knowe at 7 p.m.
Carnoustie (Mahon), Market Place 7 p.m.

Tues. 16.—Galashiels, Market Square 7 p.m.
Arbroath (Mahon), Brothock Bridge 7 p.m.
Tower Nook 7.30.

Wed. 17.—Forfar (Mahon), Market Place 7 p.m.

Thur. 18.—Dundee, Green Market 7 p.m.

Fri. 19.—Dunfermline, Public Park at 7.30 p.m.

Sat. 20.—Burntisland, Links at 5 p.m.

Sun. 21.—Same as August 14.

WOOLWICH.—Arsenal Gates, Sunday August 14, at 7 o'clock—Andreas Schen.

PLAISTOW WORKING MEN'S CLUB, 10 Stephenson Street, Canning Town.—Sunday August 14, at 11.30 a.m. H. H. Sparling, "Labour and Leisure."

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

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 84.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 20, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

"My losses," said Universal Provider Whiteley referring to the fire at his establishment, "amount to £525,000"; and a few months back a poor carter was sentenced to imprisonment for taking a few articles of paltry value, his defence being that his wages, about 11s. per week, were too small to support himself and family. Does "my gross losses" include some unpaid labour?

It is a moot point whether it is fair of us to kill and eat our fellow-lodgers on this earth—sheep, pigs and oxen. Archdeacon Farrar likes meat, so does his family; but, says his Reverence, "grave social problems are before mankind for solution," and hence he attends a vegetarian feed and says in fact that the solution will be arrived at by the "poor" consuming raw and cooked vegetables; and the vegetarian establishment for whom he delivered this advertisement, proceeds to solve this great social problem by selling tea and coffee at 3d. per cup, and draw attention to their "special rooms for ladies."

Such are the saviours of society. There are places in London neither infested with Archdeacons nor troubled with grave social problems, where for the same sum a working man could get a breakfast or tea (four slices of bread and cup of tea or coffee) and be thanked for his custom.

Whilst old and infirm human beings are working their aged limbs in pain to procure food, or being driven to the workhouse torture, our humane "upper" classes are stricken with sorrow for the sufferings of aged and infirm horses. Mr. S. Sutherland Safford and Miss Linde have established a home for aged and sick equines and the supporters are highly influential people. It would be interesting to know how many human beings are being worked to death to keep these idlers and their horses. The chief result of their efforts as yet is seen in the depressed condition of the cats'-meat trade and the ruined position of many vendors of pussy's meat, the supply of which is restricted owing to the society's interference with the law of supply and demand.

F. K.

The Midland strike has failed ignominiously, if appearances can be trusted. This was to have been expected from the first, inasmuch as there was little or no organisation, no mutual trust, and no safeguard against "rats." When the strike took place against a change, grasping and cynical as could well be conceived, there was a large number of men who did not come out. No efficient measures were taken to convince these of their error in acting treacherously to their comrades. A vigilance committee of strikers should have at once endeavoured strenuously to bring these "men" to a sense of their position.

Even now a little *gentle expostulation* might bring them to repentance!

All through the affair the men have shown a praiseworthy regard for the rights of property which forbid them to earn a reasonable livelihood: they did not use all the power they had to paralyse the whole Midland system. By their "self-restrained demeanour" they have earned the Thanks of the Directors and the Admiration of Law-abiding Citizens.

TIME: a few months hence. SCENE: a driver's cottage. PERSONS: Driver and Wife.—Wife: "Well, I wish you fellows had had the pluck of them Yankees, and shown the directors you were in earnest and that you wern't the white-livered, whining curs they took you for; and then I shouldn't have to slave my life out to keep the kids clean, and take in washing besides to make ends meet!" Driver: "Oh, but then we should have broken the law!"

Over at Elton, co. Limerick, there has been little heed paid to the law this last week. By long and dire experience the Irish people have found that it does not pay to win landlords' praises and rent-collectors' compliments. An ounce of rent retained by a tenant is worth a ton of soft-sawder laid out by a landlord.

But how many of the English workers are not tickled to death when an exploiter compliments them on their "law-abiding" ways? Even those who have courage enough to equal the Limerick labourers, and face rifle and bayonet armed with a pitchfork, would succumb forth-

with to the syren voice of Law and Order if it called them "Law-abiding British Citizens."

Meanwhile it is easy to see how rapidly grows the power of Socialism in this country. Only last week *Reynolds*—a paper which, however disinterested it may be, dare not go "beyond its market"—came out with a displayed leader calling in plain terms for the communalisation of the means of production without compensation. S.

The Government are taking credit to themselves for their Allotment Bill; and Mr. Jesse Collings, ex-Radical and now coercionist, has been buttering them all over for this "popular" piece of legislation. Sir William Harcourt has nothing better to say about it than to twit his political opponents with inconsistency, reminding them that when a similar measure was talked of before, its furtherers were called Socialists. "But now," says he, "it seems we are all Socialists." Really this is very poor stuff; it will not be the last time by a great many that the Government, Liberal or Tory, will bait their hook with similar pieces of "Socialistic" legislation. All one can hope is that those whom they are fishing for will learn to suck the bait off the hook without touching the latter, like wily old carp, if it is any use to them.

But as to this allotment scheme, J. S. Mill said all that was necessary when he said it was simply allowing the labourers to work to pay their own poor-rates. The bill is really in the interests of the employing farmers and the rack-renting landlords.

Mr. Bradlaugh, lecturing at the Fulham Liberal Association on "National Economy," is reported to have said "that working-men were quarrelling about a small percentage on wages while they allowed this monstrous war-expenditure to eat up the bread-and-cheese that should be in their cupboards." Yes, doubtless, the war expenditure is monstrous. Don't let workmen believe that supposing it were put an end to they would be any better off while labour and its earnings is forbidden to any one who cannot find a capitalist who can employ him. If the war-expenditure were stopped it would be necessary to find some other means of wasting the working-man's labour that would put money into the capitalists' pocket; and meantime, until that other means was found, trade would be the duller for it. Under the idiotic system which oppresses us, all destruction of wares, all consumption of them, however consumed, is temporarily "good for trade," advantageous to the actual producer in the lump.

But, after all, it is impossible to get rid of war expenditure or of war as long as all Society is based on war, commercial war; it is the struggle for the market that arrays the battalions in the field; the necessities of the capitalist is what brings on war now-a-days.

As to "the working-man quarrelling over a small percentage of wages," if he did not do so, if he had not been doing so ever since the birth of commercialism, bread, or rather skilly without the cheese would have been his roast meat by this time. Commercial war compels the capitalist to cheapen production to the utmost, the method of cheapening it is to reduce the amount of human labour to the utmost; the ensuring competition among the workmen for employment (for since they are slaves they cannot employ themselves) keeps down wages. Any combination among the workmen checks this tendency, and is good as far as it goes; but the partial combination of trades' unions and the like *must* develop into general combination, which will at last assuredly destroy the war of classes which is the foundation of our Society of waste, strife, and robbery—at last—might the workers but see it at once and set on foot that great combination before the pinch of utter misery which will come of the breakdown of our short-sighted system of commercial war, a war which Mr. Bradlaugh looks on with complacency, although, as aforesaid, it is the parent of the open war which he has (very rightly) been denouncing.

The *Daily News*, commenting on the meeting of the S.D.F., which demanded the release of Pole, is really a trifle too absurd even for a bourgeois print on a Monday morning. It admits the strong case of the Socialist, but says, alluding to the hanging of Endacott in effigy: "If they had asked for it in another way, the appeal must have commanded wide-spread attention." In other words, according to the *Daily News*, the justice or injustice of the sentence on a citizen de-

depends on the good or ill manners of certain other citizens who demand his release, and not on his own conduct. Really, is the *Daily News* then to be made responsible for Lord Salisbury's Coercion Act? or are we to be made responsible for the Monday morning fatuities of the *Daily News*? Here is solidarity with a vengeance!

WILLIAM MORRIS.

WOODEN LEGS.

WE have had our Bank Holiday; the clerk is back to his bank or shop stool, the factory hand and seamstress to their machines, the hodmen and labourers all over our happy islands to their general drudgery. They think, perhaps, of the advantages of the single day's festivity, of cheap trains and omnibuses to carry them into towns, or out of them, into such country as is left.

The other day I was in the drinking bar of a village near to the Canadian Backwoods. There was sitting there a sturdy-looking man with his back leaning against one end of a bench; he had a rough cloth lying across his knees, and all that I could see of his legs as they lay extended along the bench, was that they were very short and ended in wooden stumps. I began to express sympathy for the calamity from which he had suffered. "Calamity is a strong word," said he, "I hardly think they were worth so much." I admired the bravery with which he looked on his loss, and asked him how it had happened. "Why," said he, "I had been working all alone at clearing a place out in the forest, and at sunset just as I was about to leave work a tree toppled over, and one of its branches catching me unawares knocked me down and the trunk fell across one of my legs." "How horrible!" said I. "Horrible is a strong word," said he, "I was not so bad off as that, for I had my axe with me. So seeing there was no chance of help in that out of the way place and at that time of night, I just chopped off the leg that was held fast by the tree-trunk." "Brave, bold man!" said I. "Bold is a strong word," said he, "it did not need much of that, but only a straight chop with the axe." I sat in amazement, but said nothing. "I got up," he continued, "and tried to walk, but found it awkward work with one short and one long leg. So I just put the long one across a log, and my axe soon made it as short as the other. I got on famously after that. It shows what an advantage it is always to have your axe by you." I grasped his hand and cried, "Heroic man! Scaevola was nothing to you; he put one hand into the fire, but you smile at the sacrifice of both legs." He stared and said, "Well, captain, I don't know what you are at with your bold men, and the fellow who burnt his hand, but if chopping through a bit of stick is thought so much of in your country I shall stop here." Slightly abashed, I said, "What an advantage to have wooden legs for trees to fall across!" "Ah!" said he, "they told me what an advantage it was to me that my legs and not my head were in the way of the cannon-ball at Gettysburg. I don't think much of that, but I'd rather have my natural feet to stand on, and to help me out of the way of danger."

The advantages which we now enjoy seem to be of the wooden leg kind. The Sewer Railway, and the other stuffy means of locomotion in and about London, are an advantage perhaps in so widespread a desert; but it would be better that our towns should only be so large that we might easily get from end to end of them on our own legs.

The labourer is said to be now in a more advantageous position. He can ease himself by means of the "free breakfast table" and of the free trade supply of margarine for butter. If, however, he had his own natural powers of mind to help him, instead of the artificial substitute of prejudice and custom, whereby he is caught under the heavy hand of the master, he would be still better off. His reason would tell him that free interchange between all peoples should be an instrument to increase the general good, and not merely a weapon to cut one class free from the oppression of another.

The most wooden-legged of our advantages is our system of instruction, and in particular of technical instruction. The barbarian as he makes a drinking-bowl, a sword, or a temple, puts his fancy into his work, and may be young in heart when grey in head. The Christian child has the thirty-nine articles of usury, ten per cent. profits, and national envy rubbed into his very marrow at a College or a Board School. Under this influence he grows old before he is a boy, and is in a fit state to receive technical knowledge, to learn the art of making things in such a way as to get the better of the foreigner. Well, if the freshness of the heart and mind is to be crushed under the war of competition, it is an advantage of a kind to be instructed in the use of the weapons. But that is the very degradation of education; this should give us an instrument, not of war against our fellows, but to make a clearing in the dense thicket of ignorance and sectarian jealousies.

C. J. F.

PROGRESS?—In addressing the British Medical Association, Sir Thomas Crawford argued that in spite of the boasted improvements in sanitary arrangements, there is an unmistakable deterioration in the physique of the "lower" class. The evidence adduced seems to fully bear out this view. From 1860 to 1864 32,324 men wishing to join the army, were examined by the army surgeons and out of this number the rejections were 371.67 per 1000. From 1882 to 1886 132,583 men were similarly examined, and the proportion of rejections had risen to 415.8 per 1000. Sir Thomas maintained this was good proof that during the last twenty-five years the general physical vigour of the people had very much fallen. A peculiar eye disease due to vitiated atmosphere resulting from overcrowding is very common although quite preventible. The recruits drawn from the towns gave the largest number of rejections.—J. L. M.

FEUDAL ENGLAND.

THE Norman Conquest found a certain kind of feudality in existence in England; a feudality which was developed from the customs of the tribes with little or no admixture of Roman law; and also even before the Conquest, this country was slowly beginning to be mixed up with the affairs of the Continent of Europe, and that not only with the kindred nations of Scandinavia, but with the Romanised countries also. But the Conquest of Duke William did introduce the complete or Romanised Feudal system into the country; and it also connected it by strong bonds to the Romanised countries, but thereby laid the first foundations of national feeling in England. The English felt their kinship with the Norsemen or the Danes, and did not feel their conquests when they had become complete, and consequently mere immediate violence had disappeared from them; their feeling was tribal rather than national; but they could have no sense of co-nationality with the varied populations of the provinces which mere dynastical events had strung together into the dominion, the manor, one may say, of the foreign princes of Normandy and Anjou; and as the kings who ruled them gradually got pushed out of their French possessions, England became conscious of her separate nationality, though still only in a fashion, as the manor of an English lord.

It is beyond the scope of this article to give anything like a connected story, even of the slightest, of the course of events between the conquest of Duke William and the fully developed mediæval period of the 14th century, which is the England that I have before my eyes as Mediæval. That period of the 14th century united the developments of the elements which had been stirring in Europe since the final fall of the Roman Empire, and England shared in the general feeling and spirit of the age, although from its position the course of its history, and to a certain extent the lives of its people was different. It is to this period, therefore, that I wish in the long run to call your attention, and I will only say so much about the earlier period as may be necessary to explain how the people of England got into the position in which they were found by the statute of labourers enacted by Edward III., and the Peasant's Rebellion in the time of his grandson and successor Richard II.

Undoubtedly, then, the Norman Conquest made a complete break in the continuity of the history of England. When the Londoners after the Battle of Hastings accepted Duke William for their king, no doubt they thought of him as being much in the same position that the newly slain Harold had been; or at any rate such a king as Knut the Dane, who had also conquered England; and probably William himself thought no otherwise, but the event was quite different, for on the one hand not only was he a man of great character, able, masterful, and a great soldier in the modern sense of the word, but he had at his back his wealthy dukedom of Normandy, which he had himself reduced to obedience and organised; and, on the other hand, England lay before him, unorganised, yet stubbornly rebellious to him; its very disorganisation and want of a centre making it more difficult to deal with by merely over-running it with an army levied for that purpose, and backed by a body of house-carles or guards, which would have been the method of a Scandinavian or native king in dealing with his rebellious subjects. Duke William's necessities and instincts combined led him into a very different course of action, which determined the future destiny of the country. What he did was to quarter upon England an army of feudal vassals drawn from his obedient dukedom, and to hand over to them the lordship of the land of England in return for their military service to him, the suzerain of them all. Thenceforward, it was under the rule of these foreign landlords that the people of England had to develop.

The development of the country as a Teutonic people was checked and turned aside by this event. Duke William brought, in fact, his Normandy into England, which was thereby changed from a Teutonic people (theod) with the old tribal customary law still in use among them, into a province of Romanised Feudal Europe, a piece of France in short; and though in time she did grow into another England again, she missed for ever in her language, her literature, and her laws, the chance of developing into a great homogeneous Teutonic people infused usefully with a mixture of Celtic blood.

However, this step which Duke William was forced to take, further influenced the future of the country by creating the great order of the baronage, and the history of the early period of England is pretty much that of the struggle of the king with the baronage and the church. For William fixed the type of the successful English mediæval king, of whom Henry II. and Edward I. were also notable examples. It was, in fact, with him that the struggle towards monarchical bureaucracy began, which was checked by the barons, who extorted Magna Charta from King John, and afterwards by the revolt headed by Simon de Montfort in Henry III.'s reign; was carried on vigorously by Edward I., and finally successfully finished by Henry VII. after the long faction-fight of the Wars of the Roses, had weakened the feudal lords so much that they could no longer assert themselves against the monarchy.

As to the contest between the Crown and the Church, two things are to be noted: first, that at least in the earlier period the Church was on the popular side. Thomas Beckett was canonised, it is true, formally and by regular decree; but his memory was held so dear by the people that he would probably have been canonized informally by them if the holy seat at Rome had refused to do so. The second thing to be noted about the dispute is this, that it was no contest of principle. According to the mediæval theory of life and religion, the

Church and the State were one: separate manifestations of the Kingdom of God upon earth which was part of the Kingdom of God in heaven; the king was an officer of that realm and a liegeman of God. The doctor of laws and the doctor of physic partook in a degree of the priestly character. On the other hand the Church was not withdrawn from the everyday life of men; the division into a worldly and spiritual life neither of which had much to do with the other, was a creation of the protestantism of the Reformation, and had no place in the practice at least of the mediæval Church, which we cannot too carefully remember is little more represented by modern Catholicism than by modern Protestantism. The contest, therefore, between the Crown and the Church was a mere bickering between two bodies, without any essential antagonism between them as to how far the administration of either reached: neither dreamed of subordinating one to the other, far less of extinguishing one by the other.

The history of the Crusades, by the way, illustrates very emphatically this position of the Church in the Middle Ages. The foundation of that strange feudal kingdom of Jerusalem, whose king had precedence in virtue of his place as lord of the centre of Christianity over all other kings and princes; the orders of men-at-arms vowed to poverty and chastity, like the Templars and Knights of St. John; and above all the unquestioning sense of duty that urged men of all classes and kinds into the holy war, show how strongly the idea of God's kingdom on the earth had taken hold of all men's minds in the early Middle Ages. As to the result of the Crusades, they certainly had their influence on the solidification of Europe and the great feudal system, at the head of which, in theory at least, were the Pope and the Kaiser. Doubtless, also, the intercourse with the East gave Europe an opportunity of sharing in the mechanical civilisation of the peoples originally dominated by the Arabs, and infused by the art of Byzantium and Persia, not without some tincture of the cultivation of the later classical period.

The stir and movement also of the Crusades, and the necessities in which they involved the princes and their barons, furthered the upward movement of the classes that lay below the feudal vassals, great and little; the principal opportunity for which movement, however, in England, was given by the continuous struggle between the Crown and the Church and Baronage.

The early Norman kings, even immediately after the death of the Conqueror, found themselves involved in this struggle, and were forced to avail themselves of the help of what had now become the inferior tribe—the native English, to wit. Henry I., an able and ambitious man, understood this so clearly that he made a distinct bid for the favour of the inferior tribe by marrying an English princess; and it was by means of the help of his English subjects that he conquered his Norman subjects, and the field of Tenchebray, which put the coping-stone on his success, was felt by the English people as an English victory over the oppressing tribe with which Duke William had overwhelmed the English people. It was during this king's reign and under these influences that the trading and industrial classes began to rise somewhat. The merchant guilds (of which subject of guilds more hereafter) were now in their period of greatest power, and had hardly begun, as they did later, to develop into the corporations of the towns; but the towns themselves were beginning to gain their freedom and to become an important element in the society of the time, as little by little they asserted themselves against the arbitrary rule of the feudal lords, lay or ecclesiastical: for as to the latter, it must be remembered that the Church included in herself the orders or classes into which lay society was divided, and while by its lower clergy of the parishes and (afterwards) by the friars it touched the people, its upper clergy were simply feudal lords; and as the religious fervour of the "cultivated clergy," which was marked enough in the earlier period of the Middle Ages (in Anselm, for example), faded out, they became more and more mere landlords, although from the conditions of their landlordism, living as they did on their land and amidst of their tenants, less oppressive than the lay landlords.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be continued.)

We cannot help thinking that there is something wanting in the moral make-up of a Reformer who is less anxious that the right shall triumph, than that his share in the winning of a victory shall be duly recognised.—*Canada Labor Reformer*.

The Midland strike has collapsed. The last hope of the men was extinguished when the shareholders declared their approbation of the conduct of the directors. It was clear that the Chairman knew he had the whip hand when he politely told the memorialising members of Parliament who addressed his board, with a view to a settlement of the dispute through mediation or further conference, to mind their own business. The strike, which was doomed from the first by the men's want of courage and of union, may be useful in reading the men a severe lesson in the necessity for organisation and extended union. It is not yet apparent why the company seized the height of the excursion season to drive their engine-men to revolt—unless it was to demonstrate both to their servants and to the public how easily they can afford to be autocratic. The mere money loss it will take them a generation or two to recoup from the saving effected by the new arrangement. But the moral injustice of requiring the men to hold themselves at the call of the company from week's end to week's end, and yet paying them only by the piece as they happen to be employed—that the company will not get over at all; it will stand recorded against them for ever. The moral support that the men have received from those engaged on other railways, as well as from the public sense of fairness, may yet prove effective in ways that the Midland does not now think it necessary to include in its calculations. Moral principles live long, and they have shrewd ways of avenging their violation.—*Weekly Dispatch*.

"AWKWARD FOR THE COO."

STEPHENSON, before the Board, questioned by a noble lord:—
"But suppose a cow should stray in the locomotive's way?" answered with a twinkling eye, chuckled, too, with humour sly;
"Yes," said he, "that's very true, 'twill be awkward for the coo."

Pompous dull capitalist,
see the moral be not missed;
resolute and undismay'd
forward goes the New Crusade,
seeks instead of care and strife
fellowship and joy of life.
Awkward it will be for you
if you choose to play the "coo."

C. W. BRACKETT.

ON THE IRISH EVICTIONS.

As when a haunting sense of personal shame
Broods, a grim night-hag, on a sleeper's soul,
Who sees and hears, yet vainly would control
Some monstrous deed enacted in his name,
Albeit he loathes it—till with heart aflame
He bursts the hideous bondage of his sleep;
So feel we now, who sit at home and weep
At this dark blot on our fair England's fame.
Shall they who for their outraged homes have fought,
As Englishmen would fight, ay, nobly and well,
Be flung like felons into prison-cell?
Shall these curst deeds month after month be wrought
By English hands? Speak, England! Let us break
The spell of this foul dream. Arise, awake!

H. S. S.

An Open Letter.—To Scab Carpenters and Renegades from a Boss.

BELOVED SCABS,—I am glad to know you are with us, i.e., that you favour the combination of your employers. We are organised for the purpose of saving men like you from yourselves. We will protect you from the tyranny of the trades' unions. We will restore you your ten-hour day as soon as we can crush out (and with your aid we will soon accomplish our object) those societies which are continually clamouring for what they foolishly call working-men's rights. We are glad that you know your rights as freemen. These labour organisations would deprive you of your individual liberty, to choose for yourselves. What right have these organisations to compel you to pay dues to support walking delegates in idleness? We are pleased to know that you have taken a stand against such extortions. We are with you all the time. There is no telling to what condition we all may be reduced if this labour agitation is kept up. If it is not sat down upon, capital will build no more houses, and then we'd all be in a nice box, wouldn't we? We learn with much satisfaction that quite a number of carpenters have been suspended for non-payment of dues: Sensible men are they! We are gratified to know that in Baltimore, at least, there is no such thing as moral sympathy among the building trades. Why should the painters on a job quit work because the tin-roofers on the building are scabs? To do so has a tendency to strengthen organised labour upon the whole, and that is what you and I don't want. If you are willing to work for starvation wages, who shall attempt to prevent you? Your skill and labour is your own, and you should be let alone, too. We will reduce wages as soon as we have broken up these labour organisations, that want to put a price on labour. They should be content to take what we offer. The time is coming, if you scabs do your duty to us and yourselves, when there will be perfect harmony in the building trades, no strikes then, you know. You may all work then on the go-as-you-please plan, every one for himself, as it were. No one will be called a "scab" when we all get there. And we will get there if you will persuade those organised fellows that the Knights of Labour and trade unions are no good. The good old days of piece-work, long hours, and low wages will then have been restored, and strikes, lock-outs, and all that sort of rubbish be heard of no more. To the suspended members of the carpenters' organisations, I would say that we are ready to reduce wages and go back to the ten-hour system as soon as you are able to burst up those nonsensical labour societies. You can aid us, if you will, and you are certainly pursuing the right course in refusing to pay your dues and pronouncing the organisation N.G. Keep up the good work, scabs and renegades, for we are with you—until you have succeeded in wiping out the last vestige of an organisation in your trade, and then—you will be able to take care of yourselves.—*Baltimore Free Press*.

Now and then we see some smart twaddler talking about the community of interest which there is between Capital and Labour, and nine times in ten he don't know there is any difference between the assisting of labour by capital, and the plundering of labour by capitalists.—*Canada Labour Reformer*.

The Socialists have been accused of "warring against the family." But you, comrades, should know that all well-conducted families are governed on communistic principles. Each member is expected to work according to his or her ability, and each receives from the household stock according to his or her needs. Therefore it is not we who oppose the family arrangement, but our calumniators and antagonists. We wish to extend the family arrangement, not to destroy it. So much for one of the everlasting lies.—*RADICAL JACK in Chicago Labour Enquirer*.



"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.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

BERLINER VOLKS TRIBUNE.—No. 1 not to hand, No. 2 received; will our friends kindly send another copy of first issue?

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday August 17.

ENGLAND	CHICAGO (ILL.)—Labor Enquirer	Ghent—Vooruit
Justice	Vorbote	SWITZERLAND
Jus	Hammonton (NJ) Credit Foncier	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
Nottingham Evening News	New Haven (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate	HOLLAND
Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	Hague—Recht voor Allen
Norwich—Daylight	San Francisco (Cal) The People	Amsterdam—Voorwaarts
Labour Tribune	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	ITALY
Die Autonomie	Albina (Oreg.)—Weekly Courier	Marsala—La Nuova Eta
Worker's Friend	Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer	PORTUGAL
SOUTH AUSTRALIA	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Adelaide—Our Commonwealth	FRANCE	Voz do Operario
INDIA	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	AUSTRIA
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Le Revolte	Brunn—Volksfreund
UNITED STATES	Le Socialiste	ROUMANIA
New York—Der Sozialist	Guise—Le Devoir	Jassy—Lupta
Truthseeker	Lille—Le Travailleur	DENMARK
Leader	Belgium	Social-Demokraten
Volkzeitung	Liege—L'Avenir	SWEDEN
Boston—Woman's Journal	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde	Stockholm—Social-Demokraten
Liberty		

RAILWAY ROBBERY.

THE following facts regarding railways and the way the receipts are divided will be of interest:

Cost of building railways.

ITEMS.	Cost per mile.	Per cent.
	£	
Legal and Parliamentary expenses	2,000	5½
Land and compensation	7,000	19½
Works of construction and stations	18,000	50
Locomotive and carrying stock	3,000	8
Interest on stock, discounts, bonuses, dividends from capital during construction, contingencies, etc.	6,000	17

(AUTHORITY—'Encyclopædia Britannica,' art. "Railways," last edition.)

- Note—(1) That 42 per cent. of the nominal cost of railway construction is paid to lawyers, landlords, company promoters, etc., etc., etc.
(2) That under the item "works of construction" is included the plunder seized by landlords under heading of MINING ROYALTIES and WAXLEAVE RENTS on the coal and iron used in the works.
(3) It is stated by Mr. Morrison Davidson that £50,000,000 over the market-value of the land have been paid to landlords for the land used by railways.

The nominal value of the railways of this country is £800,000,000—employing 400,000 men and boys, each employé using a capital of £2000. Allowing 50 per cent as over-statement in valuation, still £1000 per head of capital is worked by the employés. This fact should show advocates of co-operative production how impossible it is for the working population to create by thrift sufficient capital to free themselves from the control of the privileged class.

Division of the Earnings of Railway Companies.

	Per cent.
Total working expenditure, including wages and material for renewing plant ¹	52.6 of gross earning.
Payments to shareholders and bondholders, amounting in all to £33,000,000 per ann. ¹	47.4 do.
On the average, each railway man earns £50 a-year for himself and £80 for the usurers. ²	

AUTHORITY {¹ 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' article "Railways."
² Edward Carpenter's researches.

Examples of the division of NET earnings on English and foreign railway companies, taken from their balance-sheets.

RAILWAY.	Interest for half a year.	Wages for half a year.
	£	£
North Eastern Railway Co.	1,380,000	920,000
Midland Railway Co.	1,680,000	1,160,000
London and North Western Railway Co. ...	2,535,000	1,479,000
India Scinde and Punjab Railway	302,000	147,000
Brazil San Paulo Railway	159,000	42,000

These figures are about eighteen months old, but the proportion of interest to wages remains the same, so that the figures are as valuable as later ones.

Note—When the net earnings are divided in this fashion, it is not at all surprising that railway men grumble at their bad wages. THE RANK AND FILE ARE WORKING FIVE MONTHS IN THE YEAR FOR THEMSELVES AND SEVEN MONTHS FOR THE SHAREHOLDERS AND BONDHOLDERS. It must not be supposed that all railway men get starvation wages. Pompous old autocrats like Sir E. Watkin, and other chairmen and directors, receive their £5000, and sometimes more, a-year for doing work of practically no value to the community,

Treatment of the Public by the Shareholders.

The safety and convenience of the public, the trade of the country, and the health and comfort of the employés, are all made subservient to increasing their dividends a half per cent. Heavy inland rates are charged on minerals, bricks, fish, fruit, etc., to such an extent as often to swallow up in freight-charges the value of the commodities carried, thus preventing useful and cheap food-stuffs being put on the markets in large towns. In other cases commodities for export have to pay such high tolls that English goods are prevented making their way on the markets of the world. Again, cheap rates are quoted to foreigners which are denied to English manufacturers, the difference in favour of the foreigner being practically a bounty offered to foreign manufacturers to export to England. Railway companies sometimes make up their minds to develop a district, at others to destroy one, according to their caprice, or as it pays them. A notable example of railway boycotting is that of the North Eastern at Sunderland, where it is stated by inhabitants of that town, that because Sunderland would not sell her docks to the North Eastern Railway, the company has used every means to injure the docks, by high freight, bad service, etc.

The summary of the matter is that these railway corporations own the principal highways of England, and use them simply and solely to make the most money out of their monopoly, no matter at what cost to the community. The question is, are we going to let them boss the country in their own interests? or are we going to insist on these highways being controlled in the interest of all?

A. K. DONALD.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"CONCERNING USURY."

Perhaps I may be allowed to ask Mr. Morrison Davidson what ground he has for believing that the economical condition of the workers would be improved by "the repeal of all laws guaranteeing the collection of usury." His remedy is, I think, identical with that advocated by adherents of the anti-usury school represented by W. C. Sillar, and one is therefore forced reluctantly to conclude that Mr. Davidson, like these good people, uses the term usury in its narrow sense. He seems to forget that the workers are not recognised by law as the borrowers of the capital they use (or in current phrase, they are employed with), although they are in reality the borrowers, seeing that it is ultimately from them alone usury, or payment for the use of capital, is extracted in the shape of rent, interest, and profit. Borrowing and lending transactions, recognised as such, are for the most part concluded between members of the exploiting class, and consequently, legislation concerning these transactions would only affect the division of the spoil between the members of that class.

To put the question in a concrete form: Can Mr. Davidson demonstrate that the workers, say, in the woollen trade, would receive equitable remuneration for their labour, were the capital employed in that department of industry the property of the managing owners alone, instead of the joint property of managing owners and sleeping partners as at present? Can he show that the wages of, say, railway servants would be raised, were the shareholders relieved by Act of Parliament of the obligation to pay interest on the capital they borrow from the debenture holders? In short, can he hold out a reasonable prospect that capitalists would, on the repeal of the laws referred to, cease to appropriate the surplus-value created by labour?

It might be easy for him to do this, if the workers received legal recognition as borrowers of the land, mines, factories, railways, etc., etc., and if payment of rent, interest, and profit to the capitalist were forced from labour by the aid of certain laws. But, as far as I can see, there are no laws to repeal, regulating the transactions between the capitalists and the workers, the real borrowers. The price of labour-power is not regulated by law, but is determined by free competition.

The abolition of usury can only be accomplished, as T. S. Barrett says, by Socialism pure and simple. The land and the means of production must be taken out of private hands and managed for the good of the whole community, instead of for the benefit of the few as at present. And to effect this, the workers need not think that all they have to do is to send up representatives to Parliament to sit and repeal laws—or even to enact them. Parliament helps those that help themselves. The emancipation of labour can only be wrought out by the people themselves, for even if Parliament were willing to do everything in its power for Socialism, the great task of

bringing social order out of the present chaos, of organising industry on the basis of justice, must from the very nature of the case be done out of Parliament, in every trade and occupation, in every corner of the land.

J. HALDANE SMITH.

LENDING MONEY.

Mr. Davidson recommends an Act of Parliament to make interest irrecoverable at law, and if it should be found that such an Act failed to suppress the exaction of interest, he would make the *principal* likewise irrecoverable by legal process.

Is not all this "putting the cart before the horse"? Such Acts as he proposes no Parliament could make whilst the majority of the nation is unconverted to Socialism. When we are all Socialists, on the other hand, such Acts would no longer be needed. Nay more, an Act virtually forbidding the loan of money even free of interest would be positively mischievous. For it is quite possible to imagine men clubbing together in order to raise a sufficient sum for some public object, for which money might be required temporarily. It would not be right if such public-spirited subscribers to the undertaking were liable to the forfeiture of the money lent.

Things borrowed should be returned to the owners. Money borrowed is no exception. Giving is one thing; lending is another.

The evil of interest lies where the lender is lending for the purpose of making a profit. Hence we get a large number of persons living on money which no one has earned. In the present state of society this cannot be avoided. For why is money borrowed usually? In order that the borrower may trade with it and get a profit out of it himself. The lender merely claims a portion of the profit made by the borrower.

But if we had a Socialist state of society, there would no longer, I presume, be businesses carried on for profit—at any rate, no businesses where the workers are wage-receivers. Hence, the greatest source of borrowed capital (and consequently of usury) would be dried up.

Another great evil of interest lies in its continuance *ad infinitum*. This produces national debts, and families living for generations on the labour of others. A Socialist community might perhaps prevent this by declaring that every periodical payment from borrower to lender shall be deemed, not interest, but part of the principal returned. The debt would thus be repaid in instalments, instead of remaining undiminished at the end of many years. If this plan had been adopted, the National Debt would long ago have been wiped out.

T. S. BARRETT.

"LEADERS OF THE PEOPLE."

The statement as to the rise of rent and wages attributed to me by "J. M. G." in the last number of the *Commonweal*, is, as he will see by reference to the article on which he writes, a quotation from Mr. Mulhall.

"But why have rents so risen?" I am asked. They have risen because the propertied class has exercised its legal right to rob the labouring portion of the community in proportion to the productiveness of its labour.

From the labour of the workers in the United Kingdom each year £200,000,000 is taken *per force*, by the landlord class as rent. This huge sum divided among the 37,000,000 of its inhabitants amounts to a trifle more than £5 8s. per head. In England and Wales the gross rental is £172,653,906, the rateable value is £145,527,944, and this latter amount divided among the twenty-seven and a-half millions inhabitants comes to about £5 5s. per head. There is no reason which can be justified on moral grounds why this should be paid at all.

The abolition of the laws of hypothec and distraint might slightly lower rents, but this gain would only be temporary. Permanent gain can only be obtained by the community becoming its own landowner and lord. Both of these it can be when private ownership in the necessities of life is no longer possible. *This* is where the shoe pinches; "spot" it.

Moral: Nationalise the land and means of production.

H. A. BARKER.

A NOTE FROM JAPAN.

THE following is taken from an interesting note from a member of the Hammersmith Branch now in Japan:

"The social arrangements here are most interesting. The people are at a stage somewhat representing that of England three hundred years ago. The first impression is that the whole people are a race of retail shop keepers, and one wonders how they live by *distribution* of wealth alone; but now one perceives that the retail shops are also the *work* shops. The goods sold in the shops are also made in them by the whole of the members of the family, who also live in the place. The consequences are very well worthy of note. There is no competitive system; no cutting of profits. The family works away easily and quietly—smoking and sleeping, and indeed, as we would call it *idling* a good deal; but working for no master, and not working in competition with machinery, consequently quite certain of a subsistence, except in the case of too great idleness. Note also that the peculiar feature of Japanese goods, that they are *artistic*, so that the whole of Europe is going mad about them, is due to this fact, that they are made by hand, each by an individual who stamps the mark of his individuality on the article. It is due to this much more than to any innate artistic capacity on the part of the Japanese. I now quite understand, for the first time, the hatred that Ruskin and Morris have for machinery. There can be no doubt that *could the benefit be ensured for the people*, machinery might be introduced with advantage in many cases. For example, one sees the grinding of corn done by revolving, by hand, one small millstone on the top of another, and many other such like things which could undoubtedly be done better by machinery than by hand; but I have little doubt that a 'manufacturing system' here would do, on the whole, much more harm than good. Think of Tokio as it is at present, a city of over 1,000,000 inhabitants, and so far as can be seen, no squalid poverty anywhere, and filled with a gay laughing people who seem to *live*, not to vegetate, as the London 'people' do.

W. K. BURTON.

Antiquity, what is it else but man's authority born some ages before us? Now, for the truth of things, time makes no alteration; things are still the same as they are, let the time be past, present, or to come. Those things which we reverence for antiquity, what were they at their first birth? Were they false?—time cannot make them true. Were they true?—time cannot make them more true. The circumstance, therefore, of time, in respect of truth and error is merely impertinent.—*John Hales* (the "ever-memorable.")

A LETTER FROM AUSTRALIA.

THE defeat of the Illawarri miners was a severe blow to the labouring community, and already in one branch of maritime industry a reduction of from 10 to 20 per cent. has been enforced. Scores of men who made themselves prominent during the strike found themselves practically boycotted by the colliery proprietors from gaining employment. Some idea of the condition of the labouring classes in New South Wales at the present time may be obtained from this short extract from the Melbourne *Age* of June 4th: "Every little township has its band of unemployed, while gangs of destitute have their passage paid across the southern border." John Norton, the Labour delegate, has returned. When interviewed by an Adelaide reporter, he said, "English trade unions are to-day mere benefit societies; their power for material good is nil. The Radical clubs and Socialist organisations are rapidly taking their place." Since his arrival in Sydney he has been asked to stand for South Sydney, but he declined. Several hundred men are receiving a free meal every day from a restaurant-keeper in Bourke Street, Melbourne. When I was there, there was a dispute with the Huddart and Parker Steamship Co. It appears the men had to work till 11 p.m. to finish loading. The stevedore heard from the clerk that the men would not be paid that week. This he told to the hands, who refused to work any longer unless promised pay. At dinner-time they interviewed the manager, and the stevedore spoke on their behalf, emphasising the fact that it was Saturday and the men wanted their money at 5 p.m. that their wives might purchase the provisions for Sunday. After a deal of discussion, half their wages was promised, and they returned to work; but the man who had spoken on their behalf was told his services would be no longer required. This is the method which employers use to prevent any workman speaking on behalf of his fellows. This is no exceptional case, it is only one of many.

I had a letter the other day from a friend of mine in Palmerston, Northern Territory. He tells me there is nearly 200 "unemployed" working in Bennett Street. He also enclosed a copy of the N. T. *Times*, from which it appears some of these men were given employment by Smith, manager for Miller Bros.' contract for the Pine Creek Railway. They excavated 120 yards of earth, for which they were offered the price of 80. They put their case into the hands of Louis Solomon, the editor of the N. T. *Times*, who interviewed Smith, telling him he should take the case into court on behalf of the men. Smith then paid the men for the 120, saying he only did it *by way of a joke*. As Mr. Solomon remarks, it was a doubtful joke, for if they had found no person to take up their cause they would have had to accept Smith's terms for want of funds to carry on their case.

An Anarchist club has lately been started in Melbourne, with *Honesty* as its organ. I do not think *Our Commonwealth*, an Adelaide advanced print, is a very successful venture. It is not written in that vigorous manner which I think is absolutely necessary for the success of a paper whose object is the implanting of a great doctrine in the heart of the masses. They do not require educating up to their grievances, but rather to the remedy.

Several followers of Henry George were returned for the S. A. Parliament at the last election, and in New Zealand a Bill is to be brought in next session to nationalise the land, but it will be a matter of surprise to thousands of those who wish it success if it should be passed.

The average wage around Gippsland is from 30s. to 35s. per week, and I have seen mechanics in Sale working for 6s. 6d. per day.

A meeting was convened in Sydney Town Hall, presided over by the mayor, to consider the best method of celebrating the Queen's Jubilee. An amendment was moved by Fred Jones, seconded by John Norton, to the effect that it was undesirable to celebrate the Queen's Jubilee, as it would be antagonistic to the democratic feeling of the colony. The amendment was put, and carried almost unanimously, and when the mayor called for three cheers for the Queen the response came in hearty groans. Sydney, I have always considered, would be the most prolific soil for Socialist propaganda. Within sixty miles are the thousands employed in the mining industry of the Illawarri and Newcastle districts. Here lies the material, requiring only a few energetic men, possessed of the energy and force to infuse life into any paper they may issue as an exponent of working-class views. Men having a solid belief in the doctrine they advocate, not mere stump-orators clamouring for a passing breath of popular applause, would in my humble opinion receive a gratifying return.

Gippsland, Victoria.

ANGLO-AUSTRALIAN.

Sir Edward Watkin sits in Parliament because working-men vote for him as an employer of labour. We hope those who elect him are proud of their representative. The servants of the Midland Railway go on strike. The officials of their union issue the usual circular requesting other railway servants not to play the dastardly part of "blacklegs," and come between them and their masters, whom they are fighting for a decent wage. They threaten blacklegs with the usual boycotting if they do; and forthwith Sir Edward Watkin has the impudence to get up in the House of Commons and demand that the authors of the circular be prosecuted criminally by the Government! Sir Edward Watkin owes everything he possesses to the toll he has been able to take of other men's brains, ideas, and manual work. And yet the creature seems to swell with rage—such rage as used to animate the planter against his slave—if the men who made him, and make him, even dare to exhibit the slightest sign of vindicating the rights of their toil-worn class. Still, so long as working-men vote for people who despise them, so long shall we have Watkins legislating for them.—*Weekly Dispatch*.

At the Forth Bridge works the waste of life is enormous. Every week two or three accidents. Over 100 killed since the building of the bridge was begun, and there is still two and a half years' work and the most dangerous part of the work is still to do. The law steps in to prevent theatre and circus managers from neglecting any possible precaution for the safety of the performers. If an enterprising damsel exhibiting her limbs is in the least danger a net is spread for her safety. These men who are working like slaves and are being driven to the utmost to get the work done, are being slaughtered by dozens, but no restraint is put on the carelessness of the managers. All the accidents are preventable if a little more were spent in safeguards and the men allowed to work with more leisure; but in the hurry and bustle and greed of modern commerce no time or money can be spared over the mere matter of a few workmen's lives. The same thing may be said of every large work. After a few dozen more have been killed or a score taken off at a time, it will pay some journalist to make a sensation over the affair, and then a little temporary caution will be shown.—J. L. M.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

Although Oldham is said to have abandoned the short time movement, still there are many mills either working short time or the workpeople are only partially employed.

An order has been received at Chatham Dockyard from the Admiralty, directing that in future all expenses incurred through workmen's or draughtsmen's mistakes in carrying out work will be deducted from their pay.

COLLIERS' WAGES.—It was anticipated that further reduction of wages would take place in Wales. Notices have however been posted at the collieries throughout the Rhondda Valley that, as a result of the auditors' award, the wages rate will remain unaltered for the ensuing three months.

The owners of the extensive coal fields in the Forest of Dean, finding it impossible to go on any longer under the present conditions, owing to the severe competition between them and the Welsh colliery owners, invited the men's representatives to see the list of actual prices, with the result that a reduction of 2½ per cent. will take immediate effect.

EDINBURGH JOINERS.—A meeting of the operative joiners has been held in Edinburgh, to consider the masters' offer of 6½d. per hour, the present wage being 6¼d. The men considered that the state of trade warranted their request of 7d. per hour being granted, and unanimously resolved that in the event of this not being agreed upon to come out on strike.

BOLTON.—ELECTION OF A LABOUR CANDIDATE TO THE TOWN COUNCIL.—Mr. Michael Battle, who had been unanimously selected in the labour interest by the Trades Council was elected a representative in the Town Council for Derby Ward, on the 11th inst. Great interest was taken in the contest, the labour candidate being nominated as a protest against the conduct of the authorities in regard to the engineers' strike. Wm. Cunliffe (Liberal) joiner and builder, opposed, but was beaten by a vote of nearly five to one.

STRIKE OF MATCHWORKERS AT GOVAN.—The female workers in the filling department of Messrs. Mitchell and Co., Clyde matchmakers, Govan, have come out on strike in consequence of their employers refusing to advance their wages. The girls, who number about 70, are on piecework, and earn from 8s. to 12s. a-week. They allege that they were not being paid equal to those in the other departments, and asked for a slight advance in the rates, equal to a rise of from 1s. 6d. to 2s. a week.

Notice of discharge has been given to 310 more men, comprising 150 shipwrights, 40 joiners, 60 blacksmiths and hammermen, and 60 labourers, at Chatham dockyard, bringing the total number discharged up to the present time to between 1,000 and 1,100 men. During the next two or three weeks 400 more men will probably be discharged. The same is occurring at all the Government dockyards, and the coming winter will witness great distress among shipwright artisans.

THE MIDLAND RAILWAY STRIKE.—The decision of the shareholders—the last hope of the strikers—having been given in favour of the action of the directors, the strike has collapsed all along the line. It appears that the number of men who actually struck work was 2713, comprising 980 drivers, 1090 firemen, 401 passed cleaners, and 142 cleaners. The *Times*, referring to the strike, advocates special legislation to prevent railway men striking in future; discussing the great public inconvenience should a strike prove successful.

WEAVERS' STRIKE AT PRESTON.—The weavers employed at the Manchester and Castle-street Mills of Messrs. H. C. Owtram and Company, Preston, have decided to strike against the prices paid by the firm for velvet, which are said to be 15 per cent below trade prices. There are 1200 looms. The workers will be supported from the funds of the Weavers' Association, and their case has been taken up by the Council of the Northern Counties, who will make an appeal to the members of the Weavers' Unions in the Northern districts on their behalf. The strike threatens to be prolonged.

The twentieth annual Trades Union Congress will be held at Swansea on September 5th and five following days. Amongst the subjects for discussion are—Employers' Liability Act, 1880; certificates of competency for men in charge of steam engines and boilers; the desirability of increasing the number of factory and workshop inspectors; the right of the relatives of deceased miners to be represented at Coroners' inquests; co-operation, and its relation to trades-unionism; representation of labour in Parliament; reform in the land laws; international trades unionism; sudden and accidental deaths in Scotland; and "Shall the State be asked to pass an Eight Hours' Labour Bill?"

A deputation from the Cleveland Miners' Association, consisting of Messrs. Toyn, Rowlands, Stevens, Reeder, Strong, and Turnbull, met the Cleveland mineowners, at their offices, Middlesbrough, on Aug. 10, to further discuss the question of a new sliding-scale. The men renewed their request that the district tonnage rate should be made the minimum for broken work; and as to deputies' wages, they asked that the reference to arbitration should be merely on the question of whether the present rate should be increased. Various other points were mentioned, but the owners pointed out the impossibility of listening to proposals that entailed greater cost. Finally the proceedings were adjourned until the 2nd of September, when a further meeting will take place between the two sides.

UPHALL.—THE SHALE MINERS' STRIKE.—The strike of the miners and oil workers at the majority of the oil companies' works still continues, and there is no immediate prospect of a settlement. The men at Clippens, Oakbank, and Holmes are working at the old rate of wages, no attempt having been made to enforce any reduction at these places, Clippens' employees stating that their men had been reduced indirectly in another way; Oakbank was a new work, and were not prepared for a stand, while Holmes had to keep working on account of their contract with Pumpherson to supply crude oil. Of those who struck work, Pumpherson is the only place where a settlement has been made, and it is believed that that company has incurred the displeasure of the other companies connected with the Mineral Oil Association for settling with their men at a twelfth off their wages instead of a sixth as agreed upon. Those still out are Broxburn, Young's, Philipstoun, Champfeurie, Dalmeny, and Burntisland, and, as already indicated, both employes and men seem determined to continue the struggle for some time.

BREACHES OF CONTRACT AT CONGLETON.—A number of poor fustian-cutters were summoned to the Congleton police court a few days ago for leaving their work in an unfinished condition, and in every case were mulcted in damages and costs. The result is very different when it is the workers who are robbed and oppressed by breaches of the Factory Acts, as will be

seen from another paragraph. The following case is one more illustration of the miserable lot of the wage-slave to-day: Two fustian-cutters, named Thomas Kennedy and Patrick Kennedy, brothers, were summoned by Mr. G. H. Chatwin, fustian master, Moor Lane, for leaving their pieces in an unfinished state. Mr. Chatwin claimed 5s. from each defendant for damages for their breach of contract. Mr. Chatwin stated the facts of the case, saying that the defendants left their work in an unfinished state, and without giving the required notice. Defendants said they were not able to earn above 5s. a-week after a hard week's work, and having a mother who was ill, and required nourishment, they were obliged to leave and get work where they could earn more money. They asked that the case might be adjourned, as their mother had died that morning. Mr. Chatwin said he did not press for the full amount claimed as damages under the circumstances, but he wished it to be understood that cutters could not do as they liked with their work. The Bench make an order for the defendants to return and complete their work and pay costs, or in default to pay 2s. 6d. each as damages, and the costs.

THE BOLTON ENGINEERS' STRIKE.—The men are holding out firmly and are well supported. Last Saturday a great open-air trades' demonstration was held at Bolton in support of the men on strike. A gathering numbering several thousands assembled on the wholesale Market, and, headed by seven bands, marched to a field where three platforms had been erected, and speeches were delivered. Mr. James Swift, general secretary of the Steam-Engine Makers' Society; Mr. Charles Hough, chairman of the Bolton joint-committee; and councillor Threlfall, chairman of the Southport Trades' Council, presided at the several platforms. Resolutions were passed unanimously sympathising with the Bolton engineers in their struggle for an advance, pledging those assembled to continue pecuniary and moral support, and thanking the inhabitants of Bolton for the fraternal manner in which they had supported the men on strike. The general tone of the speeches was to the effect that the men of Bolton were fighting the battle for the whole of the country. A meeting of the strike committee has been held, at which an alternative scheme of arbitration was decided upon and forwarded to the mayor. The conditions are that the rate of wages paid within twelve miles of Manchester prior to January 1886 should be taken as a basis, otherwise the wages paid in Manchester and Salford at the present time. The balance in the hands of the strike committee was over £1200, of which Manchester contributes £50, Oldham, £20, Liverpool £10, London £25, and Bolton £160. The whole of the society men went on short donation, according to the rules of the society, which means that their pay is reduced from 15s. to 12s. per week; but the allowance has been made up from the strike fund to 17s. 6d. per week. Thirteen men have left Dobson and Barlow's works, eight of whom have been discharged for incompetency.

BREACHES OF THE FACTORY ACTS.—The *Cotton Factory Times* commenting upon some scandalous cases which have recently been brought before the courts, says: "For years we have been struggling to obtain inspectors worthy of the name, and, when obtained, to get for them some encouragement to do the work to which they are appointed. Now when we have got a moderate proportion of decent men, we find to our intense disgust that we are confronted by a new danger. This danger lies in the fact that the magistrates, who sit and adjudicate upon the cases brought before them by inspectors, appear to be allying themselves with the law breakers to defeat the enactments made by Parliament for the protection of women and children." This indictment is supported by reference to a batch of cases tried before the Stockport magistrates in which the firm of R. McClure & Sons, of Heaton Norris, were summoned by Mr. Jones for allowing a woman to clean her machinery at seventeen minutes past one on Saturday July 2; and to a batch of cases brought forward by Mr. Prior, and tried at the Halifax Borough Court. In the first case Mr. Prior found the works of S. Whitely & Co. running six minutes after the time for stopping. He took the names of twelve women, and afterwards went with the manager into the engine-house to compare his watch with the clock. They found that they only differed a few seconds. At the trial, however, the firm asserted that there was a second clock which governed the engine, and that according to this they were only running one or two minutes overtime. The manager did not deny that according to their own "time o' day" clock and the inspector's watch they had run six minutes overtime, but on the flimsy evidence of the person who said he had taken the indications the case was actually dismissed. It should be noted that, as in the Stockport case, one of the heads of this firm is a magistrate, and that when the case commenced Mr. E. Crossley, M.P., Mr. L. J. Crossley, and Mr. E. M. Wavell joined the bench, and left immediately after it had been adjudicated upon. Two other cases were also dismissed in spite of the evidence. Our contemporary concludes: "What are we to understand by this? Are the capitalist class concocting a course of action for the purpose of rendering the Factory Acts non-effective? It was the cry that we wanted inspectors who would do their work. We have now got some who are doing their duty, but if the system we have referred to is to be continued they might as well go back on the old lines. Employers may, however, rest assured that the last has not been heard of these cases. It is well that in all cases justice should be tempered with mercy, but the sort of decision which gives all the mercy to capitalists and the justice to workmen, is one that is far from commending itself to our taste, and the sooner working-class voters make this clear to their Parliamentary representatives, the better it will be for all concerned."

A DILEMMA.—*Worker*: I desire labour, sir.

Capitalist: I cannot give it to you until the goods that you produced last year are sold. You are not only the producer but the consumer. The goods you made last year you must consume before I can afford to set you to work producing more. There is an over-production.

Worker: I am willing enough to consume the goods if you will let me. I am ragged, hungry, and my house is dilapidated. This over-production problem is easily solved. I will take the goods at once. (Starts to make off with them.)

Capitalist: Hi! Hullo! Police! Here, what are you doing? You pay for those goods, you rascal, or drop 'em!

Worker: But I have no money left, sir. I produced them all, it is true, and you say that the value of my production last year was 1,000 dols.; you paid me for it, however, but 346 dols.; I have spent that as you know for some of the goods, but there is still 654 dols. worth left unsold on your hands. I can't buy those back unless you set me to work so I can earn the necessary wages to do it. And yet you won't let me go to work until the goods are sold. This is a queer world. You are one of the intellectual classes; won't you therefore explain me the reason for this dilemma?

Capitalist: My opinion of you is that you are a d—d Anarchist. Be off!—*Denver Labour Enquirer*.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

FRANCE.

The eighth annual conference of the confederated workers of the centre of France has been held from the 7th until the 14th inst., in the Commercial Hall, 92 faubourg du Temple, at Paris. Four hundred and fifteen delegates were present, representing together sixty-one various societies of social science (Cercles d'Etudes sociales) and seventy-eight various trades' unions (chambres syndicates). Toffrin acted as chairman, assisted by Picans, Collas, Haupais, Regnier, and Delaporte, secretaries. Five committees were appointed for the examination and classification of the reports sent in to the Congress: (1) committee of class war; (2) committee of public services; (3) committee of progressive income-tax; (4) committee of organisation of labour, sanitary questions, professional schools; (5) committee of public relief, assistance, etc. The first question, that of the struggle of the workers against all other classes of society, was certainly the most important of all, as affecting directly the policy to be pursued in future by the proletariat, and we are glad to state that it has been resolved in the most revolutionary way, that is to say, every connection of the workers with any other class has been strongly opposed and totally condemned, and further, that the workers, being internationally oppressed by the bourgeoisie, must more and more become internationally organised themselves, all sense of nationalism, patriotism, jingoism, etc., being a hindrance to their final emancipation.

At Laon, the trial of our comrades has ended in a most draconian manner: Devertus has been sentenced to four years' imprisonment and a fine of 1000 francs; Massey to one year and 100 francs. They had pronounced "inflammatory" speeches at a public meeting—that is all! Things are going on downwards in "republican" France.

At Dijon, the Anarchists Naudet and Monod have been acquitted from the charge of threatening to kill the State prosecutor. The charge, we must say, was a mere farcical one.

BELGIUM.

Small Belgium, once so proud of its "political liberties," becomes more and more the vassal of Germany. Bismarck already governs it as if it were a mere province annexed to the German empire, and we must say that the Belgians seem to be ready for slavery, for they accept with resignation all that Bismarck commands their legislators to do. Last week the Minister of Justice, M. Devolder, brought in a bill completely sweeping away the freedom of press and the freedom of speech. Not only henceforth will the provocation to commit a crime, followed by its actual commission, be punished, but the mere provocation, *without any consequence whatever*, shall entail for the writer or for the speaker a condemnation varying from six months' to three years' imprisonment, with a fine ranging from 50 to 3000 francs. More even than that: a design, a caricature, either printed or penned, and showing a tendency to ridicule the institutions of the bourgeoisie, will be dealt with on the same rigorous line. The government there is in the power of the clerical-ultramontane party, and we know that the respect of these people for liberty has always been very small; but the "liberal" party in Belgium is exactly as rotten as the first-named, for none of its members has thought it convenient to protest against this scandalous bill, which was carried through in the twinkling of an eye!

But, fortunately enough, this bill, directed against the Socialists, will do no harm to Socialism, for it is not so much the Socialist press which make revolutionists as the institutions of the bourgeoisie that force every man who has a sense of righteousness and justice to become a Socialist.

In our next issue we will give the result of the Working-men's Congress at Mons. We can only tell our readers to-day that the transactions were far from being orderly and quiet, that there were two camps—that of the followers of Defuisseaux, and those who hold with the Executive Council—and that finally each of the parties met in a separate conference.

GERMANY.

From January 1st to July 31st, 57,181 German wage-slaves have left their country and its police-blessings, emigrating mostly to America. Last year, in the same period, 40,597 turned their back on their "motherland."

At Leipzig, two compositors of the firm of Seebach, comrades Ch. Frey and Ed. Bauer, have been expelled from Saxony because they are Socialists, or rather because they worked at Seebach's, where anti-Socialist work is performed, and they ought not to know it beforehand!

On the 14th of this month August Bebel will be released from prison, where he has been since the 15th of November last. Auer will be released on the 15th. The other comrades convicted at the Freiburg trial, Vollmar, Frohme, and Viereck, will be set free a few days afterwards, and Ulrich at the beginning of October.

SWEDEN.

We have received this week the first number of a new weekly Socialist paper, entitled *Arbetet* (*The Worker*), published at Malmö, under the editorship of Axel Danielsson, formerly one of the chief contributors to the *Social Demokraten*, of Stockholm. Socialism makes great progress in the northern countries of Europe, especially during the last two years. We wish every success to our new colleague of Malmö.

DENMARK.

During September, the Danish Socialists will hold an International Exhibition of Socialist newspapers, reviews, pamphlets, and magazines of the whole world. Besides, a considerable number of Socialists from Germany, Holland, Italy, France, and other countries have promised to come over to Copenhagen, so that there will be an interesting international fête too. Socialism is very strong in Denmark; Copenhagen is the centre from whence the revolutionary ideas are spreading all over the country. The paper, *Social Demokraten*, which is published at Copenhagen, was the first Socialist organ in the country. It was started in 1871 as a weekly journal. In 1872 it became a daily organ of great size. In its weekly career, from June, 1871, to March, 1872, its circulation was about 709,150. Since it has been a daily paper, the average number of copies printed per week has been as follows:—From April 1872 to May 1874, 55,200 copies; from May 1874 to June 1875, 69,535; from June 1875 to March 1876, 77,280; from March 1876 to October 1877, 90,382; from October 1877 to April 1879, 62,524; from April 1879 to June 1882, 79,120; from June 1882 to November 1882,

82,726; from November 1882 to September 1883, 120,560; from September 1883 to March 1885, 149,760; from April 1885 to July 1887, 168,168 copies.

The whole island in which Copenhagen is situated is filled with Socialists. The east coast of Jutland is almost wholly Socialistic. Viborg, Alborg, and Nikolnig, are strong fortresses of the coming revolution. In Tionsø and Staalund, excellent organisations exist at Rodby, Maribo (Laaland), Diclum, Swendborg, and Faaborg (Fionia). D.

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.

Co-operative Store.—The Committee attend at the offices at 8.30 p.m. on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. All Groceries can be had at current store prices. Orders over 10s. will be delivered carriage paid in London.

BRANCH SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID.

Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League) to June 30. Clerkenwell, Mitcham, Walsall to July 31.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Hammersmith Branch, collected July 31, 4s. 9d. K. F. (weekly), 1s. C. J. F. (weekly), 2s. J. L. (weekly), 6d. P. W. (weekly), 6d. W. B. (3 weeks), 1s. 6d. D. N. (2 weeks), 6d. Llednub (2 weeks), 1s. Per R. Unwin, 5s. 6d.

P. WEBB, Treasurer, Aug. 16.

THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

A Medical Student, 1s. For Mrs. Moulbray—A Few Fabians, per Annie Besant (weekly), 10s. J. LANE, Treasurer.

Midland Strike.—Collected: Regent's Park, 4s. 6½d.; Hyde Park, 3s. 2½d.; St. Pancras Arches, 5s.

REPORTS.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, August 10, P. Barry lectured on "Scientific Boycotting for Trade Combination." Good discussion followed. On Sunday, August 14, an open-air meeting was held on the Green, addressed by Blundell and Underwood. In hall, Fredk. Verinder lectured on "The Bible and the Land Question." Fair sale of literature.—A. T. and W. B.

HACKNEY.—On Tuesday last the monthly meeting was held, and the following officers were elected for ensuing month: A. Barker, treasurer; T. R. Cooper, secretary; H. Graham, steward; and E. Lefevre, librarian. A deputation from S.L. was introduced, and a discussion took place upon the position of our club and branch, the *Commonweal*, and the League generally. A good meeting was addressed by H. Graham and J. Allman, at Broadway, London Fields, on Wednesday. On Sunday evening in our club-room, a discussion was held upon "Will Socialism benefit the English People?"

HOXTON.—On Thursday evening, a well-attended meeting was held opposite Hoxton church, comrades Jas. Allman and J. Pope who spoke getting a good reception. On Sunday morning, a very large outdoor meeting opposite the church assembled. Comrades Wade and Pope addressed the meeting. Large sale of *Commonweal*. On Sunday evening in the hall, H. A. Barker lectured, subject, "Evolution and Socialism." At the close questions were asked, and a lively discussion followed.—C. J. Y.

MILE END AND BETHNAL GREEN.—Sunday last, H. Davis addressed a large meeting in Victoria Park. Two members enrolled. Fair sale of *Commonweal*. All willing to work in the formation of a Branch in this district are requested to communicate with H. Matthews, 95, Boston Street, Hackney Road, or attend if possible at meeting to be held on August 26th. See other column.—H. M.

NORTH LONDON.—At Ossulston Street on Tuesday, usual meeting addressed by Cantwell, Allman, Brooks, and Turner. On Sunday morning, the meeting in Regent's Park was devoted to the Midland strike, Cantwell, Brooks, Nicoll, and Lane speakers. 4s. 6½d. for the strikers.—T. C.

GLASGOW.—On Saturday, Ward and Pollock were very successful with their meeting in Cambuslang, great sympathy and attention being shown by the audience. Another good meeting was held in Jail Square, Glasgow, on Sunday; Pollock and Warrington were the speakers, and were received with the usual good-will accorded to our comrades. In the evening a number of our members attended to distribute leaflets and *Commonweal* at a meeting of railway employees.—A. M.K.

NORWICH.—On Thursday last, we held a meeting at Great Yarmouth, addressed by Henderson, and Curl in chair. On Sunday morning, good meetings were held at North Walsham by Darley and Morley, and at Wymondham by Henderson and Houghton. In the afternoon at Lowestoft, by Slaughter, Moore, and Morley. In Norwich Market-place, Henderson spoke, and a resolution was passed without dissent condemning the action of the police and calling for the release of our comrade Pole, now undergoing sentence because police-constable Endacott owed him a grudge. In the evening Henderson lectured in the Gordon Hall on "Civilised Nations."

MIDLAND STRIKE MEETINGS.—Meetings were held by the Socialist League on Sunday last in support of the strikers against the oppressive action taken by the directors of the Midland Railway Company. At St. Pancras Arches, Bartlett, Lane, Hart, and Turner spoke, Dalziel in the chair. At Regent's Park, Lane, Cantwell, Brooks, and Nicoll spoke, and in Hyde Park in the afternoon Lane and Brooks spoke. Collections were taken up at each meeting, the amount of which has been forwarded to the Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants. At each meeting a resolution was passed sympathising with the strikers, and condemning the greed of the Company. No dissent was manifested at any time, and in every case the speakers were listened to with applause.

WOOLWICH.—On Sunday evening, Scheu spoke to a good audience at the Arsenal Gates, and made a marked impression on his hearers. A Radical, who is a mad Bradlaughist, objected to Scheu preaching Socialism in England, but approved of the chairman, a wandering Scot, doing it, which gave great amusement to all present. 3s. 7d. collected for propaganda. A large amount of literature sold.—R. B.

CLAY CROSS AND DISTRICT SOCIALIST SOCIETY.—A meeting was held on Tuesday August 2nd, comrade Smith in the chair. Several new members joined, and addresses were given by the chairman, Haslam, and Unwin. A meeting was also held on Tuesday August 9th, when it was decided to ask the Council of the Socialist League to allow us to affiliate. Several questions arising out of former addresses were asked, and some discussion followed. The next meeting will be on Tuesday August 23.—R. U.

DUBLIN.—On Sunday August 7th comrades Keegan and Coulon took advantage of a large crowd at a band promenade in the Phoenix Park, and got up a good meeting. Keegan fully explained the aims and principles of International Socialism. Towards the close of the meeting there was a good deal of horse-play carried on by some well-dressed rowdies in the crowd.

Scottish Land and Labour League.

A business meeting was held at the office, 4 Park Street, on Thursday. Arrangements for Dundee propaganda made. Demonstration for Shale-miners locked out was postponed for a week in consequence of miners' speakers being engaged in London about the Mines Bill. A committee to carry out the arrangements was appointed. Organising secretary's report given and approved. Formation of new branches sanctioned at Hawick and Cowdenbeath. Full powers given Mahon to form a branch in Dundee. It was agreed to send for Glasier to address several meetings on Saturday and Sunday. The meetings held this week were as follows:—

Hawick.—Monday Mahon lectured at the Tower Knowe to a good audience. Collection and sale of literature good, and new member enrolled.

Galashiels.—Second meeting held Tuesday last. Questions and discussion followed the address, and the meeting was a thorough success. The first collection was very good, and several names given in to form a branch.

West Calder.—On Wednesday last Mahon addressed a large meeting of the shale-miners on strike and other workers. A local miner presided, and the address was listened to with attention. Arrangements for another meeting were made and a branch will soon be formed. Good sale of literature.

Cowdenbeath.—A meeting of the Branch was held in the Gardener's Hall. There was a good attendance. Mahon gave a short address on organisation. The cards of membership were then given out and a secretary appointed. Some new names enrolled. This branch, consisting chiefly of miners, is now in good working order.

Dunfermline.—Meeting had to be given up in consequence of the bad weather. Meetings will be held in future in the Co-operative Hall. The *Dunfermline Journal* has given fair reports of our meetings.

Edinburgh.—On Sunday morning Bruce Glasier and Smith held good meeting on the Quayside, Leith. Good sale of *Commonweal*. In afternoon Glasier and Tuke spoke to about 100 in the Grassmarket. This was the first Socialist meeting ever held in the Grassmarket, and judging from the attentive hearing we received, we shall be able to make our principles popular. In the evening in Queen's Park, Smith, Glasier, Gilray, and Tuke addressed over 500. Fair sale of *Commonweal* at the Park Gate. At 8 o'clock Glasier addressed a good meeting on the Mound. Smith, Gilray, and Tuke spoke here also. Good meeting, with exception of some slight interruptions by Princes Street fops. Good sale of literature. Very fair collections made at all our meetings.

Dundee.—Mahon's mission to Dundee proved a great success. Large audiences attended all the meetings, a good number of names were given in to form a branch, and good collections were made. Comrades Carr and Cameron rendered valuable assistance. An indoor meeting will also have been held before this number of the *Commonweal* is published, and the branch will have been got into working order. The meetings held were four—on Saturday night at the Green Market and on Sunday at the Green Market, West Port, and foot of Hilltown. Arrangements for continuing a vigorous propaganda in Dundee are now being made. Some friends from Lochee attended the Dundee meeting, and arrangements for holding meetings there also were made.

CHAS. WM. TUKE, sec.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, W. On Thursday Aug. 18, Thos. J. Dalziel, "Communist Art." 25. Business Meeting. Sept. 1. Fred. Lessner, "Socialism on the Continent." 8. Edward Aveling, "The Value of Brain Work."

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday August 21, at 8.30 p.m. Thomas Shore, "Land Nationalisation." Wednesday Aug. 24, at 8.30. William Morris, "The Policy of Abstention from Parliamentary Action."

Hackney.—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 8 till 11.30; Saturday, 7 till 12.30; Sunday 11 a.m. till 12 p.m. Members Business Meeting every Tuesday at 8.30 p.m. Debating Class every Thursday. Lecture on Sunday August 21, at 8.30—James Allman, "Production and Distribution."

Hammersmith.—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday August 21, at 8 p.m. a lecture.

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—Globe Coffee House, 227 High St., Hoxton. On Saturday evening, Aug 20, at 8 o'clock, a CONCERT will be held in the Hall of the above Coffee House. On Sunday Aug. 21, at 8 sharp, William Morris will lecture on "Monopoly." Members will please take notice the Hall is open every Saturday evening from 8 to 10.30.

Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday. Discussions held every Sunday morning at 11.

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 Friday Aug. 26, for election of officers and other business.

North London.—Branch meets at 32 Camden Road, N.W., for reception of new members and other business, on Wednesday evenings at 8 o'clock, until further notice. H. Bartlett, sec.

PROVINCES.

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

Dublin.—Irish Labour League, Carpenters' Hall, 75 Augier Street, every Thursday at 8 p.m. Discussion on all subjects connected with Labour Question. **Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 7.30 p.m. (prompt) to transact business. Discussion Class at 8.30.

Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily.

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

Hull.—Merrill's Dairy, 56 Walker Street. Mondays, at 8 p.m.

Lancaster.—Addresses every Sunday morning on the Quay Jetty.

Leeds.—17 Chesham Street, Sweet Street. Club and reading room open every evening. Business meetings every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Leicester.—Office of Hosiery Union, Horsefair Street. Fridays at 8 p.m.

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

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

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 21.

11.30...Hackney—"Salmon and Ball".....Turner
11.30...Hammersmith—Beadon Road.....The Branch
11.30...Hoxton Ch., Pitfield Street.....Nicoll
11.30...Kingsland Green...Flockton, Lane, Jn. Allman
11.30...Mitcham Fair Green.....Sparling
11.30...Regent's Park.....Barker
11.30...St. Pancras Arches.....Dalziel
11.30...Walham Green.....The Branch
3...Hyde Park.....Lane
3...Stamford Hill...Flockton, Jas. Allman, Brooks
6...Victoria Park.....Morris & Davis
7...Clerkenwell Green.....Wade & Turner

Tuesday.

8...Ossulton St., Euston Rd. ...Flockton & Allman
8...Mile-end Waste.....Brooks

Wednesday.

8...Broadway, London Fields.....Lane

Thursday.

8...Hoxton, Pitfield Street.....The Branch

PROVINCES.

Glasgow.—Saturday: Jail's Square, at 8 p.m. Sunday: Jail's Square, at 1; Paisley Road Toll at 5.

Cambuslang.—Saturday: 6 o'clock.

Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, 11; Vicar's Croft, 7.30. Friday: Corner of Christ Church, Meadow Lane, at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place at 3; Agricultural Hall Plain at 7.

Diss.—Sunday, at 11 a.m.

Dereham.—Every Wednesday, Market Place at 7.

Yarmouth.—Every Thursday on the Beach at 7.

SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.

(Scottish Section of the Socialist League)

4 PARK STREET, EDINBURGH.

Fri. 19.—**Edinburgh.** Mahon.

Sat. 20.—**Eainburgh:** Demonstration in aid of Shale-miners locked-out, Queen's Park at 5 p.m.

Leith: Demonstration in aid of Shale-miners, Giant's Brae, Links, 7 p.m.

Sun. 21.—**Edinburgh,** Queen's Park at 6.30.

Mon. 22.—**Hawick** branch meets.

Tues. 23.—**Galashiels.**

WOOLWICH.—Arsenal Gates, Sunday August 21, at 7 o'clock—G. B. Shaw.

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THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 85.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 27, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

Mr. Thompson has been able to lay before the public in the columns of the *Echo* the evidence in the case of our comrade Pole of the S. D. F., and it must be said that if the magistrates who sentenced him to two months' hard labour have nothing to say in contradiction of the facts as there stated, they cannot clear themselves of the crime of sending an innocent man to prison, whom they must have known to be innocent.

The public can scarcely fail to see this, and another blow will be struck at this monstrous abuse of the magistrates' court with its body-guard of professional witnesses, who, like all policemen, consider, and are bound to consider, that it is their business, if there is any breach of the peace, to get hold of a prisoner and to convict him when they have got hold of him, at whatever expense to truth and justice may be necessary.

The stupidity of the police in the case of Mdle. Drouin is only what might be expected of these gentry, and no doubt many dynamite scares have had about as good a foundation as this one; but how are honest citizens to guard themselves against it? Are we to have an artist and a chemist attached to every police centre to inform the guardians of law and order what modelling clay is, and to assure them that the only danger it is fraught with is that it may be worked up into futile and ugly images?

Among other cases of legal oppression comes the hideous tale of Mr. Justice Field and the luckless Welsh girl; concerning which what can words do to express due indignation against such a sentence? But one thing we must remember: these and similar cases of the injustice of the law are being brought to light plentifully now; but we must not suppose that they are uncommon, and that there is only by some accident a passing shower of them at present. It cannot be doubted that they are of constant occurrence. Nay more, bad as they are, they are only extreme examples of the ordinary deeds of the law; it works in this way habitually and can work no otherwise; it is a machine constructed for the production of injustice; that is the sober truth.

Whatever may be thought about the guilt or innocence of Lipski, the whole circumstances of the trial call for a remark on one point in criminal trials which jurymen should remember, and which they are too apt to forget, that it is *they* who are the *judges*; they, not persons educated by professional experience and—cant, into callousness and disregard of everything but the rules of the game; but citizens and neighbours discharging part of their daily responsibility for the good of the community, and judging the matter by the rules of common sense and the experience of ordinary daily life. This is still the theory of the jury, and before centralised bureaucracy had quite overlaid the customs of the freemen of the tribes it was the practice also; but as things go now, the judge oftenest usurps the function of the jury, and his summing up is the real verdict. Let any one who sits on a jury, especially in a criminal case, take this to heart, and, as far as he is personally concerned, redress it.

Meantime it is a good thing that the public are having their attention turned to its worst abuses; they will soon see that they are helpless to cure them, if only they begin to try; for their conception of the law is that it is an impartial power that enforces respect to the due rights of the citizens, that it arranges personal differences between man and man. This is just their mistake, its real business is to defend property at the expense of personal rights.

Mr. Bradlaugh has received what may be called a new title at the hands of Lord Wemyss; he has been dubbed the "defender of the faith," so to say; protector of the sanctities of "free contract" (i.e., the leave to whack one's own nigger) against the original sin, which is now discovered to be a part of nineteenth century human nature, of paying some attention to the general welfare of the community. It may be doubtful as to how much Mr. Bradlaugh relishes this distinction, in spite of his anti-Socialist proclivities; it is not doubtful that the whirligig of time brings about curious revenges. Who are to be the next allies, I wonder?—Chamberlain and Salisbury, Wemyss and Bradlaugh! It is no use hazarding a guess; yet strange things may happen to Socialists if ever they get into the House of Commons, and they may have queer distinctions thrust upon them; they had better keep out of it altogether.

W. M.

A LABOUR POLICY.

WHEREVER there is oppression there is rebellion—if there be any vitality in the people at all. The form this rebellion takes almost entirely depends on the stage which the oppression has reached. If the oppression be in the growth of its power the rebellion will simply mean resistance to each fresh development, but if the oppression has reached its height and its power begins to wane, the rebellion assumes a definite and aggressive shape—it becomes revolution; that is, it not only resists the wrong, it prepares to stop it and to replace it by a just system. This has been illustrated by English history. Since the tyranny of the capitalists began, rebellion against it began. At first the workers could only protest by riots, insurrections, machinery-breaking and strikes against the wrongs under which they had to labour. As time went on their rebellion became more systematic. Now the time is at hand when the working-class must no longer be satisfied with protests against their misery; they must prepare to end it and to organise a happier state of society. Socialism is simply this most advanced stage of the labour movement. It aims at changing the present system of society in which the rich idlers live by plundering the poor workers, and the poor live only on the sufferance of the rich, into a system where both are merged in one body, all doing their meet share of the world's work, and enjoying a like share of its wealth.

The Socialist party has no interests in antagonism to other labour organisations. It only differs from them in this, that they fight for the interests of a *part* of the people, while Socialism aims at the good of *all*; they try to cure *part* of the economic evils, to stop *some* of the plundering, while Socialism aims at *preventing* the evils and bringing about an honest system. For instance, trades' unionism means securing to the workers a larger share of the fruits of their labour; Socialism means securing to the workers the full fruits of their labour. Co-operation means checking the shopkeeping section of the traders from cheating the people; Socialism means stopping all sections of traders from cheating the people. Therefore, there cannot be any antagonism between these movements and the Socialist movement. Socialism embraces all other Labour movements, and the very gist of the Socialist policy is to combine all sectional Labour movements into one solid array with a clearly defined aim; to focus the energies of the societies which are struggling here and there, and direct the whole united force to the achievement of the economic emancipation of Labour.

This task is a heavy one, and not to be hastily dismissed. There will be a good deal of jarring before the different sections agree and get into their right places. But it is now the urgent duty of all who seriously wish to advance the cause of labour to consider how the different movements having practically the same interests will regard each other. There has been too much sneering and gibing between Reformers and Revolutionists, and too little useful discussion. It is because reform is useless that revolution is necessary. The people must have justice. If justice cannot be gained by *reforming* the present system that shows the inherent badness of the system, and the only thing to do is to abolish it and replace it by another system.

It is now clear that as foreign competition and the development of machinery increases, the lot of the labourer is becoming more precarious. During the last fourteen years the condition of the workers in all the great industries has been steadily getting worse; wages have gone down, and employment is less secure. The employers allege that they are also getting worse off, which is true to a large extent. The simple and sensible explanation of our chronic trade depression is the production of goods beyond the power of our markets, both at home and abroad, to sell at a profit for the investors or capitalists. For profit-making purposes, there is a glut of goods and a glut of the means of production. Not only are our warehouses overflowing, but the land is lying waste, the machinery is going to rust, and the army of unemployed is regularly growing larger and larger. The capitalist and the working-class are alike helpless in this position of affairs. So long as both maintain the present system of production for profit this state of things can only go from bad to worse until the system is changed.

In future papers I shall try to lay down the Socialist attitude towards Trades' Unionism and Co-operation, and to sketch a line of action by which Socialists who are in these movements may work them on to the right lines of action. In thus trying to conciliate other working-class organisations, let it be understood that I am not in the

least wishful to compromise the Socialist aim. I don't wish Socialists to turn mere reformers, but to make reformers Socialists by showing them that they can only retain and develop in the future the good they have done in the past by coming right about of the advanced guard of the labour movement of to-day.

J. L. MASON.

FEUDAL ENGLAND.

(Continued from page 267.)

THE order and progress of Henry I.'s reign, which marks the transition from the mere military camp of the Conqueror to the Mediæval England I have to dwell upon, was followed by the period of mere confusion and misery which accompanied the accession of the princes of Anjou to the throne of England. In this period the barons widely became mere violent and illegal robbers; and the castles with which the land was dotted, and which were begun under the auspices of the Conqueror as military posts, became mere dens of strong thieves. No doubt this made the business of the next able king, Henry II., the easier. He was a staunch man of business, and turned himself with his whole soul towards the establishment of order and the consolidation of the monarchy, which accordingly took a great stride under him towards its ultimate goal of bureaucracy. He would probably have carried the business still further, since in his contest with the Church, in spite of the canonisation of Beckett and the king's formal penance at his tomb, he had really gained a victory for the Crown, which it never really lost again; but in his days England was only a part of the vast dominion of his house, which included more than half of France, and his struggle with his feudatories and the French king, which sowed the seed of the loss of that dominion to the English Crown, took up much of his life and finally beat him. His two immediate successors, Richard I. and John, were good specimens of the chiefs of their line, almost all of whom were very able men, having even a touch of genius in them, but therewithal were such wanton blackguards and scoundrels that one is almost forced to apply the theological word "wickedness" to them. Such characters belong specially to their times, fertile as they were both of great qualities and of scoundrelism, and in which our own special vice of hypocrisy was entirely lacking. John, the second of these two pests, put the coping-stone on the villainy of his family, and lost his French dominion in the lump. Under such rascals as these came the turn of the baronage, and they, led by Stephen Langton, the archbishop who had been forced on the unwilling king by the Pope, united together and forced from him his assent to Magna-charta, the great, thoroughly well-considered deed, which is conventionally called the foundation of English Liberty, but which can only claim to be so on the ground that it was the confirmation and seal of the complete feudal system in England, and put the relations between the vassals, the great feudatories, and the king, on a stable basis, since it created or at least confirmed order among these privileged classes, among whom indeed it recognised the towns to a certain extent as part of the great feudal hierarchy: they had begun to acquire status in that hierarchy.

So John passed away, and became not long after an almost mythical personage, the type of the bad king. There are still ballads and prose stories of these in existence, which tell the tale of this strange monster as the English people imagined it. As they belong to the fourteenth century, the period I have undertaken to tell you about specially, I will give you one of the latter of these concerning the death of King John, for whom the people imagined a more dramatic cause of death than mere indigestion, of which in all probability he really died; and you may take it for a specimen of popular literature of the fourteenth century. I can make bold to quote from memory, since the quaint wording of the original, and the spirit of bold and blunt heroism which it breathes, have fixed it in my mind for ever. The King, you must remember, had halted at Swinestead Abbey in Lincolnshire in his retreat from the hostile barons and their French allies, and had lost all his baggage by the surprise of the advancing tide in the Wash; so that he might well be in a somewhat sour mood. Says the tale: "So the King went to meat in the hall, and before him was a loaf, and he looked grimly on it and said, 'For how much is such a loaf sold in this realm?' 'Sir, for one penny,' said they. Then the King smote the board with his fist and said, 'By God, if I live for one year such a loaf shall be sold for twelve pence!' That heard one of the monks who stood thereby, and he thought and considered that his hour and time to die was come, and that it would be a good deed to slay so cruel a king and so evil a lord. So he went into the garden and plucked plums and took out of them the steles [stalks], and did venom in them each one; and he came before the King and sat on his knee, and said: 'Sir, by St Austin, this is the fruit of our garden.' Then the King looked evilly on him and said, 'Assay them, monk!' So the monk took and ate thereof, nor changed countenance any whit: so the King ate thereafter. But presently afterwards the monk swelled and turned blue, and fell down and died before the King: then waxed the King sick at heart, and he also swelled and died, and so he ended his days."

For a while after the death of John and accession of Henry III. the baronage, strengthened by the great Charter and with a weak and wayward king on the throne, made their step forward in power and popularity, and the first serious check to the tendency to monarchical bureaucracy, a kind of elementary aristocratic constitution, was imposed upon the weakness of Henry III. Under this movement of the barons, who in their turn had to seek for the support of the people, the towns made a fresh step in advance, and Simon de Montfort, the leader of what for want of a better word must be called the popular party, was

forced by his circumstances to summon to his parliament citizens from the boroughs. Earl Simon was one of those men that come to the front in violent times, and he added real nobility of character to strength of will and persistence. He became the hero of the people, who went near to canonising him after his death. But the monarchy was too strong for him and his really advanced projects, which by no means squared with the hopes of the baronage in general: and when Prince Edward, afterwards Edward I., grown to his full mental stature, came to the help of the Crown with his unscrupulous business ability, the struggle was soon over; and with Evesham field the monarchy began to take a new stride, and the longest yet taken, towards bureaucracy.

Edward I. is remembered by us chiefly for the struggle he carried on with the Scotch baronage for the feudal suzerainty of that kingdom, and the centuries of animosity between the two kingdoms which that struggle drew on. But he has other claims to our attention besides this. At first, and remembering the ruthlessness of many of his acts, especially in the Scotch war, one is apt to look upon him as a somewhat pedantic tyrant and a good soldier, with something like a dash of hypocrisy beyond his time added. But, like the Angevine Kings I was speaking of just now, he was a completely characteristic product of his time. He was not a hypocrite probably, after all, in spite of his tears shed after he had irretrievably lost a game, or won one by stern cruelty. There was a dash of real romance in him, which mingled curiously with certain lawyer-like qualities. He was, perhaps, the man of all men who represented most completely the finished feudal system, and who took it most to heart. His law, his romance, and his religion, his self-command, and his terrible fury were all a part of this innate feudalism, and exercised within its limits; and we must suppose that he thoroughly felt his responsibility as the chief of his feudatories, while at the same time he had no idea of his having any responsibilities towards the lower part of his subjects. Such a man was specially suited to carrying on the tendency to bureaucratic centralisation, which culminated in the Tudor monarchy. He had his struggle with the baronage, but hard as it was he was sure not to carry it beyond the due limits of feudalism; to that he was always loyal. He had slain Earl Simon before he was king, while he was but his father's general; but Earl Simon's work did not die with him, and henceforward while the Middle Ages and their feudal hierarchy lasted, it was impossible for either king or barons to do anything which would seriously injure each other's position; the struggle ended in his reign in a balance of power in England which, on the one hand, prevented any great feudatory becoming a rival of the king, as happened in several instances in France, and on the other hand prevented the king lapsing into a mere despotic monarch. I have said that bureaucracy took a great stride in Edward's reign, but it reached its limits under feudalism as far as the nobles were concerned. Peace and order was established between the different powers of the governing classes; henceforward, the struggle is between them and the governed; that struggle was now to become obvious; the lower tribe was rising in importance, becoming richer for fleecing, but also it was beginning to have some power; this led the king first, and afterward the barons, to attack it definitely; it was rich enough to pay for the trouble of being robbed, and not yet strong enough to defend itself with open success, although the slower and less showy success of growth did not fail it. The instrument of attack in the hands of the barons was the ordinary feudal privilege, the logical carrying out of serfdom; but this attack took place two reigns later. We shall come to that further on. The attack on the lower tribe now growing into importance in this reign was made by the king; and his instrument was—Parliament.

I have told you that Simon de Montfort made some attempt to get the burgesses to sit in his Parliament, but it was left to Edward I. to lay the foundations firmly of Parliamentary representation, which he used for the purpose of augmenting the power of the Crown and crushing the rising liberty of the towns, though of course his direct aim was simply at—money.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be continued.)

PAINFUL SEQUEL TO THE MIDLAND STRIKE.—An ex-Midland Railway driver, named Ling, drowned his three children and committed suicide near Derby last Friday. He was a leader of the recent strike and depressed by not being able to obtain employment.

METROPOLITAN AND CITY SECTION OF SHOEMAKERS.—A meeting was held at the "Cherry Tree," Kingsland Road, on Monday Aug. 22, to consider ways and means of supporting the men on strike of Cove and West's, Northampton. Two delegates from that town attended and explained the position, and a resolution pledging the meeting to support the strikers was carried unanimously.

ONLY TWO PARTIES.—Speaking at Liverpool last Sunday, Mr. Bradlaugh, after severely castigating Mr. Chamberlain and the Dissident Liberals, remarked that "as to the future there would soon only be two distinct parties, the party of the aristocracy and the party of labour and manufacturing industry." The statement might be amended by omitting the three concluding words, which if they mean anything, seem intended to cover the employing class; and the preposterous idea that the interests of Labour and Capital are identical, finds few believers nowadays. However, it remains to be seen on which side of the fence Mr. Bradlaugh intends to alight and under which flag he intends to serve. The people are preparing for a great, and it is to be hoped final struggle with their oppressors, and must needs treat as their enemies all those who stand aloof. The man whom Earl Wemyss delights to honour can hardly be a fit and proper person to look after the interests of the workers.—T. B.

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN IN SOUTH WALES.

On Saturday 13th inst., laden with literature, we left London for Cardiff, in a train overcrowded with Welsh folk returning from the Eistedfodd. We passed the night in Cardiff, and started the next morning by first train to Pontypridd. We experienced many delays and misdirections before meeting the friends expecting us there, and found our luggage, consisting of an enormous sack filled with literature and bag ditto, terrible encumbrances. After receiving a hearty Welsh welcome from friends met at last, we proceeded to our business by holding the first meeting on the Rocking Stone. This stone stands in the centre of a depression in the soil, and is surrounded with a circle of other smaller unhewn stones fixed in the ground. They are evidently Druidical remains. The oscillatory motion of the centre stone gives it its name. From this bold situation, overlooking the whole of the valley and town beneath, and in the midst of mountains, we began our work—a work, we believe, that will be crowned with lasting success—in these valleys. Our audience poured towards us from all points. They listened attentively to our exposition of Socialism, and cheered us to the echo. The only opposition came from a local schoolmaster, a dogmatic sort of pedagogue, whose ire was aroused by Mainwaring's outspoken way of calling thieves thieves. The audience would not tolerate his interruptions, and at the conclusion of the meeting a workman stepped forward and suggested that we should call for a show of hands as to whether the workers present agreed with us or not. The show of hands was unanimously in our favour.

At the afternoon meeting the stone and its vicinity was alive with people awaiting us. A splendid meeting was held, our pedagogue again interrupting with no success, the meeting enthusiastically in our favour. The *Western Daily Mail* showed the importance of the gathering by a virulent and scurrilous report of the proceedings.

We left Pontypridd amidst expressions of goodwill and promises of help, and trudged along the Rhondda Valley to Tylors Town, calling at Coedcae and other collieries on our road to distribute leaflets. At Tylors Town we held a good meeting amongst the colliers, only marred by the interference of a burly boss contractor who stuck up for his queen, he did. We now know that he has recently had a house built for himself, at an expense of some £2000, which explains his loyalty.

From Tylors Town up and over the mountains by narrow and precipitous paths, where a false step meant a fall of fifty or sixty feet, with the pulsing gasps of the engines and whirring of the windlasses of the collieries in the valleys below resounding around us, and past colliers' homes that we shall describe later on, we walked into Aberdare. Here we abandoned the projected meeting in order to look over the ground and secure the names and assistance of local men towards forming a branch. We got a hearty reception and promises of help, and agreed to hold our meeting on our return from Merthyr, where we went the same evening. We spent Wednesday in going over the Welsh Inferno, Dowlais Iron Works, now partially closed through want of water. This gigantic place employs some 9000 "hands," men, boys, and girls. Iron and coal mining, engineering, and brickmaking constituted the chief industries carried on. In gloomy dens, deprived of daylight, men were washing coal by a Belgian process to fit it for use. Truly, if noise, grime, filth, steam, smoke, and mountains of rubbish are marks of progress, then is Dowlais a progressive place. There is a plentiful crop of cripples made by all this progress, and they are kindly allowed to work as labourers about the works at wages varying from 15s. to 18s. per week. Shorn of a leg or an arm, they were painfully fulfilling their part in "progress."

In Merthyr at night we held a splendid meeting, a forest of hands being held up in our favour; and having secured a meeting-place for a branch, we held a second meeting on Thursday. A large crowd was present, amongst which were some local bigwigs, a magistrate and justice of the peace, but no opposition was offered at the meeting indoors. We secured some names for a branch, and have made agents for *Commonweal*.

On Friday we returned to Aberdare, and held a great meeting in the Boot Square. Having secured agents for *Commonweal* and distributed a vast amount of literature, we proceeded to Pontypridd on our way home. On Sunday morning at eleven o'clock we had a good meeting at the Rocking Stone, and another at two o'clock. This last was an immense gathering. At its conclusion a branch was formed and steps taken towards securing a meeting-place and forwarding the movement in the neighbourhood. In our next report we will give an account of the workers of South Wales and the conditions under which they live.

S. MAINWARING and F. KITZ.

SLAVERY IS THE WORD.—Our attention has been called to a terribly hard case tried at the Guildhall a few days ago, in which certain things were divulged that at first sight appear incredible. A carpet-weaver named Wm. Wilson, fifty-nine years of age, was accused of being in unlawful possession of a small bundle of wool-yarn, the property of his employers. One of those employers stated in court that the prisoner had been in their service for twenty-nine or thirty years, and had *always held responsible positions*, and enjoyed their confidence! After this statement it might be supposed that the prisoner's salary was a handsome one. As a matter of fact, his wages at the time of his arrest was SEVEN SHILLINGS PER WEEK!! His employer and prosecutor was not ashamed to acknowledge that this was the average remuneration the man had received for some years past. At the time he was found in possession of the yarn, his children were actually without bread. It seems monstrous that Englishmen should be so hard pressed as to occupy "responsible positions" for such scandalous wages as seven shillings a-week. Slavery is the only word that adequately represents such unremunerative toil.—*London Evening News*.

A SONG OF 'DEATH.

(Written in 1848 by FERDINAND FREILIGRATH. Translated by J. L. JOYNES.)

On the hills he stands in the dawning red,
With his sharp sword drawn in his sinewy hand—
I am Death who enfranchise the heroes, he said,
When they die for mankind and their own dear land:
Not he who comes gently at dead of the night,
And the weary at rest for eternity lays;
Nay, but he that stalks fierce through the thick of the fight,
And the youth in his triumph triumphantly slays.

'Neath the glorious tent of the clouds as I pass
I make thin with my shadow the warriors' ranks,
When I hurl them down headlong to die in the grass,
On the pavements of stone or on moss-covered banks.
O 'tis grand in the battle to welcome its brunt,
And 'tis brave in the frenzy of fighting to die!
How they lie with their scars and their wounds in the front,
And their blood-besmeared faces a-stare on the sky!

Thus they lay o'er the land from the North to the South,
Where the dark forest waves or the fair river flows,
Staining all the pure streams from their source to their mouth,
The defenders of Freedom shot down by her foes.
Thus they lay who in April had followed their fate,
Far and wide o'er the land in their hundreds they lay:
Now beneath the long grasses they peacefully wait,
Till their graves be made bright by the roses of May.

Is it roses alone that May brings for her boon?
Is it song that she breathes on her balmier breath?
Nay, 'tis hurdling of shot, and the trumpeter's tune,
Din of battle, and Me, the enfranchiser, Death!
For from tyranny's chain ye must shake yourselves free,
Lest the gold on your banner that loftily waves
A mere badge of your shame and your servitude be,
Yea, the gilt that disfigures the trappings of slaves.

For the year forty-eight has arrived and is here,
And ye cannot postpone it, do all that ye may;
And the lightning and thunder and storm that ye fear
Even now are approaching to sweep you away.
See, flash upon flash out of cloud upon cloud,
As in thunder the bolts of God's anger are hurled!
By the breath of his mouth the dark heavens are bowed,
As he clears of corruption this rotten old world!

He has sent me himself. Yes, I came in the spring,
And with turmoil and tumult and terror I ride,
As I chill the brave hearts with the shade of my wing,
Bring to nothing their triumph and trample their pride.
Thus I ride o'er the ranks of the fighters and slay,
With the incense of anguish and joy in my breath,
Till the sunrise make perfect the dawn of the day—
I must on! Ye have seen the enfranchiser Death!

Address by the "Associated Iron and Steel Workers of Great Britain" to the Workmen connected with the above Trades.

"Fellow-workmen,—The Executive of the above newly-formed Association desire to appeal to every workman in the iron and steel trades who has not taken advantage of the opportunity to become a member of the Association, to carefully consider their own and fellow-workmen's position owing to their present disorganised condition. Let them remember that when united they are strong and powerful to protect; disorganised they are weak and helpless against the action of capital. Think, men, of your wives and little ones, and the hard struggle to obtain even the common necessities of life for them; and remember it is your duty to them, to your fellow-workmen, and yourself, to assist in defending their and your joint interests. Look around you on every side, and the fact is forced upon you that every other class recognises the necessity of organisation. See how the rich landowners, manufacturers, and men of all professions—whether in landed interests, trade, politics, or religion—combine together to extend their influence, defend their interest, possess more power over those they have to treat with or employ, and increase their incomes. When this is made clear to your comprehension, ask yourselves the question, if, with all the advantages of power and wealth combination is necessary for these classes, how much more so is it necessary to the working-classes, whose bread depends upon their labour and whose earnings are under present conditions so small as to prevent any provisions for the future being made.

"Is it not by the skill of your hands and the application of your strength that the wealth is produced and capital increased; and can you, in your present disorganised condition, obtain a fair share of the results of your skill and labour? Is it not true while the wealth of manufacturers increases and larger fortunes are accumulated through the result of your labour, that when you are overtaken with sickness, or old age creeps upon you, and your strength begins to wane, unless by combination with your fellow-workmen you have made provision for your support, you are entirely dependent upon charity for your daily bread? Do you wish for this state of things to continue, or do you desire a better state of things? If no change is required, then continue in your present helpless and apathetic condition; but be honest and declare it, and not mislead those who desire to fight your battles and improve your position.

"If you desire improvement, remember 'United we Stand, Divided we Fall,'—that he who helps others helps himself, and the assistance of every man is needed if success is to be attained. All prejudices must be sunk, and one and all work for the common good. The interests of all men in the trade are identical, and the produce of their labour enters into competition in the same market; and that which affects one branch, one works, or one district must eventually affect all branches and works, and all districts. The experience of the past proves that no branch of trade or any district associations can successfully compete with capital. To do this a powerful National Association is needed, embracing all districts and all branches of the trade. We therefore appeal with confidence to all districts and all workmen engaged in the trade to be in earnest and organise themselves, or honestly and candidly declare they would rather remain in their present slavery than make an effort to be free."



"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 August 24.

ENGLAND		HOLLAND	
Justice	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	Hague—Recht voor Allen	
Anarchist	San Francisco (Cal) The People	Amsterdam—Voorwaarts	
Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole		
Norwich—Daylight	Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer		
Labour Tribune	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West		
Worker's Friend	Detroit (Mich.)—The Advance		
Jus	Kansas (Mo.)—Sun		
UNITED STATES		ITALY	
New York—Der Sozialist		Milan—Il Fascio Operaio	
Truthseeker		Naples—Humanitas	
Leader		Marsala—La Nuova Eta	
Volkszeitung			
John Swinton's Paper			
Freiheit			
Boston—Woman's Journal			
Chicago (Ill.)—Labor Enquirer			
Vorbote			
Hammondon (NJ) Credit Foncier			
FRANCE		AUSTRIA	
Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)		Arbeiterstimme	
Le Revolte		Berlinia—Volks Tribune	
Lille—Le Travailleur			
BELGIUM		ROUMANIA	
Liege—L'Avenir		Jassy—Lupta	
Brussels—L'Avant-Garde			
Antwerp—De Werker			
Ghent—Vooruit			
SWITZERLAND		DENMARK	
Geneva—Bulletin Continental		Social-Demokraten	
		SWEDEN	
		Stockholm—Social-Demokraten	
		Malmö—Arbetet	

A NOTE ON PASSING POLITICS.

THE Gladstonians are very naturally triumphant at the Northwich election, and the Tories as naturally have been attempting to explain away their defeat; which, however, taken in conjunction with the other bye-elections, does seem to an onlooker to mean the extinction of the Chamberlain party, the absorption into definite Toryism of Lord Hartington and a few other nobodies, and in short, the defeat of the revolt in the Liberal party against Mr. Gladstone, who seems destined to have one more triumph before he dies. To some ardent Liberals the way seems so direct to Liberal victory that the *Pall Mall Gazette* urges the Gladstonians to force on a dissolution by means of obstruction at once. That no doubt would be good tactics for them if the party were really what the writer of the article in the *Pall Mall* seems to think it—a party with principles and a steady aim. As it is, one may be quite sure that they will attempt nothing so revolutionary or anti-respectable as that: their advent to power will come by a longer road, with many more turns in it. For the respectable part of them have no very burning desire to pass a real Home Rule measure, and indeed don't think much about that or anything else except the mere party triumph. However, doubtless in the course of time we shall see a Liberal ministry in power again, with somewhat more pretensions to Radicalism than a ministry has had yet, and with the mandate to pass a Home Rule Bill. The said Bill will also, of course, be one of compromise; but we may suppose that it will do something to give the Irish question a little rest, though with its accompanying Land Bill it will not be so easily settled, even temporarily, as some people seem to suppose. But a truce once made with the Irish troubles, what will the new Gladstonian government do next? That is the rub. It will be expected to do something, and if it values its life must try hard not even to appear to do anything. To appear, I say, because, except as regards the franchise, the instrument of parliamentary democracy, there is no longer anything for that democracy to do. There may, and probably will be, a sharp fight in Parliament over the franchise, which will split up the party once more and give the Whig-Tories another innings; but when that is over and the democratic sword sharpened duly, where will be the enemy to be smitten by it? Doubtless there will be a new Allotments Acts, a Leasehold Enfranchisement Act, and other devices for dividing the power of our landlord masters without lessening it; and also doubtless some rubbish about perpetual pensions and the cultivation of grouse-moors and the like. But all this will be but using the newly-whetted democratic sword for cleaving a pat of butter instead of a helmeted head: it will be doing nothing. Nevertheless it will have an appearance of doing something and will lead to the death of more than one "Liberal" ministry, if constitutionalism lasts as long; so that what between disgusting real democrats with really doing nothing, and terrifying respectability with seeming to do something, the Gladstonian party is likely to have a rough time of it, and may well pray for a continuance of the Irish quarrel, in which

they have managed, after a deal of standing on alternate feet, to take up a position apparently not (to their thinking) too dangerous to constitutionalism.

Meantime, after all the Tory Government is not going to die tamely; they have plucked up heart to pass the Lords' amendments to the Land Bill and proclaim the National League, and seem to be going to put their foot down; probably because they perceive that their Chamberlainist friends are of no value to them, and that they must play their last card of attempting to drive the Irish people into violent action, which might turn the respectability of the Liberal party against Home Rule again. Fortunately they are probably too late once more; the mind of the ordinary person not pledged to the cause of reaction is getting used to the idea of Home Rule, and any outbreak on the part of the Irish that is not systematic will be looked on as a mere incident in the struggle.

Some measure of Home Rule is now certain; and all we Socialists can hope is that it will not be too long in coming; for what we want now is a professedly popular government in power, which, face to face with the real question of the day—whether labour is to be free or the slave of monopoly—will not be able to deal with that question, because it and the parliament which has produced it are and must be essentially the guardians of that very monopoly.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

IS LIPSKI'S CONFESSION GENUINE?

So Lipski has confessed and all is right, "he has been brought to a frame of mind that has enabled him to make the reparation," says the *Daily News*. Bourgeois justice and the Home Secretary are triumphantly vindicated. Thus, doubtless, thought the "respectable" world on Monday morning.

There is nothing to be surprised at in Lipski's confession. Indeed, it was just what was to be expected; those who have never believed in his guilt have no need to do so now, the evidence is entirely against such an hypothesis; but that under the circumstances the world should be given to understand that he has confessed, and "admitted the justice of his sentence," was absolutely essential to the stability of the government, of the system of capital punishment, and to the credit of our judicial machinery generally. What goes on within the walls of a prison is known only to those in the swim of the bureaucratic trade, and we do not pretend to decide dogmatically with respect to the origin of the document. We need only call the reader's attention to the fact that the bureaucrat is by the necessities of his profession a liar, skilful or unskilful; the value of official disclaimers is proverbial.

Who knows what kind of cajolery or even threats might not have been employed, since the occasion was so urgent and so much was at stake?

In connection with this it is well to remember that the witches who were burnt in the seventeenth century almost always confessed their guilt, and "admitted the justice of their sentence"—or were said to have done so. It must not be forgotten, moreover, that Lipski, who came from Russian Poland, remembering that in his own country a confession of guilt is necessary before a condemned criminal can be executed, and that there torture is admitted to be used on occasion to extract such a confession, might have a confused idea that the same thing might happen here, and seeing his case was hopeless and that he had to die, submitted to what he might think was a general formula for the sake of dying without unnecessary worry.

Anyhow the document bears upon it the stamp of unguineness. Lipski says that he had not begun to search for money before Miriam awoke and alarmed him. Does it seem likely that a man not being a maniac would murder a woman for fear of discovery, simply because she had found him in her room, and before he had committed any crime?

He says the aquafortis he swallowed had no effect on him. Is this probable?

He didn't know how his arms were abraded, and did not feel it at the time. Is this probable if the statement next above is true?

These objections lie on the surface of the confession, but no doubt other discrepancies will occur to other searchers into the document. Under any circumstances the main point to be remembered is that the evidence on the trial was insufficient for a jury to convict upon if un-directed by the judge, and bearing in mind the maxim so often put forward by those who boast of the immaculate nature of English law, that a doubt should be interpreted in favour of the accused.

E. BELFORT BAX and WILLIAM MORRIS.

THE SCOTCH PLOUGHMEN.—Some hopes were entertained that the Scotch Ploughmen's Union would develop into a thoroughgoing labour organisation; but at the last annual conference one of the officials stated that the union was strictly a benefit society, and not in the least way connected with trade union or political purposes. It is certainly a pity to see such a large and important class of workmen, who might wield a great power in the labour movement busying themselves with a mere benefit society. If they are determined to rigidly exclude themselves from all interference with the great social problem that confronts the working class, they need not expect that their flourishing financial condition will interest anyone but themselves. A working-class body which deliberately refuses to have anything to do with the great economic question, and repudiates any connection with even trades' unionism and politics had better call itself a "slate club" and drop such a title as the "Ploughman's International Union."—J. L. M.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

ITALY.

VENICE.—In the general strike of bakers at Venice lately, the men have been holding out for a slightly increased rate of wage, and a 12 hours' day instead of one of 16 hours. The Syndic and Prefect of the town have stood by the masters with a beautiful fidelity, sending to other towns so that the once great Lady of the Adriatic should not go breadless.

The gondoliers of Venice are also on strike, this move being caused by the result of the late deliberations of the Common Council, which was to give orders that the small steamers of the Finella Company should run by night as well as by day. The Syndic has had a notice posted up, threatening the gondoliers and boatmen with the suppression of their licences if they do not give in immediately. This is good-bye to the picturesque and jovial "cabbies" of Venice. Well, as wrathful lovers of the city have often exclaimed on beholding the zeal with which the Venetians hasten and disfigure its decay, the sooner the Grand Canal is filled in and fitted up, *a la boulevard*, with toy trees and tram lines the better; then no more need be said or thought about the place, the gondoliers transforming themselves into tram-car conductors, good luck to them.

SANT ELENA (VENICE).—In what was once, and not many years since, one of the pleasantest of the outlying Venetian islands now hideous with coal and smoke, a little incident occurred a week or two back which, as descriptive of the pretty little ways of Italian foremen, I reproduce. In the pursuit of his work one of the men met with an accident, which the doctor pronounced mortal, bidding him be conveyed to an hospital. A gondola was procured, and two of his fellow-workmen prepared to accompany him to do their best to comfort his last minutes of life, when the foreman interfered with an absolute refusal to let the men go. What! because one of their companions took the liberty to become fatally entangled in machinery did it follow that they might slack work for a few hours on a sentimental plea of *cameraderie*?

CATANIA.—When some "cheap kitchens" were opened here lately, the *Fascio Operaio* says that thousands of starving folk took the place by storm. The carabinieri were obliged to oppose the rush of the crowd, and in the struggle some people were hurt. The distress in Sicily is great, augmented by the spreading cholera.

M. M.

BELGIUM.

As we said last week, the transactions at the Workers' Congress at Mols were far from being orderly and quiet, and the delegates divided into two camps, each of them holding a separate conference. Now, the split is complete among the Belgian labourers, and the first cause of it is certainly to be found in the strong desire for centralisation continually shown by the Executive Council of Brussels. The *Parti ouvrier* (workmen's party) has been shortened a good deal by the disaffiliation of several federations, which have formed themselves into a new body, to be called the "Belgian Republican Socialist Party" (a strange title, indeed: are there now in Belgium royalist-Socialists?). This new body will hold their first congress at Liège. The old *Parti ouvrier*, with a newly elected executive at its head, has refused to adopt the idea of an immediate general *black strike*. It seems to me that this resolution will matter little on the very day when the workers will resume their struggle against their oppressors. The following corporations have left the *Parti ouvrier*: the Labour League of La Louvière, the Socialist Union of Fontaine-l'Évêque, the co-operative societies of Wasmes, Paturages, Frameries, and Dampremy, the Miners' Unions of Jumet-Gohyssart and Courcelles, the Labour Leagues of Dampremy, Bouffloux, and Chatelet, the Co-operative Union of Trieu-Ormon, the Bee-Hive of Chateleineau, the Working-men's Federation of Gilly, and Co-operative Union of Montceau-sur-Sombre. A delegate from the S.D.F., Headingley, who, of course, was on the side of the Executive Council of Brussels, has been expelled from Belgium.

As we gave two weeks ago a list of the pamphlet literature of the German Socialists and Anarchists, we give now the list of the series of pamphlets issued by our Belgian workers. They publish once or twice a month a brochure of no less than 120 pages, and often even of 180 pages, at the very low price of 25 centimes—i.e., 2½d. But I am not inclined to say that the quality of these pamphlets is always adequate to their quantity; nevertheless, as a whole, they are worth noticing and recommending. 1. 'Dead for the People,' by Anseele (social-novel, 3 vols.); 2. 'Social Evolution in Belgium,' by Arnould; 3. 'The *Parti ouvrier* and its Programme,' by Bertrand; 4. 'Belgium in the year 1866,' by the same (2 vols.); 5. 'Democratic Letters,' by Adelson Castiau; 6. 'The Lace-women in Belgium,' by De Greef; 7. 'The Abbé Delacollonge,' by Enne (novel, 2 vols.); 8. 'A Nook of the Pauper's Life,' by Heusy; 9. 'The Right of Idleness,' by P. Lafargue; 10. 'Religion of Capital,' by the same; 11. 'My Uncle the Lawyer,' by Picard; 12. 'The Quintessence of Socialism,' by Schaeffle; 13. 'The Vicar of Noirval,' by Pergameni (a novel); 14. 'The Radical Programme,' by Arnould; 15. 'The Venality of Journalism,' by Chirac.

Comrade Bracekelaere, who has undergone five months of imprisonment, as publisher of the Socialist paper *Vooruit* of Ghent, was released last week.

FRANCE.

GLASS-BOTTLE MAKERS' STRIKE AT MONTLUÇON.—We are glad to announce that the International Glass-bottle Makers' Association, on the intervention of the Strike Committee of the Socialist League, has sent to the secretary of the strikers the sum of £50 (the Lancashire Union has given £25, the Yorkshire Union £20, and the Dublin Union £5). Comrade James Hunter, General Secretary of the International Union, left St. Helens last Thursday, the 18th inst., *en route* for Canada, where we hope he may do the same good work as he did among the glass-bottle makers in this country.

At Montataire 1200 ironworkers are now on strike. Their wages have been reduced by 15 per cent., and are paid monthly instead of fortnightly. They ask the withdrawal of this reduction and the usual former mode of payment.

SPAIN.

The Socialists in Spain are divided in three or four different fractions, of which the two principal are, the Collectivist-Anarchist Federation, with its centre at Barcelona, and the Social-Democratic Federation, centralised at Madrid. The Collectivist-Anarchist Federation proceeds from the former International Working-men's Association, who acted under the inspiration of Bakounine. Their Anarchism is somewhat different of that of the other countries, as its comprises in its ranks the organised trades' unions, encourages the various strikes occurring in the Peninsula, and aims at the economical federation of all the workers.

The second organisation is established on the same footing as the Social-Democratic parties of Germany, Holland, Denmark, Belgium, etc. Last year this organisation was only composed of the four groups of Madrid, Barcelona, Malaga, and Guadalajara, but actually some twenty associations have joined the central body. A third fraction, composed of corporations of skilled and unskilled artisans, works between the two former fractions, with a view of arriving at a complete amalgamation of the various existing bodies. The fourth fraction is that of the Communist-Anarchists, which is progressing favourably, but in small groups, all over the country.

All these organisations have their organs. The Collectivist-Anarchist Federation recognises as its official paper, *La Cronica de los Trabajadores*, mostly devoted to statistics, and as propaganda papers, *El Socialismo* at Cadiz, *El Cuadro Estado* at Orense, *Acracia* and *El Productor* at Barcelona.

The Social-Democratic Party is represented in the press by *El Socialista*, published at Madrid.

The third fraction, which is the most moderate, publishes *El Obrero* at Barcelona, and the Communist-Anarchist groups, after having had the paper *Unahoja*, are now represented by *El Productor* of Barcelona.

D.

CORRESPONDENCE.

A SOCIALIST SONG-BOOK.

As I am preparing a Socialist Song-book (words and music) for the press, I should be glad if any of your readers would send me contributions towards the same. What I want is good words matched to good tunes—or if only the names of verses and tunes which will match each other be supplied, it will be a help. Of course I don't engage to accept all that are sent, but rather want a good number to select from. Songs that are in actual use among Socialist bodies will be specially welcome.

Commonwealth Café, Scotland Street,
Sheffield, Aug. 22.

EDWARD CARPENTER.

"FREE" LABOUR.

Sir,—I am a carpenter and joiner by trade, and I should be glad if you could find space in your paper to allow me to call attention to an act of gross injustice perpetrated by Messrs. Temple and Graham, builders, of Holcrofts Estate, Fulham, on about thirty of their men.

The men employed by Messrs. Temple and Graham have an annual outing, which, by the bye, is promoted and used by the firm rather as an advertisement than for any benefit it may confer upon the men. Let me give some facts about this year's beanfeast.

Saturday, the 13th of August, was the day fixed for the "treat," and those who intended going subscribed so much per week for the six weeks previous to this date, in order to make up the 8s. necessary for the expenses. About 50 men took part in the outing.

On the Holcrofts Estate, Messrs. Temple and Graham employed about 30 carpenters and joiners, and these men, much to their surprise, were informed on Friday, the 12th August, that they would no longer be required, and on asking the reason were told by the foreman that it was on account of their not joining the beanfeast.

Was there ever a greater piece of injustice? Many of these men had only been engaged on work for the firm two or three weeks, and had previously been out of employment for some considerable time, which, of course, meant back rent to be paid, and many other things known only too well to workmen in our days. I for one deny the right of any man to dictate to me the manner in which I shall spend my earnings, and sincerely hope (and I fancy I see signs of it coming) that my fellow-workers, be they skilled or unskilled, will join together in one great party, and then, and only then, will a stop be put to such dirty work as that which I have described.—Yours, etc.,

"A VICTIM."

August 22, 1887.

"CONCERNING USURY."

I have read with attention, in last week's *Commonweal*, the letters of Mr. J. Haldane Smith and Mr. T. S. Barrett on this subject, but must respectfully decline to entangle myself in the mere metaphysics of Socialism. Life is too short to indulge in such unprofitable exercises.

At the same time if—as would appear to be the case—it is of any consequence to these gentlemen or to others to know, I may say frankly that I am perfectly ready to supplement the wages of the workers not merely by the rent (interest) of money, but by the rent of land and the rent (profit) of machinery as well. If, as seems to be the drift of Messrs. Smith and Barrett's contention, the abolished usurer should take refuge in profit-mongering, why then the profit-monger's turn for suppression must come next.

But better far one thing at a time and in order. The average Briton's mental digestion is weak at the best, and it would never do to *surfeit* him with novel ideas. In truth, I have a doubt whether it is altogether wise to lay sacrilegious hands on the usurer before we have finally disposed of his elder brother the landlord. The machine-lord or profit-monger is the residuary legatee of both, and his immolation will naturally come last. Why Socialists should strive to push this particular malefactor to the front is, from the strategic point of view, entirely beyond my comprehension.

J. MORRISON DAVIDSON.

P.S.—May I be permitted to add that, thanks doubtless to the effective medium of the *Commonweal*, and the intrinsic interest of the subject, my trifling contribution to this vastly important question has, according to evidence before me, been surprisingly successful in arresting attention in altogether unexpected quarters.—J. M. D.

THE ANT AND THE BUTTERFLY.—A Busy Ant was carrying a grain of Wheat down a Garden Path. When asked to stop by a gaudy Butterfly, the Ant replied that it must carry its load to the Storehouse. "But," said the Butterfly, "what does a single grain amount to?" "Ah," replied the Ant, "you forget that others are bringing more. It is by Union Labour that we fill our Storehouses." The Butterfly rose disdainfully in the sunshine, and was seized by a Hungry Bird, while the Ant proceeded gaily with its grain.—*Moral*: It is not Individual Effort that accomplishes the great things, but the Concerted Labour of the Multitude.—*John Swinton's Paper*.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

SCAVENGERS' WAGES.—At Belfast the scavengers are paid 12s. a week, and the men recently struck for an advance of 2s. per week, and this the City Council refused to give, and the men had to submit or be idle.

In consequence of an unprecedented falling off in demand, the proprietors of the leading hem-stitching firms in Lurgan have put the operatives of their factories on three-quarter time. The depression, which will affect thousands, is attributed to a falling off in the production of cambric goods.

GLASGOW TRADES' COUNCIL.—At the meeting of council on the 17th inst. the delegates from the pump, boot, and slipper makers reported that they were still on strike, and that at a full meeting of the men they had resolved still to hold out.

The Midland Railway Company have put a number of the men engaged in their large locomotive shops at Derby on short time this week, owing to scarcity of work. The men principally affected are those of the erecting, repairing and paint shops. Instead of six days they have only worked four.

At the monthly meeting of the Bolton Trades' Council the question was discussed as to forming a labour association to assist workmen to Parliament, Town Councils, and other representative bodies, and to educate the workers by lectures, public meetings, and distribution of literature relative to all labour questions.

The employes of Messrs. Martin and Taylor, padlock manufacturers, Sandwell Road, West Bromwich, have received notice of a 10 per cent. reduction in the price of work. The workmen employed at these works are already receiving less wages than are paid by the trade generally, and to ask for an additional 10 per cent. reduction is outrageous.

THE RIVETERS' STRIKE AT CLYDEBANK.—The strike of riveters of James and George Thomson, shipbuilders continues, and there are no signs of a settlement on either side. The carpenters and joiners who are at present employed will in all likelihood soon be suspended unless the riveters and employers come to a speedy settlement.

THE DALMENY OILWORKS STRIKE.—A few days ago the men on strike at Dalmeny Oilworks made an offer to their employers to resume work at half the amount of the reduction intimated—namely 2d. per day. The employers now decline to comply with the request. The men are suffering great hardships, and it is likely that an appeal will be made for support to trades' unions and the public generally.

STRIKE RIOT NEAR BIRMINGHAM.—The strike in the Birmingham nail trade has resulted in another serious disturbance. A party of about twenty strikers went out in a brake to Bromsgrove, where they encountered a number of men who were put on in place of the old hands. A desperate fight followed. Three men sustained dangerous injuries, several had minor injuries, and a number of bystanders were badly hurt with missiles.

BOLTON—ANOTHER STRIKE.—On Monday morning, August 15, the local members of the Packing-Case Makers' Society left work for an advance in wages. They have been in receipt of 31s. 6d. per week, but the Manchester employers have conceded a demand for about 1s. 6d. advance. There are not many of the trade in Bolton, Messrs. Horrocks and Sons being the chief employers, with about 20 hands.

NORTHAMPTON.—The strike of shoe operatives at Northampton threatens to assume alarming proportions. The masters have endeavoured to overcome the difficulty by sending work to adjacent towns, but the men, discovering the source from which the work came, have refused to execute it. The boot-lasters and finishers of Mr. J. R. Marks came out on strike on the 19th, demanding higher wages. The sympathy in the town appears to be in favour of the men, and public subscriptions have been opened.

Consternation is the word used to state the condition of the various Government dockyard towns. Sheerness, Chatham, Portsmouth, Davenport, are adding thousands to the army of unemployed. The winter of 1887 promises to be a memorable one in the annals of distress. The men of Chatham are appealing to their member of Parliament, who is also a member of the Government. Bitter irony!

EDINBURGH JOINERS STRIKE.—The joiners held a meeting last week, when it was announced that the strike was practically at an end, as nearly sixty of the biggest employers had conceded the demand of the operatives. Work is now resumed by those who were actually out, and the men expect that, under a threat of stoppage of work, those of the employers who are still persistent in refusing the increase will withdraw their opposition, the trade being at present very busy in the city. The men chose the right time, stuck together well, and success is the result.

MANCHESTER AND SALFORD TRADES' COUNCIL.—An important meeting was held on the 19th inst., to discuss the question of a better arrangement as to the class of subjects to be brought forward at the next annual Trades' Union Congress. A resolution was ultimately arrived at, appointing a committee of five members, to whom the whole business of the Congress is to be remitted. Their duties will be to see that all questions upon which resolutions have been passed by the various trade organisations throughout the kingdom are brought under notice, and that henceforth the precedence of subjects on the agenda-paper of the Congress shall be decided by ballot. This resolution is to be submitted to the forthcoming meeting which assembles at Swansea.

LANARKSHIRE MINERS.—On the 18th a large proportion of the miners of Lanarkshire were idle. In the forenoon a meeting of the Central Board was held at Hamilton, when the delegates reported that, except as regards the collieries where the last reductions had not been enforced, the men were idle in the district of Rutherglen, Cambuslang, Blantyre, Burnbank, Hamilton, Motherwell, Holytown, Tannochside, Nackerty, and Airdrie. A mass meeting was afterwards held, Mr. Harley presiding. Mr. Small moved, seconded by Mr. Colvin—"This mass meeting of miners, being thoroughly convinced that the former policy of restriction—five days, eight hours, with a restricted output—is, meanwhile, the only alternative to secure an improvement, would strongly urge all districts immediately to revert to it." Mr. Bulloch moved, seconded by Mr. Furie—"Recognising that no progress is possible without union and amalgamation, this meeting would earnestly urge all collieries to appoint collectors to collect contributions and enroll members, with the view of securing unity of action." Both resolutions were adopted.

ROYSTON, CAMBS.—The outlook hereabouts in agricultural matters is becoming black. A severe drought and consequent sparseness of yield has been the last straw, following on low prices and foreign competition, to break up many of the farmers. The masters are at their small wits' end, and have mostly given up the idea that "times" will ever improve. It is noticeable

that this year fewer odd hands are employed on harvest work. On one large farm near there are fewer men at work by nine than last year. This is due greatly to the use of self-binding reapers and the impoverished resources of many of the masters. Those who are more wealthy take every opportunity of cutting down wages and reducing their staff, meanwhile complaining vastly of the "badness" and stupidity of the men. The winter promises to be worse for the labourers than last; many will be thrown out after harvest, with no prospect of regular work for three or four months at least.—P. C. W.

ATHERTON—STRIKE OF WINDERS.—The cop-winders employed by the Lee Spinning Company are on strike against a proposed reduction of wages. The company employ between 400 and 500 hands, and fresh lists showing the prices to be paid to winders, clearers, reelers, and gassers have been posted up, in consequence of the profits not realising 5 per cent., the firm say. The operatives objected to the fresh lists, alleging that they would mean a reduction in their wages from 10 to 20 per cent. The cop-winders who are out number from 120 to 130, and it is expected the clearers will turn out next week, and if so the reelers will have to suspend operations. This is the second reduction this year the firm are trying to impose, the former being one of 10 per cent. Of late the operatives say they have not earned more than would procure them a bare existence.

THE CHAINMAKERS' AGITATION.—At a meeting of chainmakers held on Thursday 18th inst., in the Salvation Army Barracks, Cradley Heath, Mr. Thomas Homer, who presided, stated that there were still about two-thirds of the operatives partially employed at the 4s. list of prices, and one-third were unable to obtain employment. This was owing to the fact that there was not a great demand for chain, and a small number of the employers still refused to concede the 4s. list of prices. Owing to the hearty support of the press and the determination of the operatives, he believed the prospects of the chainmakers were now brighter than they had been for years. It might not be generally known that a chainmaker now earned as much for making 3cwt. of half-inch chain as he did for 10cwt. before the strike, but such was the case. During the week 500 loaves of bread and £17 in money had been distributed amongst those still out on strike or unable to obtain employment.

THE BOLTON ENGINEERS.—The fifteenth week of the strike shows no sign of a settlement. The trades and the public are supporting the men with funds, and the utmost unanimity prevails. An indignation meeting was held on the 17th, protesting against the extra police in the town; and in a letter from the military authorities it was pointed out that if the masters require the services of the military again, they must provide proper accommodation, as camping out had injured the horses. The Town Council met, decided to get ready a disused warehouse, and have now converted it into a temporary barracks, notwithstanding the protests of the ratepayers. Thousands of men have been allured into the town to take the place of the strikers, but only about 200 are working. Great efforts are being made by "disinterested parties" to get the men to submit to arbitration. It is to be hoped they will not fall into the trap. Never was a better conducted struggle, never better chances of success.

THE SPINDLE AND LOOM—THE STATE OF TRADE.—*Bury and Elton.*—The greater portion of the large mills in the Bury district are, in consequence of the indifferent state of trade, working short time. Among these may be mentioned the Barn Brook Spinning and Manufacturing Company, who are working four days a-week; John Openshaw, Son, and Company, Pimhole, who are working from Tuesday morning till Friday night, and have been doing so for the last three or four months; William and George Openshaw, Pimhole, working four days a-week; and Wrigley and Schofield, Chesham, who have had a portion of their looms stopped for some considerable time. *Castleton.*—At Westbrooke Mill, Messrs. William Yates and Sons, a notice announcing that the workpeople will cease work on Saturdays and Mondays has been posted. The stoppage is said to be due to the warehouses being overstocked. The concern has weaving and spinning. *Whitworth.*—The spinners at Messrs. Smithson Bros. are only working four days a-week. *Heywood.*—Messrs. Norris Brothers' top and bottom shops are working short time. The weavers are making about three and a half days and the spinners four days a-week. The short time is being worked in consequence of the warehouse being overstocked with fustian cloths.

BRADFORD AND DISTRICT TRADES' COUNCIL.—A public meeting was held last week for the purpose of stating the case for the Midland strikers and the engineers on strike at Bolton. There was a large attendance. The president of the council, Mr. John Hollings, took the chair, and said: "In times like these, when some men had so much wealth, means were placed in their hands by which other men were crushed down to a condition of abject slavery, and were regarded as mere machines, to be treated as machines were treated." Going on to speak of the condition of the working classes, he said: "Labour created capital; but those who had the wealth spoke very little indeed of the labourer. The chairman of the Midland Railway Company had said that the leaders of the strikers were agitators; but was he himself not an agitator for the company and the shareholders?" Mr. Stevens (delegate from the Bradford strikers) said that only three out of ninety men in Bradford had been reinstated, consequently the rest were left to do the best they could. A resolution was carried, condemning the Midland directors and shareholders, and also one expressing sympathy with the Bolton strikers. A collection was made at the close for the Bolton men.

BRUXBURN SHALE-MINERS DISPUTE.—The delegates of the men on strike had an interview with the managing director to discuss their differences of opinion, with a view to a settlement. One of the miners having stated the case for the men, the director said he could hold out no hope of the company conceding any part of the reduction, and even should they accept the full reduction, they would have to consult the Mineral Oil Association before opening the mines. The men would also have to be more "loyal" to the company, and abide by the rules of the works. He did not, however, state what he meant by "loyal." The works manager, Mr. Henderson, then said that in future they would have no interference by third parties, and took the deputation to task for letters inserted in a local paper by their agent. Instead of having their grievances brought up in public meetings and in letters to the press, he thought they should first complain to the managers. The men explained that they had always appealed to the "tender mercies" of the managers, and always without success. After the conference a meeting of the men was held in the Public Hall, which was crowded. The meeting unanimously agreed not to accept the employers' terms, but would take a few days to consider the matter before coming to a final decision.

THE MIDLAND RAILWAY STRIKE.—The *Cotton Factory Times* has the following excellent observations on the late strike:—"The strike of the drivers and firemen on the Midland Railway system has collapsed. There is no use beating about the bush. It is the most complete failure of any strike of modern times. Those of our readers who perused our remarks of

last week on the subject would see that we indicated this in the last few lines, when we said that 'if the dispute convinced the railway servants of the necessity of greater unity than had characterised their action in the past the lesson, though dearly bought, would not have cost too much.' It was not at that time politic to speak plainer, seeing that the dispute was undecided, and that we were anxious that the men should have every encouragement, of which they stood sorely in need. Now, however, that the affair is settled by the unconditional surrender of those who came out there can be no harm in applying the lessons taught. The first of these is that no strike of such magnitude, or for the matter of that no strike at all, should be undertaken unless there is a practical unanimity amongst all the workers involved. In this case it appears that 74 per cent. of the drivers and firemen employed by the company remained at or returned to their posts within a day or two after the strike commenced. In no occupation, even with poor employers, could a strike be successful under such circumstances, let alone against a wealthy and influential corporation. Further than this, however, if we take into consideration the signalmen, porters, guards, and the thousands of workmen employed in miscellaneous work about a large railway system like the Midland, all of whom know more or less of the road and the general work, the number of those who came out on strike becomes infinitesimal by comparison. To make such a strike successful, it is absolutely necessary that the work of the company attacked must be brought to a complete standstill. To do this, at least three-fourths of the whole of the employes—drivers, firemen, signalmen, porters, etc.—should all come out. It may be that only one section are affected by some new proposals, but in the long run it is found that they are all in the same boat. In the present state of railway organisation this is, however, impossible. The only real trade union amongst railway servants is the Amalgamated Society. This, though one of the wealthiest in the kingdom, only numbers about 10,000 members, or less than one in twenty of those eligible to join. Whether it be railway servants, or any other class of workers, their position is exactly what they choose to make it. Never had men a better case than the drivers and firemen of the Midland. In no occupation could men strike with such force if united, and yet the company managed to carry on their business and defeat the men in a week for want (in the men's case) of that unity which is strength. There are now being bandied round recriminations about being betrayed, and the officials of the union not doing their duty. This is worse than useless. Let the railway servants put all this on one side, and make their union one not only in name but in reality, and we should soon find that to all reasonable demands, the companies would be as amenable as they are now the reverse."

THE WEAVERS' STRIKE AT PRESTON.—On Wednesday evening, Aug. 17, a mass meeting of the weavers, winders, and warpers of Preston was held at the Weavers' Institute in that town, for the purpose of hearing an explanation of the state of affairs in connection with the strike at Messrs. H. C. Owtram and Co.'s Manchester and Castle Street Mills. Mr. John Marshall occupied the chair, and was supported by Mr. J. Barrows (Padiham), Mr. A. Buckley (Oldham), and Mr. Luke Park, secretary of the Preston Weavers' Association. There was a large attendance. The chairman, explaining how the strike was brought about, said that for months and months the velvet weavers of this firm had been very dissatisfied with the prices paid for the goods they were weaving. A little over two years ago they were paid 18s. a cut, while now they received only 15s., and the employer did not intend to stop at that.—Mr. A. Buckley said the fact was that velvet goods were being woven at this place for less than plain calico pieces. They wanted to have peace and quietness with the employers if possible, but when a man paid 6s. or 7s. a cut under other people, and could not be quietly persuaded he was in the wrong, they were bound to try what a little pressure would do. In Oldham the weavers got a lot more money for the same work. Here was one sort: 52 in. loom, 41 in. yarn, 64 picks, 74 reed, 60's double twist, 56's weft, 137 yards long. For that they were paid at Messrs. Owtram's 15s., while in Oldham they were paid 20s. 7d. For another cloth of the same pick, reed, counts, and length, but 48 in. wide, the Oldham price was 21s. 4½d. Naturally Oldham employers would not stand this sort of thing, and but for the action of the Preston weavers notices would have been placed in the Oldham mills last Saturday or Saturday week of a reduction of 10 or 15 per cent. At their two mills Messrs. Owtram had something like twelve hundred looms. In Oldham they had almost as many thousands of looms on velvets, and if this strike had not taken place all those in Oldham would have been stopped. He had even been told by an Oldham employer that if they had submitted to the prices paid in Preston, it was the intention of the Oldham velvet manufacturers to bring their weavers down to Preston prices. This would have meant a reduction of 5s. or 6s. a cut, a very serious matter indeed. It was for that meeting to say what the result should be. If they showed a good example, other towns would be encouraged to subscribe liberally, while if they let this reduction be made, they might depend on it that it would not end there. The employers would say that if they could beat the operatives at this one point, they could beat them at others, and the consequences might be very serious.—Mr. Barrows, who was enthusiastically received, said he did not want to quarrel with Mr. Edelston or any other employer. If there was any one to blame in this matter, it was the weavers for allowing him too much latitude. They had been told that three years ago he was paying 18s. for a cut, and was now only paying 15s. for just the same work; but they were not told that the 18s. was 3s. less than the proper price. In the last four years Mr. Edelston had been keeping from his velvet weavers that which did not belong to him. If he had taken it out of their pockets it would have been a robbery, but as he had only prevented it going into their pockets of course it was not. What would they do in Preston to help these weavers? He confessed he had more faith in districts outside, which had never seen a velvet and never wanted to see one, than he had in those of Preston. They wanted there very different organisation than they had now, and until they got it they would have men like Mr. Edelston to deal with. His was not the only place in Preston where the employers were not paying what they ought, and until the operatives were better organised, and roused themselves to a defence of each other, they would always have this sort of thing going on. If they once gave Mr. Edelston a good thrashing he would be better to deal with in future.—The chairman stated that mill collections were started last week, and they expected that this week the majority of the mills would have collections inside.—Mr. Barrows said that if they paid 4d. a loom they could beat Mr. Edelston into fits.—A female weaver moved that the contribution be 1½d. per loom, and this was seconded. A male operative proposed that it be 1d. per loom, which, he said, would be sufficient if every one paid to give those on strike 2s. 6d. per loom. It was no use one paying 1½d. and the next weaver nothing.—The original motion was withdrawn in favour of the amendment, which was carried unanimously, and the meeting ended.

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.

Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League) to June 30. Clerkenwell, Hammer-smith, Mitcham, Walsall to July 31.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

A. M., 4s.; E. B. B. (2 weeks), 1s. Weekly Subscriptions.—K. F., 1s.; C. J. F., 2s.; J. L., 6d.; P. W., 6d.; W. B., 6d.; Llednallb, 6d.

P. WEBB, Treasurer, Aug. 16.

THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

For Mrs. Mowbray—A Few Fabians, per Annie Besant (weekly), 10s.

J. LANE, Treasurer.

FOR PROPAGANDA.

Collected at Mitcham and Merton, Aug. 21, 3s. 9d.

Midland Strike.—Received of Mr. Lane the sum of 12s. 9d. for Midland Strike Fund.—EDW. HAFORD, for Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants.

REPORTS.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, August 17, Sydney Webb lectured on "The Political Duty of Socialists." The lecturer maintained that it was the duty of Socialists to get their names on the register, and so become a part of the voting power of the country. Considerable difference of opinion was expressed as to the utility of this by several members. On Sunday, August 21, an open-air meeting was held on the Green, addressed by Turner and others. In hall, Thos. Shore lectured on "Land Nationalisation." Good discussion followed. Fair sale of literature.—A. T. and W. B.

HACKNEY.—No meeting was held at the Broadway on Wednesday owing to the thunderstorm. A short meeting was addressed by Turner at the Salmon and Ball, on Sunday morning. A good discussion followed. A discussion on "Socialism" was held at the club on Sunday evening.—T. R. C.

HOXTON.—On Thursday evening, comrades Jas. Allman and Turner addressed a good outdoor meeting opposite Hoxton Church. On Sunday morning a very successful meeting was held at same place, comrades Wade and J. Pope speaking. *Commonweal* sold well. On Saturday, the members and friends of the League held a successful concert. On Sunday evening in the hall, Wm. Morris gave a lecture on "Monopoly" to a good audience, followed by a good discussion.—C. J. Y.

KINGSLAND GREEN.—On Sunday morning, we held our first meeting on Kingsland Green, which was addressed by John Allman, Flockton, and Nicoll. A large and attentive audience assembled. At the close of the meeting we had some opposition from Freund, who has been several times charged at the Mansion House for preaching in and out of St. Paul's Cathedral of the doom of the Great City. *Commonweal* sold well. Two names were taken towards the formation of a branch.—J. F.

MARYLEBONE.—We held our usual meeting in Hyde Park on Sunday afternoon. Cantwell, Nicoll, and Bartlett spoke. No discussion.—T. C.

MERTON.—On Sunday morning at 11.30, Eden, Bull, and Harman opened fresh ground in Haydon Road, near Recreation Ground. On Sunday evening at 6.30, an enthusiastic meeting of between four and five hundred people, addressed by Eden, Hardesty, and Harrison. Good sale of *Commonweal*.—W. G. E.

MILE END AND BETHNAL GREEN.—On Tuesday, the 16th inst., a large meeting was held on the Waste, Turner, Ailman, and Davis speaking. Good sale of paper. On Sunday, 21st inst., a very enthusiastic meeting was held in Victoria Park by Morris and Davis. Some opposition was offered by an Individualist, whose remarks were replied to amidst cheers. *Commonweal* sold well.—H. M.

MITCHAM.—We held good meeting, addressed by Sparling, who dwelt chiefly on the Midland strike. The speaker was listened to with great attention. 3s. 9d. collected for propaganda. *Commonweal* sold well.—R. C.

NORTH LONDON.—Our meeting at Ossulston Street on Tuesday night was very successful. Cantwell, Graham, Flockton, and Brooks spoke. Some questions were replied to satisfactorily.—T. C.

STAMFORD HILL.—On Sunday afternoon, a most successful meeting was held at Stamford Hill, which was addressed by James and John Allman, Turner, and Brooks.—J. F.

BIRMINGHAM.—Donald addressed a meeting in the Bull Ring on Sunday, and one at Spring Hill. At Spring Hill the police again interfered.

BLOXWICH.—Sanders addressed a meeting on the Green. The bad weather made our meeting less than last week, when we had above three thousand.

DUDLEY.—A meeting of huge dimensions was addressed by Sanders on Tuesday in the Market Place. The police have persistently attempted to suppress us here, but in spite of their animus we held our meeting, a Tory town councillor taking part in the discussion. They have suppressed the meetings of Church and the Salvation Army in order with more face to suppress us. However, we go to the market as vendors of books, and intend to insist on having the same right to puff our wares as any other merchant. We sent a letter to the Town Council asking permission to hold our meetings, but have been refused.

GLASGOW.—On Saturday afternoon, Paterson and Downie addressed a good meeting at Cambuslang. At Jail Square on Sunday forenoon, Glasier and Bullock spoke to a large audience. In the afternoon, our usual meeting was held at Paisley Road Toll, Glasier and Bullock being the speakers. The meeting was a large one, and listened with great attention to our comrades. In the evening another meeting was held in Jail Square, and Glasier, Bullock, and D. Stewart (S.D.F.) delivered stirring speeches to an audience of 1,000 persons with a fair sprinkling of policemen. At each of our meetings on Sunday, collections were taken on behalf of the locked out shale miners of Broxburn. The amount collected was £1 0s. 4½d. *Commonweal* sold well at all the meetings.—A. M.K.

GREAT BRIDGE.—On Tuesday, Donald and Weaver lectured here in the Market Place. The audience of 500 or so listened with marked attention and frequently applauded.

HANDSWORTH.—Meetings were held at Tangyes Works on Friday and Saturday, addressed by Donald. Good sale of literature both times. Men likely to aid the cause have turned up.

LEEDS.—Three good open-air meetings held since last report.—T. P.

PELSALL.—Weaver addressed a meeting of miners and ironworkers on the Common, on Wednesday. There is every prospect of a strong branch being developed, and our Pelsall comrades intend to increase their efforts to attain same.—J. T. D.

WALSALL.—We addressed a large meeting at the Sister Dora Statue on Saturday. Our speakers were well listened to.—J. T. D.

WEDNESBURY.—Large meeting in Market Place was addressed by Donald, Weaver, and Sanders, on August 18th. Good sale of literature.—J. M.

DUBLIN.—At the Labour League on Thursday, August 18, I. O'Gorman lectured to a small but attentive audience on the "Demands of Organised Labour."

He traced the gradual evolution of the wages slavery of to-day from the chattel slavery of old, showing in what respects "the free labourer" of the Christian nineteenth century was worse off than the chattel slave of benighted heathendom, and advocated Socialism as the only remedy for the industrial depression. An interesting discussion followed, in which I. B. Killen, B.L., J. S. Hall, Keegan, Gabriel, and King took part. Mr. Raftann, Scottish Land Restoration League, in criticising the lecture, appealed to Socialists to take political action, and assist Radicals, Land Nationalisers, *et hoc genus omne*, in advocating reforms on which all could unite. He was ably answered by Fitzpatrick, who pointed out the futility of such a course.—K.

SHEFFIELD SOCIALISTS.—On Sunday, August 14, the Sheffield Socialists mustered in strong force at their usual meeting-place for open-air propaganda. Messrs. Garbut, Drury, and Bullas addressed the meeting. On Monday the 15th, we had a somewhat lively meeting; comrades Story, Bullas, and Mrs. Usher were the speakers. There was some noisy but weak opposition, which was easily and effectively answered, the people evidently thinking the message of Socialism is worthy of their consideration.—M.

WOOLWICH.—G. B. Shaw spoke here last Sunday evening to a crowd numbering several hundreds, on "Radicalism and Socialism." The way he handled his subject won the sympathies of all our former opponents, and at the close of his address one of our Radical friends made an appeal to the audience to support us in our work by subscribing to the Propaganda Fund. 7s. was collected, and long before the meeting closed our literature was sold out.—R. B.

Scottish Land and Labour League.

The usual meeting of the Edinburgh Branch was held on Thursday evening. Arrangement for the meetings in aid of the Shale Miners were completed. A good many members have joined during the last few weeks. On all hands the propaganda is going on satisfactorily.

Carnoustie.—Mahon visited this town on August 15, distributed some literature, and arranged for a meeting a fortnight later.

Arbroath.—A very successful meeting was held at Brothock Bridge on the 16th, addressed by Mahon. The utmost interest was evinced by the audience, and a good branch was formed at the close of the meeting. Sale of literature and collection satisfactory.

Forfar.—Owing to the heavy rain it was impossible to hold the meeting as announced. Arrangements for an indoor meeting a fortnight later were made.

Dundee.—An indoor meeting was held on Thursday the 18th, to organise the newly formed branch. The hall of the Educational Institute was crowded. Mahon delivered a short address. A meeting of members was held afterwards for election of officers, and arranging for another series of meetings.

THE SHALE MINERS' MEETINGS.

The meetings on Saturday afternoon in aid of the Shale Miners were only partially successful. Both meetings were fairly large and the people very much interested, but the attendance was nothing to what it should have been. The Shale miners have suffered in silence; they have been meek and mild and law-abiding, and public indifference to their wrongs is the reward of their good behaviour. Some very able speeches were made by Mr. Wilson, secretary of the Shale Miners, Bullock of the Scottish Miners' Federation, Small of the Lanarkshire Miners, and Tuke, Mahon, and Smith of the Socialist League. The collection amounted to £1 5s. 4½d. Another meeting will probably be held.

Leith.—Last Sunday's meeting on the Quay side was well attended. May and Mahon were the speakers. Satisfactory collection and sale of literature.

Edinburgh.—Afternoon meeting in the Grass Market was very lively. One or two opponents turned up and caused a very good discussion. The sympathy of the meeting was entirely with the Socialists. The Queen's Park meeting was larger than usual. Smith, Tuke, and Mahon spoke. In the evening a meeting at the Mound was held, Mahon delivered a short address, and then for over an hour a series of questions were put by some three or four gentlemen, who seemed deeply interested in the subject. Most of the questions were very intelligent. The meeting was adjourned at ten minutes to ten. Several of the enquirers promised to return on the following Sunday.

CHAS. WM. TUKE, sec.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, W. On Thursday Aug. 25, Business Meeting. Sept. 1. Fred. Lessner, "Socialism on the Continent."

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday August 28, at 8.30 p.m. H. Samuels, "Socialism and Parliamentary Action." Wednesday Aug. 31, at 8.30, P. Barry, "Scientific Boycotting for Trade Combination" (continuation).

Hackney.—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 8 till 11.30; Saturday, 7 till 12.30; Sunday 11 a.m. till 12 p.m. Lecture on Sunday August 28—Turner, "Co-operation and Socialism." Tuesday August 30, monthly general meeting; election of officers and other important business. All members are requested to attend.

A Free Concert will be held at the Club on Saturday September 3rd.

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday August 28, at 8 p.m. Ernest Radford, "Charity."

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—Globe Coffee House, 227 High St., Hoxton. On Sunday August 28, at 8, Thos. Shore, jun., of the Land Restoration League, will lecture—subject, "Land Nationalisation; a few words to some objectors." On Saturday evening, at 8.30 (prompt), Committee and general members' meeting—very important business. Members are earnestly requested to attend.

Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday. Discussions held every Sunday morning at 11.

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 Friday Aug. 26, at 9 p.m., for election of officers and other business.

North London.—Branch meets at 32 Camden Road, N.W., for reception of new members and other business, on Wednesday evenings at 8 o'clock, until further notice. H. Bartlett, sec.

PROVINCES.

Arbroath.—Next meeting at Brothock Bridge, Tuesday Aug. 30, 7.30 p.m., lecture by Mahon. Secy. (*pro tem.*), Jas. Malcolmson, 3 Arras Street.

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

Cowdenbeath (Fife).—Secretary, John Duncan, 30 Arthur Place.

Dublin.—Irish Labour League, Carpenters' Hall, 75 Aungier Street, every Thursday at 8 p.m. Discussion on all subjects connected with Labour Question.

Dundee.—For meetings, see below. Secretary, A. Simpson, 10 Forge Lane.

Dysart (Fife).—Secy., A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 7.30 p.m. (prompt) to transact business. Discussion Class at 8.30. Chas. Wm. Tuke, secretary.

Galashiels.—Secretary (*pro tem.*), John Walker, 6 Victoria Street.

Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Sunday Aug. 28, meeting of members in Rooms.

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

Hull.—Merrill's Dairy, 56 Walker Street. Mondays, at 8 p.m.

Lancaster.—Addresses every Sunday morning on the Quay Jetty.

Leeds.—17 Chesham Street, Sweet Street. Club and reading room open every evening. Business meetings every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Leicester.—Office of Hosiery Union, Horsefair Street. Fridays at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Free Lectures every Sunday at 8 p.m. Business Meeting, Monday at 8.30. Speakers' Class, Sunday mornings at 10.30 and Wednesday evenings at 8 p.m. Social Evening, Saturdays at 8. Sunday Aug. 28, at 8, H. Halliday Sparling, "English Guilds."

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

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 28.

11.30...Garrett—"Plough Inn".....Eden & Bull
11.30...Hackney—"Salmon and Ball".....Graham
11.30...Hammersmith—Beadon Road.....The Branch
11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield Street.....Barker
11.30...Kingsland Green.....Lane & Flockton
11.30...Merton—Haydons Road.....Eden
11.30...Mitcham Fair Green.....Wardle
11.30...Regent's Park.....Davis
11.30...St. Pancras Arches.....Dalziel & Bartlett
11.30...Walham Green.....The Branch
3...Hyde Park.....Mainwaring & J. J. Allman
6...Stamford Hill.....Flockton & Brooks
6...Victoria Park.....Lane
6.30...Hackney Road—Warner Place.....Graham
7...Clerkenwell Green.....Nicol

Tuesday.

8...Ossulton St., Euston Rd.....Flockton & Allman
8...Mile-end Waste.....Kitz & Davis

Wednesday.

8...Broadway, London Fields.....Allman & Graham

Thursday.

8...Hoxton Church, Pitfield Street.....Barker

WOOLWICH.—Arsenal Gates, Sunday August 28, at 7 o'clock—John Burns.

PROVINCES.

Glasgow.—Saturday: Jail's Square, at 6 p.m. Sunday: Jail's Square, at 1; Paisley Road Toll at 5; Jail's Square at 7.

Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, 11; Vicar's Croft, 7.30. Friday: Corner of Christ Church, Meadow Lane, at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place at 3; Agricultural Hall Plain at 7.

Dereham.—Every Wednesday, Market Place at 7.

Yarmouth.—Every Thursday on the Beach at 7.

MEETINGS IN BIRMINGHAM DISTRICT.

Date.	Place.	Time.	Speaker.
25—Wednesday	...	7	Sanders
26—Bloxwich	...	6.30	Donald
26—Oldbury	...	6.30	Deakin & Weaver
27—Willenhall	...	5	Donald & Weaver
27—Wolverhampton	...	7	Donald & Weaver
27—Darlaston	...	4	Sanders
27—Bilston	...	6.30	Sanders
28—Birmingham—Spring Hill	...	Noon	Donald
28—"	Bull Ring	6.30	Sanders
28—"	Council House	6.30	Donald
29—Handsworth	...	6.30	Donald
29—Walsall	...	7	Austin
29—West Bromwich Temperance Hall	...	7	Sanders
30—Dudley	...	6.30	Donald
30—Great Bridge	...	6.30	Weaver & Deakin
31—Tipton	...	6.30	Sanders
31—Pelsall	...	7	Donald
1—Wednesday Temperance Hall	...	6.30	Sanders
2—Bloxwich	...	6.30	Sanders
2—Oldbury	...	6.30	Deakin & Weaver
3—Willenhall	...	5	Sanders
3—Wolverhampton	...	7	Sanders
3—Darlaston	...	4	Donald
3—Bilston	...	6.30	Donald

SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.

(Scottish Section of the Socialist League)

MEETINGS—AUGUST.

Thur. 25.—**Dysart miners.** Dubbie Green, 6 p.m.
Fri. 26.—**Cowdenbeath.** Toll House, 4 p.m.
Dunfermline. Public Park, 7.30 p.m.
Sat. 27.—**Lochee** (near Dundee). High Street, 4 p.m.
Dundee. Greenmarket, 7 p.m.
Sun. 28.—**Leith.** Foot of Walk, 11 a.m.
Edinburgh. Grassmarket, 3 p.m.; Queen's Park 6.30 p.m.; Mound, 7.30 p.m.
Dundee. Foot of Hilltown, 11.30 a.m.; West Port, 2 p.m.; Barrack Park, West End, 3 p.m.; Magdalen Green, 7 p.m.
Mon. 29.—**Carnoustie.** The Cross, 7.30 p.m.
Tues. 30.—**Arbroath.** Brothock Bridge, 7.30 p.m.
Wed. 31.—**Forfar.** Market Cross, 7.30 p.m.

GREAT

DEMONSTRATION

ON

Trafalgar Square,

SATURDAY, AUGUST 27TH (TO-DAY),

To denounce the

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AT SIX OCLOCK.

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Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, London, E.C.

Printed and Published by WILLIAM MORRIS and JOSEPH LANE

at 13 Farringdon Road, London

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 86.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

A newspaper correspondent, on a visit to the City dust-bin, seems to have been a good deal filled up by the boss there, who vaunted the superior attractions of the occupation of—well, *dirt*-shifting and stink-smelling. So that it seems we are all wrong together in our attempts at sanitation; or perhaps the dust boss was a liar, which seems on the whole the simpler explanation. Anyhow this job of dust-shifting is one of those concerning which one gets asked after lectures as to who is to do such and such things under Socialism. Well, however hard the question might be to answer as to the future, it seems to me that at present M.P.'s might work at it between the squalls. It would teach them the difference between metaphor and fact for one thing, and probably they would prefer their old habitual way of eating dirt after all. To be serious, the real job is not fit for anybody else—except the lawyers.

Mr. Bradlaugh is in luck; after being canonized by Lord Wemyss, he has received a still more important testimonial from the *Daily News*, which classes him amongst "thoroughly sound and moderate politicians"! After this it will be strange indeed if he is not a member of the coming Gladstonian Government. Some persons will think indeed that it must be rather a strain to keep up a reputation for "soundness and moderation;" and whatever has been in the past, that will probably be true in the future, and even before very long, when when there will only be two parties—the party of the people and the party of reaction. You can only be moderate when it is possible to say "perhaps" instead of "yes" or "no." Which of these two latter will Mr. Bradlaugh say?

Meantime, on this Irish matter there are Gladstonians with greater claims to moderation than Mr. Bradlaugh. The meeting Liberals held recently to discuss the help to be given to the Irish in the present stress was in its moderation worthy of the study of a Molière. Even allowing for the disclaimer of the accuracy of the report in the *Daily News*, the general tone of it must have been pretty accurately given in the report, and it is curious how anxious certain members were—especially Mr. Howell—not to commit themselves to anything definite. One need hardly warn the Irish party not to trust too much to the Gladstonian M.P.'s, they will have reckoned them up long ago; but the English democracy, which is sincere in its conversion to the cause of Irish independence, should look a little sharper after its "representatives."

The delusion as to the recovery of trade which was spreading, or rather, perhaps, being industriously spread, a little time ago, probably as a part of the Jubilee decorations, is vanishing with the brilliant memory of those decorations; and it has now to be confessed for one thing that the falling off in the railway receipts is serious. The coming winter will bring home the fact of the failure of expansion in English trade very sharply to the millions of the slaves of commerce. And the trading class also will be feeling more and more the result of the revolution which is going on, though neither class will know what is the real cause of the pinch, but will put it down to "free trade," the immigration of foreigners, and other sticks and straws that are floating on the vast current of fully-developed commercialism.

It is Socialism only that can explain the conundrum offered to us by the capitalists, "Livelihood is so cheap that it is hard indeed to live." Truly even when thieves are disreputable persons they are inconvenient members of society; but when successful stealing is the aim of all respectable persons, and thieves have got to be looked upon as benefactors of society; when legalised theft is so gloriously organised, and the art has reached such a pitch of refinement that the thieves steal their slaves ready-made, instead of buying them honestly in the market, or boldly risking their lives in battle to conquer them; then indeed the less successful of us may well find it hard to live.

Indeed even the stealing is accomplished vicariously by these full-blown geniuses in the art, for, as Mr. G. B. Shaw was explaining to us the other night, the slaves themselves are forced to offer themselves as unbought property to their masters. Ancient society, with its brutal chattel slavery, did its business with discreditable want of economy compared with capitalist civilization.

The captive Salvationists are being championed by mightier prints and persons than we can bring forward. So, little need be said about their case, though it cannot fail to be interesting to us who have been in the same trouble and shall be again. The crime for which they are punished—of speaking in public on ground that belongs to the public—is familiar enough to us, and the cause for the attack on them is one of the causes for which we were attacked—lack of respectability, to wit. We can only hope that those who are defending freedom of speech in this case will do so again when our turn comes round.

W. M.

"THE" TEXT.

As is only fitting in a great industrial country, our government has made a collection of the finest of the products of the labours of every race of man. In this manner it means to preach to us a silent sermon, and point the way to a more "profitable" national life; and, not to be otherwise than strictly orthodox in its method, it points the moral of its teaching in a scriptural quotation, which is at once its text and "application." This text, which is emphatically "the" text, being given forth by "authority" for all engaged in productive labour, is:

"The wisdom of a learned man cometh by opportunity of leisure: and he that hath little business shall become wise. How can he get wisdom that holdeth the plough, and that glorieth in the goad, that driveth oxen, and is occupied in their labours, and whose talk is of bullocks? He giveth his mind to make furrows, and is diligent to give the kine fodder.

"So every carpenter and work master that laboureth night and day: and they that cut and grave seals, and are diligent to make great variety, and give themselves to counterfeit imagery, and watch to finish a work: the smith also sitting by the anvil, and considering the ironwork, the vapour of the fire wasteth his flesh, and he fighteth with the heat of the furnace: the noise of the hammer and the anvil is ever in his ears, and his eyes look still upon the pattern of the thing he maketh; he setteth his mind to finish his work, and watcheth to polish it perfectly; so does the potter sitting at his work, and turning the wheel about with his feet; who is always carefully set at his work, and maketh all his work by number; all these trust to their hands, and every one is wise in his work. Without these cannot a city be inhabited: and they shall not dwell where they will, nor go up and down; but they will maintain the state of the world, and their desire is in the work of their craft."

These words are to be found, then, written in large letters around the principal Court of the South Kensington Museum, and they are also to be seen on the large window of the great staircase of the same building.

Really this text seems to have been expressly devised and set up to serve as a peg on which to hang a revolutionary dissertation; and its society tone, which admits that, after all, "without these a city cannot be inhabited," but consoles itself with the determination that "they shall not dwell where they will, nor go up and down," is truly nineteenth century, as also is the forgetfulness that the artist who gives himself to counterfeit imagery; the inventor who is diligent to make great variety; the foreman who watches to finish a work, and all the actual producers, happen to be the city itself; while the leisurely fed are but parasites, without whom a city could indeed be well inhabited.

Nothing could be more significant of the real aims of the ruling classes in this country than this inscription placed on an institution ostensibly for the advancement of the industrious mass of the community; nor could anything more openly betray the hypocrisy of the movements which have been made for the so-called benefit of the working-man. The South Kensington Museum, nominally erected for the training of art-workmen, by the very fact of it being the "South Kensington" Museum, proves the hollowness of all its professions of utility to the workers themselves; for the site of the building, miles from the industrial districts, and in the midst of an aristocratic quarter, shows that its real intention is for the convenience of those who have the greatest facilities for using it—the rich. And it is here that their class-hatreds are inflamed, their pride of caste flattered by having placed before their eyes this precious text telling them it is their right to control the men whose brains and lives produced the masterpieces of art surrounding them: that they, the men of leisure, the whore-master and the pigeon-shooter, are the divinely authorised disposers of the lives and productions of the potters and the smiths—the Palissys and Cellinis; and it is here that both genius and plodder, not to speak of the millions of the toilers, when by chance any such being wanders from his habitation to this far-off palace, are insulted by these words, which, however true and forcible to the pride of those who placed them there, are a threat and a challenge to every man and woman in

any manner engaged in productive labour who may enter the building—their especial building—the national museum of industrial arts.

The selection and use of this text is a circumstance which fairly indicates the true state of feeling on the part of the idle and other ruling classes towards the industrious population. In itself it is but a slight thing; but, however small it may be intrinsically, it is the keynote of the strain of caste superstition by which we are mastered, and the fact of its being put forward as a kind of governmental shibboleth in the manner it is makes it, I consider, a most valuable text for Socialists and all democrats. One may be able to mention a thousand things more characteristic of the relative positions of the industrious and the idle in this country, or bring to mind thoughts of the condition of mines and ships; remembrances of tragical intensity before which a merely written defiance is all emptiness; nevertheless the text should be regarded, for it is the official expression of the relations the "leisurely" governors intend to maintain towards the over-wrought millions of the country.

G. P.

FEUDAL ENGLAND.

Continued from page 274.)

THE Great Council of the Realm was purely feudal; it was composed of the feudatories of the king, theoretically of all of them, practically of the great ones only. It was, in fact, the council of the conquering tribe with their chief at their head; the matters of the due feudal tribute, aids, reliefs, fines, sentage, and the like—in short, the king's revenue due from his men—were settled in this council at once and in the lump. But the inferior tribe, though not represented there, existed, and, as aforesaid, was growing rich, and the king had to get their money out of their purses directly; which as they were not represented at the Council, he had to do by means of his officers (the sheriffs) dealing with them one after another, which was a troublesome job; for the men were stiff-necked and quite disinclined to part with their money; and the robbery having to be done on the spot, so to say, encountered all sorts of opposition, and, in fact, it was the money needs both of baron, bishop, and king which had been the chief instrument in furthering the progress of the towns. The towns would be pressed by their lords, king, or baron, or bishop, as it might be, and they would see their advantage and strike a bargain. For you are not to imagine that because there was a deal of violence going on in those times there was no respect for law; on the contrary, there was a quite exaggerated respect for it if it came within the four corners of the feudal feeling, and the result of this feeling of respect was the constant struggle for *status* on the part of the townships and other associations throughout the Middle Ages. Well, the burghers would say, "Tis hard to pay this money, but we will put ourselves out to pay it if you will do something for us in return; let, for example, our men be tried in our own court, and the verdict be of one of compurgation instead of wager of battle," and so forth, and so forth. Well, all this sort of detailed bargaining was, in fact, a safeguard for the local liberties, so far as they went, of the towns and shires, and did not suit the king's views of law and order at all; and so began the custom of the sheriff (the king's officer, who had taken the place of the earl of the Anglo-Saxon period) summoning the burgesses to the council, which burgesses you must understand were not elected at the folk-motes of the town, or hundred (of which more hereafter), but in a sort of hole-and-corner way by a few of the bigger men of the place. What the king practically said was this: "I want your money, and I cannot be for ever wrangling with you stubborn churles at home there, and listening to all your stories of how poor you are and what you want; no, I want you to be *represented*. Send me up from each one of your communes a man or two whom I can bully or cajole or bribe to sign away your substance for you."

Under these circumstances it is no wonder that the towns were not very eager in the cause of *representation*. It was no easy job to get them to come up to London merely to consult as to the kind of sauce with which they were to be eaten. However, they did come in some numbers, and by the year 1295 something like a shadow of our present Parliament was on foot. Nor need there be much more said about this institution; as time went on its functions got gradually extended by the petition for the redress of grievances accompanying the granting of money, but it was generally to be reckoned on as subservient to the will of the king, who down to the later Tudor period played some very queer tunes on this constitutional instrument.

Edward I. gave place to his son, who again was of the type of king who had hitherto given the opportunity to the barons for their turn of advancement in the constitutional struggle; and in earlier times no doubt they would have taken full advantage of the circumstances; as it was they had little to gain. The king did his best to throw off the restraint of the feudal constitution, and to govern simply as an absolute monarch. After a time of apparent success he failed, of course, and only succeeded in confirming the legal rights of feudalism by bringing about his own formal deposition at the hands of the baronage, as a chief who, having broken the compact with his feudatories, had necessarily forfeited his right. If we compare his case with that of Charles I. we shall find this difference in it, besides the obvious one that Edward was held responsible to his feudatories and Charles towards the upper middle classes, the squirearchy, as represented by Parliament: that Charles was condemned by a law created for the purpose, so to say, and evolved from the principle of the representation of the propertied classes, while Edward's deposition was the real

logical outcome of the confirmed feudal system, and was practically legal and regular.

The successor of the deposed king, the Third Edward, ushers in the complete and central period of the Middle Ages in England. The feudal system is complete; the life and spirit of the country has developed into a condition if not quite independent, yet quite forgetful, on the one hand of the ideas and customs of the Celtic and Teutonic tribes, and on the other of the authority of the Roman Empire. The Middle Ages have grown into manhood; that manhood has an art of its own, which, though developed step by step from that of Old Rome and New Rome, and embracing the strange mysticism and dreamy beauty of the East, has forgotten both its father and its mother, and stands alone triumphant, the loveliest, brightest, and gayest of all the creations of the human mind and hand. It has a literature of its own too, somewhat akin to its art, yet inferior to it, and lacking its unity, since there is a double stream in it. On the one hand, the Court poet, the gentleman, Chaucer, with his Italianising metre, and his formal recognition of the classical stories; on which, indeed, he builds a superstructure of the quaintest and most unadulterated mediævalism, as gay and bright as the architecture which his eyes beheld and his pen pictured for us, so clear, defined, and elegant; a sunny world even amidst its violence and passing troubles, like those of a happy child, the worst of them an amusement rather than a grief to the onlookers; a world that scarcely needed hope in its eager life of adventure and love, amidst the sunlit blossoming meadows, and green woods, and white begilded manor houses. A kindly and human muse is Chaucer's, nevertheless, interested in and amused by all life, but of her very nature devoid of strong aspirations for the future; and that all the more, since, though the strong devotion and fierce piety of the ruder Middle Ages had by this time waned, and the Church was more often lightly mocked than either feared or loved, still the *habit* of looking on this life as part of another yet remained: the world is fair and full of adventure; kind men and true and noble are in it to make one happy; fools also to laugh at, and rascals to be resisted, yet not wholly condemned; and when this world is over we shall still go on living in another which is a part of this picture. Note all, and be as merry as you may, never forgetting that you are alive and that it is good to live.

That is the spirit of Chaucer's poetry; but alongside of it existed yet the ballad poetry of the people, wholly untouched by courtly elegance and classical pedantry; rude in art but never coarse, true to the back-bone; instinct with indignation against wrong, and thereby expressing the hope that was in it; a protest of the poor against the rich, especially in those songs of the Foresters, which have been called the mediæval epic of revolt; no more gloomy than the gentleman's poetry, yet cheerful from courage, and not content. Half-a-dozen stanzas of it are worth a cart-load of the whining introspective lyrics of to-day; and he who, when he has mastered the slight differences of language from our own daily speech, is not moved by it, does not understand what true poetry means nor what its aim is.

There is a third element in the literature of this time which you may call Lollard poetry, the great example of which is William Langland's 'Piers Plowman.' It is no bad corrective to Chaucer, and in form at least belongs wholly to the popular side; but it seems to me to show symptoms of the spirit of the rising middle class, and casts before it the shadow of the new master that was coming forward for the workman's oppression. But I must leave what more I have to say on this subject of the art and literature of the fourteenth century for another occasion. In what I have just said, I only wanted to point out to you that the Middle Ages had by this time come to the fullest growth; and that they could give expression, which was all their own, to the ideas and life of the time. That time was in a sense brilliant and progressive, and the life of the worker was better than it ever had been, and might compare with advantage with what it became in after periods and with what it is now; and indeed, looking back upon it, there are some minds and some moods that cannot help regretting it, and are not particularly scared by the idea of its violence and lack of accurate knowledge of scientific details; but, however, one thing is clear to us now, the kind of thing which never is clear to most people living in such periods, namely, that whatever it was, it could not last but must change into something else.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be concluded.)

Who would have thought that Mr. Bradlaugh would ever become popular with the Tories. Yet Earl Weymouth, who looks upon even Lord Salisbury as a dangerous Revolutionist, holds Mr. Bradlaugh up as an example to those who wantonly attack the right of property. The hon. member for Northampton thinks that £10,000 is not too much for a Lord Chancellor, and he was very indignant at the wickedness of his esteemed colleague, Mr. Labouchere, who wanted to reduce it to £8,000. Mr. Bradlaugh is so enamoured of the principle of competition as applied to workmen's wages, that one wonders he does not propose to put the post of Lord Chancellor up to competition. In these times of trade depression, even among the legal profession, we could surely get the work done at a cheaper rate than £10,000 a-year. But is it not strange that the head of the Liberty and Property Defence League, a body renowned for its championship of the rights of the classes to plunder the masses, should find occasion to praise so highly such an advanced Democrat as the hon. member for Northampton? A few years ago the Tories literally thirsted for Iconoclast's blood; now they laud him to the skies, "He is such a nice man, so different from those rude Irish members, and that insufferable Labouchere." Mr. Bradlaugh is doubtless proud of his popularity. A Radical member (?) whom the Tories are fond of is a curiosity that cannot be enough admired.—DIOGENES, in *Norwich Daylight*.

CHANGING THE DISHES.

Two parliamentary Select Committees have lately reported in favour of certain small changes, and perhaps have brought us within sight of the changes being made. One of these, referring to Sunday work in the post office, even if carried out, would be of the dignity of the proverbial half-loaf, which is all that our legislators, in their wildest excitement, ever dream of. The Post-office Committee recommend that letter-carriers and sorters and other employes (not the Postmaster-General and the big-wigs) should be off duty on alternate Sundays, should in fact have to keep one day holy in a fortnight, unlike the poor hard-driven postmasters, M.P.'s, bishops, etc., who have to keep one such day each week. It is unfair. As I see these last-named people toiling about in frock-coats, chimney-pot hats, and episcopal gaiters on a hot Sunday, their suffering must be dreadful, and they surely ought to have the first claim to be let off duty on alternate Sundays. Indeed for my own part I am almost in favour of letting them off altogether, and the postmen too. The question of their stipends, when so let off, presents a good deal of difficulty. It would hardly do to pay them the same after as before the relaxation. Perhaps some of the released postmasters, M.P.'s, bishops, etc., not having much to do on weekdays, might try to turn an honest penny by sorting and delivering letters on a Sunday. They could report at the end of a few years whether their change of fare was satisfactory to them.

The other Select Committee has issued a report on Perpetual Pensions, and suggests alterations which remind one of the Change of Dishes at the Barmecide Feast.¹ The Barmecide's first dish, or clause 1, seems very satisfying. It is called "A solution of iniquities," or "The cessation of payments to those who have rendered no service." The second and third dishes are called in like manner "Salaries and duties," and "Inheritance clipped and trimmed." The Barmecide calls to his attendants to put on such viands in plenty, and bids his hungry constituents "Eat, O my guests, for ye are hungry, vehemently so, and in absolute want of food." And his constituents twist their mouths about as though they were eating, saying within themselves, "Verily this is a man who loveth to jest with others." And the Barmecide orders different kinds of viands and commutes the first dishes for others, with provisions of a different sort called *Annuities for Lives*, *Twenty years' purchase*, etc. He "proceeds to enumerate the various different kinds of viands, and to describe their several excellencies," and how they will ensure a real and substantial satisfaction to the appetite of his guests. And "all this time the constituents move their heads and mouths, and roll tongues between their cheeks, as if they were enjoying themselves." They exclaim, "O master, we have had enough," though in fact "their hunger is such that they long for a cake of barley-bread."

Suppose, however, that the guests reflect upon the situation, and upon the manner in which this man has jested with them, and say within themselves, "By Allah, I will do to him a deed that shall make him repent before God of these actions!" and that they follow this up "by taking the host unawares, and striking him such a slap upon his neck that the chamber shall ring at the blow." The Barmecide will perhaps begin with "What is this, ye vilest of the creation?" But surely he will then "utter a loud laugh, and say to his guests, Verily, for a long time have I made game of men. My dishes were empty and did not really contain the meat heretofore paid over to those who have rendered no service. That change would destroy both House of Lords and House of Commons; and Barmecides desire reform not abolition, and wish to keep these houses for those who have sagacity enough to conform to all their ideas. My dish of clipped inheritances only contained the filigree-work of Marshals, Grand Falconers, and High Stewards, and took nothing from the real Grand Pensioners, who are settled on the National Debt, and on the hereditary offices of dividend-receivers. The fact is that when I speak of a real and substantial saving, which will accrue to the benefit of my guests at this feast of ours, what is meant is that the published total of imperial taxation will be diminished. There is no real reduction, for I do not propose to interfere with the skilful man of business getting as many as possible to work the corvée for him, and so increasing in a quiet, private way the amount of the unpublished taxation of the people. This is my jest, and I see labour representatives among you, who fall in with the trick; they shall be my companions in reality, and shall never relinquish me, and we will leave the empty dishes over which we have joked for the well-filled ones which the Sons of the Parliamentary Barmecides have always ready in their palace." C. J. F.

MORE EVICTION OUTRAGES.—*Omaha Philanthropist*: "I've been in Ireland and seen some hard things, but—" *Politician*: "Sit right down, sir, and use this house as your own. What can I do for you?" "I have called, sir, to secure your influence in behalf of some fifteen or twenty families who—" *More evictions!* I'll call a mass meeting at once—this very week, sir." "They are now living in miserable tents, and—" "Put me down for a hundred dollars, sir, for their relief. I want to head the biggest kind of a popular subscription. Did you get the news in a private letter, or did it come by cable?" "The families I refer to are right here in Omaha, and I have just been talking with them." "Glorious! We'll have them on the stage at the mass meeting. How did they get across the ocean?" "Oh, they were born in this country, you know, and were evicted from Omaha shanties for not paying their rent." "Oh, them? See here, you meddling milk-sop, those were my shanties, and if you don't attend to your own business I'll make daylight shine through ye!"—*Syracuse Labourer*.

¹ 'Arabian Nights': Story of the Barber's Sixth Brother.

IT IS THE DAY.

O thou long-suffering Son of Man,
awake, lift up thy voice, and cry;
for, lo, the fulness of the plan
of thy redemption draweth nigh;
soon shall thine eyes behold the smart
of them that keep thy soul in thrall;
already, rotten at the heart,
their kingdom totters to its fall.

O thou long-suffering Son of Man,
what strife, what struggle has been thine,
urged ever, since thy race began,
by force of discontent divine!
How keen a conflict didst thou wage,
what slavery still dost undergo!
long has been tamed fierce Nature's rage,
thy fellow yet remains thy foe.

O thou long-suffering Son of Man,
rejected, crucified, betrayed,
break through the bondage and the ban,
shake off the shame upon thee laid.
See how thine old oppressors quake,
the idle fool, the busy knave;
now, now thy righteous vengeance take,
and dig for both a speedy grave.

O Son of Man, at last, at last,
over the wide and waiting earth
the herald beams are spreading fast,
glad earnest of the daylight's birth.
The night is spent, the stars are wan,
rose are the peaks that late were grey;
lift up thyself, O Son of Man,
arise, awake, it is the day!

C. W. BECKETT.

A LABOUR CONFERENCE.

WE have much pleasure in giving further publicity to the following appeal, which has been forwarded to all Trades Unions and kindred bodies throughout Norfolk:

Norfolk Labour Conference Committee
5 Duke Street, Norwich.

FELLOW WORKERS,—During the last few years you have doubtless often thought about the present relations between Labour and Capital; and often wondered, in face of the growing seriousness of the position, what kind of future we should be able to hand on to the generation that will follow us; and where and how this unceasing struggle between the worker class and the master class would end. No one at all acquainted with the facts of the case can now deny that everywhere Labour Organisations, Trades Unions, etc., are not only failing to hold their own, but are distinctly losing ground; that the number of male adults employed in several of our most important manufacturing industries is decreasing, being displaced to an alarming extent by improved methods of working, better machinery, and by the cheaper labour of women and juveniles; that all labour is becoming to a larger and larger extent precarious and uncertain; that trade depressions seem to come more and more frequently and intensely; and that we now seem to be in a period of declining wages all round with no brighter future outlook in any direction.

We as workers, feeling that this serious statement only too truly expresses the real position to-day, after all the boasted progress of this wonderful 19th century, would earnestly urge the extreme importance of at once consulting together as to whether some other line of action cannot now be taken which will promise us a better position than it seems possible to achieve with the existing isolated organisations; and also to discuss before it is again quite upon us what can be done in connection with the question of the unemployed which is now become of such great and capital importance each winter.

It is proposed to call a Norfolk Labour Conference to meet in Norwich during the third week in September; and to invite delegates from all the labour organisations existing in the county; and if possible to arrange in some way for the attendance of unskilled or non-union workers. The Gordon Hall has been placed at our disposal for this purpose. One point amongst others which is suggested for consideration is some scheme of federating all existing labour societies throughout the county. We should be glad if you would kindly consider this matter at your next meeting and let us have your opinions and suggestions upon this subject as early as possible.

A. SUTTON, Secretary pro tem.

Statistics in support of the statements made in the appeal are given, compiled from the reports of eight of the largest trades. This is a good move in the right direction. Who will follow? We should like to hear of every county in the "three kingdoms" following this example and then combining their local organisations into one great body. S.

TEA COOPERS AND GENERAL LABOURERS' ASSOCIATION.—At a mass meeting of the members of this association, held in the Pilgrim's Hall, New Kent Road, on Aug. 26, the following resolution was unanimously adopted: "This meeting of dock and wharf labourers expresses its unmeasured indignation at the reductions being made all round the trade, and calls upon all friends of the working classes to assist those whose only property is their labour." Representations as to the hardship of the existing state of things were made, and the meeting was a very enthusiastic one throughout.



"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.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

ANGLO-AUSTRALIAN.—We are always glad to hear from you. Your letters are interesting and useful, even when, like the last, they are written from the way-back scrub with the bottom of a tin dish for a writing-desk.

A. D.—You should take the proverbial advice and "mix it with brains." Read Bernard Shaw's articles in three recent numbers of *National Reformer*.

L. P.—It was Defoe who said "Restraint from ill is freedom to the wise."

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday August 31.

ENGLAND		HOLLAND	
Justice	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	Hague—Recht voor Allen	
Norwich—Daylight	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	Amsterdam—Voorwaarts	
Labour Tribune	Denver (Col.)—Labor Enquirer		
Railway Review	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West		
The Autonomie	Detroit (Mich.)—The Advance		
Jus	Albina (Oreg.)—Weekly Courier		
	New Haven (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate		
INDIA		ITALY	
Bankipore—Behar Herald		Milan—Il Fascio Operaio	
UNITED STATES		Marsala—La Nuova Eta	
New York—Der Sozialist			
Truthseeker			
Leader			
Volkszeitung			
Freiheit			
Boston—Woman's Journal			
Liberty			
Chicago (Ill.)—Labor Enquirer			
Vorbote			
Hammon(NJ)Credit Foncier			

FRANCE		SPAIN	
Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)		Barcelona—Acracia	
Le Socialiste			
Le Revolte			
Guise—Le Devoir			
Lille—Le Travailleur			
BELGIUM			
Liege—L'Avenir			
Brussels—L'Avant-Garde			
Antwerp—De Werker			
Ghent—Vooruit			
GERMANY			

PORTUGAL		AUSTRIA	
Voz do Operario		Brunn—Volksfreund	
ROMANIA			
Jassy—Lupta			
DENMARK			
Social-Demokraten			
SWEDEN			
Stockholm—Social-Demokraten			

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN IN SOUTH WALES.

THE Pontypridd Herald, in commenting upon our advent, says that for the first time in its history the district has been invaded by the advance guard of Socialism, and in the course of a very fair article upon our doctrines, the same journal significantly says: "A State cannot be governed in accordance with the eternal principles of equity which permits Lazarus, repulsive from dirt, disease, and starvation, to sit daily at the gate of Dives, clothed in purple and fine linen, whatever the sequel of the history may be," and further:—

"Looking at our social arrangements as they now stand one cannot fail to perceive how utterly at variance they are with any system that has for its object 'each for the other and God for us all.' In fact the genius of society as at present constituted seems to find its fitting expression in the formula 'each for himself and the devil take the hindmost.' Were it not for the cohesive influence of the human virtues which ever and anon have play the social fabric would verily fly into pieces. It certainly does seem cruelly unjust that a workman, steady, industrious, aiming at the highest standard in the character of the work he turns out, and in every respect a kind husband, a tender father, and an intelligent citizen, should, as a producer of wealth, simply get a small percentage of the profit on the work he does, while the larger percentage of profit enriches the man who employs him. The consequence is that should Labour be stricken down with a heavy reverse of fortune, sickness, and what not, in a few weeks his family become pauperised. Capital, however, is exempt from such an affliction."

If the only result of our first visit is to cause an ordinary bourgeois journal to write in this strain, what may be possible if another descent is made?

The vitality of the Welsh language and the depth of national feeling is strikingly evident throughout these valleys, where one scarcely hears a word of English, but when spoken it is spoken with a purity surprising to a sojourner from Cockaigne. The recrudescence of national feeling shows itself in two aspects, the commercial and the Celtic. The first received adequate expression in the remarkable speech of Henry Richards, M.P., at the Eistedfodd, wherein he advised the Welsh to learn English in order "to struggle with them and fight the battle of life" on equal terms, and although the remainder of the speech was devoted to the praise of Wales and everything Welsh, and hopes for their preservation as such, yet the cloven hoof was shown. It is this bastard nationalism which allows unquestioned the colossal robberies of Scotch Bute, who, claiming to own nearly the whole of Glamorgan and its vast mineral resources, exacts a toll of 1s. per ton from the labours of the underpaid and overworked collier, and hands over the

finest portion of the country to be disfigured and despoiled by Jew and Gentile land thieves and labour robbers of any nationality. It is a nationalism that lends everything to gain and is fittingly expressed in the six letters composing the word *P-r-o-f-i-t*, something akin to the feeling which prompted the pedagogue mentioned in previous letter to tell Kitz he had no business in Wales because of his German origin, and yet he would lick the boots of a man of exactly the same breed, because, forsooth, he is the "Prince of Wales."

The Celtic feeling, however, is that which causes "grave disquiet" to the friends of "law and order," and which antagonises at every step the progress of Anglo-Saxon commercialism. In Wales it is opposition to tithes and mining royalties, and I am glad to be able to add now, landlordism. In Ireland and Skye it is the land war. It has a trinity of tribunes in Davitt, Pan Jones, and Macdonald. It harks back to the historical times when the Celtic tribes were free from the curse of landlordism; and whilst, of course, it would not revive the cruelties of those olden days, it yet clings to the old tongue that has no equivalents wherewith to give expression to the modern profit-grinding which has blighted the land of their fathers.

Your ordinary beef-necked shop-keeping capitalist sneers at the sentimentalism which mourns over the spoliation of a whole country side, in order to build up the fortunes of the Butes, Crawshays, Windsors, and Dowlais directors, but deep down in the warm, generous hearts of the South Welsh workers is a feeling which we found easy to stir, which asks the question, What is the good of it all to us? A writer in the *South Wales Echo*, speaking only of comparatively recent times, says of the Rhondda Valley:—

"Business called me to the Rhondda Valley, which I had not visited for a good many years; and I found an enormous development and a striking change. It is little more than twenty years ago that there were game birds to be found on the mountains above Treherbert, and now the slopes are scarred with colliery works or deformed by mining refuse. In a more recent time I remember when trout still haunted the pools of the river, and along its banks there were long reaches of pasture land from which cattle grazed upwards towards heathery meadows; while men and boys would bathe in waters scarcely yet defiled. Now I see an almost continuous series of towns from the higher water of the Rhondda, and its junction with the Taff at 'Newbridge,' as the railway had endeavoured to have it named; the pastures have almost entirely disappeared on the low lands; and low lines of decidedly ugly cottages have taken their place; while, as regards the river, never was a sight more pitiable to behold. For the lovely Rhondda, of which friends spoke to me years ago, and the beauties of which I could still discover traces, there has been substituted a stony track of boulder stones and debris, through which a foul stream you could step across slowly dribbled, and defamed as it dribbled the memories of not so long ago. Much of that which I saw may be traced to the extraordinary drought of the present spring and summer. I was assured at Treorky that within a year or two there has been a good flow of water in the river; but what kind of water I did not care to ask. But, blame Nature as you like, you will generally find that what are called her deformities are due to man's own wilfulness or want of knowledge.

"The Vale of the Rhondda Vechan, which is now better known as Fenn-dale, presented a similar transformation to one who remembers it at the time of the first of the great explosions at what were then known as the Blaenllechau collieries. A curiously sequestered and picturesque valley, it could only be approached from the Aberdare side by a pony-ride, or a stiff walk from Cwmaman over moorland and morass. There was, of course, a mineral railway, but it could only be used by passengers by favour. It was a small community, as self-contained, and, to the best of my remembrance, as well ordered as those which sober English settlers are putting up in the American western plains, or under the shadow of the Canadian half of the Rocky Mountains. There was, probably, an inn, and of that I am not sure; but there was only one store which could supply to a tired and agonised enquirer on an memorable melancholy occasion nothing more than 'British wine' and a ginger cake. These people were remote; but they were not 'melancholy, slow.' They thought nothing of a twenty-mile walk to setting out for a Cymanfa, nor did the length of the walk deter them from attending a funeral away beyond a double range of mountains. Their amusements were chiefly of the domestic order, though some of the younger spirits would smuggle a few bottles of whiskey up from Porth, or over from Aberdare:—thus, singing contests, and 'pies' and provision had been made by the thoughtful proprietors for Sunday worship; but for the rest it was out of the world. I wonder whether it would be right to say that they were the happier for not being in it?"

Truly an "enormous development." The same writer, after describing the heaps of filth which cover the banks of the once beautiful Taff, speaks of the whole business as indicative of thriving prosperity. Such is the ingrained perversity and mental obliquity begotten of commercial instincts. The hideous "tips," mountains high, composed of rubbish from the mines and blast works, meet one on every hand. Where they abut on the residences of my lord Aberdare or other prigs they are planted over with shrubs to hide their ugliness; elsewhere they disfigure and block the landscape with their hideous deformity. If ever Macaulay's New Zealander should in future ages visit these scenes, he will wonder at the stupidity of people who manufactured mountains. Along the sides of the natural hills, where the narrow roads are lined with the wretched cottages inhabited by colliers and quarry men, heaps of cinders, rags, paper, bones, and a dead cat or two beautify nature's handiwork.

In Miskin and Mountain Ash typhoid fever is raging, and as one result of enquiries into the cause of this devastating epidemic, the authorities find that the people are living upon the barest necessities of life. No wonder they fall ready victims to the disease. In one case a miner was found who, after paying—at the master's office bear in mind—3s. for rent, and 1s. 3d. for coals, had but 2s. 6d. left for food for a family of four children and himself and wife. Food and rent is relatively as dear as in London.

And the wages for which these men risk their lives range from 15s.

to £1 and £1 4s. per week. The average is below £1. The better paid class of workmen manage to have cleanly homes, and will dress well on Sundays; but an accident—and they are common—a spell out of work, and all comfort disappears. The conspicuous failure of their members, including Abraham, M.P. ("Mabon"), to affect any beneficial alteration in the Mines Regulation Bill, and the general neglect and even hostility shown by the Parliamentary hacks to their claims, caused them to lend a ready ear to the preaching of non-Parliamentary Revolutionary Socialism, and the thirty-six millions royalties paid to those who never dug a shovelful of coals in their lives is also a powerful ally. The other allies are the Marquis of Bute, 116,000 acres, rental £231,931, without coal royalties; Windsor, 37,454 acres, £63,778 rental, quarry-owner; the robbery of about 30,000 acres of common lands in Glamorgan alone; and the helpless dependency of the population upon the greedy grasping capitalists.

S. MAINWARING and F. KITZ.

THE DANGEROUS CLASS.

WHICH is the dangerous class? This question is answered by each from his own standpoint. Every antagonism is dangerous to its opposite, and as society in its present anarchical state is one vast agglomeration of antagonisms, we all belong in this sense to a dangerous class. Nay, if we take the Individualist at his word, and reduce the classes to their component parts, we are all dangerous individuals, since under a competitive system every individual interest clashes with every other interest, and so becomes dangerous. Pure individualism, however, does not exist; man sees that he has interests in common with other men, hence the evolution of classes and class interests, finally to end, judging from present tendencies, in the elimination of all economic antagonisms and the growth of one homogeneous class—society.

But whence arises the term "dangerous class" as understood by the bourgeois society of to-day? In the depths of the middle-class mind there looms up a consciousness full of bodeful misgivings that its pre-eminence as a class rests upon a rotten foundation, viz., upon the negation of the class below; that is to say, the bourgeoisie owes its monopoly of knowledge, power, and wealth to the lack of these qualities in the proletariat, or as Victor Hugo tersely puts it, "the paradise of the rich is made from the hell of the poor;" but once let the workers know and feel this clearly, once let the many know how and why they starve while the few live in superabundant plenty, and the foundations of class supremacy will crumble into dust. Knowledge precedes power, and cannot co-exist with wage-slavery. Thus, to the mind of the bourgeoisie the workers so enlightened become a "dangerous class," and we see why certain ideas are labelled "dangerous."

But there is another and in a far more fatal sense dangerous class. Hitherto the barons, the bourgeoisie, and lastly, the proletariat, have each in turn been dangerous to the powers that be, only because they acted in obedience to that natural instinct which is the law of social growth, and which has everywhere and always burst all bonds of restraint in its struggle upward to larger liberty and wider knowledge. But what shall be said for the class which now arrogantly places itself and its pretensions athwart the stream of progress, and madly seeks to dam back the waters and stay their natural flow, until they accumulate and grow ever stronger and stronger in their pent up fury, finally to burst their banks and sweep away everything in their lawless, aimless rush? What shall be said about a class grown so wise in its self-conceit that it takes to making laws which contravene the laws of nature, and thinks it can enforce them by its horse-hair justice against the fiat of the eternal powers themselves?

How shall we name this class which by its sacred commercialism has brought the workers of the world to such a pass, that the more wealth they create the poorer they become, and which even then adds insult to injury by coolly telling us that the wage-workers are better off now than ever before, whilst thousands are dying by the torture of slow starvation?

What shall we think of a set of men of a governing class, with minds so warped and twisted that they invert the natural and moral order of things so far as to place expediency above justice, policy above principle, and idleness above industry?

Then, too, there is this wonderful commercial system of ours, this Moloch of the nineteenth century, with its competition, supply and demand, and production for profit, entailing as it does the degradation and misery of the masses, the robbery of the poor, and the consecration of fraud, all carried on under the guise of honesty and respectability at the behest and for the benefit of this same bourgeoisie, which worships in the name of the Nazareth carpenter whilst it prays for the perpetuation of such a system. Can we say that such a class is a safe repository of power and an enlightened user thereof? No; the bourgeoisie is the dangerous class. It is infinitely more dangerous to-day, and in quite another and more fatal sense, than when it carried the banner of political and social progress against the barons. Then it was giving expression to the evolution of the race at an important stage of its development. Now it is seeking to strangle a similar expression by another class. Then it was in the path of progress, now it is in the rut of retrogression. Then it was warring against a class only, now it is blindly combating the very necessity of things, and foolishly trying to turn the stars from their courses. Power so used becomes dangerous indeed—how dangerous let the fate of the old French regime testify

Clearly the time has come when the bourgeoisie must pass on the fiery cross of progress to other hands, which will carry it to the issue above referred to,—the abolition of all classes by the fusion of the whole mass into one humane and truly civilised Society. In the meantime the proletariat will continue to grow more and more dangerous to the bourgeoisie as it is reinforced by the spread of knowledge and the development of events, while the bourgeoisie will continue to grow more and more dangerous to itself and the whole world as it seeks to repress the natural process of evolution, and thus make itself another example of the axiom, "Whom the gods wish to destroy they first make mad."

W. T. HORN.

"BE YOUR OWN MASTERS."

UNDER this heading the *Flint Glass Makers' Magazine* of May contains a most interesting article, signed "Cato," from which we extract the following:—

"Glass workers, like workers in every trade of the present day, suffer from the rapacity and voracious greed of employers, who pile up profits by any and every means, not the least of which is the enslavement of those under them, which, sooner or latter, produces starvation wages, want of employment, strikes, and all the evils attending them. The real makers of the wealth of a country are its millions of workers, and to them alone is due its wealth. Why are they robbed of their due? Because they have not believed in their own strength sufficiently, but have cringed, bowed, and not held themselves up as men in face of their employers—well called their "masters"—who still openly, or covertly, despise them for it. Glass makers know this to their cost. These same masters, as a rule, cannot take hand or part in the formation and bringing forth of the articles out of which they make their profits. The very thought of this should be enough to inspire workmen with confidence to conduct their own business, and reap the full benefit of their labours.

"The world's markets are open to the workmen who firmly and intelligently combine in their own interests, who say that they do not mean to go on for all time slaving for covetous, unfeeling, unimaginative, and ignorant masters, who absorb all the surplus profits of labour. What are the surplus profits? They represent fifteen shillings for the employer out of every pound sterling earned by the workers in the course of the year. If two hundred workers in a factory have among them a weekly wage of £300, the employer—taking one week with another all the year round—pockets £900 over and above this sum. His money, as a rule, comes in quarterly, and, at this rate, each quarter would bring him alone £10,800—the sum paid to the two hundred hands for the whole year's labour. Some manufacturers make more than this per head, some less. At the lowest calculation, according to official statistics, we find the annual income of this country is £1,250,000,000, of which sum the masses receive £450,000,000; therefore, the classes, composed of our lazy nobility, gentry, and snobs, take between them the small amount of £800,000,000.

"I say the world's markets are open to the makers of the produce sold in them. It is the prerogative of workmen acting in combination to out-do all masters in the quality of their work, and workmen alone can best govern its supply. What could masters do against such a combination? Nothing. The spirit of internationalism is enlarging every day, workmen of each country, despite the power of capital—which they created and foolishly allowed to be used against themselves—are now becoming aware of their value, and the necessity of combining for their common good."

The Executive of the Glass Makers' Society of Great Britain and Ireland strongly advises its members to consider the recommendations of "Cato," and in doing so pertinently asks:—

"What is the relationship at the present time between capital and labour? Nothing more than one continual heart burning—the employer ever seeking to reduce the producer lower in the social scale of modern civilization. It therefore remains for the producer, as it were, with a great moral revolution to throw off the cringing attitude he has assumed, and to stand out as a bold man, and declare his independence and his right to receive the profits of his labour in spite of the capitalistic civilization of the nineteenth century. Unless he does this he will be assuredly thrust lower down than he is at the present time. This is a great and noble work, and can be accomplished with ease if only the little word *unity* is observed. This mode of working is sure to come, and, in our opinion, is the only means of preserving the commerce of the world. Time and circumstances must be left to perfect the work, but we would advise our readers to think out the matter, and then act. Let a working man picture to himself how different his social life would be working for himself, instead of for one who has no sympathies in common with him.

"We do heartily advise our readers to work out this great problem. It must come, and, in these modern times, it will be the regeneration of the working class. Unless co-operation is accomplished, the capitalists will not cease to tyrannize until the producer is brought down to slavery. We ask our readers can it be said how many of the working class go down to a premature grave, simply for want of proper nourishment to keep up their strength, in order to carry out their labourious labour? Had they received the profits due upon their labour, there is not the slightest doubt but thousands would have been alive to-day; but they have had to succumb to the inevitable—a prey to the circumstances of the times. Time, however, has wound his way on, and the eyes of the working classes are now beginning to dawn on a new era. Laws have been made only to be broken when the rich and powerful did not like them. Coke, the great lawyer, in his Institutes, expressly declares that 'all usury is directly against the law of God, indeed it was not till the time of Henry VIII., and what Cobbett not unjustly calls the Protestant devastation, that we find the great scourge of usury sanctioned by Act of Parliament. By 37 Henry VIII., the rate of interest was fixed at 10 per cent., not more.' Here is a law which has not been repealed, yet it is broken hourly. But, if a working man breaks the law, it matters not how old the act may be, even to the reign of Edward III., it is brought against him."

That so important a society as the Flint Glass Makers should be considering the advisability of starting business on their own account, of working for themselves, shows that the efforts made by the Socialist League to permeate the workers with Socialist principles have not been in vain, but are bearing fruit in good earnest.

H. A. B.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

A STRIKE AT GLASGOW SETTLED.—The strike amongst the harbour labourers at Glasgow has been settled, the stevedores having conceded the 7d. per hour demanded by the men.

STRIKE OF STEEL WORKERS.—The steel workers of the Monway works of the Patent Shaft and Axletree Company, Limited, Wednesbury, are on strike against a reduction of 10 per cent. in their wages. The men have issued a handbill appealing for help to enable them to resist this unjust reduction.

The smiths and hammermen employed at the well-known signal works of Messrs. Saxby and Farmer, at Kilburn, London, have struck work against a proposed reduction of 10 per cent. in their wages. The men are firm in their action.

THE CHAIN MAKERS' STRIKE.—Mr. Thomas Homer, the president of the Chain Makers' Association, to whose energy the success attending this agitation is due, was last week fined £5 and costs for alleged intimidation. At the same time two chain makers were fined £2 each. Notice of appeal was given.

SETTLEMENT OF THE DISPUTE IN THE PADLOCK TRADE.—The operatives at Messrs. Martin and Taylor's, padlock manufacturers, West Bromwich, have agreed to resume work, the notice of 10 per cent. reduction having been withdrawn. The prices previously paid remain as before, except in the common work, which is to be paid for at the same price as given by the Walsall employers, and to be made under the same conditions.

DEPRESSION IN THE LACE TRADE.—The continued depression in the lace trade at Long Eaton has rendered it necessary for many of the masters to close their establishments for a fortnight. The wakes commence on Sunday, after which it is hoped there will be a move. Such a condition of things as exists in Long Eaton has never before been experienced. Many of the hands have not done any work for three months.

THE DISPUTE AT BICKERSHAW COLLIERY.—The dispute between the colliers and the proprietors of the Bickershaw Colliery, Plank Lane, West-leigh, continues. The notice given by the men in the four foot mine to come out in support of those on strike has expired, but it has been deemed advisable to postpone the notice another week in the hope that an amicable settlement may be arrived at. From the second report issued by the strike committee it appears that the sum of £51 4s. 8d. has been contributed towards the support of those who are affected by the dispute.

THREATENED STRIKE IN THE WROUGHT IRON NAIL TRADE.—At a meeting of delegates in the wrought iron nail trade, held at Halesowen on Saturday, a deputation was appointed to wait upon all the nailmakers in the South Staffordshire and East Worcestershire districts, calling upon them to pay far all nails at rates 10 per cent. less than the list framed in 1879, which means an advance on present prices. The deputation were instructed to inform the employers that unless they agreed to this the men would strike on the 10th of September. It was stated at the meeting that the wages had been reduced from 55 to 65 per cent. below the lowest price paid under the 1875 list.

THE NORTHUMBERLAND MINERS.—A meeting of delegates of the Northumberland miners was held at Newcastle on Thursday, Aug. 25, when, after considering the rules, it was decided that the stoppage, relief, and labour departments be amalgamated, and that there should be only one fund. The effect is that instead of men out of employ being paid 10s. a week, with 1s. a week for children under 12 years of age, they will be paid at the rate of 8s. per week, and nothing for children or rent. It was also decided with respect to Parliamentary representation that a vote should be taken throughout the county as to whether or not money should be paid out of the funds for political purposes.

THE DOCKYARD REDUCTIONS.—Notices were issued last Saturday for a further discharge of men from the boiler department of Sheerness Dockyard, making the second reduction within a month. An order was received from the Admiralty in the afternoon, directing a fortnight's notice to be given the men instead of the week's notice which has hitherto been the custom. Some of the men have served over twenty years under the Government, and will be granted a gratuity of a week's pay for every year of service.—About 300 more of the hired mechanics and labourers were discharged from the dockyard last Saturday. Those of the number who had been working for seven years and upwards received a gratuity of four week's pay.

LIMERICK—THE DOCK LABOURERS' STRIKE.—The dock labourers' strike against the use of steam winches in outputting coal still continues against the Clyde and the Limerick SS. Company. Their boats now bring on board each trip the number of hands for unloading, in addition to their permanent staff there. Last Saturday night one of these latter, a man named Shaughnessy, was attacked by a party of men, and stones were thrown at the windows of his house. The police dispersed the crowd and arrested two men named Naughton and McCarthy, who were taken before the magistrate and remanded.

THE WEAVERS' STRIKE.—The bulk of the weavers of Messrs. Owtram and Co.'s Castle-street and Manchester mills remain out on strike. The Manchester Mill shed is altogether stopped, but it is stated that a few of the Castle-street hands went to work on the 25th. Up to the present there is no indication of a settlement of the dispute. The whole of the weavers at Fir Trees shed, Higham, near Burnley, tendered a fortnight's notice on the 25th to cease work at the end of 14 days, through not being paid the Blackburn standard list of prices. The masters have given 14 days' notice to other persons employed in the mill. At a public meeting of Burnley weavers, held in the Literary Institute, it was decided to institute collections at the rate of a penny a loom for the maintenance of the weavers now on strike at Barnoldswick and Preston, against reductions in their wages. Mr. David Holmes, president of the Weavers' Amalgamated Association, said the committee were compelled to fight for an improvement in the prices at Preston, or have to meet a general reduction in the velvet trade.

SCOTTISH MINERS FEDERATION.—At a meeting held last week, Mr. R. Chisholm Robertson in the chair, Mr. J. Keir Hardie gave in the report of the deputation which had been in London in connection with the Mines Bill, and pointed out the amendments which had been carried. He believed that by another session, when they introduced an eight hour bill for Scotland, that it would meet with a widely different reception from that given to the amendment moved by Mr. Williamson, as there was not less than 150 members of the House prepared to vote for such a measure. Other business having been transacted, it was agreed that the Federation should

be represented at the forthcoming Trades' Union Congress at Swansea. A motion expressing sympathy with the shale workers in their struggle and recommending their fellows to give them every possible support was also unanimously agreed to.

THE STRIKE AT THE LEE SPINNING COMPANY'S MILL.—The whole of the hands employed by this company, in consequence of the strike of cop winders, clearers, and reelers, ceased work on Friday night. On Tuesday the jenny spinners recommenced, and the following morning the manager sent round to the homes of the doublers asking them to begin work at noon. A number of them put in an appearance, and were requested to go on the clearing frames, but they declined and left the factory at two o'clock. The expedient of employing the scavengers as reelers and clearers was then tried, but did not answer satisfactorily. On Thursday morning the clearers and reelers had an interview with the manager, and after some discussion a compromise was effected. The clearers are to be reduced five per cent. on fine work, and have the old prices for coarse, and the reelers will also be reduced five per cent., but will have assistance in carrying up their bundles and sets down. Afterwards the cop-winders had an interview, and the dispute may now be regarded as settled, the men returning to work at the reduction.

The fifteenth week of the labour dispute in Bolton has terminated without further approach to a settlement. The joint committee of the men are very deliberate in their actions, and have not, as yet, taken decided action upon the Mayor's amended, or alternative, arbitration. A meeting of the joint committee was held on Aug. 28th, for the purpose of submitting to the men lately employed at the machine works of Mr. Richard Threlfall, Salop Street, an offer which had been made by the firm for the settlement of the strike. The offer was in effect that one shilling advance per week should be given to about one-third of the society men now out on strike. The firm had received a deputation from the joint committee, and the offer was reduced to writing. The deputation promised that in the consideration of the offer only the men affected at these particular works would be allowed to take part. The whole of the men—between 30 and 40 in number—were present at the meeting, and the settlement of the matter was left entirely in their hands, the members of the joint committee taking no part. After full discussion a vote was taken by ballot, which resulted in the unanimous rejection of the offer. Several cases of intimidation arising out of the strike have been before the magistrate, and sentence of a month's imprisonment passed in some cases. Importations of workmen continue, but many leave when the condition of affairs become known to them. The strike fund is well supported.

THE SHALE-MINERS' STRIKE. — PROPOSED DEMONSTRATION IN EDINBURGH.—The Edinburgh Trades' Council, at their meeting on Tuesday, August 23, had before them a letter from John Wilson, the Secretary of the Mid and West Lothian Miners' Association, asking whether the Council could see their way to give their assistance in organising a demonstration of the working-men of Edinburgh in support of the shale-miners on strike. The following is an extract:—"No greater struggle has been waged by workmen during the present century. Previous to the formation of their Association twelve months ago, the men were working from 10½ to 11½ hours in the mine. Through its action the hours were reduced to 9 hours from bank to bank. Against this change the companies have always rebelled. The men were enabled to appoint check weighmen, resist indirect partial reduction, and, through their meetings and the press, expose the conduct of the companies' officials. This has been gall and wormwood to them, and now, during the two and a half months of their slack season, they mean to destroy and root out, if possible, each and all of these changes and the organisation that gave them birth. Freedom of speech is a nonentity. The man who speaks in behalf of his fellow-workmen is indirectly edged out of their employment as soon as they can manage it. Besides the extinction of these rights, they mean to enforce a reduction of three shillings and fourpence in the £1, or about 17 per cent., in their wages. The men hitherto have struggled on without disorder of any kind, but one of the leading companies, the Broxburn Oil Company, are taking steps to evict them from their houses. It is their last resource. The men offered to accept half of the reduction. It was refused, and the men were coolly informed that it was the destruction of their combination that was the thing required. This struggle affects a national industry, and all the shale miners of Scotland, and the working-men of Edinburgh, by giving it publicity and material assistance, can and will confer a blessing upon mankind." Mr. Wilson stated that the men were not in the best condition. The money they had been able to raise among themselves and the public had been distributed amongst the most destitute cases. The condition of getting assistance was that it was required. A large portion of the men had been content to stand back, and give whatever assistance was going to their more needy fellows. The proposal was adopted unanimously, and a committee appointed. The intended evictions at Broxburn were strongly condemned, a member remarking that they required badly some Parnells or Healys in Scotland to prevent these taking place.

THE MIDLAND RAILWAY STRIKE.—In 1874 the directors of the Midland Railway conceded a six-days' wages guarantee to the goods guards, but they withdrew the concession in 1876 on the plea of "the interests of discipline." What has followed to the guards? Reductions in wages and increased hours of duty, equivalent in all to a 25 per cent. decrease of earnings, and the introduction of the abominated trip system. These facts leave little doubt as to the real objects for which the guarantee was cancelled. The guards struck work in 1876, and again in 1879, against the encroachments on their earnings; and those periods, curiously, mark the beginning of the continuous decline in the dividends of the company. In the 1879 strike the directors were apprehensive that the enginemmen would make common cause with the guards, whereupon Mr. S. Johnson was commissioned to solemnly promise the drivers that their agreement of 1867 should never be tampered with. How honourably has the promise been kept! . . . Let the truth be told, even though directors hide it. The Midland contemplate reducing the average cost of locomotive labour on their line to the same level as that of the London and North-Western Railway, and other competing railways; and the abolition of the six-days' wages guarantee is, as in the case of the guards, an absolutely necessary preliminary step to this end. Other railways have long egged the Midland on to this step, because the conditions enjoyed by the Midland enginemmen encouraged worse paid employes to demand a levelling up. Hence, it came about that several companies joined hands to assist the Midland over the recent strike difficulties, regarding the conflict, in fact, as partly their own. They have done more—taught all railway men that in labour disputes they will have to fight, not one, but all the companies.—EX-SECRETARY OF THE AMALGAMATED SOCIETY OF RAILWAY SERVANTS, in *Pall Mall Gazette*.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

FRANCE.

The French "Republican" Government has expelled comrade Angel Diaz, a Spanish Socialist living at Dijon. The only reason for his expulsion was that he received Socialist papers from his country! Mind you, Angel Diaz doesn't know the French language! How dangerous he must have been to that "Republican" Government with Monarchical institutions!

We regret to announce that Valadier-Garreau, who acted as a government spy in the trial of the Lyons Anarchists, is still alive. The news of his having been drowned in the lake of Zurich has proved to be without foundation.

The *Cri du Peuple* has reproduced the article of comrades Bax and Morris in the *Commonweal*, last issue, referring to the confession of Lipski, and thoroughly agrees with its views.

GERMANY.

Week after week, and all over Germany, we have only to report of trials, imprisonment, and vexations of all kinds which Socialists have to endure there. We must really wonder at the magnanimity and patience of the German workers, and we are strongly of opinion that if such tyranny prevailed in other countries, Socialists certainly would have long ago made up their minds and appealed to more forcible means. Life in Germany under such miserable conditions seems no longer to be worth living, and it would not astonish us in the least if they became over night all Anarchists! Not only are the Socialists in every nook of the land thrown into prison, but inside the jails they are tortured to death. Breuder died in the House of Force (*Zuchthaus*) of Halle; Christupeit, after several years of ill-treatment, died a fortnight after his release; the brave Lichtensteiger, bodily one of the strongest men I ever saw, succumbed in the same way; another went mad after having undergone several corporal "punishments." Last week a new victim of the ferocious brutality of the prison warders, comrade Schuman, condemned to four years' hard labour, met his death at the Waldheimer prison. It is no longer the police who are everywhere in search of Socialists; the officers of the army have their share in watching their soldiers; the functionaries of the civil services are spies and detectives; and now even the rotten bourgeoisie, as in the case at Ludwigshaven, volunteer to render police services and denounce the Socialists to the so-called authorities!

The trial at Cassel ended with the condemnation of ten Socialists to several months of imprisonment.

The *Volks Tribune*, of Berlin, announces that from the 1st of October next it will appear three times a week.

BELGIUM.

Last week the Belgian government once more acted in its usual brutal manner, by ordering a massacre of poor helpless working-men at Ostend. A quarrel arose between English and Belgian fishermen, the former overloading the Ostend fish market with their produce, thus considerably lowering the prices of fish. The Belgian fishermen have to work very hard for mere starvation wages, and seeing that they could no longer maintain their wives and children, they decided to force their English competitors to go back from where they came and sell their fish in England. I will not say that the way in which they acted was a very fair one; but, on the other hand, it must be understood that their action was only the symptomatic effect of a terrible situation, the profound gravity of which can no longer be overlooked, and that the exasperation of the Ostend fishermen against their English competitors has a more serious and sadder cause than a mere trade-rivalry, to wit, misery, hunger, starvation! The Belgian government, certainly the most perfidious and miserable that has been in power since 1830, at once sent its soldiers on the spot in order to settle that question of hunger by means of powder and lead. Two poor fishermen were shot dead, five others have died since from their wounds, and several others are lying in the hospitals waiting to be relieved from their sufferings! How long shall this situation continue to exist?

AUSTRIA.

The *Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung*, the journal of the Communist Club, Tottenham Street, has been prohibited here. This certainly will not matter much! The strike at Falkenau has come to an end, the workers having obtained weekly payment, as they wished, and the promise that no striker shall lose his work.

RUSSIA.

The Russian Government disposes of a yearly total sum of 1,800,000 roubles (£360,000), as stated by several papers last week, in order to buy the support of Western Europe. The papers who are in the pay of the Autocrat are divided into three categories: 1. Those who print all that is sent to them; these journals receive yearly 5,000 roubles and upwards, according to their importance. 2. Those who are only requested to speak in good terms of the autocratic government; this sort of scribblers are paid the total sum of 200,000 to 300,000 roubles a-year. 3. Those who insert from time to time an article sent in by the Russian diplomatic agent; such an article, according to its importance, is paid from 6,000 to 10,000 roubles. There are in Western Europe 89 papers in the pay of Russia: 16 in France, 4 in England, 28 in Germany, 20 in Austria, 18 in Italy, Hungary, Servia, Roumania, etc., 3 in Poland. Out of the total amount granted for that object, 900,000 roubles are still to be distributed. We are sure they will not remain "unproductive" for a long time: a bourgeois paper to be sold is a very common merchandise indeed!

D.

EJECTING COLLIERS ON STRIKE.—At the Linlithgow County Court, on Wednesday, the Broxburn Oil Company presented 121 petitions before Sheriff-substitute Melville for warrants to eject the total number of families from their houses in the vicinity of the company's shale mines at Broxburn. The dispute between the employers and the men, which has now lasted seven weeks, seems as far as ever from being settled, and the company, in order to clear the men out of the district and to make room for others, issued summonses against a number of men occupying the company's houses. Since the summonses were issued 30 of the men have cleared out, and are now located in the neighbourhood, some in temporary huts and others in tents, and others are being sheltered by their friends. Sheriff Melville granted the decrees of ejectment, with 10s. costs against each of the respondents who had not quitted their houses.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"HONOURS."

Several advertisements of Messrs. Sonnenschein having recently been issued in which the initials "M.A." are appended to my name, I should like to state, as I am not an M.A. nor can lay claim to any academical honours, that I am in no way responsible for the above ascription of such honours to myself. The occurrence is doubtless a pure accident, due to inadvertence on the part of the publishers or their agent.

E. BELFORT BAX.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

London Members.—The Monthly Meeting of London Members will be held on Monday next September 5th, at 9 p.m.

Co-operative Store.—The Committee attend at the offices at 8.30 p.m. on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. All Groceries can be had at current store prices. Orders over 10s. will be delivered carriage paid in London.

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.

Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League) to June 30. Clerkenwell, Hammer-smith, Mitcham, Walsall to July 31.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Weekly Subscriptions—E. B. B., 1s. K. F., 1s. C. J. F., 2s. W. B., 6d. J. L., 6d. P. W., 6d. Llednulf, 6d. Oxford Branch, 2s. Hammersmith Branch (3 weeks), £1 10s. Hackney Branch (5 weeks), 2s. 6d.

P. WEBB, Treasurer, Aug. 30.

REPORTS.

[Note.—Senders of Reports would greatly help if they would avoid unnecessary wordiness. Our space is limited.]

BLOOMSBURY.—The monthly general meeting of members was held on Thursday last, at which it was decided to start a new open-air station at Clarendon Square, Ossulton Street, Euston Road, on Monday evenings. The first meeting was held here on Monday last, and in spite of a slight rain a large crowd listened to comrades Dalziel and Bartlett. There was a large meeting at St. Pancras Arches on Sunday morning, addressed by Dalziel, Bartlett, and Porter. There is evidence that the persistent efforts of the Bloomsbury Branch have resulted in awakening the workers of the district to a sense of their position.—U.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, August 24, William Morris lectured on "The Policy of Abstention from Parliamentary Action." The hall was crowded, and a lively discussion followed. On Sunday, August 28, H. Samuels lectured on "Socialism and Parliamentary Action." Brisk debate followed. *Commonweal* and other literature has steady sale.—A. T. and W. B.

HACKNEY.—Last Sunday we opened a new station at Warner Place; meeting addressed by Graham. There were about 300 present, and we distributed about 70 *Commonweal*.

HOXTON.—The usual outdoor meetings on Thursday evening at 8, and Sunday morning at 11 o'clock, were held opposite Hoxton church, several members of the branch attending and speaking. Good sale of *Commonweal*. On Sunday, in the hall, Thos. Shore, jun., lectured on "Land Nationalisation," followed by an interesting discussion.—C. J. Y.

KINGSLAND GREEN.—On Sunday morning, a good meeting was held here, addressed by John Allman and Turner.—J. F.

MILE END AND BETHNAL GREEN.—On Tuesday last, a good meeting was held on Mile End Waste, addressed by Davis and Brooks. On Sunday, J. Pope, Davis, and Lane spoke at usual meeting in Victoria Park. Some questions were asked and satisfactorily answered. Fair sale of *Commonweal*.—H. M.

MITCHAM.—We held good meetings last Sunday on Mitcham Fair Green in the morning and evening. We met with some opposition from the Salvation Army in the morning, but a resolution was carried by a large majority that we should strongly resist their attempt at our suppression. The meeting was addressed by Kitz and Wardle in the morning, in the evening by Kitz, Eden, Bull, and Wardle. Collected 1s. *Commonweal* sold out.—R. C.

STAMFORD HILL.—On Sunday, at 6.30, Flockton, Brooks, and Parker addressed a good meeting. Four names given in for branch.—J. F.

CLAY CROSS.—A good open-air meeting was held on Tuesday evening, August 23rd. Our comrade John Furniss spoke on "Socialism, and must we always remain Poor?" G. Smith was in the chair. A few words were also addressed by Turner and Unwin. Furniss urged the workers to unite against the common enemy, and not fight amongst themselves in isolated groups; showing what a much better life was open to us when we learn to form ourselves into a united brotherhood. He also spoke of the successful attempt that a few of them were making, in spite of the evil conditions, to live as Communists.—R. U.

GLASGOW.—On Saturday afternoon, Paterson and Downie addressed a good meeting at Cambuslang. Audience very sympathetic, and at the close of the speeches cheers for the social revolution given. Meetings will shortly be held with the view to the formation of a branch of the League. On Sunday forenoon, Glasier, Downie, and Paterson spoke on Jail Square, and in the afternoon Glasier, Bullock, and Paterson spoke at Paisley Road Toll. In the evening a large and enthusiastic audience assembled to hear Glasier, Bullock, and Paterson. Questions were invited, and an Orange missionary named Long (a friendly opponent of Mr. Bradlaugh's) entered the ring, and an exciting discussion was carried on for more than an hour. The immense audience was entirely with Glasier, and his clear exposition of the principles of Socialism was loudly applauded. *Commonweal* sold well at all the meetings, and 4s. 6d. collected for the Broxburn miners.—J. M. B.

IPSWICH.—On Sunday, Darley and Morley, of Norwich, spoke here. A wet morning interfered somewhat with our first meeting. We, however, did well. A fine afternoon made altogether a different affair of it, several hundreds listening to the speakers. Literature sold well. Three new members made.—J. R.

NORTH SHIELDS.—A meeting on the New Quay on Sunday morning, at 11, was addressed by Pease (of Newcastle) and John Comb (of Seghill Colliery), and they were very closely listened to by all present.—J. J.

NORWICH.—We had our comrade Sparling with us on Sunday. A good meeting was held in the Market-place, addressed by Sparling, who gave great satisfaction. Papers sold well. A good meeting was held on the Agricultural Hall Plain at 7. Sparling addressed a crowded meeting at the Gordon Hall at 8, on "The Old English Guilds," which pleased all present. Two comrades went to Ipswich and held two meetings with the comrades there. Collection was made for the Propaganda Fund.—T. M.

WEDNESBURY.—Sanders and Weaver, of Walsall Branch, addressed a large and animated meeting in the Market Place, on Thursday. There is great promise of success here.—J. M.

BILSTON.—Sanders opened up new ground at Bilston. He had to pay the market toll, 3d., and was attentively listened to by a very large crowd.

BIRCHILLS, WALSALL.—Sanders held a meeting for the first time at Birchills, on the outskirts of Walsall. Meeting very satisfactory.—J. T. D.

BIRMINGHAM.—Large meeting held on evening of August 28th by Donald at Council House, while Sanders and Weaver at same time addressed meeting at Bull Ring. Good sale of literature.—J. B.

DARLSTON.—Sanders addressed meeting on Saturday. We have been here once or twice before, always well received.

DUBLIN.—At the Labour League on Thursday, August 25, J. S. Hall lectured on the "Wrongs of the Working-classes and their Remedies," advocating most of the platform of the S.D.F. The views of the lecturer were opposed by Gabriel, Keegan, and Fitzpatrick, and supported by Killen and Karpel.

DUDLEY.—Our meeting here is thus reported in the *Evening Express and Star* for August 24:—"WALSALL SOCIALISTS AT DUDLEY.—Messrs. Sanders and Webb, agents of the Socialist League, from Walsall, commenced to address a meeting of working-men on Tuesday evening, in the Dudley Market-place. Police-sergeant Sansome ordered them to move on, the holding of such meetings being contrary to the regulations. Mr. Sanders defended his right to sell the League publications and speak in the Market-place, and offered to pay the customary toll if that was what was required. The toll collector, however, was not present, and the officer contented himself with taking Mr. Sander's name and address, for the purpose of reporting the matter to Mr. Chief-superintendent Burton. The meeting then proceeded, Mr. Sanders contending that he who came to speak to working-men about their rights and wrongs had an equal right to the use of the Market-place as Church and Salvation Armies, jugglers, and mountebanks. After offering for sale the *Commonweal* and other Socialistic publications, he delivered a few remarks on capital and labour, which were earnestly listened to by a large gathering."

GREAT BRIDGE.—Donald held usual meeting in Market-place; good crowd listened. Several of Mr. Bradlaugh's disciples were on the scene, one of whom was firmly convinced that Mr. Bradlaugh is a Land Nationaliser. Donald invited the man to write to the celebrated M.P. on the subject and bring the letter down to the next meeting.

NORWICH.—On Friday, good meeting held by Henderson at the gate of Colman's works, Carrow. Many of the great mustard monopolist's employes are already Socialists, while many others are "not far off from grace." A most attentive hearing was given; meeting is to be held weekly in future. Saturday evening, Henderson spoke in Haymarket. Rain somewhat spoiled Sunday morning's Market-place meeting, but in evening Henderson addressed a great gathering there. *Commonweal* sold out.

OLDBURY.—Deakin addressed meeting on Friday. The people are exceedingly poor, but were much interested in the address.—J. T. D.

SHEFFIELD SOCIALISTS.—On Sunday, August 21st, we held an open-air meeting at 3 o'clock, John Furnace, J. Bullas, and Mrs. Usher were the speakers. On Monday evening, Bullas and Story addressed a large meeting at Bramhall Lane. A great many questions were asked and answered.—M. A. M.

TIPTON.—Large meeting addressed by Donald at Tipton, on Wednesday. This is the first Socialist meeting that has been held there. A little interruption from a Tory corn-dealer was quickly stopped on the crowd threatening to bonnet the offender.

WEST BROMWICH.—Donald opened up new ground at this town on Monday. Large meeting, and address attentively listened to.

WILLENHALL.—Donald addressed a meeting of lockmakers on Saturday afternoon near the Market-place.

WOLVERHAMPTON.—Saturday evening, Weaver and Donald held a meeting at the Prince Consort Statue. It was decidedly the best meeting that has been held in the district. The crowd was enormous. A number of objectors and interrupters attempted to break up the meeting, but the men very soon learnt these worthies how to behave. As Donald got off the chair a sergeant of police ordered him off. On Donald remonstrating the constable drew his baton, and was going to give every one a lesson, but a little firmness made the bully hold his hand. A serious riot might have occurred owing to the behaviour of this nuisance. The crowd told us to be sure and come back.

WOOLWICH.—Sunday evening, Burns, S.D.F., spoke at the Arsenal Gates to at least 700, on "Trades' Unionism," and completely carried his hearers with him. No opposition was offered, and at the close of the meeting we collected for the Bolton strike 11s. 4½d. Large quantity of literature sold.—R. B.

YARMOUTH.—Best meeting yet held at Yarmouth addressed by Henderson on Quay, Thursday last. *Commonweal* sale good.

Scottish Land and Labour League.

Galashiels.—Meeting held on Tuesday, 23rd, very large and attentive. Branch being organised here.

Cowdenbrath.—On Friday a meeting was held at the Old Toll House. In spite of the rain the audience listened with great attention. Six new members enrolled, and a good number of *Commonweal* sold. This

branch is doing well. The miners take considerable interest in the business, and are eager to hear Socialist speakers.

Dysart and Dumfermline.—Meetings postponed.

Lochie.—First meeting held here was addressed by Mahon and Gilray, of Edinburgh. The audience, though not large, was very attentive. Literature sold well. Several names taken for a branch, and arrangements for another meeting made.

Dundee.—Mahon's second visit to this town resulted in a very large increase of members, the holding of a series of most successful meetings, and a good impetus to the movement generally. On Saturday night a good meeting was held, and an address delivered in front of the Bank. On Sunday three lectures at different places were given on "Objections to Socialism refuted," "The Irish Question, economical and political," and "The Means of Realising the Results of Socialism." Plenty of questions and discussion, and good sale of literature. All Socialists in Dundee are requested to send their names and addresses to A. Simpson, 10, Ford-lane.

Edinburgh.—Sunday afternoon Smith and Tuke spoke in the Grassmarket. It was made evident that we are making some impression on the people there, by our old ground being occupied by six or seven gospel temperance speakers, who were loudly denouncing the Socialists. Smith ably explained the true cause poverty, viz., robbery, and not drunkenness. The same two speakers spoke in the Queen's Park in the evening to an audience numbering about 500. A good collection was made at the close of the meeting.

CHAS. WM. TUKE, sec.

—: Several Reports unavoidably crowded out:—

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, W. On Thursday Sept. 1, Fred. Lessner, "Socialism on the Continent." 8th. G. B. Shaw, a lecture. 15th. Sidney Webb, "The Political Duty of Socialists." 22nd. Hubert Bland, "State Intervention." 29th. P. Barry, "Scientific Boycotting."

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday September 4, at 8. 30 p.m. A Free Concert. Wednesday Sept. 7, at 8.30, H. H. Sparling, "The Labour Struggle." 11th. T. E. Wardle. 14th. Fredk. Lessner, "Continental Socialism." 18th. Free Concert by Wm. Blundell and Friends. 21st. Mr. Varley, "Socialistic Co-operation."

Hackney.—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 8 till 11.30; Saturday, 7 till 12.30; Sunday 11 a.m. till 12 p.m. A Free Concert will be held at the Club on Saturday September 3rd.

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Sept. 4, at 8 p.m. C. J. Faulkner, "Law and War."

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—Globe Coffee House, 227 High St., Hoxton. On Sunday Sept. 4, at 8, C. J. Fitzgerald will lecture—subject, "Ancient and Modern Robbers." On Saturday, at 8.30 prompt, Special Members' Meeting to consider the affair of Croudall St.

Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday. Discussions held every Sunday morning at 11.

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. Members and those intending to join Branch are requested to attend Business Meeting on Thursday Sept. 1.

North London.—Branch meets at 32 Camden Road, N.W., for reception of new members and other business, on Wednesday evenings at 8 o'clock, until further notice. H. Bartlett, sec.

PROVINCES.

Arbroath.—Secy. (pro tem.), Jas. Malcolmson, 3 Arras Street.

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

Cowdenbrath (Fife).—Secretary, John Duncan, 30 Arthur Place.

Dublin.—Irish Labour League, Carpenters' Hall, 75 Augier Street, every Thursday at 8 p.m. Discussion on all subjects connected with Labour Question.

Dundee.—Business Meeting of Branch, Granite Hall, Overgate, 8 p.m.

Dysart (Fife).—Secy., A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St. **Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Important business meeting on Thursday at 8 p.m., after which paper read by a member.

Galashiels.—Secretary (pro tem.), John Walker, 6 Victoria Street.

Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Sunday Sept. 4, meeting of members in Rooms.

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

Hull.—Merrill's Dairy, 56 Walker Street. Mondays, at 8 p.m.

Lancaster.—Addresses every Sunday morning on the Quay Jetty.

Leeds.—17 Chesham Street, Sweet Street. Club and reading room open every evening. Business meetings every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Leicester.—Office of Hosiery Union, Horsefair Street. Fridays at 8 p.m.

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

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

Walsall.—Temperance Hall. Branch meeting every Monday.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 4.

9.30...Starch GreenHammersmith Brnch
11.30...Garrett—"Plough Inn"The Branch
11.30...Hackney—"Salmon and Ball"Graham
11.30...Hammersmith—Beadon RoadThe Branch
11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield StreetPope
11.30...Kingsland GreenBrooks
11.30...Merton—Haydons RoadThe Branch
11.30...Mitcham Fair GreenJ. Allman
11.30...Regent's ParkNicoll
11.30...St. Pancras ArchesDalziel & Bartlett
11.30...Walham GreenBarker
3 ...Hyde ParkMainwaring
6 ...Stamford HillJ. J. Allman & Wardle
6 ...Victoria ParkBrooks & Westwood
6.30...Hackney Road—Warner PlaceGraham
7 ...Clerkenwell GreenSparling

Monday.

8 ...Polygon, Somers TownDalziel & Bartlett

Tuesday.

8 ...Ossulton St., Euston Rd.Nicoll
8 ...Mile-end WasteJ. Allman & Flockton

Wednesday.

8 ...Broadway, London Fields, Graham & Flockton

Thursday.

8 ...Hoxton Church, Pitfield Street ...J. J. Allman

WOOLWICH.—Arsenal Gates, Sunday Sept. 4, at 7 o'clock—James Macdonald.

PROVINCES.

Bilston.—Saturday 10th, 7 p.m.—Sanders.

Birmingham.—Sunday 4th, Bull Ring, 6.30—Weaver; Council House, 7.30—Weaver. Sunday 11, Bull Ring, 6.30—Donald; Council House, 7.30—Donald.

Bloxwich.—Friday 9th, 7 p.m.—Weaver.

Darlaston.—Saturday 10th, 5.30 p.m.—Sanders.

Dudley.—Tuesday 6th, 7 p.m.—Sanders.

Glasgow.—Saturday: Jail's Square, at 7 p.m. Sunday: Jail's Square, at 1; Paisley Road Toll at 5; Jail's Square at 7.

Cambslang.—Saturday at 7 p.m.

Great Bridge.—Tuesday 6th, 7 p.m.—Donald.

Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, 11; Vicar's Croft, 7.30. Friday: Corner of Christ Church, Meadow Lane, at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place at 3; Agricultural Hall Plain at 7.

Dereham.—Every Wednesday, Market Place at 7.

Oldbury.—Friday 9th, 7 p.m.—Sanders.

Pelsall.—Wed. 7, 7 p.m.—Deakin, Donald, & Sanders.

Tipton.—Wed. 7th, 7 p.m.—Weaver.

Walsall.—Monday 5th, 7 p.m.—Sanders.

Wednesbury.—Thursday 8th, 7 p.m.—Donald.

West Bromwich.—Monday 5th, 7 p.m.—Weaver.

Willenhall.—Saturday 10th, 5.30 p.m.—Donald.

Wolverhampton.—Saturday 10th, 6.30 p.m.—Weaver; 7.30—Donald.

FRED HENDERSON'S NORFOLK MEETINGS.

Yarmouth.—Thursday, on the Quay at 7.30.

Carrow.—Friday, at 1.30, at Colman's gate.

Norwich.—Friday, at 7, outside Howlett and White's. Saturday at 8, Haymarket. Sunday at 11 a.m. and 8 p.m., Market Place.

St Faith's.—Sunday at 3, on the Green.

SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.

(Scottish Section of the Socialist League)

MEETINGS—SEPTEMBER.

Sat. 3.—**Burntisland Links**, 4 p.m.

Leith, foot of Walk, 7 p.m.

Sun. 4.—**Leith**. Foot of Walk, 11 a.m.

Edinburgh. Grassmarket, 3 p.m.; **Queen's Park** 6.30 p.m.; **Mound**, 7.30 p.m.

Wed. 7.—**Edinburgh**, Hunter's Square, 7.30 p.m.

Special Notice.—On Saturday October 15 a Concert will be held in aid of the 'Commonweal' Fund at 13 Farringdon Road, concluding with an original Dramatic Sketch by members and Friends.

A Free Concert will be held at the Hackney Club on Saturday September 3rd, at 8.30 p.m. At the close there will be a collection in aid of the Funds of the Branch. All members of the League invited.

THE BLOOMSBURY BRANCH of the Socialist League desires to appeal to readers of the *Commonweal* for help for the wife and family of comrade English, who has recently died. English was one of the originators of the Bloomsbury Branch, and for many years was an ardent and energetic worker for the Cause. After a long and painful illness he at last succumbed, leaving his family destitute. Contributions will be gladly received and acknowledged by the secretary of the Branch at the Communist Club, 49 Tottenham St., W., or by comrade Lessner.

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 87.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

MR. JOHN BRIGHT is very anxious to extinguish all chances of open war between England and America. To many people it seems strange that he is not equally anxious to put an end to the war which has been so long going on between England and Ireland; or rather that the only way in which he would allow it to be done would be by crushing Ireland into sullen subjection to her slavery. This is strange to many, but not to Socialists, who understand that Mr. Bright's Internationalism is, and always has been, a very one-sided matter, as one-sided as his love of peace. The Internationalism of bourgeois interests is what he is enthusiastic for, and in that cause he would try to join all the nations in the world, ignoring the fact that each nation is composed of two other nations, the nation of the poor and the nation of the rich; and the peace that he would have between these two nations is just that which he would have England give to Ireland—the peace which the master is always willing to give to his submissive slave. Mr. John Bright is a thoroughly consistent person.

The miserable optimistic twaddle of Mr. Gladstone's Jubilee speech (what, another of them?), which would have disgraced a Sunday-school teacher, is sickening enough to read for those even who have thought of the condition of the workers without the knowledge that it is caused just as much and as little by "the infliction of the Providence of God" as the corn-laws; even when they don't know that the "follies of men" which produced the window-tax or the corn-laws, are just as much responsible for the "unemployed" of our present winters (of our summers, too, if well to-do people only knew it); even to such people there seems little occasion for an optimistic hymn.

Not much of a triumph for fifty years of reform are the results of all the progress told of to his henchmen by this Conservative gentleman who has been too busy with politics to follow the struggle between capital and labour which has been going on all the time. The time remembered and contrasted with our times by the model contented old workman that he spoke of, was of the darkest days which the workmen of this country have ever known; the country had just passed through a frightful war; the robber class had begun to use the new and terrible instruments of robbery, which had recently been invented, with the utmost recklessness, and without the checks which the governing classes were terrified into applying to them afterwards; and as a consequence of the unchecked competition which Mr. Gladstone regards as "providential" and opposes to "the follies of man," the whole working-class was miserable, starving, and rebellious.

Such a state of things could not last; it must either have come to a break-up or some improvement, and the improvement came through the conquering of the world-market by Great Britain, which produced such a prodigious amount of wealth for the country in general, that even the workers profited by it and became "contented"; since the contrast between their present and the immediate past was really considerable, and their past misery so great, that they felt the same kind of happiness which the tortured man does when he is allowed some little rest. Breathing-time was thus gained for the two combatants, Capital and Labour, and the proprietary classes on their side began to see the necessity of palliation if the game were to last, and hence all those reforms of which Mr. Gladstone boasts.

But these reforms were not the cause of the "prosperity" of the last forty years, but the prosperity was the cause of the legislation. The governing classes were frightened at first, careless afterwards since they were so rich. Like the pirates in Defoe, who had fought like devils when they were poor, they did not care to show fight when they had such a glorious cargo aboard.

Thus we came to the period of the advance of wealth "by leaps and bounds," which made Mr. Gladstone so joyous a little time ago; and the question one would think even for a politician to study is not so much whence we have come, as where we are now, and whither we are going. Would not the story of the last seven years furnish Mr. Gladstone with some thoughts on that point? It needs no man risen from the dead, and no half-dead old man to teach him something if he will contrast his "leaps and bounds" year with this present Jubilee year and its blessings.

At any rate, very little consideration will teach him that the nation (of the rich) came out unscathed from the disorder of the first years of the great machine-industry revolution, because of the expansion of its profitable trade, which was then so huge that most people could see no end to it. They can now both see and feel the end to it. That ally to the exploitation of labour by the capitalists is dead. Prosperity can indeed be regained, and go on once more by leaps and bounds; but only on terms which Mr. Gladstone has not even thought of, viz., that the workers should employ themselves, or in other words, form a new society in which monopoly would be not a crime but an impossibility.

What does Mr. Gladstone, and the middle classes which he leads, think of the "propriety" which forces people to accept the position of tramcar drivers and conductors, or servants in their yards under such conditions of slavery, and such insulting and degrading regulations that one would think that nobody but those in the very last stage of destitution would accept such an occupation? And yet we are told that free citizens of our free and improved country crowd into it, partly because it is a respectable occupation! Still more respectable, and as complete in slavery and insult, is the position of assistant in the establishment of the Universal Provider; and for this position it is necessary to share the blessings of education, and, in fact, to belong in some sense to that triumphant middle class which has improved the world into its present condition. Isn't it worth while for that class itself to look about it, and notice that it too is making a new proletariat out of itself, which at its worst degradation is worse than the fringe of labour deduced from the artisan and labouring class.

W. M.

The "Incorporated Society of Mean Men," of which Mark Twain once wrote, has apparently taken up its abode in England. Mr. Halley Stewart, M.P., speaking recently in Hunts, was reported to have said he had seen at one time 415 boys, girls, and women passing the night in Trafalgar-square without even a sack to hide their nakedness. This statement having become known in his own division, an empty common sack was subscribed for by some of his constituents, and forwarded by Parcels Post to the House of Commons. On the reverse side of the address was a printed extract from the speech in question by Mr. Stewart, and on the address side was the following: "A penny subscription sack from some of his constituents to hide the nakedness of Trafalgar-square"

The small-souled, sneaking curs who can find "fun" in deriding the poverty and distress of the unhappy waifs whom no roof may cover but the sky, are indescribable from lack of language that will convey their despicable character. They are of the type that, well fed and cared for, gloat over the misery of others for amusement and take delight in torture; who trip up blind cripples and broil cats alive.

"Why are ninety-nine out of a hundred people to be annoyed and inconvenienced in order that the infinitesimal residuum may lie snug in the pride of exclusiveness and to the glory of feudality?"

The above question closes a leading article in the *Daily Telegraph* of Aug. 31. It is only asked about the gates and barriers that close certain London streets. Of course we can answer it, push it further, and answer it again; but we advise our "esteemed contemporary" not to do so if it would retain the circulation it boasts of. Truth-speaking is perilous. A successful "organ of public opinion" gets on by suppressing half the truth and diluting the other, with an imaginative embellishment to finish off with.

We are confident that our advice will be taken!

In the *Pall Mall* of the 2nd inst. was recorded one of the most awful cases of utter misery it has ever been my lot to read of. The sickening details were enough, one would fancy, to shake the most thoughtless from their apathy. On the same day were recorded brilliant receptions and the "heavy bags" of wealthy sportsmen. Yet, with the two extremes of our miserable "society" thus given saliently before their eyes, there are men who placidly ignore the evil, and speak of the "mad restlessness" of those who seek a remedy.

Can it be marvelled at, then, if haply some of them, so speaking, be writ down dishonest or heartless? From the recreant Iconoclast to the hereditary image-keeper there is not one who may not be honest

in his belief that monopoly and competition are the twin pillars that sustain the world: but it is no time in the heat of battle, in the very face of danger, with the dying round us in their agony, to weigh motives finely, and discriminate between the ignorant and vicious.

All those against us are against us; to none of average intellect is the way to knowledge closed, and they dare not plead ignorance. There are men who hearing *will* not hear, and seeing *will* not see; are we asked for "mercy" to these men? It is not our business to go out of our way to attack them; but if they place themselves in our path they must know what they are to look for.

Upon our side it is not the mere opinions of men that rule, but the irrefutable facts of nature. Each of us in his place fulfilling these laws in fighting for the progress of mankind, if on *any* plea he falter or swerve aside he is a traitor to humanity and false to himself. He *must* go forward, and that against all resistance and over all obstacles; not least over the "convictions," real or feigned, of the apostles of plunder and legalised rapine. S.

"Oh, the happy time, my brethren," says the corner preacher, with upturned eye-balls and clasped hands, "when we shall all meet up above"—this last in a deep bass. But don't get into the same 'bus or compartment of railway carriage down here below if you happen to be dressed in working garb. Defer the meeting until you get "up above." It's first, second, and third class down here, as the case of Hunt v. Glover has recently shown. It's quite enough for third class to have the pleasure of working to keep first and second, without disturbing the equanimity of Christians like the two "gentlemen" witnesses for the 'bus conductor by rubbing up against them. Wait till we all meet up above, dear brethren, and twang the eternal harp; but keep your distance down here, or we'll call the guard.

"It is not too much to say that if the poor would eat horse or donkey enormous social dangers that now seem inevitable would disappear." Thus writes the *Standard*, in commenting upon the "great and happy news" to the persons who belong to the class to whom the matter is so vitally interesting, viz., that cat's meat is being foisted upon the poor at the price of butcher's meat. Thus at one side we have a school of vegetarians, whose hopes of saving society are based upon the hope of persuading working folk to subsist on horse beans and the outside leaves of cabbages; and on the other we find the organ that represents the class who guzzle and gorge what their hands never earned, advising us to make our insides receptacles for diseased jackasses, in order that their wine-bibbing and feasting shall continue undisturbed. F. K.

FEUDAL ENGLAND.

(Concluded from p. 282.)

THE complete feudalism of the fourteenth century fell, as systems always fall, by its own corruption, by development of the seeds of change, some which indeed had lain asleep during centuries, to wake up into activity long after the events which had created them were forgotten.

The feudal system was naturally one of open war; and the alliances, marriages, and other dealings family with family, made by the kings and potentates, were always leading them into war by giving them legal claims, or at least claims that could be legally pleaded, to the domains of other lords, who took advantage of their being on the spot, of their strength in men or money, or their popularity with the baronage, to give immediate effect to their claims. Such a war was that by which Edward I. drew on England the enmity of the Scotch; and such again was the great war which Edward III. entered into with France. You must not suppose that there was anything in this war of a national, far less of a race character. The last series of wars before this time I am now speaking of in which race feeling counted for much was the Crusades. This French war, I say, was neither national, racial, or tribal; it was the private business of a lord of the manor claiming what he considered his legal rights of another lord who had, as he thought, usurped them; and this claim his loyal feudatories were bound to take up for him; loyalty to a feudal superior, not patriotism to a country, was the virtue which Edward III.'s soldiers had to offer if they had any call to be virtuous in that respect. This war once started was hard to drop, partly because of the success that Edward had, falling as he did on France with the force of a country so much more homogeneous than it; and no doubt it was a war very disastrous to both countries, and so may be reckoned as amongst the causes which broke up the feudal system. But the real causes lay much deeper than that. The system was not capable of expansion in production; it was, in fact, as long as its integrity remained untouched, an army fed by slaves, who could not be properly and closely exploited; its free men proper might do something else in their leisure, and so produce art and literature, but their true business as members of a conquering tribe, their concerted business, was to fight. There was, indeed, a fringe of people between the serf and the free noble who produced the matters of handicraft which were needed for the latter, but deliberately, and as we should now think, wastefully; and as these craftsmen and traders began to grow into importance and to push themselves, as they could not help doing, into the feudal hierarchy, as they acquired *status*, so the sickness of the feudal

system increased on it, and the shadow of the coming commercialism fell upon it. That any set of people who could claim to be other than the property of free men should not have definite rights differentiated sharply from those of other groups, was an idea that did not occur to the Middle Ages; therefore, as soon as men came into existence that were not serfs and were not nobles, they had to struggle for *status* by organising themselves into associations that should come to be acknowledged members of the great feudal hierarchy; for indefinite and negative freedom was not allowed to any person in those days; if you had not *status* you did not exist except as an outlaw. This is, briefly speaking, the motive power of necessity that lay behind the struggle of the town corporations and craft guilds to be free, a struggle which, though it was to result in the breaking up of the mediæval hierarchy, began by an appearance of strengthening it by adding to its members, increasing its power of production, and so making it more stable. About this struggle, and the kind of life which accompanied it, I may have to write another time, and so will not say more about it here. Except this, that it was much furthered by the change that gradually took place between the landlords and the class on whom all society rested, the serfs. These at first were men who had no more rights than chattel-slaves had, except that mostly, as part of the stock of the manor, they could not be sold off it; they had to do all the work of the manor, and to earn their own livelihood off it as they best could. But as the power of production increased, owing to better methods of working, and as the country got to be more settled, their task-work became easier of performance and their own land more productive to them; and that tendency to the definition and differentiation of rights, moreover, was at work for their benefit, and the custom of the manor defined what their services were, and they began to acquire rights. From that time they ceased to be pure serfs, and began to tend towards becoming tenants, at first paying purely and simply *service* for their holdings, but gradually commuting that service for fines and money payment—for rent, in short.

Towards the close of the fourteenth century, after the country had been depopulated by the Black Death, and impoverished by the long war, the feudal lords of these copyholders and tenants began to regret the slackness with which their predecessors had exploited their *property*, the serfs, and to consider that under the new commercial light which had begun to dawn upon them *they* could do it much better if they only had their property a little more in hand; but it was too late, for their property had acquired rights, and therewithal had got strange visions into their heads of a time much better than that in which they lived, when even those rights should be supplanted by a condition of things in which the assertion of rights for any one set of men should no longer be needed, since all men should be free to enjoy the fruits of their own labour. Of that came the great episode of the Peasants' War, led by men like Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, and John Ball, who indeed, with those they led, suffered for daring to be before their time, for the revolt was put down with cruelty worthy of an Irish landlord or a sweating capitalist of the present day; but, nevertheless, serfdom came to an end in England, if not because of the revolt, yet because of the events that made it, and thereby a death-wound was inflicted on the feudal system. From that time onward the country, passing through the various troubles of a new French war of Henry Vth's time, and the War of the Roses, did not heed these faction fights much. The workmen grew in prosperity, but also they began to rise into a new class, and form a class underneath the old working men, and to lay the foundations of capitalistic production. England got carried into the rising current of commercialism, and the rich men and landlords to turn their attention to the production of profit instead of the production of livelihood; the gildless journeyman and the landless labourer slowly came into existence; the landlord got rid of his tenants all he could, turned tillage into pasture, and sweated the pastures to death in his eagerness for wool, which for him meant money and the breeding of money; till at last the place of the serf, which had stood empty, as it were, during a certain transition period, during which the non-capitalistic production was expanding up to its utmost limit, was filled by the proletarian working for the service of a master in a new fashion, a fashion which exploited and (woe worth the while!) exploits him very much more completely than the customs of the manor of the feudal period. I hope to be able hereafter to go into the question of the life and production of the workman of the earlier period. At present I will make an end by saying that the feudal serf worked hard, and lived poorly, and produced a rough livelihood for his master; whereas the modern workman, working harder still, and living little if any better than the serf, produces for his master a state of luxury of which the old lord of the manor never dreamed. The workman's powers of production are multiplied a thousand-fold; his own livelihood remains pretty much where it was. The balance goes to his master and the crowd of useless, draggle-tailed knaves and fools who pander to his idiotic sham desires, and who, under the pretentious title of the intellectual part of the middle classes, have in their turn taken the place of the mediæval jester. Truly, if the Positivist motto, "Live for others," be taken in stark literality, the modern workman should be a good and wise man, since he has no chance of living for himself! And yet, I wish he were wiser still; wise enough to make an end of the preaching of "Live on others," which is the motto set forth by commercialism to her favoured children.

Yet in one thing the modern proletarian has an advantage over the mediæval serf, and that advantage is a world in itself. Many a century lay between the serf and successful revolt, and though he tried it many a time and never lost heart, yet the coming change

which his martyrdom helped on was not to be for him yet, but for the new masters of his successors. With us it is different. A few years of wearisome struggle against apathy and ignorance; a year or two of growing hope—and then who knows? Perhaps a few months, or perhaps a few days of the open struggle with brute force, with the mask off its face, and the sword in its hand, and then we are over the bar. Who knows, I say? Yet this we know, that ahead of us, with nothing betwixt except such incidents as are necessary to its development, lies the inevitable social revolution, which will bring about the end of mastery and the triumph of fellowship.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

ARTIST AND ARTISAN.

AS A WORKMAN SEES IT.

To be a labourer, and to earn by dint of bodily or mental exertion that subsistence which predominating capitalism at present condemns the worker to receive, is considered by our snobbish plutocratic society of to-day to be something very contemptible and vulgar. But, on the other hand, the man who is an artist—that is to say, the man who obtains very often a very comfortable living by deft skill of hand and grandeur of conception, is looked upon by the idlers of society as an extraordinary being, and received everywhere with adulation and respect. This opinion unfortunately is shared by many working men. They look up to the artist with something more than the veneration which is due to them as individuals who certainly do a good deal towards making life more beautiful and happy. In short, while the artisan is despised as an unthinking drudge—as one of the common toiling millions—the artist is regarded as a darling of society and a great man. Let us devote a short time in endeavouring to discover who is the most necessary, the most useful and essential to the well-being of society. We will assume to elucidate this point, a man placed upon an uninhabited island, totally devoid of both the necessities and luxuries of life. Suppose such a man approached by a person who offers upon the one hand a number of priceless artistic treasures: statues by Canova, Michael Angelo; paintings by Rembrandt, Rubens, and Vandyck; or poems by Byron and Shelley, and on the other hand offers a loaf of bread, a homely garment, a spade, etc., some of the simple products of the toil of the ordinary artisan, and see which he will choose. A man so circumstanced would at once turn to the latter. Why so? Because they are the primary necessities of existence, and without them he cannot live. It will at once be seen, therefore, that the artisan is of much more service to the community in which he dwells, inasmuch as he provides the necessities of life; whereas the artist is simply of secondary importance, he simply producing articles of luxury.

Without labour men *could not live*. Without art life *would be possible*, although I confess that life without any of that pleasure and delight which is caused by artistic effort would be very unpleasant, and in fact almost unbearable. The artisan makes life possible; the artist makes it enjoyable. Hence I contend on these grounds that the artisan should be regarded with the same amount of honour as the artist; for while the artisan makes things, the artist beautifies them. Both being equally useful to society both should be socially equal. Until this conclusion is arrived at, and as long as men will despise the labourer and the products of his labour, meanwhile worshipping the artist and art, the achievement of a state of social equality—that great object which all Socialists are endeavouring to obtain will remain unaccomplished.

JIM ALLMAN.

AS AN ARTIST SEES IT.

I have nothing to object to in our comrade's remarks, but a word or two may be pardoned in explanation of the fact that an artist is looked upon as a gentleman (a sort of one), and sometimes receives a certain portion of the respect accorded to that class, which, however, is dealt out so much more liberally to the mere money-maker in other trades; to the landowner, manufacturer, contractor, stockjobber, or what not; in short, it is dealt out to members of the proprietary class exactly in proportion to the obviousness of their living by *owning* wealth and not *creating* it. In other words the less pretence they make to be more than mere thieves, the more they are honoured.

However, let that pass, as it must be admitted that the artists when they gain the point at which they receive any recognition from the public at all, do as hangers-on share in the plunder won by the class to which, if our workmen friends knew it, they are admitted somewhat *grudgingly*. Now, it must be admitted by all thoughtful people that the conventional flattery of the intellect, which is conventionally supposed as a separate and specially worshipful quality, to be the main-spring of the artist's capacity, is both stupid and harmful. But, like all the rest of our conventionalities, it is founded on history; it is a birth of the individualist commercial system which we are at work combatting to-day, with good hope of seeing it disappear. It is that system which has divided the old craftsman into two, artist and artisan. For, before the rise of capitalism in the sixteenth century, the artisan did not differ in kind from the artist; all craftsmen who made anything were artists of some kind, they only differed in degree, and only a few of those who had very special gifts of hand and brain have so much as left their names behind them. No one knows, e.g., the name of the man who designed Westminster Abbey, although it

rose up amongst the King's Court, and doubtless was talked about enough in its time; and meantime every joiner or mason or blacksmith was doing his share of work towards the pleasure which our comrade feels is necessary to the life of man, and never dreaming of receiving any special reward for the beauty or invention in his work; although doubtless he did receive the unconventional and genuine praise and thanks of his neighbours for it, just as he gave it to his neighbour craftsmen. With the growth of the historic sense which is a gain of the present century, with the knowledge of the continuity of history which we have now learned, we have come to a conscious knowledge that the intellect of man works co-operatively and collectively; but although the workmen of the Middle Ages were not conscious of this fact, they were happier than we are in this respect, that they practised that co-operation in their production of beauty; whereas we, as long as we are under the domination of the profit-grinders, cannot do so; and the result follows which I have so often spoken of, that art is a skinny drowsy skeleton amidst the stir and enormous riches of modern civilisation; and that too in an age, which as I have just said, has discovered that it was the collective people, and not a few miraculous individuals who have produced all worthy, that is all genuine, art in the past. I say when art is hopeful and progressive there is plenty of it for every one, and every one is in some sense an artist, and those who produce beauty are not demi-gods but men, and all can understand them; it is only when beauty produced by man becomes rare that we take to deifying its producers. There is little that is mysterious about the plagiarists and compilers of the Augustan age of Rome; the authors of that mass of platitudinous rubbish, that fresh flowing well-spring of stupidity, are well known and amply ticketed. But modern research has made Homer a dim and doubtful shadow to us, while it has added clearness to our vision of the life of the people of that time, who were the real authors of the Homeric poems. Beowulf, the first and the best poem of the English race, which they bore hither across the seas with them, has no author but the people. No other authors has the splendid literature of our Scandinavian kinsmen, the best tale-tellers the world has seen, through whom we can to-day live with the people of Northern Europe in the tenth century, and know them, not as puppets of chivalry romance, but good fellows such as our living friends are to-day. Again, along with William Cobbett, contrast the dungeon-like propriety of St. Paul's, the work of a "famous" architect, with the free imagination and delicate beauty of the people-built Gothic churches, that were raised by masons who had no architect over them, and who did their work for the reward of a free life, and needed no fame as an extra; and then consider how the people build. In short, our comrade will understand me when I say that what we want is to extinguish not the artist, but the mere artisan, by destroying the flattery-craving flunkey in the one, and the brutal toil-worn slave in the other, so that they may both be men; in which case they must be artists in one way or other, that is, they must take an interest in life.

Meanwhile, I cannot see that any extra reward should be given to a man for following an "intellectual" calling. If he does his work in it well, it is more pleasurable to him than a "non-intellectual" one, and why should he be paid twice over? If he does it ill, let him be pulled out of it in the gentlest way possible, and learn to do what he can do. A poet doesn't need paying for his poetry (he is not paid much now), because he will write better poetry and not worse if he has an ordinary occupation to follow. As for the other mere artists, a painter for instance, I admit that he will probably have to stick to his painting if he has to do it well; but then he should be paid not for the "intellectual" part of his work, but for the workman's part of it; finishing up everything properly, doing everything as well as it can be done in all respects. This will take something out of him. But the exercise of his "intellect" will take nothing; it is mere play.

The long and short of it is this, a decent life, a share in the common life of all is the only "reward" that any man can honestly take for his work, whatever it is; if he asks for more, that means that he intends to play the master over somebody. When the workers have made up their minds to be free, he won't get that, so he may make himself easy, and get amusement out of his work as he can, if he is a "superior person." Well, I end as our comrade, with the word "equality," which will one day become a real thing and no mere word, and so cure all our troubles.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

The following advertisement appeared in a London daily this week:

ENGINEERS' Tool Makers (thoroughly first-class experienced) wanted; only those need apply who can bring satisfactory references from former employment, where they have worked for a number of years as tool-makers; all such references will be most strictly inquired into before any man is started. All applicants must be sober, good timekeepers, thoroughly respectable, and able to work any kind of lathe or machine usually found in an engineer's factory; their work will have to stand the test of quantity as well as quality; a week will not be allowed for an hour's job. Handy-men, engine-drivers, very old or very young men, don't apply; the Company, desiring to engage only the very best of men, will in return pay the very best of wages. Apply between 9 and 12 to the Managing Director, etc.

We refrain from giving the firm to which the pure-souled perfect applicants must address themselves; there must already have been such a crowd anxious to enrol themselves under such a brilliant banner! But we should like to learn what "the very best of wages" are that the Admirable Crichtons earn; what hours they have to work; and how they like it! After all, is not this nauseous rubbish only an adroit puff for "the Company" itself?—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 Farrington 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 Far-
rington Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.**

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

M. A. M. (Sheffield).—1s. 6d.

A. T., N. W.—We shall be very glad indeed to receive such correspondence as you mention.

A. K. D. and J. T. D.—Please arrange that duplicate reports be not sent.

SEVERAL eloquent friends are asked to read and remember the appeal at the head of Report column. Every week the compressive power of the editorial pen has to be more stringently exercised, as the pressure grows upon our space.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday September 7.

ENGLAND	Weston—Woman's Journal	ITALY
Justice	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Norwich—Daylight	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	Marsala—La Nuova Eta
Labor Tribune	Beverly (Cal.)—Labor Enquirer	Rome—L'Emancipazione
Railway Review	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	SPAIN
Freedom	Detroit (Mich.)—The Advance	El Productor
Church Reformer	Albina (Oreg.)—Weekly Courier	Cadiz—El Socialismo
To-Day	New Haven (Conn.)—Work-	GERMANY
Christian Socialist	men's Advocate	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Jus	San Francisco (Cal.)—The People	AUSTRIA
INDIA	Valley Falls (Kan.)—Lucifer	Brunn—Volksfreund
Bankipore—Behar Herald	FRANCE	HUNGARY
UNITED STATES	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
New York—Der Sozialist	Le Revolte	ROUMANIA
Truthseeker	Guise—Le Divoir	Jassy—Lupta
Leader	BELGIUM	SWEDEN
Volkszeitung	Liège—L'Avenir	Stockholm—Social-Demokraten
Freiheit	Ghent—Vooruit	NORWAY
Chicago (Ill.)—Labor Enquirer	HOLLAND	Kristiania—Social-Democraten
Vorbote	Amsterdam—Voorwaarts	

“IS THE MINERS’ UNION A FAILURE?”

UNDER this heading, in the *Daily Telegraph* of September 2nd, an extraordinary composition appears, bearing the signatures of six persons, presumably miners, resident in Barnsley, Yorkshire. The document opens with the statement that the views expressed by its signatories are shared by "tens of thousands" of persons employed on the Yorkshire coal-fields. If this be so, the miners of Yorkshire are marvellously dense and shortsighted.

The first paragraph of this remarkable and unique production is devoted to an exposition of the terribly hard life led by the miners; the perilous nature of their work, and the miserable fate that awaits them should any of them by chance live beyond the average miner's life. This is followed up by a rail over the almost insolvent state of the various pit-clubs, and a charge against the leaders of the Union of being responsible for the present condition of the miners. These are charged with having "ruinously invested the Union's funds," of counselling "impotent and useless strikes," "plunging madly into politics," and of sending a man to Parliament (Benjamin Pickard) "who would have been better at home."

However, all these evils are to be put an end to by the formation of "a Union which shall avoid *strikes*, secure a fair wage by *amicable* means, give confidence to capital, bring about good relations between themselves (the miners) and their employers, and establish a scheme in concert with employers by which they shall be provided for in sickness and old age, especially the latter." This proposition is worthy the peaceful mind of Mr. Auberon Herbert.

It is scarcely credible that a body of men who have engaged in so many hard-fought battles against capitalism have not yet discovered that *it* and *they* are enemies, and that their reconciliation is impossible. The recent strikes in Northumberland and Lanarkshire, and the almost never-ending struggle of the Cradley Heath chainmakers, are convincing proof enough, one would think, of the impossibility of securing even a *fair* wage by *amicable* means. The truth is Capital and Labour must war with each other until the former has ceased to be a monopoly. The craven-hearted, cap-in-hand-to-master policy will secure the workers nothing, except the prolongation of their slavery. Giving confidence to capital means securing its holders the power to fearlessly tax labour. The idea of intelligent men "earnestly appealing to coal-owners and colliery proprietors" to form a small committee for the purpose of doing this, and assuring them that "happy results"

will ensue, and that they "will have done a service in the promotion of social peace and goodwill," of "the reconciliation of Labour and Capital, and the happiness and comfort of their workpeople, that will ever be most gratefully remembered" !

Oh! what snivelling imbecility! If the "Miners' Union" consists of men who think in this way, no wonder if it is a "miserable failure." But, after all, the whole thing may be only a dodge on the part of our old friend the capitalist, who, having managed to cajole a few simple men into signing their names to an artfully prepared document, has foisted it upon the public as the opinion of the heretofore sturdy miners of Yorkshire.

It is hard indeed to believe that they have thrown up the sponge, have become faint-hearted because of the failure of a few isolated strikes, and have become traitors to the cause of Labour and arrayed themselves on the side of its enemy.

From what we know of them we prefer to believe that they are at the present time engaged in uniting their scattered forces into one great Labour Federation, and that they recognise this to be the necessary preliminary to their complete emancipation from the bondage of capitalism.

Although the capitalist, being the owner of the means of subsistence, can starve the workers into submission, thereby foredooming almost every sectional and isolated strike to failure, the revolts against monopoly have taught the workers that their salvation depends on their general combination. If, instead of 600,000 loosely organised trades' unionists, the whole industrial army, or even nine-tenths of it, was welded together into one compact body, it could at will completely paralyse the power of the whole capitalist system. There would be no need for the workers to wave the flag of truce, to sue for peace, as they are being advised to do by the authors of the manifesto we are criticising; that miserable rag would soon be hoisted from their enemies' camp.

Then let him who loves liberty labour for this glorious consummation with fearless heart, and in the near future he will stand, not a slave, but lord of himself—a free man. H. A. BARKER.

H. A. BARKER.

THE CURSE OF CIVILISATION.

It is or was a favourite practice of the historical school of Buckle, Spencer, etc., to dwell upon the fact that the attention and speculation of primitive man is more occupied with exceptional than with ordinary phenomena—with comets, meteors and eclipses, rather than with the facts and sequences of everyday Nature. Many a generation has passed since this has ceased to apply to progressive man. He is now perfectly alive to the saliency of the common phenomena and operations of Nature (in its narrower sense) and to the comparative unimportance of those exceptional events which so much excited the terror and wonder of his remote ancestor. But in spite of this change of mental attitude as regards inorganic nature, there is one department of phenomena, that of social life and history, in which the old attitude is unconsciously maintained. It seems to have entirely escaped the notice of students that the current view of history—strange to say, even of modern social life—when we reflect upon it and formulate our reflections, is based mainly on the exceptions of life—battles, murder and pestilence—and that the rule—the everyday routine—is, for the most part, left entirely out of the account. This, conjoined with the still widespread assumption of the eighteenth-century fallacy that progress is in a straight line, has led to the conviction in most, even candid minds, amounting to the strength of an axiom, that the advance of civilisation has augmented the sum of human happiness, that life under earlier conditions must have been intolerable, and hence that the Socialist contention that the modern world is not only not the best possible, but not the best up to date, is merely a whimsical paradox.

In discussing this subject, two or three points have to be considered. Firstly, we must distinguish between what I may term the *dynamic* and the *static* estimation of history. In the first any particular historical period is regarded as part of the general evolution of history, as a moment merely of that evolution ; it is viewed solely in its relation to what preceded and what followed it. In the second a period is regarded *abstractly*, in itself and not as the element of a whole ; it is treated as an independent whole and compared with other periods also regarded as independent wholes. It is also to be borne in mind that, the individual being the product of his period and its conditions, it is no answer to the comparative merits of one period over another to point out the impossibility or evil results of suddenly transplanting an individual brought up under the first set of conditions into the second.

On the dynamic view mentioned the proposition, "whatever is, is best," has a certain truth. Every historical period has its meaning or significance for historical progress, considered dynamically, however meaningless considered in itself; the stage following would have been impossible without it. Thus, speaking broadly, without the decay and dissolution of tribal society and its issue in civilised individualism, a higher universal communism would have been impossible. More narrowly, without the particular development of civilisation as represented by nineteenth century capitalism with its "great industry," the higher, more universal, more complex communism, which is the ideal of the modern Socialist, would have been inconceivable. Even for the Socialist, therefore, civilisation in its worst forms is good. The progress from tribal society to civilisation is thus a progress indeed; every step is a triumph and brings us nearer to the realisation of human hopes. In this sense the Socialist is at one with the Whig

historian. But here he joins issue with him. No sooner does he change his standpoint and consider history statically, than he finds that every step toward modern civilisation is a step for the worse. Considered by itself, every historical advance has meant a positive loss to human happiness in the essentials of life, immeasurably outweighing any positive gain in the details. The Socialist is bound, therefore, when viewing civilisation statically, to pronounce it unreservedly an unmitigated evil.

The ordinary historian, who considers only the exceptional incidents of life and ignores its essential aspects, finds everywhere signs of progress as he understands it—that is, signs that the present is better than the past. In the Middle Ages he finds a state of society in which life was relatively insecure from violence, when flagrant acts of cruelty and injustice were often perpetrated, where terrible plagues every now and then devastated considerable areas of population, where open war was a common occurrence. This in the first place. In the second, he finds a complete absence not only of all the modern comforts and luxuries of life, but of many things he is accustomed to regard as necessities. He finds locomotion difficult and dangerous, and all means of communication of the most rudimentary description. In modern life, of course, he finds exactly the reverse of all this. The positive evils mentioned are reduced to a minimum or removed altogether. Life has become a mass of little wants with the means of satisfying them ready to hand for those who can purchase them. More excitement is required, and can be had for money; tours round the world replace journeys into the next county.

I think I cannot be accused of having stated the case unfairly for modern civilisation; but after all, what does the difference amount to? In the view of many persons, the mediæval famine, pestilence, war, and host of other evils, are conceived as occurring all in the same place in the same week. Were this popular view of mediæval society correct, it is manifest that no flesh could have survived. But as a matter of fact "flesh" did survive; and so far as can be gathered, the average length of human life was not inferior then to what it is now, but rather the reverse. For if, as is sometimes contended, great age is more frequently reached now than then, this is more than counterbalanced by the fact, confirmed by all accounts, that premature death (properly so called) from organic disease was of comparatively rare occurrence. Now, although a fringe of well-to-do people may attain a greater average age than a corresponding set of people in the Middle Ages, in the nineteenth century whole sections of our ever-increasing town population are doomed by the conditions of their life to a premature grave. The difference is this, as I take it: the well-to-do middle and upper classes have the chance of an average year or two's longer life than the wealthy classes of former ages, but the mass of the population, although relieved of fear of famine, sword, and, to a great extent, even of decimating epidemics and other sensational incursions of the grizzly skeleton on their front, are relieved only to find him stolidly clinging on at the rear, in the shape of anxiety for daily bread, overwork, bad and insufficient food, squalor, insanitary housing, etc. The ordinary historian sees the exceptional and horrific evils of sword, violence, and famine incidental to the life of past ages; he passes over the commonplace evils essential to modern life. Yet under the one set of conditions early death is certain; under the other at most only probable.

Now let us compare two cases—the ancient and the modern—in which the result is the same, and note the difference between them otherwise. Say the modern town artisan dies at forty; the mediæval guildsman is killed at forty. But the modern town artisan has been qualifying for death from infancy, every step in his life has been dogged by that death—literally, in the midst of life he has been in death. If actual disease be not upon him, potential disease is, in the form of low bodily condition, rendering him absolutely incapable of any enjoyment other than "boozing." His tendencies, inherited and acquired, all converge to the one end. He is throughout life decaying. Now take the mediæval guildsman. What is his life? He also works at his trade, but under what conditions? With plenty of air, food, leisure, work in which he takes an interest and a pride, and in healthy emulation with companions similarly circumstanced to himself. His life is a healthy and a happy one. Suddenly news comes that a hostile lord is advancing upon the town with his retainers, and that all must arm in its defence. The excitement is a not altogether unwelcome interruption to the peaceful daily life of burghers possessed of nerves begotten of generations of life under healthy conditions. With much merry chaff the citizens sally forth and the walls are manned. Our forty-year-old workman takes his place. The fight begins; bolts, arrows, and javelins fly. In the thick of it all our burgher is struck and falls moaning; he is carried home, and after a few hours of pain, dies. Now here you have your choice: death by the exceptional thunderbolt of mediæval society; death by the undying worm of modern civilisation. Which do you prefer? In the one case you have unsettled conditions, life and property insecure—in short, all the bogies of the Whig historian; in the other you have settled conditions, law and order reigning over the whole land, and all the blessings of civilisation. I think few can honestly hesitate with regard to the answer they give.

E. BELFORD BAX.

(To be concluded).

A FALSE ALARM (the spirit of capitalism exemplified).—Mrs. Iklestein: "Run mit der doctor, kervick; Solomon; de paby ish swallowt a silver tollar!" Mr. I.: "Vos it dot von I lefd on der table?" Mrs. I.: "Yes, dot vos it; hurry der doctor!" Mr. I.: "Don'd get oxcited, Rajel; it vas gounderfeit."—*Denver Labour Enquirer*.

A GREETING IN HEAVEN.

ON THE DEATH OF THE DAUGHTER OF JORDAN WHEN SEPARATED FROM HER FATHER BY HIS IMPRISONMENT.

(By FERDINAND FREILIGRATH. Translated by J. L. JOYNES.)

Heavenward flew the spirit of a maiden,
Gently wafted on the wings of fate,
Still a child, nor sin, nor sorrow-laden—
Entered shyly through the golden gate—

"Lo, see there! Who comes? The patriot's daughter!"
Up rose all the noble German dead:
Countless glorious faces turned and sought her,
Countless lips their gracious greeting said.

Came that freedom-loving soul sedately,
Seumè, bay-crowned with poetic fame;
Schiller came with words of welcome stately;
Hutten, Schubart—all to greet her came:

Looked on her with half-concealed compassion;
Welcomed her with words of tender grace;
Earnest gazed in silent questioning fashion
On the smile that lit her tearful face.

Downward then she bent her eyelids trembling,
Trembling stood, till sudden, ere she wist,
Tears of anguish, spite of all dissembling,
Filled the eyes her father—had not kissed.

Seumè clenched his hand with stern decision;
Schubart's soul with fierce regrets was torn;
"What is freedom but a dreamer's vision?"
Muttered Schiller full of bitter scorn.

Then spake Seumè, "Maiden, calm thy passion;
Death, thou knowest it, can make him free:
Let them rivets, let them fetters fashion—
Free with free men shall thy father be.

"Free with us, a guest but not a stranger,
One more martyr for our fatherland,
Yea, a beacon light that those in danger
Hail with eager heart and lifted hand.

"Proudly shall he rest who well hath striven,
When death cometh. Pray that he may die.
Nay, my child, no rest but death is given
Those brave souls who strive with tyranny.

"Him to dungeons, me to a far Edom,
Hunted erst the self-same tyrant crew.
Heard'st thou not how, seeking only freedom,
Seumè once to foreign shores withdrew?

"Pray thou therefore that his life's sad story
'Neath the grass-grown grave at last may cease.
His shall be the martyr's meed of glory—
Jordan's daughter, pray and be at peace."

LITERARY NOTICES.

Our Corner this month "blossoms like the rose" in a new cover, designed by our facile friend Walter Crane, from whose pencil seems to flow an inexhaustible stream of beauty. The dainty surroundings of the comfortable window-seat, with its interested reader and her drowsy cat, should in itself make a powerful agent in arousing discontent. We of the unlucky class can hope for no such comfort, while the "lucky" few are so saturated with their over-wealth that they cannot apprise it at its worth. So much for the cover; its contents are of the usual excellence. Bernard Shaw is at home "Concerning Interest," and makes that unattractive subject sparkle passing well. He deserves to become the great economic authority; everything he writes is at least readable and clear, which is not the strong point of his elder brethren. Mrs. Besant has an effective and useful article on the "Unemployed." "Hylö-idealism" and "The Bible and Sexual morals" are treated "just in the same old way."

'State Interference in the Vaccination Controversy,' J. H. Levy. (Allen, Ave Maria Lane, 3d. a dozen). With the medical side of the question we have nothing to do in these columns, and happily, or unhappily, the writer of this brochure has little more. The whole key-note of his lucubration is "State interference with parental authority." Of course, a good deal of talk about "individual liberty" comes in, but "parental authority" is the great thing that must not be touched. It is rather strange that men who talk so loudly and so much of individual liberty should still have such unquestioning reverence for the old superstition of "parental rights." Why two chance people should possess "rights" over the person of a citizen, even during nonage, which the community does not possess, is puzzling to anyone who tries to be logical.

'The Moral Basis of Socialism,' by Karl Pearson (Reeves, 2d.), is at once eminently readable, and the product of deep, careful thought. Very fully and closely it examines the feelings and forces that mould men's actions; discriminating with great clearness the *anti-social* from the merely *un-social*; and showing forcibly that the true social spirit is that which would give offenders against the community, those acting against its welfare, "a short shrift and the nearest lamp-post." "You must either be working for the community or leave it," is the ultimatum of the Socialistic moral code to each and to all. No amount of conscience-money spent on the most 'philanthropic object' can atone for individual idleness. The progress and welfare of society demand for common use not only the stored labour of the past, but the labour-power of each existing individual.

'Stories for the People,' by W. Thompson (Dicks, 313 Strand, 6d.). These well-constructed and truthful studies of the social condition of the people of to-day are now reprinted, "complete with portrait," from the columns of *Reynolds*, where they have already attracted wide attention. Clear insight and deep feeling are proved on every page, and we cannot doubt of the great success which will attend this issue.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

The Socialists of Glasgow are busy organising the quay-labourers there (whose successful strike we chronicled last week) into a trade union.

A resolution was passed in favour of the eight hours' movement at Mountain Ash, Wales, last week.

THE LIMERICK DOCK LABOURERS' STRIKE.—The strike of the dock labourers against the two steam shipping companies still continues, and small hope is entertained of a settlement being arrived at.

STRIKE OF WOMEN.—Two or three hundred women at Cockhedge Mills, Warrington, struck on Monday morning in consequence of an overlooker having been discharged. The women excitedly patrolled the streets during the day.

The miners at Elliot Colliery, New Tredegar, are on strike against encroachments. The men have shown great forbearance and tried all peaceful means to settle the dispute, but to no purpose. The employers seem determined to reach starvation point.

NOTTINGHAM.—The strike of engineers in the firm of Manlove and Elliott's, which has lasted for months, has practically collapsed. The staff has been filled with "knobsticks," and most of the old hands have taken employment elsewhere. A handful are still on the funds of the society.

MASTER ENGINEERS.—A private meeting of master engineers was held at the George Hotel, Nottingham, last week. Delegates from Bolton attended. They were endeavouring to make arrangements for the general lock-out that they are trying to organise to squash the strike. No details of the meeting have transpired.

The miners locked out at Netherend Colliery, Cradley, have issued an appeal for support. They say their wages were already at starvation point when their employers sought to effect a reduction. They rebelled against it, and have been locked out since the beginning of July. Subscriptions will be received by B. Winwood, miners' agent, Blackheath, Dudley.

SWANSEA.—An improved furnace has been built at Landore which turns out more steel in a given time than the old one. The employers as usual want to grab all the gain and make it a cause for a revision (which always means, when employers use the word, a reduction) of payments to men. A strike is threatened, and it is to be hoped the Welshmen will be firm. The Birmingham Steel Smelters' Association is backing them up.

CHEAP LABOUR.—An engineering firm in the East-end of London, who manufacture machines for making beer barrels, are working 59 hours per week, and are paying fitters, turners, and machiners 24s. to 30s. per week, being 4½d. and 6d. per hour respectively. This entirely demolishes the bogey of the skilled artisans who exclaim "You Socialists want to reduce all men to one dead level by paying labourers and mechanics equal wages."

On Thursday Sept. 1, a strike occurred in the Bolton cotton trade which affects about 100 hands. The spinners employed at Messrs. Joshua Crook and Son's mills, Blackburn Street, gave notice of their intention to leave work in consequence of the wages earned being below the average. The matter was not remedied, and the workpeople accordingly left, with the sanction of their association.

In the Cleveland district the furnacemen engaged at the Skinningrove Ironworks have struck work. The dispute has arisen through four gautry-men having received unjust notice of dismissal. The men employed at the works, including those discharged, are members of the Blast-Furnacemen's Association, and because the firm would not re-instate the four gautry-men they all left the works.

At the well-known ship-yard of Messrs. Armstrong, Mitchell, and Co., at Elswick, a dispute has occurred between the company and their joiners. It appears that it is usual for carpenters to place the heavy wood-work of ships in position, and for joiners to finish it off. The latter complain that owing to iron being now largely used in ship-building, they have less work than formerly, and that carpenters are given joiners' work. As the company declined to alter the existing arrangements, 200 joiners at once ceased work.

THE THREATENED STRIKE OF NAILMAKERS.—A deputation representing more than ten thousand wrought nailmakers waited upon the employers of the South Staffordshire and Worcestershire districts on September 2, with a view of obtaining a substantial advance in wages. The operatives have of late been subjected to great reductions in their wages, and are at the present time in an impoverished state. Last Saturday the operatives at the majority of the warehouses gave notice to their employers that they would cease work on Saturday next unless an advance in wages be conceded. It is believed many employers are in favour of conceding an advance.

THE DOCKYARD REDUCTIONS.—An order reached Portsmouth Dockyard on Monday morning for the discharge of 450 hired workmen, but as this had been daily expected it caused little surprise. A largely-attended meeting of tradesmen, dockyard men, and others was held at Portsmouth on Wednesday to consider what steps should be taken in connection with the dockyard discharges. The meeting appointed a committee to arrange for a large mass meeting, at which a relief fund will be opened, and steps taken to prevent if possible any further discharges.

GRIEVANCES OF LONDON POSTMEN.—London and suburban postmen are agitating for an amelioration of their condition. Nineteen hundred of them signed a petition which was presented on Monday by Mr. H. W. Lawson to the Postmaster-General. They suggest, among other things, that their duties shall be limited to twelve hours daily, that the maximum wages after twelve years' service shall be forty shillings, that stripes should be abolished, and that the wages of second-class postmen should be raised from sixteen to eighteen shillings per week. They also ask an increase of the holidays allowed from twelve to eighteen days, and for certain changes in regard to promotion, to the uniform provided, and to the rules of superannuation.

THE LATE MIDLAND STRIKE.—1,066 men have been refused re-engagements. One servant who has been 47 years slaving for the swindlers is left on the streets. 140 men from a Midland station near Nottingham, who have been refused work, have emigrated to Tasmania. The vindictive directors have inserted a clause in the characters given to the men discharged, calculated to prevent them obtaining re-engagements. One driver has his notice of discharge solely on the ground of his being a Socialist and an agitator among the men. The men have not been able to obtain the paper which is devoted to their interests, and it is suspected the Company may have had a hand in stopping it.—A. K. D.

THE CRADLEY HEATH CHAINMAKERS.—At a meeting of the chainmakers last week Mr. Thomas Homer stated that unless there was a change in the mode of carrying on trade it would, he was sorry to say, be necessary to declare a general strike again, for there were a number of employers who boasted they would never pay the increased prices. Referring to the proceedings instituted against him for intimidation, the speaker said he regretted the magistrates thought it advisable to fine him, for by so doing they had done him a great injustice. He was as innocent as a new-born child, and several of the witnesses had committed gross perjury. Was it reasonable that he, occupying the position he did, should instruct a man before a number of other persons to fetch a mob? He had many offers of assistance, and he had decided to appeal against the decision at the Quarter Sessions for the county of Stafford. Mr. Homer has received several subscriptions on behalf of the chainmakers who are unable to obtain employment at the advanced rate of wages, amongst which was one for £20 from the National Society of Tailors.

The belt-sewers of John Tullis and Company's leather works, John Street, Bridgeton, Glasgow, struck work on Tuesday August 30, owing to an intimation that 20 per cent. more labour was to be imposed on them, with no corresponding advance of wages. The men objected, and the result was five of the men were suspended. This brought the rest of the workers out; and their demand is now for 10 per cent. advance on present wages. The workers of this firm (of which those at present on strike only form a department, numbering from ninety to a hundred men) are exceptionally low paid, in fact the meanness of this firm is almost "proverbial." The wages range from 12s. to 21s. per week, 21s. being the maximum, and is only reached after ten or twelve years' service. The average wage for the trade in Scotland is from 18s. to 26s., for England 28s. to 32s. The disparity of their condition as compared with their fellow-workers in England is startlingly obvious, and is only another instance of the despicable rapacity of capitalism. The tyrannical conditions under which they work compels them not only to sell their labour, but also their souls. Any one found conversing with his neighbour while at work is summarily dealt with in the shape of a fine, which generally amounts to a 1s. The indulgence of the worker as well as his labour is thus made to yield its quota of profit.

THE BOLTON STRIKE.—The 18th week of the strike in the Bolton engineering trades began on Monday without any apparent prospect of settlement. The employers have issued an ultimatum offering to refer dispute to open arbitration on wages question only, details to be settled afterwards, and reply to be received before September 14. This is the first offer of arbitration emanating directly from the employers, all previous suggestions having come from the Mayor, generally accompanied by restrictive conditions. It is anticipated that unless the men accede to this last proposal the masters' association will adopt more stringent measures; but they have not further considered the arbitration proposals, and appear determined to stand out for the full concession of 2s. Fifty of the county constabulary have left the town, but 150 still remain. A further reduction is ordered. In a letter to the local press the employers state that since the engineers' strike commenced, work has actually gone to foreign competitors which would have otherwise come to Bolton, involving a loss of £30,000 in wages alone to Bolton workmen. They therefore ask tradesmen and property owners who sympathise with and support the men to reflect on what the action of the men is doing. This mean-souled attempt has failed, as it deserved to do, the tradesmen seeing with whom their interest lies. On Wednesday another batch of men from the Midlands landed in Bolton, and, claiming police protection, were conveyed to Dobson and Barlow's works, followed by a large crowd. This firm have now considerably over 200 men lodged in the works, and more coming. Hick, Hargreaves, and Co. have about 160, and are making preparations for more. One of the outcomes of the strike is the proposed formation of the "Bolton Co-operative Ironworks Society, Limited," with a capital of £15,000, in £1 shares. The provisional committee, together with delegates from Bolton Trades Council, Strike Committee, and Co-operative Society, met on Wednesday night, at which meeting a scheme was propounded and favourably received. Meeting adjourned for appointment of provisional directors. All the shareholders will be working men actually engaged in the iron trades.

THE WEAVERS.—The disputes at Barnoldswick and Preston still remain unsettled. The report of mill collections in Burnley last week says:—"At Barnoldswick, the weavers have been locked out over eleven weeks, and all because they formed a deputation to see the employer and ask him to pay the Burnley list. He gave them no answer but stopped the firm at once, though he was paying 2d., 4d., and one sort 8d. per cut under list prices. At Preston we have an attempt to reduce the wages of velvet weavers from 3s. to 5s. per piece. Can we, as operatives, shut our eyes to this? We say no, and we call on every weaver and winder to see to it that their fellow-operatives are not crushed down by the action of such employers. We are confident that the cause of the workers is a just one and that they have justice on their side. Let us, therefore, do our utmost to give them such assistance as shall prove to the employers that we are not going to allow them to rule as they think proper, with an iron hand, but that the workers are going to have something to say about what they shall receive for their labour." The total collections amount to £34 11s. 9d., of which £5 was sent to Preston and £15 to Barnoldswick. It is stated that the employers are collecting all the tramp-weavers that can be found. Another cause of complaint is that members of unions of other trades, such as the card-room workers, are going to work to try and defeat the weavers. In another case a member of the Amalgamated Engineers is trying to fill the place of a tackler, and has sent his children to "knobstick." This is the old game over again, getting one class of workpeople to defeat another. We hope the officials of the above trades will pay some little attention to this complaint. Three other disputes have occurred during the week. At Blackburn nearly a thousand weavers employed at Messrs. D. and W. Taylor's mills have "turned out," owing to the dismissal of some of their number for turning off steam in the weaving shed without permission. The operatives allege that the firm have not acted fairly by them, as they promised to let the weavers turn off the steam when they liked. They have expressed their determination to remain "out" until the question is settled, as they cannot bear the amount of steam which is turned into the weaving shed. At Higham, near Burnley, the weavers engaged at the Fir Trees Shed have given notice to cease work in consequence of the employers not paying the Blackburn standard list of prices. A dispute has also occurred at Messrs. Ormerod Bros., Mills, at Walsden, Yorkshire, the piecers having struck work owing to the employers not complying with a request to advance their wages a halfpenny per thousand hanks.

THE SCOTCH SHALE MINERS.—On Tuesday last week the miners and retortmen on strike at Broxburn held a meeting in the Public Hall. The

Chairman, in introducing Mr. Wilson, agent, to address the meeting, hoped, now that they had struggled successfully for about eight weeks, they would not be such fools as to rescind any of their previous resolutions. Mr. Wilson said that if the men maintained their present firm and united policy, they would show to their employers that they did not mean to work at rates insufficient to maintain them, or to be denied the right of combination. He then referred to the eviction of the men from the company's houses, and after consideration it was remitted to the committee to take offers for the erecting of wooden houses, and to procure a suitable site. Regarding the time they should remove from their houses, a motion was put to be cleared out by 12 o'clock on Thursday, and an amendment to remain in possession till evicted. On a vote being taken, the amendment was carried by a majority. On Wednesday Mr. Haldane, M.P., had interviews both with Mr. Henderson, the manager, and with representatives of the men, and stated conditions which he had reason to hope would be accepted, and so end the dispute: 1. The day not to exceed nine hours from bank to bank, and the Miners' Association to be free to enforce this rule. 2. The Miners' Association, in the event of the men lying off work otherwise than from sickness or other extraordinary sufficient reason to undertake not to interfere with employer's right of dismissal. General holidays to be taken periodically according to agreement, otherwise mines to be open six days a week. 3. All men to be taken back into company's employment, and it is not to be an offence to take part in constitutional agitation in connection with Miners' Association. 4. Men agree to accept work upon a reduction of 2d. per ton. In reply to a vote of thanks, proposed by Mr. Wilson, Mr. Haldane said he would like to see big trade unions all over the country. He hoped for the time when working men would have a greater say in the conditions and profits of labour and work themselves into a more independent position. On Thursday several of the mines at Bloxburn were open for the men to resume work, but pending an agreement through the intervention of Mr. Haldane, M.P., none turned up to work on the full reduction, seeing that the terms proposed stipulated that the men get 2d. back. A number of men are hopeful that the terms drawn out will be accepted, but others do not believe that they will, seeing they are practically what have already been refused by the employers. No more evictions have been carried out, nor is it expected there will be any until it is seen what reply is given to the proposals submitted by Mr. Haldane. The men have also delayed the erection of the proposed wooden structure for those who had no houses to go to in case of eviction, but the wood is in readiness to begin at any moment. Some particulars of the Edinburgh Trades' Council demonstration will be found in our Reports column.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

HOLLAND.

F. Domela Nieuwenhuys was released on the 1st inst., after having undergone a term of imprisonment of seven months. He was condemned to one year, so that five months have been given to him in consequence of the manifestations, petitions, meetings, etc., got up by the Dutch workers and by a considerable portion of the *bourgeoisie*. Nieuwenhuys went at once to The Hague, where he met several hundred friends assembled in the Walhalla Hall to congratulate him. A mass meeting has immediately been arranged for Friday, 9th inst., where the released prisoner has promised to speak. Nieuwenhuys will be a candidate for Parliament at the next general elections at Groningen. Although we wish him every success in his Socialistic propaganda in Holland, we are inclined to desire his defeat at the poll, because experience teaches us that Socialists in Parliaments are unable to do any good for the cause. To say the least, they are wasting their time, and that is nowadays too much. Socialism is growing fast all over the country, the workers of The Hague, Amsterdam, and Rotterdam being specially busy in arranging meetings in the provinces, where until now the Socialistic ideas had not penetrated. They sell and distribute every week a large amount of Dutch literature. The small pamphlets of our Dutch comrades are generally well written, and easy to be understood.

The first volume of the posthumous works of our regretted friend, H. Gerhard, one of the founders of the International Working Men's Association in Holland, has just been issued. It is a handsome little book of 70 pages, well worth reading. Its contents are:—1. Biography of Gerhard, by Dom. Nieuwenhuys; 2. Future society; 3. Discussion on social topics; 4. Sketch of a Communistic society. Two more volumes will follow.

P.S.—The Socialist candidate, Domela Nieuwenhuys, has been defeated. All is well that ends well.

FRANCE.

As we have told our readers a fortnight ago, the French Anarchists, Monod and Naudet, were acquitted by the Court of Assizes, of Dijon, but as it was thoroughly impossible for the "advanced" French Republic to leave things in that state they had to pass immediately afterwards through a new prosecution farce before another tribunal, and Monod got there *three years* and Naudet *three months'* imprisonment,—convicted as they were for the same offence of which the jury had already acquitted them.

The Municipal Council of St. Ouen, a suburb of Paris, has thought it advisable to distribute, as prizes to the children of the communal schools, some very good books, as for instance, 'The Child' and 'The Bachelor,' by Jules Vallés; 'Memoirs' and 'Tales and Legends,' by Louise Michel; 'Woman and Revolution,' by Stackelberg; 'Popular Poems,' by Chatelain, etc. The Prefect of the Seine Department has at once suspended the mayor, Dr. Basset, and at the same time has asked the government to dismiss him from the mayorship. Of course, Republican books ought not to be distributed in a Republican country such as France!

GERMANY.

The Social Democratic party of Germany intends to convene a Congress in the coming autumn, and, of course, far away from their police-blessed country. Among other subjects to be discussed, there will be a proposal by Rabel, to the effect of organising next year an International Socialist Congress where a scheme of international work regulations will come on for discussion; and another by Liebknecht, stating definitely the position which the Social Democratic party ought in future to hold towards the Anarchists.

The trials at Munich, Frankfurt, Altona, Magdeburg, and Dantzic, are scarcely come to an end, and with the condemnation, of course, of the prosecuted Socialists, a new series is going to commence at Hamburg, Altona, Berlin, Breslau, Mainz, Leipzig, and Halle. Between the 1st of January and the 31st of July of the present year, 654 Socialists have been tried and convicted in all parts of Germany. Besides, more than 200 are now in the jails awaiting their turn.

CORRESPONDENCE.

GENTLEMEN,—As I see you have the *Credit Foncier*, published at Hammon, N.J., U.S.A., on your exchange-list, can you kindly give me any information as to the satisfactory standing and progress of it and the colony at Topolobampo, Mexico, which it represents? I subscribed for the paper last April, ordering the back numbers for the year, and all I have been able to obtain so far is one odd number a few days back, though having written the publishers and the founder of the colony several times.

Also can you tell me if there is any similar institution to that and Monsieur Godin's Familistère at Guise, France, in this country, or any prospect of such being started? It seems to me, so far as I have learned, a very good solution of the labour trouble.

J. H. EDWARDS.

55 Minford Gardens, Shepherd's Bush Road.

[We know nothing of the colony you name except from its organ, which reports it as getting on well. We have no information as to an English imitation of Godin's experiment now in existence; perhaps some of our readers may be able to help you. Such a thing is good for those immediately concerned in it—especially the proprietor!—but is no "solution of the labour trouble," as has been often demonstrated in our columns.—Eds. *Commonweal*.]

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

Co-operative Store.—The Committee attend at the offices at 8.30 p.m. on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. All Groceries can be had at current store prices. Orders over 10s. will be delivered carriage paid in London.

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.

Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League) to June 30. Hammersmith, Mitcham, Walsall to July 31. Clerkenwell, to August 31.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Weekly Subscriptions—E. B. B., 1s. K. F., 1s. C. J. F., 2s. W. B., 6d. J. L., 6d. P. W., 6d. Llednall, 6d. Oxford Branch, 2s.

P. WEBB, Treasurer, Sept. 6.

THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

For Mrs. Moubray—A Few Fabians, per Annie Besant (10s. weekly), for Aug. 27th and Sept. 3rd, £1.

J. LANE, Treasurer.

REPORTS.

[Note.—Senders of Reports would greatly help if they would avoid unnecessary wordiness. Our space is limited.]

BLOOMSBURY.—We held our usual meeting at St. Pancras Arches on Sunday, when Bartlett and Dalziel addressed the audience on the subject of "Landlordism." A good meeting was also held at the Polygon on Monday last, the speakers Bartlett, Dalziel, and Turner being attentively listened to.—W. W. B.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, August 31, Blundell read Edward Carpenter's pamphlet, entitled "England's Ideal," to very attentive audience. An interesting discussion followed. On Sunday, Sept. 4, the usual monthly "social" was held by Blundell and friends, a large muster of talent obliging on this occasion, including Socialist songs, readings from Mark Twain and others, and pianoforte recitals. We closed a very pleasant evening with the "Marseillaise." *Commonweal* and pamphlets have steady sale.—A. T. and W. B.

HACKNEY.—Last Wednesday evening, at Broadway, London Fields, good meeting addressed by James Allman and H. Graham. A concert was held at the club on Saturday evening, Barker, Gray, Turner, Lefevre, and others contributed to the entertainment, and the evening passed off very pleasantly.—G. C.

HOXTON.—Very successful outdoor meetings on Thursday evening and Sunday morning. Good sale of literature. Sunday evening in hall, C. Fitzgerald lectured on "Ancient and Modern Robbers;" an interesting discussion followed.—C. J. Y.

KINGSLAND GREEN.—Sunday last, usual meeting on Kingsland Green, addressed by Brooks, Flockton, and Turner; good audience. Fair sale of *Commonweal*.—J. F.

MERTON.—Sunday last, Eden against great odds collected a crowd to listen to us in Haydon's Road. We held good meeting, and sold paper well. A boss builder in opposition instanced a "friend who had earned thousands by his own industry." I suggested that he might further earn money by exhibiting himself as the first man who had ever possessed thousands earned by unaided effort—and then it was confessed he had employed others! A member of the Blue Ribbon Army stepped forward and said a few encouraging words of sympathy with our work, and so closed a successful meeting. In evening, in Wimbleton Broadway, we enlivened a religious meeting as a return for their interference with us on the previous Sunday at Mitcham. The "brethren" gave us an assurance that they would not interfere again, and after having had a good hearing for our views we left them.—F. KITZ.

MILE END AND BETHNAL GREEN.—No meeting on Waste last Tuesday, owing to rain. Sunday last, usual meeting in Victoria Park, addressed by Brooks. Vigorous opposition was offered by a Mr. Smith, temperance advocate, who was replied to by Brooks and Lathan to satisfaction of audience.—H. M.

MITCHAM.—Good meeting on Fair Green, about 400 present, addressed by Allman. No meeting in the evening owing to wet. *Commonweal* sold well.—R. C.

NORTH LONDON.—We held a very good meeting in Regent's Park on Sunday morning, addressed by Cantwell and Nicoll. Good sale of literature.

STAMFORD HILL.—Sunday last, at 6, good meeting addressed by T. Wardle, John Allman, and W. B. Parker. *Commonweal* sold out.—J. F.

WALTHAM GREEN.—There was a good meeting held here on Sunday last, Tochatti speaking for upwards of an hour to an audience of about 300. He was listened to with marked attention, and had the entire sympathy of the audience. No opposition and 43 *Commonweal* sold. There is every chance of making this branch a strong one.—S. B. G.

BIRMINGHAM.—Weaver held meetings at Bull Ring and Council House last Sunday. Donald also addressed an audience in Bull Ring.

BLOXWICH.—On Friday, Weaver held a meeting here, but owing to wet weather audience was less than usual. Much interest, however, was evinced by them.

DARLSTON AND BILSTON.—Although the weather was very stormy, Weaver got good audiences last Saturday. Fair sale of literature.

DUDLEY.—Tuesday usual meeting in Market-place. The evening was very wet, yet Donald got a good audience. The police turned up, but immediately retired.

GLASGOW.—On Sunday forenoon, Burns and Glasier addressed a good meeting in Jail Square. In the evening at the same place, Bullock, Glasier, and Paterson spoke to a very large and sympathetic audience. Good sale of *Commonweal*, and 3s. 8d. collected for the Broxburn miners.—A. M'K.

GREAT BRIDGE.—Weaver and Deakin addressed meeting on Tuesday; well received.

HANDSWORTH.—A. K. Donald addressed a meeting at Boulton Arms, principally of members of district assembly of the Knights of Labour. Meeting was well attended and very successful, the men desiring that another lecture should be given for the purpose of dealing more fully with some of the points. Good sale of literature.

IPSWICH.—Slaughter, Mills, and Bird, of Norwich, visited us on Sunday. Meeting in morning good, but that in the afternoon was excellent. Various questions asked and answered by Slaughter, apparently to the satisfaction of our opponent and the attentive and unusually large audience. *Commonweal* sold fairly well.—J. R.

LEEDS.—Good meeting on Sunday, addressed by Paylor and Maguire.—T. P.

NORWICH BRANCH.—We did good work in Norwich on Sunday. Davis, of London, addressed good meeting in Ber Street at 11 a.m.; also large meeting in Market Place, at 3 p.m.; and again at 7 p.m. on Agricultural Hall plain, finishing with lecturing in Gordon Hall, at 8 p.m., on "the Modern Trinity." Darley and Morley went to Wymondham in the morning and held meeting there. Several comrades went to Lowestoft and held three meetings, being well received. Papers sold well.—T. M.

TIPTON.—Sanders held a most successful meeting on August 31.

WEDNESBURY.—The branch is continuing to make good progress.

WOLVERHAMPTON.—The weather was so bad in Wolverhampton that we were unable to hold our meeting. A very civil letter has been received from the chief of police regarding the conduct of the sergeant referred to in last report. The custom in Wolverhampton, he explains, is to interfere with no meetings unless an obstruction (not an imaginary one) is caused.

WALSALL.—We held a good meeting on Sunday in a fresh position. The inside lecture given by Austin, from Birmingham, resulted in ten new members, mostly miners.—J. T. D.

WEST BROMWICH.—H. Sanders addressed meeting at the Fountain, High Street, on Aug. 29, and afterwards near The Beeches. Good audiences.

WILLENHALL.—A large meeting was held by Weaver on Wednesday, and Sanders on Saturday.

NOTTINGHAM SECTION (SOCIALIST UNION).—On Saturday we received a visit from Donald and Austin. A very interested meeting was held at night on the Low Pavement, addressed by Donald and Proctor. On Sunday night, a discussion was held in the club room, on "Should we join the Socialist League?" Discussion adjourned.—A. M. C.

WOOLWICH.—Last Sunday, Wade and Banner spoke at the Arsenal Gates, and for nearly two hours kept together an audience between 400 and 500 during a heavy fall of rain. We sold 5s. worth of literature, and collected 4s. 8d. for the propaganda.—R. B.

Scottish Land and Labour League.

Usual executive meeting held last Thursday. After business disposed of, and several new branches incorporated, an interesting discussion was held.

Carnoustie (Forfarshire).—First meeting held here was a thorough success. A very large crowd assembled at the Cross and listened very attentively to Mahon's address. Some literature was sold at end of meeting, and after a little discussion a branch was formed. This is a most promising place. A large number of ploughmen attended the meeting.

Arbroath.—Owing to the zeal and activity of several young men who joined this branch a few weeks ago most favourable progress is being made. On Tuesday, at Brothock Bridge, Mahon spoke on Socialism. Audience large and fully in agreement. A gathering of members held afterwards, and business transacted.

Forfar.—Propaganda here was opened last week by two meetings—Wednesday and Friday. Mahon lectured on the aims of Socialism. Second meeting somewhat spoiled by weather, but first meeting was decided success. Some literature was sold, collection made, and several names taken for forming a branch.

Lochie.—Second meeting held Thursday in High Street; larger and more enthusiastic than previous one. Several names added to branch.

Dundee.—Business meeting held at Granite Hall, Overgate, Thursday night, at which some matters of organization were discussed.

Edinburgh: The Shale Miners.—Following up meetings held by Land and Labour League a fortnight previously another demonstration was held in the Queen's Park on Saturday afternoon, under the auspices of the Trades Council. This body, with the hankering after respectability which usually discredits it, enjoined upon their speakers that nothing but the most gingerly moderation would be allowed. Indeed, the chairman went so far as to caution the speakers that nothing must be said that might be distasteful to the employers. Mr. Haldane, M.P., spoke with evident anxiety to see the dispute settled, and insisted that the right of the men to combine must be upheld. Mr. John Wilson, the shale miners' secretary, laid the case of the men clearly and eloquently before the meeting. A detachment of the Land and Labour League watched the proceedings, and, deeming the speeches

unsatisfactory, determined to hold another meeting. As soon as the speaking of the trades councillors ended Mahon began to address the crowd from the hill-side. An enormous crowd soon gathered and loudly cheered the statement of the Socialist position. After criticising the speech of Mr. Haldane, and pointing out the folly of merely limiting, instead of stopping, the robbery of labour, Mahon was followed by Smith, who explained the real nature of the struggle between capital and labour. John Gilray then moved, "That this meeting regards the present struggle only as an incident of the war between the labour and capitalist classes; it refuses to be content with the mere limitation of the robbery of labour, and declares that the abolition of wages-slavery is the real aim of the working class movement." The resolution was carried with loud cheers. A second collection for the miners was made, and the meeting separated with three hearty cheers for "the Social Revolution" and "the success of the Shale Miners."

Leith.—Very successful meeting held at foot of Leith Walk Sunday morning. Mahon was listened to with great attention.

Edinburgh.—Grassmarket meeting was very lively. A comfortable mission hall, with a preacher in operation, had only five for an audience in it; while the Socialists had some hundreds standing round them in the open air during a drenching rain. Out came the preacher furiously denouncing Socialism as the cause of all evils, from the French Revolution to the Sunday steamboats. After working himself into a fit of passion that threatened to end in apoplexy, Mr. Fairbairn ran away before the reply was given. The Queen's Park meeting was smaller than usual owing to heavy rain. Smith opened, and Mahon followed. An interesting discussion sprung up afterwards. The mound meeting had to be abandoned owing to weather. CHAS. WM. TUKE, sec.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomshury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, W. On Thursday Sept. 8, G. B. Shaw, "Wages." 15th. Sidney Webb, "The Political Duty of Socialists." 22nd. Hubert Bland, "State Intervention." 29th. P. Barry, "Scientific Boycotting."

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday September 11, at 8.30 p.m. T. E. Wardle, "The Workers' Rights." Wednesday Sept. 14, at 8.30, Fredk. Lessner, "Continental Socialism." 18th. Free Concert by Wm. Blundell and Friends. 21st. Mr. Varley, "Socialistic Co-operation."

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

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Sept. 11, at 8 p.m. W. H. Utley, "Freeing the Debtors."

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—Globe Coffee House, 227 High St., Hoxton. On Sunday Sept. 11, at 8, H. A. Barker will lecture—subject, "The Aims of Socialists." On Saturday, at 8.30 prompt, Members' General Meeting.

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. Members and those intending to join Branch are requested to attend Business Meeting every Thursday at 9 p.m.

North London.—Branch meets at 32 Camden Road, N.W., for reception of new members and other business, on Wednesday evenings at 8 o'clock, until further notice. H. Bartlett, sec.

PROVINCES.

Arbroath (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Members meet on Tuesday nights for business and discussion. Secretary, Alexander Smith, 9 Palmer Street.

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

Cowdenbeath (Scottish Section).—Secretary, John Duncan, 30 Arthur Place.

Dundee (Scottish Section).—Branch Business Meeting, Granite Hall, Overgate, 8 p.m.

Dysart (Scottish Section: Fife).—Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn Street.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Important business meeting on Thursday at 8 p.m., after which paper read by a member.

Galashiels (Scottish Section).—Secretary (pro tem.), John Walker, 6 Victoria Street.

Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Sunday Sept. 11, meeting of members in Rooms at 8.

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

Hull.—Merrill's Dairy, 56 Walker Street. Mondays, at 8 p.m.

Lancaster.—Addresses every Sunday morning on the Quay Jetty.

Leeds.—17 Chesham Street, Sweet Street. Club and reading room open every evening. Business meetings every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Leicester.—Office of Hosiery Union, Horsefair Street. Fridays at 8 p.m.

Lochee (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Secretary (pro tem.), P. M'Dougal, 10 Mercer Street.

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

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

Walsall.—Temperance Hall. Branch meeting every Monday.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 11.

9.30...Starch GreenHammersmith Branch
11.30...Garrett—"Plough Inn"The Branch
11.30...Hackney—"Salmon and Ball"Graham
11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield StreetNicoll
11.30...Kingsland GreenBarker & Parker
11.30...Merton—Haydons RoadKitz
11.30...Mitcham Fair GreenSamuels
11.30...Regent's ParkJ. J. Allman
11.30...St. Pancras ArchesDalziel & Utley
11.30...Walham Green.....The Branch
3 ...Hyde ParkLane & Brooks
6 ...Stamford HillParker and Flockton
6 ...Victoria Park.....Morris
6.30...Hackney Road—Warner PlaceGraham
7 ...Clerkenwell GreenLane

Monday.

8 ...Polygon, Somers TownWardle & Bartlett

Tuesday.

8 ...Mile-end WasteDavis

Wednesday.

8 ...Broadway, London FieldsBarker

Thursday.

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

WOOLWICH.—Arsenal Gates, Sunday Sept. 11, at 7 o'clock—Robert Banner.

PROVINCES.

Glasgow.—Saturday: Jail's Square, at 7 p.m. Sunday: Jail's Square, at 1; Paisley Road Toll at 5; Jail's Square at 7.

Cambuslang.—Saturday at 6 p.m.

Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, 11; Vicar's Croft, 7.30. Friday: Corner of Christ Church, Meadow Lane, at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place at 3; Agricultural Hall Plain at 7.

Dereham.—Every Wednesday, Market Place at 7.

Date.	Time.	Place.	Speakers.
11...4	...	Walsall	Weaver & Deakin
11...7.30	...	Birmingham, Council Ho.	Sanders
11...6.30	...	"	Bull Ring ...Sanders
12...7	...	West Bromwich.....	Sanders & Webb
13...6.30	...	Dudley	Donald
13...6.30	...	Great Bridge	Sanders
14...6.30	...	Pelsall	Weaver
14...6.30	...	Tipton	Donald
15...6.30	...	Wednesbury	Donald
16...6.30	...	Oldbury	Donald
16...6.30	...	Bloxwich	Weaver
17...5	...	Willenhall	Donald
17...7	...	Wolverhampton	Donald
17...5	...	Darlaston	Weaver
17...7	...	Bilston	Weaver
17...5.30	...	Brierley Hill	Weaver & Deakin
17...7.30	...	Stourbridge	Sanders
18...6.30	...	Birmingham, Council Ho.	Donald
18...6.30	...	"	Bull Ring ...Donald
18...6.30	...	Walsall Birchalls	Sanders
18...4	...	Walsall	Weaver & Deakin

SOUTH WALES PROPAGANDA.

Readers of the *Commonweal* have noticed a few weeks back the extremely interesting and promising report given in these columns of the work done by Kitz and Mainwaring. It is imperative, if the work is to be of permanent benefit, that other speakers be sent at once. The Strike Committee has exhausted its funds in the carrying on of the extra work necessitated by the late strikes, etc., and now appeals urgently for the necessary "sinews of war." Those upon the spot who wish speakers to come down, and all those anywhere who are willing to help, are asked to send in contributions to the Treasurer of the Strike Committee, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.

CONCERT in Aid of 'COMMONWEAL'

Special Notice.—On Saturday October 15 a Concert will be held in aid of the 'Commonweal' Fund at 13 Farringdon Road, concluding with an original Dramatic Sketch by members and Friends.

Members and friends who can assist with songs, recitals, etc., are requested to send in their names to the Committee. Further particulars will be published shortly. H. A. BARKER and W. BLUNDELL.

The Sheffield Socialists will open their Winter Session with a

TEA AND ENTERTAINMENT

On Monday September 12, at 43 Scotland Street. Tickets 9d. each.

COMRADES.—I wish to support the appeal of the Bloomsbury Branch on behalf of the family of William English, who was not only one of the originators of that branch, but a worker in the movement before the League or S.D.F. was thought of, but has not done the active work that some comrades have of late. Owing to bad health he has been unable to work for ten months past, and been bedridden for five months. He leaves a wife and eight children unprovided for.—JOSEPH LANE.

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 88.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

THE affair at Mitchelstown is bad enough, but just what must be expected; quite apart from any design, from any intention on either side, such wretched murders are sure to spring out of the present state of affairs in Ireland. The people will meet together in spite of the Coercion Act, or even because of it; the police have orders to disperse them on some excuse or other. You can't disperse a gathering of excited men (and women) by mere politeness, and policemen, under the circumstances, knowing their position, don't waste any time in trying to do so, but throw themselves on the crowd, and hustle and hit and knock about in a way that would irritate a crowd of Jobs to resistance; and patient and over-patient Irishmen have shown themselves, the Irish peasant is a traditional hard hitter, and understands hand-play. So the police get their share of knocks, and get driven off perhaps, as on this occasion; and then comes the next act, which is more likely to turn the affair into a tragedy in Ireland than would be the case in a similar affair in England.

For in England, if the police were beaten off the red-coats would come on the stage, if sharp shot and cold steel were to be used or threatened; and as they would be fresh men unexcited by a preliminary contest of dry blows, they would feel their responsibility of firing on an unarmed crowd far more than men who had already come out of a rough and tumble, in which their official pride and *esprit du corps* had been humbled. In Ireland, on the other hand, the event is likely to happen which happened at Mitchelstown; the beaten police come back as soldiers, armed with deadly weapons, to take their revenge on the people, who for their part, unarmed and unorganised, feel the full force of the fierce words of the Gothic King before Rome, when he was warned of the huge mass of people he had to deal with, "The thicker the hay the easier to mow."

And that all the more, by the by, if the police shoot from behind the shelter of their walls, as they did at Mitchelstown.

As to the government that allows this sort of thing to go on, bystanders can see, if they cannot, that they are not strong enough to go in for a series of new Peterloos. Probably the Irish will stand it without breaking out into open insurrection, because, as has often been said before, they have no opportunity of setting a serious rising on foot. But general public opinion in England is not in favour of government by massacre, whatever the passions of a few landowners and their backers may urge them on to. It is not difficult for an English Radical to conceive of himself in a similar position to that of the Irishmen at the Mitchelstown meeting; and he would at least be ashamed of himself if in such a case he had not gone about as far as the Irishmen did in resisting the first attacks of the police; and under the orders which the constabulary now have in Ireland from the government, it seems that murder may be expected to follow the exercise by peaceably assembled citizens of a little manliness in resisting outrage.

But the Government may say: "Did we not pass a Coercion Bill? And does not Coercion mean killing in the long run? What are we to do?" One is driven to answer the last question by saying: "Well, gentlemen, I must say it is difficult to point out to you any course of action which would at once satisfy your desires and ours. Perhaps the least harmful thing you could do would be to hang yourselves. But even then there would still be so many fools left in this country that there would still be a government; and that government, after having performed the deeds of the new broom with applause for some time, would presently be in much the same mess as you are in, or indeed, maybe worse; for it perhaps would not have the Irish Question conveniently at hand to take people's attention off the affairs of the whole working population of these islands."

Meantime, once more the Tory Government will soon find out that a Peterloo policy can only be carried out by the thoroughest of the thorough.

The terrible calamity at Exeter, which has taken up so much of public attention lately, is simply the outcome of the commercial system as applied to the construction of theatres: it is just of a piece with the wreck of a ship sent to sea for profits' sake unseaworthy and under-

handed, or with an explosion in a mine ill-ventilated for the same reason. Profit-grinding has murdered all those unfortunates, just as certainly as it murders thousands every day by the slower death that at every step besets the life of wage-slaves, of those who allow masters to muddle away their lives for them, who allow the hurry and heedlessness of irresponsible gamblers to settle for them how they shall live and how they shall die.

The orthodox Liberal *Daily News* has been rather amusing in its utterances on the Trades Union Congress. It began by an article in which it made what was no doubt intended to be a serious hit at the Socialists: told us that the theory that we hold of the rank and file of the trades' unionists looking doubtfully at their leaders, and beginning to consider their real position, was a delusion; that they were all of the orthodox faith,—and in short, the usual good-boy patronising exhortation. But then came the resolution of the Congress to set on foot a Labour Electoral Committee, and the *Daily News'* good boys had to have a little lecture read to them on their foolishness, in taking this very mild step towards choosing their own "representatives," of separating themselves from "the two great parties."

Not very wonderful if the workmen are at last beginning to find out that the "two great parties" are like "the two great parties" that form up in a field before a football match—to play the game! The only pity is that they do not let them play their game all by themselves, and form their Labour Party without reference to the football-field called Parliament.

Meantime it may be said for the benefit of those readers of the *Daily News* who may also read the *Commonweal* and who do not know much of Socialism, that Socialists are not hostile to trades' unions, but to those who wish to prevent the trades' unions developing with the times. Their real enemies are those who would crystallise them into mere societies for the guaranteeing of the privilege of capitalism, and recruiting grounds for "the great Liberal party"—that is, Whig vote-preservers. This would be an ignominious end to such an important association of workers; but it need not be dreaded. The trades' unions will develop, even if in doing so they have to change their old form and be no longer recognisable by their once enemies, now their anxious allies, the Whig politicians.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

THE TRADES' UNION CONGRESS.

I.

THE twentieth annual Trades' Union Congress met at Swansea on Monday September 5, and continued its sittings daily during the week. 156 delegates were announced as being present, and the number of members of the various societies represented was given as 674,034. This Congress was looked forward to with perhaps greater expectation than on any previous occasion, not only on account of the unstable condition of some of the unions themselves, but also from the severe criticism directed against trades' unionism, both from within and without, as to its inability, in its present form, to adequately cope with the labour problem; and also the hope on the part of many of its friends of seeing some indication of a new departure. Two years ago, the president in his address declared the present to be a critical period for English trades' unions, and that the time had come when they must either lead or follow—they must form the nucleus of the Labour Party of the future, or they must sink into insignificance; and to this those who have been watching the development of the labour struggle must give in their adhesion.

To those who hoped to see any great change the results of the Congress just concluded will probably bring disappointment; but nevertheless, comparing it with previous meetings, there is evidence of considerable advancement, and that the workers are daily becoming better acquainted with the causes of their degradation and are bringing a greater amount of intelligence to bear in their removal.

The first day's proceedings commenced with the now customary welcome by a local dignitary, who in this case was Mr. Yeo, M.P., mayor of Swansea. The only noteworthy points in his speech was his hope that the future choice of men who in the House of Commons shall especially be leaders and representatives of the working classes would be men of the same type and calibre as the present ones—a hope we do not reciprocate—and his opinion that the future prosperity of this

country hinges upon technical education: if this indeed be so, we may consider ourselves damned. The chairman (J. M. Jack) followed with a short speech, declaring the Congress open. He alluded to the trade depression, saying it was still the same cry, "trade depressed, and thousands of working men in the streets, with the words ringing in their ears, 'No hands required!'" but nevertheless this fact has not prompted him to ponder deeply on the causes at work producing this, for his programme of remedies was a ridiculously meagre one. He concluded by expressing his hope that there might go forth from that Congress a movement that would tend to remove many of the evils from which they now suffered, and "in God's good time" bring "comfort and happiness to many of the homes of the inhabitants of these islands." The election of officers followed, W. Bevan, chairman of the Swansea Trades' Council, being appointed chairman; and that matter concluded, F. Maddison, the president of last year, raised the question of the *South Wales Daily News* (with the view, we must suppose, of excluding its reporter), which he described as a "rat shop," paying less than union prices. However, the Congress had not pluck enough to take the matter in hand; and C. J. Drummond, secretary of the Standing Orders Committee, wrote something very like an apology to the *News* for the action of the delegates; but this unexpectedly getting into print the next morning, he had to make an endeavour to square matters.

Then came the Parliamentary Committee's report. This report, although a feature of the Congress, is always mainly of a humdrum character, dealing as it does with matters of detail; and this year the Committee's remarks are weaker, and exhibit less signs of a real grip of the situation, even than last year. They refer to the lack of employment, but "so far as they are aware," say they, "there has been no general attempt to reduce the rate of wages in any part of the country." I do not know what construction the committee may put on the word "general," but it seems to me that even by referring to the limited space the *Commonweal* is able to give to the "Labour Struggle" every week they might find sufficient evidence to "give them pause." "One of the chief causes of the want of employment," they declare, "is the tremendous development of the power of production," without seeming to know that they have thereby furnished a text which, logically investigated, would point to the break up of the monopoly in the means of production and distribution as the only remedy for a state of affairs in which want of bread goes hand in hand with increased power of production. No; "it has a tendency to produce lessened profits," is all they see. Finally, the report tells us that there is quite a scrimmage nowadays in Parliament as to who shall ask a question in the interests of labour. We were not aware of this, but we see in it a possible explanation of the reason why the Labour M.P.'s are so often silent when they should be alive, and for which, indeed, they were taken to task at the Hull Congress. At the conclusion of the report, the Congress passed a vigorous resolution against the Government for suppressing the Ennis meeting. C. J. Drummond opposed this,—hard to say why; not on account of its interrupting the proceedings, for a few minutes afterwards he went off "as quiet as a lamb" to the mayor's luncheon, notwithstanding two Scotch delegates proposed they should proceed with the business.

The president's address began the second day's sitting, and proved to be at least equal to its predecessors—a thoughtful, wide-viewed, and withal a *fighting* address, which should give much hope to the Socialist. Mr. Bevan began by a reference to the depressed condition of labour, and speaking of the report of the Royal Commission on the depression, he said: "While clearly perceiving the contradiction of poorly-paid labour and ever-increasing wealth, it is afraid to speak out and condemn the present system of society, which gives the riches of toil to those who do not produce." After a reference to the disorganisation of labour brought about by improved machinery, and a remark that shoddy goods and jerry building have been too much appreciated of late years, he went on to advocate the formation of a powerful and distinct labour party; "organised and unorganised labour unite in the belief that the ordinary political parties are useless to secure the industrial emancipation"; "everywhere is heard expressions showing how the faith of the people in the present governing classes has utterly failed"; and he declared that the labour electoral associations had struck the right chord in throwing open their membership to unionist and non-unionist, skilled and unskilled—"if the labour movement is divided into hostile camps, skilled labour on the one side and unskilled on the other, then assuredly the labour cause is irreparably damaged, and energy and time are but thrown away." He sees that it is a critical period for trades' unions—"year by year they are being more keenly pressed upon by the increasing ranks of the unemployed"—and that they must take a prominent part in making a national labour party; "this labour movement is the inevitable outcome of the present condition of labour and capital." The emigration cry, which found favour with a few at the Hull Congress, got no sympathy from him, and he echoed the Socialist when he said "those who should emigrate should be those who 'toil not, neither do they spin,' and who have accumulated large fortunes and look on with comparative ease on the misery of those around them." English and Continental workmen must co-operate; "the march of commerce and the discoveries of science are fast breaking down the barriers of mountains and seas; and through misunderstandings and divisions the workmen of Great Britain and the Continent are used as instruments wherewith to injure each other."

"The forces of capital never sleep; they know no nationality, and are devoid of humanitarian sympathies. It is to its interests to divide the forces of labour, to bring about estrangement, and hence we have those bogey press pictures of Continental Socialism, and that profusion of interested advice from capitalist

sources to eschew the foreigner and all his snares. Gentlemen, Socialism has lost its terrors for us. We recognise our most serious evils in the unrestrained, unscrupulous, and remorseless forces of capital."

Referring to the eight hours movement, he declared "we must have it"; and discussing the means of getting it, and the extent to which it should apply, he said:

"It is natural that trades' unionists should look back with pride as they think of the victories won; but the glories of the past do not solve the difficulties of the future. The relative strength of trades' unions to the population was much greater when the nine hours were obtained than it is to-day. The growth of the population, the increasing power of labour-saving machinery, and the greater pressure of foreign competition, with the stagnation of trade, are all elements working for capital and against organised labour. Outside our trades' unions there are vast masses of humanity who would be compelled by the want of food to slip into the places vacated by the unionists who might strike for eight hours. Nay, take any given trade organisation during the most prosperous times, and we find a large number on the out-of-work fund. But if we take years of depression, the number of unemployed in the trade societies is an alarming and dangerous fact. So great is the financial strain upon the unions from out-of-work payments alone that it is now impossible for our organisations to obtain the funds to successfully fight for an eight hours working day. But even if they succeed, it would be a long and costly and wearying struggle, at the end of which large masses of workpeople would be left outside its operations. An eight hours' movement must apply to all, must be national. By this means alone can the hordes of unemployed find work. Our duties as citizens are too great for us to fight this question with a single eye to benefit trades' unions. We are bound by sympathy, by duty, and by a desire to avert impending social catastrophes to get an eight hours' day for all. Parliament must pass an Eight Hours Bill."

Of course the stock cry of "individual liberty" and "freedom of contract" would be hurled at them, but "if individual liberty means allowing a man to starve, or men, women, and children to work under miserable, unhealthy, and degrading conditions, or means the using of the toilers as parts of machinery, to be thrown in the timber-yard when worn out, then 'individual liberty' and 'freedom of contract' are of little benefit to the majority of the people." Finally, he appealed to the delegates

"to step forward boldly and fearlessly in the path which is before us, and make it that toil shall not be a hardship, but a working out of national greatness, and of individual elevation, and to bring about such a state of things as to obtain the fulfilment of that grand old prophetic injunction, 'He that will not work neither shall he eat.' Our national greatness has been created by the indomitable energy of the people, and that energy is unexhausted. It must be turned from foreign conquests, from class domination and useless enterprises, to the grave dangers surrounding us."

And thus ended an address which, despite its drawbacks here and there, affords gratifying evidence of the growth of the Socialistic spirit in the ranks of organised labour.

After the president's address the Congress took up the discussion on the Parliamentary Committee's report, which brought forth nothing of general interest, and then resolved on the necessity of all persons in charge of steam engines and boilers holding certificates of fitness. The appointment of working men and women as government inspectors was the next subject, and the present system was severely handled and many interesting facts given; a London delegate, speaking of the sweating-system in Spitalfields and Whitechapel, described it as "damnable." The next matter of any importance was a resolution proposing the formation of labour electoral associations all over the country, with the object of returning to Parliament and local government bodies working men who shall directly represent the interests of labour. On this a very long discussion took place, which extended into the third day. Some good speeches were made, notably by Messrs. Threlfall and Maddison, and the scant chance of getting any great benefit from the two orthodox parties was pretty generally recognised. One or two, including Mr. Fenwick, M.P., doubted the possibility of forming a labour party independent of Whig and Tory, but the feeling of Congress was all in favour of it. Then came a scene between Mr. Hardie and Mr. Broadhurst, which concluded the day's proceedings. Mr. Hardie is a pugnacious Scot, who gives token of being a useful factor at these congresses, and he made some reference to Broadhurst and the Labour M.P.'s supporting Mr. Jas. Hill's candidature at Brixton and Mr. Brunner at Northwich,—both capitalists with an evil reputation. This irreverent way of treating their saint roused one or two to white-heat, and then Mr. Broadhurst gathered himself together to "crush" his opponent. Who was Mr. Hardie? how long had he sacrificed his life to trades' unionism? he did not remember him taking part in the great struggle fifty years back; and when Mr. Hardie informed him that he (Hardie) was not born then, in order to exhibit his talent in buffoonery Mr. Broadhurst commuted the fifty to ten, and remarked that Mr. Hardie was an exceedingly forward individual at that age. And so it went on, until Mr. Broadhurst had exhausted his vocabulary and cooled down. "Irascible," one newspaper styles his speech. Yea, verily!

W. BINNING,
London Society of Compositors.

When a physical bully tyrannises and assails the personal rights of a weak and sickly person, sympathy condemns the action, but when an intellectual giant, trained in the knowledge of business and the law, takes advantage of the humble, inexperienced, and frequently far more honest person, it is called a shrewd business transaction or business sagacity.—*Colorado Farmer*.

JAPAN.—Consular reports just issued tell us that the industrial revolution is very rapidly taking place in Japan. The "Grande Industrie" may be said now to be fairly established. The Japanese have 21 spinning factories, and are supplying the home demand to a great extent; native capitalists are beginning to look for new markets, and probably within the next ten years China will be buying as much cotton from Japan as from Lancashire. Several other industries are being developed in the same manner, so that in the near future we will have to find a new place to shoot our shoddy—or have a new battalion added to the unemployed army.—A. K. D.

THE AMERICAN LABOUR PARTIES.

I.—THE SYRACUSE CONVENTION.

A CONVENTION of labour associations in New York State met at Syracuse on August 16th, 17th, 18th, and 19th, which certainly marked an important point in the development of the American labour movement. That movement grows with a rapidity, and changes from one phase to another with such ease and swiftness, that it would be very difficult to give anything like its history. The Knights of Labour was accepted for a time as the best of labour organisations; but no distinction of trades being recognised in that body, and the labour struggles showing the need for such distinction, there was a speedy change. Federated trades' unions became the next move, and in one year 400,000 members seceded from the Knights of Labour in favour of the new method of organisation. The enormous mass of workmen in America, their readiness to organise, and their habit of rushing at new things, makes it impossible to in any way control or mould their movements. The best policy for the Socialists is to go with the labour party through its different phases, steadily preaching the right ideas, but without trying to shape things according to their own ideas too soon. This policy has been pursued, and with great effect.

One hundred and seventy delegates assembled at Syracuse on the 16th.¹ After electing the usual officers and committees, the first matter of importance came to the front. From the outset it was plain that Henry George, Dr. McGlynn, and John McMackin were wire-pulling the affair. A good deal of heat and anger existed among the delegates, and the probable expulsion of the Socialists was the chief matter of conversation. The report of the majority of the Committee on Credentials recommended that the Socialist delegates, in contested seats, should not be allowed to sit. The minority also presented a report sustaining their right to sit, and rebutting the objections raised by the majority. The point against the Socialists was that they were ineligible because they belonged to the Socialistic Labour Party, which was held by the majority to be a political party, and one of the rules of the convention was that no one belonging to any other political party should take part in it. The minority showed that the Socialistic Labour Party was not a political body, and referred to Mr. McMackin, who a short time previously had publicly commended the good work done by the Socialists in the labour movement, and distinctly stated that they were not a political body. The George clique had things all cut and dried, and it was a foregone conclusion that the Socialists would be expelled. George had been only too glad of the Socialist vote and help in his contest for the mayoralty of New York city. At the time of that contest it was understood that George was practically the Socialist nominee; but now George found that Socialists, or Socialist principles rather, were an encumbrance, and he determined to repudiate them. The Socialists were allowed five minutes each to speak in defence of their seats, and very able and eloquent speeches they made—Richard J. Hinton, Block, Hugo Voight, Vrooman, Shevitch, W. H. Autenreith, and Laurence Gronlund. Shevitch was the most notable Socialist orator, but the speech delivered by Gronlund was certainly the most appropriate and effective. As reported in the *New York Herald*, Gronlund's remarks were very relevant, pointed, and have a tone of dignified combativeness that fully suited the occasion. The speakers pointed out that the Socialists had done their full share of the hard work of the labour movement, that their services in support of George's candidature were considerable, and that in spite of this they had no design to turn the convention entirely their own way. Henry George got some uncomfortably candid remarks thrown at his head. T. B. Wakeman proposed as a compromise that the Socialist delegates be allowed their seats and a half vote. McMackin answered some charges made against him by Wakeman. E. D. Murray spoke up manfully on behalf of the Socialists. By this time the general body of the delegates were regarding the Socialists with much greater favour than before, so George found it necessary to take part in the discussion. He acknowledged—not very generously—the work done by the Socialists, but emphatically insisted that they were an incongruous element, and must be expelled. The platform on which he had formerly united with the Socialists was equal rights and the abolition of monopolies. Now the Socialists wanted to achieve this by a different way to himself (and this constituted their heresy). "Socialists want to take for the use of the State all the instruments of production and machinery of capital, and to regulate the distribution and exchange. I believe that we are working in different ways for the same ultimate end; but so far as they want to go one way and I another, then it is far better that each body should act for itself than remain united in a party in which there will be mutual wrangling and recriminations that will bring weakness." This is very good, but it gives no more reason for the Socialists leaving the convention than for the Georgites leaving it. George says that both parties were working for the same end, and working peaceably together until a dispute arose as to the practical way of achieving that end. It became evident that two distinct parties were forming, and the duty of the convention was to discuss these two positions, and decide which was right, or the best for the time. Instead of such a discussion taking place, and Socialism as a political policy being contrasted with George's views, George organises a clique and expels the people he differs from. Of course if Socialism itself, instead of the expulsion of the Socialists, had

¹ From later information I find that few of the agricultural counties joined the convention, and of those that did so most were represented by New York and Brooklyn men. So that the farmers evidently hold aloof from George's party, and hence his action in putting his land theories and free trade in the background.

been discussed, the Socialists would have been a minority all the same, and they would have had to split the party and retire; but then the proceedings would have been fairly conducted, and the mass of the delegates would have known what they were about. Many of them did not understand Socialism, and wanted to hear it debated. Others did not understand, and denounced it off-hand in their ignorance; as, for instance, one delegate was indignant because he thought that under Socialism his coat would be given to the general community for common use. Dr. McGlynn was equally intelligent on the subject, and argued that the convention was bound by the circular calling it. The gross absurdity of this contention must be clear to everybody. Here is the case: a labour candidate (H. George) is put forward for office; his election contest is conducted by Socialists and general Labour Party men; a good fight is made, and it is determined to summon a labour convention and form a great political party; a circular is issued in which the platform of the candidate is mentioned, and the convention comes together. Such a convention when called should surely have power to do what it likes; instead of that up gets George and McGlynn, and they inform the delegates that the circular or postcard is the law and all the commandments, and woe betide them if they presume to question the statement. On a division 54 voted for retaining the Socialists, and 94 against. Several of the George men thought the announcement of the result a fitting time to indulge in sneers and insults against the Socialist delegates. The discussion was as disgraceful as the decision was unwarranted. Several of those who abused Socialism were in the most profound ignorance of its principles. Whatever George said was loudly cheered, and when Dr. McGlynn got up, as he invariably did, and said the same thing over again, he was cheered louder.

After the expulsion of the Socialist delegates the remainder of the convention became a mere machine. There was considerable wrangling over the election of officers, but when the resolutions and statement of principles were brought in from the committee they were passed without a word of discussion. A good deal of downright rowdiness prevailed, and the most pointed insults were taken in the quietest fashion. Here is an example. "Several delegates sprang to their feet, and one said, 'I tuk the flure fust.' . . . Chairman (recognizing this delegate): 'Gentleman from New York has the floor.' . . . Delegate: 'I'm not from New York. I'm from Albany.' . . . A Voice: 'You are a cushion! Sit down!'" The cushion from Albany collapsed after this dignified rebuke, and was no more heard of. It seems that some American working men are as low as British members of Parliament.

The worst feature of the speeches was the petty nationalism. Every delegate who wanted to make a speech, and knew nothing worth saying, had only to pompously declare "I come here as an American," and was at once greeted with loud and prolonged cheers. Even the chairman, McMackin, in patting the Socialists on the back (after helping to kick them down stairs), said, "In order to emancipate the working class in America we must do it as Americans, and on American principles." It is discouraging to find that American working men indulge in the debasing jingo sentiment that was supposed to belong exclusively to monarchies and empires.

In my next I shall deal with the principles and policy of the George party.

J. L. MAHON.

NORFOLK NOTES.

THE agricultural labourers of Norfolk have to suffer a further reduction in wages. A wife and family can be but barely kept alive on 11s. a-week, but even this sum is considered too much, and is being reduced to 10s. The harvest wage has also fallen from £7 to £5, 15s.

The prices realised by grain crops are lower than ever. A farmer reckons that prices averaging from 40s. to 45s. for two comb (one of wheat and one of barley) will enable him to live. This year the prices only average 14s. the comb; and so the labourer must suffer.

A meeting was held in Norwich a few days ago to form a branch of the National Association for the Preservation of Agriculture. A few well-paid middle-class men, speculating as to how their profits may be kept up, is always a humorous scene, nor was this any exception. The cool impudence with which such men always try to persuade themselves of their own philanthropic motives, and to persuade the workers that their interests are identical with those of their plunderers, was finely shown. "If you destroy the landlord you will crush the labourer too," said one of them. "Therefore," was the inference we might draw from this, "in looking after our own profits we are saving the labourer from ruin. Therefore we are genuine and disinterested philanthropists, Let the ignorant workers thank heaven that we are providentially here to save them from the schemes of Socialists and such designing men, who only seek their own interest. Of course, our interest only comes in accidentally, and we only seek it because it is bound up in our wider aim, the good of the workers." Good Lord, what humbug!

Is it not rather the *existence* of the landlord and such thieves that crushes the labourer?

Some of our best meetings here are those we hold at the factory gates as the men come out. Will other branches follow suit? Local examples that appeal more personally to the men than any others can be more easily drawn and applied.

Our comrade Mowbray is to be released from Ipswich prison this day (Saturday) four weeks.

FRED HENDERSON.



"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.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

C. J. G. (Brixton).—Thanks; will be used.

E. R. (Stratford).—One letter inserted this week; two returned as requested. We cannot anyhow print everything sent.

P. R. W. (Walsall).—Subject dealt with many times already. Cannot you write up some local topic? Wages, condition of workers, special local trades, would be interesting if well described.

A. D. (Kirkcaldy).—See answer above.

CONTRIBUTIONS unavailable from various causes—M. E. D. (North Shields); W. W. C. (Nunhead); A. C. (Hoxton).

W. B. (Manchester).—Many thanks; your letter is the very kind we want—full of information.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday September 14.

ENGLAND		AMSTERDAM—Voorwaarts	
Justice	Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	SWITZERLAND
Norwich—Daylight	Detroit (Mich.)—The Advance	New Haven (Conn.)—Work-	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
Labour Tribune	men's Advocate	San Francisco (Cal) The People	ITALY
Railway Review	Valley Falls (Kan.)—Lucifer	Hampton (N.J.)—Credit Foncier	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Die Autonomie	Philadelphia (Pa.)—Carpenter	Naples—Humanitas	Marsala—La Nuova Eta
Anarchist	Paterson (N.J.)—Labor Standard	Madrid—El Socialista	Rome—L'Emancipazione
Londner Arbeiter-Zeitung	St Louis (Mo.)—Altruist	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario	SPAIN
Worker's Friend	FRANCE	Berlin—Volks Tribune	Madrid—El Socialista
Jus	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Brunn—Volksfreund	PORTUGAL
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Le Socialiste	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik	GERMANY
SOUTH AUSTRALIA	Le Revolte	Jassy—Lupta	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Adelaide—Our Commonwealth	Guise—Le Devoir	Stockholm—Social-Demokraten	AUSTRIA
UNITED STATES	Lille—Le Travailleur		HUNGARY
New York—Der Sozialist	Belgium		Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
Truthseeker	Liege—L'Avenir		ROUMANIA
Leader	Ghent—Vooruit		SWEDEN
Volkszeitung	Antwerp—De Werker		
Chicago (Ill.)—Labor Enquirer	Seraing (Ougree)—Le Reveil		
Boston—Woman's Journal	HOLLAND		
Liberty	Hague—Recht voor Allen		
Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt			
St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole			

THE CURSE OF CIVILISATION.

(Concluded from p. 293.)

Now we have just been supposing a case of an individual with whom the specific evils of mediæval society were actually operative. But it must be borne in mind that the balance of probabilities against any particular individual being affected by any of them was probably almost, if not quite, as great as against any given individual in the present day being killed in a railway accident, blown up in an explosion, drowned in an over-insured unseaworthy ship, run over on a London crossing, crushed in a panic at a public building, thrown on the streets to starve by reason of a new invention, etc., etc. One or other of these disasters peculiar to modern life is chronicled every day in the newspapers, and often several the same day, yet the apprehension of them (with the exception of the last-mentioned) does not seriously affect the happiness of the modern man, with all his instability of nerve. How much less, then, must the fear of being killed in battle or by robbers or by pestilence have disturbed the equanimity of the mediæval baron, peasant, or citizen, with his iron nerves and powerful frame?

By far the most powerful popular indictment of mediæval society in favour of civilisation is that of Mr. Owen Polke. In his 'History of Crime in England' Mr. Polke has taken a single year—1349—and carefully and laboriously collected all the cases of private wars, forcible entry, highway robbery, etc., etc., he could find in the official records as having taken place throughout England in that year. He has certainly done his best to paint the Middle Ages as black as possible; yet after reading his catalogue of crime, spread over a whole year and distributed over the whole of England, one rises with the feeling of an anti-climax. The chief thing that strikes one about mediæval crime is not so much its amount as the brutal frankness, the undisguised straightforwardness, of it. On the whole, the most unfavourable presentment of mediæval conditions will, we think, confirm what we have just said, in the mind of every candid reader—namely, that the chances of their evils affecting any given person or even locality was, to say

the least, not so very much greater than the chances of any given person or locality being affected by the other and often quite as great, if more commonplace, evils peculiar to modern life. Men were at least robust and healthy for the most part until they were cut off by famine, war, or pestilence. They were not harassed by the dread of loss of employment and starvation, or by the horror of their children being left without means of subsistence. If no one else did, the Church would always care for them. But here again, the sensational, exceptional evils of mediæval life are so much more dramatic, appeal to the imagination so much more than the commonplaces of stunted growth, deficiency of vital power, trade depressions, strikes and lock-outs, that in a general estimate of the respective periods the one is taken prominently, perhaps exaggeratedly, into account, while the other is left altogether unnoticed.

Let us now take that portion of the indictment of more primitive society—again taking the Middle Ages as its type—which refers to the absence of change, variety, comfort in life; and in this we will take as an example the subject of locomotion. "Steam" is pre-eminently the material symbol of modern civilisation, and its advocate invariably adduces the blessings of free intercourse and locomotion as against the restricted communication of earlier ages as a convincing argument, not merely of the greater capacity of acquiring wealth, but of the greater possibilities of happiness for the individual by the facilities for change, intercourse, and education which modern times afford. Now there can be no doubt that "steam" has afforded the means of travelling longer distances for a vastly greater number of persons than have ever been able to travel before. But have our tours round the world or to the most distant countries for the comparatively well-to-do persons who have a few weeks, or even in some cases a few days, to spare, or our day-trips to distant parts of the same country for the less well-to-do who have only a few hours,—have these things really or only apparently increased the possibilities of change of scene and ideas and the education thence resulting, as against those supplied by the restricted communication of former days? I am convinced the distinction is merely in appearance, and that the change of ideas derived from a visit to a foreign country to-day is very little more than would have been derived from a visit to another county in the Middle Ages.

The reason is obvious. Where the steam-engine has penetrated, the bourgeois civilisation which it represents, with the uniformity of condition which specially characterises that civilisation, has penetrated also. Everywhere that the steam-engine carries you, it carries along with it the world you intended to leave behind you; the same architecture—the big hotel, the railway station, the cheaply-built house as you find them in London, Paris, or Berlin; the same costume—the shoddy cloth of the "world-market," the Parisian "cut," the "top" or "bowler" hat; the country, as at home, cut up by the railway itself, with its long rows of telegraph posts, its shunting yards, and hideous erections,—in short, everything as like as possible to what it is at home in the heart and centre of civilisation. You open up a conversation with the natives; the old local dialect, with the old local dress, customs, and traditions, have long since fled, and in the quondam peasant you find a clumsy approach to the getting-on townsman.

This is your change, your variety in life, which "steam" has brought you. For none can deny that a railway sooner or later brings all these things in its wake. Is, then, the variety in life, the change of scene, the freshness of intercourse, so much greater here than when every district had its special features; its own hills and dales unscarred by the ubiquitous "navvy"; its own manufactures; its own characteristic architecture; its own homespun costume; its own dialect and mode of expressing its ideas; its own local laws and customs; and its own traditions and legends? Has the modern London bourgeois who occasionally, by the help of Cook, strives to get away from the routine world in which he lives, by a desperate effort and at a considerable expenditure—has he, I ask, so great an advantage over his ancestor of the thirteenth century, who by a stroll into Kent or Surrey on any Church holiday could find himself in a district with an individuality in many respects quite distinct from the one he left? With a great price the modern bourgeois obtains (or tries to obtain) his freedom from the dull monotony of his life; but the mediæval guildsman of London was freeborn. After his day's work he could probably obtain more real change and amusement than the modern "city man" during the whole of his autumn outing.

But if we must confess thus much of the privileged man, the man of means, how does it stand with the poor mechanic, who on his every holiday has to pay the tax of the railway company, and to be stived up in its cattle-boxes, perhaps for three or four hours, to get a breath of fresh air and a glimpse of country, which in earlier ages he could have had, even though he lived in the heart of London, within an hour's walk of his own door? When rurality and variety were comparatively close at hand, there was no need or desire to travel far afield. Now people travel much and have little change; in former ages they travelled less and had more change.

It is clear, therefore, that the pseudo-advantages of civilisation (such as they are) refer, in this case at least, not only to the exceptions of life rather than to its ordinary round, but also to the man of exceptional social advantage, and by no means to the ordinary man,—in other words to the "classes," and not to the "masses." What applies in this case is only typical of the great truth that modern civilisation not only accrues solely to the advantage of a propertied and privileged class, but that that advantage has been gained by an untold loss for the mass of the people.

I have selected locomotion as the type of modern progress, but it would be easy to show that the telegraph, a "cheap" press, etc.,

although they have changed human life, have been no positive benefit—that as much pleasure was to be had out of the mediæval ballad-singer's version of Robin Hood as out of the modern newspaper or the penny or shilling dreadful.

That the exceptionally circumstanced man, the man of the middle and upper classes, and not the ordinary man, the man of the people, is the chief beneficiary also by many of the reforms whose praises are sung so loudly, is curiously illustrated by the case of the sacredness of the modern statesman or bureaucrat. Time was when a statesman, if he misbehaved himself, ran some risk of losing his head, or if not that, of imprisonment or exile, accompanied by confiscation of property. Now the plutocracy have succeeded in making statecraft a perfectly safe trade for themselves and their satellites, the worst evil that can befall a "man of position" in the country being temporary loss of office. Of course it was altogether barbarous when a member of the leading governmental ring who was suspected of having striven to aggrandise himself (whether in reputation, influence, or material wealth) at the expense of justice and the public he was professing to serve could be arraigned as a criminal! Nowadays, even Opposition journals of the most pronounced character would deprecate with polite horror the bare suggestion of the "honourable gentleman" having been actuated by any but the highest of motives, or being guilty of anything more heinous than an error of judgment. Nevertheless, satisfactory as this arrangement may be in the interests of the governmental industry, and to the wealthy classes who have such a large stake in it, there can be no question that it is both reasonable and just that delegates in whose hand vast powers for weal or woe are vested should be criminally responsible for their "errors of judgment." No man is obliged to accept a position of such responsibility, and no age but the present would have thought of allowing him, having done so, to slink out of the consequences of his misdeeds under the cover of their being due to "error of judgment." But under our present bourgeois régime a statesman is a sacred animal.

What shall we say, then? If the real benefits of modern life, considered in themselves, concern mainly its exceptions and not its ordinary round, and have been for the most part achieved at the expense of its ordinary round; if they further mainly benefit an exceptional or privileged class and not the ordinary man, and have been achieved at the expense of the ordinary man,—are we, like Mr. Ruskin, to call ourselves conservatives and to hark back upon an impossible past, while renouncing the present as hopelessly bad? A thousand times No! But let us make no mistake, or confound two distinct standpoints. The fact that, *dynamically* viewed, modern capitalism, with all that it entails—railways, machinery, squalor—is a good (nay, might be better were it intensified to the fourth power), since it is the necessary condition of the higher social life to follow, must not blind us to the fact that, *statically* viewed, modern life is in no sense an improvement on the life of past ages. For instance, don't let us delude ourselves with thinking that railways have in themselves contributed an iota to human happiness. In themselves, as I have endeavoured to show, they are an unmitigated evil, without a shred of compensating advantage. Again, the acute evils of earlier ages have indeed gone, but they have gone only to be supplanted by chronic evils in the present. Do not let us make any mistake as to that. In this static sense I call civilisation a curse. I say, let us clearly recognise it as such. And in doing this, one thing there is which will give us cause to take heart of grace: there has been no evil of which mankind has once become conscious as such that mankind has not already half vanquished. The acute dramatic evils of the Middle Ages—insecurity of life and property, feudal trammels and imposts, ecclesiastical abuses—three centuries ago filled the field of human vision. Thinking, forward-looking men saw in the vanquishment of the evils of their upas-tree—effete feudalism, the goal of all human hopes. It steadily and surely withered, and now it is long since first its place knew it no more. The evils they saw *were* vanquished, with what results we now know. We in our turn see a fatal upas-tree, blasting all human aspiration and happiness. The fact that we see it as it is, is an earnest that its destruction is nigh. We need not be discouraged by the immensity or the solidity of the fabric we see standing. How little could it have seemed to the man of the sixth century, with all the outer forms of Roman life around him, that the Roman empire was a thing of the past and that a new world was on the point of growing up to take its place; how little to the careless man of the sixteenth, with all the superficial signs of a mediæval civilisation standing, that the era of lord and vassal, knight and squire, was past and a world in which the time-honoured symbols, relations, and conceptions of the Middle Ages would be meaningless was fast arising. Much as he might have desired this, it must have seemed impossible to him. So with the Socialist to-day. He sees the great curse, bourgeois civilisation, around him on all sides. The one hope which fills the whole horizon of his vision is the destruction of that curse. The strength of that hope within him is the streak of light denoting the coming of the day.

E. BELFORD BAX.

"The noblest fruit that the earth holds up to her Maker is a man," says the *Talmud*. But what kind of a man should he be? Surely not one with pinched frame and ill-developed intellect. Surely not such men as our hell-invented, supply and demand, industrial system is calculated to produce. Surely not men whose lives have been an "unceasing agony for bread," and who have never found time to do anything but only keep themselves alive and reproduce their kind. Surely these men should be something more than worn out machines for producing wealth, for which the lords of creation have no further use.—*Canada Labour Reformer*.

SOCIALIST CO-OPERATION.

[TO THE EDITOR.]

SIR,—Socialism has been thought about and very much talked about for some good while. It has yet to be brought about. Practice is the test of theory. The time is ripe to apply the test to Socialism. We have only to begin. Society is being permeated with the idea of Co-operation as the antidote to the poison of Capitalistic competitive production and distribution. Co-operation is rapidly becoming a power, and Socialists least of all can afford to ignore it. It will either bring about Socialism or sweep it back for generations. Some progress has been made on the Continent, especially in Belgium, in harnessing Co-operative distribution and production to the chariot of Socialism. In this country, the birth-place of Co-operation, and where it is making the greatest advances, Socialism has done nothing really practical. The Rochdale Pioneers began with 28 members and £28 capital. A vast and profitable enterprise has grown from that small beginning. Surely there are enough Socialists now in this country who by putting their shoulders to the wheel could start a sound Co-operative Society under better auspices than the 28 poor working men of Rochdale, when they began without experience and with such a minimum of capital! At all events some Socialists mean to try.

It is intended to make, if possible, a start this winter on a small but well-considered scale in the direction of Co-operation on Socialist lines. With this view a scheme will be brought forward on the 21st of the present month. Mr. E. C. Varley, who is not only a Socialist but has had special experience of Co-operative work, will lecture on "Co-operation," on Wednesday the 21st inst., at 8.30 p.m., at Farringdon Hall, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C. It is earnestly desired that Socialists, to whatever body they belong, should attend at the time stated. There is nothing in Co-operation on Socialist lines which should divide Socialists. On the contrary, as both political and non-political Socialists require to be fed and clothed and housed and luxuriated, they have ground for common action. Co-operation is a necessity of Socialism. By this I mean Co-operation in its widest sense.

Let us now consider wherein Socialist Co-operation differs from Capitalistic Co-operation. This latter is becoming a power, which will undoubtedly prove as great, indeed a greater, danger to Socialism by the creation of a large number of small capitalists doing no work but living on interest and dividends, than even by the creation of a peasant proprietary in regard to the land question. And that would be no slight danger.

Now the bed-rock of Socialism is equity. On this rock will be built the great Church of Humanity, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. The fundamental difference, therefore, between Socialist and Capitalistic Co-operation stands firm. Interest and dividends to non-workers are unjust exactions from the workers. We have thus a sure test to enable us to decide whether the present Co-operative movement is really Socialistic. It has a semblance of equity when compared with the monstrous iniquities of Competitive Individualism. But its real tendency, unless controlled by true Socialism, will be to lead us back to the flesh-pots of Egypt—and bondage. The tendency of the present Co-operative movement, whether carried on under the Rochdale system or that adopted by the Civil Service Stores, is to create a multitude of small individual capitalists exploiting their fellows, and sometimes tyrannising over them. Now the root-evil in these two systems is the same, viz., that capital is considered to be entitled to interest. But interest is only usury writ large—payment for use. In an article in the *Practical Socialist*, entitled "Rent, Interest, and Profit," written some time back, I showed that interest for use of money might be practically abolished by passing an enactment making it non-recoverable at law, treating it as gambling debts and such misnamed debts of honour. All that capital is entitled to is replacement and maintenance where necessary. Socialists, therefore, could not consistently allow interest to be taken by those who advanced the capital for co-operative work. The shareholders who did no work beyond advancing the capital would be entitled to the best security which could be had according to the circumstances, that their capital would be returned to them. This is a business detail which all non-takers of interest have to settle quite as much as those who take interest. The only thing is that under Socialism the greater the risk, the greater must be, *not the interest, but the security*.

D. C. DALLAS.

(To be concluded.)

[Note.—Socialism of course includes *real* co-operation. As to the partial co-operation which alone is possible while the present monopolist system lasts, it may well be used by Socialists for subsistence purposes as other forms of joint-stockery might be, but it ought to be well understood that it is not *real* co-operation, which is only possible as a part of Socialism.—EDITOR.]

MY AIM.

I LIVE for those who love me,
For those who know me true,
For the heavens that bend above me,
And the good that I can do;
For the cause that needs assistance,
For the wrongs that lack resistance,
For the future in the distance,
And the good that I can do.

THOMAS GUTHRIE.

[Part of the above has often been quoted, and a desire expressed so frequently to see it complete, with author's name, that we reprint it. It is taken from a collection of fugitive verse published in American newspapers.]

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

The fustian cutters' trade at Warrington is in a worse state than it has been for three years. This week several shops are closed.

The miners employed by the Elswick Colliery Co., Newcastle, have struck against the reduction of 6½ per cent. in their wages.

The boiler-makers and iron ship-builders employed by Messrs. R. Hal and Co., Aberdeen, have come out on strike in consequence of being refused 1s. extra per day above time wages for repair work. In the meantime only a limited number of men are affected by the strike.

A conference of miners of England, Wales and Scotland is to be held in Edinburgh on the second Tuesday in October to consider the question of restricting the output and the expediency of federating the various Unions in the three countries.

In the Rhondda Valley, the whole of the miners engaged at the Tredegar collieries have struck work in consequence of a dispute with the employers in reference to tonnage and price of coal. A board of arbitration has been appointed, but no settlement has been arrived at. The steel workers in the adjoining valley have received notices of a reduction in wages, which they have decided to oppose. An extensive strike is therefore not improbable.

The nail-makers of the South Staffordshire and East Worcestershire districts came out on strike on Monday. The men state that they are not asking for a wage which will enable them to lay money by, or provide for the future, but only for enough to keep body and soul together. Several employers are of opinion that an advance should be conceded, and efforts will be made to avert a prolonged strike. About 15,000 operatives are affected.

The chain-makers of Cradley Heath are still making great efforts to better their condition. At a great meeting held during the week, a resolution was passed, protesting against the employment of females in the chain-trade. The Trades Union Congress was also requested to petition the House of Commons to appoint a Commission to visit the district. Great distress still exists in the locality owing to the want of employment, and the low rate of wages paid when work is obtained.

AUXILIARY POSTMEN'S GRIEVANCES.—Mr. Raikes, the Postmaster-General, has replied to the memorial of the auxiliary postmen of the metropolitan district, asking for better pay and longer holidays without deduction of wages. He states that it is his intention to discontinue the employment of auxiliaries on full time, and to offer the men fresh engagements on different terms. As to those who were not on full time, he could hold out no hope that the privileges of the permanent service men would be extended to them.

With reference to the recent strike on the Midland Railway, it is reported that the places of the strikers being now filled up, the company are discharging those men who took an active part in the agitation which led up to the strike. This action of the company is being much commented on, many of the men having returned to work in perfect good faith that their services would be retained permanently. The Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants is, however, quite powerless, large numbers of competent men being available who are not members of it.

The joiners, who last week turned out on strike from the Elswick shipyard of Sir W. G. Armstrong, Mitchell & Co., have resolved to hold out until a satisfactory solution of the question is arrived at. The men are congratulating themselves on the fact that there never was such unanimity of feeling among the members of their association upon any point as in the present case. The cause of this dispute is that for some time past it has been usual for carpenters to place the heavy woodwork of ships in position, and for joiners to finish it off. The latter complain that, owing to iron being now largely used in shipbuilding, they have less work than formerly, and that carpenters are given joiner's work. As the company declined to interfere in the matter, the whole of the joiners at once turned out.

THE BOLTON STRIKE.—On the recommendation of the General Committee of Management of the Iron Trades Employers' Association the Bolton masters have made the men a final offer of "open arbitration upon the wages question only." The employers propose that each side should prepare a list of four names from which the other should select an arbitrator, the two arbitrators to appoint an umpire, and with him to decide on the nature of the evidence to be admitted. It is reported that the men will refuse any terms of settlement which do not include the discharge of the men now occupying their places, as otherwise, even if they gained their point, a large number of them would be permanently thrown out of employment. On the other hand it is stated that this is a final offer on the part of the employers, and that if it is not accepted vigorous measures will be taken to dispense altogether with the services of the men on strike. At a mass meeting, after a prolonged discussion, it was decided to accept the employers' proposal, the majority in favour being 185.

COTTON OPERATIVES' DISPUTES.—The strike at Nott Street Mill, Blackburn, continues. The majority of the weavers who struck work some time ago at Messrs. Bracewell's sheds, Barnoldswick, still remain out, but their places are gradually being taken by new hands. The engines of the new weaving shed at Grindstonehurst, near Colne, were "christened" on Saturday last. The shed will contain 1,040 looms, 700 of which have been let to Messrs. R. Riley and Co.—The spinners employed by Messrs. Joshua Crook and Sons, Bolton, have resumed work after being on strike a week. The cause of complaint, namely, the rate of wages to be paid for certain counts, is to be left unreservedly in the hands of a committee from the Operatives' Association and a committee from the Employers' Association. The men will work for four weeks at the present rate of wages, pending the decision of the committees.—At Blackburn, the weavers, who recently struck work at Messrs. D. and W. Taylor's mills, have gone back to their employment, the employers having promised to abate the amount of steam sent into the shed—the cause of the strike. As complaints on this score are stated to be pretty general in other mills the result of this strike will no doubt affect them.—On Thursday, the spinners employed at the Hippings Vale Mill, Oswaldtwistle, struck work through a wages dispute, and the mill is now closed. The spinners wish to be paid by the indicator system, and the company want to pay by weight. The mill contains 80,000 spindles, and about 200 hands are now idle.—The notices of the hands to leave work at Fir Trees Mill, Higham, expired on Thursday, and the weavers left the premises as they finished their beams. The weavers propose to accept 4 per cent. off the Blackburn list, and the masters propose to accept 2½ per cent. off the Burnley list. The matter is still unsettled.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

ITALY.

L'Emancipazione (Rome), in a recent number, expresses much indignation at the fête-giving mania which has taken possession of most Italian municipalities, very rightly complaining of the costly waste of all the "welcomes" given to cousins, uncles, aunts of royalty, or local celebrities which make so sorry contrast with the poverty and almost famine that afflicts most of the provinces of the kingdom. Exhibitions, festivals, and inaugurations are good in a jovial and flourishing land, but to those who stand trembling with hunger and disease glancing up at newly-built palaces, or watching electric lights and spurning fireworks, certain thoughts will at last rise in their minds; mild thoughts perhaps of spacious buildings utilised differently, angry thoughts perhaps of artificial fire put to another purpose, and thus it will be found that the time-honoured move of "bread and circuses" is at last out of date and no longer works successfully.

SICILY.—A mining crisis in Sicily has been imminent for several months past, says the *Fascio*; the cholera troubles still to the fore, things must be pleasant for the Sicilians. Some 400 men of the sulphur mines are in a state of tumult, and demand bread for their families. The Syndic and sleek bourgeoisie that infest the country-side reply that they don't know what to do for them, but they will *endeavour* to help them with a little alms-giving. A charity-monger is a desolation and a thing of dread indeed!

L'Emancipazione publishes a programme for a Provisional Government for the "transitional period," the principal points of which are a Representative Assembly for general legislation and municipalities for communal administration. We seem to be "where we were before" when we have got this novelty.

Il Lavoratore (an Anarchist-Communist Society) sends us the prospectus of their organ, *Il Demolitore*, the first number of which be shortly forthcoming. To judge from the manifesto, the style of this new weekly will be sombre and earnest in the extreme; to criticise social sores and sound the trumpet of rebellion being "all" it proposes to do. While wishing all success to any new revolutionary journal, we cannot help thinking that the energy well spent in bringing so many forth, would be yet better spent on sustaining and strengthening those already in the field. M. M.

La Lotta (The Struggle), which had been obliged to stop its publication, has made its re-appearance. It is an Anarchist paper, very ably written by young artisans, who well deserve to be supported because they work under very hard circumstances.

At Naples, a new Communist-Anarchist organ, *Il Demolitore* (The Destroyer), will be issued on the 15th inst. We hope that it will be of the same standard as *Humanitas*, also published in that town.

GERMANY.

At Dortmund, fifty Socialists have been arrested last Sunday, in consequence of a small riot arising from provocation on the part of the police. Last week, there was scarcely one town of middling importance in Germany where at least one Socialist was not arrested. It would be quite impossible for us to even mention all these captures of "dangerous" people.

Frohme, the Socialist deputy in the Reichstag, has been expelled from Frankfurt. He has taken up his residence at Hanover, where he was born.

One of the forerunners of Communism in Germany and Switzerland, W. Weitling, born at Magdeburg in 1803, died lately at his farmhouse in America (Illinois). He was one of the founders of the "Communist Working-men's Club" of London, together with Marx, Engels, and others. After having undergone a term of fifteen months' imprisonment at Zurich, for the publication of his book, 'The Gospel of the Poor Sinner,' he was expelled from Switzerland and extradited to Germany, where he was again sent to prison. He lived afterwards at Brussels and London, and finally went to America, where he became a farmer. His influence amongst the workers has been very powerful between the years 1840 and 1850.

FRANCE.

The *Révolte* announces in its last issue that it ceases its publication. We regret exceedingly this resolution of our Parisian friends, the *Révolte* having been, during eight years and a-half, the best and the most earnest paper among all Anarchist publications. It may be fairly said that the *Révolte* has been a model of revolutionary journalism, putting far aside all personal questions, which only weaken the strength of parties, and devoting all its efforts to the elucidation of theoretical questions of the most vital importance to the coming social revolution. Men of science, like Elisée Reclus and Kropotkin, not to speak of the other contributors who had also their fair share in the common work, brought the *Révolte* to a very high standard. But it is to be hoped that another paper, *La Révolte*, which is to be started at Paris, will follow the traditions of the now extinct organ, and render to the Cause the same services. We wish every success to our new colleague in the hard work of bringing about that social revolution which we are aiming at, and which we hope will be the sublime coronation of our nineteenth century.

At Nizza, a new Anarchist paper has come to light, *Lo Schiavo* (The Slave), and at Havre another one, entitled *L'Idee Ouvrière* (The Worker's Idea). Both are weeklies, and we wish them good luck and long life.

AUSTRIA.

The police have suppressed the last issue of the *Gleichheit*, and of the *Brunner Arbeiter Zeitung*, two Socialist papers published at Vienna and at Brunn. This kind of police vexation happens regularly once a month, and costs a good deal of money, because the editors have to issue at once a second edition of their paper.

Lectures on the situation of the workers in the *ancient* and the *medieval* ages have been prohibited in Vienna! What about the position of the workers in present times, then? Silly men they are, these Viennese magistrates!

HOLLAND.

The Socialists have made several manifestations at the Hague, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, etc., to welcome their friend Domela Nieuwenhuys, on his release from prison. At Amsterdam, the manifestation was of a striking character, more than twenty thousand people covering the immense area of the Plein. All went on in a very quiet and orderly manner. But the bourgeoisie and the mob decided to have their revenge at Rotterdam. On the 7th inst., Nieuwenhuys and several of his Socialist friends arrived in that

town in order to attend a reception which had been organised by the workers at the People's Coffee House, their usual place of gathering. A large crowd collected in front of the establishment and prevented our comrades from entering the place, so that the police were compelled to form a cordon in order to enable them to penetrate in the People's House. The rascals, encouraged by the "gentlemen" in the crowd, then commenced throwing stones at the windows and tore down the red flag displayed over the door, afterwards burning it in the square before the police-station. The mob next attempted to force an entrance into the People's Place, and the police had to charge the crowd. But a large number of people succeeded in getting inside the coffee-house, where they behaved like wild beasts, tearing down the Socialist emblems and flags, breaking all the furniture in a word, and doing considerable damage. The Socialists had to defend themselves, as the police "authorities" did very little indeed to protect them. The Dutch papers accuse the police of having rather played the game of the rascals, and we have good reasons to believe that they did there as in fact they are in the habit of doing everywhere. Police, rascality, and gentry in a kindred alliance against Socialists—so it is nearly always, and it has nothing in it to astonish us!

SPAIN.

The Anarchist groups of Barcelona, Gracia, Gervaiso, and Martin de Provençals have commenced the publication of small pamphlets to be sold at twopence. It is a good undertaking, of which we will speak at some length in another issue.

CORRESPONDENCE.

SOCIALISTIC LITERATURE.

SIR,—I should like to suggest how the sale of *Commonweal* and other Socialist literature might be considerably increased. When passing through the various market-places of London on Friday and Saturday evenings (the two nights when the workers have money in their pockets, having received their wages on either of these days), I have often thought that it would be a good plan to have a barrow and board such as costermongers use, with a naphtha lamp to light it up, and to place on it copies of the *Commonweal* and pamphlets which have been published by the League and other publications propagating Socialist views. In the course of the evening two or three of our comrades would get on a stool at the back of the barrow and introduce the books to the audience, first of all reading a little and then explaining the article or chapter in pamphlet or newspaper. There are hundreds of women out on these evenings who would make purchases and would take them home to their husbands, who would thus have Socialistic truths brought to them in a manner which no other agency could effect. When we consider how much has been done in this way by the Bible-stall people and "cheap-jacks" with light literature, I do not think for a moment that Socialists, who have something far better than either of the above-mentioned vendors to offer the people, need fear the result. On the contrary, I believe that much good might come of it; and I will gladly volunteer to make one of the vendors myself.

W. B. PARKER.

HIS RIGHT PLACE.

In a recent issue, you quote from the Norwich *Daylight*, "Who would have thought that Mr. Bradlaugh would ever become popular with the Tories!" I must quote the words of Mr. Cunningham Graham (when addressing a meeting at the West Ham Town-hall), who turned round and asked the chairman whether a certain M.P. was a Liberal or Tory, as he, Mr. Cunningham Graham, did not know the difference between them. Now that is really getting the case with myself, what is the difference between a Radical and a Tory? Mr. Bradlaugh is a great advocate for Individuality, or, in other words, an advocate for men to take as much from production as they can possibly get hold of without breaking the law, whether those laws are bad or not does not matter. Does not the Tories advocate the same? The only difference between Tories and Radicals that I can see is, that the Tory's individuality is a little stronger than the Radical's. The Tory says, "Take all you can get; who are the people?" and the Radical says, "Come, come, now don't be too hard; let us make things a little easier, or you will have all these people dying for the want of the goods they produce." "Never mind," says the Tory, "stick to your colours, *Individuality!*" "Hear! hear!" says the Radical, "but you must not let the people know."

Now I maintain, Mr. Editor, that Tories and Liberals and Radicals are all one, the only difference being that the first is an Individualist who is not ashamed to own it; the second is an Individualist who is almost ashamed to own it; and the third is an Individualist, who by certain little tricks enumerated in the Radical programme, tries to blind us from the fact that he is one of the party. Therefore, the Tories should embrace Charles Bradlaugh as one of their own.

ERNEST RANGER.

SIR,—Mr. Robert Giffen in his recent address to the British Association admitted that it was "highly probable" that the trade of this country during the last ten years had decreased. This he did in a very gruesome fashion, but he was forced to confess that our great industries on all hands supported that view. But says he, "the utmost caution must be used in forming final conclusions." Mr. Giffen seems very unwilling to accept the conclusions which his own figures would seem to warrant when they militate against the rosy views of British society which he champions, and as a last chance he cites the growth of taxation and of population as evident signs of prosperity. It does not seem to occur to the learned professor that he makes his case worse by these latter statements, and that if, as he states, it is "highly probable" that British trade is on the decrease, and population and taxation are on the increase, the latter tendencies only serve to aggravate and heighten the ill-effects of the former; the nett result being that our income is less and our expenses more. Methinks an artizan would think himself scarcely compensated for a lower wage by an addition to his family.

HARVEY J. MILES.

Would you kindly give me the postal address of the Knights of Labour Assembly in Birmingham, and oblige,

NIX.

[They meet in the "Bolton Arms," Handsworth. The secretary Sam. Grove. Perhaps some local reader will supply more particulars.—Eds.]

ON ATLAS' TOP.

ON Atlas' top how rests this round
Of pride and glitter gold enwound?
How, borne aloft with toil and tears,
Doth ride the world that still outwears
The hands and feet of Labour bound?

With dust of summer highways ground,
Or lost in wintry snows, and found
In chains that frozen custom bears
On Atlas' top.

For you, earth's children, earth-disowned,
With hands of might, but heads uncrowned,
For you, through smoke of toiling years,
Deliverance breaks, in hope new-found,
On Atlas' top!

WALTER CRANE.

THE VOW OF TIPPERARY.

BY THOMAS DAVIS.

(AIR—"The Men of Tipperary.")

FROM Carrick streets to Shannon shore—
From Slabh na m-Ban¹ to Ballindeary—
From Longford Pass to Gaillte Mor—
Come hear the vow of Tipperary.

Too long we fought for Britain's cause,
And of our blood were never chary;
She paid us back with tyrant laws,
And thinned the homes of Tipperary.

Too long with rash and single arm,
The peasant strove to guard his eyrie,
Till Irish blood bedewed each farm,
And Ireland wept for Tipperary.

But never more we'll lift a hand—
We swear by God and Virgin Mary!—
Except in war for native land;
And *that's* the Vow of Tipperary!

[The events of last Friday lend renewed interest to the above poem, reprinted from the *Nation*.—H. H. S.]

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

BRANCH SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID.

Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League) to June 30. Hammersmith, Mitcham, Walsall to July 31. Clerkenwell, to August 31. Wednesbury, to Sept. 30.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Donations—Mephistopheles, 2s. 6d.; A. Beasley, 2s.; S. Lankester, 6d.; Wade, 2s.; H. Hill (Merton), 1s. *Weekly Subscriptions*—K. F., 1s.; C. J. F., 2s.; Oxford Branch, 2s.; W. B., 6d.; Llednulf, 6d.; J. L., 6d.; P. W., 6d.; Langley, 2s.; D. N. (four weeks), 1s. P. WEBB, Treasurer, Sept. 13.

The English Fund—For the Wife and Family of comrade English, recently dead.—Bloomsbury Branch, 10s.; Collection, 4s. 4d.; W. C. W., 1s.; George Potter, 2s. 6d.; H. H. Hopkins, 2s. 6d.; T. Finn, 2s.; A Medical Student, 2s. 6d.—Total, £1, 4s. 10d.—S. S. GOSTLING; W. H. UTLEY. Per J. Lane—A. M., 2s.; J. E. McCarthy, 1s.

South Wales Propaganda.—Collected in Victoria Park, Sept. 11, 8½d.

Propaganda Fund.—Collected in Regent's Park, Sept. 11, 5s. 6d.

REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—On Thursday last, G. Bernard Shaw gave an interesting lecture on "Wages," which provoked some inquiry but little discussion. On Sunday, at St. Pancras Arches, very good meeting. Resolution moved Bartlett, seconded Dalziel, supported Wardle and Donald: "That this meeting protests against the manner in which the Irish people are being treated by the British government, and considers that the two deaths which occurred at Mitchelstown are judicial murders perpetrated by the Government." Resolution carried with acclamation. Good sale of *Commonweal*. At the Polygon, most attentive audience listened on Monday last with great interest to the speakers Wardle, Bartlett, and Dalziel.

CLERKENWELL.—Wednesday and Sunday meetings held as notified in last weeks paper. *Commonweal* and pamphlets have steady sale.—A. T. and W. B.

HACKNEY.—James Allman and H. Graham spoke at the Broadway, London Fields, last Wednesday evening. On Sunday evening, an excellent meeting at Warner Place, Hackney Road, addressed by H. Graham.—G. C.

HOXTON.—On Sunday morning, D. Nicoll spoke to a good audience opposite Hoxton Church. Evening, in the hall, H. A. Barker gave an interesting lecture on "The Aims of Socialists." Good discussion followed.—C. J. Y.

MERTON.—Good meeting at Haydon's Road on Sunday, at 11 o'clock, comrade Headford, of S.D.F., spoke to an attentive audience. Good sale of *Commonweal*. No opposition.—E.

MILE END AND BETHNAL GREEN.—Tuesday the 6th, J. Flockton, Jas. and Jno. Allman, and Davis addressed good meeting on Waste. Usual meeting in Victoria Park, Morris and Davis speaking. Sale of paper fair, and one new member.—H. M.

MITCHAM.—Good meeting on Fair Green, addressed by Kitz. Owing to wet weather, no meeting in the evening. *Commonweal* sold out.—R. C.

¹ Commonly written Slievenamon.

KINGSLAND GREEN.—On Sunday last we held our usual meeting, Barker and Parker speaking to good audience. Good sale of *Commonweal*, and one new member made.

NORTH LONDON.—Meeting at Ossulton Street on Tuesday. Speakers, Cantwell, Dalziel, and Turner. Annoyed by emissaries of the Primrose League, but well supported by audience. Regent's Park on Sunday morning, good meeting addressed by J. J. Allman. Turner replied to criticism, evoking applause. Collected 5s. 6d. for propaganda.—C.

GLASGOW.—On Saturday afternoon, Glasier and Downie spoke to a good audience on Jail Square. On Sunday forenoon another good meeting was held at the same place, Glasier and Paterson being the speakers. In the afternoon, very successful meetings were held at Paisley Road Toll and Jail Square, Glasier, Downie, Bullock, and Torley (S.D.F.) being the speakers. Good sale of *Commonweal*, and 7s. 8d. collected for the Broxburn miners.—A. M.K.

IPSWICH.—Splendid meetings are being held here, and considerable interest is being shown. Slaughter and White did exceedingly well. Good sale of *Commonweal*, and two new members made. We have arranged for a meeting in the Co-operative Hall to celebrate the release of Charles Mowbray. This will be held on the evening of the 15th of October.—J. R.

NORWICH.—We have our comrades Wade and Mason, of London, with us, and Moore, of Norwich. These held a very successful meeting at North Walsham on Sunday morning. We had good meetings in the City, finishing up with a lecture in the Gordon Hall by Wade, on the "Religion of Socialism." Some of our comrades visited Diss, Ipswich, and Lowestoft, doing good work, the *Commonweal* selling well. Comrade Wade stays with us this week, and will hold several meetings in the district.—T. M.

NOTTINGHAM SECTION (SOCIALIST UNION).—At the meeting on Sunday in the club room, a resolution was passed unanimously that we form a branch of the Socialist League.—A. M. C.

WOOLWICH.—Last Sunday, Donald and Banner spoke at Arsenal Gates to splendid audience, which stood through a heavy fall of rain, and for nearly two hours listened to addresses on "Socialism and the Irish Question." Donald moved a resolution "condemning the policy of the government in Ireland and the miscreants responsible for the massacres at Mitchelstown," which was seconded by one of our Radical friends, who delivered a telling speech, and appealed to those in the crowd who were Socialists to join the Socialist League which is being organised in Woolwich. When we put the resolution to the meeting every hand in the crowd, some 700 or 800, was held up, and not a single opponent could be got to protest against the motion. At the close of the meeting 16 names were given in to form a branch, 5s. 1d. was collected for propaganda, and nearly 12s. worth of literature sold.—R. B.

BIRMINGHAM.—Meetings at Bull Ring and Council House, addressed by Sanders. Fair sale of literature.

BILSTON.—Good meeting on Saturday, addressed by Sanders.

BLOXWICH.—Donald held meeting on Friday.

DUDLEY.—Tuesday, Sanders spoke in Market-place to large audience. No police interference.

OLDBURY.—Weaver spoke on Friday, well received.

DARLASTON.—Sanders held large and enthusiastic meeting Saturday afternoon.

PELSALL.—Donald and Sanders addressed a large audience of miners and ironworkers on the Common on Wednesday, on "Socialism and Trades' Unionism."

GREAT BRIDGE.—Despite the rain Donald got together a good audience on Tuesday last, who listened most attentively.

TIPTON.—Weaver held meeting on Wednesday.

WEDNESBURY.—Good meeting on Thursday, addressed by Donald.

WOLVERHAMPTON.—Weaver spoke on Saturday, and at close several names given in towards forming a branch.

WEST BROMWICH.—Good meeting on Monday, addressed by Weaver.

WALSALL.—Good audience addressed by Sanders and Deakin on Monday, and several new members joined at close. Weaver held meeting at Burchills, on Sunday, well received.—J. T. D.

North of England Socialist Federation.

We have held some very good meetings during the week at Elswick, Annitsford, Blyth, and Shields. I hope to forward next week a complete list of our branches and secretaries. The Federation is indebted to comrade Mann of the S.D.F. for lending a helping hand to keep the branches together pending the appointment of an organising secretary.

J. MACDONALD, Organising Sec.

Scottish Land and Labour League.

An executive meeting was held office on Thursday. Report of organising secretary given, and arrangements for extending propaganda considered. Hall committee reported having taken the Trades Hall for winter lectures on Sunday evening. Twelve new members enrolled. The Discussion Class met, Tukey opening on "What our Opponents Say." Smith and Davidson joined the discussion, which was adjourned.

Edinburgh.—The meeting in the Grassmarket was very successful, in spite of the rain. Smith, Gilray, and Mahon spoke. At 6 p.m. Smith spoke, and at 6.30 the first of winter season lectures was given by J. H. Smith at the Trades Hall. The meeting was a thorough success, discussion lively, sale of literature and collection good. It was agreed to invite members

of Trades Council to discussion next week on "The Trades Congress proceedings."

Arbroath.—A business meeting held last week, at which some new members were enrolled, and arrangements for Mahon's next visit discussed.

CHAS. WM. TUKE, sec.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, W. On Thursday Sept. 15, Sidney Webb, "The Political Duty of Socialists." 22nd. Hubert Bland, "State Intervention." 29th. P. Barry, "Scientific Boycotting."

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday September 18, at 8.30 p.m. Free Concert by Wm. Blundell and Friends (Irish Night). Wednesday Sept. 21, at 8.30, Mr. Varley, "Socialistic Co-operation" (see page 301).

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

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Sept. 18, at 8 p.m. Sidney Webb (Fabian), "The Socialism of Political Economists."

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—Globe Coffee House, 227 High St., Hoxton. On Sunday Sept. 18, at 8, Miss Jessie Craigen will lecture—subject, "Anti-Vivisection: a Plea for Mercy." On Sunday Sept. 25, at 11 a.m., an outdoor meeting will be held, to protest against the action of the Coercion Government in Ireland. A large number of speakers will attend to address the meeting.

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. Members and those intending to join Branch are requested to attend Business Meeting every Thursday at 9 p.m.

North London.—Branch meets at 32 Camden Road, N.W., for reception of new members and other business, on Wednesday evenings at 8 o'clock, until further notice. H. Bartlett, sec.

PROVINCES.

Arbroath (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Members meet on Tuesday nights for business and discussion. Secretary (*pro tem.*), Jas. Malcolmson, 3 Arrat St.

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

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

Cowdenbeath (Scottish Section).—Secretary, John Duncan, 30 Arthur Place.

Dublin.—Irish Labour League, Carpenters' Hall, 75 Angier Street, every Thursday at 8 p.m. Discussion on all subjects connected with Labour Question.

Dundee (Scottish Section).—Branch Business Meeting, Granite Hall, Overgate, 8 p.m.

Dysart (Scottish Section: Fife).—Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn Street.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Members' Business Meeting on Thursday at 7.30. Discussion Class at 8 p.m.

Galashiels (Scottish Section).—Secretary (*pro tem.*), John Walker, 6 Victoria Street.

Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Sunday Sept. 18, meeting of members in Rooms at 8.

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

Hull.—Merrill's Dairy, 56 Walker Street. Mondays, at 8 p.m.

Lancaster.—Addresses every Sunday morning on the Quay Jetty.

Leeds.—17 Chesham Street, Sweet Street. Club and reading room open every evening. Business meetings every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Leicester.—Office of Hosiery Union, Horsefair Street. Fridays at 8 p.m.

Lochee (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Secretary (*pro tem.*), P. M'Dougal, 10 Mercer Street.

Norwich.—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Free Lectures every Sunday at 8 p.m. Business Meeting, Monday at 8.30. Speakers' Class, Sunday mornings at 10.30 and Wednesday evenings at 8 p.m. Social Evening, Saturdays at 8. Sunday 18th, H. A. Barker, "Evolution and Socialism."

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

Walsall.—Temperance Hall. Branch meeting every Monday.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 18.

9.30...Starch GreenHammersmith Branch
11.30...Hackney—"Salmon and Ball"Lane
11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.....Pope & Allman
11.30...Kingsland GreenNicoll
11.30...Merton—Haydons RoadBull, Eden, Samuels
11.30...Mitcham Fair GreenHardisty & Sparling
11.30...Regent's ParkParker
11.30...St. Pancras ArchesDavis
11.30...Walham GreenKitz
3 ...Hyde ParkParker
7 ...Stamford HillLane & Flockton
5 ...Victoria ParkWardle
6.30...Hackney Rd—Warner Place...Allman & Brooks
7 ...Clerkenwell Green.....Sparling

Monday.

8 ...Polygon, Somers TownWardle & Bartlett

Tuesday.

8 ...Mile-end WasteJ. Allman
8 ...Ossulton Street, Euston Road.....Graham

Wednesday.

8 ...Broadway, London FieldsKitz

Thursday.

8 ...Hoxton Church, Pitfield StreetDavis

WOOLWICH.—Arsenal Gates, Sunday Sept. 18, at 7 o'clock—T. E. Wardle.

PROVINCES.

Glasgow.—Sunday: Jail's Square, at 1; Paisley Road Toll at 5; Jail's Square at 7.

Kilsyth.—Saturday at 6 p.m.

Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, 11; Vicar's Croft, 7.30. Friday: Corner of Christ Church, Meadow Lane, at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place at 3; Agricultural Hall Plain at 7.

Dereham.—Every Wednesday, Market Place at 7.

Yarmouth.—Thursday, on the Quay, at 7.30.

St. Faith's.—Sunday, on the Green, at 3.

Norwich.—Outside Colman's, Friday at 1.30. Outside Howlett and White's, Saturday at 1. Haymarket, Saturday at 8. Market Place, Sunday at 11 and 8.

Date.	Time.	Place.	Speakers.
18...	6.30...	Birmingham, Council Ho...	Donald
18...	6.30...	" Bull Ring	Donald
18...	6.30...	Walsall Birchalls	Sanders
18...	4	Walsall	Weaver & Deakin
19...	7	West Bromwich	Donald
20...	6.30...	Dudley	Sanders
20...	6.30...	Great Bridge	Donald
21...	6.30...	Pelsall	Sanders
21...	6.30...	Tipton	Weaver
22...	6.30...	Wednesbury	Weaver
23...	6.30...	Oldbury	Donald
23...	6.30...	Bloxwich	Deakin & Weaver
24...	5	Willenhall	Weaver
24...	7	Wolverhampton	Weaver
24...	5	Darlaston	Sanders
24...	7	Bilston	Sanders
24...	5.30...	Brierley Hill	Donald
24...	7.30...	Stourbridge	Donald
25...	6.30...	Birmingham, Council Ho...	Donald
25...	6.30...	" Bull Ring	Donald
25...	6.30...	Walsall Birchalls	Sanders
25...	4	Walsall	Weaver & Deakin

SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.

(Scottish Section of the Socialist League)

MEETINGS—SEPTEMBER.

Sat. 17.—*West Calder*—addresses by Smith, Mahon, and Tuke.

Sun. 18.—*Leith*, 11.30 a.m., foot of Leith Walk—Mahon.

Edinburgh.—Grassmarket, 3 p.m.; Queen's Park, 3 p.m.; Hunters Square, 6 p.m.; Trades Hall, High Street, 6.30.

FABIAN SOCIETY.—At Willis' Rooms, Sept. 16, 8 p.m. Hubert Bland will read a Paper on "The need for a New Departure."

NORWICH.—On Sunday H. A. Barker of London will address a series of meetings.

THE BLOOMSBURY BRANCH of the Socialist League desires to appeal to readers of the *Commonweal* for help for the wife and family of comrade English, who has recently died. English was one of the originators of the Bloomsbury Branch, and for many years was an ardent and energetic worker for the Cause. After a long and painful illness he at last succumbed, leaving his family destitute. Contributions will be gladly received and acknowledged by the secretary of the Branch at the Communist Club, 49 Tottenham St. W., or by comrade Lessner.

CONCERT in Aid of 'COMMONWEAL.'

Special Notice.—On Saturday October 15 a Concert will be held in aid of the 'Commonweal' Fund at 13 Farringdon Road, concluding with an original Dramatic Sketch by members and Friends.

Members and friends who can assist with songs, recitals, etc., are requested to send in their names to the Committee. Further particulars will be published shortly. H. A. BARKER and W. BLUNDELL.

SOUTH WALES PROPAGANDA.

Readers of the *Commonweal* have noticed a few weeks back the extremely interesting and promising report given in these columns of the work done by Kitz and Mainwaring. It is imperative, if the work is to be of permanent benefit, that other speakers be sent at once. The Strike Committee has exhausted its funds in the carrying on of the extra work necessitated by the late strikes, etc., and now appeals *urgently* for the necessary "sinews of war." Those upon the spot who wish speakers to come down, and all those anywhere who are willing to help, are asked to send in contributions to the Treasurer of the Strike Committee, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.

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.

Chants for Socialists. By William Morris. 1d.

A Plea for Socialism. By J. L. Mahon. 1d.

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

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 89.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

The present example of the sickening conventionality, called a Queen's Speech, is a fine specimen of its loathsome kind, but there is nothing in it to surprise anyone. Its framers are, of course, bound to praise themselves, whatever crimes or blunders they may have committed, but that people should tamely bear such a ridiculous and preposterous piece of nonsense is a sign, if but a small one, of the rottenness of the society we live in, and a token of the baleful officialism of our dead-dog constitutional monarchy, that finds it useful to have a cloak behind which to shelter its misdeeds; even when it is a cloak that would be openly laughed at but for the cant that guards English bourgeoisdom from every breath of common sense.

Mr. Balfour's speech on the Mitchelstown massacre is accepted as meaning an endorsement of the murderous conduct of the police; that was all that we wanted to know of him. His *tu quoque* to Sir William Harcourt was as effective as you please in the atmosphere of the House of Commons, but has nothing whatever to do with the question which all honest men are asking: Are you going to govern Ireland by Peterloos? Mr. Balfour answers "Yes, if my colleagues' courage does not collapse." A very big "if" is that. If the age of miracles does not come back on us, the responsibility of Ireland will presently be shifted from the Tories to the Gladstonites, though perhaps the very confidence that most people have in the rapid approach of Home Rule, acting on the habitual laziness of the English people, will yet delay it somewhat.

The feeble forcible government has made another step in Coercion by specially proclaiming the Clare branches of the National League. This will make no difference to the work that body has been doing (except to keep its name before the public), since it will be taken up in another form.

Mr. Cunninghame Graham is to be congratulated on his suspension at the hands of the pantomimic actor who serves the House for Speaker at present; it is the only honour which an honest man who has strayed into that assembly can receive from it.

That political prisoners should be treated in our jails on the same footing as ordinary criminals, is certainly a-piece of English brutality; but I think it is so principally because it is intended for an insult against freedom on the part of the coarse blackguards who govern us. On the other hand, if the political prisoners protest against prison-torture applied to themselves only on the ground that they are high-minded and superior persons, they show their unfitness for citizens, and their fitness for governors. To treat *any* set of men in the brutality-plus-science manner that prisoners in English jails are treated, degrades the whole nation; not merely the poor devils of warders, jailers, and the semi-military fools of governors, but the whole of society, that in its indomitable cant takes it for granted that here as in other matters England is ahead of the rest of the world, is thoroughly respectable.

Indeed what words can express the baseness of the *vicarious* cruelty that sets a body of poor wretches of the "lower classes" to do the prison-torture for the behoof of the respectable; and these all the while know perfectly well, if they know nothing else, that their prisons are breeding-places of crime and slaughter-houses of the hope of a return to decent life; and if they choose can know that our English prisons are about the worst in Europe, and a disgrace to humanity. "Am I my brother's keeper?" quoth Cain, and the same sneer is practically the answer which our vile respectability makes to any doubts that may be suggested to it on this matter.

The appeal of the Chicago Anarchists has been rejected; but they have a further appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States. Our friends, it may be hoped, will remember that the evidence on which they were convicted of the bomb-throwing or complicity with it, was quite worthless; and that the conduct of the police on the occasion was simply an exaggeration of that of the police in the first act of the Mitchelstown tragedy; only the American police used deadly weapons from the first. In spite of all this, it is only too probable that these men who have dared to speak of freedom to the republican people of America, will be sacrificed to that spirit of cold cruelty, heartless and

careless at once, which is one of the most noticeable characteristics of American commercialism. W. M.

Jus, the "organ of Individualism," has naturally a fling or two at the Trades' Union Congress because of the "manual labourers" daring to meddle with the concerns of better educated people. "Knowledge is a pre-requisite of sound practical politics"; and all the old truisms are trotted out for the occasion, that are tossed aside when they tell against our ingenuous friends. That workmen should endeavour to *combine*, and not accept the advice of Individualists and be beaten in detail, is gall and wormwood to the sensitive friends of "individual liberty."

"A crushing and overwhelming blow for the Socialists" administered by Mr. Broadhurst, however, is found by *Jus* in his dictum that "one of the chief causes of the want of employment is the tremendous development of the power of production"! Both the speaker of this portentous phrase and the commentator thereupon might have heard and read the same truth uttered from many a Socialist paper and platform without seriously harming the Socialists.

"This increase," says *Jus*, "must be set down to invention and organisation. The significance of this will be apparent to those who reflect. Ay, truly! Socialists wish to carry higher the "invention and organisation" that has produced the increase of wealth, *minus* the Individualistic exploitation that has produced the un-employment. "Hence these tears!" S.

THE AMERICAN LABOUR PARTIES.

II.—THE GEORGE PARTY.

In stating the "platform" of the George party it will be necessary to boil it down. Among the sins of some American Labour leaders is that they are as roundabout and long-winded as British lawyers. A reprint of the platform of the "United" Labour Party would fill three columns of this paper; but here is the gist of it:—*Platform*: (1) Abolition of all laws which give judicial, industrial, financial, or political advantages to one class that are not shared by all; (2) repudiate Socialism and land nationalisation; (3) tax all land-values which arise from the growth of society as distinguished from individual exertion; (4) municipalities to supply water, light, and heat; government to issue all money and start a postal telegraph and savings-bank and take over the railways; (5) reduction of the hours of labour, stop employment of children, stop competition of convict with "honest" labour, secure sanitary inspection of houses, factories, and mines, and stop abuse of the conspiracy laws; (6) simplify legal procedure, secret ballot, relieve candidates from election expenses. *Resolutions*: (1) Calling national labour conference (of those who accept this platform only); (2) widening and deepening the State canals; eight-hour day for letter-carriers; (4) compulsory education of children from 14 to 16, and establishment of free libraries; (4) denouncing the public press and demanding a fair examination of their principles from "the people, the pulpit, and the press"; (5) establishment of a State printing-office; (6) no companies or individuals to employ armed men; (7) no class-legislation; (8) no public grants to private schools, charities, or other institutions; (9) equal civil and political rights to women as to men; (10) Home Rule and the destruction of landlordism in Ireland.

This platform was framed by a small committee, presented by George, and "swallowed" by the convention without the least discussion. The first features that will strike any one who knows George's works will be that free trade is not mentioned and land nationalisation is repudiated. George has not abandoned free trade; he has merely put it up his sleeve. It lurks, but not unseen, in the principle that all taxes are to be abrogated except a land tax, or rather "a tax on land-values." The *Irish World*, a true and free-minded friend of labour, has already ferreted out this, and predicts that the coming national conference will split on this point. Very likely, and little pity! A party which accepts such a platform as this will only hold together till it finds out the meaning of it—"which is nothing."

Those who thought that Mr. George was preaching the doctrine of the land for the people will now see their mistake a little more clearly. It is no use to turn upon George, as plenty will do, and abuse him for abandoning his principles. He never advocated land nationalisation. He used Socialist sentiment and arguments, he even talked about the

land being the property of the community, but his proposition never meant anything more than *State appropriation of rent*. The land for the people is a Socialist doctrine that can only be put in practice by Socialist methods. The rent for the State is an entirely different thing, and would never put the land to the service of the people at all. Let there be any doubt about this, here are the words of the new platform introduced by George at the Syracuse convention: "What we propose is not the disturbing of any man in his holding or title [!], but . . . to devote to the common use and benefit those values which, arising not from the exertion of the individual but from the growth of society, belong to the community as a whole." This is plain enough. It means the land for the people—who can pay for it. George has found out by experience that an agitation on the land question alone will never make much lasting effect in an industrial country. In England and Scotland a few years ago George made a great stir, raised a storm of enthusiasm and enrolled tens of thousands of members in his Land Restoration League. But in a few months the League collapsed. The really advanced men in it became Socialists, the reactionaries went back to the mere Land Law Reform movement from which they had so timidly emerged. So long as George used Socialist sentiment and semi-Socialist arguments, he was simply recruiting for the Socialist movement. The people, once convinced of the wrong of landlordism, were soon further convinced of the greater wrong of capitalism. Once they got to understand how competition for land enabled the landlord to tax the farmer until all the produce of the soil, except a subsistence for those who worked it and other essential expenses, was stolen in the name of rent, they still more easily understood how competition for employment enabled the capitalist to reduce wages until the wealth-makers had but a bare subsistence also. And when the competition for plots of ground was shown to be caused by the monopoly of land, it was clear also that the competition for work was caused by the monopoly of factories, mines, railways—capital, in short, it was all very fine to argue that the land belonged to the people because God made it and gave it to them; but the Socialist, without questioning any part of this statement, could point out that the capital belonged to the people for a far better reason—because they made it themselves and didn't get it from anybody. "No man made the land." Very good: but no particular man made the capital. It is the result of the labour agencies of generations of men. Capital, at least in its modern form, and really in any form, is only possible where men work in co-operation, and the result of co-operative effort should not be used for private gain. George was never on a clearly-defined basis with his proposals. His profusion (and confusion) of arguments sent some of his disciples further forward than himself, and frightened the rest further back. In his recent change of position he is more muddled than ever. Bits like this occur in his new platform: "The advantages arising from social growth belong to society at large; we aim at the abolition of a system which makes such beneficent inventions as the railroad and telegraph a means for the oppression of the people and the aggrandisement of power"; "the opportunity to employ his labour and the security that he shall enjoy its fruits" is claimed for everybody; "do such things for all as can be better done by organised society than by individuals"; "Municipalities should supply their inhabitants with water, light, and heat,"—and similar statements. But surely a mine shaft, a dock, a line of steamships, a dwelling-house, a bridge, a museum, etc., are just as beneficent inventions as a railroad or a telegraph? If the municipalities are to "supply" (what George means, of course, is that municipal bodies are to organise the production and distribution of these things; he is aware that under all systems of society the working people "supply" everything) water, light, and heat, why not also supply houses, furniture, bread, beer, bibles, and shin-plaster as well? If the municipality is to own and control water and gas works, why not also engineering works, stocking-factories, mines, quarries, churches, and public houses? Once again George's proposal includes only a few things and his argument embraces nearly everything, and once again the people will take his arguments and make their own proposals.

There is some instructive points of resemblance between the American Georgeites and the English Cobdenites, though there is little between George and Cobden. Both movements are, though generally progressive, for the immediate benefit of the capitalist class; both are based on the fallacy that the interests of trade and commerce are the same as the interests of the people; both are looked at with favour by the far-seeing part of the middle class (note how the *New York Herald* butters up the George party); and both are threatened with a genuine though not maturely developed working-class movement. But Cobden was a man who thoroughly understood his one idea, and was quite conscious of its exclusiveness and relied upon the self-interest of the manufacturing class to carry it through. Though he agitated the people, he did so with middle-class money, and so far from trusting in the people he even scolded John Bright for advocating extension of the franchise. George, on the other hand, states general principles with a recklessness that will one day ruin his party and drive his followers to Socialism. He still further appeals to the people, relies on the people, and wants to put more power in their hands. Further, while Cobden won the support of the middle class for the sake of his proposal itself, George will only get that support, if he gets it at all, for the sake of making his party a shield against the Socialists.

But there is still one point, and the most important one. What Chartism in Britain was to the Free Trade party, so the Socialists of America are to the George party; but with this difference—that the times and surrounding circumstances are changed. It was not the Free Traders that crushed the Chartists, though they tried hard. Chartistism

was unable to live because the movement was premature and capitalism had to enter on another phase of its development. However willing George may be, neither he nor any other power can crush Socialism in America now. It is not only that the present Socialists are an able, well-organised, and powerful set of men, but that the vigour of capitalism in America is spent as it is in every country; the times and the conditions demand a change, and the only possible change is to Socialism. If all the Socialists in America were expelled from the continent instead of from the convention, there would be another and a bigger crop spring from the native soil in a few months.

On another occasion, as soon as some expected communications come to hand, I shall deal with the future action of the American Socialist party.

J. L. MAHON.

RIVAL CREEDS.

"BELIEVE or be damned," squealed out an excited street-preacher the other evening as I sauntered homewards. The vehement manner in which this comforting phrase was uttered caused me to slacken pace and pull up to "take stock" of the preacher and the congregation standing around him.

The preacher I discovered to be a local mechanic, whom the wiles of the Salvation Army had recently converted. Before his conversion he had not (according to his own account) comported himself with that moral rectitude he should; but now—thanks to the Salvationists—he was a changed man. He was happy, for he had renounced "the world, the flesh, and the devil," and was exhorting his hearers to do the same.

"Turn thine eyes unto me," he exclaimed, just as I came to a standstill. I did turn "mine eyes"—not "unto" him, however, but on his congregation. A glance round convinced me that I was among a body of people to whom nature had not been kind in any respect. A poor, miserable set of starvelings they were; all possessed of a vacant sort of stare, as though they had been looking all their lives for something they could not find. They did not notice my presence or the intense look I gave them, for the converted painter (for such he was) had so completely fixed their attention that they stood unmindful of all else, drinking in every word he uttered.

The painter pleaded his cause most powerfully; he went delirious and tearful by turns, and thumped and jumped by way of illustrating the change wrought in him since he had received the "truth."

"Here," he exclaimed, all of a sudden, holding out a book, "is eternal life; take it!" The suddenness with which he did this rather startled his audience, who didn't know exactly what he meant for the moment; but it managed to puzzle it out, I suppose, after he had explained the matter by telling it something about faith and souls and spirits.

The character of the gathering quite interested me, and I stood gazing and listening to all going on quite intently. I daresay I should have "stuck" the meeting out, had not an unlooked-for event happened which completely distracted my attention from it, and fixed it on a short, thick-set man, perched on a tall stool about twenty yards off, who was shouting at the top of his voice, and waving his arms about most furiously.

This little man soon drew a large audience, among it the larger part of the painter's; myself, of course, included. The few that remained at the painter's meeting gradually dwindled away, and at last left the painter and the glorious company of his apostles all alone, looking skywards, with hands clasped in pious agony.

But to return to the little man on the tall stool, who from his high perch continued to *orate* in the most vigorous manner.

"Why," exclaimed he, "in a land overflowing with riches do the people starve? Why do those that labour enjoy not the fruits of their labour? I will tell you," said he, violently shaking his fist; "it is because society is organised solely in the interests of a class of idle loafers, who rob—"

"What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world——" interjected the painter; who, since his audience had become absorbed in that of the man's of small stature, had been hovering about the outskirts of the meeting, interjecting remarks from time to time.

"Yes, that's the sort of blarney we're asked to swallow," said the man on the stool, without allowing the painter to finish his text; and in an exasperated tone he proceeded with his discourse, pointing out how the workers were robbed of the wealth their labours produced. "Look," said he, "at the effect of the depredations of this class upon those that form the bulk of the community! It has condemned them to a life of slavish toil, herded them together in miserable hovels——"

"In my Father's house there are many mansions," called out the painter.

"The person who is continually interrupting me," said the orator, "has completely lost his mental balance; pay no heed to him. The aerial mansions he talks of are but poor substitutes for those built here below by human hands. I know he doesn't think so, but those who are responsible for his present state of mind do; for although they prate of a 'despised Nazarine, who had not where to lay his head,' they take good care to rest their own on the softest pillows."

"For there are none righteous; no, not one," the painter threw in.

"What fools we are to allow these oily-mouthed, canting hypocrites to bamboozle us," went on the orator, regardless of his interrupter; "that they may revel in luxurious idleness, we are compelled to

tug incessantly at the oar of labour, and yet, despite it, are hard pressed at times to know where to obtain the morrow's meal—"

"Take no thought for the morrow," exclaimed the painter.

This last utterance of the painter's quite overcame the orator. Red with rage, he screamed out to his interrupter, "Look here; if you've got anything to say, come and say it here. I want opposition!" So saying he rapidly descended from the stool on which he stood.

This challenge to debate was received by the audience with demonstrations of approval, and cries of "Now, then, 'Skibo,'" "Sankey," etc., rent the air.

The painter would have backed out of the challenge if he could, but being detected "hedging" off, he was hustled to the front of the stool, which, after much hesitation, he timidly mounted. Cheers greeted him as he did so. A meek, affecting smile overspread his face, as with bared head and elevated eyes he began to speak. He told his hearers "to hearken not to the voice of the devil, but to bear with fortitude the misery of their lives, for they would surely be recompensed for their sufferings hereafter. That it had been wisely ordained that many should be poor and few rich"; and gradually warming up, he gave vent to a number of disjointed texts, and finally, in a state of nervous perspiration and excitement, quitted the stool with the threat of hell to all unbelievers.

The orator having taken his stand on the stool again, began his reply by saying "That though he differed in every way from the views just expressed by his opponent, yet he believed him, although a mistaken man, to be an earnest one." This, however, was all the sympathy he showed him, for he at once began to ridicule and mercilessly criticise his arguments.

Having finished the task the painter had set him to his own satisfaction, he was proceeding to exhort his hearers to combine together for the purpose of freeing themselves from their oppressors, when, to the great surprise and indignation of everybody, a policeman appeared on the scene and ordered him down.

"I have a duty to perform, and I will do it!" exclaimed the orator.

Loud cheers greeted this utterance, and the constable, noting the hostile attitude of the meeting, at once blew his whistle for assistance, and in a few minutes several of his comrades made their appearance, and drawing their staves charged the crowd indiscriminately. A general fight ensued, during which the orator was knocked off his stool, trod on, and ultimately carried face downwards to the police-station, as were several others—the painter among them—the crowd following the procession hooting and cheering.

Under the heading "Rival Creeds," I learned from the evening paper of the next day that a Salvationist and a Socialist had been charged at the police-court with "riotous conduct," and for this offence had been fined 40s. each, with the alternative of a month's imprisonment.

Both went to prison; and until their term expires the public will hear no more from them of the merits of their respective creeds.

H. A. BARKER.

SOCIALIST CO-OPERATION.

[TO THE EDITOR.]

(Concluded from p. 301.)

THEN as regards dividends. The taking of these by idle shareholders in Co-operative Societies is opposed to Socialist principles root and branch. A Socialist Co-operative Society would not allow shareholders to receive dividends, that is, any portion of net profit for which they had not worked. As the great object of Co-operation on Socialist lines is to benefit in the first instance the workers, and next those who deal at the store, the surplus which remains after payment of all charges will be divided between the workers and the customers of the society. Under the item "charges," provision would be made for a reserve fund to cover risk, and a fund for extending the operations of the society in such directions as might be deemed advisable. Out of this last fund would come return of capital to shareholders when considered necessary. But all shareholders would be entitled to claim return after a fixed date. The security to shareholders would be all the property of the society, including of course the reserve fund. Into further details I need not now enter.

The next great differences between Socialistic Co-operation and that carried on at present, would be in the status of the workers and the hours of work. As regards status of the employés in the Rochdale and Civil Service Societies, they are exploited at the market rate of wages. And the aim being to obtain for capital 5 per cent. interest, and as high a dividend as possible to members consistent with low prices, the workers have to suffer. Socialist Co-operation will just reverse this. The workers will receive the first consideration. From general to drummer-boy in the great army of workers the pay will be according to the value of the work of each as nearly as it can be estimated in practice. And here I distinguish Socialistic from Communistic Co-operation. This last, a grand ideal when each will work according to his ability, and take according to his need from the common stock, cannot yet be realised. Until the time comes (if it ever does)—and it must be universal throughout the world if it is to be carried to its logical conclusion—we shall have to recognise differences. But under Socialist Co-operation all shall have a fair field and no favour, each finding the work best suited to capacity.

As regards hours of work. The aim of capitalistic Co-operative Societies is identical with that of capitalism generally, viz., to get as much out of the workers as possible. And therefore the shortening

of the hours of labour is not a plank in Co-operation as now carried on. There is also the same tendency as in capitalism, to work at high pressure. In Socialist Co-operation, lessening the hours of labour will be a *sine qua non*, and no workers will be required to work with the unnecessary and unnatural intensity which the demon of greed forces them to toil under capitalistic conditions. The grand principle that production for use and not profit-mongering is the end and aim of Socialist Co-operation, will be kept steadily in view.

I could enlarge on a further difference between Capitalistic Co-operation and Socialist Co-operation, viz., that under Socialist Co-operation there will not be the slightest temptation to adulteration. But space here is limited. I would simply say that it is true this exemption is also held out to those who now deal at Co-operative stores. They sell pure goods at present. But these are young days in Co-operation. The evil leaven of profit-making, whether in the form of interest or dividends to idle shareholders, will bring about corruption. There will be no security against adulteration except what now exists, viz., laws difficult to enforce.

There are other points of difference which I have not space to enter upon. I finish with a little bit of allegory.

Here are three roads, and here stands a sign-post. One arm points to "Individualism;" another to "Co-operation;" the third to "Socialism." We know well where "Individualism" will land us. We have already travelled the road, and weary and footsore we are at the sign-post again. We have, it is true, come upon many bright little spots and seen some fair prospects. But the net result of our experience has been that the further we travelled the greater became the misery and desolation. We therefore retraced our steps, and are back at the sign-post. Now we start upon the road "Co-operation." We are charmed at every step. By and bye, however, we come upon a parting of the ways, or rather a sudden turning out of the main road. No sign-post here. We prefer to keep straight ahead. It seems straight; but there is an imperceptible twist. This gradually increases. Things do not look quite so pleasant as when we started. At length, suddenly, we find ourselves once again in the old road, "Individualism." Disappointed but not disheartened we get back to the sign-post by the road "Co-operation," as that was decidedly more pleasant than "Individualism." This time we start on the road "Socialism." We find it very uphill to begin with. Still, we brace ourselves for the task and push on with a will. Every step takes us higher and increases our enjoyment. There is a freshness about the air that invigorates us, and instead of feeling fatigue we are stronger than when we started. At last we reach the mountain-top, and what a prospect spreads out before us, far as the eye can reach! Desolation there is none. The valleys laugh with corn, and happy voices swell forth in joyous song. We see a land fairer far than Moses beheld from Pisgah's height. We turn around to look back on the way we have come. Yonder is the sign-post. We see a bit of the road "Individualism." The rest is blotted out by a huge spur of the mountain. The road "Co-operation" is in view all the way to the point where it parted in two. We soon lose sight of the road which led back to "Individualism," while we note that the other, had we followed it, would have led us very soon into the pleasant land we see from the mountain-top. We find we shall get soonest to our journey's end if we descend the mountain and take the road at the foot which leads direct into that which turned out of the road "Co-operation." Thus we reach the haven where we would be. Socialism is Co-operation in its widest sense.

D. C. DALLAS.

We count every useful member of society, whether he works with brain or hand, as a labourer. Against this class stands the capitalist or cormorant class, who live upon the earnings of invested wealth, speculation, commercial gambling and monopoly. Every dollar made by the latter is taken without compensation from the former. Between these two classes there is an irrepressible conflict which can never be settled until men are made absolutely secure against either robber or robber-laws in possession of all that they honestly earn.—*Union Printer.*

A PROTEST AGAINST THE DOMINANCE OF MACHINERY.—Man, in his laboratory, has formed a creature that now has the mastery over him, that enslaves and uses him as a tyrant from which there is apparently no hope of escape. A machine is a working contrivance, with no insides—neither heart, lungs, nor liver. They who have fallen well in with the spirit of the age even maintain that the whole creation is just such a contrivance, without an inside, without a contriver, without heart or soul—and apparently they are pleased with the thought. And there are other philosophies and forces than the economic asserting themselves in the *unrest* which characterises the times; and this may be due, in part, to the fact that "there is a spirit in man," a something that refuses to be absorbed in the economics of the machine, and which cries out for better privileges than mere wealth or material benefit. One of the forms of protest against this dominance of the machine is a revival of *handicraft*. The plea for the revival of handicraft is a plea for the moral improvement of no inconsiderable portion of the people; for if we contrast the moral effect of work sweetened by a pleasurable exercise of inventive skill with labour that is simply a monotonous toil for wages, it is apparent that there must result therefrom a marked distinction in the character that is formed under the two systems. For work that affords pleasurable exercise to the faculties in its performance tends naturally to contentment, the very nature of the work is profitable in its mental and moral effects, and this constitutes no small part of the reward—perhaps the greater part. But work that is mere drudgery, an unending grind of toil in which mind and body are automatically engaged, is naturally productive of discontent, for there is no interest in it but the *wage*, and where money is the sole object of labour—notwithstanding its representative value as a commodity of exchange—there can be no contentment; and this prevalent spirit of discontent may be said to be largely due to that system of labour which the machine has engendered.—*Scribner's Magazine* for August.



"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.

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

H. ROCH (London); R. DEMPSTER (Dundee); H. SAMUELS (Chelsea); N. W. (Laurencekirk); T. FLINN (Hampstead).—Letters will receive attention. N. W. SMEE (Hoxton).—We are much obliged by correction, which shall have place soon as possible. U. C., E. C.—We especially regret to find your poem unsuitable—it is so beautifully written!

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday September 21.

ENGLAND	NEW HAVEN (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate	PORTUGAL
Justice	FRANCE	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Norwich—Daylight	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Oporto—A Perola
Labour Tribune	Le Socialiste	HOLLAND
Railway Review	La Revolte	Hague—Recht voor Allen
Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung	Guise—Le Devoir	Amsterdam—Voorwaarts
Worker's Friend	Lille—Le Travailleur	GERMANY
Jus	BELOIUM	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Liege—L'Avenir	AUSTRIA
UNITED STATES	Ghent—Vooruit	Brunn—Volksfreund
New York—Der Sozialist	Antwerp—De Werker	HUNGARY
Freiheit	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
Leader	SWITZERLAND	ROUMANIA
Chicago (Ill.)—Labor Enquirer	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat	Jassy—Lupta
Vorbote	ITALY	DENMARK
Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio	Social-Demokraten
St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	Marsala—La Nuova Eta	SWEDEN
Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer	SPAIN	Malmö—Arbetet
Hammonton (NJ) Credit Foncier	El Productor	

FROM BUMBLE TO BALFOUR.

ALAS, for these poor officials, chief secretaries of Ireland, with captain-magistrates and police, and all the rest of the parliamentary Bumbles. "It is certain that either wise bearing or ignorant carriage is caught, as men take diseases, one of another; therefore let me take heed of their company." Official ideas are caught in the debating-room at St. Stephen's coterie, as scarlet fever is, down in the slum foundation on which their palace is built. We may pity the respectables, for that some of their lesser myrmidons, having gone off their heads through the violence of the disease, should have run a-muck, as they did at Mitchelstown on Sept. 9. It is a most trying disorder, very prevalent now; patients suffering from it are subject to hallucinations, and see their sheepskin-law, justice, false witness, official information, truth, mercy, all mixed together as in a dream.

When the half-starved Oliver Twist, not content with the dietary of the Board, asked for "some more," the officials only threatened him with hanging in the distant future. When Irishmen, not duly reverencing the sacred rights of property, ask for "some more," our latter-day parliamentary Bumbles shoot some of them straight off, and then ask "what moved these unfortunates to bring upon themselves this unhappy and melancholy retribution?"¹

We all know how official information is obtained and what it is worth. Our law-courts, both high and low, show the process in daily action. The judges and lawyers strive to get and mostly succeed in getting independent witnesses to answer in a way that fits in with some preconceived official theory, based on the tales of interested employés. The officials "have a great respect for these employés, who do their best under very difficult circumstances."² And this respect, it must be recollected, is not of that cold kind, which leaves those towards whom it is expressed to end their days in the workhouse, but offers "a lump sum of £150 and a pension of £40 a-year," with various other comfortable allowances.³ An understrapper, before whose eyes is dangled a prize like this either for himself or for his widow after him, will naturally say under examination, "I will not answer, except I am instructed by my authorities;"⁴ he will certainly not find it difficult to

adapt his accounts to the wishes of his superiors. In this way "cowardly, wanton brutality" becomes officially "a melancholy retribution," or "a lamentable affray," or "a tragic occurrence which we all deplore."¹ It is of course true that the official account "differs in every vital and substantial particular" from that of an eye-witness with eyes. Official statements always do differ in that way, since they are accounts made up according to the Government pattern, with all the life left out. The pattern report is based on a simple formula—If a policeman shoots a citizen, so much the worse for the citizen: if a peasant threatens a policeman, so much the worse for the peasant. As one of the chief Bumbles explains, "anyone who resists an official and does not submit to be shot quietly, is engaged in resistance to the law."¹

Circumstances alter cases to the official mind. I seem to recollect that a few years since "buckshot Forster" was a term of abuse. But the other set of officials being now in power, it is convenient to forget that, and to praise the reduction in the Irish constable's rifle-charge from bullets to buckshot, as "a merciful change, since, while buckshot strikes terror, it does not kill."¹ An ordinary enquirer might ask, why any one should wish to strike terror, and whether the killing of a few people is not as cheap a way of doing that as any other. But that is not the official's way of looking at it; it is one of his formulas that people should not be hurried into the presence of their maker. Buckshot, however, which only wounds, the evictor's tool which turn impecunious old men and women from their chimney corners out into the snow and slush, the sweater's screw, the crushing rules of the great shop, the unhealthy toil of the factory, the noisome air and dismal sights in which the workers have to live, these inflictions, it is true, do not hurry a few into the next world (except by official accidents), but in a quiet way they push all out of this life, when a mere half or third or even less of their natural days are gone. The official tongue will wag out formal laments and formal excuses, but the reasoning mind will see more mercy in the occasional Irish rifle-bullet, than in the everlasting torture of the English workshop.

We find in the newspapers a few expressions, which show that some even of those who sail under official colours, are shaking their minds free from the official uniform. Mr. Michael Davitt, alluding more particularly to the troubles of Ireland, has said, "The rent-evil was the beginning of it all."³ That is it; the exaction of rent, of usury, of profit, the compelling of men to pay for nothing, is the beginning and the cause of all our troubles. Is that what Mr. Davitt means, or are his words to be read in connection with Mr. H. Labouchere's, who protests that the "Irish have never sought to escape from payment of rent," but that they want to know "what rent will be fair?"³ If that is so, we do not get beyond the worn-out picture of the sturdy peasantry and skilful artisan, officially certified as prosperous.

Signs are clear to others, if not to our official newsmongers, that the Oliver Twists of civilisation will shortly ask not merely for more, not merely for an improvement in the dietary which their Bumbles think sufficient. They will demand all, all that nature allows, and will ask what need there is for the interference of officials between nature and themselves, and whether there is anything beyond nature and their own exertions, which goes to settle men's lives. They are beginning to see that all this official talk about *fair* rent and *reasonable* profit is but dust in the mouth, and will abandon elaborate calculations as to how much of nature's gifts they may throw away under these names, before the remainder will be reduced to the level of a livelihood officially certified as sufficient; and they will be assured that all such arithmetic has but the same relation to justice, that the cold and dreary existence in the workhouse under the tyranny of a Bumble, has to the full human life, warmed by the imagination and guided by reason.

C. J. FAULKNER.

THE TRADES' UNION CONGRESS.

II.

ON Wednesday the discussion on the formation of labour electoral associations was continued and concluded, State payment of members being added to the resolution, which was then adopted. Mr. Fenwick, M.P., still smarting under recent criticism, thought it a fitting time to follow in the same strain as his chief on the previous evening, and accordingly favoured his audience with a smirking, "cockey" speech, that reminded one of the attitude of a cheeky little boy after his "big brother" has cowed the enemy; crying out on the way, *apropos* of nothing, that the policy of the working classes had been a policy of reform and not of revolution—evidently having a very limited notion of the meaning of that latter word. It might perhaps improve Mr. Fenwick's education if I pointed out to him that "revolution" does not signify a fighting in the streets; and it would also be to his advantage if he recognised that the choice is not between "mildness" or violence. The decision of the Northumberland miners may perhaps help him to realise this.

Mr. Shipton followed with an ambiguous resolution in favour of land reform, and backed it up with a speech far more advanced than his resolution. This latter did not satisfy many of the delegates, and F. Maddison proposed as an amendment land nationalisation, and the imposition of a land-tax at once, which was ultimately carried unanimously—this being a distinct advance on preceding congresses. May the unionists quickly come to see that there is no logical halting-place between the nationalising of the land and that of capital, and that their emancipation from the thralldom of wage-slavery is inevitably bound up with its accomplishment.

¹ Mr. A. J. Balfour, Chief Secretary for Ireland, Mr. J. G. Gibson, Attorney-General for Ireland, Lord Randolph Churchill and Mr. Dillon, in the Parliamentary debates of Sept. 10.

² Mr. W. E. Gladstone in the House of Commons, Sept. 12. The House of Lords, Sept. 14.

³ See the *Daily News* of Sept. 12.

⁴ Inquest, Sept. 14, on the Mitchelstown martyrs.

A discussion on the eight hours' movement was initiated by a resolution favouring "a further reduction in the working hours," and expressing the opinion that this could be accomplished "by increased combination, assisted by the Government in reducing the hours of labour in all Government works to eight hours a-day"; and a clear issue was speedily raised by Mr. Parnell (London) moving an amendment declaring that the only effectual means of obtaining the same is by the passing of an eight hours' labour bill. A long discussion took place over this item, which was split up between the third and fourth days. The speeches were for the most part very weak, and there were but few who took into account the vast masses of workers outside the pale of the unions. T. R. Threlfall spoke vigorously, doubting the possibility of unionists accomplishing the work themselves, and favouring a bill; and he was followed by Mr. Broadhurst, who began by saying that Congress had never in its history had a subject more important to the trades' unions of the country, to the very foundation, than the one they were discussing, and then proceeded to throw the weight of his influence against any departure from the old ways. It was grievous to see him frittering away his time in detailing the trifling advantages his own union had been able to obtain in forty-five years, when the question, whatever its worth, was one affecting the whole proletariat class. W. Abraham, M.P., opened Thursday's sitting with a speech exhibiting a wider appreciation of the matter in hand, and favouring the amendment; and after him a Liverpool delegate supported the same view, remarking that the majority of the trades' unions were being driven into benefit societies and required reorganising on sounder principles, and suggesting that if Mr. Broadhurst mixed more with the toilers of the country he would recognise that the eight hours a-day must be accomplished by the most speedy means—i.e., by going to Parliament. After some more speeches a division was taken, when 29 voted for Mr. Parnell's amendment and 76 against; and ultimately it was resolved that a plebiscite should be taken of the members of the various trades' unions for or against an eight hour day and a full Saturday holiday, and whether this should be sought to be brought about by the unions themselves or by means of an eight hour labour bill.

Co-operation—one of the "annuals"—was then introduced, two delegates from the Co-operative Union attending and speaking. The Congress discussed this matter from the point of view of the co-operators' treatment of their employes, and complaint was made that in many instances co-operation encouraged "sweating" and the lowest form of cheap labour, and was merging more and more into joint-stock companies. Altogether, the deputation got some good advice. The resolution adopted was one expressing "strong sympathy with all well-conducted movements having for their object the securing to the worker a larger share of the product of his industry." After a growl of "indignation" at the Lords over the Truck Bill, it was resolved by a unanimous vote to call an international congress of the workers, to be held in London next year; Mr. Parnell pointing out that they were all fighting against the one class, and F. Maddison predicting a time when the workers of this country would be as closely associated with those of the Continent as they themselves now were through the medium of their Congress.

On Friday the Congress again fell foul of the Lords, this time over the Mines Bill; and after relieving their feelings by the despatch of sundry telegrams, the delegates passed to the subject of Overtime. This was denounced all round as an unmitigated evil, but the speeches did not suggest to one that any progress would be made in its correction. Some unpleasant information on the state of underground bake-houses was then given, and afterwards it was voted that the Factory Acts should be so amended as to prohibit the employment of females in chain and nail works; as also were some other amendments, including one enabling inspectors to enter the "sweater's" den. At this stage the president read a three-and-ninepenny telegram from Messrs. Kelly and Peters, having relation to their demonstration on the question of foreign bounties, and complaining that the Congress had not treated them with the consideration their merits deserved. This was promptly and properly consigned to the "waste-paper basket." Unimportant subjects filled up the rest of the day: labour federation only need be mentioned.

The concluding meeting opened with some remarks by W. R. Cremer, M.P., in which he complained bitterly of the treatment from Mr. Bradlaugh, who plainly told him he (Cremer) knew nothing about the Bill. He spoke of Mr. Bradlaugh's "imperiousness," and the obsequiousness with which his mandate was obeyed by the Tories. After this came a resolution in favour of Sunday opening of museums and art galleries, which this year the Congress adopted; and then the necessity for "a truly national system of free education" was voted unanimously. A Scotch delegate rose to repudiate the attack Mr. Broadhurst made on J. Keir Hardie, saying no one had done more for the Scotch miners than he, and no one was more respected by them; and then came a full dozen of items, which were knocked down with a rapidity appertaining to an auction sale, but which, indeed, got about as much attention as they were worth. And thus ends the summary of the business of the "Twentieth Annual Congress,"—a miserable enough record, truly, if it is to be taken as expressing the aims and hopes of seven hundred thousand of the workers. But indeed it does not; and to the careful student, watching closely the progress made in the last few years—watching especially the tenor of the addresses of the presidents—there is evidence that the increasing knowledge of the toilers as to the causes of their degradation, combined with the forces at work intensifying their struggle for existence, will materially alter the nature and treatment of the subjects discussed at these gatherings in the future, and push forward the struggle for a better life with an ever accelerating speed.

The Eight Hour Labour Bill I consider by far the most important subject discussed at the Congress, and indeed it involves the "parting of the ways" in the history of the trades' union movement. It is not alone the intrinsic advantages the shortening of the hours of labour would bring to the workers—and a reduction of hours is a more positive benefit than an increase of wage—but the mere discussion and the struggle that would be involved in obtaining this would contribute immensely to lift trades' unionism out of the rut of stagnation in which it now is, and carry the unionists far onward in the path to Socialism; and it would be the especial duty of Socialists to take advantage of this activity to press home the truths of their principles, and see to it that the movement was recognised as but a stage onward towards the realisation of their ideal.

One thing which has signalled this Congress is the beginning of the revolt against Broadhurst and Co., for Hardie was not the only one who spoke out against the tactics of the labour M.P.'s. If trades' unionism is to make any progress it is clear that Broadhurst must go, and such men as Threlfall, Maddison, Bevan, and Hardie take up the work where he stops short. It may be very fine for him to declare in reports that the unionists have but cleared the brambles from the path to obtain freedom for striking out a policy; but the evidence is conclusive that he has gone as far as his narrow sympathies will carry him, and he puts his veto on everything which makes for an aggressive policy. It will not do for him to rest his claim for consideration on his past "sacrifices for trades' unionism," seeking to stifle the onward movement of organised labour, that he may gain popularity with the privileged classes and at the same time keep the secretaryship snug as something he may fall back upon when the Liberals are in Opposition; the labour movement is a serious business, with an idea in it, and those who endeavour to stay its progress must be sternly thrust aside.

In a last word I say to my fellow-unionists that it is time that they declared what is their aim—whether it be to free themselves from the slavery of working for a miserable wage and supporting the idle classes in luxury and extravagance, or whether their highest hope is the securing to themselves a shilling or two more or two or three hours less a-week. They must make their demands, and not beg a trimming here and there because their masters would object to grant them any more. They must get to know that they have not to beg but to take, and that nothing will be yielded up to him who humbly sues. Have unionists ever given heed to the words of Professor Cairnes and the verdict of Political Economy, that unless the workers can free themselves from their subjection to Capital the problem of their elevation is hopeless, and against the forces opposed to them trades' unions must dash themselves in vain? I say there is no compromise we can make with those who live on our toil; and the lesson the workers have before them is "to know their own, to know how to take their own, and to know how to use their own."

W. BINNING,
London Society of Compositors.

"FREE LABOUR" IN MANCHESTER.

A Manchester friend sends us the following statement of facts illustrative of the working of the present system:

"There is a toffee-boiler in New Allen Street, Oldham Road, where the workmen are stopped twopenny per week for the use of the w.c. If they work any overtime, and there happens to be any odd pence in the wage, this is struck off and kept from them. If they happen to have a day off, there is two days' pay stopped. A large grey cloth firm and shippers in Strangeways gave all the hookers notice a fortnight ago, that in future they would have to do double the quantity of work in the same time as before without any increase in wages. This, of course, means that the men have to almost kill themselves to earn just as much as will keep themselves alive. The majority left, but their places were soon filled. Where there are so many starving you will no doubt not understand how it is that they could do as much work again in the same time, but I will try to explain. In all our warehouses the hookers have a certain amount of work to do in the hour, which they can do in half-an-hour if they are at all smart, which has been the rule for half a century, although some take a little more time to do it in. Then there is what is called gaining, that is, when they are busy the men are given the opportunity of making double time, that is keeping continually at the hooking frame all day. This is very exhausting, and they deserve what they get. There is a firm in Hall Street, City, who employ jobbing packers at 4d. per hour, while the Packers' Society rules are that none shall work under 8d. These craven-hearted men, for this is what I call them, are non-society men who stand at the corners outside the clubs, and I have known these men to stand at a street corner in winter three days, eight hours per day, in the bitter cold and then take a job for three or four hours at 4d. per hour. These do not include all corner men, as having been one myself for three years I know plenty who would sooner starve to death, which we almost do sometimes, than work under 8d. and help against our fellows. You perhaps would like to know how it is I am not a society man. The societies are the Packers', Hookers', Stitchers', and Makers'-up. I am a grey cloth carrier, for which occupation there is no society. The packers', etc., have to serve their time to the trade, but amongst grey cloth carriers there are all kinds of tradesmen who cannot get a job at their own trade, and this is easily learned. I was jobbing at a firm in Fountain Street three weeks ago, and one of the employes in the grey department was going on his holidays, for which they are allowed ten days. The salesman, who is a captain of volunteers, very near-sighted, and with an inaudible voice, told him it was too long for a worker to have. He himself has a month, and for the rest of the year does not come to "business" before 10.30 and goes home at 4, and I don't know what he does when he is there, as he has a manager under him who conducts the business. These things illustrate our lot; I don't know whether the few words I tell them in are fit for publication or not, being uneducated myself, but seeing you depend on the workers for information I thought it my duty to let you know what little I have gathered, being, as I am, one who is slowly being crushed in the struggle for existence.

ONE OF THE CORNER MEN.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

THE STRIKE OF WELSH COLLIERS.—The strike at New Tredegar, by which 400 men were idle, has been settled by a compromise, and any further dispute which may arise is to be referred to the sliding-scale committee.

For many years shipbuilding on the Clyde has not been so slack as at present. In the four ship-building yards in Whiteinch, a suburb of Glasgow, there is not a single ship on stocks. This has not occurred for twenty-seven years.

COLLAPSE OF THE MINERS' STRIKE AT LINLITHGOW.—After extending over ten weeks the strike of the shale miners at Champfleurie, near Linlithgow, has now collapsed. When the strike commenced, about 200 miners were employed in the mines of the Linlithgow Oil Co., and 160 miners have resumed work on the masters' terms.

At a public meeting of weavers at Padiham, it was decided to make weekly collections on behalf of the operatives now on strike at Higham. It was stated that the employers were paying 10 per cent below the Blackburn list before the strike, and they had refused over and over again to recognise the Blackburn rate of wages.

THE STRIKE IN THE WROUGHT NAIL TRADE.—On Thursday 15th a large open-air meeting of nail-makers who are out on strike for an advance in wages was held at Halesowen. Mr. J. Price presided. A resolution was passed to remain on strike until the whole of the masters agree to pay the 1879 list.

DURHAM COLLIERS.—Owing to the committal to prison by the Gateshead County Magistrates of six miners for non-payment of damages and costs in connection with a recent dispute, the men employed at Felling, Wardley, and Asworth collieries, numbering 1730, came out on strike. The imprisoned men having been liberated, work was resumed at two of the collieries on Monday.

The action of the Midland Company has been, it appears, as a bugle-call to other companies to follow suit in a retrograde policy. The Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire is evidently preparing to follow. No one knows which will be next, therefore let all railwaymen take a timely warning and attend to that all-important and indispensable factor—Organisation.—*Railway Review*.

THE CHATHAM DOCKYARD DISCHARGES.—Sir John Gorst writes to inform his constituents at Chatham, on the authority of Mr. Forwood, Parliamentary Secretary to the Admiralty, that the discharges en masse from the dockyard are now probably at an end, and that any further reduction which may be required will be allowed to effect itself gradually through deaths and age retirement. The information has caused great satisfaction in Chatham.

THE NORTHUMBERLAND MINERS.—The voting on the question of continuing to maintain Messrs. Burt and Fenwick as Labour representatives has been concluded. The numbers are: For the present system, 3,300; against, 4,800. The resolution will not come into effect until next November, when Messrs. Burt and Fenwick will retire unless arrangements are made outside the Miners' Union for their continuance in political life.

BLACKBURN—STRIKE OF COTTON OPERATIVES.—On Thursday morning the loomers employed at Messrs. Hopwood and Sons, Nova Scotia Mills, Blackburn came out on strike through the employers refusing to give increased remuneration for a certain "sort" of work. The employers consider it not a "sort" entitling loomers to extra pay.—A strike of operatives also took place at Messrs. Thompson and Sons, Hollin Bank Mills. Four hundred operatives are out, and 700 looms stopped.

THE BOLTON STRIKE.—A conference of masters and representatives of the engineers on strike was held on Saturday afternoon, the result of which will be the submission of a communication to the men by the employers, which is expected to at once settle the points in dispute preparatory to arbitration on the wages question. *Wednesday.*—At a mass meeting last night the men decided, on a vote by ballot, to reject the employers' proposal. Large crowds awaited the result of the vote, which was ten to one. This is gratifying news, indeed.

SHORT TIME IN CREWE.—Last week notices were posted up in the locomotive-works of the London and North-Western Railway Company at Crewe, announcing that short time will be instituted there to the extent of seven and a half hours a-week. The hours of labour will be reduced on each Saturday and Monday to effect this economy. Between six and seven thousand employes are engaged in the Crewe Works. Full time was resumed on March last, before which the men had been on short time for the preceding eighteen months.

YORKSHIRE MINERS AND PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION.—On Thursday 15th inst. a largely-attended meeting was held to denounce the issue of the circular lately published suggesting the formation of a new miners' union. In various addresses it was declared that the circular was the production of a paid Tory agent, and was issued with a view of preventing Liberal members being returned for Yorkshire mining constituencies. It was added that the last two elections did not cost the Miners' Association a penny, and that the money the miners subscribed was in hand ready to fight the next election. A resolution denouncing the circular was passed unanimously.

A touching incident occurred a few days ago, when a group of Midland strike men from Toton were making their way through the streets of London towards the East-end, where they were to embark for Australia. One of the men suddenly stopped and picked up a withering flower which had dropped from his button-hole, when one of his companions good-humouredly laughed at him for treasuring so much a faded flower. "Ah!" said he, with a deep sigh, followed by a tear, "that flower came out of my little garden." The effect was so great upon the emigrants, who had all left neat and trim gardens behind, that they were quite overcome for some considerable time.—*Railway Review*.

STRIKE IN THE BIRMINGHAM ENGINEERING TRADE—DAYWORK v. PIECEWORK.—A portion of the men in the employ of Messrs. G. E. Bellis and Co., engineers, of Ledsam Street, Birmingham, have turned out on strike against a proposal on the part of the employers to extend the piecework system. The firm employ nearly 200 hands, but as yet only the society men have turned out. They affirm that the system on which they worked was unfair, inasmuch as a comparatively few hands were allowed the best work at "piece" rates, whilst the others with a full week's work were not able to earn what they consider a fair wage. They are supported in their action by the trade society to which they belong.

WAGE DISPUTE AT THE HORWICH RAILWAY WORKS.—The first contingent of smiths brought from Miles Platting commenced work at the new railway works at Horwich last week. Shortly after commencing, the smiths, about 16 in number, were informed that a reduction of 2s. per week would be made in their wages. The men demurred and left their work, most of them returning to Manchester to lay their case before the various branches of their trade society. About 12 smiths have since been engaged by the company, and they are working at the reduction.

THE SCOTCH SHALE MINERS.—The report that these men are about to give in is quite untrue. The men held a large meeting on Monday and determined to hold out till the masters submitted fair terms, and in the meantime to call no further meetings. The lock-out has now lasted eleven weeks, but the men are as steadfast as ever. Some days ago the masters made an indefinite offer to settle. The men agreed to go in, but put the proposed concession into plain terms. Then the manager of the Broxburn Co. refused to entertain the acceptance, on the excuse that it was made out in the handwriting of Mr. J. Wilson, the trades-union secretary. All throughout the conduct of the companies has been shameful. The men have struggled gallantly and deserve to succeed.—J. L. M.

WAGES IN THE LONDON DOCKS.—A meeting convened by the Tea Coopers and General Labourers' Association was held on the 15th at St. Mary's Church Schools, Whitechapel, "to protest against the reduction of wages throughout the trade, and to point out the best means of protecting themselves against the pressure brought to bear upon them." The chair was taken by S. Montagu, M.P., who in opening the proceedings spoke of the advantages to the workers of trades-unionism. Mr. Tillett, the organising secretary, spoke at length of the necessity of forming a General Labourers' Association, embracing all the various grades of working men employed at the docks, and moved "That this meeting of tea operatives and dock and wharf labourers hereby expresses its unmeasured indignation at the reduction being made in the price of labour, and condemns as a source of impoverishment and shortness of work the sweating system of sub-contracts." This was seconded by Mr. Prentice, and adopted unanimously with cheers. A resolution in favour of the general character of the Association was also passed.

THE CONDITION OF THE AGRICULTURAL LABOURER.—Since the collapse of the Agricultural Labourers' Union in the Cambridgeshire districts wages have been gradually falling. The maximum price paid for "regular" hands is 10s. per week of seven days; occasional or casual hands are paid 11s. The harvest this year has been worked at the lowest wage known for years; and the number of men unemployed at this season of the year is unprecedented. In many parts of the county nearly one-third of the labourers had no harvest work at all. Now that the harvest is finished the casual hands are out of work, and starvation is staring hundreds of families in the face. The "casual farm-hand" is a product of the strike some years back, and the increased use of machinery. There is little work for this description of labourer during the winter. In the fields the ripe corn is stacked; in the cottages the labourer is in abject poverty. A feeling of discontent is prevalent among most of the men, and revolt against their miserable condition is eagerly looked forward to. The coming winter for those who plough and sow will indeed be a hard one, worse even than the phantomed "morrow of the revolution," the dreaded spectre of "advanced" politicians.

THE NORTHUMBERLAND MINERS AND POLITICS.—The action of the miners in refusing to support Messrs. Burt and Fenwick out of the Union funds is a decided advance. The very first thing that working men have to do in organising a Socialist Labour Party is to clear out of the way the false friends of labour who so persistently truckle to the Liberal party. Messrs. Burt, Fenwick, Pickard, Arch, and the rest of the Labour M.P.'s have shown themselves mere bootblacks to the Whig whips, and have never had the courage to take an independent stand for even the paltry principles they profess. They deserve to be ignominiously pitched out of public life, and the only pity is that they ever entered it. Working men needn't care for all their foes if they only know rightly who their real friends are. The miners in the Northumberland Union cannot forget how these two men sat dumb in the House of Commons while 20,000 of their constituents were starving for eighteen weeks. They would be more than human if they could forget or forgive it. The very essence of the future of the real Labour Party must be its complete separation from Liberal or Tory political parties. These parties represent respectively the landlord and capitalist interest; their good favour can only be won by the desertion of the cause of labour.—J. L. M.

AMERICA.

LABOUR DAY.—A general public holiday was held on the 5th of September and great parades of labour were held in the big towns of the States. In New York 30,000 men paraded, making a procession 10 miles long, with flags, emblems, etc. All sections of the labour party united harmoniously for this purpose. The demonstration made a great impression in the States.

GEORGE AND THE SOCIALISTS.—Great disaffection is being expressed amongst the American trade unionists at the treatment of the Socialist party by the Georgites at the late convention. A powerful Socialist convention has been held and full reports are expected shortly.

The Central Labour Union suspended a Musical Union because an orchestra in a theatre would not strike in support of the builders employed at the theatre.—Two hundred and sixty-five persons applied for an assistant book-keeper's situation advertised in the New York Herald.—At a meeting of the American Federation of Labour (which is supplanting the Knights of Labour) it was stated that 10,000 new members had joined since June 13th, and that the total strength was now 600,000.—The salesmen of Pittsburgh are forming a National Trade District of the Knights of Labour.—A great strike is impending on the Reading Railroad, the largest coal carrier, in America. Seventy thousand men are concerned.—No. 3 division of the Ancient Order of Hibernians has been expelled from that Order for inviting the excommunicated Dr. McGlynn to lecture for them.—J. L. M.

When you hear a man say he has got through with the labour movement and that in future he will work for himself, depend upon it he never did anything else but work for "number one."—*Model Commonwealth*.

The Socialists know how to write, talk, and fight.—*Union Printer*. And what is of more importance, they use their knowledge to defend sound principles. But, after all, we think the Socialists are greatly overrated in respect to their abilities. It doesn't require near as much ability, from a logical point of view, to tell the truth and defend it, as it does to defend sophistry and falsehood. It is not the ability of Socialists, but the science of Socialism that appeals to men's reason.—*Workmen's Advocate*.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

HOLLAND.

The scandalous bourgeois riot at Rotterdam has scarcely come to an end when we have to mention another, which happened at Utrecht on the 12th inst. The Socialists in that town had secured a new place of gathering, and on the above-named date they intended to inaugurate their premises. At mid-day a gang of rascals rushed into the house, and in a few minutes they had spoiled and destroyed all the furniture. The Socialists resisted, and a serious fight went on, with the result that the "rascality" was thrown into the street. At three o'clock they came back with re-enforced numbers, and a fresh attack was made on our friends, who again succeeded in repulsing the gang. Although there were several hundred men gathered there and fighting, the police did not put in an appearance until all was over. The police in Holland seems deliberately to encourage these attacks, but our friends intend on their side to resist by all means these scandalous provocations, and certainly they do very well.

Three Socialists of Amsterdam, having tried to introduce into the prison of Utrecht one or two copies of *Recht voor Allen*, to be handed over to Nieuwenhuys, have been sentenced to two months' imprisonment. They have been denounced, of course, by the prison warder. An appeal against the sentence has been brought in, and the decision of the Court of Appeal will be known next week.

Another Socialist, comrade De Ruyter, having thought it fit to congratulate Nieuwenhuys on his release in a piece of poetry, which, by the bye, is very well written, has been sent for trial on the ground of having slandered the Minister of Justice. In order that our readers may know what is meant in Holland by slanderous publication, we quote here the four incriminated lines:

"Die Tour van Belinckhave
Die lage Koningsknecht
Moest eindlyk buigen voor den wil
Van 't volk, dat vroegom recht!"

(Du Tour van Belinckhave, this low-lived king's lackey, had finally to bow before the will of the people, claiming its right!)

All these bourgeois vexations and police prosecutions are far from doing any harm whatever to the spread of Socialism in Holland. On the contrary, every week we can mention several new sections in the remotest parts of the land, and a fact well worth noticing is that the Dutch women take their fair share in the propaganda business. In the principal towns, groups of Socialist women are at work. At Amsterdam, their section counts over two hundred members, and is chiefly busy in distributing literature amongst the landworkers.

GERMANY.

Last week, the tribunal of Mülhausen, in Alsace, has sentenced two young Frenchmen in a most barbarous way, for less than nothing. The two young fellows, aged 19 and 20 years respectively, living at St. Maurice, in the Vosges department, having paid a visit to some friends at Wesserling, Alsace, returned home singing on their way the 'Marseillaise.' They were at once arrested by a Prussian gendarme and condemned by the "patriotic" magistrates, the first to 15 months' imprisonment and a fine of 500 marks (£25), or 100 days more imprisonment; and the second to 18 months and 1000 marks (£50) fine, or 200 days in addition. "God" may bless Germany!

On the 1st of October a great number of Socialists, including two deputies in the Reichstag, Grillenberger and Singer, are to be tried at Stuttgart.

Eight Socialists have been arrested at Halle-on-the-Saale, and expelled from the Prussian province of Saxony. Several workers of the Barfusserstrasse factory at Augsburg, have been arrested for having copies of the *Freiheit* in their possession. A real avalanche of trials are announced at Breslau, Posen, Dantzig, Cassel, Mannheim, Leipzig, in fact, everywhere, for the next month of October. As the magistrates cannot possibly find the necessary time for investigating each case separately, a comrade suggests that they should have their sentences (of condemnation naturally) made up beforehand in order to save the "culprits" the trouble of passing through the prosecution farce. We think our comrade comes too late with his suggestion. Surely, the German judges are in the habit of bearing their sentences in their pockets. Why shouldn't they? Time is money, in Germany as well as elsewhere.

SWITZERLAND.

The cabinet-makers of Berne, who have been on strike for over two months, have issued a manifesto explaining the motives of their struggle, and appealing for help from their fellow-workers. Their claims are:—1. Abolition of task work; 2. Minimum salary of 4 fr. a-day instead of 3 fr.; 3. Suppression of job-work; 4. Nine hours work a-day; 5. None of the strikers to be dismissed after the struggle is over. The Swiss workers strongly support their comrades. The compositors, the tailors, and all the Grütli associations have sent important contributions to the strike fund. The Chambre Syndicate (Trade Union) of the cabinet makers of Paris have subscribed a large sum; Hamburg has sent 125 marks, Stuttgart 150, Mülhausen 50, and so forth.

A general strike of glaziers is also pending in several towns of Switzerland, if the "masters" do not accept the claims of their workers, who have given them a respite of a fortnight to consider matters.

The government of the Bâle canton have enacted a law regulating the work of women in factories. The maximum is eleven hours work a-day, and ten hours on Saturday! No work to be done on Sunday! One whole hour per day to be given free for meals! And, mind you, the Bâle government is a Radical one. What would it have done if it had not been so Radical as it is? One wonders really at the shamelessness of these Radical bourgeois.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

Last week the police at Vienna made a perquisition at Karl Herman's lodgings, in order to find the correspondence which had passed between himself and a Socialist now in prison at Leipzig, who is to be tried for high treason. In spite of the advice given over and over again to Socialists, specially in countries where the police seem to have no other business than to watch Socialists, to destroy all their political correspondence, a considerable number of letters were found at comrade Herman's house, with the result of his being arrested and conveyed to the House of Detention at Prague. Comrade Herman had been expelled from Berlin, and it is the Prussian police who gave directions to that effect to their Viennese colleagues. Friends, once more, destroy your correspondence!

FRANCE.

At Montluçon the glass-bottle makers are still on strike, with the exception of six workers who have abandoned their colleagues and hold with M. Duchet the exploiter. The strikers are well supported, and it seems likely that they will at last be victorious.

At Romans (Isere) twenty-one factories of hat-makers are closed, 2,000 workers being on strike. They claim an addition of one penny per hat to their wages. The hat-makers of Bourg-le-Péage, near Romans, are going to follow the example of their comrades, and then the whole trade will stand still.

We have received the first number of *La Révolte*, the new Communist. Anarchist paper of our Parisian friends. If we judge the new organ by its leader, entitled *Notrebut* (Our Aim), we may rest assured that it will follow the traditions of its predecessor *Le Révolte*, and we wish it good success. *La Révolte* announces that it will publish every fortnight a literary supplement, which will be a sort of continuation of *Le Glaneur Anarchiste* (the Anarchist Gleaner), a very useful undertaking which was obliged to stop some time ago. This literary part of the journal can do a great deal of good for the general propaganda, and we hope that it will be well supported by the workers.

A veteran of the revolutionary struggles of this century, Ferdinand Gambon, has just died in a little village of the Nièvre department. He was born at Bourges the 19th of March, 1820. His whole career has been one of abnegation and devotion to the interests of the proletariat. After the revolution of 1848, in which he took a prominent part, he was elected by the Nièvre department in the Constituante and afterwards in the Legislative Assembly. Sentenced to deportation by the High Court of Versailles, for having signed an appeal to arms, he was sent to the State dungeon of Belle Isle, and after the *coup d'état* of Napoleon, to the prison of Corte, in Corsica, where he remained until the amnesty of 1859. He was one of the most energetic opponents of the Third Empire, and on the 8th of February, 1871, more than 150,000 electors of the Seine department sent him to the National Chamber of Bordeaux from which he soon retired with disgust, after the insult flung by that assembly against Garibaldi. On the 26th of March, 1871, he entered the Commune of Paris, and our readers know that he was one of the last men who desisted from the battle, after having fought on the barricade of the Fontaine-au-roi Street. A long proscription followed, and as soon as the general amnesty opened again his country to him, he was elected a deputy by his fellow-citizens of the Nièvre. For a long time, he was almost the only Socialist in that gathering of reactionaries. Always, everywhere, in all circumstances, he has been on the side of the people, making boldly and generously the sacrifice of his fortune, of his health, and we may even say of his life, for he died from the consequences of the ill-treatment to which he was subdued during his various imprisonments. Born among the rich, he lived with the poor and remained with them, affirming his solidarity in their defeats as well as rejoicing in their triumphs. The memory of Gambon will everlastingly remain in the hearts of the proletariat.

ITALY.

The advanced branch of the Italian Workers' Party, the Collectivist Federation, represented in Parliament by Andrea Costa, will hold a Congress at Milano in a few weeks.

A third Congress is to convene on the 9th, 10th, and 11th of October at Milano, viz., that of the Co-operative Societies. They will discuss, among other questions, that of an international federation of all similar societies.

Yet another Anarchist publication in Italy (*Lo Schiavo*, Nice) has sprung up this month. It is rather original in one way, for the editors do not commit themselves to its daily, weekly, or monthly publication as we other humdrum folk find ourselves pledged to do (by base superstition or the force of public opinion); they briefly announce that the paper will come out "when possible." This is "liberty of the press" with a vengeance, we cannot help exclaiming! A close column is devoted to an attack on *Humanitas*, vastly unentertaining *per se*, though some amusement may be derived from it for readers of 'Pickwick' by a certain resemblance to the Eatanswill style of journalism. Petty carplings and scoffings against other "groups" of one revolutionary body cannot be too strongly criticised as undignified in the extreme, and unworthy the serious aim towards which our thoughts and efforts turn.—M. M.

A Workman's Congress has been held lately at Rome, Monte Citorio, in spite of the hostility of the government. It was the most moderate of the two federations of Italian working-men, that which inspires itself with the traditions of Mazzini and Garibaldi, and which is composed rather of political reformers and co-operators than of revolutionary Socialists. Nine hundred and ten societies were represented at the Congress, which, among others, passed the following resolution:—"The Congress condemns all privileges as being the direct cause of the moral decay and material impoverishment of the nation; claims the immediate recall of the Italian soldiers sent out on a culpable enterprise (the expedition on the Red Sea); sends their fraternal greetings to the French people, which has become the point aimed at by the European reaction; and, while despising henceforth all vain and unfruitful protestations, invites the Italians to manly action, in order to obtain by all possible means popular sovereignty in all political and social matters."

D.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

Co-operative Store.—The Committee attend at the offices at 8.30 p.m. on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. All Groceries can be had at current store prices. Orders over 10s. will be delivered carriage paid in London.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Donation.—C. Bicknell, £3. **Weekly Subscriptions.**—W. B., 6d.; Llednall, 6d.; K. F., 1s.; C. J. F., 2s.; Oxford Branch, 2s.; Langley, 2s.; E. B. B., 1s.; P. W., 6d.—£3, 9s. 6d. P. WEBB, Treasurer, Sept. 20.

THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

For Mrs. Mowbray.—A Few Fabians, per Annie Besant (10s. weekly), for Sept. 10 and 17, £1.—Mowbray will be released on October 15, and it is requested that all monies and subscription-lists be returned by that date, so that the fund may be wound up as soon as possible after that time. J. LANE, Treasurer.

South Wales Propaganda.—Collected Sunday September 18: Hammersmith Branch—in Hall, 5s. 5½d.; at Walham Green, 5s. 3d. Regent's Park, 9s. 1d. Hyde Park, 4s. 3d.—£1, 4s. 0½d. J. LANE (for Strike Committee).

REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—We had a fair meeting at St. Pancras Arches on Sunday, Davis, Dalziel, and Bartlett addressing the audience. A very successful meeting was held on Monday at the Polygon. Bartlett, Chat-terton, and Walker spoke. There was a considerable amount of interruption, but no real opposition. One new member made. Good sale of *Commonweal*.—B.

CLERKENWELL.—Last Wednesday week, F. Lessner spoke on "German Socialism." Last Sunday, Sparling and Blundell addressed good audience on Clerkenwell Green. Afterwards, in hall, a "social" evening was enjoyed by members and friends. *Commonweal* and other literature has steady sale.—A. T. and W. B.

HACKNEY.—Good meetings on Sunday at the Sal- mon and Ball in the morning addressed by Lane, and at Warner Place in the evening, addressed by James Allman, Turner, and Brooks.

HOXTON.—Sunday morning successful meeting, and good sale of *Commonweal*. In evening, Miss Jessie Craigen lectured on "Anti-Vivisection;" good dis- cussion. At close resolution carried protesting against vivisection.—C. J. Y.

KINGSLAND GREEN.—Good meeting on Kingsland Green on Sunday morning, addressed by Nicoll. Fair sale of *Commonweal*.

MARYLEBONE.—A very good meeting at Hyde Park, addressed by Parker and Mainwaring, 4s. 3d. col- lected for the Strike Committee.—M.

MILE END AND BETHNAL GREEN.—Good meeting on Waste Tuesday night, addressed by J. Allman and Kitz. Some opposition answered satisfactorily. Davis and Turner spoke in Victoria Park on Sunday. Good sale of *Commonweal*.—H. M.

MITCHAM.—Sparling spoke Sunday morning on Fair Green. At same place in evening, Hardisty, Bull, and Harman spoke. Both meetings good, and *Com- monweal* sold well.—R. C.

NORTH LONDON.—Usual meeting on Tuesday last at Ossulton Street, Cantwell, Wardle, Dalziel, and Turner spoke. On Sunday morning at Regent's Park, very successful meeting; Cantwell, Arnold, Parker, and Blundell spoke to an attentive audience; 9s. 1d. collected for propaganda. A Mr. Whelan opposed, and Turner replied vigorously.—T. C.

STAMFORD HILL.—Good meeting here on Sunday evening, addressed by Flockton, Lane, and Parker. Good sale of *Commonweal*, and one member made.

GLASGOW.—On Saturday afternoon, Bullock and Paterson spoke at Kilsyth. Sunday forenoon, Glasier spoke on Jail's Square, and in afternoon good meet- ings held at Paisley Road Toll and Jails Square, Glasier, Bullock, Paterson, and Gilbert speaking. 1s. 8d. collected for Broxburn miners, and good sale of *Commonweal*.—A. M.K.

IRSWICH.—To very attentive audiences, Wade, of London, spoke last Sunday on the Irish question and general social problem. Some leading Radicals pre- sent; no opposition. *Commonweal* sold out.—J. R.

LEEDS.—Prolonged meeting on Sunday morning, due to opposition of two local teetotalers. Good meeting in evening, although held in the dark.—T. P.

NORWICH.—Good meetings on Sunday. Barker and Turner, of London, spoke in morning at Wymond- ham, and Norwich Market-place at 3; Barker spoke on Agricultural Hall Plain at 7, and in Gordon Hall at 8 on "Evolution and Socialism." Slaughter and Bird went to Diss, Morley and Mills to Lowestoft, where Reynolds and Barker assisted.—T. M.

CLAY CROSS.—Drury, of Sheffield, was announced to lecture Tuesday, Sept. 13, but through a mistake about trains he did not arrive until too late. Unwin spoke instead. Saml. Smith in chair. At business meeting afterwards decided not to join League, but to make inquiries with a view to joining the North of England Socialist Federation.—R. U.

DUBLIN.—Tuesday, Sept. 13th, at Industrial League, in a debate on "Technical Education," O'Gorman con- tended that under the competitive system the workers as a class would not benefit by such education, and was well received. Thursday, Sept. 15th, J. E. McCarthy lectured to Labour League on "Labour and Capital."

WOOLWICH.—We held a good meeting at the Arsenal Gates last Sunday, Wardle and Banner being the speakers. All our *Commonweal* were sold out, and a large supply of pamphlets as well. We collected 4s. 1d. for propaganda and enrolled three members.

YARMOUTH.—Henderson held a good meeting on the Quay on Thursday evening.

ST. FAITH'S.—The agricultural labourers here are much interested in Socialism, and a good audience gathered on Sunday afternoon, when Henderson spoke on the Green.

NORWICH.—Our comrades Wade and Fred Hender- son held two good meetings at Carrow and on St. George's Plain. On Saturday evening, Wade, Barker, and Henderson held a good meeting in the Haymar- ket. On Sunday morning and evening, Henderson addressed good audiences in the Market Place.

DARLSTON AND BILSTON.—Good meetings here Saturday, Weaver spoke.

DUDLEY.—Tuesday, Weaver spoke in Market-place, audience large and enthusiastic, police again inter- fered but retired after taking names.

WEDNESBURY.—Weaver spoke to large audience in Market-place on Thursday.

WOLVERHAMPTON.—Large meeting held by Sanders in Queen's Square on Saturday evening. Fair sale of literature.

WEST BROMWICH.—On Monday, Sanders spoke, and at close of meeting names were given in for a branch.

WALSALL.—Indoor meeting on Monday addressed by Weaver and Deakin. Several new members made. Sunday outdoor meetings held by Sanders and Weaver at the Birchills and Stafford Street. Good audiences.—J. T. D.

BIRMINGHAM.—Donald addressed meetings on Sun- day at the Bull Ring and Council House. Audiences largest we have yet had in Birmingham, and were in thorough sympathy with speaker. Several new mem- bers joined; we shall soon have a strong branch here.

North of England Socialist Federation.

SEGHILL.—Outdoor meeting last Monday, J. Mac- donald, supported by Coombe, spoke on "Socialism and Suffering."

ANNITSFORD.—On Tuesday night, Macdonald lec- tured on "Socialism, what it means."

NORTH SHIELDS.—Business meetings held for ap- pointment of secretary and re-organisation.

SEATON DELAVAL.—Good meeting on Friday in Market-place, by Macdonald, Whitfield, Swanson, Day, and other branch members.

EAST HOLYWELL.—This branch, which seems to be among the most energetic, held good meeting in Co- operative Hall Saturday afternoon, Macdonald lec- turing on "Socialism from the Workers' Standpoint."

BLYTH.—Macdonald, Wm. Whitefield, and Coombe, of Seghill, addressed a large audience on the Irish question on Saturday night. Wm. Whitefield, who had just resigned the position of chairman in the "Northumberland Political Reform Association," as he could no longer crush his political opinions as he had formerly done for the sake of what was called "Liberal Unity," which he now believed to mean the damnation of the working-class, seconded resolution, unanimously adopted, "That this meeting of the workers of Blyth strongly condemn the recent brutal and cowardly murders perpetrated by the Irish con- stabulary at Mitchelstown, and further holds the Irish Executive and Tory Government collectively and individually responsible for the same."

SOUTH SHIELDS.—Usual Sunday evening meeting in Market Square, addressed by Macdonald.

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

Scottish Land and Labour League.

Good meetings have been held at West Calder, Edinburgh, Arbroath, Cowdenbeath, Lochgelly (Fife), Boreland (Fife), Yallatown (Fife), and Dysart (Fife). Mr. John McGough, of Broxburn, begs to acknowledge receipt of 10s. from the Portobello German Socialist Club, in aid of the Shale miners locked out.

CHAS. WM. TUKE, sec.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, W. On Thursday Sept. 22, Hubert Bland, "State Intervention." 29th. P. Barry, "Scientific Poycotting."

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farring- don Road, E.C. Sundays and Wednesdays at 8.30.

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

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Sept. 25, at 8 p.m. George Bernard Shaw (Fabian Society), "Choosing a Career Nowadays."

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—Globe Coffee House, 227 High St., Hoxton. On Saturday Sept. 24, at 8.30 precisely, Members' General Meeting. On Sunday morning, at Hoxton Church at 11 sharp, mass meeting on Free Speech in Ireland. Sunday evening, in the Hall, W. C. Wade, "Will Socialism Benefit the English People?"

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. Members and those intending to join Branch are requested to attend Business Meeting every Thursday at 9 p.m.

North London.—Branch meets at 32 Camden Road, N.W., for reception of new members and other business, on Wednesday evenings at 8 o'clock, until further notice. H. Bartlett, sec.

PROVINCES.

Arbroath (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—59 West Abbey Street. Meeting every Friday evening. Secretary, Wm. Smith, 17 Lindsay Street.

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

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

Cowdenbeath (Scottish Section).—Secretary, John Dun- can, 30 Arthur Place.

Dublin.—Irish Labour League, Carpenters' Hall, 75 Aungier Street, every Thursday at 8 p.m. Discus- sion on all subjects connected with Labour Question.

Dundee (Scottish Section).—Branch meets Friday 7.30 Granite Hall, Overgate. Secretary, A. Simpson, 10 Fords Lane.

Dysart and Yallatown (Scottish Section: Fife).—Sin- clairtown and Boreland men may enroll in this branch. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Mem- bers' Business Meeting on Thursday at 7.30. Discus- sion Class at 8 p.m. Sunday night lectures, Trades Hall, High Street.

Galashiels (Scottish Section).—Secretary (pro tem.), John Walker, 6 Victoria Street.

Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Sunday Sept. 25, meeting of members in Rooms at 8. Choir

Practice, Wednesday at 8.

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

Hull.—Merrill's Dairy, 56 Walker Street. Mondays, at 8 p.m.

Lancaster.—Addresses every Sunday morning on the Quay Jetty.

Leeds.—17 Chesham Street, Sweet Street. Club and reading room open every evening. Business meet- ings every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Leicester.—Office of Hosiery Union, Horsefair Street. Fridays at 8 p.m.

Lochee (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Secretary (pro tem.), P. M'Dougal, 10 Mercer Street.

Norwich.—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Free Lectures every Sunday at 8 p.m. Business Meeting, Mon- day at 8.30. Speakers' Class, Sunday mornings at 10.30 and Wednesday evenings at 8 p.m. Social Evening, Saturdays at 8. Sunday 18th, H. A. Bar- ker, "Evolution and Socialism."

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

Walsall.—Temperance Hall. Branch meeting every Monday.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 25.

9.30...Starch GreenHammersmith Branch
11 ...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.....Demonstration
11.30...Hackney—"Salmon and Ball".....Cooper
11.30...Kingsland GreenWardle
11.30...Merton—Haydons RoadKitz & Parker
11.30...Mitcham Fair GreenBlundell
11.30...Regent's ParkLane & Arnold
11.30...Walham Green.....The Branch
3 ...Hyde ParkMainwaring
4.30...Victoria ParkBrooks & Allman
7 ...Stamford HillParker
7 ...Clerkenwell GreenBarker
7 ...Hackney Rd—Warner Place...Allman & Brooks

Monday.

8 ...Polygon, Somers TownParker

Tuesday.

8 ...Mile-end Waste.....Morris
8 ...Ossulton Street, Euston RoadKitz

Wednesday.

8 ...Broadway, London FieldsAllman

Thursday.

8 ...Hoxton Church, Pitfield Street.....Parker

WOOLWICH.—Arsenal Gates, Sunday Sept. 25, at 7 o'clock—W. H. Utey, "The Meaning of Socialism."

PROVINCES.

Glasgow.—Saturday: Jail's Square, 7 o'clock. Sun- day: Jail's Square, at 1; Paisley Road Toll at 5; Jail's Square at 7.

Leeds.—Sunday: Vicar's Croft, 11 a.m. and 7.30 p.m.

Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place at 3; Agricultural Hall Plain at 7.

Dereham.—Every Wednesday, Market Place at 7.

Date.	Time.	Place.	Speakers.
24...5	Willenhall	.....Weaver
24...7	Wolverhampton	.....Weaver
24...5	Darlaston	.....Sanders
24...7	Bilston	.....Sanders
24...5.30	Brierley Hill	.....Donald
24...7.30	Stourbridge	.....Donald
25...6.30	Birmingham, Council Ho.	.....Donald
25...6.30	" Bull Ring	.....Donald
25...6.30	Walsall Birchalls	.....Sanders
25...4	Walsall	.....Weaver & Deakin

SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.

Fri. 23—Cowdenbeath. Old Toll House, 4.30 p.m.

" Dysart. The Cross, 7 p.m.

" Yallatown. The Big Brae, 8 p.m.

Sat. 24—Dundee. Grassmarket, 6 p.m.

Sun. 25—Dundee. Grassmarket, 11.30 p.m. High Street, 3 p.m. Foot of Hilltown, 6.30.

" Edinburgh.—Queen's Park, 3 p.m. Trades Hall, High St., 6.30, lecture by Davidson, "Some Objections to Socialism Refuted."

Mon. 26—Dundee. Granite Hall, Overgate, 8 p.m., lecture by Mahon and meeting of branch.

Tues. 27—Lochee. Top of High Street.

Wed. 28—Carnoustie. The Cross, 7 p.m.

Thur. 29—Arbroath. Mahon will address the Boot and Shoe Finishers and Riveters Union in their Hall on "Socialism and Trades-unionism," at 7.30.

Fri. 30—Brothock Bridge, 7 p.m. Branch Business Meeting, 8.30.

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

'COMMONWEAL' PRINTING FUND.

A GRAND CONCERT

IN AID OF THE ABOVE FUND

WILL BE HELD AT

13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.,
ON SATURDAY OCTOBER 15th

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

Tickets and all particulars from H. A. Barker and W. Blundell, at 13 Farringdon Road.

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

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 90.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES.

The *Pall Mall* the other night contained, as indeed most papers do wellnigh every day, some striking examples of the working of the present system. "Immorality," "cruelty," "self-seeking," are terms in themselves vague and meaning little beyond what we are compelled to recognise as the inevitable result of a "society" such as that we are compelled to form part of. Does it never strike anyone as curious that, of the thousand wrongs every day endured by millions, none but the most violent examples find comment, and those only as to the effect, while the causes are left to Socialists to talk of? Even the "New (!) Journalism" is discreetly reticent as to the reason of drowning sailors being regarded as indifferently as "a litter of puppies"—that they are cheap, and easily replaced.

The perennial "copyright" question has been to the fore again, and much rhetorical mud has been flung at certain publishers—English and American—for "piracy" of books. What have they done, other than modern morality allows? So long as you can keep within or evade the law, there is no limit to the rascality which may be included within the limits of "business enterprise." It is only because authors have more chance to "squeal" than most men that one hears so much of copyright. Every craft has its own way of increasing the profit at other folks' expense; and publishers, while certainly no better, are no worse than other tradesmen.

At Bolton there has been much discussion by the Sanitary Congress of the many and various evils that "civilised" human flesh is heir to, but so far as we have noticed there has been no word as to the real why and wherefore. Many papers and speeches have elaborately shown what *should* be done and *could* be done—is it not about time for some of these learned men to get up and speak the truth, the whole of it? They could explain all over again what they have been explaining, and then go on with what *will* be done and *why*. By the time they got through with it they would find out many interesting truths, and would accomplish more good in a week than they do now in a decade.

We Socialists are so often met with the boast of "British freedom," and the rest of it, that it is almost with a chuckle of malicious pleasure that we look on at the row there is being made over the application to ordinary political meetings of the methods long reserved for our especial behoof. A little of the sneaking brutality that is called "vigilant performance of duty" when employed against us by the police, will make the "advanced politician" consider whether "law and order" is not rather dear at the price, and whether, in order to be rid of it, the overthrow of the system of monopoly-plus-exploitation does not appear to be necessary? Such questions are being now asked—and will one day be answered.

Reading of the great success which has attended the parcels post one is irresistibly led to think of the ease with which a similar plan could be arranged and set going for the transfer of folk. Why could I not go and buy a stamp and be taken where I please? There is nought in the way but—private property!

Imperial Federation—or Jingo writ large—is a fascinating subject for the Briton who believes in "his" empire. It has been made, according to a late number of the *Journal of the Imperial Federation League*, a theme for essays, poems, and discussions at many public and other schools in the past year. "Train up a (bourgeois) child in the way he should go and when he is old he will not depart from it"—unless he becomes a Socialist, which is getting increasingly probable.

One important fact that has come out in the evidence at the Exeter inquest is that the architect, with the expressed consent of the inspecting magistrates, sacrificed an important, even necessary, exit in order to gain the rent of another shop. Coffin-ships, race-week trains, death-trap theatres, all run on the principle of getting a constant profit and "taking the risk"—only the risk and the profit pertain to different people. The *Daily News* for cure wants "a more compulsory law"; *Jus* wants the opportunity for "enterprise" enlarged; but it seems to a Socialist, irrational being that he is, only possible to ensure care for public safety when the public are the caretakers, when theatres and all else are in the hands of the people and by them administered. S.

THE TRADES CONGRESS AND A LABOUR PARTY.

W. EVANS

THE Trades' Congress just closed has done some useful work. It is, however, to the address of the president, Sept. 6, to which I beg to refer. The president calls for the formation of a labour party—a party distinct from the two great political parties of to-day. The proposition is condemned as tending to create class strife and as still further complicating the political question—as being altogether impracticable. The *Daily News* assures the Congress that the proposition stands condemned by history, and is therefore impossible. Other Liberal organs tell the delegates that such a proposition does not come within their legitimate sphere of action, and that the Congress must lose the confidence of the respectable classes.

The formation of a labour party was sure to be condemned by the commercial even more than by the Tory press. It was sure to be condemned by the representatives of class interests, both in the House, in the press, and on the platform.

The formation of a labour party is a revolutionary measure. It is a declaration of war against the non-producing classes of the community; against the present institutions of society. It is a declaration of war against the dominance of the classes, against the supremacy of class interests. No doubt the Right Hon. John Bright will condemn it as fostering class interests, and therefore to be deprecated. But the words of the right hon. gentleman have lost much of their weight with the masses of the population. And if the workers are to succeed they must look to themselves. If the labour party is to be a genuine one it must be based on principle, not on expediency. It must be revolutionary in its nature, and seek the supremacy of the toiling millions, of the wealth-producing masses, and the extinction of all class privileges, of all monopolies, of all mere class interests.

The president condemned the monopoly of the land as the primary cause of trade depression. No doubt the president is right. The monopoly of the land is a most fruitful source of trade depression, and will ultimately lead to national decay. When we take into consideration the fact that from 1871 to 1881 in England and Wales alone the number of farmers decreased over 25,000, of market-gardeners over 32,000, and of agricultural labourers over 90,000, while the general population increased over 14 per cent., it is time to enquire into the monopoly of the land. And when practical men like the late Mr. Mechi declare that our agricultural produce can be increased to nearly three times its present amount, it is time this monstrous monopoly ceased. It is not the money loss only that we have to take into account, but the loss of labour and our dependence on foreign supplies for the very bread that we eat. The president condemned rents, royalties etc., and was quite right in so doing; and if we add to the £180,000,000 in rents, royalties, etc., etc., the £400,000,000 we get less from the land than we might (Mr. Mechi), making not far from £600,000,000 per annum, we may well condemn the monopoly of the land as the primary cause of trade depression.

But there are other monopolies equally monstrous. There is the monopoly of the currency, which is also very largely responsible for periodical trade depressions. This is a question very seldom discussed and very little understood; yet it is a question of the most vital importance, and ought to be well considered by those who seek the regeneration of society by and through the supremacy of labour. The monopoly of the instruments of labour is also a matter of the highest importance. When the president referred to the extensive use of labour-saving machinery, he dealt with the effects only of that monopoly. The monopoly of the land, the currency, and the instruments of production are the three great curses that crush to the earth the wealth-producing classes. It is on these monopolies that our modern system of production rests, by which the plunder of the masses takes place, and on which their slavery depends. Labour-saving machinery is not of itself a curse, but it is its monopoly, its use for the aggrandisement of the capitalist classes, that makes it a curse to the masses. Let the trades learn that it is not machinery as such, but the abuse of that machinery, its use against instead of for the workers, that makes it an apparent curse instead of a real blessing.

The president also condemned foreign competition, foreign bounties, piece-work, etc., all of which are mere effects, and are inseparable from, our modern commercial system.

The president declared there is no hope for the workers from the present House of Commons. He was quite right. There is not, and

cannot be, any hope from a House composed of land-thieves, of stock-exchange gamblers, money-lenders, railway directors, lawyers, and military adventurers, all living, and intending to live, on the plunder of the people. The president said "the salvation of the masses could only be secured by a distinct, a robust, and an outspoken labour party." If the new party is to be distinct, it must organise the masses against the classes; on no question whatever must there be any compromise. If it is to be robust, it must raise the standard of revolt against all class privileges and class interests. It must take its stand on principle. It must war against royalty as an institution; against the principle and spirit of aristocracy, through all the ramifications of society; against the claims and the pretensions of capital, and proclaiming to the world the supremacy of labour, on which depends not only the wellbeing but the very existence of society; it must organise and prepare the workers for the one great struggle of the masses against the classes.

The president also declared in favour of international action as far as the European States go; "When the workmen of Europe united on a common line of action they would be all-powerful, and their lives would thenceforth be brightened." These words are true. Will the workers accept them, accept the principle involved therein? The words are true; let the workers embrace them. The words are important to-day; let the workers think of them and be guided by them. Liberty, dignity, and independence can spring only from the supremacy of labour, from the triumph of eternal right, of eternal justice; and the brotherhood of the human race can spring only from the organisation and supremacy of the wealth-producing millions throughout the civilised world.

Let the trades, then, organise the new labour party. Practically it will be a national party. It will embrace all that are necessary for the essential operations of society. The workers are more than two-thirds of the population. The labour party must be revolutionary from principle. It will embrace neither princes, priests, nor peers; neither stockjobbers nor capitalists—none who seek to perpetuate the robbery of the masses by the classes. It will war against the monopoly of the soil, and proclaim the land for the people. It will declare in favour of a national currency and the national organisation of currency. It will proclaim to the world that as labour is the only source of wealth, the instruments of labour belong to the workers, and should be national property. Then will machinery—labour-saving machinery—become a blessing to all, because working for the benefit of all,—increasing the nation's riches while decreasing the hours of labour. And then will be possible the reconstruction of society on the principle of equal liberty, of equal social advantages to each and all in all the relations of life and through all the ramifications of society. And then will be possible the holy alliance of the peoples, and the brotherhood of the human race.

Will the trades form the new Labour Party—"distinct, robust, and outspoken"—revolutionary in spirit and in principle? We shall see.

J. SKETCHLEY.

MEN WHO ARE NOT SOCIALISTS.

III.

"POOR old Weaver! who would have thought he would have come to this bad end? There he was—once a Radical of Radicals—the ancient enemy of the House of Lords, perpetual pensions, monarchy, faggot votes, game laws, and church establishment,—right on the front platform seat of a Tory meeting! a Tory fop on one hand, and an Orange clergyman on the other; Tories to the right, left, front, and behind him, volleying and thundering!" This was my mental exclamation as I entered a Tory meeting during the last general election, with the view of studying "human nature," so as to meet the accusation of opponents of Socialism.

Yes, there old Mr. Weaver—the life-long reformer, Radical, and Republican—sat, stuck like a thistle among dockens, supporting the candidature of a Tory landlord. He did not seem altogether quite at his ease in his new environment, and when he applauded he was apt to do so before the speaker's sentence was completed, thereby frequently signifying approval of what the succeeding words of the speaker meant to disapprove. This awkward habit, I observed, brought suspicious glances upon him from his neighbours, particularly from the chairman, a florid-looking old gentleman with a powerful presence and a weak voice.

Mr. Weaver, who has only recently retired on a small trades' society aliment from hard daily toil, is a man of over sixty years of age. He has keen-cut Calvinistic features, and is of slight but very wiry frame. He always carries a thick blackthorn stick about with him, which has become quite as much a part of his anatomy as his arm or his leg. When speaking he emphasizes his remarks by thumping it vigorously upon the floor, and when walking he puts it to the ground in a way that indicates how distinctly his mental habit of disputation has impressed itself upon his bodily character.

Mr. Weaver may be said to have been a Radical from birth. His father was a Chartist, and when only six years of age his boy marched side by side with him at the great Reform Demonstration of 1832, carrying a small banneret bearing the words, "The Tories are more knaves than fools!" From that time onward Mr. Weaver boldly held aloft the banner of his political creed. Regarding his vote as a solemn trust, he faithfully recorded it at every election. Had the Radical party been called upon at any time to vindicate their principles by an

appeal to arms, Mr. Weaver would have been amongst the first to march to the field. Methinks I can see him sally forth early in the morning, with his clothes carefully brushed and his boots neatly polished, with his pike or musket over his shoulder, his lips sternly pressed together and his eyes peering anxiously ahead. Why it is, I don't know, but I cannot imagine Mr. Weaver returning from the conflict. No, I am perfectly certain he would not have returned; there is something about Mr. Weaver that tells me he would have been amongst the first to get popped down. I never knew of men of Mr. Weaver's type returning from the wars; they always get killed at the very outset. They never turn up as old pensioners. Had a Radical riot taken place and half-a-dozen persons been shot, I am sure those persons would have been two infants in arms, a small boy, a young woman, an old woman, and Mr. Weaver. Had only one person been killed, Mr. Weaver would inevitably have been that one. There is a something, I don't know if it is a divinity, that doth edge men like Mr. Weaver right into the track of spent bullets and falling brick-bats.

Mr. Weaver, besides being a Radical, is a strict teetotaler and a staunch Freethinker. As a Freethinker he attends secularist meetings every Sunday with a regularity that savours of piety. There is another point in his behaviour that almost entitles Mr. Weaver to be regarded as a religious man, despite his Atheism—his frequent presence at Freethinkers' funerals. He never misses one within a radius of ten miles. Christians will note with regret, probably tinged with a pious satisfaction however, that the number of these funerals have increased much of late years. So often indeed is Mr. Weaver to be seen plodding forth with craped hat and white-cuffed sleeves, that many of his neighbours who know not his evil reputation as an infidel cherish the idea that he is a Free Church elder or a city missionary of some sort. It is not to be imagined that this characteristic of Mr. Weaver's springs from his having any peculiar fondness for funerals, Freethinker or otherwise, but from a perfectly amiable desire to testify, as he himself puts it, "that men may respect their dead friends even though they are not morally certain that their souls have gone to roast in hell-fire."

The story of Mr. Weaver's political apostacy is a pathetic one, and has a high moral for political partisans. Mr. Weaver, like Radicals in general, had a supreme admiration for Mr. Gladstone. When a few years ago Mr. Gladstone denounced the Irish as rebels and robbers, Mr. Weaver did so likewise.

Some of Mr. Weaver's secularist friends, who were then Land Leaguers, and who subsequently became Socialists, denounced both Mr. Weaver and Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Weaver vindicated himself and his political chief by standing up righteously for "law and order," and protesting his belief that the Irish were utterly bad in all their ways!

I remember the Sunday morning after it was announced that Mr. Gladstone intended bringing forward a Home Rule measure for Ireland. There was a political discussion on in the secularist hall. Mr. Weaver was at his post, looking anxious, and, I thought, somewhat older than usual.

I am sure he had not slept much for several nights previously, thinking over the terrible news of his chief's conversion to the side of the "assassins." Of course Mr. Weaver was twitted by his opponents about his chief's turn round. Mr. Weaver professed entire disbelief in the news, and in his indignation at some of the sallies against himself, defiantly asserted that even if it were true that Mr. Gladstone had changed his mind, he at least had not, and even his respect for that great and venerable statesman would never constrain him to grant concessions to traitors and assassins who were marching through public plunder to the disintegration of the empire. Mr. Weaver, who is usually very circumspect in debate, became very angry and even rude that day, and had to be admonished several times from the chair.

This was the turning-point in Mr. Weaver's political career. He went all wrong after that. He modified his views upon manhood suffrage, because he could not admit that Irishmen had a right to political freedom; he discarded his land nationalisation principles, because the Irish people were leagued against landlordism; and he had even a good word to say for the House of Lords, because he perceived that the lords were likely to prove a powerful obstacle to "rash and treasonable legislation."

He had previously affected a kind of tolerant sympathy for Socialism, but now, seeing Socialists were all for Home Rule, he diligently studied Mr. Bradlaugh's 'Objections to Socialism,' and vigorously declaimed them upon all suitable and even upon unsuitable occasions.

Nature was eagerly waiting some such opportunity to give Mr. Weaver's mind a halting-place. She hadn't intended him from the beginning for a pioneer; she didn't expect that he would have gone even so far as he did. She had endowed him with but a limited amount of initial velocity freedomwards; but Mr. Weaver had contrived to make the most of it, all honour to him, and external circumstances had tended to give it additional impulsion. When it did come to a stop, it is no wonder then that its thin-worn mechanism easily yielded to the force of reaction and ran rickety down-hill.

After the Tory meeting, to which I referred at the outset, was over, I could not help, from a feeling of kindly sympathy, going forward to speak to Mr. Weaver—for who could but pity him now, forced by an unkind fate to associate with those whom he could not but still despise and who secretly detested him. He met me with some self-consciousness of disgrace in his face, but took my hand warmly as one who meets a friend in a foreign land. I didn't wish to jeer him, but rather wished to cheer him up a bit, poor soul!

"You've had a good meeting," I said.

"Yes," he replied, with a faint smile; "you see everybody has given up his own judgment in politics."

"Come, now, Mr. Weaver," I said, "don't slide on to an argument on politics. You'll be sure to fall if you do!"

"Ah!" he exclaimed, "I am not ashamed of my opinions, nor afraid to discuss them, now, any more than I was when I advocated true Radical principles—the same principles that I maintain to-day—before you were born."

"Tell me, Mr. Weaver," I said, "did you creep backward when you were a child?"

Mr. Weaver was called away at this juncture by a member of committee, and did not answer me. No doubt he thought I was joking with him, but, if the editor will allow me, I will show that there is a deal of philosophy underlying the question. Like all social philosophers—Plato and Rousseau, for example—I take a deep interest in the early uprearing of the race.

When I first alarmed my family connections by exhibiting a propensity for Land League and Socialistic principles, I remember my mother in admonishing me, said: "When you were a bairn, Johnny, you always crept backwards, and I aye mind an auld beggar woman at the door ance said on seeing ye stick fust against the wa', 'Weel fa' the callant! he gangs backward the noo, but, fegs! ye'll find he'll gang weel furett when he grows up!'" I reflected upon this remark, and perceived there was sound philosophy in it. There is a period of reaction, or creeping backward, I reasoned, inevitable in all men's lives, and it is well that it should take place in youth—it is a bad case when it overtakes the individual half-way or towards the end of his life. Recognising the intimate relation between physical and mental habit, I concluded that it is a good sign to see children creep backwards; they are sure then to go, as the old woman said, right ahead when they grow up. I even reasoned that it would be a wise plan to purposely train children to creep backwards, just as we now vaccinate them against small-pox. Besides, there is another advantage in children creeping backwards. Children who creep forward are continually cracking their little heads against chair-legs and bed-posts, whereby the youthful cerebrum suffers considerable cellular modification—a fact which, seeing most British children creep forward, probably accounts for the prevalence of lunacy and conservatism in this country. Children, on the other hand, who creep backwards, by a wise dispensation of providence suffer the concussions upon a part of their body upon which, according to the wisdom of the ages, repeated concussions, so far from proving harmful in any way, exercise quite a wholesome influence in determining the mental habit of youth in the straight and forward path of rectitude.

It is my firm conviction, therefore, that if due enquiry were made it would be found that all true champions of freedom who have gone on unswervingly to the end, started in life by creeping backwards, thus forestalling the inevitable law of reaction. Mr. Weaver, I am certain sure, began by creeping forward in the conventional way; consequently he had to make amends to fate later on. He is now doing so. And if truth were at all admissible in epitaphs, and if to me were appointed the task of writing Mr. Weaver's when he is dead (and far distant may that time be!), I would—in the light of the new philosophy of creeping which I have just endeavoured to elucidate—simply inscribe the words: "He died creeping backwards."

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

A CONSUMER'S COMPLAINT.—"Coal has gone up." "Is that so; coal-beds run out?" "No." "Miners struck?" "No." "Coal barons going to pay higher wages?" "No." "Seventy-five cents per ton duty taken off coal?" "No; that would make it cheaper, not dearer." "Extraordinary demand for coal?" "No." "Dealers looking for bigger profits?" "Well, no, not to speak of. Corner on Nature's bounty to all, that's what's the matter. The octopus, the coal barons, have been in consultation." Conspiracy and result! Have not the coal barons got their tentacles on all the coal lands; on all the means of transportation from the mines; on the representatives in legislatures and in congress; on the judges of the courts, and on the titles and deeds that they will sustain them in holding and claiming that which they never created? Have they not got the miners so starved into submission that they dare not call their souls their own (and they doubt very much if miners have any souls); and have they not got a hand in every consumer's pocket? Yes, and the Lord be praised!—*The Advance*.

Every man in this country is born a member of a great and powerful society; and we never hesitate to act towards him on the supposition that his being so born gives that society rights to be enforced against him. Equally true is it that he has a birthright by being born a member of society. . . . In the words of the greatest of political philosophers, he has "a right to all that society, with all its combinations of skill and capital, can do in his favour." In the words of one greater than man—the words in which is recorded the primeval sentence of our race—a sentence which contains at once the hard lot of the labouring man and the great charter of his rights, a charter prior to the authority of states or the rights of property—he has a right "in the sweat of his brow to eat bread." That society has forgotten its duties in which such a claim as this is not answered; in the social or economic system of that country in which men are willing to work and cannot eat their bread there is something radically wrong. The right of every man in the land is, to the utmost of all the power of the society that claims him as a member, to have the power of earning a livelihood secured to him. This is the first, the elder duty of society. It is vain to speak of the blessings of increasing national wealth, if to this you sacrifice the comforts of the poor. Better, far better for the country, would be the state of things which would give to every working-man in the country the assurance that his industry would command, for its reasonable exertion, the means of livelihood, than the most brilliant prospects which could be opened of wealth to our merchants, of magnificence to our nobles, or aggrandisement to our manufacturers.—*Isaac Butt, LL.D.: Lectures on Political Economy, delivered at Dublin University January 1846.*

THE UNION OF THE DEMOCRACIES.

(From the French of BERANGER. Translated by CHARLES J. GLADWELL.)

There came to me a vision as of Peace,
A Goddess bright, descending to the earth;
Hushed were the sounds of war, and in their place
Spread gladsome joy, and merriment and mirth.
"Arise," the Goddess cried, "in love fraternal,
French, German, English, peoples of all lands!
Form now in unity a bond eternal,
And grasp each other's hands."

"Unhappy men! E'en ye who seek to quell
The springs of hatred take but troubled rest;
Learn from your sorrows now in peace to dwell;
Enjoy the good with which your earth is blest.
While fastened to the Juggernaut of Power
Ye ne'er can learn what happiness demands;
Then free yourselves henceforth from this hour,
And grasp each other's hands."

"Against your neighbours now ye bear the sword,
With flames devour their cottages and homes;
And e'er the sun lights up the scene abhorred
O'er the sad field grim death in silence roams.
At your frontiers the blood of your own race
Upon each tuft of green your hatred brands;
Cease then this strife, these passions foul and base,
And grasp each other's hands."

"In insolence your rulers and your kings—
While burning cities desolate the plains,
And the still air with groans of dying riugs—
Yet callously recount their bloody gains.
Weak, simple herds! How helplessly ye leave
Your heavy yokes for martial chains and bands.
Now quit your bonds, past errors now retrieve,
And grasp each other's hands."

"And since your rulers cease not war to wage,
Ye must among yourselves your peace secure.
Shed not your blood, nor in fell strife engage
For thankless kings or heroes of the hour.
By men of genius be not led astray,
The truly great iniquity withstands;
Then turn your thoughts towards a brighter day,
And grasp each other's hands."

"For ever, then, the happy peace prolong,
Casting o'er the past a heavy veil;
Pursue your toil to sounds of gladsome song,
Let victories of peaceful art prevail.
Hope smiling in the bosom of rich plenty,
You'll welcome the sweet fruits of marriage bands;
All nations dwell henceforth in loving bounty,
And grasp each other's hands."

We have received from Napoleone Colajanni a pamphlet on 'Collective Property' (Di Alcieni Studii recenti sulla Proprietà Collettiva), which students of Socialism will find of use to them. There are several careless and unnecessary printing errors in English words quoted in it.

"The labourer is worthy of his hire." Yes, but the word "hire" means not what he usually gets for his labour, but what he should really get for his labour. It is the violation of this simple law that has ruined several nations and is now breeding barbarians in our midst.—*Dr. McGlynn*.

Henry George first preached "the land for the people"; then he recanted so far as to claim "the land-tax for the people"; now he fully crawfishes and swears that he will disturb "no right of property nor change the titles by which land is held." This is terrible rough on Galileo.—*Denver Labour Enquirer*.

'LONDONER ARBEITER ZEITUNG.'—This paper, like our own, is making heroic efforts to cope with great difficulties. Any reader who has a German friend who wants a Socialist paper in his own tongue, might direct his attention to this one. Its address is 49, Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, W., and the subscription same as to *Commonweal*.

Society as it exists to-day will not continue. As instruction gradually descends to the lower classes, they discover the secret sore which has been gnawing at the heart of social order since the beginning of the world; a sore which is the cause of all popular agitations. The excessive inequality of conditions and fortunes could be endured as long as it was hidden on the one hand by ignorance, on the other by factitious civil organisation. But as soon as this inequality becomes generally recognised, its death-blow has been struck.

Recompose, if you can, those fictions of aristocracy; try to persuade the poor when they can read, when light is borne to them every day by the press, from town to town and village to village; try to persuade them when they possess the same knowledge and understanding as you, that they ought to submit to every privation, while neighbour so-and-so has, without working, a thousand times the wherewithal to live. Your efforts will be in vain. Expect not of the crowd impossible virtues.

When financial and commercial barriers shall have been abolished between different states, as they have already been between provinces of the same states; when wages, which are but a prolonged slavery, shall have become emancipated by the help of the equality established between producer and consumer; when the different countries, interchanging manners, abandoning national prejudices, abandoning the old ideas of supremacy or conquest, shall draw close to the union of peoples,—by what means will you then force society to return to worn-out principles? Even Bonaparte could not.

Before reaching this goal of a union of peoples, this goal of a natural democracy, we shall have to pass through a period of social decomposition, a period of anarchy, perhaps of blood, assuredly of weakness. This decomposition has begun; but has not yet advanced far enough to be ready to reproduce the new society.—*The end of Chateaubriand's 'Essai sur la littérature Anglaise et considérations sur le génie des hommes, des temps et des révolutions.'*



"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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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

N. W. (Laurencekirk).—This paper is not larger because it is now as big—bigger in fact—than we can afford. It is even now produced at a weekly loss. If a few more friends would take the interest in it you evidently do, and point out its fulness of news and information on the labour problem, canvass for subscribers, and help on its circulation, we should be glad to enlarge it as fast as we could manage it. Other friends please take the hint.

T. F.—Want something to do? Read answer above, and push the paper—that will aid propaganda all round.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday September 28.

ENGLAND		SPAIN	
Justice	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	El Productor	
Norwich—Daylight	Denver (Col.)—Labor Enquirer	Cadiz—El Socialismo	
Labour Tribune	Hampton (N.J.)—Credit Fonder	Madrid—El Socialista	
Railway Review	N. Eaven—Workmen's Advocate		
Londner Arbeiter-Zeitung	Detroit (Mich.)—The Advance		
Worker's Friend	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West		
Die Autonomie	Buffaloer Arbeiter-Zeitung		
Jus			
INDIA		HOLLAND	
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Hague—Recht voor Allen	
UNITED STATES		Amsterdam—Voorwaarts	
New York—Der Sozialist	Le Socialiste		
Freiheit	La Revolte		
Leader	Guise—Le Devoir		
Volkszeitung	Lille—Le Travailleur		
Truthseeker			
Union Advocate			
Boston—Woman's Journal			
Liberty			
Chicago (Ill.)—Labor Enquirer			
Vorboten			
Knights of Labor			
Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt			

'LABOUR, LEISURE, AND LUXURY.'

A BOOK on economic subjects, that modestly displays within its boards twelve closely printed pages of laudation from the capitalist press, and opens with the statement that "the teaching of the most erroneous and subversive doctrines regarding property has been increasing and bearing fruit to an alarming extent," is sure to be regarded by a Socialist with suspicion, and likely to be read by him with rather a critical eye. Such a book is 'Labour, Leisure, and Luxury,' of which a popular edition has been issued recently. The author, a Mr. Alexander Wylie, who is said to be himself a large employer of labour, naturally enough approaches the labour question with not a few of the prejudices of his class, and arrives at conclusions likely to afford the greatest satisfaction to his capitalist friends.

He maintains that the rule of "that great commercial dictator, the capitalist," is necessitated by "the luxurious indulgence and consequent immorality of an industrial population," and that popular luxuriousness is a great cause of the concentration of property into few hands. He says a great cause, but all through his book an observant reader will notice he manipulates his subject and his words in such a manner that the unwary will not fail to conclude that it is THE great cause, if not the ONLY cause. Thus he states in the conclusion of his book that the whole question of economic progress is bound up in the question of the acquisition by the working-classes of property, which must be acquired by saving that which is now expended upon vicious luxuries. Seeing that Mr. Wylie has taken into consideration only one of the causes (if cause it be) of the appropriation by the few of the surplus labour and value gained by union, which, as he says truly, should have gone to the civilising of the whole mass, it is evident that his attempt to solve the labour problem must necessarily be an utter failure.

How far wrong he has gone is shown by his advocacy of thrift as the panacea for the ills we bear. Abstinence by the workers from vicious luxuries is, according to him, the only means by which the emancipation of labour can be achieved. Now, thrift is all very well in its proper place, but as a cure for poverty it is simply out of the question. One is tempted to doubt the sanity of the man that would preach such a gospel for the poor, even to workers that are far better

off than the many placed in the same economic conditions as the Dorsetshire labourer mentioned by Mr. Wylie—a worker whose rate of wages "on the average is rather less than ten shillings per week, including every perquisite in the shape of extra food, beer, money, firing, and extra pay at hay-time and harvest," of which miserable sum "one-sixth has to be paid for rent of house," so that "it is only by feeding on coarse bread, potatoes, cabbage, and rice in scant allowance, with occasionally a bit of pork, that he can contrive to keep himself, wife, and two or three children in life." Just imagine the diseased mental and moral state of the man who would advise poor, half-starved wretches like these to spend less on vicious luxuries, and to procure with their savings "respectable Sunday suits" (even "at the cost of considerable privation in their food supplies and other things"), then furniture, then houses, and lastly, "the tools, machinery, workshops, factories, lands, ships, etc., requisite for carrying on their daily avocations"! Is it astonishing that "the subversive doctrines regarding property" should be eagerly accepted in preference to doctrines that, like Mr. Wylie's, but mock the people and bring nothing but despair to hundreds of thousands of families?

Mr. Wylie's main idea is that "that moral condition of society which encourages abnormal accumulation of wealth by the few is the unfitness of the many for the use of larger means of life than the residuum left by their wealthier fellows," who are, however, as he candidly admits, "often men of much the same moral calibre as themselves." This ridiculous theory is best met by simply showing how false is the historical statement upon which it seems to be based. Mr. Wylie says: "The higher wages which followed the introduction of steam-power, and the countless mechanical inventions which turned it to account, in Lancashire especially, where it has been most taken advantage of, instead of enriching, strengthening, and educating, in the ignorant and immoral hands of the workmen positively helped to make them poorer, feebler, more sensual and ignorant; and well was it for the nation, themselves included, that the superior men amongst them were, partly by this very improvidence and ignorance, raised into such a position of power as capitalists that they could take from them, with the strong and stern hand that which, while being wasted, would have wasted their own souls, and though devoting it generally to the maintenance of a huge system of refined luxury, rescue it from the tenfold worse abuse of gluttony, debauchery, and idleness." Compare that with the following account of the condition of the worker at the very same period, given in 'Six Centuries of Work and Wages,' by Professor Thorold Rogers, who is surely more worthy of credence as a historian than Mr. Wylie: "The factory hand was even worse off than the labourer, and, as machinery was gradually being introduced into the manufacture of textile fabrics, the handloom weaver was worst off of all. Great as was the demand for labour under the new system, it was, unfortunately, not counterbalanced by an increase of real wages, hardly of nominal wages, for the demand was for both sexes and nearly all ages. But the severest penury fell on those who had been, in the older days of manufacture, the specially skilled artisans in textile fabrics." Again he says: "That the patents of Arkwright and Peel secured enormous fortunes for these inventors or purchasers of inventions we all know; that they ultimately cheapened production is equally clear; that they gave England wellnigh a monopoly in the supply of textile fabrics is as manifest; but it does not strictly follow that the English workman was better paid. The handloom weaver was undoubtedly impoverished, but I do not find that the machine weaver bettered his position. His wages remained low, his means were even straitened, and the misery of the manufacturing districts was even greater than that of the agricultural." So much for our author's knowledge of history and his application of it to the solution of the labour problem.

Having detected such a glaring misrepresentation of a historical fact, we cannot be expected to place much confidence in the other statements Mr. Wylie makes in proof of the gross immorality of the working people, even if we have no other reasons for believing them inaccurate. According to his account, Dumbarton, which he does not say is worse than other places, appears to have been a regular pandemonium in prosperous times. The great majority of the riveters there, earning during these times from five to ten pounds a-week of 51 hours, spent all their fabulous wages in riot and debauchery, often swallowing up, in addition, the smaller gains of their wives, whom they sent without scruple to do their 56½ hours in Mr. Wylie's own works. Without enquiring why the latter—believing strongly that the immense majority of the working people require "the strong guidance of the capitalist, or to use the good old-fashioned word, 'the master,'" whilst disapproving of men making slaves of their wives, and holding that the true sphere of the woman is in her own house attending to her children and the domestic comfort of her husband—did not refuse employment to them, we cannot but think that our friend is apt to be carried away by excess of zeal into the domains of fiction. It is certainly true that many of the working-class (and quite as large a proportion of the other classes) indulge in what are called vicious luxuries, among which drink occupies the first place, but it is not true that the great majority do so. Moreover, the greater number of these so-called "immoral" workers are driven to drink by their economic condition.

This was shown clearly in an able article on "Consumption," which appeared recently in the Scotsman. It was stated on the authority of Dr. Andrew Smart that in this country there are 850,000 souls engaged in manual labour that causes a startling abbreviation of life—consumption being the test disease, that by which is gauged the comparative unhealthiness of the work engaged in by a tenth part of our industrial

population. "Consumption is not like cholera, it does not kill in a night. It may be feeding on its victim three, six, or even twelve months, before finally destroying him. Let us suppose the case of a workman engaged in one of these unhealthy trades. At first he does not feel anything amiss; but, by and bye, the poisonous nature of the atmosphere surrounding him, or the constraint of the bodily position in which he has to work, or the keen-edged dust he is forced to breathe, or any of the other causes that suffice to make work unhealthy, begins to tell upon him. The human frame is good for resistance up to a certain point; but pass that point, and the recuperative power is gone, and the strength of the man runs down like a clock with the weights off. Within a period of time then, varying, of course, with the constitution of the workman, he finds that he is not so apt for labour as he used to be. Why, perhaps, he cannot tell. A depression of spirits steals over him. His labours become a burden, not a pleasure. This lassitude growing not lessening, he in time finds his strength not sufficient for his day's work. But the man must work or he will starve. It will not do for him to be ill. Strength must be got somehow. How? Now, as we do not wish to be suspected even of a temporary lapse into the cant of teetotalism, we will try, in stating the case, to err, if at all, on the side of moderation. But look at the question fairly. Let us put ourselves in the workman's shoes, and then say where we would go for stimulus. It is all very well for men who have never been tempted (note this, Mr. Alexander Wylie) to preach against the "sin" of tasting ardent spirits. Let us suppose, however, a case in which the man does not resort to drink after he begins to feel the budding of the germs of consumption that have been sown so plentifully by the work he is engaged in. *If he still keeps to his work, and does not use alcoholic stimulants, one of these two things must necessarily happen. He will either work less or work worse.* His labour will be inferior either in point of quantity or in point of quality. In either case his wages will be reduced, while his home expenses increase, and thus the hope, much less the act, of saving rapidly becomes a thing of the past. Not being able to save while he is at work, it necessarily follows that when the disease grows upon him to such an extent as to disable him for work altogether, he must become a burden either to the parish or to his friends." Now, the 850,000 workmen referred to, leave on a very moderate estimate 212,500 descendants who will, in the course of time, develop the hereditary disease, and require to use "the same means as their fathers to stave it off. Then the number of drinkers is reinforced by those whose daily work incapacitates them for enjoying any but the coarsest pleasures during their brief period of cessation from toil. If temperance reformers took a reasonable view of the case, they would readily admit that in most cases drunkenness is not the cause of poverty, but poverty of drunkenness. It is strange Mr. Wylie does not see this, the more so that he makes the following statement. "Drunkenness is the delusive refuge into which, in the Anglo-Saxon race especially, human nature, working below its proper healthy, moral, and consequently happy tone, almost inevitably rushes."

On the assumption, then, that the working classes have a bigger share of original sin than their "superiors," and are therefore unfit to make a proper use of the wealth they create, the author of 'Labour, Leisure, and Luxury' justifies the appropriation of as much of that wealth as possible by the upper classes, and the expenditure of it on themselves—a doctrine that makes short work of the eighth commandment, and is, therefore, above all others pernicious and immoral. While it is undoubtedly true that too little attention has hitherto been paid to the subject of what wealth it is most beneficial to produce for consumption by the race, there is every reason to believe that ignorance on this point is as prevalent among the wealthy as among the working classes. Be that as it may, Mr. Wylie rejoices that his class has the power of abstracting from the workers the greater part of the wealth the latter produce. To his credit, however, he believes that property has its duties, and insists that it is the first duty of his propertied friends (*after* those which they owe to themselves) "to strive as much as lies in their power to ameliorate the condition of the toiling millions whose industry enables their capital to fructify." Unfortunately the effect of such wholesome teaching will likely be nullified by the saving clause, for the leisured classes have rather inordinate notions as to what they owe to themselves. Still, Mr. Wylie tries to remove every obstacle self-interest may lay in the path of duty. In case they may be afraid of undermining their present position of privilege by attending to the duties of property, he informs them that when the working classes have with the help of their "masters" realised Mr. Wylie's ideal social state, when the working classes have "by higher intelligence and morality" acquired a larger share of property, the numbers of those enabled to lead the lives of luxurious sinecurists through the present concentration of wealth will not be curtailed. Philanthropy with no worse result than this is by no means "dangerous," and ought to be rather popular among the classes. The masses, however, will understand what sort of friend they have in Mr. Wylie, on learning that he looks forward with equanimity to their being saddled for all time with the annual payment of the £550,000,000, which as he himself shows is at present secured for the entire and special luxury of about 750,000 families.

Taken all in all this book will certainly not help in the very least to stem the tide of Socialism. Its author hopes, it is true, that it will "help to dispel those Communistic ideas so prevalent in neighbouring countries from the minds of our working classes," but how can he expect this result when he has not taken the slightest trouble to learn what those ideas are? He not only neglects to examine Socialism and criticise it, but carefully avoids considering the pressing economic

problems of the day; indeed he is to be condemned not so much for what he says, as for what he leaves unsaid. He does not show how dull trade, scarcity of work, starvation wages, adulteration, and similar evils are to be remedied. Fearful of exposing the weakness of his position he ignores these problems—problems which the working people feel must be settled without delay, and which Socialism alone boldly grapples with and successfully solves. J. HALDANE SMITH.

NOTES BY A TRADES'-UNIONIST.

THE *Labour Tribune* has a more than ordinarily stupid leader on the recent vote of the Northumberland miners *re* Messrs. Burt and Fenwick. It is gravely argued that, because the men refuse longer to support these political jelly-fish, therefore all progress is to be stayed and the workers to be left helpless in the hands of their enemies. "Who will fight the battle of the poor man in Northumberland if the withdrawals take place? What will prevent the middle-class man from being chosen and returned?"

As if as far as fighting goes, middle-class men like Graham and Labouchere have not shown far more pluck and energy than any of the so-called labour M.P.'s, who misrepresent the workers at present.

It is strange that our contemporary should remain so blind and deaf to the ferment of the "new wine" of Socialism that is quickening the impulses and aspirations of "organised labour," in whose name it claims to speak. Here is a sentence which one might expect to find in the *Daily Telegraph*, or other plunderer's paper, but which seems oddly out of place in a *Labour Tribune*:—"It will be a bad day for England when feeling runs so high against capitalists as it is doing now in America, in connection with the condemned Chicago Socialists." Will the editor in his great wisdom please to "enlighten our darkness" in regard to this?

Mr. Pickard, M.P., has been delivering himself before a meeting of Yorkshire miners, in regard to Mr. Burt, the Socialists, and direct labour representation. He appears to have been suffering under an acute attack of spleen that still further muddled his not over brilliant brains. Yorkshiremen are generally credited with being pretty 'cute, and they must have sadly deteriorated since I lived amongst them if they listened without laughing at the ludicrous assertions of Mr. Pickard, viz., that the aims and interests of Socialists and Tories were identical, and that they were striving to form a labour party for the purpose of destroying the power and influence of the trades' unions.

Instead of making these senseless, blundering statements, it would be better for Mr. Pickard and his colleagues, if they expect or desire to remain "leaders," to make some enquiry into the doctrines they denounce and into the character of its exponents. It might surprise them to find that a large proportion of Socialists are as active and earnest trades' unionists even as themselves, and considerably less entitled to be classed as Tories, or at least the friends of Tories.

How fallacious are the charges made by Mr. Pickard may easily be seen by any one who will take the trouble to send to Mr. Mack, 4 Back Marlow Street, Blyth, secretary of the North of England Socialist Federation, for a copy of the constitution and rules of that association, which was founded as the result of the agitation during the late strike. Here are two items of the programme:

- "(3) Helping Trades'-unionism, Co-operation, and every genuine movement for the good of the workers.
- (4) Promoting a scheme for the National and International Federation of Labour."

An M.P., writing in the *Pall Mall Gazette* on the vote of the Northumberland miners, pays fair tribute to the influence of the Socialist propaganda, and in an "occasional note" in the same paper, commenting on the subject and on Mr. Pickard's speech, the following pertinent observation occurs, which I commend to all those whom it may concern:—"Mr. Pickard, indeed, went on to abuse them [the Socialists] soundly, and even to ridicule them; but a cause which, in the opinion of its opponents, is strong enough already to effect a revolution in the relations between the miners and their representatives, can afford to bear a good deal of ridicule."

The following almost incredible act of folly is recorded in the *Pall Mall* of Tuesday:

"About three hundred men, employed by the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway Company, met at Mexborough on Sunday, and resolved to forego one week's wages with the object of assisting the company to pay the claims arising out of the Hexthorpe collision."

One's astonishment to find in these hard times a body of workers who can afford to be so munificent, is overcome by indignation as to the object of the outlay. Surely these men might have found amongst their own class more needy and more deserving recipients of their bounty. They might, for instance, have given a thought to their fellow-workers victimised by the rascality and rapacity of the Midland Railway Co. instead of wasting their charity on the dividend drones of the M. S. & L. R. C. It will be well for these "generous" workmen if the directors, perceiving that the employés have more money than wit to use it wisely, do not take an early opportunity to reduce their wages. Should such be the case, I for one, should almost be inclined to say, "Serve them right!" T. BINNING.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

THE OLDHAM DISTRICT COTTON INDUSTRY.—The operatives' strikes in many of the mills have been settled by compromise. The mills at Castleton are running short time. The operatives at Messrs. Hopwood and Sons continue on strike.

MORE MISERY.—Considerable dismay has been caused at Portsmouth by two hundred additional men receiving notice of discharge from the dockyard. It was hoped, from Lord George Hamilton's recent statement, that all discharges had ceased.

THE SHIP-JOINERS' STRIKE AT ELSWICK.—There is no change in the attitude of the joiners at present on strike owing to a dispute in the sharing of the work at Armstrong, Mitchell, and Co.'s works at Elswick. The men are still waiting a reply from the firm, whom they have approached with a view to negotiations for a settlement.

SHIPBUILDING ON THE CLYDE.—About 200 workmen employed in the shipbuilding yard of Messrs. Caird and Co., Greenock, were discharged on Saturday. A fortnight ago the same firm paid off 120 men, and further discharges are expected when the new P. and O. steamer *Britannia* is fitted out. Messrs. Caird and Co. have at present nothing in the stocks and no order on hand. The outlook for the Clyde workers in connection with shipbuilding during the coming winter is of a dismal nature.

SOUTH WALES COLLIERS.—The announcement that the representatives of about sixty thousand colliers in South Wales have given notice to their employers to terminate the existing sliding-scale arrangements causes apprehension. The men urge that upon the existing basis they do not obtain fair remuneration. The agreement is of no effect in cases of dispute, because no provision is made for the adjustment of differences relating to matters not specified in the agreement. Moreover, the workmen receive no advance whatever unless the price of coal rises 4d. per ton, whereas, if the market fall to the extent of the smallest decimal, a reduction of 2½ per cent. is immediately effected in their wages.

STRIKE OF TAILORS IN DROGHEDA.—The tailors in the employment of Thomas Brady, Nationalist, T.C., Drogheda, having demanded an equal wage to that paid by other houses in the town, were locked out. An indignation meeting, in which all the local trade and labour bodies took part, was held, and for the first time in an Irish provincial town, the Socialistic view of the labour question was expounded. The strike will probably be a prolonged one, as both sides are resolved on holding out to the last.

THE PROPOSED CO-OPERATIVE GLASS-MANUFACTURING SOCIETY.—The suggested starting of this society has caused some little excitement at Stourbridge. The recent difficulty between masters and men has been practically settled, and the proposed starting of a co-operative glass-manufactory has come as a surprise upon the masters. The men, as is well known, have considerable funds in their trade society—as much as £10,000—and if the committee decided to apply any important part of it in a manufacturing concern the thing could be begun, as a matter of course. The promoters of the scheme are, however, looking beyond this to a large number of shares being taken up by the glassmakers themselves, and many of the men have promised to take shares.

MINERS AND THE EIGHT HOURS MOVEMENT.—The Welsh coal miners' delegates, having met to consider a report of the Trade Union Congress, passed the following resolution: "That this meeting is convinced, by practical experience, that eight hours is quite sufficient for miners to be in any mine in every twenty-four hours when working single shift, and seven hours when working double shift; and that we are of opinion that the produced wealth of the country is ample to permit the miners a moderate living for the said amount of labour: therefore we urge upon the miners of the whole country to organise and agitate for an Eight Hours' Labour Act."

NORTHAMPTON STRIKE—"ROUGH ON 'RATS'."—Serious rioting has taken place in Northampton over the boot strike, which has now been in existence ten weeks, and at present shows no sign of abatement. Last week one of the men who is at work contrary to the women's union was so frightened at the demonstrations of hostility to him that he dropped down dead in the factory. He was surrounded by policemen at the time. The jury returned a verdict that death was accelerated by the menacing attitude of the crowd. On Tuesday night a crowd of about a thousand workpeople surrounded the factory of Messrs. Cove and West, and hooted and hissed the "accommodating" workmen as they left. Some were chased along the streets in different directions, followed by showers of mud. One man took refuge in a tailor's shop, and was some time afterwards found hiding in the cellar. He was escorted to his home by two policemen. Later in the evening, stone-throwing was commenced, and the windows of the factory, the house where the employers have been boarding some men, and the homes of some of the workmen, were shattered. Considerable excitement prevails, and a renewal of the stone-throwing and intimidation is expected every night.

THE STRIKE IN THE NAIL TRADE.—At a meeting of nailers on strike, held at Broomsgrove, there was a good attendance. Mr. Roberts presided, and in the course of an address said the present was the best strike they ever had in the nail trade, both at Broomsgrove and in the up-country districts. Mr. Powell advised the nailers not to be discouraged at anything they heard. He believed they would not be out long, for they had the public sympathy on their side. In explaining the low state to which they were reduced, he said they now received 13s. for work which a few years ago they had 30s. for, and at that time trade was not a bit better than other trades, so that the public could judge of the extent to which they had been reduced. Mr. Collins wished it particularly to be known that the master by whom he had been employed had, since the strike began, been going about and buying up all the nails he could get at 10 per cent. less than the 1879 list—the price which the nailers asked for before the strike. The men were encouraged to continue firm, and the meeting adjourned.—At an open-air mass meeting of nailers at Halesowen, Mr. Price, president of the association, stated that the strike was the most general he had ever known in the trade, very few of the operatives being at work. None of the masters had agreed to pay the advance. A resolution was adopted deciding to continue the strike until all the masters had conceded the increase. Later.—At mass meetings on the 26th it was decided to submit the dispute to arbitration, provided the employers consent.

THE BOLTON STRIKE.—Although the masters announce that as far as they are concerned the dispute is at an end, the position of the men on strike is

in no way altered, except that whereas last week the door of compromise was open, it is now closed. The twentieth week of the strike will be entered upon with prospects of an amicable settlement even more distant than at first. The men have refused to accept arbitration, and the employers are taking measures to fill their workshops with imported labour. The arguments urged by the men as justifying their action in refusing arbitration on the terms offered are various. Of course, had they resumed work the subscriptions which have hitherto flowed in so liberally would have at once ceased. There are now, roughly estimated, 300 imported men in the various works. These the masters would not undertake to discharge. Consequently a large number of Bolton workmen would have remained in the streets chargeable upon the funds of their organisations at a time when no outside aid was forthcoming. The words "as required" in the masters' proposal might be construed into tens, fifties, or hundreds, according to the will of the employers. Further, the men entertain the opinion that the masters would do all in their power to cripple the society's funds by forcing them to maintain a large number of out-of-work members. It is also urged that the men having come out on strike in a body, if they agree to arbitration, should have the privilege, win or lose, of resuming work. The last notice of the employers appears to close the doors to any further negotiations, and so far as they are concerned the strike hands have no choice but to resume work on the present terms or remain out. The employers do not now hesitate to assert that they confidently believe if the men had consented to resort to arbitration pure and simple on the wages question, the umpire would have had no alternative but to decree a further reduction. The men have decided on local practical measures, and at a full meeting of the Bolton United Trades' Council on the 21st, it was resolved to contest every ward in the borough at the forthcoming municipal elections, as a protest against the action of the authorities in connection with the existing strike in the iron trades, that is the bringing into the town of a large force of extra police and military, and retaining them despite the decided opinions of the ratepayers to the contrary.

ITALY.

The Labor Party of Italy held its third Congress at Pavia on Sept. 18th and 19th. Among the subjects for discussion on the programme were the re-organisation of the Labour Party itself; the practical means for securing Parliamentary representation; abolition of political struggle; the establishment of a centre for oratorical instruction for propaganda; the propagandist press, etc. We have received no details of the sittings as yet. The programme is of interest, and the discussion upon it should be fruitful.

SOCIALIST CO-OPERATION.

ONE of the largest and most successful meetings ever held at the hall of the Socialist League, 13, Farringdon Road, took place on Wednesday, Sept. 21, when A. C. Varley delivered his lecture on the above important subject. The following resolution was passed by a large majority:—"That in the opinion of this meeting it is desirable to start a Co-operative Society on Socialist lines." In accordance with this resolution a Provisional Committee has been formed to draw up the scheme to be submitted for acceptance at another meeting, which will be duly announced. Several persons who think well of the proposal, have already promised to contribute towards the necessary capital, receiving neither interest nor dividend, but secured by debenture bonds on the property of the Society. The Provisional Committee consists of the following:—H. A. Barker, T. Binning, W. Binning, D. C. Dallas, E. C. Fox, Mrs. S. Gostling, F. Kitz, J. F. Murray, J. Turner, A. C. Varley, and T. E. Wardle, with power to add to their number. The Committee will meet at 13, Farringdon Road, at 7.30 p.m., next Tuesday, Oct. 4. It is earnestly requested that the whole Committee be present on that occasion. A. C. Varley will deliver his lecture at the Bloomsbury Branch of the League at the German Communist Club, in Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, on Thursday, October 13th, at 8.30 p.m. An opportunity will thus be given for further discussion. D. C. D.

The "Chambre Syndicale Ouvrière de la Cordonnerie de France" recently opened a subscription-list for the benefit of the shoemakers on strike at Northampton, and voted a sum of money from its own funds, "as evidence of the international solidarity of the workers."—E. T.

We hear that our comrade John Neave who has suffered in the German prisons before for his activity in the propagation of Socialism, will be brought up on October 3, to go through the farce of a trial on the charge of high treason.

CITY OF LONDON COLLEGE, WHITE STREET, MOORFIELDS, E.C.—POLITICAL ECONOMY.—We are glad to learn that the Council of this College, recognising the value of this subject to their students and young men generally, have established a course of lectures in political economy, which will be free to all the students connected with the college. Mr. Sidney Webb, L.L.B., barrister-at-law, the distinguished Professor of Political Economy at the College will, it is expected, attract a large number of members to his class. The first lecture will be delivered on Monday, October 10, at 8 p.m.

MORE ENCOURAGEMENT TO "THRIFT."—An extraordinary scene was witnessed on Monday evening at a meeting of creditors and depositors of the Sheffield and South Yorkshire Building Society now in liquidation. The members largely belong to the working classes, and have lost their savings in the society's collapse. The liquidators called a meeting to present their report of the first year's working. While a director was addressing the meeting a member, who declared that he had lost the savings of a lifetime, rushed from the body of the hall to the platform, and made towards the director to assault him. Several people seized the man, but he struggled violently, and it was with the utmost difficulty that he was restrained.—When next Messrs. Bradlaugh and Foote sing the Song of the Savings Bank—if the theme isn't about worn to rags now—perhaps they will give this scene a corner in the rosy picture. We are all weary of hearing of the losses of the poor unfortunate exploiter: suppose the losses of the wealthy wage-slave have a turn?—W. B.

Murder by Law.

A PUBLIC MEETING will be held in CLEVELAND HALL, CLEVELAND STREET (near Portland Road Station), on Friday October 7th, at Eight o'clock, to protest against the proposed murder of the seven Chicago Anarchists upon the false and unsupported testimony of the police. A larger meeting, specially of English workers, is being arranged. Details next week.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE SCOTTISH PLOUGHMAN.

DEAR SIR,—Having been handed one of the issues of your very interesting and excellent paper, bearing date August 27th, I am surprised to see a paragraph signed "J. L. M.," criticising our benefit society. This Unity was never meant for anything else but a benefit society. It was started about 22 years ago, when such grand doctrines as those of Socialism had not been planted except with few seeds, and these, though growing, had not any fibres of grit amongst Scottish or English people, either rural or urban, at that time. No hopes were ever entertained that the "International Ploughmen's Society of Scotland" would ever develop into a thoroughgoing labour organisation. Personally, although I have done as much if not more than any other ploughman to assist the branching-out of that society, I had nothing to do with the baptising of it. In 1872 I thought, and think still, that the Scottish ploughmen, though scattered hither and thither over the land, could be united into one general combination, and at the same time I began to stir the minds of my bretheren of wage-slavedom, but have never succeeded in getting more than a few to help in pushing any kind of unity.

It was in the autumn of 1872 that this society began to sprout its branches. Now seeing that a few have been paying their contributions for 22 years, and with numbers additional from 1872, with membership slowly increasing, and although none of the officials has shown any tendency to Socialism as yet, it is not to be wondered at if those funds of the "International Ploughmen's Society of Scotland" are not allowed either by members or their office-bearers to be spent upon any propaganda of general emancipation or amelioration. My brethren have had no spyglass to see anything but wage-slavedom and their ever-increasing heavy burden of capitalist farmers, landlords, etc., with all their male and female flunkies stuck on, always fixing themselves tighter upon the shoulders of us as a class of workmen. By and by we will begin and think out ways and means for the purpose of being allowed to till the soil under an honest system. This society is not in a very great financial condition; and J. L. M. is at liberty to title this society "International Union" or "slate union"; and at same time I thank J. L. M.—I am, etc.,

R. DEMPSTER.

THE "SWEATER."

It is supposed by many that the sweater is only to be found in the East-end, and that he necessarily lives in a filthy slum, down a dark dirty alley, or at the top of a dilapidated building, or over a stable. This is the description that is given by our novelists and sensation-mongers. But the above description is only a rare exception. Then again there is a misapprehension as to what a sweater really is. The editor of the *Anti-Sweater*, in answer to a correspondent who wrote asking for a definition of the word, said that a sweater was a person who lived on the sweat of his workers, and that the worker was the sweatee. I thought at the time that this was rather a peculiar answer, considering that there are many trades and occupations where the workers sweat a great deal more than a tailor, presser, or machinist under equally unhealthy conditions, and their employers are not called sweaters. Now what is a sweater, and how did the word come to be used? About thirty years ago nearly all the good tailors worked inside the various West-end shops. When some of the shopkeepers found that it was too expensive or inconvenient to keep their journeymen on the premises, they offered to give the men the work at home to make. By this means they reduced the cost of manufacture, as the men had to buy their own fuel, light, machine, etc. So long as these men made only as much as before, they were not reproached, but when, through some reason or other (and these are too numerous to mention), they got more garments to make, they employed male or female help (principally female, for obvious reasons), then they were called sweaters, that being the name that was given to such persons who originally started in the East-end, where most of the Government contracts were executed. Now it is easily seen that there is actually no difference at all between a sweater and any other exploiter of labour. Consequently all persons, in any trade, that employ others for profit are sweaters. Messrs. Maple, or Crosse and Blackwell, for instance, are just as big sweaters as Rich. Phillip in Whitechapel; and more so, because they employ a hundred times as many women and girls, whose average weekly wages are less, and who suffer from all kinds of chest-diseases through inhaling copper and other minerals that are used in the manufacture of pickles, potted meats, etc. I know of many places in the West-end that are quite as filthy and insanitary, etc., etc., as any "sweater's den" in the East-end. When one considers that there is often only one room, and there he works, with a blazing coke fire, a rattling machine, etc., and with two men and three women, and there his wife cooks the "food," keeps the children, washes, and sleeps, etc., it is not to be wondered at that these victims of the capitalist system look like so many unwashed corpses. And these single-breasted masters, as they are called, are increasing in the West-end with alarming rapidity, and competing with each other to such an extent that they have forced down the prices for making coats 40 per cent. in the last few years, and the sweater himself has to work day and night to be able to "live" and pay the extortionate rents that is exacted from him by the landlord. Of course his miserable employés are just as bad off, and perhaps worse, than other "hands." What is the remedy for this state of things? Put a tax on the foreigner? Combine to get a twelve-hour working day (as Mr. Lewis Lyons says), or get an eight-hour bill passed, or make these masters take out licences and not employ less than a dozen hands? What good would these be, when they can earn such miserable wage now, working sixteen hours a-day? How much could they earn in twelve or eight, working as they do on task or piece-work? These are not remedies; they could only tend to aggravate the present state of affairs. The only remedy and the only hope for the workers is Socialism, when the land and the machinery and the capital are in the hands of the whole community, and every one does what he can and gets what he needs. Then away with all such quack remedies, and let us teach the workers, who are all exploited, sweated, and slowly murdered, that as long as this infernal competitive system lasts, so long will we be sweated. That will only be impossible when the majority of the workers are educated as to their moral and social condition, and make up their minds to live and work for their own class, leaving the idle and useless classes to shift for themselves.

H. S., Chelsea.

The Labour movement is the indication of unrest born of unjust conditions. The Labour organisations the factors to secure the necessary change by peaceful means.—*Union Advocate*.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

London Members.—The Monthly Meeting of London Members will be held on Monday next, October 3rd, at 9 p.m.

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

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Donation.—H. A. B., 5s. **Weekly Subscriptions.**—W. B., 6d.; Llednulf, 6d.; K. F., 1s.; C. J. F., 2s.; Oxford Branch, 2s.; Langley, 2s.; E. B. B., 1s.; P. W., 6d.; T. B., 6d. P. WEBB, Treasurer, Sept. 27.

THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

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

Strike Committee.—Collected in Regent's Park, 1s. 7.—J. LANE.

REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—Hubert Bland lectured on Thursday last on "State Intervention." The branch held good open-air meetings on Sunday at St. Pancras Arches and on Monday at the Polygon, Dalziel, Neilson, and Bartlett speaking at the former, and Parker at the latter.—U.

CLERKENWELL.—Wednesday, Sept. 21, A. C. Varley lectured on "Socialistic Co-operation." (See page 318). Last Sunday, W. Hardaker lectured on "The Harvest of the Sea." Good open-air meeting held on the Green, addressed by Blundell and Barker. Literature has steady demand.—A. T. and W. B.

HOXTON.—On Thursday, Parker spoke to a good meeting. Sunday morning demonstration very successful, Messrs. Morris, Wade, Grout, Pope, Allman, Barker, and Jas. Allman addressing the meeting. Resolution at close carried unanimously. Evening in hall, W. C. Wade lectured on "Will Socialism benefit the English People," followed by discussion.—C. J. Y.

HACKNEY.—On Wednesday evening, owing to our usual station being occupied by costers, we held a meeting by the Canal bridge, Kingsland Road, where a large and attentive audience was addressed by Allman and Cores. Graham, Brooks, and Cores addressed a good meeting at Warner-place on Sunday evening.

MILE END AND BETHNAL GREEN.—On Tuesday, Davis and Allman addressed a large meeting on the Waste. Opposition was offered by Mr. Eagle, a Free-thinker, who was answered satisfactorily. Two names given in. We held our usual meeting in Victoria Park on Sunday. Opposition was offered by a local tailor, who was well answered by Davis, Brooks, and Matthews. Good sale of *Commonweal*.—H. M.

MITCHAM.—Good meeting on Fair Green on Sunday morning, addressed by Kitz and Blundell. In the evening by Kitz and Parker. About 400 present on both occasions. One new member made, and *Commonweal* sold well.—R. C.

NORTH LONDON.—At Regent's Park on Sunday morning, Cantwell, Arnold, Brooks, and Lane spoke, and 1s. 7d. was collected for propaganda.—T. C.

IPSWICH.—Meetings very satisfactory, increased audiences paying marked attention to Morley and Outing, from Norwich. J. Thomas of our branch, made a neat maiden speech. A fair sale of literature. One new member enrolled.—R.

BRADFORD.—Good meeting last Sunday evening at "Royal Oak," Shipley, when Jowett lectured on "Socialism v. Reform," supported by Minty and Mitchell. Mr. Bamford and Mr. George (Radicals) also spoke.—F. P.

GLASGOW.—On Saturday evening at Jail Square, Glasier and Paterson gave vigorous speeches to a considerable crowd. On Sunday evening also, we had a first-rate meeting at the same place, when addresses were given by Glasier, Downie, and Bullock. On Sunday afternoon, Glasier lectured to a branch of the Irish National League. The members of this branch always show great interest in our doctrines, and we believe that a large number of them will become active workers with us.—A. M'K.

NORWICH.—Last Thursday evening, a good meeting was held on St. Mary's Plain, addressed by Reynolds. Nicoll, of London, addressed a very large meeting in the Market-place on Sunday at 3, speaking for an hour and a half, also on the Agricultural Hall Plain at 7, then lecturing in the Gordon Hall at 8 on the "Political Parties." Mills and White went to North Walsham, Houghton and Morley to Ipswich, Slaughter, Turner, and another to Lowestoft, where two good meetings were held. The evening meeting was interrupted by the police. We intend to defend the right of free speech whatever comes of it, as there is no question of obstruction, the place of meeting being the old market.—T. M.

NOTTINGHAM.—On Thursday, Proctor addressed enthusiastic meeting of Clifton miners on "Labour Organisation." On Sunday in the club-room, a debate was held on the Trades' Union Congress. We are this week moving to larger and more convenient premises in Tokenhouse Yard, Bridlesmith Gate.—A. M. C.

NORWICH.—Nicoll and Henderson held a good meeting on Saturday evening in the Haymarket. Henderson also held meetings during the week at Carrow, St. George's Plain, and the Market-place on Sunday morning and evening.

ST. FAITH'S.—Henderson spoke on the village green on Sunday afternoon to a very good audience. The parson of the parish came out in opposition, and implored the labourers not to listen to us. In consequence of his efforts to stop us, we had a larger meeting than usual, and the *Commonweal* sold better.

YARMOUTH.—Good meeting on the Quay on Thursday, addressed by Henderson.

BLOXWICH.—Good meeting on Friday, addressed by Weaver.

DUDLEY.—A large audience assembled in the Market-place on Tuesday, to listen to address by Weaver. No interference from police on this occasion, although they came and looked on.

DARLSTON.—Weaver spoke here on Saturday to a very attentive audience. A good impression made.

PELSALL.—Weaver and Deakin visited the branch on Wednesday, and spoke to a few comrades.

WALSALL.—A very attentive audience was addressed by Sanders, Weaver, and Deakin on Monday. Two new members made. The Rev. Stewart Headlam will lecture for the branch on October 6th in the Exchange Rooms.—J. T. D.

WEDNESBURY.—Weaver held a good meeting in the Market-place on Thursday.

WOLVERHAMPTON.—An audience of 800 or 900 people was addressed by Weaver in Queen's Square on Saturday. There was considerable interruption, and several questions asked, which were replied to and opposition vigorously dealt with.

SHEFFIELD SOCIALISTS.—On Monday, Sept. 12th, we commenced our winter sessions with a tea and entertainment. About 40 sat down to a good tea, and after seemed thoroughly to enjoy the evening's entertainment. On Monday the 19th, Mr. Story opened a discussion on "Socialism," Mr. J. Fox replying, after which others took part, causing much interest. Adjourned till the 26th, when "The best means of Nationalising the Land" will be the opening question.—M. Woolwich.—Last Sunday Utley failed to put in an appearance, but B. road and Banner held a very good meeting. Broad delivered his first Socialist speech, which was a good one, and gave evidence that he will be of good service to us. Literature sold very well, and collection made for propaganda. We are going

to start a political economy class with a paid teacher. Any one in the neighbourhood who is desirous of joining the class is requested to send his name to R. Banner, 8A, Milward Street, Woolwich. We have received the free use of a school-room to hold our meetings in. Fee for class will be very small.—R. B.

BIRMINGHAM.—Usual meetings were held in the Bull Ring and at the Council House on Sunday evening. The Bull Ring meeting was largely attended, and was quiet and orderly; a very large crowd was waiting at the Council House for the speaker (A. K. Donald). In the course of the address reference was made to Chamberlain and Matthews, the local M.P.'s, which caused their partisans to endeavour unsuccessfully to interrupt the meeting. Feeble cheers for Chamberlain were replied to with three hearty cheers for the social revolution. An indescribable scene of confusion took place after the meeting, the police vainly endeavouring to stop the excited yelling and hooting crowd. As the speaker drove off the Chamberlainites hooted, but their hoots were drowned amid the cheers of sympathisers of the Cause.

GREAT BRIDGE.—Donald addressed the best meeting we have had here on Tuesday, and for the first time something like a good discussion followed the address. A man that keeps a draper's shop made a lengthy speech in support of shopkeepers, and promised the crowd that he would distribute a number of articles the following day to show how sincerely he was devoted to the interests of the workers.

STOURBRIDGE.—Morrison Davidson lectured in the theatre on Monday (Mr. Pageter, Chairman of the Board of Guardians, presiding), on "Rent, Profit, and Interest." One or two local political luminaries rather dissented from Mr. Davidson's view that a hunger revolt loomed in the not very far off, unless some immediate measures were adopted for ameliorating the lot of the masses.

North of England Socialist Federation.

CONSETT.—Macdonald lectured here last Monday evening on "Socialism from a Workman's Standpoint."

ANNITSFORD.—This branch held a very large meeting on Tuesday night, Macdonald lecturing on "Labour the Source of Wealth."

SEGHILL.—A splendid meeting held on Wednesday night in the schoolroom by J. Macdonald, on "Ireland and her Wrongs." At close of address a resolution was passed condemning the recent action of the authorities in Ireland, J. H. Coombe in the chair.

WEST HOLYWELL.—This branch held a meeting on Thursday last in the Co-operative Hall, Macdonald speaking by request of the members on the "Irish Question."

BLYTH.—This branch held its usual Saturday night open-air meeting in the Market-place, Mack and Macdonald being the speakers.

NORTH SHIELDS.—This branch held one of its most successful morning meetings on Sunday last, J. Macdonald speaking on "Workers and their Representatives." 3s. collected, and several members made.

SOUTH SHIELDS.—J. Macdonald spoke here to a good meeting on Sunday night. Sale of papers good, 3s. 0½d. collected, and several members enrolled.

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

Scottish Land and Labour League.

At the meeting of the Executive Branch a committee was appointed, a leaflet written by Mahon approved, Dysart and Gallatown Branch incorporated, arrangements for the coming Miner's Conference in Edinburgh made, and correspondence from various parts of the country read.

EDINBURGH.—On Sunday afternoon, Smith and Gilray addressed good meeting in the Queen's Park. In the evening, Davidson lectured on "Some Objections to Socialism refuted." This paper met with a very cordial approval from the audience.

DYSART AND GALLATOWN.—Two very successful meetings held and addressed by Mahon and Paterson last Friday. Several new members enrolled, and a good quantity of literature sold. A hall for the winter season is being taken, and a course of lectures arranged.

COWDENBEATH.—Mahon visited us last Friday, and arranged further meetings here and at Lochgelly.

DUNDEE.—Last Saturday, Mahon, Dempster, and Simpson addressed a very large meeting in the Market-place. On Sunday, Mahon lectured four times, thrice for the branch and once under the auspices of the Dundee branch of the S.D.F., who gave him a very cordial reception. The Cause is making steady and good progress in Dundee.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, W. On Thursday Oct. 6, Mrs. C. Wilson, "The Social Revolution."

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday October 2, at 8.30, Free Concert by T. E. Wardle and friends. Wednesday Oct. 5, at 8.30, a lecture by Thos. J. Dalziel.

Hackney.—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 8 till 11.30; Saturday 7 till 12.30; Sunday 11 a.m. till 12 p.m. Oct. 2, at 8.30 p.m., Discussion on "Socialists and the New Labour Party."

Hammer Smith.—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday October 2, at 8 p.m. T. Touzeau Paris, "The Service of Man."

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—Globe Coffee House, 227 High St., Hoxton. On Sunday October 2, at 8.30, J. R. Macdonald (Fabian Society), "The Character of the Social Question."

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

PROVINCES.

Arbroath (Scot. Sect.).—59 West Abbey St. Meeting Friday evenings. W. Smith, 17 Lindsay St., sec. **Bradford.**—Morris's Dining Rooms, 114 City Road. Wednesdays, at 8.

Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Secretary *pro tem.*, D. M'Dougal, East Path. **Cowdenbeath (Scot. Sec.).**—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec.

Dublin.—Irish Labour League, Carpenters' Hall, 75 Aungier Street. Meetings every Thursday at 8 p.m. **Dundee (Scottish Section).**—Granite Hall, Overgate. Meets Fridays 7.30. A. Simpson, 10 Fords Lane, sec.

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

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

Galashiels (Scot. Sect.).—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., sec. **Glasgow.**—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Members' meeting Sunday at 8.

Choir Practice, Wednesday at 8. **Hamilton.**—Paton's Hall, Chapel St. Thursday, 7.30.

Hull.—Merrill's Dairy, 56 Walker St. Mondays, at 8. **Lancaster.**—Addresses Sunday morning on Quay Jetty.

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.

Lochee (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Secretary *pro tem.*, P. M'Dougal, 10 Mercer Street.

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

Sunday Oct. 2, Mrs. C. M. Wilson, "The Revolt of the Workers in the Nineteenth Century." And on Monday at 8, in St. Augustine's (Boys') Schoolroom, subject, "The Social Revolution."

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

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

Walsall.—Temperance Hall. Meets every Monday.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 2.

9.30...Starch Green.....Hammersmith Branch

11.30...Hackney—"Salmon and Ball".....Cores, Brooks

11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.J. J. Allman

11.30...Kingsland Green.....H. Graham

11.30...Merton—Haydons Road.....Kitz

11.30...Mitcham Fair Green.....Nicoll

11.30...Regent's Park.....Davis

11.30...Walham Green.....Bartlett

3...Hyde Park.....Cooper

4.30...Victoria Park.....Lane

7...Stamford Hill.....Graham & Brooks

7...Clerkenwell Green.....The Branch

7...Hackney Road—Warner Place.....J. J. Allman

Monday.

8...Polygon, Somers Town.....The Branch

Tuesday.

8...Mile-end Waste.....Barker

8...Ossulton St., Euston Road...J. & J. J. Allman

Wednesday.

8...Broadway, London Fields.....Cores & Brooks

Thursday.

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

WOOLWICH.—Arsenal Gates, Sunday October 2, at 7 o'clock—H. A. Barker, "The Aims of Socialists."

PROVINCES.

Glasgow.—Saturday: Jail's Square, 6 p.m.—Downie and Gilbert. Sunday: Paisley Road Toll at 5 p.m.

—Glasier and Bulloch. Sunday: Jail's Square at 1

—Downie, Grier, and Adams; and at 7—Bulloch and Glasier.

Kilsyth.—Saturday at 6—Glasier and Paterson.

Leeds.—Sunday: Vicar's Croft, 11 a.m. and 7.30 p.m.

Norwich Branch.—Sunday: Market Place at 3; Agricultural Hall Plain at 7.

Dereham.—Every Wednesday, Market Place at 7.

Yarmouth.—Thursday, on the Quay, at 7.30.

St. Faith's.—Sunday, on the Green, at 3.

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

SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.

(Scottish Section of the Socialist League)

Fri. 30—**Arbroath.** Brothock Bridge, 730 p.m. Branch Meeting, 8.30 p.m.

Oct. 1—**Aberdeen.** Castle Street, 6 p.m.

" **Dundee.** Grassmarket, 7 p.m. Speakers, Dempster and Simpson.

Sun. 2—**Edinburgh.**—Queen's Park, 3 p.m. Trades Hall, High St., 6.30, a lecture.

" **Aberdeen.** Duthie Park (South Waterside Gate), 3 p.m. Correction Wynd, 6 p.m.

" **Dundee.** High Street, 3 p.m.—Dempster and Simpson. Corner of Ann Street, Hilltown, 6.30—Campbell and Simpson.

Mon. 3—**Aberdeen.** Café Lecture Hall, 10 Ship Row, 8 p.m., lecture by Mahon on "The Policy of the Socialist Labour Party." Mr. Geo. Bisset, President of the Trades Council, in the chair.

Tues. 4—**Forfar.** The Cross, at 7 p.m.

Wed. 5—**Arbroath.** Brothock Bridge, 7.30 p.m.

Thur. 6—**Carnoustie.** The Cross, 730 p.m.

Fri. 7—**Dundee.** The Bank, High Street, 7.30 p.m.

Sat. 8—**Dundee.** Grassmarket, 7 p.m.

Sun. 9—Meetings at **Edinburgh, Dundee, and Aberdeen** as usual.

BIRMINGHAM.—The Rev. S. D. Headlam and H. H. Champion will speak on Socialism in the Lecture Theatre of the Midland Institute, Birmingham, at 7.30 p.m. on Friday October 7th. Chair to be taken by the Rev. T. Travers Sherlock. Tickets (2s., 1s., and 3d.) can be obtained of Harrison and Harrison, the Midland Educational Co., Corporation St., and at the doors of the Hall.

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

LEEDS.—Oriol Hall (near the Coliseum).—On Sunday Oct. 2, at 3 p.m., on behalf of local branch N.S.S., William Heaford (S.D.F.) will lecture on "Socialism: its Nature and Necessity."

North of England Socialist Federation.

BRANCHES AND SECRETARIES.

Annitsford.—F. Rivett, Dudley Colliery.

Backworth.—W. Maddison, C. Pit.

Consett.—J. Walton, Medonsby Road.

Blyth.—Martin Mack, 4 Back Marlow Street.

South Shields.—F. Dick, 139 Marsden Street, West.

North Shields.—J. T. Harrison, 24 Queen Street.

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

West Holywell.—F. M'Carroll, West Holywell.

Seghill.—Wm. Whalley, New Square.

M. Mack, Gen. Sec., 4 Back Marlow Street, Blyth.

A PERSONAL MATTER.

To the Editor of the COMMONWEAL.

SIR,—Mr. Herbert Burrows, in two Conservative and one Liberal evening paper, accuses me of intrigues, double-dealing, trying to "sell" the Social Democratic Federation, and a variety of incidental pieces of dishonesty, and states that for these misdemeanours the organisation has "dropped" me.

Will you allow me to state that I have at once invited Mr. Burrows to substantiate or withdraw these allegations at a meeting of such members of the S.D.F. as may be enough interested to attend.—I am, yours,

H. H. CHAMPION.

13, Paternoster Row, E.C., 39th Sept., 1887.

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THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL 3.—No. 91.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 8, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

W. M.

PHILANTHROPIC MANIA: ITS DIAGNOSIS AND TREATMENT.

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

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

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

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

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

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

LITERARY NOTICES.

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

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

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

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

BREEDOM OF CONTRACT.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

H. DAVIS.

(To be concluded).

A LABOUR POLICY.

II.—IN RELATION TO TRADE UNIONISM

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

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

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

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

J. L. MAHON.

A LETTER FROM AMERICA.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 20, 1887.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

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



"HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW? FIRST, FEW 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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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

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

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

E. and E. B. A.—Matter already in hand. See announcements elsewhere.

W. C. H. (New Cross).—Thanks for information. Bakounine's 'God and the State,' 1s. Reeves, Fleet Street.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday October 5.

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

FREE SPEECH IN AMERICA.

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

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

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

WILLIAM MORRIS.

CONDITION OF WORKERS.

FARINGDON, BERKS, AND NEIGHBOURHOOD.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

OSWALD BIRCHALL.

RUSSIAN FACTORIES.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

EUGENE TEESDALE.

SOCIALISM IN THE MIDLANDS.

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

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

A. K. DONALD.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

LONDON TAILORING.—A correspondent sends the following: "At the firm of Messrs. J. R. Bousfield, wholesale and retail clothiers of Houndsditch, they pay the cutters, etc., what they call "log"—namely, so much per month besides the ordinary weekly wage. This "log" varies from 4s. to 15s. per month. Now, if the master finds the least fault with an employé, he can stop the whole or part of this "log," the master alleging that it is given as a present and that he can therefore stop paying it whenever he pleases. The idea of its being given as "a present" is absurd, because every man's "log" is reckoned from his book, so much being paid per garment for cutting and trimming; and woe betide the man who has not made enough profit for his master! A few of the prices paid for making clothing will no doubt also interest your readers. For making a pair of corduroy knickerbockers (lined through) the "hands" are paid the handsome sum of 3½d. A juvenile knickerbocker suit, lined all through, bound edges, and fancy trimming on jacket, is made for 6d. The same style of suit, only without the fancy trimming, for 5d. Boys' corduroy trousers are made for prices varying from 4½d. to 8d. Men's ditto, from 6d. up, 1s. being reckoned a good price. The prices paid for making men's unlined tweed trousers vary from 7d. to 14d. Most of the common trousers are sent to large firms of sweaters in the country to make, who employ a quantity of "hands" indoors, the masters of course getting a large profit out of them; so that in the case of common trousers they get about 4½d. or 5d. for making them. If they lose a ticket they are fined a farthing. For making a blue pilot reefer they get the large sum of 1s. Men's jackets are made for 8d. and 9d.—Now I want to know how people can live honestly on such pay as that? They cannot even earn enough in a week by slaving day and night to keep body and soul together, so what wonder if the women sell their bodies in order to get a crust for the children? Under the present system, a workhand gets the smallest pay for making the hardest garment, and the highest pay for making the easiest one. Under Socialism, I hope, this will all be changed, the worker receiving the luxuries and comforts, and the idler nothing.—W. H."

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

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

MY AIM.

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

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

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

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

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

G. LINNÆUS BANKS.

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

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

SPAIN.

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

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

BELGIUM.

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

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

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

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

D.

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

CORRESPONDENCE.

SOCIALIST CO-OPERATION.

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

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

ALBERT TARN.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES : 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

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

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

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

THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

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

REPORTS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

GLASGOW.—On Saturday, Bullock, Glasier, and Paterson went to Kilsyth, where a first-rate meeting was held and a good deal of enthusiasm was shown. The same three speakers also had a fine meeting at Paisley Road Toll on Sunday at 5 o'clock. In the forenoon of the same day, Downie and Gilbert spoke at Jail Square, and again at the same place in the evening. Glasier and Downie held a very successful meeting. *Commonweal* sold well at all meetings. Next Sunday we begin our Sunday evening lectures in our hall, at 8 Watson Street, off Gallowgate.—K.

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

LEEDS.—Large meeting on Sunday morning, addressed by Hill, Paylor, and Sollitt. In the afternoon, Heaford (of the S.D.F.) lectured in the Oriel Hall. We commence our indoor lecture season next Sunday.—T. P.

NORWICH.—Morley and Slaughter addressed good meetings in the Market-place and Agricultural Hall Plain. Mrs. C. M. Wilson lectured to a crowded audience in the evening at our hall on "The Revolt of the English Workers in the 19th Century," and on Monday evening at St. Augustine's Schoolroom, to a very full and packed audience on "The Social Revolution," protesting against the unjust and brutal sentences passed by the Illinois Court on our eight Chicago comrades. Collections for Mowbray Fund:—Gordon Hall, 7s.; St. Augustine's, 11s. 6d.

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

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

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

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

North of England Socialist Federation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Scottish Land and Labour League.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PROVINCES.

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

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

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

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

Dublin.—Irish Labour League, Carpenters' Hall, 75 Aungier Street. Meetings every Thursday at 8 p.m.

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

Dysart and Gallatown (Scottish Section: Fife).—Sincclairtown and Boreland men may enroll in this branch. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park St. Business Meeting Thursdays at 7.30. Discussion Class 8 p.m.

Sunday night lectures, Trades Hall, High Street.

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

Glasgow.—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Choir Practice, Wednesday at 8.

In the Hall, 8 Watson Street, Gallowgate, lecture on Sunday evening at 7 o'clock.

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

Hull.—Merrill's Dairy, 56 Walker St. Mondays, at 8.

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

On Sunday October 9, at 7 p.m., T. Maguire, "The Need of a Labour Party."

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

Lochee (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Secretary *pro tem.*, P. M'Dougal, 10 Mercer Street.

Norwich.—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Free Lectures every Sunday at 8. Business Meeting Monday at 8.30.

Speakers' Class Sunday at 10.30 a.m. and Wednesday 8 p.m. Social Evening Saturdays at 8.

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

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

Walsall.—Temperance Hall. Meets every Monday.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 9.

9.30...Starch GreenHammersmith Branch
11.30...Hackney—Salmon and BallGraham & Davis
11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.Lane & Brooks
11.30...Kingsland GreenWade
11.30...Merton—Haydons RoadThe Branch
11.30...Mitcham Fair GreenThe Branch
11.30...Regent's ParkSparling
11.30...St. Pancras ArchesBartlett & Cooper
11.30...Walham GreenThe Branch
3 ...Hyde ParkGraham
4 ...Victoria ParkBarker
7 ...Stamford HillLane
7 ...Clerkenwell GreenMainwaring

Monday.

8 ...Polygon, Somers TownParker

Tuesday.

8 ...Mile-end WasteGraham & Flockton
8 ...Ossulton St., Euston RoadBartlett & Utley

Wednesday.

8 ...Broadway, London FieldsSparling

Thursday.

8 ...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.Cooper

WOOLWICH.—Arsenal Gates, Sunday October 9, at 7 o'clock—W. H. Utley, "The Meaning of Socialism."

PROVINCES.

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

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

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

Leeds.—Sunday: Vicar's Croft, 11 a.m.

Norwich Branch.—Sunday: Market Place at 3; Agricultural Hall Plain at 7.

Dereham.—Every Wednesday, Market Place at 7.

Yarmouth.—Thursday, on the Quay, at 7.30.

St. Faith's.—Sunday, on the Green, at 3.

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

SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.

(Scottish Section of the Socialist League)

Fri. 7—Arbroath. Branch Business Meeting, High Street Hall, 8 p.m.

„ Carnoustie. The Cross, 7 p.m. Lecture by Mahon in Good Templars' Hall, 8 p.m.

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

„ Dundee. Grassmarket, 7 p.m.

Sun. 9—Edinburgh.—Queen's Park, 3 p.m.

„ Dundee. West Port, 11 a.m. Hilltown, 3 p.m. High Street, 6.30. Lecture by Mahon on "The Policy of the Socialist Party," Trades Hall, Tay Bridge Station, 8 p.m.

Fri. 14—Dysart. The Cross, 7 p.m.

„ Gallatown. The Big Brae, 8.15 p.m.

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

Aberdeen.—Meetings on Saturday and Sunday, Oct. 9th and 10th. For time and place see local press.

On Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday meetings will be held at Edinburgh in connection with the Miners' Conference.

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

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

North of England Socialist Federation.

BRANCHES AND SECRETARIES.

Annisford.—F. Rivett, Dudley Colliery.

Backworth.—W. Maddison, C. Pit.

Consett.—J. Walton, Medonsby Road.

Blyth.—Martin Mack, 4 Back Marlow Street.

South Shields.—F. Dick, 139 Marsden Street, West.

North Shields.—J. T. Harrison, 24 Queen Street.

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

West Holywell.—F. M'Carroll, West Holywell.

Seaton Delaval.—W. Day, Seaton Delaval.

Seghill.—Wm. Whalley, New Square.

M. Mack, Gen. Sec., 4 Back Marlow Street, Blyth.

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

'COMMONWEAL' PRINTING FUND.

A GRAND CONCERT

IN AID OF THE ABOVE FUND

WILL BE HELD AT

13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.,
ON SATURDAY OCTOBER 15th

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

Tickets and all particulars from H. A. Barker and W. Blundell, at 13 Farringdon Road.

FREE SPEECH IN AMERICA.

Seven men condemned to death for holding a public meeting.

A PUBLIC MEETING

IN SUPPORT OF

THE RIGHT OF FREE SPEECH

WILL BE HELD AT

SOUTH PLACE INSTITUTE,
FINSBURY, E.C.,

On Friday October 14,

AT EIGHT P.M.

Several Prominent Radicals and Socialists will take part.

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

H. A. BARKER, Secretary.

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

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 92.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES.

Mr. CHAMPION's address at the Church Congress was as well received as could be expected, although very naturally a meeting largely composed of officials, was much disturbed at his attack on the head official, the Queen. A more or less friendly critic remarked that Socialism proposed to give plenty and wealth to everybody, but neglected their spiritual condition. To a non-ecclesiastical mind a good foundation for a sound spiritual condition would appear to be the common-place virtue called honesty, and, unless the Church Congress is much belied by the reporters, that virtue seems to be too common-place to be noticed by these providers for the spiritual life of the nation. The spirit of the meeting, especially during the discussion of that most spiritual question of tithes, was decidedly in accordance with the ancient motto, Get all you can, and keep what you get.

A Mr. Grier said, however, with much truth, that the English people, from the days of Hengist and Horsa to those of Lord Randolph Churchill and Burmah, was always ready to take everything they could lay their hands on. Well, the proverb, "Like people, like priest," is a good one, but Mr. Grier must remember it has two edges; and I must come back to my text and say that the most spiritual persons *ought* to be the most honest—though they seldom are.

One genius said that he feared that behind the apparently-innocent appearance of Socialism the livid spectre of Communism lay hid. This reminds me of an agreeable scene enacted at a rather stormy open-air meeting at which I was present, when a furious opponent said, "Why, at this rate you will be approving of the deeds of the Paris Commune." Whereat a reverend and much respected comrade sprang forward and addressed this retailer of stale news much as follows: "Sir, you have made a most remarkable discovery, a most remarkable discovery! Sir, I beg to congratulate you on your remarkable discovery! Sir, you are a fool!"

Mr. Arch, in addressing a great meeting of field-labourers, has been lamenting the sacking of Messrs. Fenwick and Burt, and, taking his cue from the respectable Liberal papers, has been telling them that it is probably a piece of treachery—the work of Tory intrigue and so forth. Why does Mr. Arch talk such nonsense, when he either knows the real facts or can easily find them out if he does not? He need not profess fear of the Northumbrian miners turning Tories; but if he thinks it a misfortune that they should turn Socialists he has considerable cause for fear.

Perhaps no Government ever took so little by an attack on freedom as the present Tory Government have taken in prosecuting Lord Mayor Sullivan; the defeat was so overwhelming that the only excuse the Government prints could find was in the stupidity of their own officials. It has given the Nationalists an opportunity for a most successful demonstration at the cheapest possible price. For the rest, though one finds it hard to help smiling at the spectacle of the Lord Mayor, attended by mace and sword, a prisoner in the police court, yet it is a good augury of the time when local bodies shall find themselves in formal opposition to the stupid centralisation, which a little time ago seemed to be all triumphant.

The news of the "Socialist Disturbance" in New York demands explanation. That the American police should break up a Socialist meeting with the most brutal violence is nothing remarkable, unfortunately, even setting aside their exploits at Chicago, for they are on the whole the most brutal of all the defenders of law and order. But what explanation can there be of Mr. Henry George's followers attacking the Socialists except that that gentleman has rattled and joined the Capitalist camp? Definitely as we Socialists differ from Mr. George, this would be a great disappointment to some of us, since he has always been put forward as a specially honest man and a lover of progress in all forms.

W. M.

During the enquiry into the death of Head-Constable Whelehan this past week, nothing has been so plain as that it was a hatched-up affair arranged by the police. Whether by Governmental instructions, in order to get an "efficient cause" for the coercion policy, or whether it was on their own account, to gain credit, has not been made clear; but what is clear is that unless the informer Callinan had worked up the business nothing would have happened.

In England, police intimidation and domiciliary visits; in Ireland, treachery and stupid official brutality; in "Hail Columbia, happy land!" the same as in Ireland—persecution for opinion and judicial murder; all these things are the bourgeois employing against the great movement which is growing so rapidly everywhere.

But their tools fail them sometimes. Last week a constable at Gweedore refused to fire upon the people; an inspector at Mitchelstown dared to tell the truth and shame—his superiors; many others are leaving or preparing to leave "the force;" even a hardened policeman has some humanity left in him sometimes, and recognises that it is to the oppressed people that he belongs.

Careful propaganda should be made, by all can do so, among soldiers and policemen, and that speedily, for nothing so effectually frightens a government as to find the "strong hand" weakening on which it relies, and the force which rests upon slipping away from it.

It cannot be too much insisted upon that there is inevitable war between "the classes and the masses," and that the army, navy, and police are, by the necessity of their position, against the latter. But they are drawn from the "masses," and may be made to realise that when these gain their end, the extinction of class, there will be more honourable and pleasanter work for them than the Quilp-cum-Judas employment they now follow.

The East London Waterworks Company, which issued its annual report on 14th inst., has earned some notoriety in the past year by reason of the eels in its mains and its intermittent supply, but can show an increase in its revenue of nearly £2,000 for the half-year and a decrease in its expenditure. Thus the company has been prospering while the people whom it serves have had to endure the inconvenience and risks of a short supply during the past summer.

The unfortunate customers of the company have suffered by the drought, but it has rolled in the shekels for the shareholders. The chairman boldly defended the intermittent supply, and threw all the blame on those "who had unadvisedly removed their cisterns, and who neglected to fill a receptacle during the day;" but the collectors of the company apparently have not "neglected" to collect the rates, whether a supply of water was obtained or not.

Instances of this kind of thing are always recurring, and all that can be said is that, so long as the people allow monopoly to control the necessities of life, they must expect to be fleeced. That they should be so patient while profit is made out of their mishaps is not one of the least surprising circumstances of the case.

Those who speak so readily and constantly of the "improved position" of the workers should read the report of the discussion between the Vestry of St. Luke's and the costers of Whitecross Street upon a poll-tax that the former proposed to levy upon the latter. One of the costers said:—

"There is not one of us who don't pay double the rent we did years ago. I pay treble. I have paid for the same accommodation 2s., 4s., 6s., and 9s. 6d. I am not in a position to pay what I am paying now, and ought not to have to pay it. The parish has gone down very much through the pulling down of the houses, and the building of the 'models' has not made it better."

S.

AN APPEAL TO THE MINERS.

ADDRESSED TO THEIR DELEGATES IN CONFERENCE
AT EDINBURGH, OCTOBER 11TH, 1887.

FELLOW WORKMEN,—

Though not a miner, I feel that no apology is needed in addressing you on the Labour Question. You are now too fully convinced of the identity of the interests of all workmen to refuse an impartial consideration to arguments, because advanced by one who is not of your own calling. The following words are addressed to you in the hope that they may be the means of inducing you and the half million of mining operatives whom you represent to look deeper into the labour problem than you have been accustomed to do.

The very holding of this Conference, whatever its immediate results may be, is a step in the right direction. The interests of the 520,000

men, women, and children who toil in and about our mines are the same. Their sufferings are borne in common, the wrongs of each are known to and felt by all; they are the victims of the same system of oppression, and their deliverance can only be achieved by the solid combination of the whole mass into one great Federation. But, still further, remember that the whole of the miners are but part of the working class; that your interests are just as nearly related to the operatives in the factories, the labourers in the field, and the seamen on the main as to your neighbours in the pit; and that to gain your own rights you must unite with the rest of the workers and help in the great struggle for the universal emancipation of labour.

The object of your Conference is to discuss (1) the best means of limiting the output of coal; (2) a fortnightly holiday; (3) National Federation; (4) an eight hours day enforced by law. The object of your 1st, 2nd, and 4th proposals is to wring better terms from your employers. You hope, by restricting the supply of coal, to raise prices, and, by raising prices, to raise wages. You hope also in doing this to lessen the shamefully long hours per day which most of you are compelled to work at present. A word of criticism from a Socialist point of view may be useful to you on these points.

In every attempt to better your hard lot the thorough sympathy of all Socialists is with you. But do not be too moderate in your demands. Whatever relief you get, if indeed you get any under the present system, will be got, not from the generosity, but from the fears of your masters. The less you ask the less you will get. Moderate rebellion against such immoderate wrongs is at least bad policy, and even looks like cowardice. To appeal for such paltry concessions is but a waste of time. If you got all you ask for, you would find in a very short time that you had only a bogus benefit. Your policy is based on the assumption that you can regulate competition—and that is utterly beyond your power. With increasing markets, you can just manage to raise wages a very little; but with decreasing markets, with appliances for the saving of coal in manufactures in eager demand, with the attempts to save labour in the getting of coal, and with the enormous strides that are being made in the application of electricity, it is sheer madness to think that you can succeed. The advantages of the capitalists are too great for you ever to dream of winning if this policy is to be your only way of fighting. You are too weak, even if ever so well organised, to force a rise of prices. The employers, also, are unable, as well as unwilling, to grant any great advance. Home and foreign competition is pressing upon them harder and harder. Although there is practically no importation of coal into this country, and no danger of there being much, foreign competition has still to be dealt with. The price of coal has a direct and powerful influence on the price of iron and steel, and an indirect, though less powerful, influence on the price of all manufactures. If you carefully and fully measure the strength of the forces against you in this policy, you will surely see that it is sheer folly to depend upon it alone.

An eight hours day and a fortnightly holiday is becoming a popular workman's programme. It is welcome as a slight advance; but it is a superficial proposal if intended as a means of permanently bettering your condition. Do not disregard the lesson that Free Trade presents to you! It was right in principle, as the movement for shortening the hours of labour is. It put a few pence into one of your pockets, and took just about the same amount out of the other. The eight hours bill will be just the same story over again. Miners, of all men, ought to know that their long hours is a less evil than the intensity with which they have to labour. The piece-work system which they have been unable to get rid of compels them to strain every nerve and work like slaves in order to earn even the average wage; and shorter hours means either smaller wages or harder work, or, at the best, a judicious mixture of both.

Do not think that these criticisms are made in an unfriendly way for the purpose of chilling your hopes of amelioration. It is not from want of sympathy nor interest in seeing your lot bettered, but from fear that you are about to waste energy and raise false hopes by going about it in the wrong way. The advantages you have are few, and the chance of winning further advantages very small. By all means stick to what you have, and try to get as much more in the same way as you can; but let your ultimate aim be a thorough and real change which will end the petty and continual squabble between capitalist and labourers.

The third point in your list of subjects for discussion is really the most important of all. The Federation of the Miners of the whole county is a most important step. You have already a Miners' National Union, which is, however, unknown to fame except as a means of collecting money to pay part of the election expenses of your labour M.P.'s (of whom more anon). Let us hope no more abortions of the same kind will come to light. What is wanted now is a real Federation of the Miners' Unions for the purpose (1) of bringing the strength of the whole body to the support of each district in times of labour disputes; (2) to extend and strengthen the unions where they are now weak; (3) to promote a great federation of all trades—a gigantic union which will include the whole working-class; and (4) to consider the ways and means of effecting such a change as will secure to the working-class not merely bigger wages but the full fruits of their labour.

The first three points will be accepted by all the advanced spirits of the labour movement, and it is surely unnecessary to urge them here. The fourth is the one which most needs discussion. You must now see that a mere struggle for higher wages and shorter hours is not enough. The cause of the whole evil is that capital and land are monopolised by a class which uses them as instruments for the robbery of labour. Limiting and regulating this robbery is most unsatisfactory even when

successful. You must stop the system of robbery altogether. The labour problem is (1) That useful work is not provided for all; (2) That even when work is got the return to the labourers is less than the value of the work done; (3) That the work is done under unhealthy and slavish conditions. All these evils spring from the competitive system which Socialists wish you to unite in breaking down. Sooner or later you must take this as your aim. If you choose you can waste a few more years in trying to get justice out of capitalists—but you might as well try to get blood out of a stone. As long as your labour is organised by masters for their own profit, they must grind you down and take everything from you but the price of some bread and butter. Whenever you take the means of production into your own control, and organise your own labour in your own interests, all the fuss and war about wages, prices, gluts, depressions, etc., will be at an end.

The only purpose of this address is to put forward certain principles and to gain your adhesion to them. It would be out of place to lay down the details of the movement by which you are to gain these ends. The methods of propaganda and the practical work of putting these principles into operation are for you to decide. The essential thing is that instead of higgling and bargaining about the price at which you will sell yourselves to masters in the labour-market, you should now become your own masters and get the full fruits of your labour.

Whatever step you take towards organising the workers, begin by severing yourselves from Tory and Liberal politicians. However you may shape your politics you must clearly reckon on the opposition of Liberals and Tories alike. To-day the cause of labour is degraded by men who, under the name of "labour representatives," drag you after the Liberal party. Tories and Liberals alike are the defenders of the rights of property as against the rights of labour. Both parties have humbugged the working-class all through, and it is time now that you made it clearly understood by those who claim to be your leaders that they must make no compromise with the defenders of monopoly. In future the workers must rely upon themselves, they must keep their organisation clear of middle-class influence, and they must go to the root of this question instead of merely nibbling at the fringes of it.

Edinburgh, October 1887.

J. L. MAHON.

FREEDOM OF CONTRACT.

(Continued from p. 323.)

For all practical purposes, then, we may conclude that the labourer is considered not, as Mr. Bradlaugh asserts, as the slave of old was considered—"a kind of conscious machine"—but *a mere machine carrying its own motive force, the price of which is determined by the price of the restoration of that force.* All this Mr. Bradlaugh seems to deny, as will be seen by the following extract from the speech I have been commenting on: "I take it, then, that to-day, by all reasonable men, the labourer is reckoned with, not as a man who is a servant, not as a man who is a serf, not as a man who is a slave, but as a person who has his labour to sell, and who is entitled to make a fair bargain for that labour before the world."

Perhaps the best refutation of this astounding piece of nonsense is in Mr. Bradlaugh's own words, written some time before the delivery of the speech at Northampton.

"It is warmly contended," writes Mr. B. ('Labour's Prayer,' p. 4) "that the capitalist and labourer contend for the division of the fund appropriable in fair and open field; that the capitalist has his money to employ, the man his labour to sell; that if workmen are in excess of the capitalist's requirements, so that the labourer has to supplicate for employment, wages cannot rise, and will probably fall; but that if, on the contrary, capital has need to invite additional labourers, then wages must rise. That is the law of supply and demand brought prominently forward."

"In great part this is true, but it is not true that capital and labour compete in fair and open field, any more than it is true that an ironclad war-vessel, with heavy ordnance, would compete in fair field with a wooden frigate equipped with the *matériel* in use thirty years ago. Capital is gold-plated, and carries too many guns for unprotected labour."

"The intelligent capitalist makes the laws affecting master and servant which the uneducated labourer must obey, but has no effective voice to alter. The capitalist forms the government of the country, which in turn protects capital against labour; this government the labourer must sustain, and dares not modify. The capitalist does combine, and has combined, and the result of this combination has been an unfair appropriation of the divisible fund." Exactly.

It is evident Mr. Bradlaugh has altered his opinions lately, for when the same contention has been made by Socialists he has stoutly denied it. "What are the rights of capital?" asked Mr. B., at Northampton, "for capital has rights," he assured his audience. I was certainly under the impression that only human beings had rights; I have never for one moment dreamed that things inanimate had rights until Mr. B. said so. Rights imply duties, and are, therefore, the attributes of the human race.

"There are people who talk absolute nonsense," continued Mr. B., "who say that capital should be given without interest and used without profit, and who talk of making revolution against the capitalist class. Those men are either enemies of the people, or they are idiots: they are either traitors to the people, or they are madmen. If you want to dig a field and you have no spade, if you can earn something by digging,

and some other one has that spade, you must pay for the loan and use of that spade. It is impossible that capital will enterprise itself to make you live more easily unless capital has some inducement."

I willingly grant that you pay for the use of the spade, but to whom is the pay due? Mr. B. tells us it is due to the capitalist. The pay is due to the labourer who produced it, and not the capitalist who possesses it. The word "capital" is used here as something that will not enterprise itself to make you live more easily unless it has some inducement. This can only be understood by the substitution of the word capitalist for capital, and then, read through the spectacles of Mr. B. when he wrote 'Labour's Prayer,' it becomes as clear as daylight, and despite the denunciation of Socialists indulged in by Mr. B. as "traitors" and "idiots," this very slight alteration of his proposition will render the true position, and make the Socialists right and Mr. B. wrong.

It is interesting to note that the two individuals—the one who made the spade and the one who wishes to use it—are both producers, while the one who owns the spade, the capitalist, is an idler; and it is he who stands between the two labourers and prevents the one from using the product of the other unless he can make a profit by the process. "What is capital?" asked Mr. B. Sir Thomas Brassey, speaking at the Industrial Remuneration Conference (and, by the way, I think that was a good sign—rich men and poor men, men with millions and men with nothing—met together in Piccadilly, London, last year to discuss if it were possible to improve the relations between Capital and Labour. It was the first time that that was ever done in England; it should be done again and again)—Sir Thomas Brassey, speaking as a representative of Capital, used these three phrases: "(1) Abstinence from enjoyment is the only source of Capital; (2) it is upon the increase of Capital that the advance of wages depends; (3) while Labour is the vivifying principle which preserves Capital from decay."

Abstinence the *only* source of capital! Abstinence is a passive, not an active, quality; nothing is produced by it; the wealth of the country is in no way increased by it.

Capital is created by Labour. Now, Labour is an active quality. Besides, even supposing that abstinence is a creative virtue, who is it abstains? Sir Thomas Brassey? The only thing that Sir Thomas Brassey abstains from doing is useful work; and if we are to take into account abstinence from enjoyment at all, how about the workers of the country, who are almost total abstainers from any kind of enjoyment? They do all the work of the country, and consume the smallest share of what they produce; while those who look on and never do a hand's turn take and consume the largest share of any. The labourers build sumptuous palaces, and live in hovels; weave broadcloth, and wear shoddy; cut beautiful roads, and live in slums. Who abstains, then? It needs no answer; the thing answers itself. Therefore, if abstinence is the source of capital, the workers are the source from which it flows, even on this showing.

H. DAVIS.

(To be concluded.)

ANOTHER LETTER FROM AMERICA.

"TRUE as steel are the friends of the seven men whom the courts of Illinois have doomed to death in atonement for the tragedy in the Haymarket. They know no discouragement; they disdain despair. No toil is too irksome, no sacrifice too great in the task they have taken upon themselves." These are words not written by papers sympathetic to the cause of labour, but by capitalistic sheets, and they tell of devotion which has only been approached by the early Christian martyrs.

The case will be carried before the Supreme Court of the United States. This is the latest news I can report to the readers of the *Commonweal*. Captain Black, the legal assistant of the condemned men during their trial, arrived last Friday in New York from Chicago and at once went to see General Roger A. Pryor, one of the greatest experts in legal matters. The two men were closeted in the strictest privacy for two hours, but when Captain Black came out of the office he looked joyful. "I have won him to our side," the Captain said. "He is satisfied that both justice and law lie with us; that we are certain to win our object." "I have not the least doubt that our application for a writ of error will be granted," explained General Pryor to the reporters. "Indeed, the records show so many errors in the ruling and in the trial that I cannot see how our application can be denied." Most of the prominent lawyers express the opinion that no difficulty would be met with in securing the writ of error. Of course a writ of error is not equivalent to a reversal of the judgment of the Illinois Supreme Court, but it allows a delay in the execution until the case is finally disposed of by U.S. Supreme Court. The state of affairs in Chicago appears to be highly critical. Mrs. Black, the wife of Captain Black, gives the following graphic description:

"The town is torn by a tornado of conflicting passions—hate, pity, rage, sorrow—each with tense violence struggling for mastery. God knows where it will end. A very panic has seized the community. Our homes, our lives are near to destruction. Men speak of the danger that overhangs us all in accents of fear and horror. Women turn pale and tremble at the very mention of the momentous crisis that is at hand. In the presence of our little ones we are silent of the dismal hour that threatens to darken the memory of their childhood days. We are dealing with men made desperate by weight of woe. They see their friends on the brink of an abyss over which wild, unreasoning passion works to hurl them to disgraceful death. Heaven help us if the worst comes. The story of their revenge will be written in solemn colours in the annals of the age. Frankly, we fear them."

"Captain Black's position is indeed no pleasant one in this unhappy affair. He is upbraided by the one side for the moderation which he has urged and demanded; he is denounced by the enemies of the Anarchists for the part he has taken in their defence. He is striving, though, merely to play the part of the peacemaker. He has come here on a mission of mercy. He wants to save the Anarchists that he may save the capitalists. The destruction of the former means the ruin of the money kings. The labouring masses of Chicago are in no spirit to be trifled with. They see the families of the condemned men utterly undone with unutterable

and pity, and their prayers go not unheeded into every cottage in Chicago. We have come to this great city for aid. We say to the good people of this great and cultured community, 'Come, let us reason together.' If they deny us their kindly help we know not where to turn. We must then nerve ourselves for the worst, and God knows what that will be."

Dr. Giffen seems to be again on the stump. The capitalist papers report in full a paper which he must have read before some scientific institution or other. Naturally, as it becomes the flunkey of bourgeoisdom, the report he makes of British progress, especially of the labouring man's progress, is satisfactory indeed. We are told savings increase, paupers decrease, and working men are earning comfortable wages. A sceptic once defined statistics to be the science of lying in figures. Probably Dr. Giffen acts up to this definition, as the impression amongst the peoples themselves is very different to Dr. Giffen's tell-tales. Ah, if we had but once the occasion, time, etc., to investigate at proper quarters these figures, to examine into the ways of workhouses, charitable institutions, etc., we might be enabled to tell a tale forcing even Mr. Broadhurst to admit there is something radically wrong. However, now and then we stumble across a case which explains to us the way to decrease workhouse expenses. Here is one. The steamer "Warwick" arrived here a few days ago from Bristol, England, having on board Katie and Minnie Peters, consigned to the Children's Aid Society of New York. The Board of Public Charities, acting under the advice of the Secretary of the Treasury, decided that the children were amenable to the Act of Congress prohibiting the landing of foreigners liable to become public charges, and instructed the captain of the "Warwick" to return them to England. The children were sent by Mark Whitehall, a justice of the peace and superintendent of the poor in Bristol. The captain of the "Warwick," when told to take the children back, expressed much surprise, and said that Mr. Whitehall had frequently sent destitute children to New York and that the authorities of that port never objected to the landing of the children!

There has been no change in the situation in the Lehigh Valley (Pa.), miners being still out. Those in the Schuylkill and the Wyoming Valleys are at work, the former at the advance of 8 per cent. The threatened strike of 8000 Connellsville coke operatives has been postponed until October 2.

LIST OF STRIKES FOR SEPTEMBER.

Number of Strikers from September 1 to September 16	...	36,226
Ashaway, R. I., weavers against reduction of wages	...	26
Evansville, Ind., miners, for advance, Sept. 17	...	250
Wilkesbarre, Pa., asphalt-workers, for advance, Sept. 16	...	150
Pittsburgh, Pa., Iron-workers, against discharge of men, Sept. 17.	...	500
Succeeded Sept. 19	...	...
New York City tile-layers, for advance, Sept. 17	...	23
Wareham, Mass., Cranberry-pickers, for advance, Sept. 20	...	500
Cincinnati, Ohio, Gripmen on the Mt. Adams and Eden Cable Road, against discharge of employees, Sept. 17	...	75
Randolph, Mass., Edge-setters, against employment of green-hand, Sept. 21. Failed	...	—
New York City builders, against employment of non-union plumbers, Sept. 22	...	200
New York City labourers, for back pay, Sept. 21	...	30
Yonkers, N. Y., machinists, back pay, Sept. 21	...	100
Hoboken, N. J., silk-weavers (girls), against reduction, Sept. 21	...	20
		38,100

New York, September 28, 1887.

H. CHARLES.

TORY BLACKGUARDS AT LOWESTOFT.

Last Sunday, Houghton and Nicoll tried to hold the usual meeting. For some time past the local Tories have set hired roughs upon our speakers, and they hardly expected to get much further than the railway station. They had been warned that they would not be allowed to set foot in the place. On their arrival they found a crowd of crimps, long-shore loafers, and others, waiting but subdued by the presence of two policemen. At the meeting-place Nicoll had hardly opened the meeting, by appealing to the crowd to act as Englishmen and give fair play, when a rush was made which swept down the hill towards the station. He was knocked down several times, but a soldier came to the rescue and told the mob to behave like men. This appeal would have been useless, however, had not the policemen suddenly appeared on the scene. They surrounded our men, and held the crowd back. Then was witnessed the unwonted spectacle of two Socialists protected by policemen against violence. To plainly prove the ignoble cowardice of the ruffianly crowd, it may be mentioned that about seven kept at least a thousand easily at bay! Just as the yard of the railway station was entered, the mob charged again, and for a few minutes overpowered the police. These rallied, however, and got our men into the station, where a special train was prepared, and took them off to a little village just out of the town. The mob avenged itself on two harmless onlookers unjustly suspected of Socialism! Our comrades were but slightly injured. Nicoll's face was scratched by a Conservative hero!

At a large open-air meeting on the Market Square, Northampton, on Sunday morning, on the motion of the chairman, Mr. Robert Reed, it was decided unanimously to make a public demonstration on the occasion of Prince Albert Victor's visit to the town next week to lay the foundation-stone of the Jubilee enlargements at Northampton General Infirmary. It was determined to have a procession, headed by a band which should play the Dead March in "Saul." The meeting subscribed for a large black flag it was resolved to procure, with the following inscription: "Put not your trust in princes." The chairman said it was an insult to the people of Northampton to bring down a stripling like the prince, and he warned those making the arrangements for the visit to tell Prince Albert Victor even now not to come. The visit, he declared, would be an historical one, and probably it would be the last time that a prince in England would leave his home.

LOW WAGES AND THE PARSON.—A "Country Rector" has written to the *Daily News* "How to Live on 5s. a-week." He himself undertook the experiment, and gives the result with a detailed account of the expenses. The amount allowed for rent is 9d., and for that useful article soap, only 3d. Most of the other items appear at about market price. The rector says he was able to perform his work as well as ever! He does not state, however, whether he is continuing the experiment. That the food recommended by this well-intentioned Christian is sufficient for the work performed by him is quite possible, but should not his letter have been addressed to those of his calling? How would a dinner of two ounces of cold bacon suit, say, a collier or an ironworker? Letters of this description are welcomed by callous employers striving to reduce wages, and ill become a follower of the Nazarene. The experiment, however, loses much of its value when it is recollected that



"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.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A. M'K. (S. L. & L. L.)—Please don't write on both sides of the paper. See notice last week.

J. T. D. (Walsall)—Wednesday morning is rather too late for the insertion of a longish article! It must be held over.

P. D.—Garibaldi was born at Nice 4 July 1807, so you are right in saying that the American Independence Day is his birthday. Several memoirs of his life have been published in English.

O'D.—A small collection of Mangan's poems can be got from M. H. Gill & Son, O'Connell Street, Dublin, 3d.

G. (Stradbally, co. Waterford)—Pamphlet sent. Shall be glad to hear from you.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday October 12.

ENGLAND		SWITZERLAND	
Justice	Boston—Woman's Journal	Liberty	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
Norwich—Daylight	Chicago (Ill.)—Labor Enquirer	Vorbote	
Nottingham Free Press	Knights of Labor		
Labour Tribune	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt		
Railway Review	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Farole		
Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung	N. Haven—Workmen's Advocate		
Christian Socialist	Detroit (Mich.)—The Advance		
Die Autonomie	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West		
Freedom	Philadelphia (Pa.)—Carpenter		
Anarchist	San Francisco (Cal) The People		
Worker's Friend			
Jus			
INDIA		FRANCE	
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Le Socialiste	
Allahabad—People's Budget	La Revolte	Guise—Le Devoir	
Bombay Gazette	Lille—Le Travailleur		
Madras—People's Friend			
CANADA		BELGIUM	
Toronto—Labor Reformer	Antwerp—De Werker	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde	
UNITED STATES		Seraing (Ougree)—Le Reveil	
New York—Der Sozialist			
Volkszeitung			
Freiheit			
Leader			
HOLLAND		GERMANY	
Hague—Recht voor Allen		Berlin—Volks Tribune	
Amsterdam—Voorwaarts			
AUSTRIA		HUNGARY	
Arbeiterstimme		Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik	
Vienna—Gleichheit			
ROMANIAA		DENMARK	
Jassy—Lupta		Social-Demokraten	
SWEDEN		Malmo—Arbetet	

SOCIALISM AT THE CHURCH CONGRESS.

NOTHING could show better the progress of the Socialist movement than the fact that that most conservative of institutions the Church of England, has begun to consider the movement. Last Thursday evening was devoted by the Church Congress to hearing three papers on Socialism; from the Bishop of Derry, H. H. Champion, and Stanley Leighton, M.P. The meeting was held in the Drill Hall, Wolverhampton, and was attended by about 2,500 people. About one half of the audience was composed of clergymen. The Bishop of Derry was unable to attend, so his paper was read by the Rector of Wolverhampton. The Bishop's paper showed an entire want of knowledge of the subject. A few trite remarks on the good intentions of many Socialists, followed by a few platitudes on the superiority of Christianity to Socialism, was all the Bishop had to say. He strongly advised the clergy not to play with Socialism and so assist "in spreading the germs of social zymotic disease." No criticism on the Bishop's paper can be made, for the simple reason that there was nothing in it.

Mr. Champion delivered an excellent speech, in which he briefly gave the Socialist explanation of the present perilous position. He summed up this in four propositions (1) private ownership of land and capital (2) giving unlimited power to the owners over the propertyless class (3) who use that power to confiscate enormous quantities of the labour of the landless workers (4) these by the whip of hunger being obliged to accept the cost price of their labour, viz., starvation wages, for producing all the wealth of England. The remedy was to set firmly about limiting the power of the monopolists, and so render it possible for honest people to get a living. "The cause of the unmeasured vehemence of some of the language used by Socialists was the cowardly conduct of practical politicians. If governments had to choose between holding London in a state of siege and of grappling seriously with the labour question, practical politicians would soon find the problem ripe for solution." The speech was on the whole received very favourably; only once was there any serious interruption. When Mr. Champion was commenting on the wasteful extravagance of spending £17,000 on upholstering Westminster Abbey for a woman to pray in, loud shouts

of "Withdraw!" were heard, met with a few stentorian "No, noes!" One royalist shouted in the tone you sometimes hear in a provincial cathedral, "God save the Queen!"

Stanley Leighton, the Tory M.P., spoke after Champion. The Bishop of Derry was bad enough, but this fiery layman was clever enough to crowd about half-a-dozen misrepresentations of Socialism into every sentence. He characterised Socialism as an attack on common sense, and referring to the indignant demand of the Socialist, "Why should society allow one man to waste thousands in utter selfishness, and allow another to die of starvation?" he said, "We are as much dissatisfied with such a state of things as the Socialist." It is curious that notwithstanding this Tory landlord's dissatisfaction with things as they are, he taboos the only effective remedy—Socialism. Mr. Leighton wants to find a way for the rich remaining rich without working, and by which the worker can be plundered, without being impoverished by the process. Such simple-minded nonsense is worthy of a Tory landlord. He does not know that the riches of the rich are built on the poverty of the masses, and their continual exploitation by the monopolists, of whom Mr. Stanley Leighton is one. A sarcastic person might remark that Mr. Leighton is either an ignoramus or a hypocrite, and I should not vehemently contradict him. Mr. Leighton looks to penny banks, coffee taverns, building societies, and emigration, for the solution of the labour problem. We may inform him that he is looking in the wrong direction, and may point out to him that instead of congratulating the Church on the miserable schemes referred to, he should rather grieve that in the rich land of England, the producers have to scrape pennies together; have become so demoralised by the grinding of landlords and other exploiters, that they fly to the grog shop for a little relief from their monotonous lives; and that to counteract this, "5 per cent per ann." members of the Church of Christ have started Gospel Coffee Taverns, where bad coffee is sold at double its cost. It is not in miserable schemes of this kind, which are all very well as makeshifts, that the labour question is to be solved; but in practically applying the Heathen and Christian maxim, "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you." When landlords realise what that means, they will understand Socialism, and when they act upon it, they will be Socialists.

The discussion on the papers was limited, only one layman taking part. Canon Grier desired to see co-operation substituted for competition, and was anxious for the suppression of the liquor traffic. An Irish Churchman, the Dean of Armagh, made a virulent attack on Socialism, composed of blarney and ignorance. He supported the wasting of £17,000 on upholstery for Westminster Abbey; he did not believe we could get along without capital [who wants to?]; he did not desire to see people reduced to a dull dead level, and society made into a swamp and morass (!); and was anxious that the eighth and tenth commandments should not be forgotten.

Stewart Headlam vigorously replied, and said that he endorsed Ruskin's division of men into workers, beggars, and robbers; and urged that Socialism was a movement for endeavouring to turn the robbers and beggars into the ranks of the workers. To the landlord and to the capitalist he said, "Rob no more!" and he urged the priests and especially the bishops of the Church to follow the example of the Guild of St. Matthew, in exhorting the idle rich to cease their dishonest practices, and to learn to live by their own labour.

The concluding speaker was the Bishop of Bedford, who said the contrast between the rich and the poor was so appalling, that he was prepared to consider carefully any scheme, no matter how revolutionary, that promised relief. It is to be hoped that the Bishop will remember to carry out what he has undertaken, and if after investigation he concludes that the monopolists have ruined England, that he will boldly stand in the ranks of the Socialists, and help them to make it possible for honest men to live.

At the close the chairman, the Bishop of Lichfield, asked the assembly if the committee was right in asking Mr. Champion to read a paper. Loud cries of "Yes," were given in response. A large quantity of Socialist literature was distributed to the clergy who attended the sitting.

A. K. DONALD.

THE COMPETITIVE SYSTEM.

In church and in state it is rule or be ruled;
In courtship and marriage it is fool or be fooled;
In logic and law it is nick or be nicked;
In gambling or trade it is trick or be tricked;
In treaty and war it is beat or be beaten;
In the struggle of life it is eat or be eaten.

LITERARY NOTICES.

'A Political Essay, showing the Necessity of having Money, Land, and all Manufacturing Industries National,' by R. Crawford (author, 55, College Place, Camden Town, 6d.) is a very temperate, plainly worded treatment of the theme its title indicates. Many, indeed most, of the author's illustrations are drawn from South Africa, a part of the world he evidently knows well. It is easier for men to appreciate the true relations of circumstances not those of their immediate surroundings, and this alone would have made the pamphlet a valuable one.

The *Gazzetta Operaia*, Turin, "an independent journal of no political party," contains some sensible vigorous writing on current social questions. We note especially in a recent issue an article pointing out the illusive nature of the good done by the ordinary partial, spasmodic trade-strikes, their very doubtful victories, and not at all doubtful defeats in the unequal combat; recognising too that the individualist capitalist is often as helpless in the crisis-development as the men he employs.

SOCIALISM IN ABERDEEN.

ARREST OF J. L. MAHON.

THE baton of Aberdeen officialism has been raised against Socialism and dropped again in deference to popular indignation. The guardians of "the law," property, and orthodoxy were startled to learn that a Socialist intended to visit the city on Saturday, October 1st. The Radical had proved himself a "thorn in the flesh" of smug authority, and so the advent of a Socialist was a positive terror. And there had been a midnight robbery of a jeweller's window, and the police were on the outlook for suspicious persons. Possibly they expected Mr. Mahon to wear one of the best of the stolen gold watches. When, on Saturday, at seven o'clock, he stood up on the Castlegate, a large market square, to address the numerous audience quietly assembled to hear him, they had to confess to each other that he was, as the superintendent said, "a reasonable looking person," who certainly had no jewellery flaunted on his breast. Beyond showing a little brief authority by asking him to remove to another spot, out of the way of the meeting usually held where he was standing, they did not interfere with him. He finished his address in quietness, and evidently made a favourable impression.

But on Sunday the baton quivered with zeal for the Sabbath and conventional religion. The superintendent was eager to do battle for the Pharisees, the Kirk, and "the Lord's Day." But it was not till evening that he grew valiant. Perhaps he dined with some of the "elders," and got inspirited at the sumptuous table. Mr. Mahon's three o'clock meeting at the Duthie Park, situated at the southern outskirts of the city, was not interfered with. The "bobby" on duty there listened quietly with his baton in its sheath and his white gloves on his folded hands. The sunshine of the glorious autumn day abashed the owls of Conventionalism, and the gospel of Socialism was proclaimed in peace to the large and attentive congregation.

But as evening approached the baton became restless, and authority determined that a blow should be struck against the strange and dangerous propaganda. No doubt there had been excited consultations among the Pharisees in vestries and elsewhere, and the police were coached. When Mr. Mahon took his stand at the entrance to Correction Wynd (a recess opening out of a busy thoroughfare), about six o'clock to begin his address, a policeman requested him to move on as he would disturb a congregation then worshipping in an adjoining church. Mr. Mahon immediately left the spot and went to Castle-gate, followed by a large number of persons. He resumed his address there, but had not spoken many minutes when a policeman came up to him and informed him that he could not be allowed to hold his meeting without the superintendent's permission. Mr. Mahon pointed out that other meetings were being held in the square at the moment, and declined to stop his address. The official endeavoured to persuade Mr. Mahon that a political meeting was very improper on the Sabbath, but found that he was not open to such persuasion. Thereupon the argumentative bobby required Mr. Mahon to go with him to the police office. The lecturer, after telling the immense crowd that he was virtually under arrest, went with some friends to the office. They found the superintendent in a very wrathful mood. Instead of coolly explaining to Mr. Mahon what offence he was committing, he expostulated with him on the sin of lecturing on politics on "the Lord's Day." He said nothing whatever about obstruction, or disorder, or anything but the horrible profanity of the "like of him" breaking the Sabbath. After listening to the lecture of the baton, and being told he was at liberty, Mr. Mahon returned to his former stand and continued his address. The crowd was swollen to a great size, but there was not the slightest disorder. Finding its lecture on Sabbatarian propriety disregarded, the baton marched in state to the Castlegate, arrested Mahon and broke up the crowd. At the office Mahon was charged in a vague way with a breach of "the law," and was required to appear at the police-court on Tuesday at eleven, a bail of 40s. being paid as the security of his appearance. The streets were full of people, and when Mahon reappeared a large crowd followed him calling for a speech. He found means of slipping away from the crowd, and soon quietness prevailed. It may be explained here that, though Sunday meetings on the Castle Gate were summarily suppressed about twenty years ago, all sorts of meetings have for years been permitted there.

On Monday evening Mahon held a meeting on Castlegate, at the same spot where he spoke on Sunday. There was a large and orderly audience, and the meeting was not stopped. After it, a meeting was held in the Northern Friendly Society's Hall, which was crowded in every part. Mr. Geo. Bisset, President of the Trades' Council, took the chair, and protested strongly against the action of the police. The following resolutions were proposed and passed enthusiastically: Proposed by Mr. Jas. Leatham, and seconded by Mr. P. Barron:—

"That the arrest of Mr. J. L. Mahon, organising secretary of the Scottish Land and Labour League, while engaged in stating the objects and principles of the League in an orderly manner in Castle Street last night, was invidious, unjust, and tyrannous; an unwarranted interference with the right of free speech and the privilege of public assemblage; an insult to Mr. Mahon, and a presumptuous condemnation of the Scottish Land and Labour League."

Proposed by the Rev. Alexander Webster, and seconded by Mr. H. H. Duncan:—

"That we, as citizens of Aberdeen, claim, and, if necessary will defend the right to hold public meetings in any suitable place in the city, on any day, to discuss any subject in an orderly way, provided no obstruction of traffic or any annoyance to the lieges is caused."

Mahon delivered an address on "The Aims of the Socialist Party," which was frequently applauded.

On Tuesday, at 11, the farce of the baton began. The court-room was crowded, and behind the bench the wings were occupied by clusters of bailiffs, councillors, and other representatives of the law. The trial of a Socialist was evidently a sensation. The charge was as follows:—

"John Lincoln Mahon, designating himself as organising secretary for the Scottish Land and Labour League, and presently residing in Watson Street of Aberdeen, at No. 51, has contravened the Police and Waterworks Act, 1862, the Aberdeen Police and Waterworks Amendment Act, 1867, and the Aberdeen Municipality Extension Act, 1871, or one or more of them, actor or art and part, in so far as on the 2nd day of October current, 1887, being Sunday, and between the hours of 7 and 9 o'clock on the evening of that day, the said John Lincoln Mahon did wilfully obstruct or incommode, hinder or prevent, the free passage of Castle Street, a public place within the Royal Burgh and City of Aberdeen, by placing a chair or platform thereon, and haranguing the passers-by therefrom, whereby a large crowd was collected, to the obstruction, annoyance, or danger of the residents and passengers, and this after he had been warned by an officer of police to refrain or desist from so doing, in contravention of the Act of 1862 above referred to, section 134, and of the Act of 1871 above referred to, section 147, whereby the said John Lincoln Mahon is liable to a penalty not exceeding 40s., or in the discretion of the Magistrate to imprisonment for a period not exceeding 14 days."

Mahon pleaded not guilty, and Superintendent Wyness went into the witness-box. Under the dexterous manipulation of Mr. Mahon he shuffled, turned somersaults, sunk into his boots, and performed all sorts of intellectual antics. There followed him several witnesses for the baton, but their evidence turned out to be more against than for it.

The witnesses for Mahon declared that there was no obstruction whatever, and after consultation the presiding magistrates announced that obstruction had not been proved. The baton was most ignominiously floored, and the Superintendent, by common consent, was written down "an ass." There can be no doubt that his rash and invidious act was intended as a crushing blow to Socialistic work here, but it has had the reverse effect. By the prompt and determined action at Monday's meeting the defence of free speech was laid upon the masses, and they took it up heartily—all the more so because it concerned the agitation for their interests so closely. A very large number have been deeply interested in Socialism, and a strong society is certain to be established.

Mahon's conduct throughout the ordeal is worthy of high praise. He kept his head and his place well—yielded no principle or privilege, but spoke not a rash or regrettable word.

On Tuesday evening he addressed a large meeting at the place of his arrest, and on Wednesday (the Autumn Fast-day) he spoke twice at Woodside (a populous suburb), and also on the Castlegate.

It is quite evident that the right of free speech will be maintained on behalf of Socialist speakers, for it is plain that Socialism, even by the help of the baton, has made a deep impression on the mental granite of Bon-accord.

BOREAS.

FREEDOM IN AMERICA.

WHERE is thy home, O Freedom? Have they set
Thine image up upon a rock to greet
All comers shaking from their wandering feet
The dust of the old world bondage, to forget
The tyrannies of fraud and force, nor fret,
Where men are equal, slavish chain unmeet;
Nor bitter bread of discontent to eat,
Here, where all races of the earth are met?

America! beneath thy banded flag
Of old it was thy boast that men were free,
To think, to speak, to meet, to come, to go.
What meaneth then the gibbet and the gag
Held up to Labour's sons who would not see
Fair Freedom but a mask—a hollow show?

Oct. 7.

WALTER CRANE.

THE CONDEMNED ANARCHISTS.

On Friday 6th inst. the meeting announced for Cleveland Hall was held at the Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, as the advertised place of meeting was closed and in the hands of the police. Although there was little or no time to make the change known, there was a crowded meeting, which listened with much enthusiasm, and passed with applause the following resolution: "That this meeting enters its protest against the outrageous sentence passed upon the Chicago Anarchists for free speech, though ostensibly for conspiracy, based upon the unsupported and hatched-up testimony of the police; and strongly condemns the partial attitude of the Supreme Court of Illinois in refusing a new trial and the hearing of evidence which was admittedly suppressed by the prosecution. We furthermore declare our solidarity with our Chicago comrades who are condemned to death for their efforts for the emancipation of the proletariat." The speaking was thoroughly international, almost every speaker represented a different nationality. In English the speakers were Morris (chair), Bartlett, Sparling, and Allman, of the Socialist League, and Seymour and Withrington of the *Anarchist*; in German, Daubenspeck and Trunk; in French, Borde; in Italian, Droskia.

The Political Council of the North Camberwell Radical Club, 57 Gloucester Road, Camberwell, at a meeting held on Sept. 30, resolved: "That the members of this Council emphatically protest against the recent sentences passed on the Chicago Anarchists, being of opinion that, if carried into effect, judicial murder will be perpetrated."

Several other meetings have been held by League branches and other bodies at which similar resolutions have been passed.

Let it not be forgotten that the jury that condemned the Anarchists to death was a packed jury, selected from the capitalistic class, and that when it had done its murderous work a subscription was gotten up to pay each member his proportion of the blood-money he had earned. The *Chicago Tribune* said that at least the capitalists could afford to divide 100,000 dollars among the precious twelve.—N. Y. *Leader*.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

The unfortunate nailmakers of the Midland districts are still holding out for the amelioration of their condition.

THE MINERS' STRIKE AT ROWLEY.—At a meeting of miners at Rowley (Mr. B. Winwood, miners' agent, presiding), a resolution was passed rejecting the masters' offer and pledging the men to remain out on strike until the old rates were paid. Another resolution was passed in favour of steps being taken to secure a general advance of the miners' wages.

THE CHAINMAKERS' STRIKE.—Following resolutions passed at a meeting held some time since, a society has been registered called the "Walsall Co-operative Cart-gear, Chain, and Hame Manufacturing Society, Limited." The capital is to be raised in £1 shares, sufficient of which have been taken up to enable the promoters to commence operations.

A settlement has been effected of the strike of joiners connected with the shipyard of Messrs. Armstrong, Mitchell & Co., at Elswick, and the men, who, to the number of 200, came out about five weeks ago, on the allegation that the carpenters got more than their share of work, returned to their places on Monday.

WEST CALDER SHALE-MINERS.—Although the strike here has been formally announced as settled, very few of the men have yet returned to their work. About forty may be reckoned as the average number, and the largest half of these are employed as oncost-men, or company's men, in putting the pits into repair, one of which (No. 11) had suffered severely during the twelve weeks' strike.

DISCHARGE OF CLERKS FOR CHEAPER LABOUR.—Last week 51 of the clerks employed at the head offices of the Royal Liver Friendly Society, Prescott Street, London, were discharged. The reason for this step is said to be a desire on the part of the committee of management to economise so as to meet the £5,000 expenditure incurred in the recent agitation. The clerks discharged include some of the oldest employés of the society, and many of them are married men with families. The places of the clerks discharged have been filled up by the employment of girls and boys.

THE PRESTON WEAVERS' DISPUTE.—At a meeting held last week at Manchester, the Executive Committee of the North and North-east Cotton Spinners and Manufacturers' Association had under consideration the weavers' dispute at Messrs. Owtram's mill, Preston. The wages question connected with the dispute was settled last week, but all the operatives on strike now claim to have their places back. This Messrs. Owtram decline to agree to. From a report issued by the weavers' union it appears that if the employers' terms are accepted, not more than one in five of the late employés will be allowed to start work.

THE SOUTH WALES COLLIERS.—Last week there was a meeting of workmen's representatives, at which it was resolved to call a general delegate meeting at Merthyr for both house and steam coal workmen of South Wales and Monmouthshire to consider the position of affairs. Among the points for discussion will be the necessity of forming a general federation for colliers and for workmen in connection with all collieries of South Wales, and the eight hours' movement. From sixty to seventy thousand men are affected, and upon the forthcoming proceedings undoubtedly a great deal will depend as to the welfare of all the Welsh districts.

MINERS' CONFERENCE AT EDINBURGH.—A four days' conference of representatives of the miners of England, Scotland, and Wales, was opened on Tuesday, in the Oddfellows Hall, Edinburgh. Mr. Thomas Burt presided, and thirty-nine delegates attended, representing 252,450 miners. The President, in his address, intimated that the subjects to be discussed at the conference would be the limitation of the output of coal, the advisability of all men being idle a certain portion of time each fortnight, the formation of a national federation, the eight hours' labour question, and the House of Lords' amendments to the Mines Bill.

STRIKE OF NORFOLK AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS.—In consequence of the reduction of labourer's wages to 10s., a meeting was held on the Green, St. Faith's, near Norwich, on Tuesday of last week, and a strike was decided on. The men came off on Saturday morning, not one staying on the farms. As a stoppage of work just now means the ruin of next year's grain crops, the farmers were forced to give in, and sent for the men on Saturday afternoon, asking them to resume work at their former wages. The men are now considering the advisability of a further strike for an advance of 2s. a week. A union has been started, and as soon as it is strong enough, the men will in all likelihood claim the advance.

DISPUTE IN THE BOOT TRADE.—The men on Mr. John Cooper's firm (late Sir William Pallasier), London, have been informed that the firm can no longer pay the London Statement, and the men are asked to work at a considerable reduction. Mr. Cooper met the London members of the Rivetters and Finishers' Union last Tuesday night at the Banner Street Hall. He advised the men to accept the reduction and so keep the work in London, or else he would shut up his factory. The meeting decided unanimously to keep to the London Statement. Now this man has got large factories at Croydon and Leicester, and a large mansion of his own, and boasts of rising from a working man. It was gratifying to see the Jewish workmen attend the meeting. The members of the Rivetters and Finishers' Union passed a vote of thanks to the members of the Jewish society for standing by them during the dispute.

COMPOSITORS' DISPUTE.—Mr. Railton, one of the partners of the firm of King, Sell & Railton, having decided that the employment of society hands interfered with his ideas of "freedom of contract," notified that in future he intended to employ only non-society men. Railton, late of Brighton, offered to keep on the old hands if they would leave the society. This was refused, and the men, about thirty, left work at the expiration of their notices. The premises are picketed, and being close to Fleet Street, numbers of the unemployed assemble and demonstrate when the "rats" appear. The services of six policemen have been requisitioned to "keep the peace." One day last week Railton was too venturesome, and got severely hustled in leaving the premises. At the present time there are about 700 society men partially or wholly unemployed, and the number of non-society applicants to fill the places of those on strike, exceeded 300. Railton the apostle of "freedom of contract," mentioned that he could get plenty of men at 8s. less per week; and he has got them. In the face of these facts, it is to be hoped the costly and ineffective tactics employed during the Waterlow strike will not be repeated.

THE BROXBURNE MINERS.—The shale miners are holding out very determinedly. The Company with great difficulty have got together 27 "black-nebs," several of whom, it is said, have never dug shale before. They are having a lively time, as hostile demonstrations take place daily. The *Pall Mall Gazette* of Tuesday, thus writes of the heartless evictions which took place on the preceding day: "The 'hard case' of the Broxburn miners entered upon the hardest stage of all, so far as forty-three of them are concerned, yesterday, when they, their families, and their 'household gods' were cast out of their homes on to the highway. The company is unquestionably within its strict legal rights; but it will be difficult for them or their friends to prove that they are playing a just and Christian part. Thanks to the competition of the capitalists in oil, the dividend of the company has suddenly run down from 22 to 15 per cent., and to save themselves from the stark, staring ruin of only 15 per cent., they are insisting that their miners shall suffer a reduction amounting as regards one class to 10 per cent., and as regards another class to 17 per cent. Perhaps the directors of the company—Messrs. R. Bell (chairman), J. Steel, J. Hurl, W. Weir, and W. Kennedy (managing director)—will kindly enlighten the world as to the substantial grounds for a step apparently so extraordinary and inhuman. Their conduct assuredly stands in need of explanation."

THE BOLTON STRIKE.—The only fresh development in connection with this strike has been the conclusion of negotiations by which Messrs. Threlfall's men should resume work, and the rupture of those negotiations. The firm were willing to restore 1s. out of the 2s. claimed, and to give a general promise to restore the other 1s. when the state of trade warrants it; and it was agreed that the men should accept these terms, subject to confirmation from London, and return to work. It afterwards transpired that the men required the firm to name a date when they would restore the second shilling, which the firm decline to do, and the men were not allowed to resume employment. The refusal of arbitration on the issue in dispute—viz., the restoration of the 2s. taken off last year—after a strike of nearly five months' duration, is a fact almost without precedent in the history of wars between capital and labour. At a meeting of workmen engaged in the iron trade, held in the Temperance Hall, Rochdale, on Wednesday evening, for the purpose of further considering the strike at Bolton, a member of the Rochdale Trades Council moved a resolution to the effect that continuance of the strike was justified, and that the men had acted honourably in refusing arbitration; and taking this into consideration, the ironworkers of Rochdale would give those on strike their pecuniary and other support. This resolution was carried unanimously.

The municipal elections at Bolton promise an interesting contest. There are Conservative, Liberal, Labour and Social-Democrat candidates. The Labour candidates are run as a protest against the employment of extra police by the employers, who possess the control of the Council.

MORE ECONOMY.—The workmen at Portsmouth Dockyard had their last Admiralty holiday last Saturday. As these holidays cost the country £2,500 each, they are to be discontinued. This action is mean enough, truly; but do the higher officials have their holidays stopped? Dockyard economy has affected one class of workers only: that which can the least afford it, the weekly wage-earners.

INCREASE OF PAUPERISM IN LANCASHIRE.—The President of the Poor Law Conference held in Manchester, stated that in Lancashire he had to regret a very considerable increase of pauperism within the past ten years. He also said that the large sums collected and distributed by trades unions accounted in a large measure for the diminution of pauperism in other parts of the country.

SOCIALISM IN THE UNITED STATES.—NEW YORK, Oct. 10.—Indignation meetings were held here yesterday by the Labour Party and the Socialists to denounce the conduct of the police in charging the crowd in Union Square on Saturday evening, when the Socialists and the followers of Mr. Henry George were batoned indiscriminately. Resolutions were adopted demanding the punishment of the offenders.—*Reuter*.

"OUR" HOME SECRETARY CONSIDERS.—A letter has been received by the secretary of the Bolton Ratepayers' Association from Mr. Matthews, the Home Secretary, in which he replies to the contentions laid before him by the deputation who recently saw him in London and complained of the action of the authorities in taking extra police into the town to guard the importations of "rats." The Home Secretary, "having given the fullest consideration," says he "sees no reason whatever" to complain of the action of the authorities, and "does not consider" any enquiry necessary.

LORD RIPON'S ADVICE TO WORKING MEN.—The Marquis of Ripon, speaking at a gathering of working men at Bradford on Saturday, said the working classes must look for immediate leaders and guides in their political conduct to the most intelligent and best educated in their own ranks, because it was only those who could thoroughly understand the problems which specially concerned working men. Personally, he hoped for a large increase in the number of labour representatives in Parliament. The working classes must be determined to uphold the right of free speech and discharge the great duties to which they had been called.

MR. CHANNING, M.P., ON COMBINATION.—Mr. Channing, M.P., writing to the Kettering Bootmakers' Union, says nothing has contributed so much to the elevation of the working classes as trades-unionism. Combination means not only strength, but wisdom and success. Thorough and rational combination will not aggravate the inevitable struggle between capital and labour, but will be a sure road to the peaceful and harmonious readjustment of all forces and interests involved in the production and distribution of wealth, which would be the best guarantee of the prosperity and happiness of the whole community. Combination is the key of society.

DEMONSTRATION BY UNEMPLOYED MEN AND BOYS.—A number of men and boys assembled again on Tuesday in the West-end and organised a parade with the object of demonstrating their claim that "Something must be done" for them. Leaving Trafalgar Square, they passed westward in procession, whistling the "Marseillaise," and hissing at several of the clubs. In St. James's Street, where a portion of the road is up for repairs, a body of police guarded the heaps of stones that lay in the roadway. Throughout the route a detachment of mounted police followed the crowd. The procession eventually returned by St. Martin's Lane to Trafalgar Square, where a large crowd was assembled. Speeches were then made by some of the men, revealing a terrible state of misery and destitution, and at the close of the proceedings it was announced that another parade would take place to-day (Wednesday).

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

FRANCE.

At Cholet, in the Maine-et-Loire department, ten thousand weavers are on strike. Two thousand workers were occupied in the town itself, and earned daily wages of *thirteen pence* for twelve hours' work; the number of "hands" in the same industry, in a radius of ten or twelve miles around the town, is ten or twelve thousand; these poor slaves, for the same number of hours, got *nine pence* a day! The weavers ask only for one hour reduction per day, and 20 per cent. augmentation of their starvation wages. We are glad to say that a good deal of the bourgeoisie of Cholet are very sympathetic to the strikers.

The out-of-town weavers have already gained their victory. The "masters" have surrendered to the conditions of their "slaves." These, with an admirable sense of solidarity, have decided not to resume work until their comrades of Cholet have won the battle.

The municipal council of Paris has granted a sum of ten thousand francs, to be sent to Cholet for the relief of the strikers. But the government has refused to sanction the vote of the Paris councillors. The municipal council of Cholet, in its turn, has granted a sum of three thousand francs, but on the condition that this sum should only be distributed to the strikers if they resumed work. The weavers, however, have indignantly refused to accept any relief whatever on such terms.

GERMANY.

Johann Christoph Neve, one of the most devoted and intelligent members of the Anarchist movement in Europe, has been tried, within closed doors, by the so-called Imperial Court of Justice at Leipsic, and sentenced by that body of malignant judges to *fifteen years' hard labour*. Our readers are aware that our courageous comrade was denounced at Liege, in Belgium, by a pair of scoundrels who brought about his extradition to Germany, where he was "wanted" for several years by the Prussian police bloodhounds. All those who have known him personally can bear witness to his noble-minded spirit, his indomitable trustiness, his fondness for the ideas he had embraced as being just and righteous and true. His devotion to the cause of the Social Revolution was really inexhaustible: from his earliest youth down to the day on which treason and wickedness gave him up to his mortal foes, he assiduously worked and toiled, regardless of personal pains and sorrows, for the promotion of Socialism: In America, in France, in Switzerland, in Austria, in Belgium and Germany—everywhere, in fact, where he lived, he was the right man in the right place and at once gained the sympathies of the masses. The proletariat, for whom he has so long struggled and for whom he is now undergoing such a dreadful term of imprisonment, will never forget him, for he always has been one of its best and most faithful friends.

In the latter part of this month of October, we shall have the trial for secret conspiracy of 38 Socialists, now under arrest at Breslau, and 67 witnesses will support the evidence for the prosecution.

Next week, sixteen Socialists will stand their trial at Posen. The principal accused is comrade Kurowski, a compositor.

There are apparently no more Socialist papers to suppress in Germany, for the police now commences to prohibit the merely democratic journals; the Hamburg *Burger-Zeitung* was killed last week by an ukase of Bismark. And as this deed was not sufficient, he also expelled its editor, Johann Wedde, from Hamburg.

The *Elmshorner-Zeitung*, another democratic but not Socialist paper, of Elmshorn, in Silesia, has also been suppressed. After the suppression of the Progressivist papers, Bismark will apparently lay hands on the Liberal press, so as to have at last the "whole" public opinion on his side. In the next session of the Reichstag, he is also going to add some new paragraphs to the Anti-Socialist Laws, which, in his opinion have not been made "brutal" enough!

BELGIUM.

On the 20th inst., the young Anarchist Jahn, arrested in March at La Louviere, will be tried on account of his "inflammatory speeches" by the Court of Assizes of Mons,—and condemned of course.

Last week, the Court of Assizes at Brussels condemned to two years' imprisonment the Anarchist Moreau, who had delivered two or three "incendiary" speeches. But our comrade, who knows that freedom of speech is gone from "happy little Belgium," went away before the sentence was pronounced and reached Holland in due time.

The 2nd of this month, a new daily paper has appeared in Antwerp, *De Socialist* (The Socialist), organ of the Antwerp Federation of the various workmen's associations. The paper costs 2 centimes, viz., *less than one farthing*, per copy. This is the third daily Socialist paper which is issued in Belgium, the others being *Vooruit* (A-head) of Ghent, and *Le Peuple* (The People) of Brussels.

SPAIN.

SEVILLE.—A strike among the sombrero-makers is going on here, the strikers hold out firmly, and hope to obtain victory—such as it is.

CASTELVEIL Y VILLAR.—We hear that the situation of the workers in this industrial centre grows worse and worse, and that the outlook for the winter is gloomy indeed. By way of preparing for an inevitable crisis, the manufacturers mostly have lowered their wage-tariff considerably. At one spinning factory, where formerly the hands could make from 30 to 34 pesetas, they now only make from 20 to 22. And so forth—the tale is endless.

MADRID.—There has been considerable excitement among the cigar-makers in Madrid; the women employed in one of the factories numbering several thousand, took possession of the place, barricading doors and windows. After a good while they desisted from their "demonstration" and left. An intended reduction of wages is said to have been the origin of the proceedings.

ITALY.

PAVIA.—At the Conference of the Italian Labour Party, held at Pavia on the 18th and 19th September, it was announced when the reading of the year's report of the central committee was due, that it could not take place owing to the confiscation of the committee's books and registers by the Court of Assizes during the late trials in Milan. It was agreed that Alessandria should be the seat of the central committee for the year, though Venice had been proposed, seeing that the Venetian provinces are the most

oppressed and worst off, and that propaganda there is of much importance. Parliamentarianism in the party was discussed at some length, and it was finally resolved that liberty of action thereon be allowed to all sections of the party. A vote of sympathy with the masons on strike in Milan (reported to number about 2,000) was passed, and a collection made in aid of the same.

MILAN.—The masons at Milan have been on strike for about a month, the strike being pretty well general now. They declare that the 3 lire a-day, which is the highest pay for the most experienced mason, is insufficient to maintain their families, and demand an increase of the lira. Says the *Gazzetta Operaia*, "deducting wet days, frosts, and feast-days, the masons only manage to get 200 working-days in the year, thus making 600 lire (about £24) a-year." Some of the masters and contractors, thus shorn of their hands, went to the country to collect new ones, assuring them that the strike was finished. These on arriving in Milan became aware of the deception, and irritated at the constant supervision of soldiers and carabinieri, left the work and returned whence they came. The contractors will by no means treat, and have issued a manifesto to the men which is a wail of alarmed self-interest piteous to peruse. The strikers are encamped under the sky awaiting what may come.

M.

CORRESPONDENCE.

MOWBRAY TESTIMONIAL FUND.

TO SOCIALISTS AND FRIENDS.—We make a special appeal to you to do what you can to subscribe towards the above fund, which is intended to give Mowbray a little start in business at his trade of a tailor, as he cannot expect to get work from the capitalists in Norwich. Thanking all comrades and friends for their past support towards the maintenance of Mowbray's wife and family, specially thanking Mrs. Besant and the Fabian friends for the liberal support they have given, up to his release.—We are

A. T. SUTTON & F. C. SLAUGHTER, Hon. Secs.

5 Duke Street, Norwich, Oct. 10th, 1887.

N.B.—Communications and subscriptions to be forwarded to A. T. Sutton, 5 Duke Street, Norwich.

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.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

On Monday October 17th a Special Meeting of Council will be held to consider the policy to be pursued by the League on the "Unemployed." The meeting will be an open one to all members of the League; and all who can are specially requested to attend and discuss the matter.

BRANCH SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID.

Hammersmith, Mitcham, Walsall to July 31. Bloomsbury, Clerkenwell, Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Hull, Mile End, Wednesbury, to Sept. 30.

THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

A Friend, 5s. For Mrs. Mowbray—Per Annie Besant: A Few Fabians (weekly), 10s.; Donation, 1s.—Mowbray will be released on October 15, and it is requested that all monies and subscription-lists be returned by that date, so that the fund may be wound up as soon as possible thereafter.—J. LANE, Treas.

MOWBRAY TESTIMONIAL.

Labour Emancipation League, 5s. John Wallace, 1s.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Hammersmith Branch (2 weeks), £1. Weekly Subscriptions—K. F., 1s. C. J. F., 2s. Oxford Branch, 2s. Langley, 2s. P. W., 6d. W. B., 6d.

Strike Committee.—Collected in Regent's Park—Oct. 2, 2s. 5d.; Oct. 10, 8s. Hyde Park, 2s. 5d. Mile-end Waste, Oct. 4, 1s. 6d.—J. LANE.

South Wales Propaganda.—Mitcham Branch, collected, 1s. 8d.

REPORTS.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, Oct. 5th, T. Dalziel lectured. Sunday good meeting on Green by Mainwaring and Turner. In hall, Charlotte Wilson lectured on "The Social Revolution." Literature steady sale.—A. T. and W. B.

FULHAM.—Good meeting at Walham Green on Sunday morning addressed by Tarlton and Morris, on the Chicago trial and the right of free speech; they moved and seconded a resolution, supported by Tochatti, and carried unanimously, protesting against the atrocious sentence, and calling for the unconditional release of these men. Good sale of *Commonweal*; 9s. 5d. collected for branch.—S. B. G.

HACKNEY.—A large meeting was held at the Broadway, London Fields, last Wednesday; Cores and Allman spoke. Davis and Cores addressed a good meeting at the Salmon and Ball on Sunday morning. At Warner Place on Sunday evening, a good meeting was addressed by Brooks, Cores, and E. Lefevre.

HAMMERSMITH.—Good meeting at Starch Green Broadway, Catterson Smith and Tochatti speaking. In the hall, W. Morris lectured on "Early Norse Literature." 11 *Commonweal* sold.—T.

HOXTON.—Good outdoor meetings on Thursday and Sunday evening in hall. J. H. Pope lectured on our "Parochial System from a Socialist Standpoint;" no opposition.—C. J. Y.

MILE END AND BETHNAL GREEN.—On Tuesday, Oct. 4, good meeting on the Waste, Mainwaring and Davis speaking. Some opposition was offered by a Freethinker, who challenged Davis to debate, which was accepted; 1s. 6d. collected for South Wales Propaganda Fund. Usual meeting in Victoria Park on Sunday.—H. M.

MITCHAM.—Good meeting on Fair Green on Sunday morning, addressed by Kitz, while Eden spoke at Haydon's Road. 54 *Commonweal* sold, and 1s. 8d. collected for South Wales Miners.—R. C.

MARYLEBONE.—Good meeting in Hyde Park, Mainwaring and Cantwell spoke; collected 2s. 10d.—M.

NORTH LONDON.—Meeting at Ossulton Street as usual on Tuesday, addressed by Allman, and Walker of the S.D.F. At Regent's Park on Sunday morning, Sparling spoke to a very large audience about the Chicago Anarchists amid considerable enthusiasm. 8s. collected for propaganda.—T. C.

GLASGOW.—On Saturday, Carmichael, Downie, Gilbert, and Paterson went out and spoke at Cambuslang. At Paisley Road Toll on Sunday afternoon, Bullock, Glasier, and Paterson spoke. Two meetings in Jail Square Sunday, first by Glasier and Downie at one, and second at six by Bullock and Glasier. *Commonweal* sold well at all meetings, and our audiences continue large and favourable, though there is a lack of discussion. At seven on Sunday, Glasier lectured in Watson Street Hall, on "The Prophecy of Socialism."—A. M.K.

IPSWICH.—Sunday morning and afternoon, addresses by Slaughter of Norwich, and J. Thomas of Ipswich. Sale of *Commonweal* good.—J. R.

LEEDS.—On Sunday night, Maguire lectured in our hall on "The Need of a Labour Party."—T. P.

NORWICH.—On Sunday, Nicoll and Parker held a good meeting at Ber Street. In the morning, Nicoll and Houghton went to Lowestoft. Parker held a very large meeting in the Market-place at 3, then holding a good meeting on the Agricultural Hall Plain at 7, finishing with a lecture in the Gordon Hall at 8, on "Parliamentarianism," to a full audience, Miss Armstrong, of Manchester, taking the chair. Slaughter went to Ipswich. *Commonweal* sold well. We collected 12s. 6d. for the "Mowbray Special Testimonial Fund."—T. M.

WOOLWICH.—Last Sunday, Utley failing to turn up here, Broad and Banner took his place, and held a very successful meeting. We sold a good supply of literature, and collected 2s. 6d. for branch expenses. Political Economy Class begins next Saturday, Oct. 18th, in Middle-class School-room, Upper Market Street, at 4 p.m. Fee for the course 2s. 6d.—R. B.

WALSALL.—Weaver and Deakin spoke on Monday. Thursday evening the Rev. Stewart Headlam lectured for branch in Exchange room. A good audience followed the speaker with marked attention; several questions were put and answered.—J. T. D.

PELSALL.—Sanders spoke on Tuesday to good audience of trade unionists, and was well received.

WEST BROMWICH.—On Saturday, Sanders lectured here, and arrangements made for large indoor meeting at an early date.

WEDNESBURY.—The usual meeting was addressed by Donald in the Market-place, after which H. H. Champion lectured in the Assembly Rooms.

BIRMINGHAM.—On Friday, H. H. Champion and the Rev. Stewart Headlam lectured in the theatre of the Midland Institute. On Saturday, Donald addressed a good meeting at the Council House, and on Sunday meetings in the Bull Ring and at the Council House. The Sunday evening meeting at the Council House is becoming more successful every week.

YARMOUTH.—Nicoll and Henderson lectured on the Quay, on Thursday.

ST. FAITH'S.—Henderson and Syder at St. Faith's Sunday afternoon, had the liveliest meeting ever held here.

SHEFFIELD SOCIALISTS.—On Monday, Sept. 26th, M. A. Maloy opened interesting debate on "The Best Means of Making the Land National Property." On Monday, Oct. 3, Mr. Shaw, a trade unionist, opened on "Trades' Unions in the Past, and what they will be in the Future." Story, Dallas, and Unwin spoke on the Socialist's side. It was very interesting and instructive.—M. A. M.

NORWICH ANARCHIST GROUP.—Henderson spoke at Carrow on Friday. Nicoll and Henderson held meetings on St. George's Plain and the Haymarket on Saturday. Two very large meetings were addressed by Henderson in Norwich Market-place on Sunday morning and evening.

North of England Socialist Federation.

ANNITSFORD.—Good meeting held in rooms to hear address by J. Macdonald on "C. Bradlaugh and Socialism."

WEST HOLYWELL.—In reading-rooms, P. McKay in the chair, Macdonald lectured on "The Government, what it can do for the People, and what the People can do for themselves."

BLYTH.—Macdonald spoke, but the rain spoilt the meeting.

NORTH SHIELDS.—In evening, Macdonald spoke on "Socialism, its Progress and Principles." Discussion followed.

In view of the approaching winter, and the impossibility of carrying on outdoor propaganda, members should form classes for the discussion and study of Socialist principles, and obtaining practice in the art of public speaking. Books and pamphlets for free distribution will be gladly received and distributed by

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

Scottish Land and Labour League.

EDINBURGH.—On Thursday night, the Political Economy Class was resumed, "Das Kapital" again being the text-book. On Sunday night, a fairly good meeting was held at the Trades' Hall, Gilray giving a splendid paper on "Socialism, Reason or Sentiment?" The Society would beg all friends in Edinburgh to attend these Sunday night lectures, and make them known to their friends.—C. W. T.

ABERDEEN BRANCH.—Account of police interference is given in another column. The meetings were all very successful, both before and after the attempt to suppress them. On Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday Mahon addressed enormous gatherings on the forbidden ground at Castlegate. Good collections were made, and a very large amount of literature disposed of. At the indoor meeting in the Northern Hall over 1000 people were present. Mr. Geo. Bisset, President of the Trades Council, presided, and after hearing the policy of the Socialist Party explained, announced his willingness to work for it. A strong branch has been formed, and regular meetings arranged.

WOODSIDE.—Propaganda opened here on Wednesday afternoon by Mahon, Leatham, and Barron. In the evening a large meeting was addressed by Mahon, Leatham, and the Rev. A. Webster.

ARBROATH BRANCH.—This branch continues to make steady progress. Every week the members increase, and the indoor meetings are very successful.

CARNOUSTIE BRANCH.—Good meeting held in the Templars Hall, on Friday last. Lecture by Mahon; interesting discussion; five new members enrolled.

DUNDEE BRANCH.—Good meeting addressed by Simpson, Mahon, and Dempster on Saturday night. On Sunday four meetings were held—at the West Port, High Street, Hilltown, and in the new Hall of the branch at Tay Bridge Station. A very good meeting turned up at the first meeting in the new hall. Mahon lectured on "The Policy of the Socialist Labour Party." New members made.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

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

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday October 16, at 8.30, Mr. Varley, "Co-operation." Wednesday 19, at 8.30, S. Mainwaring will lecture.

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

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Oct. 16, at 8 p.m. Sydney Olivier (Fabian Society), "European Peasant Revolts."

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—Globe Coffee House, 227 High St., Hoxton. On Sunday 16, at 8.30, Rev. S. D. Headlam, B.A., "Christian Socialism." *Special Notice*—On Sunday morning, Oct. 23, at 11 o'clock, Demonstration on Free Speech in America.

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., 12 Short Loanings.

Arbroath (Scot. Sect.).—High Street Hall. Meeting Friday evenings. W. Smith, 17 Lindsay St., secy. Next Friday W. Marwick lectures on "Mazzini."

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

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

Cowdenbeath (Scot. Sec.).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., secy.

Dublin.—Irish Labour League, Carpenters' Hall, 75 Aungier Street. Meetings every Thursday at 8 p.m.

Dundee (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station. Forenoon, business and members' discussion; evening, lecture and discussion.

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

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

Galashiels (Scot. Sect.).—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., secy.

Glasgow.—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Choir Practice, Wednesday at 8. In the Hall, 8 Watson Street, Gallowgate, lecture on Sunday 16, at 7 o'clock, by Gilray of Edinburgh.

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

Lancaster.—Addresses Sunday morning on Quay Jetty.

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

On Sunday October 16, at 7 p.m., T. Paylor, "The Lesson of the Trades Congress."

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

Lochee (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Secretary *pro tem.*, P. M'Dougal, 10 Mercer Street.

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

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

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

Walsall.—Temperance Hall. Meets every Monday.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 16.

9.30...Starch Green.....Hammersmith Branch
11.30...Hackney—Salmon and Ball.....Graham

11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.Pope & Wade
11.30...Kingsland GreenBarker
11.30...Merton—Haydons RoadParker
11.30...Mitcham Fair GreenAllman
11.30...Regent's ParkCooper
11.30...St. Pancras ArchesThe Branch
11.30...Walham GreenThe Branch
3 ...Hyde ParkParker
4 ...Victoria ParkLane
7 ...Hackney Road—Warner Place.....The Branch
7 ...Stamford HillParker
7 ...Clerkenwell GreenJ. Allman

Monday.

8 ...Polygon, Somers TownThe Branch

Tuesday.

8 ...Mile-end WasteDavis
8 ...Ossulton St., Euston Road.....Pope

Wednesday.

8 ...Broadway, London FieldsFlockton

Thursday.

8 ...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.Parker
WOOLWICH.—Arsenal Gates, Sunday October 16, at 7 o'clock—W. C. Wade, "The Religion of Socialism."

PROVINCES.

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

Paisley Road Toll: Sunday, 5 p.m.—Glasier, Bulloch, and Paterson.

Watson Street: Sunday, 6.30—Bulloch, Downie, and Glasier.

Cambuslang.—Saturday at 6 p.m.—Downie, Gilbert, Paterson, and Carmichael.

Leeds.—Sunday: Vicar's Croft, 11 a.m.

Norwich Branch.—Sunday: Market Place at 3; Agricultural Hall Plain at 7.

Dereham.—Every Wednesday, Market Place at 7.

SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.

(Scottish Section of the Socialist League)

Fri. 14—Dysart. The Cross, 7 p.m.—Mahon.

Gallatown. The Big Brae, 8 p.m.—Mahon.

Sat. 15—Burntisland and Kirkcaldy.

" Dundee. Greenmarket, 7 p.m.—Dempster and Simpson.

" Arbroath. Brothock Bridge, 6 p.m.—Duncan of Dundee.

Sun. 16—Edinburgh.—Trades Hall, High Street, at 6.30—J. L. Mahon.

" Dundee. Trades Hall, 11 a.m., important business meeting of members. High St., 3 p.m.—Dempster, Duncan, & Simpson.

Trades Hall, 8 p.m.—Music and Lecture.

Mon. 17—Edinburgh. High Street, 7 p.m.

Tues. 18—Leith. Foot of Walk, 7 p.m.

WEST MARYLEBONE WORKING MEN'S CLUB, 123a Church Street, Edgware Road.—On Sunday Oct. 16, at 8 p.m., Wm. Morris will lecture on "Monopoly."

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

BIRMINGHAM.—On Monday Oct. 17 Mr. J. Sketchley will lecture at the Forward Liberal Club, Gt. Hampton Street—subject, "Socialism." Chair taken at 7.30.

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.

Annitsford.—F. Rivett, Dudley Colliery.

Backworth.—W. Maddison, C. Pit.

Consett.—J. Walton, Medonsby Road.

Blyth.—Martin Mack, 4 Back Marlow Street.

South Shields.—F. Dick, 139 Marsden Street, West.

North Shields.—J. T. Harrison, 24 Queen Street.

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

West Holywell.—F. M'Carroll, West Holywell.

Seaton Delaval.—W. Day, Seaton Delaval.

Seghill.—Wm. Whalley, New Square.

M. Mack, Gen. Sec., 4 Back Marlow Street, Blyth.

SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE COMMITTEE.

Meeting at *Commonweal* Office, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday October 16, at 3 p.m. prompt.

'COMMONWEAL' CONCERT,

TO-DAY (SATURDAY) AT 8.

Those having Tickets on sale are reminded that all settlements must be made before the Concert, otherwise tickets will be reckoned as sold.

FACTS FOR SOCIALISTS.

(THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH IN ENGLAND)

16 pp., One Penny.

Published by the FABIAN SOCIETY, 180 Potsdown Road also at 63 and 185 Fleet Street.

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

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 93.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 22, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

The bourgeois press is very busy in making the least of the demonstrations of the unemployed in London and in telling us that the crowds who assemble to show themselves in the streets are composed largely of persons who would not work if they could. Now it may at once be admitted that there are such men among them, although the crowd is mostly composed of men only too anxious to work. But who makes these loafers loaf? That is the question. Everybody knows that when a manual worker has been long out of work he gets "soft." The terrible discouragement of having to look for work day after day with very slight prospect of finding it takes the heart out of him; and in time he loses all capacity of seeking for work, and is then the loafer whom false society has made, and whom she punishes for existing.

Also, trite as the observation is growing, one must really say that it ill befits a "society" that rewards some people so munificently for doing nothing, to insult and oppress the *poor* people who won't work to earn the semi-starvation wages which it offers them. Let us admit that it is a crime to live without producing, and accept the consequences that flow from that admission, to wit, that a society that will not allow men to work though they want to is the very essence of this criminality, and is of no good except to rebel against.

The police-onslaughts of Friday the 14th inst., and the following days, is of evil augury for the coming winter. They are to be, it seems, as ever, not the servants of the public, engaged in guarding peaceful citizens against accident, but the servants of a peevish and easily frightened minority, and the masters of all the rest of us whose arbitrary bidding we are to do under penalty of suffering immediate corporal violence, which as G. B. Shaw said at South Place, we may seek a remedy for *after* we have suffered it. Really if this is to go on we might as well live in Moscow—or Chicago. We might as well be Russian peasants—or American citizens.

The accompanying extract from the Chicago *Morning News*, shows how right the speakers were at the South Place meeting in their view that the prisoners were condemned not for their deeds but for their opinions:

"The address of A. R. Parsons, the condemned Anarchist, to 'the American people' is by no means unworthy of perusal. For the most part, it is quite as argumentative and dispassionate in tone as could be reasonably expected from a man who stands in the shadow of the gallows. We doubt not it will evoke sympathy from very many who are incapable of coping with the adroit reasoning of the author. Beyond the line covered by this special pleading, however, there remains the great, stubborn fact that Parsons cast his fortunes with the enemies of law and order; that the whole drift of his life during the two years which preceded the Haymarket horror was in the direction of anarchy; that his teachings, if they meant anything at all, were provocative of riot and murder. Such at least was the judgment of a jury of his peers. Such also was the judgment of the highest court of appeals. The law which Parsons sought to overthrow is rightly regarded as the great bulwark protecting the rights of the citizen. With scrupulous regard for his every equity the verdict has been made up. Nothing is likely now to alter his fate."

♣ A friend told me this morning that speaking to some American acquaintances on this subject they answered his expostulations by saying something like this: "Ah, but you forget that Most has published a most atrocious book against society." This is exactly the spirit of the Chicago trial. One man has written a book, so seven others are to be hanged for it. The American bourgeoisie are well known to be an inventive set of people; but surely this "short method of dealing with political opponents" is the cutest of all their inventions. Mr. Balfour had best learn from such passed masters in the art of suppression of free speech.

W. M.

At the Taghmon (county of Wexford) police-court on Friday twenty persons were prosecuted under the Crimes Act for using intimidating language. Sixteen were dismissed for want of sufficient evidence, but four—two young men, a lad of fourteen, and a girl named Lawlor—were convicted. The young men and the boy were sentenced to a fortnight's imprisonment with hard labour. The chairman said the girl should find bail for her future good behaviour, as they "did not like to cast a stigma on her character by sending her to prison." She replied that it was "no disgrace to go to gaol for Ireland," and refused to give bail.

Disgrace! She has placed her name on record as an example of

pluck and self-sacrifice, and one cannot wonder that her counsel called her "the best little girl in Ireland, and a credit to her country."

"The further anticipated failures on the Stock Exchange have come, and amid circumstances which very much disturbed the markets. One defaulter, liabilities over £60,000, is said to have absconded, having misappropriated moneys and securities. An old member of Lloyd's was forced to stop payment, with unpaid differences amounting to £60,000. These, and other two small failures in the House as well as one outside, led to forced sales and to the demoralisation of the markets."

All which simply refers to the "division of the spoil," and affects the workers only as showing them how much of what *they* have produced is played with by these gamblers. *Every penny of it is unpaid labour.*

From Sydney, New South Wales, we have received copies of the *Morning Herald*, the *Daily Telegraph*, and the *Echo*, giving accounts of the foundation of the Socialist League there by former members of our own organisation. This is cheering news, more especially as the organisation starts with fair chances of success.

Only the last-named paper notices the League editorially, and that does so with mingled sneering and abuse. Well, our comrades are, no doubt, fully prepared for that kind of thing and will persevere in the great work they have undertaken.

Is not the insanity or worse of our present society shown up strongly in the tremendous fuss that has been made over whether a certain speech was or was not made by the Grand Duke Nicolas of Russia?

This man is no orator able to sway multitudes by his fervid speaking, or great thinker whose utterance upon a subject will change the thought of thousands. No! but he is a despot and the son of a despot, able to wield a gigantic force against whom he will and to waste millions of lives to sate his lust of conquest.

Mr. Courtney, M.P., said last week that the police at Mitchelstown "may have acted indiscreetly"! Mr. Speaker Peel's tuition has evidently borne fruit, and we may now expect to hear bludgeoning a cripple called a "gentle remonstrance," and dainty phrases found for every governmental villainy.

S.

POLICE LAW IN ENGLAND.

POLICE rule in England is extending, the power of the police is rapidly increasing. The police of London, like the police of Ireland, is an Imperial institution under Imperial control. The Royal Irish Constabulary are not under the control of the people of Ireland, and the Metropolitan police are independent of the people of the Metropolis. And even where the police are under the direction and control of the local authorities, the power of the police is growing, and their increasing influence is everywhere felt. At times we hear a great deal about Socialism being un-English and of Continental growth, but the Government are undoubtedly introducing Continental ideas as regards the supremacy of the police.

The police everywhere claim to be over and above the people; their supremacy is becoming a recognised fact. They are everywhere organised as a semi-military force, they are a kind of omnipresent body, not so much for the detection of crime as to overawe the people. They are organised and drilled as a semi-military force, and the higher officials belong to the military class; their training and their military appearance does not make them a terror to the well-known thief, and to a great extent disqualifies them from dealing with ordinary crime. Every street urchin knows the policeman's step.

"The Police and the People," "the Police and the Public," are now very familiar phrases. Their absolute supremacy in Ireland has long been recognized by both Liberals and Conservatives, and many people thought that while their supremacy was confined to Ireland there was not much to grumble at. But why should Great Britain escape? We hear a great deal about Ireland having the same institutions as England, if so, why not England have the same institutions as Ire-

land, and if the supremacy of the police is good for Ireland why not for England?

We now read that in the Metropolis the police are interfering with the right of public meetings, even with meetings belonging to the Liberal Associations; that they have gone so far (*Daily News*, September 29), as to demand the names of speakers and copies of the resolutions to be proposed. And we hear of indignation meetings to be held to protest against this tyrannical interference of the police. Such action on the part of the police is truly continental, whether Socialism is or not. One writer observes that Londoners may yet have to send the names of speakers and copies of resolutions to Scotland Yard for approval. It is quite possible such may be the case, even in this land of boasted freedom. Police supremacy will extend its influence, will increase through all the ramifications of society. The Liberal Associations of the metropolis are advised to refuse to give the police any information, either as to who the speakers are to be or the nature of the resolutions to be proposed at any meeting; also, if the police attend the meetings they are to be placed so as to be seen by all as the despicable tools of a detestable tyranny. These suggestions are very good, and I hope will be acted upon. But if good for Liberal meetings they are equally good for Socialist meetings.

It is true we are told the police have received no fresh orders; that they are only doing what they have a right to do, and what they have done on other occasions. And had they not interfered with the meetings of the Liberal Associations, but had confined their attention to Socialist meetings, there might not have been any outcry in reference to their present action.

But the Government has all the powers essential for a policy of coercion in England, without any special powers for such a purpose. From 1794 to 1806 the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended no less than seven times: in 1794 for nine months; 1795 for nine months; 1798 nine months; 1799 nine months; and in 1800 for nine months. Again in 1803 for a shorter term; in 1806 for six months; and in 1817 for nine months because of the agitation for radical reform. During all this period the private correspondence of suspected persons was regularly opened at the post-offices by order of the Government. And since 1837, by the written order of any one of her Majesty's Ministers, the letters of any suspected person can be seized and opened and the contents sent to the Home Office. Then in 1848 we had the Crown and Government Security Act, the third clause of which makes it felony to organise a movement for the abolition of Royalty or to bring pressure to bear upon either House of Parliament, or intimidate the same. And if extra powers were needed both Houses would be too glad to be called together to give almost unlimited powers to her Majesty's Government to preserve law and order, so essential for the plundering classes.

It is strange that even in this England of ours, the land of the brave and the free, while the franchise has been extended to every householder, all real power is being concentrated more and more in the hands of the Government; that with household suffrage we are falling under the rule of the *baton*; that while boasting of our freedom as a people and our glory as a nation we are becoming more helpless every day. Taking the old Radical notions the people to-day ought to be all-powerful, yet even with the vote they are still political nonentities, and under the present political system it cannot be otherwise. The evil lies in the very principle of government by representation.

What is government by representation? Its basis is the rule of the majority. The House of Commons is elected by and represents the constituencies. There sovereign power resides; there is deposited the concentrated wisdom and authority of the enfranchised millions. The House of Commons is supreme, is omnipotent. The majority of the Commons represent a majority of the constituencies; in that majority resides the concentrated wisdom and authority of a majority of the people. In that majority, then, is supreme power, is sovereign authority; that majority is omnipotent. The Government have the confidence of, and are sustained in power by, the majority of the Commons, therefore the Government is rightfully supreme, and in the Government resides the concentrated power and wisdom of a majority of the constituencies. This is government by representation, the supreme rule of the majority. If this rule be right, the Government is rightfully supreme, and its supremacy should not be called in question. When the people have delegated their authority to their representatives, when they have voted them supreme power and authority, why not trust their greater wisdom? Why not recognise their supreme authority? What need, what right, of public meetings to call in question the wisdom, or to condemn the action of the representatives of the majority, the rule of the majority being the basis of government by representation. It is not a question of eternal right, of equal liberty, but of the dominant majority for the time being. It is the system, and not the mere effects of the system with which we should deal.

Government by representation is the negation of the sovereignty of the people. It rests on the assumption that *will* can be represented, that rights can be alienated, that duties can be transferred. Under our modern representative system, government is virtually independent of and above the people. Such a government rests on the assumption that sovereign power can be transferred from the people to their representatives to be again transferred by them and centred in the Government for the time being, which practically becomes a centralised despotism. But rights can never be alienated, can never be transferred; the sovereignty of the people can never be abdicated.

No man can transfer to another his life, or his right to think, or speak, or his right of free association. These are inseparable from the individual, and render all government by representation impossible, except as resting on usurpation.

We hear at times a great deal about the abolition of the State Church. But we never dream of the abolition of the State itself. Yet the State to-day is nothing more than a centralised despotism. All admit that the tyranny and corruption of the Church are the result—the inevitable result—of its connection with the State; but few regard the State as the seat of that tyranny and corruption. Nor is the State more sacred than the Church. The abolition of the State must follow the abolition of the Church. We do not accept the infallibility of the Church. Why should we accept that of the State? We do not recognise the omnipotence of the Crown. Why retain the omnipotence of Parliament? Government by representation must give place to the government of the people, by the people, and for the people. The people alone is sovereign. All else is but usurpation.

J. SKETCHLEY.

FREEDOM OF CONTRACT.

(Concluded from p. 331.)

Now, it is admitted, even by Sir Thomas Brassey, that "Labour is the vivifying principle which preserves Capital from decay." This sounds very like the proposition of Adam Smith, namely: "Labour is the source of all wealth;" for, if it preserves it from decay, it must follow that re-creation is only a repetition of the act *creation*; therefore on this, as on the preceding proposition, wealth is due to Labour.

And here, it may be noted, Mr. B. did not tell his hearers what Capital was, but only used the bungled propositions of Sir Thomas Brassey (a representative of Capital) which deal only with the source of Capital.

Capital is both stored-up, and unpaid labour-results—at present monopolised by the few to the detriment of the many.

Now, as for the second proposition—namely, that the advance of wages depend on the increase of capital, a few facts and figures will not only contradict that statement, but will reverse the proposition.

According to Mr. J. Low, the income of the country in 1823 was £261,000,000; and, according to Mr. Mulhall, in 1882 it was £1,247,000,000. The total wealth of the country in 1823, according to Mr. Low, was £2,000,000,000; and, according to Mr. Mulhall, the total wealth in 1882 was £8,720,000,000. Here we see an enormous increase of capital, and, according to Mr. Bradlaugh's contention, wages ought to be very high and the condition of the labourers very good. Let us see.

If we take the actual number of workers at the following periods as near as can be obtained, we shall find the average value of the labour of each was as follows:—In 1823, £48, 6s. 8d.; in 1840, £80, 6s. 4d.; in 1871, £137, 10s.; and in 1878, £171, 9s.

"In 1883, in his paper before the British Association at Southport, Mr. Mulhall estimated the wealth of the country in 1840 at £2,190,000,000, equal to £150 per head of population; in 1860 at £4,030,000,000, equal to £190 per head; in 1878 at £7,960,000,000; and in 1882, £8,720,000,000, equal to £249 per head of population. Taking, then, the returns for 1840 and 1882, while the population has increased 45 per cent., the wealth of the country has increased 394 per cent."—Sketchley's "European Society."

Let us see how this enormous mass of wealth is distributed. We turn again to Mr. Mulhall.

The higher classes, who number only 222,500 families, possess wealth of the value of £5,728,000,000; the middle classes, who number 1,824,400 families, possess £1,834,000,000; the working classes, who number 4,629,100 families, possess only £398,000,000.

Is there anything like equity here? The non-producing classes possess a total of £7,569,000,000 to £398,000,000, possessed by the working classes, by whose labour and skill the whole has been produced.

Truly, English society is one huge system of robbery!

"In dealing with the question of the income of the different classes in 1823, Mr. Low estimated the income of the working classes at £90,000,000 out of a total of £261,000,000. In 1866, Mr. Leone Levi estimated this income at £418,300,000, but he included then, as at a later period, a number of items which were quite inadmissible. From the same data, on which he founded his estimate, Mr. Dudley Baxter estimated their income at £325,000,000. From the same data, or nearly so, Mr. W. E. Gladstone estimated their income at £250,000,000."—Sketchley.

More recently, Mr. Leone Levi estimated the average wages of the principal classes of workers at 18s. 7d. per week. Magnificent remuneration!

One out of every three of the workers die either in the workhouse or hospital. "In 1885 the mean number of chronic paupers in England and Wales was 758,993; in Scotland, 97,504; in Ireland, 105,153: in all 971,595. Of the persons actually relieved from the rates in the course of a year, one in three, according to Mr. Mulhall, or one in three-and-a-half, according to Dudley Baxter, becomes a chronic pauper."—*Reynolds*.

Mr. Edwin Chadwick, C.B., states that the mean age of the gentry is 50 years; of shopkeepers, 27 years; of the wage-workers, 23 years; while in the case of these three classes, out of 100 children of the gentry 13 die under the age of five; of 100 children of the shop-keeping class 38 die under that age; and out of 100 children of the wage-earning class no less than 48 die under that age.

Dr. Lyon Playfair tells us that of the children of the upper class 18 per cent. die under five years of age; of those of the tradesmen class, 36; and of the working class, 55 per cent.

Mr. Bradlaugh quoted the speech of Sir Thomas Brassey, at the Industrial Remuneration Conference, on Capital. I therefore quote Frederick Harrison at the same Conference on the condition of the labourer:—"To me, at least, it would be enough to condemn modern society as hardly an advance on slavery or serfdom if the permanent condition of industry were to be that which we behold—that 90 per cent. of the actual producers of wealth have no home that they can call their own beyond the end of the week; have no bit of soil, or so much as a room, that belongs to them; have nothing of value of any kind except as much old furniture as will go in a cart; have the precarious chance of weekly wages which barely suffice to keep them in health; are housed, for the most part, in places that no man thinks fit for his horse; are separated by so narrow a margin from destitution that a month of bad trade, sickness, or unexpected loss brings them face to face with hunger and pauperism. This is the normal state of the average workman in town and country."—Quoted in *Reynolds*, August 14.

We are now able to see how true is the proposition that the wages of the worker advance with the increase of capital, and, at the same time, to see what are the conditions under which he "contracts."

If we were to first cut off the arms of a man and then tell him he was free to use his hands in his own defence, we should be doing on a small scale what is done on a large—in fact, what the present system of industry does to the working class.

"It is a long lane that has no turning," says an old proverb, and the day of awakening is at hand. Already Labour shakes his chains, to the terror of his oppressor, and is preparing to knock off the fetters that bind him. The worker is now beginning to understand that the more useful he is to society the less is his chance to live; the more wealth he produces the less he gets—in a word, the richer the nation grows the poorer he becomes. Until all this is reversed the workers must remain in their present condition of slavery, and any scheme which has not in view the changing of the present conditions from top to bottom is not worth attention.

H. DAVIS.

SOCIALISM IN NORTH WALES.

On the 24th of September I set out for a few days' rest in Barmouth, North Wales. I spent a few days' in rambling round the neighbourhood; visited several small quarries in the district, notably that at Henddol, where I found some seventy men working for the benefit of a man who lived in a fine big mansion some few miles off. Of course everyone could understand that he owned the quarry, but, for a time, couldn't see how the men belonged to him. But immediately it was pointed out that while they got an average of 3s. a-day for working hard, and lived in tumble-down cottages, he did no work and lived in a mansion, and it was only by their working that he was able to live there; that they were compelled to sell their bodies to him in order to live, and the difference between the price he paid them and what he made out of them was his profit,—they began to see how it was. After this visit I decided to hold a meeting that very evening in Barmouth, and lay before such as chanced to listen the views of a Socialist. So at half-past six I took up a stand on the quay at Barmouth and began the first address on Socialism ever delivered there. It was soon evident that however new the ideas of Socialism were to those present, there was much that was in accord with their natural feelings as regards the duty of one man to another; that they as much disapproved of the present system of society as I did; for when it was proclaimed that the rich were getting richer and the poor getting poorer, and the difficulty of getting a job of work increasing day by day and the wages going lower and lower, it was earnestly emphasised. The assertion that there were two classes of idlers in the country, the idle rich and the idle poor, was sneeringly interrupted by a well-dressed young man, but approved by all others; and when I suggested that the said young man had better clothes than manners he was very wroth, at which I further observed that although better dressed than the working men around me, he hadn't near so much good behaviour. The upshot of this meeting was a request from some score working men to give a lecture in one of the public rooms on the question of Christian Socialism. Of course I gladly acceded to their request, and forthwith arrangements were set about. The minister of the Congregational Church was seen, and he cordially approved the idea. The deacons of his church were also consulted, and finally they kindly granted the use of the schoolroom free of expense.

Previous to this meeting (Friday the 30th) I decided to hold another out-door meeting. So on the Thursday evening I again took up a position and held one of the most fervent meetings that ever I addressed or witnessed; for despite a drenching downpour of rain, the audience stood throughout, and even after it was over congregated in groups.

An amusing incident occurred through these outdoor addresses. The day after the first address I went into one of the tradesmen's shops, and he commenced to tell me about this stranger who had been holding a meeting on Socialism, and he innocently enough asked, "What is a Socialist?" and straightway proceeded to analyse the term in the following manner: "Socialism—assosin; Socialist—assosin." I then asked him what "assosin" meant in Welsh, thinking of course that it was perhaps a Welsh term. To my surprise, he told me it was English.

I then tumbled to it that he meant "assassin"; and I commenced a soliloquy as to what I should be taken for next—me, the peace-at-any-price man! Of course I soon relieved him on the point, but refrained from making myself known to him on that occasion at all events. I met him afterwards, and we had a good laugh over it. I told him that I forgave him freely, but forgot him I never should. He now thoroughly approves the Socialist ideal, and his brother is a most active and intelligent supporter.

The indoor lecture was a thoroughly successful one, and I think will bear good fruit. That a complete revolution of the present system of society is absolutely necessary for the removal of the existing evils was admitted by every one present; and that it was within the reach of man and thoroughly practicable in the opinion of all present was aptly illustrated by the enthusiastic manner in which they applauded my remarks when referring to the capturing of political power and the formation of a great Socialist Labour Party whose only aim should be the taking possession of all the means of labour and the using of them only in the interest of all who worked. "Yes," said one, "if we would only be as enthusiastic and self-sacrificing for the establishment of Socialism as we are for our ordinary politics and religion, it could soon be brought about; and when brought about it would be practical application of all the best teachings believed in to-day." The same speaker also pointed out to me that there is a great amount of Socialism carried out in the different religious bodies, and instanced the manner in which they clung together for the good of all, and the equality that is insisted on.

One great difficulty in the propaganda is that whilst nearly all can understand a fluent English speaker, very few can read English books. Still I have every confidence that North Wales could soon be successfully organised.

HAYDN SANDERS.

A PROCESSIONAL HYMN.

TUNE—*St. Gertrude*—SIR A. S. SULLIVAN.

"Onward! Christian Soldier."

TOILERS of the nations,
Thinkers of the time,
Sound the note of battle
Loud through every clime!
March ye 'gainst the tyrants
Heedless of their steel,
Be a band of brothers,
Speed the Common Weal!

Onward! friends of freedom,
Onward! for the strife,
Each for all we struggle,
One in death or life.

Seamstress in the hovel,
Women of the mill,
Low indeed ye grovel,
Tame ye are and still.
Come like the Walkyries
Beauteous in your might,
Sing us songs of valour,
Nerve us for the fight!

Chorus.

Teachers of the people,
Priests beside the shrine,
Men of light and leading,

Edinburgh.

Speak the word divine;
Gather us together
In a holy band,
Sworn to help each other,
Pledged both heart and hand

Chorus.

Toil we now no longer
For another's gain;
While our wives and children
Pine in want and pain;
Grieve we now no longer
At another's good,
Let us all be brothers,
Let us all have food!

Chorus.

Come, then, worn and weary,
Come, then, stout and brave,
Join this noble army
Sworn our land to save,
From the power of tyrants,
From the curse of greed—
Down with the destroyers!
Crush the serpents' seed!

Chorus.

J. G.

THEIR CRIME.

Down deep in the slough of human misery they delved and brought to the light of nineteenth century civilisation the cruel results of man's inhumanity to man.

Over the pathway trodden by the burden-bearers of this land they travelled, and, finding it strewn with the bleaching bones of their fellow-toilers—Wrong's victims—cried aloud, and bitterly, against the miserable system that caused it.

Into the maw of the beast of competitive industry they threw the light of scientific investigation, and, finding it the grave of human hopes and happiness, vowed it should die.

Out into the darkness of Labour's long night they thrust a loving arm and sought to bring the wandering prisoner of poverty into a higher life, a nobler ambition.

Guided by the impulse of tender hearts they sought to break the chains encircling the limbs of Labour—poor sightless Sampson that he is—and drive Shylock from the temple of man's hopes, ambitions, and higher development.

And this hath been the height of their offending; this the reason that they are called anarchists; this the reason they are sentenced to be hung.—(Denver) *Labour Enquirer*.

I have never hesitated when I have seen my way clearly according to my lights, to follow it. I have always endeavoured to hew to the line, let the chips fall where they would. Some people do not do that. That is what is the trouble with the world. A great many people ask, when they find what their duty is, does it pay? If it pays they will follow it, and they care not where the payment comes from.—*Samuel Fielden*.

I am an internationalist. My patriotism covers more than the boundary lines of a single state; the world is my country, all mankind my countrymen. That is what the emblem of the red flag signifies; it is the symbol of free, of emancipated labour. The workers are without a country. In all lands they are disinherited, and America is no exception. The wage-slaves are the dependent hirelings of the rich in every land. They are everywhere social pariahs without home or country. As they create all wealth, so also they fight every battle, not for themselves but for their masters. There is an end to this self-degradation. In the future labour will fight only in self-defence and work for itself and not for another.—*Albert R. Parsons*.



"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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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

LEARNER.—The lectures by Wendell Phillips, the great American reformer, are published by Lee and Shepard, 47 Franklin Street, Boston, U.S. Prices: 'Relations of Capital and Labour,' 25 c.; 'The Scholar in a Republic,' 25 c.; 'Eulogy of Garrison,' 25 c. His speeches, letters, etc., delivered before 1863 are published in one volume by the same firm at 2 dols. 50 c.

Acknowledged with thanks—J. W. (Liverpool).

H. N. (S. Hackney).—Your project has been considered and found impracticable.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday October 19.

ENGLAND		ITALY	
Justice	N. Haven—Workmen's Advocate	Gazetta Operaia	
Norwich—Daylight	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio	
Worker's Friend	Hammonton (N.J.) Credit Foncier		
Labour Tribune	San Francisco (Cal.) The People		
Jus	Albina (Oreg.)—Weekly Courier		
	Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer		
	Buffaloer Arbeiter-Zeitung		
INDIA		SPAIN	
Madras—People's Friend		Madrid—El Socialista	
SOUTH AUSTRALIA		GERMANY	
Adelaide—Our Commonwealth		Berlin—Volks Tribune	
UNITED STATES		AUSTRIA	
New York—Der Sozialist		Brunn—Volksfreund	
Truthseeker		Vienna—Gleichheit	
Leader			
Union Advocate		HUNGARY	
Boston—Woman's Journal		Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik	
Chicago (Ill.)—Labor Enquirer		ROUMANIA	
Vorbote		Jassy—Lupta	
Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt		DENMARK	
St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole		Social-Demokraten	
Altruist		SWEDEN	
		Malmö—Arbetet	
FRANCE		NETHERLANDS	
Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)		Hague—Recht voor Allen	
Le Socialiste		Amsterdam—Voorwaarts	
La Revolt		SWITZERLAND	
Lille—Le Travailleur		Zurich—Sozial Demokrat	
BELGIUM			
Seraing (Ougree)—Le Reveil			
Ghent—Vooruit			

THE CONDEMNED MEN AT CHICAGO.

On Friday, Oct. 14th, South-place Institute was crowded to the doors, and beyond, by an enthusiastic audience; who vigorously applauded the points made by each speaker, and unanimously passed the resolution which follows:—

"That the English workers in this meeting desire earnestly to urge on their fellow workers in America the great danger to Public Liberty that arises from suffering citizens to be punished for resisting attempts to suppress the rights of Public Meeting and Free Speech, since a right that the people are punished for enforcing is evidently thereby made no right at all, but a crime. That the fate of the seven men now under sentence of death for holding a public meeting in Chicago, at which certain policemen were killed for attempting forcibly to disperse the people and silence the speakers, is of deep concern to us as English workers, because their case is the case of our comrades in Ireland to-day, and is likely to be ours to-morrow unless the workers from both sides of the Atlantic declare with one voice that all who interfere with the rights of Public Meeting and Free Speech act unlawfully and at their own peril. We cannot admit that the political views of the seven condemned men have anything to do with the principle involved; and we protest against their sentence, which, if carried out, will practically make the holding of meetings by working-men in their own interests a capital offence throughout the United States of America, since it is always possible for the authorities to provoke a crowd to reprisals involving danger to life. We look to our American comrades, of all shades of political opinion, to demand the unconditional release of the seven men in whose persons the liberties of all workers are now in peril."

In opening the proceedings the Rev. Stewart Headlam, who took the chair, laid great stress upon the fact that in this meeting were gathered together men of very varied opinions, Socialists and Radicals, some of them anti-Socialists, but all resolved upon maintaining free speech for themselves, defending it for others as far as in them lay. While he was not an Anarchist, regarding, indeed, the doctrine of Anarchism with aversion, he demanded for its expounders as full or fuller liberty than that he himself enjoyed. As a priest of a Christian Church it was his clear duty to defend for all the right of serving truth by speaking it as they saw it, and the more they differed from him the more imperative this duty became. In the name of his Master and of Humanity he demanded the release of these men.

Letters of adhesion and sympathy were read from many associations and individuals in various parts of the country.

Mrs. Wilson, in moving the resolution, detailed step by step the events that led up the Haymarket meeting and that occurred there. These men, she said, amid great cheering, were not to be hanged for

any crime but that of having been prominent advocates of the cause of the toilers; for having dared to reveal to the slaves the causes of their slavery. They were men of spotless character, the most vicious organs of "public opinion" had been unable to vilify them; their whole lives had been traced with minute care in the vain hope of finding some offence which could be flung at them.

William Morris seconded the resolution, saying that the evidence which was taken as sufficient whereon to condemn these men was surely the very reduction to absurdity of the legal chicanery that obtains in such matters. He pointed out how the law had been strained and the furious prejudice shown by the court.

George Standring, delegate of the Hall of Science Club, as an Individualist, and a known advocate of a doctrine the very reverse in most respects of that for which these men were to suffer, would not, he thought, be suspected of being moved by anything but the desire of free thought and speech for all in protesting against what he considered a judicial murder.

Stepniak said that in Russia, Germany, or other confessedly despotic States, such behaviour as that of the Chicago Court would almost pass unchallenged, it was so naturally part of the system. A tyrant maintained himself by the strong hand and treachery; these were the weapons of despotism, and in countries that he knew were a matter of course and so accepted. But to him, and those like him, who living under the shadow of despotism had been from their youth up taught to look to England, and, it might be even more to America, as the home of freedom and the model toward which they should work; to them it was unnatural and strange when they saw the old familiar methods employed in what were called "free" countries. It showed, at least, that under every form of class-domination lay the same spirit; and when roused it was manifested in much the same way. He was delighted at the manifest interest in the question shown by the English workers.

Mr. George, by permission of the chairman, described to the meeting an instance of police brutality that has just occurred that day, in the clubbing of the unemployed who were marching peaceably through the streets.

Peter Kropotkin described the Chicago affair as a retaliation upon prisoners taken in the virtual civil war that was going on between the two great classes. Against this idea of retaliation we must constantly protest; it inevitably led to cruelty and injustice. It was unavoidable that as the struggle grew more keen this kind of thing would recur more frequently. The people of no one country can afford to neglect the affairs of another; the essence of the workers' movement is its internationality, and the wrongs of one part are the wrongs of all; and while they cannot counsel revenge and so follow their "rulers" into wrongdoing, the workers of each country should encourage the workers of others to resistance of such things as this Chicago affair.

H. B. Tarleton, as a delegate of the Hammersmith Liberal Club, spoke of the failure to prove any connection between these men and the "crime," so-called, for which they were suffering, and said that the sentence if carried out would justify any reprisal that might be made.

James Blackwell, of the S.D.F., was in the States when the affair occurred, having gone over there in order to watch the great strike of May 1886, and report thereupon to the workers of England. He described the situation, and characterised the "riot," etc., as bourgeois devices to get hold of the men who had made themselves dangerous by the clearness with which they stated the Labour problem.

George Bernard Shaw (Fabian) disclaimed any sympathy with Anarchism or Anarchists, but emphatically supported the view that this was a question alone of freedom of speech and opinion. The case of these men to-day, to-morrow might be that of any one of us, of any political sect or party, who made himself obnoxious to the Government of the day.

Annie Besant (Fabian) classed this Chicago affair with kindred events that were happening nearer home. By intense effort and constant struggle, that had cost kings their thrones and many men their lives, we had won a certain measure of freedom; we held this at the price of eternal vigilance, and whether in America or Ireland, or anywhere else, if we allowed encroachments upon it to pass unchallenged, by so much did we sacrifice it.

A cablegram was sent from the meeting to the *Leader*, New York, of greeting to the demonstration there with the same object on Saturday.

£3 5s. 5d. was subscribed at the doors for the expenses of the hall and the literature that has been distributed on the question.

At a mass meeting on Sunday in Victoria Park the same resolution was also carried. Many meetings are being organised by Radical clubs, etc., with the same object. S.

DIDN'T KNOW ENOUGH.—"I am not a Socialist," reiterates Mr. Terence Vincent Powderly. This reminds us of the small boy who, when asked why he had not risen above the primary class, replied, "Because I don't know enough."—*American paper.*

To-day as the beautiful autumn sun kisses with balmy breeze the cheek of every free man, I stand here never to bathe my head in its rays again. I have loved my fellow men as I have loved myself. I have hated trickery, dishonesty, and injustice. The nineteenth century commits the crime of killing its best friend. It will live to repent of it. But, as I have said before, if it will do any good, I freely give myself up. I trust the time will come when there will be a better understanding, more intelligence, and, above the mountains of iniquity, wrong and corruption, I hope the sun of righteousness and truth and justice will come to bathe in its balmy light an emancipated world.—*Samuel Fielden.*

CORRESPONDENCE.

SOCIALIST CO-OPERATION.

SIR,—The subject matter of the Co-operative lecture of the 21st is so little touched by friend Tarn's letter, that it would hardly be necessary to reply were it not that we hope to make that meeting the preliminary to a serious attempt to carry out the views then laid down, and it would, therefore, be a pity to allow any misconceptions to pass unnoticed.

Comrade Tarn's letter is a practical admission that he and those who thought with him were unable in their speeches to explain their ideas to the meeting, and I am glad that he recognises this. But I am afraid that his letter has only increased the haziness which hangs over whatever may be the reasons for their opposition. But his letter reveals one other fact, not perhaps flattering to me, namely, that I was not able to make my position understood by the whole of the persons present. As this was the first attempt I had made to lecture to an audience of the kind, this is scarcely surprising, and I can very well be satisfied that the bulk of the audience seemed not only to understand my proposals but to sympathise with them, and that many have pledged themselves to assist in putting them into practice.

Comrade Tarn opens by stating that the object was for a group of people to start a co-operative store for their *own benefit*. Now, if this were really the case, their object could be more easily attained by joining one of the existing Co-operative Societies. But I think it would be best here to state what were the exact proposals made.

First, then, it was proposed to raise funds by bonds of say 5s. each, and with the money thus raised to open a store, and sell to the members such commodities as they require and are at present purchasing elsewhere; selling them, however, at prices as near cost as was compatible with the safe conduct of the business, and which would be fixed too low to enable the ordinary shopkeeper to sell at and make a profit for himself. At these low prices a fair trade should easily be got together. But, owing to the greater economy at which Co-operative Societies are able to work through concentrating the trade of a dozen shops under one establishment, and thereby saving the rents, gas, etc., of at least nine of the other shops, and further saving expenses of advertising, and the thousand and one ways by which tradesmen attempt to distance their rivals, there would still, as experience abundantly shows, be a surplus left at the disposal of the society.

Mr. Tarn sneers at this saving as *profits*, but it does not represent what is usually understood by that term. By profits we usually designate any surplus resulting from a trading transaction between two separate persons, and which really mean that A has got more value from B than he gives to B, and which surplus he appropriates for himself, *i.e.*, profits represent unequal exchange. But the transactions of this society would not be as between separate individuals, but really mean that the persons concerned have combined for the purpose of supplying their mutual wants without the intervention of a profit-making trader at all.

The surplus proposed to be made by this society does not represent the profit made by the ordinary trader (that is, to be given to the purchaser with each purchase), but merely the saving effected by a more economical system of distribution; and this surplus, or profit if you will, is not to become the property of any individual at all, not even of the persons who establish this society, for *THEIR OWN BENEFIT*, but is to remain as a common fund to be used only in extending the benefits of this method of self-supply.

Further, we know from the experience of the co-operative movement that this fund would soon be more than sufficient for distribution, and it would then be used for the employment of the members in the production of the commodities sold in the stores, employing them in factories which should be under their own control, and from which no profits should be sought to be made.

Comrade Tarn protests that this is the ordinary competitive method of trading, but I think any reader will see that there is a great gulf fixed between these two systems of supplying our daily wants, both as to method and results aimed at. He also alleges that we represented this would of itself bring about Socialism.

Now it was not put forward as a complete measure of Socialism at all, although the writer believes it capable of such *expansion* as will keep pace with the growth of public opinion in the direction of Socialism; so far, that is, as the management of the production and exchange of ordinary commodities are concerned, but it is obvious that it makes *no attempt to deal* with the wealth inherent in the land, that which has been produced by former generations on such works as railways, canals, etc.

But it is seriously contended that it is *Socialistic*, and I think even Mr. Tarn will admit that its three main points, *viz.* :—

1. The abolition of usury,
2. The practical abolition of individual profit-making,
3. The capitalising for *common use* of the savings rendered possible by *common action*,

would be three great practical steps towards Socialism.

Comrade Tarn then makes a complaint that sounds strange from a Socialist, that this system would kill out the shopkeeper. What then? Is it not one of the aims of Socialists to abolish the classes who live on profits? I am unable to see any "sneaking" about this. What does my critic mean by killing in a straightforward way?

But I must remind him that we cannot save the shopkeeper even if we would. He is at present being rapidly and mercilessly exterminated by the larger capitalists. But we *can* determine whether he shall be replaced by the Maples, Peter Robinsons, and Whiteleys, with the Rothschilds at their back, or absorbed by the growth of some such Co-operative effort as we propose. Besides, all those really engaged in *actual* distribution would find a place to fill under the new conditions.

It is then asserted that we should commence with Co-operative production. This seems to me attempting to drive in the wedge by the thick end. The first necessity for success would be a ready prepared market, and I am sorry that our friend should consider an honest attempt to secure this as not straightforward.

We now come to friend Tarn's own proposals as to what should be done. He commences by an assertion that the work of the League (and I presume he means by that other Socialists,) must *ever* consist in promoting international union. Not being intimately acquainted with the future I am unable to judge as to the accuracy of this; but it appears to my less extended *view* that there is also other good work to be done. But I am really unable to entertain the idea that we should attempt to heal the wounds of

humanity with free concerts or even free evening schools. This is "Rose-water for the Plague" with a vengeance.

I believe the maintenance of the present state of society is only possible through the existence of a large middle-class, who believe it is their interest to maintain it, as Morris says, speaking of the aristocracy and monopolists generally: "They are scant of numbers, and have no power of their own, but depend upon the support of the class next below them—the middle-class."

It is this class that I wish to destroy; it is this class that I have tried to show we *can* destroy, and I would appeal for the help of all Socialists, and even of all social reformers to bring down this great prop of the existing order of society, whose fruits are misery for all, even of the fortunate who *can think and feel*, and for the masses degradation and death.

ALFRED CLARE VARLEY.

THE MINERS NATIONAL CONFERENCE.

THE four days' sitting at Edinburgh has been rather a barren one. The easy-going way in which these workmen's representatives take their labours is rather disgraceful. A four days' conference of men sent at great expense from all parts of the three countries to transact most important business gets through its work in this way:—First day: sits from 10 to 12.30; hears a weak, halting, and pointless speech from Mr. Burt, though at one point the honourable gentleman, in a sudden spasmodic burst of revolutionary ferocity declares that the House of Lords is an "anachronism"; this from T. Burt, M.P., astonishes the delegates and exhausts Mr. Burt himself; so after electing secretaries and doing some formalities the conference languidly adjourns. Second day: sits from 10 to 4; discusses about a score of motions and passes none; result of discussion is that a "general sentiment," as the chairman, Mr. Burt, calls it, is evolved and a committee appointed to boil down the score of motions into one which shall include all the first ones and the "general sentiment" besides. These unhappy men, instead of sinking beneath their task, coolly report at the next sitting that they have not held a meeting yet. This report occasions no surprise; perhaps it is regarded as a splendid imitation of parliamentary ways. Third day: another sitting from 10 to 4; energetic discussion, with the magnificent result that one clause of a resolution is carried. Fourth day: the conference actually begins work at 9 a.m. This extraordinary affair, however, is easily explained. The purpose of beginning *one hour earlier* is to stop *several* hours earlier, on the principle that an hour in the morning is worth two in the afternoon. This also proves that the British working-man's delegate has not thrown off his historic laziness.

On the whole, the conference must be a sickening disappointment to the miners throughout the country who looked to it for some help and guidance in their present difficulties. The men of light and leading meet together at great expense to their associations. They proceed to talk over a few things in the most leisurely way, as if meanwhile all was well enough. The miserable sterility of their deliberations is made the more exasperating by their splendid self-satisfaction. It is surely time that the mass of the miners in the country hurried these fellows up a bit and sharpened their wits for them.

However, the situation was not without an element of hope. The conference was valuable as the first occasion on which a new departure in trades-unionism was distinctly noticeable. There were two distinct sections in the conference—the official gang of Burt and Co., and a more advanced party, prominent amongst which were Messrs. J. Keir Hardie (N. Ayrshire), Chisolm Robertson (Stirlingshire), Wm. Small (Lanarkshire), John Wilson (Borxburn), and other Scotch delegates. Some of the English delegates were also with the advanced party; but it was curious to notice that the Scotch delegates were distinctly in advance of the English. It is a pity that the miners were represented by such weaklings as their discredited M.P.'s. The hottest work was over the Eight Hours Bill. The advanced party were for parliamentary interference. The others aired the cant about the miners' independence of the State which they learned from Mr. Bradlaugh last session. Wm. Small moved for legislative interference, and in spite of the opposition of Messrs. Burt, Fenwick, and the whole official gang, it was carried by an overwhelming majority.

The Eight Hours motion is of course a matter of no vital importance; in itself it is chiefly interesting as the first motion carried against the orthodox party. Any awakening of the trades-unionists is too valuable to be despised, and if they once begin to go forward they may go a long way before they stop.

Mr. R. B. Cunninghame Graham, M.P., made a most interesting and valuable speech, in which his formal adherence to Socialism was declared. Having been challenged by Mr. Haldane, M.P., to say how far he agreed with Karl Marx's theories, he replied: "Mr. Haldane had asked him, did he (Mr. Graham) go in heart and soul with Karl Marx's theories, and did he know what he pledged himself to regarding this mining question? His answer was, absolutely and entirely." As appearances go at present, there may soon be a Scottish Labour Party formed, of which Mr. Cunninghame Graham will be the chief. This party may not be definitely Socialistic, but it will be a great advance on the old methods.

J. L. MAHON.

EARLY CLOSING.—A traders' conference was held last week at the Craven Hotel, Lavender Hill, Mr. Richard Philips in the chair, to bring about the practice of earlier closing of all shops in that district. After a long discussion, in which the fullest sympathy was shown with the proposals made by the Early Closing Association, it was agreed to adjourn the conference for a week with a view to obtain the support of the few firms who have not yet given in their adhesion to the movement.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

CLOSING OF COLLIERIES.—Arrangements are in progress for closing twelve collieries in the Ettingshall district, near Wolverhampton. This result is said to be due to the impossibility of making them yield a profit under the operations of the Mines Drainage Commissioners.

EXTENSIVE LOCK-OUT.—On Saturday 2000 men were locked out at the Landore-Siemens Steel Works, Swansea, owing to a strike amongst the melters. These men, only forty in number, have been on strike nine weeks against a reduction, and as it is impossible to go on without them, the lock-out was resorted to, with the result that on Tuesday the melters waited on the manager and announced their surrender.

WEAVERS.—At Preston the dispute at Messrs Owtram and Co.'s mills still continues, the firm refusing to discharge the hands who remained at work during the strike. In the same town the weavers employed by Mr. J. Humber have also turned out against the employment of a "tackler" whom they object to. At Barnoldswick also the strike continues, although the employers have engaged fresh hands to fill up the vacancies; and a strike in the cotton trade is feared at Blackburn.

GALSTON—MINERS' STRIKE.—Some four weeks ago the miners employed in Goatfoot and Burnbank pits, numbering in all about 350, struck work in consequence of the proprietor allowing six men to work on the weekly holiday. After coming out the men resolved not to resume work until an advance of 6d. per day was obtained. On Tuesday morning the men, including all the oncost men, who have hitherto worked at the employers' terms, joined their fellows on strike.

THE BOLTON STRIKE.—On Friday afternoon the joint-committee of men submitted proposals for the settlement of the dispute, which has now extended to 23 weeks, and which proposal it is generally understood is accepted by the employers, who have been consulted as to the construction of the proposals. The men agree to take the Oldham list of wages as the basis of settlement, and will resume work at once at the rate of wages in force before the strike commenced. Should it be found that the Oldham list is above the Bolton list, the advance to date from January 1. Nothing is said about the imported men lodged at present in the works affected.

REDUCTION OF SCAVENGER'S WAGES.—At the monthly meeting of the Walsall Town Council on Monday, Oct. 10th, it was decided to reduce the wages of a number of the scavengers from 18s. to 16s. per week. The explanation given for this cheese-paring policy is that most of the men whom the reduction will affect are old and infirm men, without families, and no longer able to do heavy manual labour, therefore these wage-slaves are to be paid at a rate which will not supply food in return for their work. There is likely to be considerable agitation in the town about the matter.

THE BROXBURN MINERS.—The struggle of the shale miners with the Oil Companies is more fierce than ever. All except the Broxburn men resumed work at the full reduction, and now the fight is confined to Broxburn. The evictions instead of making the men more despondent has made them more determined. They are being fairly well supported, and will fight on for another two months if necessary. As will be seen from another column, the shale miners by the resolution have acknowledged that the means of production must be made the property of the community. Further details of the struggle will appear next week.—J. L. M.

THE STRIKE IN THE NAIL TRADE.—The largest meetings of nailers that have been held since the commencement of the present strike, took place on Friday at Bromsgrove and Halesowen. The masters offer of the 1879 list less a discount of 30 per cent. off hobnails, and 10 per cent. off all other nails was unanimously rejected, and resolutions were passed to continue the strike until the 1879 list is conceded in its entirety. The operatives in the Black Heath and Rowley districts have unanimously decided not to return to their employment until the list claimed is paid. Later.—Two meetings were held at Halesowen on Monday, at which the Rev. A. O'Neill, of Birmingham, announced that he had issued an appeal for funds, and several friends had responded to it. It was resolved to play on. A number of the operatives in the Sedgley and Coseley districts, it is said, took out iron on Saturday at the employers terms. In the Halesowen, Old Hill, and Rowley districts, the operatives remain firm, and refuse to take out iron under the 1879 list of prices.

THE CONDITION OF THE WORKERS.

HAMPSHIRE—FAREHAM AND DISTRICT.

Occupation.—This district is almost exclusively agricultural. There is a little ship-lading at Porchester, where lighters come for chalk, but the number of men employed probably does not exceed a score.

Farm-Labourers.—The usual wage of this class of men is about 15s. per week, out of which they pay half-a-crown for a cottage. Sometimes they are provided with a cottage on the farm, when the wage is 11s. per week. Carters get about 16s. Labourers do not as a rule keep a pig, the farmers generally objecting to this. A constant hand—that is, a labourer always on the farm—gets 25s. a-week during the month of harvest. The driver of the threshing-machine gets about 20s. per week; the "feeder"—that is, the man who puts the corn into the machine—about 18s.

"Commons."—All the "common-land" has been filched. There is a common at Penbrok, but the landlord of the adjoining property has laid claim to it, and no one seems to object.

Landlord.—The great landlord here is a man named Thistlethwaite. He is very wealthy, and a hard, cruel landlord. I could narrate numerous cases of his brutality, but I am afraid they would take up too much room. He got £95,000 as compensation from the Government for confiscated rights of property, and he has obtained possession of nearly the whole of this property again.

Remarks.—One sees very few old agricultural labourers, the majority of them being in the workhouse. There is a strong inclination among the young ones for the navy. They are becoming very dissatisfied with the way in which they are living, and Socialism would soon make great headway among them.

CA IRA.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

We have received the first number of a new Austrian paper, devoted specially to the baker trade's interests—the *Bäcker-Zeitung* (the Bakers' Organ). The publishers are A. Kreuzer, W. Nemetz, T. Tobola, members of the bakers trade union; the editor is K. Gargula. The paper will appear on the first and on the third Thursday of every month. Among others, their programme includes the following: 1. Federation of all the bakers' associations in Austria-Hungary; 2. Reduction of the hours of work; 3. Abolition of all night work; 4. Discussion of all corporative, economical, socialistic and scientific questions of the day.

After a long interruption, a new number of the *Arbeit* (the Work) appeared last week at Linz. It was at once confiscated by the police.

BELGIUM.

At the municipal elections of last Sunday, 16th inst., all the candidates of the *Parti Ouvrier* (Worker's Party) have been beaten everywhere. That is the just reward they deserve for their ugly mingling with Liberals and bourgeois of all kinds. Even at Brussels, the headquarters of the Party, not a single candidate has been elected.

ITALY.

The Socialist papers of our Italian friends are confiscated nearly every day, but Socialism nevertheless is increasing very rapidly among the workers. Last week, as states the *Gazzetta Operaia* (the Workers Journal), the police has suppressed the first issue of *Sempre avanti* (Always A-head) at Livorno; the eighth number of *Fiaccola rossa* (Red Torch) of Florence; the twenty-first number of *Humanitas*, of Naples; the first issue of *Il demolitore* (the Destroyer) of the same town; and *La Lotta* (the Struggle) of Mantua.

At Venice, a new Anarchist-Communist paper has been started under the title of *Ottanta nove* (the Year 1789) and at Livorno, a corporative organ, *Punattiere italiano* (the Italian Baker).

DENMARK.

The Danish Socialists publish at the present moment five important organs: *Social-Demokraten*, at Christiania, edited by comrade Sabroe; *Demokraten*, at Aarhus, edited by E. Marrott and Harold Tensen; *Reform*, at Lolland-Falsten, edited by Th. and Chr. Hansen; *Randers Folkeblad*, at Randers, edited by P. Sabroe; and *Nordjyllands Arbejderblad*, at Aalborg, edited by Christensen. Socialism is making considerable progress in Denmark, specially among the organised bodies of workmen, who formerly only occupied themselves with mere co-operation, if not saturated with Socialist ideas, is only another form of bourgeois competition.

STRIKE OF MINERS IN SOUTH INDIANA.—New York, Oct. 13.—Two thousand five hundred miners in South Indiana have struck for an advance of wages.

RENT AGITATION IN SOUTH DEVON.—The whole of the tenant-farmers on Lord Devon's estate at Salcombe, Marlborough, and South Huist have signed a petition to the manager, stating that unless their rents are reduced they will quit at Lady Day. The rents average about 22s. 6d. per acre, and the farmers say that unless there is a reduction they must be ruined.

A LONDON HOUSE-RENT CAMPAIGN.—A "House-Rent League" is the title of a movement which a number of working men in the East-end of London have formed a committee to carry on somewhat on the lines of the Irish National League. Some private meetings have been held and enquiries made in St. George's-in-the-East, Wapping, Shadwell, and other parts, by the local committees, as to the amounts at which houses are assessed and also the amounts at which they are let, and the committee allege that in some cases nearly double the assessed rent is obtained by the landlords. The committee of the League have issued a manifesto, and they will carry on their agitation in the winter by meetings, and propose to adopt similar tactics to the Irish League—namely, the appointment of responsible trustees to receive the tendered rent if not accepted by the landlords.

It is characteristic of the age in which we live that while processions and demonstrations of the starving people of London receive a few lines of small type in the daily press, the announcement of a new burlesque at a theatre can have a very prominent position, with wide-spaced type. How true it is that one half of the world knows not how the other half exists. It will be well if there is not a rude awakening for many people in London who are both thoughtless and careless as to the human smouldering volcano.—*Labour Tribune*.

The Northumberland coal-miners in England have supported in parliament two men as their representatives for years. The two men, Burt and Fenwick, were real good conservative fellows, who had grown fat and contented on their £500 per year paid them by the miners. Fat and contentment are not the starting or initiative forces of reforms, consequently Burt and Fenwick sought more to keep the poor, miserably paid miners contented than to mark out a line of advance. The English Socialists saw the condition of things and sent speakers into the mining hamlets of bleak Northumberland. They did their work well. Burt and Fenwick are looking for another fat job of keeping working men content. And the best of it is that the miners will, from all accounts, elect two Socialists in their places.—(Denver) *Labour Enquirer*.

Trade unions, then, have two classes of opponents. On the one hand, misallied Conservatives, or opponents of progress, who, in fancied security of possession of abnormal privileges, revile all who protest against their sufferings, and treat with disdainful contempt all who do not complain; on the other hand, misallied Radicals, recruited from all classes of society, who, in their blind zeal for progress, would destroy all organisation, and organisations, the good with the bad. The blind fatality of action, or rather inaction, of the first-named class, the opponents of progress, is tending toward the most terrible social disturbance the world has ever seen. The second-named class, practical opponents of all order, are powerful only for destruction, since no two factions of that class possess half-a-dozen ideas in common.—*The Painter*.

This that they call Organisation of Labour is the Universal Vital Problem of the World. It is the problem of the whole future for all who will in future pretend to govern men.—*Thomas Carlyle*.

LETTERS FROM AMERICA.

III.

In the case of the seven Anarchists in Chicago, General Pryor is preparing the writ of error, which he expects to have ready about the 10th of October. Meetings of workmen belonging to all the different organisations are called every day, passing resolutions in favour of the men. Only the ultra-conservative element in the ranks of organised labour does not look favourably upon any expression of sympathy with the condemned, and to the best of my knowledge the decision of the Court has immensely helped the cause of Socialism.

Public affairs are fast becoming Russianised in the States. Even the shadow of the right of free meeting has disappeared, as the following case will amply prove to the readers of the *Commonweal*.

Last Sunday, Oct. 2nd, a meeting was convened at Union Hill, North Hudson County, New Jersey State, by the Local Assembly 1864 Knights of Labour, composed of silk weavers; the local union of the American Order of Carpenters and Joiners, one of the most conservative unions connected with the building trades; and the local union of the International Cigar-maker's Union. To these bodies of organised labour was added a small section of the Socialistic Labour Party, consisting of about 40 men. The conveners of the meeting had issued a circular calling upon the workmen to assemble in the Skating Rink, Union Hill, and to protest against the proposed judicial murder in Chicago. The hall was decorated with red flags. At about one o'clock it became known the police would attempt to prevent the meeting being held. In the morning the Corporation counsel, one Smith, had declared that the display in a hall of red or black flags was an act of treason. He had ordered the meeting to be suppressed by force.

Police were gathered from other towns to the number of sixty. Special officers were sworn in, the sheriff being also summoned; a large posse was sworn in. The fire company was prepared for action, and the members of a Grand Army Post are reported to have armed themselves for action.

A cordon of police formed a circle around the doorway, and waited for the procession of the workmen. It was nearly 3 o'clock before the procession headed for the rink, and by that time the whole town had turned out. The men carried no flags in their ranks, and on their arrival they tried to enter the hall. The police brutally pushed them back, and at once began to use their clubs without stint. Henry Tueber, one of the men, got a severe clubbing from two policemen. The crowd tried to rescue their friends; the police, however, knew no mercy, and clubbed right and left; and out of the affair emerged what was once Richard Wohlmann, with a badly beaten and swollen head that was scarcely recognisable; the blood issued freely from deep cuts. Four of the men were carried off to the jail. The police by this time began to attack in most brutal fashion everybody standing around, and gradually succeeded in dispersing the crowd. Colonel Hinton, an editor of the *Leader*, and one of the announced speakers, remonstrated with a dirty wretch who seemed to be the man in authority, and who turned out to be the chief detective, but of course it was of no use. Wohlmann is a little better to-day. The police boast loudly that an indictment will be found against the men now in jail. So much for free speech in the land of manhood suffrage, annual parliaments, payment of members, etc.

Henry George is at present stamping the State. Nobody could describe more graphically and more truthfully the evils resulting from the present system than this caretaker of "number one," but as soon as he comes to an analysis of the cause or to a remedy, his logic becomes of the same shoddy quality as British woollens are in our day. In spite of all this, I expect he will poll about 200,000 votes.

John Swinton, on the ground of ruined personal affairs, has declined to run as the candidate of the Progressive Labour Party. The "ticket" of that party is now composed of: I. Edward Hall, machinist, for Secretary of State; Herbert A. Barker, Cigarmakers' International Union, for Comptroller; Henry Emisch, secretary of Furniture-makers' Union, for Treasurer; Thaddeus B. Wakeman, councillor-at-law, for Attorney-General. There are now five parties in the field—viz., the Republicans, the Democrats, the Prohibitionists, the United Labour Party, and the Progressive Labour Party. The game at politics will be lively this fall, and this Punch and Judy show will last till the asses, fools, and sentimentalists are dodos of the past.

To-morrow the Convention of the Knights of Labour will meet in Minneapolis. A lively time is expected. A large number of Knights are at last discontented with Powderly's administration, and general secretary Litchman will be accused of misappropriation of funds. Powderly, under the circumstances, will not be content with a simple vote of confidence, but will place himself before the convention in such a manner that a test vote of his popularity will be unavoidable. The conservative element in the order will never allow him to be dismissed by the radicals. Unfortunately, if they succeed Powderly will be stronger with the order than ever. Should Powderly be victorious, he will at once, it is understood, propose a plan for the entire reconstruction of the executive department of the organisation. The members of the General Executive Board, according to this new idea, instead of being elected by the General Convention, will henceforth be appointed by the General Master Workman, and will be known as members of his cabinet. This amounts to a *coup d'état* of the vilest description, which would make Powderly as absolute as the Tsar of all the Russians, and which would prove to be the *coup de grace* of the organisation known as Knights of Labour. Within the last two years, owing to Powderly's high-handedness, the order lost 400,000 members, which joined the American Federation of Labour.

STRIKES.

The strike at the American Ironworks in Pittsburgh, 3000 men, against the employment of non-union men, has ended favourably to the strikers.

The strike of weavers in the woollen mills of Louisville for an increase of wages, which began two months ago, has failed.

The strike of coal-miners at Etansville and the vicinity has assumed serious proportions; about 2000 men are now out, and as the supply of coal is short, prices have advanced about 10 per cent.

A dispatch from Pittsburgh says: "The strike of the window-glass workers has been averted and operations will be resumed in all the factories of the west as soon as the furnaces can be heated, about ten days. Instead of an advance in wages of 10 per cent. and pay for extras, the workmen agreed to accept a 5 per cent. increase, and the manufacturers promised to bring all outside factories into the association. The settlement of the strike will give employment to 7000 men who have been idle since the beginning of June, although a strike had not been officially declared."

LIST OF STRIKES FOR SEPTEMBER.

Number of strikers, Sept. 1—Sept. 23	38,100
New York City—builders, against employment of non-union plumbers, Sept. 26	400
Cincinnati, Ohio—waiters, for advance, Sept. 26	300
Hazleton, Pa.—labourers, for advance, Sept. 28	150
New York City—piano-workers, for advance, Sept. 27	60
New York City—pressmen, against reduction, Sept. 28	15
Cambridge, Mass.—plasterers, against reduction, Sept. 28	35
Brooklyn, N.Y.—carpenters, against employment of non-unionists, Sept. 28	30

Total number of strikers for September ... 39,090

New York, October 5, 1887.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

"THE TABLES TURNED."

On Saturday at Farringdon Hall, at a concert in aid of the *Commonweal* Printing Fund, was produced "a Socialist interlude" by William Morris, with the following cast: Mr. La-di-da (found guilty of swindling), H. Bartlett; Mr. Justice Nupkins, W. Blundell; Mr. Hungary, Q.C. (council for the prosecution), W. H. Utley; Sergeant Sticktoit (witness for prosecution), James Allman; Constable Potlegoff (witness for prosecution), H. B. Tarleton; Constable Strongthoath (witness for prosecution), J. Flockton; Mary Pinch (a labourer's wife, accused of theft), May Morris; Foreman of Jury, T. Cantwell; Jack Freeman (a Socialist, accused of conspiracy, sedition, and obstruction of the highway), H. H. Sparling; Archbishop of Canterbury (witness for defence), W. Morris; Lord Tennyson (witness for defence), A. Brookes; Professor Tyndall (witness for defence), H. Bartlett; William Joyce (a Socialist Ensign), H. A. Barker; Usher, J. Lane; Clerk of the Court, J. Turner; Jurymen, Interrupters, Revolutionists, Neighbours, etc. The play was well received and much applauded. So many people were unable to obtain admittance that it was decided to repeat the performance this Saturday (Oct. 22), when the same tickets will be available. Performances are also being arranged for Hammersmith and Bloomsbury; and it was further announced that any Radical Club or branch of the League or S.D.F. possessing a stage and willing to aid in the raising of the *Commonweal* Fund, could arrange with the manager to have the same company, scenery, etc. Songs, duets, and instrumental music were also given by Miss V. Paul and John Burns, Miss Miles, Miss Rose Sutherland, Harvey J. Miles, G. Brocher, and Mr. Beber, who sang Morris's "March of the Workers" to his own music. "The Tables Turned; or, Nupkins Awakened" has been printed, and can be had at the *Commonweal* Office, price 4d. A very favourable report of the performance appeared in the *Pall Mall* on Monday.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

Co-operative Store.—The Committee attend at the offices at 8.30 p.m. on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. All Groceries can be had at current store prices. Orders over 10s. will be delivered carriage paid in London.

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.

Unemployed Question—Resolution of Council.

That the Socialist League do maintain officially the continuance of that policy of non-intervention pursued up to the present by the League; and though it can prohibit no individual member or members of that body from participating in unemployed agitation, it cannot undertake to support, either morally or pecuniarily, any member whose participation in any such agitation leads him into difficulties.

BRANCH SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID.

Hammersmith, Mitcham, Walsall to July 31. Bloomsbury, Clerkenwell Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Hull, Mile End, Wednesbury, to Sept. 30.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Per R. Unwin—R. U. and J. Gill, 3s. 6d. C. Walkden, 13s. 4d. *Weekly Subscriptions*—K. F., 1s. C. J. F., 2s. Oxford Branch, 2s. Langley, 2s. P. W., 6d. W. B., 6d. P. WEBB, Treasurer.

MOWBRAY TESTIMONIAL.

Collections, Norwich—Oct. 2nd, Gordon Hall, 7s. 3rd, St. Augustine's School, 11s. 6d. 6th, Ber Street, 1s. 6d.; Market Place, 7s.; Gordon Hall, 4s. 14th, D. J. N., 3s.; Fred Henderson, 1s. 15th, Collected A. S., 7d.; Ipswich, 7s. 24d. 16th, Market Place, 19s.; Proceeds of Social Meeting at the Gordon Hall, £1, 10s.; C. Nobbs, 6d.; A Friend (1), 2d.; A Friend (2), 2s.

A. T. SUTTON and F. C. SLAUGHTER, Secs.

REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—On Thursday, A. C. Varley lectured on "Socialistic Co-operation." A business meeting was held previous to the lecture, at which Utley gave in his resignation as secretary of the branch.—U.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, Oct. 12th, no lecture. Sunday good lecture by A. C. Varley on "Socialistic Co-operation."—A. T. and W. B.

FULHAM.—Good meeting addressed by Tarleton and Morris. *Commonweal* sold well. Two members made, and 3s. 6d. collected for branch.—S. B. G.

HACKNEY.—Sparling, Allman, and Barker spoke to a good audience at the Broadway, London Fields, on Wednesday evening.

HAMMERSMITH.—Sunday morning, meeting at Starch Green, Broadway, at ten o'clock, Tochatti, Smith, and Mordhorst speaking; leaflets were freely distributed, and kept the meeting up three hours; 15 papers sold. In the evening, Sidney Olivier lectured on "European Peasant Revolts." Two new members.—T.

HOXTON.—Last Sunday evening in the hall, Rev. H. D. Headlam, B.A., lectured on "Christian Socialism;" lively discussion followed. Good meeting on Sunday morning.—C. J. Y.

MERTON.—Successful meeting at Haydon's Road in morning, addressed by Eden, Gregory in chair. *Commonweal* sold well.

MITCHAM.—Good meeting on Fair Green on Sunday morning, addressed by Hardesty and Allman. In the evening, by Fuke and Allman. 46 *Commonweal* sold.—R. C.

STAMFORD HILL.—A very large meeting was held here on Sunday evening, W. B. Parker speaking. Three new members.

GLASGOW.—On Tuesday evening, comrade Gaskell, of Bradford, gave a very interesting lecture in our rooms. On Saturday, Pollock, Downie, and Gilray spoke at Cambuslang. Sunday forenoon good meeting at Jail Square. In the afternoon, Bullock, Gilray, and Paterson held successful meeting at Paisley Road Toll, and in the evening Bullock again spoke to a large meeting at corner of Watson Street. In our hall at 8, Watson Street, Gilray lectured with much approval, and an interesting discussion followed. Members are requested to turn up in large force on Sunday at Paisley Road Toll, 5 o'clock.—J. M. B.

IPSWICH.—A successful meeting was held on Saturday evening in the Co-operative Hall to welcome comrade Mowbray. The following resolution was passed unanimously:—"That this meeting desires to express its sympathy with the workers of every country in their struggles to maintain the right of free speech, and especially with reference to the seven men condemned at Chicago for defending the right of public meeting." Sunday morning and afternoon meetings were uncommonly good, addressed by Morley, of Norwich, assisted by J. Thomas, of Ipswich. Literature sold well.—J. R.

LEICESTER.—On 6th inst., Barclay lectured at Hinckley on "A Socialist's View of Rent, Profit, and Interest." The rooms of the Liberal Club were thronged, and the audience very attentive. A hot and interesting discussion followed.—B.

LEEDS.—Last Sunday, Paylor gave an address at our rooms on "The Lesson of the Trades' Congress." Discussion followed.

NORWICH.—On Sunday, an immense demonstration took place on the occasion of the release of C. W. Mowbray. Previous to the arrival of the train, which conveyed our comrade from Ipswich, a meeting was organised by Henderson, C. Reynolds, and others, and a strong detachment awaited the incoming of the train. Thousands thronged the way on all sides. Mowbray delivered a short speech, and the crowd dispersed to re-assemble at three o'clock. A numerous assemblage thronged the Market Place, and its approaches was a sea of faces. Speeches were delivered by Reynolds, Mainwaring, Kitz, Nicoll, Henderson, Mowbray, etc. In the evening, a crowded meeting was held in the Gordon Cafe Hall. Songs and speeches were given by comrades Kitz, Moore, Darley, Slaughter, and numerous other comrades.

DUBLIN.—At the Labour League, on Thursday, Oct. 13th, the new Manifesto, a highly Socialistic production, was read by McCarthy, and after being discussed by King, Gabriel, Fitzpatrick, Ellis, Coulon, and others, was directed to be circulated. Arrangements were made for carrying on an effective propaganda during the coming winter.

NORWICH ANARCHIST GROUP.—Nicoll and Henderson spoke at Carrow on Friday, and Henderson in Haymarket on Saturday evening, and Market Place on Sunday morning and evening. Yarmouth was dropped on account of the rain, and St. Faith's on account of the meeting of the branch to welcome Mowbray.

SHEFFIELD SOCIALISTS.—At a meeting of the above last week, a resolution was put and carried unanimously protesting against the execution of the seven condemned Anarchists in Chicago, and at the Hall of Science last night it was put in a large meeting of Secularists, every hand being held up in favour of the resolution, except two. Last Monday, 17th inst., Mr. Jeffries lectured on "Fair Trade," very interesting discussion followed, in which several friends joined.—M. A. M.

BIRMINGHAM.—Good meetings at Bull Ring and Council House on Sunday.

HANDSWORTH.—Donald addressed Tangye's men Saturday afternoon as they left work.

WALSALL.—Large meeting addressed by Sanders, Donald, and Elson, on Saturday at 4. The meeting was called to protest against a reduction of wages which is being enforced upon some labourers in the service of the town.

WEDNESBURY.—Meeting in the Market-place on Thursday, addressed by Donald and Sanders.

WEST BROMWICH.—Sanders addressed a meeting on Saturday evening.

COVENTRY.—Large meeting in the Market-place on Monday. Ultimately the police endeavoured to suppress the meeting, but before we closed our hearers were advised that they should insist on the right of free speech.—A. K. D.

Scottish Land and Labour League.

EDINBURGH.—On Sunday evening, Mahon spoke to a large audience in the Trades' Hall. His subject was "Mr. Haldane's Objections to Socialism." His method of refuting Mr. Haldane's objections frequently evoked applause. We were told at the end of the meeting that it was one of the best lectures ever delivered on Socialism.—C. W. T.

DUNDEE.—C. L. Fitzgerald lectured on "Home Rule and the Duty of the Workers" in the Comedy Theatre. A resolution was passed in favour of Home Rule for Ireland and Scotland, and of the people settling the Land Question in their own way after they had got Home Rule.

BROXBURN.—The evicted miners and others crowded the Town Hall. Mr. John Wilson, the miner's secretary, advised the men to hold out for another six weeks. Cunningham Graham supported amid great enthusiasm. Mahon in supporting the resolutions, reminded them when the Broxburn labour dispute was settled the great Labour Struggle would still remain, and urged them to combine for realising the nationali-

sation of the means of production. Intense enthusiasm was shown.

DYSART AND GALLATOWN.—A meeting was held last week in the new branch rooms, and preparations made for winter propaganda. Land Nationalisation and Socialism were discussed.

KIRKCALDY.—Mahon and six members of Dysart branch held an open-air meeting at Port Brae Saturday night. Good audience and fair amount of literature sold.

ARBROATH.—This branch is still making steady progress, and is increasing in membership. On Friday night, there was a lively discussion on the present Parliamentary system. On Saturday, J. Duncan, of Dundee, lectured at the Fountain to a large audience, who seemed to agree with all that he said. Sale of *Commonweal* good.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, W. On Thursday Oct. 20, G. Porter, "Living Socialism of To-day." Oct. 27, Business Meeting.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Free Lectures every Sunday and Wednesday at 8.30.

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

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Oct. 16, at 8 p.m. Sydney Olivier (Fabian Hoxton (L.E.L.)).—Globe Coffee House, 227 High St., Hoxton. On Sunday 23, at 11.30, a Demonstration will be held at Hoxton Church to protest against the sentence of death passed upon the Chicago Socialists. In the Hall, at 8.30, W. H. P. Campbell, on "The Whereabouts of Utopia." Special Notice.—A conference of the members of the L.E.L. will be held in Farringdon Hall on Friday evening, Oct. 28, to consider what action shall be taken to enable the L.E.L. to continue its good work, having lost its meeting place.

Mitcham.—Corner of Merlon 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., 12 Short Loanings.

Arbroath (Scot. Sect.).—High Street Hall. Meeting Friday evenings. W. Smith, 12 Maple St., secy. On Friday next, a Debate.

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

Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Secretary pro tem., D. McFarquhar, East Path.

Cowdenbeath (Scot. Sect.).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur St., secy.

Dublin.—Irish Labour League, Carpenters' Hall, 75 Aungier Street. Meetings every Thursday at 8 p.m.

Dundee (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station. Forenoon, business and members' discussion; evening, lecture and discussion.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park St. Business Meeting Thursdays at 7.30. Discussion Class 8 p.m.

Galashiels (Scot. Sect.).—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., secy.

Gallatoun and Dysart (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatoun Public School.

Glasgow.—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Choir Practice, Wednesday at 8.

Music and Shewtham Class, Tuesdays at 8 o'clock.

In the Hall, 8 Watson Street, Gallowgate, lecture on Sunday 23, at 7 o'clock, by John Adams, "The Paris Commune."

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.

On Sunday October 23, at 7 p.m., T. Braithwaite, "The National Leaf: who Eats and who Eats it."

—On Saturday Oct. 22, in the People's Hall, Albion Street, T. Maguire will lecture on "Private Rights and Public Wrongs."

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

Lochee (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Secretary (pro tem.), P. McDougal, 10 Mercer Street.

Norwich.—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Free Lectures every Sunday at 8. Business Meeting Monday at 8.30.

Speakers' Class Sunday at 10.30 a.m. and Wednesday 8 p.m. Social Evening Saturdays at 8.

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

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

Walsall.—Temperance Hall. Meets every Monday.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 23.

9.30...Starch GreenHammersmith Branch
11.30...Hackney—Salmon and Ball.....Samuels
11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.....Demonstration
11.30...Kingsland GreenWardle
11.30...Merton—Haydons Road.....The Branch
11.30...Mitcham Fair GreenSparling
11.30...Regent's ParkMainwaring
11.30...St. Pancras ArchesThe Branch

11.30...Walham GreenThe Branch
3 ...Hyde ParkLane and Mainwaring
7 ...Stamford HillAllman & Cores
7 ...Clerkenwell GreenMainwaring

Monday.

8 ...Polygon, Somers Town.....Bloomsbury Branch

Tuesday.

8 ...Mile-end WasteDavis
8 ...Ossulton St., Euston RoadAllman

Wednesday.

8 ...Broadway, London Fields.....J. J. Allman

Thursday.

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

WOOLWICH.—Arsenal Gates, Sunday October 23, at 7 o'clock.

PROVINCES.

Glasgow.—Jail's Square: Sunday, 1 p.m.—Downie, Gilbert, and McKelvie.

Paisley Road Toll: Sunday, 5 p.m.—Glasier, Bullock, and Paterson.

Watson Street: Sunday, 6.30—Bullock.

Leeds.—Sunday: Vicar's Croft, 11 a.m.

Norwich Branch.—Sunday: Market Place at 3; Agricultural Hall Plain at 7.

Dereham.—Every Wednesday, Market Place at 7.

NORWICH ANARCHIST GROUP.

Yarmouth.—Thursday, on the Quay, at 7.30.

Carrow.—Friday, at 1.30.

St. Faith's.—Sunday, on the Green, at 3.30.

Norwich.—St. George's Plain, Saturday, at 1.15.

Haymarket, Saturday, at 8. Market Place, Sunday at 11 and 8.

SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.

(Scottish Section of the Socialist League)

Scot. 22—Kirkcaldy. Port Brae, 7 p.m.

" Burntisland. Afternoon.

" Arbroath. Brothock Bridge, 7 p.m.—Duncan of Dundee, and Dempster.

Scot. 23—Edinburgh.—Trades Hall, High Street, at 6.30—J. L. Mahon, "The Means of Realising Socialism."

Man. 24—Edinburgh. High Street, 7 p.m.

Tues. 25—Edinburgh. Corner of High Street, 7 p.m.

Thurs. 27—Edinburgh. The Rev. Mr. Stubbs will lecture in Old Greyfriars Church on "The Social Creed of the Church."

Particulars of Mahon's next northern tour will be given next week.

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

SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE COMMITTEE.—Meeting at *Commonweal* Office, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday October 23, at 3.30 p.m. prompt.

"COMMONWEAL" CONCERTS.

Arrangements have been made for repeating the Dramatic Sketch,

"THE TABLES TURNED; OR, NUTKINS AWAKENED,"

at 13 Farringdon Road this Saturday (October 22); at Bloomsbury (Athenaeum Hall) on October 29; and at Hammersmith on November 5th.

Now ready. 32 pp., in Wrapper.

THE TABLES TURNED; Or, Nutkins Awakened.

A SOCIALIST INTERLUDE

BY WILLIAM MORRIS.

Price Fourpence.

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The November Volume of THE CANTEBURY POETS, ready Oct. 25, will be

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Edited, with Notes and Introduction,

BY H. HALLIDAY SPARLING.

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THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 94.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

THE continued violent and brutal attacks made on the public by the police have added another element to the demonstrations of the Unemployed: a deliberate attack on the freedom of speech is now being made. The respectability of London is, it would seem, so terrified at the sight of the misery it has created that at all hazards it must be swept out of sight. So the police have, it cannot be doubted, received orders to fall upon any assembly of ill-dressed persons who may have the temerity to assemble together to try to find out why they are ill-dressed and half-starved. These wickedly rash people they are to beat, kick, and otherwise ill-use as much as possible on the spot, and they are also to bring home a bag of game in the form of anyone they can catch who is ill-dressed enough to be considered a criminal at sight: it being quite a minor consideration as to whether he has taken any part in the "riot," since the police themselves are always ready with any amount of evidence that may be necessary for the conviction of the criminal (who has certainly committed the crime of being poor) before the Nupkins of the hour.

All this is done, it must be repeated, just to drive the symptoms of the disease which is eating out capitalistic society below the surface—for a month or two; and if in the process the right of public meeting and free speech receives such a blow as nothing but the most vigorous protest will remedy, what does it matter? For these people are not a long way off, like the Irish cottars; their woes are very unpicturesque; and though in fact they bear the old historic name of proletarians, well known to Rome when she was sickening for her death, the English Liberal thinks not of the history but the nuisance of them; as, if he were living in Ireland, he would think of those valiant Celts, over whom Mr. Gladstone has thrown his cloak, and thereby made them respectable.

This is a very poor game for the Great Liberal Party to play, but it seems it is good enough for persons blinded by the base political struggle, the great game of ins and outs. Meantime, are there no Radicals who remember something of their old traditions, of dislike to officialism, of resistance to arbitrary authority? If that is so, then it is a clear case that the Socialists are the only body of men in these islands who have any regard for liberty.

Or what do they think about the dictum quoted by the Bow Street Nupkins in sentencing the "rioters" for allowing themselves to be knocked about by the police? which, stripped of its verbiage, amounts to this, that when the police (the servants of the public) are running a-muck it is the business of peaceable citizens to prove on the spot, when they are under the batons of these philosophers, that they are peaceable citizens, and, if they don't, that they may be sent to prison for their carelessness; so that they had better not go out of their houses at all, for fear lest they should fall in with one of the guardians of Law and Order.

On this maxim the police are now acting; but fortunately in the hurry of the moment they have sometimes attacked persons of undoubted respectability. More power to their elbows in so doing! since if that goes on we shall still be allowed, perhaps, to hold out-door meetings without the accompaniment of a probable cudgelling on Saturday and a sentence on Monday.

Our friends of the Social Democratic Federation have issued a manifesto concerning the unemployed, which all Socialists must read with interest. It must be said of it that if it were possible for a bourgeois government to carry out the proposals contained in it, they are very reasonable ones considering the present condition of society; and one would think that the bourgeois themselves, those of them at least who have any real good-will towards working-men, and don't class them all as mere necessary nuisances, would be of that opinion. But then no capitalistic government will attempt to carry out any one of them, and in truth it could not do so. These proposals all attack the sacredness of "free contract" between the master who gives men leave to work on payment of a sufficient tribute, and refuses it on any other terms, and the workman who must work or die; and the maintenance of this holy law is the one function of a capitalistic government.

Therefore, it seems to me that our friends ask either too much or

too little. Even a transitional administration (if such a thing be possible) would give much more, because it must be said (as our friends would doubtless admit) that if all these demands were granted the workers would still be in a condition of miserable slaves; while on the other hand, as aforesaid, the maximum which a capitalistic government would or could grant would be a wretched concession of mere "charity" or out-a-door relief. That concession will have to be made, whether or no, and therefore to my mind it is a mistake for Socialists to take steps which may mix them up in the granting of this misery of a concession.

One can easily imagine the song of triumph and self-congratulation which the capitalist government will set up when it has been forced to set on foot a few relief works with pauper wages for payment of the workers. "We are all Socialists now," will be the cry, "what do you cantankerous revolutionists want now?" "What do we want?" we shall have to answer, "Why all that we have always wanted, the Freedom of Labour, the abolition of private property in the means of production." I think that answer will come clearer from us if we have allowed the capitalists to grant the palliatives they could not help granting. Don't let us mind their gaining what transient credit they can gain from such measures; it will soon pass away. "The poor ye have always with you," is the doom of capitalism.

"The police have adopted a milder bearing towards the crowds," says the *Daily News* of October 24th, after Sunday's events. In other words, the police have been beaten once more, and have had to give way before the gathering indignation of the public, and probably also before the task of bludgeoning a *Sunday* crowd, more numerous than a mere week-day one. The *Daily News*, the advocate of free speech in Ireland and of the suppression of free speech in England, has a good deal to say on the subject, which, however, doesn't come to much in the teeth of the fact that all that the objectors to police violence put forward has been proven true by events. During the week small bodies of men met, and were attacked by the police, so there was "rioting"; on the Sunday large bodies of men met, and there was apparently well-founded fear in some people's minds that there would be a great disturbance, but there was none. Why? Because, in the words of the *Daily News*, "the police have adopted a milder bearing toward the crowd"—that is, they have not made a riot as they did on the other days.

Now that the police have proved themselves a set of ruffianly rioters, and that Sir Charles Warren has written himself down an ass in characters which he who runs may read, surely even the Law-and-Order (in England) *Daily News* will admit that it is preposterous to keep the citizens in prison whom the Bow Street and other Nupkins have sentenced to one, three, and six months' hard labour for performing their duty as citizens. The only question is what compensation is to be made to them for the ill-treatment of the police and the police-court, and with what amount of ignominy Nupkins and Co. are to be dismissed.

The scene has shifted to Ireland again. Mr. Wilfrid Blunt has received the diploma of honour which the policeman's hand gives now-a-days, and with him Mr. John Roche, the President of the local Association. The *Daily News* will (of course) condemn their resistance to undoubted legal authority, but we shall congratulate them for serving the same cause as the poor workmen in London are serving.

Once more an Irish policeman, Connor, has shown that he is a man by refusing at his own peril to fall on harmless and unarmed citizens. Such men give one hopes for the Social Revolution, and the heroism which will be necessary to carry it through.

I see that one or two geniuses have been writing to the *Pall Mall Gazette* proposing a scheme for inveigling the unemployed into the ranks of the British army: that noble body of warriors which is at present to act as burglars abroad and bum-bailiffs at home—since Ireland is still "united" to England—and whose future function will be perhaps the attempted suppression of rising liberty in England. Well, I doubt if the cock will fight; but if any workmen are driven by starvation into the army, let them at least remember what they were, and like the gallant man mentioned in the note last above, refuse to attack their brethren if they should be called on to do so.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

THE FOX AND THE GEESE.

I HAD occasion a week or two ago in these columns to animadvert somewhat strongly on the employes of the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway for their extraordinary proposal to give a week's pay to the company on account of the losses in connection with the collision at Hexthorpe. Incredibly foolish as the mere resolution appeared, the circumstances connected with the case are vastly more absurd. I have before me "a report of the proceedings at an interview between the directors and a deputation of the employes," and I wish it were possible to spare space for its reprinting in the *Commonweal*, for a more ridiculous farce it is scarce possible to conceive. Let our readers picture to themselves the scene. The pompous, portly directors—lords, baronets, M.P.'s, etc.—comfortably lounging in the board-room awaiting the sheepish deputation of servile simpletons, who came cringing, cap in hand, almost overwhelmed by the presence of a real live lord and a noble earl, to beg the poor dear directors to receive their offering. Positively the speakers, one after the other, humbly thanked their proposed beneficiaries for their kindness in allowing them to be present, and a goods-guard apologised for not making a formal report on the grounds that "it has been very late at nights before we have finished and we have not had an opportunity to meet," and "the traffic was so heavy for our staff that most of the men were tired out."

Sir Edward Watkin, Bart., presided. His speech to the deputation was an inimitable piece of humbug. One can imagine him with his tongue in his cheek as he gets off the following definition of equality:

"We have always desired that it should be a partnership on just and equal terms, and that we should, whatever we do, avoid those complications which every now and then have marked as well as disfigured the great history of labour. And after all, gentlemen, we are very much on an equality—I mean the shareholders on one side, and those who work for pay on the other. Taking the last year as a test, I find that the total net profit earned was £776,056. On the other side, we paid in regular wages and salaries in that year £685,609. I find also that there being 11,396 shareholders, their share of net profit on the year was £67, 11s. a head. I find that we have 9935 persons employed, and that their share came to £69, 0s. 2d. per head. Therefore there is not so much of a difference in the result, when we divide it by heads, between the man who finds the capital and the man who works."

"Hear, hear," respond the delighted delegates, forgetful of the very great "difference" that their £69, 0s. 2d. per per year, or 25s. per week, is obtained only by hard and wearisome work in all weathers and often at risk of life and limb. To us Sir Edward's figures are interesting as confirming our comrade Carpenter's contention that every railway employé has, figuratively, to carry a shareholder on his back.

Here is another choice morsel:

"Now, I know there are those who say that the capitalist who finds the money for undertakings like ours is a 'bloated aristocrat,' and that in point of fact you are working so many hours for him before you are able to secure anything for yourselves; but all sensible men—as you are—must know very well that if a hard-saving man had not provided the capital, and invested it, and so instituted the means of employment, there would be no employment for the workman, and that therefore it is idle to say you are working for somebody else, while that somebody else has really found the money that enables you to work at all!"

Funny, isn't it? Divine institution, Profit! but for kind Sir Edward and his crew employing us, the earth would become depopulated—a barren waste!

Mr. T. H. Sidebottom, M.P., "as a large employer of labour, as well as being a director of this company," was delighted at the spirit shown by the employes, which "is a strong illustration of the truth that the interests of employers and employed are identical." Cheers followed this stupid lie. Then Mr. Chapman is introduced by the chairman as one "almost born a director of this company." "He inherited a large fortune in the stock of this company invested by his father, and he is the largest sufferer—in a pecuniary sense." Very touching is Mr. Chapman's reference to the reduction of his Christmas dividend, and very edifying the martyr-like spirit with which, strengthened and comforted by the touching generosity of the employes, he is prepared to submit to his loss. Happy workers! how thankful we ought to be that we have no Christmas dividends to worry about!

It is droll yet sad to observe, in spite of Sir E. Watkin's assertion of "equality," that the "men" one and all appeared to think they owed a debt of gratitude to the directors for permitting them to live. In fact, they evidently suffer under the delusion that the M. S. and L. Railway is a heavenly institution devised by these good, kind, charitable capitalists in order to provide the workers with employment.

Such stupidity, it is to be hoped, is exceptional even among railway men. In the meantime, I would advise that the executive of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants take advantage of the abnormal "benevolence" of the employes of the M. S. and L. R. Sir E. Watkin states that a week's pay would amount to £12,000 or £13,000. Now, surely men who can feel so keenly for the aforesaid earls, lords, baronets, etc., that they are prepared to subscribe their guinea lest poor Mr. Chapman and his fellow-shareholders should have their bankers' balance reduced, will be only too ready to help their unfortunate fellow-workers whose sufferings take the severer form of deprivation of dinners instead of a mere diminution of dividends. The Midland Railway Strike Fund, for the assistance of the sufferers by the late strike, at present amounts only to about £340. I expect in the course of a few days to hear that the treasurer has received, say, a cheque for £1000 on behalf of the employes of the M. S. and L. Railway.

T. BINNING.

In vain is the earth fertile and the climate benign if human labour be wanting.
—Bishop Berkeley.

FROM THE PRISON CELL.

ALBERT R. PARSONS has been busily engaged on the Supreme Court opinion of the Anarchist case since the date of its publication, and has issued his individual position and defence, from which the following extracts are taken:

"Fellow-citizens: As all the world knows, I have been convicted and sentenced to die for the crime of murder, the most heinous offence that can be committed. Under the form of law two courts—viz., the Criminal and Supreme courts of the state of Illinois—have sentenced me to death as an accessory before the fact to the murder of Officer Degan, on May 4, 1886. Nevertheless I am innocent of the crime charged, and to a candid and unprejudiced world I submit the proof.

"In the decision affirming the sentence of death upon me the Supreme court of the state of Illinois says: 'It is undisputed that the bomb was thrown that caused the death of Degan. It is conceded that no one of the defendants threw the bomb with his own hands. Plaintiffs in error are charged with being accessories before the fact.' If I did not throw the bomb myself it becomes necessary to prove that I aided, encouraged, and advised the person who did throw it. Is that fact proved? The Supreme court says it is. The record says it is not. I appeal to the American people to judge between them.

"Mayor Harrison, who was present and heard the speech, testified before the jury that it was simply 'a violent and political harangue' and did not call for his interference as a peace officer. The speech delivered by me at the Haymarket and which I repeated before the jury is a matter of record and undisputed, and I challenge any one to show therein that I incited any one to acts of violence. The extract reported by Mr. English, when taken in connection with what preceded and what followed, cannot be construed by the wildest imagination as incitement to violence. Extracts from three other speeches alleged to have been delivered by me were more than one year prior to May 4, 1886, are given. Two of these speeches were reported from the memory of the Pinkerton detective Johnson. These are the speeches quoted by the court as proof of my guilt as accessory to the murder of Degan. Where, then, is the connection between these speeches and the murder of Degan? I am bold to declare that such connection is imperceptible to the eye of a fair and unprejudiced mind. But the honourable body the Supreme court of Illinois has condemned me to death for speeches I never made and for articles I never wrote. In the affirmation of the death sentence the court has 'assumed,' 'supposed,' 'guessed,' surmised, and 'presumed' that I can and did 'so and so.' This the record fully proves.

"The court says: 'Spies, Schwab, Parsons, and Engel were responsible for the articles written and published by them, as above shown; Spies, Schwab, Fielden, Parsons, and Engel were responsible for the speeches made by them respectively, and there is evidence in the same record tending to show that the death of Degan occurred during the prosecution of a conspiracy planned by the members of the International groups who read these articles and heard these speeches.'

"Now I defy any one to show from the record the proof that I wrote more than one of the many articles alleged to have been written by me. Yet the Supreme court says that I wrote and am responsible for all of them. Again—concerning the alleged speeches—they were reported by the Pinkerton detective Johnson, who was, as the record shows, employed by Lyman Gaze, president of the First national bank, as the agent of the Citizens' association, an organisation composed of the millionaire employers of Chicago.

"I submit to a candid world if this hired spy would not make false reports to earn blood-money. Thus, it is for speeches I did not make and articles I did not write I am sentenced to die because the court 'assumes' that these articles influenced some unknown and still unidentified person to throw the bomb that killed Degan. Is this law? Is this justice?

"The Supreme court, in affirming the sentence of death upon me, proceeds to give further reasons, as follows: 'Two circumstances are to be noted. First, it can hardly be said that Parsons was absent from the Haymarket meeting when he went to Zepf's Hall. It has already been stated that the latter place was only a few steps north of the speakers' waggon and in sight from it. We do not think that the defendant Parsons could escape his share of the responsibility for the explosions at the Haymarket because he stepped into a neighbouring saloon and looked at the explosion through a window. While he was speaking men stood around him with arms in their hands. Many of these were members of the armed sections of the International groups. Among them were men who belonged to the International rifles, an armed organisation in which he himself was an officer and with which he had been drilling in preparation for the events then conspiring.'

"The records of the trial will show that not one of the foregoing allegations is true. The facts are these: Zepf's Hall is on the north-east corner of Lake and Desplaines streets, just one block north of the speakers' waggon. The court says 'it was only a few steps north of the speakers' waggon.' The court says further that 'it can hardly be said that Parsons was absent from the Haymarket meeting when he was at Zepf's Hall.' If this is correct logic, then I was at two different places a block apart at the same instant. Truly the day of miracles has not yet passed. Again, the record will show that I did not 'step into a neighbouring saloon and look at the explosion through a window.' It will show that I went to Zepf's Hall, one block distant, and across Lake Street, accompanied by my wife and another lady and my two children (a girl of 5 and a boy of 7 years of age), they having sat upon a waggon about ten feet from the speakers' waggon throughout my speech; that it looked like rain; that we had started home and went into Zepf's Hall to wait for the meeting to adjourn, and walked home in company with a lot of friends who lived in that direction. Zepf's building is on the corner and opens on the street with a triangular door six feet wide. Myself and ladies and children were just inside the door. Here, while waiting for our friends and looking towards the meeting, I had a fair view of the explosion. All this the record will show.

"It would seem that, according to circumstances, a block is at one time 'a few steps' or a 'few steps' is more than a block, as the case may suit. The logical as well as the imaginative faculties of the Supreme court are further illustrated in a most striking manner by the credence of the court to the 'yarn' of a 'reporter,' who testified that Spies had described to him the 'czar' bombs and the men who were to use them as follows. 'He spoke of a body of tall, strong men in their organisation who could throw bombs weighing five pounds 150 paces. He stated that the bombs in question were to be used in case of conflict with the police or the militia.'

"The court gives this sort of testimony as proof of the existence of a conspiracy to murder Degan. Wonderful credulity. To throw a five-pound bomb 150 paces or yards is to throw it 450 feet or a quarter of a mile.

"Gulliver, in his travels among the Brobdingnag race, tells us of the giants he met, and we have also heard of the giants of Patagonia. But we did not know until now that they were mere Lilliputians as compared with the 'anarchist Swedes' of Chicago.

"I appeal to the American people, to their love of justice and fair play. I submit that the record does not show my guilt of the crime of murder, but on the contrary it proves my innocence.

"Against me in this trial all the rules of law and evidence have been reversed, in that I have been held as guilty until I prove my innocence. I have been tried ostensibly for murder, but in reality for Anarchy. I have been proved guilty of being an Anarchist, and condemned to die for that reason. The State's Attorney said in his statement before the court and jury, in the beginning of the trial, 'These defendants were picked out and indicted by the grand jury; they are no more guilty than the thousands who follow them; they are picked out because they are leaders. Convict them and our society is safe.' And in their last appeal to the jury the prosecution said, 'Anarchy is on trial. Hang these eight men and save our institutions. These are the leaders: make examples of them.' This is a matter of record.

"So far as I have had time to examine the records, I find the same fabrication and perversion of testimony against all my comrades as exists against myself. I therefore again appeal to the American people to avert the crime of judicial murder.

"My ancestors partook of all the hardships incident to the establishment of this republic. They fought, bled, and some of them died that the declaration of independence might live and the American flag wave in triumph over those who claim the 'divine right of kings to rule.' Shall the flag now, after a century's triumph, trail in the mire of oppression and protect the perpetration of outrages and oppressions that would put the older despotisms of Europe to shame?

"Knowing myself innocent of crime, I came forward and gave myself up for trial. I felt that it was my duty to take my chances with the rest of my comrades. I sought a fair and impartial trial before a jury of my peers, and knew that before any fair-minded jury I could with little difficulty be cleared. I preferred to be tried and take the chances of an acquittal with my friends to being hunted as a felon. Have I had a fair trial?

"The lovers of justice and fair play are assiduously engaged in an effort to thwart the consummation of judicial murder by a commutation of sentence to prison. I speak for myself alone when I say that for this I thank them and appreciate their efforts. But I am an innocent man. I have violated no law; I have committed no offence against any one's rights. I am simply the victim of the malice of those whose anger has been aroused by the growth, strength, and independence of the Labour organisations of America. I am a sacrifice to those who say, 'These men may be innocent. No matter. They are Anarchists. We must hang them anyway.'

"My council informs me that every effort will be made to take this case before the highest tribunal in the land, and that there is strong hope of a hearing there. But I am also reliably informed that from three to five years will elapse before the Supreme Court of the United States can hear and adjudge the case.

"Since surrendering myself to the authorities I have been locked up in close confinement twenty-one hours out of every twenty-four for six days, and from Saturday afternoon till Monday morning (thirty-eight hours) each week in a noisome cell, without a ray of sunlight or a breath of pure air. To be compelled to bear this for five or even three years would be to suffer a lingering death; and it is only a matter of serious consideration with me whether I ought to accept the verdict as it stands rather than die by inches under such conditions. I am prepared to die. I am ready, if needs be, to lay down my life for my rights and the rights of my fellow-men. But I object to being killed on false and unproved accusations. Therefore I cannot countenance or accept the efforts of those who would endeavour to procure a commutation of my sentence to an imprisonment in the penitentiary. Neither do I approve of any further appeals to the courts of law. I believe them to be all alike—the agency of the privileged classes to perpetuate their power, to oppress and plunder the toiling masses. As between capital and its legal rights, the courts of law must side with the capitalistic class. To appeal to them is in vain. It is the appeal of the wage-slave to his capitalist master for liberty. The answer is—curses, blows, imprisonment, death.

"If I had never been an Anarchist before, my experience with courts and the laws of the governing classes would make an Anarchist of me now. What is Anarchy? It is a state of society without any central or governing power. Upon this subject the court, in its affirmation of the death sentence, defines the object of the International Working People's Association as follows: 'It designed to bring about a social revolution. Social revolution meant the destruction of the right of private ownership of property, or of the right of the individual to own property. It meant the bringing about of a state of society in which all property should be held in common.' If this definition is right, then it is very similar to that advocated by Jesus Christ, for proof of which I refer to the fourth and fifth chapters of the Acts of the Apostles; also Matthew xxi., 10 to 14, and Mark x., 15 to 19.

"No, I am not guilty. I have not been proved guilty. I leave it to you to decide from the record itself as to my guilt or innocence. I cannot, therefore, accept a commutation to imprisonment. I appeal—not for mercy, but for justice. As for me, the utterance of Patrick Henry is so appropos that I cannot do better than let him speak: 'Is life so dear and peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death!'

A. R. PARSONS.

"Prison Cell 29, Chicago (Ill.), Sept. 21, 1887."

Force is seldom justifiable as a method of reform, but the impetuous revolutionist who believes in and uses it is much less vitally in error than the wicked hypocrite who pretends to see no distinction between force used in vindication of rights and force used in their violation.—*Liberty*.

It is well never to lose sight of the ultimate aim and intent of the Labour movement—the total abolition of the wage-system; but those things which promise present benefit should neither be despised nor neglected. Only be careful that what promises present benefit is not calculated to hinder the great object.—(Toronto) *Labour Reformer*.

The main arguments in the political venture of Messrs. George and McGlynn seem to be embodied in the words "applause," "tremendous applause," and "uproarious applause" (see *Standard*), coming from the lily throats, through pearly-white teeth and ruby lips, of the female portion of the audience. Thus is taxation made popular.—*Workmen's Advocate*.

WE'LL TURN THINGS UPSIDE DOWN!

Oh, the world is overburdened
With the idle and the rich!
They bask up in the sunshine,
While we plod in the ditch;
But, zounds! we'll put some mettle
In their fingers and their thumbs—
For we'll turn things upside down, my
lads,

When the revolution comes!

Oh, we'll turn things upside down,
Oh, we'll turn things upside down;
They will wonder what has hap-
pened,
When we turn things upside down!

Plain living may be wholesome,
And wondrous virtues may
Abound beneath ribs scant of flesh,
And pockets scant of pay.
It may be poverty is best
If rightly understood;
But we'll turn things upside down, my
lads!

We don't want all the good!

Oh, we'll turn, etc.
Oh, we'll turn, etc.
May they thrive on their philosophy,
When we turn things upside down!

They are never done extolling
The nobility of work;
But the knaves! they always take good
care
Their share of toil to shirk!
Do they send their sons and daughters
To the workshop or the mill?

Oh, we'll turn things upside down, my
lads!
It will change their tune, it will!
Oh, we'll turn, etc.
Oh, we'll turn, etc.
They can practise all their precepts
When we turn things upside down!

They live in splendid mansions,
And we in hovels vile;
Their lives are spent in pleasure,
And ours in cheerless toil;
They jaunt about the world, while we
Are pinned down to one spot;
But we'll turn things upside down, we
will!

It is time, lads, is it not?

Oh, we'll turn, etc.
Oh, we'll turn, etc.
Life then may be worth living,
When we've turned things upside
down!

Then let us, lads, right lustily
Support the glorious cause,
To overturn the whole vile lot
With their lying and their laws!
And let us all together
Put our shoulders to the wheel,
That will turn things upside down,
hurrah!
All for the common weal!
Oh, we'll turn, etc.
Oh, we'll turn, etc.
The world will be far better
When we turn things upside down!

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

QUERIES FROM 'THE QUERIST.'

[The *Querist* was first issued anonymously by its author, the celebrated George Berkeley, D.D., Bishop of Cloyne, in 1735. The following queries are selected from the 1752 edition, published at Dublin, with author's name, style, and title in full.—S.]

WHETHER the drift or aim of every wise State should not be to encourage industry in its members? And whether those who employ neither head nor hands for the common benefit, deserve not to be expelled like drones out of a well-governed State?

Whether the four elements and man's labour therein, be not the true source of wealth?

Whether it were not wrong to suppose land itself to be wealth? And whether the industry of a people is not first to be considered, as that which constitutes wealth, which makes even land and silver to be wealth, neither of which would have any value but as means and motives to industry?

Whether a single hint be sufficient to overcome a prejudice? And whether even obvious truths will not sometimes bear repeating?

Whether, if human labour be the true source of wealth, it doth not follow that idleness should of all things be discouraged in a wise State?

Whether necessity is not to be hearkened to before convenience, and convenience before luxury?

Whether a people who had provided themselves with the necessities of life in good plenty, would not soon extend their industry to new arts and new branches of commerce?

Whether the vanity and luxury of a few ought to stand in competition with the interest of a nation?

Whether national wants ought not to be the rule of trade? And whether the most pressing wants of the majority ought not to be first considered?

Whether she would not be a very vile matron, and justly thought either mad or foolish, that should give away the necessities of life from her naked and famished children, in exchange for pearls to stick in her hair and sweetmeats to please her own palate?

Whether a nation might not be considered as a family? Whether the real foundation for wealth must not be laid in the numbers, the frugality, and the industry of the people? And whether all attempts to enrich a nation by other means, as raising the coin, stockjobbing, and such arts, are not vain?

Whether the public aim ought not to be that men's industry should supply their present wants, and the overplus be converted into a stock of power?

Whether all manner of means should not be employed to possess the nation in general, with an aversion and contempt for idleness and all idle folk?

Whether it is not a great point to know what we would be at? And whether whole States, as well as private persons, do not often fluctuate for want of this knowledge?

TORY ROUGHS AT YARMOUTH.—The following is a cutting from the *Eastern Daily Press* of last Friday, with reference to the weekly Yarmouth meeting:—"Fired by the example of their Lowestoft brethren, a mob attempted last night to create a disturbance at the weekly Socialist meeting held on the Quay. Only one Socialist speaker was present, Fred Henderson from Norwich, and he had no sooner begun to speak than the riotous crowd endeavoured to personally assail him. A large number of sympathisers were present, and many Radicals, who, while not agreeing with the speaker's ideas, still urged his right of free speech. The crowd would quickly have retaliated on the mob, who found the tables completely turned against them, had not the speaker urged his supporters to exercise tolerance towards the interrupters. The roughs then contented themselves with remaining in the background and yelling violently. At the conclusion of the meeting a bodyguard surrounded Henderson, and escorted him to the station. It is scarcely likely, in the face of their defeat, that the roughs will repeat their tactics, as it was only with difficulty that the crowd was restrained from treating them as they had wished to treat the Socialist speaker."



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

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

J. L. (Aberdeen), and others.—We must again call your attention to the standing notice and to the special request made in this column on Oct. 8. By disregarding the request there made, much extra labour is wantonly inflicted on editors and printers.

F.—Yes! there is such a paper. It is the *Bartlett* (Tenn.) *News*, and "believes in State Sovereignty—including secession as an incident; believes that negro suffrage should be put down with drawn knives and loaded shot-guns, if the negro persist in voting"; denounces the "lollypop and flap-doodle of conciliation"; and is an instructive example of the "Dodo in Politics." Its political editor is the well-known Will. H. Kernan. It has one or two feeble imitators, but keeps its evil eminence.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday October 26.

ENGLAND	CHICAGO (ILL.)	ITALY
Die Autonomie	Knights of Labor	Gazetta Operaia
Jus	Detroit (Mich.)—The Advance	Marsala—La Nuova Eta
Justice	Hammondon (N.J.)—Credit Foncier	
Labour Tribune	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	SPAIN
London—Freie Presse	N. Haven—Workmen's Advocate	El Productor
Norwich—Daylight	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	Madrid—El Socialista
Railway Review	FRANCE	
	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	PORTUGAL
CANADA	La Revolte	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Toronto—Labor Reformer	Guise—Le Devoir	
INDIA	Lille—Le Travailleur	GERMANY
Allahabad—People's Budget		Berlin—Volks Tribune
UNITED STATES	HOLLAND	
New York—Der Sozialist	Hague—Recht voor Allen	AUSTRIA
Freiheit	Seraing (Ougree)—Le Reveil	Arbeiterstimme
Truthseeker	Ghent—Vooruit	Vienna—Gleichheit
Volkszeitung	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde	ROUMANIA
Leader	Liege—L'Avenir	Jassy—Lupta
Boston—Woman's Journal	SWITZERLAND	SWEDEN
Liberty	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat	Stockholm—Social-Demokraten
	Geneva—Bulletin Continental	NORWAY
		Kristiania—Social-Democraten

THE UNEMPLOYED.

THE winter is beginning, and with it is beginning the *open* complaint of the workers whom our system of employment for profit will only allow to work *sometimes*, although, like other men, they have needs which *always* press upon them, and which, since they own nothing but the power of labour inherent in their own bodies, they can only satisfy by receiving wages, or else "charity," from persons who own the property, the use of which is necessary to enable the workman to work.

Although many people are unemployed in the summer as well as in the winter, yet the interruption caused by the season in certain industries, and the additional pressure which its inclemency puts on the miserable incomes of working people, specially forces this terrible wrong on public attention at this season; and every winter henceforth, as long as the capitalist system lasts, we may expect to have the case of the most unfortunate of the disinherited classes put before us, and threatening the well-to-do with disturbance and riot, the forerunners of the ruin which is advancing upon them.

At such a time it especially behoves the Revolutionary Socialists to face the matter with foresight, and to express their opinions regardless of the anger or favour of any party or set of men. The Council of the Socialist League therefore thinks it necessary to lay the following remarks before Socialists and the public in general.

In the first place, we express the fullest sympathy for the poor people who are the immediate victims of the great system of wrong, mis-called *society*; which is founded on the privilege accorded to the owners of the means necessary to labour for production to rob the whole of the workers of a large part of the wealth which *they* have created. We assert that the needs of these people must be immediately satisfied, at whatever cost to those who live on the labour of the working classes. These outcasts of commercialism must be fed, clothed, and housed by *their masters*, even though they produce nothing for those masters.

It is futile, however, to expect the State to employ these men on labour which would produce a profit to it with any advantage, even temporarily, to the whole body of the workers. They have been thrust out of the organisation of commerce because there is no place for them; if they are arbitrarily replaced in it they will but displace other workers

who are now employed, and the matter will not be mended in the least. It would be quite as idle to expect the State to employ them on *unproductive* work at wages which the supply and demand of the Labour Market gives to workers in ordinary employment. For the State is but an executive which exists to carry out the behests of the privileged classes, who live on the labour of the workers: and it is well understood by them—nay, it has become a kind of sacred doctrine of theirs—that the unfortunates of the workers, those who are distanced in the race of competition, must be *tortured* by the cruelties and indignities of the Poor Law in order that a terror may be held up before the great body of workmen which will make them stick to their hopeless, repulsive, and shamefully-paid tasks.

Outdoor relief, therefore, in some form or other, is all that can be looked for from the State: this the mere circumstances of the case will compel it to give, and to do so right and left with little discrimination. The bourgeois will cry out, "But this will mean perpetually extending pauperism and at last ruin for the State." We answer, Most surely: but it will be done; nor can ruin be averted except by the privileged classes giving up their privilege and the State melting into Society, and then the question of the unemployed will have come to an end, as we shall work for ourselves and shall ourselves consume what we have produced.

While the present State lasts, therefore, and the privileged classes, there is no remedy possible for this huge misery and wrong. Must we Socialists tell this, then, to starving men seeking victuals and shelter for the passing day? Yes, we *must* tell it them, for we believe nothing short of that; and to give them lying and delusive hopes of a decent livelihood which they have no chance of obtaining is not doing them a service. But we must address them, not specially as men out of work, but as a part of the great body of workmen, who are always being robbed and oppressed. They are not a special class as unemployed workmen: the threat of coming to this pass always hangs over the life of the worker. There is no salvation for the unemployed but in the general combination of the workers for the freedom of labour—for the REVOLUTION which will enable all workmen to employ themselves by using the means of production, which will then be theirs, without cringing to an idle rich man for leave to be allowed to work.

But what else are we to say to them? How are we to enable them to gain that palliative, that wretched pittance of out-door relief, under whatever specious form it may be given, which we have already said circumstances will force the State to give them? We hold that there is no *direct* way in which we Socialists as Socialists can help them.

Whoever may read these lines, and whatever use our opponents of the ruling class may make of them against us, we feel it our duty to speak plainly and without concealment on this matter. Deputations to members of the Government, proofs of the fact (which everybody knows) that there are many people out of employment, will do nothing to quicken the advent of this palliative. Some of the workers may think that the terror caused by rioting might do more; but once for all, unless we Socialists are prepared to organise and lead such disturbances, and carry them through to the bitter end, we are bound, under penalty of being justly blamed for egging on people to do what we dare not heartily take part in, to point out to the unemployed what would probably be the results of a riot or series of riots.

The unemployed alone are not organised and cannot be organised, for resistance to the brute-force of authority: they can attain no success except the mere terror and disturbance which the riots might cause, and that at the expense of at least the imprisonment of their leaders and many of their rank and file. They would be repressed; and as the authorities recovered from their first surprise, and handled their organised forces, the ease of repression would increase, unless the rising were general. Furthermore, the terror so caused could not, as things now are, produce more advantage for the workers than hastening on the granting of that palliative of outdoor relief, which we have spoken of above.

Such risings can only be worth the necessary sacrifices which they entail when they are supported by the general body of the workers, and express their definite aim, not towards a mere palliative, but towards some step which will lead us directly to the Social Revolution. Whereas now, even supposing it possible that a rising should grow to such proportions as to cause what is sometimes called a Revolution, that is an unseating of the present authority, the people are not yet enough educated in Socialism to deal with such a crisis, and if it took place they would once more fall into the hands of a political party, which would delude them while they were plundered, as other political parties have done.

Therefore, we repeat, we express our utmost sympathy for the unemployed whether they have learned what Socialism means or whether they have not. We protest most emphatically against the brutal assaults made upon those who have met to put forward their wrongs; believing indeed that these wanton attacks on peaceable citizens are made with the deliberate intention of forcing them into riot in order to give the authorities an excuse for another step in the suppression of free speech, now so grievously attacked throughout all capitalist countries. At the same time we feel that as a body whose business is to educate the people into Socialism, since we cannot, as above said, give direct help to the unemployed, our duty is to go on putting before all workmen, employed or unemployed, the necessity for their hastening and preparing for the advent of that Social Revolution which will put an end to all the miserable wrongs and sordid makeshift of our modern system, now happily fast rotting away. It is to the employed among the workmen, therefore, rather than to the unemployed that we address our last words, and to those especially who are receiving what are

conventionally called "good wages," but which mean after all a miserably stinted and pinched life compared to that which, not only they, but all workers ought to attain to, and will attain to when they look from the narrow interests of *their* household, *their* workshop, *their* trade, to the whole world of workers, whose conscious or unconscious struggles are slowly building up the New Society. To these we say: Fellow-workers, do not any longer dissociate yourselves from your less fortunate brethren, from those who have been doomed to feel the whole weight of the burden which sits comparatively lightly on your shoulders. Do you call them thriftless, idle, drunken, brutal, in a word degraded? Perhaps you may call them in one word less *lucky* than yourselves; and remember that the remorseless wheel of competitive commerce is going on grinding everybody beneath it; while you are refusing to learn what your position is, and what your claims ought to be, or while you are halting between two opinions, your great master *Machinery*, which should be your servant, is getting more and more powerful, more and more exacting every day, and in a few years unless you have made up your minds to get rid of mastership, many of you certainly, and probably most of you, will find yourselves no longer skilled workmen but mere labourers cumbering a market which is getting ever more and more overstocked with such common and worthless wares as mere men. And do you think that when you are come to that pass you will be any better than those poor fellows of the fringe of labour whom you now despise? It is not likely—it is not possible. Be wise in time and resolve that you will not come to that pass, which you will be able to avoid by combining together in a steady, continuous, unfaltering resistance to the authority of the false society founded on privilege; which makes you inferior beings to the owners of capital or land; which takes from you two-thirds of all you produce; which if any one of those many accidents befall you that in our life of to-day, so hard and full of constant struggle, we are all liable to, throws you into a prison under the name of a workhouse, or lets you rot away body and mind in the street.

It is the business, fellow-workers, of the whole intelligence of the working-classes to see that there are no longer either unemployed, or wage-slaves, or masters.

On behalf of the Council of the Socialist League,

HENRY. A. BARKER, *Secretary.*

PRACTICAL POLITICS AT NOTTINGHAM.

THE orthodox Liberals have had a great field day at Nottingham under very brilliant circumstances, all things considered; the democratic portion of the population of England, Scotland, and Wales, and it is even hoped the voters in general who have any claim to be considered Liberals, are prepared to accept Home Rule for other people though they have scarcely begun even to think of it for themselves. This acceptance of Home Rule for Ireland, by everybody who could ever possibly accept it, is so universal that there are no shades of opinion on the subject; the unspoken (nay, sometimes the spoken) word when people meet now is, "You are a Home Ruler and a beast!" "You are a Unionist and a rascal!" Argument is at an end, and people, dog-sick of the question, would be much relieved if it were possible for a thousand champions a-side to meet on Wimbledon Common, or some other suitable place, and there fight it out to the death like Clan Chattan and Clan Quhele of old days; but since civilisation and the natural desire to best one's opponent at no expense to oneself forbids such a proceeding, all people are looking forward with disgust to the long spell of Parliamentary tactics, which will on this occasion as on other similar ones in modern times, take the place of "point and edge" with small advantage to the public generally.

Such a condition of things was, I repeat, most favourable to the occasion, which was certainly made the most of. Mr. Gladstone exhibited himself for the worship of the faithful, which was poured forth on him in the most abundant measure, so that he must have thought it worth while indeed to be a statesman. He exercised the art of oratory if not to the fullest, yet at least as far as need be; the art, I mean, which consists of spinning out two or three sentences of meaning into speeches getting on for two hours long, so that the audiences mostly were thoroughly delighted. Indeed, those of them who had memories capable of resisting the wear and tear of five or six years might have employed the leisure which the great man's flow of speech-words afforded them in blessing their stars and their leader that it was not they but their adversaries this time who were trying to wield the great net of Coercion, with the certainty of their knocking themselves into the water with it. Some of them might also have remembered the roars of joy with which pure Liberal meetings received the news of their present ally Mr. Parnell's arrest and imprisonment; and probably Mr. John Morley was now and then pensively thinking of the evening, when before the electors of Westminster in 1880 he put down his foot on Home Rule in such a clear, brief, and convincing speech, that everybody in the hall, except a few grumblers and Irishmen, shouted for joy.

However, let pardon be given to those who have changed their opinions in the right direction, and let us hope that such changes will be common during the next few years among political men. It is at least satisfactory to see that Mr. Gladstone is doing no backsliding in this Irish matter, that he who is exceedingly slow to perceive that the

enemy must be attacked in front has at last seen it. All that he has to do now is to set his political wits to work to get rid of the Tory majority in the house before some portion of his men, the really anti-Radical part, who much outnumber the Radical, swing in the other direction, and carry him along with their impetus. Don't let him dally with the crisis as he dearly loves to do, like a too artistic angler, who having a good fish on his line plays him showily to show his art, and loses him in the end.

Well, the Irish Question disposed of, what other schemes of reform had this enthusiastic multitude of delegates and notabilities, sitting in the good town of Nottingham, where, forsooth, they might have some rather serious thoughts suggested to them by the locality and its industries. I remember I was there some six years ago, and trade was booming then. I was told, I don't know with how much truth, that an ordinary twister-in, or lace-weaver, could earn £6 a-week; prosperity was great, and the horrible red-brick blue-slatted shanties of a prosperous Midland town were effacing the last remains of the beautiful crocus-meadows, for which the town was once famous; and any hints I ventured timidly to give as to how long this prosperity might last, were received with the contempt which prophecies deserve. Whereas, now it would seem by the weekly trade reports as if the population, high and low, would soon be reduced to living on taking in each other's washing.

Well, as to the reforms to be taken in hand after the carrying of Home Rule, the Liberal Conference at Nottingham has been what its members call bold indeed: venturing to go in for disestablishment of the Welsh Church; the abolition of plural votes, by means of having all the elections on one day, shortening the period of residence which qualifies a voter; free education (important this, at any rate); local option (this also important—for the vote); London government; allotments for labourers (*i.e.*, permission to them to pay their own poor-rates); and what is called "free land"—*i.e.*, all obstacles removed which might stand in the way of Mr. Wynans or his like buying up all England to turn it into a deer-forest.

All this, which is heralded in the Liberal newspapers as an "advanced programme," in all the dignity of extra large type, is indeed quite as far as anyone could have expected the Liberal Party to go as a body—*i.e.*, with the leave of Mr. Gladstone and its other bosses; and one must admit that most of these reforms will have to be done, whether they greatly matter or not. But it is not much wool for so great a cry; and when one thinks that this is received as an "advanced programme" with a regular flourish of trumpets by the party which considers itself the popular party, in righteous opposition to the Tories or reactionists, one cannot help noting how much of an accident it has been that the Liberals have been driven to make peace with Ireland, and that Home Rule once gained the Liberal Party will have performed its functions to the very end, and must either make its exit or must go about with the brains knocked out of it. And that all the more as the Tory Party is quite capable of dishing the Liberals on all these great reforms, and probably will do so.

And meanwhile the trades unions are crying out for a Labour Party, have declared for land nationalisation, and have their faces turned towards Socialism; and all over the country workmen are asking themselves why they are in a position of inferiority to those who do not work. The authorities in London are as afraid to let workmen speak their minds there as the Irish authorities to let the Irish speak, and a terrible winter of misery and want of employment is opening out before us.

Of all these things the Nottingham delegates took as much cognisance as though they were living in another planet. These things, since they concern the daily life and happiness and misery of the working classes, are, forsooth, "not within the scope of practical politics."

Query—What are practical politics? Answer—Vote-catching for election time, so that *we* may be in and *you* may be out.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

JOHN RUSKIN ON COMMUNISM.

I AM myself a Communist of the old school—reddest of the red. . . Will you be at the pains, now, however, to learn rightly, and once for all, what Communism is? First, it means that everybody must work in common, and do common or simple work for his dinner; and that if any man will not do it he must not have his dinner. . . Second, that the public, or common, wealth, shall be more and statelier in all its substance than private or singular wealth. Then farther, according to old Communism, the private dwellings of uncommon persons—dukes and lords—are to be very simple, and roughly put together—such persons being supposed to be above all care for things that please the commonalty; but the buildings for public or common service, more especially schools, almshouses, and workhouses, are to be externally of a majestic character, as being for noble purposes and charities; and in their interiors furnished with many luxuries for the poor and sick. And finally and chiefly, it is the absolute law of old Communism that the fortunes of private persons should be small, and little account in the State; but that the common treasure of the whole nation should be of superb and precious things in redundant quantity, as pictures, statues, precious books; gold and silver vessels preserved from ancient times; gold and silver bullion laid up for use, in case of any chance need of buying anything suddenly from foreign nations; noble horses, cattle, and sheep, on the public lands; and vast spaces of land for culture, exercise, and garden, round the cities, full of flowers, which, being everybody's property, nobody could gather; and of birds which being everybody's property, nobody could shoot. And, in a word, that instead of a common poverty, or national debt, which every poor person in the nation is taxed annually to fulfil his part of, there should be a common wealth, or national reverse of debt, consisting of pleasant things, which every poor person in the nation should be summoned to receive his dole of, annually; and of pretty things, which everyone capable of admiration, foreigners as well as natives, should unfeignedly admire.—*'Fors Clavigera.'* Letter vii., dated July 1st, 1871.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

NORTHAMPTON SHOEMAKERS.—The attempt to settle the strike by arbitration having failed, the men are now again on strike.

NOTTINGHAM INDUSTRIES.—Owing to the slackness in the local industries—hosiery and lace—the number of unemployed is very large.

THE AGRICULTURAL LABOUR MARKET.—The hirings are now taking place and the demand for labourers is not equal to the supply. Wages, therefore, have a downward tendency. A large number of farms are now without tenants, and the uncultivated acres show a great increase.

ABERDEEN SHIPBUILDERS.—The strike among the shipbuilders in the employment of Messrs. Hall, Russell, & Co., Aberdeen, has terminated. The men were formerly paid at the rate of from 2d. to 6d. extra per day for certain kinds of work, but they wanted to be remunerated at a uniform rate of 1s. per day extra. This request was refused, and the men resumed work under the old conditions.

THE CHAINMAKERS' STRIKE.—A meeting of chainmakers was held on Monday at Cradley Heath. It was reported that the majority of the men had turned out on strike. There was a universal determination on the part of the operatives to cease work. There were a number of men and women who could not turn out until they had completed their orders. It is expected that the strike will again be very general. The notices expired on Saturday last.

PPESTON WEAVERS.—The Secretary of the Powerloom Weavers' Association has issued a circular to the members in which he says: "The committee return their thanks to every individual who has in any way rendered assistance to the weavers in the dispute at Messrs. Outram & Co.'s mills. The strike, we are happy to say, is settled after a ten week's struggle for justice, and we maintain that we were justified in the action we have taken from the beginning to the end."

DISCHARGE OF WORKMEN.—Messrs Caird & Co. having now finished the new P. and O. steamer *Britannia*, and having no other work on hand, have discharged all their workmen, with few exceptions, both in their shipbuilding yard and engine works. Messrs. Rankin & Blackmore, Eagle Foundry, have also paid off a large number of workmen, the work on hand being nearly finished. Messrs. Scott & Co., shipbuilders, have also suspended a number of their workmen, the vessels on hand not being sufficiently forward to give employment to the number of men presently engaged in the yard.

THE STRIKE IN THE NAIL TRADE.—The strike in the wrought-nail trade continues, although the masters have offered to grant the 1879 list, less 20 per cent. off the price paid for hobs, and 10 per cent. for all other classes of nails, which is equivalent to an advance of 10 per cent. all round; but the workers are determined to keep out until the 1879 list is granted without any deductions. On Monday morning a meeting of delegates was held at the Cross Guns Inn, Birmingham Street, Hales Owen, Mr. J. Price presiding. It was stated that the strike in the Bromsgrove district was very general. The distribution of relief was going on very satisfactorily. Substantial donations had been contributed, and bread and soup had been given to the operatives. The relief had been carried on under the direction of Mr. Coxell, relieving officer. The chairman remarked that there would be no difficulty, he believed, in getting the prices established in the markets. He believed that the time was not far distant when they should hear that the strike had terminated. The whole of the operatives throughout all the districts had manifested a determination not to return to work until they gained the list. A resolution was passed to continue the strike.

THE BOLTON STRIKE.—The hopes as to the speedy settlement of the Bolton engineers' strike have again been disappointed, the employers having rejected the latest proposals from the men. These proposals suggested a reference on the basis of wages now paid in Oldham, it being a competitive town with Bolton. A board of conciliation was to be formed, consisting of six Bolton employers and six representatives of the workmen, to consider evidence as to the rate of wages paid in Oldham, and if found to be higher than in Bolton, the advance to be conceded to the men on strike at the commencement of next year. If these proposals were accepted the strike should be declared closed and the men return to work at once at the old rate of wages, and work overtime when required at breakdowns and repairs until the award is given, after which all restrictions as to overtime shall be removed. The board of conciliation was to give their award in a month. To these proposals the employers replied that they were unanimously declined. They could not discuss any restriction upon overtime. To refer to any particular town as to wages paid was objectionable, and the comparison could have been obtained by a juster method of open arbitration, which the men had rejected. The strike has now lasted twenty-five weeks with the outlook darker than ever.

The capitalistic, no less than the aristocratic class, is responsible for the stupid and wicked policy that has turned many of the fairest lands of the world into huge military camps, and has deluged every continent in blood for the aggrandisement of their own countries, and to force upon the conquered peoples the products which their makers cannot consume in consequence of the lowness of their wages. The working-class, although its ignorance has sometimes made it the tool of politicians, cannot fairly be charged with any part of this guilt and folly. The wealth, greatness, and glory of any nation have meant very little for the working-class. Rather, they have delayed its emancipation. It is the highest interest of every worker that he should concentrate his attention upon the Labour question. To the working-people it is of very little consequence whether the United States have a fleet of iron-clads or whether the Republican, Democratic, or any other party are successful in their struggles for office, loaves, and fishes; but it is of very great importance that they have a fair share of the products of their skill, of their brain and muscle; that the necessities and comforts of life be within their reach; that they be not herded like brutes in poisonous tenements; that their children be spared the slavery of the coal bunkers and factory, and be permitted to acquire the best possible education; that their noble feelings of human dignity be not outraged by the arbitrary regulations of an irresponsible and immoral capitalistic class. We, in this generation, by means of our trades' unions, have challenged the capitalistic policy, and we will not cease our efforts until all workers, regardless of creed, colour, or nationality, are united in the fraternal bond of one grand federation, making war and robbery forevermore impossible.—*Union Advocate.*

LETTERS FROM AMERICA.

IV.

SIR ROBERT N. FOWLER, M.P., fop, snob, and fool, arrived in New York last Sunday. Interviewed by a reporter, he made the following statement concerning Anarchists:—

"What is the extent of the Anarchist movement in Great Britain, or London? It is understood over here that the English Anarchists sympathise deeply with the condemned Chicago Anarchists?"

"I have not heard very much about it. There is always a certain Anarchist or Communistic feeling in all large cities, but I don't know that it is any stronger in London now than it has been for many years past."

"Then it may be supposed that you would favour the execution of the Chicago Anarchists?"

"You will do the right thing if you hang them."

Of course, Fowler knows as much about the case as the man in the moon but his talk proves clearly how much these people respect law, order, and justice. It is to be hoped the English workers will not forget such sentiments uttered by individuals but expressing the ideas of a large class.

The Henry George-McGlynn business is fast arriving at the farcical stage. Henry George never speaks without mentioning "that noble and heroic man, that glorious priest so much beloved by the people, the Rev. Dr. McGlynn," etc., and the Rev. Dr. McGlynn in return butters back by calling George "that greatest of all philosophers, our prophet Henry George." George in order to catch votes is getting vaguer and vaguer in his theories. It is even no longer State appropriation of rent, but mere taxation of the unearned increment which he now advocates.

The General Assembly of the delegates of the Knights of Labour met in Minneapolis last week. The following short notes in reference to the Assembly may be of interest to the readers of the *Commonweal*.

P. H. Craig, a coloured man, represents District 176, Augusta Ga., composed of 3,000 white members and 1,500 negroes. He was unanimously elected, and his election is taken as a proof that the colour line in the South is entirely wiped out.

Joseph R. Buchanan, the editor of the *Labor Enquirer*, Denver, Col., leader of the opposition against Powderley, and delegate of District Assembly 89, has been refused admission to the General Assembly on the grounds that he being a member of Local Assembly 2237, which has been suspended for non-payment of dues, he was himself a suspended member. Buchanan alleges the suspension to be a conspiracy on the part of the administration.

Michael Davitt addressed the Assembly last Wednesday, claiming the Irish movement to be a part of the international working-men's movement.

Mrs. Leonora M. Barry, general investigator of the condition of working-women, made a report. Portions of this report relating to the shame and degradation to which women and girls who cannot eke out a living on the pittance paid them are subjected, could not be read to an audience of men.

It has been proposed that the Knights of Labour and the Farmers' Alliance (both in session at Minneapolis) shall amalgamate. Each claims to have about 600,000 members.

The General Master Workman in his report, suggests the following programme:—

"I believe the day has come for united labour to ask at the hands of Congress the passage of a law creating a department of labour at the seat of the National Government. Labour cannot be called a class, for it is everywhere. To have a man in his cabinet with whom to consult on the question of labour, the President would be in a better position to deal with the question of labour. . . . I believe that the Government of the United States should operate its own line of telegraph. I believe that the Government should control our railways."

This is the whole programme of one of the largest labour organisations in the world. Oh shame upon such spoilers of healthy movements! When will the men become tired of all monarchs in labour organisations? Ah, when?

The report of the General Secretary contains the following interesting details:—

"The order consists at present of 10,421 local assemblies, and 60,000 letters were received and answered. The number of members in good standing at the last session was 702,924; in arrears, 26,753. The total number of members reported in good standing now is in round figures 485,000; in arrears, about 50,000; total, 535,000; which shows a decrease of 195,000 members who have mostly joined the American Federation of Trades."

On Monday, Oct. 10th, in the afternoon, James E. Quinn, of District 49, quietly arose in the assembly and presented the following resolution:—

"Considering that the development of the human mind in the nineteenth century has reached a point expressed almost universally against capital punishment, or taking human life by judicial process, as a relic of barbarism, therefore be it resolved, That this Convention express sorrow that the men in Chicago were doomed to death, and that we use every endeavour to secure the commutation of the sentence of death passed upon them."

The moment this was read there was an uproar. Quinn made a speech asking in the name of humanity and justice that the resolution be adopted. Mr. Powderley, who presided, declared the resolution out of order. An appeal was taken, and George A. Shilling (of Chicago) and Joseph Labadie (of Detroit) spoke in favour of the resolution. Powderley left the chair, and made a long and vigorous speech against the resolution. Mr. Powderley was sustained by a vote of 150 against 50, and that settles the matter as the *Herald* puts it. Comment on such outrageous action, it is to be hoped, is superfluous.

The affair at Union Hill, New Jersey, which I reported to you last week, has had an afterpiece of a rather amusing character. The labour organisations intended to hold a meeting on Wednesday, Oct. 5th. The Chief of Police by the consent of the Town Council had taken extra precautions to suppress the meeting. There were 30 policemen stationed near the meeting-place. A messenger was employed to stand by the police, and on the first intimation of any meeting he was to convey the news to the Town Hall, where a man was stationed ready to toll the bell. The fire department with 50 volunteers was in readiness to turn the hose on the men. At 7.30 p.m., the town was blocked with people from all over Jersey. Only an informal meeting was held by the United Order of American Carpenters and Joiners Lodge 24. The subject discussed was, "Why do we need a Union?" The evening passed quietly. The police employed themselves by clubbing some men and all small boys on the legs to make them move on.

Hardly a week passes without the ruling classes showing by the action of their minions how little they care for the constitution. Last Sunday we were presented with a new proof, this time of even a more serious nature. On Saturday October 8th the Progressive Labour Party held a mass meeting

in Union Square, New York, to explain its platform to the workers. The night was exceptionally fine, and about 10,000 people attended the meeting. The proceedings were most orderly, and perfect harmony prevailed except around one platform where a small number of men—supposed to be followers of George—kept on calling out, rather monotonously, "George, Henry George, George," etc., and now and then indulged in cat-calls. Most of the speakers had already addressed the meeting, when suddenly the torches and transparencies were extinguished, and the police dashed into the meeting and began at once belabouring the crowd in brutal fashion with their clubs. A panic of course was the immediate result. The crowd neither resisted nor remonstrated, but, taken completely by surprise, fled in all directions. Several men got a severe clubbing and women were maltreated by the police in a shameful, disgusting fashion. It is perfectly clear that it was determined the peaceable meeting should be turned into a riot. People were to be maltreated until they in their anger would turn upon their clubbers and supply the police with an excuse for a wholesale arrest, and perhaps hanging. The police had arranged themselves with care so as to form a complete semicircle that would embrace the whole crowd. Captain Reilly, the officer in command came to the reporters, after the collision, and without being asked made a statement that he had been invited to disperse a crowd that kept on annoying the meeting by cat-calls and calls for Henry George. His men misunderstood him, and the "incident," for which he was extremely sorry, was the result. The clubbed, bleeding, defenceless men rallied round as soon as they saw the speakers were holding the platform, and the meeting was continued. The men, in spite of the outrage, pressed forward to support the speakers, and eventually the meeting dispersed quietly. A few more of such "incidents" and even the most conservative working-man will comprehend what government of the people by the people means over here. He will comprehend that as long as he permitted himself to be fleeced without resistance by a miserable class he had all the liberty he wished at his disposal. He will comprehend that as soon as he begins to resist being fleeced the ruling classes will quickly bring him to his senses, not with the ballot-box but with the club.

LABOUR MOVEMENTS.

Owing to the strike of coal-miners about Springfield, Ill., the Springfield Rolling Mill has been obliged to shut down. About 1000 men are idle in consequence.

The Lehigh Valley coal-miners on strike are still firm, regardless of the threat made by the Lehigh Valley Coal and Navigation Company to stop work for one year unless the men return to work. The Wyoming region is overrun with strikers from the Lehigh sections.

The strikers at the cotton-factory of the Moss Manufacturing Company, Westerly, R.I., have finally surrendered. This was the contest in which the "Slater Club" was enlisted in behalf of the corporation. In other words, the combined capital of the Rhode Island cotton manufacturing companies was arrayed in support of a single concern which had a dispute with its workmen.

LIST OF STRIKES FOR OCTOBER.

New York City—brass-workers, for half holiday on Saturdays, Oct. 1	120
Reading, Pa.—labourers, for advance, Oct. 1	20
Boyetown, Pa.—cigar-makers, for advance, Oct. 1	100
Springfield, Ill.—miners, for advance, Oct. 1	1500
Brooklyn, N. Y.—brass-polishers, against employment of non-union men, Oct. 3	16
Bayonne, N. J.—rivet-heaters of the Standard Oil Co., for advance, Oct. 3	14
Wheeling, Va.—labourers, for advance, Oct. 3	40
Brooklyn, N. Y.—pressworkers, for a half holiday on Saturdays, Oct. 5	200
Philadelphia, Pa.—shoe-stitchers, for enforcement of new price-list, Oct. 5	250
Philadelphia, Pa.—buttonhole-makers, against discrimination in distributing work, Oct. 5	20

Total strikers to Oct. 6 ... 2280

New York, October 12, 1887.

H. CHARLES.

LITERARY NOTICES.

'The Chicago Anarchists. A Statement of Facts.' By E. and E. M. Aveling, has been reprinted from *To-Day* (November 1887), and is for sale by W. Reeves, 185 Fleet Street, E.C. Single copy, 1d., 100 copies, 1s.

In reprinting John Most's 'Deistic Pestilence' (Metzcow, Bruce Grove, N.) the comrades who have had it done would have been wise in securing a competent hand to revise the English in which the translation is presented. No doubt when it was written this brochure did good service, and it naturally now bears a certain historic interest, but it may be doubted whether its present reissue will either do much credit to the author or service to the cause he has at heart. Author, publisher, and price are alike left without mention.

'The Labour Movement in America,' by Frederick Engels (Reeves, 3d.), is a reprint of the preface to the 'Condition of the Working Classes in England in 1844,' published a few months ago, and is so reprinted to enable it to reach a larger number of readers than otherwise it would. In 8 pp. of even close print there is but small room to say much upon such a large theme, but the author gets more into the space than might have been deemed possible, and has assuredly made an earnest, thoughtful and thought-producing contribution to the consideration of the question of which it treats. S.

THE CONDEMNED ANARCHISTS.

The Labour Emancipation League held a mass meeting on Sunday morning to protest against the judicial murder of our Chicago comrades, at which a resolution of sympathy and protest was carried with only one dissident.

At a meeting of the Clay Cross and District Socialist Society on the 20th inst. the following resolution was passed: "That this meeting of Derbyshire miners and others protest against the judicial murder of the seven Chicago Anarchists, and, looking at the nature of the evidence, considers a new trial absolutely necessary; and that this resolution be sent to the president of the United States and for publication in the *English Commonwealth*."

A public meeting of Scandinavians, convened by the Scandinavian Working Men's Clubs, was held on Sunday the 23rd, in 56 Greek Street, Soho, when the following resolution was unanimously passed: "This meeting of Scandinavians from all the northern countries, recognising that the sentence to death of the seven Chicago Anarchists is nothing but an attempt to knock down by one crushing blow the movement raised for the liberation of the working class from the yoke of the upper classes, joins in the protest of the workers of all civilised countries."

THE KNIGHTS OF LABOUR AND CO-OPERATION IN AMERICA.

LAST February J. P. McGaughey, of Minneapolis, secretary of the Co-operative Board of the Knights of Labour, sent out 8000 circulars asking for information on the subject of co-operation, and has received upwards of 5000 answers. Of the co-operative concerns started there are no failures reported, and a steady growth is almost without exception noted. Following are a few examples:

The Trenton (N. J.) Co-operative Store shows a remarkable growth. Jan. 1, 1886, its membership was 193; at the end of the year it was 420. There is scarcely a store in any of the great cities of the country which supplies so many families. The paid-up capital of the concern Jan. 1886 was £466; Jan. 1887 it was £1157. The premises now occupied by the store were purchased for £2000. During the year 1886 the profits were £1412.

The Michigan City (Ind.) Co-operative Reed-Chair Company issues stock only to members of the Knights of Labour. By its constitution one-third of the profits goes to the stockholders, one-third to employees, and the remaining third is placed to the credit of the factory. This company began business August 1886. Up to December 31 of the same year the business transacted amounted to £400, on which there was a profit of 25 per cent. At the time of the report there were 250 members.

The Raleigh (N. C.) Co-operative Tobacco Factory is a foster-child of the Knights of Labour. Its entire capital stock is owned by one hundred local assemblies and a thousand individuals. In 1886 the goods sold amounted to £2063, on which there was a profit over all expenses of £67.

The Fulton County Co-operative Leather Glove and Mitten Factory, of Johnstown, N. Y., was organised August 1886, and has now 225 members and £2000 capital. Its business up to Jan. 1, 1887, amounted to £600, and the profits above all expenses were £59.

Probably the only co-operative bank in the country is the Patrons' Co-operative Bank of Olathe, Kas. The report of the institution made July 1886 shows a paid-in capital stock of £2788, with deposits amounting to £14,177.

Building and loan associations, on the plan of the ordinary mutual building and loan association, are also very numerous within the Order.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

Co-operative Store.—The Committee attend at the offices at 8.30 p.m. on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. All Groceries can be had at current store prices. Orders over 10s. will be delivered carriage paid in London.

Unemployed Question—Resolution of Council.

That the Socialist League do maintain officially the continuance of that policy of non-intervention pursued up to the present by the League; and though it can prohibit no individual member or members of that body from participating in unemployed agitation, it cannot undertake to support, either morally or pecuniarily, any member whose participation in any such agitation leads him into difficulties.

BRANCH SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID.

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

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

C. W., 13s. 4d. *Weekly Subscriptions*—K. F., 1s. C. J. F., 2s. Oxford Branch, 2s. Langley, 2s. P. W., 6d. W. B., 6d. D. N. (8 weeks), 2s. PH. W., Treasurer, Oct. 25.

Strike Committee.—Regent's Park (per Cantwell, Sunday, Oct. 16, 3s. 2d., and Sunday, Oct. 23, 5s. 4d.; total, 8s. 6d.—J. LANE.

MOWBRAY TESTIMONIAL FUND.

TO SOCIALISTS AND FRIENDS.—We make a special appeal to you to do what you can to subscribe towards the above fund, which is intended to give Mowbray a little start in business at his trade of a tailor, as he cannot expect to get work from the capitalists in Norwich. Thanking all comrades and friends for their past support towards the maintenance of Mowbray's wife and family, specially thanking Mrs. Besant and the Fabian friends for the liberal support they have given up to his release, we are, A. T. SUTTON and F. C. SLAUGHTER, Secs.

Communications and subscriptions to be forwarded to A. T. Sutton, 5 Duke Street, Norwich. T. G. S., 10s. A Small Capitalist, 6d. W. Nobbs, 1s. A Friend (3), 1s. 6d. Norwich Market Place, Oct. 23, 6s. A. T. S. and F. C. S.

N.B.—Fund closes October 31st.

REPORTS.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, Oct. 19th, S. Mainwaring lectured to us on "Liberty." Discussion followed. Sunday good open-air meeting on Green, addressed by Mainwaring and Graham. In hall members and friends enjoyed nearly two hours' "social."—A. T. and W. B.

FULHAM.—Meeting Sunday morning addressed by Tarleton and Morris. A resolution, which was carried unanimously, was moved by Tarleton and seconded by our old opponent Mr. Green, protesting against any interference with the right of public meeting. Fair sale of *Commonweal*, another member made, and 4s. 3d. collected for branch.—S. B. G.

HOXTON.—Good meeting Thursday. Sunday morning demonstration great success. Resolution condemning sentence passed on the Chicago Anarchists carried with enthusiasm, only one against. Sold out all *Commonweal*; 6s. collected for wives and children of condemned men. Evening in hall, W. H. P. Campbell lectured on "The Whereabouts of Utopia;" interesting discussion followed.—C. J. Y.

MERTON.—Good meeting here. *Commonweal* sold well. Haydon's Road is now a good open-air station, and will add to the strength of the branch.

MITCHAM.—A good meeting held on Fair Green on Sunday morning, addressed by Bull, Hardman, and Sparling. Good sale of *Commonweal*, and 1s. 4d. collected for propaganda. Three new members made.—R. C.

NORTH LONDON.—On Tuesday last, at Ossulton Street, we held a very good meeting, when Cantwell, Brooks, Bartlett, and Dalziel spoke. Sale of *Commonweal* good. At Regent's Park on Sunday morning, a very good meeting was addressed by Cantwell, Mainwaring, and Mrs. Schack, whose remarks were received with considerable interest. Comrade Finn offered a little friendly opposition. Collected 5s. 4½d.

STAMFORD HILL.—A very good meeting was addressed here on Sunday evening by W. B. Parker and A. Cores. Two new members.

GLASGOW.—Sunday forenoon, Downie and Gilbert spoke on Jail Square. In afternoon, Bullock, Glasier, and McFarlane at Paisley Road Toll. An attempt made by a gang of Orange rowdies to destroy our meeting, but signally failed. In evening in hall at 8, Watson Street, Adams lectured on "The Paris Commune." Members and sympathisers are requested to turn up in large force on Sunday at Paisley Road Toll, 5 o'clock.—J. M. B.

LEEDS.—Meeting Sunday morning in Vicars Croft. In evening, Braithwaite lectured on "The National Loaf, who earns and who eats it." Good discussion. Maguire lectured in People's Hall on Saturday night on "Private Rights and Public Wrongs."—T. P.

NORWICH.—We held a large meeting in the Market Place at 3, addressed by Mowbray, and Barker of Lowestoft, another on the Agricultural Hall Plain by Barker and Darley. Mowbray lectured in the Gordon Hall at 8 to a crowded audience on the "Aims of the Socialist League," Barker in the chair. Mowbray, Turner, and Slaughter went to Wymondham in the morning, and held a good meeting. *Commonweal* sold well.—T. M.

WALSALL.—Meeting Monday evening, addressed by Wesley, Sanders, Webb, and others. Two successful open-air meetings held by Donald, Tarn (Birmingham) and Sanders on Saturday afternoon, and in evening indoor meeting in the Exchange Room, good impression being made. Sunday morning Sanders spoke to a fair meeting at the Pleck.—J. T. D.

SHEFFIELD SOCIALISTS.—On Monday, October 17th, Mr. Herbert Godley gave a reading on "Socialism," which was followed by desultory discussion. The opening was good.—M. A. M.

NORWICH ANARCHIST GROUP.—Good meetings have been held during the week at Carrow, Yarmouth, St. Faith's, and at Norwich in the Haymarket on Saturday night, and in the Market Place twice on Sunday.

CLAY CROSS AND DISTRICT SOCIALIST SOCIETY.—We had a splendid lecture from Mr. John Peacock, member of the Nottingham School Board, on Thursday, Oct. 20th, when the enclosed resolution was passed (See "Condemned Anarchists").—J. L.

DUBLIN.—At the Labour League, on Thursday, Oct. 20th, very good meeting held to protest against the judicial murder of the Chicago Anarchists. McCarthy described at length the circumstances connected with the riot, attack by the police on Haymarket meeting, throwing of the bomb, and trial and conviction of the accused. King, Ellis, and Fitzpatrick also spoke. Resolution adopted protesting against carrying out the sentence, and expressing sympathy with the families of the condemned men.

Scottish Land and Labour League.

At Sunday afternoon meeting, routine business done and arrangements for special winter propaganda made. Sub-committee appointed to organise new branches, etc., Mahon, J. Haldane Smith, J. M. Hosack, and Hugh Millar. Arrangements being made for ten days lecturing tour in Scotland by Champion.

EDINBURGH.—On Monday night, Mahon spoke at High Street. Sunday night the Trades' Hall was crowded to excess; Mahon lectured on "The Method of Realising Socialism;" animated discussion followed, and exceptionally good collection made.—C. W. T.

ABERDEEN.—First business meeting held Northern Friendly Society's Hall 8th Oct. Leatham addressed meeting, and was reported to about a third of a column in the local Liberal paper. Several members enrolled. On Sunday, Leatham addressed 300 or 400 men at Woodside, standing on the brink of the fountain. No opposition; good sale of literature. On Sunday afternoon, Oct. 16th, Leatham addressed a large meeting at Duthie Park, Waterside Gate; Barrow presided.

DYSART AND GALLATOWN.—Mahon held open-air meeting Tuesday night; indoor meeting afterwards held by branch members.

WEST CALDER.—Mahon spoke here Saturday night and formed a branch. He was invited to address the miners on the following Monday.

ARBROATH.—Good meeting Friday night. Cunningham and Scott read an essay each; good discussion followed. Four names handed in.—W. S.

Notice to Branches of the S.L.L.L.

Reports and Notices for the *Commonweal* must be sent direct to the Sub-Editor, London, (to reach not later than first post Tuesday) and not to Edinburgh.

The first of a series of "Labour Leaflets," entitled "A Few Words for Socialism," is now ready—6d. per 100, 1d. extra for postage.

The *Commonweal* and all Socialist Literature may be had from Edinburgh. Orders to be sent to J. M. Kenzie, Labour League Office 4 Park Street.—J. L. M.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, W. On Thursday Oct. 27, Business Meeting.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Free Lectures every Sunday and Wednesday at 8.30.

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Oct. 30, at 8 p.m. W. H. Utley, "An Inventor's Troubles."

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—Globe Coffee House, 227 High St., Hoxton. On Sunday October 30, at 8.30, lecture by Mrs. C. M. Wilson, "The Social Revolution."—Members' Meeting at 13 Farringdon Road, on Friday Oct. 28, at 8 o'clock. Very important business.

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., 12 Short Loanings.

Arbroath (Scot. Sect.).—High Street Hall. Meeting Friday evenings. W. Smith, 12 Maule St., secy. On Friday next, a Debate on Gronlund's 'Co-operative Commonwealth.'

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

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

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

Dundee (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station. Forenoon, business and members' discussion; evening, lecture and discussion.

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

Galashiels (Scot. Sect.).—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., 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 St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Choir Practice, Wednesday at 8. Music and Shorthand Class, Tuesdays at 8 o'clock.

In the Hall, 8 Watson Street, Gallowgate, lecture on Sunday 30, at 7 o'clock, by J. Shaw Maxwell, "The Labour Problem."

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. On Sunday October 30, at 7 p.m., W. Hill will lecture on "The Labour Struggle."

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

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

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

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

Walsall.—Temperance Hall. Meets every Monday. West Calder (Scottish Section).—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 30.

9.30...Starch GreenHammersmith Branch
11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.Brookes
11.30...Kingsland GreenParker
11.30...Merton—Haydons Road.....The Branch
11.30...Mitcham Fair GreenThe Branch
11.30...Regent's ParkWardle & Nicoll
11.30...St. Pancras ArchesMainwaring
11.30...Walham GreenSamuels
3 ...Hyde ParkMainwaring
7 ...Stamford HillParker
7 ...Clerkenwell GreenBarker

Tuesday.

8 ...Mile-end WasteJ. Allman
8 ...Ossulton St., Euston RoadMainwaring

Wednesday.

8 ...Broadway, London Fields.....Cores

Thursday.

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

PROVINCES.

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

Paisley Road Toll: Sunday, at 5 p.m.—Bulloch, Glasier, and Pollock.

Watson Street: Sunday, 6.30—Bulloch and Glasier.

Leeds.—Sunday: Vicar's Croft, 11 a.m.

Norwich Branch.—Sunday: Market Place at 3; Agricultural Hall Plain at 7.

Dereham.—Every Wednesday, Market Place at 7.

NORWICH ANARCHIST GROUP.

Yarmouth.—Thursday, on the Quay, at 7.30.

Carrow.—Friday, at 1.30.

St. Faith's.—Sunday, on the Green, at 3.30.

Norwich.—St. George's Plain, Saturday, at 1.15.

Haymarket, Saturday, at 8. Market Place, Sunday at 11 and 8.

SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.

(Scottish Section of the Socialist League)

MAHON'S MEETINGS.

Fri. 28—Cowdenbeath, 4.30 p.m. Lochgelly, 7 p.m.

Sat. 29—Dunfermline. Co-operative Hall, 6 p.m.

Sun. 30—Dundee. With members in hall, 11 a.m. High Street, 3 p.m. Bank, 6 p.m. Trades Hall (Tay Bridge Station), 8 p.m.

Mon. 31—Carnoustie. Temperance Hall, 7.30 p.m.

Tues. 1—Arbroath. Brothock Bridge, 7.30 p.m. High Street Hall, 8 p.m.

Wed. 2—Montrose. Front of Town Hall, 7.15 p.m. Temperance Hall, 8 p.m.

Thurs. 3 to Tues. 8—Aberdeen and Woodside.

Sat. 29—Arbroath. Duncan of Dundee.

Sun. 6—Edinburgh. Trades Hall, High Street, at 6.30—Davidson, "Labour Federation."

North of England Socialist Federation.

BRANCHES AND SECRETARIES.

Annisford.—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.

WEST MARYLEBONE WORKING MEN'S CLUB (S.D.F.), 123a Church Street, Edgware Road, W.—Sunday October 30, at 8 p.m., S. Mainwaring, "Liberty."

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 October 30, at 3.30 p.m. prompt.

'COMMONWEAL' PRINTING FUND.

The SOCIALIST INTERLUDE by William Morris, entitled

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(THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH IN ENGLAND)

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THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 95.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

Mr. Wilfrid Blunt is to go to prison for asserting the rights of free speech in Ireland. Well and good so far; but surely he is not to be the only one of the English Home Rulers who is going through this business: one could name half-a-dozen who would be fitter for the task than Mr. Blunt, who is a "faddist," which is the political jargon for a man who has some idea of justice outside mere party necessities, as witness Arabi and the Egyptian matter. Let some of the orthodox show the genuineness of their convictions on coercion, and for once be of some service to the cause of progress that they profess. It will be a shabby business indeed if they don't share the glory and discomfort with the candidate for Deptford.

Or the Balfour will score a victory, and the process may be a long one. But once for all there is a method of shortening the struggle, or rather of finishing it at one blow, which, strange to say, has not suggested itself to any Gladstonian partisan yet. Though I believe my following suggestion will not be accepted as the Columbus egg-trick by the whole Home Rule Liberal Party if, as is doubtful, they happen to read the *Commonweal*, yet it certainly should be so accepted.

Let Mr. Gladstone go over to Ireland and follow Mr. Wilfrid Blunt's example, and coercion is at an end, and the Tory Government along with it.

Yes, I know the orthodox will receive that as an unworthy joke; but the very fact that they will do so, and that I have been obliged to put it as a joke, shows how lightly politicians treat the matters which they talk about so solemnly. Here we have them gravely discussing the legality or illegality of Mr. Blunt's action when they know very well that he went to do what was at once illegal and reasonable. If Mr. Gladstone were to do the like, how the unreasonable legality would vanish amidst roars of laughter, and the discussion about Home Rule and the squeezing of rent from people who *can't* pay would enter on a new phase. But it is a joke to propose it for that very reason. It would crush the Tory party, and to do that is exactly what the orthodox Liberals will by no means do. A famous chess-player doesn't want to exterminate his adversary; or who is he to play with? He wants to beat him at the game, that is all. If there were no Tories to play with and make about the same moves as the Liberals, the latter might have to deal with *realities*—and what would they do then?

I repeat, let the great man go to Ireland and get arrested for speaking on the side of freedom at Woodford or elsewhere, and thereby put his political opponents in the deepest hole any government were ever in, and himself become the most popular man of the century.

Says a correspondent of the *Daily News*, "When any disturbance does occur it is the police that begin it." It is not London that he is speaking of but Woodford in Ireland; that is, doubtless, because he has not been in London for the last three weeks.

Mr. Chabmerlain's expression of passionate devotion to law-and-order is touching, coming as it does from the man who gave that warning to the rich about ransom. And it must be said that, if there is anything genuine about him at all, probably this later view of his is his genuine one; he is what the cabman once called the almost forgotten Robert Lowe (now Lord something or other) "a harbitrary gent."

Poor Samuel Huby has had very bad luck with Mr. Nupkins-Mansfield. The policeman in the attack on the citizens of October 20th, hit him and he very naturally hit the policeman, who being knocked down either received or imagined a kick. Huby explained that the policeman hit him three times and knocked him down; but though his old master came forward and gave him a good character, and though the policeman himself said: "he seems to be a respectable and very good lad," yet the *thing* on the bench paid no more attention to his statement than if it had been the wind blowing, and had the impudence to remark in the true Nupkins style, "It would be a most improbable thing for the constable to strike you without provocation." So Mr. Huby got three months' hard labour in order to increase his affection for the beauties of law and order. I don't know if he was a Socialist before his introduction to the Nupkins of Marlborough Street; but I should think he would lose no time in becoming one now.

The *Daily News* is very severe on the deputation sent on the 28th October to the Board of Works, for what it called their "Jack Cade" behaviour there; but may there not be another side to that story? Suppose that the deputation were treated by the majority of the board with that circumlocution-office off-handedness which is a standing insult to the citizen, and which everybody having business with an official body is sure to receive, as I by personal experience can declare, unless he is known as a "person of importance." If that were the case, is it wonderful that men on such serious business as the trying to get work in order to prevent them from starving, should show some resentment at this supercilious bad manners, not knowing perhaps that such bad manners are habitual and a part of what we pay for. The representatives of a vast body of starving men don't to my mind need forgiveness if they lose their temper when brought face to face with the brazen wall of official impudence and unreason, which even Dickens' immortal humour failed to shake by a hairs'-breadth.

The police have been spinning if not one of the longest, yet at least one of the stupidest of galley yarns on record about Clan-na-Gael conspirators and jubilees, and lodgings and swell hotels, and the Lord knows what, clearly under instructions and for the purpose of discrediting the Home Rule agitation. Stupid as it is, it will no doubt be an effective weapon as far as it goes, that is, it will frighten some timid voters who take everything for gospel which they see in an official report. But, really, was it worth the wear and tear?

W. M

IS LUXURY GOOD FOR TRADE?

UNDER this heading there has been a brief passage-at-arms in the correspondence columns of the *Daily News* between Sir Henry E. Knight, Alderman, of the one part, and Mr. Sidney Webb, Professor of Political Economy, of the other part. "A happy combination of defects, natural and acquired," renders the worthy Alderman a fitting exponent of the time-honoured fallacy he set forth:—

"Money spent in entertainment goes into the pockets of the working classes. . . . I say further that for every pound spent in entertainment another pound is spent by the entertained, so that at least double the cost of the entertainment is distributed in wages; therefore he who spends encourages and promotes expenditure and is the best friend of the working classes."

In a second letter he disposed of his opponent's reply in an off-hand fashion with great satisfaction to himself, and still further established his claims to bourgeois orthodoxy by sacrificing those to sense. His "argument" is worth reproducing in full (but with a few words italicised):—

"Always putting aside abuse, which, being contrary to the laws of God and man, cannot be countenanced, can there be a doubt that the answer to this question [i.e., Is luxury good for trade?] must be Yes? Nay, is it not an absolute necessity in order to find mankind in employment? Are not all things beyond the requirements of food, clothing, and shelter more or less luxuries? No doubt we could all live on plain food and drink water, and would perhaps be healthier and better than we are now, but in that case what would become of the millions who earn their living in the production and preparation of what we may call fancy food and drinks, and those great industries which produce the luxuries of beer and wine? We could all be clothed in homespun, but what would become of those millions who are employed in the manufacture of other dress goods—silks, satins, broadcloth, and hundreds of other cognate articles? We might also all be reduced to an equality (the Socialists' idea) and live in comfortable houses quite sufficient to afford the necessary amount of food and shelter; but in that case what would become of those millions connected with the trades which flourish by the erection of large premises and also the decoration and furnishing thereof? Can it be doubted that gold and silver plate, jewellery, carriages, and no end of other things in every-day use and consumption, are luxuries? Yet no one in their senses would propose to abolish them, as it would simply mean destroying the living of the best and most intelligent mechanics on the face of the earth. Need I pursue the subject further? Surely it is evident that the non-consumption of luxuries would mean the destruction of nearly the whole trade and industry of the human race."

The man who puts forward such a plea might lay claim to exceptional courage, were it not too evidently but an accidental audacity born of ignorance, "the colossal ignorance which drives the political economist to despair," as Mr. Webb calls it. The last-named put the whole case so far as concerns the present system, very clearly and cleverly:—

"Sir Henry Knight is apparently unaware even of the existence of a great body of ascertained and undisputed truth on the subject on which he undertakes to enlighten the 'ignorant working classes.' The blunder into which he has fallen is explained in the first few pages of every text-book on economics; yet even when his attention is called to it, he does not think it worth while to consult the most elementary primer, but denounces an unknown correspondent as 'an agi-

tator.' Now the point at issue is the *pons asinorum* of political economy. If Sir Henry Knight believes not Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill, Jevons and Marshall, neither will he hearken unto me. Nevertheless I will endeavour to make it clear to any but aldermanic intelligence. In an advanced industrial community all money incomes are necessarily spent in payments for labour, whether expended in luxuries or not. (The actual hoarding of metallic currency is of course excepted.) The owner of the income can exercise an option as to the kind of labour he will buy. He may, like Sir Henry Knight, hire cooks and wine-growers, or he may not. But if he does not spend his income in quickly consumed commodities, he nevertheless hires labour. When Lord Mayors read economics and abandon wasteful banquets, they will 'save' a portion of their incomes, and cease to employ so many cooks. But that 'saved' income is merely lent by them to their bankers, and thus placed at the disposal of builders, railway-makers, and other borrowers, who borrow in order to spend in wages. The Lord Mayor would, in effect, employ railway navvies instead of cooks. The amount spent in wages does not in the least depend upon whether luxuries or investments are preferred, as the choice of the owner determines only the kind of labour employed. If consumers elect to have merely transient pleasures, wages are paid, the ginger is a moment hot in the mouth, and all is gone. If they prefer 'investments,' wages are equally paid, and the world is enriched with a new railway or improved artisans' dwellings. It must be added that the form of industry does exercise an important influence on the prosperity of the workers, but this point has no reference to the distinction between employments productive of durable and of transient commodities. The most easily accessible authorities on the point may be added: Jevon's 'Primer of Political Economy,' para. 14 (Macmillan, 1s.); Marshall's 'Economics of Industry,' ch. 2, sec. 3 (Macmillan, 2s. 6d.); J. S. Mill's 'Principles of Political Economy,' bk. 1, ch. 5, sec. 5 (Longmans, 5s.); Cairnes's 'Some Leading Principles,' p. 31 (Macmillan); McCulloch's 'Principles,' part iv., p. 217 (Murray's Reprints); Adam Smith's 'Wealth of Nations,' bk. ii., ch. 3, p. 272 (Ward, Lock, and Co.). I conclude with a short quotation from Professor Cairnes, which may serve to clinch the matter; it is from the work and passage above cited: 'That useful function, therefore, which some profound writers fancy they discover in the abundant expenditure of the idle rich turns out to be a sheer illusion. Political economy furnishes no such palliation of unmitigated selfishness. Not that I would breathe a word against the sacredness of contracts; but I think it important, on moral no less than on economic grounds, to insist upon this, that no public benefit of any kind arises from the existence of an idle rich class. The wealth accumulated by their ancestors or others on their behalf, where it is employed as capital, no doubt helps to sustain industry; but what they consume in luxury and idleness is not capital, and helps to sustain nothing but their own unprofitable lives. By all means they must have their rent and interest, as it is written in the bond; but let them take their proper place as drones in the hive, gorging at a feast to which they have contributed nothing.' No wonder aldermen and the idle rich do not care to read political economy! I wonder how long they will continue to endow its professors?"

Two other correspondents who joined in the fray to the extent of a short note each, put these pertinent queries:—

"Does he understand the difference between productive and non-productive labour? between labour that grinds corn and labour that grinds wind? If so, Sir Henry's 'words, words, words' are merely clouds of dust raised to cover his retreat. Granted that money spent in 'entertainments' represents wages. So does money spent in productive labour. But this latter has the advantage of rendering the community richer; while the former leaves it poorer—merely shifts wealth from pocket to pocket without increasing it; necessities already produced being consumed in the meantime."

"Sir Henry Knight shows such a masterly knowledge of social science, and argues so ably that 'luxury is good for trade,' that it is difficult to understand why he did not also advise the deputation to the Guildhall that destruction of property might be good for trade. Surely the same arguments would hold good. Is it not more than possible that from such dangerous and false theories our unemployed may draw for themselves this perfectly just conclusion?"

To all of which one would add that Sir Henry Knight unconsciously conceded more than he knew in that letter of his; and he assuredly answered his own question as to "what would become of the millions, etc.," when he said that "we might all (including presumably the said millions) . . . live in comfortable houses."

There is an old proverb which says that "Wilful waste makes woful want," but like most old saws it is belied by the present system. Under class-rule, and where all production is for the pleasure or profit of the dominant class, all waste and destruction is good for the passing time to the workers whom it enables to "find employment," though to the community as a whole it be injurious. Such conditions carry with them their own destruction, and ensure that humanity, even if only from sheer despair and weariness, will get rid of monopoly and privilege—those things that make it a seeming truth that folly is the highest wisdom and the benefit of society to be wrought by wanton indulgence of base desire.

A rhetorical device is cleverly employed in the play upon the word "luxury," and its definition so as to include all comfort and beauty. Against "luxury" in that sense, we Socialists have nothing to say but this: It is allowable—nay, commendable to a high degree—for men to adorn and beautify their lives and their surroundings, but they must produce the wherewithal and not steal it from others; they must not compel others to toil fourfold or tenfold that they may be kept in idle comfort. The "luxury" of the few to-day is founded on the misery of the many; being itself debased and brutalised thereby. Men who amass money by the chicanery of modern commerce or the undisguised rascality of the "money-market," are naturally unfitted for other than aldermanic "luxury"; but there are some of us who look forward to a time when all shall be comfortable at the price of moderate exertion; when there shall be no "employers" supported by other men's labour; when leisure shall be the heritage of all; when personal existence will be freed from care and common life made beautiful.

H. HALLIDAY SPARLING.

We recognise the fact that the Labour question is social rather than political; that while just political action will bring relief, the full remedy for the evils which men of toil suffer can only be obtained by the cordial co-operation of all workers in sustaining the principles that underlie this great question. When the rights of labour, and the true relations of labour and capital, are fully understood and acknowledged by the mass of the people, reform must follow. Society will demand it, and no power can withstand the force of such demand.—*Paterson Labour Standard*.

THE EMIGRATION FRAUD AGAIN.

WE are allowed by a friend to make use of the following extracts from a private letter lately received from a young wife, who with her husband and four children was enrolled among the victims of enveigling Emigration Agents. What she writes was intended only for the eyes of her relatives, and bears the impress of unexaggerated truth in every line:—

"Perth, West Australia.

"My Dear Aunt,—I put off writing until we got settled a bit, but we seem just as far off it as we did five months ago. I will confess that I feel more homesick and miserable than I ever thought it possible I could be. The West Australia Land Company is a complete swindle; so far from finding their emigrants work, they never even countersigned the contract tickets that we received at Blackwall. The agent from the railway contractors came on board the *Yeoman* the day we arrived, and told the men if they with their families would go 140 miles up country, live in a tent 12 ft. long and 10 ft. wide (which was necessary on account of the camp being continually shifted), they could provide pick and shovel work. On the other hand, people who came to fetch their friends told us there was no work whatever to be got in the towns of Freemantle and Perth, many men being out four months at a stretch. This was "Jubilee day," and a day of suspense and misery it was to most of those on board the *Yeoman*. The day also being a holiday they could not get the people to bring the tender alongside to fetch us ashore, and our ship was too large to get in close to the jetty. Neither would the very hospitable Australians bring any fresh meat, which a great many of the emigrants expected, as after we left England, with one or two exceptions, we got nothing but tinned meat and salt junk. W—— and P—— suffered very much from dysentery, and W—— was so bad I was afraid he would never see the end of the voyage. . . . I don't think I ever can forget the scene the night we left Cape Town. The doctor came on board mad drunk, and most of the sailors in the same condition (several Lascars and Greeks amongst them), and they began fighting with knives—the two bakers had broken open some of the emigrant's boxes and robbed them.

"We left Cape Town at five o'clock, and ten of the single men were left behind; those of them who had friends on board begging the captain to wait for them, but he would not. It was truly a scene better imagined than described.

"I told you at the beginning of this letter that we arrived on 'Jubilee' day, and the next day were taken on to the Government depot, where we got a dinner of fresh meat and potatoes. The following morning a notice was posted up that all the married people and twenty single men were to start for Beverley by the 6 a.m. train the next day to work on the railway cutting. In the meantime, A—— had been to see Mr. — and Rev. Mr. —, to whom J—— gave him letters of introduction, and they strongly advised us not to think of going up country to the bush, as the camps were most lawless places. Where they were sending the *Yeoman* people they would be 40 miles from a doctor, school, or church. A—— also met with people who had been working up the country and had had to give it up; they were people who came out a ship or two before us. They gave the camps a dreadful name; they said water was very scarce and bad, that the contractors put new hands to work with the colonial navvies, and if they could compete with them they were put on piece-work, so that they could not earn more than a certain amount. You had to buy your own tent, pick, and shovel at extortionate prices, buy all your food of the contractor at his own price, and at the end of the month when the men were paid they generally found themselves in debt. We had this fully confirmed before a fortnight was at an end. Several of the single men came back. They told us that after going a railway journey of over 100 miles, men, women, and children were huddled together in one large shed to sleep. There was no food provided, and next morning trucks came and took all luggage; but every one (children included) had to tramp the remainder of the distance of over 40 miles through the bush. I leave you to imagine what a sensation this caused amongst those who had refused to go. There were 15 other families besides us who refused, and the caretaker told us all that having refused this magnificent offer, the Land Company washed their hands of us, and we were not to have any more rations and to clear out of the depot at once. The land agent took care not to show himself, or I am afraid he would have tasted a little lynch law. There were so many men out of work in Freemantle that the Government had started relief works, and A—— got five days work there at 5s. per day.

"Mr. — was very kind in trying to get A—— into the police force, but without success. A—— was then walking about for nearly a fortnight, when he got a pass for himself to go to where they were making a branch line, 70 miles from Freemantle, 60 miles by rail. The other ten he tramped through the bush in company with two Irishmen, and when they arrived at the camp it was dark, and all the tents being full they made a fire and built a hut of rushes and branches of trees, and laid down in their blankets to sleep. Food was so scarce that none could be bought. A—— shared a loaf and some tea he had taken with him, with these two men. The ganger could not start them to work either that day or the next, and all the food they got was a handful of rice and a small loaf. The third day they were up and at the hardest work in the colony, i.e., digging, shovelling, and loading tip carts with ballast and then spreading it, and every now and then having to run for their lives as they were blasting rocks with dynamite. A—— had to give the work up after the first day, and came back to us at Freemantle. He said the navvies were rough-looking but very good-natured; but if any looked rougher than he did I should like to have seen them. He was away just a week and 7s. 6d. out of pocket. After that he was walking about between Freemantle and Perth for over three weeks, and then he got a job to drive a one horse trolley for the West Australian Carrying Company, but that finished up a week ago. The Company winds up on account of business being so slack. The manager strongly advised A—— to go to either Sydney or Melbourne, as he felt sure A—— would do well either at his own trade or on the railways; but as it would cost nearly as much as it did to come from England it is quite out of our power. A—— has tried all departments of the railway here, but 'Not at present' is the answer. . . . Will you, dear aunt, kindly tell J—— that Mr. — was fully aware of the condition of this colony, for I have spoken to people who came out in the *Hampshire* and the *Chollerton*, who wrote direct to him; but I suppose he gets a commission for every poor wretch he deludes.

"So far from the West Australian Land Company's people being the

beneficent fairies Miss C— stated they were, they are bound as one of the conditions under which they hold their land, to bring out so many emigrants annually. The captain and doctor receives a *commission* for every one of us landed in good health; the agent here gets a *commission* of something like £5 per head from the Government, and they dare to boast of England freeing slaves!

"So far from the schools being free, I have to pay 6d. per week for J— and A—, and the first week had to pay 7s. for books, etc. I forgot to mention that provisions are more than double the prices they are in England. I have sent a letter to Miss C—, though it will not do us any good, it may be the means of preventing other poor creatures being sent out here. It grieves me very much to think of all the children will lose."

LETTERS FROM AMERICA.

V.

THE cowardly attempt of the German authorities to murder John Neve inch by inch has caused most intense bitterness in Socialistic circles here. Neve was known for his abnormal devotion to the cause, his heroic, unpretentious willingness to undertake any work, however dangerous, that had to be done; and many a personal friend of his, hearing the terrible news, silently shed a tear, and pledged himself yet to settle accounts with the German bourgeoisie for this latest outburst of ferocity.

Judging from the reports cabled daily to the American press, people think England is on the eve of a great revolution. It is sincerely to be hoped they think correctly. The situation is painted in the deepest black, and we read of nothing but immense crowds parading the streets of London, with black flags, demanding bread or lead, and attacking the police,—in fact, showing altogether a spirit much to be feared by the have-alls. Gladstone is severely blamed for having taken up the cudgels for Lyons. The "respectable" people in general are said to have lost all respect for and confidence in the police. Of course Socialists never had any.

The Rev. R. S. Holland, professor of ethics at Maryland College, of Woodstock, Maryland, has written a book on 'Ownership and Natural Right.' I recommend it to all Socialists for perusal. It is endorsed by Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop Corrigan, and plainly shows how despicable a man can become if he engages in the craft of priestdom, especially of jesuitism. The arguments are based on the most outrageous fallacies, historical as well as economical; every word is deeply underlined by sophistry, and the whole trash smells of most cunning insincerity.

At Minneapolis the opposition has almost given up the struggle, as everything is one-sided, and the administration has had matters nearly all its own way. The principal fight was made over the great Chicago stockyard strike. The Chicago men feel sore over the defeat of the strike, and are backed up by T. B. Barry of the General Executive Board. They assert that the G. E. B. had no right to order off a strike when the Board was a thousand miles away from the scene of action and knew little about the case. They further maintain that if G. M. W. Powderly had not ordered off the strike they would have gained the day. Documents have been introduced in the General Assembly to prove this to be the case, and the Chicago delegates gave the history of the strike, pictured the grievances of the men, told how many of them were blacklisted, could not obtain work, all on account of the G. E. B. A resolution was introduced censuring the Board, but suffered speedy defeat by a vote of 161 to 49. After that Powderly thought it high time to carry into effect his *coup d'état*. He wanted to oust the two independent members of the Board—viz., T. B. Barry and W. H. Bailey, and he also desired to be absolute master. So the committee on law sprang the following proposition on the delegates: "That the term of the general officers are only for one year and that the Executive Board consist of the General Master Workman and approved by the General Assembly." In spite of Powderly's passionate speech urging the delegates to adopt this plan, they rejected it. Then Powderly tried on another trick. He and all other members of the E. B. resigned, but Barry and Bailey seeing through this little game could not be persuaded to do the same, and stuck to their posts. The delegates begged the clan to withdraw the resignation, which they did. They had to give up the fight eventually, and the Executive Board remains as last year. The Assembly dissolved on the 20th inst. *Resumé* of work done: Propositions to start Governmental telegraph lines, and to demand a Cabinet Minister for trade; the rest personal squabbling. The staff to do this in one year costs £15,000. Comment superfluous.

Henry Tueber, one of the two men charged with assaulting policeman Feeney, and with resisting this officer in the discharge of his duty at Union Hill on Sunday, Oct. 2, has been found guilty by a Jersey jury. The instructions (?), as the phrase over here goes for summing up, given by Judge Lippincott to the jury, were a most decided plea, aye, a demand for conviction.

The defence proved clearly that the police wantonly charged the crowd; that the crowd was peaceable, in fact, a good deal more orderly than the police liked it to be. The following stuff and nonsense uttered by the prosecuting attorney Winfield shows what sort of people he knew the jury consisted of: "Gentlemen of the jury, this man had in his possession a circular, where amongst other bloodthirsty sentences the following is to be found: 'Brutus, sleepest thou?' Do you know, gentlemen of the jury, who Brutus was? Brutus was a vulgar assassin, who backwardly slew one of Rome's finest men. This man had also in his pocket a knife. What does all this mean? It means that this man intended to imitate Brutus and to murder everybody." On the motion of the defence a stay of proceedings was granted until the 21st inst. Mrs. Hinton, the wife of the editor of the *Leader*, entered formal charges before the grand jury against officer Feeney for deliberate perjury during the trial of Tueber. The trial of Wohlman jointly charged with Tueber will begin to-day.

Albert R. Parsons, one of our Chicago comrades, has written an open letter to the Governor of Illinois, demanding if innocent his liberty, or if guilty his death, and rejects once for all all commutation to imprisonment for a charge of which he is not guilty. General Ben Butler, General Pryor, Captain Black, and Mr. Salomon, the lawyers retained for the seven, have started to-day for Washington to make an application for a stay of proceedings.

An immense crowd numbering about 20,000 men, assembled Monday, Oct. 17th, in mass meeting at Union Square, New York, to protest against the brutal police outrage of Saturday, Oct. 8th. Resolutions strongly condemning the authorities, and pledging the men to defend at all hazards the right of Free Speech, were adopted unanimously. Things are getting worse and worse. Last Sunday, a hawk of Socialist papers had his wares stolen by the police in Hoboken, New Jersey, under the pretext of the Chief of

Police, who desired to first peruse such periodicals to prevent the sale of treasonable literature. Members of the Social Democratic and Anarchistic parties in New York, are also constantly shadowed by detectives of the Central Office. There is but little difference between the New York police department and the notorious Third Section department in St. Petersburg.

The Conservative wing of the Labour movement had a huge mass meeting last night at Cooper's Union to protest against the intended judicial murder in Chicago. The American flag over the speaker's desk was draped with crape.

LABOUR MOVEMENT.

The bosses of the locked out brass-workers have refused to grant the Saturday half-holiday with full pay, and have notified the strikers that they will hereafter hold no conferences except with their own men.

Work in the Carmel Colliery was resumed October 7th. The same wages will be paid as those paid by the Reading Company.

Coxe Bros. and Co.'s Derringer Colliery, and S. C. Haydon and Co.'s mine at Jamesville, have resumed work with non-union hands.

In consequence of the strike of the hundred cigar-makers at Boyertown, Pa., recently for an advance of 1 dol. per thousand, the firm formerly exploiting them has decided to discontinue work and remove its factory from that point to Greenville, Pa.

A strike of street-car drivers at Beaver Falls, Pa., is intended. The men ask for an advance in wages of 25c. a-day. They are now getting 1 dol. 50c. and want 1 dol. 75c.

The scarcity of sand is said to be likely to restrict work in the glass trade at Pittsburgh. A want of cars to haul the sand in is the reason assigned.

The strike of the green-glass blowers east of the Alleghenies, on September 1st, for an increase of 10 per cent. in their wages, was settled October 7th, by an agreement on part of bosses to pay 5 per cent. advance, and work is to be resumed on October 17th. About 5,000 men are involved.

The Tardee Colliery at Hazleton, Pa., has resumed work under police protection with non-union men.

LIST OF STRIKES FOR OCTOBER.

Number of strikers to Oct. 6	2280
Brooklyn, N.Y.—brewery hands, unionism, Oct 7	25
Louisville, Ky.—brakemen on short line railroad, Oct. 6	105
New York and Brooklyn.—brass-workers lock-out, refusal of employers to allow Saturday half-holiday with full day's pay, strike and lock-out, Oct. 8	3000
New York City—compositors and pressmen, on book and job printing, for increase of wages 3 cents. per 1,000 ems, and to make all shops card offices, Oct. 11	700
Malden, Mass.—carpet weavers, docking of wages because of damaged work, Oct. 11	75
Portland, Oregon.—job printers, nine hours work and ten hours pay, Oct. 7	numbers not known
San Francisco, Cal.—furniture workers for shorter hours, Oct. 4	"
Eau Claire, Wis.—lumber raftsmen, for advance in wages, Oct. 10	"
Akron, Ohio.—coal handlers on Ohio Canal for higher wages, Oct. 10	"
Lowell, Mass.—newspaper compositors, caused by the hiring of a man from an outside office to set up advertisements, Oct. 12	"
Martin's Ferry, Pa.—glassworkers, against docking of wages	"
Southern Indiana.—additional miners for higher wages, Oct. 10	1500

Total known for October 1st to 13th ... 7,685

New York, October 21, 1887.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

THE PROSPECTS OF LABOUR.

Even judges may be sometimes mistaken. The accompanying letter from the *Daily News* rudely shakes the optimistic views of Mr. Justice Field as to the prosperity of the county of Kent:

"SIR,—You publish to-day some remarks of Mr. Justice Field, made at the opening of the Assizes at Maidstone, on the prosperity of agriculture in Kent district. His remarks about the scarcity of farms to let are very misleading, as in this neighbourhood, right on the Kentish border and in Kent there are hundreds of acres to let, or being carried on at a loss by the landlords themselves. One agent near here, I believe, has had nearly 8000 acres to let, and has not, I believe, succeeded in letting one-tenth part of that amount. Let his lordship go to Rolvenden, Tenterden, Bevington, Cranbrook, Hawhurst, or anywhere in this district, and perhaps when he finds there are thousands of acres "to let" he will alter his opinion. The deep distress prevailing here is greatly underrated, and well may jurymen shrug their shoulders when one of England's judges (unintentionally) makes such a misleading statement. If you want to see the genuine unemployed, come down to this district, Sir. If you want to see penniless farmers struggling along, trying to do battle with low prices, come here. If you want to see ruin, poverty and starvation, come to this district for the winter. In the little parish of Wittersham (in Kent) there are already 30 families out of employ, and as many as 25 houses tenanted; and a year or two back this was the most prosperous parish in the neighbourhood. It requires an able pen to paint the picture of misery and ruin that really exists. My heart is full, but I cannot paint the picture of misery one-tenth part black enough. May the state of affairs become known to some able penman, who may wake the country with the tale of ruin and of misery that is existing in this district!—A SUBSCRIBER."

The following goes somewhat deeper into the question: it is from the *St. James's Gazette*:

"SIR,—Whatever we may think of the character and composition of the Hyde Park mobs, it will be well to bear in mind that the present condition of the labour market, bad as it is, is likely to become much worse; and that this state of things will probably not be temporary, but permanent.

"Any sudden increase of the number of those out of work must necessarily augment existing distress; and there is every prospect of such an addition. The farm-labourers' wages have just been reduced to 9s. a week in some districts, and the fall will soon be general; considerable quantities of land, especially in Berks, Wiltshire, Norfolk, and Essex, will pass out of cultivation this winter. Much has already been deserted, and the young men are enlisting. The men with families have not yet found their way to the towns. When they do, it will be to beg—not to work, for there is none that they can find. But others are arriving now. Like the small streams that make their way through a dam before it bursts, the country artisans are dribbling into London. All over the country the makers of agricultural machinery are closing their works or reducing their numbers, and the men are seeking work in town. A further fall of 2s. or 3s. in the price of wheat will send the labourers after them, and this may happen in a year at the present rate of decrease. Even if we are spared a sudden influx from the fields, is there any hope of better wages or constant work for the ordinary 'hand'? No one who has any practical knowledge of the history of labour during the last fifteen years believes it."



"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.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

B. K.—See Mr. Sidney Webb's letter, quoted on another page. That will give the particulars of books you ask for. Gavan Duffy's 'Bird's-eye View of Irish History' can be got for 1s. from Duffy and Sons, Wellington Quay, Dublin.

RECEIVED with thanks, but unsuitable—G. P.; J. D.; F. T. Will be utilised—Speranza.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday November 2.

ENGLAND	FRANCE	GERMANY
Church Reformer	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	El Productor
Jus	La Revolte	Madrid—El Socialista
Justice	Lille—Le Travailleur	Barcelona—Acracia
Labour Tribune	HOLLAND	Berlin—Volks Tribune
London—Freie Presse	Hague—Recht voor Allen	AUSTRIA
Norwich—Daylight	Amsterdam—Voorwaarts	Brunn—Volksfreund
Railway Review	BELGIUM	ROUMANIA
To-Day	Seraing (Ougree)—Le Reveil	Jassy—Lupta
Worker's Friend	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde	SWEDEN
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Liege—L'Avenir	Stockholm—Social-Demokraten
Madras—People's Friend		Malmo—Arbetet
UNITED STATES		
New York—Der Sozialist		
Truthseeker		
Volkzeitung		
Boston—Woman's Journal		
Chicago (Ill.)—Knights of Labor		

PESSIMISM.

Is pessimism increasing? is a question frequently asked. It is generally answered in the affirmative. Yet as it is constantly asserted that we are advancing towards a higher civilisation—that we have many advantages which our forefathers had not, that we have comforts and privileges which our forefathers never thought of—there seems to be inconsistency in giving an affirmative answer. Is an affirmative answer correct? We think it is; and that along with the advantages of modern civilisation are disadvantages which almost if not more than counterbalance the benefits. It is not that the benefits do not exist, but that the management of human affairs has not so progressed as to diffuse the full capabilities of our civilisation among the whole population. It is the custom of a large section of those who write to dwell almost exclusively upon certain improvements or advances we have made; but there is no systematic attempt made to ascertain whether the mass of mankind have the benefit of the discoveries which have been made. The increase of our scientific knowledge is extensively proclaimed. Our fertility in mechanical invention and adaptation is continually paraded. But the debtor side is entirely overlooked. It is seldom mentioned that the great proportion of working men has been reduced to the position of machines. They are drilled to attend to a machine which performs a certain operation, and instead as in past terms making an article they now only assist in making a fragment of an article. Machinery has taken away the independence of those who live by their labour and skill, as the great cost of machinery completely prevents their chance of getting out of their state of servitude. In many other ways is the present position of workmen full of unfavourable and depressing influences which cannot fail to develop pessimism. And yet he who writes a sensational novel is immediately lionised by an unthinking horde of mis-called aristocrats; while he who works for the elevation of the mass of his fellow-men and women, who strives for their better education and just rights, is decried by those in high place. Ought there, under these conditions of life, to be an increase of pessimism? Yes; and I am surprised that it is not ten-fold more than it is. The passive pessimism which exists at present must be educated and fanned into a fierce and relentless persecution of the tyrants who grind to death, by poverty and injustice, the mass of mankind. The mass of mankind have nothing to lose but everything to gain by an overthrow of the existing system, under which the vilest of men ascend to power and influence. How could honest, kind-hearted, amiable men and women be otherwise than pessimistic under a *regime* which

favours the success of the unscrupulous, the hard-hearted, and cruel? For the sake of rents the land tyrants have depopulated the country; for the greed of gain man has been made subservient to machinery.

Workmen may make themselves more proficient in technical education, but it will only be to maintain their masters in luxury and vice. It is not the labourer but the capitalist who overspreads the country with vice. No one scarcely can succeed unless they pander to capitalists. The foreman, the overseer, the manager, are generally the harshest—the bullies, in fact, in the capitalist's employment. Such undoubtedly are the characteristics of the men who find favour with the employers; for such men will naturally most readily carry out the behests of the capitalist, who is eager only for gain, and cares nothing for the condition of his employes.

For the sake of gain there is a strong tendency in this age to increase the artificial wants of man. Men anxious only for their own gain skillfully discover some desire among a portion of a community, or ingeniously kindle a desire to satisfy which will be profitable to them. Man now strives after many luxuries which are detrimental to him, and masters, in order to gratify their desires, reduce their servants' wages. The immense inequality which every one daily sees, and which is not owing to superior ability or higher morality, undoubtedly spreads pessimistic views of life. How is it possible that men and women of excellent character, much intellectual power and keen sympathy, can escape a pessimistic expression when they see the unscrupulous and the low-minded secure the material advantage here, and prove the truth of the saying: "Man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn."

The extensive pessimism which now prevails proves the existence of a wide-spread dissatisfaction. Many who feel a depressing influence have never attempted to find out its cause, and many who have made attempts to discover the cause of their pessimistic feeling have not had the courage to admit to themselves that it is due to the false, or rather non-organisation of modern Society, although they have a perception that the present disorganised state of Society is answerable for many evils. This increasing pessimism may be regarded as a hopeful sign by social and industrial reformers. But, of course, it is necessary that the people should not be allowed to sink into a condition of lethargy with no energy to seek and obtain such a change as will bring them justice. The new gospel, which is to revive and quicken the spirit of men, is that of Socialism, whose advocates will, however, no doubt meet with persecution, as all movements for the good of mankind have encountered the fiercest opposition.

SAMUEL SIDNEY.

HONESTY IS THE BEST POLICY; OR, THE INCONVENIENCE OF STEALING.

[A DIALOGUE between MR. JAMES BROWN, a business man, and MR. OLAF EVANS, a kind of artist and literary man; neighbours.]

SCENE—A Suburban Highway, tending townward.

EVANS (*turning round as BROWN catches him up on the road*). Well, Brown, you look in a deuce of a hurry this morning.

BROWN (*sulkily*). And you look as if you have no need to hurry.

E. No, I haven't—because I must write my own books and paint my own pictures myself—but don't be in such a hurry, old man; it's a long time since I have had a talk with you, although we live next door but one to each other.

B. (*testily*). No, no, it's all very well for you, who have all the day before you to loaf in, to take it easy; but I must get on to my business, and catch the 'bus.

E. Come now, Brown! You know well enough that your clerks don't want you; and they can't idle, because they have got old Jackson to drive them; and he does it as a pleasure and not as a duty. You will only be in the way when you get there.

[BROWN's sulkiness visibly increases; but he slows down, and they walk on side by side for a little, but without talking, EVANS whistling 'The Last Rose of Summer' very much out of tune.]

B. Well, now, why don't you talk, Evans, since you have kept me here lounging along with you: and there you go mooning along, pretending to be pondering over your novel, or your picture, and really thinking about nothing.

E. Well, you see, I like human company even when it doesn't talk. But what were *you* thinking about Brown?

B. (*very testily*). You.

E. Curious! I was thinking about *you*, and wondering what had put you out so this morning; because you are generally rather a cheery kind of a bird.

B. Well, I admit that I *am* in a bad temper—there.

E. Or rather you were; but since you have made up your mind to tell me all about it you are beaming as usual. Well, "out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh;" abound my friend, abound!

B. Well you know, Evans, you may think it a little thing, but there's that jolly little garden of mine, all spoilt this morning. You know, the square piece between the trees.

E. Hilloa! who's done that? One of your Tory friends been spitting you these brisk political times, like Mr. Whiteley's desperate enemies?

B. Well you see, it's the pears. They have come after them; you know, that jargonelle tree close by.

E. Come after them? Yes, and got them too, I suppose—boys, I should think.

B. Every blessed one—no, no! it *isn't* boys, its blackguards; blackguards I tell you. No one can keep any fruit for them in this beastly hole.

[Here he uses the resources of the English language in a manner too emphatic for our printer to render with the resources of type.]

E. My dear Brown, calm yourself, when its done you all the good it can! I suppose these blackguards had no pears and wanted some, and had no money to buy them with. Blackguards seldom have any money, I notice. It often happens so to me.

B. No, blast them! They had spent it all in beer.

[The resources of the English language drawn on again.]

E. Doubtless; and the pears would come refreshing to them after hot-coppers—if blackguards ever have hot-coppers!

B. Refreshing! don't be a fool! Don't you know that they would sell 'em and buy more beer with them, blast them!

E. Touching instance of the Marxian formula, C—M—C! Never mind me, Brown, my mind wanders a little sometimes. But I say, really, don't let it put you out so, for you can easily buy some more pears, and much better ones; you're not a blackguard, and you have got plenty of money, and the ones that were gone were no great shakes after all. And then they won't be wasted, somebody will eat them; and look here, it quite squares with your dignified position as a leading Radical in the neighbourhood to grow fruit for the public benefit. By Jove! an idea seizes me. Suppose you put up for Parliament here next election, you might get a good deal of popularity by this affair if you managed it properly. But since the pears were what they were, perhaps they will give people the gripes; but even then that's a kind of revenge for you at the worst, even if the stealers exchange their commodity pears, for money wherewith to buy the commodity beer; some one will get the gripes.

B. Now look here, Evans, you think yourself damned clever with your chaff; but you know very well I don't care about the value of the pears, but one does want to know what becomes of one's own fruit. And when you talk of the gripes and the beer and all that; that just what I say. It damages me and doesn't do any good to them. That's what always comes of stealing. And as to the pears being wasted, I know my garden is wasted; why my wife had tears in her eyes when I fetched her out before breakfast to look at the damage those damned blackguards had done; all those single dahlias broken down and all, and she doesn't care about flowers anything like as much as I do! Damnation!

E. Poor Mrs. Brown!

B. Now there you go! You won't understand me! they are welcome to the fruit. Next year I'll have it all picked and put in baskets before the door in the open street with a placard over them, "Blackguards are requested to partake of other people's property; scoundrels are begged to accept what other people have worked for."

E. A very proper thing to do! and won't do your popularity any harm. People will take in your pears much quicker than your jokes, though they are not bad. If only you understood where they would lead you if you followed them up properly.

B. What I mean is this, and I'm sure when you think fit to be serious, you will agree with me; that in stealing it isn't so much the shifting of the property from one man to another, especially if he is a rich man, that is so bad, as the confusion and nuisance of it, and its waste and destruction, and the heart-burning and hatred it causes. In short, as I said, it does harm both to the stealer and the stolen from; in short, it is bad all round.

E. Isn't even good for trade?

B. Of course not. (*Pompously*) Nothing is good for trade except steady production, and honest dealing in the things produced. But, Evans, I really wonder at a decent man like you, a very good-natured fellow, being so flippant about such a beastly, miserable, destructive, inconvenient vice as stealing. The more I think of it the more I hate it: it is simply the worst form of war. Come, my dear fellow, be serious.

E. I assure you I'm as serious as possible, and quite delighted to hear that you hate stealing, since I quite agree with all that you have been saying about it.

B. (*mollified*). Well, I thought you would.

E. Yes; and what you have been saying makes me bold to say something to you in return: that since you hate stealing, you ought to do your best to get rid of it altogether.

B. Well, so I do, don't I?

E. Do you? How, pray?

B. Why, I look sharp after my property; don't allow anyone that I have to do with to be backward with their accounts; don't put temptation in anyone's way; whilst at the same time I must say for myself that I am liberal in my dealings—give my servants good wages, and my clerks too, though you did sneer at me about old Jackson; who, I must tell you, is a very useful person, and a precious good screw he gets from me. In short, I'm none of your sloppy, indulgent, weakly good-natured persons like—like—

E. Like me, eh?

B. Well, don't take offence; but you are, rather, you know, ain't you? But look here, Evans, it don't do, you know—that sort of thing; you do much more harm by it than good. Now I really take trouble with the people I have to deal with, and both by example and by looking sharply after them and treating them justly (and they know

when they are justly treated, bless you!) I do hope I make them honest persons. I hold that a man has no right to have property unless he accepts its responsibilities and takes that kind of trouble: and it is a trouble, mind you. Now you—

E. But do you never try to do anything to keep yourself from stealing?

B. There, there! you are at it again!—never serious for two minutes together! But you needn't look penitent; I wasn't offended, my dear fellow.

E. Well, but I am not penitent at all; but I am somewhat discouraged, because I was deadly serious, and was going to beg you to help me and others to put an end to stealing, both other peoples' and our own.

B. Evans, what do you mean?

E. Since you did really seem to hate stealing so, and since I know you are an honest man enough at heart, I was going to ask you to join the Socialist League, to which I belong—

E. Evans! Evans!

B. And the object of which is to get rid of all stealing for good and all.

B. Get rid of all property, you mean! But I never knew that you were a Socialist;—I am shocked, I am shocked! And the Socialist League, too! Well!

E. How you fly out at a man! How should you have known I was a Socialist? If ever I began to talk about the wrongs of the working class, or the stupidity of our system of production, you would take me all cross, and think I was only talking Ruskinism; and then you would shut me up with some Radical aphorism, and get excited about Gladstone, and not listen to one word I had to say. And I didn't like to push myself forward, as if I were a person of any importance.

B. Well, only to think of it! And let me tell you, Mr. Socialist, when you call me a thief, I call you a coward for not telling me before.

E. (*penitently*). Well, it was rather cowardly. But now you see I've done it; so you need not twit me with it. And I won't be cowardly any more about it; and I'll speak at the open-air meetings about here, instead of at the East-end only.

B. What! you a street-preaching demagogue too!—go about advising people to rebellion and murder and all that?

E. No; I advise them not to steal or let others steal. Come, I say, I don't mind your hard words, but just think it over about joining us.

B. NO!!!

E. Well, here we are close to the Straightway and the 'bus. Let's make peace, at any rate; and come in this evening and have a pipe, and convert me, if you can, to the ways of peace, righteousness—and stealing; and forget about your garden.

B. Well, I will come in; but no Socialist politics, if you please. Well, I promise to come.

E. Well, we won't talk politics. I'll read you the manuscript of my last poem, on the Birth of the Bruce: it isn't very long.

B. (*dubiously*). All right, all right. Now I must be off: 'bus is just going to start. (*Exit on 'bus.*)

E. (*to himself*). Well, I've caught him properly. Because, don't you see, when he comes in and sees my MS. on the table, he will be anxious to put off the evil half-hour of the reading, and he will be glad to let me begin to talk of Socialism or anything else rather than read my poetry to him. And when I once begin he will presently get hot and argue; and even if I don't sow a seed or two in him (and really he is a very good fellow) at all events it will be good practice for me against my next open-air speech.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be concluded.)

AN ADDRESS TO PRINTERS.

THE following is an extract from an address delivered by the Rev. Hugh O. Pentecost recently at a United Labor Party's mass meeting, under the auspices of the Printing Trades' Legion, at the Cooper Union Hall, N.Y.:

"Fellow Craftsmen,—I have been a minister of the gospel for several years, and prepared myself for the pulpit by working at the case in a printing office. Society at large is similar to a printing office. I once worked in Indianapolis. One or two men got all the 'fat takes,' and when it was found that they obtained them through trickery a revolution was threatened unless fair play was given to all, and we got it. There never was a day when I was a 'rat,' or had anything to do with a 'rat.' When I was a printer and there was a strike I was in the strike. Were I back to-morrow and a strike should come I would be in it. We hold that the rich as a class are rich because they have taken that which belongs to somebody else. This great battle we have undertaken should and will be carried on until every reasonable desire of mind, body, and soul shall be gratified. We have repudiated the doctrine that God is responsible for poverty. The reason why some people are on the top of the heap financially is not because they are superior to others in brains, but because they are inferior to others in conscience. There is no difference between men of different nationalities. The German is as good as the Englishman, the Irishman as good as the Frenchman or American, and so it goes. It is the surroundings and influences, not the blood, that makes the man. Society is at present organised in the form of 'pie,' which we must 'reset' and place in a 'chase' of justice, place about it 'sidesticks' of fairness and equality, stick in 'quoins' of reason, use a 'shooting stick' of logic, and drive it with a 'mallet' of conscience."

UNEMPLOYED BOATMEN.—About 200 men have been thrown out of work by the suspension for the winter of the steamboat traffic on the Thames.

A strike in the Bolton bleaching trade is imminent, as the men have given notice for an advance which the masters decline to give.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

A large number of rivet makers in the Blackheath district of Staffordshire have struck against a reduction in wages. The men remaining at work will subscribe for their support.

REDUCTION OF IRONWORKERS' WAGES.—Messrs. Green Brothers, of the Norfolk Foundry, Ecclesfield Common, have intimated to the moulders, grinders, and fitters in their employ that owing to the depressed state of trade, it is their intention to give a fortnight's notice of a reduction of 10 per cent.

MATCH-MAKERS.—The match manufactory at Newton Heath, established nearly a quarter of a century, ceased working on Saturday, the business being transferred to the chief works of Messrs. Bryant and May, London. The extensive timber trade originally carried on in conjunction with the matchmaking will be retained at Newton Heath, but the hands employed in matchmaking are all thrown out of an employment which many of them have been accustomed to all their lives.

DESTITUTION AMONGST LABOURERS IN IRELAND.—Pitiable accounts are continually being received of the distress amongst the labouring population. At a recent meeting of the Tullamore guardians about fifty labourers forced their way into the boardroom and appealed piteously to the guardians for work or relief. They said they were starving—their wives and children were starving—and they could endure it no longer. Some of them, it appeared, had not been working for two months, and were in a very weak state for want of food.

AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS.—Whitchurch, Dorset, Oct. 26.—Agricultural labourers' wages are being reduced in the villages in Dorset, from 11s. and 12s. per week to 9s. and 10s. There are from six to fifteen men out of work, in most villages. Many cottages are empty as the people are gone into the towns to seek work; the farmers don't employ them although the land is full of couch and other weeds. I see from six to fifteen poor men on tramp passing through the village daily asking for bread tickets, they having slept in the union the previous night; these men are mostly tradesmen from the towns. It is worse now than I ever remember, and I can't think what will be the end of it.—J. S.

THE BOLTON STRIKE.—Two hundred engineers at Yates's Canal Foundry Blackburn, the most important engineering establishment in North-east Lancashire, have struck work as a protest against the alleged wrongful dismissal of one of their number for taking an active part in organising collections for the Bolton engineers' strike. They also decline to work unless an advance of 2s. per week be granted them, and are organising for a long struggle.—The dispute at Bolton is reported to be at an end. A conference was held and it has been arranged that the men shall resume work at the old terms; a board of conciliation, to be composed of both masters and men, to be appointed to settle what, if any, is to be the rate of advance. The objections as to overtime are to be withdrawn by the men.—The knobsticks who have been lodged inside the works, left the town on Monday, followed by great crowds.

STAFFORDSHIRE MINERS.—At a conference of miners representing the whole of the districts of South Staffordshire and East Worcestershire, resolutions were passed in favour of restricting the hours of labour to eight per day, and calling upon all those who were at work longer than that to cease doing so. It was also agreed that it would be a politic thing to observe every Monday as a holiday, and the desirability of a week's cessation from work was also insisted upon. It was further resolved that the time had come when united action should be taken to secure an advance of wages, and the conference decided to give such notice on November 12.

WELSH MINERS.—An important conference of Welsh miners has been held at Merthyr Tydvil, delegates representing over 40,000 men attending. The meeting was called for the purpose of considering the question of the renewal of the sliding-scale as a means of adjusting wages, notice having been given by the men's representatives on the scale to terminate the agreement next month. After a discussion lasting many hours, the question whether or not the sliding-scale should be continued was put to the meeting, with the result that delegates representing 21,720 miners voted for, and delegates representing 18,927 against the continuance of the scale. The secretary of the conference was therefore instructed to withdraw the notice to terminate the agreement. By a majority, a resolution in favour of the federation of the South Wales miners was adopted, and another resolution was passed, supporting the eight hours movement.

STRIKES IN THE COAL TRADE.—The threatened adoption of an idle week by the colliers, as recommended at the National Conference at Edinburgh, does not occasion any apprehensions among the coalmasters. The last time the restriction was resorted to in Scotland, it had the effect of enabling the coalmasters to clear away from the pitheads enormous quantities of stuff that, in other circumstances, they could not have disposed of at any price. For this material they obtained good prices. They did not suffer on account of a scarcity of good coals so far as their obligations under contracts were concerned, because all contracts of any importance now contain a strike clause, the effect of which is to allow the coalmaster to supply the best material he can at the enhanced price given to it by the general scarcity in the market. If the idle week is adopted the same thing will be repeated, and the masters will be the gainers and the men the losers.

THE NAILMAKERS' STRIKE.—The great strike in the nailmaking industry of the Midlands still runs on, and a good deal of distress and privation is being experienced by the unfortunate operatives who have now been on strike seven weeks in the hope of obtaining from the employers a return to what is known as the "1879 list." The masters have offered to give them an advance, but not to the extent demanded, though it is known that some of the employers would do so if the general body of employers were willing. It is the conduct of the little masters which tells against the interest of the men, but their want of unity has prevented them resisting the low prices of the "foggers." The latter undersell the market owing to the cheap labour they get. Even at the best of times the earnings of the nailers are very small. Their position at the present time is very trying, and relief funds have been opened to assist them.

CONVICTION UNDER THE FACTORIES ACT.—Messrs. J. J. Metcalfe and Co., printers, 3, Grocers' Hall-court, attended at the Mansion House on Friday, on two summonses, charging them with infringing the Factories and Workshops Act, 1878, in having employed a lad under the age of 16, from eight o'clock one morning until one o'clock the next, and in engaging the same lad

for a year without obtaining a certificate in the prescribed form of his fitness for employment in their factory. Mr. J. B. Lakeman, one of H.M. Majesty's Inspectors of Factories, attended in support of the complaint. The defendants admitted the infringement, and explained that the lad was employed after hours in an emergency, owing to a machine hand absenting himself, but he was allowed a holiday on the following day to make up for it. In the other matter, the absence of the formal certificate was due to the illness of a partner. Sir Robert Carden in the first case merely ordered the costs to be paid, and in the second imposed a fine of 5s. and 2s. costs.

THE SHOP HOURS' REGULATION ACT.—At Lambeth police-court on Friday, a master hairdresser was summoned at the instance of Mr. H. H. Champion, of 13, Paternoster-row, hon. secretary of the Shop Hours' Regulation Act Committee, for breaches of the Act passed at the instance of Sir John Lubbock, in that he employed a youth under 18 years of age for 98 hours in one week, 74 being the statutory limit. He was also charged under a second summons for not exhibiting in his shop any notice of the provisions of the Act. Mr. T. Southerst, who prosecuted, pointed out the evils resulting from his long hours of confinement. Mr. Chance said that the defendant had not, according to the evidence, caused the ill-health of the boy, but held that he had committed two breaches of the Act. The prosecution did not press for a heavy penalty, and the magistrate bound the defendant in £10 not to employ the boy more than 74 hours per week, and to exhibit a notice of the provisions of the Act.

NORTHAMPTON SHOEMAKERS.—It is generally believed by the boot operatives of Northampton that a general lock-out is imminent. The strike of boot rivetters and finishers at Messrs. Cove and West's factory is farther off a settlement than ever. Both masters and men, after the strike had lasted 11 weeks, accepted arbitration, but the first point upon which the Board of Arbitration could not agree the masters unanimously refused to refer to the unanimously appointed referee. The Arbitration Board immediately broke up with no prospect of re-forming. The manufacturers approved of the action of their representatives on the board, and sixty-five boot manufacturing firms, employing about fifteen thousand "hands," intimated to the Workmen's Union that it would be impossible to carry on the trade of the town under the conditions required by the men's representatives on the Arbitration Board. The men at a mass meeting held immediately after this decided to uphold their representatives; and the Boot Stitchers' Union decided to support the rivetters and finishers. It is anticipated that to-day (Monday) the stitchers (cordwainers) employed at Messrs. Cove and West's Northampton manufactory will come out on strike. The operatives of Northampton expect that this decision on the part of the men will be met by a lock-out by the sixty-five manufacturers who have supported their arbitration representatives. The strike has already lasted fifteen weeks.

THE CONDEMNED ANARCHISTS.

On October 29th the Extreme Left of the French Chamber addressed the following telegram to the Government of Illinois:—"In the name of humanity and of the solidarity between the two great Republics, the deputies assembled in Paris who are in favour of the abolition of capital punishment for political offences ask of the Government of Illinois the lives of the seven Chicago Anarchists now lying under sentence of death."

At a meeting of working men held at Chesterfield on Sunday evening, the following resolution was passed:—"That this meeting protests against the execution of the sentence passed upon the seven Chicago Anarchists, and having examined the evidence, considers that it entirely fails to prove that either of the seven men now under sentence of death had anything to do with the throwing of the bomb."

Many meetings have also been held in France, Italy, Spain, and many parts of the British Isles.

A largely attended meeting of ironworkers was held at Walsall on Monday. Mr. Trow, secretary of the Iron and Steel Workers' Association, delivered a powerful address upon the need of organisation, and it was decided to form a branch of the National Association.

Endacott has of course been acquitted, and the jury practically dispensed with in the matter. This was to be expected, official witnesses must be defended at any cost, and those whom they bear witness against must put up with the trifling inconveniences resulting to them from the exercise of official imagination. Surely we must sacrifice something to Law and Order.

"A WIFE'S OPINION."—Under this heading a Fireman's Wife gives the following excellent advice in a letter to the *Railway Review*. Would that there were more women like her to preach the true Labour gospel, "One for all: all for one":—"I have read your very interesting paper for a very long time, and I have often thought I should like to send a little letter to you, but have put it off, because I am a wife and not a husband. I don't, however, see why your paper should not be open to women as well as men. Excuse me if I am proposing anything out of place, but often the wife is really the head of the house, although the man does the bread-winning part; but if the wife had a word in the *Review* I am sure you would get more husbands to join the valuable Society, although, I am sorry to say, mine does not at present, yet I think before long he will. For myself, I think it is a great mistake that every railwayman does not belong to it. I believe in it myself, and if all those men on the Midland had been banded together in one common cause and studied their own as well as one another's interest, they must have won the day. I can see it myself, although I do not profess to understand railway work. I am so sorry to see that their fellow-men have been so backward in giving their mite towards their comrades in need. I think if more men were true believers in the gospel they would be better men in themselves and truer to each other. How much better it would be if they were more united in the bonds of love to their fellows. There would have been more real assistance given both to the men of the Midland and those of the Hexthorpe disaster. If each man had given sixpence a-week for three months it would never have hurt any of them. I am sure many railwaymen spend more fools' pence than six times sixpence a-week. Now they would be all the better off in their heads and their hearts too, I am sure, for giving it to help a brother, especially as they never know who may need it next. Do to others as, if it was your case, you would wish to be done by; and, as I said before, if women were to write to the *Review*, I am sure their hearts would warm to a sister in distress, or I am much mistaken; and seeing it so, perhaps the men would feel ashamed and come forward more largely, and not let the weaker vessel beat the lords of creation."

CORRESPONDENCE.

SOCIALISM AND CO-OPERATION.

Albert Tarn writes in reply to Varley, insisting:—

"That the Socialistic way of getting capital is to seize that of individual capitalists and use it for the benefit of the whole community; and that the Socialistic way of dealing with shopkeepers is to tell them they are not wanted and to provide them with useful work for the benefit of the community. Does comrade Varley imagine that shopkeepers are such out of 'sheer cussedness'? My idea is that they are shopkeepers because there is no room under the present system in other occupations. My objection to the competitive way of going to work is that it tells most against the honest folk and tends to make them take to dishonest ways. I am afraid Maple, Peter Robinson, etc., will be found tough customers. . . . I think the elimination of small shopkeepers will take place in the ordinary course of events, and if I were comrade Varley I wouldn't waste my energy on such work."

H. Davis writes contending that "Socialist co-operation cannot be obtained without full possession of raw material and the means of production. . . . We can do nothing by such schemes as these while competition lasts; while we are uniting the power of our shillings, the Rothschilds and others are uniting their pounds and are sure to beat us out of the market."

THE PROPAGANDA IN NORFOLK.

At first we were ridiculed; now, that having failed, our opponents are trying to crush us out by brute-force. They began at Lowestoft, where our comrades were attacked by roughs; now it has spread to Yarmouth. Thursday week a crowd of Primrose Leaguers attacked the meeting on the Quay, but were completely beaten by sympathisers. During the next week, however, they organised for the purpose of ill-treating whatever speaker might go down. The police authorities drafted in extra officers for fear of a disturbance. I went down by an earlier train than usual, and disappointed the kindly intentions of those who wished to mob me at the station. At the usual time I began to speak, and it was evident that the crowd meant mischief. A number of Radical friends formed a ring, and I was allowed to proceed; but when I referred to the Primrose League, this seemed to be the signal for an outburst. The mob made a rush, shouting "Put him in the river." I began to feel comfortable, for the river was not twenty yards off and a strong tide was running. At this point, however, the chief constable and his men came up, and the hustling stopped until I finished my address. Then it was resumed with greater fury than ever. As a free fight seemed imminent, and I had an hour to wait for my train, I was conveyed to the police-station and waited there, having in the interval of waiting the pleasure of talking about Socialism to a large number of assembled constables. I reached the station in safety, changing hats with the chief-constable to prevent recognition, and as the night was dark the plan succeeded. A number of sympathisers were assembled at the station, who heartily wished me good-night; and we resolved that the meeting should not be given up, whatever action the Primrose League may choose to take.

Norwich, October 31.

FRED HENDERSON.

TEN COMMANDMENTS FOR BAKERS.

1. Thou shalt never forget that you also are human; nothing of interest to humanity should be beyond your reach; you should love and aspire to what is good and noble, and abhor everything that might debase you.
2. Thou shalt work only a reasonable number of hours, and remember that in working excessive hours you not only deprive those of bread that are wandering from shop to shop to obtain work, but you are also lowering your own wages.
3. Thou shalt not be arrogant toward your boss, nor shall you allow him to be arrogant toward you. Behave yourself as a man and insist upon being treated as such by everybody.
4. Thou shalt not try to teach good manners to your boss if he does not possess them, but rather leave him than run any risk of having your own good manners spoiled.
5. Thou shalt not believe that your boss is the one that maintains you, but think over the matter whether you are not the one that maintains him.
6. Thou shalt belong to the union, for if you are not a member you only aid in making yourself a life-long slave.
7. Thou shalt not believe that after having paid fifty cents. to the union that your wages will be doubled the following week and the working hours reduced one-half, but consider that it takes many drops of water and considerable time before a hole is drilled in a stone.
8. Thou shalt never think that they will get along without you, and thus excuse your absence from the meetings of your union, but always believe that there is one missing by your not being present.
9. Thou shalt not trust the man working with you unless he belongs to the union, for such a man is full of cunning and intrigues; he only waits for others to spread the table to sit down and help to eat what they cook for themselves.
10. Thou shalt subscribe for and read the Labour paper, and induce others to follow your example, so that your mind will be improved, that you may not only be happy in heaven after death, but also prosper while living on earth.—*Bakers' Journal* (U.S.A.).

'THE TABLES TURNED.'

On Saturday, Oct. 22nd, the "Socialist Interlude" by Wm. Morris, was reproduced at Farringdon Road, and last Saturday, Oct. 29th, at the Athenæum Hall, Tottenham Court Road. On both occasions there were good audiences, including many people who are not often seen at a Socialistic meeting, and in this way there is no doubt that some good propagandist work is being done. The contrast is very effective between the Court Scene, which C. and H. A. Barker have made very realistic, and Mr. Campfield's pretty Landscape, with its tree for the open-air communal council, and its dwellings in the distance. Comrades Krapotkin and Reclus are talking of putting Nupkins into a French dress, and sending him forth to do additional good in that fashion. To-day (Saturday 5th) a performance will be given in the Hall of the Hammersmith Branch, and the manager (H. A. Barker) is arranging for its repetition elsewhere.

THE MODERN GUY FAWKES.

He lurks deep down beside the base
Of that proud edifice, Society,
Where fashionable idlers chase
The phantom-form they call "variety";
Where landlords lounge from room to room,
And millionaires suspect no treason—
Deep down in subterranean gloom
He lives, and lurks, and bides his season.

Above, through many a spacious hall,
Deck'd gorgeously with stolen treasure,
They ply their pastime, one and all,
The votaries of pelf and pleasure;
Indulging every wanton whim,
Carousing, trading, gambling, whoring,
How should they pause to think of him—
That fellow underneath the flooring?

A rude, rough fellow, who delights
To scout conventional civility;
Who cares no whit for vested rights,
Nor cultivates respectability;
Who hath no balance at the bank,
No Sunday pew in church or chapel—
Take heed, ye men of wealth and rank,
Foredoom'd with this grim foe to grapple!

For this is he, the modern Guy,
By poets famed as Demogorgon,
Who, unbeheld of mortal eye,
Constructs a strange explosive organ,

By which those careless folk, intent
On everlasting rouse and revel,
Will see their festal mansions sent
In swift combustion to the devil.

E'en now they riot flush'd with wine,
And the mad din swells loud and louder;
Deep down he stores the secret mine,
And lays the silent train of powder;
No chemic compound, subtly wrought,
Is this, for death and devastafon;
Nay, but a train of kindling thought,
A mine of moral indignation.

A fierce, consuming, quenchless blast
Of righteous wrath and fiery feeling,
By which that fabric of the past,
Piled high through centuries of stealing,
Shall start and shiver at the roar
Of the loud summons democratic,
Fate-stricken to its inmost core,
From lowest base to highest attic.

When comes the crash? No tongue may tell.
The train is laid; the fuse is ready;
Deep down in subterranean cell
He bides his season, stern and steady.
Take heed, ye lofty millionaires!
Proud dames and high-born lords, remember
The rude rough Guy that lurks downstairs,
On this—the fifth day of November!

H S SALT.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

Co-operative Store.—The Committee attend at the offices at 8.30 p.m. on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. All Groceries can be had at current store prices. Orders over 10s. will be delivered carriage paid in London.

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, Clerkenwell, Leicester, Hammer-smith, Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Hull, Mile End, Wednesbury, to September 30. Oxford, to October 31,

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Collection by L. Beber, 1s. *Weekly Subscriptions*—K. F., 1s. C. J. F., 2s. Oxford Branch, 2s. Langley, 2s. P. W., 6d. W. B., 6d.

PH. W., Treasurer, Nov. 1.

REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—Business meeting Oct. 27th, T. J. Dalziel elected secretary, and several suggestions for improvement of branch brought forward and adopted. Meeting at St. Pancras Arches Sunday morning, Oct. 30th, addressed by Bartlett, Mainwaring, Wardle, Henry, Turner, and Dalziel. *Commonweal* sale increasing.—T. J. D.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, Oct. 26th, H. H. Sparling lectured to us on "Wealth." Sunday evening, good open-air meeting on Green, addressed by Barker and Turner. In the hall, T. E. Wardle lectured on "Law and Order." Lively discussions.—A. T. and W. B.

HOXTON.—Good meetings Thursday evening and Sunday morning. Literature sold well. Evening in hall, Mrs. C. M. Wilson lectured to a large audience on "The Social Revolution." Good discussion followed.—C. J. Y.

KINGSLAND GREEN.—A very good meeting was addressed here by W. B. Parker, A. Cores, and a friend from Chicago, on Sunday morning.

MERTON.—We held our usual meeting on Mitcham Fair Green, Eden and Kitz entertaining a good audience. The following resolution was unanimously carried: "That this meeting sympathises with the men imprisoned in consequence of their opposition to the police in their brutal attacks upon the people, and calls for assistance for their wives and families." This was responded to by a collection amounting to 3s. 6d. for that object. We wish to inform our comrades and friends of Mitcham that a course of lectures will be delivered during the coming winter months, commencing Sunday, Nov. 6th, when comrade Gregory will give a reading and address.—R. C.

NORTH LONDON.—Meeting of about 600 or 700 people at Regent's Park on Sunday morning, when Cantwell, Nicoll, E. and E. B. Aveling spoke. 8s. 9d. collected for propaganda. Good sale of literature.—T. C.

STAMFORD HILL.—A good audience were here addressed on Sunday evening by Brooks, Cores, Cantwell, and W. B. Parker.

GLASGOW.—Usual meeting Saturday in Jail Square, speakers, Downie and Glasier. On arriving at Paisley Road Toll on Sunday, we found the Orange rowdies, who have several times attempted to break up our meetings, had taken up our place of meeting with an orator of their own. We started our meeting not far off, and carried it through without any annoyance. In evening, after address from Glasier in Watson Street, we adjourned to hall, where we had a lecture from Daniel McCulloch on "Education under Capitalistic and under Socialistic Conditions."—A. M'K.

LEICESTER.—There has been a three night's debate here at the Secular Hall between T. Slater (of Bury) and comrade Barclay, on "Co-operation or Socialism: which is best calculated to improve the condition of the People?" Slater showed the great progress co-operation had made, advocated thrift, and defended competition. Barclay showed that capitalism had made greater progress in same time, and must needs because those in possession of the capital can "get more off their own bat in the game" than by becoming co-operators. Nothing could improve the condition of the whole people but nationalisation not only of land but of all capital. On 28th, Mr. Holt, a new member, read paper on "The Condition of the Workers."—J. F.

LEEDS.—Sunday morning Solitt and Paylor held meeting in Vicars Croft. In evening, Hill lectured at rooms on "The Labour Struggle." Animated discussion followed.—T. P.

NOTTINGHAM.—On Sunday, Wm. Morris delivered two lectures in Secular Hall, at 3 p.m. on "The Origins of Ornamental Art," the Rev. Prof. Symes in the chair, and at 7 p.m. on "Monopoly." Lectures well received by large audiences. Several questions asked, but no real opposition offered. At 5 in club room we had a tea for members and friends; Morris was present. Also on Saturday evening, a social gathering of members and friends, including the Rev. Prof. Symes, Rev. A. H. Baynes, J. P. Briscoe, librarian of Nottingham Free Library, G. H. Wallis, curator of the Castle Museum, and E. Cockburn. Meetings reported in local press, and we feel satisfied that the visit has been a success.—A. M. C.

WALSALL.—Two outdoor meetings held by Donald Saturday, one on The Bridge, the other top of Park Street. Great opposition evinced, and dealt with by Donald to the apparent satisfaction of the large majority.

WEDNESBURY.—Donald lectured in Market Place on Thursday night. Branch is arranging for carrying on propaganda indoors during winter.

St. FAITH'S.—Henderson spoke on Green Sunday afternoon.

NORWICH ANARCHIST GROUP.—Meetings during the week on St. George's Plain, Haymarket, and Market Place.

CARROW.—Meeting held on Friday by Henderson at Carrow.

BIRMINGHAM.—Four meetings held here on Sunday. Two indoor at Baskerville Hall, where Donald lectured morning and night, also addressing open-air meeting in afternoon at Council House. Sanders and Sketchley spoke in Bull Ring in evening; numerous questions put and satisfactorily answered. Our audiences continue to increase, and a good impression is being made.

WEST BROMWICH.—Sanders addressed indoor meeting here on Saturday.—J. T. D.

DUBLIN.—Our recent meeting and resolution, protesting against execution of Chicago Anarchists, has evoked considerable attention from the "largest circulation in Ireland," viz., *Irish Times* (Conservative), during past week. We have got several leaders, letters, etc., and are now called on to state our aims and how we propose to carry them out, which we will do. Pressure being put on the landlord of our hall, we were evicted on termination of our terms of occupying. We expect to engage suitable accommodation immediately.—J. M'C.

Scottish Land and Labour League.

EDINBURGH.—At the Earl of Meath's lecture on "State Colonisation," Mahon and J. D. Christie moved an amendment and made speeches in opposition, which were well received. Arrangements have been made for sending Edinburgh members to lecture at the new branches, and start branches at Leith and Kirkcaldy.

DYSART AND GALLATOWN.—A branch member has been nominated for the Town Council, with a good chance of success. The branch is steadily progressing.

COWDENBEATH.—A good body of members have been got together here, and with further effort there will be still better fruit. The greatest difficulty is that in the whole place a room for the branch cannot be obtained.

LOCHGELLY.—Mahon lectured on "Wrongs and Rights of Labour." Branch formed, several members being eager to take up the work and push it on.

DUNDEE.—Three meetings held here on Sunday by Mahon, Weksleder, Duncan, Carr, Dempster, Simpson, and Grainger. Evening meeting in Trades' Hall was very successful, and lecture well received. Class arranged for study of Socialism Sunday mornings, also class for singing which comrade Weksleder undertook to conduct, and a monthly programme of lectures. Several joined, progress being made.

ARBROATH.—A good debate on Friday. Arrangements made for Mahon's visit on Tuesday, and how to increase the sale of *Commonweal*.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, W. On Thursday Nov. 3, Social Evening for members and friends, 8.30.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday November 6, at 8.30. Free Concert by members and friends. Wednesday 9th, at 8.30. H. A. Barker, "The Condition of the Working Classes." Sun. 13. G. B. Shaw, "Practical Socialism." Wed. 16. W. H. Utley, "The Iron Age." Sun. 20. W. Morris, "The Coming Society."

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

Hammersmith.—Kelmiscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday November 6, at 8 p.m. Mrs. C. M. Wilson, "The Social Revolution."

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—Sunday November 6, at 8 Dunloe Street, Hackney Road, F. Kitz will lecture at 8.30 on "Criminal Classes, High and Low." Members' meeting at close of lecture.

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., 12 Short Loanings.

Arbroath (Scot. Sect.).—High Street Hall. Meeting Friday evenings. W. Smith, 12 Maule St., secy. Thursday next, J. L. Mahon, "How to Realise Socialism."

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

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

Cowdenbeath (Scot. Sec.).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., secy. *Dublin.*—Irish Labour League. Pending the engaging of suitable rooms, all communications to be directed to J. E. M'Carthy, 44 Davidson Street, Dublin.

Dundee (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station. Forenoon, business and members' discussion; evening, lecture and discussion.

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

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

Glasgow.—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Music and Shorthand Classes, Tuesday at 8. Choir Practice, Wednesday at 8. Discussion Class, Thursday at 8 (Nov. 10, "Eight Hours Working Day"—J. Adams).—In the Hall, 8 Watson Street, Gallowgate, on Sunday Nov. 6, at 7 p.m., J. Shaw Maxwell, "The Labour Problem."

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. On Sunday November 6, at 7 p.m., F. Corkwell will lecture on "The Principles of Socialism."

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 Monday at 8.30. Speakers' Class Sunday at 10.30 a.m. and Wednesday 8 p.m. Social Evening Saturdays at 8.

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

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

Walsall.—Temperance Hall. Meets every Monday.

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

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 6.

9.30...Starch GreenHammersmith Branch
11.30...Hackney—Salmon and BallGraham
11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.Nicoll
11.30...Kingsland GreenDavis & Barker
11.30...Merton—Haydons RoadKitz
11.30...Mitcham Fair GreenThe Branch
11.30...Regent's ParkParker & Wade
11.30...St. Pancras Arches...Walker, Wardle, Bartlett
11.30...Walham GreenThe Branch
3 ...Hyde ParkNicoll
7 ...Stamford HillLane
7 ...Clerkenwell GreenBrookes

Tuesday.

8 ...Mile-end WasteFlockton & Allman
8 ...Ossulton St., Euston RoadNicoll

Wednesday.

8 ...Broadway, London FieldsGraham

Thursday.

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

PROVINCES.

Glasgow.—Bam Square: Sunday, 1 p.m.—Glasier and Downie.

St. George's Cross: Sunday, 1 p.m.—M'Culloch, Pollock, and Gilbert.

Paisley Road: Sunday, 4.30—M'Culloch, Downie.

Watson Street: Sunday, 6.30—Bullock and Glasier.

Cambuslang.—Saturday, 5.30—Glasier, Pollock, Gilbert, and Adams.

Greenock.—Saturday: Wallace Square, at 5; Arcade Hall, at 7—Downie & M'Culloch.

Leeds.—Sunday: Vicar's Croft, 11 a.m.

Norwich Branch.—Sunday: Market Place at 3; Agricultural Hall Plain at 7.

Dereham.—Every Wednesday, Market Place at 7.

SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.

(Scottish Section of the Socialist League)

Sat. 5—Dundee. Grassmarket, at 7.30—Simpson, Carr, and Dempster.

" Arbroath. Brothock Bridge, 7 p.m.—Duncan and Weksleder (of Dundee).

Sun. 6—Dundee. High Street, 2.30. Trades Hall, Union St. (Tay Bridge Station), Members Meeting, 11 a.m.; Lecture, 6.30.

" Edinburgh. Trades Hall, High Street, at 6.30—Davidson, "Labour Federation."

Wed. 9—Montrose. Temperance Hall, 7.30—lecture by Mahon.

Thurs. 10—Arbroath. Brothock Bridge, 7.15. High Street Hall, 8 p.m.—Mahon.

Fri. 11—Carnoustie. Temperance Hall, 7.30, lecture by Mahon, "How to Realise Socialism."

Notice to Branches of the S.L.L.L.

Reports for *Commonweal* should be sent to London. Labour Leaflet, "A Few Words for Socialism," 6d. per 100, postage 1d. *Commonweal* and all Socialist Literature may be had from Edinburgh.

Small Posting Bills (12 in. by 9) announcing meetings, 10 for 1s; 50, 2s 3d; 100, 3s 6d; 200, 4s 6d. Orders, with particulars, to J. M. Hossack, at Labour League Office, 4 Park Street, Edinburgh.

North of England Socialist Federation.

THE REV. JOHN GLASSE, of Edinburgh, will lecture on Socialism as follows:

Monday Nov. 7 (S.D.F. and Socialist Federation)—Lecture Room, Nelson Street, Newcastle, at 7.30.

Tues. Nov. 8—Central Hall, Waterloo, Blyth, 7.30.

Wednesday Nov. 9—Seghill Schoolroom, 7.30.

Thursday Nov. 10—Co-operative Hall, Seaton Terrace, 7.30.

Friday Nov. 11—North Shields Oddfellows' Hall, Saville Street, 7.30.

BRANCHES AND SECRETARIES.

Annitsford.—F. Rivett, Dudley Colliery.

Backworth.—W. Maddison, C. Pitt.

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.

NORWICH ANARCHIST GROUP.

Yarmouth.—Thursday, on the Quay, at 7.30.

Carrow.—Friday, at 1.30.

St. Faith's.—Sunday, on the Green, at 3.30.

Norwich.—St. George's Plain, Saturday, at 1.15.

Haymarket, Saturday, at 8—Fred Henderson, on "Emigration." Market Place, Sunday at 11 and 8.

FULHAM LIBERAL CLUB.—J. Tochatti lectured to good audience on "Human Nature and Socialism." Next Sunday Wm. Morris lectures there—subject, "What Socialists Want."

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 November 6, at 3.30 p.m. prompt.

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THE TABLES TURNED; Or, Nupkins Awakened.

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THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 96.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1887.

WEEKLY ; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

C The Supreme Court of the United States has refused to grant a writ of error in the case of the condemned of Chicago, and as I write there is nothing between them and the gallows except the will of the Governor of Illinois, who can, if he pleases, commute their sentence. The Press is already gloating on the preparations for their slaying with that base pruriency which is one of the most horrible symptoms of the degradation which the criminal law-court brings on civilised humanity. Before the date of this issue of the *Commonweal* the people of America will have decided upon one of the most momentous events in their history. It is a hope against hope that they will yet give themselves a chance of repairing the injustice they have already done to our friends, and that yet some ray of intelligence may pierce to the dull brains of the money-lords there ; so I will yet express a hope, so likely to be falsified before this appears in print.

C If not, what can one say but that social crimes do of necessity bear their fruits and prepare a natural and inevitable punishment which no constitution or law can bar. I say this to the well-to-do people of America : If you are sure that henceforward the working-men of your country will live placid and happy lives then you need think no more of the murder you have committed ; for happy people cannot take vengeance, however grievously they have been wronged. But if it be so with you as with other nations of civilisation, that your workers toil without reward and without hope, oppressed with sordid anxiety for mere livelihood, deprived of the due pleasures of humanity, if there is yet suffering and wrong amongst you, then take heed ! increase your army of spies and informers, hire more reckless swashbucklers to do your will, guard every approach to your palace of pleasure without scruple and without mercy—and yet you will but put off for a while the certain vengeance of ruin that will overtake you, and your misery and suffering, which to you in your forgetfulness of your crimes will then seem an injustice, will have to be the necessary step on which the advance of humanity will have to mount to the happier days beyond. You yourselves will have made it necessary by making people unhappy and then punishing them for their unhappiness. You have sown the wind, you must reap the whirlwind.

The shopkeepers in the neighbourhood of Trafalgar Square are once again very angry ; and under the very natural impression that the Square belongs to them and no one else, or at anyrate should do so, they are petitioning to prohibit meetings there. Before the meeting at Exeter Hall took place they are reported to have determined that if the request was not acceded to they would take other and more drastic measures for helping themselves. I don't see how they can take more "drastic" measures for helping themselves (to other people's earnings) than they already have taken ; but I suppose they mean that they will hire roughs to keep the peace in Trafalgar Square by breaking heads ; which may turn out rather a dangerous game for them. Perhaps they will go further, and imitate their brethren on the other side of the Atlantic, and get up another Pinkerton army here ; they will find that very convenient no doubt ; but it will have the disadvantages of war—in the long run the knocks wouldn't be all on one side.

In the meantime if their businesses have suffered from the meetings of the unemployed, whose fault is it ? Whose, but those who raised the ridiculous outcry in the press about the dangerous attitude of the demonstrators, who were perfectly peaceable until they had to defend themselves against the police ? Whose but those who hounded on the police against the peaceable people ?

And yet it lies deeper than that ; if there were no unemployed, no poor in short, there would be no rich shopkeepers dealing in wares that nobody wants, but for which they can manage to tease a price out of the vacant lives of the rich who live on the labour of others.

However it is not unlikely that this Exeter Hall attack on free speech is part of a regular conspiracy of coercion, which the Government and its allies are on the point of setting on foot, irritated by their disgraces in the Irish campaign. The double arrest of our comrade Allman and the arrest of others points to this ; and the morning's paragraph makes it pretty certain that so it is. "It is understood that the matter under discussion [at the interviews between Matthews and Lord Salisbury and Matthews and Warren and Howard] was the measures

which the Government are resolved to take regarding the continued assemblies in Trafalgar Square, and the use of seditious language."

We Socialists will have every reason to thank the Government if they put such a clear and simple issue before us as the freedom of speech, and we believe that we also shall find allies in this case as in the affair of Dod Street. The Tories should remember that what drew that enormous crowd into the streets was the certainty in the public mind that the police had interfered with the meetings not because they inconvenienced the public, but because the authorities did not like the opinions of the speakers at them. Since then, when we have been harassed by the police, we have been informed with all official solemnity that we were brought before the magistrates not for opinion, but for that remarkably elastic offence, obstruction. It will be a good thing if the mask is at last stripped off, and we find ourselves attacked for doing what we *must* do, telling our fellow-citizens the truths we have learned, and urging them to accept their consequences.

At first sight all this fussing and fuming at the peaceful meeting of a few hundred unarmed and unorganised men in the streets seems so cowardly and foolish as to be difficult to understand. But what we have to remember is this. It is not a riot, even a serious one, which the authorities are afraid of ; they have ample force to quell it at once ; and perhaps would not be sorry to show what organised force could do, and to have an opportunity of striking terror into the hearts of the discontented. It is not what goes on in the open street that is alarming our masters, but what is happening in the workshop, the factory, and the counting-house. The spectre of coming *ruin* is rising up behind the dusky procession of the unemployed, and its "still small voice" is being heard amidst their cries and the answering bluster of the lords of society. Coercion is a good weapon in the hands of a class whose business is going well, and when all is prosperous with it ; but then in such times it seldom has to be used, for then the poor are helpless. When the complaint of the poor forces itself on the ears of the rich it is a certain sign that, however unconsciously, they are aiming at better days to come. The Fear of the Rich is the Hope of the Poor.

Our masters are not so much afraid of what their slaves *mean* to do as of what they will be *forced* to do. It was not the hope of the glory of conquest that urged the tribes of the North to fall on the effete Roman Empire, but hunger rather ; and so it will be again. And yet in our days when the force behind the workers grows strong enough, their aim will grow clear, because they *are* the workers and must reconstruct as well as destroy ; the stir amongst them throughout civilisation is as much a sign of their growing knowledge as of their growing necessity. The Government will do well to put down *sedition*, i.e., the sowing of revolt—if it can.

C "Bombs have been 'discovered' in Lingg's cell," says an American telegraph, "and a revulsion of feeling has been caused against the condemned men." Indeed ! Who put the bombs there ? Is this not proof rather of the disgrace of the American capitalists ? Does it not make it certain that there was no case against the men when authority is forced to resort to such base and clumsy shifts as this to justify its murder ?

C Henry George approves of this murder ; do not let anybody waste many words to qualify this wretch's conduct. One word will include all the rest—**TRAITOR !!** W. M.

PRISON LIFE IN ENGLAND.

IN writing a short account of my experience of prison life, I do so for the purpose of showing my comrades what they may expect when it comes to be their turn to take a holiday in one of "Her Most Gracious Majesty's" country mansions. It is needless for me to explain the crime for which I was sentenced to nine months ; let it suffice when I say it was for addressing an unemployed meeting in Norwich on January 14th, 1887. And I may say in passing that I hope my friends and comrades will never waste money by engaging "counsel," commonly called "*liars*," to defend me whenever I may get "run in" again. I was advised in every manner possible to "twist" and "lie" in order to get out of being sent to prison. I called no witnesses, simply because if they had spoken the truth I should have received a

heavier sentence than nine months, considering the temper of those who had to try me. I was certainly guilty of addressing the meeting, and taking the policeman's truncheon out of his pocket, but I was not guilty of saying to the police, "For God's sake, don't use these things!" I received my sentence for showing a "good" example by disarming the policeman nearest to me. I will not comment on the judge's summing-up or the constable's evidence, but will at once begin to describe my reception in the prison, and the kind of employment, diet, etc., which I received.

I felt a little strange the first day when, under the hands of the reception officer, the first performance I had to undergo was a bath (warm), after which I received flannel underclothing, cotton shirt, worsted socks, fustian trousers and vest, light-brown shoddy jacket, and Scotch cap, nicely besprinkled with broad arrows, also ankle shoes, after which I went under the hands of the hair-dresser, who took good care that I should not require a comb and brush for some considerable time. On seeing myself in the glass which stood upon his desk, I really thought myself a "masher." I felt a little uncomfortable when I found my splendid curls and moustache, like Othello's occupation, "gone," but fortunately for me they did not take out the roots.

In describing the cell in which I was confined (and all are nearly the same), I wish to point out that it was about 9 ft. by 6 ft., nicely ventilated, and in winter time heated by hot air. The furniture consisted of a stool, a plank bed, a side cupboard, the top of which was used for storing bed and bed-clothing, a wooden spoon, tin-pot, comb and brush, salt-cellar, bible, prayer, and hymn-book. There are four stages through which all prisoners must go:—

The 1st stage (for one month) each prisoner must (unless disqualified by the doctor) go upon the "wheel," or, as it was commonly called, the "monkey's piano." He must do four hours a day upon this instrument of torture, after which he must pick a certain quantity of oakum, sometimes consisting of 1 lb., sometimes more according to the number of previous convictions, or the temper of the oakum officer. He earns no gratuity, sleeps on a plank bed, and is not allowed exercise on a Sunday.

The 2nd stage (or second month) each prisoner receives a bed, which he is not allowed to use for two nights of the week. He also receives 1s. gratuity per month, has school-books and slate in his cell, is also allowed "exercise" on Sundays, and is employed on oakum picking (quantity, 3 lb. per diem), which will take a novice ten hours or more to do.

The 3rd stage (or third month) each prisoner is allowed to use his bed except one night per week; receive 1s. 6d. gratuity per month; has exercise on Sundays, school-books and slate, and also library books (mostly those published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge), and is employed on oakum picking (quantity, 3 lb.)

The 4th stage (or fourth month) each prisoner is eligible for employment of trust in the service of the prison, such as cleaning, painting, or other kinds of work in and around the prison. He also receives his bed every night, has exercise on Sundays, and earns a gratuity of 2s. per month.

He remains in this stage during the remainder of his imprisonment, providing his conduct is good. The gratuity paid to a prisoner on his discharge must not in any case exceed 10s. Each prisoner must go to chapel every morning, unless he receives leave of absence from the governor; and when in chapel he must listen with patience (a very hard task) to the greatest humbug it has ever been my lot to listen to. He receives a double dose of this salvation on Sundays. For my part, I should have objected to go to this piece of mummery, had it not been that we were confined in our cell for 23 hours out of the 24; so that it was the means of getting us half an hour or more out of our cell, and it also gave me an opportunity of sometimes talking to other prisoners, most of whom knew I was a Socialist. It also was the means of making me, if that were possible, hate the accursed cant more than I had hitherto done. It is needless to say that there was very little religion among the prisoners, who it seems always recognised the "parson" as J.C. (I don't think this meant Joe Chamberlain). The chaplain was a very good hand at his business of trying to make believe, but I fancy he found me too hard a nut to crack. We afterwards had short discussions on Socialism, one of which took place when Mrs. A. Besant paid a visit to Ipswich to lecture (this prison is better than Norwich). I was rather rough upon him when in the heat of discussion he called our comrade Mrs. Besant a pestiferous woman, I in return risking the punishment attaching to insulting the representative of "God" on earth, told him he was neither able or plucky enough to meet this pestiferous woman on a public platform and confute her arguments. I also called him a d—d humbug. But he was a good-tempered little fellow, and tried very hard to win my "soul" from "eternal blazing damnation," but could not. I flatter myself I converted him to Socialism, for he himself told me he had been induced by my arguments to buy five books on Socialism. Poor fellow! he seemed dreadfully frightened that Atheism and Socialism were rapidly spreading among the working-men of this country, a statement which filled me with pleasure.

C. W. MOWBRAY.

(To be continued.)

Those that labour starve, and those that do nothing wear fine clothes and live in luxury. The slightest inconveniences of the great are magnified into calamity, and while tragedy mounds out their sufferings in all the strains of eloquence, the miseries of the poor are entirely disregarded; yet some of the lower ranks of people undergo more real hardship in one day than those of exalted stations suffer in their whole lives.—Goldsmith.

THE BISHOP OF HEREFORD ON SOCIALISM.

THE DIVINE INSTITUTION OF PRIVATE PROPERTY DEMONSTRATED.

THOSE who seriously think that the bishops and clergy of the Established Church are likely to do anything towards making England a land where useful work will be duly rewarded and idleness punished, should read the speech delivered at an ale-house in Hereford called the "Green Dragon" last week by the Bishop of Hereford. It was as full crammed of vindictiveness towards the people as it was possible to be. A Mr. Rankin, M.P., had made a speech on what he called the progress of the country during the Queen's reign, upon which the Bishop rose and stated that he was much interested in the account Rankin had given of the progress of the nation, and especially of the progress of the nation in education. It was, he stated, a matter of great importance that the young should be carefully trained,—a truly original and brilliant remark! He then gave his notion of the training that was good for the [class] State, for the Throne, and [least important and therefore last] the welfare of the people. The children should be brought up religiously and carefully, and shown what an advantageous thing it was for them to have landlords to appropriate rents, to have clergy to guzzle tithes, to have capitalists to pocket profit, and usurers to fatten on interest, so that they should not be at the trouble of having to use all the wealth they have produced. They were to be carefully taught that in the infiniteness of his wisdom God has ordained that the producers should honour the queen, the landlord, and the man of money, and allow the produce of their labour to be quietly confiscated; and most important of all, should it happen that in the mysterious workings of Providence when they grew to be men they found themselves hungry and homeless, they were on no account to demonstrate or hold meetings for having affairs righted.

The bishop then went on to commend a series of lying and spiteful articles which have appeared in the *Birmingham Post* during the past few weeks on Socialism, and on the Socialist candidature of a member of the S.D.F. for the Birmingham Municipal Council; after which his lordship gave his experiences regarding the recent unemployed demonstrations in London. He began with a well-worn lie that has been public property for about three years. To give the yarn an air of truth he coupled the name of a friend of his called Fairbairn with it. This gentleman—a baronet—having nothing on hand, desired to go to Paris to spend the money most likely he had managed to scrow from some of the workers. He wanted a jacket to go in, and having, as is the habit of baronets, left everything in the way of stores to the last minute, he told the tailor to be as quick as possible. Being, probably, of a flighty disposition, as is not unusual in the "hupper circle," he resolved to go a day earlier than he first intended, so he visited his tailor to hurry him on with the jacket; but the veracious tailor, no doubt having had similar visits from other of his customers, was sorry he could not comply with Fairbairn's desires, as his foreman had gone to attend a meeting of the unemployed! The paper reports that loud laughter followed the joke; but the really curious part of the matter is the right reverend father in God did not seem to know it was an old joke he had been retailing. After this exhibition Englishmen must not say anything about Scotchmen being unable to understand a joke—unless it should turn out that this bishop was a Scotchman. After the story the bishop proceeded to say that he yielded to no man in his sympathy for those who could not get work—which, judging from the tone of his speech, is most likely untrue; and wound up by solemnly asserting that the unemployed should not be allowed to meet together, and that if they persisted in doing so, advised that they should be dispersed by force.

Stripped of verbiage, this is a sample of the after-dinner oratory of one of the dignitaries of the Church of England. Milton described the clergy of his day as "blind mouths," and to-day it is to be feared that a very large proportion of them, especially among the higher clergy, are still more anxious to shear their sheep and sell their wool than to tend them. A prophet of Judah once proclaimed to his countrymen that "In Judah, her princes in the midst of her are roaring lions; her judges are ravening wolves, they leave nothing till to-morrow. Her prophets are light and treacherous persons; her priests have profaned the sanctuary, they have done violence to the law." And so it is in England to-day, and we fear they will never mend themselves, nay, more, that they never can be mended, but must be utterly swept away.

A. K. DONALD.

A few days back I was in the Strand, and I saw the army of the unemployed passing on its way from the Square to the City, their only standard a red handkerchief roughly tied upon a broomstick. As usual, there were police to the right of them, police to the left of them, police in front of them, and mounted police behind them. As I looked on the long array of lean, hungry, hopeless men, and saw how physically incapable many of them seemed, I asked myself, why does authority fear them? Are these the terrible unemployed at the mention of whom the West-end shopkeeper shivers with fright behind his counter? Surely there must be some mistake—these men are too weak, too helpless, too despairing to rise against their oppressors. Then came the words of a great novelist into my mind: "There is a prodigious strength in hunger and despair"; and then I remembered how starving peasants of France were as crushed-down and dispirited as the men who were then passing, yet rose one day when their load of misery became too heavy to bear, and perfumed seigneurs fled before the starving *canaille*. The procession passed on and one heard a shrill and doleful sound: it was the crowd who were singing the "Marseillaise." A middle-class lady laughs; "How absurd!" she exclaims. Some day she may cry "How terrible!" when she hears that tune thundered forth as the battle-song of a risen people.—*Norwich Daylight*.

THE SHEEP WITHOUT A SHEPHERD.

(AFTER VICTOR HUGO).

"In Tenebris Colocavit me."

Poor trembling, shivering crowd! Through storm and mist
Treading the dreary highway of the world,
While tempests rage and bleak winds slay like death;
What hand has shorn you of the sacred fleece
God gave you as your right, and left you bare
To the wild driving of the pitiless rain?
On, on, for ever on, the mournful march
Of toiling, suffering, working, dying men;
Naked, while weaving royal robes for kings;
Houseless, while building gorgeous palaces;
Starved, while they fill the granaries of others;
Oh, patient people, ye who nourish all,
Where is your recompense? Robbed, scorned, despoiled—
Men of the honour due to honest toil—
Women of holy joy in motherhood—
Maidens of all that makes life beautiful—
From God or man have you no higher right
Than ceaseless toil, and want for evermore?
See how your masters revel in their wealth,
And grind your lives down for their luxuries;
Body and soul and brain—the rich want all,
And no man pleads for you. Chiefs, Leaders, Priests—
Can they not shield you from the greed of those
Who take the wool and then will take the flesh?
Oh, haggard crowd! Wild, wasted, wandering flock,
So helpless 'neath the blows that drive you on,
While every word held sacred on our lips,
Truth, Justice, Right, and manlike dignity
Is trampled in the dust along with you,
Is there no help for this eternal war
That fate and laws and social usages,
Still wage against the poor? God knoweth best—
Yet, why should trouble beat them to the earth
And hungry want bite through them like a serpent?
Why must the shadow fall upon their lives
So darkly that it blots out all the sun?
Still no help comes. The doom remains unlifted,
And patiently through sorrow, toil, and tears,
The poor must bear the bitter yoke of want
Until the rending of the thunder-cloud
Flashes the light of Freedom on the world,
And the dread vengeance of the Lord comes down
On those who left them naked to the blast.
Pass on, O pallid crowd! Soon not a trace
Of all who toiled and suffered will remain
Amid the work their hands and brain have builded.
Pass on to nameless graves, unwept, unpitied—
Innumerable hosts of weary men
Lost in the darkness of eternal night!

SPERANZA (Lady Wilde).

CORRESPONDENCE.

IS FREE TRADE A FRAUD?

Have Liberals, Radicals, and above all, Socialists, a right to advocate Free Trade? Free Trade to-day means that if I go to another country where the price paid for labour is much less than our own, and buy articles and supply them to Englishmen at a lower price than they have paid for home produce, I am allowed to bring them here free, and thereby stop the production of those articles in this country; the other country and myself growing richer upon the transaction. If this Free Trade is allowed to continue, shall we not have every article brought from abroad which can be produced cheaper through the low wages paid to the workers, until there is no necessity to produce anything in this country? If it is right to bring one article from abroad that can be produced here, it is right to bring all articles, until our workers are compelled to work at the starvation wages of downtrodden Russia, etc., and after that point has been reached, nation will have harder to compete against nation, each trying to cut out the other, and trying their hardest to force all the wealth into the pockets of the Free Trade capitalists. I have heard it stated several times from Radical platforms that the reason we benefit so much from Free Trade is, "that we pay for all our imports by goods produced here, and the country grows richer year after year," but it does not necessarily follow that the people are better provided for. There is not as much manual labour done per head of the population for the relative value received, as there was before machinery had reached such vast productive proportions. If machinery will do as much per hour as 20, 30, or 40 men could do, it means that, although the production is larger it requires less men to produce it, and yet the population is growing larger and larger, and are compelled to subsist upon what half their number had to subsist upon two generations ago. Free Trade is a Robbery! I have a slight remembrance that a President, some three years ago, of one of our colonies, whom the *National Reformer* claimed to be a Freethinker, stated "that he considered it to be dishonourable to bring Chinese or low-paid labour into his country, where the people had been educated up to a higher class living and requirements." Now what is the difference between bringing low-paid labour into our country to compete with our workers, or to take the work done from the low-priced workers and place it free in our markets to compete against our own production? The only difference that I can see is that the goods are manufactured there instead of here.

ERNEST RANGER.

THE POLICE AND THE PUBLIC.

In Marlborough Street police-court, on Monday last, Oct. 31, a painter out of work, named Oldland, was committed for trial on the charge of assaulting the police at Hyde Park, on October 18th. The original charges included one of riotous assembly, but Mr. Poland dropped this at the conclusion of the third day's hearing. Evidence was given that on the day in question much disturbance had been caused by the action of the police, who closed the Park gate in the face of the crowd seeking egress and then charged them, thus hemmed in, the foot police striking right and left indiscriminately with their staves, and the mounted police charging at full gallop. A reporter bore witness that Oldland had done his best to restrain the crowd thus angered, had interfered to save a solitary policeman who was surrounded by angry men, and had tried to prevent the breaking of the trees. Several witnesses gave evidence that he was deliberately attacked by the police, and most brutally beaten. As a matter of fact he was disabled by the blows he received, and two days afterwards he was scarcely able to walk. It is admitted that he struck two blows in self-defence, and the whole question turns on the point: "Has a man a right to defend himself against a constable who strikes him when he is exercising his ordinary rights as a citizen?" We say Oldland was illegally prevented from leaving the park, and that he did nothing to provoke the assault committed on him by the police. A few friends have saved him from the rough and ready "justice" dealt out by Mr. Newton at Marlborough Street, and the case has been sent for trial.

Our object in making this statement is to ask those who consider that the public have a right to hold a meeting in Hyde Park without being shut in, charged by mounted and foot police, and then brought up as rioters if they defend themselves against blows, to help us with the money needed for Oldland's defence. We have made ourselves peculiarly responsible for it, but we are both poor and cannot bear it alone. If Oldland were a rich man, or a member of Parliament (in England), the police would not have dared to touch him. He is poor and helpless, and we have interfered to get him at least a fair trial, and to expose the way in which the police have lately been handled. We confidently ask those who think we have done right to give us the money of which we stand in need. Cheques, postal orders, or stamps can be sent to Annie Besant, 19, Avenue Road, Regent's Park, N.W., or to the Rev. S. D. Headlam, 31, Upper Bedford Place, Russell Square, W.C.; and an account of receipts and expenditure will be sent to each subscriber when the case is concluded. The trial will take place at the Middlesex Sessions commencing on November 7th.

ANNIE BESANT.

S. D. HEADLAM.

[As will have been seen in the daily press, since the issue of this bill, our comrade Allman has been arrested. The Secretary of the Socialist League will be happy also to receive subscriptions.—Ed.]

Collected by Barker at Hoxton on Sunday, 5s. 7d.

A CHARLATAN'S "OPINIONS."

The blush of shame for their leader must mantle the cheeks of such honest men as have so far followed blindly the erratic leadership of Henry George when they read his late ebullitions against those who have permitted a "sense of right and justice to guide them in their actions regarding the "shamelessly illegal" conviction of the so-called Anarchists of Chicago. In a pettish tirade against the Labour Party of New York, George takes occasion to class them with violent outlaws because they have the courage to protest against the judicial murder of seven men who are the victims of a class conspiracy and a jury chosen for their willingness to render a verdict in accordance with the desire of their employers. But it is not necessary for us to accuse Mr. George of charlatanism—he convicts himself. We simply point out the facts. In his paper of the 8th inst., he says that a Socialist, at the previous meeting of the New York Central Labour Union, "called on God to bless the hand that threw the bomb at Chicago." Now Mr. George was better informed than that; but he elected to utter a lie in company with his fellows of the "satanic press." Why? Simply to gratify a petty spite that indicates only too plainly the smallness of his soul and the narrowness of his intellect. When it seemed to his advantage to tell the truth in the matter of the Haymarket affair, he used his ability as a dispenser of "King's English" to earn the approval of fair-minded men. Thus he said in the *Standard* of January 15 last that "Spies and his associates were convicted by a jury chosen in a manner so shamelessly illegal that it would be a charity to suspect the judge of incompetency." Yet in the same paper of October 8 he said: "The truth is that there is no ground for asking executive clemency as a matter of right." So he practically asserts that men who were convicted by an illegally chosen jury have no right to clemency! And why does he change his tune? Evidently because men who have fathomed his shallow pretences adhere to their convictions and express themselves as George did last January. Again, George said in his paper of January 15: "No well-informed lawyer can defend the conviction upon legal grounds." But in his last week's issue he says: "It was proved beyond a doubt that these men were engaged in a conspiracy, as a result of which the bomb was thrown, and were therefore under the laws of Illinois as guilty as though they themselves had done the act."

And this is the man that would pose as a leader of intelligent and honest working men! This is the author (or compiler) of 'Progress and Poverty'! Surely adulation and petty ambition have done their degrading work, and the man who was honoured for the good he promised is first pitied and then loathed. Oh, the pity of it! One more quotation which convicts its writer "out of his own mouth": "Which, then, is the law and order class—the class that demands a lawful trial for victims of popular hate and fear, and out of its slender means contributes to that end, or the class that uses the machinery of the law to mangle the law itself in an endeavour to silence doctrinal adversaries?" The answer is obvious: it is the latter class. And with that class we must include those who use the press to mangle the truth in order to cast obloquy upon doctrinal adversaries and to gratify a most unworthy and pitiful spite—those whose "opinions" are the expressions of charlatanism and demagoguery. But they convict themselves. Henry George stands self-convicted.—From the *Workmen's Advocate*.

One of the best articles that has ever appeared in the ordinary press on the Unemployed question was in the *Dublin Nation* of the 29th ult. It is more especially worth notice, as showing the educative effect of the long continuance of the land war in Ireland.



"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, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

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

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

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

R. I.—Address of the secretary of the provisional committee of the "National Labour Party" is T. R. Threlfall, 19 Sussex Road, Southport.

MINER.—The *Miner* is ld. monthly, and its address is Cumnock, Ayrshire. It is the recognised organ of the miners of Scotland and the "Sons of Labour."

J. W. B.—Thanks, but unsuitable.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday November 9.

ENGLAND Die Autonomie Labour Tribune London—Freie Presse Norwich—Daylight Our Corner Personal Rights Journal Railway Review Radical NEW SOUTH WALES Hamilton—Radical SOUTH AUSTRALIA Adelaide—S. Austral. Register INDIA Bankipore—Behar Herald Madras—People's Friend UNITED STATES New York—Der Sozialist Truthseeker Volkszeitung —Leader Boston—Woman's Journal Liberty	CHICAGO (ILL.) —Vorbote Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer Hammon (N.J.) Credit Foncier Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole San Francisco (Cal.) The People Arbeiter-Zeitung Albina (Oreg.)—Weekly Courier Buffaloer Arbeiter-Zeitung Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West Detroit (Mich.)—The Advance Coring (Iowa) Revue Icarienne FRANCE Paris—Le Travailleur (dail) La Revolt Lille—Le Travailleur Guise—Le Devoir HOLLAND Hague—Recht voor Allen Amsterdam—Voorwaarts BELGIUM Seraing (Ougree)—Le Reveil	BRUSSELS —L'Avant-Garde Liege—L'Avenir Ghent—Vooruit SWITZERLAND Zurich—Sozial Demokrat ITALY Marsala—La Nuova Eta SPAIN El Productor Madrid—El Socialista Cadiz—El Socialismo PORTUGAL Lisbon—O Protesto Operario GERMANY Berlin—Volks Tribune AUSTRIA Arbeiterstimme Vienna—Gleichheit ROUMANIA Jassy—Lupta SWEDEN Malmo—Arbetet
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HONESTY IS THE BEST POLICY; OR, THE INCONVENIENCE OF STEALING.

[A DIALOGUE between Mr. JAMES BROWN, a business man, and Mr. OLAF EVANS, a kind of artist and literary man; neighbours.]

PART II.

SCENE—A Room in Mr. OLAF EVAN's house, a good deal littered with odds and ends of art and literature; pipes and tobacco, and materials for grog on the table; in a conspicuous place a rather large bundle of MS.

Brown. Well, you see I've come.

Evans. Yes, and thank you for coming. Do you know, this morning you were very nearly quarrelling with me. However, let us hope the Bruce will mend all that."

B. (hastily, and looking furtively at the MS) Oh yes, I was glad to come and have a talk with a neighbour.

E. Well, light up, and let me mix you a glass of grog before I begin.

B. (taking his eye from the M.S., and looking hard into a corner of the room.) Oh, thanks, thanks, presently; I'm not in a hurry.

[Lights his pipe and smokes busily.]

E. How is business?

B. So-so; it's the old story. I have got to do twice the business to make half the money that my father did.

E. How do you account for that?

B. Competition; things must be sold cheap or down you go.

E. A good thing for the country though, especially for the working-classes.

B. Well, I'm not so sure of that; to tell you the truth, taking them all round, I don't think they are so much better off; if they get nominally higher wages they don't get such constant employment, and some don't get higher wages. There are the clerks now—do you call them part of the working-classes?

E. Well, yes, as things go. They certainly don't belong to the proprietary classes.

B. Well, I tell you that they are not as well off as they used to be, by a long way; I can get a steady going German who knows three languages thoroughly for 30s. a-week or less. Some years ago there would have been a fight for such a youth at the price.

E. Still, to have things cheap ought to be a benefit.

B. Well, I don't want them cheap. And look here, if things go on at this rate I shall have to sell my business at what it will fetch, and live as well as I can on the interest of what I have saved. I can't go on for ever slaving for 2½ per cent. And what I shall do other people will do, and are doing. Capital will be withdrawn from business wholesale, and then a nice mess your working-men will be in with nobody to employ them.

E. H'm—well now shall I mix for you—and begin the business of the evening?

B. Oh, we needn't be in a hurry, there's plenty of time. Let us talk.

E. Very well, I'm agreeable; only I hope we shan't quarrel.

B. I don't think we shall. You are in a reasonable humour now, I can see, and inclined to listen to people when they talk on subjects that they understand better than you.

E. Yes, there are many business matters I don't understand. I'll ask you a question or two presently.

B. Do; and one thing I can easily make clear to you, that an employer of labour doesn't lie on a bed of roses in these days. Everything that's done now must be for the benefit of the working-classes; as to the middle-classes, the real back-bone of the country, the real working-classes, mind you, they may take care of themselves.

E. Well, they can do that pretty well, I think.

B. How, I should like to know, with prices falling and wages rising on all hands?

E. But I thought you said you could get clerks (who we are agreed are working-men) cheaper than you used to do.

B. Not in proportion to the profits I make.

E. Well, let that pass; for I want to raise your spirits by showing you how the middle-classes can take good care of themselves, and in fact do so. Only I think you must abandon your ideal of their all retiring from business, and all living on the interest of their savings.

B. Well, I warn you that you trades' unionists and Socialists may drive us to that if you don't take care.

E. If we could only drive you to trying it! but it won't go quite in that way, I fear. But I admit that many of you can retire without bringing the whole thing about your ears, and can so take care of yourselves; while the rest of you take care of themselves by going down to their offices and looking at their clerks, and doing other laborious work for four hours a-day when they are not holiday-making.

B. Now, Evans, you are getting unreasonable again; talking about matters you don't understand.

E. Excuse me, Brown, my questions, the answers to which are to enlighten my ignorance, are just going to begin. What are you going to live on when you retire disgusted with 2½ per cent. profits, on what I imagine to be a biggish turnover?

B. (rather crustily) On my earnings.

E. On what you have made?

B. Yes, of course, on the money I have made.

E. Oh! I didn't know you made money, I thought you made soap.

B. Yes, of course. I manufacture soap, but I make money.

E. Manufacture—to make with the hands—soap is a cheapish article. What a lot of soap you must have made with your hands to live on your earnings in the style in which you live! You must be one of the cleverest men alive; I am quite proud of your acquaintance, Brown.

B. Here come these nonsensical paradoxes again! However, go on; go on.

E. Paradoxes? Don't you make the soap with your hands then?

B. Why, you know I don't, not an ounce. Go on with your questions.

E. But you manufacture many tons of it?

B. Why, of course I do. How could I live else?

E. And who does make the soap with his hands which you manufacture?

B. With his hands? Why, I employ over 500 men at my works.

E. Oh! I see! But I can't understand how soap is so cheap then. Because as those men make the soap and you don't, and you I suppose are only a kind of hanger-on or parson to them, of course they must live as comfortably as you do, and like you can retire from business when they are tired of slaving for small profits! How can it be done?

B. (who has mixed for himself, with a grin.) Well, I answer you to keep up the game, because of course you know better than that; the men in my works, the mere workmen, get from 18s. to 30s. a-week.

E. Ah! they need some other people to take care of them then, as long as that lasts. But I want to get at what your manufacturing means in modern speech, since it seems its etymology goes for nothing. You doubtless see to the men's work, superintend the mixing and boiling, and whatever goes on there.

B. I can't say I do; the foremen and managers of the departments do that.

E. And what style do they live in? Can they retire on their earnings? Not that I much care though if they cannot, since the other men cannot.

B. Well, they get £2 and £3 a-week, and the managers more.

E. Well, the soap being made must be sold. Who sells it?

B. It is travelled; the travellers sell it; and then there are the clerks and old Jackson.

E. And could they retire from business and live on their earnings?

B. You heard what I said about the clerks; as for the travellers, no, of course not. Old Jackson might, he has always been a close man; I think he's warm. But look here, of course I know what you

are driving at, Evans, and you must admit that I've kept my temper well. Come, now, ask me what I do.

E. Well, I ask it.

B. I'll tell you. First I find the capital, that you understand; and since you must admit that that is necessary, if I'm not to be paid for that what am I to be paid for? Well, then there is my risk consequent on my allowing my property to be used for the production of wealth; then am I to be paid nothing for superintending such a vast affair? and then remember in these days of sharp competition what a job it is to look after the markets and keep pace with the march of commerce. I tell you it's a regular war with the other manufacturers. I say that I earn my money well, much better than if I helped to make a few tons of soap every week; all the more as it's the machines that do it, much more than the men. (*Getting hot.*) I heartily wish it was all machines and no men; such a bother as we have with them.

E. Shall I tell you a little fable, Brown?

B. Oh, go on—go on!

E. Well, once upon a time the lion and the other carnivorous beasts went a-hunting,¹ and had good sport; and at the end of the day they met to divide the spoil, the lion in the chair. The chairman bade the carcases be separated into four equal portions, besides the guts and other offal, which was put in a heap by itself. Great expectancy there was among the beasts: the leopard purred and waved his tail; the bear rolled about jovially; water ran from both sides of the wolf's mouth; the jackals whined happily;—the fox, though he smiled a good deal, as his custom is, was the only one that seemed uneasy. "Friends," said the chairman, "here is the wealth which our united labour has produced; I thus apportion it according to the sacred rights of property: the first is mine because I am called lion; the second because I kindly allow you to live; the third because of my strength, beauty, and nobility, without which the world were a dull place indeed; as for the fourth, let him touch it who dares; but yonder heap of offal you may divide it amongst you as you please; but if you follow my advice you will consume it with thrift and temperance." So said the lion; and the other beasts, like the law-abiding citizens they were, declared themselves contented.—Well, Brown, it seems to me that the lion managed to take good care of himself.

B. Again I see what you are driving at; but I don't think much of your fable as applied to a captain of industry.

E. Well, you see, Brown, all fables have their weak places, this amongst others. As you have noticed, I suppose, the lion probably did a good share of the hunting, being in that respect quite unlike the captain of industry. But, to leave fable and come to your statement of what you do, you say you *find* the capital: yes, pretty much as those—individuals—found your pears last night. And as to the risk you run in employing what you have *found*, I daresay they run some risk in turning these *findings* into the universal equivalent. As to your payment for superintending such a vast affair, you as good as told me that Jackson in the office and the managers at the works did that: so at any rate don't take too much—the lion's share—for that service. There remains your payment for that war with your brother soap-boilers which you told me about, which I admit under the circumstances seems necessary: yet don't you think it rather rough on those that *make* the soap that they should have to pay for that incident of its *manufacture*?

B. Rough on them—what do you mean? What have they got to do with it?

E. Nothing, I admit.

B. Well, you have got some preposterous utopian nonsense in your head, so you had better bring it out at once, since we have got on this unlucky subject again.

E. My utopianism drives me to wishing that the word "manufacture" could be used in its original sense, and that there should be no occasion for using it in its modern sense.

B. Well, you see the fact that it has so changed its sense ought to show you how much more important in the production of wealth is the direction of labour than the labour itself.

E. (*softly, as if to himself*). H'm: the foremen couldn't retire, nor the managers at the works; Jackson might, perhaps, and you certainly could,—a sliding-scale of usefulness at all events from the foremen downwards: the men who do most get least.

B. You are getting rude again, Evans.

E. I am afraid I shall get ruder presently. I really must say that the—individuals—who—did business—in your pears have a right to claim the title of manufacturers—so far as they went.

B. (*emphatically, but not angrily*). Meaning that I'm a thief?

E. Well, you are not a thief—morally—not at present; because, till you have heard all I have to say and thought about it, you know no better. But it does seem to me that your very respectable business of *manufacturing* soap really means stealing soap and selling it, and sticking to the plunder. I admit by the circuitous process of robbing the people who make it.

B. Yes, I thought we should come to it again. However, go on.

E. Well, in for a penny in for a pound. This morning you called stealing the worst kind of war—a beastly miserable destructive vice. Isn't your account of what business is coming to proof positive of that? See what a market you are bringing your pigs to! You have achieved complete success in producing wares marvellously cheap, and the result is, if it stops there, that the workmen, take them all round, are none the better for it; and as for yourselves, the employers, you are threat-

ening to give up employing, because that war which forces you to crush out the life and individuality of your workmen bids fair to ruin yourselves—the conquered conquered and the conquerors undone. All that comes of stealing.

B. Well, Evans, I see I was wrong to think that you were not in earnest. But since you acquit me of the moral guilt of theft—and you must remember, by the way, that here I am in my position, and even supposing I wanted to get out of it, how can I—since you admit what you do admit, why do you use such hard words?

E. Why, in the first place, though I acquit you personally of moral theft, I don't acquit your class: that upas-tree of *Cant* which overshadows the whole middle-class in this country, and, for aught I know, throughout all civilisation, and poisons every action of our lives, and makes our pleasures, our art, our literature, our would-be aspirations even, sickening to any one who can think of an honest world,—is not this a symptom of our guilt? Year by year we of the middle classes, as we are getting more and more conscious of what ought to be, are getting more and more hateful and contemptible to ourselves and others—building up wrath against the day of wrath. How will the change come? What horrors may you and I live to see! Yes, that is the reason why I use hard words—or plain words—or bitter words, if you will: because I feel them and cannot help it. But, apart from the moral side of things, as to the material "inconvenience," there—

B. There, I admit at once that if you are right in condemning the system as dishonest the "inconvenience" of it—that is, the necessary disturbance and misery—is of course much worse than that which results from what we call stealing now, we respectables. Spasmodic stealing disapproved of by society in general we could almost afford to pass over without notice (when our gardens had not been just spoilt by it); but continuous stealing, approved of by respectability, authority, and religion,—well, if that really is the basis of our classes to-day, I must as an honest man who tries not to be a fool admit that no price would be too high for ridding ourselves of that: riot, ruin, civil war, revolution, would all be a cheap bargain. But you must convince me class society is so founded.

E. I will try to do so. Meantime I can't tell you how glad I am that we have got as far as we have done. When a man can see that the occasional theft of the product of labour is a joke to the theft in one lump of the whole of the raw material and instruments which alone allow labour to be, it is not difficult to argue with him.—Well, old fellow, it's too late now to begin on that "Birth of the Bruce"; so have another glass of grog, and then we'll say good-night in peace and quietness: though it *did* seem rather like a quarrel at one time.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

TORY LAW-BREAKING.

After the disturbance at Yarmouth reported in our last issue, it was feared that serious violence might be used against the next speaker who went there. However, as the meeting was arranged to be held weekly, our comrades determined to continue it. The following cutting from the *Eastern Daily Press* of last Friday contains an account of the meeting, and proves the complete defeat of the Tory roughs: "Last night, in accordance with his promise, Fred Henderson, the Socialist lecturer of Norwich, visited Yarmouth for the purpose of addressing a working-class meeting. He arrived by the 6.20 train, and punctually at 7.30 took up his stand in front of the Star Hotel on the Quay. There were several hundred people present awaiting his arrival, and as soon as he appeared a general rush was made to the spot, and a ring was formed round him. Henderson said that during the week he had received various anonymous messages containing threats against him if he ventured to revisit Yarmouth, but he wished them to understand that he should not on any account be deterred from carrying out his intentions. The address was heard throughout with great attention, no attempt being made at disturbance. Special police arrangements had been made in view of a possible emergency."

A. K. Donald also writes: Following up the tactics reported from Lowestoft and Yarmouth, the Birmingham Tories have endeavoured to prevent our meetings here. Finding hustling and the usual kinds of rowdyism of no avail, on Sunday a more serious and deliberate attempt was made to break up one of our meetings. Tarn had held a meeting in the morning at Springhill; I held a successful one in the afternoon at the Bull Ring, and again in the evening a second meeting along with Tarn at the same place; after which at eight o'clock we adjourned to the Council House to hold our usual meeting. I had spoken for twenty minutes when suddenly a bag of flour came smash against my face, then another and another—about a dozen in all. I got off my chair and addressed myself to one of a gang of constables to protect the meeting. The constable, with the usual red-tapeishness of officialdom, referred me to an inspector; so instead of wasting time on the police, I told three friends—Tarn, Shorter, and Barr—to keep a bright look-out, and the moment they saw another bag come to seize the man and hold him at any cost. I then mounted the chair again. By this time the crowd numbered four or five thousand, and I endeavoured to obtain silence. For a few seconds I obtained order, and got my address under way, when a half-full flour-bag came again in my direction. This time the man was noticed, and Shorter, Tarn, and Barr rushed forward to seize him. His name was Price, and he turned out to be a well-known "bruiser," hired by the Conservatives, and used by them as chief of their gang of "chuckers-out." The police moved forward, and a general scrimmage resulted; policemen and their inspector lay on their backs; two of our friends were knocked down and badly mauled by the Tory hired roughs. At last the man was secured between two constables and marched to the lock-up. When I arrived there, almost immediately Farnedale the chief of the Birmingham police appeared on the scene. The upshot was that I was told I should have to summon the Tory bruiser Price, although he was caught red-handed in the act of creating a disturbance and assaulting our comrades. It is rather a mystery to me why I should be at the expense of prosecuting the smasher. It looks uncommonly like an attempt on the part of Mr. Farnedale to put us Socialists to as much trouble as possible.

AMERICAN JUSTICE.—Mr. George S. Turner, a "wealthy cotton-mill owner," of Columbia, South Carolina, has been sentenced to five years' imprisonment for murdering one of his workmen who had asked for more wages. The prisoner was (of course) released on bail pending an appeal. The *New York Tribune* heads its report of the case "A light verdict for a rich murderer." This employer was an Anarchist; an Anarchist of the L.P.D.L. school, quite a different individual from the workman Anarchist.

¹ This illustration is taken from Proudhon's 'What is Property?' The fable an ancient one, as might be expected.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

NAILERS' STRIKE.—The strike in South Staffordshire, which has lasted two months has terminated, the employers having conceded an advance in wages of from 10 to 15 per cent. Many of the operatives have resumed work.

THE LATE STRIKE AT BOLTON.—At the end of the first week after the settlement of the Bolton strike there are still about a thousand men idle, the various firms being unable as yet to find them work. Many will never recover their situations, as over 300 imported men express a determination to remain in the town. Bolton finds employment for over 4000 men in the engineering trades, of whom 1700 were out at the strike.

DOCK LABOURERS.—A well-attended meeting was held last Friday evening at St. Stephen's Schools, Borough, for the purpose of forming a Southwark branch of the Tea Operatives and General Labourers' Association. Addresses expressing sympathy with the movement were delivered, and the proposal to form a branch was adopted with enthusiasm.

LOOKING FOR WORK.—Large numbers of unemployed are pouring into Cheshire in expectation of finding work in cutting the Manchester Ship Canal. Preparations for the actual cutting are being pushed forward between Eastham and Ellesmere Port, Cheshire, but at least another month or two must elapse before the works at the Cheshire end will be in full operation. The canal works will employ several thousands of men.

WELSH MINERS' WAGES.—Notices have been posted at all the Welsh collieries, under the South Wales and Monmouthshire Collieries Association sliding-scale, employing upwards of 20,000 miners, that, as a result of the audit of the coal-owners' books for four months past, the wages payable to the workmen will continue as hitherto.

END OF MINERS' STRIKE.—After enduring the hardships of a two months' strike, the miners in the employ of Messrs. Gilmour and Co., Goatfoot and Burnbank Collieries, resumed work on the old footing last week. The men came out on strike at the request of the union, and were promised hearty support from the members of that body. Funds, however, fell short, and the strike collapsed.

THE DOWLAIS IRONWORKS.—Some consternation was caused in Dowlais on Monday morning on its becoming known that Lord Wimborne, chief proprietor of the Dowlais Iron and Steel Works, had taken a large tract of land in the vicinity of Cardiff Docks whereon to erect steel works of the most advanced type, preparatory to removing the Dowlais works. Almost the entire population of Dowlais (35,000) are dependent on the works.

At a general meeting of the miners of Fife and Clackmannan, held at Dunfermline on Monday, it was unanimously agreed to approve heartily of a national scheme of restriction of out-put by working not more than eight hours per day, taking a holiday each week in districts and one week's holiday simultaneously all over the United Kingdom.

The London and North-Western Company are gradually reducing their hands, small parties of men receiving notice every week. Over 200 men employed in the forges have been thrown idle this week, owing to the rebuilding of the boilers and furnaces. Workers are advised to be thrifty, so that when King Capital requires them to cease work for a time, he will not be called upon for extra poor-rate.

THE CROFTERS.—Some extraordinary revelations were made before the Crofters Commission at Wick last week. The cases under consideration were from the Clyth estate, and from the evidence given it appeared that the landlord gave no receipt for the money paid unless the rent was paid in full. The tenant received a blank bill, to which he had to sign his name on pain of removal. It was then forwarded to the proprietor, who filled it up. The blank bills were not returned to the tenants, but remained in the bank, where they were discounted.

WELSH TINPLATE WORKERS.—In consequence of what is known as a "corner," i.e., a recognised legal mode of swindling, in tin, the Nantyglo, Blaenau, Abertillery, and Pontyminster Tinworks, have closed. This stoppage will affect some 4000 men. The Abercarn Works has also partially stopped for the same reason. The "corner" has so adversely affected the Welsh tin plate trade, that several large works have had to close, and as a consequence more than 20,000 men are thrown out of work. The employers hold out but scanty hope of reopening the works at an early date; and, although they express sympathy for the men, seem also to consider that their own case is a very hard one. The masters will lose their profit: the workers will starve.

REDUCTION OF AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS' WAGES.—In West Somerset an organised attempt is being made to reduce the wages of agricultural labourers; and as they do not belong to the Labourers' Union, there is every probability that the employers will be successful. This is easily accounted for when the number of acres under cultivation—owing to the private ownership of land—is rapidly diminishing. Labourers must either accept smaller wages or flock to the towns. A Cumberland newspaper publishes a list of 133 farms in Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Dumfriesshire which have been advertised to be let during a single week. Some of these farms are of enormous size, especially those on the Dumfries estates of the Duke of Buccleuch; the average size is about 300 acres. Altogether, in these three counties, the whole agricultural acreage of which is but slightly over a million, nearly 40,000 acres are either on the landlord's hands already or are about to be surrendered into them by the tenant.

DOCKYARD DISTRESS.—The Woolwich Board of Guardians have decided to erect a temporary building in rear of the receiving-wards, for the accommodation during the winter of the able-bodied poor who are expected to throw themselves upon the workhouse.—At Chatham the ranks of the unemployed have been much swollen through the heavy discharges which recently took place in the Royal Dockyard; and the prospect for the coming winter is the most gloomy one ever known in this district. The majority of those who have received their discharge from the upper dock-yards and the lower extension works resided in the Bromptons, where there are whole streets well-nigh empty, and sturdy mechanics and labourers are now going round the country in search of work, with their families left at home in a state of destitution. The Medway Union guardians have decided to allow out-relief in these cases.

In the society of the future, when the antagonism of the classes have ceased—when there are no more classes—wages will no longer be determined by the minimum time of production, but the time of production devoted to an article will be determined by its utility.—Karl Marx.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

GERMANY.

On the 24th of the present month the Reichstag will re-open its session, and its first work will be to reaffirm the laws against the Socialists, and most probably to add thereto some new and more despotic paragraphs.

The unemployed of Berlin are relatively as numerous as those here. The position of caretaker at one of the Berlin public meat-markets being vacant, no less than seven thousand candidates applied for the same!

On the 12th inst., the trial of the famous "Central Committee" of the Socialist party, detected at Berlin last July, will commence before the magistrates of the *Landgericht*. The police hoped to find a great deal of secret documents, and the bourgeois papers at the time spoke in a somewhat mysterious tone about the discovery, but now it appears that they found nothing whatever of a compromising character, and that the whole affair will be a mere *farce*—nevertheless followed, as is usual in that scandalous land, with a more or less great number of months of prison.

Thirty-eight Socialists are now on their trial at Breslau on a charge of secret conspiracy. In the same town a Socialistic paper has been suppressed, the *Breslauer Volksstimme* (the Voice of the People). It is impossible for us to notice all the prosecutions against Socialists and Anarchists, which are incessantly reported by the papers. Germany has even surpassed Russia in that respect.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

The 27th of last month the first number of a new Socialist paper, *Arbeit* (Labour), was issued at Vienna, under the editorship of comrade R. Hanser. It is not, exactly speaking, a new paper, although it appears for the first time at Vienna, but rather the continuation of that active and persevering organ of our Austrian comrades which appeared successively at Gratz, Villach, and at Linz, and was everywhere forced to stop its publication by police prosecutions of all kinds. We hope that it now may have a better chance; but we must say our hope is not a very sanguine one. Nevertheless, our comrades deserve the more acknowledgement and encouragement because they have to work under such hard circumstances.

That these circumstances are really intolerable is proved by the fact that comrade Aug. Kreal, the editor of the co-operative paper *Bäcker-Zeitung* (Baker Journal), the appearance of which we announced in our last Austrian notes, was arrested last Monday week at Vienna. Mind you, that paper is by no means devoted to mere Socialistic propaganda; it is in fact a trade paper, in the narrowest sense of the word.

The German police is not only at home in Germany, but also in Austria—as in fact they are at home everywhere. The Berlin police gave directions to cause the arrest of comrade Franz Süss, an Austrian sculptor, who was apprehended at Vienna because he had distributed Socialistic literature in Austria!

At Frankenthal, comrades Schenk and Betch were sentenced to several months imprisonment for the same "offence."

SWEDEN.

Happy little Sweden is struck with consternation: its two greatest authors, the illustrious poet Bjornsen and the celebrated drama-writer Ibsen have publicly declared themselves Socialists! Ibsen, who had lately come to Stockholm, had been enthusiastically received by the Court, the ministers, the scientists, the professors of the university—in one word, by all the *grand monde* of the bourgeoisie. He was entertained at dinner by all these magnates, and in answering a toast, in which the orator had spoken of the untold blessings of present society, he said calmly but firmly, "No, no, my friends, don't tell me any longer that we are living in the happiest possible world. On the contrary, our time is only a transient period, out of which a new society will grow. I am convinced that the actual political and social institutions soon will give place to other institutions, which will answer in a far better way the needs of the future. I can't tell you now what that future will be, but one thing is certain, it is to be more just than the present state of things. Socialism only shall make us a happy, worthy and, prosperous mankind." Tableau! His friend Bjornsen has made a similar declaration in one of the greatest Scandinavian papers. The so-called high-classes of Sweden are "ashamed" of the shocking transformation of their best adulated literary men.

BELGIUM.

At Ghent the Socialist party "Vooruit" have issued their yearly 'Socialist Almanack.' It is well worth reading, the best article in it being a biography of Domela Nieuwenhuis, by Croll, editor of *Recht voor Allen* (Right for All).

The Brussels Federation of the *Parti ouvrier* (Working-men's Party) intends to do a very good thing indeed—namely, the revision of its statutes. Nine sections will be established: 1. trade associations; 2. co-operative societies; 3. universal suffrage; 4. statistics of work and wages; 5. universal legislation of work; 6. Socialistic presswork; 7. general propaganda; 8. collection of funds; 9. library. We wish our Belgian comrades good success in the fulfilling of their work of reorganisation, and we may add that we are of opinion that they only will succeed if a larger and brighter sense of true revolutionary Socialism penetrates and saturates their labour. A completely new portion of their work will be the creation of a large Socialistic library; and we should like to make here to our Belgian friends a suggestion which perhaps might deserve their consideration. Should it not be possible to institute at Brussels a general Record Office (archives générales) of international Socialistic literature? We feel assured that the existing literature in all tongues would be speedily acquired through the instrumentality of the various Socialistic bodies in every country, and the forthcoming publications would certainly be presented by their publishers or their authors to such a record office, if it were well conducted and of course accessible to all those who wish to study the various branches of political history, social economy, labour statistics, revolutionary class struggles, etc. We need hardly point out the manifold advantages of such an institution, and we think our Belgian friends are in a good position to undertake a work of that kind.

A large and crowded meeting was convened last Sunday at the Navalorama Hall, at Brussels, to protest against the judicial murder which is about to be perpetrated at Chicago. The meeting unanimously passed a resolution, worded in the strongest possible terms, condemning the action of the American judges.

V. D.

ITALY.

ALESSANDRIA.—The establishment of a new metal-working company has been inaugurated here with a great flourish of trumpets, and much boasting on the philanthropic aspect of the speculation, employment of labour, and

all the rest of it. Yet these philanthropists will make a very good thing of it—if they follow all the accumulated traditions of their class, which there is little doubt they will do—for trade is very bad in the neighbourhood, and wages consequently low, and they will get labour at very easy terms; for instance, for a 12 hour's working-day paying 1.50 or 2 lire.

MILAN.—The second Co-operative Congress will take place in Milan, on the 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th of November, when the working and management of Co-operative Societies will be discussed.

A good many of the Italian Revolutionary Societies have at their late meetings passed resolutions sympathising with the Chicago Anarchists, whose fate unfortunately is so very near being decided, and expressing indignation at the criminal sentence of death passed against them by American capitalism.

SPAIN.

BILBAO.—A new society is being formed here among the iron and metal-workers; they will have for an organ a paper called the *Proletariato*.

VILLANUEVA-Y-GELTRU.—A considerable demonstration of working-men and women took place here a little time back. They marched before the municipal buildings and demanded bread and work. The mayor addressed them from a balcony, and advising them to respect "law-and-order," recommended them to retire quietly to their dwellings. Our informant remarks that they obeyed. . . . What a delightful little *non sequitur* of a manifestation!

BARCELONA.—There is talk of having a Labour Congress in this capital at some time not yet fixed, and the Central Committee has sent out a circular to the different societies to consult with them about the organisation of the same. M. M.

LETTER FROM AMERICA.

THOMAS B. BARRY, of the General Executive Board of the Knights of Labour, has had a hard fight with Powderley, who desired to freeze him out of the order. His views are not popular with men who, like Powderley, are playing a very, very fishy rôle in the Labour movement. Interviewed, he made the following statement:—

"How will the order fare for the next year? Will there be an increase or falling off in the membership?"

"That will depend on the course the general officers will pursue. There is too much tendency to follow in the wake of Red Men and Odd Fellows. The order was organised for a different purpose. If this course continues it will certainly prove disastrous to the best interests of the organisation.

"The Knights of Labour were brought into existence to relieve the social and political miseries complained of by the labouring people. The organisation must not be conducted from the basis of charity, but from the standpoint of justice, for all mankind.

"The masses who compose the organisation must be educated to understand that the success or failure of the order depends upon their individual as well as collective efforts, and that the success of this organisation does not rest with the officials of a local, district, or general assembly, but with themselves. What they are the movement will be. There has been too much agitation, directing the masses to depend on others to do for them what they can best do for themselves. Hero worship has been the curse of the labour movement in Ireland more than once, and it will destroy the labour movement in America if allowed to grow."

The split in the Knights of Labour has happened this week. The action of the official gang of late has been too much for the intelligent honest faction, and they were forced to the alternative of either belonging to an organisation which is rapidly going to the dogs, or to secede speedily. They chose, as it well becomes sincere advocates of labour emancipation, the latter course. If anything will urge the ruling classes to pursue their mad course in hanging the seven Chicago men, it is the criminal action of Powderley and his clique in Minneapolis.

On returning from the Congress, about 35 delegates representing 13 States, stopped in Chicago and drafted a circular, which is addressed to the rank and file of the order. They charge the administration with usurpation of power, gross violation of the laws, with having organised a conspiracy to hold the salaried offices, illegal expenditure of many thousands of dollars, the alteration of the constitution in an illegal manner, etc. They further maintain that nearly every important strike or lock-out in which the general officers interfered was lost.

The development of this business is highly interesting. However, it will be utopian to expect as yet any radical change in the minds of even the seceders. They will continue, in spite of all bitter experience, to build constitutions for organisations to enable them to gain a paltry few more cents. in wages, instead of turning revolutionists to end the present horrible system.

S. E. Shevitch debated with Henry George last Sunday, October 23rd, at Eighth Avenue Theatre, the latter's scheme to substitute a single land-tax for all other methods of taxation as a means to solve the social question. George got worsted beyond description; not even his well-known sophisms could help him out of the dilemma. Shevitch, in summing up, did not even use all the time allotted to him, and confessed his inability to debate with a Rip van Winkle in social economies.

Patrick Ford, of the *Irish World*, who enabled George to gain an international reputation by sending him over as correspondent of his paper to Europe, on the other hand, declares he cannot support George any longer on account of this gentleman's antagonism to the Pope. This is the *coup de grace* to the would-be Secretary of State. He has denounced the honest labour element, the Socialists, and is now in turn denounced by the Moderates. George is a dead man. Peace be with his ashes.

What can be done, what will be done, to save our Chicago comrades, I do not know, but strange to say the conviction "They will not be hung" is still gaining more supporters in labour circles.

A mass meeting to protest against the intended brutal assassination of the seven men will be organised to-morrow night, by the New York Knights of Labour at Cooper's Union.

Krapotkin's letter to the French papers is published to-day verbatim by the New York papers.

LABOUR MOVEMENT.

An advance of 12½ cents. per ton is to be demanded by the coal miners in the Belleville, Ill., district.

LIST OF STRIKES FOR OCTOBER.

Number of strikers to Oct. 13	7,685
Bloomington, Ill.—miners, sympathy with men discharged for activity in forming a trades' union, Oct. 8	300
Philadelphia, Pa.—shoemakers, in anticipation of lock-out by Manufacturers' Association, Oct. 18	5,000

Pittsburgh, Pa.—labourers, misunderstanding of Italians as to what constituted a day's work, Oct. 13	...
Roxbury, Mass.—brewers	...
Pittsburgh, Pa.—carpenters, to compel foreman to become a union man	...
Sharon, Pa.—carpenters, for nine-hour day with full pay, Oct. 17	...
Dayton, Ohio.—railway employes, against reduction in wages, Oct. 18	126
New York City—compositors and pressmen (additional)	200
Waltham, Mass.—masons, for discharge of non-union men, Oct. 19	20
Ashaway, R. I.—woollen weavers, for advanced wages, Oct. 18	...

Total known for October 1st to 21st ... 13,331

The great printer's strike in New York is reported to-night to be practically ended. As far as any facts can be ascertained, it appears that matters in dispute between bosses and employes have been compromised.

New York, October 28, 1887.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

THE CONDEMNED ANARCHISTS.

Last Thursday, Nov. 3, the news reached London that the Supreme Court of the United States refused to allow the eight condemned Chicago Anarchists a fresh trial. With a thrill of indignation and horror we learned that in one week (on Friday Nov. 11) seven of our comrades were to be hanged. Nothing remained between these men whose only crime is their devotion to the cause of labour, but a forcible rescue or the interference of the Governor of Illinois. Unhappily London workmen are powerless to effect a rescue; they can only during the few days that remain add their weight to the pressure which is being exercised by the workers of America upon the smug middle-class democrat who holds our comrades' lives in his hands, to compel him to do justice and save these innocent men from judicial murder, and the London workmen have set to the task with a will which illustrates the enormous recent growth of the International Labour Movement.

By the combined efforts of Socialists and Radicals, over 16,000 votes of protest have been collected in one day. The following cablegram has been sent from the London Patriotic Club to Governor Oglesby, Springfield, Illinois. "At 49 meetings, Sunday last, 16,405 London working men and women voted protest against execution of sentence on Chicago Anarchists."

The London Patriotic, Haggerston, Borough of Hackney, Hoxton, and East Finsbury Liberal and Radical Clubs have summoned a public meeting in South Place Chapel on Wednesday Nov. 8, at 8 p.m., from which a like resolution of protest will be cabled to Governor Oglesby.

The delegates of several Radical Clubs and of the Labour Emancipation League called upon the American Minister with the same object, on Monday; but with the insolence of your true Middle-class Republican, he refused to see them.

Further, a petition calling upon the Governor of Illinois not to sadden the Centenary of the Republic with the execution of men "who have already endured a death-agony of more than a year," is being signed by humane men and women of all classes whose names may carry some weight in America. It is to be cabled on Wednesday night. The only dissentient voices are the politicians and the Positivists. The M.P.'s are afraid of offending their propertied constituents, and the priests of Humanity are—lawyers.

The quick sympathy shown by London workmen for the Chicago martyrs, is a most significant sign of the increase of both solidarity and revolutionary feeling amongst the proletariat. C. WILSON.

SOCIALIST DEFENCE ASSOCIATION.

An Association has now been formed of Socialists who are willing to stand by their poorer comrades, now so unjustly persecuted by the police authorities, and to secure them at least a fair hearing before they are thrown into prison.

This Association consists of householders willing to offer bail for persons arrested for taking part in public meetings, and of members who guarantee costs to the amount of £2 2s. each.

The Association will only pledge itself to bail members of Socialist organisations, as these may fairly be supposed to act upon principle, and are not likely to endeavour to escape trial.

If any bail should be forfeited, the amount will be shared among the members of the Association, but care will be taken that no risk shall be incurred by the bailing of unknown persons.

As poor men are brought up, condemned upon police evidence, and sentenced without chance of defence, the Association desires, by offering bail, to obtain time for defence, and, by instructing a solicitor, to prevent the infliction of unjust punishment on undefended men.

Six cases have already been attended to by the Association, but it is sorely in need of funds, and of an increased number of bail.

Socialists are earnestly begged to help the work of this Association in whatever way they can. The police tyranny is becoming intolerable, and Socialists who do not risk their persons are bound to help with their purses.

News of any arrest should be at once communicated to Annie Besant, 63, Fleet Street, E.C., and exact details should be sent as to the place to which the prisoner has been conveyed.

Donations may be sent to the Secretary, or to the Rev. S. D. Headlam, 31, Upper Bedford Place, W.C. Persons willing to serve as bail, or to become members, should communicate with the Secretary. ANNIE BESANT, Secretary.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

Resolution of Council.

At the usual weekly meeting on Monday the following resolution was passed; "That the Council of the Socialist League protests against the execution of the seven workmen of Chicago."

London Members.—The monthly meeting of London Members will take place on Monday next, November 14.

'Commonweal' Concert.—Members and friends are requested to send in returns without further delay of tickets at present unaccounted for.

Strike Committee.—Collected in Regent's Park—Sunday October 30, 8s. 9d.; Sunday November 6, 4s. 4d.—J. LANE.

Fund for the Provision of Wives and Families of the Condemned Anarchists.

Under this heading we shall be pleased to acknowledge donations for the above object. Labour Emancipation League, 5s.

BRANCH SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID.

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

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Weekly Subscriptions—K. F., 1s. C. J. F., 2s. Cxford Branch, 2s. Langley, 2s. P. W., 6d. W. B., 6d. Hammer-smith Branch (4 weeks), £2.

P. W., Treasurer, Nov. 8.

REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—On Thursday, Nov. 3rd, in spite of weather, a very successful "social" evening was enjoyed by members and friends. Six new members elected. Meeting at St. Pancras Arches of fully 500 on Sunday, addressed by Walker, Bartlett, and Neilson.—T. J. D.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, Nov. 2nd, D. J. Nicoll lectured to us on "The Social Revolution." Sunday evening, good open-air meeting on Green, addressed by Brooks and Turner. In hall, members and friends enjoyed a lively "social" evening.—A. T. and W. B.

HAMMERSMITH.—Usual meeting Sunday morning at 10 o'clock on Starch Green, Catterson Smith explaining Socialism, and calling attention to overbearing attitude of the police towards the Socialists. Tochatti and Maughan also spoke. 16 *Commonweal* sold.—T.

HOXTON.—Sunday morning, large meeting addressed by Barker, Nicoll, and Pope. 5s. 6d. collected for defence of Allman and Oldland. In evening, F. Kitz lectured on "Our Criminal Classes, High and Low." Good discussion followed.—C. J. Y.

FULHAM.—Good meeting addressed by Mahony, Tarleton, Smith, Tochatti, and Turner. 53 *Commonweal* sold.—S. B. G.

STAMFORD HILL.—Large meeting Sunday evening, speakers, J. Lane, W. B. Parker, and A. Cores.

GLASGOW.—Saturday, McCulloch and Glasier had a very sympathetic meeting of over 2000 in Wallace Square, Greenock. McCulloch afterwards lectured to a large audience in the Arcade Hall, on "Socialism the only Hope of the Workers." Several new members joined. *Commonweal* sold well. Sunday, rain prevented outdoor meetings. In evening, J. Shaw Maxwell lectured in hall, 8, Watson Street, on "The Democracy." Good discussion followed.—A. M'K.

LEEDS.—Sunday morning, Hill, Paylor, and Sollitt spoke in Vicar's Croft. In evening, Corkwell lectured on "The Principles of Socialism." Good discussion followed.—T. P.

NORWICH.—Good meeting held by Mowbray, Turner, and Houghton at St. Faith's. Arrangements are being made for a series of Friday night lectures at the White House Inn, St. Faith's. Meetings also held at Per Street and Market Place. Mowbray lectured on "The Profit System" in Gordon Hall, but owing to his sudden illness Slaughter had to finish.

WALSALL.—Sanders spoke Monday evening, and on Sunday held open-air meeting in Stafford Street; large attendance.—J. T. D.

SHEFFIELD SOCIALISTS.—On Monday, October 31st, Edward Carpenter spoke on "A Visit to Italy," interesting and instructive as to the life and habits of our friends across the sea.—M. A. M.

NORWICH ANARCHIST GROUP.—Meetings held on Saturday at St. George's Plain and Haymarket by Fred Henderson on "Emigration," following up a lecture that had been given during the week by an emigration agent. On Sunday morning, Henderson and Barker, and on Sunday evening Barker alone, addressed large audiences in the Market-place.—A.

HAINFORD.—This village only visited once before; we were then very well received. Henderson delivered two lectures Sunday, in afternoon open-air, evening in a barn lent for occasion. Large number of agricultural workers present, and much interest shown.

CARROW.—Henderson addressed a meeting here last Friday on "Trades' Unions."

DUBLIN.—The Saturday Club opened its fourth session with a debate on "Free Expression of Opinion in Ireland;" absolute freedom of discussion on all social, political, and religious subjects being advocated by Oldham, Varian, Poole, and Rev. W. A. McDonald, M.P. A reference by one of the speakers to the case of Dr. McGlynn fairly brought down the house. The debates will take place every Saturday evening, and it is to be hoped they will be well attended.

Scottish Land and Labour League.

EDINBURGH.—Sunday evening, Oct. 30, Davidson read paper in hall in High Street. Large attentive audience and useful discussion. Good meeting on Sunday evening in Trades' Hall, when Smith read paper on "The Essence of Socialism."—C. W. T.

CARNOUSTIE.—Mahon lectured on "The Wrongs and Rights of Labour." Several new members joined.

MONTROSE.—The first Socialist meeting held here Wednesday, Nov. 2nd, when Mahon lectured. A second meeting arranged.

ABERDEEN.—Mahon's second visit a success. Nine meetings held in Aberdeen and three in Woodside, all successful. No police interference this time. Sunday night at indoor meeting in Oddfellows' Hall, a crowded audience assembled. Branch is growing steadily, and a new branch is in course of formation. Arrangements for carrying the propaganda further North are also being made.

DUNDEE.—Saturday, Nov. 5th, at Green Market, one of the largest Socialistic meetings ever held here, was addressed by Duncan, Dempster, Simpson, and Carr. Owing to heavy rain we were prevented holding outdoor meetings on Sunday, but in the evening Simpson, Wich-Slater, and Carr addressed a very large meeting in the Trades' Hall, good progress being made.—J. C.

ABBROATH.—Mahon addressed upwards of 200 municipal electors on Tuesday night at the polling booths, crowded meeting afterwards in hall, on "Wrongs and Rights of Labour." Five new members. Weichsleides (Dundee) spoke at Fountain on Saturday. Sale of *Commonweal* good.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, W. On Thursday Nov. 10, at 8.30, W. Utley will lecture. Nov. 17. T. E. Wardle, "Society: Present and Future."

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday November 13, at 8.30. George Bernard Shaw, "Practical Socialism." Wednesday 16, at 8.30. W. H. Utley, "The Iron Age." Sun. 20. W. Morris, "The Coming Society."

Fulham.—Committee meets Wednesday evenings, 8 o'clock, at 4 Werley Avenue, Dawes Rd., Fulham. On Sunday 20th Turner will lecture.

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday November 13, at 8 p.m. William Morris, "The Coming Society."

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—Sunday November 13, at 8 Dunloe Street, Hackney Road, H. H. Sparling will lecture at 8.30 on "Socialism: its probable effect on life." Members' meeting at close of lecture. All members of the L.E.L. requested to attend.

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., 12 Short Loanings.

Arbroath (Scot. Sect.).—High Street Hall. Meeting Friday evenings. W. Smith, 12 Maule St., secy. Important business meeting on Friday first.

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

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

Cowdenbeath (Scot. Sect.).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec.

Dublin.—Saturday Club, Central Hall, 12 Westmorland Street, every Saturday at 8 p.m. Free debates on Social and Political subjects. All friends invited.

Dundee (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station. Political Economy class, 11 a.m. Lecture at 6.30 by J. L. Mahon, "A Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Socialist Labour Movement."

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

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

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. Music and Shorthand Classes, Tuesday at 8. Choir Practice, Wednesday at 8. Discussion Class, Thurs. at 8.—In the Hall, 8 Watson Street, Gallowgate, on Sunday Nov. 13, at 7 p.m., a lecture.

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. On Sunday November 13, at 7 p.m., an open discussion on "Technical Education—will it benefit the people?"

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 Monday at 8.30. A General Meeting of all League Members in Norwich is called for Monday November 14, for the purpose of reorganising the Branch and forming a club and institute in connection therewith. Further information from C. Mowbray, 3 Duke Street.

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

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

Walsall.—Temperance Hall. Meets every Monday.

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

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 13.

9.30...Starch GreenHammersmith Branch
11.30...HackneySalmon and BallParker
11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.Barker
11.30...Kingsland GreenJ. J. Allman
11.30...Merton—Haydons RoadThe Branch
11.30...Mitcham Fair GreenThe Branch
11.30...Regent's ParkBlundell & Bartlett
11.30...St. Pancras ArchesDalziel
11.30...Walham GreenThe Branch
3 ...Hyde ParkBrooks
7 ...Stamford HillBartlett
7 ...Clerkenwell GreenBlundell

Tuesday.

8 ...Mile-end WasteCores & J. J. Allman

Wednesday.

8 ...Broadway, London FieldsBrookes

Thursday.

8 ...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.Parker

PROVINCES.

Glasgow.—Bain Square: Sunday, 1 p.m.

St. George's Cross: Sunday, 1 p.m.

Paisley Road Toll: Sunday, 4.30.

Watson Street: Sunday, 6.30.

Cambuslang.—Saturday, at 5 p.m.—Downie, Glasier, and Adams.

Leeds.—Sunday: Vicar's Croft, 11 a.m.

Norwich Branch.—Sunday: Market Place at 3; Agricultural Hall Plain at 7.

Dereham.—Every Wednesday, Market Place at 7.

SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.

(Scottish Section of the Socialist League)

Fri. 11—**Carnoustie.** Temperance Hall, 7.30, lecture by Mahon, "How to Realise Socialism."

Sat. 12—**Dundee.** Greenmarket, at 6.45.

Sun. 13—**Aberdeen.** Castle Street, 8 p.m.

" 13—**Arbroath.** Brothock Bridge, 7 p.m.—Duncan and Dempster of Dundee.

" **Dundee.** High Street, 3 p.m. Trades Hall, Union St. (Tay Bridge Stn.), 6.30.

Edinburgh. Trades Hall, High Street, 6.30.

Wed. 16—**Aberdeen.** Branch business meeting. Lecture by Leatham, "Ethics of Thoreau."

North of England Socialist Federation.

BRANCHES AND SECRETARIES.

Annisford.—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.

NORWICH ANARCHIST GROUP.

Yarmouth.—Thursday, on the Quay, at 7.30.

Carrow.—Friday, at 1.30.

St. Faith's.—Sunday, on the Green, at 3.30.

Norwich.—St. George's Plain, Saturday, at 1.15.

Haymarket, Saturday, at 8. Market Place, Sunday at 11 and 8.

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 November 13, at 3.30 p.m. prompt.

"The Tables Turned."

At Hammersmith on the 5th "Nupkins" made his appearance before a large and apparently well-pleased audience. This was the last of the first series of performances. The beginning of another will be soon announced. During the interval some improvements of various kinds will be made. The arrangements of the series are not quite completed, and the manager (H. A. Barker) would be pleased to hear from any other clubs and societies who wish to secure the services of the *Commonweal* Company.

Now ready. 32 pp., in Wrapper.

THE TABLES TURNED;
Or, Nupkins Awakened.

A SOCIALIST INTERLUDE

BY WILLIAM MORRIS.

Price Fourpence.

Commonweal Office, 13 Farringdon Rd., London, E.C.

FACTS FOR SOCIALISTS.

(THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH IN ENGLAND)

16 pp., One Penny.

Published by the FABIAN SOCIETY, 180 Potsdown Road also at 63 and 185 Fleet Street.

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 Rights of Labour according to John Ruskin. By Thomas Barclay. 1d.

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.

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

Useful Work v. Useless Toil. By William Morris. 1d.

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

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 97.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

In Memoriam.

Murdered by law, Nov. 11, 1887.	Killed himself in prison, Nov. 10.
GEORGE ENGEL	LOUIS LINGG
ADOLPH FISCHER	Imprisoned for life.
ALBERT R. PARSONS	SAMUEL FIELDEN
AUGUST SPIES	MICHAEL SCHWAB
	Fifteen years' imprisonment.
	OSCAR NEEBE

IN presence of the doom that has befallen our comrades, of the cowardly vengeance wreaked upon them by the bourgeois of Illinois for the fear felt before treachery gave them into their hands, words fail; it is hard even to speak a tithe of the thought and feeling that seek expression. Every Socialist in all the world has before his eyes the image of the gallows whereon the four have died, and the shadow of the prison wherein their comrades are to linger out a death in life. To the resolute a new edge added to their stern hatred of class-rule and its evil fruits; to the half-hearted a clear warning of the risk they run, a call for them to choose between unhonoured safety and the dangers of truth; to the dullard or dilettante a rude awakening to the harsh reality of the war we wage and the penalty that must be paid for taking part therein.

The four men who have been done to death have died for their belief; those who in Rome were flung to the lions, who in Smithfield were burned alive for a similar offence, that they taught the overthrow of legalised wrong, are counted saints and held sacred in men's memories. So also will be these men of Chicago. From their birth was the record of their doings, alike of those that are dead and those who live, searched minutely for aught that might discredit them—and searched in vain. They were men of honest and clean lives, against whom none could cast a stone—and they have died for their belief. Whenever men have tried to stay the march of Truth by slaying her servants the attempt has failed; the cause for which men died martyrs has inevitably won; the stake, the whip, the scaffold have had no power over thought, but making men speak under their breath and laying up a tenfold woe for that state in which the folk dared but whisper their discontent.

Be it noted also that in times past mere death has not been deemed enough to deter men from the holding "dangerous" opinions; torture of one kind or another has been brought in to heighten the terror of dissolution and strike dismay into unruly minds. To-day, under a thin coat of polished hypocrisy, the bourgeois are as full of sordid cruelty as was ever the worst of all the Inquisitors they execrate. With a myriad means at hand for insuring a sharp and sudden death, the vindicators of law and order in Chicago designedly prolonged the death-agony of our four comrades for a *quarter of an hour less one minute*. For *fourteen minutes* did the "respectables" of Chicago stand gloating over the spectacle of four men struggling in the throes of gradual death; pluming themselves, no doubt, that *now* at least their property was safe and the revolution crushed. Nor did they see what it was they were doing; how by their own act they were preparing a Red Terror that shall be with them night and day, that shall be an unspoken fear at all their feasts, a spectre of dread beside their couches, and a final ruin pending over their profit-hunting enterprises. How shall it be wondered at if those who knew the four and loved them take into their own hands the blood-atonement of their murder? Will not the remembered horror of those fourteen minutes freeze any word of "moderation" upon the lips of those who would speak it? Will not it also strike away from under capitalism one of its trustiest supports, the respect for law among the masses, the belief in its embodiment of justice? Will it not prove a striking lesson to the workers of all lands in the hollow mockery of bourgeois morality, bourgeois freedom, bourgeois civilisation?

When courage wanes for awhile and hope is shaken, the memory of those who died so bravely and the thought of those in prison who would gladly have died also, will hearten us to fresh effort and renew our faith in the only cause for which men can now be heroes and

martyrs like those of old. Far above the petty game of politics, or the squabbling of rival creeds, these men stand out on a nobler height, a sublimer level; their heroism has lifted them out of the world in which men bargain and get rich, into the purer air in which stand Huss and Bruno and all those great souls whose lives were spent that Man might live. S.

LONDON IN A STATE OF SIEGE.

SIR CHARLES WARREN has kept his promise and prevented the meeting organised by the Radical Clubs. From the military point of view he has been eminently successful, and deserved to be so, and it is now proper that we should make him a peer of the realm and Commander-in-Chief of the British forces, if he will kindly consent to waive the title of Emperor or three-tailed Bashaw or whatever else is the proper nick-name of a supreme and irresponsible ruler. Sir Charles, I repeat, made his military dispositions admirably, and revolutionists should study them, since they have had a little piece of real war suddenly brought to their notice. The "Square," i.e., the sunken space, was guarded by foot-policemen four deep, whose business was simply to guard it and who had orders not to stir from their posts; outside these were strong bodies of horse-police who took careful note of any incipient gathering and at once scattered it.

This defence was ample against anything except an organised attack from determined persons acting in concert and able to depend on one another. In order that no such body should be formed and no such attack be possible, the careful general had posted strong bodies of police, with due supports to fall back on if necessary, about a radius of about a quarter of a mile of the Square, so that nothing could escape falling into the meshes of this net.

Into this net then we marched. The column in which the comrades of the League were, started from Clerkenwell Green in company with the Patriotic Club and some of the East-end clubs, including a Branch of the S. D. F. I see the correspondent of the *Daily News* estimates this column at 6000, but I think that is an exaggeration. Anyhow, we marched in good order through Theobalds' Road, and up Hart Street, crossing Oxford Street and Shaftesbury Avenue without attack from the police, but we had no sooner crossed the latter street and were about to enter the Seven Dials streets to make our way to St. Martin's Lane, than the attack came, and it was clearly the best possible place for it. The divergence of the streets would confuse any procession which had lost its rallying point; the side streets and the width of the thoroughfare at the spot gave a good opportunity for a flank charge, and at our rear was the open space of Shaftesbury Avenue to allow a charge in that quarter to finish us up after the attack on front and flank. It was all over in a few minutes: our comrades fought valiantly, but they had not learned how to stand and turn their column into a line, or to march on to the front. Those in front turned and faced their rear, not to run away, but to join in the fray if opportunity served. The police struck right and left like what they were, soldiers attacking an enemy, amidst wild shrieks of hatred from the women who came from the slums on our left. The band instruments were captured, the banners and flags destroyed, there was no rallying point and no possibility of rallying, and all that the people composing our once strong column could do was to straggle into the Square as helpless units. I confess I was astounded at the rapidity of the thing and the ease with which military organisation got its victory. I could see that numbers were of no avail unless led by a band of men acting in concert and each knowing his own part.

What happened to us happened, as I hear, to the other processions with more or less fighting. An eye-witness who marched up with the western column told me that they were suddenly attacked as they came opposite the Haymarket Theatre, by the police rushing out on them from the side streets and immediately batoning everybody they could reach, whether they resisted or not. The column, he said, was destroyed in two minutes, though certainly not quite without fighting; one brave man wrapping his banner torn from the pole round his arm and facing the police till he was hammered down with repeated blows.

Once in the Square we were, as I said, helpless units, especially as there were undoubtedly a good many mere spectators, many of them club gentlemen and other members of the class which employs Warren. Undoubtedly if two or three hundred men could have been got to make a rush on the cordon of the police, especially at the south-east corner the crowd could have swarmed into the Square, and if the weakest of the columns could have reached the Square in order this could easily

have been done. But the result would probably have been a far bloodier massacre than Peterloo; for the people, once in the Square, would have found themselves in a mere penfold at the mercy of the police and soldiers. It is true that as matters went, there seemed very little need for the appearance of the latter, so completely were the police, horse and foot, masters of the situation; and the great mass of the people also round the Square was composed of Radicals, very angry it is true at the horrible brutality with which they had been treated by Warren's men, but by no means strung up to fighting pitch. So that I was fairly surprised, the crowd being then quite quiet, to see the Life Guards form at the south of the Square and march up towards St. Martin's Church with the magistrate at their head (a sort of country-gentleman-looking imbecile) to read the Riot Act. The soldiers were cheered as well as hooted by the crowd, I think under the impression that they would not act as brutally against the people as the police: a mistaken impression, I think, as these gorgeous gentry are just the helmeted flunkies of the rich and would act on their orders just as their butlers or footmen would. A little after this a regiment of the foot-guards made their appearance with fixed bayonets, and completed the triumph of law and order.

Sir Charles Warren has thus given us a lesson in street fighting, the first point of which is that mere numbers without organisation or drill are useless; the second, which ought also to be noted, is the proper way to defend a position in a large town by a due system of scouts, outposts, and supports.

We Socialists should thank our master for his lesson, and so pass on from considering the military aspect of the case to its civil aspect. Warren has won a victory, but on what terms! It is clear from what is above printed that he would not have been thoroughly successful if he had not had a free hand given him: if he had not attacked citizens marching peaceably through the streets in just such a way as banditti might do, destroying and stealing their property, they would have been able to claim their right of meeting in Trafalgar Square in such a way that nothing but sharp shot and cold steel could have dealt with them. London has been put under martial law, nominally for behoof of a party, but really on behoof of a class, and war (for it is no less, whatever the consequences may be) has been forced upon us. The mask is off now, and the real meaning of all the petty persecution of our open-air meetings is as clear as may be. No more humbug need be talked about obstruction and the convenience of the public: it is obvious that those meetings were attacked because we displeased the dominant class and were weak. Last Sunday explains all, and the bourgeois now goes about boasting that he is the master and will do what he likes with his slaves. Again, the humbug is exposed of the political condemnation of coercion by Act of Parliament in Ireland, when here in London we have coercion without Act of Parliament; and the feeble twittings of the *Daily News* will be received with jeers by the triumphant Tories.

And the greatest humbug which Sunday's events have laid bare is "the protection afforded by law to the humblest citizen." Some simple people will be thinking that Warren can be attacked legally for his murderous and cowardly assaults of Sunday. I say Warren, because 'tis no use beating the stick that beats you. Some perhaps will think that there may be a chance of his getting a few years penal servitude for inciting to riot and murder. But these persons forget that he has been ordered to act as he did just as he ordered his brigands, and that Salisbury and Co. who ordered him have done so at the orders of the class which they represent. They have made the laws, but have never intended to keep them when inconvenient. It has now become inconvenient to keep them—and in consequence we must think ourselves lucky to be only beaten by the policeman's baton if the bourgeois don't like us—lucky to get off the six months' or twelve months' imprisonment which is likely to accompany such an accident. In short, the very Radicals have now been taught that slaves have no rights. The lesson is a painful one, but surely useful to us boastful Englishmen: nay, in the long run it is necessary.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

HOW DIFFERENT FROM LONDON!!—The following extract from a letter by the Jaggayyapeta correspondent of the *Madras People's Friend* has a familiar ring about it: "The police here, as elsewhere, are more a curse than a boon to the people, and are indulging themselves in every kind of mischief. Village officials and shopkeepers form the chief objects of their prey. Innumerable are the false charges got up by them, and many are the persons suffering from their oppression. No mention need be made here of the bribery in this line, as everyone knows full well about it." Of course in London civilisation and Christianity together have guarded us against all this.

If capital insists on hanging men for political utterances, as it does in Chicago, what will it crave as punishment for political acts? Will it institute the stake, the rack, the thumbscrew and other Christian modes of convincing workmen that they had better lie still in the frying pan? But consistency is not a jewel in the crown of Pluto. The devil heats his furnace as hot for infants not a span long as for sinners old in iniquity, and a man might as well die for a sheep as a lamb. But suppression of free speech by hanging a few speakers will only close the valve through which extra pressure of discontent finds vent. Men cannot be convinced that they are wrong by hanging their friends for telling them they are right.—*Winsted Press*.

It was not Endacott alone who was on his trial the other day. It was Mr. Newton, and to some extent, Mr. Matthews also. A mere policeman might easily have been sacrificed to popular wrath, but alas, our rulers could not throw Endacott over and spare the others. They would have all hung together, hence the judicial joke of Mr. Justice Stephens' decision. We have gained something by the whole affair; a new word has been added to the English language. We all know what "boycotted" means, though the word is of recent origin. In future, when anyone finds himself in gaol through the stupidity or the hard swearing of a police constable, we shall say he has been "Endacotted."—*Norwich Daylight*.

"BROKEN CISTERNS."

WE Socialists are often asked to justify our revolutionary position; we are urged to show cause why we should seek to remodel society on a different basis instead of going on improving that which has grown up on the present one. Our questioner dilates upon all the improvements that have been made, especially in the last 50 years. He points to the spread of education and educational facilities, to the repeal of the laws against trades' unions, and their consequent spread, which resulted in raising the wages of most skilled trades, the amount of rise being variously stated at from 25 to 50 per cent. Then they point to the laws passed to prevent the overwork of children, to enforce sanitary arrangements, and to ensure the safety of the workers in mines and on the sea. They point triumphantly to the reduction of pauperism, and they try to persuade us that things are on the mend, and that we have only to go on in the same direction to put things as right as they ever can be in this world. They would have us believe that all action in the future must be a carrying on of the policies of the present political parties; they call us impractical dreamers and all the rest of it, and finally go off to the caucus meeting to do their share in carrying on things as they have been going. While our friends are thus engaged, let us see how it is that Socialists are such unreasonable fellows that they are discontented with all these methods of improvement, and declare that nothing short of a complete change in the basis of society will avail. The best order, I think, will be to begin by examining the various agencies, political and social, through which it is hoped that improvement will be brought about; trying to see what ground there is for hope in each case, and why each and all must fail to produce the amelioration hoped for.

We will begin with the political agencies, and here we have two main parties, Conservative and Liberal, with a third, Radical, which is practically the advanced part of the Liberal. Now what is the aim of each of these parties, what is the theory of society on which they base their action? The first thing which strikes us is that their actions are not based on any consistent theory of society at all, but form a series of empirical or experimental laws passed under temporary pressure, with only a small amount of thought given to the all important question of what consistent form of society is aimed at. Opportunism best expresses the moving principle of our legislation; this is largely the result of our basis of party government by which it becomes the chief duty of a party when in office to keep there, when out of office to get there; the legislation is planned chiefly to this end, and only secondarily for the good of the community. There are, of course, individual exceptions who look more to the good of the community than to party, but they can only exert any telling influence when their advice does not happen to make much against party interests.

The Conservative party, in so far as it is more than a mere drag on progress, has or had some definite theory of society; it is not content with a society which consists of a mere assembly of unconnected units, but looks for some organisation. Looking back it finds that in olden times society consisted of various grades and classes, all depending one on another, having mutual duties and fixed relations; the lower classes depended upon the higher for protection and guidance, and in return gave them homage and wealth. In those good old days a man knew his place and did not aspire to be as good as his master, but was content to do as he was told. The thinking part of the Conservative party sees some such theory of social organisation in the past, and hopes to establish a similar system again rather modified to suit modern times. The rich and noble will govern the land, and will look after the poor, teach them to respect their betters, and generally take a paternal interest in them, for which services the poor are to work for them and show them respect, and all the rest of it. Have we anything to hope from this? Not much, I think; surely when a system has been tried in the past and society has outgrown it, there is little use in wishing to try it again. The coat which a boy outgrows he can never wear again; so with society, it will not return to an outgrown system, and if it should the result would be anything but happy. Society may take the discarded principles of some old system and come back to them again on a higher level. So society may take the principle of organisation which there was in the old times, and coming back to that we may again have an organised society instead of a concourse of atoms, but it will be on quite a higher level. Conservatism in so far as it has an ideal of organised society is superior to the other parties, but, unfortunately, its ideal is borrowed from the past and only suitable for the past. Hence it is that Conservatives in office are forced by the irresistible pressure of social development to pass laws in direct opposition to their ideal.

We next come to the Liberal party. Now if we come to consider the matter we can imagine a society such as the Conservative would wish for, we can imagine a society such as the Socialist would wish for; the ideal society of the Individualist or Anarchist can be to some extent imagined, the same with the ideal of the Positivist; but what is the ideal of the Liberal party? We are stumped. All we can think of is our own country after two or three reforms which the Liberal party are talking about shall have passed. The Liberal party is a party without an ideal or consistent aim, there are sections in it holding each of the ideals named above, hence its actions are empirical; it does a bit here, a bit there, according as pressure is put on it or circumstances dictate; it lives from hand to mouth trying to make the present system do by rushing wildly to any point where there is unusual friction, passing at odd times some good and useful measures, but failing to see any future ideal to which all shall be made to tend, and failing to make its measures consistent one with another. At one

time it coerces those who seek for something, at another it grants the request; at one time it favours individual enterprise and competition, at another it starts a government department to lessen the same. All this applies to the Radical as to the Liberal; the Radical has no consistent ideal before him, unless it be a political one. He may be a Republican and call that his ideal, but that has little to do with the social question; his ideal is realised in America, and there is the same social question to be solved there. What have we then to hope from this party without an ideal? Evidently nothing but what we can make them do to improve details of society as it at present exists. They may be convenient as a squeezable party, but the point I wish to urge is that their work is done without any definite aim for the final improvement of society. The organisation of society can only be accomplished by a body of men who know what is needed, and are bent on getting that and nothing else, making any intermediate measures preparatory to their purpose. The Liberal party has originated as a destructive agent to pull down the ancient form of society; it has done its work, and has no constructive ideal to place before us. What does its programme at present consist of? A few more reforms in the constitution, a little more responsibility thrown on to an employer for the lives of his men, some economies in the national expenditure, and some decentralisation of power. Well, some of them are good, let us take them if they come in our way; but when we have them all how much nearer shall we be to proceeding with the organisation of society unless we have found some consistent ideal to aim at? How much nearer is America, with all its Republican institutions, to solving its social problems than we are? And if the majority were convinced of the advantage of any definite form of society and wished to establish it, do you think they would let our political institutions stand three months in the way? And yet some would urge that we should spend our time for years to come in getting hold of the power without being able to decide what we should then do with it. If the people can once be shown how they can organise society in a way that shall be better for all, they will not be slow to seize the power; until then they will not trouble much about it. Probably one of the chief reasons why the people are content to leave political power in the hands of the landlords and capitalists, although they expect little from them, is that they do not see how they could use it to much purpose if they had it.

We see that there is no solution of our social problems to be hoped for from the existing political parties; true one party offers us greater political power, well we have no objection to that, only it is not much good to us till we have found out how to use it in such a manner as to do away with the misery of modern society!

We must next turn to social agencies, and see what hope is offered us there. The professors of the science of political economy claim our attention first. Strictly, they have not much to do with our question, because they start on the assumption that the present basis of society is right, and they seek to find the laws which in this system govern the production and distribution of wealth, but practically they have been obliged to extend their scope and to mingle with the scientific investigation of phenomena, as they exist under our system, a certain amount of discussion about the basis of that system, whether it is the best and most just one. I think this has been to some extent unfortunate, as their reasoning has been more a defence of the system which their science explains, put forward to make their science a little more popular, than an honest search for the best form of society. We do well to study what they have to tell us about our present system, and also their defence of it, but I fear we have not much to hope from them in the way of improvement. Modern economists are more and more going towards Socialism, and any improvement they have to offer in the future comes from Socialism rather than their own science. I think the course of events since the science was started shows that it has been useful as a means of clearing away many old and noxious customs and laws, but that it is useless as a constructive science. It was well qualified to make the present system as perfect as it is capable of becoming, but it is not suitable to clear away evils inherent in the system or to suggest a better. It did good service in exploding the idea that money was the only form of wealth worth having, and in clearing away foolish restrictions on trade. But when the commencement of the present century saw the vast revolution in industry caused by the rapid introduction of machinery, when men were thrown out of work and in their desperation destroyed the machines, when huge fortunes were made by the few out of the machines which plunged many into destitution, what had the economists to suggest then? All they could say was, "Let alone, let them be; it will all come right in time, our system is a wonderful system, is a beautiful system, it accommodates everything to its wants, those who are useless to it are crushed out, and only those whom it wants survive; this misery is only just the necessary part of changes, it will all come right in time." Such was the answer of the economists, and the ruling powers believed it, the more easily because it paid them best to follow the advice. The system has gone on crushing out those it does not require, for the time when things come right never arrives; as fast as one thing rights itself there is another change come which has to be righted. It is like the promise of "Jam, to-morrow!" but never jam to-day! And now we are beginning to see that man was not made for a system, to be fostered or crushed out according as that system needs or does not need him, but that systems are made for men, and that a system is good if it fosters all men and tends to raise and improve them, not good because it happens to be able to crush out those who do not fit it.

RAYMOND UNWIN.

(To be continued.)

THE DAY AFTER.

It lashed me like the scourge of Fate,
I could not work, I could not rest,
So fierce a flood of wrath and hate
Was raging in my breast;
I could not rest, and turning north
From the huge town, I hastened forth
To tire my restless limbs, and then
Think calmly of those murdered men.

By meadow-green and coppice bare
And homely brook I sped my way;
It seemed that Nature did not care
To mourn for yesterday.
Nor down each grassy village street,
Or windy common, did I meet
One son of toil who had desied.
It was for him our comrades died.

Not Nature's carelessness I chide,
But the dull apathy of men,
Contented meekly to abide
Mewed in a hopeless pen.
Because their fathers wore a chain,
They bow the head and bear the pain,
And rot, unknowing of their worth,
Whilst Labour is true lord of earth.

Yet not in vain ye died, I know,
In witness of the world to come;
Sure your reward, if haply slow;
Your deed shall not be dumb.
Though slighted now, a crown of glory
Shall yet, ere long, bedeck your story,
And ye, with many a one, shall stand
Transfigured in the martyr-band.

See, with his foot upon the prey,
In seeming triumph Mammon stands,
And wipes contemptuously away
The crimson from his hands.
But ten times precious is the blood
That is poured out for brotherhood,
And when the hour at last is here,
This deed shall cost the monster dear.

But yonder, lo, far hence withdrawn
Through miles of night, fast stealing on,
That hideous mockery of the dawn,
The glare of Babylon,—
Our battlefield, whereon, at length,
Spoilers and spoiled shall measure strength;
Even now they gird them for the fray,
Fearing and hoping for the day.

Nov. 12, 1887.

C. W. BECKETT.

"A DANIEL COME TO JUDGMENT!"

MR. CREMER, M.P., one of the "Carnegie crew" at present in America crying "Peace, peace, when there is no peace," has been interviewed by a *New York Herald* reporter. After polishing off "the State of Europe," and delivering himself of the usual Peace Association twaddle, he proceeded to "write" himself "down an ass" in the following fashion:—

"What is the extent of the Anarchist, Communistic, and 'black flag' movement in Great Britain?"

"The Social Democracy has a following of course, arising out of the large number of unemployed in Great Britain and the distress consequently existing throughout the country. The distress is more extended and more acute than I have ever known it to be. In fact our commercial prosperity is a thing of the past, and I doubt if it will ever be revived."

"But what is the character of the 'black flag' demonstrations recently held in Trafalgar Square?"

"I have no doubt that these movements are promoted by the Social Democrats, but my impression is that the majority of the people who take part in such disturbances have not only 'got no work to do,' but 'want no work to do.' I have made it a point to mix with them in Trafalgar Square, and I think that the majority of them were loafers, though there are certainly some decent fellows among them."

The reporter calling upon Mr. Cremer nearly mistook the "big" man for "a cow-boy on a tour," and thus describes his "get-up":—"Dressed peculiarly—a soft white hat, coloured flannel shirt without a collar, heavy light overcoat, with pale fur collar and cuffs; a business suit of coarse material, yellow leather shoes."

I fancy, however, that an average cow-boy who had spent three weeks in London would have been able to give a more intelligent answer than the foregoing. But then the cow-boy would probably give the result of his own unbiassed observation; he would not have to "square" his views to meet the wishes of the "upper crust" people who patronise the "washy-washy" workingmen who hire themselves out for deputations.

What should a "respectable" working-man Member of Parliament, and confere of such eminent individuals as Andrew Carnegie, Lord Kinnaird, Lord Herschell, Sir Lyon Playfair, etc., have to do with such vulgar wretches as Socialists and lower class loafers? "Oh! 'Respectability,' what fantastic tricks are committed in thy name!"

T. B.

THE BETTER WAY.—Mr. William Hurman, the new Mayor of Bridgwater, has expressed his disapproval of the customary banquet given to the corporation, and intimated that he intends, instead of giving the usual dinner in the town hall, to give a dinner between this time and Christmas to all recipients of outdoor relief in Bridgwater. He hopes that the town councillors, who are never in want of a good dinner, will attend and assist as carvers.



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.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

R.—Tikhomirov's book has been translated into English by Dr. Aveling, and published by Sonnenschein and Co. A review of it is in preparation for an early number.

F. D.—You can obtain any information about the "Midland Counties Glass-workers' Association, Limited," from the secretary, Mr. J. M. O'Fallon, Kingswinford, near Dudley.

E. C.—For 'The Tables Turned' (4d.) write to manager, this office. 'A Dream of John Ball' is in preparation.

A.—H. A. Barker is the business manager of the "Commonweal Dramatic Co.," and to him any application should be addressed.

F.—We have no time for foolery. Any serious letter will receive careful attention.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday November 16.

ENGLAND		ITALY	
Anarchist	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	Altruist	Gazetta Operaia
Jus	San Francisco (Cal) The People	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio	
Labour Tribune	Arbeiter-Zeitung	SPAIN	
London—Freie Presse	Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung	El Productor	
Norwich—Daylight	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	Madrid—El Socialista	
Railway Review	Detroit (Mich.)—The Advance	PORTUGAL	
NEW SOUTH WALES		Oporto—A Perola	
Hamilton—Radical	FRANCE		
UNITED STATES		Berlin—Volks Tribune	
New York—Der Sozialist	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	AUSTRIA	
Union Advocate	Lille—Le Travailleur	Vienna—Gleichheit	
Boston—Woman's Journal	HOLLAND		
Liberty	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Arbeitt	
Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	Amsterdam—Voorwaarts	Brunn—Volksfreund	
Knights of Labor	BELGIUM		
Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer	Liege—L'Avenir	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik	
Hampton (N.J.) Credit Foncier	Ghent—Vooruit	ROMANIA	
Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	Antwerp—De Werker	Jassy—Lupta	

NOTES ON NEWS.

"Who drives fat oxen" need not "himself be fat," but assuredly "who preaches wisdom should himself be wise." Poor Professor Tyndall has been making a spectacle of himself again. Some wonder and many laugh. He is a standing illustration of the adage which warns a cobbler against wandering from his last, but is so little conscious of it that his latest project is one of such wandering on an extended scale: all "scientific" men are to give their opinion of Home Rule, etc.

As *men* their opinion is worth pretty near as much as that of any others; as *scientists*, their opinion is worth having on their own subjects but of no account on political matters. That they may know all about some department of nature does not show them capable of judging men. Indeed it is notorious that they are specially out of place in the workaday affairs of the world: "They will measure ground by geometry, set down limits, divide and subdivide, but cannot yet prescribe *quantum homini satis* (how much is enough for man) or keep within compass of reason and discretion."

The Lord Mayor's tomfoolery has passed off as usual, except that the curses and hisses were louder and sharper, and the cheers fewer than ever before. The rain and cold kept the unemployed from holding a meeting, and so the police had no chance of hatching up a riot. As one looked at the sorry spectacle and thought upon what it meant, and the bitter contrast it emphasised, the question rose again and again to the onlooker's lips, "How long will it last?"

"Law and order" is getting along merrily. During the past week there has again and again been recorded some stupidity on the part of the authorities, or of brutality on the part of the police. Tuesday's papers had the story of the mishaps which befell Mr. Walter Arter, timber merchant and prominent Conservative. Because he consented, when appealed to, to go to the police-station as a witness for a man he saw arrested, he himself was captured, tried, imprisoned, stripped, bathed, dressed in convict attire, etc. Of course, he has no remedy, although he has been able to expose the perjury of the police!

Wednesday we read of the arrest of Mr. Bennet Burleigh, the well-known war correspondent, who, for no other reason that can be seen

than that the police were even exceeding their average behaviour, was hauled off to King Street police-station, where the assembled constables greeted him with yells of "Bloody German" (!) and the like. We go to press before the result of this "little affair" is known, as Mr. Burleigh quite rightly refused to be shuffled out of Court, and comes up again on Thursday.

Mr. Winkes, another journalist arrested with Mr. Burleigh, but who had been speaking, was credited by the police evidence with having said that "in France they understand organisation," and "they should organise as the French did," and that "they had had revolutions there in recent years; and, my God, if it were not sedition, I would say it is time we had one here." But it was carefully suppressed that he immediately afterwards went on to say (as reported in the *Daily News*) that "a peaceable and commercial revolution might be brought about by combination." The notorious Superintendent Shepherd's explanation of his failure to report the last sentence was that he regarded it as another subject immaterial to the matter which had preceded it!

John Oldland, indicted for having, on the 18th of October, riotously disturbed the peace, and also for assaulting two constables "in the execution of their duty," was accorded at the Middlesex Sessions on Thursday the 10th, by Judge Edlin, what even the ordinary press admits is a "vindictive sentence." The prosecution withdrew the first count with regard to rioting, and relied on the counts charging the assaults. The jury found the prisoner guilty, and the Assistant Judge sentenced him to six months' imprisonment with hard labour for each assault, making twelve months in all. He was also ordered to find two sureties in £25 each and enter into his own recognisances in £50 to be of good behaviour for a subsequent term of twelve months, in default of finding such sureties to be imprisoned as a second-class misdemeanant for two months.

The notorious procuress and bawd, Mrs. Jeffries, was brought up at the same place and before the same judge as Oldland, next day (Friday), but met with very different treatment. Her friend, Mr. Edlin, could not screw up his courage to sentence her, though she had been duly found guilty. She is to remain in custody till next Sessions and then be sentenced. Can this mean that she is held back until forgotten a bit, so that she may be let off the more easily?

Sir Charles Warren's attempt to apply his methods of order-keeping in Cairo to London, was handicapped from the beginning by his inability to flog and fling in prison and hang men, women, and children without trial, as he was wont to do; wherefore he has been borrowing leaves from the books of Mitchelstown and Chicago—with what result is known!

I commend to Sir Charles Warren the perusal of the Illinois Conspiracy Law given on another page; it will simplify matters considerably for him if he can get it passed by the English Legislature; it assuredly will aid him in the cold-blooded and brutal work in which he is engaged, which is his function.

The way in which the press has treated the Irish and Free Speech Questions is very instructive, the *Pall Mall* being the only paper that has even tried to be consistent. The *Daily News* endorses Free Speech in Ireland, but calls for Coercion in London; the *Daily Chronicle* broke down for a moment in its dishonest career, and admitted that Coercion was wrong—out of Ireland! Of the whole ruck of daily papers there is but one which has not pandered and truckled to law-breaking authority, either in London or Ireland. Among the weeklies of course *Reynolds* speaks out well; the rest hobble along gracefully, as near the hedge as may be.

A DREAM OF QUEER FISHES.

(A MODERN PROSE-IDYLL.)

"As the sleeping hound dreams of the chase, so the fisherman dreams of fishes." Thus says the old Greek poet Theocritus; and that the same thing is true even to the present day may be seen from the strange dream dreamed by Joe, the Commissioner of Fisheries, as he was on his way to America to manage the fishy business of the firm of Salisbury and Co., whose service he had lately entered. Now Joe was thoroughly familiar with every kind of bait and fishing-tackle, having been apprenticed as a youth to a grand old fisherman, a regular old piscatorial hand, who carried on certain deep-sea fisheries, in which Joe soon became very expert, and was regarded by his master as his right-hand man. But unfortunately Joe had been always on the look-out for bettering himself, until at last he and the old man had words, and Joe rashly gave a month's notice and left the service in which he was doing so well. After this Joe had set up service on his own account, but finding it did not prosper, and being still very bitter against his old employer, he had become commercial traveller to the rival firm above-mentioned—a post for which he was specially qualified, through his proficiency in the piscatorial language usually known as "Billingsgate."

So Joe was now in mid-voyage for America; and it happened that one night, after thinking a great deal by day of the fishy business on which he was embarked, he dreamed that he had fallen overboard and was surrounded by a vast multitude of fishes. Herring, mackerel, mullet, whiting, turbot, cod, haddock, soles, eels, oysters—every fish, great and small, was there, from a whale to a sprat. It was, in fact, a Public Meeting of sea-fish into which Joe had suddenly entered—and

just at that very moment the chair (a relic of a sunken vessel) was being taken by the Old Man of the Sea. It was a great annoyance to Joe in his dream to find that there was an Old Man even in this submarine assembly, especially as he seemed to detect in his features a lurking resemblance to his old employer; but what alarmed him still more was the hostile feeling which evidently animated the scaly meeting against himself. Each fish as he sailed round to his seat rolled a glassy eye on Joe with a very sinister expression; but Joe, smart fellow that he was, cocked his eyeglass in return and did his best to stare them out of countenance. Now fish, as we all know, are dumb; so in this Public Meeting there could not, on their part at least, be any delivery of speeches; yet, strange to say, Joe's conscience told him clearly enough what was the object of the meeting and how he himself was concerned with it. These fish were met for the purpose of demanding Home Rule, which he, as Commissioner of Fisheries, had the power of giving them—nay, more, which he had formerly pledged himself to give them (such was the extraordinary conviction by which he was possessed in his nightmare) and had since broken his promise.

Every eye was now turned on Joe, and there was a twinkle on the features of the Old Man of the Sea as he invited him by a courteous gesture to reply to the complaints which, though unspoken, were plainly understood. What was Joe to say, and in what language could he address a company of fishes? Suddenly the happy thought occurred to him that he might address them in Billingsgate; so, leaping on an old fragment of a wreck, he poured out one of his vigorous harangues. The upshot of his speech, as far as it could afterwards be remembered—for, as is the way in dreams, it was rather vague and illogical—was that the Home rule he had once promised them was not what they now demanded, but *Canadian* Home Rule, and that as they were a shoal of rascally, gaping, cold-blooded conspirators, he was now determined not to give them any Home Rule at all. He further managed to recommend them, in choicest Billingsgate, one and all to go about their business—the herrings to be cured, the mackerel to be pickled, the oysters to be scalloped, the cod to be crimped, the lobsters to be potted, and the eels to be skinned alive. Such was Joe's spirited oration; but, if the truth be told, he soon repented of it, for he quickly found that he had got a pretty kettle of fish on his hands. So far from knocking under to Joe's bluster, the fish had one and all got their backs—or rather, their dorsal fins—up, and came round him in vast numbers, with the evident intent of making him food for fishes. In vain poor Joe, who now inwardly cursed himself for his temerity, entreated them to shake fins and be friends again, promising to use his influence with his new employer to obtain for each one of them three acres of good submarine pasturage and a sea-cow. For they would have none of it—nothing but Home Rule would satisfy them, and it seemed even that was now to be preceded by the execution of Joe. For at a signal from the Old Man of the Sea, whose face wore a stern yet half-amused expression, a sword-fish appeared on the scene, while two large eels, even more slippery than Joe himself, began to pinch Joe and lead him towards a block of water-logged timber which lay on the ocean floor. It was a fearful moment; for, as is usual in nightmares, Joe could stir neither hand nor foot, and even his voice failed him as he tried to call aloud to his old pals to come to his assistance. However, just as the sword-fish was about to strike, Joe woke with a cry and found himself once more in his comfortable cabin.

Such was Joe's dream, which he remembered for a long time afterwards, the thing which dwelt longest in his memory being perhaps the sort of pitying half-smile on the face of the Old Man of the Sea when poor Joe, in the extremity of his despair, offered the three acres and a sea-cow as a substitute for the Home Rule which he had first promised and afterwards refused.

H. S. S.

STRIKES.

THROUGHOUT the United Kingdom, and in fact throughout the whole civilised world, in all trades and occupations, there occur at certain indefinite periods what we call strikes. At the present time in many large towns in Great Britain, in some industry or other, master and workmen are at war with each other; while in the United States and on the Continent strikes are of alarming frequency. Mines, manufactories, railways, etc., are at a standstill, and thousands of men are idle. The machinery is in perfect working order, the materials are all at hand for producing wealth, yet owing to these disputes mines and factories are closed, and machinery stands idle, until one side yields to the demands of the other.

Let us look for a moment at the real cause of so much ill-feeling existing between the capitalist and his workmen; how it is that strikes with their accompanying destruction and distress are brought about. In the first place, we are aware that Labour is the source of all wealth, that the class who perform the work of the world are those who produce all luxuries and comforts. One would naturally suppose that those who produce all wealth and all luxuries ought at least to enjoy what they create. Such, however, is by no means the case. All the good things of life are in the hands of another class—a class who perform no useful labour themselves, who do nothing in the interests of the community at large, yet whose whole life is one long round of pleasure, one continual season of idleness and ease. This latter class we find have appropriated to themselves the mines, factories, machinery, shipping, and all the means to which the labour of man can be applied to produce wealth. Now, having got possession of the means of production, they set the workers to labour at them, paying them so much weekly or monthly for their toil. What is returned to them in the shape of wages only realises about a quarter of the full produce of their

toil, the surplus going into the pockets of the employers, as the idle class are termed. Let us suppose that trade is at its very best, the workers are all employed, and in receipt of fairly good wage, there being a great demand for goods of various kinds. All these employers who are engaged in making those articles that are selling so rapidly will naturally endeavour to turn out as much as possible, so as to dispose of them at a profit—to make hay while the sun shines, to use a popular phrase. The consequence is they overstep the mark. So eager are they to take advantage of the revival of trade that they fail to see the catastrophe that awaits them. They find in course of time that the demand decreases, and when their warehouses are full they find they cannot sell at a profit what previously obtained a ready sale in the market. This is termed over-production. Rather than submit to smaller profits, or lose anything by the result of their own folly, they endeavour to make up this deficit by discharging the extra hands engaged during the period of prosperity and by threatening to reduce the wages of the ordinary workers. The workers, of course, sooner than submit to this reduction in their wages, refuse to work at all, and come out on strike, thus giving the employer the opportunity he desired of disposing of his stored-up goods without having to pay wages. It is doubtful, however, whether the employers gain anything in the long-run, because while the workers of various trades are on strike they cannot buy the same quantity of food or clothing they did while in employment, and they being also the consumers as well as the producers, the goods are only disposed of very slowly. When the warehouses are full the employer has little to lose by a strike, but as soon as the goods which fill them are disposed of, then he also begins to feel their effects, but being in no danger of starvation, having capital at his back and still enjoying the ease and luxury he has been accustomed to, he resolutely refuses to take the workers on again at the old rate of wages, waiting patiently until such time as they see fit to accede to his demands. The workers during a strike have to endure great privation and misery, and in most cases stern necessity compels them to give in. True, they are assisted in their struggle by the trade union to which they belong; but owing to the frequency of strikes and the want of a thorough organisation amongst the workers of all trades (each supporting the other against the common enemy), the funds are speedily exhausted if a strike is at all a protracted one. Then they have to rely on the charity of the outside public.

When trade is prosperous the workers often strike for an increase of wages, naturally assuming that as the profits of the employer are far above the average, they as the wealth-producers have a right to a share in them. Even when this is the case in very few instances do the employers give way. However large profits the employing class may be making, we never find that the wages of the workers show a corresponding increase. Employers do, and will so long as they have the power, make it their sole business to get as much work as possible out of their slaves and to give as little as possible in return.

In conclusion, let me sum up the evils that are the cause of strikes, and endeavour to point out a remedy for the poverty and vice prevailing at the present day. The present misery of the workers is due to the existence of a class who have the monopoly of the means of production and who use that monopoly in their own selfish interests at the expense of the workers. Cunning and selfishness are seated over a pinnacle of wealth, while honest labour is rewarded with a crust. Shall this state of affairs continue? All right-minded men answer No, and use their influence to bring about a change for the better. Education is the first duty, however, and that education must be pushed with the greatest vigour and the most unflinching enthusiasm. The workers must be taught that their emancipation can only be brought about by a social revolution—peaceable if possible, forcible if necessary. A revolution that shall institute in the place of capitalism that universal co-operation, where the whole people shall collectively own the land and natural resources—mines, manufactories, shipping, etc.—and shall use them for the common good. Where the whole people shall be the sole producer and distributor, and where all shall work and all receive equal remuneration for their labour.

The prospect before the governing classes at the present moment is not a pleasant one. The winter is almost upon us, and the army of the destitute and unemployed is ever increasing. Who knows but that before the winter is over thousands of men facing starvation will rise desperately, madly, striking aimlessly for bread or vengeance? We see the sturdy miner, working deep down in the bowels of the earth for twelve or fourteen shillings a-week, and we see the evicted tenant-farmer of Ireland standing with bitter curse on his lips gazing on the ruins of his homestead. We see the brutal police, striking down the miserable wretches who meet to ask for work and to parade their misery and wretchedness before the denizens of the West-end. We see the hangman's rope dangling over the heads of our doomed comrades in Chicago; while on the Continent we see the dungeon, the bullet, and the scaffold all at work to kill and torture the heroes of the proletariat. Everywhere the governing classes are with the strong hand trying to stem the rising tide of revolt. We note the brutal laugh and the sneer of respectability, and we discover that already the revolution is upon us: even now the battle of the wage-slaves is begun. Shall this great contest be one of undisciplined revolt, of frightful carnage and fearful vengeance? It is for the governing classes to decide. Let them be wise in time. Let them by the passing of wise and just laws, which shall improve the condition of the people, take away all class distinctions, and granting leisure and opportunity for their physical and intellectual advancement, lead the way to a calm and peaceable revolution in which reason and intellect will show the way to victory.

WILLIAM E. MUSE.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

BLACKBURN ENGINEERS.—The Society of Engineers have issued a manifesto appealing to those on strike for funds to continue the strike.

OVER-PRODUCTION.—It is stated that over 80,000 miners are out of employment in Derbyshire, owing to the over-production of coal.

The Northumberland miners in many cases are only getting three days work a fortnight while seven is a good average.

A movement has been set on foot amongst the drapery assistants in Dublin to bring about the closing of the establishments at an early hour on Saturday.

LEEDS PUDDLERS.—Owing to the depression of trade, a large number of puddlers have been thrown out of employment. As the trade is slack generally, there is every prospect of a hard winter for puddlers in Leeds.

THREATENED STRIKE OF PLASTERERS.—At Edinburgh and Leith the plasterers have made a demand for an advance in wages of 3d. per hour. The employers have unanimously resolved not to grant the advance, and the men are considering the advisability of striking.

THE WEST CUMBERLAND IRON TRADE.—A meeting of the ironmasters of West Cumberland has been held at Whitehaven, at which it was unanimously resolved to reduce the output of the district by blowing out a number of furnaces, and also to make a reduction of 10 per cent. in furnace-men's wages.

STRIKE OF IRONWORKERS.—The workmen employed at the Norfolk Ironworks, Ecclesfield, recently decided to strike against a proposed reduction of 10 per cent. A deputation waited upon the senior partner, and offered to submit to a reduction of 5 per cent. That gentleman, however, said his firm were obliged to press for the full 10 per cent. reduction. These terms the men refused, and shortly after they returned home.

Trade is very bad in Nottingham, and thousands of people are out of work. At the firm of Hill and Company last week, about 150 hands were discharged, mostly girls. Large numbers of men have also been discharged from the different machine works, and most of remainder put on short time. Building and other trades also in bad condition.

NOTTINGHAM CIGAR-MAKERS.—Notice have been given to the women and girls employed at cigar-making at a firm on Derby Road, Nottingham, of 25 per cent. reduction in their wages. A meeting has been held at which deputations from other towns were present, representing the Cigar-maker's Union. The women and girls all joined the union, and declared they would resist the reduction, support being promised from other towns.

THE CHAINMAKERS' STRIKE.—In these times of rabid coercion it is pleasant to note that at the Staffordshire adjourned quarter sessions the Court quashed the conviction of Thomas Homer, president of the Chainmakers' Association, who was recently charged with aiding and abetting in the intimidation of a female operative during the chainmakers' strike at Cradley-heat, near Dudley. The only penalty left was the imposition of the costs, which Mr. Horner can ill afford to pay. The strike still continues.

SELF-HELP SOCIETIES.—The principle of self-help is taking hold of operative weavers in Burnley to a large extent. Already there are two societies in the town working two sheds, and another is in progress of formation. It appears that no operative can be employed by these companies who is not a shareholder, but outsiders can be shareholders too. The Haggate Company is not an industrial partnership like the Healey Royd and Trinity Societies, but most of the hands at Harle Syke (Haggate Company) are shareholders in the place.

COLLIERY STRIKE.—The men employed underground in Wollaston Colliery, near Nottingham, numbering about five hundred, have struck work. In summer the men submitted to a reduction of 10 per cent., consequent upon a fall in the price of coal, and a fortnight ago they gave notice for an increase of threepence per ton on soft and twopence per ton on hard coal, contending that there had been a return to the old prices. The notice expired on Wednesday, and, the company declining to accede to the demand, the men left work, taking their tools. The strike was settled on Saturday by a compromise, most of the men getting an advance and a promise of a further advance all round on the next rise in the price of coal. About 700 took part in the strike.

MINERS' MEETING AT QUARRY BANK.—On Wednesday 9th inst. a meeting of the miners locked out at the Netherend Colliery was held at the Hope and Anchor Inn, Quarry Bank. Mr. B. Winwood, who presided, said the present severe struggle of 19 weeks for the right to live by their labour proved conclusively the great necessity of closer combination among the miners of these districts than existed at the present time, and he hoped this dispute would serve as a lesson in future for the better organisation for the whole of the miners of South Staffordshire and East Worcestershire districts. Resolutions were carried unanimously in favour of continuing the strike, and appealing to fellow miners to assist them in the struggle.

IMPENDING STRIKE OF WEAVERS.—At a large and enthusiastic meeting of Colne weavers, held to consider the best steps to be pursued in the impending strike at Mr. Catlow's Garden Vale Shed, Mr. E. Riddihough, who presided, stated that every effort to get this employer to adhere to the Burnley standard list had hitherto failed, and the North-East Lancashire Weavers' Association felt compelled, in the interest of other firms, to take the matter up and compel conformity to the list. In his district, for the same class of goods they were receiving 3s. a week more, and Mr. Catlow was upwards of 15 per cent. under the list. Unless that firm was taken in hand, a general reduction all round would shortly take place. Mr. Holmes said that notices in the shape of a "round robin" had been sent in, which represented 900 looms out of a total of 1,100. Those weavers were practically working six weeks per annum for nothing, compared with the other part of the district, and it was unfair to other manufacturers. Colne generally was behind the list, but it would have to be brought up shortly, and everything depended upon that firm. A resolution was then passed, that to show this employer that they were determined to have the Burnley standard list adhered to, the first payment to the weavers out on strike be made one week in advance, and that each weaver contribute 2d. per loom per week.

NEW PHASE IN SCOTCH IRON TRADE.—RUSSIAN POLES AT GLENGARNOCK.

The *North British Mail* of Nov. 11 contains a report by its special commissioner on this latest phase of the Labour Struggle in Britain, from which the following is extracted:—"Much excitement has been recently created

in the iron manufacturing districts of the West of Scotland by a serious reduction in the wages of the labourers employed, and by the introduction by Messrs. Merry and Cunningham, at the Glengarnock Steel Works in Ayrshire, of a number of Russian Poles as labourers. Hitherto, notwithstanding the long and serious depression in trade, the current rate of wages has not been seriously tampered with by employers. The difficulty on the part of the men has been to find employment. Of course under such circumstances the general law of supply and demand has, as was to have been expected, exercised its influence, and wages have long since ceased to range at what might be termed the top rate. The most competent men have been constrained to accept the lowest current rates, and the less competent have been left out in the cold. The movement recently made at the Glengarnock Works, however, seems to indicate something much more serious than this. A considerable number of Russian Poles have been introduced into the district and employment found for them at the works, and this has been followed by a general reduction of the labourers wages to the very low figure of 2s. a day. When trade was brisk in the West of Scotland, 3s. and 3s. 6d. a day was the recognised standard wage for a labourer at such works as the Glengarnock Iron Works, and in West Cumberland, which is the newest iron district, these are the current wages even at the present time. Even now the average wage throughout Lanarkshire is not less than 2s. 6d. per day; but this is the first time that we have heard of such low wages as "two shillings a-day" being paid to men employed in such heavy and laborious work, and this is a wage even that we are sorry to think men should be constrained to accept. Food, no doubt, is cheap, and the cost of living perhaps is as low, and it may be even lower, than it has ever been known to be during the present generation. But let our readers but think what twelve shillings a week means to a man who has a wife and a family and a home to keep up. What will be left out of such a pittance after rent and rates and schooling for the children and other outside expenses are provided for. Let any one make the calculation for himself, and see how he would like to be placed in such a predicament. We certainly do not envy the employers who are constrained to pay such wages, and our necessities would indeed be great before we would stoop to call in the aid of the foreigner to impose them upon our fellow-countrymen. No doubt the work which these men have to do requires but little skill or previous training, but it is exhausting work, which necessarily implies that the man who does it must be well fed. As we recently overheard an employer remark in a cynical way: 'It is a strong back and a weak brain that we want,' and possibly the Russian Pole at Glengarnock is an ideal in this respect.

"Surely Messrs. Merry and Cunningham might have found cheap enough labour at this time in Scotland without troubling the Russian consul in this city to find it for them. From their own standpoint of view their conduct cannot be consistently defended. They are Tories in politics, and ardent supporters of all that Toryism implies. They would most cordially support any measure that might be proposed to impose a tax upon the product of foreign labour, even although it increased the cost of the bread which their workpeople earn by the sweat of their brow; but they claim for themselves the right to import that labour free so that they may maintain wages at starvation point here. The consistency of such a position will not stand discussion, but we would ask is it just? is it honest? should it be tolerated?"

"There is more than the pecuniary profits of Messrs. Merry and Cunningham at issue. The health and general interests of the whole community are involved, and the question is, are they to be reckoned of no weight in the balance as against the saving of a shilling a-day which this firm will effect, perhaps, on two or three score of men? The danger of infection from such a class of people as these Russian Poles unfortunately is no illusion, and, so far as we have been able to ascertain, Messrs. Merry and Cunningham have done nothing to protect the people of Kilbirnie against it. Then, in the event of these men breaking down in health or being discharged from their employment, who, then, is to bear the burden? The ratepayers have a right to ask this question, for, failing Messrs. Merry and Cunningham, it will undoubtedly fall upon them.

"It is hard to see what motive this firm can have in resorting to a step of this kind, unless it be that of pure greed. There has been no dispute with their workpeople, and there has been no unreasonable demand made by the latter which would have served as an excuse for the importation of foreign labour of this low class. The public certainly will expect some explanation from Messrs. Merry and Cunningham respecting this matter, and we think they have a right to it."

AMERICA.

On Saturday October 29 the New York Knights of Labour assembled in thousands in Union Square to show, as the call declared, "that there is still manhood enough left in the industrial heart of the nation to enter a vigorous protest against the execution of the seven men in Chicago whose only crime was love for their fellow men." James E. Quinn of District Assembly 49 touched the keynote of the meeting by saying, "that while in the past we working men have relied upon our ballots to protect our liberties, we find to-day that the ballot-box cannot be relied upon to protect us." The proceedings were most enthusiastic, and this was as yet the most radical utterance of Organised Labour. Chairman Kelly adjourned the meeting with the words, "If necessary we must fight in defence of our principles."

How cowardly and base the police are acting may be seen from the following extract from the *New York Herald*: "Mrs. Parsons (the wife of one of the seven) was selling to-day in the streets of Chicago General Trumbull's speech to Governor Oglesby on behalf of the Anarchists. She appeared thin and haggard, and extended the pamphlet, which she sold for 5 cents, to passers-by with pleading eyes and an eager manner. A crowd quickly collected and the sale went on rapidly until a big policeman came along and told her to move on. There was none of the old defiance, not a sign of the wild, untamed lioness about the faithful wife of the man now standing beneath the shadow of death. A year ago Mrs. Parsons would have turned on the blue-coated minister of despotism, she would have castigated him with fierce invective. To-day she obeyed the by no means courteous order to 'move on,' and hastened to a stairway, which she ascended and sank exhausted from the rapidity of her flight. 'Of course they must keep the streets clear,' she explained; 'I wish to aid them all I can'; and then the wretched woman, who firmly believes she will be a widow next Friday, smiled in a ghastly way."

LIST OF STRIKES FOR OCTOBER.

Number of strikers to Oct. 21	...	31,331
Philadelphia, Pa.—stove-molders and kettle-makers, against reduction of wages and for the discharge of foreman, Oct. 25	...	60
Harrison, N. J. (East Newark)—wire-workers, against system of fining, Oct. 20	...	15
Findlay, Ohio—edge-tool grinders, against reduction of wages	...	—

Pittsburgh, Pa.—boys in glassworks, for increase of wages	—
Scottdale, Pa.—coke-drawers, against loss of time, Oct. 27	—
New York city—varnishers, for increase of wages	—

Total known for October 1 to 28 13,406

THE CONSPIRACY LAW OF ILLINOIS.

ENCLOSED is a copy of the present Conspiracy Law of Illinois, in which State is the city of Chicago, where the seven Anarchists are condemned to be hanged. It was passed after the Haymarket affair—indeed, if it had been in existence then there would not have been so much legal delay possible—but it illustrates the unreasoning panic in Chicago better than would the Act under which they were condemned, as public excitement was at its height when the present law was introduced and passed. Use it if you can in the cause of liberty. Study will show its atrocity.

JOHN BEVERLEY ROBINSON.

New York, October 29.

An Act entitled "An Act to further define Conspiracy and to Punish the same, and Crimes committed in pursuance thereof, and relating to the Rule of Evidence."

Sec. 1. Be it enacted by the people of the State of Illinois, represented in the General Assembly: That if two or more persons shall conspire to do an unlawful act, dangerous in its character to human life or to person or property, or if its accomplishment will necessarily or probably require the use of force and violence, which may result in the taking of human life or injury to person or property, every party to such conspiracy shall be held criminally liable for whatever offence any one or more of his co-conspirators shall commit in furtherance of the common design.

Sec. 2. If any person shall, by speaking to any public or private assemblage of people, or in any public place, or shall by writing, printing, or publishing, or by causing to be written, printed, published, or circulated, any written or printed matter, advise, encourage, aid, abet, or incite a local revolution, or the overthrowing or destruction of the existing order of society by force or violence, or the resistance to and destruction of the lawful power and authority of the legal authorities of this State, or of any of the towns, cities or counties of this State, or resistance to the same, by force and violence, or by any of the means aforesaid shall advise, abet, encourage or incite the disturbance of the public peace, and by such disturbance attempt at revolution or destruction of public order shall thereafter ensue, and human life is taken or any person is injured, or property is destroyed by any person or by any of the means employed to carry into effect the purposes so advised, encouraged, aided, abetted or incited as aforesaid, every person so aiding, advising, encouraging, abetting or inciting the same shall be deemed as having conspired with the person or persons who actually commit the crime, and shall be deemed a principal in the perpetration of the same and be punished accordingly: and it shall not be necessary for the prosecution to show that the speaking was heard or the written or printed matter aforesaid was read or communicated to the person or persons actually committing the crime, if such speaking, writing, printing or publishing is shown to have been done in a public manner within this State.

Sec. 3. If two or more persons conspire to overthrow the existing order of society by force or violence, or to bring about a local revolution by force, or to destroy or resist and overcome the legal authorities of the State or of any county, city or town thereof, and a human being is killed or person injured, or property destroyed, by any of the persons engaged in such conspiracy, or by any one who may participate with them in the unlawful design and purpose, in furtherance of the object of such conspiracy, then all persons who may have conspired together as aforesaid, together with all persons who may actively participate in carrying into effect their common design, shall be deemed guilty of the crime committed by any one or more of such persons so conspiring or acting with such conspirators in the common design, and shall be punished accordingly; notwithstanding the time and place for the bringing about such revolution or overthrowing of public order, or the destruction or overcoming of such authorities, had not been definitely agreed upon by such conspirators, but was left to the exigencies of the time, or the judgment of co-conspirators or some one or more of them.

Sec. 4. Hereafter it shall not be necessary in order to establish a conspiracy as aforesaid to prove that the parties charged ever came together and entered into any agreement, combination or arrangement to accomplish a criminal or unlawful purpose, but it shall be sufficient if it appears that the parties charged were actually pursuing, in concert, the unlawful purpose, whether acting separately or together, at the same or different times, by the same or different means, providing that the acts of each were knowingly tending to the same unlawful result.

Sec. 5. Nothing in this Act contained shall be construed as repealing by implication or otherwise any law now in force in this State.

Approved June 15, 1887.

The Bermondsey Radical who wrote to Mr. Gladstone was doubtless disappointed with the answer, but it was very simple of him to be so. The question of the rights of the people is not a party matter, and therefore Mr. Gladstone can pay no attention to it. Nevertheless, the answer is useful; and there is even a glimmer of honesty about it, since Mr. Gladstone really says in it that if he were in the same position as the present Government is, he would do pretty much the same, *i.e.*, put down public meetings when they were inconvenient to "Society." Radicals might take note of this!—W. M.

A comrade forwards us an anonymous postcard received by him, with a request that we should notice it. The sneaking cad who writes it has revealed himself more clearly than we could paint him. After abusing one of the unemployed speakers, whom he calls "a rascally thief," he says: "That is just the sort of man who becomes 'unemployed' and a hero of the Socialist worship; and it is to allow him and those like him to preach theft and rapine and incendiarism and murder, and the destruction of all law and order and decency, in the hope of reducing society to the old barbarian level of Troglodyte Man, that we are to give up our parks, our squares, our streets, our comfort and our safety. That is your gospel; it is not that of *nous autres*. I would give such ruffians the benefit of the Nordenfolt gun; and if a few stray bullets knocked about the inside of 2 Northumberland Street, Strand, I should not cry my eyes out." The editor of the *P. M. G.* will doubtless be as proud as is our comrade to have incurred such gentlemanly wrath.—S.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Will you kindly answer the subjoined questions in the next issue of your paper? I am preparing a paper on "Socialism Practically Considered," as you will see by enclosed card. An answer to my inquiries will materially assist me in the formation of a correct judgment on the issues involved:—

1. What is Socialism?
2. Its aim and object?
3. How to be attained?

Also quote a work that would give the information I require?—I am, etc.,
78A, Park Street, N.W., Nov. 9th.

T H. S.

[The above is a genuine example of a class of letter we are constantly receiving. We do not wish to discourage any enquirer, hostile or otherwise, but must point out that it is hopeless to attempt to master a subject like Socialism in a few days, and then to get up and explain it all! Those of us who have spent years in the study of the social problem, and who find every day new fields for study and research, are aghast sometimes at the unreasoning audacity of those who expect to deal with Socialism as lightly as a juggler with a handkerchief, and who expect the whole matter to be pressed into three small pills to be swallowed at a gulp! Knowledge, even on Socialism, must be *learned* to be of use, and not taken ready-made. Grönlund's 'Co-operative Commonwealth' (Sonnenschein, 2s.), and Mrs. Besant's 'Essays on Socialism' (Freethought Publishing Company, 2s. 6d.) may be recommended to a beginner.—ED.]

THE CHICAGO MARTYRS.

The Glasgow Branch passed unanimously on Sunday evening a resolution recording admiration of the noble and heroic behaviour of their Chicago comrades, Spies, Parsons, Engels, and Fischer, in the face of death; their detestation of the brutal legal system by which they and their comrades were most unjustly condemned, and expressing the deepest sympathy with the relatives and friends of these brave martyrs in the Cause of the People. Resolutions of a similar nature were also carried at a great number of other meetings in all parts of the country.

General W. H. Parsons, a brother of our murdered comrade, gave the following facts concerning him to a reporter of an American paper recently:

"My brother was born in Montgomery county, Alabama, June 20, 1848, and therefore in his fortieth year. His grandfather was a major-general in the Revolutionary war, and his grand-uncle lost an arm at the battle of Bunker Hill. At twelve years of age my brother entered the Galveston *News* office, but on the breaking out of the war, at the age of thirteen, he joined a Confederate company, the Lone Star Grays, participating in many actions, and assisting in the capture of General Twiggs. He later became a member of my brigade and an excellent cavalry scout, serving under me till the war ended, when he was seventeen years of age. He edited the *Waco, Texas, Spectator* in 1868, and was married to a talented and beautiful Mexican lady in 1872, at Austin, Texas. Two children are the result of their union. In 1876 he was elected secretary of the Texas Senate, and the following year was appointed deputy collector of internal revenue. Going to Chicago in 1883, he resumed his trade as compositor on the *Times*, and in 1886 joined the Socialists. He has been nominated for alderman three times, for Congress twice and for sheriff and county clerk once each."

This is one of the "wretches" over whose untimely fate the cruel cowardly London *Chronicle* and its capitalist contemporaries are now gloating. B.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

Resolutions of Council.

(1) "That this meeting of the Council of the Socialist League condemns the action of Sir Charles Warren in ordering the police to prevent peaceable citizens from meeting in a public place in every way suited for meetings, and for ordering them to attack the said citizens while passing through the streets in a peaceable errand as if they were in an enemy's country, and also for calling out the military, and in all ways behaving as if London were in a state of siege."

(2) "That this meeting of the Council of the Socialist League expresses deep sympathy with the relatives of the Chicago martyrs in their bereavement, and pledges itself to do all in its power to make a substantial sign of that sympathy."

Propaganda Fund.—C. W. Mowbray, 6d.

Mowbray Testimonial Fund.—Announced up to October 29, £5, 19s. 6d. Received November 7—E. Beare, 1s. T. Morley, 1s. A. T. Sutton, 1s. 6d. A. Houghton, 10s. F. Kahler, 2s. F. C. Slaughter, 12s. H. Samuels, 1s.—A. T. SUTTON and F. C. SLAUGHTER, Secs.

Socialist Defence Association.—Geo. Porter, 5s. Isabella Sandheim, 10s.

Fund for the Provision of Wives and Families of the Martyred Anarchists.

Under this heading we shall be pleased to acknowledge donations for the above object.

D. Nicoll, 2s. Jenny Morris, 10s. W. Morris, £1.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Annie Cobden-Sanderson, donation, £2, 2s. *Weekly Subscriptions*—K. F., 1s. C. J. F., 2s. Oxford Branch, 2s. Langley, 2s. P. W., 6d. W. B., 6d. Ph. W., Treasurer, Nov. 15.

REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—On Thursday, Nov. 10th, W. H. Utley lectured on "Evolution of Society." Good discussion and two new members elected. Sunday morning meeting at St. Pancras Arches addressed by Wardle, Springfield, and Dalziel. Several promised to join branch.—T. J. D.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, Nov. 9th, no meeting. Sunday evening, an indignation meeting was held on Green, when speeches were made protesting against the murderous and brutal action of the "guinea-a-week bullies" on unarmed and peaceable men and women. In hall (Annie Besant in chair) George Bernard Shaw lectured to large audience on "Practical Socialism." Good discussion and reply from lecturer followed.—B.

FULHAM.—On Sunday, Nov. 13th, large meeting addressed by Graham Wallas, Mahony, and Tochatti. Fair sale of *Commonweal*. 5s. 2d. collected and another member made.—S. B. G.

HOXTON.—Meetings well attended Thursday evening and Sunday morning. On Sunday evening, H. H. Sparling lectured on "Socialism, its Probable Effect on Life." Interesting discussion. A vote of condolence with the families of the murdered heroes of Chicago carried with enthusiasm at close, and 4s. collected for Chicago Fund.—C. J. Y.

MITCHAM.—Meeting on Fair Green addressed by Eden and Kitz. Our meetings (despite the inclement weather) still increase, as does also the attendance of police. A special meeting will shortly be convened with supper for these worthies to regale themselves upon, as a reward for their exertions in protecting law and order.—R. C.

GLASGOW.—On Thursday evening, the first meeting of the discussion class was held. Comrade Adams opened a debate on the "Eight Hours' Working-day," and demonstrated that no reduction of the hours of labour would permanently benefit the wage-earners. On Saturday, a good meeting was held at Cambuslang. Glasier and Downie were the speakers, and were received with the good-will that is always accorded to our comrades here. Sunday at 2 p.m., Glasier, Pollock, and Gilbert addressed a large and attentive audience in Infirmary Square. Our usual meeting at Paisley Road Toll was very successful, Glasier and Pollock being the speakers, and were listened to with great attention. At 7 p.m., in our hall, at 8, Watson Street, Mavor delivered an interesting lecture on the "Working of the Commercial System." Good discussion followed. Good sale of *Commonweal*.—H.

LEICESTER.—Nov. 4th, a lecture on "Malthusianism," given by Robson. Several new members joined. At the Y. M. Institute in connection with the Victoria Road Church, a paper read on 8th, "Is the Socialistic Tendency of Modern Legislation likely to prove beneficial to the English Nation." Discussion followed, remarkable for the advanced opinions expressed. Mr. Daniells nobly vindicated the justice of our propaganda. Amongst the speakers were the Rev. Greenough, LL.D., M.A., Mr. Alderman Bennett, and many of the "hupper ten."—J. F.

LEEDS.—Sunday morning, Braithwaite, Paylor, Maguire, and Sollitt addressed meeting in Vicar's Croft. In evening question of "Technical Education" discussed at our rooms.—T. P.

NORWICH.—Meeting at Cawston, a village about 12 miles from Norwich, by Mowbray and Houghton; also in Market Place and Agricultural Hall Plain, Mowbray and Darley speakers; our banners draped in black as a token of respect for Chicago comrades. Papers sold well, and good collections made at all our meetings. On Monday 7th, social gathering held in Gordon Hall to present Mowbray with a purse of seven guineas to enable him to start at his trade in Norwich. Very enjoyable evening spent. A string band is forming in connection with our branch; five members already joined. First rehearsal of 'Nupkins' on Tuesday next, Nov. 14th. Parker lectured, assisted by Mowbray, in Gordon Hall on "The Murder of Anarchists in Chicago, and the Lessons of it."—M.

NOTTINGHAM.—At club Saturday night, visit received from Rev. S. D. Headlam, who held a general conversation with members on the unemployed. Sunday morning he lectured in Secular Hall to crowded audience on "Christian Socialism." Lecture well received, slight opposition sufficiently answered by lecturer. Collection made for the Socialist Defence Fund, £1 6s. 11d. At a late meeting of the branch on Sunday night, on receiving the news of the Trafalgar Square conflict, the following resolutions were passed unanimously:—(1) "This meeting strongly condemns the suppression of public meetings in Trafalgar Square, and is of opinion that the Home Secretary and the Chief Commissioner of Police are responsible for the injuries inflicted upon peaceful citizens by the police, and demands their immediate resignation of the offices they have proved themselves to be incompetent to fill." (2) "This meeting expresses its full concurrence with the efforts that have been made to maintain the rights of public meeting in Trafalgar Square, a place which is national property, and trusts that these efforts will be repeated until successful, and that if necessary deputations will be summoned from all parts of the country to support the citizens of London in their opposition to tyranny and oppression."—A. M'C.

WALSALL.—Donald spoke here Saturday evening to large audience. Meetings also held Sunday and Monday by Sanders.—J. T. D.

DUBLIN.—At the Saturday Club, Nov. 12th, the relative merits of "Free or Fair Trade" from a Socialistic standpoint were discussed by J. B. Killen, Brown, and Fitzpatrick, who also delivered a powerful condemnation of the judicial murder of the four Anarchists in Chicago.

NORWICH ANARCHIST GROUP.—Henderson spoke during week at Carrow, Yarmouth; Norwich, on St. George's Plain and Haymarket, on Saturday. Two good meetings held in Market Sunday, and one at Ber Street. At Yarmouth the meeting assumed the proportions of a demonstration, and most effectually silenced the Tory roughs who raised the late disturbances.—A.

Scottish Land and Labour League.

EDINBURGH.—Sunday evening, Tuke read paper on "Individualism" at usual meeting-place. As paper was short, J. N. Smith read translation of debate held at New York between Henry George and Schevitch.

Larger audience than usual listened with great attention to both papers. Good collection.—C. W. T.

ABERDEEN.—Further meetings addressed by Mahon. On Monday night business meeting held, and a programme for six weeks arranged.

WOODSIDE.—Mahon addressed three meetings here on Tuesday. At Grandholm Works dinner-hour, in the open-air 7 p.m., and in St. Katherine's Hall at 8. Barrow and Leatham spoke at night. Enough names given in to form branch.

MONTROSE.—Mahon addressed a second meeting here in the Temperance Hall on 9th. Audience very sympathetic and attentive. Some names for branch given; good deal of literature sold.

ARBROATH.—Mahon spoke at Tower Nook on 10th, and to crowded indoor meeting same evening. Several added to branch.

CARNOUSTIE.—Mahon lectured on "How to Realise Socialism" on 11th. Good sale of literature, collection, and several new members.

DUNDEE.—Branch is now progressing favourably. Saturday and Sunday four meetings held, at which Mahon, Duncan, Weksleder, Carr, Simpson, and Grainger spoke. Sunday night, Mahon's lecture on "The Rise and Progress of Socialism" was well attended. Number of new members enrolled, and good sale of literature effected. Next Sunday our members class begins.—J. C.

Notice to Branches of the S.L.L.L.

Branches desiring literature apply to D. K. Mackenzie, librarian, 163 Pleasance, Edinburgh.

North of England Socialist Federation.

A very interesting report of a week's campaign in Northumberland, by the Rev. John Glasie, of Edinburgh, we are reluctantly compelled to hold over by extreme pressure of space and time.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, W. On Thursday Nov. 17, at 8.30, T. E. Wardle, "Society: Present and Future." Nov. 24, at 7.30, business meeting; at 8.30, lecture by Edward Carpenter, "Peasant Life in Italy."

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday November 20, at 8.30. W. Morris, "The Coming Society." Wednesday 23, at 8.30, H. H. Sparling, "Wilful Waste and Woful Want."

Fulham.—Committee meets Wednesday evenings, 8 o'clock, at 4 Werlery Avenue, Dawes Rd., Fulham. On Sunday 20th Turner will lecture.

Hammermith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday November 20, at 8 p.m. A. C. Varley, "Socialistic Co-operation."

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—Grand Concert and Draw will be held at 13 Farringdon Road on Saturday evening, December 10, to raise a fund for the purpose of forming an East-end Socialist Club. Members of other eastern branches are invited to co-operate. Circulars will be issued in a few days. Concert and draw committee meeting on Saturday at 8.30, at 8 Dunloe Street, Hackney Road. Special members' meeting to further discuss this matter at *Commonweal* Office on Tuesday Nov. 22, at 8.30.

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

Mill-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.

Arbroath (Scot. Sect.).—High Street Hall. Meeting Friday evenings. W. Smith, 12 Maule St., secy. **Bradford.**—Morris's Dining Rooms, 114 City Road. Wednesdays, at 8.

Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Secretary *pro tem.*, D. M'Dougal, East Path. **Cowdenbeath (Scot. Sect.).**—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., secy. **Dublin.**—Saturday Club, Central Hall, 12 Westmorland Street, every Saturday at 8 p.m. Free debates on Social and Political subjects. All friends invited.

Dundee (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station. Political Economy class, 11 a.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, Trades Hall, High St., J. L. Mahon **Galashiels (Scot. Sect.).**—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., 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 St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Music and Shorthand Classes, Tuesday at 8. Choir Practice, Wednesday at 8. Discussion Class, Thursdays at 8 (on 24th Moffat will open a debate on "Objections to Socialism").—In the Hall, 8 Watson Street, Gallowgate, on Sunday Nov. 20, at 6.30, R. M'Ghee, "Land Restoration."

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. On Sunday November 20, at 7.30, Debate, "Individualism v. Socialism." *Ind.*, J. S. Fisher (Party of Individual Liberty); *Soc.*, T. Maguire.

Leicester.—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8. **Lochgelly (Scottish Section: Fife).**—Secs. (*pro tem.*), John Greig and Hugh Cohway, The Square.

Norwich.—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Free Lectures every Sunday at 8. Business Meeting Monday at 8.30.

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.—Temperance Hall. Meets every Monday.

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

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 20.

9.30...Starch GreenHammersmith Branch
11.30...Hackney—Salmon and Ball.....
11.30...Hoxton Ch., Pitfield St.....Mainwaring & Davis
11.30...Kingsland GreenBarker
11.30...Merton—Haydons Road.....The Branch
11.30...Mitcham Fair GreenJ. J. Allman
11.30...Regent's ParkNicoll
11.30...St. Pancras ArchesDalziel & Wardle
11.30...Walham Green.....The Branch
3 ...Hyde Park
7 ...Stamford HillGraham
7 ...Clerkenwell GreenLane

Wednesday.

8 ...Broadway, London Fields.....Cores

Thursday.

8 ...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.....Brookes

PROVINCES.

Glasgow.—St. George's Cross: Sunday, 1 p.m.—Glasier and Pollock.

Paisley Road Toll: Sunday, 4.30.—Bulloch and Pollock.

Hamilton: Saturday, at 6 p.m.—Glasier and Adams.

Leeds.—Sunday: Vicar's Croft, 11 a.m.

Norwich Branch.—Sunday: Market Place at 3; Agricultural Hall Plain at 7.

Dereham.—Every Wednesday, Market Place at 7.

North of England Socialist Federation.

BRANCHES AND SECRETARIES.

Annisford.—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.

HOXTON, Globe Coffee House, 227 High Street.—Mrs. Annie Besant (Fabian) lectures for the L.E.L. on Wednesday November 30, at 8.30—subject, "The only Path to Freedom for Labour."

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

NORWICH ANARCHIST GROUP.—Yarmouth—Thursday, on the Quay, at 7.30. Carrow—Friday, at 1.30. St. Faith's—Sunday, on the Green, 3.30. Norwich—St. George's Plain, Saturday, at 1.15; Haymarket, Saturday, at 8; Market Place, Sunday at 11 and 8.

Y.M. LITERARY AND TRAINING SOCIETY, Mornington Chapel, Hampstead Road, N.W.—Monday Nov. 28, T. Shingles, "Socialism Practically Considered," 8 pm.

WEST MARYLEBONE WORKING MEN'S CLUB (S.D.F.), 123a Church Street, Edgware Road, W.—Sunday Nov. 20, at 8 p.m., H. A. Barker (S.L.), "The Aims of Socialists."

SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—Meeting at *Commonweal* Office, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday November 20, at 3.30 p.m. prompt.

NUPKINS AWAKENED.

On Saturday December 3rd the above Dramatic Sketch will be performed,

IN AID OF "THE PRISONERS' DEFENCE FUND."

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 Rights of Labour according to John Ruskin. By Thomas Barclay. . 1d.

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 COMMONWEALTH

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 98.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

The swearing-in of the Specials will recall to some of the older amongst us the similar panic caused by the last great demonstration of waning Chartism in 1848. But the rush into the ranks of the amateur police was much more energetic then. A certain amount of fun was poked at these heroes by the *Punch* of the period, which though bourgeois enough was both funnier and less completely flunky than it is now. *E.g.*, one drawing of Leech's exhibited an unhappy little Special about to enter into conflict with a brawny and contemptuous drayman, and fortifying his courage by saying to him: "Now, you know, if I kill you it's nothing; but if you kill me, by George, it's murder!"

It is much to be hoped, by the way, that the real police, who, as we have abundance of reason to know, are in a very bad temper, will not vent any of it on their amateur brethren; that they won't look upon them as "knob-sticks" and interlopers; that they won't in consequence hit them a knock on the sly when their badges are not very visible; that they won't detail them for warm corners amongst Socialists and Irishmen, and let them take care of themselves there, to find out by experience that "the policeman's life is not a happy lot." This would be spiteful and unpleasant of them, but so natural, that we are bound to hope that it won't take place.

On the other hand are the special constables all prepared to imitate the conduct of the police, now become so flagrant to all honest people? Is Sir Frederick Leighton going to knock down a woman; to scalp a tottering old man, some relic of '48 perhaps; to beat a man on the ground wherever the baton can be got in when he is held by three or four other defenders of law and order; to thrash a defenceless prisoner in the midst of his fcemen; to insult a high-spirited and brave man in the police-cell, and to beat him into senselessness if he retorts by word or look? Because all this is Sir Charles Warren's view of the duties of the English policemen at present, and as long as they have to deal with unarmed men.

I can suggest another course of action which really might come well within the four corners of the oath which these British Lions have to take before they can be trusted with the baton and the badge. How would it be if they were to translate "keeping the Queen's peace" in this way?

"If I see the police attacking a procession of unarmed men going on their lawful errands, even if I don't agree with their political opinions, I shall feel it my duty to take their side and help to defend them from the police."

"If I see a policeman knock down a peaceful defenceless person I shall feel it my duty to arrest him and call on all citizens to help me."

"If any such horrors of cowardice come to my notice as beating and insulting prisoners, either when just taken or (still worse) in the police cell, I will pursue the wretches who practice such shameful atrocities to the utmost."

"If I am told off to prevent the people from making use of their own property, I will not prevent them, but will do all in my power to help them to keep the meeting orderly."

"In short I will do my best to keep the peace and to hinder peace-breakers even if they wear blue coats and numbers."

I offer these suggestions to Sir Frederick Leighton and the other military bourgeois now invested with the badge. But I confess I am afraid that they understand that the Government has called on them to *break* the peace and not to *keep* it. Yet even so I do still call upon them to act according to some of the hints above given. At least let them determine not to strike non-combatants, and not to maul men on the ground or insult helpless prisoners, and so be honourable enemies if they must be enemies. I admit that even if they go so far as this they will run some risk of finding themselves prisoners; for they will be expected to do the worst of all these things. Indeed it is for their own sakes and not for ours that I make this appeal to them; for I cannot think that they will be a very dangerous army. I wish them to spare themselves the dishonour of going down to posterity as the most shameful set of fools and poltroons that have ever disgraced English history—scoundrels as bad as the whores and pimps of Versailles in '71, or the cold and bloodthirsty cheats of Chicago to-day.

As to the professional police, what are we to liken them to? There is a story of the Wars of the Jews, I think in the book of Maccabees, of King Antiochus their great persecutor, and how he made his elephants drunk and then set them on a defenceless crowd. Just so has the Woman-queller Warren made *his* elephant, the police, drunk, opened the door of its cage, and bid it run amuck; and no doubt, being

a religious man, as I hear, thanks God for the victory thus won. So I think it is not so much the unhappy drunken elephant we can hate, though we must certainly defend ourselves against him, as the king who has set him on—if indeed we can hate even him, a lump of wood and pipeclay, inspired with military duty, so-called, to take the place of intelligence and conscience. How long are we to be forced to bear the dominion of the class which in its turn has made him?

Concerning the sentences of Ingham and Vaughan at their drum-head court-martial—their stupid iniquity; the gross flunkeyism which drew from Mr. Poland an elaborate apology to Mr. Burleigh for the same offence for which Oldland had a year's imprisonment allotted to him; the collapse of the prosecution against Mr. Saunders, and its idiotic comicality—what are we to say of all this, except that it reveals even to the simple and unsuspecting the foundation on which "Society" (so-called) is built—to wit, fraud and brute-force.

Cunninghame Graham has done his utmost to wipe off the reproach of the Radical M.P.'s. His conduct will be long remembered, one would hope, by lovers of freedom; but he must expect for some time to come to be a pariah among M.P.'s. To do him justice he is not likely to care much about that. W. M.

INSURANCE AGAINST MAGISTRATES.

THE meeting held in the Memorial Hall on November 18th will do good service if the protective League inaugurated by it keeps to its promise (as I see no reason for doubting that it will) of helping all persons without distinction of opinion who "get into trouble" in their endeavours to defend freedom of speech. Stewart Headlam in his speech on that occasion said nothing less than the bare truth when he said that no poor man had any chance of obtaining justice in a magistrate's court,—in which, by the way, he would doubtless have included the Middlesex Sessions if he had had any experience of Judge Edlin. No better instance of the necessity of some corporate protection for the victims of the law could be given than what happened on the morning of the meeting, when nine prisoners convicted by Ingham's drum-head court-martial were able to appeal against the unjust and malignant sentences pronounced against them by an ancient piece of incompetence, no doubt inspired by orders from headquarters. I believe none of these poor men would have been able to appeal but for the responsible bail provided for them chiefly through the efforts of Mrs. Besant, whose untiring energy and devotion throughout the whole affair will surely win her a place in the hearts of all working men. It has been stated in these columns before, but may as well be stated again, that no one can appeal from a magistrate's decision unless he can find two sureties who will bind themselves to pay the costs of the appeal if rejected;—where can a poor man find such sureties, who may have to pay £50 in case of failure?

The struggle for mere freedom of speech (whatever it may lead to) will certainly be a long and arduous one. Even the present idiotic Tory Government will not be easy to get rid of; and though it is possible that a Liberal Government would treat us better, at least for a while, because the Liberals may be forced to take the matter up and come in on it, yet such a trifle as a mere change of ministry will not cure the gangrene of the law-courts; nor will it have much influence on the reaction which is obviously setting in and which is the necessary accompaniment to the no less obvious progress of revolutionary ideas. The struggle will be a long one, and must be carried on by us in a manner which will mean steadily and pertinaciously harassing the apparently all-powerful executive on all sides. The League which the *Pall Mall Gazette* has set on foot will, if it performs its functions duly, take up one side of the attack, and will assuredly do good service. All Socialists will be glad to see Mrs. Besant's name on the committee as an earnest of due fulfilment of its promises; and although "votes of thanks" are not in favour amongst us, it would be unfair and ungenerous not to acknowledge the great services which the *Pall Mall Gazette* has done to the popular cause throughout this agitation. Well-to-do people especially should join this League, and help it both with their money, for a good deal of that will be necessary, and also by sending in their names as persons to be relied on for bail and sureties of the prisoners taken in the war for Freedom of Speech.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

PRISON LIFE IN ENGLAND.

(Continued from page 362.)

THE ordinary routine of prison life is very dull, and to any one in weak health would be very injurious, more especially to such an one who has been used to a luxurious home and living. For myself, I have during my lifetime had to "rough" it; I have known what it is to sleep in the open-air and be without food, I have experienced the treatment of the workhouse and casual ward, and have no hesitation in saying that I personally give the preference to the prison. The food is at least good, though coarse. It may be as well just to give a scale of the diet received by each adult male prisoner for the first four months of his term if over six months:—

BREAKFAST.

Gruel 1 pint, and bread 8 ounces.

SUPPER.

Gruel 1 pint, and bread 6 ounces.

DINNER.

Mondays	{	9 ounces of haricot beans and 1 ounce of fat bacon, with 8 ounces of bread and 12 ounces of potatoes.
Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays.	{	Soup 1 pint, and potatoes 8 ounces, with bread 8 ounces.
Fridays.	{	4 ounces of Australian beef, 12 ounces of potatoes, and 8 ounces of bread.
Wednesdays and Sundays.	{	Suet pudding (<i>alias</i> bran mash), with 8 ounces of potatoes, and 4 ounces of bread.

After four months, porridge made of barley meal or oatmeal will be given instead of gruel. I submit to any reasonable being if the above scale is not better than many (if not most) of the working-men of this country get. I may be asked why do some men look so ill on their discharge? To my mind it is simply fretting; I cannot account for it any other way. For myself I made up my mind that the officials should not hurt or break me down, and I succeeded, for I was in good health and weighed 12st. 7lb. the morning of my release, having only lost 4lb. during the nine months.

I will try and show the *Commonweal* readers what kind of personage they will have to deal with if ever they need the assistance of the medical officer. It was my misfortune to have to report myself sick once, owing to my bruising my back by knocking it against the cell table when scrubbing my floor. I was asked by the doctor what ailed me, and having described my ailment, a bruise, received a dose of "salts." I think you will agree with me that this was rather a curious medicine for a bruised back. Every prisoner on admission goes before the doctor to see what labour he is fit for, and he must be very ill indeed if he is excused the "wheel." Every Monday morning the doctor passes by the open cell-door of each prisoner to see if he is all right. I may also say that if a man is really ill (that is very near dead) the doctor will order his removal to the prison infirmary, where he will get an entirely different diet, consisting of rice pudding, etc., and chops or steaks, according to his condition. I have heard a prisoner, who was returned from the hospital to his cell again, and he told me he had never been so well off in his life as when in the hospital. As a rule, however, the medical officer is (at least was with me) both harsh and insulting, for on one occasion he asked me, when I complained of my back, if I would like a bottle of champagne, a free discharge, and £300 per year. My answer being to this insult that he was a coward to speak to me in that manner when I dared not retaliate. It is one more chalk, however, to wipe out from "his" class when the Revolution comes.

The work which I had to perform was making the officers' clothing. I had to work in what was known as the "condemned cell." I did not care, however, because I had a fire to heat my irons. I was ultimately moved (in April) to an association cell. I had a fire here also, and here it was in A. 3, 33, that I got my first punishment. I had been in my spare time making a pair of slipper tops for my wife, thinking possibly that I should be able to get them out of the prison, and I had got them nicely embroidered with "No Master" and "All for the Cause" done in the cloth with silk thread, when I was caught by one of the officers, who reported me, and I was brought before the governor, who put me back to oakum-picking and plank bed for 14 days.

Nothing particular occurred for a time after this until the 21st of June, when I was awakened by the church bells pealing forth their half-cracked notes to commemorate the Jubilee of Victoria Guelph, the proprietress of the gaol in which I was confined so I'm told. The duties of the prison were in no way interfered with, but at 8.30 a.m., we had to go to listen to a "Jubile service," when we were told that it was owing to the fact of our having such a good (*sic*) Queen we were enabled to boast of having advanced education, extension of the franchise, advanced wages, and goodness knows what other good things which we are supposed to have received at the hands of this person. It was a very hard struggle to sit and listen to such frightful misstatements and perversions of the truth; but the worst was to come when a special prayer was offered up for the celebrated hero of the Cole, Mordaunt, and Pimlico exposures, A. E. G., otherwise known as Prince of Wales and coming K—.

C. W. MOWBRAY.

(To be continued.)

"BROKEN CISTERNS."

(Continued from p. 371.)

LET us study political economy by all means; it will teach us what our present system is and how it works, and we shall be the better able to compare it with any one proposed to supersede it, and be the better qualified to answer the defenders of the present system, supposing we should be amongst those who want to change it for a better. But evidently, if we are not content to accept the present system and be ground to fit it, we must seek elsewhere for help.

Another agency which is trusted by many to bring better times is the moral elevation of the people; and here two things suggest themselves for our consideration—how far the moral improvement of the individual can go without first improving the system which is doing its best to grind him till he fits it, and how far the individual, supposing he can be morally elevated, could help evils which are brought on by changes and laws of the system under which he lives.

First, then, how far can the individual be raised morally under the present system. We are told that honesty is the best policy, and that therefore the system tends to make people honest: the church or chapel magnate who has made a fortune dilates upon this to the youthful members of the mutual improvement class. But what is this honesty which is said to be the best policy? If we come to examine it we shall find it is a mere following of some conventional rules which society takes for morality. It says you must not steal your neighbour's watch or rob his till, or gamble at cards or on the turf; it says in some cases you must pay your debts; you must, if poor, save money and not be extravagant, and feel too honourable to ask for relief if in distress; it says you must not steal turnips or leave a house without paying your rent, etc., etc. These and many suchlike conventional honesty requires; but we shall be able to form a more exact opinion of it if we look at a few things which it does not require. First, then, it does not say you shall not steal common land from the people or houses that others have built, nor does it say that you shall not take 10s. worth of labour and give 5s. for it. Nor does it say that your articles shall be as good as you say they are, or that when you sell cotton and the like that you shall not sell water with it to make up the weight, or clay or size to make up the look. It does not say that you shall not tell lies at street corners or in public newspapers about your own goods or those of others; it does not say that you shall treat those poorer than yourself with greater generosity and respect because of their harder lot; nor does it say that if a man trusts you in business you should treat him if anything better than one who looks upon you as a scamp and tries to get as much out of you as possible. These and many suchlike things conventional morality does not include; and I think we may safely say that modern trade tends to develop not honesty, but dishonesty, skilfully clothed in the appearance of goodness and legality.

But there is something behind morality which many think to be the only true basis of it, and which all agree to be essential to the truest morality, and that is disinterestedness, unselfishness, in its negative aspect, love of others, love of the common good in its more positive form. This love it is which forms the genuine part of all goodness, which declares many a man and woman, judged by society as vicious, to be good, and many a one praised by society as righteous and pious, to be anything but good.

What chance is there of fostering this spirit under our present competitive system? A child is taught that it's duty is to get on, to climb up the social ladder, to make a name greater than his fellows, to get more wealth and honour than his fellows, to look after number one first and if when he has raised himself into a high position he has still to spare then let him look round for some others for him to love—if indeed it be love which gives but that which is not wanted or missed! The man with his thousands of acres gives a bit here for a park and a bit there for a church or museum, and perhaps steals a piece of common-land twice the size of all put together, and the local papers speak of his philanthropy, which used once upon a time to mean the love of men. There is little deeper unselfishness than this taught by modern society; and if we come to industry and the production of wealth—and after all, modern society is based on wealth—things are still worse. If a man has shares which he finds out to be worthless, he seeks to pass them off on his neighbour as soon as he can, lest his neighbour should find out their true value too: perhaps by this a wealthy man ruins some poor widow or aged couple dependent on their savings for a living. This is the "honesty" which is "the best policy;" this is "good business faculty;" and this is the morality taught by our industry. Instead of teaching love of the good of others, it not only teaches love of self, but it crushes out all who will not learn its lesson. The greater need a man is in, the more is got out of him. The more a man needs to sell the less is given him for his goods; the more need he has to buy the more he is charged for what he wants. Stripped of all garnish, society represents a huge struggle or scramble for wealth and position, in which a few clambering over the bodies of the fallen and on the shoulders of the less fortunate, get to the top and have an easy time of it, while the majority have to continue to struggle for very life all their days. I am well aware that there are mitigating circumstances; custom still holds out to some extent against the inroads of competition, and human nature is not yet degraded enough to allow the scramble to go on quite unchecked; but I maintain that the present system is such a scramble, and the more completely it is developed the greater must be the struggle; for those who will not take the advantage

will be taken advantage of, and all must be forced more and more to fight for their own hand regardless of others.

In the midst of such a system as this, how is the moral tone of the individual to be raised? Every step he takes in the upward course makes it harder for him to hold his own. One is constantly being astonished at the utterly selfish and inconsiderate acts in business matters done by men who in private life are of the most unselfish dispositions: the system is too strong for them. And to the people who trust to improving the individual as a remedy of our social evils we must reply that if we want men to become less selfish and more considerate of others' welfare, we must change that system which is forcing them in the other direction.

The second point we had to consider was whether the individual, supposing he could be raised morally, could prevent the evils of our present system. We have seen already that men whose natures are most unselfish in private life have nevertheless to act most selfishly in business, and we must conclude that they are unable to help themselves in the latter case. And in fact it is so; the individual has very little power when face to face with a system.

I have shown in an article before how in a town the whole of one trade can be coerced by any one or two firms selling cheaper or adulterating or refusing to close for a holiday, and in numerous other ways. But our friends will not so easily give up their theory about honesty being the best policy. They will say that you can always find one or two shops or manufactories where none but good articles are made or sold and no advertising is done, and that these often do very well. This is true to a great extent, but does not disprove what I have said. I think it is one of those numerous cases where it is assumed that because one or two can raise themselves by a certain course of action, therefore all could. Like the question of temperance, a few teetotallers among a lot of drinking men may get higher wages because compared to the general set of men they are more valuable; but if all turned teetotallers they would lose their advantage over their neighbours and with it their higher rate of pay. It is in a similar way that the shops above-named get on. They have an advantage over their neighbours, and are to that extent lifted above competition. There are generally enough people who understand something about an article and can judge when it is pure to support one shop selling a good article, even at a higher price than it is sold elsewhere; but the public generally can never be good judges of all articles, and must in the majority of cases go by price and trust to the word of the tradesman. We must remember that had it been possible to do without all these dodges and tricks of trade probably we should have had much less of them, for there was a time when things were done honestly. All this has arisen with the system, and the individual is powerless to prevent it.

The system of competition allows to all freedom to go with the stream and to go at what rate they can in that direction, but if any tries to go against it he is swiftly overwhelmed. Mr. Thompson, of Halifax, said in a lecture that he had found it harder and harder to carry on business without using shoddy, but he had managed it, and he doubted if any other firm in the district could say as he could that they had never used it.

RAYMOND UNWIN.

(To be continued.)

SOCIALISTS AT CHURCH IN SCOTLAND.—Last Sunday the Dundee Socialists held large meetings in Hilltown, Barrack Park, and High Street, and several addresses were delivered by members. After the High Street meeting in the afternoon about 200 marched to East Parish Church and attended service, which was conducted by Rev. Mr. Mitchell, assistant to Rev. Colin Campbell. Their behaviour throughout was very orderly.

"SPOILING THE EGYPTIANS."—A general meeting of the shareholders of the Anglo-Egyptian Bank was held on the 16th, when it was stated that the profits for the past six months amounted to £27,862, 9s. 6d., of which the directors proposed to take £24,000 to pay a dividend of 6 per cent. this time. The average rate of interest for loans to the fellahs had been reduced from 18 per cent. to 6 per cent.; the robbery under which they suffer is less by two-thirds than before, and yet the total of the spoil makes a "respectable" sum.

COERCION IN NORWICH.—The Norwich Corporation is applying to Parliament for new powers with respect to public meetings in the city. Amongst other clauses is one asking for authority to prohibit processions in the streets and meetings in public places. This is undoubtedly due in a large degree to the dislike with which most of the "respectables" of the city view the Socialist meeting in Norwich. Every week there are nearly a dozen open-air meetings in the city, all well attended and enthusiastic. The middle-class humbugs who drew up the Bill for Parliament are simply showing their own fright at the way in which workmen respond to Socialist ideas at these meetings.—F. H.

COMMITTAL OF MR. DOUGHTY—EXTRAORDINARY SCENE.—At Ennis Court-house on Friday 18th inst. Henry B. Doughty, the London working-men's delegate to Ireland, was sentenced to a month's imprisonment under the Crimes Act. An extraordinary scene followed, and one which has not been witnessed in an Irish court of justice for some considerable time. Mr. Doughty, who sat beside his solicitor, was directed to be taken into custody. Standing up suddenly, he raised his hat in the air and called out "God save Ireland!" There was a wild response from the crowded audience in the court, and the soldiers of the Leinster Regiment who filled the gallery were the most demonstrative in cheerily answering the prisoner's appeal. About seventy of this regiment had been marched over from Clare Castle in the morning to do duty at the court-house, and having piled their arms in front of the building, a guard was placed and the rest of the men allowed to enter the court and listen to the proceedings. The military, in full marching order, occupied the gallery fronting the magisterial bench, and when the cheers arose from the people in answer to Mr. Doughty's challenge, the military seized their helmets and waved them frantically, while shout after shout went up for Ireland.

DE LUNATICO.

RAVINGS OF A PRESS CENSOR IN PRISON.

(By FERDINAND FREILIGRATH. Translated by J. L. JOYNES.)

ONE chamber has not yet been shown;
A single grating gives it light;
Stiff like a statue carved in stone
Its inmate stands, a woeful sight.
Nought haps to rouse his fury here;
He struggles face to face with death;
His glassy eyes are fixed in fear;
So gazed on Banquo's ghost Macbeth.

There!—What was ice is turned instead
To flame. He starts.—What is't he sees?

Whence comes and why the vision dread,
That stirs his hair and shakes his knees?

He clasps his hands against his face,
To shut from sight avenging swords;
He hides his head and begs for grace,
And groans and grovels on the boards.

And hark! he cries, "Was mine the knife

That stabbed ye? Mine the noose that caught?

Who hounds ye on to hunt my life,
Ye pale blood-boltered ghosts of Thought?

Who bade ye bridge the backward way
That leads from limbo up to light,
Old scores at last in full to pay,
And with ill visions vex my sight?

"I mowed ye down by legions; dumb
Ye fell like ears of garnered grain:
I little thought the time would come
When your pale ghosts would rise again,

To haunt with horror this abode,
Wherein it likes me else to dwell—
By Royal favour 'twas bestowed
For service wisely done and well.

"No finer place the country boasts,
And yet 'tis cursed, as all may see—
Avaunt, ye swarms of angry ghosts,
Athirst for blood, why haunt ye me?"

Your knitted brows are pale and bleed,
Yet courage lights your eyes in sooth;
Two noble forms your forces lead,
'Tis Freedom, as I think, and Truth.

"'Tis they indeed! For them have ye
Sprung forth full-armed from teeming brains,

To haunt and hunt and torture me
Despite of penalties and pains.
Full at my heart ye aim your blow,
As if 'twere murder ye would do;
Off, off, ye scoundrels, let me go,
And I will come to terms with you.

"Fair terms—but how?—the devil knows!
Hold—have not I the knaves for-bidden?"

Ye hem me round in ranks and rows—
I thought the dead in hell were hidden.

Bow down to earth beneath my tread,
That I may crush ye where ye lie:
Alas! ye only shake the head,
And say 'The Spirit cannot die.'

"Ye mock me, knaves? I bid ye fall
And bite the dust, or turn and flee.
God's cruel curse upon them all!

The scoundrels are too strong for me.
Truth strikes me sternly in the face,
And Freedom clenches hard her fist;
Swift subtle Thoughts press on apace;
God curse them all! they still resist.

"Have mercy! Sure 'tis truly said
That scores of Censors farther stretch
The law than I"—He strikes his head—

A warder grasps the raving wretch.
Stout straps and cords his fury cool;
He trembles, see! in every limb.
The man was nothing but a tool!
We do not damn, but pity him.

TRAMWAY STIKE IN CINCINNATI.—NEW YORK, Nov. 18.—Intelligence from Cincinnati states that the drivers and conductors of the Consolidated Street Tramways Company, in that city, have struck work, demanding the discharge of the manager. Traffic is thus temporarily stopped on one hundred miles of tramway, and six hundred men are idle.

The poets have always spoken of panic as diverse, many-sided, and the like. One sees the truth of this in the very different forms it takes at different times in our midst. The bitter cry of outcast London is the standing terror of us all. We try to stifle it, as we try to stifle other forms of evil conscience. Last time the panic took the form of a Lord Mayor's fund; this time it is to be embodied in special constables. The one remedy will be as futile as the other. A diseased society can no more lay its spectres by special constables than by special charity.—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

LANDLORDISM IN LONDON.—At the Thames Police Court last Thursday, a poorly-dressed woman applied to Mr. Lushington for advice. She said that she owed 12s. rent and the landlady put in the brokers, who distrained on her goods. On Wednesday evening a man came to her and said he had an order from that court to take out the door and windows from her room. She told him that her children were very poorly. He, however, took out the windows, but left the door. The children had been in the room all night with the windows out and the fog coming in.—In answer to the magistrate, the applicant said the man in question was employed by the landlady.—Mr. Lushington said an officer of the court would go with applicant to the landlady and tell her that it was a monstrous act, and that if an action were brought against her she would have to pay heavy damages.

GOOD ENOUGH FOR THE READERS OF THE 'GLOBE.'—This is a sample of a leader which filled a column of the *Globe* of the 17th inst.: "The mobs who have gathered near Charing Cross are protean. One day they call themselves the 'unemployed'; when that does not serve they masquerade as Radicals seeking to affirm a common right; and then they turn out as Socialists, braying for the Millennium. But the true character of the whole body of disturbers is that they are nothing more nor less than Communards and Anarchists. They belong not only to the 'rebel and obstructive conspiracy,' but they are next of kin to the hordes who murdered the 'hostages' and burnt down so much of Paris in 1871. It is neither liberty of public meeting nor freedom of speech which they want; it is a reign of terror and liberty to plunder and destroy." Seventy or a hundred thousand "Communards and Anarchists" for London alone is by no means bad.

JUSTICE'S INJUSTICE!—Mr. "Justice" Day is a good specimen of his inhuman class. At Liverpool Assizes on the 16th he sentenced a solicitor to twelve years' penal servitude for forging a cheque for £1000 and obtaining goods by false pretences. The judge denounced the heartless frauds of the prisoner, especially in reference to the cruel way in which he had victimised poor clients. On the same day a woman aged 69 was sentenced by him to seven years' penal servitude for stealing a pair of drawers. The prisoner, who presented a melancholy picture in the dock, and kept her hands in the attitude of prayer, dropped down like a person shot, and was carried away by two warders. He also sentenced a man to five years' penal servitude for fraudulently obtaining a shilling under the pretence that it was for a charitable object! Compare these sentences and then ask, if any one of them be just, what are the others?



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.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

J. A.—Walter Crane's lecture on "Importance of the applied Arts and their relation to common life" was printed in the *Journal of the Society of Arts* for June 3 (Bell and Sons, 6d.). It was of course written from the Socialist point of view, and plainly worded.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday November 23.

ENGLAND	FRANCE	ITALY
Croydon Echo	Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer	Gazetta Operaia
Die Autonomie	Hammonton (N.J.) Credit Foncier	
Jus	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	SPAIN
Justice	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	El Productor
Labour Tribune	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	Madrid—El Socialista
Norwich—Daylight	N. Haven—Workmen's Advocate	PORTUGAL
Railway Review	Albina (Oreg.)—Weekly Courier	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
NEW SOUTH WALES	GERMANY	AUSTRIA
Hamilton—Radical	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Arbeiterstimme
INDIA	La Revolt	HUNGARY
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Lille—Le Travailleur	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
UNITED STATES	HOLLAND	ROMANIA
New York—Der Sozialist	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Jassy—Lupta
Truthseeker	Amsterdam—Voorwaarts	SWEDEN
Backer Zeitung	BELGIUM	Stockholm—Social-Demokraten
Volkszeitung	Seraing (Ougrec)—Le Reveil	
Boston—Woman's Journal	Ghent—Vooruit	
Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	Brussels—L'Avant Gardc	
Labor Enquirer	SWITZERLAND	
	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat	

THE LIBERAL PARTY DIGGING ITS OWN GRAVE.

For months past the Gladstonian Liberals have been protesting loudly against Coercion in Ireland, and the speeches of the "distinguished" amongst them have been filling columns on columns of the papers. They have just had a splendid opportunity of striking a great blow against Coercion in Ireland by coming forward to protest against Coercion in London. We need not ask how they have used that opportunity, that would be a joke; but it may be profitable to point out some possible consequences of their gross stupidity in throwing it away. It is their business as political Liberals to get the working-classes to believe that if they come in again some benefit will result to the workers above what the Tories have to offer them. They have, in fact, to win the vote of the ordinary working-men, not only those who professedly take interest in politics, but especially those who stand aloof from them, and that in Britain rather than in Ireland (since Ireland through its native leaders is theirs already), and especially in London, where there is so much to win. Now as long as the meeting in Trafalgar Square was "a genuinely political meeting," that is a mere home rule affair, their presence and support was of little importance, since their good-will towards it might have been taken for granted. But when it became, as it did some days before the meeting, a protest against the repression of free speech, and was, whatever may be said to the contrary, a protest also on the part of the "respectable" working-men of London against the maltreatment of their unemployed brethren, their support became of very great importance, at any rate to the future of the Liberal Party. It would have been accepted as a token of their sympathy with the popular cause, and would have gained them many thousands of votes which will now either be cast in favour of some Conservative of the "dishing" kind, or will never be cast at all. In short, they would have won whatever of London could be won by them under any circumstances, and they would have lost nothing at all; for they may be quite sure that they have no chance of the votes of the shopocracy big or little; they have done enough to lose that, while they have done nothing to win what was to be won.

Their conduct gives a good measure of the utter political incapacity of the Liberal Party. It is quite likely that they may plead that their "great and noble leader" is hard to move, that is, quite devoid of any perception of a dramatic situation; that at every crisis he has done all he could to discourage his friends and encourage his foes, but that is no excuse worth putting forward. The oracle of the Great

Panjandrum was not needed to speak; even the next greatest panjandrum might have been dispensed with, i.e., Morley and Harcourt, and such like. If some dozen of Liberal M.P.'s of the more respectable kind had given by some means their open support to the business, it would have been enough, and the assent of the "leaders" would have been inferred, and the trick would have been done.

All this is now a thing of the past, and as a first consequence all people who can think at all must clearly see that the political Liberals look upon the Irish question simply as a mechanical matter to get them into office again. It is equally clear that freedom of speech for the people in general is no concern of theirs, except so far as they are afraid of the consequences of it if they were in power. No less clear that they do not care a button for the unemployed so long as they can be kept quiet; and finally, that they have no foresight or plan for the future and determined to shut their eyes resolutely to it. The result of all which will probably be, unless some blessed accident turns up to help them, that they will be exposed at the next election as the mere dregs of a beaten political party, a set of men afraid to proclaim themselves either Radicals or Reactionists; afraid of revolution, and (perhaps) ashamed of open reaction.

"Well, but what does all this matter to us?" a Socialist may say. Well, it is a matter of importance that the people should learn to know their friends from their foes; the people whom we still have to win over to our side—nay, whom to a great extent we still have to get to listen to us. Those Liberal members who have been crying out so loud about the wrongs of the Irish peasants and are so wholly blind to those of the London workmen, which are no less than those of their Irish brethren, have been teaching the lesson in question to the people sharply this time. They will understand that these champions of liberty are really saying, "There is no political capital to be made of you, so we don't heed you: nay, since you are at our very doors, and are beginning to look dangerous, we are at heart glad that the muzzle is being clapped on to you."

This is the meaning of the Liberal members standing aloof from the struggle for free speech in London; and used as people are to official poltroonery, they must see something of this meaning in it, and a heavy blow will be struck at the hope which some simple people still have in a change of ministry—it is called a change of parties, but it hardly amounts even to that. The people will in consequence begin to cry out for a party which does at least aim at being a popular one; which, however partially and ignorantly, does admit that the welfare and progress of the workers is the one necessary thing to be aimed at. In short, the orthodox Liberal party will visibly melt into the great reactionary party, and that very soon now in all probability; and though there will scarcely be a solid democratic party, yet at least there will be a great mass of ever-growing discontent. Both that of people who are increasingly suffering in their own persons from the progress of economical events and also of people of honest democratic instincts to whom all oppression is hateful when they see it, under whatever name it goes. This body of discontent it will not be difficult to penetrate with Socialist ideas, since it will no longer be able to hope anything from the vague bundle of makeshifts and evasions that passes under the name of a Liberal policy.

The gain, therefore, of the renunciation of the defence of freedom of speech by the Liberal leaders and their henchmen is all ours and the loss is theirs. The only possible reason for wanting a Liberal ministry in again is that the Irish question might be settled for the time. Against that possible gain is to be put the certainty that the longer the question is delayed the more revolutionary the change will be. Nor is it so sure either that the Liberals would do much to settle it if they were in office, on the one hand, or on the other that the Tories may not dish them at last by doing pretty much the same as their opponents would do.

Anyhow the education of the Radicals ought to go on pretty fast, now that a strong Liberal minority pledged up to the eyes to resistance to coercion, and looking forward, rightly or wrongly, to winning at the next election, has stood by and looked on with half-approving eyes while the Tories were taking away from the people the right of meeting in open spaces in London with a high-handed violence worthy of the times of Castlereagh.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

The efforts of the people to overthrow the system, doomed and cursed as it is, of wage-slavery are called "anarchy" by the powers that be, and they foolishly, blindly seek to strangle those efforts by dropping from a scaffold the bodies of seven preachers of an idea. Vain hope! stupendous delusion! The shock of the descending bodies of our seven martyrs will jar the world and shake the props from under wage-slavery in every land.—*Denver Labour Enquirer*.

It is as well to be frank, and those of our friends who are attempting, with great display of ingenuity, to draw many elaborate distinctions between Mitchelstown and Trafalgar Square are wasting their time. Of course no one pretends that the circumstances are identical. The *Daily News* points out, for instance, that at Mitchelstown the police tried to thrust their reporter through a public meeting, whereas in Trafalgar Square they merely bludgeoned every man who tried to make his way through the Square. Our sapient cotemporary might also have pointed out that the people shot at Mitchelstown spoke with a brogue, whereas those ridden down in Northumberland Avenue had a cockney accent. But notwithstanding all these minor details, the fact remains that in approving as "admirable" the bludgeoning of the people who came to meet in Trafalgar Square as has been their wont ever since the Square existed, and after the Home Secretary expressly declared political meetings would be permitted, our leaders have spiked their most effective Irish artillery. We regret this as much as any one. But the fact is there, and there is no blinking it.—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE UNEMPLOYED.

BY ONE OF THEM.

DURING the last three or four weeks the neighbourhood of Trafalgar Square has been in a state of continual turmoil. The police have daily assembled there on horse, on foot, and in private clothes. Sansculottism has met in multitudinous numbers there to demand work or bread, and the Patrollotic myrmidons of law and order—i.e., lawlessness and disorder—have also thronged thither with the object of either aweing the workless many into quiescence, or in default of that, belabouring them from the streets with their batons. Sir Charles Warren has far exceeded his duties as Chief Commissioner of Police to silence the cry of the unemployed; and finding brutality ineffective to achieve his purpose, has begun to try benevolence and usurping the functions of a commissioner of the Poor Law, doled out free tickets for food and lodging to starving outcasts. An alderman has—most remarkable to relate—turned political economist,—or rather, attempted it; and a certain parson, the Rev. Mr. Kitto, has surprised the world with a new phase of Christian charity by distributing refreshments to the barbarous limbs of the law tired out with bludgeoning wretched men whose only crime was that they had cried out for work. Meanwhile the shutters of the large West-end emporiums of shopocratic sweating and swindling have been hurriedly closed daily, and Timidas Plutus has stood shivering in the cellar while the demonstrations of the unemployed have surged tumultuously along the streets in the wake of banners black and red.

The motives of the men who formed these demonstrations have been so often misrepresented of late, and the honesty of the speakers at them so often questioned, by the scurrilous sheets of lies, nonsense, and advertisement called daily papers, that I feel myself compelled to pen this, with the intention of laying before the public, or at least the Socialist public, the truth anent the unemployed.

Returning from a meeting held early in October to protest against the murder of our Chicago comrades, four Socialists had occasion to pass through Trafalgar Square; and one of them, moved to indignation by the presence of so much misery and so many squalid homeless wretched on "the finest site in Europe," suggested that meetings should be at once started and conducted by those in our ranks who happened to be out of work. The suggestion was at once taken up, and the first meeting was held next morning, the speeches being delivered from one of the seats and beneath the shadow of a black banner upon which the words "We will have work or bread" were inscribed in large white letters. The result of this meeting was a series of daily assemblages in the same place to ventilate the same grievance. Day by day the sansculotic workless multitude met, marched, and spoke, and daily their numbers increased and their cry became more clamorous. The press, which at first had ignored us, at length began to notice the meetings, but it noticed them only with sneers and sarcasm. We were styled loafers, vagabonds, and paid agitators by the foul-mouthed and abusive Thersites who dwells beside the filthy Fleet Ditch. The abuse of the press was seconded by the ruffianism of the police, who, acting under the instructions of that bloody-minded arch cut-throat Sir Charles Warren, whose only reply to the vehement demand of Sansculotism for bread is that he instructs Patrollotism to apply the baton, frequently dispersed the demonstrations in a most savage and barbarous manner.

Upon the occasion of the first of those unwarrantable interferences a significant incident occurred, symbolical in its way of the manner in which the demands of the lower orders are always met by authority. The processionists were proceeding towards Stepney Green *via* Strand and City when, opposite Charing Cross Station, the police suddenly pounced upon them, seized and smashed up their black banner, and dispersed the procession. Strange to say, though, the red flag remained, and from that day till quite recently was borne before the procession. The black banner, representing the dark prospects of unemployed workmen, and borne in our parades as an appeal to the commiseration of the wealthy and a symbol of despair, was torn from us, broken, and thrown away. They would not be appealed to, refused to pity, and contemptuously rejected our peaceable pleading. But the red flag, the emblem of sturdy revolt, remained with us, and henceforth we marched in the wake of the flame-coloured flag.

The deputations appointed to wait upon the different responsible governmental officials met with much the same treatment as the demonstration which paraded the streets. Some refused to receive them altogether; others received them simply to either return in answer to their complaints the usual sempiternal official *non possumus*, or, to avoid returning answer to them by telling what turned out upon investigation to be the most deliberate and barefaced falsehoods. A good example of the former was the reply returned by the official at the Home Office who represented Mr. Matthews in his absence to the deputation which waited upon him. This official, with a lengthy title which reminds one of Dickens's "Circumlocution Office"—viz., the Under Secretary to the Chief Secretary of the Secretary of State—told the representatives of the unemployed, in the usual official sorry-to-disoblige-you manner, that he could do nothing for them. The reply vouchsafed by the Metropolitan Board of Works, on the other hand, turned out to be, when enquired into, nothing more or less than a lie. They stated that the Board was already employing a large number of men, and that one of their undertakings alone was employing 2000 men. When we enquired into the truth of these statements, it transpired that the latter "fact" was untrue. The extensive under-

taking was found to mean certain works in connection with Barking Dockyard, which was in the hands of a private firm—that of Mowlem and Co.—and not directly undertaken by the Board of Works.

Besides being lied to and put off with *non possumus* in this manner, these deputations were sometimes referred to the union or treated to long and nonsensical dissertations anent Socialism and political economy by persons who evidently knew little or nothing about either. Sir Henry Knight—that cross-breed between a Dombey and a Bumble, with all the failings of both and none of the redeeming features of either—told an unemployed deputation the astounding lie that the luxury of the few tends to the enrichment of the many—a theory by far too absurd even to come from an alderman. A certain journal, erroneously thinking it possible for an alderman to study the elementary principles of political economy, recommended to this incarnation of capitalistic cupidity and stupidity the perusal of Mrs. Fawcett's 'Political Economy for Beginners.' Strange that the *Pall Mall Gazette* should offer such advice to such a person, in the face of the admitted fact that an alderman's discretionary powers are centred in his belly. Aldermen are undoubtedly authentic authorities upon the respective qualities of turtle soups and expensive wines; but anything in the shape of sensible science is entirely out of their province.

The brutality of policemen towards the unemployed, and the sneers of pressmen at them, have, however, been ameliorated by a most benign and heavenly manifestation of Christian benevolence and charity on the part of Rev. Mr. Kitto. A certain individual once compared the condition of the working classes at present to the parable of the Good Samaritan with the good Samaritan left out. This may be considered by some an exaggeration; but for my part, after recent experiences in the Square, I am rather inclined to think that not only was the comparison appropriate, but that it understated the attitude adopted by wealthy hypocritical ecclesiastics towards their more unfortunate humble brethren. The brutal vicar of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields not only, like the Levite in the parable, passes by his prostrate neighbour, but he refreshes with coffee and sandwiches the ruffians who have succeeded in batoning his neighbour into senselessness. The Good Samaritan does appear upon the scene, but instead of assisting the poor and wretched outcasts who long have found a bed upon the cold hard stone, and who have nightly slept exposed to all the bitter inclemencies of the weather, with the grey chill sky for a roof and a stone for a pillow; but when, determined to starve no longer, they came forth to demonstrate, he then doles out food and good cheer to scoundrels worn out in the performance of a duty which he should be the first to condemn. Nothing was given from the over-filled larder of this well-paid parson to starving homeless men, but Christian charity at once prompted him to feed the heartless and willing tools of authority gone mad. This is Christianity according to capitalistic interpretation. The gospel of the Lord according to Mr. Kitto.

There are many I know among Socialists who disagree, and very rightly too, I think, with the claim of the unemployed as being insufficient to permanently improve the condition of the workers. This I admit is the case; but still I submit to people who entertain such opinions that workmen who demand work from responsible officials and are told by such officials that they can do nothing, are doing good in exposing the absurdity of a state of society under which expensive ministers are maintained who frankly confess in the event of important social emergencies like the present that they are powerless. By so acting they bring the authority of the predominating classes into contempt, and prove to the satisfaction of all thinking men who participate in such agitations the necessity not only of the commencement of relief works for the unemployed to enable them to tide over temporary trouble, but also the urgent requirement for a readjustment of social affairs on a more manly and sensible basis.

JAMES ALLMAN.

LITERARY NOTICES.

'Remember Trafalgar Square!' (*Pall Mall Office*, 1d.) is a concise and striking account of the civilising influences brought to bear upon the crowds of the 13th. Copies may be obtained for distribution at 100, 6s.; 500, 30s., carriage free.

No. 4 of the *Humanitas* pamphlets, 'Vittime e Pregiudisi' (Victims and Prejudices) contains observations on bourgeois life, the family as it is and should be, prostitution, and similar social questions, written in simple and direct language, which will render it a very useful little work for propaganda.

'La Vendetta Sociale,' by Paolo Valera, is a collection of a few articles rather sensational on prisons and corporal punishment in England. It will give a good deal of information to Italian readers of a somewhat slight description. English slang terms are profusely scattered over the articles, well translated in the text and mostly correctly printed.

Only by making the ruling few uneasy can the oppressed many obtain a particle of relief.—*Bentham*.

The white men drove the Indians towards the setting sun and dispossessed them of their land because they had more than they could use. Civilisation demanded more room. Now that humanity demands more room, are land monopolists to be permitted to hold millions of acres which they will not and can not use?—*Craftsman*.

"PROGRESS."—Here are the figures of ten years progress in New Zealand:

Year.	Population.	Revenue.	Shipping.	Railways. Miles.	Telegraphs. Miles.
1875	375,856	2,813,928	783,050	542	3,156
1885	575,226	4,096,996	1,032,700	1,654	4,163

During the same period there has grown up a large "unemployed question"; "labour and capital" behave as in other countries; and all the well-known conditions are repeated. Yet the resources of the country are not nearly exhausted. Is there a possible explanation of it all outside Socialism?

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

At every colliery in Leicestershire, with the exception of one, the men are handing in their notices for an advance in wages, this week, and have every prospect of being successful.

STRIKE ON CARTERS.—Last week about 50 carters in the employment of Alexander Scott, contractor, Mearns Street, Greenock, struck work against a reduction of wages. It was sought to reduce their wages by 1s. per week.

The directors of the new British Iron and Steel Company, Congreve, Staffordshire, and owners of collieries and works at Swansea and Ruabon, have decided to wind up the company, owing to the badness of trade. This will cause from 4,000 to 5,000 hands to be out of work.

THE YORKSHIRE MINERS.—At a conference of miners held on Saturday at Barnsley, on the question of restriction of working hours, a majority were in favour of the resolution, and the delegates were empowered to attend the Newcastle conference and vote accordingly.

SCOTTISH MINERS AND LONDON POLICE RIOTS.—At a meeting of the Scotch Miners National Federation held in Glasgow on the 21st, it was agreed that if Mr. Cunningham Graham is imprisoned the working classes should proclaim a great strike until he was released. The meeting considered that he had been brutally ill-treated by the London police.

NOTTINGHAM CIGAR-MAKERS.—The dispute in the firm of Robinson and Barnsdale has been settled. The women and girls who have formed a branch of the union, offered to work short time until stock was reduced, but would not accept reduction. A deputation waited upon the firm, and after discussion, these terms were agreed to. Branch now numbers 280.

REDUCTION OF WAGES.—A notice has been posted at the Newton Works of the Steel Company of Scotland, intimating that on Saturday week all existing contracts with workmen will terminate. Formerly such notices have always preceded a rearrangement and reduction of wages, and the present one, the workmen believe, will be no exception. The intimation has come as a great surprise. Already the men in several departments are speaking of resistance. They consider that a reduction is unwarranted.

THE LATE MIDLAND STRIKE.—The Central Committee thankfully acknowledge the receipt of £40 for general distribution. The men still find it very difficult to obtain employment, consequently the number out reduces very slowly. The returns to hand this week show the number out to be about 260. The committee are glad to note that men going abroad are now able to obtain a clear character, minus the term "Left on strike."—*Railway Review*.

PROPOSED LIMITATION OF THE OUTPUT OF COAL.—During the week the miners in nearly all parts of the kingdom have been supplied with ballot-papers to vote on the question as to whether they shall limit their production of coal by working only five days a week or not. This course appears to have been adopted so as to secure the co-operation as far as possible of the non-unionists, who outnumber the members of the various associations by four or five to one.

AN EARLY CLOSING CONGRESS.—The board of management of the Early Closing Association have determined to hold an Early Closing Congress; to consider the provisions of the bill introduced in Parliament by Sir John Lubbock, and to receive amendments and resolutions in respect thereto. Important proposals will be made respecting the machinery for promoting the bill. The Congress will be held in London on Wednesday the 8th and Thursday the 9th of February next. Sir John Lubbock, Mr. Cameron Corbett, and other parliamentary supporters of the bill, will be present.

THE NORTHUMBERLAND MINERS.—At a delegate meeting of the Northumberland miners on Saturday it was announced that a motion in favour of the adoption of the restriction of the output of coal had been arrived at, and that it was intended that the subject should be fully discussed at the adjourned conference of the Association in Newcastle on Tuesday. The question of the payment of the salaries of Messrs. Burt and Fenwick it was after much discussion resolved to submit again to the miners for their consideration.

NAILMAKERS.—At a meeting of nailmakers at Bromsgrove, Mr. Roberts, who presided, said they had now got the advance, and must do all they could to keep it. For his part, he would willingly pay 6d. a-week rather than have 1s. reduction from his wages.—Mr. Powell (secretary) said some men at Catshill were still on strike, as their employers refused to pay the price agreed to by the others. He thought it would be better to let those men work, and buy the work from them, rather than pay them to play, and that would start a joint-stock warehouse at once.

OVERTIME IN THE ENGINEERING TRADE.—On Saturday night a meeting of workmen connected with the engineering trade of Tyneside was held in the Lecture Room, Newcastle, to consider the best means of minimising the overtime worked in that trade. Mr. Howitt presided, and there was a large attendance. A resolution was adopted that in the opinion of the meeting systematic overtime is detrimental to the workers, and that meetings of the men of the various workshops in the district be held to appoint delegates who could be instructed to arrange a meeting with the employers, with the view of restricting overtime and of giving employment to some of the unemployed.

LONDON TRADES' COUNCIL AND THE UNEMPLOYED.—The Tories, Toadies, and Tricksters who do the wire-pulling for the London Trades' Council, met on Monday night to consider the question of the unemployed. Needless to say, the proceedings were of the prosiest and paltriest character. Mr. George Shipton maintained the reputation he has acquired as Flunkey-in-Chief by proposing to "approach" the Lord Mayor (on his belly I presume) to ask him to be treasurer of a fund to be dispensed by the Council to the "deserving distressed population." He also made some drivelling remarks about the recent agitation of the unemployed, and appears to be very much shocked at their partiality for the Phrygian cap, etc., and their want of reverence for the "Glorious Constitution" (including the Prince of Wales and the Peelers).

INDIGNATION MEETING OF MINERS.—At a meeting of miners held at Irvine last week Mr. Robert Smillie, Larkhall, referring to the importation of Russian Poles by Messrs. Merry and Cuninghame, said the system was a secret to the miners of Lanarkshire until exposed in the *Daily Mail*. There were far too many men idle in Scotland without sending to Russia for Poles, and if Merry and Cuninghame were to be allowed to continue their evil ways for the purpose of bringing down the wages to 12s. per week, he did not know what it would come to. The following resolution was carried unani-

mously: "That this meeting views with indignation the importation of Russians to the district, and calls on the authorities to have them removed at once, as their presence is a menace to the health and morality of the place, and is besides being used to reduce the already too low wages earned by the workmen."

THE MANCHESTER SHIP CANAL.—Work has now seriously commenced on the ship canal at Eastham, and the excavations are proceeding, a staff of some 350 men being at present employed. The principal work now going on is that of preparation for future operations. At the works on Thursday a large number of persons assembled who had come from all parts of the country to seek work. Only five men could be taken on. It was a bitterly cold day, and some of the men had walked twenty miles to arrive at the works by nine o'clock in the morning. On an average a thousand men a-week are personally applying for work on the canal. The huts for the accommodation of the navvies are not yet constructed, and the cottages of Eastham and the neighbourhood are crowded with lodgers—so much so that in some cases the nuisance inspector has had to turn men out of houses that were overcrowded.

LONDON COMPOSITORS.—It is indeed a painful sight to turn out of busy Fleet Street at noonday and encounter the crowd of anxious faces of the men who assemble daily to sign the unemployed book. Dreary, weary, and demoralising is this waiting at the gates of the vineyard for a "call," and some of these labourers never, I am afraid, recover the self-respect and independence they lose while thus hanging listlessly about for the chance of a casual job. Yet what can they do? To seek for employment by walking from office to office is almost a farce; besides it is appetising, and men out of work must not get very hungry. There are some hundreds of compositors belonging to the London Society in this position to-day. They have been similarly circumstanced for weeks. There seems no prospect of a speedy revival of trade that will re-employ one-half of them. What's to be done?—*Scottish Typographical Circular*.

NORTHAMPTON SHOEMAKERS.—The Northampton Shoe Manufacturers' Association have determined on a lock-out of all their boot and shoe rivetters and finishers, and notices to that effect have been posted in the factories. This decision will affect five to six thousand hands, and if the lock-out is persisted in for any length of time the whole of the shoe operatives of the town—eight or nine thousand more—will be necessarily thrown out of employment. The manufacturers have resolved upon this step in consequence of their inability to settle a dispute, which led to the men employed at Messrs. Cove and West's factory coming out on strike last July. The men objected to alleged reductions in prices paid for making and finishing boots. After the strike had existed for some months the matter was referred to arbitration, but the Arbitration Board broke up on the refusal of the manufacturers to refer an important question to a referee. Subsequently the employers compiled a statement of wages for the whole of the town, but the Trades' Union refused to accept it.—On Tuesday riveters and finishers in over 200 factories commenced a strike. Several large manufacturers withdrew notices. Meeting 4000 operatives determine to enforce their terms.

THE GLASGOW TRADES COUNCIL.—At a meeting held last week strong resolutions were passed protesting against the action of the Government in attempting to suppress the right of free speech. Mr. R. C. Grant, in seconding the resolution, said it was certainly his duty to protest against the attempt presently being made to curtail freedom of speech. If allowed to go, we cannot know how soon trades meetings might be interfered with. He felt sure that farmers in Ireland had as much right to meet to try to get fair rents as we had to seek fair wages; and it was only because it was opposed to the interests of the landlord class that they were determined to put down free speech both in Ireland and now in London. Mr. Tait, in supporting the motion, said the Council was quite consistent in this matter, seeing that they protested against the passing of the Crimes Bill because it made such things possible. He said that the present system of espionage in London would be a disgrace to the most despotic government in the world, and he thought it to be the duty of every man to raise his voice against it.

RURAL LABOUR NOTES.—In many villages in Hertfordshire and Cambs the wages of agricultural labourers are not more than 10s. per week, and I have heard of some cases of 8s. How our workmen's wives do as much as they do with such sums is a marvel in the way of finance. In one village near there are 26 men out of work and in great distress. This parish (Steeple Morden, Cambs) contains 3,767 acres, and is rated at about £6,000 yearly value. This extent of land should produce abundance for the population of 1,000, but yet there is want. Lord Hardwicke is the largest landholder, and his creditors yearly take thousands of pounds value from this and neighbouring villages. How long will the men who produce this wealth stand by and starve while their subsistence is absorbed by idlers? Other villages are in much the same condition, here 20 men out, there 30 and more, and so on. A fruitful and pleasant country, but held back as by magic from the people's enjoyment. At St. Neots (Hunts) a large paper manufactory has lately been closed. When in full work this factory employed nearly 400 people, mostly women. The business has been sold to another paper maker, who says he can supply all the paper for the St. Neots business with his present plant and hands. Four hundred more added to the "margin." A good many may find work elsewhere, but to most of them this is well nigh impossible.—P. C. W.

THE UNEMPLOYED.—What's to be done? This is the social problem that, let what may stand in the way, will have to be solved. It is a question that grave men are asking day by day, for the depression is general and widespread, and meanwhile disaffection is growing apace. It is folly for our newspapers to ignore it, useless for them to point to a great cheering crowd at a royal progress or civic procession and try to delude their readers by telling them that the heart of the people is loyal and contented to the core, and that only a handful of advanced Radicals and mad Socialists are at the bottom of the discontent. Working men could convince them otherwise if they were open to conviction; but the dignity of the press will not allow leader-writers to seek information where it is best to be obtained. So our great dailies continue to talk of "idlers" and "loafers," and profess to believe that the distress cannot be very widespread, because the tens of thousands of unfortunates have not joined the less discreet contingent which has been rendering itself so obnoxious to West-end and City respectability lately. Yet doubtless this advanced guard—despite the ruffian element which is common to all large gatherings—somewhat represents the horny-handed sons of toil" whose "honest, upturned faces" and "hearty British cheers" the newspapers are so fond of picturing on occasions when they are invited to "assemble in their thousands" to support a popular politician in "potting" a political opponent. But they must not "demonstrate" on their own account. That is wrong, and constitutes them *sansculottes* at once.—*Scottish Typographical Circular*.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

FRANCE.

! On the 10th of this month, Eugene Pottier, member of the Paris Commune, and one of the best poets of the Social Revolution, was buried by his colleagues of the Commune, the various Socialistic organisations of Paris, and a great mass of people. As soon as the red colours were displayed the police, under the command of one Honorat, made a rush on the assembled people and succeeded in stealing the banner away. They charged the crowd, knocking down every one they could get hold of, severely wounding women and children, in one word, behaving themselves in a most brutal manner, recalling to mind the most sinister days of the Empire. Municipal councillors, our friends Vaillant and Lavy, were trampled down, the deputy Clovis Hugues was very much hurt, and Joffrin, the Paris councillor, was even arrested. Since the affair at Pêre la Chaise, no such scandal has been witnessed by the people of the revolutionary city. But on the following day the Paris Municipal Council made a sharp interpellation to the Prefect of Police, the same Gragnon who has now been superseded on account of the Caffarel-Wilson scandals, and as his answer was as bad as possible the council passed a resolution condemning the action of the police, urging the dismissal of Honorat, and of all those agents who acted in the same dastardly way, and further deciding that until the administration of the police has been made by the Government responsible for its doings before the Municipal Council, they cease to have anything whatever to do with that administration, and refuse to deal with any matter in which the police are concerned.

HOLLAND.

One of the ablest contributors to the Dutch organ of Social Democracy, *Recht voor Allen* (Right for All), S. W. Roorda van Eysinga, has come to an untimely end lately at Clarens, in Switzerland, where he lived as an exile from his native country. He had been a high official in the service of Holland, in Dutch India, where he could witness the frauds, the injustice, the rapine which are incessantly committed there by Dutchmen against the poor Indians. He publicly denounced this system of enriching Holland at the cost of India, and was obliged to resign. Afterwards, no more than Buen Husket, than Multatuli, he could remain in his "dear Fatherland" and went to Clarens, where he died. He was also a contributor to the *Revolte*.

Last week our comrade Cohen was on his trial at the Hague, on a very "serious" charge indeed. On the 16th of September last, the King of Holland, William III. (and we hope the last) came back from Amsterdam to his well-beloved Hague, and defendant cried out: "Hurrah for Domela Nieuwenhuis! Hurrah for Socialism! Down with the Gorilla!" Now, the charge against him is one of insulting the king by giving him names. The Public Prosecutor made a most dreadful statement, saying that Gorilla must absolutely mean his Majesty the king, because of the fact that really his glorious master has unmistakably, although unfortunately, the face of an ape! I am afraid that honourable Public Prosecutor has for ever broken his career. The tribunal will deliver judgment next week.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

At Innsbruck, in Tyrol, a new Socialist paper will be started on the 1st of next January, to be called *Volksstimme* (Voice of the People). It intends to deal specially with the Catholic population of ultramontane Tyrol, and to convert them to Socialism. We wish good luck to our new colleague; Catholicism is a mortal plague, and must before all other things be eradicated out of man's mind.

At Vienna, the new *Arbeiter Kalender* (Almanack of the Workers) for the year 1888 has just been issued, and contains some very interesting matter, as for instance, a biographical sketch of Frederic Engels, with a bibliography of his writings, a short history of the social and political events of the year 1887, a clever article from Andreas Scheu, a good deal of poetry, notes, statistics, etc.

The workers of Hungary have done the same as their Austrian comrades. Their annual *Allgemeiner Arbeiter Kalender* (General Almanack of the Workers), which has just appeared, is very interesting. It contains among other articles, a thoroughly well-written biography of Johann Philip Becker, who recently died at Geneva, and who has been all his life through a valiant revolutionist; the history of the Pesth high treason process of 1871-72; several Socialistic novelettes, etc.

SWITZERLAND.

Our readers are aware that the chairman of the Social Democratic Congress, recently held at St. Gall, has been murdered, and that it was at first thought that party politics had somewhat to do in the ugly business. Now it appears that a clown of the Circus Wulf, of Berlin, has been arrested by the St. Gall police as being one of the murderers of comrade Saluz. Afterwards, it was ascertained that this miserable clown is an international secret police agent in the pay of Prussia.

RUSSIA.

A few days ago an extensive house search was ordered by General Gresser, the actual governor of St. Petersburg. The police ransacked over four hundred houses, and arrested one hundred and forty persons. A secret printing press was found, also an immense lot of revolutionary proclamations. Amidst the written documents possessed by a group of Socialists, were some bearing witness to the relations of some of the members of that group with the German secret police. Unfortunately, these documents are now lost. As I said a fortnight ago, the German police penetrates everywhere: In Austria, Belgium, Switzerland, France, England, and Russia. Bismarck has done his work well enough indeed, but we sincerely hope that, after him, it won't last long. The Germans will not everlastingly be so patient as they have been until now; such a kind of patience bears, in the long run, quite a different name. Go ahead! Get up, Lazarus!

BELGIUM.

On the 16th inst., Octave Jahn, who was arrested at La Louvière some months ago on account of the disturbances which occurred there during the coal miner's strikes, was tried by the Court of Assizes at Mons, and sentenced to two and a-half years of imprisonment. He was accused of having maliciously and publicly attacked the laws of the country and provoked people to disobey them; further, of having by means of an inflammatory speech in a public meeting, caused the hotel called Hotel du Commerce to be blown up by dynamite; and lastly, of having had in his possession pro-

hibited arms, such as a dagger and a revolver. Octave Jahn is only eighteen years of age, being born in 1869 at Cherbourg, France. He was for four years a telegraph boy at Paris, but resigned on account of an injustice done to him by his chiefs. Then he organised the famous strike of all the telegraph boys of Paris, which was so much talked of at the time. He also was the founder of the French League of the Anti-patriots, which in a very few month's time succeeded in getting several thousand members all over the country, and made an extensive work of propaganda among the younger workers and the soldiers of the French army. V. D.

ITALY.

We have received a communication from the editors of *Humanitas*, from which we learn that their offices have been lately visited by the censor of Naples and the last number of the paper confiscated while yet in proof:—"To the censor of Naples and his police we present our hearty thanks for having publicly belied what he in his cowardice affirmed in private, i.e., that *Humanitas* was not worth his notice, and in our turn we assure him that we shall abide by our promise that *Humanitas*, published and distributed in the dark, shall yet disturb the monotony of the careless lives of him and his kind. To these gentlemen our greeting is 'Au revoir!' . . . A few words to our friends: *Humanitas* in its 25th number is forced by official command to stop its publication, but intends to appear all the same though *sub rosa*. Next January will see it again lively as ever. . . . There are debts of 1500 fr. owing to the paper by its retailers; as for the subscribers it is better not to speak of them, as unluckily not all are able to pay a subscription, but he who takes upon himself the sale of papers and keeps the money for his private wants, we know not what name he merits. It is beyond doubt that many Socialist periodicals have died by means of these 'parasites of Socialism.' But we trust that honest subscribers will pay their accounts and continue their aid. . . . Forward, then, in the name of the Social Revolution!—For the editors of *Humanitas*, Emilio Zuccarini, Alfredo Cantiello." M. M.

SOCIALIST DEFENCE ASSOCIATION.

A BRIEF account of the work of this Association is due to the readers of the *Commonweal*.

The Association was formed in consequence of poor men, concerned in the unemployed agitation, being condemned, unheard and undefended, on police evidence alone. The first case defended was that of Alfred Oldland, who was prosecuted for "assaulting the police," i.e., for defending himself against unprovoked attack. He was committed for trial, and despite overwhelming evidence that he only struck in self-defence and was brutally beaten by the police, Mr. Edlin, at the Middlesex Sessions, sentenced him to twelve months' hard labour, six months for each blow. The next case taken up was that of J. Allman, prosecuted for seditious language; bail was refused, but the Secretary of the Association visited Mr. Allman in Holloway Gaol, and arranged that he should be defended; on the second hearing of the case bail was granted, and on a third hearing the case was further remanded for lack of evidence. If there had been no defence, our truthful police would have sent our comrade to gaol; as it is, he will apparently get off scot free. Next, J. Knight was incarcerated; we offered bail, but it was refused; on hearing, Mr. Thompson, by much pertinacity, forced the magistrate to accept bail, but it was fixed at the monstrous figure of £400. The bail was given, Mr. Knight was freed, and, on hearing, the charge against him was dismissed, overwhelming evidence having been collected of the falsity of Inspector Shepherd's sworn statement against him.

The members of the Association have come forward to give bail in the most admirable way. Bail for nine men was wanted last Friday, and a crowd of good Socialists presented themselves at 10 a.m. at Bow Street, having received their summonses only by the first post that morning. As Secretary, I do not offer grateful thanks to all these good men and women who came so promptly to the aid of the helpless, because the service is its own reward. But I must venture to say one word of special homage to the Rev. S. D. Headlam and Thomas Bolas, who, during the last three weeks, have shown an absolutely selfless devotion, and have sacrificed time and taken trouble without ever courting personal cost. Thanks to the Association, thirteen men have been released on bail, in addition to the cases previously cited. When I say that in three of the cases in which appeals have been lodged, witnesses for the defence were kept out of court by police violence, it will be understood how useful has been the work of freeing the men for appeal. I say nothing of the touching gratitude of poor men unexpectedly rescued, that has been the one bright thing in these sad days. Thanks to Mr. Stead, who gave us the money, eleven men have been released on payment of fines.

Now as to funds. I do not want any more subscriptions at present. Subscriptions had better be sent to Mr. Stead. But I want some more people who will serve as bail, and I want another fifty who will guarantee to respond to calls up to £2 2s. 0d., if the money is wanted. The Law and Liberty Defence League is now paying all costs of defence, and I ask only for guarantees from Socialists in case of need.

63 Fleet Street, E.C.

ANNIE BESANT,
Hon. Sec. Defence Association.

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.

Co-operative Store.—The Committee attend at the offices at 8.30 p.m. on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. All Groceries can be had at current store prices. Orders over 10s. will be delivered carriage paid in London.

BRANCH SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID.

Mitcham, Walsall to July 31. Bloomsbury, Leicester, Hammersmith, Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Hull, Mile End, Wednesbury, to September 30. Clerkenwell, Oxford, to October 31.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Donation by "Noddit," £1. Weekly Subscriptions—K. F., 1s. C. J. F., 2s. Oxford Branch, 2s. Langley, 2s. P. W., 6d. W. B., 6d.

PH. W., Treasurer, Nov. 21.

Fund for the Provision of the Wives and Families of the Martyred Anarchists.

Under this heading we shall be pleased to acknowledge donations for the above object.

Hoxton (L.E.L.), 4s.

H. HALLIDAY SPARLING, Treasurer.

REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—On Thursday, T. E. Wardle lectured at the Communist Club, 49, Tottenham Street, W., on "Society, Present and Future." On Sunday morning, very large outdoor meeting at the Arches, St. Pancras. Wardle, Walker, Spenser-Howell, Springfield, and Loban, H.R., spoke. *Commonweal* sold out before close of meeting.—D.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, Nov. 16th, W. H. Utley lectured on "The Iron Age." Sunday evening, an enthusiastic audience listened to Wm. Morris, the subject being "The Coming Society." Lively debate at each meeting. Will members of the branch turn up at a special business meeting on Sunday, Dec. 4th, 7 p.m., to consider winter propaganda, ways and means, and appoint managers for the year 1888?—B.

FULHAM.—Meeting on Sunday morning opened by Tarleton; Turner, Morris, and Mahony followed. Some opposition, using worn-out argument of "over-population" and advocating emigration as panacea. Mahony answered, easily disposing of these fallacies. Fair sale of *Commonweal*.—S. B. G.

HAMMERSMITH.—Usual meeting at Starch Green on Sunday morning. Tochatti, C. Smith, and Maughan speakers. Meeting kept up three hours. Fair sale of *Commonweal*.—T.

KINGSLAND GREEN.—A large meeting was addressed here on Sunday morning by W. B. Parker.

NORTH LONDON.—Regent's Park Sunday morning, meeting held by Cantwell and Nicoll. Resolution condemning recent police action carried unanimously, and 6s. 1½d. collected for Prisoners' Defence Fund.—C.

STAMFORD HILL.—Only a short meeting here on Sunday evening owing to fog.

GLASGOW.—On Thursday, Nov. 17th, discussion class met. Brown opened debate on "The Unemployed." Saturday general meeting of the branch held, arrangements made for Rev. Headlam's meeting. Sunday at 1 p.m., new out-door station opened at St. George's Cross, Pollock, Glasier, and Bullock speakers. Immense success, *Commonweal* being eagerly bought, and our supply sold out. At 5 p.m. meeting addressed by Bullock and Downie at Paisley Road Toll. In hall, Watson Street, at 7 p.m., Mr. Richard McGhee, a local apostle of Georgism, endeavoured to prove it preferable to Socialism. McLaren easily controverted. General discussion adjourned.—J. A.

LEICESTER.—At Secular Hall, on Nov. 13th, Rev. Stewart Headlam, and Graham Wallas Nov. 20th, lectured to large audiences. Feeling in favour of Socialism very evident. Headlam dealt with "Christian Socialism," and Wallas with "Why Socialism is now Practicable." Excellent discussions.—J. F.

LEEDS.—On Sunday morning, Corkwell, Sollitt, Hill, Paylor, and Maguire spoke. In afternoon, Maguire spoke at meeting called in support of Free Speech. A resolution condemnatory of the action of the Government was carried. At night our room was crowded to hear debate between J. G. Fisher and Maguire on "Individualism v. Socialism." 6s. 10½d. collected. During month five new members enrolled.

WALSALL.—Sanders lectured Monday last on "Toryism and Radicalism v. Socialism." Good discussion. Outdoor meeting Sunday top of Stafford Street, attentive audience, increases each time.—J. T. D.

WEDNESBURY.—Donald spoke here Thursday evening. Good attendance despite inclement weather.

Scottish Land and Labour League.

Arrangements for Champion's lecturing tour complete. He will speak on Dec. 10th at Kirkcaldy, 11th Dundee, 12th Edinburgh, 13th Aberdeen, 14th Carnoustie, 15th Arbroath, 16th Dumfermline, 17th Lochgelly, 18th Glasgow. Large halls have been taken, and advertising on a big scale gone into. Mahon is preparing to open up new ground, and goes to Glasgow and the mining districts of Lanarkshire next week.

• **EDINBURGH.**—Three most successful meetings on Sunday. In afternoon, 2,000 people in Meadows to protest against Trafalgar Square outrages. Christie presided, and Tuke, Noble, and Mahon spoke. Resolutions passed with enthusiasm. At 6 p.m., successful meeting in High Street, and at 6.30 Mahon lectured to about 700 in large hall, Trades' Buildings, on "The Unemployed and the Coming Revolution." A course of Monday evening lectures in the Free Tron Hall have been begun. Political Economy Class going on successfully.

Notice to Branches of the S.L.L.L.

Branches desiring literature apply to D. K. MacKenzie, librarian, 163 Pleasance, Edinburgh.

North of England Socialist Federation.

On Monday evening, the Rev. John Glasse, of Edinburgh, opened a week's campaign in Northumberland by addressing a meeting of about 900 in the Nelson Street Hall, Newcastle. Tom Mann occupied the chair, and in a vigorous speech, with special reference to the unemployed, introduced the lecturer. Mr. Glasse spoke for about an hour and a quarter on "Poverty, its Cause and Cure," and after considering the causes brought forward by the abstainers and the Malthusians, showed their insufficiency to account for the present condition of our industrial classes. The reason of their poverty, notwithstanding the growing wealth of the nation, he found on the contrary in the monopoly of the means of production and distribution in the hands of the capitalists. After dealing with the cures professed by the church, with its mission-halls and regenerated humanity; by trades' unionism, with its recognition of the essential justice of capitalism, and by co-operation, with its maimed doctrine of self-help, the lecturer concluded they were mere, if

not miserable, palliatives, and declared that nothing short of Socialism was an adequate remedy for the necessities of the case. The various points of the lecture were well taken up by the audience and heartily appreciated. The questions were of the usual order, and the only opposition came from some teetotallers, partly because they misunderstood the drift of the remarks made upon the drink question, and partly because they were annoyed that so little commendation was given to their paltry panacea. A most successful meeting was brought to a close by a call from the chair to give a ringing cheer for the Social Revolution.

On Tuesday evening, Mr. Glasse went to Blyth, and in spite of very disagreeable weather an audience of nearly 300 came together to hear an address on "Christian Socialism." The lecture was simply an exposition of ordinary doctrines, enforced not merely by illustrations drawn from our social condition, but also by the teaching and practice of the Christian Church.

The schoolroom was crowded on Wednesday evening at Seghill, and the concluding meeting among the miners was held at Seaton Terrace. The lectures were everywhere listened to with interest and sympathy. The circumstances of the miners in Northumberland are extremely favourable to the spread of Socialism, and the most sanguine hopes may be entertained of their almost unanimous adhesion to our principles at no very remote future. There is much privation from irregular employment, and little is needed to commend our cure to their superior intelligence.

A meeting at North Shields on Friday night brought the engagement of Mr. Glasse to a close. Here the same friendly reception was given to Socialist doctrines by a good audience. This town seems also a promising place for our work. The members of this branch are distinctly enthusiastic, but complain about a want of speakers. The best results might be expected from a propaganda carried on for a protracted period in Northumberland.

(The above report held over from last week.)

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, W. On Thursday Nov. 24, at 7.30, business meeting; at 8.30, lecture by Edward Carpenter, "Peasant Life in Italy." Athenaeum Hall, Tottenham Court Road, on Thursday December 1, at 8 p.m. William Morris, "The Coming Society."

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Lectures every Sunday and Wednesday at 8.30.

Fulham.—Committee meets Wednesday evenings, 8 o'clock, at 4 Werlery Avenue, Dawes Rd., Fulham. **Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday November 27, at 8 p.m., Annie Besant (Fabian Society), "Socialism: Old and New."

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—Concert and Draw Committee meet on Saturday evening at 8.30, at 8 Dunloe Street, Hackney Road. On Wednesday November 30, at 8, at the Globe Coffee House, 227 High Street, Mrs. Annie Besant (Fabian) will lecture on "The only Path to Freedom for Labour."—Saturday evening December 10, Grand Concert and Draw at Farringdon Hall, to raise funds for the purpose of forming a Socialist Club in the East-end.

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.

Arbroath (Scot. Sect.).—High Street Hall. Meeting Friday evenings. W. Smith, 12 Maule St., secy.

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

Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Secretary *pro tem.*, D. McDougal, East Path.

Cowdenbeath (Scot. Sec.).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., secy.

Dublin.—Saturday Club, Central Hall, 12 Westmoreland Street, every Saturday at 8 p.m. Free debates on Social and Political subjects. All friends invited.

Dundee (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station. Political Economy class, 11 a.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, 6.30. Free Tron Hall, Chambers St., Mondays, 8. **Galashiels** (Scot. Sect.).—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., 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 St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Music and Shorthand Classes. Tuesday at 8. Choir Practice, Wednesday at 8. Discussion Class, Thursdays at 8 (on Dec. 1st Downie will open debate on "The Need of Moral Courage"). **SPECIAL LECTURES.**—On Sunday November 27, Rev. S. D. Headlam, in Waterloo Halls, at 7 p.m.—subject, "Trafalgar Square Riots." J. L. Mahon will commence a week's campaign in the Glasgow district on the same date. On Sunday Dec. 18, H. H. Champion will lecture in Waterloo Halls—subject, "What Socialists Want."—Saturday Nov. 26, at 8, meeting of branch in rooms, to arrange for Rev. S. D. Headlam's lecture, also Mahon's tour.

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. Sunday Nov. 27, at 7.30, M. Sollitt, "Temperance." **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 Monday at 8.30.

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.—Temperance Hall. Meets every Monday.

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

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 27.

10.30...Starch GreenHammersmith Branch.
11.30...Hackney—Salmon and BallGraham.
11.30...Hoxton Church, Pittfield St.Lane.
11.30...Kingsland GreenBrookes.
11.30...Merton—Haydons Road.....The Branch.
11.30...Mitcham Fair GreenThe Branch.
11.30...Regent's ParkParker.
11.30...St. Pancras ArchesWalker & Wardle.
11.30...Waltham Green.....The Branch.
3 ...Hyde ParkGraham.
7 ...Stamford HillParker.
7 ...Clerkenwell Green.....Nicoll.

Tuesday.

8 ...Mile-end WasteDavis

Wednesday.

8 ...Broadway, London FieldsGraham

Thursday.

8 ...Hoxton Church, Pittfield St.Wade & Pope

PROVINCES.

Glasgow.—St. George's Cross: Sunday, 1 p.m.
Paisley Road Toll: Sunday, 5 p.m.
Leeds.—Sunday: Vicar's Croft, 11 a.m.
Norwich Branch.—Sunday: Market Place at 3; Agricultural Hall Plain at 7.

Dereham.—Every Wednesday, Market Place at 7.

SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.

(Scottish Section of the Socialist League)

Sat. 26—**Kirkcaldy.** Port Brae, J. L. Mahon, 6.30.
Sun. 27—**Kirkcaldy.** Mahon will speak at Port Brae at 6, and in Hall at 7.
" **Dunfermline.** Public Park, Mahon, at 3.
" **Edinburgh.** Trades Hall, High Street, 6.30.
Mon. 28—**Edinburgh.** Rev. S. D. Headlam in Free Tron Hall on "Christian Socialism," at 8.
" **Dunfermline.** J. L. Mahon, Co-operative Hall, "The Aims and Methods of Socialism," at 8 p.m.

Mahon will also address a series of meetings for the Glasgow Branch from 28th Nov. till 6th Dec., and will address the Lanarkshire Miners for a few days afterwards.

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

NORWICH ANARCHIST GROUP.—**Yarmouth**—Thursday, on the Quay, at 7.30. **Carrow**—Friday, at 1.30. **Norwich**—St. George's Plain, Saturday, at 1.15; Haymarket, Saturday, at 8; Market Place, Sunday at 11 and 8. Ber Street Fountain, Sunday at 3.

Y.M. LITERARY AND TRAINING SOCIETY, Mornington Chapel, Hampstead Road, N.W.—Monday Nov. 28, T. Shingles, "Socialism Practically Considered," 8 pm

NELSON AND BOROUGH OF STRAND RADICAL CLUB, 2 High Street, Bloomsbury.—A short series of Lessons in Political Economy are being delivered on Sunday mornings by L. E. Fraser, at 11.30. No Fees.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

THE LECTURE SECRETARY requests all London Lecturers of the Socialist League who have not already sent in the titles of their lectures to do so without delay.

THOS. CANTWELL.

SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—Meeting at *Commonweal* Office, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday Nov. 27, at 4.30 p.m.—*Business:* To draft a Declaration Form of membership.

NUPKINS AWAKENED.

On Saturday December 3rd the above Dramatic Sketch will be performed,

IN AID OF "THE PRISONERS' DEFENCE FUND,"
AT 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

FACTS FOR SOCIALISTS.

(THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH IN ENGLAND)

16 pp., One Penny.

Published by the **FABIAN SOCIETY**, 180 Potsdown Road also at 63 and 185 Fleet Street.

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

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 99.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

ONE lesson, and a very valuable one, the authorities have been giving us by their recent conduct. They have, so to say, preached us a practical sermon on the value of the vague something called "moral force." This time surely the "moral force" was on our side, and it was natural that many should have thought that the affair of Dod Street would be repeated, and that the Government, glad enough to harry and bludgeon a small band of poor unemployed voteless men here and there, would draw back when the Radical clubs entered the arena. Well, on this occasion they did not draw back, and many people are astonished at it. But they must remember that it was convenient for the then Government to draw back at Dod Street, while it was inconvenient for the present Government to draw back at Trafalgar Square. That is just as far as "moral force" can push Governments who have in their hands physical force.

The Government with their big majority in Parliament felt perfectly safe against any mere talk, even though Mr. Gladstone himself and the United (?) Liberal Party were the talkers; therefore they thought that the opportunity was good for striking a blow which should encourage their friends and cow their enemies, and so far from drawing back they have been acting as an "agent provocateur," and would have been only too glad if they could have had an opportunity for shooting as well as bludgeoning the people. They believe themselves safe behind their bludgeons and bayonets against any "moral force" that can be brought against them; and so they are until the "moral force" arrayed against them means a corresponding amount of physical force, until apathy is turned into determination, timidity into despair, and organisation grows out of necessity.

Meanwhile, there is nothing to discourage Socialists in all this; we have known our present physical weakness all along; and the action of the Government has at least shown us that the classes are afraid of something, that they are beginning to forecast the inevitable trouble which the approaching break-up of wage-slavery is brewing; that forecast will almost certainly as it grows lead us into a period of persecution, and that again to a general knowledge among the workers of what Socialism aims at, and the threat of physical force (or let us say at once of *force*) which that knowledge will imply, will either make the oppressors waver, lose counsel and conduct, and so at last give way; or the oppression will become so unbearable that it will *force* the revolution to break all bounds and sweep it away.

A writer in the *Daily News* is sorely grieved at Sir C. Warren being called a martinet, a mere official soldier, in short, a lump of pipe-clay, and sets forth at length his amiable and humanitarian qualities. Surely this is either a day too late or too early. The *innocent* Arabs who were slaughtered because their tribesmen slew the briber Palmer may be forgotten, and at any rate they can tell no tales; but how about our kind-hearted friend on the 13th and the 20th of November, 1887? Really Sir C. Warren's love for humanity took a strange form on those days; we have not yet forgotten all that so cleanly that we do not also remember that passage from an old book: "By their fruits ye shall know them. Do men gather grapes from thorns or figs from thistles?"

The police, as we know too well, are, to put it mildly, very much irritated against the people in the streets, whether they are unemployed, or processionists, or what-not short of respectability. Naturally irritated, say some people, since they have been hustled about from pillar to post, overworked, kept without their meals (except when fed by the shopkeepers and the Prince of Wales). Well, you see, since they are "naturally irritated," they can be *depended upon*. I was talking about these matters to the son of an old chartist the other day, and he said that in the '48 time the soldiers were kept at extra drill for some time before the Kennington Green meeting, and in consequence were "naturally irritated" against the people. There are more ways than one of killing a cat.

The Liberal leaders are in a terrible fright of being involved in a contest against law and order. Harcourt, Morley, and others have been speaking about the country, and not a word have they to say about the state of things in London. The Tories are not so reticent: they are naturally crowing over the victory of force over reason. The clever cartoon in *Punch*, which is really the illustrated *Times* in a

political sense, puts the point to Mr. Gladstone in an unanswerable way. Only he *won't* answer it, or indeed think of the matter as long as he thinks it can be safely disregarded from the political or vote-catching point of view.

The "unemployed" agitation has got as far as the setting on foot of a census of them; which to my mind does not seem very far; but if they themselves want it done, as it appears they do, all one can do is to hope that something, however little, for their benefit will come of it. But how shall a census be made of men (and women and children) working for the wretchedest of wages? The wages now being offered to men on the ship canal works now beginning in Lancashire are 4½d. an hour, and I hear that thousands of men are eager to accept this "reward of labour." There is *employment* for you! I want to know also if a man who is an artisan, a carpenter, cabinet-maker, weaver, or what not, is set to do navvy's work, whether he can properly be said to be "employed"? Once again, it means but one thing—out-a-door relief. This is what the Captains of Industry and their governing committees, parliament and the rest of it, have to offer to the people they lead. That is *their* way of organising industry.

It is curious to see the eagerness with which well-to-do people accept any scheme short of the one obvious remedy for dealing with the "unemployed" business. You would think, to see the high spirits of some of them over this census business, that the men were by now not only numbered but also set to well-paid remunerative labour. Again the "beggar colonies" scheme, here called politely "home colonisation," has been received with a kind of enthusiasm in some quarters. Mr. Herbert Mills set the ball a-rolling with his scheme, which was to be an imitation of the Dutch beggar colonies; and then there was an account of a similar scheme in work at Berlin, whereby people by dint of working eleven hours a-day and a strong dose of church to boot, all under strict discipline, were to earn a splendid livelihood of 6½d. per diem. That such schemes of slavery can be received as "palliatives," that they are not received with universal horror and disgust, shows how miserable our condition is, and what a tremendous upheaval it will take to amend it.

The Liberty and Property Defence League cannot be congratulated on the result of the "big name" they got to lecture for them. Mr. Froude, almost of course, showed complete ignorance of Socialism and its aims, and quite of course violent prejudice in favour of reaction; and in short his address was a queer performance for a man with a reputation. And yet he gave his friends a hint or two worth their remembrance, when he told them, *e.g.*, that the rich had in these latter days surrendered political power in the hopes of preserving property, and that in all probability they would as a consequence *temporarily* lose their property. Some of their faces must have fallen at this *temporary* prospect. What Mr. Froude really meant was that liberty and private property are incompatible,—who shall say him nay?

W. M.

A great lady and seigneur of the *ancien regime* were speaking about what was likely to happen to a certain old rake, lately of their acquaintance, but whose life and debaucheries had been cut short with very little notice. "It is to be regretted," said he, "that his Highness was not more careful in securing the good offices of the Church." "No doubt," said she; "but depend upon it, sir, God will think twice before he damns a man of that consideration." Kindly people flatter themselves that such notions belong to a time that has passed away; they will, then, be shocked to hear that at the great Tory gathering at Oxford on November 23rd, Monseigneur Salisbury said, when for once in a way he *spoke the truth*, "One of my Ministry is worth all the eighty-six Irish M.P.'s." These are but brutal ways of stating what to the speakers is the truth. But they are shocking more for the underlying truth on which all such ideas are based, than for the mode of putting them forth. It is *not* true that one man is worth more than another, but it is true that the whole of our society is arranged on the assumption that one set of men, selected by the merest chance, are better than the rest. The ideas expressed in "the claims of capital," or "the rights of property," and similar ones, all assume that men who happen to be chained to certain material surroundings are more worthy than if they were free from such encumbrances. Those who hold such ideas do not hesitate any more than the great lady of the *ancien regime* to take God into partnership when they quote "Dieu et mon droit" against others.

C. J. F.

A LEAKY OLD TUB.

THE good British ship "Constitution," with its fleet of colonial consorts, no longer bounds over rippling waves of commerce under favourable tradé winds, but for many years past has been labouring in the stormy sea of competition. As it sinks into the trough or rises to the swell, it rolls heavily to the Tory or Whig side and plunges slowly forward. Admiral King and Vice-Admiral Chancellor have had Captains Laud and Walpole and Pitt, Lieutenant Dizzy, Purser Gladstone, and their able-bodied tradesmen to guide and steer. But somehow the old ship no longer answers her helm. Indeed, the officers do not seem to be sure whether the tiller-ropes are not altogether broken away from the rudder. There used to be during the voyage from Feudalism to Whiggery a very serviceable tiller-ropé in the Church. The officers had only to grease the ropes and wheels liberally with tithes and church-rates, and our bishops with the merry song, "Why do the heathen so furiously rage together and the peoples imagine a vain thing?" guided us out of the stormy waves of foreign competition. Let the idolatrous Don vapour as he might, let the Mounseers vainly fancy that they could raise the wind or disturb our waters with their South Sea bubbles; even if the chopping seas did rise a little high, our clerical guides blessed and even pointed the noisy salvos of artillery, which in these cases at all events, soon brought down the waves to a more endurable level.

Ah! if it could only have gone on so; if our good ship could but have lengthened its halcyon course just for our time, with its gallant crew of Raleighs, Clives, roast beef farmers, Squire Westerns, rich burghers, petty traffickers, merchant princes, and ducal rent-rollers. . . . But where to? There's the rub. The world is limited in size, and has the unfortunate peculiarity that the more successful a voyager is in pushing forward and opening up new fields of enterprise, the sooner he meets face to face the heathen and the foreigners, whom he kicked off but a short time since and turned backwards on their way. Our ship got round the world about 1770 along with Captain Cook's, and seems now as if it might suffer the same fate as his. His ship was caulked and tarred and painted; the timbers of the leaky old tub were strengthened to fit it for the carrying of coal, which does not suffer from damp, and finally, nearly a hundred years after its celebrated voyage, it went down in the narrow seas with all hands and coals on board.

The halcyon days then are done, when we could be astonished at our own unforced moderation in dealing with Hindoos and Negroes. Our Captains under Queen Bess or the Sacred Majesty of the Stuarts found it pleasant enough exchanging knives and guns, linen and cloth for Javan spices or Guinea gold-dust; or better still, as De Foe puts it, a few toys and trifles for Guinea Negroes. These last, it is true, were of no use at home; on the contrary, the Captains' friends there had white slaves on their hands, whom they willingly sent out as "servants under bond for a period of years" to help in winning Brazilian Sugar and Rum, or Virginian Tobacco. But the world is limited, and has, it is said, progressed; so the happy hunting-grounds of those times contain now plenty of slaves of their own, and the people are as busy in making frippery as ever we were. They do not want our wares of either kind, but we and they are engaged in the not very hopeful attempt to become rich by exchanging toys and trifles with each other. We are all hard put to it to get rid of our cargoes, while the back-wave from the continual struggles and collisions with our own kith and kin, heathen and foreign, on the other side of the world, seriously troubles our home waters. Our poor officers call out and perhaps try to believe, that we are still on our old track; but the old ship is driven hither and thither, and knows not where it is nor what people it faces. Its crew rush on as of old, but the world is shrunk, and our comrades, equally with those against whom our leaders guide the attack, are just as likely to be foreigners and heathens as fellow-citizens and neighbours.

Our old "Constitution" was framed originally for true Britons only. The Commercial Adventurer and Free Trader in adapting it to foreign elements, however worthy and desirable, have strained it much, and made its timbers to gape terribly, besides cutting new entrance-ports for convenience in its sides. Even a philosopher, however, finds it difficult to make a hole to admit a cat, but which will keep out a kitten; and if heathens of every kind capable of earning a living are to be welcome, it would require the wits or the brass of a London magistrate to frame a test of visible means of subsistence, which shall admit Giuglini but exclude the organ-grinders.

We still do a vast business with each other and with foreigners in toys and trifles, but take now by way of exchange not rum and tobacco for the amusement of men, but mostly butter and meat for his necessity, or at least what stands for these. For if we had been sailing in a butter-tub on a sea of melted butter, our lower decks could not have been worse flooded with various forms of grease. Captain Salisbury has rightly received credit for his recent ingenious stoppage of one offensive kind. Butterine or oleomargarine (I forget which of these two) cannot now leak in from Holland, but our ship-mates will have a free choice, as free as the circumstances admit of, between articles labelled "Pure Devonshire" or "Pure Irish," or "Pure Manchester oleo-butyrio-margarino-grease, extracted from the best coal-tar, and warranted to contain all the elements of nutrition." The educated mind trained in the purest doctrines of British Free Trade sees the difference—he doesn't generally try it by tasting—sees as clearly the difference between oleo-butyrio-margarino-grease and oleo-margarine, as that a cod-fish from one side of a parallel of latitude differs from

one caught on the other side. And so our most active British Free Trade mate has gone over the seas to point out to our Canadian Consorts, that there is a difference, and to advise them against taking in their supplies indifferently from both sides of the line, but to leave the fish from the inferior foreign side for the American market. It is quite good enough for them; and if these inexperienced Colonials and untrained Americans cannot see the difference, why they must accept the doctrine on the authority of the Free Trade Pope of British Interests. The Pope has said that British interests shall not suffer in his hands; he will bring his political hocus-pocus to bear, and enforce the view that there is a difference between two apparently identically similar fishes. Orthodoxy has before been successful, where sight and hearing, touch and taste and smell, all failed.

Active, however, as are our Admirals and Captains, they do not seem able to come at one most serious leak in our "Victory." There is the Emigration Pump, the Congested Districts Pump, the Allotments Pump, and many others. "All hands to the pumps" is a standing order, morning, noon, and night, while the pauper-bilge-water increases ever in the hold. The officers groan that pump as they may, they cannot touch it, and complain that though vast quantities are poured into and enrich foreign lands, yet the inrush of foreign dregs through the gaping sides baffles all their labour. None of them knows what to suggest, and the crew are about to strike work; for they begin to see that they will all go to the bottom together in the leaky old tub, unless they get out of her on to some temporary raft, till they can build for themselves an entirely new craft. C. J. F.

"BROKEN CISTERNS."

(Continued from p. 379.)

THE next two movements we have to deal with are those of trades unions and co-operation; these both touch the industrial question, and have both been able to improve the condition of certain sections of the people to some extent. Before we shall be in a position to judge of their power to find a permanent solution of the difficulties which modern society has to face it will be necessary for us to get as clear an idea as possible of those difficulties and fix upon the causes of them as far as we can; we shall then be able to judge what these two great movements can do towards the removal of these causes. I shall not here restate the oft-told tale about the poverty and misery of the workers or the luxury of the idlers, but shall assume that readers of the *Commonweal* have at least had their eyes opened enough to see the disgraceful contrast and are wishful to mend it if possible; but we will take some of the phrases commonly used both by employers and employed to explain poverty, bad times, etc., and see if we can find how they originate and what they really mean. First, then, the capitalists talk a lot about over-production and take measures to restrict the output of various kinds of goods. To the man of an unsophisticated mind over-production sounds a very queer word to explain our evils by. Surely it is rather odd to explain poverty by saying that it is caused by our having too much of everything, or in other words the want of things is caused by the great abundance of them! If this is really so there must be something very wrong somewhere; evidently to try and cure poverty by reducing the stock of wealth is, to say the least of it, a left-handed way of setting about it.

Now how does this over-production arise? Let us take an example of a simple society on a small scale. We will suppose it to consist of a farmer, a tailor, a shoemaker, a tool-maker, and a builder and furnisher of houses. Each one of these would work at his trade and exchange the result with his neighbour. Thus the farmer would give corn, etc., to the tailor for clothes, to the shoemaker for boots, and so on; or the tool-maker would give tools for boots or corn or whatever he wanted. Now it is quite evident that there can be no general over-production here unless there is so much produced of all sorts of goods that all the wants of each member are satisfied; and it is further evident that such over-production if it did exist, far from causing poverty, would make every one wealthy and provide them with additional leisure, so that it might be a great blessing to them. Of course there might be too many of any one article produced. For instance, the builder might fit them all up with houses to their liking, and then if he went on building they would not give him of the results of their labour in exchange for a second house. But that is quite a different thing; it merely refers to an increase of one article proportionally greater than that of any other, and would be righted by the builder doing something more needed, perhaps draining the farmer's land or taking to ordinary joiner's work, but there would be no general over-production such as we are now discussing; that could only happen when all were satisfied. How is it, then, that this general over-production, which would be a blessing to such a society as we have sketched, is such a curse to us? The reason must lie in some difference between this society and ours, and that difference will not be far to seek. In this society we have assumed that each brings into the market of exchange all that he produces; but in society as it now exists this is not the case: a man brings into the exchange money which represents only a portion of his production. A woman is making shirts all week: she will only bring power to purchase one-twelfth of the number she has produced. And taking the workers generally, they don't bring more than enough to purchase one-third of what they produce; the employers or some other members of the non-working class take the two-thirds. We will, then, introduce an employer into our little society, and see what the result will be.

The farmer (or agricultural labourer, as he will now be), the builder (or mason), the tailor, the shoemaker, and the tool-maker, will now all be working for an employer, who takes all they produce and gives them back as wages purchasing-power equal to one-third of what they have made. Now the first result of course will be that they will either have to live on one-third of what they did before or work longer to make up for what the employer takes. The second result will be this same over-production, for it is evident that the employer cannot eat three-times as much corn, wear three-times as many clothes, boots, etc., as all the others, therefore he will soon accumulate a large stock of goods of all sorts which it will take him years to use up. Of course he will try and set the workers to other work—making cigars for him to smoke, or growing wine, or working up jewellery—and so prolong the process; but even here he takes two-thirds of everything and leaves the workers one-third, so that each article becomes a drug on his hands and over-production will ensue. He does not want any more himself, and won't allow the workers to use the tools, etc., to produce for themselves, hence over-production results in poverty for the workers. The time might be staved off if there were other societies near which did not know how to make the things produced in this society and which had such things as jewels, ivory, skins, etc., to give in exchange, or such things as tea, coffee, sugar, etc. Then the employer could get rid of his goods for things which he would like to make his life happier. But the time comes when these neighbouring societies learn to make for themselves, and they will no longer buy at prices which the employer thinks worth while to sell at, and over-production comes on again and misery results, relieved occasionally by the introduction of a new market or by the invention of something which the employer would like, or his daughter perhaps: the fashion of wearing a bussle improves the steel-trade for a while, or a fancy for a certain sort of clothing briskens up that branch, but nothing except new foreign markets can brisen up the whole community.

Hence we see that in our simple community the introduction of an employer and the unequal distribution of wealth is the direct cause of so-called over-production. The remedy of course would be to revert to the old system of fair division of produce. We may take it as a truth worth remembering, that if we are to do away with trade crises and gluts each must have a purchasing power equal to his productive power, or at least approaching to such equality; for if we have to trust to a small section of the community consuming two-thirds of the produce, there is sure to come a time of over-production,—in other words, there comes a time when the manufacturers of most staple articles are producing much more than the wealthy class need, and are giving the workers such a small share of purchasing power that although they need the goods they cannot buy them. Then we get the most disgraceful spectacle of modern times—rows of warehouses full of all sorts of useful things, food, clothing, furniture, etc., which cannot be sold, and in many cases are going to rot for want of using, and at the same time thousands of people going about with empty stomachs, their naked bodies showing through their ragged clothing, even in the depth of winter, living in houses not fit for dogs, with perhaps an old box or two as sole furniture or a few broken sticks which have not gone to the pawn-shop.

The fault lies not in any law of nature which decrees that every ten years or so there should be a season of glut or bad times, but lies in the violation of a law of nature which says that if a small section of the community take from the rest the greater portion of what they produce, that such robbery shall work the destruction of society unless it be stopped.

I have here dealt only with the increased amount of misery brought on the workers and some of the employers by these times of glut, and have said little of the evident injustice of taking two-thirds of the produce from the workers and giving it to the idlers. My object was rather to show that these successions of good and bad times are caused directly by this bad distribution, and that therefore if we are to do away with this evil we must do away with the bad distribution. Competition greatly aggravates the evil; as soon as there is the least sign of an improvement, every factory starts and makes about twice as much as is needed, trying to get a larger and larger share of the general market, the only regard each man has is to the share of the market he can get. A fierce struggle ensues; they cut each other in price; the workers are driven like slaves; and the result is that some make vast fortunes which put them quite outside the influence of bad times, the rest who are not so fortunate in getting a large share of the market are left with tons of stuff which they cannot sell. Then it is that we hear capitalists wishing there might be a good war to liven things up a bit—really to consume some of the surplus wealth a bonfire would do as well; in fact each fire is looked upon by the workers as on the whole rather a good thing, being good for trade and finding extra work. Each is right from his point of view. A war finds the employers profit because the nation makes a demand non-existent before, and a good deal of the purchasing power comes from sources which would not have given an effective demand. A fire finds work, and so wages, for the workers to build up again and re-stock the place burnt down: again the money comes largely from sources where it would not have been used to pay wages.

RAYMOND UNWIN.

(To be continued.)

Men are educated and the State uplifted by allowing all—every one—to broach all their mistakes and advocate their errors. The community that will not protect its humblest, most ignorant, and most hated member in the free utterance of his opinions, no matter how false or hateful, is only a gang of slaves.—Wendell Phillips.

NEW FORM FOR THE SWEARING-IN OF CONSTABLES.

(A SUGGESTION FOR SIR CHARLES WARREN.)

"Dost thou accept the old creed of Coercion
In England, as in Ireland, tried and true?
Dost thou regard all freedom with aversion,
And hate her name?" "I do."

"Wilt thou respect, court, venerate the classes,
Whate'er they seek to compass—good or ill?
Wilt thou molest and vilify the masses
In word and deed?" "I will."

"Swear'st thou to wield thy truncheon for the Tory;
To smite, and curse, and wound, and overbear?
Then seize and prosecute with lying story
Some injured wretch?" "I swear."

"Wilt thou perform thy duty in this station,
And tread the path that Endacott has trod?
What is thine oath of solemn adjuration?"
"I will—so help me God!"

—H. S. S. in *Pall Mall Gazette*.

PODSNAPPERY.

"Mr Podsnap was well to do, and stood very high in Mr. Podsnap's opinion. Beginning with a good inheritance, he had married a good inheritance, and had thriven exceedingly in the Marine Insurance way, and was quite satisfied. He never could make out why everybody was not quite satisfied, and he felt conscious that he set a brilliant social example in being particularly well satisfied with most things, and, above all other things, with himself.

"Thus happily acquainted with his own merit and importance, Mr. Podsnap settled that whatever he put behind him he put out of existence. There was a dignified conclusiveness—not to add a grand convenience—in this way of getting rid of disagreeables which had done much toward establishing Mr. Podsnap in his lofty place in Mr. Podsnap's satisfaction. "I don't want to know about it; I don't choose to discuss it; I don't admit it!" Mr. Podsnap had even acquired a peculiar flourish of his right arm in often clearing the world of its most difficult problems, by sweeping them behind him (and consequently sheer away) with those words and a flushed face. For they affronted him.

"Mr. Podsnap's world was not a very large world, morally; no, nor even geographically,—seeing that although his business was sustained upon commerce with other countries, he considered other countries, with that important reservation, a mistake, and of their manners and customs would conclusively observe, 'Not English!' when Presto! with a flourish of the arm and a flush of the face they were swept away. Elsewise, the world got up at eight, shaved close at a quarter past, breakfasted at nine, went to the City at ten, came home at half-past five, and dined at seven. Mr. Podsnap's notions of the Arts in their integrity might have been stated thus. Literature: large print, respectfully descriptive of 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. Painting and Sculpture: models and portraits representing Professors of 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. Music: a respectable performance (without variations) on stringed and wind instruments, sedately expressive of 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. Nothing else to be permitted to those same vagrants the Arts, on pain of excommunication. Nothing else To Be—anywhere!

"As a so eminently respectable man, Mr. Podsnap was sensible of its being required of him to take Providence under his protection. Consequently he always knew exactly what Providence meant. Inferior and less respectable men might fall short of that mark, but Mr. Podsnap was always up to it. And it was very remarkable (and must have been very comfortable) that what Providence meant was invariably what Mr. Podsnap meant.

"These may be said to have been the articles of a faith and school which the present chapter takes the liberty of calling, after its representative man, Podsnappery. They were confined within close bounds, as Mr. Podsnap's own head was confined by his shirt-collar; and they were enunciated with a sounding pomp that smacked of the creaking of Mr. Podsnap's own boots."—From *'Our Mutual Friend,'* by Charles Dickens.

CHILD LABOUR IN GERMAN FACTORIES.—One of the demands made by the German Socialist party is that child labour in factories shall be abolished. In view of this it is not uninteresting to note the steady increase in the employment of children, which is testified to by the reports of the German Inspectors of Factories. In 1881 the number was 9,347; in 1882 it was 14,600; in 1883, 18,395; in 1884, 18,865; and last year (for 1885 no statistics are available) the number was 21,053, or far more than twice the number in 1881. So much for official statistics; but there is every reason to believe that these figures do not represent the actual state of things, the employment of children in industry being carried on to a much greater extent than the factory inspectors are able to learn. Thus the Inspector for the Düsseldorf district says he has "often found in grinding-works, small weaving works, and turning works, children of from four to twelve years, who were said not to be working, but only to be under the care of their parents or brothers and sisters. Only in a few cases did I succeed in proving their employment, notwithstanding that the untruth of the representations made was demonstrated by the fact that the children's hands were soiled by working material." The German *Gewerbeordnung* forbids the employment of children under twelve years of age, but the inspectors state that this prohibition is often disregarded, and especially is this the case in the so-called "house industry," which it is, from the nature of the case, impossible to subject to perfect supervision. Thus, an inspector writes respecting Plauen, in Saxony, that he has found many cases in which children of seven years have been made to work ten hours daily, besides attending school. Saxony, indeed, seems to be especially guilty of infraction of the law respecting the employment of children. In 1883 the number of offences reported was 613, in 1884 it was 577; in 1885, 1,088; and last year, 1,499. In Germany there is a growing opinion in favour of an increase of the minimum age at which children can be put to work; that the age of fourteen is not too high.



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

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Received with thanks, but found unsuitable—J. G. (Socialist poem); E. R., Stratford; "Charley Warren" (song); J. B. ("Waifs").

W. H. S.-H.—We will carefully consider your first proposal and make the second public meanwhile.

B. K.—'Natural Causes and Supernatural Seeming,' by Henry Maudsley (Kegan Paul, London, 1886, cr. 8vo, 5s.); 'A Story of an African Farm,' by Ralph Iron (Olive Schreiner), 3rd edition (Chapman and Hall, London, 1887, cr. 8vo, 2s.). Mr. Beale's book on Morality we have not yet seen.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday November 30.

ENGLAND		SWITZERLAND	
Jus	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat	
Justice	Detroit (Mich.)—The Advance	Geneva—Bulletin Continental	
London—Freie Presse	Albina (Oreg.)—Weekly Courier		
Labour Tribune	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung		
Norwich—Daylight	Coast Seamen's Journal		
Railway Review			
Worker's Friend			
INDIA		SPAIN	
Bankipore—Behar Herald		Madrid—El Socialista	
Madras—People's Friend			
UNITED STATES		PORTUGAL	
New York—Der Sozialist		Lisbon—O Protesto Operario	
Truthseeker			
Volkszeitung			
Boston—Woman's Journal			
Liberty			
Chicago (Ill.)—Knights of Labor			
Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer			
Hammonton (N.J.) Credit Foncier			
Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt			
FRANCE		GERMANY	
Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)		Berlin—Volks Tribune	
La Revolt			
Le Socialiste			
Le Moniteur			
Lille—Le Travailleur			
HOLLAND		AUSTRIA	
Hague—Recht voor Allen		Vienna—Gleichheit	
Amsterdam—Voorwaarts		Brunn—Volksfreund	
BELGIUM		HUNGARY	
Seraing (Ougree)—Le Reveil		Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik	
Ghent—Vooruit			
Brussels—L'Avant-Garde			
Liege—L'Avenir			
ITALY		ROMANIA	
Gazetta Operaia		Jassy—Lupta	
		SWEDEN	
		Stockholm—Social-Demokraten	
		NORTH AFRICA	
		Tunis—L'Operaio	

'THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING-CLASSES.'

I.

THE wise of the world have declared that labour is honourable, that "work is the only noble thing," and although civilised society—sham that it is—says so too, the nobleman to-day is not the labourer—was he ever?—but the idler. The ideal man of the Christian faith was a workman, and though for centuries his deeds have been glorified, to-day, as when he lived, the worker sheds his blood that the shirker may lap it and live. But the feeling that the game of gammon would soon be up has induced some considerable section of the shirkers, in hope, perchance, that it might stave off the evil day of the workers' emancipation, to manifest a dilettante interest in the welfare of the workers, to fool about in matters pertaining to art and science, to "rusticate" in summer-time among agricultural folk, in short, potter about, pretending to work but taking care not to do so. And following in their wake is a class of persons which not being able to live entirely without labouring has, through the kindly offices of its more fortunate friends, been secured some comfortable and lucrative position, where the work may be said to be "put out" for somebody else to do. And so we come down by gentle gradations to those whom the disease of indolence has not wholly contaminated, but which would soon succumb did its olfactory organs in the course of its labours greet anything less pleasant than *eau de cologne*.

We may divide off the whole of those alluded to up till now from the working-classes proper, and although perhaps, if we were to analyse them thoroughly, we might find 1 per cent. performing some useful service to society, the other 99 per cent., we venture to assert, would be found to be so much human dross. And if it were inanimate society would not be much encumbered by its existence, but being corporeal and omnivorous it eats out its very heart.

But this is all mere generalisation, and that we may ascertain what is and what has been the condition of the working-classes, we must descend to detail.

Beginning at the latter half of last century, let us examine their condition from that time to the present. Before the invention of the "Jenny" by James Hargreaves in 1767, the condition of the working-

classes was as compared to their present, one of affluence and comfort, then the handicraftsman supplied the community with those commodities which machinery plus the machine-tender does to-day:

"Wife and daughter spun the yarn that the father wove or that they sold, if he did not work himself. These weaver families lived in the country in the neighbourhood of the towns, and got on fairly well with their wages, because the home market was almost the only one, and the crushing power of competition that came later with the conquest of foreign markets and the extension of trade, did not yet press upon wages. There was further a constant increase in the demand of the home market, keeping pace with the slow increase in population and employing all the workers; and there was also the impossibility of vigorous competition of the workers among themselves, consequent upon the rural dispersion of their homes. So it was that the weaver was usually in a position to lay by something, and rent a little piece of land that he cultivated in his leisure hours, of which he had as many as he chose to take, since he could weave whenever and as long as he pleased. True he was a bad farmer, and managed his land inefficiently; nevertheless, he was no proletarian, he had a stake in the country, and stood one step higher in society than the English workmen of to-day."

What was true of the weaver was true of the workers generally, and although so far as their material needs were concerned they were fairly satisfied, intellectually they were dead.

The effect of the invention of Hargreaves, and those of Arkwright, Crompton, Cartwright, Watt, and others, and the improvements effected upon them from year to year, was that a "complete victory of machine work over hand-work was won in the chief branches of English industry, and from that time forward history simply relates how the hand-workers have been driven from one position after another." From the use of these numerous labour-saving appliances, the manufacturing system grew and developed, and with it also that class—the Proletariat—which, before what is known as the industrial system began to develop, had practically no existence in this country. "Hitherto, the worker had always had the prospect of establishing himself somewhere as a master artificer, perhaps employing journeymen and apprentices; but now, when large capital had become necessary for carrying on work independently, the working-class became for the first time, an integral, permanent class of the population." "Now the worker was born to toil, and had no other prospect than that of remaining a toiler all his life."

By the year 1844 the capitalistic system of production had so developed itself, that it had reduced the workers to a propertyless labour-vending class; it found them concentrated, or rather herded together in the great towns, which had by this time become veritable cesspools of human filth. In Manchester, from 40,000 to 50,000 persons were living in cellars; in London, Liverpool, Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Birmingham, the dwellings were so abominably foul and unsanitary as to be almost past describing. Overcrowding was general throughout the working-class quarters of all the large towns. Here is a sample taken at random from Engel's book: "In the parishes of St. John and St. Margaret, London, there lived in 1840, 5,366 working-men's families in 5,294 'dwellings' (if they deserve the name), men, women, and children thrown together without distinction of age or sex, 26,830 persons all told; and of these families three-fourths possessed but one room." These together paid a joint rental of £40,000 per year. Hundreds of thousands crowded together in common lodging-houses, and all the horrors of disease and misery brought to light by the recent "Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working-classes" abounded, but in a more intense form. It is a sickening picture to dwell on, these poisoning, soul-killing holes into which the workers—from whose ingenuity all the wonderful contrivances which have revolutionised production have been evolved, and the immense wealth which has resulted from their use has been acquired—are forced to creep.

The "manner in which the need of a shelter is satisfied furnishes a standard for the manner in which all the other necessities are supplied." Offal and rags supplying the place of life-sustaining and weather-protecting food and clothing. This is the reward of society to the workers, to whom it owes everything—its very existence.

The lot of the serf was an enviable one as compared to that of the free labourer, he at any rate had secured him the means of life, which the competitive system, "the battle of all against all," denies to the free-labourer. "Left to himself he cannot live a single day." The bourgeois has a monopoly of all the means of subsistence. Work for him the labourer must, when, where, and how he pleases, he must compete with his fellows for the opportunity to hire himself out—for there is always a surplus of labour in the market—and the result of the struggle to obtain employment is that the successful obtain work, and to the unsuccessful is left the choice of starving, stealing, or the workhouse. And those, the "fortunate," what is their lot?—the great pleasure of slavery for a bare subsistence wage. But the struggle for supremacy goes on among the monopolists as well as among the labourers; the possessor of the best "wage-saving machinery, i.e., the means of producing goods the cheapest, drives remorselessly the weaker monopolist, the small capitalist, out of the market and even sometimes bodily out of existence. And not within the nation does the struggle end, right throughout the civilised world the battle rages, nation fights nation, thousands of proletarians dye the fields with human gore, that the monopolist may find a "shoot" for his shoddy wares.

Thus competition goes blindly and ruthlessly on, dividing mankind into warring atoms, destroying its social instincts and making all men foes. And so it must go on until it is dead and mutual interest draws men together in holy brotherhood.

H. A. BARKER.

¹ Facts relative to the condition of workers in 1844, from 'The Condition of the Working-classes.' By Frederick Engels. (Lovell, Jersey St., N.Y., 6s.)

An article on "The Unemployed" by Bennet Burleigh is announced for the next number of the *Contemporary*.

HER MAJESTY'S GUESTS.

BEING one of those arrested in Trafalgar Square on Sunday the 13th, I think that my experience will be of interest, and may be of some use to those who are likely to find themselves in the same position.

Immediately on my arrest two policemen searched all my pockets, under the pretext of finding revolvers, knives, or dynamite bombs, and then I was marched to Scotland Yard under an escort of five foot and three mounted men, one being deputed to take charge of my right hand, and on no account to let go of it. On arrival I was placed in a room with ten policemen and their prisoners. From the remarks which fell from some of the police, I came to the conclusion that several of them had taken prisoners in order to escape from the mêlée and get a rest and a quiet booze, as several of them had provided themselves with bottles of spirits which were stowed away in a sort of secret pocket in their coat-tails. One of them started a discussion on Socialism with me, which we carried on for about half an hour. Another who sat close by, feeling himself aggrieved by having to do some amount of extra duty, kept interjecting, putting his wrongs down to the vicious activity of myself and comrades, generally concluding with, "If I had my way, I'd chuck the lot of you into the river."

We were detained at Scotland Yard until about 7.30, when we were removed to King Street, Westminster, police-station—fifteen prisoners, under an escort of forty-five foot police and ten mounted men—where we were charged and placed nine in a cell; and although ordinary prisoners can obtain an evening meal by paying for it, we were kept without food until 7.30 a.m., having had nothing to eat since dinner except one or two whose friends had seen their arrest and brought them some food. I found that those of my fellow prisoners who were not dressed "respectably" had received a good cudgelling on their arrest and were kicked and punched unmercifully while going through the station yards, which were full of police. One was so bruised and sore that he was unable to lie down all night.

About ten o'clock a number of prisoners were removed in cabs to the various stations in the neighbourhood, leaving three in our cell. A policeman pushed a rug through the wicket, informing us surlily that was all we should get; and as the rug would only cover one, we took it in turns, when we could get to sleep, which was not till the police had finished hurrahing over the day's achievements, and inviting Britannia to continue ruling the waves, for Britons never, never, never would be slaves.

The following morning, after having a pint of coffee and two slices at the expense of the country, and not being allowed to wash, we were removed in the "Queen's omnibus" to Bow Street at 9 a.m. On the evidence of a policeman, without corroboration, being fined forty shillings or twenty-one days, I was put back into a cell without being allowed to send to my friends for the amount of the fine, or to obtain any food even by paying for it; and at 5 p.m. I was removed to Millbank prison, my requests to be allowed to send a note or telegram to a friend being referred to the governor of Millbank.

When we arrived we were ushered into a long corridor with cells all along the left-hand side, and near the entrance a room which we were invited to enter and be seated. This room was half paved and half board floor, with a fire in the corner. A warder was seated on the board half in front of a desk, a standard of height, and a weighing machine. We were seated on the paved half directly in line with the door by which we entered, and another door opening into a room in which we were undressed, our clothes being made up into a bundle by one of the long-term convicts, who took to himself all the airs of a warder. Beyond this room was the bath-room, in which were three small concrete baths partitioned off from each other, containing about ten gallons of warm water each, in which eighteen of us had to bathe, the water being unchanged! Marvellous ingenuity had been lavished upon the sanitary arrangements of this palatial residence. The ventilation especially attracted my attention. A perfect hurricane swept through the corridor, and through the open door, through us and the rooms where we were stripping and bathing; and in order that our constitutions might not be too severely tried by feeling at once the extremes of heat and cold, the warmth of the fire was carefully kept from us by a screen which served the double purpose of keeping at the same time the draught from the warder and preserving to him the full heat of the fire. An inventory was taken of our names, ages, religions, occupations, heights, weights, and clothes. We bathed and were then furnished with a suit of prison clothes by one of the aforesaid convicts. On getting into mine, I found them to be an ingenious muddle, one sock just fitted me, the heel of the other reached the middle of my foot; and when I drew the attention of the clothier to it, he wanted to know whether I wished him to go to Regent Street and buy a pair (I presumed he would welcome the chance). I found the shoes ditto, but he soothed me with a promise to change them in the morning. Finally we were served with a ½-lb. loaf of bread each and sent to our cells, where we found some water to moisten it with. This was the first food we had since 7 a.m.

The following morning we were served with another loaf of bread about 7 a.m., and about 8 a warder came round with another convict carrying a basketful of hymn and prayer books and bibles, but as I had saved my soul from that everlasting hypocrisy I refused them. He then took the name and address of the friend to whom I wished to send for the amount of my fine, and departed. At 10.30 I was called out and informed that my fine had been paid, and at 11 a.m. I was released, having been confined 42 hours.

Now what I want to call attention to is the barbarity with which prisoners who from their appearance were assumed to be poor, and therefore friendless, were treated. After having a good clubbing before arrest, they were kicked and punched in the station-yard. Then we were all indiscriminately starved for two days. Several of my fellow-prisoners who were in work were deliberately detained until past mid-day on Tuesday, in order that even the majority who were able to obtain the payment of their fine would lose their work; for though an employer might excuse one day's absence, two would be beyond his patience. In the present state of the labour-market, what privation will they and their families suffer before obtaining work again! Not only were we prevented from communicating with our friends, but our friends were debarred all knowledge of where we were or what our sentences amounted to; whereas on ordinary occasions the information is readily obtained. I received my sentence before 12 noon, and between 2 and 6 o'clock my friends come four times to Bow Street to see what they could do for me, and all their enquiries elicited was "Don't know; wait; come again." Working men who read this should do their best to help in providing against this new method of terrorising even "constitutional agitation."

T. CANTWELL.

WHAT I LIVE FOR.

(See "My Aim," in *Commonweal*, October 8.)

I LIVE for those above me, who rob me of my due,
Who feign, good lack! to love me—but love my labour too;
I live, all meek and lowly, while want consumes me slowly,
For the end and object solely of the work that I can do.

I live to serve my master, to wait his beck and call,
And woful's the disaster which rids me of his thrall;
I cling to those who use me, who scorn, despise, abuse me,—
I labour for their needs alone and not mine own at all.

I live—and that suffices! I live as lives the swine,
No historic page entices, I nothing may divine
Of Nature and her beauties, of manhood and its duties,—
Already damned and mute is the soul that should be mine.

I live for those above me—myself a traitor to!
To god and man and neighbour consistently untrue.
A man in shape and stature, a "hand" in nomenclature,
A coward slave by nature, who, if he dared, might do.

A WORKER.

LITERARY NOTICES.

Mr. T. P. O'Connor's halfpenny evening paper will be called the *Evening Star*, and will appear early in next January. It cannot be published sooner than it is wanted.

'Coercion without Crime,' by J. A. Fox (Nat. Press Agency, Whitefriars, 1d.), contains a summary of the charges of H.M. judges to the various grand juries throughout Ireland at the Summer Assizes of this year, held while the *Coercion Bill* was passing, and most effectually crushes the contentions made in support of that measure.

'Paris and London: a bundle of contrasts,' by Jules Magny (Standing, Finsbury Pavement, 1d.), is a pamphlet principally translated from the preface to an as-yet-unpublished work of M. Félix Pyat entitled 'Angleterre et France.' The contrasts between Parisians and Londoners are amusingly and pointedly put, though a few are rather strained for antithesis' sake.

'Rhyme and Reason,' by H. S. Salt (Modern Press, 1d.) is a collection of verses reprinted from *Justice*, with the "Modern Guy Fawkes" from the *Commonweal* of November 5. The writer is too well known to need introduction to our readers, who are pretty familiar by this time with his witty and striking productions both in verse and prose.

Mr. Thomas Kirkup, writer of the admirable article on Socialism in the present edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, is about to issue a volume entitled 'An Enquiry into Socialism.' Those who have read his historical article will look with great interest for the appearance of his book, which is designed to explain the root-ideas of Socialism, both in contrast with those of the present system and those of certain theories usually mistaken for Socialism. Messrs. Longman will be the publishers.

Articles of interest to Socialists in November magazines:—*Murray's*: "Irish Secret Societies," Capt. Ross of Bladensburg. *Antiquary*: "Open-air Assemblies," G. L. Gomme, F.S.A. *Blackwood's*: "Self-government v. Home Rule." *Women's World*: "The Fallacy of the Superiority of Man," Mrs. Chas. McLaren. *Century*: "Prison Life of the Russian Revolutionists," Geo. Kennan. *Fortnightly*: "Count Leo Tolstoi," Matthew Arnold; "The Sweating System," David F. Schloss; "Our National Expenditure," Prof. Leone Levi; "Labour Organisation," Canon Leigh.

'The Politics of Labour,' by Phillips Thompson (Bedford, Clarke, and Co., New York and Chicago), is a well-written and useful addition to the growing library which is being provided for the studious worker. It is written to suit American conditions, and its instances and applications are also transatlantic, but it is well worth perusal by men of other nations who are not Socialists; the full-fledged Socialist will read it with interest and pleasure but glean little new learning from it. It is a book of the kind that a few years ago would have been ushered into the world amid "excursions and alarms," but is now becoming part of the expected and therefore unalarming fruit of the press. In sending review copy all mention of the price at which it is sold has been omitted.

'A Dock Labourer's Bitter cry,' by Benjamin Tillet (Author, 19 Hunslet Street, Bethnal Green, E., 1d.), is an address delivered by the writer to his fellow "Dockers" at a meeting held in support of the union they have formed and is an admirable statement of the ills from which they suffer. We quote from his prefatory note:

"'Horrible London' is painfully and acutely realised by our 'class' in all its agonising torment and debasement. We, the 'Dockers,' are among the 'Lazaruses' that starve upon the crumbs from the rich man's table. An endeavour is being made to shorten our supply even of them. At present, under a thin film of civilisation, there is a mass of corruption, stagnant and putrid, the rotten fruit of poverty. I cannot wonder that men lose the dignity of their manhood, when they are driven helter-skelter to the gutter by a system that degrades and imbrutes on the one hand, in proportion as it profits and enriches on the other. There can be nothing ennobling in an atmosphere where we are huddled and herded together like cattle; there is nothing refining in the thought that to obtain employment we are driven into a shed, iron-barred from end to end, outside of which a foreman or contractor walks up and down with the air of a dealer in a cattle-market, picking and choosing from a crowd of men, who in their eagerness to obtain employment, trample each other under-foot, and where like beasts they fight for the chances of a day's work."

S.

WRONG FOR ONCE.—A FACT.—Scene, private bar of the "Drones" public-house; customers drinking and smoking. Landlord enters and in the most insinuating manner thus addresses a small ring of his own specially-selected confidants: "Well, gentlemen, I suppose you have sworn yourselves in as special constables! At least, I—er—hope so." One of the Select: "No, I haven't. I should have been on the wrong side if I had; I saw the abominable outrage which the police committed upon the people the other Sunday." Speedy exit of the landlord, who didn't "show up" any more that evening and the public wondered why.—H. A. B.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

YORKSHIRE FARM SERVANTS.—A great many farm servants are out of work in Yorkshire since the termination of the Martinmas contracts. The wages have fallen from £1 to £1, 10s. per head, and farmers seem determined to retrench as much as possible in the matter of hand labour.

WORK ON THE MANCHESTER SHIP CANAL.—The contractor of the Manchester Ship Canal hopes to get the steam navvies or excavators at work, within a week. The engagement of labourers would then begin. The 400 men now at work are receiving some 4½d. and others 4¼d. per hour. About 2000 labourers will be required on the first section.

STARVING LABOURERS IN TIPPERARY.—Last Wednesday a body of unemployed labourers attended the meeting of the Tipperary board of guardians, seeking employment and outdoor relief. They stated that their wives and children were starving. After some discussion the labourers left to interview the parish priest, Rev. Canon Cahill, with a view to organising a fund for their relief.

THE GLASGOW TRADES COUNCIL AND THE RUSSIAN POLES.—At the meeting of the Council last week Mr. Hodge gave notice of the following motion: "That the action of Messrs. Merry and Cuninghame, who pose as patriots and constitutionalists, in importing Russian Poles, and keeping them huddled together in such numbers so that from their filthy condition they are a source of danger to the general community, calls for public indignation; that it is the duty of the authorities to take action, so that they shall not become a source of danger to and a burden on the community."

WEST CUMBERLAND IRONWORKERS.—An important conference of the ironmasters of West Cumberland with their workmen and furnacemen about the proposed reduction of 10 per cent. in wages is likely to stave off a strike or lock-out. The masters explain that it is impossible for them to pay the current rates at present prices, and they are therefore obliged to ask for this reduction, and if this were not granted some of the works would be obliged to stop. It is the condition of trade which forces the masters to ask the men to accept less wages. The men have not as yet given their answer to the proposals, but it is likely they will make the concession and afterwards adopt a sliding scale.

G. W. GOODS GUARDS.—There are few men who have more unsatisfactory conditions of service than the G. W. goods guards, who, though only supposed to work sixty-six hours for a week's pay, are not paid for their overwork unless the total number of hours worked in a fortnight exceed 144, and then only at the rate of twelve hours per day. It will thus be seen that a guard might work, say, eighty-four hours one week and sixty the next without receiving a farthing extra; also that to receive a quarter day's overtime, 147 hours would have to be worked in a fortnight. Some years ago the G. W. guards acted as if they meant to have this unfair system changed, but they seem to have abandoned the agitation raised against it.—*Railway Review.*

MOTHERWELL (SCOTLAND) MINERS.—The colliers employed at the Camp Works, occupied by Mr. Williams, have not resumed work in consequence of a grievance with regard to deductions of weights which they allege are unjust. In consequence of this dispute the whole of the miners of the district held an idle day on the 24th. A mass meeting was held in the Dalzell hall to hear the complaints of the men. Mr. John Donnelly presided. The result of the meeting was that it was unanimously agreed that the Camp men come out on strike and remain idle till their grievances are removed. It was also agreed that the district contribute so much per man weekly to support the Camp men. By this action about 150 men will remain idle.

THE UNEMPLOYED IN NORWICH.—Frightened by the attitude of the starving men of last winter, the authorities here determined to open some relief works. Several hundred tons of unbroken granite have been ordered, and men employed to break it. The applicants for the work must first provide themselves with a character from their last employer. They are paid the princely wage of five farthings a bushel, and men unused to such work cannot break, in many instances, more than two bushels a day. They begin at seven in the morning and work till dark. Some poor fellows have come to me after a day's work with swollen wrists and blistered fingers, totally unfitted for a second day's experience.—F. H.

THE BROXBURN STRIKE.—This strike has lasted twenty weeks, and it is evident that there is no immediate prospect of a settlement, the relations between the employers and the strikers being more embittered than ever. Last week six miners called at the Miners' Union Office, stating that they had come from Auchinleck, Ayrshire, intending to begin work, being informed that the strike was practically over. They declared they had been misled and were going to return home. A number of their comrades from Ayrshire had also agreed to come, but they had telegraphed them to stay at home. They also handed over to the Union executive several letters they had received from Mr. N. M. Henderson, works manager, in which they were offered 4s. 6d. a shift or tonnage or fathomage. Letters also flow in to the Union office from various parts of the country stating how agents or contractors of the company are treating men with a view to inducing them to go to Broxburn, but who, after getting as much beer as possible, refuse to go. The executive have again issued a revised list and description of the blacklegs, and call on all miners to keep away from Broxburn during the dispute.

THE CROFTERS' RAID ON THE DEER FOREST.—Military, marines and police have now arrived in the district but are inactive, as the men engaged in the recent raid are surrendering themselves voluntarily. In one case sixty crofters marched in a body to the nearest police-station to answer the charges against them. Mr. Donald Macrae, teacher, and Mr. Roderick Mackenzie, merchant, both of Balallan, were brought before Sheriff Fraser on Monday and remanded, on a charge of inciting a large number of persons to combine together for the purpose of participating in the raid. There seems to have been a satisfactory amount of sport and a large number of "common" people enjoyed the somewhat unusual treat of a good "tuck in" of venison. It is to be hoped that the crofters will not allow their comrades to be victimised.—Mr. D. H. Macfarlane, of Portman Square, W. (ex-M.P. for Argyllshire, and president of the Highland Land League, has communicated to Mr. M. Macleod, Stornoway, his sympathy with the crofters and cottars who were driven through the desperation of poverty to make a raid on Park Forest, and his willingness to become bail for all who may be arrested in connection with the proceedings. A fund is being raised in London on behalf of the raiders and others, and Dr. Macdonald, M.P., Palace Chambers, Westminster, S.W., is acting as hon. treasurer.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

HOLLAND.

Comrade Cohen, who committed the offence of crying aloud in the street: "Away with Gorilla" on the passage of the ape-faced King William III., has got six months' imprisonment for it. Our comrade, who defended himself, delivered one of the wittiest speeches ever heard in a law court. *Recht voor Allen* (Justice for All) reproduces the entire address as a masterly little bit of propaganda.

It is believed that *Recht voor Allen*, which now appears three times a week, will ere long become a daily paper.

A new organ of the Dutch Socialists is about to be started at Amsterdam. His title will be *Excelsior* (Further Ahead!).

GERMANY.

The Federal Council of the German Empire is going to bring about a new scheme of law, which assuredly will be agreed upon by the legislature, to the effect of trying all political cases throughout Germany *within closed doors*! That's the very thing which remains to be done by that gang of criminal reactionaries who style themselves legislators. In that way the German Nupkins, low and high, will be enabled to suppress Socialists with much more ease even than they have done hitherto. How long that scandalous system will last is quite another thing altogether; many symptoms show that our German friends are at last becoming out of patience, and such miserable laws will only help them to lose their temper.

In a few days a great trial of Socialists will be held at Posen, when a large number of our comrades will be sentenced, as the bourgeois papers tell us beforehand. The bill of indictment is a large octavo-sized volume of no less than *four hundred and forty-one pages*! How many pages of magisterial nonsense that volume contains is not stated, but surely we may say four hundred.

The Socialist trial at Breslau has come to an end. Eight of the accused have been acquitted, twenty-nine others sentenced to various terms of imprisonment varying from four weeks to one year. Eight men got off scot free! But once does not make a habit.

The German papers announced a few days ago that William Hasenclever had suddenly become insane, and been conveyed to a lunatic asylum at Berlin. He has rendered to the Socialist cause in Germany valuable services, and his loss will be heavily felt by his fellow-workers in the revolutionary struggle. He was born on the 19th of April, 1837, at Arnsberg, in Westphalia, where he visited the local schools. As a handworker, he travelled all through Germany and Northern Italy. In 1862-63, he became editor of the *Westphälische Volkszeitung* at Hagen, then contributor to the first *Sozial Demokrat* and to the *Agitator*, and afterwards director of the *Neue Sozial Demokrat* and publisher of the *Sozial Politische Blätter*. In the year 1868 he was elected general cashier of the General German Workmen's Association, 1870-71 secretary of the same, and from July 1st, 1871 to 1875 chairman of that body. He presided over the general Congresses of the party at Gotha in 1875, 1876, and 1877. In the autumn of 1875 he became the chief editor of the *Hamburg Altonaer Volksblatt*, and in 1876 was chosen with Liebknecht as one of the editors of *Vorwärts*, the central organ of the Socialist party of Germany. He was expelled in 1881 from Leipzig, and lived since that time at Würzen and at Halle. From 1869-70 he was a member of the North German Reichstag, and from 1874 until 1886 member of the new Reichstag, successively for Altona, Breslau, and Berlin.

At Breslau, the police have suppressed the Socialist paper *Volksstimme* (Voice of the People). These silly folk think that by suppressing papers they will at last suppress Socialism, when their stupid tyranny is the very thing to create new revolutionists.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

At Haschendorf, near Vienna, an Anarchist named Benedict Stark has been arrested, after having been for a long time wanted by the police. He was a prominent member of the party, well known in Switzerland and among London Anarchists. It is said that he has been betrayed by some scoundrel who has lived in London, and was known as an extra-clever Anarchist. The trial of comrade Stark will perhaps bring us some more disclosures about the personage we are alluding to.

A week ago a Russian Socialist, Leo Jassiewicz, was extradited from Vienna and given up to the Russian police under very cruel circumstances. His extradition was demanded on account of his having been an accomplice to the execution of the late Czar. After two months' imprisonment, which he underwent in the prison infirmary of Vienna (our friend came to Austria in a dying condition), he was happy enough to disprove the charges brought against him. But the Russian police did not intend to lose their prey and brought a new charge forward, that of having been concerned in a "robbery" at a post-office. He was able to show that at the time of that "robbery" he was several hundred miles away from the spot, then being in fact in Siberia, where he had been transported by administrative order as a Socialist. The Austrian magistrates declared themselves satisfied that he had *provisoriely* disqualified the new indictment, but resolved at the same time to send him to Russia, in order that he might disprove the accusation *definitively*. The Austrian beasts send an innocent man to his mortal enemies, knowing very well that he will be done to death for some reason or other. These judges are worthy of their fellow-brethren, the monstrous German Reichsgerichts scoundrels.

ITALY.

Il Demolitore (The Destroyer) has been obliged to stop its publication, owing to police prosecutions. But our Neapolitan friends will, as soon as they possibly can, start it anew. At Marsala a new Socialist paper, *Fiaccola* (The Torch), has been issued. At the offices of the *Gazzetta Operaia* (Worker's Paper) at Torino, our Italian friends will publish this week a volume of one hundred pages, entitled, 'The Trial of the Chicago Anarchists.' It will contain a brief account of that scandalous class trial, and the speeches of the revolutionary martyrs. All over the country, and specially among the peasants or landworkers, Socialism is spreading in a most remarkable and vigorous way. All the attempts of the police to check the movement are vain; as soon as a paper is forced to disappear, half-a-dozen others are ready to replace the fallen combatant; as soon as one comrade is imprisoned, several others are at hand filling the ranks and taking their share in the struggle. The Italian youth specially are admirable; their enthusiasm for the Cause of Revolution goes beyond all description.

LETTER FROM AMERICA.

THE minute description of all the ghastly details of the Chicago crime has had an effect entirely unexpected by the capitalistic press in their rush for pennies. It has inflamed every Socialist with a spirit of revenge, and even the mildest and those who up to now only hated the system, cannot help after the events of last Friday feeling bitterly, very bitterly against some persons prominently connected with this affair. There is no loud talk—this might not be very dangerous—but quiet is all the more significant, and the determination seen on many faces forebodes evil for capitalism. When the bodies were handed over to their families, Mrs. Parsons received the body of her husband in person. She lifted the lid of the casket, mechanically she untied the strings of the cap and took it off. Then she took a long, intense view at the remains of her murdered husband, bending over and passionately kissing the cold lips. "The grief of this woman which knows no tears is more terrible to our law and order people than a thousand rioters," said a policeman, and he is right!

The wives of Fischer, Engel, and Spies are completely broken down. Lingg has no family in Chicago, but his poor old mother in Germany must suffer terribly. She is as noble as the mother of the Gracchi. "Do not show these people any fear; step firmly on the gallows. You die for a just cause," are some of the words she wrote to her son but a few days before his death. Saturday the bodies lay in state at their homes, and were visited by nearly all Chicago. Yesterday (Sunday) was the day of the burial. It was a grand funeral, and the capitalistic press is perfectly terror-stricken. "We thought we had killed Anarchism!" they exclaim, "it seems, however, we have made propaganda for it, and have made those who are already Anarchists more determined." Verily they speak the truth.

The remains of the men rested in plain black coffins. Each of the four martyrs had a red sash round his chest. About 20,000 persons composed the funeral cortege, and 250,000 more witnessed the procession. The procession marched most solemnly through the streets of Chicago to the railway station, where an express train conducted the mourners to Waldheim cemetery. Captain Black made the funeral oration. It was a splendid discourse. "It is said that these men were of no religion. That is a libel. Their religion was the best of all creeds—love of fellow-men—and it filled their whole lives with deeds of devotion and tenderness. Their creed would have to do with the to-morrow of the coming revolution, and the whole of their philosophy as Anarchists was the establishment of an order of things that should be symbolised in the words, 'Order without force.'" He was followed by Thomas J. Morgan, whose speech is to-day compared in effectiveness and beauty of language to Marc Antony's famous oration over Caesar's body. After his speech the people took each other's hands in token of sworn brotherhood. The proceedings finished soon after, and the mourners returned to town.

If capitalists but knew the feelings sincere revolutionists experienced during the last few days, the joy paraded to-day might perhaps not be so great.

LABOUR MOVEMENTS.

The compositor's and pressmen's strike at New York has ended in the return of the men to work. The fight for the "card office" rule was lost, but the men claim that they have won a partial victory because of the advance in wages conceded and the adoption of the apprentice system. The bosses assert that over 200 printers are out of work by reason of the strike.

About 800 men out on strike in Davies's County, Indiana, have gone back to work. It is expected that the strike will end shortly. In all about 3,000 men are involved. The result of the strike is slightly in favour of the bosses.

The strike of sugar hands in Louisiana is general in Iberia, Lafamche, Terrebonne, and St. Mary parishes, and affects about 200 plantations large and small. The average number employed on a plantation is fifty persons. The strikers are all negroes. The strike was ordered by the Knights of Labour for an advance of 25 cents per day. The general estimate of persons affected by the strike is 10,000. The governor has sent troops to the scene of the strike.

The brass-workers' lock-out in New York and Brooklyn has ended in the defeat of the men, who have nearly all gone back to work.

It is estimated that 1,000 textile workers are out of work in Philadelphia owing to slackness of trade.

The glass manufacturers have decided that every glass factory in the East will be shut down in case the strike of the Western glass-workers takes place on November 27. It is claimed that 7,000 hands will be involved.

The dispute between the miners and operators in Southern Illinois has been settled by a compromise. The miners get about half the advance they demanded.

Late advices indicate that the reported settlement of the coal strike in Davies's County, Indiana, was premature. The action of the President of the Federation in settling the strike on such a basis has been condemned by the men, and he has been deposed from his office. The coal miners in the neighbourhood of Evansville who returned to work, have again gone out.

The latest despatch from New Orleans says: "The strike among the sugar labourers is over, but the military is still kept in the district."

LIST OF STRIKES FOR NOVEMBER 1 TO 11.

Biloxi, Miss.—Oyster packers and cannery, strike and shutdown, caused by demand for advance in wages, November 1 ...	1,000
Chicago, Ill.—Job-printers, for nine hours day, November 1 ...	250
Teche country, lower Louisiana—Sugar-plantation hands, mostly negroes, for advance 25c. per day in wages, November 1 ...	6,600
Teche country, lower Louisiana—Sugar-plantation hands, mostly whites, thrown out of employment by above strike, November 1 ...	3,400
Buffalo, N.Y.—Shipyard hands, iron-workers and carpenters, refusal of union men to work with non-union men, November 1 ...	300
Buffalo, N.Y.—Lockout by employers in consequence of above strike ...	150
Reading, Pa.—Iron-works employés, against reduction in wages, Nov. 1 ...	20
Tyrone, Pa.—Coal-miners, for unionism, November 1 ...	75
Portland, Me.—Hat-factory hands, against employment of apprentices ...	12
New York city—Book-binders' hands, for advanced wages, November 1 ...	50
Laconia, N. H.—Shoe-lasterners, for higher wages, November 1 ...	—
Chicago, Ill.—Electrotypers in sympathy with printers, November 1 ...	—
St. Louis, Mo.—Job-printers for advanced wages, November 2 ...	200
Rochester, N.Y.—Shoe-cutters, for advanced wages, November 2 ...	250
Rochester, N.Y.—Paper compositors, for new scale of prices, Nov. 2 ...	275
Milford, Mass.—Hat-factory girls, for higher wages, November 2 ...	—
Danbury, Conn.—Street railroad employés, for advance and shorter hours, November 5 ...	—

Leavenworth, Kan.—Coal-miners, for higher wages, November 7 ...	—
Louisville, Ky.—Box-factory hands, for discharge of objectionable foreman, November 7 ...	14
Louisville, Ky.—Job-printers and compositors, for advance, Nov. 7 ...	81
Wilkes Barre, Pa.—Coal-miners at Paradise colliery, against docking of wages, November 4 ...	300
Milwaukee, Wis.—Maltsters, for increased wages, November 8 ...	125
Scottdale, Pa.—Coal-miners at Alice mines, because of mine-boss refusing to furnish necessary posts and caps, November 7 ...	700
North Berwick, Me.—Shoe-lasterners, disagreement as to price to be paid ...	—
Chicago, Ill.—Additional printers, for nine-hour day, November 1 ...	200
Norristown, Pa.—Cigar-makers, for higher wages, November 9 ...	—

Total known for November 1 to 11 ... 10,602

New York, November 16th, 1887.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

CORRESPONDENCE.

SONGS OF LABOUR.

In one of your "Notes" you might perhaps give a hint that would be taken up by some one of your readers whereby fame if not fortune might be secured, to say nothing of the service rendered to the cause. There are no good practical English words to the "Marseillaise." Anyone who has noted the inspiring effect of the glorious song even when merely played, can readily imagine that, with words, we may yet see the day when it will be prohibited in the streets of London.

E. T.

Highgate, Nov. 21.

[There are several other good tunes to which the same thing might be done. We shall be glad to receive the songs when written.]

A GOOD PROPOSAL.

I am desirous of forming a Junior Socialist Improvement Society, the object of which will be to educate each other's friends in the principles by evening fireside talks. If any young Socialist would like to communicate with me on the subject, I should be glad of his or her assistance.

42 Howland St., W., Fitzroy Sq. W. H. SPENCER-HOWELL.

"GLASS-HOUSE" RHETORIC.—The following is taken from the speech delivered by Lord Salisbury at Oxford on the 23rd inst., and irresistibly reminds one of the danger attributed to stone-throwing under certain conditions:—"Sir George Trevelyan seems to think that when a man has a party, and when a man has convictions—if his convictions and his party go together all is for the best, but if his convictions are on one side and his party on the other so much the worse for the convictions. Now that seems to me to be an entire distortion of the idea of party, which, if it is not to become a positive evil in the State, must always be the union of men honestly wishing the same objects, and struggling for it on that account. Directly it becomes the union of men who have conflicting opinions and wish politically for different objects, and is only maintained in order that a certain party may retain all its vigour, and that certain politicians may resume their places in Downing Street, then it becomes, instead of a beneficent and honourable institution, a mere joint-stock company for the maintenance of place and power."

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.

Co-operative Store.—The Committee attend at the offices at 8.30 p.m. on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. All Groceries can be had at current store prices. Orders over 10s. will be delivered carriage paid in London.

London Members.—The monthly meeting of London Members will be held on Monday December 5th, at 9 p.m.

THE LECTURE SECRETARY requests all London Lecturers of the Socialist League who have not already sent in the titles of their lectures to do so without delay.

THOS. CANTWELL.

BRANCH SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID.

Mitcham, Walsall to July 31. Bloomsbury, Leicester, Hammersmith, Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Hull, Mile End, Wednesday, to September 30. Clerkenwell, Oxford, to October 31.

Socialist Defence Association.—Mariam Grove, 1s. Isabella Sandheim, 10s. A Medical Student, 5s.

Strike Committee.—Collected in Regent's Park—Sunday Nov. 27, 2s. 8d. —J. LANE.

Fund for the Provision of the Wives and Families of the Martyred Anarchists.

Under this heading we shall be pleased to acknowledge donations for the above object.

Kent, 1s.

H. HALLIDAY SPARLING, Treasurer.

REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—Business meeting Nov. 24th, at 8 p.m. Lecture at 8.45 by Edward Carpenter, on "Peasant Life in Italy." Good audience. Sunday, 27th, large meeting at the Arches, Bartlett, Mrs. Taylor, and Springfield spoke, and a resolution condemning the action of the Government at Trafalgar Square, proposed by Dalziel and seconded by Loban, H.R., was carried unanimously.—D.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, Nov. 23rd, H. H. Sparling lectured on "Wilful Waste and Woful Want." Sunday evening, William Blundell on "Poverty, Disease, and Crime." Good discussions. D. Nicoll addressed large meeting at Clerkenwell Green.—B.

FULHAM.—Mahony, C. Smith, and Tochatti spoke Sunday morning. Fair sale of *Commonweal*. In the evening new station opened in Dawes Road, opposite Halfway House, by C. Smith, Groser, and Tochatti. We intend speaking here every Sunday evening at 7, and every Thursday at 8.30.—S. B. G.

NORTH LONDON.—Regent's Park Sunday morning, a good meeting was addressed by Cantwell and Parker. 2s. 8d. collected for propaganda.—T. C.

MARYLEBONE.—Splendid meeting here on Sunday afternoon, addressed by Murphy, Lloyd, and W. B. Parker.

MITCHAM.—A good meeting on Mitcham Fair Green on Sunday, addressed by Eden and Kitz. Good sale of *Commonweal*. In the evening, Kitz lectured on "Irish Problems." Two members made. Our open-air meetings have added about a score of members to our branch during the season.—R. C.

LEEDS.—Usual meeting Sunday morning at Vicar's Croft. Some weak opposition easily disposed of, and 2s. 3d. collected. At night Sollitt lectured in room on "Temperance," dealing with the broader aspects of it.—T. P.

GLASGOW.—Downie lectured to a meeting of miners at Burnbank, on Wednesday the 23rd. Sunday rain prevented outdoor propaganda. At 7 a.m., in Waterloo Halls, Rev. S. D. Headlam lectured on "Trafalgar Square Riots."

OXFORD.—On Nov. 23rd, the branch meeting was attended by many members of the Russell and Social Science Clubs. Rev. C. L. Marson lectured on "The School, the Work, and the Workhouse, which are the lot of the Kentish Peasant, and the way to amend them." Mr. C. H. Roberts, Balliol College, and President of the Russell Club, took the chair, and several members of both clubs joined in the discussion.

WALSALL.—Deakin opened meeting last Monday, followed by Sanders. Sunday three outdoor meetings addressed by Sanders in different parts of the town. Good audiences at each.—J. T. D.

WEDNESBURY.—Meeting Market-place on Thursday addressed by Donald.

DUBLIN.—At the Saturday Club, Nov. 26th, J. A. Poole lectured to a large audience on "Democracy and Progress," directing most of his arguments against racial and religious feud. Hutchinson, Upward, Cranwell, and two "Conservative" working-men took part in the discussion.

CHESTERFIELD.—At a meeting held on Monday, Nov. 21, the following resolution was passed:—"That the Chesterfield and District Radical Association protests against the interference with the right of public meeting in London, and the action of the police in forcibly breaking up lawful meetings and maltreating the citizens."—R. U.

NORWICH ANARCHIST GROUP.—Good meetings held during week at Yarmouth, Carrow, and Norwich on St. George's Plain, Haymarket, Ber Street, and twice in Market Place. At Ber Street, where the police interfered last week, meeting was most successful, not a policeman being visible.—A.

Scottish Land and Labour League.

EDINBURGH.—On Sunday night Gilray lectured on "Social Utopias according to Lewis Morris." Rev. Stewart Headlam addressed a large meeting in Tron Hall Monday evening. Good discussion.—T.

DUNDEE.—Outdoor meetings addressed by Duncan and Carr. Duncan lectured in Trades' Hall on "The Labour Party" Sunday night, 20th. He suggested organising branches of National Labour Electoral Association, and supported by Mr. Nicoll. Strongly opposed by Wexsler, Devlin, and Carr.—J. C.

WEST CALDER.—Mahon spoke Tuesday last in the Miners' Hall; they were pleased with meeting, and a second was arranged. The branch will work in co-operation with the Miners' Union in holding meetings, etc.

Notice to Branches of the S. L. L. L.

Branches desiring literature apply to D. K. Mackenzie, librarian, 163 Pleasance, Edinburgh.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—Athenæum Hall, Tottenham Court Rd., on Thursday December 1, at 8 p.m. William Morris, "The Coming Society." Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, W., on Thurs. Dec. 8, at 8.30, Spencer Howell, "Educate, Agitate, Organise."

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday Dec. 4, Business Meeting of members at 7 o'clock sharp; at 8.30, Free Concert by J. J. Hart and Friends. Wednesday Dec. 7, at 8.30, Edward Aveling, "Socialism and Science."

Fulham.—Committee meets Wednesday evenings, 8 o'clock, at 4 Werlery Avenue, Dawes Rd., Fulham. **Hackney.**—28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Road, Hackney Wick. Special general meeting on Sunday Dec. 4, at 6 p.m. All members requested to attend.

Hammer Smith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday December 4, at 8 p.m., Geo. Bernard Shaw (Fabian Society), a lecture.

Hoxton (L. E. L.).—Concert and Draw Committee meet at 8 Dunloe Street, on Saturday evening at 8 o'clock. Tickets (6d.) now ready. Please note that date of the Draw is altered from Dec. 10 to Jan. 14.—See "Special Notice" 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.

Arbroath (Scot. Sect.).—High Street Hall. Meeting Friday evenings. W. Smith, 12 Maule St., secy.

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

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

Cowdenbeath (Scot. Sect.).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., secy.

Dublin.—Saturday Club, Central Hall, 12 Westmoreland Street, every Saturday at 8 p.m. Free debates on Social and Political subjects. All friends invited.

Dundee (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station. Political Economy class, 2 p.m. Lecture at 6.30 by M. Wexsler, "The Labour Movement on the Continent."

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. "Das Kapital" class every Thursday at 7.30. Members requested to pay weekly subscriptions on that night.

Glasgow (Scot. Sect.).—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., secy.

Gallatin and Dysart (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatin 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 (on Dec. 8 Hart opens debate on "Georgeism v. Socialism"). Saturday Dec. 3, general meeting of members at 8. Sunday 4th, at 6.30, lecture by J. L. Mahon in Hall, 8 Watson Street. Sunday 18, Waterloo Halls, H. H. Champion—subject, "What Socialists Want."—Mahon will address the miners of Coatbridge Dec. 1st; Kirkintilloch, 2nd; Kilsyth, 3rd.

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. Sunday Dec. 4, at 7.30, P. Bland, "The National Debt."

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 Sundays at 8. Business Meeting Monday at 8.30.

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.—Temperance Hall. Meets every Monday.

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

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 4.

10.30...Starch GreenHammersmith Branch

11.30...Bell Street, Edgware RoadBrookes

11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.Davis

11.30...Kingsland GreenLane

11.30...Merton—Haydons RoadParker

11.30...Mitcham Fair GreenThe Branch

11.30...Regent's ParkGraham & Mrs. Schack

11.30...St. Pancras ArchesBartlett & S. Howell

11.30...Walham GreenThe Branch

3 ...Hyde ParkGraham & Mrs. Schack

Wednesday.

8 ...Broadway, London FieldsLane

Thursday.

8 ...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.Parker

Saturday.

8 ...Harrow Road (Prince of Wales) ...Mainwaring

PROVINCES.

Glasgow.—St. George's Cross: Sunday, 1 p.m.

Paisley Road Toll: Sunday, 4.30 p.m.

Kilsyth.—Saturday.

Leeds.—Sunday: Vicar's Croft, 11 a.m.

Dundee.—Saturday: Greenmarket, 7 p.m. Sunday: High Street, 3 and 6.

Special Notice.—The combined East-end Branches will meet at the "Brunswick Arms," Dunloe Street, Hackney Road, on Thursday evening, Dec. 1st, at 8 prompt, to consider the basis of proposed Socialist Club.

NELSON AND BOROUGH OF STRAND RADICAL CLUB. 2 High Street, Bloomsbury.—A short series of Lessons in Political Economy are being delivered on Sunday mornings by L. E. Fraser, at 11.30. No Fees.

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

NORWICH ANARCHIST GROUP.—Yarmouth—Thursday, on the Quay, at 7.30. Carrow—Friday, at 1.30. Norwich—St. George's Plain, Saturday, at 1.15; Haymarket, Saturday, at 8; Market Place, Sunday at 11 and 8. Ber Street Fountain, Sunday at 3.

SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—Meeting at *Commonweal* Office, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday December 4, at 4.30 p.m.

North of England Socialist Federation.

BRANCHES AND SECRETARIES.

Annisford.—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.

NUPKINS AWAKENED.

On Saturday December 3rd the above Dramatic Sketch will be performed,

AT 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

IN AID OF "THE PRISONERS' DEFENCE FUND."

ANTI-STATIST COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

"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."—FREEDOM.

"There is a great lack of literature from this standpoint. We do not agree with all the points, but at the same time recommend it to all our friends and also its translation into the French and German language."—FREIHEIT.

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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.

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

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.

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.

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Mrs. Grundy (Cartoon). By Walter Crane. Fine hand-made large paper. 6d.

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

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 100.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

A CERTAIN Mr. Pynes offered a petition to Lord Hartington as he made his triumphal entry into Dublin the other day, and his lordship declining in a royal way to accept it, Mr. Pynes adventurously threw it into the carriage, whereupon the police arrested him and he was brought before a magistrate next day; but luckily for him he was in Dublin and not in London (where there is no Coercion Act), so the magistrate dismissed the charge.

"The police, excited by the hooting, behaved like ruffians, and dealt blows with clenched fists to utterly harmless individuals who had remained within arm's length."—*Daily News*.

What! is the *Daily News* coming round, then? Why, we shall have Mr. Gladstone next taking some notice of the bludgeoning of "harmless individuals" by our "admirable police"—Nay, stop a little! This report is from *Paris*, not *London*!

For the information of our comrades and other readers in the country I should mention that, however incredible the account of the behaviour of the police to the prisoners of Bloody Sunday, as published by the *Pall Mall*, may seem to them, there is no doubt that it is true, and they must believe in it. Indeed, after all, is there anything to wonder at in it? Such brutality is the blossom of the slum-life enforced on the "lower classes" by our civilisation. Enlist that brutality in the service of a class whose one business is to uphold the oppression on which it lives; when occasion demands it, harass your enlisted brutality by sending it fools' errands up and down, and down and up; make it clear to the servants of law and order that in such service they can only commit one fault—to wit, behaving civilly and decently; promote men like Mr. Superintendent Shepherd, to show your "admirable police" what model they should follow; and then sit down quietly and without fear, enwrapped in your respectability, and you may be quite sure of the results.

The preliminary trial of Cunninghame Graham and Burns in Bow Street was curious to witness and sufficiently damaging to the Government and its tool Wooden Warren—i.e., it would have been if the evidence for the defence had not been suppressed by the daily papers. Of course if Mr. Vaughan had not been practically under orders he must have dismissed the case, but equally of course it was more than his place was worth to do. The police gave their evidence in the usual way, and if there is any truth in an old saw, there must be few pots in the neighbourhood which have kept their legs, especially after Shepherd had done his duty. He was well "sorted" by Mr. Asquith in cross-examination: the latter, by the way, was a brilliant contrast to that Knight of the Doleful Countenance, Mr. Poland, and I am really sorry that he is a lawyer.

The evidence for the defence was so clear and unanswerable that Poland had nothing for it but the regular traditional brow-beating, which served his turn very poorly, not only, as was to be expected, with such an old stager as Mr. Bradlaugh, or with Mr. Hyndman (who he had the impudence to ask to give the names of the others who formed the group about Mr. Graham and Burns), but even with the ordinary witnesses. In short, Poland tried hard to establish that the Government had with great difficulty quelled a dangerous riot headed by the defendants, and only succeeded in showing that the police attacked Graham and Burns as they attacked other citizens on that day.

Of course, unless the jury is very well packed, our friends will be acquitted; but one can't help asking, supposing Burns had been by himself, what would have happened? And again, how about the victims of the drum-head court-martial, with no clever Mr. Asquith (he is clearly very clever) to defend them, and no respectable witnesses like Sir E. J. Reid and Mr. Bradlaugh on their side? We shall have to ask, as we asked before, if these men are acquitted or only have a formal sentence, what is to be done to compensate the defenceless men who have been sentenced, and what ignominious punishment is to be meted out to their sentencers?

I came in for a quaint little piece of coercion last Friday. I had been invited to lecture on Socialism and the "disturbances" in London in the parish school-room at Buscott, a little village high up the Thames, by the rector, our friend Mr. Oswald Birchall. It had been

agreed some little time back by the squire and other village magnates, who at the time wanted the said school-room for Primrose League purposes, that it should be free to speakers of all parties; so I went down expecting the usual quiet meeting; but at the last minute the said magnates forbade the meeting, I believe on the grounds that they expected a riot if I showed there. Then they stole a march on Mr. Birchall by locking up the room and taking the key away and "picketing" the room to send away anyone who might come to the meeting. We tried to get the publican to let us have a room, which, however, he declined to do, fearing, not without reason, the wrath of the squire and farmers. However, things went pretty well, as, in spite of all precautions, a few of the right sort had gathered round the school-room and with these we adjourned to the rectory, where we had a very useful meeting, the men listening very attentively and sympathetically. The true story of the "riots" was clearly quite new to them, the *Pall Mall* (not to speak of the *Commonweal*) being of course tabooed in the neighbourhood; but they were clearly much impressed by it, and will spread it about wherever they go. I may say that men like this are not slow to learn the facts of their present position, their slavery to the farmers being so direct that it presses on them every day. A good distribution of leaflets would be fruitful among such men: though many of them cannot read, they would get them read to them.

Mr. Thompson did his best to get a mandamus to compel Mr. Vaughan to hear evidence about the police attack on November 20th on a band of harmless processionists. It was a matter of course that the two "Justices" stuck close to their brother Nupkins of Bow Street, but it is not a very cheering prospect for those who believe that the law will do anything to protect "discontented" people; whether they are "discontented" at having the results of their labour stolen in the lump, or at having their musical instruments stolen every now and then directly to the tune of "Wigs on the Green."

A show of pet dogs opened at St. Stephen's Hall is a good example of the way in which labour is organised amongst us at present, to produce luxuries and to stint the people of necessities, to say nothing of comforts. Perhaps Alderman Knight will suggest that some of the unemployed should have the job of combing the dogs.

Meantime, poor Linnell lies dead, slain by what I suppose the bourgeois press, when they are forced to say something about it, will call a "lamentable accident." It is, however, the kind of "accident" which is likely to become common enough as, on the one hand, the workers become conscious of the fact that they are robbed of the greater part of their earnings, and become less and less inclined to put up with it, and as on the other hand those who live by the robbery get more and more frightened and therefore more and more repressive.

The Lord Mayor of Dublin is sent to prison, in spite of all his state in a sort of mediæval fashion: but the authorities have been afraid of sending him as a proper prisoner, and so have spoilt their joke in a very contemptible manner. I remember when I was a boy I used to hear a good deal about "gentlemen-farmers" (a profession which I suppose has now ceased to exist, what between agricultural depression and the elevation of all farmers to the rank of gentlemen). It seems as if a similar addition must be made in these cases also, and that some people must serve their time as gentlemen-prisoners. The Lord Mayor deserves and has our condolence in having to submit to this insult of gentlemanliness.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

A VOICE FROM AMERICA.

[The following brief account of the events which led to the murder of five working-men and the living death of three others, shows how seriously this terrible and shameful event has stirred people in America in contrast with the interested lying silence of our bourgeois press and the lamentable apathy (the result of ignorance one would fain hope) of our working-classes.—Ed.]

THE EIGHT HOURS' MOVEMENT.

In October, 1884, the Federation of Trade and Labour Unions of the United States and Canada, then in Session in Chicago, resolved that on and after the first day of May, 1886, eight hours should constitute a day's work, and determined to use every endeavour to make the movement a success. In November, 1885, a few individuals in Chicago met and organised the "Eight Hour Association of Chicago." They issued a manifesto, and concluded with the following words, to-day full of significance: "Do you think that capitalists are justified in using

all the powers of the Government and Society to reduce the working people to wage-slavery, and to accumulate all the results of societary work in the hands of a small number of millionaires and soulless corporations, and in case of a general movement for eight hours' daily work among the people of the United States, would you demand the interference of the army, police, and sheriff's posse, and employ Pinkerton's hirelings and other mercenaries to coerce the people into submission, and would not such course if adopted inevitably lead to bloodshed, chaos, destruction, and social death?"

Owing to the activity of this Association the movement became general in Chicago, and other cities aimed at emulating it by their co-operation. During the beginning of the agitation our now murdered and imprisoned comrades held aloof from it, not because they were opposed to a reduction of the hours of labour, but because the movement did not strike at the root of the evil. But eventually they were carried away by the overwhelming enthusiasm, and gave it their full support. Possessing the confidence of the great body of wage-workers, whose cause they had for years espoused, they naturally became the champions of the movement owing to their recognised ability, intelligence, and sincerity. Both sides were preparing themselves actively for the great conflict on the coming 1st of May. On the 16th of February, 1886, McCormick's Harvester factory was closed down, and 1200 men were locked out. The dispute arose over a demand on the part of the men that a guarantee should be given that no man in the factory or any one serving on an eight hour committee should be discharged for having acted as a representative of his comrades. This was absolutely refused. On the 2nd of March the locked out men assembled in mass meeting, and were addressed at length by A. R. Parsons and Michel Schwab. The meeting had been called not only for the purpose of stating their grievances, but to protest against the armed force which had been enlisted against them—four hundred uniformed police and three hundred Pinkerton detectives, all armed to the teeth. To beseech an employé not to take the place of another became an attack on the State, and the armed men employed by the State came forth at the behest of capitalists, struck down the peaceable citizens, clubbed and searched them, and cast them into the patrol wagons and hustled them off to prison. The banditti of "law and order" maintained the legal right of capital to do what it pleased with labour, and the authorised "pickpockets" searched every workman for weapons of defence. These stormy scenes but intensified the general feeling of resistance and determination to unite in making the strike of May 1st universal.

THE CHICAGO RIOTS.

The eventful day at last arrived. Fully 25,000 men laid down their tools, and by the 4th of May this number was doubled.

On the 1st of May, the Chicago *Daily Mail* used the following sentence in an editorial: "These two fellows, Parsons and Spies, have been at work fomenting disorder for the last ten years. . . . Mark them to-day. Keep them in view. Hold them personally responsible for any trouble that occurs. Make an example of them if trouble does occur!"

On the 3rd of May the strike had become general. On that day a riot occurred near the McCormick works, arising out of an attack by the strikers on the "scabs" who had taken their places. Police and Pinkertonians were quickly hurried to the spot, and opening a murderous fire soon cleared the field. It was to protest against the growing tendency to shoot workmen on slight provocation that the now famous meeting at the Haymarket was called. Six men were killed and many wounded by the murderous attack of the order bandits on the McCormick men.

On the 4th of May the following handbill was scattered broadcast through the streets of Chicago:—

"Attention, working-men! Great mass meeting to-night at 7.30 o'clock at the Haymarket, Randolph Street, between Desplaines and Halsted. Good speakers will be present to denounce the latest atrocious acts of the police—the shooting of our fellow-workmen yesterday afternoon.—The Executive Committee."

An immense mass meeting assembled in the Haymarket. Spies spoke first for about twenty minutes. Then Parsons spoke. The audience was very quiet and attentive. Parsons confined himself to the eight hour question. Fielden began to speak at about 10 o'clock. Soon after a dark and threatening cloud moved up from the north. Two-thirds of the people fearing it would rain left the meeting. Mayor Harrison, of Chicago, inspected the meeting. On leaving, he called at Desplaine's police-station, told Captain Bonfield that the speeches were tame, the meeting peaceable, and that he might order the reserves to go home.

When the people left the meeting in swarms, Fielden, who was then on the stand, said: "Stay just a minute longer; I will conclude presently." One minute later 200 policemen formed into line at the intersection of Randolph Street, and marched upon the little crowd in double-quick step. Raising his club in an authoritative way, Captain Ward, addressing his words to Fielden, said: "In the name of the people of the State of Illinois, I command this meeting to disperse." "Captain, this is a peaceable meeting," retorted Fielden, while the Captain turned around to his men and gave the command, "Charge upon them." At this juncture a terrible detonation occurred. A bomb exploded in the lines of the policemen. In an instant the fusillade of the police began. Everybody was running. All this was unexpected, as if suddenly a cloud had burst. Immediately after the explosion the police pulled their revolvers and fired on the crowd. An incessant fire was kept up for nearly two minutes, and at least 250

shots were fired. The air was filled with bullets. The crowd ran up the streets and alleys, and were fired on by the now thoroughly infuriated police. Many of the crowd had taken refuge in the halls or entrances of halls and saloons. As the firing ceased they ventured forth, and were instantly fired upon by the police. At half-past eleven, curiosity and a desire to find friends drew a large number to the spot, and another charge was made and two volleys were fired, which dispersed the crowd. The capitalistic *Tribune* confesses in plain words: "Goaded to madness the police were in that state of mind which permitted of no resistance, and in a measure they were as dangerous as any mob of Communists, for they were blinded by passion." Eight police were killed or died in consequence of wounds received; sixty-six police were disabled. About seventy working-men were wounded; how many were killed and wounded could never be truly ascertained, as they were mostly picked up by friends and relatives and carried home.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

(To be continued.)

"BROKEN CISTERNS."

(Continued from p. 387.)

THIS brings us to the examination of such phrases used by the workers as "There are too many of us," "There is not work enough for us all"; and the ideas which give rise to these expressions also give rise to many of the doings of workers which are so much objected to. Why does the plumber make a hole in the gas-pipe just where it will be hardest to get at? It will find work when the leak is discovered and has to be set right. Why does he rejoice in a frost? For the same reason; it bursts pipes and finds work. Why do men in making and repairing machinery not like to make too good a job of it? It would last too long; they want to see it back again to find them work. What is the foundation for this idea which underlies so much of the action of working men? It is that they are wage-workers; they get no wage except they get work, therefore they desire work. The political economists try to show them and others that if a fire reduces the amount of wealth it must reduce the amount of wages, that bad work which needs doing again leaves so much less to pay wages in another direction. But here they lose sight of the fact that wages are a share of a much larger whole—namely, the produce of the country. Now any increase of that share is a gain to the workers. If by the destruction of a certain portion of wealth in the larger share the workers have more wages it matters not to them whether the total wealth is reduced thereby. The same applies to the introduction of machinery. It is always said that though it throws out of work men in that line it creates a greater demand in another line; but this is not always so, for we must remember that the workers only get one-third of the amount saved—only one-third goes in wages, two-thirds is consumed by non-producers.

Another great source of such actions as I have described above by the plumber, is the competition between different trades for their share of the general purchasing power. This is a branch of competition which has not received as much attention as some others. It is not only that grocer competes against grocer, plumber against plumber, but grocer competes against draper and plumber against confectioner. The frost which is a harvest to the plumber, or the hole he puts in the pipe which finds him another job, takes so much from others; for if a man has an income of two pounds a-week, if ten shillings has to go to the plumber there is ten shillings less to go to grocer, draper, etc. This competition helps the general glut, for not only is each competitor trying to get a large share of the effective demand, but each trade as a whole is trying for a larger share. It is also the cause of partial gluts; each trade tries to persuade the public that it wants a larger proportion of its goods, and offers constant temptations in the form of novelties. After the issue of each successful novelty there is a rush on that trade for a while, but the public are soon satisfied, and go off on another trade, leaving the former one with heaps of stuff for which there is no demand. This constant fluctuation of the amount of work, and so of employment, required in each trade causes a vast amount of uncertainty and misery to the workers. Even in times of general prosperity some freak of fashion will often throw a whole district into poverty, and while the capitalists lose their profits the workers starve. These freaks of fashion are of course sometimes started by the public themselves, but are often the result of competition between firms or trades.

Surely in a rational society demand should come before and be the gauge of supply; now, supply seeks to force demand. Let the people choose what they want, and want things before they are thrust at them, instead of having a thousand trades shouting in their ears "Spend your shilling in this," and this, and this. Tons of rubbish would never be produced but for this forced demand; the proportion between trades would be fairly constant but for this; and the amount of useless work and of misery saved would be simply enormous.

Competition between nations is another form which tends always to reduce the wages of all competing countries down to the level of the lowest amongst them. The employers are constantly pointing to some other country and saying to the workers, "See, their labourers work so many hours longer each day for so many shillings less wages; how can I compete with them?" Then down comes their wages.

This brings us to another root-cause of much of the evil which we want to set right—namely, the opposition of interest between the

employers and employed. The economists try to show that their interests are one and the same; they say that good times are good for both and bad times bad for both; that high wages and high profits go together. This may all be true, but it does not show that their interests are the same. Two animals fighting for a carcase are in the same fix, the larger the carcase the better for both, the larger the share of the stronger the more he is likely to allow the weaker to get. Yet, are their interests the same? Each wants the whole, and they fight for it. Why are wages highest when profits are, and lowest when profits are lowest? Why, because the employer takes care to have fifty per cent. profit before he gives twenty per cent. rise in wages. But wages are a share, and when two are fighting for the larger share their interests are hardly identical. The master wants to get as much work as he can for as little pay, and he wants to produce his goods with as little labour as possible; on the other hand, the men want to get as much pay as possible for the smallest amount of labour, and they want to put as much labour as possible into the goods, for the more labour the more men are provided with wages. This opposition is at the root of most of the disputes between men and masters; it is the reason why the State has had to step in and compel the employers not to push their interest further than a certain point; to make them responsible to some extent for any accident happening to their men; to make them take precautions against accident; or to force them not to make contracts with women and children which shall keep them at work more than a certain number of hours a-day. This opposition of interest is at the root of a very great deal of the evil we are seeking to remedy, and no reform which leaves this opposition will bring a satisfactory issue.

We may then sum up this search for the causes of our evils into three main heads, first, bad distribution or unjust division of the produce of labour; second, competition in all its different forms, some of which only have been touched on here, others were referred to in a former article. The forms dealt with in this were competition between manufacturers causing or hastening gluts, competition between different trades, and competition between nations tending to lower wages to the level of the lowest standard. One result of competition I have not named is the enormous waste of labour there is in the armies of men whose sole business is to carry on this competition, such as many business managers, all commercial travellers, agents, advertisers, with all the attendant adjuncts of each; it is sufficient here to name this, we all realise it in our every day experience. The third cause is the opposition of interest between employers and employed. This might be called another form of competition, but I think is better kept separate, as it is of a rather different nature to ordinary competition, though ordinary competition gives rise to opposition of interest, in fact our whole system consists of warfare more or less veiled, every man is fighting against his neighbours and every association against every other.

Having traced our evils somewhat to their sources, we shall now be in a better position to judge whether trades unions and co-operation can either or both go to the root of the evils and remove the three main causes we have seen. The real aim of trades unions is to raise wages in one way or other, either by increasing the money wage, reducing the hours worked, or improving the conditions under which work is done. It assumes that the workers are always going to be wage workers and therefore that their interests will always be opposed to those of the masters. This being the case it seeks to organise the workers in such a way that they shall be in a position to dictate terms to their masters. We saw that this opposition of interest was one of the causes which will have to be removed and trades unions as at present organised offer no chance of settling that part of the question. Nor do they touch competition, which is another cause of the evils. The only cause which they touch at all is the bad distribution. So far as they are successful in raising wages, they improve the distribution of wealth; but even here their power is very limited. Supposing the workers were much better organised than they are now, so that they could compel the capitalists to pay as high wages as they could afford, they could still only get a share of the produce, and that probably not more than half. For the individual capitalist will not work or allow them to use his capital unless he can make some substantial profit. That point wages can never pass which takes away the profit from the average employer. But the wages which will allow the average employer to make a profit will leave some employers making vast fortunes. For these having greater business faculty—in other words, more cunning, more gambling ability—will be able to get to themselves the best of the trade and make most profits, even when the average employer is only just living. The trades union could never get any of this. Then again, as I said, competition is not touched, therefore all the waste of competition would still go on; and in short, trades unions could do but little on their present basis to improve the condition of the poor. The time of their success was in the time of enormous increase of our foreign trade; and their success amounted to this, that when the profits of employers increased fifty per cent. wages were with difficulty increased ten or twenty per cent. That great increase of foreign markets, humanly speaking, can never come again, and it is already evident that much of the power of the unions has gone with the narrowing of foreign markets. We must go nearer to the root of the matter than trades unions do if we are to solve the problem.

RAYMOND UNWIN.

(To be continued.)

Owing to a wages dispute in the Havannah cigar trade, ninety-five factories have been closed, throwing 12,000 workpeople out of employment.

A SOCIALIST MARCHING SONG.

(To the tune of "GARRYOWEN.")

COME all brave lads and loudly sing,
The Red Flag to the sky we fling,
We care no rap for priest or king,
The People's day is coming;
Too long the wolves of capital
Have drunk our blood and filched our all,
But from their power they'll have to fall,
The People's day is coming.

Chorus—Above all colours exalt the red,
It fills a tyrant heart with dread,
And while it proudly floats o'erhead,
Advance the Men of Labour.

We've had the husks and they the grain,
They the pleasure and we the pain,
We'll toil no longer for their gain—
But make them earn a living;
The idler fat and the worker lean,
This is the way that things have been,
But from the beggar unto the queen,
All soon must earn their living.

Chorus—Above, etc.

No more shall men with arms arrayed
Against their fellow-men parade,
We'll stop the soldiers dreadful trade,
And men shall be as brothers;
As soon as freedom has been won,
Away shall go the sword and gun,
There's nothing with them to be done,
When men shall be all brothers.

Chorus—Above, etc.

We'll hear the wise and help the fool,
And put the idlers all to school,
Until they learn the golden rule,
To do as they'd be done by.
With stern resolve into the fray,
We go to sweep the wrong away,
To bring the brighter better day,
And do as we'd be done by.

Chorus—Above, etc.

H. HALLIDAY SPARLING.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO LANDLORDS.

THE following letter from a Donegal landlord, named Nixon, to the parish priest of his tenants was published by the Dublin Conservative papers as if the tone were commendable, and the threatened action worthy of imitation. It is an instructive example of telling the truth as it is seen, and is an almost perfect specimen of the true spirit of landlordism:—

"Yacht 'Finola,' Nov. 11. . . . Now, in as few words as possible, I will answer your letter. Owing to the very offensive wording of the resolutions and speeches, which show me plainly that it is useless to deal kindly any longer with those tenants, I may tell you that I would not now accept 99 per cent. of all rents and costs due to me, as I am going to clear the two townlands of Brinlack and Glassagh, and it is my land I want now. Remember they are merely living on my land as long as I let them, and I will not regard costs in carrying out my plans: I have ample private means, and will set aside a certain sum yearly until all are out of that. In doing this I am only following out the Scriptural precept that 'a man may do what he likes with his own.' I am determined on this, and in five, or, at the most, ten years' time there will probably not be a single family left there. It will be no hardship to the people to have to go elsewhere, as, according to you, they are in such circumstances they can hardly live, and besides, according to you, each one, as they are evicted, will be supplied with a house with three chimneys. In fact, I think, according to your showing, I will deserve their hearty thanks for evicting them, and, of course, I will level each house as I proceed, so you may look around for some sites for your three-chimneyed houses somewhere clear of my property. . . . I need hardly tell a man of your shrewdness, or rather cunning, that resistance will be utterly useless, as it is only a question of time and money, of both of which I have plenty."

"They [the inhabitants of Bleeding Heart Yard] believed that foreigners were always badly off; and though they were as ill off themselves as they could be, that did not diminish the force of the objection. They believed that foreigners were dragooned and bayoneted; and though they certainly got their own skulls promptly fractured if they showed any ill-humour, still it was with a blunt instrument, and that didn't count."—Dickens, in 'Little Dorrit.'

Rest easy, capitalists and politicians; the working-men are in no hurry to break their chains. Have they not enough to satisfy the wants of slaves? Mayhap they can do with less—try them!—*Workmen's Advocate*.

Articles of interest to Socialists:—*Westminster*: "'Capital,' by Karl Marx"; "Charles Darwin." *Contemporary*: "The Unemployed," by Bennet Burleigh. *Nineteenth Century*: "Mr. Gladstone and the Irish Union," Dr. Duncan Ingram; "The Time it takes to Think," J. McK. Cattell; "Irish Land Purchase," H. O. Arnold Foster. *National Review*: "Peasant Properties in France, 1787 to 1887," Lady Verney.



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.

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

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

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

LEONARD HALL.—We have no leaflets specially addressed to the unemployed. Re Library, see *Commonweal* for March 19th (p. 95) and 26th (p. 103), 1887.

A. J.—“Mrs. Grundy” comes from Tom Morton’s comedy, ‘Speed the Plough,’ where Farmer Ashfield, annoyed at his wife’s continually citing a neighbour’s wife, exclaims, “Be quiet, will ye? always ding-dinging Dame Grundy into my ears—What’ll Mrs. Grundy say? what’ll Mrs. Grundy think?”

E. TEESDALE; A. K. DONALD.—Will you please look up *Commonweal* for March 19, 1887, and March 26th, 1887. Books must be returned.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday December 7.

ENGLAND	ITALY
Church Reformer	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Die Autonomie	Rome—L’Emancipazione
Jus	
London—Freie Presse	SPAIN
Labour Tribune	Madrid—El Socialista
Norwich—Daylight	GERMANY
Railway Review	Berlin—Volks Tribune
	AUSTRIA
NEW SOUTH WALES	Vienna—Gleichheit
Hamilton—Radical	Arbeiterstimme
INDIA	HUNGARY
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
Madras—People’s Friend	ROMANIA
	Jassy—Lupta
UNITED STATES	DENMARK
New York—Der Sozialist	Social-Demokraten
Freiheit	NORTH AFRICA
Backer Zeitung	Tunis—L’Operaio
Boston—Woman’s Journal	
Chicago—Alarm	
Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer	
Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	
Detroit (Mich.)—The Advance	
San Francisco (Cal.) The People	
San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	
Cincinnati (O.) Unionist	
N. Haven—Workmen’s Advocate	
Springfield (Ill.)—Voice of Labor	
FRANCE	
Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	
Le Moniteur	
Lille—Le Travailleur	
HOLLAND	
Hague—Recht voor Allen	
Amsterdam—Voorwaarts	
BELGIUM	
Seraing (Ougree)—Le Reveil	
Ghent—Vooruit	
Brussels—L’Avant-Garde	
Liege—L’Avenir	

COMMERCIALISM AND EDUCATION.

At last it seems that the question of the reform of education in our schools is to receive public attention. The disinterested pleadings of larger-minded educationists for a revision of old methods have had little effect; but the traders have discovered that the question is one which has “practical” bearings, and the fact is to be impressed upon the public. It is found that not only are Englishmen, through lack of training, getting worsted in their competition with the more tutored craftsmen and manufacturers of foreign lands, but that they are actually being driven out of the offices and counting-houses in their own country by the better instructed foreigner. So that the problem of educational reform is forced upon us by the sheer exigencies of competitive commerce. This fact lends special interest for Socialists to the proceedings at the meeting held in the city last week, at the instance of the London Chamber of Commerce, to consider what should be done to raise the standard of commercial education in England, so as to fit English youths for places now held by more competent Germans, and others.

Now although there is great need for the reform of school education in this country, it will obviously be a great pity if this reform is to be carried out merely to meet the requirements of the traders; and we must be on our guard against their recommendations. They want cheap and competent native clerks, efficient wage-servers, and would wish to bend education to meet their “practical” requirements.

We must, however, protest against any attempt to narrow the scope and objects of education to suit the profit-makers. The object of school training is not simply to turn out good clerks, or good mechanics, or good artisans, but also and chiefly to help the making of well-developed men and women and good citizens. And indeed the superiority of the young Germans as clerks is not due to specialised training in commercial technicalities, but to their superior all-round education, or, as Dr. Percival (one of our very best educationists) said at the confer-

ence, “to the habits of industry and method they had acquired through having their intellectual tastes systematically cultivated.” It is really absurd to suppose that a special course of instruction is needed to enable a boy to become a clerk. Any intelligent and well-informed lad will pick up the details of mercantile procedure in a very short time; and his true training for the superior work, such as book-keeping, should be got in the office, as the young artisan (who needs a very much longer apprenticeship) gets his training in the workshop.

The truth is that the spirit of competitive commercialism cannot but be antagonistic to true educational interests, and it is to Socialism that we must look for the rescue of education from its fatal clutches. Under our present system everything has more and more to subserve bread-winning and mammonite interests. The struggle for existence becomes more and more an intellectual contest, and necessitates increasing specialisation of human function, thwarting the full development of our manhood. The first care of parents must be how to equip their children for life’s hard battle; a career has to be early decided upon for each boy and girl, and to secure success in it, even at the cost of everything else, is the main purpose of education. Nor does the struggle cease with the adult. Men and women can often only maintain a position, or at any rate advance their position, in business by an exclusiveness of attention to business affairs which leaves neither leisure nor inclination for the pursuits of a thoroughly human life. (What a common thing it is to find a man who leaves his office at night only to continue his business work at home!) The evil has already attained alarming proportions, and must increase with the growing stress of competition; bread-winning, which should be a means to living, and to the education of our human powers and aptitudes, becomes the absorbing aim of life.

Under such a condition of things, what can we expect but the debasement of education? Instead of becoming the leisurely and natural development of our capacities, and the culture of mind and heart to rejoice in the beauty and wonder of the world, it becomes a hurried and sordid training to enable each to outrun his brother in the severe race for subsistence. It is for Socialists to emphasise this fact, and to show the incompatibility of our present ruinous system with the higher aims of human life. And meantime, whilst supporting any wise reform in educational methods, let us keep an eye upon the designs of those who, although they may profess a desire to advance the interests of their countrymen, may nevertheless be injuring the great cause of education, which is the cause of human progress.

PERCIVAL CHUBB.

PRISON LIFE IN ENGLAND.

(Continued from page 378.)

THE general feeling among the prisoners, so far as I could judge, was one of very great disgust at hearing a special prayer offered up for one whom they cursed (as loud as they durst, for fear of being punished); and many were the bitter oaths taken against the system which made them commit crime in order to live. I risked punishment many times in order to drive as much Socialism as I could into my next door neighbours, but I am sorry to confess that it seemed a very hard task; but a few crumbs of bread cast upon the waters will undoubtedly turn up after many days. I was greatly amused whilst at exercise on the Jubilee day to hear a voice from behind me call for three cheers for the Socialist and damn the royal family. Of course this caused a commotion amongst the warders—who are generally known as “screws”—but though they blamed several, they failed to catch the right party; but nevertheless they punished a poor fellow named Stone, who is doing two years; and for the instruction of the busy “screws,” I may inform them he was in A. 2, 10. Of course these “screws” could not stand by and hear their beloved royal family “damned” without someone being punished, hence an innocent man must suffer when the guilty one cannot be caught. I may say that talking was very prevalent, in spite of the activity of the “screws.” I should say here that I do not wish to assert that all these unfortunate “screws” are bad; on the contrary, were it not for the parson, who is a “screw” in clerical garb, and the governor and doctor, who are “screws” of the higher grade, always dodging about to see if they can catch any of the lower “screws” sympathising or pitying any of the prisoners, the ordinary warders would be a great deal more humane. But they dare not; the alternative to being a brute is, vulgarly speaking, the “sack.” I will pass over a few weeks, as nothing particular occurred, and endeavour to describe what occurred to me toward the latter end of August. I had for some considerable time been passing notes to another prisoner, whom I was trying to convert to Socialism, and strange to say I made the warders my corresponding medium. Of course they did not know what they were doing. It happened this way. The other prisoner was a tailor, and I pressed his work for him, as he had no fire; and when sending in his work to him I put a note inside the garment by prearrangement. We never were caught whilst the warders carried

our messages, but I fancy we were suspected, for one Sunday I passed a message to the other prisoner in chapel, and gave another to one of the cleaners to drop in his cell; the schoolmaster, however, caught us, and the result was three days bread and water with solitary confinement—1 lb. of bread and as much water as you wish. In solitary confinement you are not allowed outside your cell for any purpose whatever (short of being buried), and you have a plank bed. You must also put your clothes, boots, books, etc., outside your cell door every night, and all books are taken away except the Bible. The note which was intercepted in transmission contained among many other things a wish for the Social Revolution to break out, and that all prisons should be put an end to. In return I got the above punishment, together with fourteen days' plank bed and oakum-picking. I was also removed from A. 3, 33, where I had a fire, and put back in A. 2, 6, and here I finished my time. I, however, endeavoured to pass my time in as lively a manner as I could, and arranged with my next-door neighbour a set of rapping signals, using one for A, two for B, and so on, with a short pause between the words and a series of loud raps at the end of a sentence. This enabled me to teach my neighbour a few Socialist rhymes and songs, and every Sunday at four o'clock we gave three series of loud raps as cheers for the Revolution. Of course rapping was not allowed, and we had to be very careful that the "screws" did not catch us. We managed, however, to evade their vigilance, and passed many a pleasant hour in exchanging messages, using our slates and pencils for taking them down. I always had a Socialist song on my slate for the instruction of the warders who used to inspect the cells when the prisoners are at exercise. I may in passing say that the prisoners when at exercise are supposed to keep about four yards apart, but as the prisons are worked on the short-handed system (like most factories now are), we used to get a little closer in order to talk, having to separate when the warders caught sight of or suspected us.

C. W. MOWBRAY

(To be continued.)

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

FRANCE.

It is all over, once more, in political France. The bourgeois people have a new President, and it is not Ferry the Tonkinese. So France has escaped a revolution. We don't care after all, for the social revolution will not be kept away from there, and that's the only one we are looking for. If our readers are desirous to know the fresh master the bourgeois have given themselves, we may tell them in a few lines who is M. Marie François Sadi Carnot. He was born at Limoges, on August 11, 1837. He is a grandson of Carnot, the member of the Committee of Public Safety and of the National Convention. His father is a Senator, and was Minister of Public Instruction in 1848. M. Sadi Carnot, who is an engineer by profession, entered the Polytechnical School, where he attained the highest position. His first appointment was as government engineer at Annecy, and he remained in that position until the collapse of the Empire. In January, 1871, he was appointed Prefect of the Seine Inférieure and Commissioner of National Defence for that department, the Eure and the Calvados. He first entered Parliament as member for the Côte d'Or, which he represented until now. He was in turn Under Secretary and Minister of Public Works, and Minister of Finance. To tell the truth, we must say that he displayed a good deal of firmness all along in opposing the Elysee favouritism of Grevy and Wilson. But, *absit omen*, Sadi Carnot also has a son-in-law!

Now let us look at some more interesting facts. Our colleague, *La Révolte*, has kept its promise to give its readers a literary supplement. Two have already been issued, and the various matters which they bring forward are of the most attractive character. We feel sure that these supplements will greatly contribute to the growing success of this excellent Parisian organ.

A new Socialist paper has been started at Sidi-ali-Azons (Algeria) under the title *L'Operaio* (The Worker). This weekly is also supported by the Anarchist groups of Tunis. In the last named town, the Socialists are about to publish another paper entitled *Tunisia*.

On the 1st of January next, a new Socialist paper will be started at Lyons, wherein the different schools of Socialism will be at home. *L'Egalité Sociale* (Social Equality) will be an organ of revolutionary union, conducted by Bessy, Deschamps, Farjat, Labrosse, Perrin, of the *Parti Ouvrier* (Workers' Party); by Bernard, Blonde, Burnichon, Monier, Sibylat, and Rivet, of the Lyon Anarchist groups; by Bonard, Delanges, Durniat, and Etienne, of the Central Revolutionary Committee; and by Claverola, Drevet, Mathieu, Péronnat, Roussel, and Watier, of the Independent Socialist groups. We hope that the representatives of these various schools of Socialist thought will agree together, and at all events, we wish them good luck and success in their new experiment.

HOLLAND.

Whereas Socialism is spreading too rapidly in Holland, the Dutch Parliament intends to bring in a bill to the effect of considerably reducing the right of public and private meeting, which has existed there without restriction up to the present time. The Dutch bourgeoisie begin to fear for the maintenance of their privileges, and the best thing they can do, as they fancy, is to muzzle the workers. Happily, that won't do. The answer of our Dutch comrades will be the *daily* issuing of their organ, *Recht voor Allen*, which now appears three times a week.

BELGIUM.

A fact worth noticing. *Vooruit*, the Almanack for 1888 of the Socialists of Ghent, has been published four or five weeks, and in that short time the whole edition, 10,000 copies, has been sold out. A second edition of 10,000 copies is in preparation.

In the same town, the society of compositors and printers has started a monthly trade paper, called *The Printing Press*, which will represent the interests of the compositors of Flemish Belgium and of Holland. The com-

positors of the French part of Belgium have a French trade paper, entitled, *Gutenberg*.

Some of our Belgian comrades, who had been sentenced in the month of July, 1886, in connection with the great miners' strikes of last year, have at last seen their sentences reduced to a certain extent. Comrades Poty and Bourgogne, condemned to imprisonment for life, have their terms reduced to twenty years. We hope that this reduction is only a first instalment. Comrades Schmidt and Falleur, sentenced to twenty years, are reduced to seven years; comrades Klaus and Pierard, sentenced to fifteen years, are reduced to five; comrades Defrane, Collet, Baudoux, Hulet, and Vincent, sentenced to twelve years, reduced to four; comrade Priels and Taton, sentenced to ten years, are reduced to three. But we again express confidence that they soon may be set free altogether, for we know very well that all these monstrous sentences have been dictated by mere class-justice, that is to say in spite of all justice.

Comrade Lootens, editor of *Opstand*, who was tried at the Court of Assizes of Ghent for having fired a revolver on his assailants, has been acquitted by the jury. But he declares at the same time that the *Opstand* stops its publication.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

The Austrian police are as silly as the German. Paul Lafargue's pamphlet, 'The Right of Idleness,' has been forbidden there; and so has another book entitled, 'The Condition of the Working-classes in Bavaria,' by B. Schönlank. This last work is a very remarkable one; the dreadful facts therein stated are all of indisputable truth, as they have been gathered from the most reliable sources.

At Brunn, the *Volksfreund* (The Worker's Friend) has also commenced the publication of a Socialist library. The first pamphlet, entitled 'What exists and what we want,' has been confiscated by the police. A second edition, expurgated, has now been issued. It is a handsome brochure of 32 pages, popularly written on the general principles of modern Socialism.

ITALY.

We may recommend to our comrades who understand Italian, the pamphlets of the *Bibliotheca Humanitas*. Six have already been issued, which are entitled: 1. 'The End of Parliamentarism'; 2. 'The International Anarchical Alliance'; 3. 'The New Religion'; 4. 'Victims and Prejudices'; 5. 'The Apostles of Socialism in Russia'; 6. 'Pisacane, and the Modern Socialism.'

On the 1st of January, a new Socialist paper, *L'Operaio* (The Worker) will be started at Reggio Calabre.

V. D.

Free Speech Demonstration in Glasgow.

On Sunday, December 4th, one of the largest and finest meetings ever held, assembled on Glasgow Green. The demonstration was promoted by a committee of men from the Irish National League, Socialist League, Social Democratic Federation, Land Restoration League, and other bodies. On reaching the Green the speakers found an enormous mass of people stretching several hundred yards from the four sides of the monument at which the four platforms were placed. The resolution affirmed the principle of free speech, protested against the growing despotism of the police and called for the punishment of those responsible for the outrages at Trafalgar Square, Mitchelstown, and other places, and pledged the people to back up Graham and Burns in their defence of public rights. Graham was unable to attend owing to the serious illness of his wife. Burns and Saunders were the chief speakers, but a large number of others including Shaw Maxwell, Murphy, Mahon, Murdoch, Hutcheson, Glasier, Stewart, Macmillan, Curran, and M'Farlane, also addressed the meeting. Mr. Wm. Saunders spoke in a very eloquent and effective style, and was exceedingly well received. Burns, who spoke with great force, roused the audience to an extraordinary pitch of enthusiasm. The demonstration was a complete success. The occasion was made use of to move resolutions in regard to the unemployed, which were heartily carried. A good meeting was held at night in the Albion Hall, at which the same speakers attended. Saunders gave a pithy and amusing account of his experiences in London, and Burns delivered a masterly exposition of the doctrines of Socialism.—J. L. M.

The Government are adding to the list of Irish martyrs at a rapid rate. Lord Mayor T. D. Sullivan lies in Richmond Gaol, the editor of *United Ireland* in Tullamore; Mr. Timothy Harrington, the soul and centre of the National League, was arrested last week, and a warrant is said to be out for Mr. Timothy Healy. There can be little doubt that Mr. Dillon will share the fate of his colleagues as soon as he returns to Ireland. In England the same Government is doing the same work; and those who read history can see that in days to come it will be known as the Government of Suicides. The wrathful sense of wrong spreading among the workers; the swift sorting of reactionaries from the men of the advance,—these things are hastening the revolution more even than all our propaganda.—S.

NEW WORDS.—It will be a thousand pities, by the way, if the present discontents do not enrich the vocabulary of the English language. Various suggestions for new coinages have been made with reference to Irish matters. The *St. James's Gazette*, for instance, has proposed, not unhappily, when, or if ever, Mr. Gladstone falls into another inaccuracy, to say, "Mr. Gladstone has *dopping* again." Several correspondents have written here, on the other hand, pointing out various uses for a verb "*to balfour*." But the termination of one already accepted neologism—namely, *boycott*—at once suggests a word that ought to be imported from the ways of the London police. "To bear false witness which is yet not legal perjury," that is terrible mouthful, and yet in these days the expression is constantly wanted. One word, of course, will do it: *to endacott*. When the police reformation comes, "Thou shalt not endacott thy neighbour," will appear in every table of the law.—*Pall Mall Gazette*, Dec. 3.

RAILWAY "ENTERPRISE."—There was a rocky valley between Buxton and Bakewell, once upon a time, divine as the Vale of Tempe; you might have seen the Gods there, morning and evening, Apollo, and all the sweet Muses of the Light. . . . The valley is gone and the Gods with it; and now, every fool in Buxton can be at Bakewell in half an hour, and every fool in Bakewell at Buxton; which you think a lucrative process of exchange—you Fools every where!—*J. Ruskin*, 'Fors Clavigera.'

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

A demonstration of the unemployed took place at Dundee on Monday. About 400 gathered, and after being addressed by a Socialist lecturer, they marched the streets. Six of their number waited upon the provost and magistrates, and submitted their case to them. The authorities agreed to keep a register of the names of the men for investigation, and stated that work would soon be provided at the extension of the esplanade and water-works.

Under the auspices of Mr. Dunkerley, an effort commenced on Monday morning of taking the census of the unemployed in every constituency of London. Sixty offices opened at noon, and will open each day during the present month from twelve till nine o'clock to register the names of the unemployed, and their various capacities for work. The committee trust that employers of labour will second their efforts in finding a great number employment. No district is without an office for registration, and working men can always find the address by applying to their nearest police-station.

THE RUSH FOR WORK.—On Monday morning nearly a thousand men attended at High Street, Islington, in response to an advertisement for 100 assistants at a new "Home and Colonial stores" there. The great crowd about the doors considerably impeded both vehicular and pedestrian traffic, and the services of the police had to be obtained to restrain the eager assembly. The greater portion of the applicants were of a very respectable order.

THE YORKSHIRE MINERS' ASSOCIATION.—An adjourned County Conference was held on Saturday at Barnsley in connection with the Yorkshire Miners' Association. Mr. Pickard, M.P., was present, and it was decided to demand a 10 per cent. advance on the present rate of wages. It was likewise suggested that a Board of Conciliation should be established for the district, which would regulate the payment of wages. Most of those present were in favour of restricting the output. A deputation was appointed to wait upon the colliery owners in the district.

BERMONDSEY—TIN-PLATE WORKERS.—For the last seven weeks a struggle has been going on between Messrs. Harding and Sons of Long Lane and their employes, owing to a threatened reduction in wages varying from 20 to 50 per cent., which has not as yet been put into force because of the contracts the firm have now on hand, and which they are compelled to execute within a specified time. The men, however, seeing danger ahead, sought protection by joining the East London Tin-plate Workers' Society. Messrs. Harding and Sons, while "allowing full freedom to their men to do as they please," refuse to keep in their employ those who have joined the Union, and are endeavouring to weed them out of the firm individually, seeking by that means to avoid an impending strike.

WEST CUMBERLAND IRONWORKERS.—On Saturday notices were posted by the masters at most of the ironworks in the West Cumberland district stating that all engagements between themselves and their workmen will terminate in fourteen days from date. The ironmasters have taken this step in consequence of the determination of the blast furnacemen not to accept a reduction of five per cent. in wages. At a conference between delegates and ironmasters, held on the previous afternoon, the chairman, Mr. Baird, of the Lonsdale Ironworks, Whitehaven, said the masters had been too long in asking for a reduction. He suggested a reduction of 2½ per cent., and the adoption of a sliding scale. If iron went below 44s. 6d. per ton, the men would have to submit to 2½ per cent. reduction, but for each 2s. 6d. advance above 44s. 6d., an advance of 2½ per cent. in wages would be given. These terms were declined by the men, who asked for further time. The masters refused to wait longer, hence the posting of the notices. Should the threatened lock-out be proceeded with, about six thousand men will be affected.

YOUNG WOMAN CLERK WANTED. Neat writer, correct at figures. Must give three months. Salary commencing at 10s. weekly after. Hours 8.30 to 7 p.m.; Saturday 2 p.m. Close to Westbourne Park Station. Letter stating age, to—&c.

"Is it possible that any human being could offer such remuneration for ten and a half hours' work a-day?" asks an esteemed correspondent. Not only possible, but he will think himself a good man to give so much! Dozens of such advertisements could be gathered daily; for instance, here is a submissive angel wanted who is required to be "cheerful" under trying circumstances:

LADY HELP (quite young) WANTED, not afraid of work. Must be good-tempered, cheerful, early riser, strictly clean, and especially refined. Very good, cheerful home, no children, but only £6 or £8 a-year to commence.

SCOTCH COTTARS.—A Correspondent writes to the *Daily News*: I have the most absolute proof that in Lochs parish, Balallan, in some families as many as three and four invalid children are lying on lairs of straw on the damp floors of mud-hovels, without any bed-clothing to cover them. The medical officer prescribed a meal poultice for some, and there was not enough meal in the house to make it, nor had the neighbours any to give. In one instance of this kind one of the children died last Saturday, and several are beyond recovery. I sent a boll of meal last Wednesday to that township, and it was divided between twenty families. On Saturday I ascertained that in that township as many as five, six, and seven children are lying under measles, without as much meal in the house as would make a drink for the patients; yet the authorities have done nothing to meet their cases beyond that a few met at Stornoway, fifteen miles away, and passed a resolution asking the Scottish Secretary to appoint a commission to enquire whether the alleged destitution is a fact. At a large meeting of delegates from the various townships of Lochs, held in Balallan School last Friday, Mr. Donald Macrae, was appointed secretary and treasurer of the Relief Fund for Lochs, the parish in which the deer-hunt took place. Mr. Macrae has already distributed over twenty bolls of meal; in fact, he has done all that has been done in this direction. Funds are urgently required, and it is impossible to forecast what will next happen.

NORTHAMPTON.—STRIKE IN THE SHOE TRADE.—Dec. 2.—Rioting over the shoe trade dispute has commenced in Northampton, and, it is feared, will assume alarming proportions, as at the end of this week twenty thousand workpeople will be out of employment through the lock-out of the manufacturers. Considerable irritation is felt at the action of the police, who on Wednesday night attended a perfectly orderly meeting of four or five thousand workmen. Bodies of police have been drafted into the town during this week, and others at Leicester and neighbouring towns are awaiting telegraphic instructions to proceed immediately to Northampton. At Sheffield

a hundred soldiers are awaiting similar orders. The police nightly escort to their homes workmen employed at Messrs. Cove and West's factory where occurred the dispute which was the cause of the rupture. The police and men are followed by crowds hooting and throwing stones. Last night severe struggles took place between the people and police. The latter were roughly handled, and some few were struck by stones and other missiles. Three arrests were made. Eight police were injured. The magistrates have forbidden any assembly of persons in the vicinity of the factory of Messrs. Cove and West, and police guard it night and day. Dec. 5.—A renewal of rioting is feared by the authorities, who, in addition to large bodies of police from Leicester, Wellingborough, Kettering, and other places, on Saturday brought a force of 111 rank and file of the Lancashire and Yorkshire Regiment by special train from Sheffield. Arrangements have also been made for drafting a cavalry regiment into the town. The magistrates have passed some severe sentences on rioters. On Saturday morning Frank White, a shoe rivetter, was sentenced to three months' hard labour; Walter Brown, another rivetter, was sentenced to five months' hard labour; and a third participant in Thursday evening's disturbances was sentenced to two months' hard labour. A fourth man was fined £5, or one month, for window-breaking. To-day the factories belonging to the members of the Northampton Boot Manufacturers' Association will be closed in accordance with a resolution of a general lock-out. These factories include nearly all the largest in the town; and nearly 20,000 workpeople are affected. A public appeal for funds on behalf of these operatives has already been made, and is being generously responded to.—A special meeting of the School Board was held on Saturday to take into consideration the feeding of children sent to school without having had breakfast or dinner. Dec. 6.—Last night a mass meeting of the locked-out operatives at Northampton sent a deputation to the Town Council then sitting, asking for relief works. The destitution through the boot trade lock-out is making itself felt in Northampton. On Tuesday, 200 Board School children were found to have gone to school without having received any food since the previous day. A hot meal was immediately prepared for them at neighbouring cafés. The clergy and licensed victuallers are organising relief arrangements. On Tuesday afternoon a conference of masters and men sat two hours discussing the terms of re-opening the factories, but broke up without coming to a decision.

Socialists, Trades Unionists, and others, are earnestly urged to send regularly reports of all matters in connection with the "Labour Struggle" that come under their notice. Members of the various trade societies should endeavour to make the Commonweal a recognised medium for announcing meetings in connection with their respective trades, and should send notice of disputes, number of unemployed, etc. Cuttings from local papers, with name and date of issue, are useful, and copies of trade journals, trade reports, etc., are also much wanted.

It is disheartening to find how little support those who sacrifice health, time, and money in running a Labour Paper receive from those in whose interests entirely it is that such a paper as the Commonweal is published. It is discreditable to British workmen, that while they indirectly, if not directly, help largely to support their most deadly enemy, the corrupt capitalist press, which spreads broadcast its poisonous calumnies against the advocates of Labour, the papers which espouse the cause of the workers are left to struggle for existence against almost overwhelming odds, thus tending to delay the emancipation of labour, which can only be accomplished by the combined energy and self-sacrifice of the workers themselves.

T. BINNING.

PREPARING FOR THE UNEMPLOYED.—There arrived at Liverpool on the 29th ult. from New York, by the Cunard steamer *Aurania*, two cases of rifles and cartridges, addressed to the Marquis of Salisbury. The goods were forwarded to his lordship's address. He is said to be arming his household.

THE RED.—If Labour's banner were never before dyed crimson by the blood of her martyrs—if it had been white as snow it is red now. America has re-dyed the crimson flag, making it more truly the flag of the working-men of all countries. Let the enemies of labour not complain of the colour their cruelty has indelibly dyed the flag of all nations.—*Workmen's Advocate.*

Mr. Andrew Carnegie, the Scotch-American millionaire, is writing fancy letters to the American papers. In his last epistle he declares that the masses of the people of Britain were never as well off as they are at present, and he also asserts that there is very little if any destitution in Scotland for which the destitute themselves are not to blame. I hope my Scotch friends will remember this.—H. F. C.

THE WORKING OF THE ALLOTMENTS ACT.—In South Lincolnshire the demand for allotments under the new Act is assuming gigantic proportions, and it is feared it will not be met without considerable difficulty. Up to Saturday night requisitions had been signed by labourers in the Spalding Division for over a thousand acres of land from three central towns. Seven hundred applications had been made. The majority of labourers ask for the maximum quantity of land allowed under the Act. None of the applications have yet been granted, the authorities declining to set the Act in motion, not being convinced that allotments cannot be obtained voluntarily.

PARSONIC OPPOSITION.—The following facts are of interest in view of the general opposition on the part of the clergy to Socialism or anything else that tends to the elevation of the masses. The Earl of Lonsdale (holy man!) has 43 livings in the Church of England in his gift; the Marquis of Aylesbury (the blackleg who was expelled from racing circles) holds 11; while among the comparatively respectable peers the Duke of Beaufort appears to have in his gift 24 livings; the Duke of Bedford, 25; the Duke of Devonshire, 38; and the Duke of Rutland, 25—112 livings in the hands of four dukes. More than 200 peers present to about 1,300 livings; can it be expected that their creatures and nominees will speak against them and the system which enables them to live as they do?

BRAZILIAN SLAVES IN REVOLT.—From Rio de Janeiro we hear of a great rising of slaves on the plantations near St. Paulo and conflict with the troops and police. The slaves on two plantations in the municipality struck work, and, seizing all the horses and mules they could find, made off with their wives and children. As they made for the forest, they were joined by all the slaves on the plantations on the way. Fifty well-armed policemen were sent in pursuit, but had to beat a rapid retreat. They returned to Amaro demoralised, and did not interfere with another band of slaves, who marched through the town shouting "Hurrah for freedom! We prefer death to recapture." The planters were in great fear, and the troops were stated to be unwilling to hunt the slaves. Slavery was already on the decrease in the country.

LETTER FROM AMERICA.

A TERRIBLE tale comes again from Chicago. Your readers will remember that during the strangulation of her husband, Mrs. Parsons was locked up in Cook County Jail, Chicago, with Mrs. Holmes. But this was not sufficient for the police. No sooner did they have Mrs. Parsons completely in their clutches than they began at once to search her for bombs! Three or four policemen overpowered the poor woman and began undressing her till she was exposed in a nude state to the vulgar eyes of the policemen! Of course they never found a bomb. Directly after release Mrs. Parsons accused the police of this infamy, and was corroborated in her accusation by Mrs. Holmes. The police now admit the searching and disrobing—after first denying everything—but assert that it was done by the prison matron. The police already stand convicted by their half admittance of the accusation, even had Mrs. Holmes not witnessed the affair.

Here is another police outrage, taken from the *Morning Journal*, a paper which constantly denounces in strong terms all Social Democrats and Anarchists:—"Lingg was in the agonies of a death a hundred-fold more painful in a physical sense than strangulation when I stood in the vestibule of the Cook County Jail, and heard the remarks of a cluster of police-officers. 'Damn that coward,' ejaculated one. 'He promised he would die game, and now he cheats us out of the fun to-morrow' (the execution). The assistant of one of the surgeons was hurrying by with some anaesthetics when a police-sergeant caught him by the arm exclaiming: 'Say, fix that up in shape so that he can get the rope to-morrow.' " Again, I say the above is taken from a capitalistic paper and not from a labour paper. One paper a few days ago declared that if Socialists and Anarchists did not abstain from spreading their pernicious doctrines they might expect a second St. Bartholomew's night. This is written in the land of freedom, in America! The government of the police by the police is more and more perfecting itself. A movement has been started to induce the legislature to give the police power to arrest any man who utters so-called treasonable and seditious language, to avoid writing until a grand jury has found an indictment against him.

John Most is again on trial. The police and the *World*, a newspaper which is principally responsible for the Chicago tragedy, will not be quiet till he is hung. On the day of the Chicago execution, the men engaged in the *Freiheit* office bounced a reporter of the *World* who came spying round. He resolved to revenge himself. The next day Most spoke in his club. The New York comrades were so depressed and paralysed by the events in Chicago, that the suggestion of a plan of revenge would have fallen very flat indeed. In fact, Most's oration that evening sounded more like a funeral sermon than anything else. He spoke very touchingly of the life and death of our martyrs. Three days later he is arrested for having incited the people to murder Grinnell, Gary, etc.: not that I should deplore the removal of this infamous gang, but it is cowardly to charge a person with something he never uttered. The low sneak from the *World*, in company with two detectives, had concocted a speech which for absurd nonsense stands unequalled. In fact, if Most had ever given utterance to such hideous idiocy he deserved hanging twice. The three conspirators allege that they attended the meeting and took down Most's speech in shorthand. Most has about fifty witnesses to prove that nobody took any notes, that no reporter was present, and that he never spoke one word about removing Gary and Co. The whole thing is so absurd that even the *New York Herald* is obliged to say to-day:—"This matter of free speech ought to be a very tender point with Americans. We prize it rather highly, and even when somebody shoots off his mouth or puts his foot in it we should be a little slow to interfere." . . . The trial began yesterday; four of the jury are already chosen; the first has no occupation, the second a dealer in liquors, the third a pawnbroker, and the fourth a tobacco manufacturer. The case must be weak indeed if the prosecution is obliged to select so intelligent a jury.

The deliberations of both branches of the South Carolina Legislature are conducted with all the tomfoolery of the British Houses of Parliament. The two presiding officers are attired in gaudy and costly gowns of the finest blue and royal purple silk velvet. The clerks wear long flowing gowns of plain black silk, while the sergeant-at-arms open and close the daily sessions with the ancient mace and the sword of State—relics of colonial days. In the House of Representatives a member when in his own seat may wear his hat during the entire Session, as in the English House of Commons. The most important measures to be considered at present are propositions to punish organised interference with labour and wages (Anti-Knights of Labour Bill), and to pension disabled ex-confederate soldiers.

LABOUR MOVEMENTS.

The Miners' Federation and National District Assembly Knights of Labour have united forces. The 250,000 miners will present a united front in all action they may take hereafter.

At the Convention of the United Labour Party of Wisconsin, a resolution condemning the execution of our Chicago comrades as a curtailment of the constitutional rights of mere social reformers, was almost unanimously tabled.

The Knights of Labour have ordered a vigorous boycott of the Lehigh Coal and Railway Companies and other operators, with the object of aiding the striking miners in the Lehigh region.

At a meeting of the Point Arbitration Board of National Federation of Miners and Mine Operators, on November 14th, it was decided to pay 5 cents. (2½d.) per ton for mining. The advance is to date from Nov. 1st, 1887, and continue to May 1st, 1888.

Negro miners at Pocahontas, Va., refused to allow the Hungarian miners there to work. About 110 Hungarians have joined the strikers in consequence. The negro miners number about 600.

A Knight of Labour co-operative store at Paterson has declared a dividend of 10 per cent. after an existence of three months.

Reports are circulating to the effect that the surface railroad workmen and employés of Brooklyn will demand a ten-hour instead of a twelve-hour day after January 1st. Last January the men agreed to work for one year without making any new demands.

The Journal of United Labour recently advised working-men who receive requests from statisticians for information relative to their employment, compensation, living expenses, and other points, to give the information freely.

Reports of an additional strike in the Louisiana sugar-field come this week. The labourers on eight plantations near Shriever, La., quit work on Tuesday, owing to a refusal to grant increased pay.

LIST OF STRIKES FOR NOVEMBER 1 to 18.

Number of strikers, November 1 to 11	10,602
Pittsburg, Pa.—Nut and bolt works' hands, against shorter hours and reduced wages, November 16	175
Shriever, La.—Sugar hands on eight plantations, for higher wages, November 16	—
Scottdale, Pa.—Coke hands, against employment of non-union hands, November 14	350
Brooklyn, N.K.—Wood-bundlers, for increase in wages, November 14	50
Indianapolis, Ind.—Dining-room waiters, for discharge of head-waiter, November 13	—
Reading, Pa.—Foundry hands, against discharge of one man who violated a factory rule, November 15	—
New York city.—Lock-out fixture makers, for stopping work on election day, November 10	—
New York city.—Builders, against using boycotted material	—
New York city.—Painters, for increase of wages	—
Bridgeport, Conn.—Corset-stitchers, against reduction, November 15	75
New York city.—Glass bevellers, for advance, November 16	75
Cincinnati, Ohio.—Street-car hands, refusal of company to discharge superintendent, November 17	600
Cincinnati, Ohio.—Stage carpenters, against alleged overwork	3
Waverly, Ohio.—Coopers, against reduction of wages	—
Total known from November 1 to 18	11,930
New York, November 23rd, 1887.	HENRY F. CHARLES.

The real war in Europe, of which the fighting in Paris was the inauguration, is between the capitalists and the workmen, such as these have made him. They have kept him poor, ignorant, and sinful, that they might, without his knowledge, gather for themselves the produce of his toil. At last a dim insight into the fact of this dawn on him, and such as they have made him he meets them, and will meet.—J. Ruskin, 'Fors Clavigera.'

Freemen, indeed! You are slaves, not to masters of any strength and honour, but to the idlest talkers at that floral end of Westminster Bridge. Nay, to countless meaner masters than they. For, though indeed, as early as the year 1102, it was decreed in a council at St. Peter's, Westminster, "that no man for the future should presume to carry on the wicked trade of selling men in the markets, like brute beasts, which hitherto has been the common custom of England," the no less wicked trade of underselling men in markets has lasted to this day, producing conditions of slavery differing from the ancient ones only in being starved instead of well-fed, and besides this a state of slavery unheard of among the nations till now, has arisen with us. In all former slaveries, Egyptian, Algerine, Saxon, and American, the slaves complaint has been of compulsory work. But the modern Politico-economic slave is a new and far more injured species, condemned to compulsory ill-health, for fear he should spoil other peoples' trade.—J. Ruskin, 'Fors Clavigera.'

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, Hammersmith, Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Hull, Mile End, Wednesbury, to September 30. Clerkenwell, Oxford, to October 31.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Weekly Subscriptions.—K. F. (2 weeks), 2s. C. J. F. (2 weeks), 4s. Oxford Branch (2 weeks), 4s. W. B., 6d.

Strike Committee.—Collected in Regent's Park, 4s. 3d.—J. LANE.

Fund for the Provision of the Wives and Families of the Martyred Anarchists.

T. T., C. T., and H. T. (Oxford), 6s. 6d.—H. HALLIDAY SPARLING, Treasurer.

REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—On Thursday, December 1, W. Morris lectured at the Athenaeum Hall, Tottenham Court Road, on "The Coming Society." Fair audience and good discussion. On Sunday morning, December 4, meeting was considered an open one, platform and members of the branch not turning up till late.—D.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, Nov. 30th, H. H. Sparling lectured on "Podsnappery." Good discussion. Sunday evening, members and friends held "social." Turner addressed large meeting at Clerkenwell Green. *Commonweal* sold out.—B.

FULHAM.—Excellent meeting addressed by C. Smith, Mrs. Taylor, and Besley. Fair sale of *Commonweal*. In the evening we had a meeting in Dawes Road, and considering it is a new station, it was well attended. C. Smith, Tochatti, Groser, and Mahony spoke.—S. B. G.

HAMMERSMITH.—Usual meeting Sunday morning at Starch Green, Broadway, speakers were Mahony, Tochatti, and Tarleton. 16 *Commonweal* sold. All comrades turn up next Sunday. In the evening, G. Bernard Shaw lectured in hall.

NORTH LONDON.—A very good meeting at Regent's Park, Sunday morning, was addressed by Cantwell and Graham, who made an appeal on behalf of some strikers at Messrs. Hardings, for whom 4s. 6½d. was collected; Mrs. Schack and Mainwaring followed, and 4s. 4½d. was collected for propaganda.—T. C.

LEEDS.—Sunday morning, Maguire, Paylor, and Sollitt addressed meeting at Vicar's Croft. In evening, Bland, of Bradford, spoke on "The National Debt."

NORWICH.—Good meeting held in Market Place, addressed by Mowbray, who also lectured in the Gordon Hall at 8 p.m. to a crowded audience, subject "Wage Labour and Capital." Good collections at both meetings. A discussion class is held every Thursday night in our hall at 8 p.m.; comrade Parker read a very good paper last week on "Socialism and the Unemployed." A very lively discussion followed. A free concert is given every Monday night. Our orchestra, which is under the leadership of Mr. A. Rumsby, late R.H.A. band, is progressing very well, and will soon be a very useful addition to our means of propaganda.—C. W. M.

WALSALL.—On Wednesday evening last, P. Kropotkin lectured for Walsall Literary Institute on "The Moral Effects of Prisons on Prisoners." Large attendance and lecture well received. Thursday morning, Kropotkin spoke at our meeting-room to members of the branch, giving a most interesting address on the "Socialist Movement in America, and on the Continent and England." At Monday weekly meeting, H. Sanders spoke on "The Principles of Socialism." Saturday large meeting held on the bridge, and a good impression made.—D.

WEDNESBURY.—Donald addressed the usual meeting in the Market-place, but was rather interrupted. This would be obviated if the branch members were to attend regular and remove disturbers. Donald addresses a large meeting in the Town Hall on Wednesday on "Fair Trade."

BIRMINGHAM.—We continue to hold the usual meetings. Tarn addressed some people at West Bromwich and Swan village, and Donald in Birmingham.

STAFFORD.—Comrade Pengell arranged a meeting at the Stafford Liberal Club, which was addressed by Donald on Tuesday. There was a very good attendance of club members, who were very interested in the address, and invited the lecturer to visit Stafford again to further explain Socialism to them.

SHEFFIELD SOCIALISTS.—Last Thursday week, the first of a series of meetings of the unemployed of Sheffield and outlying districts was held at the Commonwealth Cafe. Out of over 200 present only eight were in employment. A deputation waited upon the mayor next morning, who promised to confer with the Corporation; he could hold out no hope of employment, but they had a right to the workhouse. A mass meeting at West Bar at 12 o'clock on Monday, sent another deputation with no better result, the mayor again advising workhouse relief. A second mass meeting on Wednesday, which was so large that they had to adjourn to Paradise Square, sent more delegates, who after waiting some considerable time, were allowed to see some members of the Corporation, and were informed then that they would make their decision known to them on Friday at 3 o'clock. On Friday they were told there was no work for them nor money to pay for work. The Friday evening meeting at the Cafe was very crowded, hundreds could not get in. A resolution was carried "that mass meetings be held in different parts of the town, and that the men out of employment come with their names and addresses and trade written on a slip of paper." Several meetings have been arranged for.—M.

DUBLIN.—At the Saturday Club, Dec. 3rd, Mr. J. Hutchinson lectured to a large audience on "Co-operation," advocating the establishment of co-operative societies on the Rochdale system. The Socialist view of the question was ably supported by Coulon, O'German, and Fitzpatrick, who were well received.

Scottish Land and Labour League.

EDINBURGH.—During the last ten days, Mahon has been lecturing amongst the miners of the West of Scotland on behalf of the Glasgow Branch of the Socialist League, and organising the free speech demonstration. A full report will be given next week.

Notice to Branches of the S.L.L.L.

Branches desiring literature apply to D. K. Mackenzie, librarian, 137 Pleasance, Edinburgh.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, W. Thursday December 8, at 8.30, Spencer Howell, "Educate, Agitate, Organise." Dec. 15. Walker will lecture on "The Unemployed."

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7. Sunday December 11, at 8.30, H. A. Barker, "The Condition of the Working Classes." Wednesday 14th, 8.30, a lecture.

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

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

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday December 11, at 8 p.m. Edward Carpenter, "Peasant Life in Italy."

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—C. J. Young, 8 Dunloe Street, Hackney Road, Secretary. Concert and Draw on January 14. Tickets now ready.

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

Midland 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.

Arbroath (Scot. Sect.).—High Street Hall. Meeting Friday evenings. W. Smith, 12 Maule St., secy.

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).—Secretary pro tem., D. M'Dougal, East Path.

Cowdenbeath (Scot. Sec.).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., secy.

Dublin.—Saturday Club, Central Hall, 12 Westmorland Street, every Saturday at 8 p.m. Free debates on Social and Political subjects. All friends invited.

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 (on Dec. 15 Wm. Mulvenny, "Socialism Realised"). Dec. 11, at 2 o'clock, in Rooms, Special Meeting of all members, to consider very important business. At 7 p.m., in Hall, 8 Watson Street, Arch. M'Laren on "Compensation." Sunday 18, H. H. Champion in Grand Hall, Waterloo Rooms, at 7 p.m.—subject, "What Socialists Want." Admission 3d., 6d., and 1s.

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. Sunday Dec. 11, at 7.30, T. Braithwaite on "Socialism and Co-operation."

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 Sundays 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.—Temperance Hall. Meets every Monday.

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

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 11.

- | | | |
|-------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 11 | ...Starch Green |Smith, Tarleton, Mahoney |
| 11 | ...Walham Green |Graham Wallas & Tochart |
| 11.30 | ...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St. |Parker |
| 11.30 | ...Hackney—Salmon and Ball |Samuels & Cores |
| 11.30 | ...Merton—Haydons Road |Nicoll |
| 11.30 | ...Mitcham Fair Green |The Branch |
| 11.30 | ...Regent's Park |Davis |
| 11.30 | ...St. Pancras Arches |Bartlett, Howell, Wardle |
| 3 | ...Hyde Park |Brookes |
| 7 | ...Stamford Hill |Graham |
| 7 | ...Clerkenwell Green |J. Allman |

Wednesday.

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------|-----------------|
| 8 | ...Broadway, London Fields |The Branch |
| 8 | ...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St. |Cooper |

PROVINCES.

Glasgow.—St. George's Cross: Sunday, 12 o'clock.

Leeds.—Sunday: Vicar's Croft, 11 a.m.

SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.

(Scottish Section of the Socialist League)

DECEMBER.

H. H. CHAMPION will address a series of meetings on Socialism as follows:—

Kirkcaldy.—Saturday 10, Corn Exchange Hall, 7 p.m.

Dundee.—Saturday 11, Buchan's Hall, Barrack Street, at 3 and 6.30 p.m.

Edinburgh.—Monday 12, Free Tron Hall, Chambers Street, at 8 p.m.

Aberdeen.—Tuesday 13, Northern Hall, George Street, at 8 p.m.

Carnoustie.—Wednesday 14, Panmure Works Hall, at 8 p.m.

Arbroath.—Thursday 15, New Public Hall, at 8 p.m.

Dunfermline.—Friday 16, St. Margaret's Hall, 8 p.m.

Kilmarnock.—Saturday 17, The Art Gallery, London Road.

Glasgow.—Sunday 18, Waterloo Grand Hall, Wellington Street, at 7 p.m.

Admission 3d., 6d., and 1s.

North of England Socialist Federation.

BRANCHES AND SECRETARIES.

Annitsford.—F. Rivett, Dudley Colliery.

Backworth.—W. Maddison, C. Pit.

Consett.—J. Walton, Medonsby Road.

Blyth.—Martin Mack, 4 Back Marlow Street.

South Shields.—F. Dick, 139 Marsden Street, West.

North Shields.—J. T. Harrison, 24 Queen Street.

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

West Holywell.—F. M'Carroll, West Holywell.

Seaton Delaval.—W. Day, Seaton Delaval.

Seghill.—Wm. Whalley, New Square.

M. Mack, Gen. Sec., 4 Back Marlow Street, Blyth.

THE LAND QUESTION AND THE UNEMPLOYED.—Mr. Michael Davitt will preside at a Mass Meeting to be held under the auspices of the English Land Restoration League and the local Radical and Irish National Clubs on Saturday December 10, at Millpond Bridge, Rotherhithe, 6.30 p.m.

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

NORWICH ANARCHIST GROUP.—Yarmouth—Thursday, on the Quay, at 7.30. Carrow—Friday, at 1.30.

Norwich.—St. George's Plain, Saturday, at 1.15; Haymarket, Saturday, at 8; Market Place, Sunday at 11 and 8. Ber Street Fountain, Sunday at 3.

SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—Meeting at Commonwealth Office, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday December 11, at 4 o'clock.

Children's Party.

BOXING-DAY, DECEMBER 26.

The Committee arranging the Annual Children's Party—Mrs. Lane, Lena Wardle, Mrs. Grove, May Morris, and Joseph Lane—will be glad to receive donations of presents, money, etc.

The Children's Party will be followed by an Entertainment entitled

THE LAMP: An Extravaganza,

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THE TABLES TURNED.

ENGAGEMENTS.

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	CLEVELAND HALL.
January	HAMMERSMITH BRANCH S.L.
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SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.

—o—

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The Rights of Labour according to John Ruskin. By Thomas Barclay. 1d

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THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 101.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 17, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

The Liberal Unionists had a great field-day at Westminster on the 9th. They seem to have been very cheerful about their prospects, and if they will but admit that they are a part of the Tory party, we on our part must admit in all honesty that they have some reason to be so—for the present—now that the Gladstonite Liberals have shown that there is no fight in them.

Lord Hartington made a long speech, as a leader must in spite of the torture he may inflict on his audience, of which torture his lordship is a master. The reporter makes the unfortunate Jesse Collings say that "the great minority of the people of Ireland were loyalists." And really since it was Mr. Collings, perhaps he did say so. Lord Selborne in attacking the worship of Mr. Gladstone as a pope (with which attack I cordially agree) held up Lord Hartington as a counter pope. Mr. Richard Chamberlain, in the absence of that illustrious humbug his brother, proposed "extended organisation among the constituencies, not so much by holding meetings, as by private agency among the electors." This latter phrase seems indiscreet. Might I as an interested person (possessed of six votes) ask Mr. R. Chamberlain, How much a vote?

Lord Derby's speech deserves more respect than these weary fatuities, although there was a hole or two in his logic even granting his premises; but at least it had meaning in it, and the moderates would find some of his taunts hard to answer. Yet one may remind him that if the Southern States put up (after a terrible war) with the coercion of the North, their struggle was for the continuance of chattel-slavery, which was doomed both by the ethical and economical circumstances, whereas the Irish are struggling for federalism, the feeling for which is obviously on the increase; it is not the form which a contest takes, but the reason for it which is important.

Lord Derby seemed conscious indeed that the tide was setting towards federation: "Whatever was done for Ireland might be demanded for Scotland, certainly for Wales." "Were they prepared for four local parliaments with perhaps a federal council over all? it would be suicidal. Home Rule would lead to the absolute power of the Crown!" Well I don't see why, comparing it with what is, we should be terrified at the picture. The absolute power of the Crown would certainly lead to the abolition of the Crown, which would be a blessing, though a small one.

"Coercion in some form," says Lord Derby, "is only another name for civilisation." I think he is right; civilisation means turning the whole world into a vast prison; the destruction of all manly ideals; the attempt to substitute "comfort" so called, for happiness—the contented prisoner's ideal of life. I daresay Lord Derby would agree to that and say, "Well, what would you have?" But then, you see, he and those like him are withdrawn from the struggle like the popular gods of Epicurus. They are dull, but they don't suffer; they leave that to others.

After the Conference came the banquet at which Mr. Goschen made the conscious, and the Duke of Argyll the unconscious joke of the evening. A certain Mr. Sinclair had gone on his knees before the Unionist triumvirate—Hartington, Goschen and Chamberlain; so the midmost of those gods made the remarkable joke of picturing the feelings of those in the hall if they had the prospect of being governed by Hyndman, Conybeare and Cunninghame Graham, which to the audience of worshippers of the first trinity, seemed very funny; why, our readers can find out perhaps better than I can: I can only say that the *Standard* enjoyed it hugely, which is not much in its favour.

The Duke of Argyll's joke was better, much better. "God save Ireland! to be for many years" (how many, your Grace?) "an integral part of that Constitution which promises perfect freedom to all." Apart from a country being an integral part of a Constitution a conception which people below the degree of a duke might find it difficult to master, this is a rich joke indeed. "The promise of perfect freedom" is kept by enacting a stiffish Coercion Act in Ireland, and by doing without it in London and getting on pretty well by dint of open assault and robbery on the highway, backed up by drum-head court-martial afterwards.

By the way where is the Constitution and what is it? We hear a great deal of talk about it as a thing well known to all; but to most of us it keeps about as much out of the way as the sea-serpent. Perhaps the *Commonweal* might offer a prize for the solution of the above question—if we could only find judges to decide it.

Another of the infamous sentences of the courts of "justice" has fallen on Coleman—12 months' hard labour for asserting the freedom of the highway—the jury giving Edlin the opportunity by not appreciating at its due value the official evidence of the police, which has to be bolstered up by signs passing between the witness in the box and the coming witness. Unluckily, quite apart from the prejudice of a "respectable" jury, it has become the practice of juries simply to allow their ears to be tickled by the judges' summing-up, instead of carefully weighing the evidence themselves.

Trade is reviving—once more—perhaps. Or perhaps a ring or two are at work. Also, some person or persons interested, are working up the periodical war scare again; which is far enough advanced to have the honour of maps in the morning-papers with the position of the Russian troops marked in them. Meantime the revival has not reached everybody; "trade never so bad," is the usual answer of retailers to any questions on the subject.

The attack on M. Ferry is a droll affair—hit by three bullets and never a hole in him—what does it mean? Is he like Claverse and others in seventeenth century story, who had made a compact with the Devil and couldn't be pierced by any baser metal than silver? This would be rather suitable to his stockjobbing antecedents too.

Linnell's death is called, as one foresaw it would be, an "accident" by the bourgeois press. Just so accidents happen when a hundred men pull the triggers of a hundred rifles loaded with ball cartridge, and other men happen to be standing opposite to them. The general attitude of the press on this business is best characterised by the word *shabby*. The shabby dodge of reclaiming the body to prevent the funeral on the 11th! The shabby attempt to prove that Linnell drank, poor man! And again, in the case of Joseph Ellis, the harmless partyless man, the exultation of getting hold of a "Socialist leader!" Shabby! Shabby!! Shabby!!! One is ashamed of having such enemies.

They are terribly powerful, though, in spite of—or rather, because of—their shabbiness. As witness the above case of Joseph Ellis: that such a piece of malignant injustice could have been perpetrated without an outcry even from the shabby classes shows how strong they feel themselves. To pass by other matters in the case—e.g., the swearing through a brick wall, so familiar to us by now—let it be remembered that Ellis was charged with hurting Livingstone, and that he was obviously hurt with a *weapon*. Well, the jury, cowed and confused let us hope, by the style in which "justice" is administered in that court, bring in a verdict of guilty; but the muddled Britons say at the same time that he did not strike Livingstone with an instrument, but with his fist: which, since Livingstone was not struck with a fist but with a weapon, is tantamount to an acquittal. After which, Edlin (I regret to have to soil these pages with his name) sentences him to 'eight months' hard labour. This is what Palmerston's once famous "*Civis Romanus sum*" has come to! This is the protection of the law! Let us add as a crowning piece of shabbiness that the *LIBERAL Daily News* omitted in its report of the trial this quasi-acquittal of the jury.

Mr. Bradlaugh has been defending his conduct in Parliament before his constituents, who, it must be said, did not appreciate his reasons for voting against his colleague in the matter of cutting down the preposterous salaries of the successful lawyers called judges. He was in favour of women working at the pit brow, and thereby reducing the wages of the men of their own households; he is shocked at women being driven on the streets, but seemingly not so shocked at men knocking about the streets workless, which clearly must result in the women supplementing their scanty pay by street-walking. He objected to Land Nationalisation on the grounds that it must either be bought or stolen! Would he object to taking his fishing-boots back from a thief on the same grounds?

WILLIAM MORRIS.

"BROKEN CISTERNS."

(Continued from p. 395.)

CO-OPERATION next claims our attention. Here we have an attempt to reduce the evil of bad distribution and to some extent the evil of competition. In the distributive store they do undoubtedly succeed in both to a large extent. But when things get into shops it is too late to save the bulk of what the worker is robbed of. Co-operative production has been tried, but not often on a truly co-operative basis, in which those who work own all the capital. Mostly it is a system of joint-stock companies with small shares owned by working men instead of capitalists; others are simply factories owned by a co-operative society, in which the worker is in exactly the same position as in any other factory. The first form, in which the workers in any factory own all the capital and so get what profits there are, is the only one which can really solve any part of our social problem, and the chance of this form doing so is very small. The amount of capital required in many trades is so great per man that there is no chance of a sufficient number of working men being able to find it. And then comes even a greater difficulty; the competition prevents them getting a fair start.

I will not go over all the reasons why co-operative productive societies cannot compete with others, as they were given recently in this paper.

The only way in which we could imagine co-operation solving the problem would be in becoming in fact national co-operation or Socialism. Supposing co-operative production by some means yet to be discovered should be able to compete and drive out private firms, they would then compete amongst themselves, bringing many of the same evils that we have now. To do away with this, each trade would have to organise itself; all the workshops or factories in that trade would have to federate; but then each trade would become a monopoly, and there would still be the waste of the competition between the various trades which we saw above. To do away with these two evils the different trades would have to be federated, and the whole placed under the control of the people. Then we have Socialism, or at least a form of it. Hence we see that co-operation can only solve the difficulties for which we are seeking a cure by going on and becoming Socialism, and in this it differs from all the other means of improvement we have seen, that there is in co-operation a germ which it is possible to conceive might develop into a complete solution. But in co-operation with its present limited scope and tendency to profit-mongering, there is very little ground for hope that it will so develop; and even if the movement should be widened, the way of its development is barred by competition. It is a remedy which would be good if most of the evil could be cured before this was tried. If we could abolish some of the evils of competition then there might be a chance for it, but it has not the force to fight all the evils with which we are beset.

We have now reviewed all the chief remedies which are proposed and trusted in by the majority. There are a few minor ones, such as temperance and thrift, which, even if they produced the utmost effect hoped by their advocates, could only make poverty rather less severe; they do not touch at all the industrial evils; they are powerless to influence the growing uncertainty of employment, or the crises produced by so-called over-production.

This survey of the gods to which the modern world is trusting for deliverance calls to one's mind the words of the Old Book: "For my people have committed two evils: they have forsaken me the fountain of living waters, and hewed them out cisterns, broken cisterns, that can hold no water."

Truly we have forsaken the only principles upon which a happy society can be based—the principles of justice, freedom, and brotherhood—and having founded our system upon competition, injustice, selfishness, and theft, we in vain try to hew out such institutions as shall enable a happy society to exist upon such a basis.

I think it has been abundantly shown that nothing but a complete change of the basis of society will avail, and that those who continue to try and prop up society on its present basis without seeking entirely to change it, are, as it were, simply hewing broken cisterns which can hold no water. The Socialist, much abused for his unpractical views, stands forth, then, as alone proclaiming the absolute necessity for the complete change of basis, and it behoves all to examine carefully the change which he proposes, to see whether it will cure the present evils and also fulfil the needs of mankind. Now what are these needs?

First, probably, both in order of development and importance, is the need of social life and intercourse, which drew men together long before they had learnt that they could satisfy their other wants better when united. We need, then, a society in which there shall be the least possible hindrance to social intercourse, in which there shall be no artificial barriers raised to prevent men from sharing the love and intercourse of the spirits most congenial to their nature. Opposing interests must not divide men into antagonistic cliques and classes, thus very often separating those who could have enjoyed a wealth of social intercourse. Then a substantial equality of conditions is a requisite of all free and easy social intercourse. So much is this so, that even the love of lovers which is strong enough to brave social ostracism, to face the hardships of a comparatively poorer way of living, is seldom strong enough to overcome the insidious influence of the different conditions to which the two lovers have been accustomed. The number of tragedies which one sees resulting from the intermarriage of those who belong to classes whose wealth is greatly unequal, testifies at once to the power of inequality of conditions to break down

sympathy even where it has formed strongest, and also to the frequency with which such inequality separates those who would otherwise have been suited for mutual friendship or love. We saw in an earlier part of this article that substantial equality was necessary for the full development of the first want of man, the want of social intercourse with his fellows.

Man next needs from society an easier way of satisfying his material wants than he could use as an isolated individual. This to a large extent present society has found, but at present does not know how wisely to use. Then he needs that his portion of necessary work shall be as pleasant as possible to him, and this even if the time should have to be lengthened to allow it, for surely it were better to work five hours a-day at an occupation in such a way that they might be five hours of pleasure, than to work four hours under conditions which make them four hours of pain. To this end there must be the greatest freedom allowed to each individual in the choice of his work, so that he may choose the kind in which he can take most pleasure, and if this should result in the overcrowding of certain trades, there must be as far as possible compensation offered in those trades which by their nature cannot be made pleasant. Then there should be freedom to each to judge to some extent of the relative value of leisure and material wealth, so that one who might wish to live sparingly and have much leisure could do so, and one who might wish to have less leisure and more material wealth could also do so.

These are some of the needs of mankind; and we must first test the great change which the Socialists propose to make, by seeing if it promises to satisfy those needs better than the present system.

The change which the Socialist proposes is, in a few words, the abolition of private property in the means of production; and he thinks that upon the new basis of common ownership of the means of production, a society will arise whose guiding principles shall be, as the old popular cry has it, "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity." Freedom for the individual to develop his individuality to the greatest extent consistent with the same freedom to others. Equality of condition for all; equal chance for all to find the position in the economy of society unto which he was destined and for which he is best fitted. Brotherhood fostered by common interests, by work and consultation shared in by all, by hardships faced and pleasures enjoyed by all in common.

RAYMOND UNWIN.

(To be continued.)

PLAIN SPEAKING.

(To the Editor of the *Adelaide Commonwealth*.)

SIR,—I do not know you; I do not want to know you. I simply wish to point out to you how absurd it is your wasting your time and ability in advocating the rights of the whole community to the land in which they live. I am not going to discuss whether your views are right or wrong; that has nothing to do with the matter. You must remember that we, who have the money at our command, own not only the land but also all the other means of production and exchange. We have the daily press in our pay; the leading lawyers are retained in our favour the banks are our staunch supporters, in fact our fortresses. Through them we control the majority of the workers, even those who fondly imagine themselves to be independent and fairly well off. Independent! Why you, sir, must know how interdependent all of us are. And so long as we as a class can command possession of the soil, the mines, the water, and the greater part of the machinery and the money; which is, after all, simply a machine to facilitate the exchange of goods; so long we are the masters of the situation and the workers simply our slaves; slaves whom we keep to produce wealth for us. If it were not so the workers could daily in a very few hours produce all the wealth they want, and a long way more than they now get, or are likely to get. But you see they do not produce for themselves, but for us. So the longer they work and the more they produce, the more we take from them as rents, interest, or profits. This is a very good thing for us, and we shall maintain it as long as we can. And really, sir, you are quite helpless; you and your fellows can do nothing. You want a good substantial land tax, as you call it, but you won't get it. Why, all your politicians are opposed to it. Of course they are; those who do not yet belong to our class hope sooner or later to do so, and in the meantime we can put some good things in their way which enlists them on our side. A good substantial land tax, if imposed at once, would, indeed, weaken our power; it would lessen our hold of the soil, of the mines, etc.; and I know it is their possession which enables us to own and profitably manage for our benefit all other means of production. Do you think we are going to give up that which gives us our strength? Honesty, justice, and truth are very good expressions, and we often use them—on Sundays; but give me good commercial principles for our everyday life. We have the power, and intend sticking to it; we can invoke all the forces of the British Empire to assist us. We always stick together, you know, and we are good patriots. Must we fight? Oh, no! We can get plenty of men to do so for us at about one shilling a-day. So you see you can do nothing. We are the respectable classes; our politicians and our lawyers will always manage to deceive the majority of those you wish to help. Take my advice, my dear Mr. Editor, and don't bother about other people. Save all the money you can. Get it honestly, at all events legally. Invest it carefully and you will soon have plenty free slaves of your own working for you. You will not be called a slaveowner, but

A CAPITALIST.

There is no physical crime at this day so far beyond pardon, so without parallel in its untempted guilt as the making of war-machinery and invention of mischievous substance. We are so humane, forsooth, and so wise; and our ancestors had tar barrels for witches, we will have them for everybody else, and drive the witches' trade ourselves by daylight; we will have our cauldrons, please Hecate, cooled (according to the Darwinian theory) with baboon's blood, and enough of it, and sell hell-fire in the open streets.—J. Ruskin, '*Pers Clavigera*.'

A VOICE FROM AMERICA.

(Continued from page 394.)

THE TRIAL.

ON May 18th, the grand jury began the examination of witnesses. On the 25th, they indicted August Spies, Michel Schwab, the editors of the *Chicago Arbeiter Zeitung*, Albert R. Parsons, editor of the *Alarm*, Adolph Fischer, Samuel Fielden, George Engel, Louis Lingg, Oscar Neebe, Rudolph Schnaubelt, and Wilhelm Seliger for the murder of Mathias J. Degan and others, for conspiracy, riot, and unlawful assembly. Schnaubelt left the city and never returned. Parsons also left the town. Seliger turned informer, and was not included with the others. The trial was commenced before Judge Gary in the Criminal Court, June 21st, and the sensation of the day was the return and surrender of A. R. Parsons, who walked quietly into court and took his seat beside his indicted comrades. Twenty-one days were consumed in the effort to secure twelve men for the jury. The right of trial by an "impartial jury" is a constitutional provision. How "impartial" the jury was may be seen from the following status of juror No. 1:—

"In answer to questions which were permitted, he stated that he was prejudiced against Socialists, Anarchists, and Communists as a class. The rulings of the court, however, prevented inquiries as to whether that prejudice would influence his verdict, or the weight he would give to the testimony of the defendants, if they should be sworn, and to their witnesses, in his determination of the cause." Nine others admitted similar prejudices.

It is impossible to enter here into all the details of the trial, but no stone was left unturned to secure all possible evidence against the men. An informer piled up the agony to save his neck; police perjured themselves; witnesses were terrorised to speak against the men, etc., etc. One thing, however, is certain; that it has amply been proved during the trial that none of the accused either threw the deadly bomb or induced anybody to do so. In fact, who threw the bomb is to-day as much a mystery as it was on the 4th of May.

Judge Gary presiding at the trial, and Attorney Grinnell, competed with each other in their efforts to secure a verdict detrimental to the men. The sentence of death against seven, and imprisonment for fifteen years against Neebe, was passed on October 10th, 1886. The date fixed for execution was December 3. The same date on which John Brown was hanged twenty-seven years ago for trying to liberate the slaves. Efforts were made to obtain a stay of execution. This was granted on November 25th. An appeal was then made to the Supreme Court of Illinois. They gave judgment on Sept. 14th, 1887. Then an effort was made to secure a writ of error from the Supreme Court of the United States at Washington. On November 2nd, 1887, this Court declined to grant a writ of error. The day for the execution was fixed for November 11th, upholding the Chicago Court decision.

Nothing could save the men now but the Governor of Illinois. The capitalistic press and the police throughout the States howled for the blood of the men. From all parts of the country appeals were made to induce the Governor to pardon the men. The President of the Federation of Trades' Unions, and the Master Workman of the principal Districts of Knights of Labour went in person to the Governor; but all in vain. He commuted the sentence of Fielden and Schwab, but refused to do anything for the other five. They were doomed to swing. Oscar Neebe had already been taken to Joliet Prison to do his fifteen years.

SCENES IN PRISON.

The seven men were imprisoned in Cook County Jail, Chicago, a large gloomy brick structure, surmounted by a cupola. The office of the jailer opens by an iron-grated door into a large area enclosed in a strongly built iron frame, covered with closely woven heavy wire. This structure is called the "cage," and it is here that the visitors of the seven men came to see them. The prisoners were kept, however, in the jail proper, and communication had to be made through the narrow meshes of wire. The cells of the men were situated in the so-called "murderer's row" on the ground floor. The seven cells are in a line, and can be seen distinctly from the office. The wives and children spent the visiting hours every day with the husbands and fathers. They were admitted to the huge "cage" that rises into the air and covers the yard space, and through the wires of this screen they talked with the prisoners.

The following description was given in the press shortly before the murder was consummated:—

"Mrs. Fischer is a daily visitor. She is only twenty-seven years of age, and looks much younger. She knows nothing whatever outside of her three children and her household duties, and is at a loss to understand how her husband got into his present difficulty. The youngest child was born on the day after the sentence of death was passed upon his father.

"Schwab's wife is a tall, handsome woman, of good presence and commanding demeanour. She has two children. They accompany her to the "cage" to see their father, and console him. Mrs. Schwab has maintained a stoical air until the last few days. She has been unremitting in her attention to her husband, and has made every effort in her power to help the movements in his favour. The children are bright and pretty, and have always been well dressed. They are great favourites with the keepers, and have frequently been allowed to go within the jail itself. This is an unusual privilege, but has been accorded them because of their winning manners and intense love of

their fathers. That love is well returned. No man in this broad land is more attached to his children than Michael Schwab, the Anarchist.

"Mrs. Parsons is the other half of her husband. She shares his opinions, and has always taken part in his proceedings. She has two children. She spends little time in the prison, having business outside, but she is a good and attentive wife for all that. She sends the children to see the father, and has them kept with him during the permissible hours. Mrs. Parson's notion is that she can best serve her husband by continuing the work he had at heart, and when he has gone she will be solaced with the thought that she is doing as he would have wished.

"The very opposite to Mrs. Parsons is the wife of Fielden. She is a small woman, with a shy manner, and a nervous shrinking way. She is an English woman and very domestic. She has been brought up in an atmosphere of the strictest respect of law and order, and knows no more of the teachings of Anarchism than an unborn babe. It is thought that the hanging of her husband will be fatal to her. Her eldest child, Alice, is five years old, and very attractive, and when allowed to go behind the bars invariably goes up to her father's cell and ransacks his clothes for candy. Previous to his imprisonment, he was in the habit when returning from work of taking her candy or fruits and permitting her to hunt for it in his pockets. She still remembers it, and of course is too young to comprehend the change that has come. He is very fond of her, as well as his little boy, who bears his name, and who first saw the light on the day before Judge Gary pronounced sentence of death upon him.

"Engel has more callers than any of the others. This is due to his numerous family. He has a good many children, but they are grown up and mostly married. He has one single daughter, and she is at the jail every day. Engel is devotedly fond of her, and would do anything to escape for her sake. She is quite pretty and an immense favourite. It is whispered that she was engaged to be married, and that the match was broken off on account of her father's arrest. The young fellow belonged to a good family in Indiana, and they would not hear of his taking the Anarchist's daughter. The family are church-goers, and the man himself is said to be a type of his home. He was shocked at the notion of the arrest, but the sentence of death and the rest of it drove him completely off. The girl was very much in love with him, and the affair has completely ruined her life. She has no hope now but in her father's pardon, and at this hour that is the dimmest kind of a ray."

Louis Lingg was not married, but engaged to a young German girl who visited him daily.

August Spies at the time of the trial was also a single man. Nina van Zandt made his acquaintance while he was in jail; she learned to love him and married him by proxy. Nothing can be truer than that love levels all obstacles and lays the shepherd's crook beside the sceptre. There was not a more determined Anarchist than August Spies on the face of the globe a short year ago. He held his life like a feather, and had no other thought than the welfare of his kind. Heart and soul he went into the movement, and his energy and ability were devoted to it. His history in connection with the labour movement in Chicago is well known; his courage, his daring, his connection in the line of conduct he had marked out for himself, and yet this man so wrapped in a single thought signed a request for a pardon. Was that conviction? No. Was it a change of view? No. Was it because he feared death? No, a thousand times. It was because a woman's face had crept into his heart and taken possession of it. It was because that woman's face, that woman's love had banished every other resident from the citadel in which she had made her home, and henceforth she should rule supreme in that seat of love. Spies held back until the last moment. He would not even listen to those who begged him to try and help his case. He held that he was sacrificing himself in a good cause, and it was worth dying for the benefits that would accrue to others. When the sad fair face of Nina looked at him through the wires and her sweet voice pleaded for their happiness he capitulated, nor can we blame him, despite the apparent weakening it showed. Since then Spies has died like a true hero. He met his death as unflinching, as calm, as any of the other four.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

(To be continued.)

CLERICAL BIGOTRY AT LOWESTOFT.—Lowestoft is distinguishing itself by the uncompromising opposition of its local Tories to the Socialist propaganda, or even to discussing Socialism. The latest phase is as follows: The local branch of the Y. M. C. A. has a literary class, which was at one of its meetings to debate the question, "Would the adoption of Socialism benefit the working classes?" On hearing of this the Rev. T. A. Nash, president of the society, hastily called together the committee, for the purpose of taking prompt steps for stopping such a horrible design. All the parsons attended in force, full of pious lies about the unholy character of the subject, and of assertions that it was opposed to the teaching of the Bible, and was not at all fit for debate in a Christian association. After the experience which comrades Nicoll and Henderson had at this parson-and-tory-ridden town, it is no matter for surprise that the subject was not discussed in the Y.M.C.A. rooms. Perhaps the surprise might be shown on learning that the persons interested were able to hire a suitable room and hold their debate at all; but such was luckily the case. The *Hull Express* comments severely on the attitude of the parsons, and says, "It is interesting to reflect that the clergymen who thought Socialism an unfit subject of debate professed the faith whose earliest professors 'had all things in common.' Socialism, no doubt, may mean a great many things, which may or may not be for the good of mankind, but the term itself implies nothing more than that human society should be based more on the common good and less on private interest. We may call this a dream, but it is certainly not an ugly nor a bad dream."



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.

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

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

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

M. A. MALOY (Sheffield).—Your report cost us a penny, only a half-penny stamp being affixed to the envelope.

F.—The coincidence is as your friend says: the Illinois Conspiracy Law was passed on the anniversary of the signing of the Magna Charta, June 15—advance made in 672 years!

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday December 14.

ENGLAND		
Anarchist	Boston—Woman's Journal	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde
Jus	Chicago—Labor Enquirer	Liege—L'Avenir
London—Freie Presse	Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer	ITALY
Labour Tribune	Detroit (Mich.)—The Advance	Marsala—La Nuova Eta
Norwich—Daylight	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	Rome—L'Emancipazione
Railway Review	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	SPAIN
Worker's Friend	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	Madrid—El Socialista
	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Barcelona—Acracia
	Coast Seamen's Journal	GERMANY
NEW SOUTH WALES		
Hamilton—Radical	FRANCE	Berlin—Volks Tribune
	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	HUNGARY
	La Revolte	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
	Lille—Le Travailleur	ROUMANIA
	HOLLAND	Jassy—Lupta
	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Muncitorul
	Amsterdam—Voorwaarts	DENMARK
	BELGIUM	Social-Demokraten
	Seraing (Ougree)—Le Reveil	NORTH AFRICA
	Ghent—Vooruit	Tunis—L'Operaio
	Antwerp—De Werker	

THE CONSCIENCE OF THE UPPER CLASSES.

It seems to be universally admitted that the conference held on December 5th in the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, on the prevailing distress in London was the direct outcome of the unemployed agitation, for joining in which so many poor men have been sentenced with a spite at once so malignant and so petty that it fairly sickens an honest man to think of it. These rich and well-to-do persons were driven to meet together by a fear which I do not say they all felt in their own persons, but which is certainly permeating their class, a fear so easily aroused that a few hundred destitute, unarmed, peaceably behaved persons parading London streets could strike terror into the hearts of the well-to-do of the richest city of the most powerful empire in the world.

It is scarcely worth while to criticise the various schemes and opinions of the speakers at the meeting. In plain terms, the one person who said anything worth listening to was Cardinal Manning, and it is a curious sign of the times that a high official of the Catholic Church should give a lesson in sociology to Liberal and Radical politicians, humanitarian dissenting ministers, and professional philanthropists—the latter represented by Mr. Arnold White, who, one might think, would be glad, if he dared, to advocate a battue of the useless foreigners and quick-breeding Britons of London, after the fashion of the Spartan Helot-hunts.

Of the Cardinal it must be said that he showed none of that base and cowardly hatred of the degraded poor (the poor whose degradation is caused by the exclusive "refinement" of the rich) which is the ordinary feeling of the cultured classes, whether openly expressed or veiled under the pretext of poor-law-philanthropy. Said he: "Thirty years ago I went into places where it was said the police dared not go, and found them very harmless."

Again, as a Catholic prelate he was not concerned to support the cheerful commercial optimism (about other people's troubles) which is

the lining, so to speak, of the moral pessimism of the well-to-do; and he exposed their miserable evasion of setting down the greater part of the unemployed demonstrators as criminals and loafers, and roundly accused "society" of being responsible for their existence. Lastly he attacked, however mildly, the ferocity of the philanthropists about out-door relief. In fact it is clear that he could see nothing else for dealing with the present distress but that very out-door relief in some form or other, the horror of which a few years ago had established itself firmly in the hearts of all philanthropists as a kind of holy dogma not to be questioned; a piece of altruistic piety invented to take the place of the now obsolete "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you." There is a great deal of virtue in the Latinisation of an English word: A Gods' name (or the Other One's) don't "pauperise" people! But you may carefully keep them poor and feel none the worse for it!

The Cardinal wound up with what may be regarded as an official tag, about "voluntary agencies," and the necessity of "visiting the homes of the poor." This was what his office compelled him to say and need not be noticed, if it were not of value as showing that we must not reckon on real help from the Catholic clergy. All that can be expected of them is the administration of charity in its less insulting and kindlier form, and the occasional startling of smug respectability from its after-dinner doze by the enunciation of some obvious social truth, which the genuine Catholic, with his contempt of human life on the earth except as a preparation for another, non-human life, finds it easy to see; but which is quite strange to the commercial religionist engaged in saving his own soul in this world and the next at everybody else's expense.

For the rest nothing was proposed except a mere bundle of evasions of the fact that our system of production is breaking down into ruin through its own triumph. Whatever middle-class rule has put before itself as an aim it has won; but the well-being of the worker was never its aim and could not be; his endurance and quietude only has been aimed at. But since the middle-class ideal is that there should be widely-spread comfort for those living wholly or partly on the labour of others, while those *others* should not be so sorely pinched as to rebel or refuse to work, the safeguards against the ruin of the system of wage-slavery have been disregarded; especially the chief safeguard, the organisation of labour; the widening of the basis of spoliation by making it as easy as may be for the worker to pinch and screw himself out of his class into that of the robbers of labour, has been thought safeguard enough in this direction; but this safeguard is now yielding to the increase in the pace of competition; and we are face to face with the consequences of the wholesale waste of labour which is sure to happen in a society composed of rich and poor in an epoch well equipped with mechanical resources.

We have been forcing the great mass of the workers to make things of no use to the workers (or to any one else for that matter), and we have assumed that we shall always be able to find people willing to take these pieces of manufacture from us in exchange for food and other necessities which are produced by the workers, and not by the buyers of the useless things. When we come to think of the fact, that these buyers of inutilities have nothing to buy them with except the necessities which they steal from the workers, part of which they must dole out to them again as slave-rations under the modern name of "wages," one need be no longer astonished that the scanty and seemingly harmless gatherings of the unemployed should have frightened the class that owns "Society," and made them ask "What's to be done now?" They will not find an answer, though the answer will come; because any attempt they may make to limit the waste of labour will but act as a lever for the destruction of the Society which they are so eager to save.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

Jottings from the Bylaws of the Coast Seamen's Union of the Pacific Coast.

1. Be truthful and honest, generous and courageous. It is for these objects, also, that the Union is formed. Try and make yourselves MEN in every sense of the word.
2. Educate yourself on the Labour question, and try to become thoroughly acquainted with all the details of your occupation.
3. When on board, try to do your work *well*—first, because the better workman you are, the better man; second, because to be a Union man should be synonymous with being an able and ready seaman.
4. Avoid backbiting and jealousy of each other as the supremest curse. Nothing so quickly breeds discontent and division as these low vices. Either speak well of your brother or be silent.
5. Consider it an honour to be a Union man, and a dishonour to be a liar, gambler, scandal-monger and mischief breeder.
6. Do not permit any member of the Union in your hearing to prophesy evil or defeat of the Union, outside of the meetings.

SOCIALISM IN NEW SOUTH WALES.

SOME time ago we chronicled the formation of the Australian Socialist League; we are glad to be able to report now that much progress is being made, and that the movement promises well. The hon. sec. of the League is W. H. McNamara, 109 Castlereagh Street, Sydney, from whom its Manifesto and publications may be obtained. The following extract from the Manifesto shows its character:

"Labour being the creator of all wealth and civilisation, it rightfully follows that those who labour and create all wealth should enjoy the full results of their toil. . . . A just and equitable distribution of the fruits of labour is utterly impossible under the present system of society. This fact is abundantly illustrated by the deplorable condition of the working classes, which are in a state of destitution and degrading dependence in the midst of their own productions. While the hardest and most disagreeable work brings to the worker only the bare necessities of life, others who labour not riot in labour's production. The present industrial system of competition, based on rent, profit-takings, speculation, and interest, causes and intensifies this inequality, concentrating into the hands of a few all means of production, distribution, and the results of labour, thus creating gigantic monopolies dangerous to the people's liberties."

A leaflet of "Platform and Principles" has also been issued, which is calculated to do great good by its plain speaking.

"2. To uphold and maintain the principle of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. By liberty we mean 'the equal liberty of each, limited alone by the equal liberty of all.' By Equality we mean 'the equality of opportunity for each individual.' And by Fraternity we mean that principle which denies national and class distinctions, asserts the brotherhood of man, and says 'the world is my country.'"

"3. To endeavour to alter from its foundation the prevailing system of production and distribution; to seek to overturn the reign of Capitalism and Land-monopoly. The land, capital, machinery, factories, workshops, stores, means of transit, mines, banking, all means of production and distribution of wealth, must be declared and treated as the common property of all. Every man will then receive the full value of his labour, without deduction for the profit of a master, and as all will have to work, and the waste now incurred by the pursuit of profit will be at an end, the amount of labour necessary for every individual to perform in order to carry on the essential work of the world will be reduced to something like two or three hours daily; so that each person will have abundant leisure for following intellectual or other pursuits congenial to his nature."

"4. The regulation of all commercial transactions between individuals upon the just and equitable principle of making the cost to the seller the measure of price, or consideration, to the buyer or receiver; and not as at present making price dependant upon the incidental value of the commodity or service. In other words, to make all exchanges of wealth or service on the principle of equal labour for equal labour—time for time—cost for cost—burden for burden."

"5. To foster mutual confidence and fraternity amongst the working people of all ranks. To remove the elements of war; distrust and discord caused by competition for profits, and class exploitation of the workers. To abolish standing armies and all vestiges of militarism and coercive laws; the people themselves being the best defenders of their own rights, they therefore can decide on peace or war."

In Hamilton (N.S.W.) there is published a weekly paper called the *Radical*, which is much more worthy of the name than its London namesake, as it stays for no prejudice in advocating all-round social freedom. Its editor, W. R. Winspear, is manifestly not only an advanced politician, who is not afraid of the name of Socialist, but is also a well-read man and a smart writer. His paper should be a great power for good in Australian politics, where it is as much wanted as at home here, even if not more. It is cheering to note that the *Radical* and the Socialist League are doing all they can to help each other, and while the following statement of what the paper opposes remains true, we do not see that the League can do much better, until it has an organ of its own:

"The *Radical* opposes Imperial Federation; imperial titles and distinctions; all expenditure for war purposes, the maintenance of standing armies or navies for providing royal or aristocratic sinecures; all pensions to previously well paid officials, or grants of large sums of money to played out politicians; all expenditure for a second chamber composed of foolish old men chosen by foolish old premiers; all expenditure of public monies upon the property of private individuals, to the detriment of public property; all expenditure of public money for the aggrandisement of any sect or creed; all compensation for land resumption, unless in cases where the improvements of the owner are involved; the present system of election on different days, because we believe the elections should all take place on one day; the present distribution of power among merchants, squatters, and lawyers, because labour should have the bulk of legislative power; we are opposed to the protection which is now afforded the capitalist, for we believe the transgressor should be met with the strong arm of Justice, whether he be manager, miner, or councillor."

Now that Australia has the unemployed, a *real* Radical paper, and the "damned Socialists," it will begin to be probable that it will not be so much praised as a paradise for workers, in which milk and honey flows all day and discontent is unknown. The privileged classes there are viewing the progress of affairs with alarm, and ominous mutterings are heard every other while from what our American comrades call the "reptile press," that are pleasant-sounding to Socialist ears. S.

A Reuter's telegram from Berlin dated December 7th states that private advices from Moscow report that during the last few days a large number of pupils of the high schools have been arrested on a charge of being concerned in revolutionary plots.

CIGAR-MAKING MACHINE.—For years the employers in the cigar trade have endeavoured to supplant manual labour, but notwithstanding the many attempts, they have, up to the present time, failed. Now, however, a machine has just been introduced into a union shop in Tottenham Court Road, which promises to be successful in the manufacture of cigars.—H. D.

CARDINAL MANNING AND THE UNEMPLOYED.—By the directions of Cardinal Manning a circular letter appealing for alms on behalf of the poor was on Sunday read in all the Catholic churches in the Archdiocese of Westminster, and a collection for the same purpose was made at the different services. At the Pro-Cathedral, Kensington, his Eminence supplemented this appeal by a personal entreaty.

"DO" OR BE "DONE"!

(ONE WAY OF REFORMING SOCIETY.)

1.

It was a young capitalist,
From Oxford fresh he came;
To start himself in business,
And gain an honest name;
He took a conscience with him, which
He should have left at home—
He would not do as Rome did,
And yet he went to Rome.

2.

It was a weary bankrupt
That trudged from Rome one day,
But what to Rome is a broken heart—
He passed unseen away;
He left his cash behind him,
His conscience he took home—
He would not do as Rome did—
So he was "done" at Rome.

T. MAGUIRE.

LITERARY NOTICES.

Chapman and Hall announce the issue of some of the most popular of Carlyle's works, in volumes of 1s. each, bound in red cloth, crown 8vo., to begin with the 'French Revolution' (3 vols.) and 'Sartor Resartus,' which will be followed by 'Heroes and Hero Worship' and 'Past and Present.'

'Tory and Socialist' (Shrimpton, Oxford, 3d.) is a neatly-written pamphlet "by an Oxford Undergraduate," the keynote of which is in its closing words: "Is it not possible that Socialists may find in Tories their best friends, and that in aiding Socialists, Tories will be holding out the right hand of fellowship to men who are willing and eager to preserve the ancient greatness of our country as resolutely as themselves?"

'The Road to National Prosperity' (H. Campkin, 272, St. Ann's Well Road, Nottingham; 6d., by post, 7½d.) is a really admirable pamphlet addressed by a workman to working-men. The author is not a "full-blown" Socialist, but is not far off. It is well worth reading, and should command a large sale. S.

AUGUST VINCENT T. SPIES.

AUGUST VINCENT THEODORE SPIES was born December 10, 1855, at Friedewald, Kurhessen (Province Hesse-Nassau since 1866), Germany. His father was a forester (government official). He received his early education from private tutors, who prepared him for the Polytechnicum, which he attended for one year. He then began to study forestry, having chosen his father's profession. He was unusually bright, and made quite a reputation for himself among his schoolmates. When but fourteen years old he had read the great German classics, and even parts of Kant's and Hegel's philosophy; before that he had already become a religious sceptic. His philosophical disposition was so manifest that his father named him "the dreamer." At the age of seventeen, owing to the sudden death of his father, he abandoned his studies, they being too expensive to continue, and went to America, where a number of wealthy relatives were living. So far from being a Socialist at this time, he was an enthusiastic admirer of Bismarck and "Old William." He knew nothing about Socialism, except what he had read about it in the newspapers during the Paris Commune—namely, that it meant an equal distribution of property: too preposterous a thing, as a matter of course, to be deserving of the least consideration. His relatives in New York advised the youth to learn a trade, and he chose the furniture business (upholstery). He did not remain in New York very long, but went to Chicago, where he lived since October 1872. One year of this time, however, he spent in the country, working on a farm, with the intention of becoming a farmer. Finding that the small farmers, and particularly the renters, were systematically robbed of their labour by the mortgage fiend, railroad and other sharks, and that they were made homeless and driven from the soil, which they had by hard labour transformed from prairie into cultivated acres, he returned to the city and engaged in the furniture business for himself. Prior to this, however, he travelled through the northern and southern States to see and study land and people. He first became acquainted with Socialistic literature in 1876; the events of 1877 made him an avowed Socialist. He studied the great German, French, and English writers and thinkers upon the subject (among them Marx and the social historians Buckle and Morgan), and in 1878 he became connected with the Socialistic Labour Party. In 1880 he was called to take the management of the daily *Arbeiter Zeitung*, then on the verge of bankruptcy. He succeeded in saving the paper, and a year later was entrusted with the editorial management, in which position he remained until arrested after the Haymarket occurrence. In 1879 and '80 he was a candidate on the Socialistic ticket. But later his views regarding the practicability of "political action" changed. He believed that only on the economic battlefield could the great issue between the producer and the product-monger, between the wage-slave and his fleecer be settled. He became an Anarchist. For further particulars we would refer the reader to 'August Spies' Autobiography' (price 25c.), published by Nina Van Zandt-Spies, Chicago, Ill.

THE LONDON TRADES' COUNCIL AND THE PRINCE OF WALES.—The report has been contradicted that at the meeting of Mr. George Shipton and the Prince of Wales in the East End, overtures were made to the Prince of Wales to preside at a meeting of the "genuine" unemployed to be held in Trafalgar Square. What the conversation turned on was the representative character of the London Trades Council, which it was explained embraces 61 societies representing 25,615 members. The Council feels itself able to deal with the unemployed question without appealing direct to the Prince of Wales. Full particulars of the action of the Council and the unemployed will appear in the next annual report.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

DURHAM MINERS.—Troubles have arisen between masters and men at Ryhope and Wingate Collieries, concerning the imposition of tub-loading on Sundays at the first-named, and an extra night shift at the other. The men have ceased work, and nearly 4,000 hands have been thrown idle.

DOCKYARD WORKMEN.—The reductions which were being made wholesale some time ago, and which were stopped owing to the pressure brought to bear by the constituencies on the local members, are being revived, and it is reported that the staff at the Sheerness Dockyard will be largely reduced. Two hundred men are to be shortly discharged.

LEEDS TAILORING TRADE.—On Saturday last, a meeting of the unionist and non-unionist Jewish machinists took place for the purpose of inducing the non-unionists to become members of the Machinist Society. About 600 persons attended, and there seems every likelihood of a sound organisation resulting from it. The question of a Federation of Machinists, Tailors, and Pressers was also discussed.

WEST CUMBERLAND IRONWORKERS.—The ironmasters of the West Cumberland district held a meeting at Workington last Friday, and decided, in consequence of the advance in the price of iron to 46s. 9d. per ton, to withdraw the notice of a reduction of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in the blast furnacemen's wages. This will prevent the expected lock-out of several thousand men, and has given general satisfaction.

AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS.—The agricultural labour market in Yorkshire continues much depressed, and it is many years since there was such a large number of yearly servants disengaged. The country market places are crowded each market day with men and youths seeking situations, but the supply is greatly in excess of the demand. Many of these farm hands will be idle, it is said, until about February.

An Essex rector calls attention to the very low wages for agricultural labour paid in his district. The wages do not exceed 10s. a-week, and on wet days the labourer has nothing. One man, who had been idle two days on account of the inclemency of the weather, went home on Saturday with 6s. 8d. in his pocket for his wife and family.

REDUCTION OF CATHEDRAL OFFICIALS' WAGES.—Owing to the falling off in their revenues by reason of the depression in agriculture, the Dean and Chapter of Peterborough have reduced the salaries of the cathedral officials. The reduction is at the rate of 10 per cent., and applies to all the officials, from the minor canons down to the vergers. The salaries of the dean and the canons had been previously reduced. The ecclesiastical employes will find some consolation in the figures of Goschen and Co., which prove that as prices have fallen and the commodities are cheaper, it is possible to manage with much less wage, if not without wage at all. The depression has not yet affected the "moderate stipend" of the Archbishop of Canterbury and other "big guns."

GLASGOW UNITED TRADES COUNCIL.—This council met last week, when a subscription from the Glassmakers Society for Broxburn miners was acknowledged. The delegate from the steel-smelters stated that the late attempted reduction had been a failure, that in some classes of work a rise had been obtained, and he was happy to say that the result had been much to the benefit of the society as regarded numbers. It was agreed to issue a circular to all the trades councils in the kingdom in connection with the importation of labour, as resolved on by the council at its last meeting, as it was thought to be a much wider question, affecting other districts as much as it did at the works of Messrs. Merry and Cuninghame.

MINERS' MEETING AT HEDNESFORD.—On Thursday evening, a mass meeting of miners was held in the Market Hall, Hednesford. The chair was occupied by Mr. P. F. O'Kelly. Mr. A. Stanley, miners' agent for the district, proposed, "That in the opinion of this meeting it is essentially necessary that all men employed in and about mines should become thoroughly organised in order to obtain fair wages, just weights, better legislative protection, and further by combined action, to help on reform so much needed by a radical reform of the land laws, the abolition of royalty rents, the reduction of railway rates and the amendment of the Employers' Liability Act; and to secure these and kindred objects we pledge ourselves to join the Cannock Chase Miners' Association." Mr. W. Kibble seconded the resolution, and Mr. W. E. Harvey, miners' agent for Derbyshire, supported the resolution in a vigorous address urging the necessity of organisation. The resolution was carried unanimously.

PLUMBERS' STRIKE IN HULL.—The local branch of the Operative Plumbers' Association objected to the employment by a Mr. Wells of a non-society man, and he was requested to dismiss him, which he refused to do. The whole of the society hands in Mr. Wells' employ thereupon "turned out," and left him with only the one non-society man referred to. Mr. Wells then brought the matter under the notice of the master plumbers of the town, and after due consideration of the matter they decided to formally notify to the Operatives' Society that unless they withdrew their action in regard to Mr. Wells, no society man would be employed in any of their shops. One week's notice was given to the society, and the week having elapsed without any reply being received, the whole of the employers, acting in combination, discharged the society hands in their employ, and are now engaging non-society men in their place.

THE THAMES SHIPBUILDERS.—Mr. R. Knight, the general secretary of the Boilermakers and Shipbuilders Society, in his monthly Report, says: "The report from our Hull district is not very cheering, but our members may soon be agreeably surprised to find that there are orders in the office. The Thames district is just now passing through a period of deep and exceptional depression, and consequently great distress exists amongst the workmen, many of whom are, without exaggeration, on the verge of starvation. Winter is upon us, and unless matters improve very shortly the outlook will indeed be a gloomy one. The East India Docks, which are usually scenes of great activity, are almost bare. Blackwall is also in a similar condition, this generally busy neighbourhood being now quite silent. At Messrs. Samuda's yard, which formally gave employment to between 2,000 and 3,000 men, there are hardly 20 men at work. The Blackwall yard is closed."

NOTTINGHAM COLLIERS.—The colliers of Nottinghamshire are practically agreed as to demanding an increase of wages equal to 10 per cent. all round. About 650 men employed at Clifton Colliery, Nottingham, on Tuesday night determined to strike unless the increase be conceded. They also demand an extra 25 per cent. yardage. On Thursday before the Nottingham Borough Bench, Mr. Marriott, solicitor, applied on behalf of the colliery company for

summonses against John Price and sixty other men, for leaving work without notice, damages being claimed. Friday December 9th, being pay-day at the colliery, the men went as usual to draw their wages in the afternoon. They found the office guarded by a strong body of police, and a notice displayed in the window to the effect that certain of the men would not be paid pending the decision of the magistrates with regard to the summonses issued for leaving work without notice. The odd men, top men, and lads were paid as usual, but the coal-getters, that is, the stallmen and holers, were disappointed and received no pay. The miners displayed no ill-feeling at this unexpected treatment, but a committee meeting was held during the evening and the men confirmed their previous resolution to remain firm.

THE SCOTCH CROFTERS.—The Crofters' Commission in Caithness has been cutting down rents with an unsparing hand. In many cases the rents have been reduced 50 per cent., and in some 65 per cent. The arrears cancelled in some cases go up to 72 per cent., and even 82 per cent. of the whole. An evening paper pertinently enquires: "What becomes now of the professions of the Highland landlords that they treated their small tenants with such generosity and kindness that no Crofters Act was required?" A correspondent of the *Glasgow Weekly Mail* gives an account of the condition of the crofters of the Lewis, where measles and starvation are now prevalent. He says: "In twenty houses there was not sufficient meal to make gruel for persons suffering from the measles! And this on an estate yielding a rental close on £20,000 a year to the Matheson family! Should I not also add—and this in a Christian land!" It is said that the Secretary for Scotland has written that it is his intention to introduce into Parliament next Session a Bill for the purpose of enabling the Government to assist the Highland crofters to emigrate. This generous offer to revive the Botany Bay trade is not likely to be accepted. At the last meeting of the crofters it was resolved to defend the inalienable rights of the Highland race to live and thrive in the land of their birth.

NORTHAMPTON.—STRIKE IN THE SHOE TRADE.—Dec. 8.—The distress in Northampton in consequence of the shoe strike is becoming great. Yesterday morning between 400 and 500 children were breakfasted at two cafés by an anonymous gentleman, and Mr. William Cooper, a local fishmonger, distributed gratis to women 2 tons 3 cwt. of fish, thus providing a meal for 1000 families. The scene on the Market Square was extraordinary—women fainting and children shrieking. The Mayor has opened a public subscription fund. On the 9th inst., at the adjourned conference, an arrangement was proposed to be submitted for confirmation to the general body of unionists. The masters' statement of wages were to be temporarily accepted, subject to revision where proved unfair. The proposal for a standard case of boots was abandoned, and all disputes were referred to reorganised arbitration. On the 12th, the strike which was expected to speedily terminate, was intensified by the collapse of the conference between the representatives of the masters and men, the masters refusing 5½d. on youths. The men decided to leave the masters to determine whether arbitration shall be resorted to. The distress is getting great. Kettering and other towns are sending supplies, and the appeal for subscriptions and support is being liberally responded to. Dec. 14.—Last night the Northampton Boot and Shoe Manufacturers' Association passed a resolution to the effect that all men may return to work immediately, and that the disputed question of wage prices for different boots shall be referred to arbitration.

FREE COMPETITION WITH THE LEICESTERSHIRE MINERS.

The issue of the *Commonweal* for Nov. 26th contained a paragraph that "at every colliery in Leicestershire, with the exception of one, the men are handing in their notices for an advance in wages." This was not quite correct, as only at four collieries were notices given; the recalcitrants being Ibstock, Bagworth, and Ellistown. On the 24th ult., the masters met the representatives of the men at the South Leicestershire Hotel, with a view of coming to some settlement. The chairman, Mr. J. P. White, a coal proprietor, of course indulged in the well-worn arguments about supply and demand, smoothed over with expressions of sympathy for the men, and ended with the usual crowning absurdity that the interests of the masters and men are identical. All this, however, is so commonplace as to be unworthy of notice. The men based their claim for increased wages on the fact that the price of house coal had been recently advanced, but all the coal owners present were pretty unanimous in their assurances that no such advance had taken place. The meeting broke up without any decision being arrived at, and it was adjourned to the following Monday. Meantime, a letter, signed "Coal Merchant," appeared in the local press, directly giving the lie to the coal-owner's statements, and deliberately affirming that house coal had recently been advanced from 6d. per ton on common sorts to 1s. per ton on better sorts. No answer was made by the coal-owners to this letter, and at the adjourned meeting the report merely stated that the chairman "dealt with the letter." At the second meeting, another argument used by the chairman was, that if the collieries advanced prices all their London trade would leave them. Now at other times, when the men have been asking for an advance on the ground that London prices had risen, the same chairman has replied that London trade affected them in no way as they sent so small a quantity there. The men were so influenced by these tactics, and by other considerations, that they eventually consented to withdraw their notices, and the movement ended in a collapse, although there was little doubt that the masters would have yielded sooner than have had a strike.

Let us consider the reasons for the surrender by the men. First and foremost comes their utter lack of effective organisation, as instanced by their waiting till the winter was well on instead of agitating in October. The miserable wage they have so long been receiving has prevented them from accumulating the smallest fund in hand. Then their difficulties are increased by the fact that at one of the largest collieries in the district, Ellistown, the coal is easier to win, and also that this colliery, for numerous reasons, manages to sell its coal better than its neighbours, thus giving the men employed there more regular work and rendering them unwilling to join their more unfortunate brethren. This, no doubt, was a main cause of the collapse. Then, too, there are a great many more men than can find regular employment, and as it answers a colliery's end better to work say two and a-half days per week with 500 men than five days per week with 250 men, it follows that the whole 500 are employed half-time on the barest subsistence wages. Amongst so many there must be always black sheep, and the masters find no difficulty in bribing some to attend the men's meetings and to report to them afterwards—the reward being that no matter what happens the spies

are always safe from discharge and the best stalls are kept open for them. Thus the masters being few are able to keep their intentions secret, whilst those of the men are always known to the masters. The masters have another little game, and one which is now being played in Nottinghamshire. If an agitation for better wages is going on, the output of coal is limited by the masters notwithstanding a good demand. Then, when the day comes for the meeting between masters and men, the latter are told that, as they can see for themselves, trade is very bad and does not warrant any increase in wages.

The above simple statement of facts will suffice to show how the men are juggled into living a fearful life of slow starvation. On the one hand there are the few, unscrupulous, wealthy, cunning, and combined; on the other there are the many, simple, poor, ignorant, and disorganised; and thus, according to Mazzini, goes on "war between individuals in economy, under the name of free competition—FREE competition between those who have nothing and who work for their livelihood, and those who have much and seek a superfluity!"

X. Y. Z.

AMERICA.

The eviction cases brought by the Stout Coal Company, of Milnesville, Pa., against their striking miners, were decided in favour of the latter this morning. Judge Woodward granted a rule to strike off all judgments entered by the company for dispossessing the striking tenants. The men will, under these rulings, hold possession of their houses during the remaining time of the strike, and cannot be evicted. There is great rejoicing throughout the valley over this victory.

Contributions are coming in freely into the Lehigh Valley coal region, and the strikers are feeling consequently stronger.

The strike and lock-out of 5,000 shoemakers at Philadelphia, which began October 18th, practically ended November 21st, when a large number of the hands went back to work as individuals. The bosses were entirely successful.

The new scale of wages for the steel-workers, adopted this week and to be shortly presented to the manufacturers to be signed, provides for an advance of about 10 per cent. in wages all round.

The low stage of water in the Monongahela Valley has affected mining in that section. As coal mining is the leading industry of the valley and this is checked by the low water, the outlook is said to be very bad. Not one coal boat has left Pittsburgh since June 20th. There are between 7,000 and 8,000 miners in the Monongahela Valley, and a large number of these are and have been for some time, practically without work.

The Rochester printer's strike was officially declared off on November 19. It was a failure.

The printer's strike at Chicago practically ended on November 18, a victory for the bosses.

The Worcester Bessemer Steel Works shut down on November 18, owing to a refusal of the men to accept 10 per cent. reduction in wages.

About 3,000 brewery hands are expected to strike next week.

The coal-miners' strike in Alabama is expected to extend to very large dimensions.

LIST OF STRIKES FOR NOVEMBER 18 to 25.

Number of strikers, November 1 to 18	11,930
Wellsburgh, W. Va.—Labourers in paper mill, against extra work, November 18	—
Norristown, Pa.—Cigar-makers, for advance, November 14	—
Birmingham, Ala.—Coal miners at Coalburg mines, against system of wages docking, November 16	200
Houston, Tex.—Switchmen on Southern Pacific Railroad, for advance in wages, November 16	150
Worcester, Mass.—Bessemer Steel Works employes, against 10 per cent. wages reduction, November 18	400
Cincinnati, Ohio.—Blacksmiths in carriage factory	—
Cincinnati, Ohio.—Shoemakers, for higher wages, November 17	8
Sharon, Pa.—Coal miners, for Columbus scale, November 21	500
New York city.—Waiters in public garden, unionism	8
Richmond, Me.—Lasters, for increase in wages, November 23	—
Reading, Pa.—Stonecutters, unionism, November 23	12
Pittsburgh, Pa.—Iron-mill puddlers, against poor materials furnished, November 23	100
Dover, N. H.—Shoe-lasters, for higher wages, November 17	10
Holbrook, Mass.—Shoe-healers, for higher wages, November 21	3
West Dorset, Vt.—Marble quarriers, against employment of non-union men, November 19	—
San Antonio, Tex.—Switchmen on Southern Pacific Railroad, sympathy with Houston strikers, November 21	—
Total known from November 1 to 25	13,209

New York, November 29th, 1887.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

ITALY.

La Nuova Eta says: "Thanks to the new penal code the Cipriani question seems finally to be reaching its solution. It is indeed time, for every one knows the injustice from which the convict of Porto Longone has suffered, and his transformation into a free citizen is imperatively demanded by all honest men. Well-known jurisconsults of the Italian forum have given their favourable decision; Professor Lucchini, of the Bolognese Athenæum, who is in the first ranks of legal specialists, in the *Revista Penale* of the present year speaking of a little pamphlet by the Advocate Augusto Santini in defence of the rights of Cipriani, says that 'the said pamphlet renders easy the solution of the Cipriani difficulty, placing it in a practical and legal light, of which until now the public had been unaware.' Thus it is to be hoped that truth and justice will triumph."

The busy speculation of Roman builders has created a crisis in the building trade in this city. Newly erected houses stand empty, folk being too poor almost to pay for the hatches they already crowd together in, much less to move into new ones; there is a lull in work, and some thousands of men thrown on the street. Costa, Maffi, and Armirotti presented a note to the Camera on the building crisis and raised the question, which, after a certain amount of discussion, was on a motion of the On. Crispi, "adjourned for six months." One admires the charming indifference of our rulers and legislators and representatives to the well-being of those whom they profess to represent and for whom they profess to legislate.—M. M.

THE LATEST DECALOGUE.

[ARTHUR HUGH CLOUGH, d. 1861.]

- I. Thou shalt have one God only; who Would be at the expense of two?
- II. No graven images may be Worshipped, except the currency.
- III. Swear not at all; for, for thy curse Thine enemy is none the worse.
- IV. At church on Sunday to attend Will serve to keep the world thy friend.
- V. Honour thy parents; that is, all From whom advancement may befall.
- VI. Thou shalt not kill; but need'st not strive Officiously to keep alive.
- VII. Do not adultery commit; Advantage rarely comes of it.
- VIII. Thou shalt not steal; an empty feat, When it's so lucrative to cheat.
- IX. Bear not false witness; let the lie Have time on its own wings to fly.
- X. Thou shalt not covet; but tradition Approves all forms of competition.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

LEAGUE LECTURERS AND THEIR SUBJECTS.

- ALLMAN, JAMES.—Production and Distribution—The Unemployed—Methods of Extortion.
- BARKER, H. A.—Socialistic Morality—The Arts of Peace—The Condition of the Working Classes—Evolution and Socialism—The Aims of Socialists—The Rights of Labour.
- DAVIS, H.—The Modern Trinity: Land, Labour, and Capital—The Survival of the Fittest.
- LANE, JOSEPH.—Different Schools of Socialistic Thought—Poverty: its Cause, Result, and Cure—The National Loaf, who Earns and who Eats it—Lessons from Trafalgar Square—Will Land Nationalisation alone Benefit the People?—Capitalistic Morality *versus* Socialistic Morality—Socialistic Morality—Socialistic Experiments and their Results.
- KITZ, FRANK.—Lessons from the Lives of Famous Working Men—A glance at Irish History—Criminal Classes High and Low.
- MORRIS, WILLIAM.—True and False Society—Dawn of a New Epoch—Socialism: the End and the Means—Monopoly—What Socialists Want—The Society of the Future—Origins of Ornamental Art—Art and Industry in the Fourteenth Century.
- MAINWARING, S.—Law and Liberty—Reform and Revolution.
- NICOLL, D.—The Charms of Civilisation—Law and Order—Our Political Parties—The Benevolent Bourgeois—The Signs of the Times.
- PARKE, W. B.—What the Workers Want: How to get it—Objections to Socialism—Absolutism, Monarchism, Socialism.
- SAMUELS, H.—Carlyle's 'Sartor Resartus'—Socialism and Force—State Interference.
- SPARLING, H. HALLIDAY.—The Blind Samson—Podsnappery—The Delights of Laziness—Commercial Cannibalism—The Iron Law of Wages—Wilful Waste and Woful Want—Life under Socialism—Health and Wealth—The Labour Struggle—The Latter-day Devil.
- TOCHATTI, J.—Human Nature and Socialism.
- WADE, W. C.—England in the Fifteenth Century and Now—The Cry of the Children—Brotherhood.
- UTLEY, W. H.—The Meaning of Socialism—Freeing the Debtors—Rent, Interest, and Profits—Socialist Politics—The Evolution of Society—The Gospel of Socialism.

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.

Strike Committee.—In future this committee will meet at the offices of the League at 8 p.m. on Saturdays.—J. LANE, Sec.

BRANCH SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID.

Mitcham, Walsall to July 31. Bloomsbury, Leicester, Hammersmith, Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Hull, Mile End, Wednesbury, to September 30. Clerkenwell, Oxford, to October 31.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Weekly Subscriptions—W. B., 6d.

Fund for the Provision of the Wives and Families of the Martyred Anarchists.

Ernest Ranger, 2s. 6d.; H. J., 1s. H. HALLIDAY SPARLING, Treasurer.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE will take part in the funeral of Linnell on Sunday next, starting (preceded by a brake) from Clerkenwell Green, and proceeding direct to the Thames Embankment and there falling in with the general procession

REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—On Thursday, December 8, at 8.30, Spencer Howell lectured to the branch on "Educate, Agitate, Organise." It was decided to send a deputation of women members to place a wreath on Linnell's coffin.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, Dec. 7th, Edward Aveling lectured on "Despotism from a Socialist Standpoint." On Sunday, H. A. Barker on "The Condition of the Working-classes." Good discussions and audiences.—B.

FULHAM.—In spite of weather usual meeting held at Walham Green, Tochatti speaking. In evening at new station in Dawes Road, good meeting addressed by C. Smith, Tochatti, and Groser. Some opposition easily disposed of. Two new members made.—G.

GLASGOW.—General meeting of members held on Sunday. Arrangements made for putting the finances of the branch on more satisfactory basis. Weather prevented outdoor propaganda. In evening our members went to hear comrade Rev. John Glassey on "The Ethics of Socialism."—J. A.

LEEDS.—Paylor and Hill spoke in Vicar's Croft on Sunday morning. In evening, Braithwaite lectured on "Socialism and Co-operation." Two new members.—T. P.

SOUTH SUSSEX.—Weekly meeting was held at a member's house on Sunday night at Bexhill-on-Sea. League 'Manifesto' discussed, and question of local education in Socialist principles considered. The present members are deeply interested in the movement, and it is hereby asked that detached comrades in this neighbourhood will join us at once, or help in cost of distribution of literature, which will necessarily be our principal method of propaganda for the present.—LEONARD HALL, Wratten House, Bexhill.

WALSALL.—Monday, Donald addressed meeting on the Bridge, and afterwards lectured indoors on "What Socialists Want" to a good audience, his remarks meeting with entire approval; Lamsdale in the chair. Good meeting addressed by Sanders Saturday evening.—J. T. D.

SHEFFIELD SOCIALISTS.—On Monday evening, December 5th, at 8 o'clock, at the Commonwealth Café, Scotland Street, M. A. Maloy lectured on "Force no Remedy" to a rather large and very intelligent audience, who listened with close attention for 40 minutes, after which Messrs. Story, Daniels, Godley, Palfriman, and others took part in the discussion, which was both interesting and instructive.—M.

JUNIOR SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY.—Preliminary meeting held last Saturday evening to consider formation of this society. There was a fair attendance, mostly of young members of the League. Business of evening was drawing up of rules; as opinion was divided with regard to one rule in particular, a full report delayed until after next meeting, at which the rule in question will be brought forward for further discussion. As I am under notice to quit this address—rather sudden notice—owing to its being used for Socialist purposes, my friend, at whose rooms the meeting takes place, desires me to withhold the address. Therefore, I should be only too pleased to send a post-card with particulars to any desirous of attending our meeting next Saturday evening. The business will, I think, be opened by comrade T. Wardle, who will read a paper on "Value." It is earnestly hoped that as many young Socialists who can make it convenient to attend will endeavour to do so.—W. H. SPENCER-HOWELL, 42, Howland Street, Fitzroy Square, W.

Scottish Land and Labour League.

EDINBURGH.—Gilray lectured on 4th and Mahon on 11th in Trades' Hall. On 8th, C. W. Tuke resigned the secretaryship on account of pressure of private business. J. H. Smith elected in his place.

Notice to Branches of the S.L.L.L.

Branches desiring literature apply to D. K. Mackenzie, librarian, 137 Pleasance, Edinburgh. Remittances must be sent with orders.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, W. Thursday December 15, at 8.30, Walker will lecture on "The Unemployed." Dec. 22, Business meeting at 8.30.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7. Sunday December 18, at 8.30, George Bernard Shaw (Fabian), a lecture. Wednesday 21, no lecture.

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

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

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday December 18, at 8 p.m. William Morris, "The Present Outlook in Politics." No lecture on the 25th.

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—C. J. Young, 8 Dunloe Street, Hackney Road, Secretary. Concert and Draw on January 14. Tickets ready. (See Special Notice.)

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.

Arbroath (Scot. Sect.).—High Street Hall. Meeting Friday evenings. W. Smith, 12 Maule St., secy.

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).—Secretary pro tem., D. M'Dougal, East Path.

Cowdenbeath (Scot. Sec.).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., secy.

Dublin.—Saturday Club, Central Hall, 12 Westmoreland Street, every Saturday at 8 p.m. Free debates on Social and Political subjects. All friends invited.

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.

Galashiels (Scot. Sect.).—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., secy.

Gallatoun and Dysart (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatoun Public School.

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 18, H. H. Champion in Grand Hall, Waterloo Rooms, at 7 p.m.—subject, "What Socialists Want." Admission 3d., 6d., and 1s. Dec. 25, General meeting of Branch—a large attendance is earnestly requested.

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.

London.—Sunday Dec. 18, at 7.30 p.m. T. Paylor, on "The Future of Radicalism."

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 Sundays 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.—Temperance Hall. Meets every Monday.

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

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 18.

11 ...Starch GreenHammersmith Branch
11 ...Walham GreenThe Branch
11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.Parker
11.30...Hackney—Salmon and Ball ...Samuels & Cores
11.30...Merton—Haydons RoadThe Branch
11.30...Mitcham Fair GreenThe Branch
11.30...Regent's ParkDavis
11.30...St. Pancras ArchesBartlett
3 ...Hyde ParkThe Branch
7 ...Stamford HillParker
7 ...Clerkenwell GreenBrookes

Wednesday.

8 ...Broadway, London FieldsThe Branch

Thursday.

8 ...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.J. J. Allman

PROVINCES.

Leeds.—Sunday: Vicar's Croft, 11 a.m.

SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.

(Scottish Section of the Socialist League)

DECEMBER.

H. H. CHAMPION will address a series of meetings on Socialism as follows:—

Dunfermline.—Friday 16, St. Margaret's Hall, 8 p.m.

Kilmarnock.—Saturday 17, The Art Gallery, London Road.

Glasgow.—Sunday 18, Waterloo Grand Hall, Wellington Street, at 7 p.m.

Admission 3d., 6d., and 1s.

North of England Socialist Federation.

BRANCHES AND SECRETARIES.

Annitsford.—F. Rivett, Dudley Colliery.

Backworth.—W. Maddison, C. Pit.

Consett.—J. Walton, Medonsby Road.

Blyth.—Martin Mack, 4 Back Marlow Street.

South Shields.—F. Dick, 139 Marsden Street, West.

North Shields.—J. T. Harrison, 24 Queen Street.

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

West Holywell.—F. M'Carroll, West Holywell.

Seaton Delaval.—W. Day, Seaton Delaval.

Seghill.—Wm. Whalley, New Square.

M. Mack, Gen. Sec., 4 Back Marlow Street, Blyth.

Special Notice.—The members and delegates of Hoxton (L.E.L.), Hackney, Mile End, and Stamford Hill Branches will meet at the Crown Coffee House, Columbia Triangle, Hackney Road, on Thursday evening, December 15, to discuss formation of Socialist Club. Time, 8.30.

HOXTON (L.E.L.).—Concert and Draw on January 14, at 13 Farringdon Road, when, by special arrangement, THE LAMP, by H. A. Barker, will be performed. Tickets now ready.

WEST MARYLEBONE WORKING MEN'S CLUB (S.D.F.). 123a Church Street, Edgware Road, W.—Sunday December 18, at 8 p.m., H. H. Sparling (S.L.), "The Iron Law of Wages."

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

NORWICH ANARCHIST GROUP.—Yarmouth—Thursday, on the Quay, at 7.30. Carrow—Friday, at 1.30.

Norwich.—St. George's Plain, Saturday, at 1.15; Haymarket, Saturday, at 8; Market Place, Sunday at 11 and 8. Ber Street Fountain, Sunday at 3.

SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—Meeting at Commonwealth Office, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday December 18, at 4.30.

CHILDREN'S PARTY

BOXING-DAY, DECEMBER 26.

The Committee arranging the **Annual Children's Party**—Mrs. Lane, Lena Wardle, Mrs. Grove, May Morris, and Joseph Lane—will be glad to receive donations of presents, money, etc.

Donations of money to be sent to Mrs. GROVES, treasurer, 15 Offerton Road, Clapham Common, S.W. Toys, Presents, etc., to be sent to 13 Farringdon Rd. RECEIVED—W., 2s. 6d.; Esther Isaacson, 5s.

The Children's Party will be followed by an Entertainment entitled

THE LAMP: An Extravaganza,

By H. A. BARKER; Scenery, Appointments, etc., by C. BARKER.

Free to Members and Friends.

THE TABLES TURNED.

ENGAGEMENTS.

December 21st WEST MARYLEBONE W. M. CLUB.

" 31st . . . CLEVELAND HALL.

January 21 . . . HAMMERSMITH BRANCH S.L.

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

THE ROAD TO NATIONAL PROSPERITY

Contains useful hints to the working classes for the bettering of their wages, and our home trade (without protection), and the reduction of our excessive rents and taxes, etc., together with the chances of bankruptcy amongst farmers and traders.

H. CAMPKIN, 272 St. Anns Well Road, Nottingham. Price 6d., by post 7½d.

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 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.

The Aims of Art. By Wm. Morris. . 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.

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Mrs. Grundy (Cartoon). By Walter Crane. Fine hand-made large paper. . 6d.

THE COMMONWEAL.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

Persons wishing *Commonweal* sent by post can have 2 copies, 2½d.; 4 copies, 4d.; 6 copies, 5½d.—including postage. Half quire, 13 copies, Parcel Post, 11d.; or 1 quire, 1s. 8½d.

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

THE COMMONWEALTH

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 102.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 24, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

THE tremendous mares' nest of the *Times*, big enough for the hatching of a division of cavalry, about the New York Dynamiters, is at first sight only a cause for laughter. One need not suppose that the wonderful and mysterious correspondent mentioned by that veracious journal manufactured the lie himself. He was (if he existed) probably some egregious fool on the hunt for something to please his employers, and glad enough to accept the wildest yarn of a Yankee joker. That is all very funny: but when one remembers that there are men on their trial for suspicion of plotting dynamite this idiotic lie wears another garb, let alone the convenience of pretending to believe anything that may be used as a weapon against the Irish party. However, it may be hoped that this time the story is too preposterous to have much effect.

The war scare is not subsiding—indeed, is rather on the increase; but perhaps, as was said last week, Bismarck's army bill will account for it. It is not easy to believe that the absolutist governments are really inclined to court the dangers of foreign war, with the ever increasing discontent which their armies must leave behind them when they march to the frontier; nor is it easy to see at present anything to force them into war.

But besides his army bill the German dictator has another bill on hand, a bill to make the anti-Socialist law still more stringent; amongst other matters in it is a provision for the International Congress of working men which is being organised for next year: it will be a penal offence involving loss of citizenship to take part in any Socialist congress. Perhaps some of our German friends can tell us what is likely to come of this. Meantime our own government is requested to take note and to learn something new from this passed master in it.

The police are to have a medal for their services in last summer's Jubilee ræe-show. Here is a chance for the Government: why don't they strike a medal and present it to the force for their services on November 13th? It would be quite according to precedent: the Treasury honouring the first Commissioner of Police; two such dignified powers as that. In like manner the Pope struck a medal in honour of the French King after the massacre of St. Bartholomew. If the medal is struck (and by the way, King Warren's face should be on the obverse), the poor specials also ought to be decorated with it.

Mr. Justice Stephen's sentence on Harrison, convicted on police evidence of attacking and wounding the police, is the most infamous deed yet done in the infamous chain of injustice and cruelty of the present Tory Terror. The cold and cruel pedant Stephen has at last earned a title to distinction. It is true he is well known to a limited circle as a specimen of legal shoddy yarn, and I believe has enthusiastic admirers of his very commonplace feats in that line; but these fools, who are but few, will die presently and their hero will be forgotten as a pettifogging writer: as a cold and cruel pedant and enemy of truth and reason he may yet be remembered.

Yet if one could forget his existence it would be happier for us: so let us consider one or two things this soulless pedant said as spoken by the chair he sat on, and then say a word about them with less disgrace than if we spoke of him. The *Thing* laid down the doctrine that the "law of England undoubtedly was that if the police or any other authority gave notice that any particular proceeding would not be permitted to take place it was the duty of the parties concerned to obey the notice and then to take any remedy which the law might give them if the notice was illegal." Might I ask the *Thing* what remedy it advises Alfred Linnell to take?

It is well that we know the law, however, and that we understand how far we have drifted from the rough days of our forefathers, who with all their shortcomings never meant this, which simply implies that persons in authority by reason of their authority are free from the responsibilities of citizenship. The hide-bound pedant above-mentioned does us some service in stating this so clearly.

The coercionist rag the *Daily News*, with all the fervour of a new convert, very naturally highly approves of the law-grinder's sentence; which doesn't look well for the attempt which is to be made in Parliament to call attention to these shameful pieces of legal tyranny. Can-

not we turn from such sneaks and try to find an enemy with some spark of generosity in him. Is there not some stout Tory hard-hitter to say, "Stop that, you legal fools! The man held principles that I loathe, and if I had come across him in the row I would have given him one for his knob; but after all he did what I would have done, struck a good stroke or two in a shindy in which he was excited by seeing all sorts of violence going on. Don't be fools and call it a crime: say you have got him and mean to serve him out—though I should let him go since he got out of the scrimmage unhurt." That's what a generous enemy lighted by the light of reason would say. Is there nobody to come forward and say it?

c The bourgeois press is very naturally spiteful over the great success of Linnell's funeral, and of course the procession and the spectators are called roughs, rowdies, thieves, and the like. What a lie this is those know best who were eye-witnesses of this great demonstration, and saw the quiet but sympathetic behaviour of the crowd, incalculable as to number. However, let us not trouble as to the lie, for if all that crowd were rowdies and roughs, the *Times* supporters should be shaking in their shoes—as one hopes they may one day have to do with better reason. Meantime the words rowdy, rough, and thief are clearly changing their meaning, and are coming to signify an honest and hard-working man, as opposed to a useless person who lives on other people's labour; for such worthless rags who are our present rulers it is not worth while finding a name. W. M.

Last week, the *Pall Mall* in a spirited rough sketch contrasted the position at the present time of the two Sullivans—one, the bully and bruiser, an honoured equal of the future king of England—the other, poet and patriot, within four walls for having published reports of "suppressed" branches of the National League in his paper. By the idlers 50 guineas are paid readily to see the illegal prize-fight which will gratify their degraded lust, and on which the vigilant police will keep a blind eye steadily—two years' amount of an agricultural labourer's wages given by those who did not produce it to see this brutal exhibition!

Not that boxing is necessarily brutal, or fighting to be condemned. But when it is done for pay it becomes debasing both for those that hire and those that are hired. Informers, policemen, and prizefighters are not only themselves lowered by being the mercenary tools of others, but those others in their turn are injured far more by the vicarious gratification of their blood-lust, than if they themselves "defended law'n' order" or pounded one another in the ring.

The working-men of Prague held a meeting on Sunday, the 11th, when a resolution was passed to the effect that the Czech working-men will show their superior culture by holding aloof from all national squabbles, and by refusing to become the tools of selfish persons who trade on the Home Rule movement in the country. They may not be Socialists, but this looks on the surface as if there were a strong infusion of international feeling among them.

Moscow University has been closed, in consequence of the recent "riotous" conduct of the students, who beat an inspector, and insulted their rector. The papers have been strictly forbidden to mention the occurrence, and are obeying, of course. The fact is, as Prince Bismarck long ago advised, that all the Russian Universities should be abolished; they are institutions incompatible with autocratic rule, and must either be ended by despotism or they will end it.

It was very funny to read of the conference of landlords in Dublin on the 13th, and their declaring that compensation was due them "on various grounds." They decided to await awhile before deciding what form it should take. That men so crassly stupid should exist is rather depressing than amusing, but one cannot help a smile when looking at the colossal impudence of their demand. If they put off the decision as to the form they would have it take for very long, it may be decided sharply for them!

The *Globe* was deeply exercised over the announcement that William Morris, Malcolm Lawson, and Walter Crane had joined in the commemoration of poor Linnell's fate. But it was easy to see from whence the sorrow arose. If only all men of recognised standing would keep aloof from such movements, it would be easier for the *Globe* to sneer them down; even the besotted readers of that "respectable" paper cannot fail to see through its hollow pretences when they are given the lie by so many men whose reputation compels a hearing. S.

THE RATIONALE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.¹

Our comrade Laurence Gronlund has made a distinctly valuable contribution to Socialist literature in the publication of this work; though the name of Socialism is hardly once mentioned in it: for the great French Revolution is looked upon from the Socialist standpoint as a link in the chain of events of which the social revolution of the future will be the final consummation. "All historians," says Gronlund, "in the English language at least, have presented the Revolution as a panorama of kaleidoscopic pictures, and thereby made it simply a perplexing and puzzling subject. Such pictures are altogether unprofitable to us in our generation, since they necessarily leave the crisis an incomprehensible, unexplained phenomenon. . . . Mere history or simple story-telling cannot possibly explain it: historic philosophy is indispensable to that."

The historic philosophy which the author brings to bear upon his subject is that of Hegel, which regards all historic phenomena simply as the product of the forces of the past and as the preparation for further developments in the future; in brief, the theory of evolution as applied to history, which, thanks mainly to the lucid and careful expositions of our comrade Bax, is or should be now the common property of all who profess to call themselves Socialists. Where the author differs from most modern evolutionists is at that point where they leave off, while he prefers to go on; in his faith in what he is fond of calling "the Power behind Evolution"—God, if you will; a kind of Providence, which is more concerned with the progress of the race and the development of social conditions than with the adjustment of relations between individuals. Believing that the inevitable outcome of all social struggles will be the new-birth of social happiness, he holds that this is the work of a supreme intelligence. To me this belief seems not only helpful and inspiring, but a logically necessary consequence of the complete evolutionist hypothesis; and as a matter of policy it may well be doubted whether such a theory would not be a far greater help than hindrance to our propaganda, seeing that it runs parallel, though on a far higher level, to our general habits of thought. But whether this belief of the author's, which I resolutely share with him, be true or false, accepted or rejected, can make no difference to the argument of evolution in history, since it is only put forward as an *aberglaube* or additional belief when that argument has been fully accepted.

Having now briefly indicated the points in which not all Socialists are likely to agree with the author, I will try and give a summary of his conception of the French Revolution, with which all Socialists who know upon what ground they are standing will be at one with him.

Looking backward and forward over the whole field of history and the new society which is silently preparing, Gronlund says: "Our race was to be raised to a far higher level than it occupied during the Middle Ages"; and the supremacy of the middle-class was intended to bring about such an increase of production and productivity as to render the transfer of social power into the hands of the entire community not only feasible but imperatively necessary. Far, therefore, from holding with the orthodox historian that the French Revolution was a failure, he calls it a "splendid success"; regarding it as a dramatically forcible assumption by the *bourgeoisie* from the *noblesse* of the social and political power which the English aristocracy, wise enough to agree with their adversary quickly, were content to share. Historically considered, it is parallel with the English revolution of a century and a half earlier. "Besides the essential correspondences," says Gronlund, "between these two periods, there are many curious coincidences. Naseby of 1645 coincides with 'Aug. 10'; Pride's Purge, applauded by Sir Harry [Vane], with what I shall call the suspension of the Girondins, contributed to by Danton. In both revolutions the reigning kings were executed; and by the way, it is almost comical, when we think of the fate of their own royal family, to recall the reproaches and contumely which Frenchmen of the age of Louis XIV. heaped on the English for their 'brutality' and disloyalty in their treatment of Charles and James. Both crises ended in the supremacy of successful selfish soldiers; in both countries this supremacy was followed by a restoration; in one, as in the other, the restored monarch was followed by his brother; and lastly, in one as in the other, this brother was exiled, and gave way to a middle-class king. . . . It is, however, in the region of ideas that the connecting-link between the two revolutions is to be found."

Thus holding to the idea that the French Revolution as a whole was to bring about *bourgeois* supremacy, unrestricted private enterprise, competition, *et hoc genus omne*, the author traces in outline the leading events of that fascinating period, and shows how even with the best intentions and whole decalogues of lofty general principles, men were unable to see or get beyond the establishment of a free commercial system, based upon wages and profits, simply because nothing further was then possible. He makes a sharp distinction between the Revolution and the Counter-Revolution, or the powers working for the needed social change and those of the old régime seeking to re-establish themselves by force. Speaking of the time after the constitution of the National Assembly in June 1789 he says: "The people cried, 'The Revolution is finished; it is the work of the philosophers, and it has not cost a drop of blood.' Our historians have pitied these people for

their near-sightedness. Yet it is the historians that are near-sighted. The people were right. The Revolution was accomplished, and not a blow had been struck, not a particle of violence committed, so far. . . . But what about the violence, the massacres, the terror? Ah, they do not belong to the Revolution; they are, indeed, diametrically opposed to the Revolution, however much historians persist in including them, and in even making the French Revolution principally consist in them." But the freedom gained by the Revolution "benefited only the middle-classes; that is to say, only those who owned raw materials and means of production. But the workers, the poor, the masses who possessed nothing but their labour? They, whether in town or country, were not benefited at all. True, they now became free as to their persons and their actions; as far as the *bourgeoisie* had secured that much of liberty for them it represented the whole people, and raised the masses with itself. But was this done from sympathy with the masses? Not at all. The plutocrats had done it because it was absolutely essential to themselves as a class; because the new mode of industry and agriculture required that workmen and labourers should be able to migrate from places where their labour was not wanted to places where it was. How far the interests of the masses were from the minds of the *bourgeoisie* is shown by the fact that when, during the sitting of Aug. 4, Malonet, moved by an inspiration that should honour his memory, entreated his colleagues to consider the lot of the labouring classes, and establish workshops for those who were out of work, a general murmur arose, and they passed on to other matters."

The immediate object of the Revolution being to place the middle classes in supreme power for the purpose of increasing production, no shortcomings on their part can affect the issue so long as this main object is attained, as it has undoubtedly been. Gronlund, therefore, emphasises without hesitation the unblushing rascality of the French *bourgeoisie*, which he says is without parallel in any other country, and many of the most glaring instances of which have only just come to light. Principal among these he names the nefarious speculations in land, which the people were repeatedly promised and cheated of wholesale, until finally led away by the bait of "glory" so astutely held out before their national vanity by Bonaparte.

It will be seen from the above that the book is by no means a mere biography of Danton; yet all the charm of a biography is present. The author holds with Carlyle that Danton was the Atlas of the Revolution, who supported it on his own shoulders; and while by no means its "maker," was certainly its saviour, on three distinct occasions at least. While speaking of him as "my hero, Danton," and following his career throughout with an affectionate interest, the author insists upon it that he was not a "saint," but simply a "whole man"; and unsparingly points out what he thinks his errors, even when these have been upheld by less discriminating admirers. His great fault is held to have been a "total lack of ambition"; and though his lofty exclamation, "Let my name be accursed, if but the cause be saved!" must ever win him honour, it is possible to conceive that much subsequent failure might have been avoided had Danton been more ambitious than he was. For while it is undoubtedly true that many of the greatest practical exponents of the wants of the people have been slow to perceive when their work was done, Danton was rather one of those rarer spirits who are ready to give place to their inferiors sometimes at critical moments. But "Danton the monster, Danton as nearly all our historians paint him, is purely a creation of the imagination; the cloud of obloquy which has hitherto enshrouded his memory having been successfully dispersed by the efforts of a few French Positivists whose works and authorities have not yet been translated into English."

"The principal lesson," the author says, "which this volume will draw from the French Revolution, in the way of example and warning, are, that Danton was a true instrument in the hands of the Power behind Evolution [or to put it in another way, the man who saw what the time demanded, and did it], and just the kind of leader we in our day should encourage; that on the other hand good intentions alone avail nothing in popular leaders, and that therefore we should with all our might repress our Robespierres, Héberts, and Marats."

Our comrade, as a native of Denmark, may really be congratulated on his mastery of English style, which is distinctly in advance of that of his former work. The book abounds in good passages, and is thoroughly readable throughout. The artistic unity is somewhat destroyed by the insertion of a disquisition on the whole history of the *bourgeoisie* up to the present at the end of the second chapter, "The Middle-Class Régime"; this would have been better at the beginning of the last chapter, "The Present Transition State." But as a whole the method of arrangement is excellent. The volume is clearly and correctly printed, and is supplied with an excellent index. We hope soon to see an English edition.

REGINALD A. BECKETT.

It is a perfectly evident truth that among all the agencies of the advancement of human civilisation the two most effective have been hell and hanging.—*Chicago Times*.

GREAT INCREASE IN 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 102,559, of whom 59,099 were indoor and 43,460 outdoor paupers. The total number relieved shows an increase of 6,481 over the corresponding week of last year, 8,314 over 1885, and 9,069 over 1884. The total number of vagrants relieved on the last day of the week was 1,208, of whom 1,059 were men, 124 women, and 25 children under sixteen. These figures are exclusive of the patients in the fever and small-pox hospitals, which on the last day of the week numbered 2,732.

¹'Ca Ira! or, Danton in the French Revolution': A Study. By Laurence Gronlund. Boston: Lee and Shepard.

REVENGE.

When the workers have their own again,
And Labour rules the roast,
And we've really won the freedom
Which to-day we only boast,
How shall we treat our masters
Who treated us so ill?
We'll make it pretty warm for them,
By Jupiter, we will.

In field or pleasant work-room
Each one shall do his spell,
And, whether coats or cabbages,
We'll see he does it well.
Two hours' good useful work a-day,
Although it needn't kill,
Will touch the gentry up a bit,
By Jupiter, it will.

And when the work is over,
Quite early in the day,
Unless they'd *rather* sit and sulk,
We'll fetch 'em out to play;
Of song and sport and laughter
Each one shall have his fill;
And won't that be a sweet revenge,
By Jupiter, it will.

By mirth of hopeful labour,
And beauty born of mirth,
We'll gradually educate
The loafers of the earth
To see the good of brotherhood
And industry and skill;
We'll hail them then our fellow-men,
By Jupiter, we will.

C. W. BECKETT.

"BROKEN CISTERNS."

(Continued from p. 402.)

THE common ownership of the means of production, of the land and capital of the country, would at once put a stop to all chance of individuals or classes living by lending these to the working part of the community for an annual payment. Every one would have to take to some sort of work before he could earn anything wherewith to procure his living. This would abolish the worst features we saw arising from bad distribution. No one could become extremely wealthy if he had only his wages to depend upon. On the other hand, if all the tribute which is now paid by the workers for the use of land and capital was put a stop to, the reward of labour would be vastly increased; probably it could be doubled at the first start, and the hours worked much reduced; for it would become the duty of the community, organised for that purpose in local communes federated under some large central direction, to see that work was shared as well as pay. The complaint we hear so much of now, about there not being work enough for all, would soon be met by a reduction of hours. At present the private ownership of the means of production prevents this, for it is to the advantage of private owners to pay wages to as few men as possible and to get as long a day's work for the wage as they can, but if the community owned the means of production it would immediately become apparent that the best way for all would be to share the work and share the product. The people would at once see that they do not want more work, but less, what they would want would be to produce the greatest amount of wealth with the least amount of labour consistent with that labour remaining to some extent pleasurable. The opposition of interest between capital and labour would for ever cease. Wherever the increase of capital could reduce the amount of labour needed to produce a certain quantity of goods it would be to the interest of the workers to save that much capital—a very simple process, and one which would probably be carried on continuously. After all expenses of management, all payments to useful people who are not absolute producers, and all deductions for the maintenance of capital had been made, it would be very easy to deduct a small percentage of the produce to go towards the increase of the stock of capital; the rest would then go to the workers, each according to his share. Gluts and trade crises would be things of the past, their cause would be removed, for the more wealth there was produced the greater would be the wages or share each could consume. Over-production could only happen when all were satisfied, and then they could proclaim a month's holiday in which to consume the surplus stock.

The waste of competition in all its forms would be done away with; there would be no individual employers or merchants to compete; one shop would no more compete against another than one post office does against another now; one factory would not compete against another any more than one Government factory does against another now. All the incentive to competition would be gone; each place would have a fixed quantity to produce and a fixed quality, and its interest would be to produce it as easily and pleasantly as possible, and of as good a quality as possible, so that it might last and their work be lighter in the future. All the waste of competition would be gone; there would be no need to advertise or send an army of travellers or agents all over

the country; these would be set to useful work, and so help to lighten the toil of the rest. All interest in bad work would be gone, the better the work was done the less would have to be done in the future for the same reward; the longer the peoples' clothes and boots lasted the less work it would take to clothe and shoe them; and this would come home to each worker, and it would be apparent to him at every stitch or blow that the better the quality the easier his labour would become in the future. Under the present system it is just the opposite. Every workman knows that the better job he makes of his work the less work there will be in the future; but then under present circumstances less work means less wages; and he must have wages, hence he seeks to make work. And the employer, too, is often influenced in the same way. If he can make ten shillings profit on the best quality of cloth and only five shillings on a poorer quality, it still pays him to sell the poorer quality if the people will wear out three of it to one of the better; the greater number of articles worn out, the greater number of profits: hence the success of the cheap ready-made clothes shops.

Then we come to the question of foreign competition; and here again I think we shall find that the proposal of the Socialists will take away the evils of this branch of the universal warfare which is going on. Many Socialists hold that Socialism will only be possible when all the civilised world become socialised. To me this seems to be one of those cases where a statement is accepted from the weight with which it comes, without examining it. I have seen very few arguments brought forward in defence of it, and for myself am inclined to dispute it. Thus far one must acknowledge the truth of it, that a small country becoming prematurely Socialistic might be liable to invasion by a united army of all other capitalistic countries, and in that way might be crushed. But it is not likely that any country will adopt Socialism until there is at least such a body of opinion in other civilised countries as would render such a united attack impossible. Moreover, a people who had tasted of the real freedom of Socialism would probably defend it in a manner not very easy to subdue. But military invasion apart, I see no reason in the industrial relations of nations to prevent Socialism developing in one nation some considerable time before it does so in others. England is often said to depend entirely upon foreign trade. To some extent, no doubt, this is true; there are many things which we use which we either cannot produce or don't produce enough of, such as corn, tea, sugar, silk, fruits, etc.; but then if the country became Socialistic there would be no real difficulty in persuading the American farmer or the French silk-merchant to sell to our government, nor would he refuse to be paid in the same articles as now because they were made in communal workshops. There is a deal of superstition hanging about our foreign trade; a great deal of it is no use to any one but the merchant who makes a profit out of it. It is very likely that we might, supposing we became a Socialist country before the rest of the world, have to pay a little higher price for the things we needed to buy from abroad than we should if all the other countries were Socialistic too; but that would be a small matter, for we should not then be depending upon a small margin of profit for our existence, but should be depending upon the product. It is this dependence upon a small margin of profit which frightens people about our foreign trade; if that margin goes now through foreign competition the whole comes to a stand and thousands are ruined; but when the goods we buy become our aim, and not the profit on them, it will be a small thing comparatively whether we have to give 3½d. a pound for our sugar instead of 3d., or 40s. a quarter for our corn instead of 35s. True we might have to work a little longer than might otherwise be necessary—say half an hour extra all round—but there is nothing that I can see in that to ruin the chance of a Socialist community.

I think now we have shown that the change of basis proposed by the Socialist would cure the evils of society, would take away the bad distribution and the opposition of interest, would put a stop to industrial crises with all the misery they entail, would do away with all the waste of competition and all the selfishness produced by it—would, in fact, lay the only sort of foundation upon which a society might rise, guided by the principles of freedom, equality, and brotherhood. But our opponent, when unable to answer us on this ground, has one more argument to fall back upon. He says it is all very nice, but it can't be done. How are you going to abolish private ownership in the means of production, and how are you going to organise your society? One thing mainly is needed, that is to get the useful classes to wish that it should be done. Nothing but the definite desire of the workers as a whole can bring it about, nothing else but a clear understanding on their part of the better society which is to be formed can keep reactionary forces in check during the time of partial confusion which must elapse before the new society can be completely organised. All Socialists at present believe that their chief duty is to lay this picture of a better society before the public, that they may get to long for it; and we have faith enough to believe that when a people long for a more just and a happier form of society that the hour will come for its realisation, and will bring with it the right man and the right plan for carrying it out. What that plan will be we do not profess to know, nor can we foresee the details of the society which shall arise upon the new basis, therefore all schemes and all pictures of details are only useful as they may help to show people that there are ways in which it might be done. Of one thing we are convinced, that unless the people see the danger and commence to reorganise society quietly and peaceably, that the economical progress of the present system will inevitably bring things to a deadlock before so very long, and then they will be forced to do violently and in a hurry what would have been better done peaceably and more carefully.

RAYMOND UNWIN.

(To be concluded.)



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.

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.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

GRAINGER (Dundee); THOMAS (Ipswich); and others.—Kindly do not address orders and cash to the Editors, but to H. A. Barker, Manager.

CARR (Dundee).—Your report almost invariably reaches us a day after publication and thus has to wait a week. Please see that it is posted in time to reach us by first post on Tuesday.

S. W.—Wager of Battle was not abolished until 1819. It had been forgotten for centuries, when a man named Abraham Thornton, in 1817, on trial for alleged murder, demanded a "trial by battle," and on the refusal of the prosecutor was discharged, and this drew attention to the subject.

BROOK FARM.—Articles on this interesting experiment may be found in the *Dial* (Boston), 1842: 361; 1844: 351; *Atlantic Monthly*, 1878: 458, 556; *Old and New*, 1871 v. 1: 175, 425; v. 1: 347; 1872: 517; *Overland Monthly*, 1870: 9. See also J. H. Noyes' *History of American Socialisms*; C. Nordhoff's *Communitistic Societies of the United States*. The lives of Emerson, Marg. Fuller, Hawthorn, Ripley, and Channing, would also give incidental help.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday December 14.

ENGLAND	Chicago—Alarm	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde
Die Autonomie	The Open Court	Liege—L'Avenir
us	Albina (Greg.)—Weekly Courier	SWITZERLAND
Justice	Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
London—Freie Presse	Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer	ITALY
Labour Tribune	N. Haven—Workmen's Advocate	Gazzetta Operaia
Railway Review	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Brescia—Lo Sperimentale
Worker's Friend	Springfield (Ill.)—Voice of Labor	Marsala—La Nuova Eta
NEW SOUTH WALES	FRANCE	SPAIN
Hamilton—Radical	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	El Productor
INDIA	Le Socialiste	PORTUGAL
Bankipore—Behar Herald	La Revolte	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Madras—People's Friend	Lille—Le Travailleur	GERMANY
UNITED STATES	Guise—Le Devoir	Berlin—Volks Tribune
New York—Der Sozialist	HOLLAND	AUSTRIA
Freiheit	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Arbeiterstimme
Truthseeker	Amsterdam—Voorwaarts	Vienna—Gleichheit
Volkszeitung	BELGIUM	HUNGARY
Backer Zeitung	Seraing (Ougree)—Le Reveil	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
Boston—Woman's Journal	Ghent—Vooruit	ROUMANIA
Liberty	Antwerp—De Werker	Jassy—Lupta

THE LAND OF GOSCHEN.

"AND Israel dwelt in the land of Goshen." Throughout the whole of their strange, eventful history the Israelites have shown a marked capacity for settling in the land of Goshen; and there is little wonder that when Moses, in the pursuit of a mirage, led them away across the wilderness, they rather remembered with longing the fertile pastures their forefathers had enjoyed than with sorrow their own hard times.

The Right Honourable George Joachim is almost another Joseph. At the Statistical Society of which he is president, on last Tuesday week, he endeavoured to show his brethren that the land towards which we are tending will be a land flowing with milk and honey for them, the middlemen, and that Socialism in fact means nothing more than a Paradise for the middle-class, where every one will be more or less wealthy—except, of course, the workers. How the new Joseph regards these poor despised Egyptians is evident from his own words: "Despite," he said, "the complaints of bad business and no profits, of want of work, and of irregularity of employment among even those who had work, the great central body of society was strengthening its economic position." Truly the middle-class is the central body of society by virtue of its position. So is the stomach in the human body. Whether it is so by virtue of its importance is a somewhat different matter. But mark the grim hardihood of Mr. Goschen's statement. Wages are bad, employment is precarious and scarce; but no matter. "The great central body is strengthening its economic position." That is, the small fry and the large fry of the middle class are accumulating more wealth every year. This is the "silent kind of Socialism" which Mr. Goschen says is actually in progress. The new land of Goschen is to be peopled by the possessors of moderate fortunes; surplus-value is to be distributed over a larger area; aristocrats and very rich people will no longer exist; large businesses will all be limited liability companies; in short there will be nothing but a bourgeoisie and a proletari-

tariat. This will be very nice for the bourgeoisie, but, as George Stephenson remarked, "very bad for the coo,"—which is, after all, the animal which gives the milk, and in this case the honey too.

Nevertheless Mr. Goschen's figures are interesting to Socialists. Figures are unmanageable beasts; and although a clever financier like Mr. Goschen can marshal them much as he pleases, a quick eye can detect the disingenuousness of their manipulator. Our Joseph of the parti-coloured coat succeeds completely in proving that moderate fortunes are on the increase, but he does not equally well demonstrate that large fortunes are decreasing or that wealth is becoming at all equally distributed. He confesses, indeed, though "with much embroidery of language," that the workers do not participate in the general dividing-up that he believes is going on among the proprietary classes. The amount per head invested in post-office and other savings banks was £20, 15s. in 1875, whereas in 1886 it had decreased to £18, 7s. per head. Mr. Goschen points out that the number of dwelling houses of from £10 to £15 rental has largely increased since 1875, and argues that this is because the working class can afford to live in better houses, though everyone knows that it is because rents have risen enormously since 1875. The savings banks returns show sufficiently well that the workers are not more prosperous.

But is it the case that large fortunes are on the decrease? It is of course quite possible for very large fortunes to diminish in number without the working classes being one penny the better for it. It is only that there are more to share in the plunder. Mr. Goschen gives the following table of estates which paid probate duty in 1885 and 1887, which I have slightly abbreviated:

	In 1885.	In 1887.
Estates not exceeding £1000	45,950	46,903
Between £1000 and £5000	8,782	9,093
" £5000 and £20,000	3,155	3,272
Above £20,000	1,097	1,181

From which it appears that in every case the number of fortunes which paid probate duty in 1887 was greater than in 1885. It is not at all evident therefore that large fortunes are decreasing, and one is at a loss to know how the great financier could suppose such to be the case with the above table before him, especially when we further learn that the number of fortunes above £20,000 which paid probate duty in 1887 was larger than in 1877.

These legacy returns, however, add further strength to Mr. Goschen's third contention, that moderate fortunes are on the increase. The number of fortunes below £4000 which paid probate duty was in 1877 26,751, but in 1887 it had risen to 46,903. The Income-Tax returns show that under Schedule D the number of incomes between £150 and £1000 rose 19.26 per cent. from 1877 to 1886. The capital of registered companies has risen in the last ten years 92 per cent., or from £307,108,466 to 597,508,692. This is where the money goes. The wealth of the country increases every year, but the workers get poorer. The middleman is everywhere—letting, sub-letting, contracting, sub-contracting—but always fulfilling his function of sweating to the last penny the man who really does the work.

And this is the silent Socialism towards which we are now progressing; this is the land of Goschen, flowing with the milk of dividends and the honey of salaries, where the great central body of society will be so strongly entrenched in its economic position that nothing can overthrow it; this is the promised land! Sir William Harcourt says we are all Socialists now, but probably his idea of Socialism is as great a burlesque of the truth as Mr. Goschen's. For both of them Time will some day have a rude awakening, and Joseph and his brethren will have to seek another land.

W. H. UTLEY.

A VOICE FROM AMERICA.

(Continued from page 394.)

THE LAST LETTERS OF THE PRISONERS.

A. R. PARSONS wrote to the editor of the *Alarm*, and concluded his letter with the words:

"And now to all I say: Falter not. Lay bare the iniquities of capitalism; expose the slavery of law; proclaim the tyranny of governments; denounce the greed, cruelty, and abominations of the privileged class, who riot and revel on the labour of their wage-slaves. Farewell!"

In a letter to George A. Shilling, a friend, he closed with the words:

"Thus, over a very extensive region of country, among cotton, corn, and sugar plantations, I became somewhat famous as a champion of political liberty. Beloved by the blacks, I was hated and scorned by the whites. I then believed that the coloured people were truly free-men, and that they only needed courage to assert it. But I did not then understand or know that economic dependence—i.e., industrial servitude—made political liberty impossible. I did not know, nor did the blacks, that they had been merely emancipated from chattel to wage servitude. I did not then know that economic freedom must be the basis for political liberty, and that the wage-labour system created classes, antagonisms, and class servitude. And now, as the helots of old, the so-called 'free' blacks, in common with their white brethren, work and die like beasts in the unceasing treadmill of wage slavery."

Lingg, Parsons, Engel, and Fischer wrote to the Governor saying they were innocent of the charge brought against them by State-Attorney Grinnell; they did not desire commutation, but demanded their liberty, being unconscious of having committed a crime.

Schwab, Fielden, and after long persuasion, Spies, signed an appeal for clemency to the Governor of Illinois, R. Oglesby. August Spies two days later wrote to the Governor:

"If a sacrifice of life there must be, will not my life suffice? The State-Attorney of Cook County asked for my life, declaring I am the arch conspirator. He asked originally for no more. Take this, then; take my life. I offer it to you that you may satisfy the fury of a semi-barbaric mob and save those of my comrades."

Lingg wrote to the editor of the *Alarm* on the Sunday before his death, concluding:

"Now with a last and earnest farewell to all friends and comrades, and with final wishes for their prosperity, I close; in view of the certainty that I shall never have the chance of seeing you again, my beloved comrade, with an earnest and hearty wish for your future success in life. Long live Anarchism!"

THE SUICIDE OF LINGG.

Tuesday morning the whole population of the United States were startled with the news that four bombs had been found in Lingg's cell. The report said that Engel had tried to commit suicide by taking laudanum; the warder heard him moan and rushed to his cell. Within an hour they brought him again to his senses, miraculous to say. In consequence they searched all the cells, and found the above alleged four bombs. The finding of the bombs was a miserable police plot to make sure of hanging Lingg, whom they hated most. The fact of the matter was a petition to pardon the men circulated in Chicago, and was largely signed by the inhabitants of the city. The police got mad through this action, and declared that the capitalists could do their dirty work in future themselves. Two days later on, Wednesday, the lawyers for the defence tried a new plan. They attempted to get a stay of the execution by having poor Lingg declared an idiot, and they seemed to have a chance of succeeding. This was too much for our brave comrade. He did not mind dying a martyr for the people's cause, he did not mind sacrificing his young life on the altar of freedom, but in full possession of his mental faculties through lawyer's cunning trickery to be declared a lunatic; this was too much for him. He resolved to prevent this insult. The man had an iron nerve, and no heart ever did more sincerely beat for the suffering toiling class than the heart of Louis Lingg, a youth of 22 years. Thursday morning at about nine o'clock, Lingg was observed putting a light to his mouth as if attempting to light a cigar. Soon afterwards a noise was heard similar to the sound produced by the explosion of powder in a stone quarry. The guards who were on guard in front of Lingg's cell instantly rushed to the door grating. They witnessed a horrible spectacle. Lingg was laying on his bed with the blood running out of his wounds, writhing and whirling his arms and legs with frightful contortions. His face was one mass of blood and torn flesh; the upper and lower jaws had been battered and forced apart by the explosion of the deadly missile in his mouth. The base of the mouth was torn out, including a part of the tongue, and allowed the remainder of the tongue to fall back, thus threatening suffocation. The surgeons, however, passed a ligature through the tongue and drew the organ forward so that breathing could be carried on without difficulty. There was a double fracture of the left thumb, caused by a portion of the missile striking it as Lingg lit the fuse of the bomb held between his teeth. How Lingg got the bomb is as yet not known, but it must have been of very small proportions. Very probably it was concealed in a candle. Lingg, poor fellow, remained conscious for several hours, and did not die till 2.50 p.m. At 11 o'clock he was so far sensible in spite of his terrible wounds that he moved his hand as if he wished to write. A reporter placed a pencil in his hand and paper before him, and he wrote quite legibly the words "Head high," meaning his head to be raised. Captain Black, the attorney of the men, came in shortly after. Lingg recognised him, and greeted him with his eyes. At 12 o'clock, the surgeons performed an operation, but in spite of the terrible pains and despite the frequent injections of morphia, he remained conscious throughout the time. He again took the pencil from the hand of one who was holding him, and wrote on a piece of paper, "I cannot breathe lying down. I would rather sit up." At 2.50 our poor, brave, heroic comrade breathed his last.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

(To be concluded).

THE CAUSES OF WAR.—The first reason for all wars and for the necessity of national defences, is that the majority of persons, high and low, in all European nations are thieves, and in their hearts greedy of their neighbour's goods, land, and fame. . . . And the guilty Thieves of Europe, the real source of all deadly war in it, are the Capitalists—that is to say, people who live by percentages on the labour of others, instead of by fair wages for their own. —*John Ruskin.*

In what length of time could Society by the utmost industry and frugality accumulate supplies to maintain all succeeding generations free from toil? Obviously, never. Each season brings its share of toil; and each year we consume the bulk of the product. Wonderful as have been the applications of steam and electricity, we have no indication that humanity will ever be exempted from toil. The physical law is inexorable. "By the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread." But a portion of the race now enjoy incomes which exempt them from toil and with every guarantee, so far as our laws and customs can guarantee anything, that such exemption shall continue to the end of time. What are the inevitable conclusions from these two considerations? 1st, Since no man or number of men can produce sufficient supplies to maintain them for all time without further toil, therefore that part of society which enjoys everlasting incomes that require no toil from their recipients for their maintenance, possesses the power of appropriating an amount of wealth that could not by any possibility be the result of its own productive effort. 2nd, All society cannot possibly live for all time without toil; some now possess that power. Therefore some enjoy a privilege from which others by an inexorable physical law must be forever excluded. —*Antagonism of Social Forces* (by W. A. Douglas, B.A.), in the 'Proceedings of the Canadian Institute' for Oct., 1887.

FUNERAL OF LINNELL.

On Sunday last, 18th inst., the public funeral accorded by the L. L. L. to the first victim of police brutality in connection with the recent Trafalgar Square meetings, was duly held. As Warren who had the man slain would not allow his coffin to pass near the spot on which he fell, and was bent on doing all in his power to mar the impressiveness of the ceremonial, the committee decided on Saturday night upon a different route from that proposed before, and gave notice to Warren of the streets they intended to pass through. The usual large force of police held the Square valiantly against no comers, and patrols and specials were conspicuously present in different parts of the West-end. The body lay at an undertaker's (Mr. Dawes) in Lexington Street (formerly Great Windmill Street) Golden Square, and there the committee, the relatives, pall-bearers, stewards, etc., assembled between one and two o'clock. An open hearse with four horses was used; on top of it was a shield painted black, with large white letters "Killed in Trafalgar Square" on it; behind the shield were three flags, green, yellow, and red, for the Irish, Radicals, and Socialists. A little after two the coffin was placed in the hearse, the pall-bearers being Cunningham Graham, Mrs. Besant, Mr. Stead, Herbert Burrows, Mr. Smith and William Morris. Two mourning coaches and a wagonette containing the choir followed, a band preceded, playing the "Dead March," and the procession made its way to Wellington Street, Strand, passing on the way, appropriately enough, the butcher-shop of Bow Street. Despite the fact that the committee had kept the route so far a secret, and had asked Warren to do the same, considerable crowds were assembled and showed great sympathy. At Wellington Street an attempt was made by the police to turn to account in breaking up the procession the natural momentary confusion caused by large bodies of men meeting from different directions; here the Radicals and Socialists of South-West London joined the procession and there was also a dense crowd filling the Strand both ways; but the tender care of the E. division was made fruitless by the serious and self-restrained behaviour of the crowd. At Ludgate Circus there fell in some South-East London clubs, the Patriotic and East Finsbury, the Clerkenwell and Bloomsbury branches of the Socialist League, and the Clerkenwell branch of the S. D. F. At several points along the route the line was lengthened by the joining of branches of the Irish National League, S. L., S. D. F., and many Radical Clubs. When Mile-End Road was reached the sight was an imposing one, as the train stretched in an unbroken length for nearly a mile, with a large number of banners, mostly red, and several bands playing slow marches. Enormous masses of people lined the waysides the whole distance from the city to the cemetery and at many places there were lines of police to keep the road clear. These the onlookers usually greeted as the coffin went by with "That's your work!" and similar cries.

Bow Cemetery was reached after half-past four, when it was already dark and rain beginning to fall. Linnell's grave is situated in Square No. 73, close to the entrance on the right as one enters the cemetery. The walls of the grave were ornamented with holly and evergreens, and as much as could be done to render the interment decent and respectable had been accomplished. The coffin, covered with black cloth, was conveyed to within a few yards of the grave. It was covered with wreaths sent by the Radical clubs and Socialist organisations, including one from "the Women of the Bloomsbury Branch of the S.L." and one from "A Woman of the Clerkenwell Branch of the S.L." By the aid of a lantern, the Rev. Stewart Headlam read the Church of England Burial Service, the rain meanwhile descending rather heavily. When the service was concluded and the coffin lowered into the grave, Mr. Tims, of Battersea (Liberal and Radical Federation), tendered, in the name of the Radical clubs of the metropolis, to the relatives of the deceased their sincere regret at the early death which had overtaken Linnell. He entered his most indignant protest against the scandalous brutality and astounding cruelty of the police. Let them never rest until they had got these men under their own control, instead of allowing them to control the people. It was certain that Englishmen, Scotchmen, Irishmen, and Welshmen would not submit to the conduct of this autocracy. Let Scotland Yard and the Home Office take warning. They were putting in prison the leaders of the people who guided, controlled, and kept them back; but the authorities did not seem to know that, and if they continued in their blind course they must not be surprised if things should be much worse.

William Morris said they all wished to show their condolence with the relatives of the deceased. There lay a man of no particular party—a man who until a week or two ago was perfectly obscure, and probably was only known to a few. Through this strange occurrence—(A Voice: "Murder")—Linnell had become a person to be remembered by them. Their brother lay there—let them remember for all time this man as their brother and their friend. If the police knocked them about and treated them ill it was to a certain extent their own fault, because they had given the management of their own affairs to other classes. Their friend who lay there had had a hard life and met with a hard death; and if society had been differently constituted from what it was, that man's life might have been a delightful, a beautiful one, and a happy one to him. It was their business to try and make this earth a very beautiful and happy place. They were engaged in a most holy war, trying to prevent their rulers—people who did not understand them—making this great town of London nothing more than a prison. He could not help thinking the immense procession in which they had walked that day would have the effect of teaching a great lesson. He begged them to do their best to preserve order in getting back to their homes, because their enemies would be only too glad to throw a blot upon that most successful celebration; and they should begin to-morrow to organise for the purpose of seeing that such things should not happen again.

Mr. Dowling (London organiser of the Irish National League) invited Englishmen to imitate the men of Ireland and organise. Linnell fell in the same cause in Trafalgar Square that they in Ireland had fought for in Mitchelstown. Let them organise their own National League in England, which would soon establish such an influence in the country as would make the ruling classes tremble in their shoes.

Mr. Quelch (Social Democratic Federation) denounced Sir Charles Warren and his orders, and said that it was not the men in uniform who murdered members of the working classes, but the men who paid them. These men they should regard as their enemies.

The Choir then sang "A Death Song" by W. Morris and Malcolm Lawson. The rain, which came down very heavily, had by this time considerably thinned the part of the cemetery where the interment took place, and as soon as the "Death Song" was finished, all present at and about the grave took their departure, passing readily along the thoroughfare beyond the gates, as there too the rain had dispersed the crowds. It was just upon half-past five when the ceremony was concluded.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

ROCHDALE WOOLLEN TRADE.—The Rochdale woollen trade is reported to be in a depressed state. Stocks are heavy, and curtailment of production is increasing. A large number of firms are working short time.

EDINBURGH JOINERS.—At a largely attended meeting it was reported that in every case where notice of reduction had been given and the men had resisted the notice had been withdrawn. One or two of the employers were reported as having reduced only a few of their hands, but were busy urging upon other employers the advisability of a reduction all round. A resolution strongly condemning these tactics was unanimously passed. It was further resolved to continue the moral and material support of the trade to any who may yet be threatened.

SHOP SLAVERY IN DUBLIN.—Perhaps in no part of the three kingdoms are the unfortunates of what Mr. Stead has called "white slave plantations" so overworked as in Dublin; here the cheap advertising "popular" draperies are open from 8 a.m. to 9 p.m., and on Saturdays till 11 p.m.; till Christmas they will be open an hour or two later. Many are the unfortunate girls who will be slung out to swell the ranks of the unemployed after the employers' annual harvest is over. Every effort is being made by the money-grubbers to secure uniformity in *keeping open* on Boxing Day, thus cheating their drudges out of their hard-earned holiday.

The colliers of Tipton and West Bromwich held a meeting recently, when a resolution was unanimously passed: "That in the opinion of this meeting the working of overtime in the mines is an evil to those who work, an injustice to the unemployed, and a serious prevention to the more equal distribution of the means of life; and this meeting urgently calls upon all miners to use all legitimate means to prevent working overtime in the mines." It was also agreed that the men present should do what they could to raise funds for the Netherseal men, who have been on strike for six months.

SCOTCH MINERS.—A mass meeting of miners of Larkhall was held on the 15th, Mr. D. Cunningham in the chair. The day was held as a holiday in the district, and a large company assembled. The meeting was addressed by Mr. Stephen Mason, M.P.; Messrs. John Fergusson, Glasgow; John Wilson, Broxburn; Wm. Small, and others. The resolution passed was as follows: "We, the miners of Larkhall district, express our hearty sympathy with the people of Ireland in their present struggle for legislative freedom, and we further express our heartfelt thanks to Mr. Cunningham Graham, M.P., for the noble stand that he has made in the interests of the working classes of this country; and further, it is our opinion that it is the duty of every free man to stand up for the right of free speech."

THE IMPORTATION OF RUSSIAN POLES.—Last week, at a meeting of the Edinburgh Trades Council, a letter was read from the secretary of the Glasgow Trades Council as follows: "Dec. 14.—Dear Sir,—You will have seen from the papers about the importation of Russian Poles by Merry and Cunningham. It was before the Council last night, and as the result explains itself, I send you a cutting from the *Mail*, as also an article from Tuesday's *Mail*. Trusting your Council will move in the matter," etc. It was unanimously agreed to endorse the resolution of the Glasgow Trades Council, asking the other councils to join in urging on the Parliamentary Bills Committee of the Trades Union Congress the necessity of having the matter brought before Parliament at the earliest possible moment.

PLUMBERS' DISPUTE AT HULL.—A dispute in the plumbing trade has arisen through the refusal of society men to work with those not members of the society. For some time past a man in the employ of Mr. Wells has been pressed to join the society and has given evasive answers. In consequence it was decided to take action in the matter, and after a final warning to the man, a deputation waited on the employer. Mr. Wells, on being told that all the society men were going to withdraw from his shop, immediately did his best to induce the other masters in the town to join with him in a lock-out of society men. In this he has only partially succeeded, most of the masters preferring good workmen (the Hull Society has all the plumbers belonging to it who are worth having, and the masters know this) to damaging their business by the employment of lads and incompetent men. The consequence is that several masters who had joined in the lock-out have re-treated, and it is confidently expected that the dispute will be settled in the men's favour before Christmas.—E. T.

NORTHAMPTON SHOEMAKERS.—Dec. 16.—In reply to the resolutions of the manufacturers, a mass meeting of 5000 operatives yesterday morning offered to refer all disputes to arbitration, and this was conveyed to the employers. The Manufacturers' Association replied last night that the resolution of the men could not be accepted as any answer to their conditions. An extemporised meeting on the Market Square was immediately held, and the decision of the manufacturers was received with intense indignation. Some of a deputation of non-unionist workmen who had been appointed to wait on the association for the reply to their request to resume work refused to go to the manufacturers on account of the manner in which the combined deputation of unionist and non-unionist workmen had been received. Subsequently, however, two or three of the deputation went to the manufacturers, and were then told that by agreeing to help the union they had placed themselves beyond the sympathy of the manufacturers. Another outdoor meeting was held to inform the people of this reply, and again great indignation was expressed. Dec. 21.—A long procession, headed by the union banner and accompanied by two bands, paraded the principal streets yesterday afternoon and afterwards went to the Market Square, where a resolution to abide by arbitration was carried.

THE LONDON UNEMPLOYED.—At a meeting of the Clerkenwell Vestry on the 15th inst., the clerk read a letter from the Metropolitan Board, in reply to a letter of the Vestry asking the immediate completion of the new spur street between the Angel and Holborn. The Board of Works pointed to the necessity for providing dwellings for the people displaced before completing the street. Mr. Kelly moved: "That a memorial be presented to the Home Secretary, pointing out the delay which has occurred in carrying out the proposed new street, and asking Mr. Matthews to modify the restrictions placed upon the Metropolitan Board of Works with respect to the Housing of the working classes, as such relaxation of the law by the Secretary of State, who is armed with full discretionary powers, would result in the immediate carrying out of a much-needed public improvement, and lead to the employment of a large number of artisans and labourers now out of work." There was no necessity for the new buildings mentioned by the Board of Works, because there were at the end of the September quarter 292 empty houses and nearly 1000 rooms to let in the parish, whilst at the same time there were

large industrial dwellings sanctioned, and shortly to be erected near the Holborn Town Hall and on the site of Coldbath Square. The Home Secretary had now a chance of showing his sympathy with the unemployed, for with one stroke of his pen he could give a great number of the unemployed work.—Mr. Bonney seconded the motion, and it was adopted.

RAILWAY OVERWORK.—Other two cases of long hours came to public view this week through the medium of the Board of Trade reports on accidents. The one is the case of the driver of the pilot engine at Plymouth, whose duty it was to back his engine against passenger trains and push them into the station. Great care is required to be exercised in performing this kind of work, as there are two dangers to contend against. The first is to avoid coming into violent collision with the train when setting against it, and the other is the risk of striking the buffer stops with the carriages that are being propelled. For this kind of work the Great Western Railway Company do not consider fourteen and a-half hours a day too much, as that is the number Driver Cleaver—who had the above work entrusted to him—usually worked. The other case of long hours occurred on the Cambrian Railway at a station called Ellesmere on a single line where a train ran off the rails through a pair of points standing partially open. It appears that it was part of the porter's duty to see that the points in question closed, after each train passed through them in an outward direction, but there appears to be some doubt as to whether he did so in this case. Seeing, however, that he had been on duty sixteen hours and a-half at the time when the points should have been examined (he had been nineteen when the accident occurred) there are some grounds for the suggestion that he, feeling somewhat worn out, could not resist the temptation of trusting to luck and saving himself a walk. If he was to blame, surely those who arranged his day's work are more so. It appears that long hours on the North-Eastern Railway are not confined to any particular district of that line, nor to any special class of traffic. According to the letter of a correspondent, passenger trains running to and from Starbeck are worked by men who stand shifts varying from fourteen to sixteen and a-half hours. What has Sir Joseph Pease to say about this state of things?—*Railway Review*.

LINEN-SPINNERS.—Linen-spinners are a class of female workers whose condition is very little understood by the outside world, yet there is no class of operatives more deserving of sympathy. To those unacquainted with this industry, it may be necessary to state that in a spinning frame, the roving, in passing from the creel to the spindle, goes through a trough of water heated to almost boiling point by steam. The heat of such a room may be imagined when we take into consideration the number of steam pipes and troughs which it contains. There is a trough for each side of the frame, which extends the whole length of same, and a separate steam pipe for each trough. When these troughs, which are constructed of wood, get out of order, or the water boils over—which it very often does—the water falls on the bands which drive the spindles underneath, and is thrown out with considerable force, so that when the spinner is piecing up she is being continually rained on as it were, and by evening is very often drenched to the skin. Through the excessive heat of the room these people may very frequently be observed lifting their knife up, and with the back of it dashing away the great beads of sweat from their face. In the condition of these workers is fully illustrated the glaring and heartless oppression of the poor, perpetrated by avaricious employers in those departments of labour where no organisation exists for their protection. Here are females confined in a heated and unhealthy room for about 60 hours per week for nine or ten shillings. A superficial glance at their condition is sufficient to convince any person of the necessity of trade societies for the proper protection of the workers against reductions of wages to the very lowest margin of possible existence. No society has ever been established for the protection of the above class of operatives, hence their present deplorable condition. Perhaps this may be accounted for by the fact of them all being females, and not having sufficient confidence in themselves. If this explains the reason, then we say organise on the lines of the cotton operatives. We find that the majority of the weavers and cardroom societies are females, but that their business is principally conducted by men, and we feel confident that there are many young men employed in these linen mills who would be most anxious and willing to assist the weaker sex in any movement that they may inaugurate for the betterment of their condition.—*Cotton Factory Times*.

BLACKBURN ENGINEERS AND OVERTIME.—The *Cotton Factory Times* thus scathingly comments on the scandalous behaviour of the Bolton and Blackburn engineers in regard to the question of overtime:—"Next to the settlement of the Bolton engineers' strike, one of the most deplorable events that has happened, from a workman's point of view, is an arrangement which has been come to by the engineers and smiths in Blackburn. The iron trade in that town has been in an unsettled state for some time. At one of the principal firms in the district a settlement was arrived at a week ago, under which the mechanics are to receive an advance of 2s. per week in wages, to commence with the New Year. So far so good, but when we come to examine the price the men are to pay for this advance we are simply disgusted. In order to obtain it the men have agreed to start working overtime at once. What do the engineers mean? At Bolton they agreed to work overtime as part of the terms of settlement, and in Blackburn they have followed suit. Are the unions a fraud and a sham, or what are they? Their leaders march up to the Annual Trades' Congresses and make speeches and propose resolutions in favour of eight hours' movements whilst their members are deliberately agreeing to exceed the present limit. At the last Congress held in Swansea, Mr. Swift, of the Steam Engine Makers, proposed a resolution on the lines indicated, which was supported by Mr. Austin, of the Amalgamated Engineers, and other representatives of the iron trades. In the teeth of this, two disputes have been settled by members of the unions of which the two gentlemen named are general secretaries, in which a special clause has been put in the agreement authorising overtime working. So far as the two gentlemen named are concerned we acquit them of any blame, but what are we to think of the unions that allow it? It is time that working-men spoke out on these matters. The canting hypocrisy which speaks one way and acts the reverse deserves exposure. With the exception of repairs the reason given by employers in the iron trade in favour of working overtime would equally apply to every occupation in the kingdom. Let the engineers speak the truth and say plainly that they work overtime because it puts a little money in their pockets. They can talk glibly about the thousands of working-men who are starving for want of work, but the business ends with talking. Their avowed principles and any feeling they profess to have for their fellow-workmen, are sent to the winds in presence of a paltry shilling or two per week. The iron trade representatives assist in instructing Congress to send out manifestoes in favour of reducing the hours of labour and to ascertain whether

workmen are in favour of an eight hours working day. Let us stop this hypocritical tinkering with an important question. Let the organised workmen of the country first make up their minds on the nine hours' question, and then, and then only, will they put themselves in a fair position to go a step further. Amongst organised workmen the iron trades are in this respect the greatest sinners. In Bolton we hoped against hope that rather than allow the hours of labour to be tampered with, the wages question would have been allowed to go to the wall. We were disappointed, but now that the Blackburn ironworkers have followed suit, we can only say that it is time the reformers reformed themselves."

AMERICA.

There will be two representative gatherings of working men at Albany on January 17 and 18. Delegates from various organisations will meet on January 17 to form a State branch of the American Federation of Labour similar to that organised in Connecticut about a year ago; and on January 18 the Working-men's Assembly of the State of New York will hold its annual Convention.

The organised workers of this city will watch the proceedings of these bodies with a great deal of interest, as it is claimed that the Federation is to be organised in opposition to the Working-men's Assembly. The Assembly claims to believe in rewarding friends and punishing enemies of Labour, no matter in which political party they are found, and to have secured some very important legislation in the interest of organised labour. Through its efforts some years ago nearly 200,000 votes were rolled up as a protest against contract convict labour.

Those who favour the State branch of the American Federation of Labour claim that the Working-men's Assembly is gradually being made a political machine, and that the various interests of working men demand that a State branch be formed. One of the peculiar features of the two conventions is that Samuel Gompers, who spoke up for our murdered Chicago friends, is president of both organisations. There may be a lively time among the delegates.

The organised tram-car employes of New York and vicinity have succeeded in getting the local assemblies of car employes in New York, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Michigan, and Pennsylvania to agree to form a national district of the Knights of Labour.

The new national district will be organised in local sections. Each section will control its own affairs, and the National Executive Board can only interfere in the business of a section when called upon by such section. No strike or tie-up can take place without the consent of three-fourths of the locals in the district. It is the intention of those interested in the new district to push it along until it has all the important cities of the United States under its banner. If this can be accomplished it will be a most powerful body.

Speaking of the serving-women establishments in the United States, a Central Labour Union prominent official said, "they are all beehives of industry and bonanzas for undertakers."

A delegation of union engineers employed in the Lehigh Valley coalmines will try to induce the coal barons to agree to arbitration. If they are not successful in this they propose to strike and allow the mines to be flooded with water.

The seceders from the Knights of Labour have issued a circular which is addressed to the local assemblies of the Knights of Labour, requesting these bodies to co-operate in reorganising the order on an honest and substantial basis. The plan of action is that each assembly shall refuse to pay further tribute to the General Assembly unless an itemised account of the receipts and expenditures of the General Assembly be presented to the local assemblies.

It will be a long time before the Chicago Georgeites invite Henry George to that city again. The two recent lectures were not attended by 300 people, and left in consequence a large deficit, and futile efforts were made by the society to raise the necessary amounts. Lawsuits will probably ensue.

The American Federation of Labour will meet on the 13th inst. in Baltimore to shape its policy for the next year.

The strike of 500 miners near Scranton last week has ended satisfactorily. The men returned to work yesterday.

The strike and lock-out of 450 ship-building hands at Buffalo has ended. About 12,000 men were thrown out of work by the shut-down of all the cigar-factories at Havana, Cuba. The shut-down was precipitated by a demand of the cigar-makers for increased wages.

The threatened strike of 7,400 coal-miners in the Yonghiogeny and Monongahela Valleys has not yet taken place. The men demand an advance in wages and the adoption of arbitration in settling disputes.

Several furnaces at Easton, Pa., have been compelled to shut-down, owing to the scarcity of good coal caused by the Lehigh strike.

LIST OF STRIKES FOR NOVEMBER.

Number of strikers known, November 1 to 25	13,209
Marblehead, Mass.—Shoe-cutters, against reduction	20
Bellefonte, Pa.—Bricklayers, against discharge of one of their number	—
El Paso, Texas—Smelting-works hands, for higher wages, Nov. 28	100
Total known for November	13,329

H. C.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

GERMANY.

During the month of November, 11,474 Germans have left their native country in order to go to America. Since the beginning of this year, the number of emigrants has been 99,556, whereas the corresponding figures for last year are 78,841. A symptom of increasing prosperity!

The police of Breslau arrested last week three Socialists in an hotel of the suburb Nicolai. They were searched, and a considerable number of proclamations addressed to the soldiers and leaflets to the peasants were found in their possession.

Bismarck has at last found the right way to get rid of the Socialists and of Socialism as well. It appears that he is going to enforce the Anti-Socialist laws by the addition of one single paragraph, but a masterly one; instead of expelling our comrades from town to town, it is contemplated to banish them at once out of the country. The chasing of Socialists from one town into another has not proved successful enough, exiling them from Germany will do better. So, at least, he thinks of it; but our friends are of another opinion altogether; who is right and who is wrong? Besides, the legendary

Reichsgericht, the Supreme German Court of Law, interpret the existing Anti-Socialist laws in a most tyrannical way. Until now it was allowed to be a subscriber to a prohibited paper, say *Freiheit* or *Sozial Demokrat*, and as long as the paper remained in the subscriber's possession he was not liable to prosecution. Now the Reichsgericht has decided that the fact of being a subscriber to such a paper amounts to propagating Socialism, because the few marks one has to pay in order to get the paper sent to him is a financial help towards the general fund of Revolution! Lastly, a Socialist had to answer a charge of being a subscriber of a forbidden paper, and he was about to be convicted on that ground, when he had (so at least he thought) a good inspiration. He denied that he was a subscriber, and proved that he received a *free copy*. Well, said the Court, then it is even a more serious charge, only influential persons in the party receiving free copies; you deserve on that account to be convicted much more severely!

The special organ of the shoemaker trade at Gotha, *Das Schuhmacher-Fachblatt*, which never made an attempt of propagating revolutionary doctrines, has nevertheless been prohibited and suppressed by the police there. But the Imperial Revision Committee has found that suppression too ridiculous and too funny indeed, even for Germany, and has decided that the shoemakers may start their trade paper again.

The "authorities" have added two new volumes to their list of prohibited works on Socialism:—1. 'The Record of the last Social Democratic Congress of St. Gall, in Switzerland'; 2. 'The Second Edition of F. Engel's Critical Analysis (and Burial!) of Düring's Works' (Düring's 'Umwälzung der Wissenschaft'). The very best way of soon making new editions necessary.

In Berlin, a number of Socialists have been arrested and their houses searched. Some papers and pamphlets were found, and that will suffice to charge them with the most dreadful crimes: secret conspiracy, attempt to overthrow the existing order, and so forth. Afterwards, a certain number of town councillors, also Socialists, were honoured with a thorough house visitation. As nothing was found they were allowed to go—for the time being.

At Hamburg, the police have seized 6,000 copies of the 'Record of the St. Gall Congress,' and fourteen comrades in consequence thereof were sent to prison. At Stettin, in a few weeks, there will be a new trial for conspiracy.

At Breslau, a new Socialist paper has been started under the title of *Schlesische Nachrichten* (News from Silesia).

At least, one good thing has of late been done in Germany, and I will not overlook it (although I, personally, am not in the least a partisan of the rotten Parliamentarism), namely, the eloquent and powerful speech of August Bebel in the Reichstag. For more than two hours the rulers of that land had a very impressive flogging indeed; Bebel denounced in the most vigorous terms both the home and foreign politics of Bismarck, and he deserves to be congratulated for his courage. I should like to see Bebel's speech translated and spread as widely as possible.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

Another sensational trial took place at Vienna on the 10th inst., with the result of four "genuine" Anarchists and one police-spy, who called himself an Anarchist, being sentenced from one to five years' hard labour. In this case, however, the pseudo-Anarchist, who apparently played his game too badly, was sent to prison with his victims. I only notice this new plot, because I am struck with the fact that in Austria for years past, there has been hardly a single "Anarchist" trial without some scoundrel having been mixed up in the matter from the very beginning. This certainly proves first, that most of these things are merely arranged and concocted by the police; and second, that there must be a considerable deal of imprudence in the ways and means of our Austrian comrades. They seem to gather without in the least knowing each other, and are extremely surprised to be arrested without having arrived at any result whatever. The contrary course rather would surprise me. The scoundrel who denounced his comrades in this case is one Anton Schröger, who was in 1884 editor of the *Radical*, at Budapest, and in the pay of Police-councillor Frankel, at Vienna, since 1885. V. D.

SPAIN.

MADRID.—A very serious agitation is spreading among the workmen in Catalonia, where much suffering exists owing to the depression in trade which has obliged many manufacturers to close their mills. In consequence many thousand operatives have been thrown out of employment, and have enrolled themselves in powerful trades unions, the members of which for the most part are Federal Republicans. About a fortnight ago in the works which are being completed for the approaching Barcelona Exhibition, the workmen and contractors quarrelled about wages. The men struck and began a series of street manifestations of a pacific nature and an active canvass to induce the other classes of workmen to join the strike. Their efforts met with such success that since the 16th inst. matters have taken a serious aspect in Barcelona. Carpenters, masons, locksmiths, have struck, and are expecting to be joined by the bakers and tramway men. They have taken to parading the Boulevards at the busiest hours of the afternoon. 2,000 men last Saturday marched to the official residence of the Governor, and sent a deputation to ask him to mediate between the employers and the men, who are greatly in want of work. The Governor promised to do so, but intimated that he could not tolerate the street manifestations, or the attempts to force other operatives to join the strike. Military and police precautions on a large scale have been taken, and cavalry patrols follow the workmen's processions. *El Emparcial* says that if the strikes spread a state of siege will be proclaimed.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

SPECIAL NOTICE.—In consequence of Monday December 26 being Boxing Day, the usual weekly meeting of the Executive will not be held unless business necessitates it. The next meeting of Council will take place on Monday January 2, 1888.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Weekly Subscriptions—W. B., 6d.

Strike Committee.—Collected in Regent's Park, Dec. 19, 3s. 3½d.—J. LANE

For Wives and Families of the Martyred Anarchists.

Norwich Branch, 4s.; M. A. T., 7s. H. HALLIDAY SPARLING, Treasurer

REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—On Thursday, December 15, at 8.30, T. J. Dalziel lectured, the appointed lecturer not turning up. Fair discussion.—T. J. D.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, no lecture. On Sunday, Dec. 18, G. Bernard Shaw lectured to good audience.—B.

NORTH LONDON.—We held our usual meeting in Regent's Park on Sunday morning, Cantwell and Mainwaring spoke, and we collected 3s. 3½d. for propaganda.—T. C.

BIRMINGHAM.—We have been attending various clubs and putting some little life into their debates. The Tories at Ladywood and the Liberals at Hockley were visited during the week, and were not at all displeased with our view.—A. D.

GLASGOW.—No meeting Saturday owing to rain. Sunday, Glasier and Gilbert held good meeting in Jail Square, where *Commonweal* sold well. In evening at Waterloo Rooms, H. H. Champion lectured on "What Socialists want," and was well received.

HULL.—But little in the way of direct propaganda has been done of late, our efforts chiefly being made through medium of meetings promoted by Hull Radical Club and other like societies. We expect a visit from Mahon shortly, and have challenged Councillor Maddison, President of Trades' Council, to debate with him, as yet have had no reply. Debate between Mahon and Mr. Wing, of Radical club, has been postponed owing to the latter's many engagements.

WALSALL.—Monday, Dec. 12, J. Sketchley (Birmingham), delivered a lecture to branch on "Socialism, what it is and what it is not." Audience gave lecturer hearty reception.—J. T. D.

DUBLIN.—At Saturday Club, December 17th, J. Murray, T.C., lectured on "Law and Order" from a bourgeois standpoint. The international aspect of the question was well expounded by Fitzpatrick. H. H. Johnson, B.A., late Parliamentary for Trinity College, also spoke.

JUNIOR SOCIALISTIC EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY.—Adjourned meeting Saturday at 64, Charlotte Street; good attendance; T. Wardle in chair. Following rules agreed to:—1. That the age of membership be restricted to thirty-five; 2. That members will be allowed to bring friends to the discussions of the society, who will be permitted to take part in the discussions; 3. That at each meeting the time and place of the following meeting be determined; 4. That discussions be held in the rooms of the members, or elsewhere if necessary; 5. That all necessary expenses be met by an equal levy upon the members; 6. That the mode of discussion be: That members be invited to read a paper on a Socialistic subject, such subject not to exceed twenty minutes in delivery, and to be announced at the previous meeting; 7. In the event of any subject not being debated to the satisfaction of the members present, the right of adjourning the same for further discussion to be vested in a majority of at least three-fourths. Wardle vacated chair (which was taken by H. Fry) and read a paper on "Value." After the usual questioning a spirited discussion took place, in which McGill, Cross, Cooper, Fisher, Fry, Mrs. Gostling (visitor), and Spencer-Howell took part. Next meeting on Jan. 21st next, at No. 12, Fitzroy Street, at 7.30 p.m., when Fisher will read paper on "Socialism and Private Life." Those who are desirous of joining the society will please communicate with W. H. SPENCER-HOWELL, hon. sec., 15, Howland Street, Fitzroy Square, W.

Scottish Land and Labour League.

EDINBURGH.—In Free Tron Hall large meeting was addressed on 5th by Rev. John Glasie, and another on 12th by H. H. Champion. Lecturers listened to with the closest attention and enthusiastically applauded. These meetings conclude first series of our winter week-day lectures. Socialism has made great headway in Edinburgh this year. On the 18th John Smith lectured on "Equality." Mahon has resigned the organisership and has left for Northumberland.

ARBROATH.—Champion spoke in public hall here; the audience seemed to agree with all he said. Sale of literature good. At weekly meeting Friday, the secretary resigned as he was leaving the town in search of work.—W. S.

DUNDEE.—Saturday week, Dempster, Devlin, and Carr spoke in Green Market. Champion delivered two lectures on Sunday in Buchans Hall. Both audiences expressed their satisfaction, and all hope to hear Champion again.—J. C.

CARNOUSTIE.—H. H. Champion delivered a lecture on "Socialism" in the Panmure Hall on Wednesday, comrade Carr (of Dundee) in the chair. There was a good audience, who listened with great attention. We made four new members.

Notice to Branches of the S.L.L.L.

Branches desiring literature apply to D. K. Macenzie, librarian, 137 Pleasance, Edinburgh. Remittances must be sent with orders.

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BY WILLIAM MORRIS.

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LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, W. Thursday December 22, at 8.30, Business meeting. Thursday 29th, at 8.30, Social Evening.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7.

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

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

Hammersmith.—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. No lecture on the 25th.

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

Arbroath (Scot. Sect.).—High Street Hall. Meeting Friday evenings. W. Smith, 12 Maule St., secy.

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. Sect.).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., secy.

Dublin.—Saturday Club, Central Lecture Hall, 12 Westmorland Street. Saturday Dec. 31, at 8 p.m. T. Fitzpatrick, "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.

Galashiels (Scot. Sect.).—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., 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 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 Dec. 25, in Hall, 8 Watson Street, at 7 p.m., A. McLaren, "Compensation."—Books, magazines, and other library requisites will be thankfully received and acknowledged.

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.

Norwich.—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Free Lectures Sundays 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.—Temperance Hall. Meets every Monday.

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

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 25.

11.30...	Garrett—"Plough Inn".....	Kitz
11.30...	Hackney—Salmon and Ball.....	Graham
11.30...	Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.	Wade & Pope
11.30...	Kingsland Green	Parker
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.....	Bartlett
11.30...	Walham Green.....	The Branch
3	Hyde Park	The Branch
6	Stamford Hill	Cores
7	Clerkenwell Green	Cooper

Wednesday.

8 ...Broadway, London Fields.....The Branch

Thursday.

8 ...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.The Branch

PROVINCES.

Dundee.—Saturday: Greenmarket, at 7.

Leeds.—Sunday: Vicar's Croft, 11 a.m.

Glasgow.—Jail's Square—Saturday, at 6. St. George's Cross—Sunday, at 1.30.

Paisley Road.—Sunday at 5.

HOXTON (L.E.L.)—Concert and Draw on January 14, at 13 Farringdon Road, when, by special arrangement, THE LAMP, by H. A. Barker, will be performed. Tickets now ready.

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DUBLIN.—A Socialist Club, open to all schools of Socialistic thought, being in course of formation, any person desirous of joining or otherwise co-operating is requested to communicate with J. O'Gorman, or G. King at 21 St. Ignatius Road.

North of England Socialist Federation.

BRANCHES AND SECRETARIES.

Annitsford.—F. Rivett, Dudley Colliery.
Backworth.—W. Maddison, C. Pit.
Consett.—J. Walton, Medonsby Road.
Blyth.—Martin Mack, 4 Back Marlow Street.
South Shields.—F. Dick, 139 Marsden Street, West.
North Shields.—J. T. Harrison, 24 Queen Street.
East Holywell.—J. M'Lean, Top Row, Bates's Cottages.
West Holywell.—F. M'Carroll, West Holywell.
Seaton Delaval.—W. Day, Seaton Delaval.
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CHILDREN'S PARTY

BOXING-DAY, DECEMBER 26.

THE PARTY will commence at three o'clock. Tea will be taken at four o'clock. The Committee arranging the Party are Mrs. Lane, Lena Wardle, Mrs. Grove, May Morris, and Joseph Lane. Donations of money to be sent to Mrs. GROVE, treasurer, 15 Offerton Rd., Clapham Common, S.W. Toys, Presents, etc., to be sent to 13 Farringdon Road.

RECEIVED—Mrs. Mainwaring, 1s.; Wm. Morris, 2s. 6d.; Jenny Morris, 5s.; T. Bolas, 2s.; M. Grove, 5s.; S. C. C., £1; J. L. J., 2s.

The Children's Party will be followed by an Entertainment entitled

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By H. A. BARKER; Scenery, Appointments, etc., by C. BARKER, beginning at 7 o'clock.

Free to Members and Friends.

For further particulars see Programme.

THE TABLES TURNED.

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THE COMMONWEALTH

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 103.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 31, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

EMIGRATION AND COLONISATION.

THE minds of the upper classes are still more and more turned towards emigration. It is true that they have not any wish to emigrate themselves, as one might suppose they would have, since they are always talking about their diminished incomes, and are never tired of dinning into people's ears the splendid career that lies before the emigrant. They are after all tolerably contented to live in the British Islands (Ireland excepted, where there are extra risks). But they have at last got to understand that there is a great mass of "our poorer brethren" who have abundant reasons for not being contented with life in Great Britain and Ireland. The upper classes would dearly like to see the backs of these; for even in these early days they are sick of them and their troubles.

Enlightenment is, however, growing. Lord Salisbury at Derby had something to say on this emigration subject which, as coming from a Tory minister, was new. He would like to send a few more people out of Ireland, conveniently forgetting for the moment that the condition of the five millions now inhabiting Ireland was not so much better than that of the eight millions who once inhabited it. He said Mr. Tuke the Quaker Liberal told him that in large tracts of Ireland the people could not live upon the land. Exactly; because other large tracts have been stolen by the landlords and rack-rented to the tenants by them, just as the starveling larger tracts are.

However, this is not my lord's new idea. It is true that he seemed chiefly thinking about Ireland, because the Irish are better rebels than the English, but he was speaking of emigration in general; and thereon he said what certainly was remarkable for him. Quoth he: "I am aware that emigration . . . happens not to be popular. . . . You will hear people say, Why should not emigration come from the upper classes? Well, I entirely agree with the people who make that contention. my idea of emigration is that it should involve all classes of the community." And he went on to say that he thought it would be disastrous if only the unsuccessful and desperate took to emigration. It must be noted that these are the groups that the philanthropists of all kinds want to send away, and then we can give Lord Salisbury credit for a certain amount of enlightenment—for, in fact, recurring for the occasion to the older and more human Tory ideas of paternal government, which are assuredly far better than the new commercial absolutist ideas that have taken their place, whether their supporters be called Tory, Whig-Liberal, or philanthropist.

However, it must be pointed out that Lord Salisbury didn't understand the popular cry he quoted, "Why don't the upper classes emigrate?" or rather, didn't choose to understand it. His idea presupposes the sacredness of the present three-class society—nobles, tradesmen, and workmen—just as the Roman idea of colonisation did. The popular cry means "Why don't the upper classes turn workmen?" And the answer clearly is, "Because you, the workmen, don't make them do so."

After all, the difference between Lord Salisbury's grandiose, old Tory idea of the natural leaders of the people leading out a colony like the Romans of old, would mean in practice (if it could be put in practice, which it cannot) going out with ready-made somewhat old British bosses instead of stumbling on new-made colonial ones, or gradually evolving them from the rough and tumble of the early colonial gambling struggle for riches and position. There is little to choose between the two methods—the happy-go-lucky, and the paternal: all the more as the dignified paternal bosses would soon lose their dignity in the general scramble above-said. As things go, emigration must be a

miserable, degraded scramble, a mess and a muddle that makes one sick to think of.

But our younger Socialist readers must not suppose that Socialists object to persons or groups changing their country, or fertilising the waste places of the earth. Granted that society really were the sacred thing that it should be, instead of the mass of anomalies and wrongs that it is, the Roman idea of leading a colony is right and good, and it will surely be one of the solemn duties of the society of the future for a community to send out some band of its best and hardiest people to socialise some hitherto neglected spot of earth for the service of man. At present that cannot be done; all we can now do when pushed by our necessities is to waste and spoil some land which should be kept unwasted for the better days. As things go, we are as great a curse to the lands we overrun as were the Mogul hordes of the early Middle Ages—or worse, may be.

Meantime the "remedy" of emigration is receiving rude blows. Lord Salisbury says the rich (perhaps the House of Lords) should lead our colonies. Others looking about them on the waste of the land in England itself, ask very naturally why it should not be cultivated. To set aside the direct answer which Socialists have to make, here is a scheme for Home Colonisation about which a few words should be said. It has been set on foot by Mr. Herbert V. Mills; who has noted with interest the Beggar Colonies of Holland, and being himself both by nature and profession an ascetic, has not been shocked at the slavishness and despair of the future of humanity which such schemes involve. The essentials of his scheme come to this: that charitable persons should subscribe a vast sum of money to buy land, which can be had cheap in England to-day and apparently will be cheap in times to come (unless Mr. Mills's scheme grows vastly and so raises the price), and that on this land certain families and persons are to be planted, having been chosen by the Charity Organisation Society (!). This community will feed, clothe, and house itself, consuming its own productions, and only sell to the outside world the surplus of what it produces. The colonists will be bound to work three hours a-day in return for subsistence (as I gather, at a low standard), and will also be allowed each to cultivate a plot of land for his own benefit. The first experiment is to be made on 500 persons, and £25,000 will have to be collected in order to set it on foot.

Now with all respect to Mr. Mills, who is undoubtedly a kind, disinterested, and devoted man, it must be pointed out, that while his idea of getting the people back on the land is a right one, and while it must be admitted that the members of such a community will be infinitely better off than their workhouse or slum-dwelling brethren, yet his scheme will not lead to any solution of the question between capital and labour. Not to make any carping objections, let it be admitted that the experiment gets over the natural difficulties and succeeds, *i.e.*, that *granted the land given by charity*, the community supports itself; yet the colonists after all are slaves unless they succeed in producing more than a bare subsistence; and if they do so they then become capitalists also; and furthermore it must be asked what is the number of persons to be so benefited, and if that number is what it should be, where is the "charity" to come from?

Clearly the answer must be that the "charity" must be universal, in other words that *all* the land in the country must be given up to gain the end Mr. Mills aims at, due livelihood for the people, and along with the land all the other means of production. If "charity" will do this, well and good; but it is not a matter of fear but of certainty that if Mr. Mill's scheme is taken up, it will be as an evasion of the demand of the Socialists that monopoly in the means of production should cease. And it is quite as certain, as has been said over and over again,

in these columns, that this demand will only be yielded on compulsion. A proprietary class neither will nor can yield its privileges voluntarily.

A word with Lord Salisbury again; I must quote him. He says, apropos of emigration: "Every year between three and four hundred thousand souls are added to your community. Do you believe that the means of supplying them grows, increasing as rapidly?" The answer is "Certainly not, so long as labour is organised first to make profits for the idle rich, and next to supply them with luxuries, so long as it is organised wastefully: if labour were not so organised, or disorganised, then we should see."

Meantime Lord Salisbury makes one admission of importance enough, and which if statesmen ever think, which is doubtful, must have made him feel how empty and hollow his suggestions of remedies were. Said he: "We are in the most perplexing and anomalous condition—we are ruined because everything is cheaper than it was before—but of course you could at first sight imagine that when everything is cheaper everybody ought to be better off. Somehow everybody is not: everybody feels that his industry is checked and his income straightened, and we look round in vain to see some solution for our difficulties, some mitigation for our sufferings."

In vain indeed, my lord! Possibly because when you speak about our sufferings, you are using rather an extravagant figure of speech. Oh, if only those whose sufferings are but too real would only "look round" them, surely it would not be in vain!

WILLIAM MORRIS.

A VOICE FROM AMERICA.

(Concluded from page 413.)

On the last night the relatives of Fischer, Engel, and Spies took leave of these men. Mrs. Parsons was, however, refused even this last favour. "But I must go to see my husband!" she exclaimed. "You cannot," was the cruel reply. She fell down fainting, and had eventually to be carried away. Next morning she again tried to get admittance, but was simply locked up by the authorities during the strangulation of her husband.

On the day of execution the excitement in the States was at fever heat. New York had the appearance a city bears on the day of a great battle. Specials were issued every minute; the people were mobbing the newspaper boys. In fact the headings of the newspapers, the thirst of the populace for sensational news, indicate that they were not to be content short of gladiator scenes. The capitalist class recognise they have to meet a most determined foe, and the working-men see clearly how brutally they are treated. It cannot last long, but the struggle will be severe. No quarter will be given either side.

The Socialists, 10,000 strong, marched through the streets of New York with black flags and muffled drums, as if attending a funeral. Few of us could sleep, eat, or even think. A spirit of restlessness had overpowered us completely. To think that four of our best men were going to be done to death; to think this and also to think of the inability to do something to prevent it was horrible and unspeakable!

THE LAST NIGHT.

All hope was lost now. The Governor absolutely refused to interfere, and the men had but little time to prepare themselves.

The men passed the night quietly. At 4 a.m. one of the reporters made a tour of the lower corridor, where Spies, Parsons, Fischer, and Engel were confined. Spies lay on one side, his head on his arm, and slept as peacefully as a babe. Fischer had turned over on his back; Engel lay motionless, as did Parsons, except that at times the latter started uneasily as if dreaming.

Between 1 and 2 o'clock the Sheriff and his assistants tested the gallows. Heavy bags of sand were attached to the ropes, and the traps were sprung. The horrible machine worked but too well. A few minutes after 2 o'clock Spies stood at the door of his cell smoking and talking through the bars with his guard. The rumble of wheels was heard outside about 4 a.m., and a wagon drove up and unloaded four coffins. At about 7 o'clock the men awoke and dressed themselves. They stepped over to the plain iron sink and took a good wash.

Breakfast was served in the jail at 7.30. The men ate heartily. They bore up well. At 8 o'clock the Rev. Dr. Bolton arrived, but was plainly told he was not wanted. Spies exclaimed, "Pray for yourself, you need it more than I."

THE LAST HOURS.

Then all was quiet again in the jail. Suddenly the voice of a man was heard in song. He began in low sweet tones. Gradually the voice rose higher and higher; each note was clear. It was Parsons; he sang the last greetings to his wife. He was standing in his cell with his head up and shoulders thrown back, singing as if he were a

lark in the meadows instead of a man upon whom the black cap was to be placed in a few hours. This was the song:—

"Maxwelton braes are bonnie, where early fa's the dew;
And it's there that Annie Laurie gie'd me her promise true,
Gie'd me her promise true,
Which ne'er forgot will be;
And for bonnie Annie Laurie I'd lay me down and dee."

It was a sweet pure voice, and the singer sang as if he were the happiest man in the world.

At the very moment that Parsons was singing, Mrs. Parsons was at the jail door pleading to see her husband but once more. This was refused and she rebelled. The cowardly law-outragers arrested her and put her in a cell.

The hour of death is nigh. All are waiting for the moment when the sheriff shall lead the way to the gallows. Then all at once another voice is heard. A more familiar air; an air that makes the heart beat faster. It is the "Marsellaise." This time Fischer is singing. All join in the chorus, and for the second time the jail is filled with music. The death warrant was read first to Spies, then Fischer, then Engel, and at 11.43 a.m. the Sheriff read it for the last time to Parsons. White shrouds were then adjusted upon each of the prisoners, and they were led out upon the scaffold. The caps, also of white, were at once placed upon their heads and the nooses slipped over them.

THE STRANGULATION.

They were then put on the trap. The great drop swung back, four bodies swayed free, turned half around, and then shot down. Fischer died very hard, as did Spies and Parsons, the last struggling and kicking fearfully. But it was soon all over. All of the men died of strangulation, none of their necks were broken.

The last words of each were as follows:

Spies: "There will come a time when our silence will be more powerful than the voices they are strangling to death now."

Engel: Long live Anarchism."

Fischer: Long live Anarchism. This is the happiest moment of my life."

Parsons: "May I be allowed to speak? Will you let me speak, Sheriff Matson? Let the voice of the people be heard."

During the last hour or two before the hanging, the nerves of every person in the jail were at their greatest tension, and the police themselves shared the subdued but intense feeling of excitement which pervaded the building; the four men alone were quiet and collected.

The *Mail and Express*, one of the vilest capitalistic sheets, which has constantly clamoured for the blood of the men, said the same night:

"It is all over. The Anarchists are dead. The drop fell at 11.50 o'clock. There was no trouble anywhere. The men met their fate bravely. They seemed to have hearts like lions."

The strangulation was witnessed by nearly 250 reporters, deputy sheriffs, and local politicians.

Such is the fate of the teachers of humanity.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

"BROKEN CISTERNS."

(Concluded from p. 237.)

But there is one feature about such a change which we must not lose sight of, and that is, that of its very nature it cannot be done gradually. A change of basis must be a sudden change. But it makes all the difference whether this sudden change has been prepared for or whether it is hurried on by violent revolution, and change and preparation have to go on simultaneously. Many Socialists aim at getting a parliamentary party to force on the gradual change. Personally, I think they are mistaken. A parliamentary party might be useful for propaganda purposes; but the kind of preparation which could alone be of much good can only be made by a substantial majority elected for the definite purpose of making preparations for the complete change of basis. I prefer to hope that the change may thus come through the conversion of the majority to our views—instead of coming violently—and I will therefore indicate what I mean by preparatory measures for such a peaceable transformation, leaving to others more able than myself the more difficult task of dealing with a sudden change. Assuming, then, that we have appointed a government backed by a strong majority to definitely prepare for the change, I imagine they would first set about raising a national store by taking the larger part of all rents and all incomes over a fixed amount. They would then organise a system of local self management, which would have to begin by organising in each locality a system of communal distribution of the chief goods in common use. They would for this purpose have the right to appropriate any shops, buildings, etc., which were suitable for the purpose, retaining as far as possible the present owners, managers, and assistants to manage and work the affairs at fixed salaries. They would also have to organise a commission in each district to hear any cases of hardship or actual want caused by the disturbance of relations necessary during the transitional period; and this commission would have to use the national store above referred to for the purpose of compensating such people, not on a basis of property lost, but simply on a basis of providing them reasonably with the means of living, those compensated, of course, being liable to be called upon to do some work as soon as suitable work was found. Having

got an organisation for the distribution of all products, it would become easy to take over gradually all productive enterprises, keeping them working and paying wages in some form of money which would be acknowledged at the government store. The hours of labour would be gradually reduced until all were found employment; and as experience told what the amount of produce would allow, wages would be raised, always keeping a large balance in hand for emergencies. Very much of the details of organisation might then be left to the local communes, the federal management only having a right to supervise and veto anything which would endanger the harmony of the whole. A very short time would be enough to show the people the advantages of the system, and they would soon come to see that every improvement they made, either in the quality of their products or in the method of producing them, would directly tend to lighten their labour or increase their wealth, which they liked. Gradually as things settled down and men became accustomed to common work and common interests, restrictions on the individual could be removed. During the transitional period each would have to do, to some extent, what he was told; the idlers would have to do the work they were set to, and all would have to work a fixed number of hours. Many restrictions of this sort might be necessary during the transitional period, which could be easily dropped as things settled down and the people began to intelligently enter into the work and appreciate its advantages. For instance, in many cases it would be quite easy to let each man work as long as he liked, rewarding him according to the time worked, so that if he liked to work hard one week and play the next he might be free to do so. Similarly it might gradually be allowed to any one to change his work, if he liked to take the trouble to learn a new trade. This would to a large extent influence the reward of labour; for if all men began to crowd to one trade, thus showing it to be an extra pleasant one, as for instance if a large number wanted to be cab-drivers, the reward of cab-driving would have to be to some extent reduced, either by increasing the work expected, or directly reducing the wage. Similarly if there was a difficulty in getting men to do certain work—mining, for example—the reward in that case would have to be increased or the hours shortened. In this way it would become possible for men to develop their individuality to an extent utterly unknown now. Freedom would have a real meaning: it would mean not the freedom to be crushed out by others or to try and crush others out, but freedom to develop in any direction and to the largest extent which the resources of society could allow.

The substantial equality would be maintained, because one advantage would balance another; one man would have slightly more wealth than another, but then the other would have pleasanter work and more leisure. As it is now, all the advantages are piled on to one and all the disadvantages on to another. The greatest wealth goes with the pleasantest work and the greatest amount of leisure; the greatest poverty goes with the worst work and least leisure. There would be equality without the dead level so much dreaded by many. Brotherhood would form the very foundation of the system; all the dividing interests arising from the private ownership of capital and the working of it for private gain would vanish in the common ownership of it. All the class interests and all the scrambling of competition which give rise to "envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness" would be cut away from the root. One common property owned by all and shared by all would give common interests to all, and the growth of new divisions and separate interests would be prevented by a system of federation, where each interest was subject to the management of a body representing all other interests of the same kind. The abolition of all conflicting interests would leave the more social side of man's character free to expand, and human nature under the new conditions would be found to be something nobler than it gets credited with being now, when men are forced into strife with one another through their conflicting interests. The results of such a brotherhood who can foresee? When we gaze upon the marvellous beauty of the creations of men, the sudden bursts of enthusiasm in art and work which have marked the times when men hoped that freedom was dawning upon them, we are dazed at the thought of what would result if mankind were indeed freed from the degrading struggle and the benumbing serfdom under which they groan! Let the thought of it inspire us; and forsaking the broken cisterns to which we have so long trusted, let us struggle with all our might for the one and only change of basis which will allow a nobler society to arise, guided by the three great principles round which have centred the hopes of ages—Freedom, Equality, and Brotherhood.

RAYMOND UNWIN.

"Everyone has a right to live. We will suppose this granted. But no one has a right to bring creatures into life, to be supported by other people. Whoever means to stand upon the first of these rights, must renounce all pretensions to the last."—*Mill's 'Principles of Political Economy,' Book II. chap. vii.* This, originally written in condemnation of the propagation of the extreme poor, seems peculiarly applicable also, to our "nobility and gentry," the majority of whom are "supported by other people" under the present system.—J. S.

A YOUNG ANARCHIST.—It sounds a little bit irreverent, but as it was told by a highly esteemed clergyman, and in Sunday-school, too, it is presumably tellable in print. A little girl, walking in the public garden on Sunday with her mother, began to play upon the grass, and was instantly restrained, to her chagrin. "Why can't I run on the grass, mamma?" she exclaimed. "Because the policeman will make you go off if you do. Don't you see the policeman over there? Besides, it is Sunday, and God doesn't want you to play." "Oh, dear," said the little girl, "if it wasn't for the policemen and God, what nice times we could have!"—*Boston Transcript.*

ALBERT R. PARSONS.

ALBERT PARSONS was born June 24, 1848, in Montgomery, Ala. He has nine brothers and sisters. His father, Samuel Parsons, had a shoe and leather factory. He was noted as a public-spirited philanthropic man. He was an Universalist in religion, and an active, prominent temperance advocate. Albert's mother died when he was two years old, and his father died three years later. His eldest brother, General W. H. Parsons, who was married and living at Tyler, Texas, became his guardian. Two years later the family moved to the Texas frontier, where Albert became an expert in the use of fire-arms, riding, and hunting. In 1859, he went to Waco, Texas, where he lived one year with his sister (wife of Major Boyd). In 1860 he was apprenticed to learn the printer's trade in the Galveston News office. When the rebellion broke out in 1861, though but thirteen years old, he joined a local volunteer company called the "Lone Star Greys." He wanted to enlist in the rebel army, but his employer and guardian ridiculed the idea on account of his age and size, and told him that it was all bluster anyway, and the war would be over in sixty days. Albert therefore took "French leave" and joined a local artillery company. His military enlistment expired in a year, and he then joined Parsons' Texas cavalry brigade. His brother, Major-General W. H. Parsons, was at that time in command of the entire cavalry outposts on the west bank of the Mississippi River from Helena to the Red River. Albert was afterward a member of the renowned McMoly scouts. He returned to Waco, Texas, at the close of the war, and for a short time attended the University at that place. This was followed by learning the trade of type-setting. In 1868 he founded and edited a weekly newspaper, the *Spectator*, in Waco. In it he advocated the acceptance, in good faith, of the terms of surrender, and supported the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth constitutional amendments, and the reconstruction measures. He became a Republican, and consequently incurred the hatred of many former army comrades, neighbours, and the Ku Klux Klan, as well as the love of the enfranchised slaves. Of course the *Spectator* could not live in such an atmosphere. In 1869 he was appointed travelling correspondent and agent for the *Houston Daily Telegraph*. It was during a trip through Johnson county that he first met the charming young Spanish-Indian maiden, who, three years later, became his wife. She lived in a most beautiful region of country, on her uncle's ranch near Buffalo Creek. He lingered in this neighbourhood as long as he could, and then pursued his journey with fair success. In 1870, at twenty-one years of age, he was appointed Assistant Assessor of the United States Internal Revenue, under General Grant's administration. About a year later he was elected one of the secretaries of the Texas State Senate, and was soon after appointed Chief Deputy Collector of the United States Internal Revenue, at Austin, Texas, which position he held, accounting satisfactorily for large sums of money, until 1873, when he resigned the position. In August, 1873, he accompanied an editorial excursion, as the representative of the *Texas Agriculturist* at Austin, Texas, and in company with a large delegation of Texas editors, made an extended tour through Texas, Indian Nation, Missouri; Iowa, Illinois, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, as guests of the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railway. He decided to settle in Chicago. He had married in Austin, Texas, in the fall of 1872, and his wife joining him at Philadelphia they came to Chicago together, where they have since lived. He became interested in the Labour Question in 1874, through the efforts of the Chicago working people to compel the "Relief and Aid Society" to render an account of the several millions of dollars contributed by the whole world to relieve the distress occasioned by the Chicago fire of 1871. It was claimed by the working people that rings of speculators were corruptly using the money, while the distressed and impoverished people for whom it was contributed, were denied its use. The newspapers defended the "Relief and Aid Society," which denounced the dissatisfied working-men as "communists, robbers, loafers," etc. It has since been established that the working people were right in their accusations. In 1876, Parsons joined the "Working-men's Party," and soon became one of its most trusted leaders. In 1876, July 4th, he became a member of the Knights of Labour. In 1877, he received as candidate for County Clerk, on the working-men's ticket, 7,963 votes, running over 400 ahead of his ticket. He has been nominated by the working-men of Chicago three times for Alderman, twice for County Clerk, and once for Congress. In 1878, he was a delegate to the National Convention of the working-men's party. In 1879, he was a delegate to the National Convention of the Socialistic Labour Party, and was there nominated as the labour candidate for President of the United States. He declined the honour, not being of the constitutional age (thirty-five years old). When in 1876 an English weekly, entitled *The Socialist*, was first published, Mr. Parsons was chosen assistant editor. Meanwhile he kept a vigilant watch upon the progress of labour organisations in America. So formidable became the plans of labour at this date, that the Legislature of Illinois in 1878 passed a law disarming the wage-workers. This law was tested and confirmed by the Supreme Court of the United States. No sooner had this policy become effectual and dissensions in consequence had followed throughout the ranks of the whole Socialistic organisation, than Parsons saw the almost hopeless task of accomplishing political reformation. When in 1878, '79, and '80, ballot-box stuffing and other outrages upon the liberties of the people became the order of the day, all faith in the potency of moral means to insure justice, left the minds and failed to touch the hearts of working-men. To Parsons it appeared for the last time that the functions of government were practically intended to subjugate labourers' interests to the needs of corrupt power and ill-gotten wealth. In other words, the fact obtained that wealth controlled the political machines. In 1880, he withdrew from active participation in the labour struggle. The conviction gained upon him, that long hours and low wages practically disfranchised the masses of so-called voters. This experience, he says, had taught him "that bribery, intimidation, duplicity, corruption, and bulldozing grew out of the conditions, which made the working people poor and the idle rich." On this account he subsequently turned his efforts toward reducing the hours of labour. The National Conference of Labour Reformers held in Washington, D. C., in 1880, adopted a resolution forwarded by Parsons, which called attention to the fact that the United States Congress, while it neglected to enforce the Eight Hour Law passed years ago, and applicable to Government departments, found it easy enough to pass and enforce all the capitalistic legislation demanded. On October 1st, 1884, the International founded in Chicago a weekly newspaper called *The Alarm*, on which he was elected to the position of editor, a post held by him down to the date of the paper's suppression in May, 1886. From this date, the history of Albert R. Parsons, his trial, conviction, and execution has passed into a thousand and one periodicals and journals.



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.

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

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

Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

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

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

B. X.—Maxwell's 'Irish Rebellion in 1798' is one of the most repulsively hypocritical books to be found anywhere.

B.—'Garryowen' is No. 696 of Boosey's 'Universal' Music, and may be obtained for 2d. from Boosey and Co., 295, Regent Street.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday December 28.

ENGLAND		
Jus	Boston—Woman's Journal	SPAIN
Justice	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Madrid—El Socialista
Labour Tribune	Coast Seamen's Journal	
Norwich—Daylight	FRANCE	GERMANY
Railway Review	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Berlin—Volks Tribune
	Guise—Le Devoir	AUSTRIA
INDIA		Vienna—Gleichheit
Madras—People's Friend	HOLLAND	HUNGARY
UNITED STATES	Amsterdam—Voorwaarts	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
New York—Der Sozialist	SWITZERLAND	ROUMANIA
Freiheit	Geneva—Bulletin Continental	Jassy—Lupta
Truthseeker	ITALY	SWEDEN
Volkszeitung	Gazetta Operaia	Stockholm—Social-Demokraten
St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio	NORTH AFRICA
Altruist	Marsala—La Nuova Eta	Tunis—L'Operaio

THE "MARSEILLAISE."

WE have again been asked for information regarding this fine song, and assume that it will interest other readers than our querist, and so give a brief statement of its history.

The words and music are both composed by Claude Joseph Rouget de Lisle, a Captain of Engineers, who was stationed at Strasburg when the volunteers of the Bas Rhin received orders to join Luckner's army during the excitement caused by the declaration of war against France by the King of Bohemia and Hungary. Dietrich, mayor of Strasburg, in conversation expressed regret that the young soldiers had no song to sing and march to. Rouget de Lisle, who heard him, returned to his lodgings (Maison Böchel, No. 12 Grand Rue) and composed the words and music during the night of April 24, 1792. With his violin he picked out the first strains of the inspiring melody; but being only an amateur he unfortunately added a symphony, which jars strangely with the hymn itself, and has since been suppressed. The original edition was printed (on a half-sheet, oblong 4to) by Dannbach of Strasburg, under the title of '*Chant de guerre de l'armée du Rhin, dédié au Maréchal Lukner*' (sic). The '*Chant de Guerre*' was sung in Dietrich's house on April 25, copied and arranged next day, and performed by the band of the National Guard at a review on Sunday the 29th. On June 25 a singer named Mirens sang it at a civic banquet at Marseilles with so much effect that it was immediately printed and distributed among the volunteers of the battalion just starting for Paris. They entered Paris on July 30 singing their new hymn; and with it on their lips they marched to the attack on the Tuilleries on Aug. 10, 1792. From that day the song lost its old name and was henceforth the '*Chanson*' or '*Chant des Marseillais*,' and finally '*La Marseillaise*.' Shouting it in the streets the people altered it a note or two; the musicians, Edelmann, Grétry, and most of all Gossec, in their accompaniments for pianoforte and orchestra, greatly enriched the harmonies, and soon the *Marseillaise* in the form we have it now was known from one end of France to the other. The original song had only six verses; the seventh ('*Nous entrerons dans la carrière*', etc.) was added by Louis Dubois for the fete of the Federation. During the revolution a vast number of ephemeral versions appeared, but the first has never been superseded.

That De Lisle wrote the words has never been disputed, but many attempts have been unsuccessfully made to prove the prior existence of the tune. All dispute was definitely closed by A. Rouget de Lisle, a nephew of the composer, who in his pamphlet '*La vérité sur la paternité de la Marseillaise*' (Paris, 1865) gives precise information and documentary evidence which place his uncle's claim beyond a doubt. The controversy is examined at length by Roquin in '*Les Mélodies populaires de la France*' (Paris, 1879).

De Lisle was cashiered for expressing disapproval of the events of 10th August, and was in prison when his chant was dramatised and given at the Fête of Oct. 14, 1792. He was released on July 28, 1794, after the fall of Robespierre. Louis Philippe gave him a pension on Aug. 6, 1830, which he received till his death. He was born at Montaign, Lons-le-Saunier, May 10, 1760; died at Choisy-le-Roi, near Paris, June 27, 1836. Besides the *Marseillaise*, he wrote '*Essais en vers et prose*' (Paris, 1796); '*Cinquante Chants Français*' (Paris, 1825); the librettos of '*Jacquot, ou l'Ecole des Mères*,' comic opera by Dellamaria, 1790, and '*Macbeth*,' opera by Chelard, 1827; and many battle-songs in the style of the *Marseillaise*, none of which attained more than local fame.

S.

PRISON LIFE IN ENGLAND.

(Concluded from p. 182.)

TALKING was very prevalent among the prisoners, who did not seem to care for the punishment which they would get if brought before the governor, who is by the bye a very great official, holding almost unlimited power to flog or starve a prisoner to the extent that his evil passions bid him, short of killing the man, though very often the result is the crippling of a prisoner for life. If brought before this petty domineering official he will always ask you what you have to say for yourself, but woe betide you if you dare to answer; it is much better to say nothing than to try and clear yourself, as I myself found out from experience. The most trivial and paltry crimes (if they must be so-called) are brought against a marked man, in other words, a prisoner who has dared to show the least spirit or spark of manhood. As to paltry crimes I will give an illustration of what I mean by them. It was my unfortunate lot to have to sit and listen to as large a number of lies on a certain Sunday morning as ever I had listened to in my life before. Our clerical friend, the very Rev. Grenville Smith, was preaching upon the great reforms which had received the sanction of the Queen and Church of England; amongst which he mentioned in particular the Franchise Bills, Employers' Liability Act, Education Acts, increased comforts amongst the people, model prisons as against the old system (the only thing on which he was right), and he particularly mentioned the assistance the Church had given to those movements. Of course you can guess my feelings, knowing as I did (and he must also) that they were a tissue of the most damnable lies ever uttered by a clerical parrot, since whatever might have been the value of the above reforms they were all opposed by the Church. Of course I could not sit still under this; to listen to it was more than Job ever had to put up with, so I scratched my head and was brought before the Governor, who cautioned me as to my conduct, which he said was likely to cause a tumult in the prison; and he also bade me to remember that the truth must be spoken, whether I was pleased or offended at it. Did ever any one hear such a speech before! the "Truth" mark you. Truth, what strange things this sacred name is made to cover.

Now, in concluding my few remarks on English prisons, I should like to mention how the day is made up. The time of rising is 5.45 a.m.; the bell at that time rings, and you must at once rise, make up your bed, wash, and clean yourself. At 6 o'clock the warders open the cell doors, when each prisoner must be ready to empty all dirt and slops, then return to his cell close his door and work until 7.30 o'clock, when the bell rings for breakfast; at 8.15 the bell rings for chapel, which is over by 9, after which the governor visits all the cells to administer punishment (not justice) to those whom the warders have hatched up, in most cases, a yarn against. At 10 o'clock exercise commences until 11, after which you must resume work until 12, when the bell rings for dinner, then you commence operations upon your oakum again until 3 o'clock, at which time the oakum officer pays you a visit with a pair of scales to weigh up, and woe betide the unlucky prisoner who has been unfortunate enough to court the ill will of this officer if the task of oakum is not done. A fresh supply is then given out and work resumed until 5 p.m., when the bell rings for supper. And now commences the brutal system of espionage by the night officers, who every few minutes pay a visit to the peep-hole in the cell-door to see if each prisoner is going on with his work all right. If any are idle or reading, and they have not got their task completed, then they are brought before the governor and punished. At 8 p.m. the bell rings for bed; no beds must be touched before this bell rings, or punishment is the alternative. After the beds are made each prisoner must undress and carefully fold up his clothes, put them on a stool, and stand facing his door until the night watchman and one officer visits him and receives his empty supper-tin, after which he is at liberty to go to bed, when all lights are put out and silence reigns supreme, to be broken only by the getting-up bell, followed by the same routine day after day.

As a last word, I should like to advise any of my comrades who may get into prison not to be at all downhearted, but to make up their minds to bear their sentence whatever it may be without fretting; for that will not do them any good. So they had better stand the punishment like men, and grin and bear it as the saying goes, for if they are careful and obey the rules they need have no fear; let them take things easy and cool, and imprisonment will not hurt them. Speaking for myself, I may say the time slipped away quick and easy, and I hope when duty calls me to the front again, that I shall show by answering to the call "forward" that Prison Life has no terrors for

C. W. MOWBRAY.

CORRESPONDENCE.

EMPIRICAL SOCIALISM.

COMRADE LANE'S 'Anti-Statist Communist Manifesto' is certainly interesting reading, and contains much that is well put, clear, and forcible. As for instance, the following: "The economic equilibrium realised, there will be no need of force to maintain it; war by its nature being a huge parasite, could only disturb and not consolidate it. Peace is the necessary resultant and sublime crowning of the social forces directed towards labour. The latter being essentially a peace-maker, the people being emancipated by the revolution will endeavour to guarantee the fruits of their labour, and consequently the fruits of the labour of all; instead of creating, as must inevitably occur now-a-days, new monopolies for the benefit of the few, it will extend, on the contrary, these guarantees, and confederate from town to town, from country to country, internationally. It makes all working-men unite together, and creates what is called the life of relationship in the economical order. Is it conceivable that politics and war could find room, be it ever so small, in a Society so transformed? No; and when the constitution of labour shall have definitely replaced the constitution of the old world, the advent of the working-classes will be realised with a character so imperious and fateful that the most severe justice must acknowledge its legitimacy."

As a comparatively raw recruit in the service of Socialism, I feel great diffidence in pointing out what I conceive to be the errors of an honoured veteran of the Cause; especially of one whose name appears in a responsible position in every issue of this paper. Yet we are all concerned with nothing else than to find out and proclaim the truth, and errors are apt to be the more dangerous when coming from a quarter whence they are least expected. For this reason, though it is abundantly clear that our comrade's aim and ideal is really that of all Socialists, at least in its negative form of the destruction of wage-slavery, I feel bound to point out, though cordially hating controversy, that his method of stating the case is an unscientific and erroneous one.

The 'Manifesto' begins in the approved style of French proclamations and the American Declaration of Independence, with a statement of general principles: "Human Society can only be organised upon the basis of one or the other of the two principles of authority or of liberty. From these two principles are derived two political systems, equally broad and far-reaching, though diametrically opposite in their effect, that of the one being the happiness, and that of the other the misery of mankind." So far as it is possible, to be sure that one has grasped what is meant by such "general principles," I believe this to be incorrect. Has not almost all human society been organised, not upon either of these principles pure and simple, but upon a more or less imperfect adjustment of the two? Again, may not a greater degree of real liberty exist under a severer form of authority (such as negro-slavery or a feudal system in which reciprocal duties are recognised) than under a sham democracy? Is it true that the two political systems are *derived from* the two principles? And why, if no intermediate system is at any time possible, is it only "in this nineteenth century of ours" that "no other political system is capable of contending for mastery"?

The 'Manifesto' states that "authority affirms that the world proceeds from God . . . who has delegated to his representative on earth, priest or monarch (both are kings), a portion of his might and power. . . . God, King, and Nationalism, is the cry and motto of the most formidable re-action. It believes in God, without whom it would not exist itself; in the King, who is an emanation from God; and in Nationalism, which is a mere Jingo sentiment, belonging to the God-idea." So that God is established by authority, and authority (or king-ship) by God; which is reasoning in a circle; and to say that Nationalism, representing an immense phase of social development, and covering nearly the whole field of written history, including the main work of philosophers, heroes, and poets, "is a mere Jingo sentiment," is hardly exact enough for a philosophical work.

Again, I find: "Be it what it may, religion teaches the renunciation of earthly possessions, and a love for the heavenly beatitudes." The Jews were the most distinctively religious people that ever lived, and if comrade Lane will take the trouble to consult a copy of their ancient literature, he will find his loose statement overwhelmingly contradicted. If he means that religion teaches that the nearest good is not always the greatest, that morbid self-seeking is anti-social, that self-sacrifice is a social duty, he is right, and every Socialist knows that this is so, else where is Bax's 'Religion of Socialism,' and where will it be in that future state which Lane parenthetically describes as "religion annihilated"? "We," says our comrade, "can therefore only consider as true revolutionary Socialists, conscious of the object they pursue, those who, like ourselves, declare themselves Atheists, and do whatever in their power lies to destroy this corrupting notion of a God in the minds of the masses. The struggle, therefore, is against every kind of religion, and the propagation of Atheism must form a part of every Socialistic programme that pretends to give a logical exposition to the ideas, the aspirations, and the objects of the adepts of the Social Revolution." It is kind of our comrade to visit religious Socialists with the mild reproof of being "unconscious of the object they pursue," and for my part I should not cease from taking part in the propaganda because comrade Lane considered me insufficiently "logical." But every religious Socialist would agree that comrade Lane's God deserves all his efforts at destruction. Nevertheless, we shall have to wait a long time for the accomplishment of our aims if we are first to see God

annihilated as a philosophical preliminary; and to one who thinks that the idea of God will be absent from the minds of the men of the future, I will not say that he has studied history in vain, but simply that I think he is mistaken.

Still putting the cart before the horse, our comrade proceeds: "We decline to recognise a divine absolutism, because it can only give rise to the slavery of reason and intelligence. Why then should we recognise a human absolutism that can only engender the material exploitation of the ruled by the rulers?" All government is bad, including parliamentary democracy. Therefore "we aim at the abolition of the state," "we are anti-statists." It is not clear whether our comrade uses the word "state" in its popular sense of a class-government, which all Socialists wish to abolish; or in its true etymological sense, as the standing or permanent part of society, the corporate community. The latter it will always be impossible to abolish, for it is inconceivable that a society should exist without some common means of expressing itself. But as "in the elaboration of all our conceptions we always start from the principle of liberty," so, in deference to that principle, we are to ignore evolution. For the development of nationalism must be worked out before internationalism can be possible; and it is against all reason to suppose that all the past and present struggles for national unity can mean absolutely nothing. The Irish, for example, are entirely unfit for Socialism until their national life has had free play; and it is easy to believe that the patience of the Germans under military tyranny is partly due to the unconscious feeling that it is a necessary process that is being gone through. To the Socialist it would seem natural to believe that the *centralisation* which is everywhere hastening to its culmination is a preparatory step that will both necessitate and facilitate the assumption of power by the people; that production and distribution on an increasingly gigantic scale, the undertaking of works of public utility by the State, and so forth, should make our way easier for us, and point out the path to follow in the future. But no; it seems we are to watch our opportunity to arrest the progress of evolution, and introduce an arbitrary decentralisation, instead of waiting for it to take place naturally when the time is ripe.

I am not at all sure that I understand what is meant by "free communism"; it seems clear that any association of individuals must have some kind of arrangement among themselves; if it is a question of the *extent* of such association, the matter is greatly simplified. Our comrade prefers that society shall consist of a number of communes, towns, or villages; I think that it will probably consist of a number of *peoples*. "Internationalism" as an aim means nothing to me if not a number of peoples freed from economical servitude freely federating and communicating with one another through corporate media: if it simply means the sentiment that every man of another race is my brother, it is true and noble enough, but hardly a new discovery or a tangible benefit.

The second part of the treatise, dealing with various aspects of practical politics, seems to me by far the more valuable of the two, and less open to objection. Indeed, one is not likely to quarrel with our comrade for being a Socialist, or for dealing with opponents from that point of view. What is contended is, that Socialism, instead of being considered as the outcome of an inductive investigation of the evolution of society, is bolstered up with general principles, conceptions of liberty, etc.; and the past history and thought of mankind, instead of being scientifically studied for a solution of the mysteries of the future, is subjected to an irregular deductive process in accordance with these previously-adopted principles and conceptions. No wonder that the world appears to our comrade as a "lottery of events," a phrase which he accidentally lets drop.

One returns with renewed satisfaction to the perusal of our own Manifesto; so logical and convincing as it is, after reading that in which our comrade's conception stands forth naked and unsupported. His notion seems to be that man has arbitrarily saddled himself with the burden of authority, that theological slavery produces political, and political economical. Compare with this the succinct summary contained in Gronlund's recent work: Social revolutions "always start in the region of ideas, and first of all in those ideas that have the most powerful dominion over men—their religious conceptions, their views of the universe and their own place in it. Naturally this change first shows itself in the form of scepticism, religious anarchy; then the anarchy filters down to those ideas that relate to our fellow-men, to society, to our moral and political notions; finally the anarchy reaches economics, the basis of society. There the real revolution, the real change takes place; and there, on the new basis, our new political, moral and religious ideas are reconstructed."

Nobody has felt more strongly than I have done the fascination of *a priori* principles and primary conceptions such as those now put forward: but I am all the more fully convinced that to be of any service they must be intelligibly obtained by scientific research. Not that I have any alternative scheme to offer to our comrade Lane's; I am simply pleading for a sound and trustworthy *method*. Socialism, happily, is greater than the private conceits of any one of us, or than the profoundest conceptions of the greatest thinker that ever lived; and we should all lay to heart the words of our comrade: "*Let us mature our ideas and our aspirations!*" REGINALD A. BECKETT.

[I note here that the word "religion" is often used very loosely; the ancient Jewish religion was not one of the "religious" religions as Bax calls them. Also I cannot see how "Internationalism" can fail to bring about the extinction of nations, and so give us the free communes of Lane's manifesto: the federal idea as opposed to the national is clearly growing even now. The centralisation of production and distribution is no doubt hastening the advent of Socialism; but it is in itself an evil, just as the class war is which is doing the same thing; true society once realised, we should get rid of such evils.—Ed.]

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

The extensive engineering works of Messrs. Sharp, Stewart and Co., of Manchester, are about to be removed to Glasgow.

NOTTINGHAM.—A strike has occurred in the hosiery trade, the hands employed by Messrs. Eden and Son having turned out against a reduction in their wages.

CLOSING OF IRONWORKS IN NORTH WALES.—The large ironworks of the New British Iron Company, at Ruabon, which are the most extensive works in North Wales, were closed on Saturday, and all the furnaces are blown out. A large number of men are thus thrown out of employment. The company, which is one of the oldest in the principality, is in voluntary liquidation.

SHIP-BUILDING IN SCOTLAND.—It is currently reported in Glasgow that Sir William Pearce, M.P., has secured for his firm, the Fairfield Ship-building Company, an order to build three steel steamers, with a fourth in prospect, for the Vancouver and Japan services of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Each steamer is to be of 3,000 tons.

END OF THE NORTHAMPTON BOOT STRIKE.—Through the mediation of the Rev. Fleming Williams, of London, the prolonged dispute in the Northampton boot trade ended on Saturday night, the conditions of agreement being then signed by the chairman of the masters' association and the union officials. The terms are on the same lines as those offered by the masters last week, excepting that a standard case of goods will now be formed. The men resume work early this week.

NORTHUMBERLAND MINERS' AGITATION.—The Northumberland miners have taken action on the resolutions passed at the recent Miners' National Conference at Newcastle. They have requested the colliery owners to meet a deputation from the men to discuss the proposals for 10 per cent. advance in wages, seven hours per day work, and a general holiday at stated periods, in view of restricting the output. No reply has yet been received.

THE DOWLAIS IRON WORKS.—Arrangements are now completed for the permanent removal of the Dowlais Iron Works to Cardiff. The operations will be commenced at once, and three blast furnaces of the largest type are to be completed within three years, the work involving an expenditure of a quarter of a million sterling. At a future period the works are to be extended to include Siemens' furnaces. It is estimated that before the expiration of ten years the whole of the Dowlais undertaking will be established in Cardiff, where the works will be the largest of the kind in the kingdom, employing over 10,000 men.

THE COTTON TRADE.—In the Lancashire cotton trade the New Year is beginning with no improvement or sign of better times. There are several wages disputes on hand. A strike is threatened at Higham, near Burnley, while the dispute at Colne still continues. Last week the Weavers' Committee were unable to raise the strike pay, but they expect to be able to do so this week, and they have appealed to other East Lancashire districts for increased support.

COTTARS DEMANDING LAND.—At a meeting of Lews crofters and cottars recently held at Garrabost, it was resolved: "That this meeting demands restoration of the crofters' ancient holdings now wasting under deer and sheep throughout Lews, so as to provide new crofts for the landless cottars who are famishing through want of land." Three hundred cottars from Borge, Shader, and Barvas marched upon Galson sheep-farm, and surveyed the lands, and warned the tenant to leave when his lease expires next March. The contingents were headed by pipers and flags in military order.

LOW WAGES OF RAILWAYMEN.—A correspondent of the *Railway Review* writes from the North Eastern Railway as follows:—"I have been collecting an account of the wages paid to signalmen and porters on this line, and to give your readers a slight idea of the condition of affairs, I give a list of one or two cases. If needed I can send the names of the stations where these men are employed: porter, 20 years of age, 15s. a week of seven days; porter, 18 years of age, 13s. I find I have a clerk, too, on my list, 21 years of age, who has 17s. 6d. a week; and a signalsman, in a 12 hours cabin working 72 hours a week for 20s. 6d. I have three cabins worked by five men, two of them have 22s. 6d. and three 21s. They all discharge the same duties and stand the same hours.

LANARKSHIRE MINERS.—At a meeting of the delegates in conference last week, the following resolutions were passed:—This conference, learning that conditions of employment under the Truck Act are being presented to the miners of the county for signature, would desire to protest and express disapprobation of the illegal pressure brought to bear upon men to compel acceptance, and would urge all miners to amalgamate and prepare for joint resistance to such arbitrary and tyrannical proceedings, and secure, as in the case of quarrymen and ploughmen, that tools be supplied. In considering wages, the delegates unanimously agreed, in consequence of the reported advance in coal, and the fact that many employers had not yet reduced their workmen, that the associated masters be asked to withdraw the reduction of 7½ per cent. enforced during the summer months. Arrangements were made to have a series of demonstrations throughout the country early in January, it being left in the hands of the secretary to convene conferences and secure speakers.

AMERICA.

The Havana cigarmakers have signified their willingness to submit the matters in dispute between themselves and their employés to the arbitration of government, and it is expected that the operatives will consent to abide by the government's decision.

The employés of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad shipped on the 9th inst. a carload of provisions from Philadelphia to the striking miners of the Lehigh coal regions. The same day the Building Trades Council appointed a committee of five to get up an entertainment for the benefit of the Lehigh miners.

The "Provisional Committee" of the Knights of Labour who are dissatisfied with the methods of the present general officers are themselves surprised at the support they are receiving from all sections of the country. An assembly to formulate a plan of action will soon be called.

The National Convention of Moulders is in session at Cleveland, making arrangements to get all the men employed in foundries into the Knights of Labour.

The strike of the table-glassware workers at Pittsburgh, Pa., affects 1,400 men directly and 2,100 indirectly. Secretary Dillon of the Glassworkers' Association stated that their union had ample funds to conduct a long strike.

At present they have 150,000 dollars, and they expect 75,000 more before next year. The manufacturerers are equally firm, and a protracted struggle may be expected.

At the meeting of the Central Labour Union, New York, a communication was read from the journeymen brewers and malsters of Milwaukee. They state that there is trouble with the bosses, who have broken with the men, and the men are locked out. It was resolved to boycott Milwaukee beer until the trouble is settled.

The strike of the shoe-cutters in Rochester, N.Y., is approaching a crisis. 300 shoe-cutters on November 1 threw down their tools because the manufacturerers refused to give them an increase of wages amounting to 1 dol. 50 c. a-week. The action caused the stoppage of the factories, as over 3,000 persons, including many women and children, joined them. Most of the firms have acceded since last week to the demands of the strikers, and it is expected in labour circles that all the employers will grant the demanded increase in wages.

Most has been sentenced to one year's imprisonment. His lawyer, Howe, has been able, however, to obtain a stay of proceedings pending an appeal to the higher courts. The hearing before the Criminal Term of the case will not be before about five or six months. In the meantime Most is out on bail for 5000 dollars.

Capitalists are very joyful just at present; they point to the gallows of Chicago, to the disintegration of the Knights of Labour, to the small vote cast last fall for labour candidates. They really believe by corrupting leaders and hanging devotees they have broken the back of the Labour movement!

Congressman Adams, from Chicago, will propose in the fiftieth Congress the following law:

Whereas aliens residing in the United States have lately menaced the public peace by advising and encouraging the destruction of property and the murder of officers of the law; and whereas such acts are offences against the sovereignty of the United States; therefore, when any District Attorney of the United States shall have information in writing from no less than three reputable citizens that any alien has aided, advised, or encouraged the destruction of property or murder of any officer of the law, or has attempted to overthrow the laws, or to excite domestic violence in any State, such information shall be transmitted at once to the President of the United States. The President shall then issue an order in writing requiring such alien to depart from the territory of the United States within a given time, and this order shall be served by the United States Marshal upon the person to whom it is directed. The President shall have power to revoke such order or extend the time within which such alien is required to leave the country for good cause. If the offender shall refuse to obey such order, it shall be the duty of the Secretary of State to cause him to be arrested and conveyed out of the territory of the United States, and if he shall return again to this country he shall be punished by imprisonment for not more than three years, and at the expiration of his term of imprisonment shall again be conveyed out of the country, and not be permitted to return until the order expelling him shall be revoked. Section 8 of the bill provides "That whenever, in the judgment of the President of the United States, the public safety shall require, it shall be lawful for the President to cause any such alien to be arrested without notice and conveyed out of the United States."

Reports that come from Philadelphia concerning an approaching crisis in the affairs of the Knights of Labour that may lead to its complete disintegration are fully confirmed by New York Knights of Labour. James E. Quinn, Master Workman of D. A. 49, has cut loose completely from T. V. Powderly, and in the last issue of *Solidarity* declares war on him. In one of the passages he says: "Through the action of the General Assembly at Minneapolis the Order will in the near future be held responsible before the world for the lives of five of the most noble champions of humanity that this planet has ever yet been blessed with thus far." Quinn does not agree with the seceders; he says they do not act wisely; they should imitate the leaders of D. A. 49 in 1882 when they differed with Powderly. These organised the "Home Club" and fought the general officers until they brought them to terms. Powderly, it is said, hopes to compromise with all his opponents. The new labour organisation which was formed in Chicago after the Minneapolis convention by the seceders will accept nothing but the *positive*, and not the "bismarckian" resignation of Powderly and his lieutenants. The new organisation will be styled "Brotherhood of Labour." If Powderly persists in his course he will ruin the Order.

LIST OF STRIKES FOR DECEMBER.

Number of strikers to December 2	18
Birmingham, Ala.—Coal-miners, demand by men for new weighing arrangements, Dec. 3	150
Pittsburgh, Pa.—Glass-workers, against new scale adopted by manufacturerers, Dec. 5	250
Boston, Mass.—Hat-factory employés, for shorter hours	—
Providence, R. I.—Girls in rubber-factory, against doing certain work	35
Palmer, Mass.—Carpet-works employés, against reduction	—
Marblehead, Mass.—Shoe-cutters, for higher wages, Dec. 5	—
Dayton, Ohio.—Freight brakemen and switchmen, for higher wages	—
Fairport, Ohio.—Ore-handlers, December 6	100
Baltimore, Md.—Oyster-shuckers, against false measurement, Dec. 8	100
Pittsburgh, Pa.—Iron-works employés, question of management, Dec. 7	500
Total number of strikers known to December 10	1,351

Revolutionary Calendar and Book of Days.

All other people but English Socialists have their several calendars to keep them in mind of the tidings of past years as the days go by. Now, however, this omission on the part of the English revolutionary party is about to be rectified. Our comrade Tom Muse, of Carlisle, sent to the Editors of this paper a calendar of revolutionary dates compiled by himself, with a request that we should find a publisher for it if we deemed it worth. We did so consider it, but found that it was too late for hope of getting it published by the end of this month. Thereupon we resolved, with comrade Muse's permission, to print each week in the *Commonweal* the week's instalment, after carefully revising and adding to it; with explanatory notes and comments on the week's events. In the next number this will be begun. At the end of the year we intend to issue the completed work in one volume; meanwhile we cannot but think our readers will be pleased with the new feature.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

BELGIUM.

On Christmas-day, a Congress of all the Belgian Freethinkers' Association was held at Brussels. I only notice the fact because I should like to point out that in all Roman lands Freethinkers are Socialists also, and consequently their meetings are Socialistic and revolutionary, whereas in England and other Anglo-Saxon countries, it is often found that the freest thinkers in point of philosophy are most reactionary in politics and economics, and the Socialists in these lands are not always Freethinkers.

Our comrades in Belgium, of course, are not satisfied with the scanty measure of pardon granted to the miners of Charleroi and Mons, and they are going to set on foot an agitation in order to have their fellow-workers completely amnestied. Let us hope that they will ere long succeed in their re-vindication.

Our readers will perhaps remember what was said about the fishermen of Ostend, at the time when they were quarrelling with their English trade comrades. How just the case of the poor Ostend wage-slaves was, may easily be deduced from the following facts. The whole fishery trade at Ostend is monopolised in the hands of fifteen ship-owners. Each of them owns on an average a dozen of fishing-boats. After five or six days' fishing, each boat comes back with a cargo of fish; the value of which can be reckoned at an average of 500 frs., or £20. Out of this sum, the shipowner first deducts for the sinking and interest of his capital and the redeeming of some other expenses 55 per cent., that is to say, 275 frs., or £11 of the above £20. The remainder, i.e., 225 frs., or £9, is considered as nett profit; on this sum each man of the crew gets 5 per cent., or 12f. 50c. (10s.) a-week. If we suppose that he has the same amount of wages during forty weeks in the year, which is a very fair supposition indeed, his yearly earnings will amount to the "enormous" sum of 500 frs., or £20. Now what is the share of his master, the shipowner? If he gives 12f. 50c. to each sea-slave, that will be for the six men of each boat a total sum of 75f. or £3; deducting the £3 from the gross produce he will have a profit of 425 frs., or £17 per boat and per week, and reckoning for him forty weeks fishing as well, his yearly income for one boat amounts to 17,000 frs., or £680! I don't know the proper value of the boat nor the sum total of his expenses, but I imagine that the investment of his capital fairly gets him 200 per cent. Each shipowner having on an average twelve boats, his yearly income will reach 200,000 frs., or £8,000, and he earns it not by his work, but by remaining all day long at the fireside doing nothing, if he likes that kind of idleness. He gets *four hundred times* more than the poor fisherman, who toils night and day, and always exposes his life and the welfare of his family by the most dangerous of all trades. How could this dreadful position of the starving fishermen be ameliorated? Simply by their being themselves in possession of the boats. Instead of their earning 10s. a-week they would have, on the basis of the above mentioned figures, 80 frs., or £3, 4s. weekly. But that would be Socialism and not Commercialism, as it is nowadays; commercialism or capitalistic accumulation of wealth being the appropriation of the work of others by mischievous, superfluous, and parasitical monopolisers.

FRANCE.

As a New Year's gift, President Carnot is going to grant full amnesty to all political offenders now in the prisons of the French Republic.

On Tuesday 20th inst., comrade Kropotkin lectured at Paris, in the Salle de Rivoli, before a crowded and enthusiastic audience, on a very interesting subject—the moral influence of prisons on the prisoners. After having examined how prisons could be organised, as long as prisons exist at all, he comes to the conclusion that, even if it were reorganised, the penitentiary régime would remain absolutely immoral, because it kills all noble and human feelings and fatally develops all the instincts of the brute—lust, covetousness, servility. He pronounces that the only way to ameliorate prisons is to suppress them altogether.

Up to the present moment there have not been different fractions enough in the French Parliament; a new one, the Group of the Socialist Deputies, has lately been formed. It may be interesting to our readers to know the parliamentary programme of this group, numbering some twenty-five members. It runs as follows: 1. Individual freedom and communal autonomy; 2. International federation of all nations; 3. Solution of all differences and variances between nations and between individuals, by way of arbitration; 4. Transformation, as far as possible, of all standing armies into national guards, all adults being obliged to serve; 5. Abolition of capital punishment; 6. Sovereignty of the people guaranteed by universal suffrage, organised so as to recognise the right of minorities; 7. Progressive emancipation of woman; equal civil rights for legitimate and so-called illegitimate children; 8. Integral, scientific, professional and military instruction gratuitous to all and in all standards; 9. Separation of all churches from public administrations, schools, charitable institutions, etc.; suppression of the budget for religious purposes; 10. Absolute freedom of thought, speech, press, meeting, contract and work regulations; 11. Transformation of all monopolies into public services, conducted by their respective trades' associations, under direct control of the public administration; 12. Progressive nationalisation of private property; 13. Abolition of all town-dues and indirect taxes; establishment of progressive taxes on personal income and on successions; abolition of successions by collateral line; 14. Public institutions for charitable and benevolent purposes, infant-asylums, schools, retreats for old persons, etc., to be provided for by the community.

GERMANY.

Comrade Steinfatz, formerly editor of the *Burger-Zeitung*, which was lately suppressed by the German police-censure, has been expelled from Hamburg. He had only just been released from prison.

One of the scoundrels who played the rôle of Crown witness or informer at the trial of our Chicago comrades, Godfrey Waller, now lives at Hamburg under the name of Karl Miller. Our friends there should keep their eyes open and be warned against that wretch.

During the last fortnight active perquisitions have been made on all the barracks of the German army, on a special order issued by the Minister of War, who is anxious to ascertain the enormous progress of Socialist ideas among the soldiery. At Posen, Berlin, Breslau, Frankfurt, Mainz, etc., the inquirers have found out that they were not searching in vain and that our "detestable" doctrines really have had a good hearing. Of course, many a soldier friend who had in his possession pamphlets or papers or leaflets, will be sent to prison for a while, but a firm and convinced man doesn't care a fig for that nowadays: the tables soon will be turned.

V. D.

PEOPLE WHO WOULDN'T BE MISSED.

[WITH APOLOGIES TO MR. W. S. GILBERT.]

As it seems to be conceded that a clearance must be made,

I've got a little list, I've got a little list

Of certain individuals who, if they should get mislaid,

I'm sure would not be missed, they never would be missed.

The patriotic gentlemen I speak of, it is clear,

(With a slight amount of pressure) would consent to disappear;

And the emigration-mongers should support me to a man,

For, notwithstanding consistency and beauty of the plan,

They've picked enough to please a rabid emigrationist,

They've none of them be missed, they'd none of them be missed.

Chorus: We'll put 'em on the list, though it's likely they'll resist;

For they'll none of 'em be missed, they'll none of 'em be missed.

First the bourgeois statistician of the Levi-Giffen type,

With his curious mental twist, I've got him on the list;

Then the military Bobby who has London in his grips,

He never would be missed, oh, no, he'd not be missed;

The cunning devils who would fain put off the Labour pack

By trailing semi-decomposed red herrings on the track,

And the frothy fools who bawl that Britons never will be slaves,

When they're that and nothing better from their cradles to their graves;

The blue-ribbonite fanatic, and the smug evangelist,

They never would be missed, they never would be missed.

The jolly jerry-builder, whom I own a strong desire

To pummel with my fist, I've got him on the list;

The advertising agent whose productions we admire!

He never would be missed, he never would be missed;

The brassy rent-collectors, and the sweating middlemen,

Who fleece the happy worker when they get him in their den;

The respectable debenture-holding profit-hunting thieves;

And the nugatory landlord who unblushingly receives

A premium for graciously consenting to exist;

He never will be missed, I'm sure he'll not be missed.

Then the money-lord without whose aid our labour could not thrive,

The boss capitalist, that consummate humorist,

Who claims to clothe and house and feed and keep us all alive,

We've got him on the list, we've got him on the list;

And the rascal who to muffle up his income makes a shift

With the "Dignity of Labour" or "Advantages of Thrift";

And along with him his brother-shark, the crafty business man,

Who combines a sound percentage with a charitable plan,

And poses as the worker's friend, the pure philanthropist,

He never would be missed, he never would be missed.

C. W. BECKETT.

LITERARY NOTICES.

'The Redemption of Labour,' by Cecil Balfour Phipson (Swan Sonnenschein, 12s.), is a large and imposing-looking work in two volumes; which, however, before it is well open proclaims what it is. On the title-page it asserts by way of motto: "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God." The preface informs us that: "The end he seeks may be reached by man, but only when he acknowledges his dependence upon and humbly follows the guidance of his God." A list of twenty errata, numbering among them such as "for 'blue' read 'pink,'" "for 'blue' read 'red,'" "for 'Diagram of Table No. V.' read 'Ratios of Table No. IV.,'" makes one's brain reel with the endless vistas of perverted meaning it opens up. Mr. Phipson has succeeded after great labour in producing a book for which there is no strong reason of being; which has little chance of obtaining a wide circle of readers; and has for the few who will read it nothing to offer beyond that which they will have already received from a hundred less pretentious and more workmanlike productions. A certain reluctance must always be felt in condemning any honest attempt at solving the labour problem; and that feeling is intensified when, as in the present case, the attempt is transparently painstaking and well-intentioned; but writers (and readers) of books must remember that what would have been a striking book a few years ago, say when 'Progress and Poverty' appeared, is now a very ordinary thing indeed, and that to be worth writing or reading, a book must bear a new message or put the old in a better shape; neither of these requirements does the present book fulfil.

'Liberty and Law,' by George Lacy (Sonnenschein, 12s.), is just the reverse of the above-named in the impression it produces when opened; on the title-page it offers itself as: "An attempt at the refutation of the Individualism of Mr. Herbert Spencer and the political economists; an exposition of natural rights, and of the principles of justice, and of Socialism; and a demonstration of the worthlessness of the supposed dogmas of orthodox political economy;" the preface explains that "this is not a work written by a thinker especially for thinkers; it is a work written for the people by one of themselves," and proceeds to attack with cheery impartiality all and sundry of the great thinkers that men bow to nowadays. A glance through the book shows the author's wide reading; copious extracts from all modern books of note on ethics, law, morality, etc., are given as foot-notes, each with a clear reference to where it may be found; and its whole appearance lulls the reader into a belief that his road has been made smooth for him, that here at last is a man who, freeing himself from cant and prejudice, has had a workmanlike try at making clear a complex question. Alas for the perishing of human hope! A few pages on we come with a jerk upon statements like "to say that the race is always ahead of its laws is clearly absurd," and on reaching the last chapter we are treated to a tirade against freedom of the press, of public meeting, of open-air speaking, and of many other things we fondly imagine that we have a right to enjoy. "There is something in the book," for the quotations are valuable, but a mass of undigested material does not form a book any more than untiring industry and unquestioning self-belief makes up for lack of reasoning power and capability of expression.

S.



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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.

REPORTS.

CLERKENWELL.—Usual lectures not given, owing to hall being used for preparations and arrangements of Christmas festivities.—B.

HAMMERSMITH.—Usual meeting at Starch Green on Saturday, held by C. Smith, Maughan, and Tochatti. Fair sale of *Commonweal*. Comrades in neighbourhood kindly turn up.—J. T.

GLASGOW.—Thursday, Downie read paper on "1890, being a Schoolboy's Retrospect." Good discussion followed. Sunday 5 p.m., good meeting at Paisley Road Toll, addressed by Gilbert, Downie, and Pollock. At 7 p.m., A. McLaren, M.A., gave a splendid lecture on "Brotherhood, a Christmas Sermon." Interesting conversation followed.—J. A.

WALSALL.—On Monday, Dec. 19th, H. Sanders lectured. Good discussion by members and visitors at close.—J. T. D.

Scottish Land and Labour League.

EDINBURGH.—On 25th, usual meeting held. Good discussion. No lecture on Jan. 1st. Edward Pease in Trades' Hall on 9th.—J. S.

Notice to Branches of the S.L.L.L.

Branches desiring literature apply to D. K. Mackenzie, librarian, 137 Pleasance, Edinburgh. Remittances must be sent with orders.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, W. Thursday December 29th, at 8.30, Social Evening.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7. Jan. 1, Free Concert by Wm. Blundell and Friends.

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

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

Hammersmith.—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Jan. 1, C. J. Faulkner, "Property, the New Superstition."

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.

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).—James Leatham, secy., 15 St. Nicholas Street.

Arbroath (Scot. Sect.).—High Street Hall. Meeting Friday evenings. W. Smith, 12 Maule St., secy.

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. Sect.).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., secy.

Dublin.—Saturday Club, Central Lecture Hall, 12 Westmorland Street. Saturday Dec. 31, at 8 p.m.

T. Fitzpatrick, "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.

Galashiels (Scot. Sect.).—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., 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 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. 1, meeting in Rooms at 2 p.m. to exchange New Year's greetings and hear address from comrade Muirhead. Instrumental and vocal music; coffee, etc., will be served to members.

Hamilton.—Faton'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.—Temperance Hall. Meets every Monday.

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

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 1.

11.30...Garratt "Plough Inn".....Kitz

11.30...Haxton—Salmon and Ball.....Graham

11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.....Wade & Pope

11.30...Kings Green.....Parker

11.30...Merton—Merton Road.....The Branch

11.30...Mitcham—Green.....The Branch

11.30...Regent's.....Nicoll

11.30...St. Pancras.....Bartlett

11.30...Walham Green.....The Branch

3...Hyde Park.....The Branch

6...Stamford Hill.....Cores

Wednesday.

8...Broadway, London Fields.....The Branch

Thursday.

8...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.....The Branch

PROVINCES.

Dundee.—Saturday: Greenmarket, at 7.

Leeds.—Sunday: Vicar's Croft, 11 a.m.

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North of England Socialist Federation.

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Seaton Delaval.—W. Day, Seaton Delaval.

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THE TABLES TURNED.

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