

# THE COMMONWEALTH

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON NEWS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## POLICE SPIES EXPOSED.

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

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

The names are as follows:—

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

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

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

EDITORS.

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

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

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

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

## LAW AND WAR.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

C. J. FAULKNER.

(To be continued.)

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

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

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

## LUXURY AND LABOUR.

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

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

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

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

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

## FACTS AND FIGURES.

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

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

"The Government returns of evictions are incomplete, since they do not include cottiers, whose cases are decided at petty sessions."

The number of cottiers unhoused between 1841 and 1861 was 402,000 families, as appears from the census returns:—

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

Pulled down ... .. 401,904

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 15 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped 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, 15 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday January 4.

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

## WHAT 1887 HAS DONE.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

WILLIAM MORRIS.

### LITERARY NOTES.

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

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

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

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

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

### EVOLUTION.

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

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

REGINALD A. BECKETT.

### SAMUEL FIELDEN.

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

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

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

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

# THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

## BRITAIN.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## AMERICA.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### LIST OF STRIKES FOR DECEMBER.

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

## NEW SOUTH WALES.

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

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### FRANCE.

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

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

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

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

HOLLAND.

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

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

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

ITALY.

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

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

SWITZERLAND.

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

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

FORTNIGHT ENDING JANUARY 14, 1888.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

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

BRANCH SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID.

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

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

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

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

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

For Wives and Families of the Martyred Anarchists.

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

REPORTS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PROVINCES.

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

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

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

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

Glendeneath (Scot. Sec).—J. Dunoon, 30 Arthur Pl., sec

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

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

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

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

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

Glasgow.—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Propaganda Committee, Mondays at 8. Short-hand Class, Tuesdays at 8. Music Class, Tuesdays at 9. Discussion Class, Thursdays at 8 (Jan. 12, J. Adams, "Political Panaceas").

Sunday 8th, meeting of members in Rooms at 2 p.m.—Business, Finance and Organisation. In Hall, 8 Watson Street, at 7 p.m., R. J. Peace of Newcastle, "What Socialists should do."

Hawthorn.—Faton's Hall, Chapel St. Thursday, 7.30.

Leeds.—17 Cheam 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, 26 1/2 Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m. Walsall.—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m. West Calder (Scottish Section).—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 8.

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

Wednesday.

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

Thursday.

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

PROVINCES.

Leeds.—Sunday: Vicar's Croft, 11 a.m.

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

North of England Socialist Federation.

BRANCHES AND SECRETARIES.

- 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 FEDERATION.—Meeting at Commonwealth Office, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday January 8, at 4 p.m.

The Chicago Martyrs.

A COMMITTEE has been appointed by several of the Socialist and revolutionary bodies of London to arrange for the speedy publication of the speeches of the eight prisoners and a full record (from the official copy) of their trial. This work is in progress, but want of funds seriously delays its completion. In order to meet this difficulty the Committee are issuing coupons entitling bearer on payment of 6d. to a copy of the first issue made, and it is hoped that all members and friends of the cause will do their utmost to aid in the commemoration of our brave comrades and at same time in the pushing forward of the cause they served. J. BARBER, Treas. H. REUTER, Sec., 101 Albert St., Camden Town, N.W.

L. E. L.

GRAND CONCERT AND DRAW

(To raise a fund for the forming of an East-end Socialist Club.) AT 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C. ON SATURDAY JANUARY 14, AT 8 P.M. Tickets now ready, and must be secured beforehand.

There will be about Thirty Prizes, and besides Music

THE LAMP: An Extravaganza

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

THE TABLES TURNED.

ENGAGEMENTS.

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

SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.

- Chants for Socialists. By William Morris. 1d.
Organized Labour: The Duty of the Trades Unions in Relation to Socialism. By Thomas Blanning (London Society of Compositors). 1d.
Socialism on its Defence. A REPLY TO PROFESSOR FLINT. 1d.
The Aims of Art. By Wm. Morris. Bijou edition, 3d.; Large paper, 6d.
The Tables Turned; or, Nupkins Awakened. A Socialist Interlude. By William Morris. In Wrapper 4d.
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.
Useful Work v. Useless Toil. By William Morris. 1d.
"All for the Cause!" Song. Words by William Morris; Music by E. Belfort Bax. 4to, 4 pp. 6d. per dozen, 4s. 6d.
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Social Science. Size of page 15 by 11 1/2. Containing splendid Portraits for framing of the eight Chicago Anarchists, with Biographical Notices. Price 5d., post free 6d.

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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. 4.—No. 105.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 14, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON NEWS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## LAW AND WAR.

(Continued from p. 3.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

C. J. FAULKNER.

(To be continued.)

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

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

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

## LETTER FROM AMERICA.

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

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

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

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

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

## HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF.

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

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

## TRAFALGAR SQUARE—ANOTHER VICTIM.

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday January 11.

<b>ENGLAND</b>	Paterson (N.J.) Labor Standard	<b>ITALY</b>
Jus	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	Gazetta Operaia
Justice	Providence (R.I.)—The People	Marsala—La Nuova Eta
London—Freie Presse	Coast Sea men's Journal	Bani—Municipal
Labour Tribune	<b>FRANCE</b>	<b>SPAIN</b>
Norwich—Daylight	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	El Productor
Railway Review	Le Socialiste	Madrid—El Socialista
<b>SOUTH AUSTRALIA</b>	La Revolte	<b>GERMANY</b>
Adelaide—Our Commonwealth	Lille—Le Travailleur	Berlin—Volks Tribune
<b>INDIA</b>	Guise—Le Devoir	<b>AUSTRIA</b>
Madras—People's Friend	<b>HOLLAND</b>	Arbeiterstimme
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Hague—Recht voor Allen	<b>HUNGARY</b>
<b>UNITED STATES</b>	Amsterdam—Voorwaarts	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
New York—Der Sozialist	<b>BELGIUM</b>	<b>DENMARK</b>
Freiheit	Seraing (Ougree)—Le Revell	Social-Demokraten
Volkszeitung	Ghent—Vooruit	<b>EGYPT</b>
Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer	Liege—L'Avenir	Bosphore Egyptian
Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	<b>SWITZERLAND</b>	
Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat	

**RADICALS LOOK ROUND YOU!**

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

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

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

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

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

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

WILLIAM MORRIS.

### PRISON LIFE IN ENGLAND.

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

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

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

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

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

FRED HENDERSON.

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

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

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

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

#### THE FABLE.

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

C. W. BECKETT.

### INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

#### BELGIUM.

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

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

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

#### GERMANY.

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

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

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

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

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

#### SPAIN.

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

V. D.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

AMERICA.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

LIST OF STRIKES FOR DECEMBER.

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

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

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING JANUARY 21, 1888.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. Is Louis guilty?—Total number of members, 749; absentees for illness sake, 1; absent by commission of the Assembly, 20; members who did not vote, 18; members who answered Yes, 683; total, 749.
2. Will the decision of the Assembly be put before the whole people for ratification?—Total number of members, 749; absent for illness, 9; members who refused to vote, 5; absent by commission of the Assembly, 20; members who answered Yes, 231; members who answered No, 434; total, 749.
3. Which sentence is to be inflicted?—Total number of members, 749; absentees by illness, 8; absent by commission of the Assembly, 15; members who did not vote, 5; members who voted, 721; absolute majority, 361.

Members voting for fetters, 2; members voting for detention, banishment, or reclusion, 286; members voting for death with delay in the execution, 46; members voting for death pure and simple, 387; total, 721.

Summing-up.—For death, 433; for detention, banishment, etc., 228; absentees or non-voters, 28; total, 749.

Accordingly, to the vote of the National Convention, Louis XVI. was beheaded at Paris on January 21st, 1793.—V. D.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

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

BRANCH SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID.

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

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

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

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

**Children's Party.**—The receipts for same amount to £3, 13s. 6d., and the expenditure to £3, 13s. 1d.; balance, 4s. Not previously acknowledged, but included in the above, J. E. Cobden, 5s. The committee have much pleasure in presenting so satisfactory a report.

REPORTS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**EPINAY.**—On 6th, Howie read paper dealing with common objections to Socialism. Audience small. Members and friends ought to turn out to these meetings in force.—J. S.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PROVINCES.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 15.

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

Tuesday.

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

Wednesday.

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

Thursday.

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

PROVINCES.

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

**Paisley Road Toll.**—Sunday, 5 p.m. **Leeds.**—Sunday: Vicar's Croft, 11 a.m.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TO-NIGHT (SATURDAY).

GRAND CONCERT AND DRAW

(To raise a fund for the forming of an East-end Socialist Club.)  
AT 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.  
ON SATURDAY JANUARY 14, AT 8 P.M.

There will be about Thirty Prizes, and besides Music **THE LAMP: An Extravaganza** by H. A. Barker, will be performed.

Tickets must be secured beforehand.

THE TABLES TURNED.

ENGAGEMENTS.

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

The Chicago Martyrs.

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

J. BARBER, Treas.

H. REUTER, Sec.,

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

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

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- Chants for Socialists.** By William Morris. . . 1d.
- Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism.** By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). . . 1d.
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# THE COMMONWEALTH

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 4.—No. 106.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 21, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON NEWS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

imbecile domineering which not uncommonly goes with his better qualities.

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

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

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

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

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

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

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## LAW AND WAR.

(Continued from p 10.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(To be concluded).

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

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

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

## SPAIN.

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

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

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

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

## AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

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

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

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

## ITALY.

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

## SWITZERLAND.

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

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

## BELGIUM.

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

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

V. D.

## LITERARY NOTES.

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

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

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

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

## THE BLACK SHEEP.

"To thine own self be true."

The black sheep baa'd as the shepherd went by,  
Thinking: "My master will know it was I;  
Docile and tractable ever I keep—  
Oh, if I were a collie instead of a sheep,  
I would e'en to myself be true, sheep,  
And true to thee, shepherd mine,  
Though the word were to be "taboo," sheep,  
By every true canine!

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

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

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

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

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

T. MAGUIRE.

## MICHEL SCHWAB.

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

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



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

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

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

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday January 18.

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

“SOLVITUR AMBULANDO.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Rearing  
The goodly framework of a fairer state,"

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

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

THOMAS SHORE, jun.

## MRS. BROWN IN SEARCH OF THE TRUTH.

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

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

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

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

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

SAIRRY BROWN.

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

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

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

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

# THE LABOUR STRUGGLE

BRITAIN.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

T. BINNING.

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

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

LETTER FROM AMERICA.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

LIST OF STRIKES FOR DECEMBER.

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

New York, January 4, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING JANUARY 28, 1888.

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

Mowbray and Henderson.—See *Commonweal* of that and following weeks.

Thomas Love Peacock.—Born at Weymouth, Oct. 18, 1785; died Jan. 23, 1866. Self-educated, was one of the best classical scholars of his time. His poems introduced him to Shelley, whose friend and executor he became. He is best known now for his novels, which are unique, having few of the qualities of common novels, being rather witty and thoughtful dialogues than ought else, dealing with all things under the sun, and taking an advanced and individual view of life. An amateur in ship-building, he designed the first iron steamers that doubled the Cape.—S.

Ernest Charles Jones.—Barrister, poet, and Chartist. Born in Berlin, Jan. 25, 1819; died Jan. 26, 1869. Educated in Germany; came to England in 1838. He published the *Wood Spirit* in 1841, and contributed to the *Metropolitan* and other magazines. Called to the bar by the Middle Temple in Easter Term, 1844,

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

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

BRANCH SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID.

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

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

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

Propaganda Fund.—H. Samuels, 1s.

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

REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—At special business meeting resolved that the Socialist bodies of the United Kingdom should unite on common lines.

CLEVERWELL.—On Sunday, Jan. 15th, Ben. Ellis (Radical delegate to Ireland), addressed good audience on "Ireland, and what I saw there."

FULHAM.—Sunday morning meeting addressed by Hill (Guild of St. Matthew) and Turner. In our new rooms in evening Morris lectured on "Useful Work v. Useless Toil."

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

NORWICH.—Usual meeting in Market Place Sunday afternoon, well attended, Mowbray spoke; in evening at Gordon Hall, Mowbray lectured on "Is Socialism Sound?"

OXFORD.—This branch held its annual social gathering at the Temperance Hall, on Wednesday, Jan. 11, when between seventy and eighty persons were present.

WALSALL.—Last Monday, J. Sketchley (Birmingham) lectured for the branch on "Our Annual Income, who produces it and who gets it."

EDINBURGH.—On 9th, Ed. R. Pease lectured on "The Means of Attaining Socialism." On 14th, Annie Beant lectured for us in Leith, on "Socialism, Old and New," and on 15th for Secular Society, on "Political Socialism."

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

"THE LAMP."

On Saturday evening last, at 13, Farringdon Road, an entertainment and prize draw took place for the purpose of raising funds for the establishment of an East-end Socialist Club.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road. Thursday January 19, at 8.30, W. W. Bartlett will lecture on "Before the Dawn."

Osterkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd.; E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7. Sunday Jan. 22, at 8.30, W. H. Utley, "Modern Society."

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

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

Hammersmith.—Kelmecott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday January 22, at 8 p.m. T. Bolas, "A Real People's Parliament."

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

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

PROVINCES.

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

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

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

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

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

Dumfries (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., sec. Gallatown and Dysart (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown 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.

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

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

Nottingham.—Club and Reading Rooms, 1 Tokenhouse Yard, Bridlesmith Gate, open every evening. Lectures and Discussions every Sunday. J. Sketchley will deliver three lectures on Sunday next—at 11, 3, and 7. Subjects—"What is the Income of the Working Classes: a reply to Leone Levi." "Emigration as a Remedy for existing Social Evils."

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

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

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

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 22.

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

PROVINCES.

Glasgow.—Jail's Square—Saturday, 5 p.m. Infirmary Square—Sunday, 6 p.m.

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

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

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

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

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

L. E. L. CONCERT AND DRAW

RESULT.

Table with 10 columns of numbers: 3 10 24 48 49 55 58 72 83, 105 116 123 141 187 189 201 225 226, 289 318 319 321 368 378 383 389 410

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

THE TABLES TURNED.

ENGAGEMENTS.

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

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

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SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.

Chants for Socialists. By William Morris. 1d.

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

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

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

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 Rights of Labour according to John Ruskin. By Thomas Barclay. 1d.

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# THE COMMONWEALTH

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 4.—No. 107.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 28, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON NEWS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## THE ODD TRICK.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

E. BELFORD BAX.

ADOLPH FISCHER.

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

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

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

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

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 4, 1888.

29	Sun.	1737. Thomas Paine born. 1833. First "Reformed" Parliament met.
30	Mon.	1649. Charles I. beheaded. 1871. House of Representatives welcome Fenians to United States.
31	Tues.	1804. Lighting of the Beacons.
1	Wed.	1851. Mary Shelley died. 1875. Lock-out of 50,000 South Wales Miners.
2	Thur.	1808. Ledru-Rollin born. 1884. Wendell Phillips died.
3	Fri.	1757. Volney born. 1769. Wilkes expelled from Parliament for publishing "No. 45." 1813. Spanish Inquisition abolished. 1813. Leigh Hunt sentenced for "seditious libel."
4	Sat.	1555. Rogers burnt in Smithfield.

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

## THE TRIAL OF BURNS AND GRAHAM.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

H. A. BARKER.

## LAW AND WAR.

(Concluded from p. 18.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### NORFOLK IRON WORKS—RULES AND REGULATIONS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### ARBITRATION A FRAUD.

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

AMERICA.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

LIST OF STRIKES FOR JANUARY.

Reading Company railway employes	...	8,500
Schnylkill Valley—Coal employes (Reading Co.)	...	20,000
Philadelphia, Pa.—Street-sweepers (Italian), for higher wages, Jan. 4	...	252
Carlisle, Pa.—Shoe-factory hands, against reduction, January 4	...	100
Sandwich, Mass.—Glass-workers, against new rules by manufacturers	...	300
Brooklyn—Glass-factory hands, January 2	...	1,000
Philadelphia—Shut-down by glass-manufacturers; non-acceptance by employes of new scale, January 2	...	400
Cincinnati, Ohio—Carriage-painters, discharge of four men who refused to work overtime, January 1	...	121
New York city—Livery-stable hands, January 4	...	21
East Weymouth, Mass.—Shoe-hands, for advance, January 2	...	115
Philadelphia—Weavers, against extra work, January 5	...	26
Toledo, Ohio—Wheel-makers, against reduction, January 3	...	50
New Bedford, Mass.—Glass-makers, against new rules, January 3	...	—
Corning, N. Y.—Glass-makers, against new rules, January 3	...	—
Pittsburgh, Pa.—Coal-drivers, question of business management, Jan. 2	...	—
Pittsburgh, Pa.—Boys in nail-factory, against reduction, January 2	...	50
Total number of strikers known to January 5	...	31,118

New York, January 11, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

SIX YEARS STRIKES AND LOCK-OUTS IN AMERICA.

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

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

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

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

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

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

GERMANY.

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

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

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

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

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

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

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

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

BELGIUM.

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

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

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

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

V. D.



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

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

**REPORTS.**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Scottish Land and Labour League.**

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

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

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

**LECTURE DIARY.**

**LONDON.**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**PROVINCES.**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**

**LONDON—Sunday 29.**

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

**PROVINCES.**

**Glasgow.**—Jail's Square—Saturday, 5 p.m. Infirmary Square—Sunday, 6 p.m. Jail's Square—Sunday, 1 p.m. **Leeds.**—Sunday: Vicar's Croft, 11 a.m. **Norwich.**—Market Place, at 3 every Sunday.

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

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

**SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.**—Meeting at *Commonweal* Office, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday January 29, at 3.30 p.m.

**THE TABLES TURNED.**

**ENGAGEMENTS.**

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# THE COMMONWEALTH

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 4.—No. 108.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON NEWS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## 'RUSSIA, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Tikhomirov is quite right in saying that:

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

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

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

STEPNIAK.

## A Proposed Anti-Credit League.

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

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

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

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

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

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

REGINALD A. BECKETT.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 11, 1888.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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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.

W. T.—Received, but hardly worth notice, the thing is so usual.  
G. P.—Thanks; hardly suitable.  
IRON-SIDE CAPTAIN.—Look out for the Link, and meanwhile read your directions.  
CALENDAR.—Yes; as already announced, the Calendar will be printed at the end of the year. Send on any events you notice omitted or would like inserted.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday February 1.

ENGLAND	FRANCE	GERMANY
Jos	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Berlin—Volks Tribune
London—Freie Presse	La Socialiste	Braun—Volksfreund
Labour Tribune	La Revolte	Bonn—Le Travailleur
Norwich—Daylight	Little—Le Travailleur	Guise—Le Devoir
Railway Review	Guise—Le Devoir	Hague—Recht voor Allen
Worker's Friend	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Amsterdam—Voorwaarts
New South Wales	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio	Marsala—La Nuova Era
Hamilton—Radical		
INDIA	HOLLAND	ITALY
Madras—People's Friend	Amsterdam—Voorwaarts	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Bankipore—Belar Herald		Marsala—La Nuova Era
UNITED STATES	PORTUGAL	ROMANIA
New York—Der Sozialist	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario	Municipal
Freiburg		
Truthseeker		
Volkszeitung		
Solidarity		
Chicago—Labor Enquirer		
Vorbote		
Chicago—Alarm		

THE NEW ETHIC.

PROBABLY few subjects have been more written about and discussed both by philosophers properly so-called and by the ordinary man of letters, than the meaning and basis of Ethics. But in all that has been talked on the subject of Ethics it has been almost invariably assumed that the problem was to explain and deal with moral obligation or duty as a basal, perhaps, but nevertheless isolated, fact of human nature. Again, the sanctions of conscience have either been treated by moral philosophy as something not merely *a priori*, but supernatural and absolute, or else they have been confounded with the mere phenomena of the moral consciousness. The first of these standpoints is that of the old metaphysical schools and of those modern semi-theological writers who found more or less on them; the second is that of the modern Empiricists who in this as in other departments, think they have exhausted the essence of a thing after they have merely traced the series of its phenomenal expression. With these latter as with the others, morality is a matter centering in the individual character; the individual living in society, that is, in combination with other individuals, finding it necessary to his own enjoyment or even existence to recognise certain obligations towards other individuals on condition of their recognising the same as regards himself. This, which of course is the ethical side of the Social Contract theory, has been handed down from Bacon, Hobbes and Locke to Bentham and Mill and those who have been inspired by them. It resolves all morality into a question of individual utility. For this, despite all protestations to the contrary, is what the theory really says. The former theory is no less but rather more individualistic. According to it, moral sanctions are absolute and eternal, inasmuch as they constitute part of the relation of the individual soul to its Divine source, and hence their connection with society is purely accidental. It will be seen then that both the ordinary theories—the ordinary spiritualistic theory and the ordinary materialistic theory—alike regard morality as having for its end the individual. The theological ethics find its criterion and aim in individual "purity," "humility," "likeness to God," etc.; the empirical ethic finds it in the fulfilment of the pledges towards other individuals which his existence in community with those other individuals implies—his non-interference in fact with their rights as individuals. Self-interest is the keynote of both moral systems. The theological or spiritualistic system apotheosises the "soul." Its method is a con-

tinuous introspection and communing of the individual with his own soul. Out of this comes the higher morality on its lines. The Empiricist apotheosises "self-interest," which to him is the ultimate fact in human nature, the problem being therefore to deduce morality from self-interest, and the method to identify the necessary requirements of social existence with self-interest. By self-interest is here meant the interest of the individual as individual. Both these theories it will also be observed, as before said, regard Ethics as an isolated fact to be explained apart from the concrete whole of human nature to which they belong. Such a treatment as this is necessarily abstract, and every treatment must be so that neglects to take into account the entire evolution of society, in which human nature is shown in the making, so to speak, and in which the several elements constituting it are displayed in their interconnection.

This has not been altogether unrecognised. Auguste Comte and Mr. Herbert Spencer, although taking their stand on Empirical Ethics, have both endeavoured to deduce morality from general social evolution, but the empirical method which they adopted, precluded them from attaining any real insight into the matter. The mere phenomena of the moral consciousness collated and forced into accordance (more or less) with the assumption that the antagonism of self-interest and social interest is permanent and that morality is always a conscious effort to reconcile the two, can never afford anything but a fallacious view of things. Add to the above that in both cases, especially in that of Comte, not merely the current bourgeois ethics, but even the relics of the older theological Introspectionism are obtrusively evident, and it will be quite clear that but little is to be expected from the learned and popular writers in question in this way of a philosophy of ethics.

Before we can hope to attain such a philosophy we have to get rid of the notion that society is at bottom an aggregate of individuals, and that hence there is a permanent antagonism between individual and community, or that these two categories are ultimate or absolute in any sense. The recognition of this is only the obverse side of the recognition of the dependence of ethics—that is, of the view taken of duty, of the relation of the individual to other individuals and to the community—on the material conditions, social and economical. As soon as society can be said to exist at all, ethical sentiment must exist implicitly if not explicitly. The ethical sentiment is the correlate in the ideal sphere of the fact of social existence in the material. The one is as necessarily implied in the other, as the man is implied by his shadow. But just as the shadow bears the impress of the particular man whose shadow it is, so does the ethics bear the impress of the particular society whose ethics it is.

The essence of the sentiment of duty is that the content, the meaning, of individuality is not coincident with the form of the living individual. This content is not exhausted in the form, but seeks its completion outside its form. Otherwise explained, the individual is dependent; he is not a self-contained whole in himself, but an element in a larger whole. The end of everything is to *realise* itself; to reach its highest expression. In the consciousness of the inadequacy of the form of individuality to the content of individuality, and the desire to realise or inform this content adequately, consists moral sentiment, and what is the same thing in a higher potency, religious sentiment. If the above be admitted, it follows that there can be no greater absurdity than the attempt to found morality on a calculation of profit-and-loss to the individual, or in other words, on the self-interest of the Utilitarians. Out of pure Individualism it is impossible to get an ethic at all, since morality is that side of the individual or the personality which proclaims his inadequacy. It is the expression of the abiding contradiction within him. In one respect the theological and (in the popular sense) metaphysical Ethic has more plausibility than this crudely materialistic Ethic of the English thinkers. The former at least recognises the inadequacy of the content to the form in individuality, it sees that the individual is not a self-contained whole, and that in this fact the ethical problem takes its root. The explanation offered, the solution of the contradiction, is of course found in God as the *telos* of all things; in God the individual finds his perfection, his realisation, the want of which, considered *per se*, is indicated in the moral and religious sentiment. This is at least in one sense an intelligible explanation, which is more than can be said of the Benthamite theory. If the individual is a complete and independent totality, if his end is in himself, then any voluntary self-restraint even, let alone self-sacrifice, on the part of the individual is unintelligible. We are aware, of course, of the attempts made to evade this difficulty—of enlightened self-interest, and the rest. But allowing the greatest possible latitude to the "enlightenment" displayed in the profit-and-loss calculation, we still contend it leaves the main body of moral activity unexplained. Admitting the hypothesis, when was the account originally cast up, and how has it been modified? If the individual contains his end within himself as person, where can the *obligation* lie to prefer a painful course, let us say, which can never possibly redound to the interest, enlightened or otherwise, of his personality, to a pleasurable one which cannot (we will suppose) result in any ulterior pain to himself as individual? To talk of obligation in such a case as this is plainly absurd, when the standard of obligation is supposed to lie within the skin of the individual; for on the hypothesis neither the "enlightened" nor unenlightened interest of that individual is concerned in the matter. To affirm merely that the "enlightened" self-interest always lies on the side of virtue, is simply to beg the question in the baldest manner and explain nothing.

ERNEST BELFORT BAX.

(To be continued.)

## THE GENTEEL IRISH BANK CLERK.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

OLIVER STRANGE.

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

## THE LAW AND LIBERTY LEAGUE.

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

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

## GEORGE ENGEL.

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

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

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

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### PROGRESS, AND POVERTY.

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

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

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

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

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

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

### THE EVILS OF OVERTIME.

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

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

It is wonderful that all people cannot see that if certain members of the community wax rich upon monopolies and privileges not enjoyed by the rest of the community, it is the rest of the community that has to pay for same. So long as we have rich idlers, so long there must be poor workers. It is not to be wondered at that the rich object to any and all reforms which might interfere with their privileges; but it is wonderful that the down-trodden workers do not rise in their might and demand the immediate abolition of all those monopolies which rob them to enrich a privileged few.—*Our Commonwealth*.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

## FRANCE.

A fortnight ago, Jean Baptiste André Godin, the founder of the world-known Familistere, died at Guise (Aisne Department). He was born at Esquéhéries, in the same department, on January 26, 1817, as the son of a poor agricultural labourer, who also had a small locksmith's workshop. At the early age of ten, he was obliged to leave the primary school of his village and became a locksmith's apprentice. At seventeen he made the usual *tour de France*, travelling from town to town to become a skilled artisan. This happened at the time when the ideas of Fourier and Saint Simon began to spread amongst the proletariat, then suffering very heavily from the effects of the industrial revolution brought about by the introduction of machinery, and young Godin soon became a Socialist of the Fourier school. He then started in his native village a small locksmith's shop, and his business succeeded rapidly owing to an invention of his, consisting in the use of cast-iron instead of sheet-iron or plate for heating apparatus. Six years afterwards, 1846, he worked with forty companions, who shared in the profits of his trade, at the same time transferring his works to Guise, which have gone on extending till now over 8,000,000 kilogrammes of cast-iron are produced yearly. After the *coup d'état* of Napoleon III., the Phalansterians made an appeal in order to raise a fund for the creation of a Communist colony in America (Texas), and Godin at once subscribed one-third of his fortune. The experiment, under the leadership of Victor Considérant, one of the most brilliant disciples of Fourier, proved a failure, and Godin resolved to try by himself the realisation of his favourite ideas. In the month of April, 1859, he laid the foundations of his Familistere, which he then extended year after year up to its present achievement. In 1878, he definitely associated his fellow-workers, numbering 1,800, in the whole concern, leaving them co-proprietors of the social palace, of the factories, the invested and rolling capital, etc. Besides, by his last will, he bequeathed to them the six million francs they have helped him to win. He was not only a practical business man, but also a Socialist theoriser who propagated his ideas in numerous writings, of which the following may be quoted here:—'Social Questions,' 'The Nature of Government,' 'Wealth in use for the People,' 'The Socialists and the Right of Labour,' 'National Mutuality,' 'Social Mutuality,' 'The Familistere of Guise,' 'The Revision of the Constitution,' 'International Arbitration and European Disarmament,' 'Inquiry on the Working-men's Associations,' 'Work and Consumption,' 'National Heredity opposed to State Heredity,' 'Extinction of Pauperism by means of National Mutuality,' 'Transformation of Universal Suffrage,' etc.

On Sunday, the 22nd inst., a brute whose brains have been deteriorated by the stupid clerical education which he received, and also by the large quantities of alcohol which he has been in the habit of absorbing, fired two shots from a revolver at our friend Louise Michel, while she was lecturing at Le Havre in support of the Socialist paper *L'Idée Ouvrière* (The Worker's Ideas), which is published in that town. One of the bullets tore her ear, and the other entered her head and has not as yet been extracted. The hole in the temporal bone is a large and ugly one, and should there be internal inflammation recovery would in all probability become impossible. As she is courageously battling against her wounds, and shows not the slightest sign of depression but remains bright and lively as usual, we earnestly hope that she will recover. In her magnanimity, Louise Michel wrote to the wife of her would-be assassin that she would try to get him out of trouble, and she is doing her best for him. The whole press (I mean the bourgeois press) has been obliged to acknowledge the courage and the disinterestedness of Louise Michel, and it is quite true, as was stated, that in point of sentiment, in pluck, in generosity, in fortitude, and tenderness of heart, she is the greatest human being of her age. Again we express the most hearty wishes for her complete recovery.

## GERMANY.

At Hamburg, the police have lately burnt about twenty thousand kilogrammes of Socialistic literature, newspapers, leaflets, and pamphlets, seized in the course of last year. Happily it is only the paper which has been spoiled, the spirit remains among the comrades, and that's all we want.

At Freiberg, in Brigau, five Socialists have been sentenced to eight, five, four, three, and two months' jail respectively, for having received from Switzerland and spread in various parts of Germany large quantities of *Der Sozialdemokrat*, of Zurich.

A trade paper, *Der Schneider* (The Tailor) has been suppressed at Altona, one of the blessed nooks of German soil held under state of siege by Bismarck, the best promoter of Socialism in the country and even in Europe. At Berlin, a pamphlet entitled *Anti-Sklaverei* (Anti-Slavery) and a leaflet entitled *Zum 18 Januar* (the 18th January), met with the same fate. Also a paper called *Pfälzischen Freie Presse* (The Palatinate Free Press).

Next week I shall have something to say upon the speeches made in the German Reichstag by the Socialist deputies, Singers, Bebel, and others, on the ugly business of the international blood-hounds, entertained and fed all over Europe by the Iron Chancellor and Puttkammer, his faithful servant.

## HOLLAND.

A new paper, entitled *De Anarchist*, has been started at the Hague without special editorship. Every one who cares to do so can write in it. I fail to understand this method of journalism, and although I have the best wishes for the paper's welfare, I fear it won't last long; at any rate, in that shape.

V. D.

## "We are all Socialists now."

The word Socialism is in the last degree ambiguous, or if my reader pleases, elastic. In one sense it includes not only all critical investigations into the progress, the arrest, and the retrogression of civilisation, but any effort which individuals, governments, or communities make in the direction of detecting social mischief, and in providing remedies against that which they discover. It is also possible to include under the Socialist hypothesis any religious movement which has intended to benefit humanity generally, any theory of the philosopher from Plato to Herbert Spencer, which disputes the excellence of present arrangements, and propounds more or less drastic remedies for discovered and reputed evils, and any effort which governments and legislators have attempted and carried out with a view to controlling and modifying individual action. In short, all that people call *Altruism* may be called Socialist action.—*Thorold Rogers*.

## LETTER FROM AMERICA.

A few more details about the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company. This benevolent public carrier, for whose benefit Mayor Hewitt of New York found it necessary to say a few words by declaring the Knights of Labour to be a combination of highwaymen and robbers, belongs to the Coal Trust. The Coal Trust is a combination of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company, the Lehigh Valley Railroad Company, the Delaware Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company, the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company, the Pennsylvania Coal Company, and the New York, Lake Erie, and Western Railroad Company. The anthracite coal regions of the State of Pennsylvania are completely under the control of this combination. From time to time the presidents of the different companies meet, and over a champagne lunch or a dinner determine how much coal shall be mined during the year, who shall be permitted to mine it, and who shall carry it, and how high a price they might dare to charge the public. During the past year they decided to mine only 35 million tons of coal to keep up the price. This decision involved the shutting down of the mines for several months, thereby throwing thousands of men out of work. But what does a miners' happiness signify to a railroad president? Plenty of men to be had at any price. Coal is sold in New York at 7 dols. a ton; the miners get about 60 cents for producing it. Now a word or two about the Labour organisation. In 1875 the working-men's Benevolent Association, which at one time embraced nearly all the miners in the Pennsylvania coal region, was broken up, after a five months' struggle with the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company. The men surrendered unconditionally, and resumed work upon terms which they had scornfully rejected months before. During the succeeding ten years there was no miners' organisation in the coal region. In the summer of 1883 George Harris, now State president of the Amalgamated Association of Miners, came into the coal region and made a fruitless effort to organise the men. He returned early in the spring of 1885, and met with better success. Inside of a month the miners of the whole county were organised. Then the reorganisation of the Knights of Labour was begun, and in the course of a year fully two-thirds of the miners became enrolled under its banners. A new schedule of wages was adopted in April 1887. A strike was contemplated for May 1st, but postponed to more opportune time. Finally it was agreed that a demand for a general advance of fifteen per cent. should be made on the 1st of September 1887. The Reading Company compromised by granting an advance of 8 per cent. The Lehigh operators refused to enter the agreement. The Lehigh miners went out on strike in September. The Reading Company agreed to pay the advance during 1887, but would do so no longer after new year. These are the two bodies now fighting each other; there is still the revolt of the employes of Reading Railroad, the details of which I reported to you in previous letters. The strikers are as buoyant as ever, and continue firm in the belief that the strike will terminate in their favour.

The condition of the Lehigh strike is also unchanged. The Lehigh Valley Coal and Navigation Company operates the ten collieries in the southern coal-fields of Pennsylvania. With one small exception, every one of the collieries, employing about 30,000 men, is at present idle, and has been since the 10th September last. For years the Lehigh miners as a rule have worked and been treated like slaves, and even where constantly employed have been allowed to earn only enough to keep body and soul together.

The sentence of one year's hard labour against Paul Grottkau, editor of the Milwaukee *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, has been confirmed by the Supreme Court of Wisconsin. Grottkau agitated for the eight hours movement and spoke on the 3rd May 1886 in Milwaukee, counselling moderation. Riots occurred a few hours afterwards, in consequence of which Grottkau was indicted. The first jury disagreed; the second about a year ago sentenced him to the above term. Such is ever the fate of the moderates.

The strike in Louisville of printers, including the *Journal* office, will necessitate another assessment from the printers of the country.

The International Bricklayers Convention, in session at Boston, decided that hereafter bricklayers will refuse to lay bricks for any man who employs non-union men during a strike.

Work has been suspended indefinitely on the rail department of the Allentown, Pa., Rolling Mill, and 150 employes are idle in consequence.

Thousands of employes were thrown out of work in the shoe-shops of North Adams, Mass., through the strike of the lasters.

Typographical Union 2 have ordered out all the job-printers in mixed offices in Philadelphia.

The demands of the locomotive-engineers made upon the Santa Fé road have with slight modifications been acceded to, putting an end to any possibility of a strike.

There will be no general strike of the cigar-makers in New York. Most of the firms are making arrangements with the workers.

The striking steam-pipe and boiler-felters met and reported that six more of the men had formed a co-operative firm, and had plenty of work to attend to. This makes four of these firms organised since the strike, and all doing well.

New York, January 18, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

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

**London Members.**—On Monday next, Feb. 6, the usual meeting of the London Members will be held, on which occasion special business will be laid before them.

**Annual Conference.**—The Fourth Annual Conference of the Socialist League will be held at 13 Farringdon Road, on Whitsunday, May 20. The attention of Branches is particularly referred to (1) Rule V. on the subject of the annual conference, pp. 3 and 4 of Constitution and Rules; and (2) that all branches wishing to be represented at the Conference must pay their subscription up to the 31st of March by May 1st.

## "COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

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

REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—On Thursday, Jan. 26, a successful social evening, when five new members were elected. CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, Jan. 25, J. Lane on "Different Schools of Socialistic Thought;" and on Sunday, Jan. 29, W. B. Parker, on "What the Workers want, and how to get it." Good audiences and useful discussions.—B. FULHAM.—Tuesday at 8, meeting at Fulham Cross, Tochatti and Smith spoke. Sunday morning, Walham Green meeting addressed by Catterson Smith. In evening another meeting held by the Hammersmith choir, Tochatti, and Day; Kitz afterwards lectured in our rooms on "The Irish Question from a Socialist Standpoint." Good audience. We intend during the winter to give up our station at Fulham Cross, and to speak every Tuesday evening at 8 o'clock opposite the Liberal Club, Walham Green.—S. B. G. HOXTON.—Pope and Parker held a good meeting here last Sunday morning. Commonweal sold well. GLASGOW.—Sunday at 2 o'clock, Gilbert and Glasier held meeting at St. George's Cross. At 4 o'clock, Glasier lectured to the Young Ireland Society; lively discussion followed. Objectors were answered to entire satisfaction of audience. At 7 o'clock a large audience listened to the exposition of Socialism for two hours by Pollock, Glasier, and Downie in the Infirmary Square; slight opposition. Good sale of Commonweal.—S. D. NORWICH.—We held one outdoor meeting on Sunday in Market Place, audience listening attentively for over an hour, notwithstanding weather; at Gordon Hall in evening, Mowbray concluded series of lectures on "Is Socialism Sound?" Houghton in chair. Fair sale of Commonweal.—S. WALSALL.—On Monday, E. Guillemard lectured on "A Workman's Life in France," dealing with the subject in a most able manner.—J. T. D.

DUBLIN.—At Saturday Club, Jan. 28, J. McConnell lectured on "Technical Education," from the employers' standpoint. The Socialist view of the subject was ably put by Fitzpatrick; Schumann also spoke. EDINBURGH.—On 20th, James Mavor lectured on "Schemes of Industrial Progress." NOTTINGHAM.—We were nearly boycotted Sunday last. When we went in the afternoon to the hall we could not get in. It was only after a deal of talk that they let us have the place at night, as we had advertised the lectures. However, J. Sketchley spoke to a good audience upon "Socialism the only efficient remedy for existing social wrongs."—W. D.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—Athenaeum Hall, 73 Tottenham Court Road. Annie Besant (Fabian Society) will lecture on "Socialism, Old and New," on Thursday Feb. 2, at 8 p.m. Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road. Thursday Feb. 9, at 8.30, Quarterly Business Meeting. Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7. Sun. Feb. 5, at 8.30, Free Concert by Wm. Blandell and Friends. Wednesday 8, at 8.30, Annie Besant "Communalisation of Industry." Sun. 12, H. A. Barker, "The Labour Struggle." Wed. 15, H. H. Sparling, a lecture. Fulham.—8 Ethie Road, Walham Green. Hackney.—25 Percy Terrace, Victoria Road, Hackney Wick. Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday February 5, at 8 p.m. Wm. Clarke (Fabian Society), "Quack Solutions of the Land Problem." Hoxton (L.E.L.).—C. J. Young, 8 Dunloe Street, Hackney Road, Secretary. Mitcham.—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11. Sunday February 5, J. Lane, "Different Schools of Socialist Thought." Feb. 12, W. B. Parker, "Some Objections to Socialism." Feb. 19, T. J. Dalziel, "Why the People Starve." Feb. 26, J. Turner, "Co-operation." Mile-end and Bethnal Green.—95 Boston St., Hackney Road. Business Meeting every Thursday at 9 p.m. Debating Class for members after Business Meeting.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen (Scottish Section).—Sunday night meetings in Baker Street Hall, at 6. Secretary, J. Leatham, 18 St. Nicholas Street. Birmingham.—Meetings at Summer Row Coffee House every Saturday evening at 8. Bradford.—Morris's Dining Rooms, 114 City Road, Wednesdays, at 8. Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meeting every Wednesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. H. McCluskey, Millar Street, Secy. Cowdenbeath (Scot. Sec).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec. Dublin.—Saturday Club, Central Lecture Hall, 12 Westmorland Street. Dunfermline (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station. Political Economy class, 2 p.m. Lecture at 6.30.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Sunday evening lectures, Trades Hall, High Street. On Sunday February 5, at 6.30, Andrew Dewar on "Trade Depressions: their Cause and their Cure." On February 12, J. H. Smith on "The Payment of Labour under Socialism." Galashiels (Scot Sect.).—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., sec. Gallatown and Dysart (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. In Gallatown Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 172 Braidyn St. Glasgow.—81 St. Ruffalo Room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. Propaganda Committee, Mondays at 8. Discussion class, Thursdays at 8. Leeds.—17 Cheapside St., Sweet St. Club open every evening. Business meeting Wednesdays at 8 p.m. Leicester.—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8. Lochelly (Scottish Section: Fife).—Secs. (pro tem.), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square. Norwich.—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Monday, Concert at 8. Tuesday, Business meeting at 8.30. Wednesday, Band practice at 8. Thursday, Discussion class, Gronlund's 'Co-operative Commonwealth.' Friday, Rehearsal at 8. Saturday, Premises open from 8 until 10.30. Nottingham.—Club and Reading Rooms, 1 Tokenhouse Yard, Bridlesmith Gate, open every evening. Lectures and Discussions every Sunday. Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25 1/2 Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m. Walsall.—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m. West Calder (Scottish Section).—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 5.

11 Acton Green .....Hammersmith Branch 11.15 Starch Green .....The Branch 11.30 Garrett—"Plough Inn" .....The Branch 11.30 Hoxton Church, Pitfield St. ....Wade & Pope 11.30 Merton—Haydons Road .....The Branch 11.30 Mitcham Fair Green .....The Branch 11.30 Regent's Park .....Nicoll 11.30 St. Pancras Arches .....The Branch 11.30 Stamford Hill .....Parker 11.30 Walham Green .....Fulham Branch 3 Hyde Park .....Parker

PROVINCES.

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

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

JUNIOR SOCIALISTIC EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY.—Meeting held at 20 Newman Street, Saturday Jan. 28; Coras read a paper on "Socialism and Individuality." Discussion followed, and several new members made. On Saturday Feb. 11, 8 o'clock, Fry reads a paper at 64 Charlotte Street.—H. W. F., Sec. pro tem.

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

SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—Meeting at Commonweal Office, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday February 5, at 3.30 p.m.

THE TABLES TURNED.

ENGAGEMENTS.

February 1 . . . . .BERNER ST., COMMERCIAL RD. Applications for engagements to be made to the Manager, H. A. Barker

The Lamp

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# THE COMMONWEALTH

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 4.—No. 109.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON NEWS.

WITHIN two or three days of each other, Lord Salisbury has received two deputations, one asking him to consider the state of the London poor, and one to consider that of the Irish landlords. At first sight this would seem like a practical joke played upon the Most Noble by people with a sense of grim humour. However, that does not seem to have been the case, and both deputations put forward their cases with great gravity—even that sent by the Irish landlords.

The contrast between the reception of the two was, however, remarkable. The parliamentary sovereign of Britain let the first deputation see that, to his mind, the condition of the poor had nothing to do with him, whereas there was an air of cordial and affectionate sympathy in his address to the delegates of the landlords which must have warmed their hearts and made them think it the next best thing to a Bill passed by both houses to make the whole public compensate them to the full for their falling off in rents. In fact, his enthusiasm for the useless class quite carried him away, and made him optimistic as to the future of these poor sufferers; whereas he was pessimistic to the last degree as to the possibility of the "Society" which he represented finding work for those willing to work, whom competition has thrust out of the labour market.

It must be said that he was right in his pessimism, and wrong in his optimism. It would be preposterous for the head of a bourgeois government to pretend to be able even to consider any scheme for benefitting the classes on whom his class—the class whose servant he is—lives; and scarcely less preposterous for any set of persons to ask him to consider it; unless, indeed, they were Socialists wanting to show him up for what he is. Yet on the other hand he cannot do much for his dear landlords, seeking rent where there is no rent. Even they in the long-run must come on the Socialists for "compensation"; only the "compensation" will not mean giving them back again the ownership of the natural resources of the country which has been so ruinous to us all, and which is beginning to slip through their fingers, but assuring to them a position in which they will be able to exercise their capacities and earn themselves a non-precarious livelihood.

Meantime it is instructive to note the irresistible instinct which forces Lord Salisbury to exhibit himself in his real position, the head of a committee governing the country for the welfare of the proprietary classes. To Lord Salisbury, as to all who are not either consciously or unconsciously Socialists, it is only the members of these latter classes who are men and women with feelings to be considered and real lives to live: all others are only parts of the great machine, to be thought of only as a general thinks about his army: food for profit instead of food for powder: beings without property, of whom no account need be taken but as occasion calls on you to manipulate their votes.

The debate in the German Reichstag on the new anti-Socialist Bill, produced a remarkable exposure, from our friends Singer and Bebel, of the secret police system of Bismark. It is good that not only the German public but the public of England also should know what the cost of suppression is and must be; and that a part of it must necessarily be the keeping up a system of espionage and provocation to deeds of violence which is absolutely sickening to think of, is a disgrace to human nature—even absolutist human nature.

One thing is clear, that in spite of Herr Puttkammer's rage and indignant denials, the statements of the Socialist deputies are believed by everybody. It is a common middle class trick in this country to pooh-poo all statements of this kind, and to assume that everything is managed in "respectable" modern Governments in a stiff and business-like, yet in an open and above-board manner. The reception even by the English public of these revelations of the "frankness" of Herr Bismark, show how conventional this way of taking the subject is. The road of repression is a foul one, Bismark has doubtless long been callous to its worst quagmires; but our own rulers seem to have a taste for dirt, and if they go on as they have begun they will doubtless before long rival the "Great Chancellor" in his disgraces.

He has been speaking once more to listening Europe, and people can make pretty much what they please of his speech as to the hopes

of peace and war; but whatever he wanted various sets of people to think he meant by it, one thing is certain and may console those who are afraid of a coming war, and that is that war is the last thing he wants, and that he will go any lengths to avoid it. The German army is too useful an instrument for the repression of the German people to be wasted in foreign wars if they can be avoided.

I can imagine some of our friends grinning rather bitterly at the title of an article in the current number of the *Nineteenth Century*, "How to live on £700 a-year," and thinking that they would like to try the experiment. It should be explained that the title ought to run, "How to live in the upper ranks of the shabby-genteel on £700 a-year." This is a different problem, and a sufficiently tough one to those who are compelled to live in this group of curs. The receipt for it is much as follows: give away nothing; let your hospitality be merely conventional; take no pleasure except for the sake of gentility; never buy a book; look very sharp after your servants; in short, repress every instinct towards kindness and generosity, and you may cut quite a good figure in the ranks of gentility, and be in fact a fine specimen of the genus "snob." W. M.

Mr. J. R. Cox, M.P., was furnished on Thursday, February 2nd, by the governor of Limerick prison with a new suit of jail clothes, and he offered no objection to attiring himself in them. Mr. Cox had expressed disapproval of the resistance offered by Mr. O'Brien and others to the jail authorities, and so it was expected that he would not indulge in the "heroic" resistance that has, one is compelled to say, just a taste of the snob about it. He was engaged in chopping wood with the ordinary prisoners in the jail-yard the same day, and in all ways conforming to the treatment accorded the "ordinary criminals" made by law.

Very cheering also was the blunt, bold way in which the sailor Mayor of Waterford spoke out before Lord Ripon and Mr. Morley at Dublin. "Rebels we are born," said he, "rebels we remain, and rebels we shall die, if we must, against the infernal despotism of Dublin Castle!" Here, at least, is one man who can say what he means without hiding it in the frippery of affected reverence for the tender ears of Mrs. Grundy.

Was the verdict of the Edinburgh jury in the trial of crofters last week different from the one before rendered by reason of less challenging of the jury by the defence? Or was it the natural "pawkiness" of Scotchmen, intensified by their being tradesmen, that made this jury see so clearly that sheep were property while deer were not? Or the craven legality of the bourgeois mind that blindly followed the mere law?

They may also have been influenced by the natural class-feeling that would regard sheep as worthy of protection as matter for trading and appertaining to their own class, while deer are objects of "sport" and appendages of aristocratic privilege.

Of course, they forgot that it was for the sake of sheep that the Highlands have been cleared and so much land laid waste. But then one hardly expects a bourgeois jury to give weight to such a consideration.

How proud the law-abiding Englishman must be this week! After careful and long deliberation, the great financial council at the Vatican has decided that the Bank of England is the one secure place in the world for the deposit of Peter's pence, and so the gigantic monopoly which controls the whole machinery of exchange in this country is to have another large sum to make interest on.

Ever since the *Star* began to throw light upon the hidden places of the London vestries, there has been a mighty squealing in the dark recesses where corruption reigned supreme. A great deal of good is done by such exposures—for the time—but after a while, even if the glare of publicity is not allowed to die out, new ways of evading discovery will be found. Full reform will never be achieved but by Socialism.

Everybody just now seems to be in danger of allowing the great services rendered by the *Pall Mall Gazette* to be eclipsed by the newer light of the *Star*. This latter is doing good work, although it is hardly as advanced as it gave promise of being; but even in view of all it is

doing, it is hardly fair to talk, as some are doing, as though there were "great men before Agamemnon."

When speaking of papers, one might also put in a word for our "Link." It is to be hoped that none of our members and friends will neglect their efforts on behalf of the *Commonweal* for sake of the "Link." I am anxious that the *Link* should have all done for it that is possible, but to me at least, if to none other, the *Commonweal* paper, and must be considered and worked for first over all.

S.

## THE NEW ETHIC.

(Continued from p. 56.)

LET US now take the theologico-metaphysical hypothesis that the *telos*, end, or purpose of the self, the individual, or the personality, is realisable not *per se*, but in the Divinity between whom and his personality there is a mystical connection. It is recognised here that the form of the personality is inadequate to its content. Morality, duty, religion, are the expression of this inadequacy of form to content. But the theologian or the dogmatic metaphysician seeks to attain the adequacy *per saltum*. The *saltum* proves a *saltum mortale*, since it removes him altogether from the sphere of the real world. He creates an ideal sphere in which the soul shall find its satisfaction, in which that element within him which proclaims himself inadequate to himself, and therewith his entire personality, shall reach its completion and perfection. But in this theory the principle of Individualism, while *formally* surrendered is *really* maintained. It is felt that there is a permanent contradiction involved in the individual when viewed abstractly, or as a thing existing by itself. So far, so good. But how is the contradiction dealt with? By the attempted suppression of one of its terms. Speculatively, the natural personality is absorbed as its end and object in a supernatural being. Practically, the natural personality as such is repressed. But, meanwhile, it has passed unnoticed that the contradiction is not only not resolved, but that the term which was thought to be suppressed is not suppressed, but stands more firmly than ever. The personality is on these grounds, as "the air invulnerable, and our vain blows malicious mocking." The attention of the individual is now more firmly than ever rivetted on self. The attempt of Mysticism to transcend Individualism at a stroke has recoiled upon itself. The individual and his God, though *formally* and *professedly* distinct, are really one and the same. That this is so as regards the actual world is obvious, since it is admitted by the theologian that all that goes on is in the "heart" of the individual, and relates to a spiritual world *revealed* to his own soul. The renunciation of the theologian or mystic is therefore a double-dyed egoism. His personality continued, under higher conditions, and on a higher plane. The moral basis or principle of Supernaturalism is an Individualism screwed up, so to speak, a degree higher than that of the ordinary worldly theory. To the worldly selfishness of the one it opposes an other-worldly selfishness. From the point of view of the natural or real world, the divine nature in which the imperfect natural individual fancied he was realising his higher perfection has shown itself but as the reflex of his own nature with its natural tendencies, in some cases inverted, in others exaggerated.

We have as yet dealt with the two current fundamental ethical theories, so to speak, statically. It now remains to show their origin, meaning, and connection in the Dynamic side of Human Evolution. The particular view of the moral relation obtaining is, as we said before, conditioned by the social forms of which it is the outcome. The empirical Utilitarian theory of the English school, it is quite clear, is but the speculative formulation of the principle obtaining under the competitive capitalistic system, which reached its earliest development in the Anglo-Saxon race, but the basis of which (*viz.*, property), and consequently the tendency towards which, has been more or less present since the dawn of civilisation. The theologico-metaphysical theory, though not so obviously the outcome of social conditions having this same basis, is none the less really so. But to understand this clearly we must consider the original nature, object, and meaning of the ethical consciousness; its meaning, that is, in those earliest forms of society wherein its manifestations were so different to what they are in the world of to-day. We have first of all to remember, then, that morality affirmed itself in the ancient world or society as the solidarity of the individual with his kin, his gens, his tribe, his "people." Illustration is needless, since this is a fact universally admitted in the present day. There was then no opposing interest between individual and community, the interest of the individual was absolutely identified with that of the race; he had not as yet drawn the distinction between himself and the society to which he belonged; his personal *telos* was identified with that of the social whole into which he entered.

But at the same time that he had no interests independent of his race, yet neither had he any duties outside that race. Society and therefore ethics existed on the basis of *kinship*, and of kinship alone. Within the charmed circle all was sacred, without it all was profane. The primitive society of kinship was a self-contained organism, apart from which the constituent units, the individuals composing it, had no significance. The individual, the personality, therefore, unconsciously recognised his *telos* in the society. The incompatibility of the form of the individual to the content of individuality had not as yet become explicit, since the individual had not as yet been thrown back upon himself. His life was an objective one; objectivised in the society. But now mark the gradual change which took place a change of the process, of which the typical illustrations are

to be found in the early annals of Greece and Rome. The society by the very fact of its own development merged into the state. With the growth of the state, *property* tended more and more to supplant *kinship* as the basis of things. For a long time the two principles continued to exist side by side; but it was long before the personal nature of property was fully realised. But no sooner was this the case, no sooner had personal property become the basis of social order, than the naive ethical sentiment of early society was at an end, and an individualistic ethic took its place. This individualistic ethic was of a two-fold kind. On the one side it was an attempt to realise happiness or the end of individuality within the limits of the natural individual, on the other it was an attempt to realise the end of individuality on a supernatural plane. In the one as in the other the individual becomes, so to speak, the centre of attention. Man awoke to a consciousness of himself as *formally* distinct from the society. It was not long before this formal distinction became converted into a real separation, consequent on which the society came to be regarded as a mere appendage to the individual life or soul. The problem of morality henceforth becomes how to reconcile individual interest with the exigencies of a social existence. In the later classical period we find the Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics, all attempting to solve this problem of the greatest possible happiness for the individual on an empirical basis, that is, within the limits of the life of the individual. Duty was by these sought to be explained by some abstract formula, or by the "enlightened self-interest" assumption of our modern Empiricists, *viz.*, by the somewhat daring assumption that morality in the long run coincided with self-interest as such. These schools assumed that the individual was self-sufficient, that he was an independent *entity*, having only casual relations with the community; in other words, that the meaning of personality and therewith of morality was exhausted within the bounds of the individual's epidermis.

The other school spoken of, on the other hand, of which the later Stoics, the Neo-Platonists, Gnostics, and other theosophic sects, are the classical types, recognised the fact that the empirical self implied something more than it expressed--that its content was not exhausted in its form. The old feeling of duty, of the *ought*, still survived, but without its old social object, and without its old basis. It wandered through dry places seeking rest and finding none. By-and-by, as man came to reflect, and distinguish his being from the universe, and his thinking self from his corporeal self, a solution of the enigma and an object for the moral consciousness seemed to offer itself. Was not the material universe, like his body, the outward manifestation of a soul or self? Assuredly, as he thought, nothing could be more obvious. Further, was not the personality of the universe the immeasurably higher counterpart of his own personality, his source and end? No less assuredly, as he thought. He, the feeble reflection of the Divinity had as his chief end the fulfilment of the Divine Will, preparatory to his ultimate union with the Divinity. Morality, duty towards his fellow men, was a part of the divine system of things, and conscience, the moral impulse, was a spark of the Divine flame. Still, mere morality, duty to man, was only a means to an end. The only sanction of morality was the will of God. His chief end was not to be found in any relation between his individual self and society, which was only incidental and by the way, but in a relation between this self and the divinity. It was by careful searching of his own heart, by careful self-introspection and solitary musing, that the divine will might be discovered. The great end of all morality was to purify his highest self from the gross taint of material desires. He must negate and subdue his inferior part, his body, which was only an unimportant part of himself, and of which he was really independent, just as the deity was independent of the created physical universe. The result was that the great aim of moral action became the negation of bodily desire—asceticism.<sup>1</sup>

It is to this moment or stage in the evolution of the moral consciousness that the conceptions of Sin and Holiness, with the derivative ones of chastity, purity, etc., belong. The highest and most complete expression of this phase is to be found in Christianity, though it is embodied also in its essential features in all the great ethical religions, as well as in the later philosophies of the Pagan world. The way of the ancient morality was broad and clear; duty had not to be sought for in the mysterious depths of the individual's conscience. But this broad highway to moral justification did not satisfy the new individualist Ethic. The broad way led to destruction. Now, it was the task of every man as Christian to search out by the narrow, tortuous labyrinthine paths of personal introspection his moral goal. In the same way Gautama, the Buddha, had proclaimed the eight-fold path of duty, and enjoined his followers to walk therein. The great negative characteristic of this movement was the definitive abolition of racial morality. The moral relation being a personal one between the individual soul and the Divinity revealing himself thereto, it is quite clear that the notions of "Greek, Barbarian, bond or free" had lost all meaning. The Barbarian and the slave must as a personality be equal before God with the man of nobler race or with the free citizen, provided he "walked humbly with his God." All men were equal in the sight of God so far as race or lineage was concerned, since every case rested on its individual merits alone. The test of a man was no longer one of kinship or of blood, but of personality. The Supreme Power of the universe could take no account of the tribal distinctions among men,

<sup>1</sup> It may perhaps be said that the Cynics evolved an ascetic Ethic out of an empirical basis. This is quite true. The mere egoism which delights to show power of course tends to asceticism. But this does not alter the fact that ascetic ethic is in the main the offspring of a mystical attitude of mind.

but only of the spiritual element in each individual, which was above all such distinctions.

At last, then, in the notion of a transcendent yet immanent God, Morality seemed to have the basis it so long lacked. The end of Man—that is, of the individual man, the only aspect of man which was considered—was God. In God the individual found the completeness he lacked, considered as an independent being. Duty, in the worldly sense, was in the last resort merely a condition prescribed by God for attaining personal holiness.

ERNEST BELFORT BAX.

(To be continued.)

## SUGGESTIONS ON DECENTRALISATION.

Now that popular interest is being aroused in the question of the reform of local government, we see the strange spectacle of Whigs, Tories, and Radicals alike for once unanimous that "something must be done" in this direction; and already a number of projects have been brought forward, some of them reactionary, and some really democratic, even from quarters where on ordinary politics the most high and dry Tory sentiments are entertained.

As a youthful amateur in these matters, I do not expect to satisfy the expectations of older and more experienced thinkers in dealing with a question of such importance. In excuse I may say that I am simply actuated by a desire to break the silence that has hitherto been observed by Socialists on this important question, and to ask for some expression of sentiment and opinion as to the Socialist ideal of a thorough reconstruction of local administration on a purely democratic and communal basis.

The original unit of government in all German countries was the land-owning village community, as described in the writings of Cæsar and Tacitus, and, in common with other Teutonic countries, this form of government at one time prevailed in England. Federation amongst these ancient communities seems to have existed only for the purpose of mutual defence in time of war. Sometime before the reign of Alfred the country became divided for purposes of local government into its three oldest divisions—the shire or county, the hundred, and the parish—and these, to my mind, were sufficiently consistent with method and simplicity of arrangement. The hundred is now obsolete, but in its place we have a net-work of Poor Law Unions, which have existed since the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834. These Unions, 649 in number, consist on an average of 23 parishes or townships grouped round the chief market town, but there are 25 of these Unions which consist of single parishes under separate Boards. With regard to the parishes, the greatest anomalies exist. Their number is very excessive, there being in England and Wales no less than 14,926 civil parishes, as given by one authority, and 15,400 according to another. They are of all sizes and of all populations. There are 50 parishes with no population at all, and 919 with less than 50 inhabitants. Some parishes lie in more counties than one, and hundreds of parishes are broken up into isolated fragments. The ancient parish was probably the most convenient municipal unit, but circumstances have so changed through alterations in the conditions of life, and through the making of roads and railways, that the old parish boundaries have entirely lost their importance. In the north great subdivisions have taken place—64 ancient parishes in Northumberland having become no less than 510 new parishes. The ruthless hand of modern bourgeois development has removed the ancient landmarks and destroyed the value of the parish as the unit of local administration.

It is essential to a proper consideration of this question that we should briefly examine the existing institutions; and when we turn to these creations of modern times we find such a multitude of areas and authorities, the latter variously constituted and exhibiting such vast diversity in methods of election, that it is no wonder so many reformers turn away in disgust from such an apparently hopeless task. In 1834 the Poor Law Unions were established with their Boards of Guardians of the Poor, partly elected in the several parishes by means of open voting-papers (a system liable to great abuse) and partly of magistrates sitting *ex officio*.

In some localities, to meet the need of public light and vigilance, inspectors of lighting and watching are still appointed under an Act of William IV.

The modern demand for healthier conditions of life has led to the formation of urban sanitary authorities, and in rural districts the existing Boards of Guardians have been charged with the work of sanitary authorities. Burial Boards have been elected by the parish vestry in places where the existing churchyard has proved inadequate and the necessity of providing a new burial-ground has arisen. School Boards deal with education in districts which may be single parishes or groups of parishes, the ratepayers electing its members by ballot with a cumulative vote. The Boards of Guardians enforce compulsory attendance at school in some places where no School Board exists. In some parts of the country the highways are looked after by Highway Boards composed of *ex officio* magistrates and of waywardens elected by the parishes within the highway district.

In short, it appears that there are no less than thirty-five species of local authority in England and Wales, with an aggregate of more than 28,000 individual authorities. To my mind it is high time that this shapeless mass was for ever swept away and a more consistent and coherent system established, under which we might expect to see rural England develop some of that corporate life and energy of interest in local affairs which already distinguishes those municipalities enjoying a reformed local government.

In order to give uniform simplicity to the areas of local administration, I would establish throughout the whole country only two such areas—(1) the county, and (2) the commune. There would thus be two classes of major divisions—(1) parliamentary municipal cities and boroughs, which are counties in themselves; (2) counties, divided into two classes of communes: *urban communes*, to consist of boroughs which are not self-governing counties, and of the districts of existing local boards; *rural communes*, to be generally equivalent to those Poor Law Unions which are not included in the former divisions. As previously mentioned, there are at present 649 of these Unions in England and Wales, but, as 200 of these are situated partly in one county and partly in another, the boundaries would have to be rectified in order to bring them within the areas of single counties.

I now come to discuss the style of the authorities to which would be confided the administration of the communes and of the counties. In both urban and rural communes a body of councillors should be elected by adult suffrage, to whom should be entrusted the whole of the powers at present wielded by the multitudinous and conflicting authorities I have previously mentioned.

The care of the public health, the relief of the distressed poor, the working of the system of popular education—in short, the care of everything that most deeply affects the welfare of the community—would devolve upon the council of the commune. School Boards, Burial Boards, inspectors of lighting, surveyors of highways, and other parochial authorities, would lapse and merge in the communal council, as also the duties of Local Boards in urban sanitary districts. The provision of a public water supply, of public baths and wash-houses, the duty to pave and light towns and villages, the further extension of the Free Libraries Act (without any limit in respect to population), the licensing of public houses and theatres, and slaughter-houses, should vest in communal councils. To this council, also, should be relegated the functions now exercised by magistrates in Petty Sessions. Formerly the rural police were appointed by the parishes, under the style of parish constable. The abolition of this parochial right has led to gross abuses. The county police in most rural districts are entirely at the beck and call of the landed proprietors, who use them as game-keepers and night watchers on rivers. Some landlords in my neighbourhood have gone so far as to build a lodge for the accommodation of policemen kindly lent them by the obliging chief of police! Yet the deluded farmer or labourer pays his police rates to keep up this sort of thing, and merely contents himself with grumbling. The control of the local police must in future be in the hands of the urban and rural communes.

The county had formerly its ancient court, in which the people had some direct voice. It has lost this privilege, and its government has been handed over to officials who are chosen by representatives of the central Government generally on political grounds, or on account of territorial importance. The Lord-Lieutenant and the High Sheriff recommend persons whom they consider as suitable for the office of county magistrate, and these are then nominated by the Lord Chancellor. These examples of non-representative authority will have to be abolished as a matter of course, and the powers exercised by the Courts of Quarter Sessions in the jurisdiction of criminal offences must be transferred to the general council of the county, such council to be composed of delegates sent by each commune within the boundary of the county. The control of the local volunteer forces, of the gaols, lunatic asylums, and county buildings, and the maintenance of main roads, and county bridges, would fall to the general council as also the appointment of coroners. The duties of the sheriff should be discharged by the principal executive officer of the general council. The valuation of rateable property, and the imposition of uniform poor, police, school, and other rates throughout the country would have to be undertaken by the county authority.

Provincial life is generally unbearable to most men of intelligence, because it affords no object of interest or scope for action. So mysterious in their workings are the various local bodies by whom we are ruled and taxed, that the most practised man of business is often unable to tell us their names, what they do, or where they reside. Such a clumsy and divided local administration is sure to dishearten many who are desirous of serving their countrymen. Let us then restore to rural communities the idea of common rights and common duties, and so help to diffuse amongst their various members a sense of local responsibility, now almost confined to a selfish landlord or trading class.

In the foregoing paragraphs I have endeavoured to state what ought to be the present action of such a new system of local administration, but as Socialists we feel confident that communal duties could not long remain stationary at this point. The ownership and control of the land, mines, and machinery, by the various communes would speedily follow such a clearance of feudal obstructions. The railways, or at any rate, the main lines, and the postal and telegraph service might have to remain in the hands of a central authority, but at any rate the State as a central governing body would have its functions gradually restricted—a federation of free autonomic communes taking its place. After the withdrawal of all purely local business from the jurisdiction of Parliament, its duties would also be greatly limited.

TOM MUSE.

[We print the foregoing communication as containing interesting information and suggestions; but Socialists will be apt to doubt whether it would be worth while elaborating a new machinery for dealing with the present conditions of Society. The demand for decentralisation must spring from the same source as, and be put forward simultaneously with, the demand for the freeing of labour from the monopolist rule. A system of "local self-government" might, it is clear, become a very dangerous instrument of oppression in the hands of our present rulers and the proprietary class which they represent.—Ed.]



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

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 15 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

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Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 15 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

B. S.—The quotation you speak of was popular during the Window-tax excitement, and runs:

"God made the light, and saw that it was good;  
Hitt put a tax on it—God damn his blood!"

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday February 8.

<b>ENGLAND</b>	<b>Boston</b> —Woman's Journal	<b>BELOGIUM</b>
Christian Socialist	Liberty	Ghent—Vooruit
Church Reformer	Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer	Antwerp—De Werker
Jus	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde
Justice	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volkshblatt	Liege—L'Avenir
London—Freie Presse	N Haven—Workmen's Advocate	<b>ITALY</b>
Labour Tribune	Providence (R.I.)—The People	Milan—Il Pasco Operato
Norwich—Daylight	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	Marsala—La Nuova Eta
Personal Rights Journal	San Francisco (Cal) The People	<b>SPAIN</b>
Radical	Coast Seamen's Journal	Madrid—El Socialista
Railway Review	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	<b>GERMANY</b>
Worker's Friend	<b>FRANCE</b>	Berlin—Volks Tribune
<b>INDIA</b>	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	<b>ROUMANIA</b>
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Le Socialiste	Municipal
Madras—People's Friend	Lille—Le Travailleur	<b>SWEDEN</b>
<b>UNITED STATES</b>	Guise—Le Devoir	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
New York—Freiheit	<b>HOLLAND</b>	Malmö—Arbetet
Truthseeker	Hague—Recht voor Allen	
Volkszeitung	Amsterdam—Voorwaarts	

## WASTED LABOUR.

In a society which is organised solely in the interest of the few who, having a monopoly of the means of life, are thereby able to live idly and force others to provide them with every imaginable luxury, it is inevitable that a great amount of the labour of the many should be compelled into utterly useless channels. This statement may sound like a platitude to most Socialists, but I doubt if many of us really realise the enormity of wasted labour to-day, or fully conceive of how great a labour force there is locked up in useless methods of working, which might be set free and utilised in real production, and, by thus spreading out the burden of needful work over a greater area, lessen the labour hours of each individual, and give to everyone more leisure and chance for enjoyment.

First there is the labour-power of the actual idlers. Their very existence, their education, their physical abilities they owe to the society round them. There is no such thing as a self-educated or self-made man. All that any man is or has is due to society. From his birth he is surrounded by conditions none of which could have existed but for the labour of society. He is the product of that labour which supplied him with food, shelter and clothing for his body, with books and teachers for his mental development. In order to produce the labour-power that is in him, what a vast amount of work had to be done! For him in past ages learned men gathered knowledge; for him workers of all kinds produce the necessities of life; it has taken the combined labour of a host of men to produce him; and he, the finished article, endowed by others' labour with every capability he possesses, is turned out fit to be useful and to take his share of the common burden of the society that has done everything for him. But society finds that, although it has cost so much to produce him, he is absolutely useless, inasmuch as he refuses to spend his labour-power in anything useful. In short for all the good that comes of it, the labour spent in producing him might just as well have been devoted to the task of blowing soap-bubbles. His labour-power, indeed! No man belongs to himself; his powers belong to the community that produced them, and are wasted unless spent in the service of that community.

Not only is the labour force of the actual idler wasted, but all the work spent about making him what he is is wasted too. We should count that man very foolish indeed who, possessing valuable water-power, set it the task of turning a wheel simply to grind the air; the motion of the wheel, like the labour-power in the body of an idler, represents the ability to do some useful work; and if no useful work is done by it, then not only is its own motion wasted, but the water-power that produced the motion, like the labour-power that endowed

the idler with his capabilities, is wasted too; and he who thus allows the force of the stream to run away useless is no more foolish than the society that allows a great part of its energy to be spent in producing and maintaining an idler class—in turning a wheel that grinds nothing, excepting, of course, the lives of the poor who must spend their force in keeping it going.

The above would hold true if the idlers in society were supplied only with the necessities of life. Even then, a huge army of workers would be needed to keep them. But the necessities of life do not satisfy them; they must have its luxuries as well, not only real luxuries, but many things for which no one but an unreasonable and unmanly being would crave. Here, then, is another vast array of workers required to produce these things, and their labour is entirely wasted; flunkeys and domestics, too, must attend the pleasure of the idler, who thus imposes upon the worker not only the support of himself, but of a whole group of useless persons of which he is the centre.

Again, there is another very large class whose labour-power is completely wasted—those who are occupied simply in upholding the existing order of things, lawyers, policemen, soldiers, bailiffs, priests, and to a very large extent pressmen. Under a reasonable system, the labour spent in these pursuits might be turned into really useful channels. The lawyer's trade it is to cheat and lie, and he only exists so long as monopoly with all its complications lasts. The priest would not be needed by an enlightened community whose economic freedom had given to all its members large opportunities for mental cultivation. The policeman and soldier might make excellent butchers (unless our vegetarian friends convert us all in the meantime). Newspapers would, of course, be useful; but our capitalist press of to-day is purely a class affair. Its object is not to give us a daily knowledge of facts occurring, but to manipulate those facts, if possible, in the interest of the idle class; or, if it is not possible to distort them, to suppress them altogether. Far from educating the public, it devotes itself to fooling and misleading us; and the great number of men employed upon it really waste their labour, seeing that the product of that labour is not a useful nor pleasant thing.

A system of production and distribution worked in a competitive way naturally implies waste of labour in the mere effort of competition. In the field of production let any reader take his native town, and see the waste there is in any industry he may single out. In my own city the boot and shoe trade employs a very large number of men. A dozen different firms competing with each other must have a dozen different factory buildings and sets of machinery, when in all likelihood half the amount of machinery would suffice for the production of quite as many boots as are turned out of all these factories. In agriculture, again, if the land were farmed by the community instead of by a number of competing farmers, not one half of the machinery and implements at present in use would be needed, and the labour spent in producing them would be set free, not, of course, to find itself in the position of "unemployed," as we understand it to-day, but free in the sense that hours of labour would be reduced, and men would have more chance for pleasure and refinement.

But the waste of labour in society as at present constituted is shown most glaringly in our distributive industries. Everything is done blindly and without method. For every distributor that is really needed there are fifty to-day. In the same street there are five or six stores where the same articles are sold. The street wherein I reside contains only about fifty houses, and to supply them there come eight different milkmen, five bakers, and hawkers innumerable; and these have to travel all over the city to supply their scattered customers.

"If each letter-carrier, on going to the post-office in the morning, were to fill his bag out of a heap of unassorted letters, and start out to deliver them all over the city to their proper addresses, it would take him a whole day to deliver fifty or one hundred letters, which he can do now in an hour or less with greater promptness and certainty, to say nothing of the saving in time, labour, and material. By proper organisation and co-operation a similar saving might be made in every department of distribution."

One distributive store might supply the needs of a neighbourhood equally as well as, or rather far better than, they are supplied, under our chaotic method of working; by fifty or sixty little establishments; and the number of warehousemen, shop assistants, clerks, and managers might be greatly diminished.

Another enormous waste in our competitive distribution is that of the labour of those engaged in advertising and the puffing of useless things. The object of the store proprietor is not to supply the public with useful things, but to induce them to buy from him; he does not aim at supplying a need because it is a public need, but solely for his individual profit; and in order to draw custom he, by means of the monopoly that he holds over the means of life, is able to force the labour of many people into the utterly unproductive (save of profit to himself) channel of advertising, commercial travelling, and the like. That all this labour power is wasted must be very evident when we consider that one half of it is exercised for the simple purpose of thwarting the other half. Two persons engaged in commercial travelling for rival firms are mainly occupied in neutralising each other's efforts. Society gets no benefit whatever from their labour; the profit of the individual capitalist is the only thing increased, and that by the diminution of another's profit, for clearly, since these two individuals produce nothing, they can only realise gain for their masters by shift-

ing wealth from the possession of someone else. It is true that they work, very often hard enough, but the community gets nothing more from their labour than it would if they were engaged in pulling one another's hair—which, by-the-bye, is what their work practically comes to.

Truly it is most monstrous waste, all this effort to place commodities in the hands of those who want them. When the search for consumers is over, and the commercial traveller has found his customer, another huge waste comes in by reason of the labour spent in carrying goods from one end of the country to another, which might equally as well be produced at the place where they are wanted. After the finished article leaves the hands of the real producer, and before it reaches the consumer, what a number of men take their share out of it!—the capitalist, his clerks, the railway shareholders, the newspapers and other advertising mediums, the retail merchant, and very often smaller tradesmen who buy from the merchant—all of whose labour adds not a farthing to the wealth of the community. Have we not here so great a labour-force that, if it were spent in useful labour, no man's share of the productive burden need be excessive?

It is well-nigh impossible to conceive of the height to which human happiness might rise if this wasted labour-power were used to give to every individual leisure and comfortable surroundings. Science and art could then live again, being freed from the grip of commercialism; they would become the possession of all instead of the lazy amusement of the empty lives of a few; the pleasure of learning and the delight of beautiful things would be open to everyone; and the freedom from excessive toil would awaken a desire for them in the minds of a truly educated people, such as they might be who looked upon life not as a time to make bargains in, but as a period to be filled with happiness for all.

FRED HENDERSON.

### SOCIALISM IN NOTTINGHAM AND SHEFFIELD.

On Jan. 21, I reached Nottingham from Leicester, and was met by Messrs. Dolman, Proctor, etc. On the Sunday, Jan. 22, we had two very agreeable meetings, the subjects of my lectures being "The Income of the Working and other Classes," etc., etc.; and in the evening, "Socialism, what it is and what it is not." Unfortunately, there was little opposition.

On the Tuesday, some members of the Cobden Club expressed a wish that I would give a lecture at the club on the following Saturday evening. I agreed to do so. On the Wednesday night a special meeting of the committee was held, and on the Thursday I received from the secretary an invitation to give a lecture on Socialism, being assured by some of the members that I should meet with a good opposition. I may just say that the club has some 300 members, all belonging more or less to the professional and commercial classes. On the Saturday evening, I went with a number of friends of the S.L. and S.D.F. There was a large attendance of members present. The president occupied the chair, and in his opening remarks, while guaranteeing me a fair and impartial hearing, assured me there would be a good discussion at the close of my lecture. But the chairman was mistaken, for there was no opposition worth speaking of. On the contrary it was proposed and seconded, and virtually agreed to, that copies of all the Socialist works I had with me should be purchased (13s. worth) for the use of the club. This was done at once by the chairman. It was also agreed that I should lecture again for the club on the last Saturday in February, when opposition is to be specially provided.

On Sunday the 29th, I was to lecture in the large room, Swan's Buildings, near the centre of the town, but at 3 o'clock, the time for the afternoon lecture, admittance to the room was refused. Ultimately, the proprietor agreed that the evening lecture should take place. He stayed during the lecture, listened attentively, expressed his pleasure at the same, and declined to take the 10s. 6d. agreed to be paid for the use of the room. I have great pleasure in adding that the members of the S.D.F. joined with the members of S.L. to make the Sunday lectures a success. Mr. Peacock, of the S.D.F., occupied the chair.

On Monday, Jan. 30th, I reached Sheffield, and was asked to preside at a meeting the following evening, when the Rev. Charles Peach would give a lecture on "The Path to Socialism." The rev. gentleman is comparatively a young man, and was looked upon as one of the coming local men who would accomplish a great deal in the future. But his lecture might very appropriately have been termed "Suggestions how to get rid of Socialism." It forcibly called to my mind the struggles of the past, even in the Chartist movement, the moral and physical force Chartists, and the complete suffragists, who professed Chartism in everything but in name. To-day we have men professing to be Socialists, who repudiate the principles of Socialism as too revolutionary and dangerous. The Rev. Mr. Peach recommended an agitation for manhood suffrage with payment of members. He then recommended the nationalisation of the land on the scheme of Mr. Wallace, which would be accomplished in about two generations. That question settled, the time might then be ripe for the nationalisation of the railways, and I suppose the nationalisation of the instruments of production and the organisation of labour, etc., etc., would come a few generations later on. He condemned the use of the word revolution, and assured his audience that its use prevented many kind-hearted persons joining in the movement. In the Chartist movement the cry was give up the name and we accept the principle; but to-day we are asked to give up the principle, all that is essential and distinctive, and then they will be Socialists. These are phrases not to be lost sight of.

In conclusion, allow me to say that Leicester, Nottingham, and Sheffield played a very important part in the Chartist movement. They ought to play an equally important part in the Socialist movement. I hope they will.

J. SKETCHLEY.

It will be pleasant news to readers of the *Commonweal* to know that another Socialist branch has been formed in Leeds, composed of our Jewish comrades. We are sadly in want of Socialist pamphlets in German and Russian. If anyone can send us something of the sort, or directions where such can be purchased, we shall be glad. With a little assistance of the above nature, we feel confident of a branch fifty strong in six months.—T. P., Sec.

### LAISSEZ FAIRE.

"All we ask is to be let alone."

"An interference with personal liberty."—Charles Bradlaugh, M.P., on the *Early Closing Bill*.

As vonce I walked by a dismal swamp,  
There sot an old cove in the dark and damp,  
And at everybody as passed that rosd  
A stick or a stone this old cove throwed,  
And venever he flung his stick or his stone,  
He'd set up a song of "Let me alone!"

"Let me alone, for I loves to shy  
These bits o' things at the passers-by;  
Let me alone, for I've got your tin,  
And lots of other traps snugly in;  
Let me alone—I am rigging a fake  
To grab votever you're able to make;  
In a veek or so I expects to come,  
And turn you out o' your 'ouse and 'ome;  
I'm a quiet old cove," says he, with a groan,  
"All I axes is, Let me alone!"

Just then came along, on the selfsame vay,  
Another old cove and began for to say:—  
"Let you alone! that's coming it strong!  
You've ben let alone—a darned sight sight too long!  
Of all the sarce that ever I heard!  
Put down that stick (you may well look skeered!)  
Let go that stone—If you once show fight,  
I'll knock you higher than any kite!"

"You must have a lesson to cure your tricks,  
And cure you of shyin' them stones and sticks,  
And I'll have my hardware back and my cash,  
And knock your tricks into 'arnal smash;  
And if ever I ketches you round my shop,  
You'll think the sky's a-beginnin' to drop.  
The best you can do is to go to bed,  
And keep a decent tongue in your head;  
For I reckon before you and I are done,  
You'll wish you'd let honest folks alone!"

The old cove stopped, and the other old cove  
He sot quite still in his dismal grove,  
And he looked at his stick, revolvin' slow  
Vether 'twere safe to shy it or no;  
And he grumbled on, in an injured tone,  
"All that I axed vos, *Let me alone!*"

[The above idyll of individualism is adapted from an anti-secession song by H. H. Brownell, quoted p. 29 of Moore's 'Anecdotes, etc., of the War.'—S.]

### LOUIS LINGG.

LOUIS LINGG was born in Mannheim, Germany, on September 9, 1864. His father worked as a lumberman; his mother did laundry-work. Young Louis received his education in the common schools in Mannheim. How the first shadows of life began to darken the boy's horizon, and to have a decisive influence upon him, he relates thus: "My earliest youth was a happy one indeed, until a fatal accident which befel my father brought about such a change in our situation that not very seldom want and hunger were guests in our family. Only the utmost efforts of my mother prevented their visits becoming daily ones. My father, one day, endeavoured to replace a heavy log of oak which had slipped from the banks upon the frozen surface of the river. The icy coast gave way, father disappeared in the icy waters, and was rescued only with great difficulty. This event destroyed his health and reduced his working capacity. In consequence thereof the noble boss saw the necessity of reducing the wage-slave's salary, although my father had worked for him faithfully for twelve years, and finally to discharge him with the flimsy excuse that business had decreased. When thirteen I received the first impressions of the prevailing unjust social institutions—*i.e.*, the exploitation of man by man. The main circumstances which caused these reflections in my youthful mind were the experiences of our own family. It did not escape my observation that the former employer of my father, the lumber-dealer, grew continually richer, despite the extravagant life he and his family were leading, whilst on the other hand my father, who had performed his respective part in creating the wealth the boss possessed, and who had sacrificed his health, was cast aside like a worn-out tool. All this implanted into my mind the seed of bitter hatred of the existing society, which feeling grew still more intense with my entrance into the industrial arena."

Lingg learned the trade of a carpenter, and after serving according to the German custom a three years' apprenticeship, he travelled in Southern Germany and afterwards in Switzerland, working wherever there was a chance. Soon he learned the doctrines of Socialism, which he eagerly espoused.

In 1885 he went to America. He did not wish to enter the military service in Germany, and consequently could no longer safely stay in Switzerland. He went to Chicago, and secured work as a carpenter. Soon he joined the union of his trade. Here he became so active and prominent that he was appointed an organiser. Lingg pointed with pride to the fact that his union came out of the ill-fated eight-hour movement in May 1886 with undiminished strength.

The *Christian Socialist* this month is even above the average in its outspokenness and bright readability. One of the emissaries of the "London City Mission" has taken it as part of his work to oppose Socialism, and is taken to task by the *Christian Socialist* in a way that should make him quail, if he be not, as most of his kind, incapable of anything like thought.

J. L. Joynes has in the press a volume of translations of poems by German writers of the 1848 period, including Freiligrath, Heine, Herwegh, as well as many others not so well known to English readers. The volume will shortly be published by Messrs. Foulger and Co. of Paternoster Row, under the title of 'Songs of a Revolutionary Epoch.'

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

The Walsall lock-makers have directed a levy upon the trade in support of forty workmen who are on strike against the new regulations which have been introduced by Messrs. Lowe and Frankes, disallowing draws on account of work in hand.

**AYRSHIRE MINERS.**—At a meeting of the executive of the Ayrshire Miners' Union, held at Kilmarnock last Friday, it was resolved to urge the men to perfect their organisation, so as to be able on an early date to make an effective demand for an advance of wages.

**SHARPEN YOUR OWN PICKS.**—The colliery-owners in Dregghorn district having refused to sharpen the men's picks at less than fourpence per week, the men, with the assistance of the Ayrshire Miners' Union, have leased a small piece of ground, and propose building a smithy, which is to be opened shortly.

**FIFESHIRE MINERS.**—At a conference on Tuesday of the Fife and Clackmannan coal masters and miners, the owners refused to withdraw the reduction of wages by 10 per cent. enforced last week, and expressed their indignation at the resolution of the men to stop work for two weeks, a policy which they state they were prepared to resist to the utmost. We understand that the coal masters intend to lock out the entire body of men.

**WELSH MINERS.**—A general meeting of colliery delegates has been held at Aberdare, for the consideration of a committee's draft of the proposed rules of the South Wales Federation of Miners. Over 35,000 colliers were represented. The name of the institution is to be the South Wales and Monmouthshire Colliery Workmen's Federation, and its objects are to raise funds to protect the interests of the colliery workmen, to reduce the hours of daily labour in the mines, and to assist in federating the whole of the workmen of the civilised world.

**YORKSHIRE MINERS.**—Mr. B. Pickard, M.P., secretary of the Yorkshire Miners' Association, has announced that the result of the ballot of the miners of Yorkshire, taken last week, on the question of giving a notice to leave work in order to force an advance of wages, was in favour of giving such notice. Forty thousand ballot papers were issued, and most of these have been returned. The men have from the first had full control over what has been done, the duty of the officials in this matter having been purely ministerial; and to the men the last decision as to the course to be adopted is also committed. A large number of the men are still of opinion that trade has so far improved that they are entitled to a return of the 10 per cent. advance which they lost three years ago.

**MR. CRAWFORD'S BOYCOTT.**—For acting up to the recommendations contained in Mr. Crawford's last circular, thirty miners have been fined at Bishop Auckland. Rather than ride in the same cage with a non-unionist, they left off work. The *Newcastle Chronicle* says: "Their action is regulated by the treat-him-as-a-leper code—the code which commands the hate to be carried to and maintained before the footstool of the Almighty. There is nothing new in it, as we lately explained. It is one way of carrying on a social war. It is 'trades unionism'; it is 'boycotting.'" It might also be added that it is the recognition of the fact that the present condition of labour and capital means social war, and nothing short of it. Every expedient has been tried to hide the robbery of the workers by greedy capitalists. The "declaration of war" on non-unionists is only one phase of the beginning of the struggle which shall free the worker.

**STRIKE OF SHIPBUILDERS.**—A strike occurred at the extensive iron ship-building yard of Messrs. Haylton, Dixon, and Co., Middlesbrough, on Monday morning. A dispute has been pending respecting piece prices, and as the masters refuse to concede the demands of the men, upwards of 1000 platers and riveters have turned out on strike.

**FRASERBURGH FISHERMEN AND STATE EMIGRATION.**—A petition signed by 700 Fraserburgh fisherman has been forwarded to Lord Lothian asking the assistance of the State to enable them to emigrate. The fisherman emphasise the losses they have recently sustained in their industry, and select British Columbia as the most likely field for their labour.

**SHORT TIME IN DUNDEE JUTE WORKS.**—Last Thursday a meeting of jute spinners and manufacturers was held in Dundee to consider the propriety of running their works on short time until trade improves. There was a large attendance, the greater number of the firms being represented. After consultation it was unanimously resolved to stop the spinning and weaving departments on Saturdays for a period of three months, commencing on the first Saturday of March. This will restrict the working hours from fifty-six to fifty per week.

**EDINBURGH JOINERS' STRIKE.**—The situation remains unchanged, and the stolid determination of the men to continue resistance is daily becoming more intense. The funds in hand are amply sufficient to meet all requirements, while the men conduct their weekly business meetings, held every Saturday, in the best of spirits. It is stated that two of the firms have given in to the men's demands, and granted 7d. per hour to their workers.

**SHALE-MINING INDUSTRY.**—The shale miners of Broxburn, West Calder, etc., have made application to their employers, through Mr. John Wilson, their able secretary, for the further concession of 2d. per ton on the output of shale. They suffered a reduction of 4d. per ton last July, but half of this was conceded them at the beginning of January. The current prices of the shale products warrant the full reduction returned, as the sum conceded would only be one-twentieth of the profits made by the oil companies over and above prices obtained in January, 1886, when the trade was considered in a good condition.

**VINDICTIVE SENTENCES ON SCOTCH CROFTERS.**—In the first batch, comprising Donald MacKenzie, Alexander Macleod, and John MacKay, the sentences imposed were much heavier than had been expected, the first two men receiving fifteen months' imprisonment and the third twelve months. The sentences caused considerable sensation in court. Subsequently five other Aighish prisoners were sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment, three to nine months, and one to six months. In the Clashmore case two of the accused were women. These were sentenced to nine months' imprisonment each, and their male companion to twelve months. There was hissing in court, and loud dissatisfaction expressed, especially in the case of the women.

The Local Government Board have suggested to the boards of guardians throughout the country that tramps, especially when apparently willing to work, instead of being detained in the workhouse until eleven o'clock in the morning after their admission, as is the rule now, should be allowed to leave directly they have completed their task and breakfast, so that they may

have a better chance of obtaining work outside. It would be quite edifying to know how the casual taskmasters judge those who are apparently willing to work. The very suggestion shows what a farce all this poor-law arrangement is. Some stupid, pig-headed nigger-driver, who must necessarily be a stony-hearted, callous man, has the power to permit those to depart whom he thinks are "willing to work." Why not make him a magistrate at once?

**MEETING OF EDINBURGH BAKERS.**—At a crowded meeting of the operative bakers of Edinburgh, held in the Trades' Hall, High Street, Mr. William Henry presiding, with the object of having their hours of labour reduced and their wages increased, it was proposed by Mr. William Turnbull, seconded by Mr. John Gilmour, "That we, the operative bakers of Edinburgh, view with regret the silent but sure encroachments that are being made upon our recognised hours and rate of pay by many employers, and therefore resolve to do all in our power by united and individual effort to regain the position which we have lost, and maintain that which we ought to enjoy." A second resolution, proposed by Mr. William Mitchell and seconded by Mr. James Nicol, was, "That we, the operative bakers of Edinburgh, are of the opinion that the only way whereby we can improve our position is by uniting ourselves together and becoming members of the Edinburgh branch of the Federal Union of Scotland." The resolutions, which were respectively spoken to by Mr. Mallinson and Mr. Blaikie of the Trades' Council, were unanimously carried.

**BLUNDELL MAPLE, M.P., v. W. PARNELL.**—An appeal is being made to trades unionists and others interested in putting a stop to the "sweating system" for funds to aid W. Parnell, secretary of the West-end Branch of the Alliance Cabinet Makers' Society, to defend an action for slander brought against him by Mr. J. Blundell Maple, M.P. for Dulwich, for certain statements alleged to have been made by him about Mr. Maple and the "sweating system" existing in the cabinet trade. W. Monk, hon. sec., 14 Caroline St., S.W.; H. Ham, gen. sec. Alliance Cabinet Makers, hon. treasurer, 64 Finsbury Pavement, E.C.; H. H. Champion, hon. sec. National Labour Party Metropolitan Section, 13 Paternoster Row, E.C., will receive subscriptions. This is a very worthy cause; but it says little for London workmen or that very peculiar body the London Trades Council that there should be such a difficulty in finding the necessary means. The Cabinet Makers say their funds are not available for the purpose. Why? It seems to me that to fight unfair employers is the object above all others for which trades unions are necessary. At any rate if the members of the various societies had any grit in them at all they would tax themselves to defend a comrade who has brought himself into trouble by fighting in their interests.

**THE SKYE CROFTERS.**—Amidst the turmoil of the Irish agitation, the great revolt of the Scottish crofters passes almost unnoticed, except for an occasional lying report in the London press. The *Glasgow Mail*, however, not only pleads the cause of the crofters, but gathers subscriptions. It gives an account of "the largest crofter meeting for the last four years, held recently at Valtos, Skye. The cottars and crofters of the whole district turned out almost to a man. The object of the meeting was to consider the best means of getting possession of the lands of which they were deprived. Mr. Murdo MacLean presided. After a good deal of strong speaking, the following resolution was ultimately agreed to: 'That the Legislature be called upon to immediately pass a measure restoring to the people their just rights, and that they no longer starve while the land of their fathers goes to fatten deer.' The resolution gave but partial satisfaction to the meeting, the feeling being that the time for asking had passed, and that the time for taking had come. Several speakers declared they would never get their rights while they kept within the law, while one asked, when the landlords had broken every law of the creator, why should they fear to break the landlords' law? This appeared to be the feeling of the vast majority of the meeting, and it required all the tact of the more moderate section to keep them within bounds. What the end will be it is difficult to say; but it is significant that a motion to meet to-morrow on the farm of Duntulm to further consider their position was carried with few dissentients."

**THE GOVERNMENT AND THE FACTORY ACTS.**—Last Saturday night, under the presidency of Mr. W. M. Thompson, a meeting was held in the Brick Lane School Rooms, Whitechapel, to protest against the sweating system carried on in the tailoring, bootmaking, and other trades. The chairman stated that Mr. Burnett's report to the Board of Trade was one of the most emphatic condemnations of the system of sweating ever made. Among the remedies for the evils of the system were a more efficient plan of inspecting factories, and better rules for the regulation of the hours and conditions of work. He urged the united action of the workers in the trades in which sweating was carried on, so as to compel the Government to adopt some measures to ameliorate the condition under which work was now carried on in factories. Mr. Lewis Lyons made a number of suggestions for the amendment and improvement of the existing Factory Acts, and the following motion, after considerable discussion and opposition, was agreed to: "That this meeting of working men and women emphatically endorse the report of Mr. John Burnett, labour correspondent of the Board of Trade, on the sweating system; that we are of opinion that the practice of this cruel and inhuman system is injurious to the morality and health of the workers, and is a fruitful cause of starvation, prostitution, and early death; that we demand immediate legislation for the reform of the evils set forth in Mr. Burnett's report; and that we further condemn the Government for its persistent neglect of home affairs, to the detriment of those who live by toil." The meeting resolved to send a copy of the resolution to the Queen, the Prime Minister, Mr. Gladstone, the Primate, Cardinal Manning, and the Chief Rabbi.

### LETTER FROM AMERICA.

The strike of the Reading miners and railroaders is still in full swing. It is now beyond doubt that the fight between master and men will be a long and bitter one, and only absolute starvation will induce the miners to give in. At one time it seemed possible that President Austin Corbin might induce the miners to compromise, and to leave the railroaders to fight single-handed against the company, but the high-handed action of this official during the latter days has destroyed this basis of settlement. On Sunday Corbin issued a mendacious manifesto containing the following demands: "We regret exceedingly that this action on the part of the employés of our road, as well as the action of miners, promises to bring disastrous results to those portions of the State dependent upon the output of the Reading collieries, but there is no alternative for this company that we can see except to insist upon (1) the right to manage its own property, and (2) the right to employ labour in the mining of its coal so that it will have at least an equal chance with

its neighbours in every competitive market to which anthracite coal goes. President Corbin thirty years ago could hardly boast of possessing a cent; to-day he is considered to be worth about thirty million dollars; it appears that his pocket is the "competitive market" alluded to in his ultimatum. This action of the company has had a three-fold effect—(1) to embitter all workers in general against capital; (2) to thoroughly unite the miners and railroaders engaged in the present contest; (3) a determination to "carry the war into Africa." This last effect is the most important phenomenon which has yet appeared in the American Labour struggle. Last Monday a sub-committee was appointed to issue an appeal to the next session of the Legislature, urging this body to *confiscate* in the name of the State and by "the right of eminent domain" all the coal lands. The State then should go into the coal-mining business on its own account or should lease the lands to be operated under certain conditions as to the payment of labour. Considering how violently American workers have fought against the idea of "confiscating" the means of production, it must be admitted that the action of the strikers is rather progressive.

Dr. A. Douay, one of the editors of the New York *Volks Zeitung*, died suddenly last week. The Social-Democratic party loses in him one of its most able, brilliant, and honest exponents.

The shoemakers' lock-out at Rochester has ended, the men going back to work at the employer's terms.

Several thousand men were thrown out of work by the strike of lasters at North Adams, Mass., on January 13th.

The Fall River spinners are threatening to strike unless an immediate advance in wages is granted. Conferences with representatives of the manufacturing corporations are in progress. A full restoration of the rates of 1884 is demanded by the operatives, in view of the recent advance in print cloth.

The girls employed at the Carlisle (Pa.) Shoe-factory struck on the 18th, and on the 19th the men went out to give them support. The girls say they did not strike for a question of wages or hours, but in defence of their honour, in consequence of the shameful behaviour of the foreman.

The cigarmakers' strike in New York about the tenement question commenced in earnest this week, and the fight is on the increase. About 1600 men are out on strike. Most of the factories are closely picketed. To-day two well-known union men amongst the sentries were arrested for refusing to "move on," but discharged after being severely reprimanded by the judge. If any more arrests are made the union will make them test cases.

LIST OF STRIKES FOR JANUARY.

Number of strikers reported, Jan. 1 to 10	32,958
10... Jersey City, N. J.—Metal-workers	60
12...Pittsfield, Mass.—Shoe-hands, wages dispute	40
13...North Adams, Mass.—Shoe-lasters, for advance	40
13...Jersey City—Rubber-works employes, against reduction and for discharge of superintendent	115
14...Philadelphia—Job-printers, for union wages and against employment of non-union men	300
14...Albany, N. Y.—Ice harvesters, for advance	—
14...Pittsburgh—Messenger boys, for advance	—
15...Philadelphia—Cigar-makers, against reduction	400
15...Philadelphia—Carpet-weavers, against reduction	20
16...Brockton, Mass.—Shoe-hands, for advance and more work	200
16...Pottsville, Pa.—Ice-harvesters, refusal to cut ice to be shipped by Reading road	101
16...New York City—Pocket-book makers, against reduction	65
17...Philadelphia—Carpet-weavers, for advance	26
17...New York City—Cigar-makers, against reduction	—
17...Carlisle, Pa.—Shoe-hands (girls), for discharge of foreman	400
18...Philadelphia—Carpet-weavers in thirteen concerns, against new wages schedule	54
18...New York City—Cigar-makers, against reduction	350
18...New York City—Cigar-makers, against reduction	380
18...Pittsburgh and Allegheny, Pa.—Stone-masons, for unionism	—
Total number of strikers known to January 18	35,509

New York, January 25, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 18, 1888.

12	Sun.	1809. Charles Darwin born. 1844. O'Connell and others sentenced for conspiracy.
13	Mon.	1835. Henry Hunt died. 1867. Fenian risings in Ireland.
14	Tues.	1693. Massacre of Glencoe. 1696. "Assassination Plot." 1766. T. R. Malthus born.
16	Wed.	1401. W. Santre, first English martyr, burned. 1564. Galileo born. 1747. Jeremy Bentham born.
16	Thur.	1834. Ernst Hæckel born. 1885. Unemployed Demonstrtn. in Londn.
17	Fri.	1600. Giordano Bruno burnt at Rome. 1836. Heine died. 1886. Preliminary Examination of Burns, Champion, Hyndman, and Williams.
18	Sat.	1546. Martin Luther died.

Henry Hunt ("Orator Hunt").—Born at Uphaven, Wilts, November 6, 1773; died at Alresford, Hants, February 13, 1835. For the first 30 years of his life was an ardent Loyalist. On the 16th of August, 1801, he first presided at a public meeting, and he there volunteered himself and his servants and placed £80,000 worth of goods and cattle at the disposal of the Government in case of invasion. But even before this the growing independence of his opinions and his violent temper led to his being offensively treated by Lord Bruce, the commander of the troop of yeomanry to which he belonged; and for challenging him to "render the satisfaction of a gentleman," Hunt was imprisoned for six weeks and fined £100. In prison he met Waddington, the well-known Radical, and his friend and advocate Clifford, from whom he received many new ideas that afterwards had their due effect. It is not too much to say that the whole term of imprisonment was spent in acquiring new truths that had not yet reached his country home, and that were a revelation to him. During his imprisonment also, which a liberal use of bribery made rather a town holiday than aught else, he contrived to visit Colonel Despard, at that time confined in the Tower, where he had been for six years, and for no offence but the demanding payment of a

debt from the Government. Altogether he went back to his home with a thousand new ideas implanted in his brain, to bear fruit ultimately. His first entry into the political arena was over the impeachment of Lord Melville for misappropriation of public money. Through this he was introduced to Cobbett, at that time in the height of his power. In 1807, he took part in the election battle at Bristol, and also gave a dinner there to celebrate the return of Sir Francis Burdett for Westminster; and in 1812 he unsuccessfully contested that city as a Reform candidate. On Nov. 5, 1816, he spoke at the first Spa Fields meeting, and was to have addressed the great meeting at same place on the 2nd of December, but the "riot" had begun before he arrived. From this time he was without intermission agitating in all parts of the country for "Radical Reform" (Universal Suffrage, Annual Parliaments, Vote by Ballot, and Repeal of the Corn Laws). On the 16th of August, 1819, he presided at Peterloo, when a peaceable, orderly, and legal meeting was "warrenred", as will be described in due course. He was tried and condemned to 2½ years imprisonment, and to find security for his good behaviour for five years, himself in £1,000 and two sureties in £500 each. By a singular coincidence this meeting occurred on the anniversary of that on which he made his "patriotic" offer, and as he says: "I am sure that I was actuated by the very same feeling, the same love of country, the same anxiety for the well-being of my fellow-countrymen, and the same self-devotion at both these meetings; my great leading object being to promote, as far as my humble means would permit, the welfare, the freedom, and happiness of my countrymen"—only at one he helped the Government, and at the other was helping the people, which makes all the difference. When he came out of prison he met with a tremendous reception. Between 1822 and 1830 he devoted himself mainly to his private affairs, which were nigh ruined from neglect. In August of the latter year he stood for Preston unsuccessfully, but in December of the same year he stood again and was elected. Soon after taking his seat, on the motion for a general fast-day throughout the kingdom, he asked the pertinent question "Whether or not the hon. members were aware that one-third of the population of this kingdom fasts almost every day in the year?", and on being attacked by Perceval for the "blasphemy" of his question, replied "that he was aware who was the giver of all goodness, but was also aware that the hon. member and others who took from the poor, deprived them of the benefit the Almighty intended." He was by far the most advanced man who up to that time had ever sat in Parliament; even Cobbett denouncing his "extreme and impracticable proposals." In 1833, aristocratic intrigues and the backwardness of his constituents led to the loss of his seat. He then applied himself again to his business concerns. On a journey to sell his blacking and annatto in the West of England, he stopped at Alresford, in Hants, and while getting out of his phaeton was seized with paralysis and died soon after being carried into the hotel. He was a thoroughly honest and unswerving Radical throughout his whole career. The unfortunate quarrels with Cobbett that their egotism and coarseness led them into did much harm to the cause they had at heart, and shows them in a bad light, but it must be said that it is not Hunt who shows to least advantage. In Parliament he was almost lost, only occasionally could he get a secondor for his motions, even Hume fighting shy of him, and Cobbett abusing him for helping the Tories by rating the Whigs for half-heartedness; but outside among the people there has been none before or since who so well deserved the title of "Orator" given him by universal consent. The pitiful peltroony of latter-day Radicalism would have received scant mercy at his hands.—S.

Massacre of Glencoe.—The Duke of Argyll of to-day claims to be a literary man; among other things he has perpetrated 'The Reign of Law' and 'Primeval Man'; and for the Cobden Club he wrote 'Commercial Principles applied to Contracts for Hire of Land.' Here is a primeval contract for taking of land under the reign of lawless Argyll, dated Jan. 11, 1692: "William Rex. As for MacIain of Glencoe, and that tribe, if they can be well distinguished from the rest of the Highlanders it will be proper for the vindication of public justice to *extirpate* that sett of thieves.—W. R." Under the powers thus given him, orders were given to various commanders to provide troops at once. For a fortnight these troops were entertained as honoured guests by the unsuspecting victims, while the arrangements for the slaughter were being perfected by such letters as this: "Order from Major Robert Campbell to Captain Robert Campbell, of Glenlyon. Sir,—You are hereby ordered to fall upon the Macdonalds of Glencoe, and put all to the sword under seventy. You are to have a special care that the old fox and his sons do not escape your hands; you are to secure all avenues, that no man escape. This you are to put in execution at five o'clock in the morning precisely; and by that time I will strive to be at you with a stronger party," etc. This is from one of the Argyll's to another of that ilk. So precisely at five o'clock in the morning on the 13th day of February, 1692, in the Valley of Glencoe, commenced the most damnable villainy of all the vile work which has built up our House of Lords. At three different points the butchering began. Hoary-headed fathers and prattling babes were shot and stabbed that we may have a Duke of Argyll and a bankrupt Lord Colin Campbell. Nine of a family in one lot, eight on one floor in another, and so the tale mounts to some forty, and an unknown number perishing in the frost, rain, and winds of a pitiless Grampian winter, for the time of year had been carefully chosen for the lordly work, to say devil's work is to insult any conceivable devil. Such is the Argyll's title to lands. Oh for a bell!—T. S.

Assassination Plot against the life of William III. by a few faithful adherents of James II. It was determined to make the attempt on Turham Green, while the king was returning from hunting in Richmond Park, but the project was betrayed. A bloody revenge was taken by William, who also made it an excuse for a raid upon the disaffected of all kinds.—S.

Trial of Burns, Champion, Hyndman, and Williams.—At Bow Street Police-court, before police-magistrate Sir James Ingham, John Burns, Henry Hyde Champion, Henry Mayers Hyndman, and John Edward Williams, were charged on summonses with "maliciously and seditiously contriving and intending the peace of the Queen to disquiet and disturb, her liege subjects to incite and move to hatred and dislike of the Government established by law within this realm, and to incite and persuade great numbers of the liege subjects of the Queen to insurrections, riots, tumults, and breaches of the peace, and prevent by force and arms the execution of the laws of this realm . . . on Feb. 8th, 1886." After several remands the defendants were committed for trial at the Old Bailey (on April 6th), where after a five day's trial they were found "Not Guilty." Riots and tumults it is well known invariably result in the *departure* of capital. A Mansion House Relief Fund, which had taken some weeks to reach £3,000, in a day or two after the 8th had reached £39,000, and the *Standard* urged that it should be raised at once to £250,000.—T. S.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

Special Notice to London Members.

On Monday next, February 13, the advisability of establishing a Socialist organisation for the moral instruction of children will be discussed. Members are requested to attend.

Annual Conference.—The Fourth Annual Conference of the Socialist League will be held at 13 Farringdon Road, on Whitsunday, May 20. The attention of

Branches is particularly referred to (1) Rule V. on the subject of the annual conference, pp. 3 and 4 of Constitution and Rules; and (2) that all branches wishing to be represented at the Conference must pay their subscription up to the 31st March by May 1st.

Branch Subscriptions Paid. 1887.

Hastings, Nottingham, Pelsall—None. Bradford, Croydon, Glasgow, Hackney, Ipswich, Leeds, Marylebone, Merton, North London, Norwich—to end of March. Hull—to end of April. Edinburgh—to end of May. Mitcham—to end of July. Walsall—to end of August. Bloomsbury, Walham Green, Wednesday—to end of October. Leicester—to end of November. Clerkenwell, Hammersmith, Hoxton, Mile-end, Oxford—to end of December.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

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

REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—On Thursday, Feb. 2, Annie Besant (Fabian Society) lectured at the Athenaeum Hall, 73, Tottenham Court Road, on "Socialism Old and New." Hall crowded and collection good.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, Feb. 1, D. Nicoll read a paper on "Law and Order." Discussion was very brisk, some members of this branch taking the side of the lecturer, and pointing out that all artificial laws produce disorder, and were criminal laws when made positive and repressive; on the other hand, the disobedience of natural laws as they affect the individual or individuals, brought its own punishment. Some visiting members opposed, stating that there was a possibility of getting good laws passed by Parliamentary institutions, etc. The lecturer satisfactorily replied. On Sunday, Feb. 5, a very successful "social evening" was held, several members and friends giving songs, recitations, and readings.—B.

FULHAM.—Tuesday, good meeting opposite the Liberal Club, Walham Green; Tochetti and Maughan spoke. Sunday morning meeting opened by singing "No Master," and addressed by Tochetti and Tarleton. Fair sale of Commonwealth, and 3s. collected. In evening, meeting held outside rooms, C. Smith speaking. Afterwards, Morris lectured in rooms on "What Socialists Want." Several questions put and satisfactorily answered.—S. B. G.

MITCHAM.—The weather being fine, Parker addressed Sunday evening meeting on Mitcham Fair Green to a good audience, singing several Socialist songs.

STAMFORD HILL.—W. B. Parker held meeting here on Sunday.

BRADFORD.—On Sunday, Jan. 29th, Bland read Morris's "Misery and the Way Out" at Royal Oak, Shipley. Good discussion followed. Mitchell lectured at debating room in College Road, Bradford.

GLASGOW.—Sunday at 2.30, Glasier, Gilbert, and Bellini addressed meeting at St. George's Cross. At 6.30, in Infirmary Square, several hundreds listened to J. B. Glasier and P. Bellini. Some objection to practicability of Socialism effectively dispelled by Glasier.

LEEDS.—On Sunday, Jan. 29, we held four open-air meetings, and in the evening Sollitt gave a lecture on "Individualism." Last Sunday morning when we assembled in Vicar's Croft, we found the temperance party had about a dozen of their speakers awaiting us fully prepared to demolish Socialism. After two hours heated dispute, it was agreed to arrange for a set debate. Corkwell by a lecture, and Maguire by meeting J. G. Fisher in debate, finished the day's work.

SOUTH SUSSEX.—Leonard Hall lectured on the "Re-organisation of Society" at the Wesleyan School-room, Bexhill, on Thursday night, to a large audience, who followed the address with the closest attention. Some trifling opposition from a teetotaler. We are making gradual conversions by surreptitious pamphletting and disguised speeches, but the boycott is cruelly painful in this part. Local papers please do not copy.

WALSALL.—Donald lectured Monday last, on "Socialism, what it would do for the Unemployed." A discussion followed.—J. T. D.

TOWER HILL.—Taking advantage of an Anti-Coercion meeting held here on Sunday afternoon, Parker, Lane, Allman, Pope, and Mrs. Schack addressed two tremendous meetings.

EDINBURGH.—On Feb. 5th, Dewar lectured on "Trade Depressions." Good discussion. A French comrade spoke with great effect. St. Cuthbert's Co-operative Society has arranged for a course of free lectures. Three of the five are to be delivered by Socialists, James Mavor treating of "Industry in the Middle Ages" and "Industry in Modern Times," and Rev. John Glasse dealing with "The Relation of Socialism to Co-operation."

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road. Thursday Feb. 9, at 8.30. Quarterly Business Meeting. Thursday 16, T. E. Waddell will lecture at 8.30.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7.

Sun. Feb. 12, at 8.30, H. A. Barker, "The Labour Struggle." Wednesday 15, at 8.30, H. H. Sparling, a lecture. Sunday 19, Edward Aveling, "The Fallacies of Henry George."

Fulham.—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sun. Feb. 12, at 8, J. Turner, "The Control of Capital." 19th. E. Mandel, "Our Present State Organisation and Political Parties." 26th. H. H. Sparling, "The Blind Samson."

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

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday February 12, at 8 p.m., E. E. Bax.

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—C. J. Young, 8 Dunloe Street, Hackney Road, Secretary. Members please take up their membership cards for 1888.

Mitcham.—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11. Sunday February 12, at 8, W. B. Parker, "Some Objections to Socialism." Feb. 19, T. J. Dalziel, "Why the People Starve." Feb. 26, J. Turner, "Co-operation."

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

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen (Scottish Section).—Sunday night meetings in Baker Street Hall, at 6. Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St. Nicholas Street.

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

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

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

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

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

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Sunday evening lectures, Trades Hall, High Street. On Sunday February 12, at 6.30, J. H. Smith on "The Payment of Labour under Socialism."

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

Glasgow.—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Propaganda Committee, Mondays at 8. Discussion Class meets every Thursday evening at 8 p.m.—object, the cultivation of extemporaneous speaking.

Leeds.—17 Chesham St., Sweet St. Club open every evening. Business meeting Wednesdays at 8 p.m. On Sunday February 12, at 7 p.m., W. Hill, "Why the Workers should be Socialists." Feb. 19, T. Maguire, "The Practical Bearings of Socialism." 26. S. A. Gaskell, "The Need of a New Industrial System."

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

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

Norwich.—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Monday, Concert at 8. Tuesday, Business meeting at 8.30. Wednesday, Band practice at 8. Thursday, Discussion class, Ground's 'Co-operative Commonwealth.' Friday, Rehearsal at 8. Saturday, Premises open from 8 until 10.30.

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

Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25 1/2 Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.

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

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

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 12.

- 11 ... Acton Green ... Hammersmith Branch
11.15 ... Starch Green ... The Branch
11.30 ... Garrett—"Plough Inn" ... The Branch
11.30 ... Hackney—Salmon and Ball... Rothman & Cores
11.30 ... Hoxton Church, Pitfield St. ... Allman & Davis
11.30 ... Merton—Haydons Road ... The Branch
11.30 ... Mitcham Fair Green ... The Branch
11.30 ... Regent's Park ... Mainwaring
11.30 ... St. Pancras Arches ... Bartlett
11.30 ... Stamford Hill ... Parker
11.30 ... Walham Green ... Fulham Branch
3 ... Hyde Park ... Nicoll

PROVINCES.

Crieff.—J. B. Glasier, at Market Cross, Saturday at 5. Glasgow.—Paisley Road Toll, Sunday at 1 p.m. Infirmary Square, 6.30 p.m.

Leeds.—Sunday: Jack Lane End, Meadow Road, at 10.30 a.m. In Prince's Field, at 3 p.m.

Norwich.—Market Place, at 3 every Sunday.

LOOK OUT

for the SOCIALIST LEAGUE PLATFORM at the Demonstration in Hyde Park on Monday next.

JUNIOR SOCIALISTIC EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY.—On Saturday February 11, 8 o'clock, Fry reads a paper at 64 Charlotte Street.—H. W. F., Sec. pro tem.

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

SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—Meeting at Commonwealth Office, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday February 12, at 3.30 p.m.

THE TABLES TURNED.

Applications for engagements to be made to the Manager, H. A. Barker, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

Postponed for a week, in consequence of the Burns-Graham reception.

The Lamp

AN EXTRAVAGANZA by Henry A. Barker, will be performed on Saturday February 25 (not 18), at 13 Farringdon Road. Admission by Programme (now ready), price Threepence. The entertainment will commence precisely at Eight o'clock.

A

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Birmingham: J. Sketchley, 8 Arthur Place Parade.

SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.

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

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

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

The Manifesto of the Socialist League. Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and William Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. 1d.

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# THE COMMONWEALTH

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 4.—No. 110.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON NEWS.

PARLIAMENT has met once more, and to all appearance the coming session will be as hopelessly barren of any performance as the most sturdy Tory or the most constitutional Whig could desire. The overwhelming majority in favour of "resolute government" is still there, of course, and is not likely to be altered by the results of the bye-elections. But that is not all: the minority, if it had any cohesion or sincerity, might doubtless "keep the dull times off" their enemies in one way or other; but here is the rub, that they are *not* their enemies. By far the greater part of them are only awaiting a decent opportunity to declare themselves against the one measure before Parliament which tends towards the popular side, and which the chapter of accidents has forced them to put forward as a party test—Home Rule, to wit.

That is the reason why the leaders have passed the word to fight soft; but after all it is a futile expedient, now that the subject has had every word said about it that can be said. What will happen? Much what happened when Mr. Gladstone brought in his Home Rule Bill. He will come into office again sooner or later, and will be obliged to put forward his Home Rule measure, no doubt as strenuously as he knows how, since the rest of his life is pledged to carrying the matter through. Well, then up will jump a new section of the Great Liberal Party, men who are all Home Rulers now, and will cry out, "Oh, but we didn't mean this by Home Rule; this is disintegration of the empire, Socialism, Communism, and the devil knows what!" And they will turn Liberal Unionists, or whatever the name may then be for newly-declared reactionists, and the G. O. M. will be on his back in the road once more as a result of "strictly constitutional" opposition—otherwise fighting soft.

What is the alternative? Why, fighting hard. Mr. Gladstone is, without knowing it, engaged in rebellion—that is the plain truth; and his chance of success lies in his rallying to him all the elements of discontent and revolution throughout the country. These are growing on the one hand, just as the reactionary elements, the instincts towards absolutism, are growing on the other, and between them they make Mr. Gladstone's constitutional position an impossible one.

What could he do this session? it may be said. Well, two courses were open to the minority if they had (as they have not) any heart in them. In any case they could have said, How can this be a parliament when its very members are lying in gaol and are liable to be arrested on the threshold of the House for asserting their elementary rights as citizens? We do not acknowledge the authority of such a parliament. Then they might have proceeded to systematic obstruction, and prevented any business being done as long as the executive upheld its present tyranny.

Or, which would have been better, they might, after making an emphatic protest, have all marched out of the House in a body, leaving behind as traitors any of their party who had a mind to stop, never to return till coercion (in England as in Ireland) was at end, and invited the majority to make any new little laws they chose; they in the meantime meeting as a committee of freedom and giving advice and help to their constituencies.

Both these courses are, it seems, impossible, the first no less so than the last. Therefore the parliamentary opposition is worthless. Nay worse, it is actively harmful, because it prevents people from stirring who might otherwise be driven to do so; since they depend on the action of their precious "representatives."

One disappointment there has been already for those who were sanguine enough to hope for even a good wrangle in Parliament over Trafalgar Square. In spite of the brave words of Messrs. Russell, Pickersgill, Stuart and Bradlaugh, it has gone down the wind. For I suppose few can be found so—well, green—as to imagine that the appointment by the Government of a day when a substantive motion on the subject can be put, means anything else than the *stall*.

After all something may come of all this; because though we are used to this miserable shuffling and thrusting aside of the people's needs and aspirations at the hands of all parties in Parliament, we are not so used to the assertion of the power (and therefore the right) of the Executive to treat us all like puppets, and our "constitutional

safeguards" as pretty pictures. In order to understand what real freedom is it was necessary for us to learn what middle-class democracy means by freedom, and to feel the full weight of the tyranny of a parliamentary majority, and to learn by bitter experience that it may be as tyrannous as the rule of any despotism of the earlier days. We are likely to grow wise in this knowledge before the end of this year.

Mr. Shaw-Lefevre has held *his* meeting without interference: can it be really true that this is because he is an ex-Cabinet Minister? One scarcely likes to accuse even Mr. Balfour of such mingled shabbiness and stupidity.

Bismark's new Socialist-Coercion Bill has missed fire, and our friends in Germany are not to be subjected to any more stringent repression than they are used to,—which is stringent enough in all conscience. There can be no question but that Singer's and Bebel's speeches in the Reichstag, mentioned in our columns last week, and their showing up of the interior working of Bismark's police, have been in the main the cause of what under the circumstances is a Socialist victory.

The Bermondsey Board of Guardians have been making a good thing out of the "relief" of the poor men employed in their stone-yards,—buying cheap and selling dear to them, as the way of the world is. The chairman thinks that the question was who should reap the benefit of a fall in prices—the ratepayers or the men? He was more of a man of the world than another member of the Board, a Mr. Bedding, who cried out, "Then we are actually making a profit out of our own poor on our own goods. I call it a robbery on these poor people."

It is creditable to Mr. Bedding that he could not take the matter coolly, and that this piece of shabby extortion startled him; but pray how do all capitalists live, except by "making a profit out of their own poor on their own goods"? May we not call it, like Mr. Bedding, "a robbery on those poor people"?

The jury find Arthur Gough guilty of "assaulting" the police (according to the story of the police), but think he did it "in a moment of excitement,"—i.e., "Guilty, but we don't think he did it." W. M.

An instructive example of the way in which bourgeois law regards woman is furnished by the action which Lord Howard de Walden brought against Major Burrowes on the 4th inst. The "noble" lord's wife was lying at death's door with peritonitis. The least excitement might have been fatal to her. Lord Howard de Walden is given to drink, and when intoxicated insists on entering his wife's room. As this might cost her life, her brother, Major Burrowes, finding other means of argument of no avail to induce the inebriated peer to remain outside his wife's door, knocked him down. Hence the prosecution.

The magistrate thought the assault justified it would appear. But the husband was not bound over to refrain from molesting his wife. It is apparently one of the privileges of matrimony that the husband, no matter how drunken, has a right to force himself upon his "property," even if he knows that fatal consequences may result. "May not a man do what he likes with his own?"

Last week also was raised the question whether a husband can rob his wife? Baron Huddleston on the 9th inst. answered this by saying (1) he cannot rob her at all under the common law, which regards all the wife's property as the husband's; and (2) theft is only robbery under the Married Women's Property Act when the wife is living apart from her husband or when he is preparing to desert her.

Whereupon the *Pall Mall* comments: "It is really quite amazing how many advantages a mistress has over a wife in all matters relating to property and to person. It almost seems as if the object of the law was to inflict such disabilities on wives in order to induce the fair sex to prefer concubinage to matrimony." But even the *Pall Mall*, brave as it is, would shrink from facing the *reason* of it all and carrying the question to its logical conclusion.

These anomalies and worse must last as long as private property exists in the means of life and therefore in those that live on them.

British pride has just received a severe shock from a curious dispute between a Japanese railway company and a German firm which contracted to supply rails. The company contracted for German rails as

"not only cheaper, but superior in quality to English rails." On their arrival it was discovered that the rails were all of British manufacture and the company accordingly refused to take delivery. Ultimately this matter was compromised, but "German credit has been brought into great disrepute on account of the transaction." "How have the mighty fallen!" S.

## THE NEW ETHIC.

(Continued from p 43.)

A FURTHER point of importance is, that the theological or mystical morality, while recognising the incompatibility of form to content in the individual—in other words, the incompleteness of the individual *per se*—as the crucial fact in the moral and religious consciousness, seeks to obviate this incompatibility, to resolve this contradiction, *per saltum*. The individual as individual cannot be an end or *telos* to himself, it rightly concludes; but his end it seeks to realise by a magic key which eliminates the concrete world altogether from the calculation. This done, the rest follows with the greatest possible ease and logicity. The ethical consciousness having disposed of the real world of concrete relations, proceeds to create an ideal world of abstract relations, in which it seeks satisfaction. And it must not be supposed there is anything arbitrary in this proceeding. The social medium in which morality first arose has changed; the individual has supplanted the community economically, socially, and politically; hence the ethical consciousness can by no possibility find satisfaction in the real world. The most that reason can do for it is to seek to explain it away by Epicurean or Benthamite theories of enlightened self-interest and the like. These, however, for the most part, only touch the man of learned leisure, and exercise but little real influence on the world at large. So that it is what we have termed the mystical or theological morality which alone really holds the field. And the apparent satisfaction which the latter carries with it only exhausts itself and passes away with the conditions which have given it birth. It was more or less in abeyance during the Middle Ages, when the social ethics of the German races asserted themselves concurrently with the remains of their primitive communism, which entered into the composition of the feudal system. But it existed nevertheless, and under Protestantism sprang up into rank luxuriance. It is the only moral theory the modern middle-class man can appreciate, with the exception of the empirical Benthamite theory, which in some cases is even more to his taste. But the Individualist ethics, whether mystical and introspective, or empirical and practical, is to-day rapidly evolving its own contradiction as its economic basis is dissolving. While the middle classes can conceive of no morality, of no goodness, that is not centered in the individual—be it in his soul or pocket—the working classes find their individuality merged in the collective existence of the group of producers to which they belong. Their whole life is, under the conditions of the Great Industry, a collective one, in so far as the labour of the individual is merged in the labour of the group, the group again in that of other groups, and so on throughout the entire industrial and commercial system. The workman of the Great Industry has never, as a rule, paid much regard to his soul, to the good, the beautiful, the true, as embodied in his character. "Personal holiness" has never been his ethical aim, as it has been the professed (and in some cases doubtless sincerely professed) aim of the moral man, and still more woman, among the middle classes. The idea of a "holy" working man is, so to say, comic. The virtues which the working classes recognise are rather those of integrity, generosity, comradeship, rather than those of "purity," "meekness," "piety," "self-abnegation," and the like—in other words, the social and objective virtues, those immediately referable to the social environment in which he moves, rather than the individual and subjective ones—those referable to his own personality as such. The working man has no time to think about his "soul," he will commonly tell you; he leaves that for the man of leisure. The decline of the introspective morality is of course largely connected with the dissolution by modern thought of its old theologic and ideologic basis. While the working classes have for the most part, in so far as they think at all about the matter, frankly renounced the old theology, the middle classes have occupied themselves with the endeavour to find out every conceivable compromise by which they might evade overtly breaking with the speculative tradition. But that it is possible for the introspective morality to survive its speculative basis is evidenced by the Positivists, who, while repudiating this basis, nevertheless retain the introspective ethics of Individualism in the most accentuated form, even to the extent of erecting into a devotional breviary the 'Imitatio Christi.'

As for the other form of the Individualist ethics, the latter-day counterpart of Epicureanism—namely, "enlightened self-interest"—that, like its forerunner in the classical world, is essentially the formulated ethic of the full belly and the full pocket. "Self-interest," from the workman's point of view, might lead him, should a safe opportunity offer itself, to plunder his employer's till, or at least husband his labour-power by doing the minimum of work possible, to the detriment of his master; but this, according to the advocates of the theory, would not be "enlightened." On the other hand, "enlightenment," in the bourgeois sense, would lead the workman (see Professor Huxley, 'Lay Sermons') "to starve rather than to steal"; but this, again, would not be "self-interest" from the workman's point of view, however "enlightened" it might be. So that, altogether, the workman seems rather "out of it" in so far as the gospel of "enlightened self-interest" is concerned.

This objective social morality, of which we see the germs even in the working classes of to-day, where they are not, as to a great degree in this country, completely brutalised by the conditions of their life, becomes when translated into a higher plane the basis of the religion of Socialism, which consists in a sense of oneness with the social body—in its most immediate form, of oneness with the oppressed class which is struggling to emancipate itself. In the supreme aim and endeavour to aid the economic new-birth of Society, the Revolutionist has no time, and cares not to be continuously looking within, either to admire the beauty of his individual character or to measure its imperfections. He does not think about it. His highest instincts are directed not within but without, not on himself but on the social cause he has in view—the cause which means as its final issue the abolition of classes and the brotherhood of man.

Most of us are familiar with the well-known story of the workman National Guard who, when asked during the last days of the Commune what he was fighting for, replied *Pour la solidarité humaine*. It is quite possible that this poor workman understood but little if anything of "Scientific Socialism," or of the full meaning of the Human Solidarity for which he fought; yet his instincts and that of his fellows were true; they had the religion of Socialism at heart; they knew they were fighting for the emancipation of their class and that in this emancipation human solidarity was involved. The Ethics and the Religion of Socialism seeks not the ideal society through the ideal individual, but the ideal individual through the ideal society. It finds in an adequate and harmonious social life the end and completion of individuality, and at the same time it finds therein its primary condition.

But, says the empirical moral philosopher—and here we come to an important point—all I do is simply done to please myself; my apparently most disinterested actions are really at bottom selfish; I should not do them if it did not please me to do them,—I cannot transcend myself. Now this sound like common sense—irrefutable common sense. But in reality, like all the saws of the Empirical and eighteenth century philosophy, which sounds so plausible, it is but one of those half-truths which, when diligently investigated, evince themselves the most insidious of fallacies. It is quite true that externally and formally every motive actuating the individual has the stamp of his individuality upon it. This is a very harmless and at the same time a very obvious proposition; but it does not by a long way carry with it the implication which the empiricist would put upon it. Though the form of the motive may be individualistic, the content of the motive may transcend its form—i.e., it may have for its end something wholly apart from and even antagonistic to individual interest as such. A man is said to have a high moral character precisely when the material of his motives does predominantly *not* coincide with their mere superficial form. He has a low moral character when this material does predominantly coincide with its form; and he has no moral character at all—i.e., his character is criminal—when the form and the matter—i.e., individual interest and motive-material—absolutely balance one another.

Now, the introspectionist, recognising the fact that morality implies motivation which breaks through its mere form of individual interest, and which may even contradict it, mistakes this merely negative element in the moral consciousness for its salient feature, and thinks the highest morality to consist in a continual mortification of self—in Asceticism. But as we before pointed out, while it seeks to kill off one self, it only does so in the interest of another, and, if anything, still more exacting self. Its object is only the individual in another form. Its great bogey is pleasure; its great end the annihilation of pleasure. Now the new ethic of Socialism has no part nor lot with asceticism. In the first place, it grudges the amount of energy expended by the individual in the effort to acquire the "self-discipline" so-called, which is only another name for moral tight-rope dancing which the ethics of inwardness postulates as its end. It despises the Introspectionist love of "striking an ethical attitude." The mere discomfort, or the sacrifice of the individual *per se*, is for it no virtue, but a folly, unless it be a part of the means to a clearly defined social end. I italicise the words *clearly defined*, as of course it is possible to smuggle in (*pace* the Positivists) under some vague phrase such as "social order" the whole of the theologic ethics, asceticism included. For it must be remembered that the habit of mind proper to the introspective ethics (sometimes broadly expressed by the word Puritanism) has the ascetic tendency so strongly developed that the possessor of it is never happy unless he is finding out that something or other which pleases his fellow-men is wrong. It is aptly illustrated by *Punch's* joke of the little girl who directs her brother to "go and see what baby's doing, and tell him he mustn't." *Refrain, refrain* is the dreary dirge which alone delights the soul of the being in question. Now the effects of the ascetic poison, as before said, outlives its cause. The introspective ethics of which it is part survive their theoretical basis. Thus even where this basis is no longer present, the mind cast in this mould will endeavour to find a possible evil in everything that conduces to pleasure or relaxation. The taint of introspection will not permit it to view life naturally. It must seek by sophistry to poison it for itself and others. Thus in the cases supposed where the divine fiat, or the inherent evil of matter, can no longer be appealed to, and where direct socially evil results cannot be proved, it will have recourse to vague and lofty phrases such as "Human Dignity" and the like. It is therefore necessary to emphasise the fact that for conduct to be justly condemned under the new ethic it must be proved to be *necessarily and directly* anti-social. The Ascetic and Puritan may lose his egoistic sense of smug self-satisfaction at being better than other men,

but the loss will be his alone; while the destruction of a false moral ideal will destroy the hypocrisy which is correlative with it. No, the negation of the individual only becomes a virtue for the new ethic when it occurs not for its own sake but as a mere incident in the attainment of another end.

ERNEST BELFORT BAX.

(To be concluded.)

INSTANTANEOUS STUDIES.

No. 13.—THE "FLASH" PHOTOGRAPH.

(Scene: A Police Station.)

*Police Inspector.* What's the charge, P 244?  
*P 244.* I was on duty at eight o'clock to-night in Trafalgar Square, when I see prisoner come along with this 'ere box in his right hand. Directly he got within three or four yards of me, something blazed up in his other hand, and suspecting as the box he'd got was a infernal masheen, and that he was one of them diameters, I took him into custody. I found this powder and this piece of crumpled paper in his possession.

*Inspector (to prisoner).* Have you anything to say?  
*Prisoner.* Certainly, I have a good deal to say. In the first place, this box is a camera, and not an infernal machine, excepting when it makes people very ugly. This powder and paper, of which I have some more in my waist coat pocket, form the new illuminating combination, magnesium powder and gun paper.

*Inspector.* Most dangerous. Highly explosive. 21 Reserve, bring a pail of water at once.

*Prisoner.* Excuse me, but there is not the slightest danger. I was going to say it occurred to me that I would like to take the portrait of P 244 here, and I accordingly lighted a small quantity, as I am doing now— (Strikes a match and lights the compound. Before the police recover from the shock the flash is over. They rush forward and seize him.)

*Inspector (pale and determined).* This is the most dangerous assassin I have ever seen. But for the fact that the stuff evidently missed fire, we should have been all blown up. These men care nothing for their own lives so long as they accomplish their ends.

*Prisoner.* If P 244 will kindly remove his knuckles from my throat, and his knees from the small of my back, I shall be able to demonstrate that you are quite in error. Perhaps you'll pass the camera.

*Inspector (grimly sarcastic).* Oh, yes; it looks like a camera, doesn't it? Cameras are just like black leather cases, arn't they? Look sharp with that water, 21. Let no man touch it, for fear it goes off.

*Prisoner (losing his temper).* Well, of all the stupid—  
*P 244.* Come, no bad language here.

*Prisoner (exasperated).* Do you mean to say you don't believe me?

*Inspector (still ironically).* Oh, we believe you. We've been looking out for you for a long time. We've had no end of complaints from people who have been frightened by sudden flashes of light exactly the same as yours. No doubt your machines are fearfully badly made, and that's why the stuff doesn't explode.

*Prisoner.* But, officer, I tell you there's not the least danger. These are all photographic flashes, and the photographic flash is the latest thing out.

*Inspector.* That'll do. Remove him to the cell, 244.

*Prisoner.* Anyway, you'll permit me to send for bail.

*Inspector.* It's like your impudence to ask. Certainly not. Oh, here's the pail. Plunge everything in, box and all, and take them at once to Colonel Majendie.

(21 Reserve gingerly takes up the camera and the powder and the paper, and gently deposits them in the pail. Prisoner is removed to the cell, protesting that he shall sue the authorities for the damage done to his property.)

THE FOLLOWING EVENING.

*Inspector.* Ahem! We've had an answer from Colonel Majendie, and it appears he can find nothing dangerous in the box, which apparently, is an ordinary camera.

*Prisoner.* I beg your pardon, it is not an ordinary camera at all. Ordinary cameras are never soaked in water for a night.

*Inspector.* I cannot discuss the question now. You are discharged.

*Prisoner.* Thank you for nothing. Perhaps you'll compeusate me for injuring my property and locking me up.

*Inspector.* I've nothing to do with that. Go away.

MORAL.

Amateur photographers must be careful how they use the magnesium flash in the street until the police get used to it.

From the 'Photographic News.'

Mr. Edward Mellor, the chairman of the Oldham Operative Cotton Spinners' Provincial Association, has been placed on the Commission of the Peace for the borough of Oldham.

**MORE LABOUR-SAVING MACHINERY.**—The prospectus of the European and American Machine-Made Bottle Company (Limited) contains a very significant statement as to the enormous saving of labour by the use of machinery. It is said that whereas by the present process two men and three boys make about eight gross of bottles per day, by the new process one man and two boys with the aid of a machine will make about 80 gross per day. The "estimated profits [i.e., plunder] from royalties alone is over £400,000 per annum, equal to 65 per cent. on the entire capital of the Company now issued." The result of this invention to the bottle-makers will be that great numbers of them will have their livelihood taken entirely away, whilst those who are employed will probably be forced to accept reduced wages in consequence of the overstocked labour-market. By the present process the cost for labour to produce a gross of ordinary bottles is 3s. 10d., but by the new system this cost for primary labour will be reduced, it is said, to about 3d. In other words, the workers are to be crushed out of existence in order that a gang of greedy shareholders and a plundering horde of directors, solicitors, brokers, etc., should draw fat salaries and large dividends. Thus, instead of lightening the toil of the labourer, each new invention serves but to intensify it and render his slavery to the monopolist more absolute. And yet there are "Labour representatives" (save the mark!)—e.g., Fenwick—who talk of averting the "calamity of Socialism"!—T. B.

LETTER FROM AMERICA.

"MILAN, Mo., Jan. 26, 1888.—C. C. Bradley was arrested on Friday of last week and tried for vagrancy before Squire Cochran. The charge was sustained and Bradley was sold yesterday afternoon as a vagrant. The sale was for a term of six months, bringing thirty-five cents, William McClannan being the purchaser. This is the second instance of the kind that ever happened in this county, the other taking place about thirty-five years ago, and the party sold brought twenty-five cents."—*Daily papers.*

Remembering the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which provides that involuntary servitude, except as a punishment when the party shall have been duly convicted, is forever prohibited in the United States, I thought the paragraph from Milan rather queer news, and resolved to investigate the matter. As a result I may state on good authority that vagrants are sold in most States, in spite of the law; that the farming-out of men and women is quite a common incident of the poorhouse administration. This is a new proof of the barbarism which exists in this "land of the free."

There is very little news to report from the Reading strike. Matters are practically at a standstill. The miners are firmly convinced that the coal barons are combined to wipe out whatever little social rights the men possess by establishing a system of serfdom, in which it will be a crime to organise for mutual protection and advancement. District Assembly No. 16 of the Knights of Labour is convening a meeting in Pittston of all the local assemblies in the Wyoming and Lackawanna Valleys. The strikers feel certain that the one thing now necessary to bring the Reading Company to terms is a general strike of the anthracite industry, such as would completely cripple the shipment of coal from every section. This plan will be urged with great force upon the Lackawanna and Wyoming miners, who are averse to striking because believing that while in work they can better support their striking comrades. It is very likely that all these men, about 25,000, may be induced to go on strike. The idea of making the strike general has long prevailed among the Schuylkill miners, and they have been in communication with a number of local assembly men in the Lackawanna and Wyoming Valleys for some time past with that end in view. The misery of the Lehigh miners is something terrible. The men are out now about five months, and in that time have practically existed on flour and tea. The distress all through the mining regions is beyond description; the relief committees are sending flour and tea to keep the miners and their families from starving. There are thousands of children who have neither shoes nor stockings, although it is a very hard winter. The relief committee have only sufficient shoes to give to the children when a doctor orders it. Most of the miners have not lighted a lamp in their homes for months: living in the land of coal, they have not sufficient fuel to keep themselves protected against the bitter cold, and ugly east winds are whistling through broken window panes. One day a woman walked a long distance in her husband's shoes to beg a pair for herself, so that she could go out and work; her husband sat at home barefooted till she came back. Hundreds of similar cases might be quoted. Yet in spite of all this the men are determined not to yield one inch.

The thread operatives' strike in Newark, N. J., is practically ended. Work was resumed by some of the hands on the 24th.

The *Courier Journal* claims to have won the fight between it and its employes.

According to a recent press dispatch a great cigar-makers' strike, embracing nearly all the large eastern cities, is reported for early in February, to resist a wage reduction.

Four hundred ice-cutters at Wenham Lake, Mass., have struck for two dollars a-day. They were receiving 1 dol. 50 c.

A circular has been issued by all the brewers of Milwaukee to their 3,000 employes, notifying them that on January 26 every member of Brewers' Union No. 9 in their employ will be discharged unless he consents to leave that organisation. It is anticipated that the union will order a strike.

LIST OF STRIKES FOR JANUARY.

Number of strikers reported, Jan. 1 to 18	...	...	35,509
20...Washington—Pressmen and feeders in Bureau of Engraving and Printing, against change in management	...	...	—
20...Rookland, Mass.—Handsewers, against reduction	...	...	—
21...Brooklyn—Plate printers, for advance	...	...	35
23...New York city—Cigar-makers, refusal of employers to arbitrate differences	...	...	600
24...Salem, Mass.—Ice-cutters, for advance	...	...	140
23...Athens, N. Y.—Ice-cutters, for advance	...	...	—
25...Philadelphia—Carpet-cutters, against new system of working	...	...	18
25...Philadelphia—Newspaper compositors	...	...	25
26...Pittsburgh—Chambermaids, for proper food	...	...	10
Total number of strikers known to January 26	...	...	36,337

New York, January 31, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

OSCAR NEEBE.

OSCAR NEEBE, now in Joliet prison, under a sentence for fifteen years, was born in Philadelphia, of German parents. Both his father and his mother are still living. Neebe was at the time of his arrest not a wage-worker, but a well-to-do business man. Yet his heart was always with the toiling masses, and he did magnificent service as an organiser of trades' unions, and staunch supporter of Socialistic ideas. He is now about thirty-nine years old, a fine looking man. He was happily married, and has two children. His unfortunate wife, who adored him, died of a broken heart while he was imprisoned in the Chicago jail. His only crime, as far as can be seen, is to have been prominently active in the labour movement, and thus to have incurred the hatred of the ruling powers. He had nothing whatever to do either with the Haymarket meeting or with the throwing of the bomb. Neebe bears his undeserved fate like a true brave man.

The mild and the long-suffering may suffer for ever in this world. If the Catholics had stood with their hands before them, simpering at the Earls of Liverpool and Bathurst of the time, they would not have been emancipated until the year of our Lord four thousand. As long as the patient will suffer the cruel will kick. If the Irish go on withholding and forbearing, whether this is the time for discussion or that is the time, they will be laughed at for another century as fools, and kicked for another century as slaves.—*Sydney Smith.*



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

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

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

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C. A.—Ruskin's "Usury: a Reply and a Rejoinder" to the Bishop of Manchester, appeared in the *Contemporary Review* for February 1880, p. 316.

MARSEILLAISE.—The English words usually sung to this air ("Ye sons of France, awake to glory," etc.) were first published (anonymously) in Spence's 'Pigmeat, or Lessons for the Swinish Multitude' for 1793, p. 67.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday February 15.

<b>ENGLAND</b> Die Autonomie Jus Justice Labour Tribune Norwich—Daylight Railway Review SOUTH AUSTRALIA Adelaide—Our Commonwealth INDIA Bankipore—Behar Herald UNITED STATES New York—Der Sozialist Volkzeitung Boston—Woman's Journal Chicago—Alarm Vorboten Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volkblatt N. Haven—Workmen's Advocate Providence (R. I.)—The People	<b>FRANCE</b> Paris—Cris du Peuple (daily) La Revolte L'Autonomie Individuelle Guise—Le Devoir HOLLAND Hague—Recht voor Allen Amsterdam—Voorwaarts BELGIUM Seraing (Ougree)—Le Reveil Ghent—Vooruit Antwerp—De Werker Brussels—L'Avant-Garde Liège—L'Avenir ITALY Milan—Il Fascio Operaio Rome—L'Emancipazione	<b>SWITZERLAND</b> Zurich—Sozial Demokrat SPAIN El Productor Madrid—El Socialista GERMANY Berlin—Volk's Tribune AUSTRIA Brunn—Volk'sfreund Vienna—Gleichheit ROMANIA Jassy—Lupta DENMARK Social-Demokrat SWEDEN Stockholm, Social-Demokraten Malmo—Arbetet NORWAY Kristiania—Social-Demokraten
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ON SOME "PRACTICAL" SOCIALISTS.

THE study of economics is no doubt necessary for militant Socialists; the more a man knows of them in all their details the more able he is to meet not only the sophistries of the "educated" anti-Socialist, but, which is still more important, the awkward and hard-to-be-answered questions which people who have never thought of these matters at all sometimes stumble on.

Of course, that he should be able to make his knowledge of any use depends on whether he has understood what he has learned, especially in dealing with enquiring ignorance. The "educated" man will sometimes be flooded by a phrase, will retire abashed before "surplus value," and refuse to tackle the iron law of wages, on the same grounds that the Oxford undergraduate declined to give his examiner any information about King David for fear he should be lugged all through the Kings of Judah and Israel; but the ignorant man may require information after he has got over the first shock of the unaccustomed enunciation of the big-worded dogma. So that our student of economy had best be careful to look to it that he can translate his phrases into a language "understood of the people." But when our learner has really got to know something about economics; nay, when he has them at his fingers ends, he still has to beware of another trap, or rather of two more. He has (for as old a Socialist as he may be) to take care that he does not read the present into the future, to suppose that when the monopoly in the means of production has been abolished, and no one can any more live on the labour of others, but must do some recognised service to the community in order to earn his livelihood, yet, nevertheless, people's ways of life and habits of thought will be pretty much as they are now. The other trap generally besets the way of the same kind of Socialist who is apt to fall into the first-named; it is the too entire absorption in the economic view of Socialism, and the ignoring of all its other aspects.

The kind of Socialist who is most likely to be caught by these traps is he who considers himself as specially practical; although the due deduction from the last one at any rate would be the abstention from action of all kinds, and the acceptance of the position of an interested but helpless spectator. Your "practical" man is (very naturally) anxious that some step towards Socialism should be taken at once, and also that it should be taken under definitely Socialist auspices, therefore, he really addresses himself to people who would be likely to be frightened into mere hostility by any apprehension of a large change in the life of Society; he is thinking entirely of the conservative side

of human nature as the thing to be won over, and ignores that which exists just as surely, its revolutionary side. The result is that the wolf of Socialism gets clad in the respectable sheep-skin of a mild economic change; yet not with much success. I have been present on several occasions when this experiment has been tried, and have been much amused by the demeanour of the respectables, who trying to be convinced, or at least to appear to be, have nevertheless showed uneasiness, as if they detected the disguised animal, and noted his glistening teeth and red jaws peeping out from under the soft woolly clothing of moderate progress. Also, though it was less amusing, it was as instructive to note the look of those convinced but not fully instructed Socialists who were present, on whom the sight of the transmogrified sham amiable monster produced nothing but blank disappointment and dismay. Altogether, these occasions have been to me hours of humiliation and discouragement; and I think also that there was no gain in the humiliation; neither I nor the other comrades needed to undergo it. The opponents were not won over by it, they were only confused and puzzled, and made feel as if they had been laughed at.

But I do not mean to say that these one-sided Socialists are generally acting disingenuously, or merely trying to smooth down a hostile audience. I believe, on the contrary, that they do not see except through the murky smoked glass of the present condition of life amongst us; and it seems somewhat strange, not that they should have no vision of the future, but that they should not be ready to admit that it is their own defect that they have not. Surely they must allow that such a stupendous change in the machinery of life as the abolition of capital and wages must bring about a corresponding change in ethics and habits of life; that it would be impossible to desire many things which are now the main objects of desire; needless to guard against many eventualities which we now spend our lives in guarding against; that, in short, we shall burn what we once adored, and adore what we once burned.

Is it conceivable, for instance, that the change for the present wage-earners will simply mean hoisting them up into the life of the present "refined" middle-classes, and that the latter will remain pretty much what they are now, minus their power of living on the labour of others? To my mind it is inconceivable; but if I could think such a prospect likely, I should join with Mr. Bradlaugh (whose idea of the aims of Socialism is probably just this) in a protest against the dull level of mediocrity. What! will, e.g., the family of the times when monopoly is dead be still as it is now in the middle classes, framed on the model of that of an affectionate and moral tiger to whom all is prey a few yards from the sanctity of the domestic hearth? Will the body of the woman we love be but an appendage to her property? Shall we try to cram our lightest whim as a holy dogma into our children, and be bitterly unhappy when we find that they are growing up to be men and women like ourselves? Will education be a system of cram begun on us when we are four years old, and left off sharply when we are eighteen? Shall we be ashamed of our love and our hunger and our mirth, and believe that it is wicked of us not to try to dispense with the joys that accompany procreation of our species, and the keeping of ourselves alive, those joys of desire which make us understand that the beasts too may be happy? Shall we all, in short, as the "refined" middle-classes now do, wear ourselves away in the anxiety to stave off all trouble, emotion, and responsibility, in order that we may at last merge all our troubles into one, the trouble that we have been born for nothing but to be afraid to die? All this which is now the life of refined civilisation will be impossible then.

I have often thought with a joyful chuckle how puzzling, nay inexplicable to the generations of freedom, will be those curious specimens of human ingenuity called novels now produced, and which present with such faithful detail the lives of the middle-classes, all below them being ignored except as so many stage accessories; amongst them all, perhaps, Dickens will still be remembered; and that because of what is now imputed to him as a fault, his fashioning a fantastic and unreal world for his men and women to act in. Surely here again all will be changed, and our literature will sympathise with the earlier works of men's imagination before they learned to spin out their own insides like silkworms into dreary yarns of their sickly feelings and futile speculations; when they left us clear pictures of living things, alive then and for ever. We shall not desire and we shall not be able to carry on the feverish and perverted follies of the art and literature of Commercialism.

I wonder that those who will insist in reading the life of the present into a world economically changed, do not see how they start wrong from the beginning; and I wonder all the more as they are often clear-headed and capable persons.

The competition of the profit-market forces us under our present system to turn our attention overmuch to producing wares with the least possible labour; our epoch is compelled to sacrifice everything to this necessity. Considering the aspect of London and our great manufacturing centres, for instance, it seems that if it were possible for us to go on for long at our present rate of sacrificing to this tyrant of cheap production, the time would come when having to choose between the greater part of us living in cellars and never seeing the sun again, and foregoing the cheapening of cotton cloth by a halfpenny a yard, we should be compelled to choose to submit ourselves to the former—inconvenience. This I say is our necessity at present, because the competition for profits, which is the master of production, is a system of mere waste, first as a war and next as a bonfire, so to say, for the consumption of the product of labour merely in the interests of the power of the proprietary classes. Or may we not say that the gentili-

ties, the luxuries, the pomp of these classes in an ascending scale, from the small villa dweller to the great territorial magnate, are the necessary baits held out to the producing classes to ensure their "content" with the present state of things. "It is true," they proclaim, "that you are in an inferior position now, because you belong to the useful class; but there is no legal disability preventing you from rising out of that class; by means of thrift, self-denial, and clever rapacity, you may attain to this nice stuccoed villa with its 'art objects' and nick-knacks, its smiling obsequious servants, and vacant wife and daughters dressed up to the nine; next, as you grow older and colder and stupider, this mansion awaits you with all the 'refinements of civilisation,' flunkies, libraries, parties, seats in Parliament and the rest of it; and at last, when you have really come to believe in yourself as a benefactor to the human race, because you, once the robbed, have become a robber on the very largest scale, here is your park with its surrounding acres, and the state and majesty of a landed gentleman amongst the toilers afield who have even less than you began with when you were a useful man. There shall you found a family, take a peerage, and die universally respected."

Expensive baits these! Yet necessary while classes last, since the lapse of time has evolved us out of the simpler systems of chattel slavery and serfdom.

I won't go into figures as to the cost of these two gulfs of waste necessary to the stability of our present system, the waste of commercial war, the waste of the supporting a proprietary class with all its camp-followers and hangers-on; nor do I suppose that we shall ever know how prodigious a waste we have saddled ourselves with in this matter; but it is clear that it is prodigious. Well, under the new conditions of Society commercial war will have died out, and with it the wasteful occupations that support it; and class-rule will have disappeared, so that its waste will have gone; labour will no longer be directed in the interest of the profit-grinder or the idler, and the task of the producers will be so easy, that the dogma which our pessimist friends now hold that men will always do their work in the way which gives them least trouble (understood whatever sacrifices they have to make for it), will cease to have any meaning; because there will practically be no longer any compulsion to work.

Mark Twain says, apropos of Tom Sawyer's white-washing, that work is labour that we are compelled to do, and pleasure labour that we choose to do, which we beg our economic-pessimist friends to remember.

Meantime, I hold that we need not be afraid of scaring our audiences with too brilliant pictures of the future of Society, nor think ourselves unpractical and utopian for telling them the bare truth, that in destroying monopoly we shall destroy our present civilisation. On the contrary, it is utopian to put forward a scheme of gradual logical reconstruction of society which is liable to be overturned at the first historical hitch it comes to; and if you tell your audiences that you are going to change so little that they will scarcely feel the change, whether you scare any one or not, you will certainly not interest those who have nothing to hope for in the present Society, and whom the hope of a change has attracted towards Socialism. It is a poor game to play (though so often played in politics) to discourage your friends in order to hoodwink your foes for a brief space. And certainly the Socialists who are always preaching to people that Socialism is an economic change pure and simple, are very apt to repel those who want to learn for the sake of those who do not.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

### LITERARY NOTES.

'Prison Poems; or, Lays of Tullamore' (*Nation* office, Dublin, 6d.) consists of a number of songs and parodies—chiefly political—written by T. D. Sullivan during his imprisonment in Tullamore gaol, which show that the writer of "God Save Ireland" and "A Song from the Backwoods" has not lost his old power. This is his description of Tullamore and his prison life;

Oh, Tullamore Gaol is a charming place

(Bang the bolts and clatter the tins),  
'Tis Loyalty's school for the Irish race  
(At six a.m. the trouble begins).  
Rub and scrub, and tramp away,  
Pull and pick, and hammer all day,  
Smash the stones and turn the clay  
(And mourn for your political sins).

A dear old man is Featherstone-Haugh  
(Bang the bolts and clatter the tins).  
As tender and sweet as a circular-saw  
(At six a.m. the trouble begins).

He describes the Irish Secretary as

A being thin and shanky, white of visage, tall and lanky,  
Looking ill at ease and cranky, came and stood upon the floor;  
In his hands some keys he dangled, keys that harshly clinked and jangled,  
And over his right optic a large pane of glass he wore—  
When it fell, he slowly raised it, and replaced it as before—  
This he did, and nothing more.

It was a great shame that in a country so wealthy as this, a country which possesses such magnificent resources, they had thousands of people wanting bread.—*Mr. Mundella, M.P.*

The ultimate purpose of the State is not to rule men, to keep them in fear, to subject them to the will of others, but, on the contrary, to allow each as far as possible to live in security; that is, to preserve for each his natural right to live without harm to himself or his neighbour.—*Spinoza.*

## The Shade of Judge Jeffreys to the English Bench.

"I'll be judge, I'll be jury,  
Said cunning old Fury,  
I'll judge you, condemn you, and put you to death."  
—*Alice in Wonderland.*

Bravo, my masters! So ye still inherit  
A portion of your father Jeffreys' spirit!  
It glads my ghost, in these degenerate days  
Of manners mild and philanthropic ways,  
That still my true-born children of the ermine  
Can twist a law to snare these pestilent vermin,  
These noisy, stubborn, socialistic knaves,  
Who crack their crowns upon policemen's staves,  
Because, forsooth (may gallows' grace betide 'em!)  
Their precious British birthright is denied 'em—  
The right of bawling in the highways. Fudge!  
Would they had come to Jeffreys as their judge!  
For then, I vow, ere justice had been baffled,  
The rogues had known the pillory or scaffold,  
And paid such price for treasonable guile,  
As erst paid Sidney and the Lady Lisle.

Heigh-ho; I mind me, times are changed since then!  
But ye, my hearties, quit ye still like men  
In this same fight wherein I fought of yore—  
The worthy rich against the worthless poor.  
Flinch not, my big-wig bullies of the bench!  
'Tis your inheritance to wrest and wrench  
The sense o' the laws, intimidate the jury,  
And win by fraud where I prevailed by fury.  
Flinch not, nor question they deserve it well,  
But sentence, sentence to the felon's cell;  
Till every factious rascal sees with awe  
'Tis Jeffreys' self still animates the law!

H. S. S.

### THE STORY OF A DRESS COAT.

THE Paris correspondent of a Swiss journal tells a quaint tale of a dress-coat. Maxime Lisbonne, the Communist, received an invitation to present himself, along with other political guests, at the palace of the President. He accepted, and duly attended. It was necessary that he should renounce his Communist nonconformity for the occasion, and conform to the present evil world by appearing before Citizen Carnot in a dress-coat. This temporary backsliding from primitive principles in dress was naturally viewed with distrust and suspicion by his revolutionary comrades, and he was called upon to defend himself before the "Equals of Montmartre." "Citizens," said he, "it is true that I have visited the President of the Republic. I can assure you that he receives the people in a good and honourable manner. But you will ask, why should I, Lisbonne, and not another, have gone to the palace of the President as the representative of the people? For a very good reason; I was the only one who possessed a dress-coat." "How did you get it?" shouted several voices; "have you been herding with the Aristos?" "Citizens," continued Maxime Lisbonne, "you are aware that I am an actor. I had a dress-coat in which I performed the part of the Manager in 'Thirty Years'; or, the Life of an Actor' at the Bouffes du Nord. I found this old coat somewhat out of fashion and stained with grease spots, from which I cleansed it with spirits. One of Citizen Carnot's guests as he passed him sniffed at me and observed, 'It is a notion which would have occurred to nobody except a revolutionist to perfume himself with petroleum.'" The "Equals" were disarmed of their suspicions, and laughed heartily. Lisbonne told his *frères et amis* that he regarded the "aristocratic old coat" as the common property of all, and that it would be at the service of any comrade who might need it for a public occasion.

### COMMUNE CELEBRATION.

THE annual celebration of the Commune of Paris is this year being organised by the Socialist League and the Social Democratic Federation. It is intended to make the celebration as distinctively English as possible, at the same time representatives of our foreign Socialist brethren will be invited to attend and speak on the occasion.

The 18th of March this year falls on a Sunday, and it is hoped that either a theatre or large hall will be secured for the celebration. Should, however, it be found impossible to obtain a suitable place on the Sunday, the meeting will then be held on the Saturday, i.e., the 17th of March.

It is intended to make the celebration a large and imposing one, and that this may be done funds must be collected for the printing and hiring of the meeting-place, etc. Friends and comrades are earnestly asked to take in hand the collection of money, for which purpose cards will be issued. Donations may be sent to Comrade CLIFTON (S.D.F.), Treasurer; or to H. A. BARKER (S.L.), Secretary, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.

[All monies received at the above address will be duly acknowledged in these columns.]

Just fancy in this democratic country Mr. Blunt in prison and Mr. Balfour in the House of Commons.—*Sir Wilfred Lawson.*

In my own private concerns with mankind I have observed that to kick a little when under imposition has a good effect. A little sturdiness when superiors are much in the wrong sometimes occasions consideration, and there is truth in the old saying that if you make yourself a sheep the wolves will eat you.—*Franklin.*

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### BRITAIN.

**EDINBURGH JOINERS.**—The dispute is likely soon to end in favour of the men. Several firms have opened their shops on the old terms. Many of the men have returned to work, and the practical sympathy of the public enabled the committee on Saturday to increase the strike pay.

**CLYDE SHIPBUILDERS.**—Labour troubles are already commencing in the shipbuilding yards on the Clyde. In consequence of the small amount of work on hand, several firms have been paying less than the current rates. The movement is now becoming general for a considerable advance.

**DISCHARGE OF DOCKYARD WORKMEN.**—Recently an Admiralty order was received at Devonport Dockyard directing that for the next financial year provision should be made for 1,100 men less than are now working in the yard. Discharges are also expected at Keyham Factory before the end of the present financial year.

**BELFAST TRAMWAY MEN.**—A meeting of the drivers, conductors, and pointsmen employed by the Belfast Street Tramway Co., has been held for the purpose of protesting against the proposed running of cars between five and six o'clock in the morning. At present the men work from 7.40 a.m. to 11.15 p.m., with one hour for meals. It was decided to draw up a memorial to be laid before the Police Committee of the Town Council.

**TRADE DEPRESSION IN WELSH IRON TRADE.**—The Ruabon Ironworks of the New British Iron Company, the most extensive works in North Wales, are now closed in consequence of the continued depression in trade. The blast furnaces are extinguished, and the usual fourteen days' notice having expired, all the ironworkers are discharged. Many of the workmen are emigrating, while others are leaving North Wales for Lancashire, Yorkshire, Staffordshire, and South Wales.

**STATE OF THE VELVET TRADE AT OLDHAM.**—The velvet trade, which is the staple weaving trade of Oldham, is, and has been for a long time, in a very bad state, though there are now some signs of improvement. Messrs. Eli Lees and Co., of Hope Mill, who have 1,360 looms, have had about 600 of them stopped for some time. At Albany Shed, belonging to Messrs. J. J. Shiers and Son, there are 1,000 looms, and of these about 400 have been stopped. At Collinge's sheds, Glodwick Road, where there are 2,070 looms, fully 1,000 looms are stopped, and at Mr. Hilton Greaves' mills, out of over 1,700 looms, between two and three hundred are stopped.

**WAGES ON THE NORTH EASTERN RAILWAY.**—An important movement is being made by the engine-drivers, firemen, goods guards, mineral guards, and signalmen of the North-Eastern Railway system, to obtain alterations of wages and hours of labour, which will involve an advance in wages in some of the higher grades of 15 to 20 per cent., and in all cases a substantial increase. The men, at a meeting which has lately been held, resolved to call a conference, at which delegates will be invited from each leading centre of the railway system—from Leeds, Hull, and York in the south, to Newcastle and Carlisle in the north, and all the intervening district.

**FIFE MINERS.**—At a meeting of the Fife and Clackmannan Miners' Association, held at Dunfermline, to consider the action of the coalmasters at the conference, it was reported that an overwhelming majority of the men had decided to set the masters at defiance by carrying out the policy previously agreed upon of stopping work at the collieries. It was agreed that the miners, numbering 6,000 men, should cease work, and it is said that the contest will be a lasting one. A lock-out has been declared. Notices have been posted up at the collieries announcing that all men who have intimated their intention to stop work for two weeks shall not be allowed to descend the pits without re-engagement.

**HAMILTON MINERS.**—At a meeting of the men employed in Hamilton and district one of the speakers said: "He was afraid the coal and iron masters were planning such war against them as would, if successful, reduce them to bond slaves again. All the efforts of members of Parliament and others were without result, because the men refused to help themselves, and were intimidated (as in the case of the Truck Act) into signing away their rights and liberties simply through not being in union. He made a strong appeal to them to remedy this state of matters." What the speaker said of the mineowners is about true of other trades. Although not so plain, the same action is taking place; and while the men are discussing conciliation and arbitration boards, the masters are making every effort towards organisation; the declaration of war will then come.

**THE NUT AND BOLT MAKERS AND THE TRUCK ACT.**—On Thursday night a largely attended meeting of nut and bolt makers was held at the Cross Guns Inn, New Street, Darlaston, for the purpose of deciding upon the amount of levy to be paid in support of the men now out on strike, and also to consider what course should be taken with reference to the stoppage of wages for rent. Mr. R. Juggins presided, and in opening the meeting said he had laid the matter before the Midland Counties Trades Federation, and they were unanimously of opinion that the case was one which ought to be tested, and they were prepared to support the men in any action taken for the purpose of recovering the wages that had been stopped. It was resolved "That this meeting instructs the secretary to take legal proceedings under the Truck Act to recover the rent illegally stopped from the wages of workmen." It was further decided to continue the levy of 1s. per member until the next meeting takes place, and that the secretary request the nut and bolt makers in the Smethwick district to render assistance to the men now out on strike.

**MANCHESTER.**—There is an enormous increase in the number of unemployed, especially in the building trades, and the number of members in receipt of relief from the funds of their trades unions is unprecedented. In spite of this the pernicious system of overtime is far too prevalent. The Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners has recently "drawn out" a number of its members from various jobs and shops not paying the standard rate of wages 8d. per hour. It is a notorious fact that, with the exception of five or six of the big masters, the standard rate has been practically ignored during the past ten years. The action of the society is likely to cause trouble, as there are hundreds of men who will work at the employers' terms rather than walk the streets starving. The disastrous result of the great strike of 1877 should have taught the necessity of a vigorous effort to organise the non-unionists instead of passively waiting for a revival of trade in order to do something to recover lost ground. The members of the A. S. are paying heavy levies to maintain the unemployed and "drawn out," and there is a growing feeling of discontent, foreshadowing an impending crisis.

It is time that the unions ceased to be mere friendly societies and devoted their energies to organising the workers, skilled and unskilled, into a common brotherhood. The operatives of the building trades will welcome the cause which shall show them their "misery and the way out."—CRAFTSMAN.

**NORTHUMBERLAND MINERS.**—At the next delegate meeting of the Northumberland Miners there will be some lively proceedings. The following are some of the resolutions:—*New Delaval*: "Seeing that a large number of men in the county have not the opportunity of attending the meeting when the programme for the delegate meeting is being discussed, we protest against the vote taken at the last delegate meeting on Mr. Burt's and Fenwick's salaries being paid out of the labour fund, as we consider it unconstitutional and unjust for a vote at delegate meetings to rescind the voting of the county, and that vote by ballot; we therefore suggest that the voting-papers be sent out again." *Old Backworth*: "We, as a colliery, protest against the motion passed at the last Council meeting relative to Messrs. Burt and Fenwick's salaries, and we move that the ballot be taken again throughout the county as to whether we have to continue to pay their salaries or not." (2) "We beg leave to move that Samuel Marsh, who started work out of the county during the strike—and all similar cases—be paid their rent for the time they were on strike, as we consider it inconsistent and unfair to pay men their rent who started work in the county, and were therefore black-legging us, and refuse to pay those who went out of the county and had levies to pay for our support." *Seaton Burn*: "That our agents be reduced the whole of the 12 per cent." *Dudley*: (1) "That eight hours in the twenty-four be the maximum day's work for all persons employed underground where the single shift, and seven hours where the double shift is worked, the time to be reckoned from bank to bank." (2) "That one general holiday be observed each week: this day to be fixed in each district, and be strictly observed, even though men may have been idle on any preceding day that week."

**LECTURE ON TRADES UNIONISM.**—At Hulme Radical Club, Clopton Street, Hulme, on Sunday at 6.30, John Jenkins, Gen. Sec. of the Baker's Union, will lecture on Trades Unionism.

**METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.**—The weekly return of metropolitan pauperism shows that the total number of paupers relieved during the first week of the month was 100,152, of whom 60,895 were indoor and 48,257 outdoor paupers. The total number relieved shows an increase of 3,953 over the corresponding week of last year, 8,555 over 1885, and 1,207 over 1884. The total number of vagrants relieved on the last day of the week, was 1,284, of whom 1,115 were men, 150 women, and 19 children under sixteen.

**"COMPARISONS," ETC.**—At a meeting of the Birmingham Trades Council last week reference was made to a recent speech of Mr. Kynoch, M.P. for Aston, in which he said that working-men candidates were the greatest frauds the country had ever known. They were generally a spouting lot of fellows who lived by the gift of the gab. Councillor Grainger said that the working-men members of Parliament would compare favourably with the member for Aston. A resolution was passed condemning Mr. Kynoch's expressions, and declaring them untrue and scandalous.

**A TRAITOR.**—Judgment has been given by the Sheffield County Court Judge in an action brought by an engine-driver, named Thomas Rodgers, against the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants. He sued to be reinstated a member and for superannuation allowance; but it was argued that he was properly expelled during the strike of the Midland engine-drivers. He entered the service of the company during the strike, but was dismissed after a week's work, being colour-blind. Judgment was in favour of the society. The impudent conduct of the driver thus properly served, shows that some men have very hazy notions as to the functions of trades-unions. They were founded as fighting bodies, and must not be allowed to degenerate into societies for administering out-door relief for the benefit of the exploiting classes. May all traitors meet the fate of Thomas Rodgers! T. B.

### THE CHAINMAKERS.

Most, if not all of our readers, will during the last eighteen months have heard and read a great deal of the sufferings and poverty of the nail and chainmakers of South Staffordshire. We will not again go over the harrowing details, but a personal investigation we have made during the past few days into the causes of the state of things so often described contains a warning which ought not to be lost upon factory workers. So far as nail-making in Halesowen is concerned, it is a decaying industry, due to the introduction of machinery, but inventors have hitherto failed to construct a machine which can even help to make chains. It may consequently be said that the latter occupation is in a normal condition, as chains are in as good demand as ever. By working in a manner of which few people have any conception, strong men can, on the heavier classes of work, such as ship cables made in large workshops, earn decent wages; but, on medium and small work, the life of a chainmaker is a living slavery for a bare existence. There is no earthly reason why this should be so except want of organisation. On ordinary work, such as dog chains and chains used for horse gearing, 50 per cent. added to the wages would make no appreciable difference in the retail selling price. If the advance we have mentioned were conceded, there would not be a link less used or sold, and yet at present women have to slave at making them for six or seven shillings per week, and on medium sizes men do the same for about 15s. This state of things is largely, if not wholly, owing to competition amongst themselves. When unemployed, a proportion of them have been willing to undersell their fellows in the labour market, and as the small sizes are made in workshops attached to each house, this knobsticking could not be found out at once. In Cradley Heath, as elsewhere, such conduct is, however, used by employers, who give out the work as a lever to reduce all the rest, and so the little game has gone on. A more dirty, unpaved, unsanitary, and poverty-stricken district than Cradley Heath it would be impossible to conceive, all of which might have been reversed had the chainmakers been organised, as they ought to have been, during the last twenty years. We have no wish on that account to lessen the sympathy which all right-minded people must feel for them. They are in the hole, and have to make the best of it, though they have recently had a splendid lift upwards, largely due to the assistance rendered them by workmen in Lancashire and the north. They have got a substantial advance in prices, which we hope will only be a starting-point to better things. If every operative in the four counties could pay a visit to Cradley, we are certain that there would be no necessity for propagandist union work during the lifetime of the present generation.—*Cotton Factory Times*.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 25, 1888.

19	Sun.	1820. "Cato Street Conspiracy" formed. 1861. Russian serfs freed. 1867. Cathin Colliery accident.
20	Mon.	1831. Poles defeat Russians at Grohow. 1855. Joseph Hume died.
21	Tues.	1803. Col. Despard and others hanged for high treason. 1886. Socialist Demonstration in Hyde Park, 75,000 present. 1887. Great Unemployed Demonstration in Dublin.
22	Wed.	1787. First Convocation of Notables began to sit (France). 1811. Trial of John and Leigh Hunt for "seditious libel." 1831. Miner's Riots in Cornwall. 1855. Bread Riots in London.
23	Thur.	1677. Baruch Spinoza died. 1716. Earls Derwentwater and Kenmare beheaded for rebellion. 1823. Trial of "Bottle Conspirators," Dublin. 1848. French Revolution begins.
24	Fri.	1794. D. I. Eaton tried for seditious libel. 1848. Louis Philippe abdicated.
25	Sat.	1847. Samuel Fielden born. 1858. Trial of Orsini.

*Joseph Hume.*—On Feb. 20, 1855, died Joseph Hume, philosophical Radical. Born of humble parents, this Scotchman doubtless strongly approved of that wonderful system called "English civilisation," or the right of the British to plunder every nation under the sun. Hume was born at Montrose, January, 1777, son of the master of a small coasting vessel; Hume, sen., dying while Joseph was very young. Mrs. Hume started a small crockery shop, but being a woman of considerable intelligence, made a point of getting Joseph a good education; he was placed in a good school in his native town, and, after apprenticeship to a mayor, went through a regular course at Edinburgh University, where he was admitted a member of the College of Surgeons, 1795. Entered the marine service of the East Indian Company, 1797; served in Indian Army under Lord Lake in the Mahratta war, 1803. He applied himself closely to study of the native languages, and so was able during the war to act as paymaster, postmaster, and commissary general to an army of some 12,000 men. In 1808, he was able to resign his posts and return to England with a fortune of some £30,000 or £40,000. Not a bad eleven years profits on spreading English civilisation! Some of this money he sunk with a Scotch solicitor, who introduced Hume to the electors of Weymouth, and in 1812 he published a translation of Dante, and found himself Tory M.P. for Weymouth. The money was not well spent, however, for a dissolution came almost directly, and, as Hume had been talking of need of some reform, the Tory patrons of Weymouth struck; it is supposed some of the "consideration" was refunded. This little transaction settled Hume in his groove of constant war on jobbery. He was not M.P. again until 1818, when he was elected for the Montrose Burghs until 1830; 1830 elected for Middlesex, where in 1837 he was replaced by Tory Col. Wood, but was provided by Daniel O'Connell with the seat for Kilkenny; Montrose again in 1842 until his death, which took place at Burnley Hall, Norfolk. During the whole of his membership he was "death on jobbers" and corruptionists; he made more and longer speeches than almost any man who ever stood in the House; but by his persistence, his knowledge of detail, and his absolute honesty, he was always assured attention. As a guardian of the public purse there are few members who ever came near the good work he did. In 1835, he earned the hatred of the Orange faction by unearthing the conspiracy which was to have put the Duke of Cumberland on the throne, when some highly placed criminals would have swung, if Governments were in the habit of punishing rich the same as the poor. Hume, like Bright, Cobden, Lord Brougham, etc., settled everything by political economy (?), and seemed to think it rather better to have children beaten with leather thongs to keep them awake over their mill work, than to have an Act of Parliament fixing the hours of labour. The Factory Acts agitation, Thomas Michael Sadler's Ten Hour's Bill was vigorously opposed by the names above and many others called Radicals, and who really were extreme on other points of reform. Catholic Emancipation, Abolishment of Flogging, Impresment for Navy, were considerably helped by Hume, as also Repeal of Acts against export of machinery and working-men combinations. In the Anti-Corn Law agitation he worked intensely hard. He and Cobden once debated at Uxbridge 4½ hours against four put up to defend dear food.—T. S.

*Lt.-Col. Edward Marcus Despard.*—Born in Queen's County, Ireland, in 1750. Judicially murdered Monday, Feb. 21, 1803. Entered the army as Ensign in the 5th Regiment; exchanged to the 79th, and rapidly rose to be Lieut.-Col., winning in all posts the highest praise. In 1779, he was chief engineer of Dalling's expedition to Nicaragua, in which Nelson was a captain; the *London Gazette* (July 18, 1780) says "There was scarcely a gun fired but was pointed by Capt. Nelson, of the *Hinchinbroke*, or Lieut. Despard, chief engineer, who has exerted himself on every occasion." He was then employed to construct public works in Jamaica, and did them so well as to receive the thanks of the council and assembly of the island. Appointed commander-in-chief of the island of Rattan and its dependencies, he again proved his originality and organising power, winning thanks from all his superiors from the king downwards. In 1784, he was first commissioner for settling the boundary lines of the South American territories ceded to Britain by Spain. Soon after appointed superintendent on the coast of Honduras, his blunt honesty and strength of will brought him into collision with officialdom; recalled on false charges, he spent two years kicking his heels in ministerial ante-rooms, to be declared wholly innocent—and left to starve. Over urgent in pressing his claims upon government, and having been a little influenced in the meantime by contemporary French thought, he was looked upon as dangerous by the defenders of law's order, and was imprisoned without trial, released without examination, and re-arrested without warrant. His treatment in prison was so bad as to be debated in Parliament, and was involved in the celebrated questions as to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act and the treatment of prisoners. Finding, as many others have done, his imprisonment a time of education, he came out a declared democrat and reformer. At this time over an eighth of the whole population of Great Britain were public paupers; rates of labour were lower than the cost of the scantiest living for workmen of any kind; there was an enormous annual deficit in the revenue; every article of food adulterated, and every necessary of life taxed; an army of 50,000 men holding down the people by main force; unceasing and sanguinary popular tumults taking place; jails, hulks, and Botany Bay full to overflowing, and the gallows overloaded; the most excessive brutal luxury in direct contact and contrast with the most abject and degraded poverty; a king and his ministers ruling the whole by the most approved methods of despotism. At the same time France, under the First Consul, seemed in a fair way to attain the summit of human happiness, and America was yet in appearance the very land of promise. Hopes of freedom and hunger of bread were alike stirring the English folk; it was an era of revolutions. Everywhere there were societies meeting, more or less secret, to discuss the political changes they desired. Of one of these that had several branches, he soon became leader by education and experience. At the subsequent trial the following was produced as its Constitution: "The independence of Great Britain and Ireland. An equalisation of civil, political, and religious rights. An ample provision for the families of the

heroes who shall fall in the contest. A liberal reward for distinguished merit. These are the objects for which we contend; and to obtain these objects we swear to be united. In the awful presence of Almighty God, I, A. B., do voluntarily declare that I will endeavour, to the utmost of my power, to obtain the objects of this union; namely, to recover those rights which the Supreme Being, in His infinite bounty, has given to all men; that neither hopes nor fears, rewards nor punishments, shall ever induce me to give any information, directly or indirectly, concerning the business, or of any member of this or any similar society. So help me God." It was not long before the old tragedy was re-enacted, that is even now reproduced occasionally for the instruction of the people. Spies and provocative-agents were soon introduced among the "conspirators" in order to talk "sedition" where it might be heard, and arrange murder-plots of the most ingenious openness. So perfectly was it organised, that on Nov. 16, 1802, as the "conspirators" were talking in an open meeting in an upper room of the Oakley Arms, Oakley Street, Lambeth, at the very moment in which thirty-three men (!), "with no arms but tobacco-pipes, not even a poker, and with 15s. 6d. in the treasury" (see evidence), were about to start out to "break down the telegraphs, take the Bank, the Tower, and the India House, and blow the king to hell," the patrol breaks in (with a search-warrant duly signed by magistrates!) and 12 are taken to Tothill Fields Bridewell, and 20 to the "new prison" at Clerkenwell, Col. Despard being committed to Newgate. A special commission was appointed to try the case, and was opened Jan. 20, at the new Sessions House, Horsemonger Lane, Southwark, before Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough and three others. Not a tittle of evidence was brought forward to connect Col. Despard with any plot against the life of the king or anybody else, except the oaths of four hired informers. Nor is it, indeed, conceivable that a military officer of such wide and varied experience would have attempted such a "big order" with so slight resource. However, the Government wanted an example to overawe "the swinish multitude," and teach them not to grunt too loud; the circumstances made it easy to throw the treason upon his shoulders, for was he not "suffering under an imaginary injury, and therefore, etc.," Mr. Serjeant Best exerted his great power in vain; in vain did Lord Nelson, Sir Alured Clarke, and Sir Evan Nepean swear to the high character of Despard; the witnesses swore as they were ordered; Lord Ellenborough played Nupkins to perfection, and summed up dead against acquittal; going further than the counsel for the prosecution, he ordered the jury to find a verdict of "guilty," which they did, adding, however, "but we earnestly recommend him to mercy, on account of his former good character and the services he has rendered his country." No attention was, of course, paid to the jury's recommendation, and Despard, with six others, died at Horsemonger Lane jail by the hands of the hangman. They all died like men, but Despard like a hero. He mounted the scaffold firmly, helped the executioner to place the rope properly on his neck, politely bade farewell to the clergymen who accompanied the other prisoners, and as soon as he was fastened spoke in a firm and audible voice to the crowd assembled. He was dressed in a double-breasted coat with gilt buttons, a cream-coloured waistcoat with narrow gold lace binding, a flannel inner vest with scarlet top turned over, grey breeches, top-boots, and a brown surtout. "Fellow citizens," said he, "I come here, as you see, after having served my country—faithfully, honourably, and usefully served it—for 30 years and upwards, to suffer death upon a scaffold for a crime of which I protest I am not guilty. I solemnly declare that I am no more guilty of it than any of you who may be now hearing me. But though his Majesty's ministers know as well as I do that I am not guilty, yet they avail themselves of a legal pretext to destroy a man, because he has been a friend to truth, to liberty and justice—(great cheering)—because he has been a friend to the poor and oppressed. But, citizens, I hope and trust, notwithstanding my fate and the fate of those who no doubt will soon follow me, that the principles of freedom, of humanity, and of justice, will finally triumph over falsehood, tyranny, and delusion, and every principle hostile to the interests of the human race. And now, having said this, I have little more to add—" (His voice seemed to falter here. He paused a moment as if he had meant to say something more and had forgotten it). "I have little more to add, except to wish you all health, happiness, and freedom, which I have endeavoured, as far as was in my power, to procure for you, and for mankind in general." When the drop fell he died almost instantly. Half-an-hour afterwards the bodies were taken down, the heads cut off and shown to the people, provoking them to groans and yells of rage. Despard's body having lain at Mount Row, opposite the Asylum, was taken away on the 1st of March by his friends and buried near the north door of St. Paul's Cathedral, St. Paul's Churchyard. So ends the career of a brave and noble-minded man, another name upon the long roll of those who have been sacrificed for no crime but in order to frighten the folk.—S.

*Miner's Riots.*—In the early part of 1831 the Cornish miners were in a very bad case, and were endeavouring to better their condition by combination. On the 22nd of February, they tried to frighten some "rats" at St. Blazey, and were interfered with by the authorities, who carefully worked up a "riot" which ended in a pitched battle between the crowd and a party of soldiers and police. The same day a party of 3,000 from the parishes of Breage, Gweonap, Crowan, Wendron, etc., marched through Helston in perfect order to prevent the "shipment of corn from a starving country." Achieving their object they marched back and dispersed in peace.—S.

*Trial of Leigh Hunt for Libel.*—The *Stamford News* published a strong article against military flogging, which was reproduced in the *Examiner*. Mr. Drakard, the printer of the *News*, was imprisoned for 18 months, fined £200, and bound over for three years. John and Leigh Hunt, despite the efforts not only of the Attorney-General, but also of the judge, Lord Ellenborough, were found "Not Guilty" of libel and discharged. The press for the most part explained this by saying that the most libellous paragraph was omitted, but the probability is that the real difference lay between the Lincoln and Westminster juries, the latter drawn from an advanced place for those days.—S.

*Bread Riots.*—Through the Russian war, then going on, and other causes, great distress prevailed throughout the country; 15,000 were unemployed in Liverpool alone. At Liverpool, Bilston, Wolverhampton, Walsall, and London, desperate bread riots took place. In Stepney, Bethnal Green, Shoreditch, and Bermondsey great crowds assembled, and for some time carried all before them. It was only by exerting their whole force that the police could "restore order."—S.

"*Bottle Conspiracy*" was an Orange "plot" against the Marquis Wellesley, then Lord Lieutenant. It was never very serious, but a great deal was made out of it for Government purposes.—S.

"Commercial enterprise" goes to queer lengths at times. An English novelist, who has been much pirated in America, received the following proposal from the agent of an American insurance company: "Dear Sir,—I am authorised to secure an author to write a novel, by a very wealthy and powerful corporation. Said novel to bear the name of a large hotel they have built on the Pacific coast, and the scene mainly to lay therein. To contain 300 pages. Will you undertake this, and at what price? They will spend a large sum to give the novel a world-wide circulation. Let me hear from you at once. Yours truly, —" And all the comment one can make is that it is a wonder he did not accept! To judge from several books that I have seen, the proposed plan is no new one.—S.



OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

**Annual Conference.**—The Fourth Annual Conference of the Socialist League will be held at 13 Farringdon Road, on Whitsunday, May 20. The attention of Branches is particularly referred to (1) Rule V. on the subject of the annual conference, pp. 3 and 4 of Constitution and Rules; and (2) that all branches wishing to be represented at the Conference must pay their subscription up to the 31st March by May 1st.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**  
1887.

Hastings, Nottingham, Pelsall—None. Bradford, Croydon, Glasgow, Hackney, Ipswich, Leeds, Marylebone, Merton, North London, Norwich—to end of March. Edinburgh—to end of May. Mitcham—to end of July. Walsall—to end of August. Hull—to end of September. Bloomsbury, Walham Green, Wednesday—to end of October. Leicester—to end of November. Clerkenwell, Hammersmith, Hoxton, Mile-end, Oxford—to end of December.

**"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.**

Ambrose, 2s. 6d. *Weekly Subscription*—W. B., 6d.

**Strike Committee.**—Collected in Regent's Park, February 12, 3s. 2d.—J. LANE.

**General Fund.**—C. Walkden, 5s.

**REPORTS.**

**ACTON.**—Good meeting on Acton Green on Sunday, Feb. 12, at which Day, Tochatti, Maughan, and Fry spoke. Good sale of *Commonweal*. Three members made for new branch just starting.—H. J. D.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Wednesday, Feb. 8, Annie Besant lectured on "Communalisation of Industry." Unfortunately, Mrs. Besant was suffering from loss of voice, and could only briefly allude to the different heads of her subject under great difficulty. At the close told her audience she would renew the subject at greater length (arrangements for which will soon be made), and hoped they would kindly carry on the discussion without her. This was unanimously agreed to, and very brisk speeches were made by Herbert Burrows, Capt. Pfoundes, Brooks, Barker, Cores, and others. On Sunday, Feb. 12, H. A. Barker lectured on "The Labour Struggle." Good discussion and reply. One new member.—R.

**FULHAM.**—Good meeting on Tuesday, opposite the Liberal Club, addressed by Tochatti and Day. On Sunday morning, F. Verinder spoke to an excellent meeting on "Christian Socialism." 27 *Commonweal* sold and 7s. 2d. collected. A short meeting was held outside our rooms in the evening, Tochatti and Day inviting the people inside, where J. Turner gave a lecture on "The Control of Capital." Several questions asked and satisfactorily answered.—S. B. G.

**WALSALL.**—Monday last, Weaver was to have lectured on "Social Conditions, their Relation to Formation of Character," but did not turn up, and Sanders addressed meeting in his place. Outdoor meeting on The Bridge on Saturday addressed by Sanders, the audience giving him a most attentive hearing.—J. T. D.

**DUBLIN.**—At Saturday Club, Feb. 11, P. Stephens lectured on "Trades' Unionism" from the orthodox unionist standpoint. The principles of International Trades' Unionism were ably expounded by Schumann and Fitzpatrick, much to the satisfaction of the audience. A number of comrade Binning's 'Organised Labour' were distributed.

**CRIEFF.**—At the request of the local branch of the S.D.F., J. Bruce Glasier (S.L.) delivered a lecture on "Socialism" to a large audience in James' Square. Our comrade was listened to with great attention, and at the close of his speech received a hearty cheer. 7s. 8d. worth of literature sold.—J. M. B.

**EDINBURGH.**—On Feb. 9th, Mavor lectured to St. Cuthbert's Co-operative Society. On 12th, Smith lectured in Trades' Hall. A member of the S.L.L.L. recently visited our Forfarshire branches, and reports that they are in a healthy condition. At Kilmarnock a strong branch is in process of formation.

**LECTURE DIARY.**

LONDON.

**Acton.**—17 High Street, Acton, S.W. (adjoining Parnell's Dining Rooms). Sunday February 19, at 8, J. Tochatti, "Human Nature and Socialism." Feb. 26, Catterson Smith, "Possibilities of Life under Socialism."

**Bloomsbury.**—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road. Thursday February 16, at 8.30, T. E. Wardie, "Our Ideal." 23rd, Joseph Lane, "Different Schools of Socialistic Thought."

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7.

Sunday February 19, at 8.30, Edward Aveling, "The Fallacies of Henry George." Wednesday 22, at 8.30, John Wood (S.D.F.), "Technical Education." Sunday, Feb. 26, at 8.30, Capt. Pfoundes, "The United States of Greater Britain."

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sunday February 19, at 8, E. Mandel, "Our Present State Organisation and Political Parties." 26th, H. H. Sparling, "The Blind Samson."

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

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmecott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday February 19, at 8 p.m., Graham Wallis (Fabian Society), "Socialism and Patriotism." 26, Sidney Webb (Fabian Society), "Socialism and Co-operation." March 4, Percival Chubb (Fabian Society), "The Ethical Aspect of Socialism."

**Hoxton (L.E.L.).**—C. J. Young, 8 Dunloe Street, Hackney Road, Secretary. Members please take up their membership cards for 1888.

**Mitcham.**—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11. Sunday February 19, at 8, T. J. Dalziel, "Why the People Starve." 26th, J. Turner, "Co-operation."

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

PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen (Scottish Section).**—Sunday night meetings in Baker Street Hall, at 6. Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St. Nicholas Street.

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

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

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

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

**Dublin.**—Saturday Club, Central Lecture Hall, 12 Westmorland Street.

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

**Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Sunday evening lectures, Trades Hall, High Street. On Sunday February 19, at 6.30, a Lecture.

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

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

**Glasgow.**—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Propaganda Committee, Mondays at 8. Discussion Class meets every Thursday evening at 8 p.m.—object, the cultivation of extemporaneous speaking.

**Leeds.**—17 Chesham St., Sweet St. Club open every evening. Business meeting Wednesdays at 8 p.m. On Sunday February 19, at 7 p.m., T. Maguire, "The Practical Bearings of Socialism." 26, S. A. Gaskell, "The Need of a New Industrial System."

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

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

**Norwich.**—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Monday, Concert at 8. Tuesday, Business meeting at 8.30. Wednesday, Band practice at 8. Thursday, Discussion class, Groulund's 'Co-operative Commonwealth.' Friday, Rehearsal at 8. Saturday, Premises open from 8 until 10.30.

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

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

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

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

**OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**

LONDON—Sunday 19.

11	Acton Green	Hammersmith Branch
11.15	Starch Green	The Branch
11.30	Acton	Steyne, Day, & Maughan
11.30	Garrett—"Plough Inn"	The Branch
11.30	Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.	Wade & Pope
11.30	Merton—Haydons Road	The Branch
11.30	Mitcham Fair Green	The Branch
11.30	Regent's Park	Nisoll & Mrs. Schack
11.30	St. Pancras Arches	The Branch
11.30	Stamford Hill	Parker
11.30	Walham Green	Fulham Branch
3	Hyde Park	Parker

PROVINCES.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Jack Lane End, Meadow Road, at 10.30 a.m. In Prince's Field, at 3 p.m.

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

Wm. Morris will give an address on "Monopoly" at the Progressive Association, Penton Hill, 81 Pentonville Hill, on Sunday next, Feb. 19, at 7 o'clock. Admittance Free. Collection to defray expenses.

S.W. HAM RADICAL ASSOCIATION, Swancombe St., Canning Town.—Wednesday February 23, at 8 p.m., H. H. Sparling, "Wildful Waste and Woful Want."

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

**SHEFFIELD.**—Sunday next, February 19, Mr. J. Sketchley of Birmingham will deliver three lectures at the Hall of Science, on the following subjects: At 11 a.m., "The Evils of Secret Diplomacy"; at 3 p.m., "How and Why we Govern India"; in the evening, at 7, "Socialism: What it is, and what it is not."

**SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.**—Meeting at *Commonweal* Office, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday February 19, at 3.30 p.m.

**LAW AND LIBERTY LEAGUE.**

WELCOME TO

R. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM, M.P.; JOHN BURNS; and other Released Prisoners of Liberty.

**TEA AND PUBLIC MEETING**

will be held

At 6 p.m. on Saturday, 18th Feb., AT CRAVEN HALL (THE REV. ARTHUR HALL'S), FOUNTAIN PLACE, REGENT STREET.

Tickets, 6d. each, can be had at the Socialist League Office; Link Office, 34 Bouverie St.; etc.

ON MONDAY 20th FEBRUARY,

**A GREAT DEMONSTRATION AT ALLAN'S RIDING SCHOOL**

SEYMOUR PLACE (BRYANSTON SQ.), EDGWARE ROAD. Chair taken at 8.30 by MICHAEL DAVITT. Platform Tickets, 2s. 6d.; a few Reserve Seats, 1s.

Don't forget to be at Pentonville Prison, Caledonian Road, Saturday at 8 a.m.

**THE TABLES TURNED.**

Applications for engagements to be made to the Manager, H. A. Barker, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

**The Lamp**

AN EXTRAVAGANZA by Henry A. Barker, will be performed on Saturday February 25 (not 18), at 13 Farringdon Road. Admission by Programme (now ready), price Threepence. The entertainment will commence precisely at Eight o'clock.

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

Just received from New York, extra quantity, 600 Copies of the Special Edition of **SOCIAL SCIENCE**

Containing splendid Portraits of the eight Chicago Anarchists, with good Biographical Notices of each. Price 5d., post free 6d. Every worker should procure a copy.

Birmingham: J. Sketchley, 8 Arthur Place Parade.

**THE LEAFLET NEWSPAPER,**

Published every Saturday at 1 p.m. Edited by Thomas Bolas. Packet of 25, 1d., Postage 3d.; 1000 1s. 6d., Postage 6d.—Leaflet Press, Cursitor St., E.C.

**SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.**

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

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

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

**The Manifesto of the Socialist League.** Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and William Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. . 1d.

**The Commune of Paris.** By E. Belfort Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. . 2d.

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**Useful Work v. Useless Toil.** By William Morris. . 1d.

**"All for the Cause!"** Song. Words by William Morris; Music by E. Belfort Bax. 4to, 4 pp. 6d. per dozen, 4s. 6d.

**Mrs. Grundy (Cartoon).** By Walter Crane. Fine hand-made large paper. . 6d.

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# THE COMMONWEALTH

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 4.—No. 111.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON NEWS.

MR. COMMISSIONER KERR deserves to be long remembered for the language of his sentence on our friend Gough. Mrs. Gamp at her best could hardly have achieved a greater success than this remarkable production: that is, as regards its manner: as to its matter, Mr. Commissioner Kerr finds it extraordinary that anyone, still more several persons, could be found to swear that the police were—well, mistaken—in asserting that the prisoner committed an assault on a constable's—helmet. Amazing indeed that any citizen should venture on such boldness as flying in the face of police evidence after all that has passed during the last three months! I remember being rather surprised when a policeman who shoved me in the Thames Street Police-court swore that I hit him; but I was not much alarmed, because I thought that a serious citizen's word would weigh at least as heavily as that of an excited policeman. We have changed all that now, and witnesses who contradict police evidence had better nerve themselves against indictment for perjury.

At the same time our comrade Gough must be congratulated for not being tried by Edlin, who would probably, after praising him for his good character and admonishing him for his rashness, have given him six months. Considering the times we are in, he probably thinks himself lucky in getting off with a month for *not* hitting a policeman. Great are the blessings of law and order certainly, yet it is now as in the days of David, "The tender mercies of the wicked are cruel."

This morning (Feb. 18th) the Government of the British Islands won a great and notable victory: the friends of two citizens who had been imprisoned for trying to speak on a piece of public land proposed to meet them and greet them at a tolerable early hour as they came out of prison, the hour being the usual time for such release and at which it was announced that they would be released. By a stupendous exertion of strategy the prison officials thrust out the prisoners an hour and a half before the appointed time, so that many of the friends aforesaid missed seeing the prisoners, and, triumph of triumphs, John Burns had to wait about the neighbourhood of the prison for his wife for some time! Such preposterous shabbiness shows how low prison life will bring the officials connected with it: the poor devils have to spend their days in carrying out the multitudinous petty tortures of the place, whose aggregate makes up a severe torture enough, and one can scarcely wonder at any shabbiness that they may perpetrate. But just to think of all the elaboration of officialism, the wheels within wheels, the whole force of army, navy, and police, not to mention the judges, lawyers, etc., brought to bear upon such a shabby little trick! For indeed it takes all that to do it.

Ireland has carried the day in eloquence at least, and the speech of William O'Brien will be long remembered as a mark in the record of her rebellion. Mr. Balfour must receive the kind of praise for moral courage and self-restraint for not answering him the same evening, which a duellist does who manages to walk away from the field of honour without drawing his sword; it was almost *too* courageous. Doubtless he thought it well to wait till the effect of O'Brien's speech had worn off a little, but the alternative was not very happy after all, and the effect of O'Brien's speech remains.

The Liberals have at last won an undoubted victory in the big majority in Southwark; but the big majority still remains against them in the House of Commons, and they may chasten their exultation by remembering that Disraeli pulled the string of the shower-bath upon him owing to the encouragement which the Southwark bye-election of that year gave him.

In any case how will they spend the time between the time of the hope of office and its fulfilment? Probably in thinking of nothing political except electioneering; as for other matters they will go on hoping that "things will come round and be all square." If they were wise (as they are not), they would reflect that though the relief from the very worst to something not quite so bad will give them a chance of popularity, yet the present period of resolute government has bred discontent that is gathering hopes and ideas, and that a com-

promise with the Irish demands, followed by masterly inactivity, will not satisfy those hopes or smother the ideas; so that they also will have their own crop of discontent to deal with.

The reception of the prisoners of liberty on the evening of the 18th was most enthusiastic, and the meeting was in every way remarkable. It is needless to say that both Burns and Graham spoke heartily and to the purpose, though their voices had been thinned down by "prison discipline." Mr. Blane, M.P. (condemned to four months for the usual "crime"), made a very favourable impression on the meeting by a speech full of friendliness and good feeling, which was far more advanced and less national than the conventional Irish member's speeches are wont to be. The tremendous cheers that greeted him on rising, however, were obviously given to him as a rebel. It is worth noting also that while the cheers for the rebels, both Irish and English, nearly took the roof off the hall, Mr. Gladstone's name was only cheered by a small minority of those present, and that when the said minority seemed inclined to persist an ominous booning arose, which did not cease till the cheering ceased.

The meeting held on Monday to welcome Graham and Burns was a very remarkable one, and in most respects very satisfactory. But whatever differences of opinion there might be between different sections of the audience, some of them need reminding that a meeting assembled to defend freedom of speech should allow a hearing to any one who may differ from them, and that though they had a right to express their disapprobation of Hyndman's speech, they had no right to prevent other people hearing him. For the rest the fact to which he drew attention was obvious enough; it would have been strange indeed if the meeting had separated without noting that the Liberal and Radical members were conspicuous for their paucity,—if nobody had called attention to the conspiracy of silence on the part of the orthodox party (which aspires to be popular) on the subject of the Tory dragooning. Hyndman's indignation was felt by many other persons who had no opportunity of expressing it. W. M.

The reported secret understanding between this country and Italy, by which Lord Salisbury is said to have pledged the English navy to defend the Italian Court in the event of war, is, if true, as fraught with import for the fortunes of the Government as the Coercion Act itself. Should war break out, and France be involved, as she probably would be in the long run, the Briton might easily find the second navy in the world arrayed against him, and French gunboats and ironclads in unpleasant proximity to his "island home." A French invasion in the shape of a landing is a thing hardly to be thought of, but it is by no means unlikely that open coast towns like Brighton or even Liverpool might receive a few shells, sufficient in any case to make the "brass-headed jewesses" of the Queen of Watering-places and the self-made men of the northern metropolis feel a little queer. They doubtless only require to realise this fact in order to discover that a change of administration is indispensable to the interests of the country. E. B. B.

## PRISONERS FOR LIBERTY.

THE days of receptions here in England are only just beginning. We have had a whole week of them, beginning with Sullivan and O'Brien, and ending with Burns, Graham, Culwick, Leggett, and others. The gathering together of thousands of workers to greet them is a greater assurance that their labours are appreciated than the presentation of any number of illuminated addresses by political hacks ever could be.

There has been a most remarkable oneness of purpose about these magnificent demonstrations. Cunninghame Graham, on Saturday night "called upon every man, whether he called himself Radical, Socialist, Liberal, Communist, or even Tory, to take his part in the great Battle of Freedom which had commenced." And such a heterogeneous body as this has been fired with one purpose (the last-named element perhaps only to a very small extent)—the determination to secure, if not that full freedom for which Socialists labour, at any rate that out of which it must grow, namely freedom of assembly and freedom of speech.

Burns, Graham and others, have attempted to secure this small measure of freedom, and for so doing have been sent to prison, one of them with his skull cracked. Monstrous as this is, we are reminded

that their sufferings are small indeed compared with other champions of the cause of the people. We should be unworthy of the freedom we hope to enjoy did we not recognise this, and to the credit of Burns be it said, that he at any rate had courage enough to acknowledge that his month's imprisonment was as nothing to "the ten years' imprisonment of Michael Davitt, the two years of Ernest Jones, the fifty years of Blanqui, or the sufferings of Kropotkin." To and from prison these have gone, marking the way that labour shall win its own, and amidst chains, and shouts and tears, to and fro many more will go until life and liberty be won for all.

It is satisfactory to note how bludgeons and coercion are driving the workers all together, how it is making them march together behind one banner, be it green or red, recognising the mutuality of their interests, if only for the time being. Is this the beginning of that solidarity which must precede their triumph over privilege and monopoly? Surely yes; surely they at last begin to see the oneness of their cause! One thing their rulers see and they must see as well, and that is, that behind the question of free-speech lurks the great labour question. It is the rights of labour, that is the right to a good joyful life, which is at stake, the securing of which is only possible when the so-called rights of property no longer exist. Privilege and monopoly know this and hope to stave off extinction with the bayonet, bludgeon, and prison. And they will succeed if the workers do not rouse themselves and think and work. But these are stirring times, and the great arousing that is taking place just now is a sign that the struggle between the masses and the classes has at last begun in earnest. The tithe and crofter questions in Wales and Scotland, the land, unemployed, and free-speech questions in Ireland and England, are all manifestations of its beginning.

To win their rights the workers must voice their wrongs, and to do this they must meet in the public places that they may take council together; and whatever differences, small or great, they may have as to the end to be realised, they must first remove the barrier which stands between them and the righting of any of their wrongs. Our friends Graham and Burns have headed the way and done their best to remove it, and had there been "10,000" to follow them, all the king's horses and all the king's men could not have set up the humpty dumpty of Warren again. But their efforts have not been in vain; the repulse they have met has, to use the words of Graham, given the workers "a common cry for a common wrong," the end of which will not only be the vindication of the right to meet in Trafalgar Square and other public places, but the closer communion which the "common cry" has brought about will hold them together long after their first wrong has been righted—aye, likely until they have completely emancipated themselves.

It is only the ordinary political huckster that undervalues the vast importance of the present struggle, but men like Graham and Burns fully recognise it; and this they and nearly every speaker which followed them last Saturday night showed by pointing out that it is not freedom of speech that the classes fear, but what it must lead to.

The atmosphere which pervaded the great gathering which met to welcome Burns, Graham, Culwick, and others reeked with revolution, and this although the majority of the speakers were not professed revolutionists. Perhaps the spirit of revolution is contagious, else why was it that an ex-M.P. and an Irish Nationalist M.P. pronounced themselves so strongly for it? The fact of the matter is there has been much painful eye-opening going on lately outside the orthodox political camps, and a great widening of the mental vision in consequence. The workers are growing tired of lame old crawling and jog-trotting politicians, and are beginning to see the advisability of becoming their own political "knackers"; that it is time they did their own work, dirty or clean though it be; and in doing so they will make a deuce of a mess in the stable-yard of politics.

Those who stand in the vanguard of the battle for liberty, as all the men we have been welcoming from prison this last week do, are the friends of the people, and who when they are tried are not found wanting. And "these are the times that try men," and all the host of men who are in and have been in prison for championing the cause of the workers are indeed real soldiers of Freedom. They may not any of them come up to the Socialist ideal, but they are on the side of the workers, and it is the business of Socialists to keep them there. Sullivan, O'Brien, and Graham are not Socialists, but they are fighting their battles, and so long as they do it is the duty of Socialists to fight with them. The day of parting may never come, for the struggle for freedom may not be ended ere their lives.

H. A. BARKER.

## THE NEW ETHIC.

(Concluded from p. 51.)

THE highest expression of Socialist morality, Socialist religion, is of course the readiness to sacrifice all, even life itself, for the cause. In the new ethic of Socialism, moreover—and this is a thing to be noticed—we have for the first time in the world's history the *conscious* sacrifice of the individual to the social whole. In the case of the French National Guard before mentioned, we have the type of this true moral heroism. Early man was ready enough to fall for his tribe or gens, but then he had not awakened to the full consciousness of himself as an independent individual. He was so completely identified with his society that he could not conceive of his having an independent interest or even of life apart from it.

It is not so now. In the world of to-day the self-consciousness of

the individual *quid* individual is fully developed. The Paris workman consciously surrendered himself; the contradiction between the content of his moral personality and its form is absolute—the form succumbs. *La solidarité Humaine*, the Social ethic, has triumphed over Individualism, the Personal ethic. The Paris workman, in deliberately exposing himself to certain death, believing in no personal immortality, in no sort of continued existence for himself as individual, for the sake of the cause of human brotherhood, embodies the highest expression of the new ethic the world has yet seen. Martyrs to the individualist-introspective religions there have been without number, martyrs who believed that while their pain endured but for a moment, their joy would be everlasting—in brief, that their souls would rise to higher realms, their personality to union with the Divinity. All very fine, all very noble, doubtless, but without a gleam of aught but sublimated Individualism, and rarified self-seeking. How different the workman who died willingly for his class and through his class for Humanity!

Let us now take a glance once again at our Benthamite Utilitarian friends who see nothing in morality but self-interest. The belief that in the *ought* of conscience there is any element that is not personal and individual (the Spencerite modification of the theory by incorporating with it the notion of heredity does not affect my case)—this belief they tell you is an illusion, and in confirmation thereof point to the stamp of self-interest which every action on the part of the individual apparently bears upon its face. Now I contend that the illusion is on the other side, and consists in confounding the merely superficial form of the action with its *end*, the motive-material which is its content. This barren abstract form has deceived them. Their proceeding is exactly merely analogous to that of the metaphysician who thinks he has made a profound discovery when he has reduced everything to the barren category of Pure Being. Of course every action emanating from the individual bears on it the stamp of its source. But the enunciation of this singularly empty proposition leaves us exactly where we were. What the ordinary person means by self-interest is not merely that the action begins with the individual, but that it ends there, that its *telos* is the personality. As in a great many similar cases, by a verbal juggle two distinct things are confounded in one. To say that I am actuated by self-interest when I with others place myself in front of a mitrailleuse, with the dead certainty of having my empirical self annihilated, and without any belief in any immortality whatever,—to say that this is self-interest, that I do it to please myself, is either the flattest of all platitudes, or else it is a piece of the wildest Bedlamite nonsense. It may be either, according as we take it; the truth being that in this case the motive-material, the content of the action, has absorbed and abolished its form. The individual in that very act of Will by which he apparently affirms himself—"pleases himself"—*really* negates himself, contradicts himself, and *a fortiori* the interest or pleasure which is identified with himself. Of course the example chosen, that of the deliberate choice of immediate death for a cause into the realisation of which the individual as individual does not enter, is an extreme one, but the same principle holds good in the case of working for such a cause—that is, sacrificing personal pleasure and interest for results which we know we shall never see. Here, though the form of self-interest is not immediately abolished, the individual does not negate himself as in the former instance, yet nevertheless he supersedes his interest as individual, the material of impulses and motives proclaims the inadequacy of their form. The man who works for such a cause tacitly admits the inadequacy of himself as an end to himself. And this brings us back to the point from which we started, and therewith to our concluding summary of the results of this investigation.

First, then, we find that the meaning of the *ought* or of conscience, of the moral impulse, "moral sense," moral consciousness, or by whatever other name it may be called, is nothing more nor less than the implicit or explicit consciousness of the inadequacy of the individual and his interests as an end to himself. This consciousness is presupposed in the existence of Human Society at all. But while this fact is ultimate, the forms of it, the manifestation of the moral consciousness, no less than its object, are determined by the conditions of social and economic evolution. At first the "society of kinship" is the end of all duty, the individual implicitly conscious of his own inadequacy, is sunk in the society, knows and cares for no existence outside the society. This is from the Socialist point of view the highest morality which up till now has been generally prevalent in the world. But with the break-up of early society with its kinship basis, with the rise of the State with its property basis, and the leisure thence resulting, the old ethical object of the individual gradually lost its power. He no longer recognised his end in the society, but rather in himself—either as a natural individual or as a spiritual individual. Hence arose the two systems of Individualistic ethic, which, though infinitely varied, have remained fundamentally the same from then till now. On the one hand, amongst the well-to-do, you have, as it were, a light froth, the Epicurean-Benthamite ethic of enlightened self-interest. On the other the Stoic-Christian ethic of personal holiness and sin. This is fundamentally the same, whether in Neo-Platonist, Buddhist, Parsee, or Christian. It boasts an enormous literature, from the noble musings of a Marcus Aurelius, the Sermon on the Mount, and the 'Imitatio Christi,' down (and verily, great is the fall!) to the last goody-goody volume of edification issued by Messrs. Griffith and Farran or Nisbet & Co. The morality of the early world was a naively objective ethic; this is a naively subjective ethic.

The consciousness of a new meaning to the term goodness is now gradually dawning on men. The Christian and the introspectionist even (and this is one of the surest signs of a change) are driven on

the defensive and feel themselves compelled to try and read a social meaning into the personal ethics of their creed. The old ethical sentiment they instinctively feel has exhausted itself and is passing over into its opposite, although its form may remain intact. The end is now no longer self-renunciation, but the identification of self interest with social interest. Evil tendencies are on this view to be combatted rather by means of their exhaustion than their suppression. We are now beginning to see that any morality of which self-renunciation is an end, or even an essential element, is one-sided and fallacious. In a concrete ethic, self-sacrifice can never be more than an accident, the substance of such ethic consisting, as before said, not in the suppression of self, but in the affirmation of self in society. By this is not especially to be understood the "living for others" of the current Christian ethics, which at best means sacrificing oneself for other individuals, as such. What we mean is, we must again repeat, the identification of self with society, which in the first instance can only be effected by the identification of the material conditions of individual wellbeing with those of society.

Now at last, with the dawn of a new economic era—the era of social production for social uses—we have also the dawn of a new ethic, an ethic whose ideal is not personal holiness, but social happiness, for which the perfect individual is subordinate to the perfect society, and the test of personal character is not self-renunciation in the abstract, but the possession of social qualities and zeal for definite and positive social ends. This may be termed, in a sense, an absolute ethic. It is no longer naively objective, like the ethic of the primitive world, when the individual was unconscious of possible interests apart from the community; still less is it naively subjective, the attention of the individual being no longer primarily directed towards the mortification or the performance of other surgical operations on his wretched self, but towards the broad issues of social life and progress. In this new conception of duty the individual consciously subordinates himself to society, this time not a society of kinship, but of principle; not limited by frontier, but world-embracing. It recognises the call of duty, to do and to forbear, only in things which directly concern society—all actions not having an immediate social bearing being morally indifferent.

Thus in the new ethic the two previous ethical momenta are at once absorbed and abolished. The *naïveté* and the limitation of the first social ethic have passed away, never to return. The Individualism and the abstractness of the second have also passed away, never to return. The separation of ethics from politics, and both from religion, is finally abolished. In Socialism ethics become political, and politics become ethical, while religion is but the higher—that is, the more far-reaching—aspect of that sense of obligation, duty, and fraternity which is the ultimate bond of every-day society. Yet, nevertheless, all that was vital in the two earlier stages of the moral consciousness will be preserved in this one,—the social object of the first; the conscious definiteness of the second.

In treating the subject of Ethics, I might have proceeded very differently. I might have filled this paper with an account of various practices and customs drawn from every conceivable source—ancient and modern; savage, barbarian, and civilised—and in this way I should doubtless have pleased many. But this has been done often enough, and this was not my object. My object was, by indicating the salient points in a thorough-going analysis of the moral consciousness, to lead the reader to regard Ethic in its essential character and as embodied in the historical races, rather than as many do, content themselves with a mere co-ordination of the casual manifestations which are its temporary and local expressions. Again, I have purposely refrained from entering upon the speculative problems which lie on the confines of the subject. To treat such even in outline would require not one but a series of papers like the present. One very obvious question, for instance, arises as to the *telos* of society, and the connection between the moral consciousness and this *telos*. May we regard the inadequacy of the individual as an end to himself as the indication that the *final purpose* of society, as such, is not to be merely for the consciousness of its component personalities, but that they are in the end destined to be absorbed in a corporate social consciousness; just as the separate sentiency of the *organic* components of an animal or human body are absorbed in the unified sentiency and intelligence of that body? We leave this as a closing suggestion for those of a speculative turn of mind.

E. BELFORD BAX.

LETTER FROM AMERICA.

THE immense strike of the coal-miners is assuming a dangerous character—dangerous not for the men, who have nothing to lose but a miserable, wretched existence, but for the middle classes. The passions and hatred of the men are worked up to the highest pitch, and an explosion of a gigantic nature may be daily expected. Sharp strokes of lightning have flashed through the air and shown to an anxious public the terrible dark horizon. Rarely, even in America, a strike has happened where from its early beginning the strikers have assumed so determined and uncompromising an attitude.

Congress has at last been forced to show some interest in the matter, and resolved to appoint a committee to investigate the differences existing in the Lehigh and Schuylkill region of Pennsylvania between corporations mining coal and the miners, and report the same to the House, with such recommendations as the committee may agree upon.

Some mines have been started with scab labour. On the 31st of January the wives and daughters of the striking miners of the Glendower Colliery met the scabs now working at this mine. Each of the women carried in her hand a loaf of bread. A delegate woman of the crowd advanced and read

an address to the scabs about the shame of taking the place of their husbands and brothers, and offering to share their last crust with them. They then, as a proof of their earnestness, offered the loaves to the men, but the scabs thought it best to run away. The women, disgusted with such sneaking action, showered the loaves upon the heads of the running men and chased them to the miners' tram, which arrived just in time to take the sneaks out of the reach of their female pursuers. This was the first collision during the strike. A public meeting was held soon after this episode, and the action of the women endorsed.

The place is swarming with police, detectives, and Pinkertons. At the few mines restarted, all the scabs work under police surveillance. On the 3rd of February the ill-feeling created by the importation of foreign labour into the coal-regions to take the place of strikers has caused the first fight between the police and the strikers. The Polish and Lithuanians engaged in the strike are especially very bitter against all the scabs, and can with difficulty only restrain their angry feelings. When the scabs were leaving work to go home, it seems some stones were thrown at them from a crowd watching their departure. The coal and iron police at once attacked the people and arrested one man, who, however, was speedily liberated by his friends. After this the police at once drew their revolvers, firing into the crowd and seriously injuring three men. The police retired to the office of Squire Monaghan, but were pursued by the people, demanding the surrender of two of the policemen, desiring to lynch them. The house was stormed, and with difficulty the law and order murderers made their escape through the windows. Special officers, or rather legalised murderers, and all the fire companies in the district, were sworn in by the sheriff. Another outbreak occurred on the 4th of February. The scabs returning from work from William Penn colliery had to pass through a crowd of strikers. A few stones were again thrown at the sneaks, which made the cowardly men scatter in all directions. The police at once again drew their revolvers, and as one capitalistic paper says, "when they got right in front of the strikers they halted and facing them, pointed their revolvers at them, most of them having two. The crowd of spectators watched with bated breath for the flash of fire that would send at least a score of the men to eternity—but it did not come. Just as the officers were about to fire, the captain raised his hand and the revolvers fell by their sides. The mob stood still all the time but did not even speak." The scabs had by this time managed to escape, and the police thought it best to follow their example. The strikers, now excited beyond endurance, followed the bluecoats and hurled some stones at them. Then the police halted again, faced the men, and fired. The strikers fired back, and about forty shots were exchanged. Nobody, however, received any serious injury. The police soon after managed to disappear. Half an hour later about sixty policemen armed with repeating rifles appeared upon the scene, but the strikers had gone home; there was no chance to slaughter starving people.

For the last three days no bloodshed has happened, but the excitement in the district is intense, and a feeling of indignation against the police general.

The Wyoming miner delegates have finished their session in Pittston. The closing hours of the convention were marked by considerable enthusiasm, which was intensified by an address from John L. Lee, the leader of the Schuylkill strike. The delegates adopted a resolution making an immediate demand upon the coal companies of Wyoming and Lackawanna valleys for an increase in wages of 15 per cent. An answer to this demand is expected on the 20th of this month. The delegates voted 7000 dollars to support the strikers and promised 8000 additional. Each man will contribute a day's wages per month.

The velvet cutters who were imported under contract last spring by the Compton Company, Providence, R.I., are on strike, claiming the contract void and demanding decent wages.

The shoe manufacturers of Cincinnati at a secret meeting of their association, decided to lock out their three thousand employes because the latter decided to send a committee to one firm and demand the payment of wages due twelve girls which the firm refused to pay, after it had been well earned.

A dispatch from Pittsburg says: "As was feared, a collision occurred this evening (the 4th inst.) between the non-union men at the Solar Iron Works and the strikers, in which three persons were injured."

The Speaker of the House has not yet been able to form the committee to investigate the coal trouble. A dozen or more prominent members have begged off.

On the 6th of February the non-union men in Pittsburg were stoned by the strikers.

Thirty-eight families of the striking New York cigar-makers must leave their homes; evictions flourish as much in America as in Ireland.

The strike against the employment of children under the prohibited age in the cotton factories of Cornwall, Ont., continues.

All the carpenters in Pittsburgh, Pa., have asked for an advance of 10 per cent. in wages and "a nine-hour day," with payment for overtime.

The masons strike at Pittsburgh has been settled pending an arrangement to be made May 1.

Several large tube-work concerns in the vicinity of Pittsburgh, Pa., have decided to reduce the wages of their employes, and a strike involving 6,000 men is threatened.

LIST OF STRIKES FOR JANUARY.

Number of strikers reported, Jan. 1 to 25	36,337
26...Milwaukee, Wis.—Brewery employes, unionism	60
28...Paterson, N. J.—Newspaper employes, for an advance and fewer hours	25
29...Pittsburgh, Pa.—Tube works employes, lock-out because of refusal to accept a reduction of wages	500
Total number of strikers known to January 30	36,922

LIST OF STRIKES FOR FEBRUARY.

1...Pittsburgh, Pa.—Wire mill employes, against reduction	390
1...Cincinnati, Ohio.—Shoe hands, lock-out because of alleged violation by employees of agreement with manufacturers	3,300
Total number of strikers known to February 1	3,300

New York, February 8, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

In the Pennsylvania strike many thousands of men are idle, and their families suffering from hunger and cold, all by the obstinacy of a few wealthy men, whose income from these industries is each year a fortune.—N. Y. Truthseeker.



## CORRESPONDENCE.

## "PRACTICAL" SOCIALISTS.

COMRADE MORRIS seems to be trying to scare some of us with the word "Practical" between inverted commas; but I who have by turns been denounced as Conservative and Communist for a good few years, am little likely to be frightened by this new bogey. It is true that it is the so-called "one-sided Socialist" who is attacked, and therefore I am not obliged to "put on the cap"; but it is rather with what is implied—with the mental attitude of the writer, in short—that I take issue. With a score or so of ambiguous lines deleted, comrade Morris's article remains simply a poet's plea for recognition as a factor in the making of the Revolution; and I am therefore compelled, in order to raise an issue between us, to state my views rather in the form of a counterblast than of a criticism. I would point out, too, that really the only indictment he has made against the "practical" Socialist—for although he instances two "traps" or pitfalls, he himself afterwards resolves them into this one unpardonable sin—is this, that the "practical" Socialist insists on reading the life of the present into his conception of the society of the future; and I would say thereon that this point relates to a difference in ideal, and as I understand, the difference between the "Practical" and the "Micawber" Socialists is not so much a difference of ideal, but rather as to the best way of realising their common ideal.

As to the charge of one-sidedness, I fail to perceive how it applies to the too exclusive advocate of the economic view of Socialism, more forcibly than to the Socialist whose vision is focussed on the far-distant future. But it by no means follows that because one does the work that lies nearest to his hand, that therefore he is unable to picture to himself the good time coming of which comrade Morris writes so charmingly. There are few "Practical" Socialists, I venture to think, any more than myself, who would be likely to find much fault with his ideal society. (Possibly there might be some little details as to water-mills, etc., to be adjusted, but nothing very serious.) It is not, however, with "brilliant pictures of the future," but with the bare and ugly present that I as a "Practical" Socialist am most nearly concerned. I hold that a true revolutionist is one who combines a cool head with a warm heart, who is able to bring something of the fervour of a fanatic to bear upon the ordinary every-day life of his own generation. Faith without works is dead. It has always appeared to me something of a cowardly policy to simply stand aloof, and carp and cavil and criticise the efforts, blundering though they be, of those who strive to realise for the workers of to-day a foretaste at least of the blessings which Socialism has in store.

The Unpractical Socialists—the apostles of inaction, or deferred action—seem to me to be for the most part, either extreme theorists, who are content to go on "educating and agitating" indefinitely, like so many John the Baptists crying in the wilderness, hoping and waiting for the day when all mankind shall accept the true gospel; or the younger, more ardent, and impatient spirits, with somewhat hazy notions who often deal largely in denunciation, who do not take kindly to a "wait-for-the-crisis" policy, but console themselves for their forced inaction with the belief that some day soon they will carry Socialism with a rush.

I hold that a truly Socialistic Society can only be established and administered by Socialists—that is to say, by men and women imbued with the spirit of *solidarity*, of fraternity and equality—who are prepared to work together for the common weal, foregoing the spirit of domination and desire for self-aggrandisement engendered by the present horrible wolfish struggle for existence. Until there is at least a well-organised and compact and determined and intelligent minority, prepared to take control and carry on the necessary business of the community, it is of little use to clamour for the overthrow of the exploiting classes. Wretched and abominable as are the results of the present haphazard, disorganised, competitive mode of production and distribution of commodities, it is at least doubtful whether if it was forcibly overthrown to-morrow we should, with the ignorance and incapacity now so widespread amongst the masses of the people, be able to much improve matters. It is all very well to cry out and declaim against those who rob and rule us, to denounce the rapacity and oppression of our task-masters, and to call upon the bourgeoisie to surrender their unjust power to extort and impoverish the workers. But to whom are they to surrender? If conscience-smitten, by one consent the whole host of exploiters should cry, "Relieve us of the burden of our iniquity," to whom are they to deliver up their functions? Of course, in the vanity of our hearts we say, "Oh, things could not be possibly worse managed than they are," and with a light heart, and a light head too, I am inclined to think, some of the more youthful and exuberant enthusiasts would at once dash themselves upon the citadel of Capitalism. It may be well to remind these too heedless and impatient spirits that the walls of Jericho did not fall till the trumpet blast had sounded seven times, and that the modern Jericho will not tumble to the tootings of a penny whistle.

It is useless for the mere handful who form the advance-guard of the revolutionary forces to precipitate a conflict with the organised power of the monopolists. Until the main body—the mass of the workers—are leavened with the spirit of Socialism, and are marching in line towards the enemy, they but invite their own destruction by so doing, and would but delay the accomplishment of the overthrow

of Capital and the final Emancipation of Labour, which is the end we all seek, however diverse may be the means chosen by which to realise it.

The Cause of the workers is not to be won by a sudden rush, by a tumultuous outburst—a mere revolt. Such uprisings, doubtless, are inevitable, and will compel our sympathy. But even as we admire the heroic charge of the six hundred at Balaklava, notorious blunder as it was, so also our sober reason enables us to perceive that a revolt is not a revolution, and however successful as a destructive force, can achieve even at the utmost a mere change of governors instead of the Co-operative Commonwealth we desire.

There are, however, persons who seem unable to conceive of the Social Revolution except as a sudden transformation from darkness into light, a complete overthrow and dislocation of everything, out of which is to emerge full-blown the ideal commonwealth, as a matter of course apparently, without any preparation, since the workers are to abstain from any attempt to better their condition or to take part in the administration of public affairs,—all such things being merely palliatives, and of course to be looked upon as unclean by the true believer.

It is all very well for people in comfortable circumstances to go in for the "whole hog," to deprecate the vulgar comfort of the middle classes, and to make light of ameliorative changes in the condition of the workers. But those whose daily life is brightened and made happier and more hopeful by these little changes so slightly spoken of are not likely to be favourably influenced by the abstract notions of doctrinaires. "A bird in the hand," etc. The workers have been told by those whose function it is to administer spiritual consolation, that their privations in this life will be compensated in heaven; and it seems to me to be pretty much the same thing to ask them to forego an advantage within their grasp for the promise of a beatific state of society in the indefinite future. Of course it may be urged that the motive in one case is to produce submission and in the other to provoke revolt; but this line of policy if logically carried out is both cruel and dangerous, and unjustifiable. It is assumed to be essential to keep the masses of the people uncomfortable in order to keep up the revolutionary spirit. What does this really mean? Why, that the more ignorant, foolish, and fanatical proletarians are to be manipulated by the theoretical revolutionists, who, being of superior metal, I suppose are not corrupted by the aforesaid bourgeois comfort, and so are not called upon to deprive themselves of a single luxury meanwhile. The attitude of those who reason and act in this way is essentially the same as the reactionists. The question of motive is of little importance to the workers. Some employers are accustomed to give lofty reasons for the employment of women at cheap rates and for their preference for non-union labour, but their professions are generally received with an incredulous shrug of the shoulders; and there is danger of some of our comrades having their action misunderstood when it takes the form of antagonism to progressive movements which may not be exactly on the lines they would like.

Advanced principles that are not put in action are of little value to the workers. Ideals are but as beacons to guide us on the path of progress; but the mere knowledge of the end to be desired will profit us little so long as we delay to take the preliminary steps towards the accomplishment of our wishes. But it is illogical to suppose that we can prevent the leaven of Socialism working and so modifying the various institutions of the country. It seems to me, therefore, much more rational to follow the course of evolution, forbearing with those who do not come up to the level of our "superior" intelligence, and recommending our more advanced views by our earnestness and fidelity in helping forward everything tending honestly in the direction of Socialism.

It seems to me that nothing but good can result from such procedure. Those who are convinced of the truth of our doctrines will not need the spur of hunger to make them fight if need be. Whether or no the transition from our present degraded society, as so vividly portrayed by comrade Morris, to the communal form which is our common ideal be brought about or accompanied by conflicts between the masses and the classes, it cannot be gainsaid that the turmoil of the transitional period will be considerably lessened and the blessings of the new era be sooner realised in proportion as the workers begin to formulate their desires and to agree upon some common course of action. It is because I believe this consummation, so devoutly to be wished, can best be achieved by improving the material condition of the poorer classes, that I hold myself free to use any and every means calculated to attain this object.

I have of course in this reply only affirmed the policy of political action as against the negative. The nature of such action, and many other points in comrade Morris's article, would form profitable themes for discussion in these columns by other comrades.

T. BINNING.

[Comrade Binning having found some fault with my article, I asked him as Editor to put his animadversions in writing: I must say there is very little in his letter which I should quarrel with; but it seems to me beside the subject of my article, which does not profess to deal with the methods by which either transitional Socialism or the completed communal society is to be attained. To clear up any misunderstanding there may be between us, I should say that my remarks were meant as words of warning to those, on the one hand, who are blind to the ideal which we have before us, and to those, on the other hand, who seeing and knowing that ideal, are afraid to put it before persons lest they should startle them too much. I never supposed that comrade Binning belonged to either of those groups, the latter of which are composed almost wholly of middle-class persons: as to the former, I think it of great importance to put the highest ideal before them, so as to encourage them to the utmost.—W. M.]

# THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

**THREATENED STRIKE OF 100,000 MEN.**—The colliers of South-East Lancashire, who number nearly 100,000, have given notice that their present engagement will terminate at the end of February if the masters do not abate the deduction made for "dirt" sent up with coal.

The employers in the Leeds building trade have given the men six months' notice to abolish or amend the present working rules, with a view, it is stated, of proposing an increase of four working hours per week. The men have also given a similar notice for the purpose of asking for an increase in wages.

**THE LOCKMAKERS' STRIKE AT WILLENHALL.**—The lockmakers who are on strike at the factory of Messrs. J. Payton and Co., Walsall Street, Willenhall, still continue to receive liberal support from other lock factories. The total sum collected for the men during last week was £29. The suggestion of settling the dispute by arbitration has fallen through, and the men now seem determined not to restart work unless the town's prices are paid.

**FIFESHIRE MINERS' STRIKE.**—The miners' strike in Fife and Clackmannan against a 10 per cent. reduction is said to have collapsed on Saturday; but a number of the men apparently are still holding out and the masters threaten a lock-out if they do not at once return to work. The capitalist press says the miners had little chance to gain in the dispute, seeing the coal-owners have from 300,000 to 400,000 tons of coal accumulated at the pit-head. Why did the men allow this?

**EMPLOYERS AND THE POOR LAWS.**—The *Cotton Factory Times* reports a curious instance of the way in which the administrators of the Poor Laws play into the hands of the employers. Mr. Catlow, at Garden Vale, Colne, is in want of weavers to take the place of those on strike. The Guardians of the Burnley Union finding that there were in the workhouse some people who had been weavers at some time or other, actually sent them to Mr. Catlow with a letter of introduction. It is satisfactory to learn that they did not turn up as expected.

**MINERS' AGITATION IN SOUTH WALES.**—The employés of the Ocean Colliery Company, South Wales, numbering between five and six thousand hands, decided at a mass meeting on Monday to join the Rhondda Valley Steam Coal Miners' Association. Mr. Abraham, M.P., attended the meeting. Several important resolutions were adopted, and the secretary was directed to send to the general manager of the Ocean Colliery Company a resolution calling upon the management to carry out the timbering clauses of the Mines Regulation Act. It was also resolved to support the views of the workmen's representatives on the South Wales Sliding Scale Committee that colliers should not be called upon to stow away rubbish, but simply to give it "one throw."

**A NOBLE EMPLOYER.**—A female weaver employed at one of the oldest mills in Bacup, was on Friday discharged by one of the tacklers because her eyesight was dim, her fingers had lost their nimbleness, and she could only earn very low wages on her three looms, and she did well if she got nine shillings per week. As she had worked at the mill nearly 30 years, she took matters rather hard, and was advised to see the master. She went to his mansion along with two other weavers, and on seeing her he exclaimed, "Well, Sally, what's up now?" She commenced crying, and said she had been sacked, after working for him and his father for 30 years. "Who says so?" says the master. "Th' tackler," says she. "Oh, that's the game, is it? Here's summat to dry th' tears with (giving her a sovereign), and be at th' looms in th' morning, and stop there as long as I live."—*Cotton Factory Times*.

**PICKETING IN THE SHOE TRADE.**—An important case as to picketing has occurred in the boot and shoe trades at Leicester, and will come before the assizes for settlement. Mr. Edward Kell, president of the National Boot and Shoe Trades Union, was charged with intimidating Mr. J. E. Hyde from manufacturing boots and shoes. It appeared at the investigation before the magistrates that Mr. Hyde has a branch factory at Sibley, about ten miles from Leicester, and pays the country workmen lower wages than those in town. The Leicester factory was closed for several months until the standard rate of wages should be conceded. On Mr. Hyde attempting to open the factory the workmen were stopped by pickets, and therefore business could not be carried on. At interviews it was explained that the unionist leaders demanded that the factory at Sibley be closed. The defendant was committed for trial at the Assizes, and the case, when it comes on, will be one of great interest to trade unionists.

**MAGISTRATES AND THE FACTORY ACTS.**—The *Cotton Factory Times*, commenting on a "glaring instance of antipathy against imposing a suitable penalty for serious breach of the law" at Oldham, says: "As a rule magistrates, at least most of them, are far from being disposed to assist the factory inspectors in putting down the illegal practices to which limited companies seem so fond of resorting. A spinning company, which has previously been convicted twice for offences against the Factory Act, was again recently caught infringing the law by employing a number of reelers during prohibited hours. The inspector took a few names, but could have taken many more had he wished to do so. He was also obstructed in the execution of his duties by the lights being turned out, contrary to his instructions, for which he could have made out a case, but elected not to do so in the interest of the company. By way of an example, and to make an impression on the management to be more careful in the future, and to adhere to the law, he asked that a fine of £3 each and costs should be inflicted in two cases and costs in the remainder, but to his surprise and regret the bench only agreed to inflict a fine of 10s. and costs in each case. The inspectors are at one with the operatives in declaring that an alteration in the law is desirable, so as to take the power out of the hands of the magistrates in fixing the amount of penalty when a case has been proved, and such cases as these only tend to increase such a feeling."

**VALUE OF UNIONISM.**—A surprise has sprung upon a mill manager and his mule overlooker, as well as upon the minders employed under him. From what has been communicated to us, we gather that at a well-known spinning company in the Chadderton district, near Oldham, the manager and the mule overlooker, who are said to be two genial and comfortable men to work with, set about the task of calculating the prices, and both were of opinion that the prices paid were too high, and wanted reducing to the terms of the list. They accordingly agreed upon what would be a fair reduction to propose to the minders, and gave them one week's notice to pay the new prices. The men informed the committee of the union of the proposed alteration of

prices, and the matter was investigated by the officers of the association, who found that, instead of a reduction, the men were entitled to an advance, and such advance has been paid on all the woff mules in the mill. This is an instance of the value of unionism, as the men would undoubtedly have had to accept the proposals made to them if they had not been assisted by a union. Although, as was admitted by the manager, the proposed reduction was made under a misapprehension, it would not have been found out had the men not been connected with the union. Such cases as these do more good to unionism than all the lecturing and writing which can be done in favour of the cause, and the more such cases are made known the better for those who are trade unionists.—*Cotton Factory Times*.

**THE NUT AND BOLT MAKERS.**—Last week a meeting was held in Darlaston to consider the advisability of a general strike and demanding the list price of 1881. Mr. R. Juggins occupied the chair, and in opening the meeting said he and the workmen concerned in the Truck cases had that day waited upon the solicitor to the association and given the necessary information, so that the summonses under the Truck Act would be issued in a few days. He also said that in his opinion the best way to bring about a more speedy settlement of the present dispute was to give a general notice to every employer in the town to demand wages in accordance with the list of 1881 without any discount. This would simply mean the restoration of the 5 per cent. that was taken off the workmen in 1885. Mr. John Richards, chairman of the Executive Council, said he was very pleased to find that the Darlaston nut and bolt makers had been so staunch in supporting the men on strike at D. Harper's without any outside help. A general discussion then took place as to the best means of bringing about a settlement of the present strike. It was stated that other employers were supplying Mr. David Harper with work, and as a consequence the strike may be protracted for a long time. It was agreed "That this meeting considers it most advisable that the opinion of the whole of the members should be ascertained upon the question of demanding wages to be paid in accordance with the list of 1881, and in case the employers refuse, that a meeting be held on Thursday next to decide upon the advisability of a general strike."

**THE MINERS AND THEIR MEMBERS' SALARIES.**—A meeting of the delegates of the Northumberland miners was held on Saturday at Newcastle, the principal business being to discuss resolutions respecting the salaries of Messrs. Burt and Fenwick, M.P.'s, which it was recently decided by ballot should not in future be paid out of the funds of the union. It was agreed after much discussion that voting papers be again issued and a fresh ballot taken in the county. A Northumberland correspondent writes:—"The objection to the payment of the M.P.'s is not founded on any differences of opinion on political subjects, or on the injustice inflicted on the Conservative element among the miners, strong as that element may be, so much as on the unwavering allegiance of the M.P.'s, to the leaders of the Liberal party. While the body of the miners can see no differences of principle, except on the question of Home Rule, between the regular Liberal party and the Conservative party, the labour M.P.'s allow questions of the most vital importance to the miners to remain in the background in order to suit the party interests. The miners' representatives will denounce with all the eloquence they can command the high charges made as royalty rents and wayleaves when addressing meetings of miners; but for some reason or other they will not take up the time of the House of Commons with a discussion on the question. While the House is spending weeks over the Irish question, no word is uttered by the labour members about the distress at home, although in the large towns it is not less severe than in Ireland. Land is going out of cultivation, the sweating system is regarded by some classes of workmen as a crying evil, yet the labour M.P.'s have no word to say on these matters in the House of Commons. On the pressing question of the immigration of pauper labour, they have no solution to offer. Clearly men like Mr. Cunningham Graham, Mr. Conybeare, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, and Mr. S. Mason are of far greater value to the miners than the so-called labour representatives, and these men require no salaries. This aspect of the question is being pressed on the miners' notice by the Socialists, and the miners are discussing it very quietly and very earnestly."

Mr. Bradlaugh in reply to a question the other day, said it was heart-breaking to see over one hundred strong young crofters compelled by Lady Matheson to leave their native land; still the question had two sides, and he would not like to interfere with the "liberty of the individual." Wonderful and monstrous wisdom! Mr. Bradlaugh would allow Lady Matheson to compel the crofters to emigrate, but he would not compel Lady Matheson to allow them to stay at home, even though their forced expatriation should be heart-breaking. How true it is that we have but one law for rich and poor in this land!—*Minor*.

**THE "LABOUR TRIBUNE" AND THE NORTHUMBERLAND MINERS.**—The *Labour Tribune* appears to have reversed the old Radical watchword "Measures not men," in its anxiety to serve Messrs. Burt and Fenwick. In an article last week on "The Miners of Northumberland and their Members of Parliament," the writer runs amuck against all and sundry who do not worship his little gods. Reference is made to certain "sneaking, cowardly, secret-working spirits" who are charged with wishing to deprive the miners of a voice in Parliament. The writer says: "Why these malicious people seek this end we know not, nor care to ascertain; but it is plain on which side the loss will fall if it be attained. The prime movers are not within the ranks of the miners, and they would do well to hesitate before they give sanction to the teaching, whether done directly, or by base innuendo. It would suit the maligners if the miners were voiceless; but what would be the results to those whose wrongs can only be remedied by men who speak with feelings and ideas formed in the same rough, but effective, school?" Observe the *Tribune* does not know why these people act as they do, nor does it care to inquire, and yet it takes upon itself to pass judgment. This is strange language and behaviour for a journal which claims to be in the van of progress. It is really too ridiculous of the *Tribune* to keep on telling us that the miners have no option but to support the present members or be voiceless. I scarcely need tell the readers of the *Commonweal* that the "malicious people" hinted at are the Socialists who have very properly taken Messrs. Burt and Fenwick to task for their very "soft fighting." Mr. Fenwick's attitude towards Socialism, too (feebly echoing Mr. Bradlaugh's fallacies) does not seem to have made a very favourable impression on the "sturdy miners" who do their own thinking. They appear to be fast arriving at the conviction that Socialism is not a "calamity" to be averted, but a blessing to be welcomed. It would be much better if the *Tribune* would face the facts fairly instead of whimpering and trying to obscure the main issue with all sorts of reckless and foolish imputations.

T. BIRNIE.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

## BELGIUM.

Belgium last week lost one of the veterans of the Social Revolutionary Cause, Désiré Brismée, compositor and printer at Brussels. He was born at Ghent, in 1821, but in his early youth came to the capital and never since left it. He has always been a straightforward Socialist, also devoting a great deal of his time in spreading among the working-classes the gospel of Atheism and Materialism. During more than forty years he has been at work, day by day organising the various worker's trades, encouraging his fellow comrades by his most persuasive and manly eloquence, and very often courageously suffering for the defence of the rights and the interests of the people. Not only was he a splendid organiser and an inspired tribune, but as a sound thinker and a popular writer he was equal to the best. As far back as 1848 he was editor of the Socialist paper, *Le Drapeau* (The Flag), when he was sentenced to eighteen months of imprisonment. He was one of the founders of *Les Solidaires*, a society of Socialist Freethinkers who have struck many a blow on the reactionary parties of Belgium. In 1861, *La Tribune du Peuple* (The People's Tribune) was created by his and his friend's endeavours, and for long years was the most advanced organ of the Belgian democracy, and a forerunner of the doctrines of the International Association of Working-men. When in 1864 this great association was inaugurated at London, Brismée was amongst the first Socialists who organised the Belgian branch of the same, and from its very beginning to the end of its existence was in office as a member of the Belgian General Council. He represented Belgium at several International Congresses, so at Basel, Lausanne, Brussels, the Hague, etc., and contributed very actively to its official organ, *L'Internationale*, from 1868 to 1873. At the time of the defeat of the Commune, Brismée's house became the very home of the Parisian exiles, when side by side with his admirable wife, a keen-hearted matron of olden type and of strong revolutionary sense, he helped them one and all through the first struggles of a new existence. None of them, I feel sure, will ever forget "Father and Mother Brismée," as they used to call their generous friends. The Belgian workers, too, in every nook of the land, will always keep in remembrance the name of Désiré Brismée as one of the most devoted and ablest forerunners of the cause of social, political, and religious emancipation.

A few days ago, a full pardon was granted at Brussels to one Vander-smissen, a barrister and clerical member of Parliament, sentenced to fifteen years hard labour for the murder of his wife. This well-to-do assassin has not done one single day of "hard labour," but has been confined at the prison of Mons for a few months only, receiving his friends all day long in a "saloon," writing and smoking and drinking fine wines as much as he liked, receiving his meals from a first-class hotel in the town, and so forth. And yet our comrades of the mining strikes of 1886, who were sentenced for crimes committed not by them, but by Society and its murderous institutions, who are really victims and not criminals, are still at hard labour in the real meaning of the word, and not likely to be amnestied before a long time, in spite of all the manifestations already made on their behalf. Every day that our friends Falleur, Schmidt, and their comrades pass in jail is a renewed outrage to justice, and we earnestly urge upon our Belgian co-workers in the Cause not to rest until all these victims of an execrated commercialism are set at liberty.

## HOLLAND.

One of the largest china-ware making firms of Holland, and almost of Europe, Regout and Co., at Maastricht, is at the same time one of the most brutal and cruel to their workers. Week after week they reduce their miserable wages under pretence of foreign competition, and now they replace as far as they possibly can adult by infant labour. The students of the University of Utrecht, in order to help the wage-slaves to resist that stupid system, have unanimously resolved to refuse to take any longer their meals served in plates manufactured at Regout's works, and they are going to persuade their fellow-students of the Dutch Universities to do the same. That's not very much perhaps, but at any rate it is a good token of sympathy and solidarity coming from quarters where solidarity and sympathy with the workers are not very often found.

At Almelo (Overijssel), an important manufacturing centre, the spinner-masters have decided to reduce the already very low wages of their "hands." A big strike has been the immediate result, and for some weeks past the slaves have refused to accept any reduction whatever. Relief funds are sent to them from all parts of Holland, and they intend keeping on to the utmost. Another reason of the strike is that these exploiters, being also shopkeepers, force their workers to provide themselves with all the necessaries of life at the master's shops. This also they won't accept any longer, claiming to be free to spend their miserable wages where they like. It needs not to be added that Almelo is occupied by the military, who are to settle, at first call and in their own way, the relations between capital and labour. We hope the workers will succeed, aided as they are by their comrades all over the country.

A new paper has been started last week at Amsterdam, entitled *Multatuli*, this being the *nom de plume* of Douwes Dekkers, the famous Dutch Socialist philosopher who died some months ago. It is to be a weekly organ, and each number will be accompanied by a cartoon. Go ahead, friends!

It is stated by *Recht voor Allen* (Right for All), that F. Domela Nieuwenhuis has accepted to stand as a candidate for the Dutch Parliament at the forthcoming election in the district of Schoterland. I very heartily wish that our distinguished comrade may run aground on the job!

## GERMANY.

Bismark and Puttkammer, who have been convicted of using damnable means and shameful tricks in the prosecution of Socialism, and who had prepared a new scheme exceeding even the existing laws, have not succeeded in their diabolical plans. Thanks to the scandalous revelations of comrades Singer and Bebel the new law has not passed, and the old one, which is bad enough, is to be prolonged for two years.

The German Socialists have had a heavy loss in the person of Dr. Adolph Douai, who was born on February 22, 1817, at Altenburg, and who died a month ago at New York, where he acted as chief editor of the Socialist newspaper, *New Yorker Volkszeitung* (New York People's Gazette). Dr. Douai studied at Leipzig until 1841, and went afterwards to Russia, living as a private teacher. In the year 1846 he came back again to his native place, founded there a lyceum, which was very flourishing at the time of the outbreak of the Revolution of 1848. The prominent part he took in public affairs at that time brought as a first result ruin to this institution; he was

sent three times to prison, and besides tried five times for high treason, but always dismissed. In 1852, Douai and his family emigrated to America, and went first to New Braunfels, Texas, where he established a pro-gymnasium, and also became the editor of the *San Antonio Zeitung*, in which he vigorously struggled against slavery. After having suffered very much indeed at the hands of the slave proprietors, he was obliged in 1866 to leave Texas for Boston, where he created a new institution and founded the first American *Kindergarten*, which still exists. At the instigation of Carl Summer, he became a deputy to the National Convention of Detroit, and there, with his friend Carl Schurz, worked very actively to bring about the nomination of Abraham Lincoln as President of the United States. He soon became a mortal foe to the clerical party and to the Boston puritans, and after several severe struggles which lasted for years, he was finally compelled to leave the place and went to New York, where at first he found an occupation as editor of the *New York Democrat*. In 1861, he created at Hoboken, near New York, the German-American Academy, which is said to be the best school throughout America, and which he presided over for more than six years. He afterwards, in 1868, became chief editor of the *Arbeiter Union* (Union of the Workers), and on the 28th of January, 1878, he entered in the same capacity the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, and remained there until his death. He has laboured very hard and with some good results in two fields of human activity, where work is difficult and enjoyment rare, viz., the education of the youth and the organisation and instruction of the people, and he deserves to be cheerfully remembered by all those who have at heart the final triumph of the ideas of justice and equality.

## ITALY.

Socialists in all countries are preparing for the commemoration of the Paris Commune of 1871, but not everywhere do they commemorate it in the same manner. For instance, our Italian friends have found the following way, and to my mind at least it is not a bad one. On the 22nd of last month, the revolutionary organisations of Milano decided to pass around subscription lists among all the Socialist groups, and to divide the monies so collected in equal parts between all existing Italian revolutionary papers, taking advantage of this distribution to recommend the various schools of Socialist thought to avoid in the future all personal and intestine war, as this only tends to weaken instead of strengthening the cause of Revolution at large.

V. D.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING MARCH 3, 1888.

26	Sun.	1786. D. F. Arago born. 1797. Banks suspended cash payments 1848. French Republic proclaimed.
27	Mon.	1534. "Kingdom of God" established in Münster. 1854. Lamennais died.
28	Tues.	1869. De Lamartine died. 1878. Insurrection in Thessaly.
29	Wed.	1887. Unemployed attend St. Paul's Cathedral; 3,094 police present.
1	Thur.	1769. Williams pilloried for publishing <i>North Briton</i> . 1789. J. R. McCulloch born.
2	Fri.	1629. Speaker held in chair while Commons passed motion condemning the king's policy. 1882. Attempt to shoot the Queen.
3	Sat.	1756. W. Godwin born. 1848. Louis Philippe as "Mr. Smith" landed in England. 1861. Serfdom abolished in Russia. 1879. W. K. Clifford died.

*Banks suspended cash payments.*—Macbeth: "How now, you secret, black, and midnight hags! what is't you do?" Witches: "A deed without a name." Such would have been the correct answer of the members of the King's Privy Council on Sunday February 25, 1797, for on that day was perpetrated a shameful swindle. When the Bank of England closed Saturday evening it was practically bankrupt; there had been a run; gold was going out at a pace which would have made the bullion-chest empty within a few hours of reopening on Monday morning. The governors therefore persuaded Pitt to call a special Cabinet Council on the Sunday, and an Order in Council was issued that the bank was to forbear issuing gold till the sense of parliament was taken on the question. It has been calculated that on the 25th Feb. the bank's liabilities on notes in circulation only was £8,540,250, while the total amount of cash and bullion in the bank was only £1,270,000. The Ten Hours Bill, the Factory Act, took thirty-three years of agitation; how speedily governments can act when against the general good of the public was proved in this case. To hold a special meeting of the Privy Council on Sunday, issue an order to take effect next morning, to draft, read, pass both Houses, and to receive royal assent, all this can be done in a few weeks; for on May 3rd the 38 Geo. 3, ch. 1, turned the Restriction Act, received royal assent. The Great National Swindle Act was to remain in force for fifty-two days; on June 22, two days before the expiration of that term, it was renewed till one month after the next session of parliament; it has been renewed again and again, and the gigantic National Debt, the devilmint of the funding system, and the stock exchange swindle, and the evils of credit trading and debt, national and domestic, may be really said to date from 25 Feb., 1797.—T. S.

*Attempt on the Queen.*—As the Queen with the Princess Beatrix was getting into her carriage at Windsor station on returning from London, she was fired at by a man named Roderick Maclean; no damage done, even to the bystanders. Maclean was at once arrested, and on the 19th of April tried for high treason, being acquitted on the ground of insanity and ordered to be confined during "Her Majesty's pleasure." Thus fell to the ground many hopes of fixing "plots" on innocent people.—S.

*Landing of Louis Philippe.*—A passage having been secured for them in the *Express* steamer, the ex-King and Queen went on the 2nd in an open fishing-boat from Honfleur, whither they had fled, to Havre, the King passing as "Mr. William Smith," an Englishman. Early next morning they landed at Newhaven, in Sussex. A man named Stone recognised Louis a good way off in the boat which brought him ashore, and benevolently assured him of English protection. The actual conversation is too good to be lost:—Stone: "Welcome to England, your Majesty." Louis: "I—I thank you, I thank you; I—I have always felt pleasure in coming to England. Thank God, I am in England once more!" Stone: "We will protect your Majesty." Louis (*much agitated*): "I th—thank you, I—I thank you!" The ex-King wore a rough pea-jacket—borrowed from the captain of the *Express*—and grey trousers, with coarse blue cloth cap, and round his neck a common red and white comforter; on his chin a stubble of a week's growth. The ex-Queen could not be seen in a large plaid cloak and heavy veil. A great deal of very funny reading is afforded by the adventures of the "royal exiles" who swarmed into England about this time.—S.



OFFICES: 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

**Annual Conference.**—The Fourth Annual Conference of the Socialist League will be held at 13 Farringdon Road, on Whitsunday, May 20. The attention of Branches is particularly referred to (1) Rule V. on the subject of the annual conference, pp. 3 and 4 of Constitution and Rules; and (2) that all branches wishing to be represented at the Conference must pay their subscription up to the 31st March by May 1st.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**  
1887.

Hastings, Nottingham, Pelsall—None. Bradford, Croydon, Glasgow, Hackney, Ipswich, Leeds, Marylebone, Merton, North London, Norwich—to end of March. Edinburgh—to end of May. Mitcham—to end of July. Walsall—to end of August. Hull—to end of September. Bloomsbury, Walham Green, Wednesbury—to end of October. Leicester—to end of November. Clerkenwell, Hammersmith, Hoxton, Mile-end, Oxford—to end of December.

**"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.**

C. J. F. (2 weeks), 5s. K. F. (2 weeks), 2s. Langley (2 weeks), 4s. P. W. (2 weeks), 1s. Oxford Branch, 2s. C. J. Gladwell, 2s. W. B. (weekly), 6d.

**REPORTS.**

**BLOOMSBURY.**—On Sunday morning at St. Pancras Arches, Mark Morley spoke; Neilson in chair. 3s. collected for Gough's wife and family.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Wednesday, Feb. 15, H. H. Sparling lectured on "Radicalism of the last Century." On Sunday, Feb. 19, T. E. Wardle on "Radicalism and Socialism." Brisk discussions.—B.

**GLASGOW.**—Owing to the severity of the weather these two weeks past our outdoor meetings have been in great part abandoned, but notwithstanding the cold wind that prevailed on Sunday night, Glasier addressed a good audience in Infirmary Square, all of whom seemed in sympathy with our comrade's animated appeal to them to embrace Socialism, the new and nobler life. After going to our rooms, comrade Schulzer gave an interesting account of "The Progress and Methods of German Socialism."—S. D.

**NORWICH.**—This branch is getting along well, increasing in numbers, and doing good work. Wednesday, the 15th, the Tory party tried a Protection and Anti-Foreigner meeting, but owing to the exertions of Mowbray and other comrades, assisted by the Radicals, it was not a success for the promoters. Sunday the 19th, a very large afternoon meeting was held in the Market Place, and in the evening Mowbray lectured in Gordon Hall.

**WALSALL.**—On Monday, Feb. 13th, Sanders lectured to an appreciative audience on "Revolution: what Socialists mean by it, and why they believe it inevitable." Questions and discussion followed the conclusion of the address.—J. T. D.

**JUNIOR SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY.**—At the last meeting of this Society, held at 64, Charlotte Street, Fry read a paper on "The Woman Question." Discussion followed. On Saturday, March 25th, Cooper reads a paper on "The Reward of Labour," at 65, Chancery Lane, 8 o'clock sharp.—H. W. F.

**LECTURE DIARY.**

**LONDON.**

**Acton.**—17 High Street, Acton, W. (adjoining Purnell's Dining Rooms). Sunday February 26, at 8. Catterson Smith, "Possibilities of Life under Socialism." March 4, J. Turner, "The Control of Capital."

**Bloomsbury.**—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road. Thursday February 23, at 8.30, Joseph Lane, "Different Schools of Socialist Thought." March 1, Social Evening—members and friends.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7. Sunday February 26, at 8.30, Capt. Pfoundes, "The United States of Greater Britain." Wednesday Feb. 29, at 8.30, W. B. Parker, "Notes on the League Manifesto." Sunday March 4, Free Concert by Wm. Blundell and Friends. Wed. 7, H. H. Sparling, "The Cato Street Conspiracy." Sun. 11, Mr. Touzeau Parris.

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sunday February 26, at 8, H. H. Sparling, "The Blind Samson."

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

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Feb. 26, at 8 p.m., Sidney Webb (Fabian Society), "Socialism and Co-operation." March 4, Percival Chubb (Fabian Society), "The Ethical Aspect of Socialism."

**Hoxton (L.E.L.).**—C. J. Young, 8 Dunloe Street, Hackney Road, Secretary. Members please take up their membership cards for 1888.

**Mitcham.**—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11. Sunday Feb. 26, at 8, J. Turner, "Co-operation."

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

**PROVINCES.**

**Aberdeen (Scottish Section).**—Sunday night meetings in Baker Street Hall, at 6. Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St. Nicholas Street.

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

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

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

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

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

**Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Sunday evening lectures, Trades Hall, High Street.

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

**Glasgow.**—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Propaganda Committee, Mondays at 8. Discussion Class meets every Thursday evening at 8 p.m.—object, the cultivation of extemporaneous speaking.

**Leeds.**—17 Chesham St., Sweet St. Club open every evening. Business meeting Wednesdays at 8 p.m. On Sunday February 26, at 7 p.m., S. A. Gaskell, "The Need of a New Industrial System."

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

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

**Norwich.**—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Monday, Concert at 8. Tuesday, Business meeting at 8.30. Wednesday, Band practice at 8. Thursday, Discussion class. Gronlund's 'Co-operative Commonwealth.' Friday, Rehearsal at 8. Saturday, Premises open from 8 until 10.30. General Meeting on Tuesday, Feb. 28, to consider the best method of organisation. All comrades should attend.

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

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

**West Calder (Scottish Section).**—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.

**OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**

**LONDON—Sunday 26.**

10.30... Acton—the Steyne	..... Day
11.15... Starch Green	..... Hammersmith Branch
11.30... Acton Green	..... Tochatti & Day
11.30... Garrett—"Plough Inn"	..... The Branch
11.30... Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.	..... Wade & Pope
11.30... Merton—Haydens Road	..... The Branch
11.30... Mitcham Fair Green	..... The Branch
11.30... Regent's Park	..... Nicoll & Mrs. Schack
11.30... St. Pancras Arches	..... Bloomsbury Branch
11.30... Stamford Hill	..... Parker
11.30... Walham Green	..... Fulham Branch
3... Hyde Park	..... Parker
7... Acton—Friary	..... Smith & Day

**PROVINCES.**

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Jack Lane End, Meadow Road, at 10.30 a.m. In Prince's Field, at 3 p.m.  
**Norwich.**—Market Place, at 3 every Sunday.

**SHEFFIELD SOCIALISTS.** Commonwealth Café, Scotland Street, Sheffield.—Discussions or Lectures every Sunday evening at 7 o'clock. Free.

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**A**

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# THE COMMONWEALTH

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 4.—No. 112.

SATURDAY, MARCH 3, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON NEWS.

THE debate on the Crofters was treated as one expects important subjects to be treated in the House, and as a matter of course those who were anxious to keep these poor people from starving because they are not allowed to use their own land, had no chance at all before the advocates of the snob-made solitude called a deer-forest. The utmost that their rulers think they can do for them is to transport them (some time or another) to some place where they do not want to go. It is sickening to read the speeches of these tyrants and prigs, talking (but not understanding) scraps of Malthusianism, when one considers that the poor people are actually at the point of sheer destitution, and that if they were treated with something like reason, there would at least be breathing space for them.

There is a certain pleasure in being able to say to one's enemy, "Well, do you know I quite agree with you there." Mr. Balfour has given us the opportunity for this pleasure, since he has (at last) found out that the Irish agitation is at bottom socialistic; or in other words that its ultimate aim is not a parliament at Dublin more or less after the pattern of the ignominious assembly in London, but the welfare of the Irish people. Strange to say, his discovery leads to no practical consequences, and he remains still opposed to Home Rule.

Indeed he finished his speech in a way that would make even a pro-pagandist Socialist stare with wonder who is accustomed to the humours of the debates which follow his lectures. Not even the man who says, "Mr. Chairman, I have not heard the lecture and do not know what the subject of it is, but I should like to say a few words in opposition"—not even this genius can quite equal Balfour's impudence. "The laws of property are made much more for the advantage of the poor than for the rich." I am glad to say that the Irish members laughed at this joke.

If one believed that Balfour had not had his tongue in his cheek when he said this, one might ask him to alter this a little and say, "the laws of property are made more for the advantage of those who have no property than for those who have it." But as a matter of fact, his phrase is only a measure of bourgeois hypocrisy in this country, which not only knocks a man down and robs him, but is not ashamed to say at the same time, "My friend, it is for your benefit I do this, in order to stimulate your industry."

This is not the only country where the immigration of "foreign paupers" is a difficulty. America has the same trouble, only the "foreigners" there are many of them English. We are to have an article in the forthcoming *Century*, says the *Daily News*, which suggests a passport system for immigrants, so as to prevent the landing at American ports of all criminals, paupers (say Highland crofters), Mormons, Anarchists, and the depraved classes generally.

Good! So much for keeping out those who are *not* there, but how about getting rid of those that *are* there? What's to be done with the "native American" thieves who live on other people's labour? the "native American" criminals who murder their political opponents by the safe process of false witness in a law court? With the "rogue and whore" varnished over with gentleman and lady, of which "native American" society (like our's) is so largely composed? If the Americans set themselves seriously to getting rid of their "depraved classes," 'tis thought that house rent will fall heavily in the "genteel" quarters of New York, and Wall Street will be quiet enough.

Well, well! so it goes on! let us pass our paupers on if our neighbours will but have them; and if they won't— Well, the Romans fell before the barbarians whom they despised, but who were at any rate *without* their society; while our barbarians are *within* ours! Would it not be cheaper and safer (let alone humanity) not to manufacture paupers and criminals, if we find them so hard to deal with when made?

Do people doubt that our destroyers are in the midst of us? I fear they do. It was thought even by "advanced" persons that John Burns was either joking, or speaking with the extravagance natural to a man who had recently suffered from the hideous den when he spoke the other day so heartily, and wisely also, about pulling down

Pentonville. Will people never understand then, not even Home Rulers and extreme Radicals, what our prison system means? Must we Socialists teach them even this? Pentonville must not compete with the slums, or its terror will be gone; and a very little more and it would compete with them. Therefore its diet and discipline must be on such a scale as is a torture to a gentleman like Graham, or even an artisan like Burns. If only Pentonville could be pulled down before revenge overtakes us for this folly and cruelty! W. M.

The defeat at Doncaster is mournfully submitted to by the Home Rulers as a check to their chance of College Green. But there is at least as much danger to them in such Liberal victories as that at Southwark. There is a danger of the Liberals proving too successful. What if they obtain a majority without counting the Irish party? In that case they are just as likely to pass a Coercion Bill as a measure of Home Rule. It would be a repudiation of their election pledges, certainly; but that is one of the inevitable incidents of the septennial system. If the Home Rulers are wise, they will help the Liberals enough to make them dependent on the Irish party. One vote beyond that will make them quite as dangerous to their present allies as the Tories are. G. B. S.

## SOCIALISM AND LAW.

ONE of the most curious objections urged by our opponents, and yet one we are constantly having to refute, was that put forward by a speaker at a recent discussion at Clerkenwell—namely, that the establishment of Socialism must tend to the multiplication of laws. I have called the objection curious, but think it more than that, for it shows with tolerable clearness, on the part of those who advance it, first, an utter lack of analytical power of thought in the consideration of present society, and second, what we must judge to be a constitutional incapacity for analogical deduction in gathering therefrom the probable form of a future society founded on a Socialistic basis.

To take first the consideration of present society, this apprehension has, I think, its birth in the minds of many individualists, primarily from the habit of superficially regarding existing laws merely as well-intentioned but essentially empirical human expedients for the welfare of society; expedients which at the same time may be regarded by them as invariably mistaken, fussy and meddling, and often pernicious.

It is not difficult to see that such a false and wholly inadequate view of the science of law-making is in reality one result of the failure to recognise the first great fundamental truth, that society as at present constituted, far from being a heterogeneous assemblage of ill-assorted units without guide, aim, or bond, is one clear and distinctive stage in social evolution, having for its basis one all-powerful ruling principle which either creates or moulds all its laws and governs all its institutions—*private property*.

Some time since, in a valuable analysis of criminal law in relation to Socialism, comrade Bax divided, if I remember rightly, the penal code into three great classes intended to deal with (1) offences against property (the largest to a considerable extent); (2) offences against the person (to a great extent actuated by want, or resultant on ill-distributed wealth); (3) sexual offences. Applying the same method of analysis to the civil laws, we shall find that they in like manner can be classed under one of three heads—1st, laws relating to property; 2nd, laws relating to imperial and local government; 3rd, laws relating to individual action and liberty.

The first is of course immeasurably the greatest class, embracing as it does all laws bearing on the relation of landlord to tenant (a class in itself), recovery of debts, inheritance, private "interests," and the thousand and one marvellously ingenious legal contrivances impossible to enumerate. In this class also would have to be included all those modern laws, miscalled Socialistic, but in reality opportune expedients rendered necessary to nullify in some measure the dangerous results of private property.

The second class, a comparatively small one, would be better subdivided by (1) laws relating to central or bureaucratic government, comprising the foreign, home, and other offices and departments, fiscal, army, navy, and other lines of defence, etc.; and (2) those relating to purely local matters—parish and municipal affairs, gas and water supply, public buildings, poor laws, etc. Here it is well to bear in mind that even under the present system the laws comprised in this

second class are capable of very great simplification compatible with their greater efficiency for the purpose for which they were instituted. Indeed it may be taken as sure that under democratic sway, with extended or universal suffrage, a reduction in their number and complexity is inevitable.

The third class is of slight importance. It comprises laws bearing solely on individual liberty and action, and is necessary only under class rule. The extent and nature of these needs but little demonstration. Having a manner of foundation in the Magna Charta, their development, judging from recent events, appears to have been entirely retrogressive.

It will be seen, therefore, that even such a brief analysis or classification as the foregoing brings forward the one prominent fact, stated before, but worthy of repetition for the benefit of those who ignore it, that existing laws are in no sense purposeless or without aim or governing principle, but that they have the one distinct and obvious function of the preservation, maintenance, and consolidation of private property. This is, in point of fact, their *raison d'être*, without which they would cease to exist; while on the other hand as long as private property is allowed to endure they are vitally necessary. Viewed in this light, no single property law can be regarded as unnecessary or useless while as a unit of a concrete whole it in any way contributes to the fulfilment of the law of its being. Also herein, I conceive, lies the weak point in the theory held by so many present day individualist "philosophers," of the beneficial effects likely to result from the gradual abolition of all laws: it is the non-recognition of the fact that this abolition of law can only be effected by and through the consistent abolition of private property.

Before leaving this consideration of present law, I might remark that while all these laws exist which relate to the disposition of wealth, with regard to the production of wealth there are absolutely none. It is indeed certain that the whole vast human and inanimate machinery for the production of wealth as it exists at present, complete in a degree hitherto inconceivable, has been established and organised (as organised it is) without the aid or seeking of one act of legislation. I repeat, so far laws have been found to be necessary only in the ownership of wealth and never in its production.

To pass on to the other point expressed in the second paragraph, it appears to me that from these data, the very simple and obvious deduction remains, that with the abolition of private property must also occur the abolition of all laws relating to it. These constituting the vast bulk of existing laws, it would also seem clear to a reasonable mind that in a Society based on the abolition of private property, the gross number of laws would consequently be less to this extent.

If, then, the contention is to be upheld that a Socialist State would be overburdened with law-making to a degree even as great as at present, it becomes necessary to consider in what direction the increase of laws may be anticipated. Here it must be avowed one's difficulties begin. Perhaps it may be contended, however, as it sometimes is, that stringent laws would be necessary to exact from each his due quantum of daily labour. Indeed, from what I have been able to understand of our opponents' position, this is considered one direction in which laws will be requisite. Under any circumstances the point is worth consideration.

Let me say at once that undoubtedly in the early years of a Socialistic Society, thriftlessness, laziness, and general inertia on the part of a large number of its members would have to be faced, and would constitute a serious hindrance to the contentment and prosperity of Society. The aristocrat and "independent person" on the one hand, and the social parasite on the other, would survive at least for a time as the harmful relics of an ancient order. But here again, to consider the question at all justly, it is necessary to regard (1) the conditions under which laziness and indisposition to honest work exist in the present system, and (2) the conditions which in like manner will obtain in the future.

Every Society contains within itself in unequal strength what may be called the fostering and restraining forces of every known vice or virtue. In existing Society the fostering force of this particular vice is undoubtedly the ability to live in comfort without work. On the other hand, the restraining influence which in relation to every unworthy act is invariably all-potent, to wit, the sense of shame, here has little or no power. With such conditions, then, the rapid growth of all forms of laziness and disinclination for work, and ultimately the production of individuals to all practical purposes incapable of work, is not to be wondered at.

As to the future Society, a community formed on the basis of work from every able member, would necessarily give an absolutely inverse proportional strength to these two forces. The fostering and productive forces would, from the inability of existing without work, be greatly reduced, and the bent of the mind of man in that direction in time removed. While on the other hand, in addition to the work itself being far less laborious and rendered more pleasant in nature, as every worker would receive his equal reward from the common store, laziness or idleness would be regarded by the bulk of the workers much in the light in which theft is regarded now. It may then safely be assumed that the restraining influence of the sense of shame will, in the absence of opposing forces, be all powerful in gradually eliminating this particular vice.

Reasoning from the foregoing I think we may well conclude that laws dealing with the relation of workers to their work will, from these natural causes, be unnecessary. The evil of laziness must die a natural death when placed in inharmonious conditions.

I have dwelt upon the one source from which it might be urged that

the gap caused by the lapsing of property laws will be filled. In turning to consider in what other direction we may suppose complex legislation will be found necessary, one is at a loss to fix upon even a single department of social life in which it can be assumed to follow. The forms of social unity which probably offer the nearest resemblance to the labour groups of the future, such as trades' unions in every shape, co-operative societies, etc., are certainly autonomous. As any new laws cannot be seen to be likely to be necessary in the production or distribution of wealth, nor, certainly, in its ultimate ownership, it would be well if those who raise the objection would in future more particularly specify the actual class of laws Socialism will tend to multiply.

To put the matter in a nut-shell, however, the whole science of jurisprudence appears readily intelligible when it is comprehended that many laws are necessary only in government by minority (as at present), but few laws in government by majority (as under Socialism), and none at all when each individual is a law unto himself, or in fact in the Millennium.

CHARLES J. GLADWELL.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

At Trafaiaeh (Steiermark) comrade Lundenburg has been arrested on a charge of high treason on the denunciation of his own wife!

Some months ago I announced in these notes that "comrade" August Carl Hermann had been arrested at Warnsdorf charged with having distributed prohibited papers and incited our Austrian friends to commit acts of violence. Now the "comrade" in question has proved that he is one of the numerous hirelings of the Berlin and Magdeburg police, and of course has been set free at once.

### BELGIUM.

At Liège, Seraing, Angleur and neighbourhood, that is to say among the miners of that district, a lot of German police-spies have been detected, who did exactly the same provocatory business as their colleagues in Switzerland. The only difference is that the Swiss authorities expelled police-councillor Krueger's employes, and that the German rascals worked in Belgium with the avowed assent of the clerical Belgian Government. Belgium becomes more and more a province of Germany.

Comrade Louis Bertrand, editor of *L'Avant-Garde* (the Vanguard) of Brussels, has issued a very ably written, but somewhat too laudatory brochure, entitled *Godin et son Œuvre* (Godin and his work).

### HOLLAND.

In the month of December last our Dutch comrades sent to the House of Parliament a petition signed by thousands of workers, asking the M.P.'s of that land to introduce in Holland "a normal working day." Last week these clever gentlemen put the petition aside, *i.e.*, in the wholesale waste paper basket, declaring that they did not understand such "humbbug." And that is the use of Parliament.

The workers at Almerloo are always striking, and they intend going on with their struggle as long as they possibly can. The solidarity of the Dutch workers continues to prove admirable; they send to their comrades meat, vegetables, money, in important quantities.

F. Domela Nieuwenhuys is about to publish a new book, entitled 'The Normal Working Day.' It will be an historical as well as an economical study on that question, involving 300 pages.

The 1st of March *Recht voor Allen*, the organ of our Dutch comrades, will appear in gala dress—*i.e.*, printed on fine paper and illustrated by a cartoon representing the Socialist press struggling against capitalist journalism. And all over Holland there will be meetings, amusements, banquets, and so forth, to commemorate the tenth year of the existence of the Socialist organ.

It is not enough that Domela Nieuwenhuys should stand as a candidate at the next elections; now Croll, sub-editor of *Recht voor Allen*, and A. Schrouter are going to contest a district at the Hague and Vander Goes is to be a candidate for parliament at Amsterdam. What a pity these devoted friends of the cause should waste their time in such a way.

### FRANCE.

For the last two months the glass-blowers and the glass-engravers of Vierzon (Cher Department) have been on strike, and they have announced their resolution to go on with it to the utmost. They have spent now all their "spare" money, and have sent to all the workers' associations of France a circular letter asking them to stand by their side to help them in their struggle. As perhaps the English glass-blowers may do something for their fellow-workers of Vierzon, as they so willingly did last year for those of Montluçon, we give here the address of the treasurer: Chaput Grand-Rue, 49, Vierzon (Cher), France.

Comrade Cyvoct, who in 1883 was sentenced to death at Lyons for an article he did not write, and whose sentence was changed into one of hard labour for life in New Caledonia, will in all probability be again sentenced to death, and if so, to be certainly executed. He is charged with having insulted a jail-warder, and that is enough in Republican France of to-day to ensure his being guillotined. Gallo, the Anarchist who fired some pistol-shots at the Exchange at Paris, without doing any harm at all, and who also has been in New Caledonia, has already been executed for striking a warder who grossly insulted him. Shame!

Felix Pyat has consented to be the candidate of Revolution for the French Chamber of Deputies at the hands of the Socialists of the Department Bouches-du-Rhône (Marseilles, etc.).

The weavers and winders of Flers (Orne Department), numbering 500, not willing to accept a reduction of their already very low wages, struck a fortnight ago; but the masters, seeing that they were determined, have given way, and the workers have returned to work on the former conditions.

### GERMANY.

Hip, hip, hurrah! At Halle six Socialists tried last week for secret con-

one and all dismissed. That sounds very strange indeed, and there must have been some mistake or other. Dismissed! it's a real shame for German Puttkamer-magistrates.

Thring-Mahlow and Naporra, the two detectives denounced in the German Reichstag by comrade Bebel, and who played such a despicable game at the trials of Berlin and Posen, have received at the hands of their master, Minister von Puttkammer, the Cross of Honour which they so richly deserved. If Puttkammer would only give them all a decoration and force them to bear it on their back instead of bearing it on their breast, wouldn't it be a good distinction?

Germany's prosperity is going on all right. From the 1st of January to the 31st of December 1887 no less than 99,712 people have emigrated. Of these 62,036 are Prussians, 13,350 Bavarians, 6,016 of Wurtemberg, 3,871 of Baden, 2,434 Saxonians, 2,334 of Hesse, and the rest of the minor nooks of the blessed Fatherland.

The bookseller Nebel, of Leipzig, who was denounced a short time ago as a secret agent of Bismark and Puttkammer, has hung himself at Rosenthal, near Leipzig. Perhaps he thought it better to do away with all the miseries of this wretched existence than to continue, even for another day, to serve the despicable German Government.

ITALY.

The 10th of March a new paper will be issued at Palermo, entitled *Il dovere* (Duty). It is to be written under the inspiration of the ideas of Giuseppe Mazzini.

Whereas the Italian Government systematically suppresses all the papers of our friends as soon as they appear, our Parisian colleague *La Revolté* suggests the idea that our Italian comrades might issue a secret paper.

V. D.

"IT MOVES."

THE WELSH LAND, COMMERCIAL, AND LABOUR LEAGUE. *President*: John Parry, Plas, Llanartnon, Mold. *Treasurer*: Thomas, Gee, Denbigh. *Hon. Sec.*: J. Howell Gee, Denbigh. *Financial Sec.*: Gwilym Parry, Chapel Place, Denbigh.

BRISTOL AND DISTRICT LABOUR LEAGUE. *President*: Alfred Harris. *Vice-President*: W. Saunders. *Secretary*: John Gregory, 8 Redcliffe Terrace, Newfoundland Road.

We have received within a few hours of each other manifestoes put forth by the above-named Societies, which afford gratifying evidence of the enormous growth of public spirit now taking place on all sides. The Welsh Land, Commercial, and Labour League is the outcome of the Anti-Tithe Agitation. The old League having been very successful during its year of existence in obtaining large abatements in the tithes, has determined at the commencement of its second year to change its name and extend the area of its operations. Its programme, in addition to the Tithe Question, is the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church of England and Wales, Reform of the Laws relating to Land, Building Leases, Royalties on Coal and other minerals, the Game and Fishery Laws, etc., and the Payment of Members of Parliament out of the public exchequer. "It is not intended to restrict the League in the future to the reforms above mentioned. Other questions may be proposed for consideration at the annual meetings." The constitution and rules are thoroughly democratic. One of the latter pledges the members to be faithful to one another, and to prevent land-grabbing. The minimum annual subscription for artisans, agricultural, and other labourers is only sixpence.

The Bristol and District Labour League is distinctly Socialistic in its aims. To quote the words of its excellent manifesto, it "affords every working-man an opportunity to help himself, his children, his fellows, his country, and the world. No man's poverty need exclude him. The League is worked on entirely voluntary principles." The League has at present four branches in connection with the central body, and gives a good record of work done. The following extract shows the spirit which animates the League, and will doubtless receive the hearty approval of the readers of the *Commonweal*:—

"Among the particular lessons which the League enforces is that for working-men to accept the social or political patronage of the upper and middle classes is the greatest degradation that can be submitted to, and is nothing less than a venal prostitution of their liberties. For them to willingly receive the so-called charitable alms and doles from these classes is equivalent to selling their birth-right for a mess of pottage. It further teaches and shows that the so-called laws of political economy, which result in the poverty of the poorest man setting the rate of wages for his class—laws which condemn by far the largest portion of the civilised human race to eternal slavery, that the few may be kept in ease, luxury, elegance, pre-eminence, arrogance, and pride, are fallacious, unjust, and monstrous laws. That any laws which do not result in a moral and material recognition of the dignity of labour and the nobleness of the labourer, and at the same time, the degradation of the idler and lout, are based upon altogether false principles, and therefore, truly considered, are not laws at all.

"The League interferes with no man's creed. It seeks the injury of no one, but the good of all. It excludes no honest working-man, but is purely and simply an effort, by Fraternity of interest, to extend to each and all such Equality of opportunity in life as shall secure to them that absolute unshackled Liberty which belongs to them of right, by which alone the vast capacities of humanity may be opened up and developed to their fullest measure, and life, instead of being the burden it is to millions at present, shall in the near future become truly worth living to all worth living it." T. B.

The Duke of Brummagem—we mean Manchester—is honouring the colonies with another visit. He is cordially welcomed by the same politicians who pretend to be in accord with the workers in their objections to the presence of the Chinese. And yet men of his class are more dangerous and do more harm to the workers than all the Chinese that ever left China. The Duke is not here to purchase Australian slaves, but to purchase that which will enable him to make slaves of hundreds of thousands of Australian workers. He will secure to himself, his heirs, executors, and assigns for ever the sole right of using certain portions of the Australian colonies, which will entitle them—as they blindly believe—to draw annually without working, an ever-increasing portion of the wealth produced by the labour of our children and our children's children for ever and ever. Don't he wish they may get it? We are afraid that game is rapidly being played out, and will not last much longer.—*Our Commonwealth.*

FOR FELLOWSHIP.

You may sneer, if you will, at our numbers;  
The pathway of progress is steep;  
And the slave yet in apathy slumbers,  
Though he tosses and moans in his sleep.

Yet we march, and our footstep is steady,  
Our gaze is unflinching, and why?  
For we live in the future already,  
We live in the ages gone by,

We are one with the saints and the sages,  
Who told long ago what a birth  
Should be born of the womb of the ages  
For the joy of the meek upon earth.

We are one with the world of to-morrow,  
We are one with our children unborn,  
Who shall hear in amaze of the sorrow  
Of our famished ones, faint and forlorn.

We spurn your impossible heaven;  
The only salvation we crave,  
The one we will have, must be given  
Not that side, but this, of the grave.

They have touched us, those hopes that are hollow,  
We have felt it, the faith that is vain,  
But the faith we have hope in and follow  
Is that Justice shall conquer and reign.

Laws baffle, we heed them no longer;  
Force threatens, our will is unawed;  
Force is much, yet is liberty stronger,  
And fellowship wiser than fraud.

Come help then, for though you assail us,  
Things move, and the end is not far;  
The forces of heaven do not fail us,  
"Our waggon is hitched to a star."

Every moment makes clearer the manner  
To build our idea sublime;  
Come follow the Socialist banner,  
Come fight for the Spirit of Time.

C. W. BECKETT.

A LETTER FROM JAPAN.

SOME little time ago, a note was published in the *Commonweal* from our comrade Burton, formerly of the Hammersmith Branch. The following remarks by him on the social condition of Japan, in a letter to comrade Bolas, will doubtless prove interesting to our readers:

"The newspapers were particularly welcome, as, besides the *Pall Mall Gazette*, no paper of at all a Socialistic tendency reaches here. The *Pall Mall Gazette*, I am glad to see, becomes more and more decidedly Socialistic. I imagine that it will be the leading Socialist organ before long. It is very encouraging too, to see a paper such as *Reynolds* taking so clear a Socialistic stand. It is a paper that must have immense influence. The opposition of *Punch* too, which is now, in spite of its pretended Liberalism, more essentially a class paper than any other that I know of, is, on the whole, a matter of congratulation. One can never be certain that a good cause is going to succeed till the *Times* and *Punch* consider it worth their while to stupidly abuse it and thereby help it on.

"I still have much interest in studying the economic condition of this country, or rather in attempting to study it, for it is very difficult to investigate. The great problem here will be, I believe before very long, whether the country can be Socialised without first passing through a system of which competitive production is the chief element. I have some doubts about it. There can be no doubt that, evil as the competitive system now is, it has brought great qualities to the people. The Government here, although I imagine they would repudiate the name with horror, are more Socialistic than any other Government that I know of. They keep all the great educational concerns under their direct control, using them for the people; they do the same with almost all the affairs that form great monopolies at home, and even control to a very great extent the production of the articles which form the staple trade of the country, endeavouring in all these things to turn matters rather for the benefit of the many than of the few. The making of anything that we would call a fortune at home is practically impossible here, and even the highest Government officials get what we would consider exceedingly low pay; about what a Government clerk gets at home. Above all, the Japanese see that if they make the country a happy hunting-ground for the British merchant, the British merchant will rapidly make a fortune at the expense of the Japanese; so there are such restrictions put on the precious British merchant—who considers himself to be the centre of all things without whom the world would cease to go round—that he is not able to make a fortune here at all. This makes the British merchant very mad, and he writes home that the country is a miserable one, whose people have no knowledge of trade, and he hints that people who have not such knowledge and do not use it to enrich him are going to be damned very quickly. The British merchant is about the most despicable skunk knocking around."

The true test of civilisation is, not the census, nor the size of cities, nor the crops—no, but the kind of man the country turns out.—*Emerson*



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW? FIRST, FEW MEN WROTE IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 15 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.

Ejected 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, 15 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

A. H.—Of course the Calendar cannot be made wholly exhaustive all at once. We shall be much helped by anyone who fills up for us any omission in the list of events. The Cato Street affair will be treated in an article as fully as time and space will allow.

#### Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday February 29.

<b>ENGLAND</b>	<b>MILWAUKEE (Wis.)</b> —Volksblatt	<b>SWITZERLAND</b>
Bristol—Magpie	San Francisco (Cal) The People	Geneva—Bulletin Continental
Die Autonomic	Coast Seaman's Journal	<b>SPAIN</b>
Jus	Freethought	El Productor
Justice	<b>FRANCE</b>	Madrid—El Socialista
Leaflet Newspaper	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	<b>PORTUGAL</b>
London—Freie Presse	La Revolte	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Labour Tribune	<b>HOLLAND</b>	<b>GERMANY</b>
Norwich—Daylight	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Railway Review	<b>BELGIUM</b>	<b>AUSTRIA</b>
Worker's Friend	Seraing (Ougree)—Le Reveil	Vienna—Gleichheit
<b>UNITED STATES</b>	Ghent—Vooruit	<b>HUNGARY</b>
New York—Freiheit	Antwerp—De Worker	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
Truthseeker	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde	<b>DENMARK</b>
Volkzeitung	Liege—L'Avenir	Social-Demokraten
Boston—Woman's Journal	<b>ITALY</b>	<b>NORWAY</b>
Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer	Milan—Il Fascio Operajo	Kristiania—Social-Demokraten
Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	Rome—L'Emancipazione	
	Marsala—La Nuova Eta	

## A TRIPLE ALLIANCE.

THE struggle for the elementary right of freedom of speech, of which the events of Bloody Sunday formed such a dramatic episode, is taking a new development. The police onslaught of November 13th, and the subsequent reactionary tyranny of the Government, came as a surprise on the genuine Radicals who took part in the proceedings of that disastrous and shameful day; and it can hardly be doubted that the orthodox Liberals were also surprised at it; but their surprise took the form of striking them dumb as well as deedless. Comment has been made in these columns on the dastardliness of their behaviour, which, all things considered, was not astonishing, as well as on its stupidity, which really was almost astonishing. For here had the Tories put a weapon in their hands of a like nature to that which they were using so eagerly in Ireland, and yet they let it tumble to the ground and lie there; thus practically admitting their real alliance with the very men they are formally contending with in the Parliamentary game. So much for Mr. Gladstone's British following, and, grievous as it is to say it, his Irish allies behaved no better. Here one has some right to be surprised: how could it be that they did not see the force of the argument ready to their mouths, "You Englishmen, you Londoners, have coerced and gagged Ireland, with the result that you are coerced and gagged; join you with us, as we will with you, to get rid of coercion and gagging altogether, or else you will suffer along with us"?

And moreover, in joining heartily in our protest they would have been even formally pushing their own cause; the meeting on Bloody Sunday was called to protest against the wrong done to an Irishman and Ireland, and every man in the bludgeoned processions was an enthusiastic Home Ruler. Yet no one spoke or stirred, except, to be fair, Mr. Bradlaugh, mindful of his old struggles in the Square. It was left for the Socialists only, helped in the press by the professed democratic and workman's paper, *Reynolds*, and the *Pall Mall Gazette*, which for the time at least became almost a Socialist journal.

Nevertheless, so flagrant was the case, so open was the intention to thrust forward the merest absolutism, so disgracefully unfair was the conduct of the courts that tried the "rioters," and so savagely vindic-

dictive the sentences passed on them, that the conspiracy of silence has failed at least as far as London is concerned; and the Southwark election, which otherwise would have been a matter of little importance, showed, as is admitted on all sides, that the London workmen understand the subject of Trafalgar Square much better than their so-called "leaders."

This fact has at last penetrated the numskulls of the orthodox Liberals, and it said that the wily old politician who "leads" them is going to contribute his "old stager" wisdom to the debate on Trafalgar Square, which is (perhaps) to come off on Thursday: nay, that the very dissentient Liberals themselves have taken the alarm, and are meditating a little dishing of the Gladstonians.

Meantime, the meeting of Monday 20th, which was called to welcome Burns and Graham, became under these circumstances a demonstration of a triple alliance for freedom of speech between the Irish, the Radicals, and the Socialists. We are bound to hope that this alliance will give back Trafalgar Square to the people, and put the whole matter of open-air meeting on a better footing than it is at present; but it will only do so if the rank and file of the Irish and Radicals are determined to make a genuine alliance with their Socialist brethren, whatever the leaders may do: it is their business if they are in earnest in upholding freedom of speech throughout the country to look to it that the Liberals do not use it merely as a good electioneering cry for London, to be cast aside on the first opportunity. At the meeting of the 20th the Radical part of their audience were loud in their boast that they could win the right of free speech from the reactionists by the ballot box. So be it! They are certainly not prepared to win it by physical force or the threat of it; though for my part I must think that rather their shame than their glory; and also that it is impolitic to cry out to such an enemy as they are facing (if they are in earnest) "Do what you will with us, if we cannot out-vote you, you are safe." However, let that pass; they are *not* prepared to carry the matter by force, and they think they can by voting. Well, then, at least let them vote hard and not soft; let them exact a pledge from every candidate to support the freedom of speech in Trafalgar Square and open spaces generally, and refuse to vote for anyone who will not give this pledge unreservedly, whether he calls himself Liberal, Radical, or Home Ruler. If they do less than this they may be sure of one thing, that the attitude of the Liberals when they come into power will be pretty much that of the Tories; and they will find after all that they will be driven to use force if they really want to speak out their grievances in public. For after all, it will one day be just as inconvenient to the Liberals as to the Tories that the people should claim what they want by means of public meetings, and whatever opinions the majority in the House of Commons may profess, the Executive will always do its best to silence the people, unless it is repeating parrot-fashion the words put into its mouth by its masters.

As to whether the mass of the Radicals are prepared to assert themselves, and will pluck up heart of grace to beard their leaders, from all that is past one cannot help being very doubtful about that. If they are not, they are exciting themselves very unnecessarily about getting rid of the Tories, who will in that case answer all their purposes quite as well. They may make use of the Liberal party to carry on democracy to the point when it must melt into Socialism; if they do not, they will be made use of to get a party into office, which, as far as any practical purpose is concerned, is composed of leaders who will not lead, and of followers who have got nothing to follow.

W. M.

ANOTHER GREAT RAILWAY STRIKE IN AMERICA.—The engine-drivers and firemen have struck along the entire Quincy system, comprising 6,000 miles of railroad in Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, Minnesota, and Wisconsin, both the freight and passenger traffic being paralysed.

SOCIALISM IN LONDON.—The Socialists seem to be making headway in the local Parliaments. There has been a Socialist Ministry at Charing Cross, and now the Battersea Parliament has followed suit, and is led by a Socialist Ministry. We notice that at Battersea, as at Charing Cross, the first measure to be brought forward is one for the enlargement of the municipal and parliamentary franchise, and prominent among the projects of legislation is "a Bill to increase and amend the powers of local authorities." It looks as though at Battersea, as at Charing Cross, the "Socialists of the municipality" were in the ascendant.—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

THE TITHE RIOTS AT LLANGWM.—Eight men, including the Rev. Edward Roberts, Wesleyan minister, were indicted at Ruthin assizes on Tuesday that "they, with other evil-disposed persons to the number of three hundred, did riotously assemble armed with sticks, and further did wound George Thorpe and others." They were escorted from Llangwm by an enthusiastic crowd. Twenty-seven men were originally committed for trial, but the Attorney-General entered a *nolle prosequi* against nineteen of them. Mr. McIntyre, Q.C., opened the case for the Crown, and described in detail the riots; but subsequently the defendants were liberated on their recognizances in £20 each to appear, if necessary, on March 28.

THE YELLOW INTERNATIONAL.

THERE is in every country of the civilised world a band of fiends, who are the very worst enemies of the people. The only principle in their lives—the be-all and end-all of their existence—is to heap up money. To heap up money! In order to do this effectually, they set aside all the laws of religion and morality without the slightest remorse. When it suits them, they will rudely brush away all ideas of nationality and fatherland. Or if more convenient to themselves, they bolster up with all their greedy pride the empty sentiment of Jingoism.

They are the arbiters of the universe. They spread rumours of wars and disturbances; they make war and they make "peace" that is worse than war. They can cause a country to be overwhelmed by calamity, or they may allow it to remain in prosperity. They hold in their hands all the produce of the world, and consequently are the absolute masters of the people everywhere, whom they regard merely as so many instruments for their purposes.

They are internationalists in the fullest sense of the word. As such, they know neither creed, politics, or nationality, except when it will further their wishes. The control of the means of communication being in their hands, enables them to direct both the home and foreign politics of every country.

These men are the financiers—the Goschens, the Jay Goulds, the Rothchilds, the Erlanders, the Schneiders, etc. To these men and their kind is to be attributed the greater part of the sorrows and misery of human life. There is not a family in the land but knows some reason to curse these cruel murderers.

But for them there would have been no need for the peoples of France and Germany to grapple blindly with each other as they did in 1870. But for them, there would have been no need for England to send her soldiers and sailors to lay waste the country of Egypt and to outrage its inhabitants. But for them, the Englishmen, the Irishmen, the Scotchmen, and the Welshmen who have fallen in iniquitous wars like these—causing desolation in the homes of thousands—might have been still alive, enjoying life and contributing to the well-being of the community.

When the people are awake to these facts, it is to be hoped that no quarter will be shown to these heartless and shameless bloodsuckers.

In *Le Socialiste* of Jan. 28, 1888, our comrade Paul Lafargue, in an article on "La Banque de France," shows in a very striking manner the way in which the financiers—the Yellow International, as they are well called—rob the people and impose heavy burdens upon them. In 1868 France was enjoying peace and prosperity. The Bank of France distributed that year a dividend of 90 francs per 1000 franc share. In 1871 France was vanquished and laid waste; the bank gave its shareholders a dividend of 270 francs per 1000 franc share. In 1872, a dividend of 320 francs. In 1873, a dividend of 360 francs. In five years the dividends had increased four fold.

In October 1869 the market price of a 1000 franc share of the Bank of France was 2725 francs; in 1873 it was 4515 francs.

It will be seen by these figures that a war is much more profitable to the financiers than a period of peace. But it will also be seen, by examining the following figures, that defeat and disaster are ever so much more profitable than victory to these robbers of the working classes.

In 1854 France went to the Crimean War, which proved long and troublesome. The dividend of the Bank of France was 194 francs per share. In 1859 France went to war with Italy. The struggle was a short one and the French were victorious. The dividends of the bank were 115 francs per share. But in 1870-71, when France was beaten by Germany, when its fields were wasted, its cities bombarded, its armies destroyed; when Paris was soiled by the Prussian troops encamped within its walls, Metz delivered up to the enemy, fire and sword carried in all directions; when France was betrayed by Napoleon the Little, condemned to give up two fair provinces, and to pay an indemnity of five milliards,—then was the joy of the shareholders of the Bank of France at its full. The dividends were as follows: In 1871, 270 francs per share; in 1872, 320 francs; in 1873, 360 francs. There had not been such a devilish festival since 1815, when Napoleon the Unambitious was overthrown.

As in France, so in England. A like story could be told of our so-called National Bank. That soul of honour, the pure-minded and patriotic Goschen, has proved himself quite eminent by feathering his nest in the same manner. Being a politician, he uses his power to provoke a rebellion in Egypt, to banish and murder its leaders, to bombard Alexandria, to extort enormous taxes from the peasantry, and—worse than all—to make the English people do all this horrible work. This is the same Goschen who is our present Chancellor of the Exchequer—the man, linked with Balfour and Salisbury, who is engaged in trying to coerce the Irish nation, by batoning, shooting, imprisoning, evicting, and deliberately murdering its people.

There is a moral side to this question, and it behoves all religious folk, all intelligent and honest Christians, and all single-minded Free-thinkers, to consider it from this point of view. A careful enquiry and an impartial judgment would condemn the rottenness of society, which allows such revolting crimes to be done, without fear of punishment, by its principal men.

The working classes have to remember many important facts in these days, but let them ever remember that among their worst enemies are the financiers.

W. CHAS. WADE.

CORRESPONDENCE.

PUSHING "COMMONWEAL."

For some weeks past a vigorous effort has been made to extend the circulation of this journal, and the result has been to get it into quarters of the metropolis where it had hitherto not been seen. A deal of indifference and actual hostility, amounting to boycotting, has to be met with from the small newsagents who have been solicited to sell the paper. Being glutted with the ephemeral publications that are thrust upon them, they are against accepting an addition which promises more trouble and little or no profit. Others positively refuse to help the circulation from hostility to the doctrines of Socialism. Where this intolerance is most objectionable is on the part of newsagents who obtain it upon order for customers who deal with them for other articles, and yet positively refuse to show a bill or take copies upon sale or return. One remarked to me the other day, "Although I have both *Justice* and *Commonweal* for customers that lay out money for other things, yet I wouldn't have it seen in my place, and I would like to see the whole lot of you put down." "This is like a clothier wanting to sell clothes all of one fit," I made answer, and shows that Ireland might receive a lesson in boycotting from here. To meet this boycott I suggest to the editors to publish a list of where and where not to get the *Commonweal*, the latter list to include the names of shopkeepers who act as I describe. Our comrades may then transfer their custom to friendlier hands. Readers and sympathisers may supplement the efforts that are being made to widen the circulation by sending in the names and addresses of shopkeepers in their neighbourhood who would take the paper, and above all display a poster. Friends in the distant suburbs might supply a board to shops where they deal, and see that it is not covered over with other bills. Further help can be given where, as in the case of even democratic Battersea the newsagents with few exceptions refuse the paper, a member supplies a circle of readers himself.

F. KIRZ.

NEW VERSION OF "THE FINE OLD ENGLISH GENTLEMAN."

SIR,—The following lines appeared in the *Examiner*, Saturday, August 27, 1841, p. 500, and appear so exactly suited to the state of things to-day that you may perhaps feel disposed to find room for an example of Charles Dickens in a character that many readers of his novels have never considered—i.e., a writer of political squibs:

I'll sing you a new ballad, and I'll warrant it first rate,  
Of the days of that old gentleman who had that old estate;  
When they spent the public money at a bountiful old rate,  
On every mistress, pimp, and scamp, at every noble gate,—  
In the fine old English Tory times;  
Soon may they come again!

The good old laws were garnished well with gibbets, whips, and chains,  
With fine old English penalties, and fine old English pains;  
With rebel heads and seas of blood once hot in rebel veins,—  
For all these things were requisite to guard the rich old gains  
Of the fine old English Tory times;  
Soon may they come again!

This brave old cove, like Argus, had a hundred watchful eyes,  
And every English peasant had his good old English spies,  
To tempt his starving discontent with fine old English lies,  
Then call the good old yeomanry to stop his peevish cries,—  
In the fine old English Tory times;  
Soon may they come again!

The good old times for cutting throats that cried out in their need,  
The good old times for hunting men who held their father's creed,  
The good old times when William Pitt, as all good men agreed,  
Came down direct from Paradise, at more than railroad speed,—  
Oh, the fine old English Tory times,  
When will they come again?

In those rare days the press was seldom known to snarl or bark,  
But sweetly sang of men in power like any tuneful lark;  
Grave judges, too, to all their evil deeds were in the dark;  
And not a man in twenty score knew how to make his mark.  
Oh, the fine old English Tory times,  
Soon may they come again!

Those were the days for taxes, and for war's infernal din;  
For scarcity of bread that fine old dowagers might win;  
For shutting men of letters up, through iron bars to grin,  
Because they didn't think the Prince was altogether thin.  
In the fine old English Tory times,  
Soon may they come again!

(This is most certainly written for the benefit of all Irish editors and contributors, many of whom have been looking from the wrong side of the iron bars. All true poets are prophets, we have heard; and thinking of Tullamore, we can believe the statement.)

But Tolerance, though slow in flight, is strong-winged in the main;  
That night must come on these fine days, in course of time was plain;  
The pure old spirit struggled, but its struggles were in vain,  
A nation's grip was on it, and it died in choking pain.  
With the fine old English Tory days,  
All of the olden time!

The bright old day now dawns again; the cry runs through the land,  
In England there shall be—dear bread! in Ireland—sword and brand!  
And poverty and ignorance shall swell the rich and grand;  
So, rally round the rulers with the gentle iron hand,  
Of the fine old English Tory days,  
Hail to the coming time!

This last verse so accurately expresses the state of affairs to-day, when we have a gang of monopolists who are hoping for "only a small duty, you know, on food"; when we have another gang, booted and spurred ready for civil war in Ireland, and a brutal police autocracy, backed up by grave judges, too, in London.

THOMAS SHORE, jun.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

Three thousand men and boys struck work last week at Usworth Felling, Wardley, and Springwell Collieries, in Durham.

The miners strike in Clackmannan county against the proposed 10 per cent reduction of wages has now collapsed.

The workmen in the Tyneside engineering trade have been conceded an advance of 2s. weekly all round.

The Edinburgh joiners have accepted the employers' offer to pay 7d. per hour, commencing on 3rd March. The settlement has caused much satisfaction among the men.

**STEAM-ENGINE BUILDERS.**—The annual Report says large numbers of men are off work, and the arrears due by them are heavy. The average arrears are over 5s. 4d. per member—the arrears being least at Oldham and Brighton, and heaviest in the West Manchester district.

**NUT AND BOLT MAKERS.**—In accordance with a decision arrived at at a public meeting of nut and bolt makers at Darlaston on Thursday night, notice was given to the employers on Saturday for the return of 5 per cent. taken off the recognised list of prices in 1885.

At a meeting of miners held at Irvine last Thursday a resolution was carried that eleven days per fortnight be worked by miners in the district till they find it convenient to fall in with the resolution of the National Federation of five days per week.

The majority of the girls employed in the hemming department of Messrs. Torrance & Co., Calton, Glasgow, who struck work last week in consequence of a notice of reduction in their wages, have resumed work at the masters' terms.

**FIVE MINERS.**—DUNFERMLINE (Monday).—To-day upwards of 2,000 of the five miners on "holiday" are locked out, and the coal-masters do not meet to consider the situation until Thursday. Many of the idle men had not one penny to draw at the pay-office on Saturday, and a good many families are reported destitute.

**SCOTTISH BAKERS' CONFERENCE IN GLASGOW.**—At the conference held in the Albion Halls last week, it was unanimously agreed to form an organization to be called "The Operative Bakers of Scotland's National Federal Union." The union is to be divided into branches, with Aberdeen as the first seat of the central board.

**WEAVERS' STRIKE.**—The strike at the Newchurch Manufacturing Company's Victoria Works, Cloughfold, still continues. Over a fortnight ago the weavers, who numbered 368, ceased to work because the company had declined to give an advance of 5 per cent. to make up for the loss the weavers allege they sustain in consequence of the bad quality of the material they had to weave.

**NORWICH SHOE TRADE.**—A strike affecting 120 of the riveters in the employ of Messrs. Haldenstein and Sons began on Saturday. The prices paid by the firm on certain kinds of work are said to be under the standard, and the men have other grievances. A meeting of the employes was held on Tuesday, and the secretary of the union is making preparations for a lengthy resistance. From reports I have received, the firm does not bear a very good name in the city.

**IRON TRADE WAGES.**—An important mass meeting of ironworkers representing South Staffordshire was held on Saturday at Wolverhampton, at which it was resolved to instruct the operatives members of the Iron Trade Arbitration Wages Board to give notice for an advance in wages corresponding to the advance that has occurred in iron prices. It is expected that the operatives' representatives will give notice for a 5 or 10 per cent. advance. Loud complaints were made that wages are still regulated by the selling price of bars instead of sheets. The bar trade, it was urged, is fast becoming obsolete, and the sheet trade is taking its place. It was resolved that a change in the direction indicated should also be demanded from the Board. These resolutions affect many of the other ironworking districts besides Staffordshire.

**EDINBURGH BAKERS.**—Last Thursday a largely attended meeting of the Edinburgh bakers was held in the Trades Hall, Mr. Henry presiding. The following resolutions were submitted and carried by acclamation: (1) "That we, the operative bakers of Edinburgh, being convinced that the present degraded and unsatisfactory condition of the trade arises mostly from the want of union among ourselves, resolve to sink all minor differences and unite together to make every lawful endeavour to improve our position by shortening the hours of labour, and thus advancing our physical and social wellbeing"; and (2) "That we are of opinion that the best means by which we can hope to attain our object is by becoming members of and giving our united and persevering adherence to the Edinburgh branch of the Bakers of Scotland Federal Union."

**THE LOCKMAKERS' STRIKE AT WILLENHALL.**—A public meeting of lock-makers was held on Thursday evening at the Town Hall, Willenhall, for the purpose of considering the strike of the workmen employed at Messrs. Payton and Co.'s lock works, Walsall Street, Willenhall; Mr. W. H. Tildesley presiding over a good attendance. The chairman said he entirely sympathised with the lockmakers in their endeavours to obtain a fair day's wage for a fair day's work. The men had been really very unfairly dealt with, and the support that they had received augured well for the successful issue of the struggle. He gave his support to the men because he was a Christian, and believed in the principle, "Do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you," and also as a citizen, knowing that such low wages as these men had been receiving would mean ruin not only to themselves but to the whole town. He hoped the strike would be brought to a successful issue. Mr. William Vaughan (Messrs. Wm. Vaughan and Sons, lock manufacturers) moved, "That this meeting of the inhabitants of Willenhall strongly condemn the action of Messrs. Payton and Co. in their unfair competition with other employers in the district, and pledge themselves to use their utmost endeavours to assist the men to obtain a fair settlement of this dispute." He was pleased to see that their subscriptions were increasing, and he hoped they would still continue to do so. He would do his best amongst his friends and workmen to gain help for them. If the men could only hold out for a few weeks victory must be theirs, for their employers must either shut up or give them wages they could live on. Resolution was seconded, supported, and carried unanimously.

**CLOSING UP THE RANKS.**—The necessity of federation is being recognised

generally throughout the country. Last week the Welsh miners, and the Scotch miners declared in favour of it; now it is announced that the Edinburgh bakers have resolved to join the Bakers' Federal Union of Scotland.

**SEARCHING FOR WORK.**—At the Warrington Borough Police Court, Wm. Woods, who said he had been a soldier nineteen years, was charged with begging. He admitted it, but said he had had nothing to eat for eleven hours, and had walked fifty-three miles from Bradford in search of work on the Ship Canal. The magistrate discharged him with a caution.

**THE LATE BOLTON STRIKE.**—The Bolton Ratepayers' Association, through their solicitor Mr. Grundy, have obtained counsel's opinion on the legality of the charges, amounting to nearly £10,000, for county constabulary owing to the late strike riots. Mr. Crump, Q.C., states that the expenses should not be borne by the borough, and it is expected that the Association will take the matter to the Queen's Bench.

**THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONGRESS.**—The preliminary notice has been issued for this important meeting, which will take place next November. Great precautions have been taken to keep out all those who are not connected with "bona fide" trades' unions. The refusal to acknowledge the solidarity of labour is openly and plainly shown by the ring of wire-pullers who manipulate the English Trades' Union Congress.

**LIBEL.**—Mr. Pickard, M.P., has been mulcted in £500 damages for stating that Mr. Pepper, the owner of the Monk Bretton colliery, had caused misery to many families by discharging men who wanted to avail themselves of the new Act and have the mines inspected on their behalf. The defendant also said that the Monk Bretton mines were full of gas, and had been condemned over and over again by the Government inspectors. The money will be raised by public subscription. A Bill has been introduced into the Commons to amend the law of libel, not, however, before it was wanted.

"Disputes with our servants are very distasteful to the directors." So said Mr. Thompson, the chairman of the Midland Railway Company. The public, however, will find nothing in the past history of the Midland directors to lead them to accept Mr. Thompson's statement, for, as a matter of fact, that company has had more disputes of a serious character with its workmen than any other company in the kingdom, and does little or nothing to avoid them.—*Railway Review.*

A correspondent in a contemporary says that, "after carefully dissecting the returns to the Board of Trade of all the existing collecting companies from their formation to the close of 1885, extending over about fifty years, I found (1) that not more than 5 out of every 100 members of Friendly Societies appear to have received anything whatever in return for their premiums, and that there is no apparent probability of this proportion being increased; and (2) that of the premiums so paid, no less than 55 per cent., on an average, with all the interest received in addition, had been absorbed by the companies in expenses. At present about 9,278,500 persons, averaging 20 years of age, appear to be paying to them about 2d. each, or 10d. per family per week, in the hope of securing to their representatives at their death on an average a little under £16 each."

**THE EIGHT HOURS' QUESTION.**—Much against the will of the clique who work the Trades' Union Congress, a resolution was last year passed that a vote be taken on the eight hour labour question. The Parliamentary Committee issued a circular, and to elucidate the object of that vote kindly undertook to explain what it meant. In the circular men are told that in order to put both sides before the voters, it must be pointed out that "in case of an eight hours law being obtained, all overtime would of necessity cease; that in case of being in favour of asking Government for such a law it must not be forgotten that capital, which is much more powerful and better organised than labour, will have the same right to ask for the regulation by Parliament of the conditions under which you labour; and would you be willing to make the necessary sacrifice in your total week's wages which such an alteration might involve?" Such an extraordinary way of putting the principle before the voters seems unprecedented. How would the nine hour day agitation have fared had the matter been placed in the same light before the men at that time? The voting of the London Society of Compositors took place on Monday. A number of men employed in the printing trade thus protested in a letter to the Executive: "The introductory matter in the ballot paper is of such a nature, and the questions so confusing, that we find it impossible to vote upon the matter. We are, therefore, unable to express an opinion on the Eight Hours' Question, and feel that many of our brother members are in the same difficulty."

In England those that have no work are busily engaged in freezing, starving, and suffering miscellaneously; those that have it rush about after John L. Sullivan; the wealthy men, and those aiming at wealth, are prosecuting their business called Parliament. A few brave men struggle for the rights of the poor and a few for religious liberty.—*N. J. Truthseeker.*

**SOCIALISM AND TRADES UNIONISM** are not at all antagonistic. Trades Unionism wants an infusion of the thorough-going spirit of Socialism. Socialism would be all the more useful for an infusion of the practical clear-headedness of Trades Unionism. Trades Unionism is fighting the present day battle of labour for bread. Socialism points the way to a future for the labourer, in which his struggle with his fellow-man will cease, and labourers will be associated on democratic principles for their mutual benefit.—*Miner.*

**CIGAR-MAKERS IN MONTREAL AND NEW YORK.**—Reports from both the foregoing cities reveal a sad state of slavery amongst the cigar-makers, and of heartless rapacity on the part of the wretches who prey upon their labour. In Montreal, before the Royal Labour Commission, which began its sittings on the 6th of February, witnesses have given evidence that the average wages of cigar-makers only amounted to 4dols. a week, and that the employes were taxed for gas whether they worked or not. Apprentices received 1 dol. per week the first year, 2dols. the second, and 3dols. the third, but these sums were often greatly reduced by fines. An instance was given of an apprentice after working 57 hours, owing his employer 15 cents. The apprentices were often cruelly treated. In New York, where a strike has been going on for some time, the firm of Jacoby and Bookman are ejecting their unfortunate employes from the tenement houses belonging to one of the partners of the firm. "Several of the tenants," says the report, "are young girls, thinly clad, and with faces lined with care. They looked hungry and despondent." Their case impressed the judge as so sad that he strained a point to give them a few days extra time in which to vacate their rooms, as requested by the counsel for the Cigar-makers' Union.

T. BINNING.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING MARCH 10, 1888.

4	Sun.	1877. George Odger died. 1880. Karl Sladkowsky died.
5	Mon.	1873. Plimsoll's Bill introduced. 1882. Edwin James died.
6	Tues.	1848. Riots in Trafalgar Square, West End, and Provinces. 1881. Formation of Land Nationalisation Society.
7	Wed.	1879. Female Suffrage rejected in Parliament.
8	Thur.	1831. Riots to Prevent Shipment of Corn.
9	Fri.	1762. William Cobbett born.
10	Sat.	1872. Mazzini died at Pisa.

*George Odger.*—George Odger was born at Rowbro', a small village between Plymouth and Tavistock, Devon. His father a miner, George was put to the shoemaking at an early age, not much of education falling to his share; by self-culture, however, he became fitted to fill in his native country a public position as an advanced politician, public reader, and reciter. He settled in London, after travelling about for some time to perfect himself in the various branches of his trade, and joined the Cordwainer's Society. In 1839, he took a prominent part in the delegate meetings during the great lock-out in the building trade. When machinery began to be largely introduced into his trade it met with much opposition from the general body of workers, and Odger worked hard to influence his fellows in favour of machinery, and in the same direction, strongly condemned Broadhead and his colleagues for the rattening and outrages in the cutlery trades. About 1863, he was appointed secretary of the London Trades' Council—at the extravagant salary of 2s. 6d. per week—and visited many towns in that capacity, doing more good work than has been done by some of the same body since, although rewarded by presents of game and cups of tea at Sandringham. In 1808, he stood candidate for Parliament for Chelsea, but was shamefully sacrificed on the "don't split the party" altar; in 1869 he was again a sacrifice to "the party" at Stafford; in 1870 he contested Southwark and polled 4,382 votes, the Tory, Col. Beresford, polling 4,686, the election being lost to him by Sir S. Waterlow, who retired, never having a real chance, at the eleventh hour, taking 2,966 votes, a very small proportion of which would have given Odger the position which he had honestly earned. He proffered to contest Bristol the following month, but the preliminary ballot was against him once more, and when he next stood for Southwark in 1874 he had lost ground, polling 3,496. In the course of the negotiations attending the above contests, several attempts were made to bribe and buy him, large sums of money being placed at his command; but George Odger was not to be bought. That he was far-seeing and fitted for the position he aspired to, his conduct during the American war as compared with Earl Russell's ideas at the time is only one proof out of many. He suffered a long and cruel illness from rheumatism, which touched the heart, which disease was further complicated by dropsy and diabetes, and died, brave to the last, at 2 a.m., Sunday, March 4, 1877, aged 63. He was buried at Brompton Cemetery on the 10th, receiving the honour of one of the largest public funerals seen in London for many years; Profs. Fawcett, M.P., and Beesley; Messrs. Dilke, Burt, J. Cowen, Macdonald, M.P.'s, Dr. Bridges, F. Harrison, G. J. Holyoake, and Rev. G. M. Murphy attending on foot; Sir J. Bennett, Mundella, M.P., and Miss Helen Taylor in carriages. Fawcett and Beesley, after the burial service was concluded, addressed the crowd around the grave, Professor Beesley exciting some comment in the press by beginning his speech with the word "citizens."—T. S.

*Land Nationalisation Society.*—This society, under the presidency of Prof. A. R. Wallace, was formed for a very good purpose, that a nation shall own its own. Being founded, however, on an economical basis similar to that of the youthful claimant to the noted Jarndyce estates, described by Dickens in 'Bleak House,' it will probably have an effect on the evils of landlordism somewhere about the time that pigs begin to fly. "In order that the State may become possessed of this portion (quit-rent) of the value of all landed property in the kingdom, it must compensate existing landowners and their expectant heirs."—Wallace's 'Land Nationalisation,' 1882, p. 197. The economic parallel of this is the spending of your last shilling to buy a purse.—T. S.

*Riots.*—The French Revolution stirred up the people of England a good deal, and a few feeble attempts were made here and there to follow the good example. Monday, March 6, there was to have been a demonstration in Trafalgar Square against the Income-tax, convened by a Mr. Charles Cochrane. Act 57, G. III., c. 19, prohibits, during the Session of Parliament, any open-air meeting to petition the Legislature for any measure affecting Church or State, at any place within a mile of Westminster Hall, except the parish of St. Paul's Covent Garden. Warned of this by the police, Mr. Cochrane withdrew, and issued notices to stop the meeting, but this only served to exasperate the assembled audience. After a little sky-larking, during which some unpopular people made acquaintance with the fountains, some Chartist speakers came forward and held a very successful and orderly meeting (composed, according to the papers of next day, of "artisans and labourers out of work, idle spectators, and thieves"). But although this meeting had nothing to do with that proposed, and was therefore perfectly legal, the police attacked the people with their staves and a fight ensued. The wooden railings that then surrounded the pillar were torn up and used as weapons, and after a brief but fierce fight law'n-order had to run for it and take refuge in Scotland Yard. After awhile large reinforcements were got together, and after a severe struggle the Square was stormed and cleared; whereupon the crowd marched round the West End, keeping up a running fight with the police, and smashing lamps and windows until midnight. Loud shouts of "Vive la Republique!" were raised from time to time. For several days the fighting was renewed, but lack of organisation rendered the "mob" comparatively helpless. At Glasgow, the disturbances were much more formidable. On Tuesday, March 7, a large crowd assembled on the Green, and proceeded to arm themselves from the gunsmith's shops with guns, pistols, swords, etc., after which they marched about the town, satisfying their hunger from the provision shops. Police and special constables were put to flight, and the military had to be called out. After sharp fighting and some loss of life on both sides, the "mob" was "checked" and "peace" restored, and about 100 prisoners taken. Large reinforcements of the military were brought into the town, over 10,000 special constables sworn in, and with some trouble quiet was maintained on the following days. At Edinbro', Newcastle, and many other places the same kind of rising took place. As no real organisation or training had been looked after, the energy and effort that, well-directed, might have made a revolution, dissipated itself in futile street-fighting, and only served to warn the governing classes so that they were ready for the events of the next few months.—S.

*Joseph Mazzini.*—On March 10, 1872, Joseph Mazzini, Italian patriot, died at Pisa. He was associated with the most advanced revolutionary party in Italy, and suffered, in common with them, great hardships in prison and exile. Mazzini was born in Genoa in 1805; he was reared in Republican faith, and thoroughly imbued with the principle of Equality. At the age of 22, he joined the Carbonari, a secret society; sent by this society to plant the order in Tuscany, he was entrapped and imprisoned. During this confinement he conceived the idea of founding "Young Italy," a society devoted to the cause of Republicanism and

earnest in their work, was quickly destined to meet the fate of all those who denounced the system of organised oppression. Many of its members were executed, others banished or imprisoned. Although Mazzini with others was condemned to death, yet he lived to see royal dynasties swallowed up in the tomb of popular fury, the Austrian Empire all but destroyed, kings and queens sent to die in exile, the Pope flying in disguise, and the banner of Republicanism floating over the Vatican. When again all this reversed, the armies of law and order over-running Europe, Mazzini never lost heart; he was found an exile in Switzerland carrying on the work he had done. A weak Swiss Government pressed by France expelled him, together with a band of loving exiles, banished for ever from the Swiss Republic. His next move was in the direction of this country, reaching London about the beginning of the year 1837, where he dragged through a life of deepest poverty. Even here, in our country of "freedom and liberty," he was subject to petty annoyances from the government of the day, although amongst the English people he found many co-workers and friends. When in 1848 the Italian people made great efforts to throw off the yoke of rival princes, and Italy was torn asunder at this time by contending parties, Mazzini hastened to his native land, taking a most active part in a great revolt, which achieved the Declaration of the Republic of Rome in 1849. In the meantime the Pope fled from the city. It is to be deplored that this Republic, one of the most glorious and noblest Republics that ever existed, elected by universal suffrage, should have been destroyed by a sister Republic, France. A short-lived Government, of some four or five months, was overthrown upon the invasion of Rome by the French troops. The "Vicar of Christ" returned, reinstated by brute force and violence of foreign arms. After this crushing blow to the hopes of liberty and government by the people, Mazzini left his country, compelled to make a sharp exit, and again steered for London. Living there for a short time he went to Switzerland, from whence he was once more expelled, spending the remainder of a broken and shattered life at Pisa. A recent biographer of Mazzini says: "Mazzini's lofty idealism, his religious spirit, and his constant insistence on duty rather than on rights, frequently brought him into antagonism with many of the revolutionists of Europe. . . . His attitude towards our current Socialism would probably be somewhat different, for that is historical, and is connected with those democratic forms which he thought essential."—F. C. P.

THE BRISTOL UNEMPLOYED.

The Report of the Committee of the Bristol Unemployed has been sent to us, and we regret that space will not allow of its being reprinted entire in these columns. The committee say:

"To us, it is surprising to have found that a movement of this kind, which one would have thought in a so-called Christian country would evoke general sympathy, has, except in a very few instances, some of them to be presently mentioned, met with the most strenuous, unjust, unfair, and even calumnious opposition. There has been a manifest effort to discredit the cause from the beginning. It is no figure of speech to say that the prominent men in the movement have from the first been marked out, and one after the other unmercifully attacked—a manoeuvre, we venture to say, more military in its method than human and honourable in practice against men on whom it would not have been exercised if it had not been meanly assumed that they were poor and defenceless."

As it is well to know who are our friends, we may here give the exceptions referred to. They are the Revs. T. W. Harvey, E. A. Fuller, U. R. Thomas, J. R. Graham, and G. E. Ford; Messrs. R. G. Tovey, and F. G. Barnett, and the Socialist Union. The *Evening News* and the *Bristol Observer* are also credited with "some generous and kind articles."

The mayor and his capitalist friends seem from the first to have tried by every means to discredit the committee, as also Mr. Councillor Tovey, who "his worship" objected to because "his opinions were too pronounced." The mayor's "specific for solving the great unemployed question is, we understand, that men and women must 'work longer hours for less pay'." The Report then refers to the efforts made to pry into the personal character of the committee; and while not objecting to this, which it did not oppose but rather facilitated, suggests "whether it would not be well for the working class to form a court of enquiry into the personal and commercial character of some of our public men." One can scarcely wonder at the bitterness of the concluding words:

"The end of all of it is there is still greater distress now than before. Our efforts appear to have been thrown away, except for a sum of money subscribed sufficient perhaps to provide, if properly distributed, a small loaf each to the very large number of men, women, and children in a semi-starving condition. For a very large number it is, let the mayor, *Mercury*, *Mirror*, and mayor's myrmidons mince and mock as they may, and take joy in such sickly pastime. Granting it is a small number, as they say, how much easier is the task of saving them, and how much greater the blame and the shame that they remain unassisted. But we will not say our efforts are altogether useless. The one main thing it has taught us is that there is no mistake in the idea that the case of unemployed men and women is well-nigh hopeless, and that an attempt to bring their condition before the public in an orderly and peaceful manner is fruitful in nothing scarcely but misrepresentation, calumny, jeers, and gibes of the well-to-do who live upon the produce of other people's labour, and are calmly content to laugh at their brothers and sisters and little children starving and dying, provided they do it not too noisily." T. B.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

Annual Conference.

The Fourth Annual Conference of the Socialist League will be held at 13 Farrington Road, on Whitsunday, May 20. The attention of Branches is particularly referred to (1) Rule V. on the subject of the annual conference, pp. 3 and 4 of Constitution and Rules; and (2) that all branches wishing to be represented at the Conference must pay their subscription up to the 31st March by May 1st.

*Branch Subscriptions Paid.*—1887: Hastings, Nottingham, Felsall—None. Bradford, Croydon, Glasgow, Hackney, Ipswich, Leeds, Marylebone, Merton, North London, Norwich—to end of March. Edinburgh—to end of May. Mitcham—to end of July. Walsall—to end of August. Hull—to end of September. Bloomsbury, Waltham Green, Wednesbury—to end of October. Leicester—to end of November. Clerkenwell, Hammersmith, Hoxton, Mile-end, Oxford—to end of December.

**SPECIAL NOTICE.**—On Monday next, March 5th, the usual monthly meeting of London Members will take place at 9 o'clock. Members of Council are requested to attend early, and business will commence at 7.45.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

*Weekly Subscriptions.*—C. J. F., 2s. 6d. K. F., 1s. Langley, 2s. P. W., 6d. Oxford Branch, 2s. W. B., 6d.

REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—On Thursday evening, W. B. Parker opened debate in absence of J. Lane, who was unwell. CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, Feb. 22, J. Wood (S.D.F.) lectured on "Technical Education." On Sunday, Feb. 26, Capt. Pfoundes on "The United States of Greater Britain." Brisk discussions. Important business meeting next Sunday at 7 p.m.—B.

FULHAM.—Sunday morning meeting addressed by Turner and Morris. Fair sale of *Commonweal*. In evening a meeting was held as usual outside our rooms. Parker (of Norwich), Knowles, Groser, and Sparling spoke, and the choir sung. Afterwards a fair audience in the rooms; Sparling lectured on "The Blind Samson," Parker in the chair.—S. B. G.

MITCHAM.—On Sunday, Turner lectured on "Co-operation." Landlord of club in chair. Meeting of lecturers stands over till next week.—W. G. E.

BRADFORD.—Jowett lectured at Exchange, City Road, on "Democracy and the Political Outlook" on 26th inst. Bland lectured on previous Saturday on "Criticisms on the Toynbee Institute Lectures." Good discussions both times.

GLASGOW.—On Thursday night, comrade Miller, of Kansas City, U.S., gave an account of the Socialist movement in that country. On Saturday, the members present in the rooms formed themselves into a committee to make arrangements for the celebration of the "Commune of Paris," by having a social meeting and concert on the 17th of March. On Sunday, Adams lectured to the Joseph Biggar branch of the I.N.L. on "Political Panaceas." A good discussion followed. At 5 o'clock, when the sleet and rain had cleared off, Glasier held a good meeting in Infirmary Square.—S. D.

LEEDS.—Since last report we have left the rooms in Chesham Street, and at present occupy a room in Lady Lane. During past month our numbers have doubled, and we are looking for larger premises. On Sunday, Feb. 11, Maguire lectured at Shipley on "Private Rights and Public Wrongs." Last Sunday night, Paylor spoke at the Hunslet Liberal Club on "Radicalism and Socialism."

NORWICH.—Sunday last, Mowbray spoke in Market Place; good crowd assembled, though weather was very bad. In evening, in Gordon Hall, Mowbray lectured on the "Anti-Statist Manifesto" in unavoidable absence of Houghton; Morley in chair. We are making arrangements for celebrating the Commune on the 19th of March; we hope to have a London speaker to take part.—S.

WALSALL.—On Monday, Feb. 20th, Butler (of Sedgely) lectured on "The Highlands of Scotland, the Evicted Crofters and Evicting Landlords." Sunday evening we held a tea meeting, Sanders presided. Addresses were given by Donald and Tarn (Birmingham). Recitations, songs, readings, etc., by Weaver, Deakin, and others. Meeting most successful of the kind we have held.—J. T. D.

EDINBURGH.—On 19th, a portion of Kirkup's "Inquiry" read and discussed. On 26th, Smith criticised the objections to Socialism in Donisthorpe's "Labour Capitalisation."

DUBLIN.—At Working-men's Club, Wellington Quay, Feb. 24, C. H. Oldham lectured on "The Position of the artisan class in Irish politics." He showed the relative proportions of the commercial, agricultural, and artisan classes in the United Kingdom, and that only by solidarity could the workers benefit themselves. An interesting discussion followed, in which J. Simmons (Trades Council), W. Anderson, G. Coffey, B. L., and others took part. At Saturday Club on 27th, M. Kavanagh lectured on "Sunday Closing of Public Houses," advocating it as a means towards improving the condition of the workers. Fitzpatrick and others took the opposite view, looking upon the scheme as a tyrannical interference with the liberty of the individual.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Acton.—17 High Street, Acton, W. (adjoining Purnell's Dining Rooms). Sunday March 4, at 8 p.m., J. Turner, "The Control of Capital."

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road. Thursday March 1, Social Evening for members and friends. Thursday Mar. 8, Business meeting (members of the Concert Committee specially requested to attend).

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7. Sunday March 4, at 8.30, Free Concert by Wm. Blundell and Friends. Wednesday Mar. 7, at 8.30, H. H. Sparling, "The Cato Street Conspiracy." Sun. 11. Mr. Touzeau Parris. Wed. 14. Thomas Shore, jnr. (L.R.L.). Sun. 18. Commune Celebration—social evening, with short addresses, songs, etc.

Fulham.—8 Effie Road, Waltham Green. Sunday at 8. Hackney.—26 Percy Terrace, Victoria Road, Hackney Wick.

Hammersmith.—Kelmsoott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday March 4, at 8 p.m., Percival Chubb (Fabian Society), "The Ethical Aspect of Socialism."

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—C. J. Young, 8 Dunloe Street, Hackney Road, Secretary. Members please take up their membership cards for 1888.

Mitcham.—Corner of Morton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open Saturday, Sunday, and Monday

evenings from 7.30 till 11. W. E. Eden, 12 Palmerston Road, Wimbledon, Secretary.

Mile-end and Bethnal Green.—95 Boston St., Hackney Road. Business Meeting every Thursday at 9 p.m. Debating Class for members after Business Meeting.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen (Scottish Section).—Sunday night meetings in Baker Street Hall, at 6. Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St. Nicholas Street.

Birmingham.—Meetings at Summer Row Coffee House every Saturday evening at 8.

Bradford.—Morris's Dining Rooms, 114 City Road. Wednesdays, at 8. On Sunday, Maguire (of Leeds) will lecture.

Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Wednesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. H. M'Cluskey, Millar Street, Secy.

Cowdenbeath (Scot. Sec).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec. Dublin.—Saturday Club, Central Lecture Hall, 12 Westmorland Street.

Dundee (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station. Political Economy class, 2 p.m. Lecture at 6.30.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Every Thursday at 8, class for study of Marx's 'Capital.' At Trades Hall, High Street, Sunday March 4, W. Davidson, "Wealth."

Galashiels (Scot Sect).—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., sec. Gallatown and Dysart (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.

Glasgow.—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Propaganda Committee, Mondays at 8. Discussion Class meets every Thursday evening at 8 p.m.—object, the cultivation of extemporaneous speaking.

Leeds.—Lady Lane. Open every evening. Business meeting Fridays at 8. Address all communications to T. Paylor, 11 Sheldon Street, Holbeck, Leeds.

Leicester.—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8. Lochelly (Scottish Section: Fife).—Secs. (pro tem.), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.

Norwich.—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Monday at 8, an Entertainment will be held. Tuesday at 8.30, Business meeting. Wednesday at 7.45, Band practice and Minstrel rehearsal. Thursday at 8, Discussion class (Gronlund) Friday and Saturday, Club premises open from 8 till 10.30. Lecture on Sunday at 8. Sunday next Paris Commune Committee meet at 4 in Gordon Hall.

Nottingham.—Club and Reading Rooms, 1 Tokenhouse Yard, Bridlesmith Gate, open every evening. Lectures and Discussions every Sunday.

Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.

Walsall.—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

West Calder (Scottish Section).—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 4.

- 10.30... Acton—the Steyne ..... Acton Branch
11.15... Starch Green ..... Hammersmith Branch
11.30... Acton Green ..... The Branch
11.30... Garrett—"Plough Inn" ..... The Branch
11.30... Hoxton Ch, Pitfield St. ... Pope & Mrs. Schack
11.30... Merton—Haydens Road ..... Kitz
11.30... Mitcham Fair Green ..... Wardle
11.30... Regent's Park ..... Nicoll & Allman
11.30... St. Pancras Arches ..... Bloomsbury Branch
11.30... Waltham Green ..... Fulham Branch
3 ... Hyde Park ..... Parker
7 ... Acton—Priory ..... Acton Branch

PROVINCES.

Leeds.—Sunday: Jack Lane End, Meadow Road, at 10.30 a.m. In Prince's Field, at 3 p.m.
Norwich.—Market Place, at 3 every Sunday.

LONDON PATRIOTIC CLUB, Clerkenwell Green.—Next Sunday morning, March 4, at 11.30, W. B. Parker will lecture on "Radicalism and Socialism." Discussion invited.

SHEFFIELD SOCIALISTS, Commonwealth Café, Scotland Street, Sheffield.—Discussions or Lectures every Sunday evening at 7 o'clock. Free.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 4.—No. 113.

SATURDAY, MARCH 10, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## THE PARIS COMMUNE.

THE celebration of the anniversary organised by the English Socialist Societies will take place on

MONDAY MARCH 19,

at the

STORE STREET HALL,  
Store Street, Tottenham Court Road, W.C.

The following speakers will address the meeting:—

ANNIE BESANT, JOHN BURNS, ELEANOR AVELING, WILLIAM MORRIS,  
CHARLOTTE WILSON, P. KROPOTKINE, F. KITZ, A. HEADINGLEY,  
F. HICKS, H. H. SPARLING, DR. MERLINO, BORDES, and others.

The Chair will be taken at 7.30, by

H. M. HYNDMAN.

The following is the resolution which will be moved at the meeting:

*"That this meeting expresses the deepest sympathy with the heroic attempt of the workers of Paris to overthrow the domination of the classes that live by the robbery of labour, and looks forward to the time when the distinction of classes will be abolished, and the hopes for which so many workers have sacrificed their lives will be realised in the true society of the workers of all countries."*

A Choir will attend and give a selection of appropriate music.

Comrades and friends are earnestly requested to take in hand the collection of money for the defrayal of expenses, for which purpose collection sheets have been issued. Donations may be sent to

G. CLIFTON (S.D.F.) Treasurer; or to  
H. A. BARKER (S.L.) Secretary,  
13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

## NOTES ON NEWS.

THE farce of bringing the matter of Trafalgar Square before the House of Commons, that is of asking the Government who ordered the arbitrary closure of it to consider what right they had to do so, was brought to an end on March 2nd. The Government very naturally put its foot down, and in order to put the screw on some of its supporters who used to be considered Liberals and even Radicals, announced their intention of making the vote one of confidence, thereby, of course, formally declaring their approval of all the acts of law and order. Nothing less was to be expected of them, and they would have been fools indeed if they had hesitated in avowing their complicity with Warren, especially after their victory at Deptford.

Sir C. Russell's speech was of little importance; he was bound by convention to make a sort of legal case for the right of use of the Square by the people, to which of course no Government need pay the least attention, since they have plenty of weapons in the legal armoury with which to annihilate any such right. Sir Charles finished fairly well by appealing to the true foundation of the right to speak in the Square, which is, in fact, simply public convenience—for which, of course, no Government cares one jot.

Mr. Matthews repeated the whole string of stale lies about the dangers of the unemployed meetings. He had the fatuity to quote some piece of speaking about the firing of London from an orator, whom Mr. Bradlaugh, interrupting him, said was an associate of the police. In the course of this speech, Sir C. Russell undid the effect of the whole of his action by admitting that the Government had a right to stop the meeting (in that case why not every other meeting?). His speech meant that Trafalgar Square is royal property, and that, whether or not, the executive had the right to stop any meeting they think fit to stop—as they certainly, at present, have the right to do.

It is this all-important fact which nullified Mr. Bradlaugh's powerful speech, which would otherwise have been effective and convincing. He was quite right in stating that besides the question as to whether the people had the right of free speech in the metropolis, the question as to whether they had the right of free speech in the country generally was before them; and the provincial Radicals who have paid no heed to this Trafalgar Square business should take note of the fact. Unfortunately, of what use is the verbal assertion of the right in face of a Parliamentary majority elected by the combined property and ignorance of the nation, and their committee, the Executive Government, who are holding their places on the condition that they will do the bidding of property and ignorance?

Mr. Bradlaugh on the 3rd brought the disgraceful fact of the assaults on prisoners by the police plainly and squarely before the House; but the Attorney-General showed by his speech that the Government understood too well the resources of law-and-order in the great body of professional witnesses at their command—whose idea of duty is to give the evidence that they are expected to give—to be much disquieted at his plain statement of facts. We can only hope that the country generally will take note of it.

Our friend, Cunninghame Graham, spoke as usual boldly and well, and did good service by pointing out the undoubted fact that the Government did their best to create a riot on Bloody Sunday, and that the "hazing" of the police by Warren was a good means of ensuring this. Of course, Matthews denied it; but also, of course, who would play such a game would deny it with the holiest horror. The fact remains true in spite of all denials.

Graham was received with what may be called House of Commons manners, that is to say, more brutally than if he were addressing a crew of drunken roughs at election time. What on earth can one say of men who jeer at a citizen for being ill from the effects of police brutality and prison torture? To call them blackguards has no meaning; to call them curs would be gross flattery, since I have known several curs (real ones with tails) of high moral worth and pleasing manners. How long are we to bear this disgrace, the House of Commons?

So, after all, there was a division on the question; and it may be said as the net gain of the debate that besides the calling the attention of the Committee to the police outrages, it consisted in forcing the respectable Liberals to commit themselves to something, though not much. Whether they will remember this when they come into office is another matter; they have plenty of loop-holes at which to climb out of. Apart from this small gain the matter remains exactly where it was before the debate; the Government are prepared to resist any attempts to speak in the Square by the usual machinery of law and order, police, soldiery, drum-head court-martials, professional witnesses, judge-directed juries, and the rest of it. Who could expect anything else?

The Welsh Anti-Tithe rioters got off very cheap—since they had to pay nothing. If they had done the same thing in London they would have had various terms of imprisonment, from four months to two years for their boldness. What is the explanation of this, if it means anything more than that Mr. Justice Willis is a very much better fellow than his brethren, as we will hope and believe? I cannot help thinking that it means a recognition of the power of the Nonconformists, who are the strength of the respectable Liberals. Anyhow, glad as we must be that these good fellows have got off, we are bound to point out once more what a ridiculous tyranny our law courts are. A crime in London is a peccadillo in Wales.

That absurd body, the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, has been receiving a petition from some wise-acres as to the Sunday amusements of the upper classes. These amusements only concern us from the fact that they are paid for by misery of the lower classes. But the curious *non sequitur* of the petitioners that excursion trains on Sundays should therefore be stopped, shows the cloven hoof under the garment of religion, and lets us know what these anxious Christians would do to us if they could.

W. M.

"They manage these things better in France," though it be not a dictum that holds all round, at least appears to hold in the trial of

M. Wilson over the "decoration scandal." When may we hope to see the same kind of jobbery exposed here? And, when it is exposed, to hear an English magistrate or judge say to a prince or duke or that kind of person, that his offence was aggravated by his high position, and that therefore he must undergo a heavy punishment, where a less illustrious person might have got off with much less.

"They do these things better in Germany," might well be the cry of any ordinary patriotic Briton on reading that the Duke of Cambridge had smashed up the Wimbledon Volunteer Rifle-meeting, in order to heighten the rent on some of "his" land that lies behind the butts. The *Star* well contrasts this kind of jew-broker business with the behaviour of German generals, men of the same blood as the Umbrella Duke. "Imagine Moltke dealing a serious blow at his beloved *Landwehr* merely for the sake of obtaining a large rent for his estates!"

Can there be a plainer example of the spirit of our present system than this weakening of a national defence for the profit of an individual? The earl of Wemyss is not only a prominent Individualist, but also one of the chief originators, if not the chief, of the National Rifle Association. What has he to say in the matter?

Of course the "beastly flunkies" re-elected the Royal Grabber as their president, even after the kicking he had bestowed upon them!

A few numbers back in this column I spoke of King Ja Ja and his appeal to English justice. The whole affair has duly taken the course I predicted. He was promised protection, and has been deposed; guaranteed a fair trial on the spot, and hurried hundreds of miles away from it; allowed to call no witnesses, and sentenced on the bare word of his accusers. He is only another poor "protégé" of England who has found her honour to be that of a gambling hell, and her tender mercy that of a tiger. S.

### THE RICH FOOL.

*"The ground of a certain rich man brought forth plentifully. . . . And he said, . . . I will pull down my barns and build greater, and there will I bestow all my fruits and my goods. And I will say to my soul, Soul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years; take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry. But God said unto him, Thou fool."*

In these ungodly days, when the howl of Radical "Reformers" against the Church and her ministers seems growing louder, all manner of Socialists, not to mention well-meaning but misguided men like John Ruskin, are never tired of showing that the political economy which the Christian sects of to-day practice is wholly at variance with the precepts of the religion which they profess; when the poor seem to be forsaking their divinely appointed shepherds, and joining the angry throng of agitators whose syren voice is leading them astray,—in such depressing times surely a word of encouragement to those two despised sects of Ministers of Religion and Professors of Political Economy will not be thrown away.

Let them, then, take heart of grace; for, after all, the centuries have not been wholly wasted,—something has been achieved; and thanks mainly to their energy, no man now is in danger (wherever else he may fail) of incurring, as this man in the parable did, the awful contempt of the Most High, and being called "Thou Fool" by Him, who is so jealous of the use of those dreadful words as to threaten any mortal who ventures to speak them with being "in danger of Hell fire."

For what rich man to-day, whose ground (note in passing how by these words divine sanction is given to private property in land) brings forth plentifully, would be so foolish as to think to store his crops, and to rejoice his soul, like any common labourer, on the mere bread and potatoes which would most likely form the product of his estates? And who, to gain this foolish end, would be so entirely devoid of common sense as actually to waste what ready money he had in pulling down his barns to build greater, in order that he might (ah, wretched folly!) live on his principal? No! thank Heaven, our Land-owners, and wealthy people generally, have learnt the lesson, and are become wise; they would "realise" their crops, let their barns to a tenant, and, after purchasing machinery for the future cultivation of their ground, invest the remainder of their money in some Limited Liability Co., or let it out in some other way, so that it might at the same time yield them a good interest and be quite secure from thieves breaking in to steal. And for purposes of making merry, have they not rich and dainty viands, and champagne, and every conceivable luxury? which indulgence (as Sir Henry Knight knows well) is entered to their credit as "charity," since it all makes work for the unemployed. Trouble me not with suggestions that perhaps there were no unemployed for this rich fool to find work for: to-day, when we have labour-saving machinery, there must and always will be poor who desire employment; and it is in dispensing charity to them that modern wealthy men find that ease for their souls which the rich fool of old vainly expected to find in eating and drinking. Therefore our Philanthropists lay up treasure in heaven by nobly sacrificing all that they do not require themselves to charitable purposes,—National Vigilance Societies, Hospitals, Missions, Soup Kitchens, and what not; and in confirmation of the divine saying "Give and it shall be given unto you," we see that for every pound they give away in charity, they receive an hundred-fold from the proper investment of that wealth which the rich fool of the parable stupidly thought to store up till he had consumed it.

Will the vile agitators, who trade on the necessities of the poor, remind me of that other Rich Man, who, although he allowed Lazarus to lie at his gate and eat the waste from his table, yet was consigned to Hell and eternal torments? or of him who was advised to "sell all that he had and give to the poor"? Do they tell me that "ye cannot serve God and Mammon," and bring up against the practice of investing money for interest the command to "lend to him of whom ye hope to receive nothing again," with all the passages pretending to be condemnatory of Interest in the Old Testament? Or will they ask what I have to say to that action of the early Christians, who, having land, sold it and laid the money at the feet of the apostles (the predecessors of our present spiritual Lords) and they had all things in common?

A certain Negro preacher, teaching his flock how at the creation God made Adam and Eve of clay, and leaned them up against a fence to dry, when interrupted by some sceptic with the question "Who made dat fence?" replied with crushing force, "Bredren, such questions as dese are enough to overturn any system of theology."

To these my carping critics I condescend no other answer than that of the negro minister. Inconsistencies and human failings of course our clergy and economists have—as what mortal has not?—but to them belongs the honour and spiritual satisfaction (glory they do not seek) of having taught the rich to "labour not for the gold that perisheth," since it is so much more easily acquired by Interest than by Labour; whilst at the same time they have impressed upon the poor the duty of being contented in that state of life unto which it has pleased God to call them.

Therefore let the Ministers of Religion and Political Economists labour on in harmony together, comforting themselves with the reflection that though they be despised and ridiculed by this wicked world, "that which is highly esteemed among men is abomination in the sight of God."

GEORGE STURT.

### CHATTEL SLAVERY v. WAGE SLAVERY.

In the Brazilian Empire there are 1,300,000 slaves, and their estimated value is about 436 dols. per head. A movement is on foot in Brazil to abolish slavery, and strange to say the leaders of the movement are the wealthy landowners. It has been found, by the experience of the Southern planters, that the wages system gives cheaper labour than chattel slavery did, and the Brazilians are profiting by the experience. When the Brazilian landowner has acquired a slave, to preserve his property he has to feed, clothe, and care for it, whether it is at work or not, and whether he can sell the product of his slave's labour at a profit or not. Modern industrialism has found a better method of slave-owning than this: it borrows the public slaves whenever it can make money out of them, and the day it finds the loan unprofitable it discharges them and sends them back to the public or to Old Scratch, which is about the same thing. The system is beautifully ingenious, and infinitely superior to the old system. Prior to the burst up of the Roman Empire all government and all social life was founded on slavery, and it is only within very recent periods that the old plan of chattel slavery has been superseded by wage slavery. Let us give just a minute or two to the subject. A chattel slave in Brazil is worth from 400 dols. to 700 dols., and he must be fed, clothed, and cared for whether or not he is at work. A wage slave in the States gets 365 dols. a-year, in England 300 dols., in Ireland 125 dols., and in India 20 dols. Those are the ascertained average wages. According to the life assurance tables a healthy young man of twenty will on the average live about forty years. His average wage is, as we have seen, in the States 365 dols. a-year; this latter sum multiplied by forty therefore gives the market price of a man's life. This is 14,600 dols. There is nothing fanciful about this. It is plain matter-of-fact. For less than 15,000 dols. one may have the products of a life of labour for one's use or wasting—one can go into the market and buy just as many lives as one pleases at that price. When the clever arrangement of Protection enables a sugar refiner to make a profit of 30,000 dols. a week, it gives him the power of eating up the entire lives of 104 wage slaves every year. Is not the system an admirable one? Is not wage slavery, except to the wage-slave, a vast improvement on chattel slavery, and is it not easy to understand why the slave owners of Brazil are anxious to abolish chattel slavery and replace it with the wage-slavery of modern industrialism? There is only one disturbing circumstance in the arrangement—there is such a thing as a love of justice in the hearts of many people, and these demand a day of reckoning. About a hundred years ago one of those days of reckoning came in France. It was unpleasant while the reckoning was proceeding. Another such day is very near in America, when the wage-slaves will remonstrate with dynamite and protest with the torch. They have got the idea into their heads that they are entitled to what they earn, and that those who do not work should not be allowed to eat. They propose to reverse the present position, and become themselves the masters. They don't know exactly how to set about the business, but they will eventually try some rough and coarse plan, which may produce the required result or it may not. There is a hoarse sullen roar which can already distinctly be heard in this the office of Advanced Thought, and that roar increases in strength and volume from day to day. The wage-slave of the immediate future will demand something more than mere subsistence, and if he doesn't get it there will just be the most tremendous shindy the world has ever witnessed. We have warned the world in good time. If the world does not take the warning and act upon it, so much the worse for the world. If the world is wise it will accept our warning, and should it wish to consult us specially, our representative can be found any evening at the rink.—*The Bobcaygeon Independent.*

A FELLOW EXILE OF LEDRU-ROLLIN.—M. Octave Dupont, the friend and fellow exile of Ledru-Rollin, died on Friday 24th ult., while playing billiards at a Paris club. He was seventy-seven years of age. He took part in the Socialist rising of 1849, fled to England, and was sentenced by default to hard labour for life. He was for nearly twenty years professor of French in a military college in England. He retired on a pension, and on the fall of the Empire returned to Paris, and was for a time a municipal councillor.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

FRANCE.

The Marxist organ of our French Socialist comrades, *Le Socialiste*, has been obliged to stop its publication, owing to lack of financial support. Comrades Jules Guesde, Paul Lafargue, and Gabriel Deville, who have been very active in propagating the Communist doctrines of Marx and Engels, will no doubt find ere long the means of continuing their work in a new paper.

Our French colleague, *La Révolte*, has commenced in this week's literary supplement of its valuable organ the translation of comrade William Morris's striking Socialist interlude, 'The Tables Turned.' It will certainly incite some of our French comrades to make use of the theatre as a means of Socialist propaganda. We may add that the first instalment of this French translation is in every way an admirable one.

ITALY.

During the first week of April a new paper will be started at Mantua, entitled *L'amico del Popolo* (the People's Friend). It is to be a weekly Socialist organ for the defence and propagation of the ideas and doctrines put forward by the Italian working-men's party.

The unemployed of Rome are at the present time in a great state of excitement. They have asked for work, and instead of work Signor Crispi has sent the military to the spot, in order to settle the starvation question in the usual shameful way. Several people have been seriously injured and a great number of arrests have been made.

GERMANY.

The trial of the so-called Central Committee of the Socialist Party at Berlin has come to an end. Comrades Ferkel, Apelt, Jahn, Schmidt, Wilschke, and Seelig have got three months, Scholz and Neumann two months' imprisonment, and several others have been dismissed. From the whole dreadful secret conspiracy there remains nothing; it was all police humbug, and the magistrates, for once, did not dare take on account the rather clumsy means and ways used by the interesting employes of his Excellency M. von Puttkammer.

Our readers are aware that at the St. Gallen Conference of the German Social-Democratic party it was decided to convene an International Socialist Congress to be held at London during the present year. But it so happened that about the same time the English Trades' Union Congress at Swansea also resolved to summon an international conference. The committee appointed by the St. Gallen Conference and the Parliamentary Committee of the trades unions thereupon entered into correspondence, in order to make it possible that only one general international congress should be organised. These negotiations have completely failed, and the St. Gallen committee, composed of all the deputies at the German Reichstag, have now decided to convene an international congress for the year 1889. In the next issue of this paper I shall give a complete translation of the circular issued by that committee, stating at some length the reasons for the failure of the said negotiations.

BELGIUM.

After the pardon which has been granted a fortnight ago to the ex-clerical M.P. of Brussels, Vandersmissen, sentenced to fifteen years' hard labour for the murder of his wife, it would have become an everlasting shame for the reactionary Belgian government to detain any longer in prison the victims of the strikes of March 1886. Last week Xavier Schmidt, sentenced to twenty years' hard labour for a crime which not he, but society, had committed, was released from jail. However, it is not a full amnesty which has been granted him, but only a provisory release for illness' sake. Nevertheless it is certain that our Belgian comrades won't rest until this has been changed to a definite one. It is said that in a few days, Oscar Falleur, who was also sentenced to twenty years' hard labour, will be set free. We earnestly hope and believe that all the other victims of the capitalistic exploitation, and the Belgian prisons are full of them, will no longer be detained, but one and all of them are equally innocent of the "crimes" for which they have been unjustly condemned. And our young and courageous comrade Jahn, is he not to be released too? Our Belgian friends would only do their duty by working for him as they have done for the victims of the March strikes.

The ironworkers of Sous-le-Bois (Aversnes district) have struck, asking 5 per cent. augmentation on their wages. The strikers are now 600 in number, but it is said that a general strike is imminent, and then there will be about 4000 men out of work. At the Providence works, at Haumont, 1100 workers are also on strike, and it is rumoured that several other thousands are likely to join in the struggle. The outlook in the whole district seems a very dark one.

Our readers will remember the quarrel which some time ago arose between the Belgian and the English fishermen at Ostend. The question was one of lawful exploitation of the poor fishermen by the rich boat-owners, and it was at once settled by the intervention of the military, who shot dead five workers, wounded a couple of dozen others, and finally imprisoned a good many of the hungry men. Sixty-nine of these have now been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, amounting to fifty months, and fines to three thousand francs! The brutal force and the brutal justice are the two regulators and settlers of all social questions in our well-organised society! Proletariate of all countries, unite! and then, but then only, victory will become yours!

V. D.

**EDINBURGH PLUMBERS.**—At a meeting held in Edinburgh a local council was appointed to act in unison with the London Plumbers' Company, with the view of bringing about a national system of registration of plumbers.

On the whole, therefore, we honestly think that a committee of the thieftous denizens of Pentonville would be more likely to form an intelligent opinion regarding the cause and cure of the sweating system than the Select Committee of Inquiry which the Tory Government have consented to appoint.—*Reynolds*.

Every man is a consumer, and ought to be a producer. He fails to make his place good in the world unless he not only pays his debt, but also adds something to the common wealth.—*Emerson*.

Liberty, I am told is a divine thing. Liberty, when it becomes the "Liberty to die of starvation," is not so divine.—*Carlyle*.

EASY LESSONS.

[ELLEN MARY DOWNING. Reprinted from the *United Irishman*, April 22, 1848.]

"SPECIAL PLEADING."

The very subtlest eloquence  
That injured men can show,  
Is the pathos of a pikehead,  
And the logic of a blow.  
Hopes built upon fine talking  
Are like castles built on sand;  
But the pleadings of cold iron  
Not a tyrant can withstand!

"SERMONS IN STONES."

An ancient poet singeth  
Of a sermon in a stone,  
And Frenchmen thought it good enough  
For preaching to a throne.  
So piled they up the barricades  
With ready will and hand;  
For the preaching of a barricade  
A king can understand!

"MUSIC."

Now, citizens and countrymen,  
'Tis time for us to learn  
Aristocrats are kindest  
When democrats are stern.  
They talk us down and walk us down,  
Who cringe to their command;  
But the yell of our defiance  
Not a coronet can stand!

In The Great Metropolis.

[ARTHUR HUGH CLOUGH, D. 1861.]

Each for himself is still the rule;  
We learn it when we go to school—  
The devil take the hindmost, O!

And when the schoolboys grow to men  
In life they learn it o'er again—  
The devil takes the hindmost, O!

For in the church, and at the bar,  
On 'Change, at court, where'er they are,  
The devil takes the hindmost, O!

Husband for husband, wife for wife,  
Are careful that in married life  
The devil takes the hindmost, O!

From youth to age, whate'er the game,  
The unvarying practice is the same,  
The devil takes the hindmost, O!

And after death, we do not know,  
But scarce can doubt, where'er we go,  
The devil takes the hindmost, O!

Ti rol de rol, ti rol de ro,  
The devil take the hindmost, O!

"DERANGEMENT OF EPITAPHS."—A few days ago, says the *Pall Mall Gazette* on the 3rd, some verses were quoted in this paper from Mr. Lewis Morris's "Silver Wedding Ode" in *Murray's Magazine*, and Mr. Morris was referred to as "first favourite to the Laureateship," not of course *de jure*, but *de facto*, as this is the second occasion on which Lord Tennyson's duties have been devolved upon Mr. Morris. The *St. Stephen's Review* makes this delicious reference to the matter: "How the lucubrations of a Socialist poet will be received at Marlborough House and Windsor I have yet to learn." Such is fame! But perhaps the *St. Stephen's Review* thought that two blunders make a right, and thus tried to make amends to Mr. William Morris for the reference to him the other day in another Tory journal—the *St. James's Gazette*—as "Mr. Morice, the author of the 'Earthward Paradise.'"

IRISH EVICTION STATISTICS.—A parliamentary paper was issued on the 27th Feb., showing the number of tenants and sub-tenants evicted in Ireland during the quarter ended September 30, 1887, and the number readmitted as tenants or as caretakers on the day the decree was executed. The total number evicted was 4,033; readmitted as tenants or sub-tenants, 52; as caretakers, 2,330. For the various provinces the numbers are—Ulster, evicted, 538; readmitted as tenants or sub-tenants, 7; caretakers, 377. Leinster, evicted, 596; readmitted as tenants or sub-tenants, 17; caretakers, 213. Connaught, evicted, 1,006; readmitted as caretakers, 632. Munster, evicted, 1,893; readmitted as tenants or sub-tenants, 34; caretakers, 1,108. A return of evictions from agricultural holdings in Ireland during the same quarter for causes other than those included in the foregoing table, which were for non-payment of rent, non-title, or breach of covenant, shows that 162 persons were evicted, of whom 27 were readmitted as caretakers.—*Pall Mall Gazette*.



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW? FIRST, FEW MEN 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.

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#### Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday March 7.

<b>ENGLAND</b>	<b>UNITED STATES</b>	<b>Liege—L'Avenir</b>
Bristol—Magpie	New York—Freiheit	<b>ITALY</b>
Church Reformer	Der Sozialist	Gazetta Operaia
Christian Socialist	Volkzeitung	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Croydon Echo	Chicago—Vorbote	<b>SWITZERLAND</b>
Democrat	Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer	Geneva—Bulletin Continental
Jus	Douglasville (Ga.)—Roll Call	<b>SPAIN</b>
Justice	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	Barcelona—Acracia
Kettering Observer	Hammonon (N.J.)—Credit Foncier	Madrid—El Socialista
Leaflet Newspaper	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volkblatt	<b>PORTUGAL</b>
London—Freie Presse	N Haven—Workmen's Advocate	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Norwich—Daylight	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	<b>GERMANY</b>
Our Corner	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Personal Rights Journal	<b>FRANCE</b>	<b>AUSTRIA</b>
Railway Review	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Vienna—Gleichheit
<b>NEW SOUTH WALES</b>	La Revolte	<b>HUNGARY</b>
Hamilton—Radical	Guise—Le Devoir	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
<b>INDIA</b>	<b>HOLLAND</b>	<b>SWEDEN</b>
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Madras—People's Friend	<b>BELGIUM</b>	Malmö—Arbetet
	Seraing (Ougree)—Le Reveil	

## THIEVES.

"WHAT'S in a name?" asked Shakespeare, and we in these days can answer, "Everything's in a name."

"That which we call a thief  
Call him but (s)peculator, and the world  
Will bow before the fruit of his success."

In this age of unrealities we worship mere names. Old formalisms, that have lost whatever life was once in them, constitute our religion and pervade our social life. The old virtues are fled, and all that we have now is the hollow echo of glories that once were, the pretence where no possession is, a mockery of reality. In nothing is the miserable hypocrisy of the present day seen more plainly than in this name-worship. The identical same vice that is strongly condemned under one name is as loudly praised under another. Especially is this so with that huge vice—the effort to live without working by getting hold of the result of other people's work, i.e., theft. Now it is the end and aim of the lives of our business classes to succeed in this action; our present system of society is built up on the foundation of the effort to carry it into effect. By theft I understand the taking of goods in the production of which the taker had no part, and for which he gives no equivalent to the producers; and this is precisely what is done by landlords and employers of labour every day; and yet when a thief arises who openly calls himself by his true name, he is instantly subjected to indignation and bad treatment from his veiled fellow-plunderers, who punish him for doing openly what they do underhandedly. So hypocritical is our society of thieves that it cannot endure that anything,—not even robbery, its favourite amusement and sole support,—should be done except under a cloak. There is work for an Ithuriel amongst these thieves who try to hide their knavery even from themselves by taking such names as capitalist, employer of labour, or landlord. At the touch of truth the devil will stand exposed in them all.

I do not say that every idler is really conscious of being a thief. In most instances his training has dulled his intellect too greatly to allow him to grasp the reality of things; but the reality of his robbery is there all the same. Born into a corrupt society, and educated on the orthodox plan of crushing out any tendency to independent thought, it is no wonder that he takes for granted the rightfulness of his position. "Do you call me a thief, young man?" a middle-class man indignantly asked me at a meeting on one occasion; and the question seemed to imply that no harm could be done by an evil if he who performed it did so unthinkingly, or was unconscious of its wrongfulness. The evil of robbery is the main principle in our class society, and it is no palliation of the evil to plead that the robbers call themselves by some other name, and blind even themselves to the real nature of their mode of

living. The old robber baron who sent out his troops of mercenaries to pillage, was no more a thief than the modern landlord who, with his troops of mercenaries—rent collectors, bailiffs, and (witness Ireland to-day), armed soldiery as well,—levies blackmail upon the tillers of the soil, attacks their homes with crowbar brigades or burns them with petroleum, and drives the wretched tenantry out, in many cases to die of exposure to the elements. Why, we have in our very midst the same old system of plunder, decked out in the same array of ruthless cruelty as we had in the old times, the recital of whose events fills us with a horror of their injustice!

"Ah," says the virtuous capitalist, "I am not as these are. Your attacks do not touch me. These landlord cruelties I do not practice." No! Your robbery is disguised under the garb and name of "commerce;" and if it be true that you do not practice these atrocities, what is the meaning of the burning villages of Burmah and other half-civilised countries? What do they mean if they are not the outcome of your greed, which sent your armed hirelings there to gain plunder for you? At home, too, are not the crowds of homeless unemployed a direct outcome of the robbery that your competitive system practises? Don't talk cheap sentiment about the "glory of the empire" and the "dignity of labour"; but if you are a man, be honest in your villainy, and confess that it is villainy.

It would be an interesting experiment to pass in review every one of those qualities that are the subject of adulation from our commercial classes: almost without exception they will be found to be vices which, under other names, are as loudly condemned. The virtuous middle class woman, under the veiling name of "marriage," prostitutes herself by taking for a partner a man, not because she loves him, but because he can give her a good position in society, and hypocrite (though often an unconscious one) as she is, looks with scorn upon her sister prostitute who openly proclaims what she is. The pious middle class will zealously refrain from lying, unless you call it "advertising" or "criticising a political opponent"; from murder, unless it is styled "maintaining the commerce of the country in foreign parts;" and from theft, unless you apply to it some such name as "business enterprise" or "commercial success."

Would again that some Ithuriel would touch the horrid shams and deceiving shapes under which the fraud and degradation of our present system has hidden itself, and show the real devil's nature of the brute!

FRED. HENDERSON.

## SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

### CHAPTER XXII.—SOCIALISM MILITANT.

WE have now arrived at the most exciting part of our subject, since it has to do with what we may fairly call the practical politics of Socialism, with matters which all who call themselves Socialists must of necessity consider, unless they chose to relegate themselves to the position of theorists pure and simple. What lies in the scope of these chapters is the giving some idea of the relative position of the attack and defence in the passing time, when armies are definitely gathering for the battle, and it is beginning to be perceived that Socialism is the one serious question of the epoch, since it covers every interest of modern life.

Let us turn our attention first of all to the defence; and we use the word advisedly, since the present proprietary and dominant class has absorbed into itself its old enemy the feudal proprietary class, and, since it has now no longer anything to attack, has taken the position once occupied by the latter. This indeed has been the position of the victorious middle-class for some time, but it is now at last waking up to the fact, and can see the enemy which is advancing to the attack. The middle-class is speedily getting to be no longer democratic even in appearance: it once wore that guise because it was confounded with the working-classes, whose position was then entirely subordinate to it. This condition of things was the high-water mark of the French Revolution, though there were from time to time indications of the coming solidarity of labour; and it lasted through the revolutionary period of 1848. Up to that time the triumphant middle-class, trampling down the last embers of the feudal opposition, saw nothing before it but a continued career of success; although the principles on which that success was founded were not of the kind that would allow it to have a definite aim beyond the point which it had already reached.

The first distinctive movement in England betokening a separate and aggressive community of feeling in the working-class itself, was the Chartist agitation; but this, as we have pointed out in preceding chapters, was swept away by the great wave of British commercial prosperity indicated by the success of the Cobden-Bright, or as it is called on the Continent, the Manchester School. The main result of this wave of prosperity was the enormous increase in the number and power of the middle-classes, and the corresponding rise in their standard of comfort. It is often alleged that the working-classes are in a better position than they were fifty years ago, and that this is the main work of the nineteenth century; but the improvement is doubtful and the inference drawn from it is false. The fact is, that the country fifty years ago was passing through a severe commercial revolution, that of the great machine industries, which, as before stated, brought for the time unexampled misery upon the workers, and that the settling down

of this crisis did to a certain extent relieve this special and temporary misery. But apart from that the condition of even the aristocracy of labour is little if any better than it was. What has really happened is just that increase in the numbers and prosperity of the *middle-classes* above spoken of. But this great and overwhelming prosperity of theirs is now seriously threatened. The increasing severity of competition in the world-market, accompanied by a ceaseless and rapid increase in the productivity of labour, acting and reacting on one another, are bringing about a fresh commercial revolution which will extinguish the small capitalist by reducing his profits to the vanishing-point; so that none but huge concerns, joint-stock or otherwise, will be able to survive, and the once small capitalist will have to become a manager, a servant of the great one. This process is already far advanced, and is creating a fresh lower middle-class entirely dependent on the commercial aristocracy. Under these conditions that very rise in the standard of middle-class comfort has become a snare to the class as a whole. The difficulty of ordinary well-to-do families in finding a "respectable" position for their children is now a sufficiently trite subject; all occupations endurable by a "refined" youth are overstocked; education is cheap and common, and has lost its old market-value, and even at the ancient seats of learning it has grown to be a matter of commercial competition.<sup>1</sup> The lower ranks of art and literature are crowded with persons drawn to these professions by the pleasantness of the pursuits in themselves, who soon find out the very low market value of the ordinary educated intellect. These, together with the commercial clerks, in whose occupation no special talent is required, form an intellectual proletariat, whose labour is "rewarded" on about the same scale as the lower portion of manual labour, as long as they are employed, but whose position is more precarious, and far less satisfactory.

On the whole, then, in spite of the rise in the standard of comfort of the middle-classes, it must be said that they have rather gained power than well-being, and that they are now being threatened with a loss of that power, their tenure of which, now that the working-classes are beginning to learn their solidarity, depends on the latter being apathetically contented with a position at the best inferior to that of the bourgeoisie.

But the bourgeois ideal of what that position of the workers might be at the best, has never been realised, nor ever can be; nor as above-said have the working-classes any special reason for being "contented" at the present time. The class of unskilled labourers are still, as they always must be in a system which forces them to compete with their fellows, in the position of earning a bare subsistence wage; and this class tends to increase more and more, as the introduction of fresh machines increases the productivity of skilled labour, makes it possible to substitute unskilled in its place, and thus drives the skilled artisan from his position and compels him to accept that of the unskilled labourer.

Elaborately arranged figures, therefore, by which is sought to show that the workmen in general are steadily improving their condition, where in themselves correct, which is by no means always the case, are only applicable to certain groups of workmen, and even then frequently do not prove what they are intended to: e.g., the average wages will be stated at such and such, but it never happens in any trade that all the workmen receive the full amount of the wages stated after all deductions are made; few workmen indeed are in constant employment, even when trade is flourishing; the estimated prices are the full wage laid down by the trade unions, but most workers unprotected by a union, and in bad times even men inside the union, often work for less than the full wage; some, as in the building trades, are never employed for a large part of the year; and in all trades it would be impossible to keep up the standard of wages without occasional strikes and lock outs. It must be remembered, too, that the workman is often taxed in the form of his subscription to his trades union or benefit society, which from one point of view means that he helps his master to pay his poor-rate. Moreover it is doubtful if the unions are strong enough pecuniarily to hold out against a continued depression of trade.

However, the question of this doubtful improvement in the position of the better-off workmen is by the way. The real point is, first, that there are many indications that this improvement cannot be sustained in the face of the continuous increase in the productivity of labour, and that the position of the skilled mechanic is a precarious one; and secondly, it is clear that however the workmen's position may have improved, they are growing discontented with it, since it is becoming manifest to them that it is one of inferiority, and quite unnecessarily so. And that especially since the management of production is less and less undertaken by the so-called manufacturers, who are more and more becoming mere financiers, or shareholders obviously living on the privilege of taxing labour, both that of the "hand" and of the manager.

All this has been gradually dawning on the workmen of the Continent, and especially of Germany (so much more intellectually advanced than the British workmen) since the bourgeois constitutional revolution of '48.

E. BELFORD BAX and WILLIAM MORRIS.

<sup>1</sup> A very old friend, who has been for many years engaged in tuition at Oxford, has told me that the pressure there has enormously increased since I was an undergraduate; that for instance the kind of man whose attainments would once have ensured him a mastership at Rugby or Harrow has now to put up with a place at a third-rate grammar school, and that the competition for quite insignificant posts is most severe.—W. M.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### "PRACTICAL" SOCIALISTS.

SIR.—As comrade Binning has placed his side of the question before us I trust you may be able to find room for a few brief criticisms.

Is it not historically obvious that progress in any society is measured by the number of extremists, idealists, or men who "go the whole hog," and the activity of these in propagating their ideal views? We believe that by directly propagating and "focussing our views on the far distant future" we indirectly urge forward minor reforms; and that the latter is accelerated or restrained by just so much as we accelerate or restrain our activity in propagating our ideal Socialism. Does comrade Binning deny this historical truth? If our view is correct, he could not only afford to isolate himself from parliamentarianism, but in devoting his time to propagating his ideal Socialism he could draw many a useful (not necessarily "carping or cavilling criticism") lesson from the "blundering efforts" of the "palliative annointers."

Such being the case, we cannot consent to alter our mode of procedure because a misunderstanding—born of ignorance—as to our action in this respect seeming to oppose reform, takes place in the minds of some.

It is that very "common action" which comrade Binning wishes us to take with minor reformers that is so reactionary, by tending to obscure the ultimate ideal.

TIM BOBBIN.

All "non-politicals" must have read comrade Binning's "counterblast" with an amount of mixed pleasure and regret. Morris's charge against "practical" Socialists was one of "want of perspective," or the too common fault of not being able to see beyond one's nose. T. Binning has proven Morris's charge, if not wholly, partly so, and the "tooters of penny whistles" have cause to be thankful.

Comrade Binning says: "It is with the bare and ugly present that I am concerned"; and again, "A true revolutionist is one who brings something to bear upon the ordinary everyday life of his own generation." All "non-politicals" will see at once the grave admission. I agree decidedly, but do not stop there, because it is impossible, although perhaps prophetic, to say right off that this is "the generation" which will benefit by Socialism. It is with "generations of peoples" that a true revolutionary Socialist must feel concerned. Surely our comrade Binning's "political" mind was dazed, or he would have recollected that this generation was severely suffering from the faults of past generations; and "political" programmes must intensify this evil for future generations while monopoly in the means of subsistence exists. Further on, those Socialists who do not believe in "practical" methods are charged with "a cowardly policy in standing aloof." This does not apply; it could be used by "non-politicals" in an opposite sense.

It is clearly the duty of revolutionary "non-politicals" not to "carp and cavil," but to "criticise" all "political" efforts; which efforts, we are told, will result in "foretastes" of Socialism. What are these foretastes? Are they part of the Social Democratic programme—viz., Adult Suffrage, Annual Parliaments, Proportional Representation, Payment of Members, etc., etc.? If these are what our comrade means by "foretastes," he surely can find a loop-hole for his efforts without casting charges of cowardice amongst the ranks of those who dub themselves "non-political." The new Society cannot be brought about by legal and pacific methods, and that is why I claim to be a revolutionary non-political Socialist.

The terms "impatient spirits" and "apostles of inaction" seem to me to be very contradictory. Again, "the main body of the workers must be leavened with the spirit of Socialism." Exactly; and that is the one thing, above all others, that non-politicals, the so-called "apostles of inaction," have set themselves to do. I disagree with your methods, not aim.

And now comes the text of our comrade's "counterblast": "I hold that a truly Socialistic Society can only be established and administered by Socialists . . . a determined and intelligent minority prepared to take control." Surely this cannot be one of the foretastes? However, I cannot subscribe to the above text. A centralised minority-force of "Socialist" administrators, directors, or whatever name you may give them, will be as great an evil, if not worse, than those Governments dubbed Liberal and Tory. You must not forget for one moment the display of party spirit in all governments; and I guess, with some amount of certainty, that this "intelligent minority" would possess their share of party, to the detriment of the worker's interest; who, I suppose, our comrade imagines they would represent. It will be our bounden duty to combat such centralisation of minority-dictation.

And why? Let us find the answer out of Binning's own mouth. He charges non-political Socialists with being partisans of revolts, forgetting that the Socialist centralised administration (if it ever becomes full-blown) must of necessity be productive of revolts, and, says he, "revolts can achieve even at the utmost a mere change of governors." Just so, politically. He cannot mean socially. If he does, the charge does not stand. A mere change of party, of governors; and that is why we must criticise and combat the utility of such administration.

In conclusion, all Socialists, whether professing political or non-political methods, must assuredly agree that "monopoly in the means of subsistence" is a cardinal principle which must not be lost sight of. Now, if my comrade Binning admits that a "Socialist" Administration such as he speaks of is to be brought into existence and carried on before this cardinal principle has been obtained—viz., monopoly of all the means of subsistence abolished—I must give it as my opinion that the Administration is not worth working for. For my part I am content to work for the attainment of this principle, and that alone, outside all centralised forces; at the same time, as far as possible, educating my fellow-workers in the doctrines of International Revolutionary Non-Political Socialism. After this latter admission, I feel sure comrade Binning will feel much regret at having used the phrase "Apostles of Inaction." If not, I shall feel inclined to think he must be one of the "Impatient Spirits."

W. BLUNDELL.

The way to make a happy future is to make a happy present.—Ernest Jones.

Ignorance is a disease, and a deadly and dangerous disease. There are few things in the world more costly than an ignorant man.—Ernest Jones.

In a valiant suffering for others, not a slothful making others suffer for us, did nobleness ever lie. The chief of men is he who stands in the van of men, fronting the peril which frightens back all others; which, if it be not vanquished, will devour the others. Every noble crown is, and on earth will for ever be, a crown of thorns.—Carlyle.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

The strike of the weavers at Colne is now in its sixteenth week. The employes remain steadfast, and are being well supported.

The fustian trade is very bad at Islam and Cadishead. The ship canal has given employment to a number of those out of work.

The weavers in Heywood and district are agitating for an advance of wages. Several firms are reported as paying below the standard list. The employes of one firm have already begun to take action.

The strike of engineers at Blackburn for an increase of 2s. per week was settled on Monday, the men returning on an immediate advance of 1s. per week, and the promise of another shilling on the first week in June.

In consequence of the depression in trade, the associated masters of the Dean Forest coal trade have advised their agents that the various qualities of coal, except small, will be reduced sixpence per ton on March 1st. Notices have also been served on the colliers of 2½ per cent. reduction in wages, to commence at once.

**THE KIRKCALDY MINERS.**—The miners in the Kirkcaldy district have not resumed work, although in some instances the pits are being worked by men who have not come out on strike. Those who agreed to take a fortnight's holidays are now willing to return to work at the masters' reduction, and await the decision of the meeting of coalmasters to be held this week.

**TERMINATION OF THE HOE-MAKERS' STRIKE.**—The strike of the hoe-makers at the Brades Steelworks, Oldbury, reported in the *Commonweal* of 21st January, terminated on Tuesday, 28th February, and the whole of the men resumed work on Wednesday morning. The masters have conceded everything asked for by the men, and they are not only to be allowed for all waste made, but they are to have a substantial increase also.

**CRIBBING TIME.**—A determined effort is being made by Inspector Osborn to put a stop to the cribbing of time, which is notorious in the limited spinning companies in the Rochdale and Oldham districts. The number of cases which have been brought into court, notwithstanding the smallness of the fines imposed by partial magistrates, is producing a wholesome effect. The operatives ought certainly to do all in their power to aid the inspector in his somewhat difficult task.

**NUT AND BOLT MAKERS' STRIKE.**—On Saturday night a meeting of nut and bolt makers was held at Darlston. Mr. R. Juggins read a circular which was addressed to the employers, and pointed out that in 1885, when wages was reduced 5 per cent., the employers promised that 5 per cent. should be returned when trade had sufficiently improved and the workmen applied for the same. Several employers had already intimated their willingness to comply. It was decided to continue the strike and the levy in support of the men.

**END OF A STRIKE OF WORSTED WEAVERS.**—A strike which appeared to be assuming large dimensions was brought to a conclusion last week. It affected about 360 or 400 worsted coating weavers in the employ of Messrs. Merrall and Sons, of Lees and Ebor Mills, Haworth, and at Oxenhope. The terms finally offered by the masters were that the deductions should be returned, but that the rate per piece should be reduced 3d. A vote by ballot was taken, and, after some discussion, the men decided, by a majority of five votes, to accept the terms.

Reports from Lancashire show that great depression in trade still continues in several districts, both in the cotton and woollen industries. At Castleton, several of the mills are very slack, and the outlook in all branches of trade is gloomy. At Milnrow the whole of the hands employed at Messrs. Scholfield and Sons, woollen mills, are again reduced to working four days a week after only two or three weeks full time. At Higher Walton, the spinners at Messrs. G. and R. Dewhurst's are running short time, and the card hands have done very badly for the last six months. There are between 70,000 and 80,000 spindles at this mill.

**COLLAPSE OF THE FIFE MINERS STRIKE.**—The men resumed work on Monday after a three week's struggle. From reports to hand, it seems that the companies were getting cornered, notwithstanding the stocked coal; orders had been diverted from the Forth to the Tyne, thus giving promise of victory to the men if they had held out a little while longer. The reduction of 10 per cent. on the wages is most unwarrantable, as the dividends paid average 12½ per cent. It is most lamentable to see how the workers allow themselves to be defeated in detail instead of massing themselves against their tyrants.

**THE LOCK-MAKERS' STRIKE AT WILLENHALL.**—A deputation from the lock-makers on strike at the works of Messrs. Payton and Co., Willenhall, having requested that the list of prices paid by other makers in the district should be adopted by the firm, a notice was issued to the effect that "unless the workmen now on strike accept the terms we hereby offer—viz., rim-lock makers to return at prices previously paid, and mortise-lock makers at the list of prices arranged between our Mr. Cashin and William Turner—they one and all are discharged from our employ." It is stated that the list referred to was not adopted.

**COLLIERS' STRIKE.**—The whole of the men and boys employed at the Felling, Ulsworth, and Wardley collieries, on the south bank of the Tyne, are on strike under rather peculiar circumstances. A dispute arose as to some extra time of one of the workmen, named Wilson. Wilson being absent from the colliery, his brother acted as a substitute, and the men alleged that the brother worked and received pay for three extra "shifts." There is an arrangement among the men that no man shall work for more than twelve days in a fortnight, and as the manager refused to suspend Wilson the men came out on strike. On Wednesday 181 of the men were summoned for illegally absenting themselves from work, and 170 were fined 5s. per day and costs. They marched in procession to the court, joined by the Ulsworth workmen, who laid their pit idle for the day. For this they in their turn have been summoned. Meetings have been held, and it was decided not to pay the fines, and lay all the pits idle till the masters accede to their requests.

**THE NORWICH UNEMPLOYED.**—It was reported in these columns some weeks ago that the Norwich Corporation had resolved to look a little after its unemployed during this winter, and in the goodness of its heart had ordered a hundred tons of granite to be broken up, the mayor making a buttery little speech at the time, expressing great sympathy with the men. To those who think that sympathy is the real motive, the following little conversation, which I got from a councillor who heard it, may bring the matter into a new

light. Several Tory councillors, on the conclusion of the work, were speaking about the cost of it, and one of them asked how much more it had cost than it would have done had they bought the granite ready broken. After a little figuring, the answer was, "£150." "Well," replied the sympathetic gentleman, "none of us will grudge that. *It's a damned cheap price to have kept them quiet for.*" So that it seems, after all, that fear of a repetition of last year's rioting was the motive. Let the unemployed learn the lesson that this teaches.—F. H.

**STRIKE IN THE NORWICH SHOE TRADE.**—The committee of the local branch of the National Union of Operative Boot and Shoe Rivetters and Finishers have issued an appeal to their fellow-workmen in which they say—"We now take the opportunity of appealing to you to render us what assistance you can in our present struggle with the firm of Haldinstein and Sons, who have locked out men in consequence of their refusing to accept a series of reductions, direct and indirect, among which is a turned-in kid shoe at 5s. per dozen, also a glazed kid, button or ball, at 5s. 6d. per dozen. There are other things in dispute, but we think the above is sufficient to show we have a good cause. This firm has always been a source of trouble to both the Union and our branch, so much so, that we have had to spend the greater portion of our branch funds upon this firm. Not only this, but all the other firms in Norwich point to this as a pretext to justify themselves in offering reductions, and should these employers succeed in their object, we may expect to hear something from the other firms, who at present are paying considerably better wages." It is very much to be regretted that a very large proportion of the men affected are not members of the Union. This is one reason, no doubt, for the action of the firm, as of course the strain on the society's funds is very great. It is to be hoped that whether or not success attends the present effort of the employes, the outcome will result in greater solidarity amongst them in the future.

**PRESENT AND FUTURE.**—The present need is pressing, and daily bread must be looked after; but the future also takes up the thoughts of careful men. Socialism must not take our attention from the practical bearing of the facts of every-day life. Trades Unionism must not entirely absorb those facts alone.—*Miner.*

The sweater's employes are practically slaves, with all the disadvantages and few of the advantages of genuine servitude. And like slaves, they have, alas! in too many instances the characteristics of slaves. The iron of their miserable lot has so eaten into their very souls that they have seemingly lost the desire for emancipation.—*Regnolds.*

At Burton-on-Trent a working cooper, in the employment of Messrs. Allsopp, has been elected to the School Board at the head of the poll with 6,235 votes, and his employer, Mr. George Allsopp, M.P., who was chairman of the late Board, was ninth on the list of those elected, and only polled 3,418 votes. Burton-on-Trent is evidently getting democratic, in spite of beer.—*Democrat.*

Sir James King, Lord Provost of Glasgow, as a railway director, addressed a large assemblage of Caledonian Railway employes a few nights ago, and in the course of his interesting remarks estimated, pretty accurately, that nearly a million people got their daily bread from the railway interest. So far as some thousands of them are concerned the Lord Provost's remark is literally correct, for they are enabled to get bread and little else, by reason of their scanty wages. While they must eat their bread without butter, those who impose such terms upon them have theirs buttered on both sides, and are enabled to indulge in many other luxuries besides. It is surprising to find how railway men endure this sort of thing—but they do.—*Railway Review.*

**THE RAILWAY STRIKE IN AMERICA.**—NEW YORK, March 5.—At a meeting held yesterday of engineers representing all the railways running into New York, it was resolved to support the men on strike on the Burlington, Chicago, and Quincy Railway even to the extent of stopping all the railways in the country. The Brotherhood of Engineers and Firemen, numbering 100 men, employed on the Chicago, Burlington, and Northern Railway, have decided to strike to-night owing to the company's interchanging traffic with the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy line. In the House of Representatives to-day a resolution was brought forward for the appointment of a committee to investigate the cause of the strike on the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad, and act as mediators for securing an amicable settlement of the dispute.

**THE WORKLESS AND HUNGRY IN ROME.**—A serious agitation among the working classes, and especially among the masons, has manifested itself during the last few days in Rome, and assumed large proportions on Thursday 1st inst. In consequence of the economical crisis in Rome, several of the more important contractors have been compelled to suspend their works. Many workmen are unemployed, and are without means of subsistence. The bakers' shops in several quarters were threatened, and the unemployed assembled in various parts of the town and compelled their comrades to leave work. The troops had to be called out to keep order, and arrests were made on a large scale. The agitation throughout the town was considerable. The press urged the Government to take energetic measure to procure occupation for the unemployed by beginning several of the public works—such as the Tiber embankment, the law courts, and the new barracks.

**A "WOLF'S REASON."**—As one of the reasons why the German Reichstag felt bound to prolong the law against the Socialists, it was mentioned that they could not be prevented from preaching at their meetings murder, riot, and revolution! At the same time there existed another law throughout Germany which empowers the police to dissolve any meeting as soon as they think it necessary. Of this power use has been made very frequently already, even before the law against the Socialists was passed in the year 1878, and amongst other reasons why public meetings of workmen have been dissolved at Berlin and at other places, are recorded the following:—1. Because there was not a passage left free in the middle of the hall. 2. Because a window was open, and the watching official got the conviction that it was for that reason an open-air meeting. 3. Because people were standing outside a window looking into the hall, and the police-officer thought they might break the panes. 4. Because somebody in the hall during a speech shouted out "Ridiculous!" 5. Because some people laughed. 6. Because a dog came into the hall, etc., etc. For such empty motives every meeting, even of thousands of persons, can be dissolved; and then the bourgeoisie is not ashamed to bring forward as one of their reasons that they have not power enough to prevent public speakers from preaching "Bloody Revolution!"—G. Sch.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING MARCH 17, 1888.

11	Sun.	1702. First London daily newspaper.
12	Mon.	1817. J. Cashman hanged for "treason" in connection with Spa Fields Riots.
13	Tues.	1733. Dr. Joseph Priestley born. 1848. Chartist Meeting on Kennington Common.—Open-air Demonstration at Berlin. 1879. William Broadhead died. 1881. Execution of Alexander II.
14	Wed.	1820. Gilbert McLeod transported for five years for sedition (a speech at a Radical meeting). 1848. Metternich expelled from Vienna. 1883. Karl Marx died.
15	Thur.	1812. D. J. Eaton imprisoned for publishing <i>Age of Reason</i> . 1881. Famous Article in the <i>Freiheit</i> . 1883. Explosion (nitro-glycerine) at office of Local Government Board, Whitehall, and at same time unsuccessful attempt on the <i>Times</i> office.
16	Fri.	1820. H. Hunt and others tried for conspiracy.
17	Sat.	1754. Madame Roland born. 1877. Public Funeral to George Odger. 1882. Meeting at Grafton Street to celebrate the Commune and death of Czar.

*Great Demonstration of Chartists on Kennington Common.*—1848 has been called the year of revolutions, it was certainly a year of public meetings. On the 6th of March, a meeting of the bourgeoisie was called in opposition to the income tax; it was called by one Cochrane, for Trafalgar Square; it was proclaimed by the Government, and Cochrane funked and tried to prevent the meeting. A man was found with pluck enough to preside, and a splendid Chartist meeting was the result, resolutions in favour of the Charter and the French revolutionists being enthusiastically passed, and no trouble would have arisen but for the action of some well-dressed rowdies who stirred up the police to baton the crowd who had followed the chairman to his house in Wellington Street, where he spoke from the balcony. G. W. M. Reynolds, the man who dared the Government, was not up till then known as a political speaker, but he by this action made his mark, and at the great demonstration on Kennington Common of the following week he took the chair, the other speakers being McGrath Williams, Clark Dixon, and Ernest Jones. Some 20,000 persons were present, and a strong police force, over 4,000, some being mounted and armed with sabres and pistols, and some in plain clothes in the body of the meeting. Special warnings were issued to dealers in powder and shot, and gunsmiths were requested to unscrew the barrels of their fire-arms. The Charter was unanimously adopted, and cheers were given for the French Revolution, the tricolored flag all the time waving from the platform. In the evening another great meeting was held, this time in the South London Hall, Blackfriars Road; and the next day yet another.—T. S.

*Alexander II. Romanov executed.*—On March 13, 1881, the execution took place at St. Petersburg of Alexander II. Romanow. This man united the vilest cruelty with the meanest hypocrisy; drenching for instance Poland in blood, having thousands of men killed at Plevna in celebration of his birthday, sending the best men and women of his country to die in prison holes, in Siberian mines and icy deserts, and on the gallows only for having Socialist opinions; all this while posing with his sham emancipation of the Russian peasants from serfdom as a "liberator," robbing Turkey under the pretext of fighting for the freedom of the Christian nations of that country, etc. He well deserved his fate. One of those who undertook to kill him was killed on the spot, another shot himself when the police broke into his home; Jesse Helfmann was left to die painfully and slowly in the Junglow dens; and five, Ryssakoff, Michailoff, Telaboff, Kibultshish, Sofia Perofskaja went through a judicial farce, were sentenced to death, and afterwards submitted to tortures, a practice commonly exercised with political "criminals" in Russia; their dying voices, oversounded by the noise of drums, told that to the people. Their murder is described even by bourgeois correspondents as a most horrible scene, some being hanged twice or thrice and slowly strangled, struggling for many minutes with death. (Their murderer was to have met the same fate as his father six years afterwards, on March 13, 1887, but escaped for that time.)—Z. Z.

*'Freiheit' Prosecution.*—Englishmen whose liberties are now taken away one after the other, will do well to remember that from that same time the much-boasted freedom of the press was practically done away with. John Most had made in the weekly German paper *Freiheit* (Freedom), in the issue of March 19th, some comments on the execution of the Russian despot, differing of course from the laudatory hymns of the hired capitalist press. Upon this, on the instigation of the German Government, whose most dangerous enemy the *Freiheit* was at all times, six ruffians invaded on March 30th the office of the *Freiheit* and arrested Most. He was put into Newgate and was shamefully ill-treated there, as well as afterwards in the House of Correction of Clerkenwell. The public prosecutor shifted his ground on every stage of the prosecution. Arrested on the charge of a libel on the late Emperor of Russia, Most was committed for trial at Bow Street for inciting to murder Continental rulers in general, but on the trial he was charged with inciting persons to murder William I. of Germany, the well-known "heldengreis," and Alexander III. of Russia. Evidently the Government feared he would prove the truth of the alleged libel on Alexander II. by showing the atrocious deeds of this man. Public opinion was raised against this attack of the "Liberal" Government, headed by Mr. Gladstone, on one of the most cherished English liberties. A defence committee was formed, and an English paper *Freiheit* was started, of which seven numbers appeared (April 24th to June 5th). Most was ably defended by the Irish M.P., Mr. A. M. Sullivan, who showed from English literature many examples of eulogy upon tyrannicide which nobody ever thought of prosecuting. The packed jury, of course, found Most guilty, and Lord Chief Justice Coleridge sentenced him to sixteen months imprisonment with hard labour, an outrageously severe sentence, the "crime" (which did not exist, indeed) being a political one, and Most having been imprisoned for months previous to the trial. He left the prison on October 26, 1882, and shortly afterwards went to America. The "Liberal" Government was not content with these exploits; they delivered letters and addresses stolen in the *Freiheit* office to the German and Austrian Governments, and the imprisonment and ruin of several comrades in these countries were the consequence of this deliberate denunciation by the Gladstonian Government. They also prosecuted the *Freiheit* again and again, imprisoned Schwelm and Merten, and made it impossible for the paper to be printed further in England, thus practically destroying the freedom of the press.—Z. Z.

*Death of Karl Marx.*—Karl Marx, often called the founder of scientific Socialism, was born at Treves on May 18, 1818. He studied at the Universities of Bonn and Berlin, and became a convinced partisan of the Hegelian school of philosophy, and in so doing showed that he had ceased to see things as eternally fixed categories, and observed the change in them, the evolution. Thus the more consequent thinkers of that school were soon led also in losing their blind respect for the now existing social and political institutions, held by silly people to have existed and to exist from everlasting to everlasting. They observed the

conditions of change, and found that the political, religious, etc., conditions of any epoch, are dependent on the economical conditions of that epoch. This theory is commonly called the "materialistic contemplation of history." Also the American, Morgan, working on quite a different field from Marx, came to these same conclusions. Marx edited a Radical paper at Cologne (*Rheinische Zeitung*, 1842-3); after its suppression by the Prussian Government, he carried on at Paris the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, in which Socialist and Radical articles are mixed. He collaborated the *Vorwärts*, wrote several pamphlets together with his friend for life, Friedrich Engels; also a refutation of Proudhon's views, 1847, etc. At this time the *Kommunisten-Bund* (Union of the Communists) was formed, the first really International Socialist Society, and Marx and Engels wrote the celebrated Communist 'Manifesto,' probably the Socialist document which is widest spread and soonest translated into any language in which a Socialist literature, however small, exists at all. He and Engels lived afterwards in Belgium, editing the *Deutsche Brüssler Zeitung*, but were expelled by the Government of that country, which was then nearly as servile as it now is to the Prussian authorities. They went to Paris, but the revolution of 1848 flashing out they returned to Germany, and edited at Cologne the daily *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, the most brisk and fervent Socialist paper of the many which sprang up then all over the country. It was suppressed in 1849; Engels went to Baden, Marx to Paris, and thence was forced to come away to London. Here the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was edited for a short time as a review, printed at Hamburg, but soon died. The *Kommunisten-Bund*, many of whose members had been fighting in Germany and had finally fled to England, split not long afterwards, there being an authoritarian and a federalist party in it; Marx belonged to the former, or rather he was the head of that party. He lived from this time in London, writing pamphlets, corresponding for the *New York Tribune*, and doing his great work of research and study in political economy, history, etc. In 1859, he published a book, entitled *Zur Kritik der Politischen Oekonomie*, from which Lassalle afterwards took the bulk of his arguments. His chief work is *Das Kapital*, vol. i., 1867; vol. ii., 1885; the third volume announced to come out in one or two years. A Russian, French, and lately an English translation of that fundamental book for criticism of the present system of society, and many extracts and popularisations, for it is a rather tough lecture at first, have been published. Marx was intimately connected with the International Working-men's Association, founded in St. Martin's Hall, on Sept. 28, 1864, with the founding of which he had perhaps more to do than any other.—Y. Y.

TO THE EDITOR.

The Respectables (would-be) of Hackney and Bethnal Green are very busy in getting up petitions against meetings on Sundays in Victoria Park, the reason given is "because of the bad, seditious, blasphemous, and disgusting language used." If the Reds and the Reds of the neighbourhood don't soon wake up and take action they will find no place left them to air their grievances. The canvassers very kindly inform you that anyone can sign irrespective of age, therefore the petitions are largely filled up by children and women, who sign it mostly because someone else has signed.

T. R. COOPER.

Comrade Bolas asks us to say that comrade Burton who is spoken of in last number as "formerly a member of the Hamersmith Branch," is still a member; has lately paid up all subs., and expects to be back and working with us in about two years' time.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

Annual Conference.

The Fourth Annual Conference of the Socialist League will be held at 13 Farringdon Road, on Whitsunday, May 20. The attention of Branches is particularly referred to (1) Rule V. on the subject of the annual conference, pp. 3 and 4 of Constitution and Rules; and (2) that all branches wishing to be represented at the Conference must pay their subscription up to the 31st March by May 1st.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1887: Hastings, Nottingham, Pelsall—None. Bradford, Croydon, Glasgow, Hackney, Ipswich, Leeds, Marylebone, Merton, North London, Norwich—to end of March. Edinburgh—to end of May. Mitcham—to end of July. Walsall—to end of August. Hull—to end of September. Bloomsbury, Walham Green, Wednesbury—to end of October. Leicester—to end of November. Clerkenwell, Hammersmith, Hoxton, Mile-end, Oxford—to end of December.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Weekly Subscription—W. B., 6d.

**Strike Committee.**—Collected in Regent's Park, Sunday March 4th, 2s. 4d. —J. LANE.

REPORTS.

**ACTON.**—Good open-air meeting held at Steyne at 11 on Sunday by Day, Tochatti, and Maughan. Good sale of *Commonweal*. At 12, good meeting on Front Common, Turnham Green, when Tochatti, Day, and Maughan spoke. Sold one quire of *Commonweal*. We have discontinued meeting on Acton Green, and intend to hold it in future on Front Common, at which we hope to have a larger audience. In the evening, J. Turner lectured at our rooms on "Control of Capital," before which Day and Maughan held a meeting outside.—H. J. D.

**BLOOMSBURY.**—Social evening held last Thursday at Communist Club by members of branch and their friends. Very successful.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Wednesday, Feb. 29, Capt. Pfoudeas spoke on "Voluntary Emigration." Good discussion. On Sunday, March 4, a very enjoyable "social" evening was spent by members and friends.—B.

**FULHAM.**—Sunday morning meeting addressed by Parker (of Norwich) and Catterson Smith. *Commonweal* sold well. One new member, and 2s. collected. Usual meeting outside rooms in evening. Parker, Tochatti, and Groser spoke; and Parker afterwards lectured on "The Labour Struggle and how to end it."—S. B. G.

**BRADFORD.**—Maguire, of Leeds, lectured at the Exchange last Sunday evening on "Private and Public Wrongs." Well received and good discussion. Gaskell lectured same time at Firth's Temperance Hotel on "Social Reconstruction of Society."

**NORWICH.**—Tuesday, Feb. 28, quarterly meeting of members held. Our membership has greatly increased during the last three months; in November it was 40, to-day we number 74. Sutton was elected secretary, F. Turner treasurer. Friday a paper opposing Socialism was read at one of the Sunday-schools in this town, when branch members were present in strong numbers and took part in the debate. On Sunday, a much larger meeting than usual was held in the

Market Place, owing to the strike in the shoe trade here. Mowbray addressed it, principally on the strike. In evening in Gordon Hall, Houghton lectured on "Malthusianism" to good audience, Turner in chair; Mowbray and Hardy took part in discussion.—S.

WALSALL.—Monday, Deakin lectured on "Technical Education." Good discussion. Last Sunday, Donald delivered fine address on "John Ruskin as a Moral Teacher;" well received. Saturday we visited Pelsall, and listened to lecture at the Wesleyan Mutual Improvement Society on "Unpractical Socialism." Sanders and Deakin spoke, and although allowed only a few minutes, succeeded in evoking manifestations of sympathy from a large number of the audience.—J. T. D.

LONDON PATRIOTIC CLUB.—On Sunday morning, W. B. Parker lectured here on "Radicalism and Socialism." Mr. J. Fuller took the chair. Good discussion.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Acton.—17 High Street, Acton, W. (adjoining Furnell's Dining Rooms). Sunday March 11, at 8 p.m., Miss E. Wardlow on "Ireland."

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road. Thursday Mar. 8, at 8.30, Business meeting (members of the Concert Committee are specially requested to attend). Thursday Mar. 15, at 8.30, Dr. Aveling will lecture on "The Gospel of Socialism."

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7. Sunday March 11, at 8.30, Mr. Touzeau Parris. Wednesday March 14, at 8.30, Thomas Shore, jun. (L.R.L.). Sun. 18. Commune Celebration.

Fulham.—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sunday at 8, Mrs. Wilson, "The Social Revolution."

Hackney.—28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Road, Hackney Wick.

Hammersmith.—Kelmecott House, Upper Mall, W. Sun. at 8, J. Toehatti, Human Nature and Socialism.

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—C. J. Young, 8 Dunloe Street, Hackney Road, Secretary. Members please take up their membership cards for 1888.

Mitcham.—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Rooms open Saturday, Sunday, and Monday evenings from 7.30 till 11. W. E. Eden, 12 Palmerston Road, Wimbledon, Secretary.

Mile-end and Bethnal Green.—95 Boston St., Hackney Road. Business Meeting every Thursday at 9 p.m. Debating Class for members after Business Meeting.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen (Scottish Section).—Sunday night meetings in Baker Street Hall, at 6. Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St. Nicholas Street.

Birmingham.—Meetings at Summer Row Coffee House every Saturday evening at 8.

Bradford.—Morris's Dining Rooms, 114 City Road. Wednesdays, at 8.

Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Wednesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. H. McCluskey, Millar Street, Secy.

Coventry (Scot. Sec).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec

Dublin.—Saturday Club, Central Lecture Hall, 12 Westmorland Street.

Dundee (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station. Political Economy class, 2 p.m. Lecture at 6.30.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Every Thursday at 8, class for study of Marx's 'Capital.' Trades Hall, High Street, Sunday March 11, Gilbert Hossack, "The Workers' Share of Civilisation."

Galashiels (Scot Sect).—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., sec.

Gallatoun and Dysart (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatoun Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.

Glasgow.—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Propaganda Committee, Mondays at 8. Discussion Class meets every Thursday evening at 8 p.m.

Leeds.—Lady Lano. Open every evening. Business meeting Fridays at 8. Address all communications to T. Paylor, 11 Sheldon Street, Holbeck, Leeds.

Leicester.—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8.

Lochgelly (Scottish Section: Fife).—Secs. (pro tem.), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.

Norwich.—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Monday, Entertainment at 8 by the Minstrel Troupe. Tuesday, Members meeting at 8. Wednesday, Ways and Means Committee at 8.30. Thursday, Discussion class (Gronlund), 8. Friday, Literary Committee at 8. Band practice at 8.

Nottingham.—Club and Reading Rooms, 1 Tokenhouse Yard, Bridlesmith Gate, open every evening. Lectures and Discussions every Sunday.

Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.

Walsall.—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

West Calder (Scottish Section).—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 11.

11 ...Acton—the Steyne .....Acton Branch  
 11 ...Turnham Green—Front Common...Acton Bch.  
 11.30...Hoxton Church, Pittfield St. ....Pope & Wade  
 11.30...Merton—Haydons Road.....The Branch  
 11.30...Mitcham Fair Green .....Kitz & Eden  
 11.30...Regent's Park .....Parker  
 11.30...St. Pancras Arches .....Bloomsbury Branch  
 11.30...Walham Green .....Fulham Branch  
 3 ...Hyde Park .....Parker  
 7 ...Acton—Priory .....Acton Branch

PROVINCES.

Leeds.—Sunday: Jack Lane End, Meadow Road, at 10.30 a.m. In Prince's Field, at 3 p.m.  
 Norwich.—Market Place, at 3 every Sunday.

On Thursday March 15 a Discussion will take place at 13 Farringdon Road, at 8.30 p.m., on Communist v. Individualist Anarchism, to be opened by Peter Kropotkin. Admission free; discussion invited.

PROGRESSIVE ASSOCIATION, Penton Hall, 81 Pentonville Road.—Sunday March 18, at 7 p.m., Percival Chubb, "Ethical Socialism in Practice."

LEYTONSTONE WORKING MEN'S CLUB, 1 Cathall Rd., Leytonstone.—Sunday March 25, 11.30 a.m., H. Halliday Spurling on "What Socialists Want."

SHEFFIELD SOCIALISTS, Commonwealth Café, Scotland Street, Sheffield.—Discussions or Lectures every Sunday evening at 7 o'clock. Free.

Imprisonment of Gough.

Our comrade Gough will be released from Pentonville Prison on March 14th. Cantwell, Nicoll, and Parker are organising reception.

The Strike Fund.—Entertainments will be given on Saturday evenings in the Hall of the League, at 8 p.m., in aid of the above Fund. Friends wishing to assist with songs, recitations, instrumental music, etc., should at once communicate with W. B. Parker, at office of League. First Entertainment, March 24th.

East-end Socialist Club.—A Grand Vocal and Instrumental Concert will be given in Hall of League, at 8 p.m., on Easter Monday, April 2nd, in aid of funds of projected East-end Club.

PARIS COMMUNE CELEBRATIONS.

CLERKENWELL.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C., on Sunday March 18, at 8.30. Social Evening, with short addresses, songs, etc.

NORWICH.—On Sunday March 18 a great meeting will be held in the Market Place, to celebrate Paris Commune. On Monday March 19 a Tea and Entertainment will be held in the Gordon Hall. Tickets 1s. each, to be had of the Secretary.

BIRMINGHAM.—It is intended to celebrate the Commune by a Dinner, etc., on March 19. Friends wish to join in the same please communicate with comrades Sketchley and Copeland, 8 Arthur Place, Parade, immediately.

DUBLIN.—The celebration of the anniversary of the Commune of Paris will be held, under the auspices of the Dublin Socialist Club, at 2 Bachelors Walk, on Sunday March 18th, at 8 p.m. Tickets 1s. each.

SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—Meeting at Commonwealth Office, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday March 11, at 3.30 p.m.

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 Chancery Lane—Smith, 14 Cursitor Street.  
 E.C.  
 Old Street, St Lukes—Davidson, 75. Askey, 107. —, 166.  
 St Lukes—Baker, Tabernacle Street. —, 36 Featherstone St.  
 Sun Street—Lawrence, 48.  
 Chiswell Street—James, 30. —, 51.  
 Clerkenwell—Edwards, 118 Rosoman St. Trigg, Clerkenwell Green. Walker, 181 John Street Road. Hill, Compton St. Brightly, Spencer Street.  
 Finsbury—Cason, 37 Leonard Street.  
 Farringdon Street—Forder, 28 Stonecutter Street.  
 Fleet Street—Reeves, 185. Froethought Publishing Coy., 63. Marshall, Fleet Street. Farringdon, Fetter Lane. Brandon, Wine Office Court.  
 E.  
 Whitechapel Road—Eades, 219.  
 Hackney Road—Miller, 15. C. J. Bouchard, 157a Goldsmith Row. King, Goldsmith Row.  
 Hackney—Barker, 16 Morning Lane.  
 Hornerton—Worledge, 52 High Street.  
 S.E.  
 Blackfriars Road, Bridge End.  
 Borough Road—Ketteridge, 117. Titcomb, 29.  
 Borough—Laing, 5a St. Suffolk Street.  
 Deptford—Coppard, Green Bank, Tooley Street, corner of Knoll Road. Taylor, 274 Lower Road. Pasco, 86 High Street. Chambers, Deptford Bridge. Clayton, 12 Clarence Place. Deptford Bridge.  
 Greenwich—Chambers, 18 Church Street.  
 Bermondsey—, 86 Snowsfield.  
 Walworth Road—, 170. Mears, 328. Brown, 44 Deacon St. Blandford, Hill Street.  
 Newington Butts—Cox, Draper Street.  
 Battersea—Head, 290 York Road.  
 S.W.  
 Tooting—, High Street.  
 —, Dunt's Hill, Earlfield Railway Station.  
 Wandsworth—Coleman, 181 High Street.  
 Battersea Park Road—E. Beteux, 84 Abercrombie Street.  
 Garret Lane—Clark, 7 Goodenor Terrace.  
 Merton—Hinton, High Street. Meeron, Haydons Road.

And at all Branch Meeting-Places and Outdoor-Stations of the Socialist League.  
 [We publish this very incomplete list in the hope that friends will make it their business to supply us with fuller details. Newsagents not included here are requested to supply their names for publication.]  
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# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 4.—No. 114.

SATURDAY, MARCH 17, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## THE PARIS COMMUNE.

The celebration of the anniversary organised by the English Socialist Societies will take place at the

STORE STREET HALL,  
Store Street, Tottenham Court Road, W.C.  
MONDAY MARCH 19.

The following speakers will address the meeting:—

ANNIE BESANT, JOHN BURNS, ELEANOR AVELING, WILLIAM MORRIS, CHARLOTTE WILSON, P. KROPOTKINE, F. KITZ, A. HEADINGLEY, F. HICKE, H. H. SPARLING, DR. MERLINO, BORDES, KAVTSKY, and others.

The Chair will be taken at 7.30, by

H. M. HYNDMAN.

The following is the resolution which will be moved at the meeting:

*"That this meeting expresses the deepest sympathy with the heroic attempt of the workers of Paris to overthrow the domination of the classes that live by the robbery of labour, and looks forward to the time when the distinction of classes will be abolished, and the hopes for which so many workers have sacrificed their lives will be realised in the true society of the workers of all countries."*

A Choir will attend and give a selection of appropriate music.

\* \* \* Members of the Choir and their friends are requested to attend for practice at 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday at 5 p.m.

Comrades willing to act as stewards or to assist in the sale of literature are asked to send in their names at once.

Comrades and friends are earnestly requested to take in hand the collection of money for the defrayal of expenses, for which purpose collection sheets have been issued. Donations may be sent to

G. CLIFTON (S.D.F.) Treasurer; or to  
H. A. BARKER (S.L.) Secretary,  
13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

## VIVE LA COMMUNE!

A CARTOON BY WALTER CRANE,

Will be GIVEN AWAY with next week's COMMONWEAL.

\* \* \* Newsagents and others are requested to send their orders early, as a large demand is anticipated.

Copies on fine paper for framing, 2d.; post free, 2½d.

## DEAD AT LAST.

The flood of cant and servility which has been poured out by the bourgeois press during the last few days, because the long-expected death of a tyrant of the old type embedded in a modern type of tyranny, has at last happened, disgusts one so much that at first one is tempted to keep silence in mere contempt for such degraded nonsense. Court mourning is always a preposterous spectacle, but here is a case where it is more preposterous than usual. Conventional universal grief, when scarcely any one is grieved at the event, no one whose interests do not suffer by it, most people are profoundly indifferent, and a great many cannot help being glad, although the death of this man may make no immediate difference in the condition of the people who suffered from his life—what can one say of this?

Yet though silence may be best in the abstract, it may be misunderstood at a time when even democratic papers, which are busy

advocating federalism, profess to share more or less in the sham sentiment of the day which weeps strange tears indeed over the death-bed of this tough specimen of the ancient absolutist lined by the modern centraliser. As a Socialist print, the *Commonweal* is an outlaw from the press, and its poverty and desolate freedom compels it to speech, though but of a few words.

For what the death of this sham mediæval tyrant calls our attention to is a weighty and serious matter enough in spite of the nothingness of the man himself. The ancient and obviously irrational absolutism is gone from Europe except for the tottering throne of the Czar of the Russias; but the house of Hohenzollern has gathered to itself whatever of dangerous and practical in absolutism still exists, and has built up of it a fortress of the new bureaucratic absolutism as a last refuge to the capitalistic civilisation of our day, and has put a face of rationality and business capacity on it, so that the scarcely less grievous tyranny of constitutional bureaucracy under which we suffer might reach out a hand to it unashamed; and so helpful have our masters felt this fortress to be to the system which enables them to rob the people at home, that even the elevation by its builders of the Germans into a holy race of military and commercial conquerors which may one day swallow them up also, has not scared them from accepting their friendship.

Abundance of patience, energy, skill, almost genius, have been expended in this attack on the progress of humanity, but not only these qualities were needed, and the most has been made of persons who could serve as instruments towards it, although they had no qualities but the blindness and dogged hardness inbred by their position. Of these instruments the person just dead was as fit for his post as might be, just as Bismark and Moltke have been fit for theirs; though the German centralising absolutism is modern, a monarch or figure-head of the modern type would not have suited it as well as what was ready to its hand for the purpose, a mere stupidly implacable soldier without any capacity for doubt or remorse. The man who began his career of "glory" by the slaughter of citizens in the streets of Berlin in '48, was a proper tool for the statesmen who saw the necessity of the system, which had bred them, of "educating" Germany by constant wars of ambition, and was not likely to shrink from the last success of a hideous race war, which will when all is said, lead to events that these pests of humanity were far from foreseeing.

Plainly then, the somewhat timid whitewashing by the Radical press of this figure head of the most dangerous form of absolutism is a sorry business, and I must say sincerely that the German people are not likely to thank our press for it. Even the *Daily News* is compelled to allude to the Berlin massacres, though it speaks of them as an event to be lightly passed over, a venial offence, to be expected (as indeed it was) of a person in the position of its hero. But are the people of Berlin forgetting it? Are they really worshipping the memory of the pious hero of Sedan? If this is true of even a part of the population, it can only be said that it shows into what depths of degradation the vice of patriotism can lead people—of patriotism, that is, the cultivation of national rancour founded on the national development of selfish greed which is the basis of civilised society.

One thing, at least, we should not forget, and that is the protest of the German Socialists in the teeth of all the jingoism newly stirred up by the danger and excitement of the occasion, against the race-war which Bismark and his willing puppets were leading Germany into in the interests of law and order, to whom the death and suffering of hundreds of thousands of men, women and children, is a light matter, so only that the people may be kept down.

The Government are determined that we shall not lack sensation. Mr. Snelling's sentence to seven month's hard labour for speaking his mind in Ireland, is quite on all fours with the sentences in London on those who tried to speak their minds in Trafalgar Square. Really we must repeat our advice to the G.O.M. to show that he is in earnest by going over to Ireland, and daring the Government to arrest him.

The House of Commons has at the instigation of Mr. Labouchere been debating as to whether it would be advisable to abolish the hereditary element in the Upper House—whether it would be advisable to spend a pound or two in mending a bad sixpence. Here is comfort for the unemployed, the men on strike, the hewers of wood and drawers of water!

W. M.

## SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

### CHAPTER XXII (continued)—SOCIALISM MILITANT.

(Continued from p 77.)

THE movement was begun in Germany by Lassalle<sup>1</sup> about 1863 as a national movement; it grew in that form after his death for some years. Meantime "the International" had been founded, and had gradually come under the guidance of Karl Marx and Frederic Engels, who won for themselves two energetic and able coadjutors in Liebknecht and Bebel, men untiring in gaining converts to the ideas of the International from the followers of Lassalle and of Schulze-Delitsch, the bourgeois co-operationist, to which latter party indeed Bebel himself once belonged.

The scope of this article prevents us from going into details as to the fortunes of the German party; it must be enough to say that the Marx party grew rapidly, and at the congress of Gotha in 1875 the Lassalle party amalgamated with them, formally renouncing the special tenets of Lassalle, notably the nationalist aims which formed a part of them. The party went on growing, and had a large newspaper press and some representation in the Reichstag. Then in 1878 came the "attempts" on the Emperor by Hödel and Nobeling, followed by the repressive laws against the Socialists, which destroyed their press at one swoop, and extinguished all open agitation in Germany. Nevertheless the growth of the party was not perceptibly checked by these arbitrary measures; the headquarters of its direction were transferred to Zurich, where they yet remain. At the Congress held last October at St. Gallen the revolutionary character of the party was sustained, in the teeth of some attempts at opportunism which came from a section of the representatives in the Reichstag. The temptation to this opportunism was the desire of some of the deputies to make the party felt in the Reichstag by forming alliances with other groups, whereas at present as a Socialist party they are quite powerless there. It may be added that there is a possibility in Germany, as in France, of a wave of "patriotism," founded on fear of the danger of actual invasion, checking for a time the rapidity of the advance of Socialism; though in the party itself the feeling for internationalism is overwhelming and past all question.

France has for the present rather fallen back from her position of leader in the revolutionary movement. The party itself is somewhat split up into sections, though the differences between rank and file are not serious and mainly have to do with matters of tactics. Socialist ideas have permeated the whole mass of the town workmen, who are more separated from the peasantry than in any other European country. The fact is, therefore, that the movement in France, though unorganised, still expands, especially as it is spreading to all manufacturing centres. In France Socialism is not definitely attacked by the government as it is in Germany, but only suffers, as it does in this country, from the ordinary repressive police system.

In Holland the movement, which has now reached extraordinary dimensions, was begun in the year 1882. The propaganda has been mainly the work of Domela Nieuwenhuis, formerly a popular preacher in Amsterdam, released recently from a term of imprisonment. The police in Holland have gone so far in attacking the Socialists as to stir up mob violence against them, even to the extent of breaking into their meeting places and threatening the lives of their leaders.

In Belgium the movement is progressing vigorously, in the teeth of the two opposed parties, and the feeling of the workmen generally is very revolutionary, stimulated especially by the miserable condition of the mining population, who in 1886 broke out into riots that almost attained to the proportions of a revolt. The party supports a daily paper in Brussels.

In Denmark the movement is so far advanced as to support two daily papers of large circulation, in spite of the smallness of the population. No doubt it is much helped there by the curious constitutional situation in which the Liberal majority and the Court party are holding each other at deadlock. This Danish movement has even penetrated to Sweden, and a Socialist party is growing up there.

In Russia, bureaucratic absolutism is blended with survivals of the mere barbaric absolutism, and as a consequence of the monstrous government which results from this, the movement seems now to be aiming at bringing about a constitutional revolution as a forerunner of the Social Revolution; and on the other hand this condition of things has so worked on the aspirations of the intelligent part of the people, that the movement there has been surrounded by a halo of personal heroism which has attracted universal admiration and respect even from its enemies.

In Austria, the faith of the masses generally is Socialism, but owing partly to the composite character of the Empire, which embraces such varied and rival races, and partly to the severity of the police measures of its Absolutist Government, there is no definite organisation.

In Italy, the movement is progressing, although hampered by the tail of the democratic, and especially the Mazzinian, ideas, which can see nothing beyond the abolition of priest and king.

In Spain, the followers of Bakounine's Anarchism have had much influence, and the movement consequently is mostly Anarchist in colouring. The party supports several small weekly papers.

In America, the movement till recently has been entirely in the hands of the German immigrants; but of late years there has been a remarkable development of the class-struggle there. The result of numerous and most violent disputes between the capitalists and wage-

earners has been the formation of an indigenous labour party, vague in aim and somewhat chaotic in action, but tending steadily towards a complete recognition of the solidarity of labour. The publication of Henry George's work, 'Progress and Poverty,' which created such sensation in this country, unsatisfactory as it was, has no doubt had its effect upon this movement, though its author in his quest for power and position has now practically recanted whatever opinions were of any value in it. One incident in the American movement is the formation of the gigantic trades' union called the Knights of Labour, which has more definite tendencies towards Socialism than those in this country; though Powderly's coquetting with the Catholic hierarchy has led to a split in the body, which leads to a hope that true Socialism may soon be generally accepted amongst the American working-classes. This will certainly be encouraged by the last act of the American capitalists, who in their dastardly fear of the possible combination of their wage-slaves, have murdered the Anarchist leaders at Chicago under the pretence of their being concerned in the throwing of a bomb-shell in the heat of a desperate labour-conflict in that city.

To get back again to this country, the movement is spreading much beyond the limits of the definite Socialist organisations, which are for the most part headquarters for knots of lecturers and speakers, and the publication of journals and pamphlets. In fact, it may be said that the strength of the movement here is on the intellectual side, and that organisation for action of any kind is very defective. Nevertheless, Socialist opinion is making itself felt widely as well as deeply; this is very marked in the effect it is having on the Radicals, since it is detaching a constantly increasing number of them from their old position as the left wing of the Liberals, which whom and under whose orders they have hitherto acted since the time when Gladstone became the leader of the party. The Irish movement being at bottom a rebellion, and illustrating very strongly one side of the economical disabilities of the working-classes, has done much to widen the breach between the Democratic Radicals and the Liberal Radicals, and has made them much more ready to listen to Socialist doctrines. The Trades' Unions also, which have acted as a safety valve for the discontent born of the economical situation, have been much shaken by the attention which so many of their members have given to Socialism, and show signs of a growing inclination to change their position from being a mere appendage to capitalism to being organisations for a definite attack upon it. The dead weight of their leaders, who look upon this feeling with the utmost disfavour, and have done their best to smother it, hampers the possible development of the Trades' Unions in this direction; but it ever breaks through these and other obvious obstacles. They will become most formidable allies of Socialism in this country. It must be remembered in estimating the force of the movement in the British Islands, that all this is taking place in a country which, whatever its economical position may be, is politically, ethically, and intellectually generally the headquarters of reaction.

E. BELFORT BAX and WILLIAM MORRIS.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING MARCH 24, 1888.

18	Sun.	1848. "Guns go off of themselves" at Berlin. 1871. Commune of Paris proclaimed. 1876. Ferdinand Freiligrath died.
19	Mon.	1848. Insurrection at Berlin.
20	Tues.	1875. John Mitchel died. 1871. Commune proclaimed at Marseilles.
21	Wed.	1763. W. J. McNevin born. 1832. Goethe died.
22	Thur.	1871. "Men of Order" demonstrate in Paris. 1873. Strike ended of 60,000 colliers in South Wales.
23	Fri.	1820. Sir F. Burdett tried for seditious libel. 1871. Commune proclaimed at Lyons.
24	Sat.	1794. Hébert guillotined.

"The Guns went off of themselves!"—The revolutionary waves of the year 1848 soon reached Berlin, and the news of the popular movement that was going on in the Rhenish provinces and smaller States of Germany stimulated the people of the capital to demand fresh concessions. At the great open-air meeting held on the 13th, a collision took place between people and soldiers. During the ensuing week Berlin was in an open state of revolution, and the people would no longer be satisfied with ambiguous and never-fulfilled promises. King Frederick became somewhat afraid, and on the 18th he issued a proclamation whereby he pledged himself to give to his beloved people all kinds of liberties and some other ones besides. On that very day the people assembled in the square before the royal palace, when a troop of dragoons came up and at once advanced against them. The soldiers were at first repulsed, but a sanguinary conflict began immediately afterwards. The battle lasted long, and was long doubtful. During the night of the 18th and 19th, King Frederick William wrote that immortal piece of hypocrisy and cowardice, which it will be well to preserve in these columns. It runs as follows: "To my beloved Berliners! By my patent of convocation this day, you have received the pledge of the faithful sentiments of your king towards you and towards the whole of the German nation. The shout of joy which greeted me from unnumbered faithful hearts still resounded in my ears, when a crowd of peace-breakers mingled with the loyal throng, making seditious and bold demands, and augmenting in numbers as the well-disposed withdrew. As their impetuous intrusion extended to the very portals of the palace with apprehended sinister views, and insults were offered to my valiant and faithful soldiers, the court-yard was cleared by the cavalry at a walking pace and with their weapons sheathed (!), and two guns of the infantry went off of themselves (!), without, thanks be to God, causing any injury. A band of wicked men, chiefly consisting of foreigners, who, although searched for, have succeeded in concealing themselves for more than a week (!), have converted this circumstance into a palpable untruth, and have filled the excited minds of my faithful and beloved Berliners with thoughts of vengeance for supposed (!) bloodshed; and thus have they become the criminal authors of bloodshed themselves. My troops, your brothers and fellow-countrymen, did not make use of their weapons till forced to do so by several shots fired at them

<sup>1</sup> Lassalle was killed in a duel in 1865.

from the Königstrasse. The victorious advance of the troops was the consequence. It is now yours, inhabitants of my beloved native city, to avert a fearful evil. Acknowledge your fatal error; your king, your trusting friend, enjoins you by all that is most sacred, to acknowledge your fatal error. Return to peace; remove the barricades which are still standing; and send to me men filled with the genuine ancient spirit of Berlin, speaking words which are seemly to your king; and I pledge you my royal truth that all the streets and squares shall be instantaneously cleared by the troops, and the military garrisons shall be confined solely to the most important buildings—to the Castle, the Arsenal, and a few others—and even here only for a brief space. Listen to the paternal voice of your king, ye inhabitants of my true and beautiful Berlin; and forget the past, as I shall forget it, for the sake of that great future which, under the peace-giving blessing of God, is dawning upon Prussia and through Prussia upon all Germany. Your loving queen, and truly your genuine mother and friend, who is lying on a sick bed, joins her heartfelt and tearful supplications to mine." He wrote some more things of that sort, until General von Wrangel made his famous proclamation, saying: "The troops are staunch. Their swords are sharpened, their arms loaded. . . . I bring you benefit with order. Anarchy must cease and it will cease. This must be changed, and it shall be changed. I swear this to you, and a Wrangel never belies his word." And the result proved that this was not an empty threat on the part of that reactionary soldier, and what Prussia and afterwards Germany became since, every one knows but too well.—V. D.

*Proclamation of the Paris Commune.*—Every Socialist knows what was the Commune, its nature, its *raison d'être*, and the ultimate aim it worked and struggled for. In the face of the most awful reaction which ever overcame France, Paris claimed the acknowledgment and the consolidation of the Republic, the only political form consistent with the rights of the people and the regular and free development of Society; the complete and absolute autonomy of the Commune, extended to all localities throughout France, assuring to each of them the integrity of its rights, and to each Frenchman in them the full exercise of his faculties and of his aptitudes in his threefold capacity as man, as citizen, and as worker; the autonomy of the Commune without any other limits than the equal right to autonomy for all the other Communes freely agreeing to the proposed contract; and all the Communes so freely organised and federated together constituting France. Each Commune establishes its budget, has the direction of all local services, organises its magistracy, its interior police, its public instruction, administers in one word all matters belonging to the Commune; chooses by election or by competition all its municipal delegates to every kind of public business; guarantees absolutely individual freedom, freedom of thought and freedom of work; invites permanent intervention of all citizens in all municipal matters through the free manifestation of their opinions, and the free defence of their own interests; organises its municipal guardianship, which elects itself and revokes its commanders, and becomes the sole maintainer of peace and order; introduces all administrative and economical changes claimed for by the citizens, in matters of public instruction, of production, consumption, exchange, property, etc. Such a programme, even thoroughly carried out by a victorious Commune, and in turn, by all the federated Communes of France, would not have involved a complete Socialist re-organisation of society, but certainly it would have been a first and gigantic step towards its realisation, and it is therefore that all Socialists throughout the world commemorate the 18th of March, 1871, as the glorious and undying forerunner of the Social Revolution, which it is now our duty to help to carry through in every country, for the greatest intellectual, material, and social benefit of the whole of mankind.—N. D.

*Commune proclaimed at Lyons.*—After the proclamation of the Paris Commune, several towns in France followed the good example. So did Lyons, where on the 23rd of March a revolt broke out. The battalions of the Guillotière (a district of Lyons) possessed themselves of the Town Hall, proclaimed the Commune, and installed a democratic Committee of Public Safety. But on the 25th the National Guard rebelled against the Committee, which was compelled to fly away, and delivered the Prefect Valentin who had been arrested. On the 30th of the following month, by occasion of the municipal elections, a new insurrection broke out at the Guillotière, but was again repressed; this time by the efforts of the Prefect Valentin and of Louis Andrieux, Public Prosecutor at Lyons, who became afterwards Police Prefect at Paris, reactionary deputy, and so forth. This Louis Andrieux has been member and secretary of the Lyons section of the International Working-men's Association, and a very advanced Socialist. He was also an Atheist.—V. D.

*Commune proclaimed at Marseilles.*—Gaston Crémieux was the promoter of the movement here, which could not stand against the reactionary forces. On the 4th of April, General Espivent attacked the Prefecture, which was bombarded. Marseilles was declared in a state of siege, the Republican press was suppressed, and several editors were imprisoned. Gaston Crémieux was sentenced to death, and shot on the 30th of November, 1871. He died most courageously, as a man fully convinced of the truth of the Cause for which he shed his blood.—V. D.

*Ferdinand Freiligrath.*—Born at Detmold, June 17, 1810; died March 18, 1876. In early life was clerk in commercial offices at Amsterdam and Bremen, but dreamed while making out invoices, and made poetry while posting the ledger. His first volume of poems, 1838, were so successful that he devoted himself henceforth to literature. Soon after his marriage, 1840, the King of Prussia gave him a pension of about £50, but the influence of Fallersleben, his friend, was making itself felt, and he resigned his pension and published his book of poems, the 'Confession of Faith,' which contained many of his revolutionary pieces. After 1848, he came to England, where he got his living once more in an office, and filled his leisure with the study of English and translating poems into German. In 1863 he returned to Germany, settling at Stuttgart. The most powerful, he was also among the most prolific of German poets of the revolution.—S.

*Death of John Mitchel.*—John Mitchel, one of the men of 1848, was born in 1815; he was the son of Rev. John Mitchel, Unitarian minister of Dungiven, County Derry; was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, a college which has supplied a large percentage of revolutionists. He contributed very soon in its history to the pages of the *Nation*, and on the death of Thomas Osborne Davis, in 1845, accepted an editorial chair on that journal, in conjunction with Charles Gavan Duffy, one of its founders, and Thomas Darcy McGee. The Unitarian Ulsterman soon proved too extreme for his immediate co-workers, who were for moral force only, while Mitchel had ideas of the French pattern—revolution, barricades, and Republic. He was the first for about forty years—from the death of Emmett, 1803—who dared talk right out of armed insurrection and separation. This caused his retirement from the *Nation* and then a split in the Irish Confederation, for Smith O'Brien declared that either he or Mitchel must quit the organisation. After a two day's debate the moral force party, headed by O'Brien, Gavan Duffy, and McGee, proved the stronger when the vote was taken, February 5, 1848, and Mitchel and the war party quitted. On the 12th of February he issued the *United Irishman*. The "year of revolutions" saw many extreme prints but not many more outspoken than this, which openly preached rebellion, and gave details of street fighting and use of war material. The paper was only just afloat when M. Guizot and Louis Philippe were upstilt; this naturally re-acted on Irish politics, and so boomed Mitchel's ideas, that the men who had just voted him out caught the infection and were all a few weeks later either in prison or in hiding, after being concerned in armed rebellion; so little can time and place for revolutions be chosen. Mitchel was taken and put forward for conviction, to say trial is an insult to any ordinary intelligence, for

in spite of a pledge given by Lord John Russell for a fair trial the jury-packing was absolutely shameless. He was sentenced to fourteen years' transportation; so perfect were all the arrangements of this fair trial that a man-of-war *loop* was ready with steam up all day, and every available soldier under arms and on duty, so that when taken from the dock and hurried on board there was no delay and no chance of rescue for John Mitchel. In 1854 he was enabled to escape from Australia, and for some years he lived in America. July 25, 1874, Mitchel landed in Ireland once more; his efforts for a seat in the House were not successful, and after a few months stay he returned to America. January, 1875, he was put up for Tipperary, and before he arrived was elected. His election was quashed on the grounds of being an unpardoned felon; a new writ was issued, and again he was elected by a large majority over a Conservative who polled enough votes to swear a return by. Before anything more could be done John Mitchel was seized by death, having just time to travel from the place of his victory to his native home at Dromolane, in Ulster, dying there on March 20, 1875, "irreconcilable and defiant to the last." His 'History of Ireland' and his 'Last Conquest of Ireland (Perhaps?)' are two of his books which can be recommended to any person with a fondness for bragging about being "English you know."—T. S.

*Trial of Sir F. Burdett.*—That on the 22nd of August, 1819, he did publish a certain libel," Sir F. Burdett was arraigned before the Leicester Assizes on March 23, 1820. The seditious libel for which he was tried consisted in a protest against the Peterloo massacre, written when "filled with shame, grief, and indignation at the account of the blood spilled at Manchester." After the cowardice and mealy-mouthed hypocrisy of the "representatives of the people" over Trafalgar Square, it is like a trumpet-call to read the words of the protest, of one whom even Parliament could not paralyse: "It seems our fathers were not such fools as some would make us believe, in opposing the establishment of a standing army and sending King William's Dutch guards out of the country. Yet would to heaven they had been Dutchmen, or Switzers, or Hessians, or Hanoverians, or anything rather than Englishmen who have done such deeds. What! kill men unarmed, unresisting, and, gracious God! women too; disfigured, maimed, cut down, and trampled on. . . . Is this England? . . . A land of freedom? Can such things be and pass by us like a summer cloud unheeded? Forbid it every drop of English blood in every vein that does not proclaim his owner, bastard!" In speaking of the meeting of protest he called for, he cited the trial of the seven bishops and its results. He was found guilty but appealed, and great learning was expended on both sides, the case being argued through several terms; in Hilary Term, 1821, all objections to the verdict were over-ruled, and Burdett was sentenced to a fine of £2,000 and three month's imprisonment in the Marshalsea.—S.

*Jacques René Hébert* (often called *Père Duchesne*, from the title of a revolutionary paper of which he was editor).—Born at Alençon, November 15, 1757; beheaded at Paris, March 24, 1794. He was one of the most energetic and sincere of all the revolutionists of his time, and as frequently happens, one of the best calumniated and vilified men of the epoch in which he lived. In 1786, Hébert was in Paris comptroller at the Théâtre des Variétés, where he remained till 1788. In 1790 he wrote his first revolutionary pamphlet, and began the publication of his *Père Duchesne*. At the same time he entered the Club des Cordeliers, of which he soon became one of the principal members. On the 17th of July, 1791, he signed, at the Champ de Mars, the petition claiming the enthronement of Louis XVI., and took part in the revolution of August the 10th as a member of the Revolutionary Commune, which had been created in the night of that day by the different sections. On September 22, 1792, he was elected substitute to the Public Prosecutor of the Commune, and very ably discharged his duties in that capacity. After the death of Louis XVI., the two parties which divided the Convention became of course for ever irreconcilable; and Hébert attacked in his paper with the utmost energy and eagerness the party of the Girondins, who soon afterwards took advantage of a good opportunity to avenge themselves. Hébert was arrested on March 24, 1793, by order of a Committee instituted to enquire into a certain plot against the Girondins, but the popularity of Hébert was at once revealed to his enemies. The General Council of the Commune declares itself in a state of permanency; all sections in Paris become angry and threatening; the Club des Cordeliers is in a wild state of excitement; every one protests in messages and petitions to the National Convention against the attempt made on the "magistrate so beloved for his civic virtues." Four days afterwards Hébert was liberated, and his return to the Town Hall was a triumphant one. He was presented with a civic crown, which he placed upon the statue of J. J. Rousseau, declaring that such honours ought only to be rendered after their death to citizens who deserve them. The Girondins then fell exhausted, and Hébert wielded a very great influence, which became still greater after the death of Marat. He was then really the chief and the leader of the most advanced revolutionary party; his paper was the favourite one of all the suburbs, and the soldiers scarcely read any other one, as Bouchotte, the Minister for War, had ordered the paper to be distributed amongst the military. The *Père Duchesne*, in spite of its trivial language, which was at that time nearly a circumstantial necessity, has been one of the best productions of that revolutionary epoch. Those who attack it prove only that they have never read it. Its popularity was so great and its power so effective, that soon the party of the Hébertistes became one of the most important of the revolutionary period. Their principal members were, with Hébert, Chaumette, the Public Prosecutor of the Commune; Pache, the Maire of Paris; Bouchotte, Minister of War; Vincent, general secretary of the same department; Momoro, the famous printer; Rouain, the general of the revolutionary army; Fouché, Carrier, Anacharsis Clootz, Collot d'Herbois, General Rossignol, and many others, who made of the Hébertistes an extremely powerful party. They took the initiative in nearly all the most extraordinary measures of public safety, such as the maximum, the arrest of the suspicious, the creation of the revolutionary army, etc. The general movement against the Catholic religion, and the installation of the feasts of Reason, were entirely due to their propaganda and influence. But reaction soon set in under the auspices of Robespierre, who had always been jealous of every one's popularity. Danton joined Robespierre in this damnable reactionary work against the advanced party, and it was decided by all means to destroy Hébert and his friends. The 14th of March, 1794, twenty were arrested on account of a report drawn up by St. Just, accusing them of being conspirators, agents of foreign powers (the most absurd but the most terrible of all charges). After a three day's trial, in which it was "proved" that the Hébertistes had tried to destroy public peace, to corrupt public morals, to reverse the principles of society, and so forth. Nineteen of them were sentenced to death; the twentieth having turned informer, was discharged. Hébert and the other members of the party were beheaded on the very day of their sentence. Hébert's wife, Françoise Goupille, was also beheaded twenty days after her husband, on the 18th of April, 1794.—V. D.

Carlyle's "French Revolution" can now be had in 3 vols. 16d. each, or 1 vol. at 1s., from Ward, Lock, and Co.

FELIX PYAT AND THE FRENCH CHAMBER.—At a by-election for Marseilles on Sunday, the veteran Revolutionist, Félix Pyat, headed the poll with over nineteen thousand votes. Although a second ballot will be necessary, there is no doubt of his being returned to a seat in the Chamber of Deputies. In his address to the electorate he gloried in having been the instigator of the pulling down of the Vendôme column and the burning of the Tuilleries.



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE, WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN WERE FOR IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMNED IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.

Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

D. F.—Michael Davitt's 'Leaves from a Prison Diary' was published in 2 vols. 8vo at 6s. by Chapman and Hall, June 1885, and at 1s. 6d. in October of the same year. It is also No. 2 of "Ford's National Library" (17 Barclay St., N. Y.), at 25 c. paper covers.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday March 14.

ENGLAND Die Autonomie Jus Leaflet Newspaper London—Frote Presse Leicester—Countryman Labour Tribune Norwich—Daylight Railway Review Worker's Friend	Roston—Woman's Journal Chicago—Vorbote Vorbote Corning (Iowa) Revue Icarienne Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer Fort Worth (Tex)—South West Hammonton (NJ) Credit Foncier Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt Paterson (N J) Labor Standard San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung Coast Seamen's Journal Freethought	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde Liege—L'Avenir SWITZERLAND Zurich—Sozial Demokrat ITALY Gazetta Operaia Milan—Il Fascio Operaio Rome—L'Emancipazione Marsala—La Nuova Eta.
SOUTH AUSTRALIA Adelaide—Our Commonwealth	FRANCE Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) La Revolte Gulse—Le Devoir HOLLAND Hague—Recht voor Allen	SPAIN Madrid—El Socialista Cadiz—El Socialismo GERMANY Berlin—Volks Tribune AUSTRIA Arbeiterstimme HUNGARY Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik SWEDEN Malmo—Arbetet
INDIA Bankipore—Behar Herald Madras—People's Friend	UNITED STATES New York—Freiheit Der Sozialist Truthseeker Volkszeitung	

VIVE LA COMMUNE!

In celebrating the Commune of Paris, and doing honour to its martyrs, one does not feel inclined to talk of their tactical mistakes or look upon their words and deeds from the standpoint of the "superior person." To a Socialist the Commune is the greatest event in the world's history, and the anniversary of its proclamation the most notable date in his calendar. It is enough at such a time as the present to say why this is, and to leave matters of administrative detail for discussion at a more convenient season. Looking back on the brilliant brief struggle that began on the 18th of March 1871, one is too deeply stirred by the strong heroism and wide humanity of the men who took part in it to weigh the wisdom of each act of theirs, or measure its consequences coolly.

Again and again has the proletariat in one place or another risen against its master-class for the time being, but never until the Commune was it a conscious attack upon class-domination. It was rather an attempt to ease the collar on their necks than to strike it off. The servile revolts of Rome or those of the Middle Ages were of this kind. It is true that some of the latter had a communist side, but this was more a survival of the old tribal feeling than anything else. At Münster the communism was definitely an imitation of that of the primitive Christians, as a preparation for heaven.

In the seventeenth century began the great series of rebellions against absolutism which has culminated in the world-wide supremacy of the bourgeoisie, and the absorption by it of the old feudal aristocracy. The great triumphs of bourgeois republicanism were won before the close of last century, but its realisation was not complete until '48. It was then that national patriotism as we know it attained its full growth; this sentiment was born during the Napoleonic wars and grew along with the growth of the commercial system and international trade rivalry. But the system and the sentiment alike, as they drew near to their maturity, carried within them the germs of a new order and a new ideal. Thus at the point of its realisation in '48 the bourgeois was alarmed by the manifest strength that the Socialist movement was even then beginning to develop, and which, while

aiding in the completion of the political revolution, tried to push it further on into the social phase.

As the years went on and wealth-production grew more and more complex and the world-market more and more brought within the scope of commercial competition, so also did the movement grow among the peoples. Already it had been long enough in existence to mould its interpreters, and first one and then another, among whom the chief place must be given to Karl Marx, came forward to formulate its principles and explain its aims.

Its first great half-conscious effort was made in '48, and in the intervening years it had so progressed in the minds of men that in '71 they stood forth consciously to grapple with bourgeois rule, with the dominion of the money-bag.

Of course it failed. The folk were not ripe for it; and we are often asked why we take pride in a defeat. Well! for nineteen hundred years there has been celebrated with rejoicing the birth of one who was "despised and rejected of men," who was an outcast from society, and who died the death of a malefactor; and this because the name of that outcast became the watchword of millions, and his cross the symbol of their faith. So also we commemorate the birth of the Commune, although for the two months of its existence it was decried and cursed by all the forces of convention and respectability, and fell at length, and was bloodily stamped out—for the time. By the struggle and sacrifice through which it kept the flag of the proletariat flying; by the terrible resistance it offered to the forces of capital and privilege; by the desperate war it waged on behalf of the down-trodden of all countries,—Paris placed the Red Flag upon a height from which no strength could pluck it down. The Revolution beaten under in one place but grew the fiercer and more swift the world over; and though its heel was wounded, it had struck a death-blow at the head of Capital, and given a wound from which it can never recover. Dying for human solidarity and happiness as they did, the martyrs of the Commune drew the proletariat more forward than it is conceivable they could have done by a hundred victories.

They fought and died for the right of the people to control their own lives, to administer the land on which they laboured, and the means of labour whereby they lived. They saw, as we see, that without this all hope of liberty is an illusion; that the owners of the means of life are the owners of those who live by them. It rests with us to carry on their work, to press forward into the breach they opened, to end the work so well begun; and when the day comes to us, to be ready for it—ready to achieve "the Freedom of the People and the Brotherhood of Man."

S.

SCARING THE CAPITALISTS.

I WAS not long ago at a Socialist lecture, where I heard the wrongs of the workers explained and the tyranny of the capitalist fiercely denounced. From my own experience, I knew that the workman's position is by no means a pleasant one. I, though as well educated as the best of workmen, receive very low wages, and often am on short time; and most of my companions are in the same state. But I thought it was just possible that if the Socialists denounced the capitalists too much, that these last would leave the country and take their capital with them, and so make our position worse than it is to-day; so I put a question to the lecturer, asking him whether it was not unwise to frighten capitalists, as if they got alarmed they would leave the country and take their capital with them. The lecturer replied very vigorously that it would be a good thing if the capitalists would go, and take with them what little ready money they had; but as for taking their capital, it was impossible. How could they ship a railway, a tunnel, a cotton or woollen mill, or a coal mine or a blast furnace? Let them go, by all means, said he; they are so many mouths whose hands won't work and whom we have to support. I was not convinced just at the moment, but thought carefully over the matter as I went home; and when I fell asleep I had a remarkable dream, which I very vividly remembered in the morning. The workmen had been continually holding meetings in Lancaster—the town where I work—and all over the country they seem to have been doing the same, to such an extent that the capitalists were alarmed and called a conference at Lancaster to consider the position. I was at work in the hall where they met and had an opportunity of seeing the whole performance. As usual, there was a great dinner, to which some five or six hundred of the richest men in England sat down. The conference went on over the dinner, and the idea was that the best way to teach the men a lesson was for a few of the largest employers to leave the country for a time. "No doubt," said one fat old fellow with a red nose, most likely a City of London alderman, "the men will soon want us back, and we will be able to make our own terms."

"Oh, but," objected one, "what is to become of my mills in the meantime suppose I go?"

"Oh, you must take your capital with you."

"Confound it! I can't ship bricks and mortar, and the machinery. Why, taking it down, shipping, and fitting it up again would cost more than it's worth. I don't see that would do at all."

"Well," said another, "so far as I can see, we are quite at the mercy of these fellows of ours. It's that confounded education. I always said that was a bad thing. I knew that the people would find out at last, if we gave them anything of an education, that they could do without us. I think we'll have to give in and do our share of the work."

"That's all humbug," said a hook-nosed, dapper little man. "The workmen's committee have sent a deputation to confer with us; we can humbug them a little longer."

"They are not such fools as you think."

"Leave them to me."

In came the deputation. The men had an independent air, as if they were masters of the situation, and did not intend to be trifled with. The capitalists drew themselves up and looked in their most imposing manner at the members of the deputation, hoping no doubt to frighten them as they had often done before. However, little impression was made on the men, so at last the little hook-nosed man opened the proceedings.

"Well, men, I understand you have come to a better state of mind."

"Exactly," said the deputation.

"You now understand what our position is?"

"We do."

"And consequently are ready to accept our terms?"

"Oh no, we understand your position now."

"Well, so you see you can't do without us?"

"Not at all. We have discovered that we can not only do without you, but have found out that you are a useless burden, which we don't intend to be troubled any longer with."

"What, you blockhead!" roared a pursy-mouthed old blow-hard, whom I noticed a little while before stuffing himself at an alarming rate with venison in aspic, from Lewis deer-forest very likely. "What would you do without us? who would employ you? Why, my dinner gives employment to half a dozen men every day: what would they do if I were to go?"

"They would have more time to prepare their own."

"Where would they get the money from?"

"From their labour."

"But if I go I will take all my capital with me. I have my portmanteau with me, and if you are not prepared to submit to my terms I shall leave the country."

"All right, old boy, you hook it, and take your portmanteau with you."

"I certainly will, if you continue so impudent; but I will show you what is in it, so that you may understand what my going really means." The fussy old gent opened his portmanteau, which was full of deeds, mortgages, consol certificates. "See," he said, "I'll take all these with me."

"Very well, sir, they'll do to light the fire with."

"What!" roared the old swell, "they are worth half a million."

"Oh, I would not give half a crown for the lot, mister. If you are only going to take these old papers with you, we won't raise any objections."

"Why, man, you must be mad," said the old usurer, holding up a piece of parchment; "do you see that? why, that represents the largest coal mine in Durham."

"Oh, you can't get much coal out of it, though. You are not going to take the mine with you, are you?"

"What? but I'll shut it up."

"Oh, you will. Are you going to do it yourself?"

"Me do it! Of course not; I'll pay some one to attend to that."

"Oh," interrupted the capitalist that had previously advised the company to submit to the workers' terms, "don't you know that you can't hire men in Durham to obey your orders?"

"Can't I!" he retorted, incredulously.

"No, of course not. You don't seem to understand, sir, how extremely serious the crisis is. The workers absolutely decline to support us any longer; they ignore all our orders, and treat our parchments as so much waste paper."

"You have described the position exactly," said the spokesman of the workmen's delegation.

"What about the Government?" roared the corpulent gentleman; "are they going to do nothing to protect our property?"

"What can they do? half the soldiers have taken sides with the people, the other half are by no means anxious to risk their lives, and the police are all under the order of the municipalities, and won't carry out any Government instructions. Besides I hear that elections are going on, and a Socialist government in process of formation."

"Well, in that case I'll certainly leave the country." "And I, too," "I, too," was shouted from all parts of the hall.

"Well, you can go if you like, gentlemen," said a delegate, "if you can get any one to carry you across the ocean, but I may say we will be glad if you will stay with us and earn your living. We don't intend swindling you as you swindled us."

"I never swindled a man in my life," said the stout man, evidently much hurt.

"We won't quarrel about words. You made what you called a profit out of us, which comes to the same thing. Now if you like to stay with us you will get all you earn for yourself; all we propose doing is to prevent you taking any of our earnings."

"Now, sir, I won't be trifled with any longer. Do you know whom you are addressing? Do you know that I am the largest mine-owner in the North?"

"No, I don't. You were, but that you know, Sir Jabez, is all over now."

"My mines confiscated, you mean. By what authority? The Government will deal with you and those like you very severely—"

"We won't waste time, Sir Jabez, discussing about our authority. The people have resumed, so I prefer to phrase it, possession of their mines, mills, lands, etc., and have resolved that all able-bodied adults shall earn their living. Are you an able-bodied man, Sir Jabez?"

"I am; of course you see I am."

"Well, then our ultimatum is that you and those like you must earn your living if you are to remain in England."

"I shall leave the country!"

"Well, gentlemen, are you all going to follow Sir Jabez's example?"

Loud cries of "Yes! Yes!" "No! No!" "We will, of course; we'll follow Sir Jabez!"

The din was indescribable, very like a row in the Stock Exchange I once saw when I was repairing the roof at a time when the market was excited; no one could judge what the feeling of the majority was; so a member of the conference suggested that some one should propose a motion to the meeting.

It was a long time before this person could get the meeting to proceed in an orderly manner, but at last Sir Jabez moved "that the proprietied classes should leave the country." The Hon. Auberon Herbert moved, and the Rt. Hon. Charles Bradlaugh seconded an amendment to the effect "that they should stay and organise to defend their property." One of the intending emigrants asked the movers of the amendment what forces they could command. Mr. Bradlaugh stated that on a previous occasion at a

demonstration in Hyde Park he had armed the N.S.S. with cudgels, and could do it again; but on further enquiry the information was elicited that the Rt. Hon. Gent. had had his cudgel taken from him on that occasion, and was rather maltreated with his own weapon. Another amendment found more supporters, "That the terms of the men should be accepted;" but there was a large number of dissentients. Amendment after amendment was proposed, until it became evident that the capitalists were hopelessly divided, and that no common basis for action could be found. The delegates were highly amused at the antics of their recent bosses, but the time had come for them to take action.

"Gentlemen," said the spokesman peremptorily, "you must immediately come to a decision, and in order that you may have full information I may tell you that news has just been received of strong risings of the people in the large cities of the United States and France, so that if you go there you will be treated just the same as if you remain here."

By far the greater number agreed to the second amendment, but a small group were seen in one corner frantically gesticulating about the rights of property, among whom I noticed the Earl of Wemyss, A. J. Balfour, Auberon Herbert, George Howell, and Mr. Bradlaugh. The idea of Mr. Bradlaugh being in such odd company made me laugh so much that my dream came to an abrupt conclusion. I was very sorry, because I should have liked to have been able to have followed the tactics of this queer group in its war against the Commonwealth.

Altogether, the dream was an interesting psychological study. I often attended meetings, and sometimes dreamed of them. Evidently it was the curious turn given to my thoughts by reflecting on the differences between capitalists and capital caused by the Socialist lecturer's speech, together with the alarming state of the country, that caused me to have such a strange dream. Now that I am quite awake, I feel that my ideas regarding capitalists have materially altered; I no longer see them to be so essential for the production of wealth as I used to, and I have little doubt that a careful enquiry will induce me to accept many more of the Socialist's positions when I get to understand them, and I venture to urge on my fellow-workmen the necessity of looking themselves into these matters, and not leaving all their thinking to be done by money-bags and scheming agitators, who have done and are doing the country so much harm. D.

### ADVERTISING EXTRAORDINARY.

ONE is prepared for almost anything in the advertising line nowadays, but surely it has reached its climax in the Halfpenny Letter Post Company, Limited; Capital, £100,000; Directors: Sir Robert —, G.M.C.K., A.B.C., etc.; Col. H. A. —; Lieut.-Col. W. R. T. B. —; with four Esquires; also bankers, brokers, solicitors, auditors, secretary, etc.

This company is formed to take over the patent rights of one J. Hertz (useful man this: ought to be knighted) for improved envelope and paper in one sheet, "whereby," as the company's prospectus says, "with a novel method of advertising, the public will be able to enjoy the advantage of a halfpenny letter postage without any loss to the revenue. By the great principle of co-operation, a halfpenny letter-post will, on the floating of this company, become an accomplished fact."

This wonderful patent, invented by that useful man J. Hertz (whose genius doubtless would have never been called out but for the stimulus of competition: Socialists take warning!) consists of a piece of paper, three sides of which are left blank for writing upon, while the fourth is covered with advertisements of cod-liver oil, soap, etc. This sheet of paper is attached to an envelope with a hole in, through which an embossed stamp on the paper shows, so that the contrivance can only be used by folding in the correct way, so as to give the advertisements a good show. These latter of course pay for the paper envelope and half the postage, besides remunerating the distinguished directors, finding profit for the shareholders, and last but not least, rewarding that great benefactor of his race, J. Hertz, for the industry, ability—not to say philanthropy—displayed in the great patent, which he generously offers to the company for £20,000 in cash and 2,000 deferred shares, which are to receive half the net profits of the company in all countries except England, and here to receive half after the ordinary shares have been paid 15 per cent. I fear Socialists will not be able to offer such substantial encouragement to inventors!

I quote one more paragraph of the prospectus: "The Hertz envelope is equally available for letters, circulars, etc.; . . . and at the festive seasons of the year its advantages are manifest, for Christmas, New Year, and Easter cards can be sent at half the present cost for postage alone."

It is hard to imagine vulgarity and meanness greater than this, not to say anything of personal dignity. Business firms have already lost all personal dignity, and can hardly stoop to meanness and vulgarity greater than their present level; but the idea of sending Christmas greeting in an advertising medium to save a halfpenny is too repulsive. Fancy the inspiration one would derive, in writing to one's friends, by having one's eyes attracted at every pause by advertisements of cod-liver oil, soap, or tooth-powder! I devoutly hope that we may soon see the company in the bankruptcy court, paying one HALFPENNY in the pound! Would it not be possible to help them by cutting off the stamps and using them on ordinary paper? Or would the post-office authorities come to their rescue by not passing such stamps? One bit of comfort we may take, for surely our industrial system is on its last legs when it has to resort to such tricks as these. R. U.

EMIGRATION RETURNS.—The report of Mr. Giffen to the Board of Trade on emigration from and immigration to the United Kingdom during the last year, was issued on the 6th inst. The total number of emigrants of British and Irish origin showed an increase, compared with 1886, of 65,693. The number of British and Irish emigrants was the largest yet reached since the nationality of emigrants has been distinguished, with the exception of 1883. The number of immigrants during the year showed an increase of 10,134. By far the greater number of emigrants proceed to the United States. Since 1853 nearly 4½ millions of persons of British and Irish origin have left the United Kingdom for the United States. The Registrar-General for Ireland reported next day that the number of emigrants from Ireland last year was 83,200, an increase of 19,786 on the preceding year, the males being 43,378, or 11,237 more than in the previous year, and the females showing an increase of 8,549. Nearly 80 per cent. were between the ages of fifteen and thirty-five. Of the males 77 per cent. were labourers, over 84 per cent. went to the United States of America, the rest to Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

The Cradley Heath and District Chainmakers' Association offer £20 reward "to any person or persons giving such information as shall lead to the conviction of any chain master or others violating the Truck Act."

**STOPPAGE OF A TIN-PLATE WORKS.**—Owing to a dispute as to the wage rate, the whole of the tin-plate works at Cwmauon owned by the Copper Miners' Tin-plate Company were closed on the 10th, the men coming out on strike.

The colliers of the West Houghton Coal Co., Bolton, struck last week owing to a dispute as to the allowance for "dirt" sent up with the coal. It was expected that many other collieries in the district would follow; but the firm having made concessions, the men returned to work on the 9th.

Mr. Baumann gave notice in the House of Commons on Friday that four weeks hence he will move, "That in the present condition of the labour market it is expedient, with a view to give employment to a larger number of workmen, to discontinue the practice of working overtime in Government yards, shops, and factories."

A meeting will be held in Manchester shortly by representatives of the Operative Amalgamated Spinners Association to consider, along with other business, the wages question. The margin between the raw material and that of yarn is better than for a long time back, and amply justifies the workers in demanding an advance.

**REDUCTIONS AT PEMBROKE DOCKYARD.**—Despite the encouraging rumours that have gone forth with regard to the probable reductions in the Pembroke Dockyard, another batch of men is under orders to leave, and the announcement that the Navy Estimates for the ensuing year show a decrease of nearly a million sterling makes matters appear anything but encouraging.

**NO COMPELSION.**—A correspondent states that Mr. William Aucott, President of the Amalgamated Steel and Ironworkers, is likely to suffer for his leadership of the workmen. Employers of labour, feeling the effect of the agitation for labour's rights, have moved the Corporation of Wednesbury, in the heart of the Black Country, to ask Mr. Aucott to "consider his position" as a servant of the Corporation.

A strike of cardroom workers at Oldham has been settled upon the operatives' terms. An attempt was made by the directors to victimise five of the strikers, three men and two women, because of some disturbance arising out of the fact that hostile demonstrations were made against certain relatives of the officials who had remained at work. Negotiations were carried on by the Cardroom Association, and eventually, as three out of the five had obtained employment elsewhere, the mill was reopened unconditionally.

**THREATENED STRIKE IN THE STEEL TRADE.**—The Clydesdale Iron and Steel Company, near Holytown, gave notice of dismissal a fortnight ago to two of their workmen in consequence, it is reported, of their having joined the Steel Smelters' Trade Society. The men tendered fourteen days' notice, stating, however, that they are prepared to resume work on its expiry, provided the firm pay the same rates as the Steel Company of Scotland and other leading firms. It is stated that of the two dismissed men—the supposed ringleaders—one of them had not even become a member of the society.

The miners employed at the Rowley Hall Colliery, in the Birmingham district, refused to start work on Friday, in consequence of a notice posted up that any man or boy absenting himself from work would be expected to pay for the damage caused to the pit. The men consider that the Act of Parliament is stringent enough without imposing additional conditions. A mass meeting was held on Monday as the objectionable notice had not been withdrawn and Mr. Winwood, the miners' agent, was requested to have an interview with the masters.

**THE PENALTY OF POVERTY.**—Discharged from Chatham Dockyard with many more some time ago, Alfred Smith journeyed through the country in search of work. At last he came to Berwick. Here he was sentenced to fourteen days' imprisonment with hard labour for refusing to do the task allotted to him as a vagrant inmate of Berwick Workhouse. The work consisted of breaking 12 cwt. of stones. His case is only one of hundreds, and shows the easy conversion of an honest worker into the cruellest society creation, the outcast casual.

**THE PICKARD LIBEL CASE.**—The damages and costs in this case have been paid. It is noteworthy that had the collection depended on the "men in the mine" whom Mr. Pickard represents, it is not at all unlikely that his seat would have been vacant, as the appeal for funds received very little support from them. The House of Commons subscribed the bulk of the money. The present labour representatives are very much respected in the House, but perhaps for that reason, are losing favour with the workers, who do not believe that one can hunt with the hounds and be friendly with the hare at the same time.

**LANCASHIRE WEAVERS.**—A number of attempts have been made since the commencement of the present year by some of the leading manufacturers in North-East Lancashire, more particularly in the Burnley district, to reduce the weavers' wages. The operatives employed in the coloured goods trade have demanded an advance in their wages, which has been refused, and in consequence the weavers have decided to strike all round early in the spring. The employers have formed a Masters' Association, which has been joined by all the coloured goods employers in Colne, Nelson, and district; its object being to prevent as far as possible the weavers from attacking individual employers.

**THE MINES REGULATION ACT.**—The secretary of the North Yorkshire and Cleveland Miners' Association has but cold comfort to administer to those who are looking to the Mines Regulation Act of last year to diminish the terrible list of casualties under ground. That its tendency will be in the right direction he does not doubt, but he declares his conviction that such is the nature of Cleveland mining that no number of Acts of Parliament and no amount of inspection on the part of the Government will prevent accidents or even materially reduce them. "The awful pressure," we are told, "of a grinding struggle for existence" under our present system, has made the men intensely anxious to obtain as large an output as possible in the limited number of shifts they are allowed to work. It is a painfully significant fact that the mines which yield the largest output are the most fruitful in accidents.

**THE EIGHT HOUR QUESTION.**—The Midland Trades Federation, in which are represented nail-makers, miners, rivet-makers, lock-makers, nut and bolt makers, and kindred societies, have met to consider the eight hour question

Mr. Juggins, the secretary, who led the discussion on the subject, pointed out that if made compulsory such a plan would find work for the men wandering about the streets and hanging on to the funds of the societies. The Federation resolved: "That this meeting is of opinion that an Eight Hour Bill passed by the Government would be the means of finding employment for the thousands of men who are out; that we request the Parliamentary Committee to support the same; and further, that we request the members of Parliament of our various constituencies to support such a Bill." In the iron trades the question of the hour is the eight hours' movement. This idea of eight hours limit a-day seems to receive the support of the men in all the large industries.

**PAYMENT OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.**—Mr. Fenwick has put down for the 23rd inst. a resolution in favour of reviving the ancient custom of paying members of Parliament for their services. Of course there is no reason why M.P.'s should not be paid. At the same time it will not affect the grumbling of those who are dissatisfied with the attitude of the present labour representatives, whether the money be State-provided or otherwise; but when the workers pay directly for an article, they have a right to their money's worth. There is a feeling among the miners that their labour M.P.'s are dear at their price. The glorification of party politics by Mr. Burt in his address to the miners, commended by the flabby *Daily News*, gives emphasis to the views constantly expressed in these columns: it also fully justifies the action of those who object to pay for the maintenance in Parliament of such a very safe, genteel, and "unobtrusive" party man as Mr. Burt.

**THE INTERNATIONAL TRADES UNION CONGRESS.**—The *Star* prints the following: "A great amount of interest is being shown in the north of England on the question of the international combination of workmen. A series of meetings are being held in Lancashire and Yorkshire on this subject. On Thursday evening a meeting took place at Southport, and a resolution was passed expressing pleasure at the holding of the International Trades Congress in London next November, and hoping every facility will be given to a full and free representation of the foreign trades. Similar meetings will be held during this week in Manchester, Liverpool, and other northern centres of industry. These indications all testify to the importance of the conference in the eyes of the trade unionists, and also show that the gathering will be numerously attended by English delegates." Everyone interested in the cause of the workers must feel, in some degree, gratified that the latest successful venture in evening journalism at least tries to do something in the way of supplying information on labour questions. It is this endeavour that makes Socialists, or even advanced trades unionists, disappointed that the column should contain no policy. The merest repetition of newspaper parts are often the only items. In the case of the International Trades Union Congress, it is the most common information that the trades of the Continent—because Continental labour combination takes a different form—are to be boycotted by the clique of the Trades Congress, and in consequence there is little hope that representatives of other than the most flabby "Broadhurst" views will stand much chance of admittance.

**METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.**—Periodically are published returns showing the amount of pauperism and the number of casuals, etc. These accounts often compare favourably with other years, and are referred to in order to show that the poor are either not so numerous, or manage to subsist without appealing to Bumble. The following account of the treatment of a poor homeless worker gives one reason why there is a decrease of pauperism:—Henry Horne, 36, no home, labourer, was charged before Mr. Slade with refusing to perform his allotted task of work whilst an inmate of the casual ward of St. George's Workhouse, Southwark. David Welsh, labour master, stated that the prisoner applied for admission to the ward on Sunday night, and was put to break stones on Monday morning, and performed his work all right. Being liable to detention for three days he was set a similar task on Tuesday, but refused to perform it, and when spoken to said he would break no more; he wanted to give his legs a rest. Witness consequently gave him into custody. In answer to the magistrate, the prisoner said his hands were blistered from the work he did on the previous day, and he could not hold the hammer. Prisoner showed his hands, which were covered with blisters, and Mr. Slade ordered him to be put back and examined by the divisional surgeon. On the case being re-called, Dr. Evans stated that he examined the prisoner, and found that his hands were in such a condition that he was physically incapable of breaking stones. Mr. Slade thereupon discharged the prisoner.

**"STRAINING AT A GNAT," ETC.**—Much indignation is said to be felt amongst the workmen of the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway at the form of blackmailing to which they are at present being subjected. A circular bearing the names of no less than fifty of the leading officials is being disseminated appealing for subscriptions in aid of the widow and family of the late chief signal inspector who died rather suddenly in January after a few days' illness. According to the *Railway Review*, something approaching deception is used in the circular, "as it states that there are six 'children' left. Our information as to the ages of these 'children' is that they are 21, 18, 16, 12, 7, and 4 respectively. True they are six, but only half of them can lay claim to title of children." The deceased is said to have been in receipt of £4 per week, whereas the wages of the bulk of the employes will scarcely amount to more than that sum per month, and under the circumstances they resent the pressure put upon them to wring subscriptions that would not otherwise be forthcoming. Readers of the *Commonweal* may perhaps recollect that a few months back, under the heading of "The Fox and the Geese," I had occasion to ridicule the folly and subserviency of the employes on this same railway for their proposal to give a week's pay towards paying the company's expenses of the Hexthorpe collision. It does seem something like "straining at a gnat" for those who were prepared to subscribe a guinea to swell the dividends of wealthy shareholders, to make a fuss about giving a trifle to help the widow of a tolerably well-paid official. But it may be the employes are becoming wiser. "Experience teaches fools," and according to reports the engine-drivers at any rate by the harsh treatment they are receiving, are proving how worthless was the hollow clap-trap about "equality," "identity of interests," etc., indulged in by Sir E. Watkin and the other directors to the deputation which waited upon them to make the proposal to which I have alluded. It is said that the drivers are being fined heavily or dismissed for the most trivial offences, and are kept in a continual state of worry which "unstrings the nerves of the men affected and renders them more liable to err than they otherwise would be." Well, until the workers learn thoroughly the lesson constantly taught in these columns, that "an injury to one is the concern of all," little can be done to lessen these and the countless other tyrannies and indignities to which they are constantly subjected.

T. BIRNING.

**THE PROPOSED INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S CONFERENCE.**

The following is a translation of the circular issued by the Socialist members of the German Reichstag, to which we referred in our last week's notes:

**"TO OUR SOCIALIST COMRADES AND THE WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES.**

"On the 5th October 1887, the Conference of the Socialist Working-men's Party of Germany, assembled at St. Gallen (Switzerland), resolved to entrust us, the undersigned Socialist members of the German Reichstag, in common with the representatives of the working-men's associations of other countries, with the duty of convoking, in the course of the year 1888, a Universal International Workers Congress, for the special purpose of examining what steps should be taken with a view to the establishment of a practically efficient international legislation of work.

"Inasmuch as shortly before the Conference held at St. Gallen the English Trades Union Congress at Swansea had passed a similar resolution, we thought it expedient to communicate with the leaders of the English trades unions, namely the Parliamentary Committee, whose secretary is Mr. Broadhurst, for the purpose of arranging about the calling of a congress. We stated to the Parliamentary Committee that, for our part, we should be prepared to abandon the idea of convoking a congress ourselves if the Parliamentary Committee were willing to consent to the following conditions:

"1. That the invitation to a congress should not issue in the English and French languages alone (as resolved by the Parliamentary Committee), but in the German language as well.

"2. That the terms of such invitation should be wide enough to admit of German and Austrian working men being represented at the congress, notwithstanding the restrictive laws in their respective countries, affecting the establishment of unions and the right of free meeting, and notwithstanding exceptional legislation directed against Socialism.

"3. That the parliamentary representatives of a working-men's party shall, as such, be allowed to attend the congress as representing their party.

"We sought to explain the motives of our wishes in this respect by reference to the political conditions of Germany and Austria; besides which we pointed out that the objects of the congress could be fully and entirely attained only if the working classes were represented at such a congress without regard to organisation or political attitude.

"That an international working-men's congress at which German and Austrian working men were not represented would be a mere cave congress is self-evident. One would have thought, therefore, that the Parliamentary Committee would willingly accept the proffered hand and make, in the interest of the cause, these reasonable concessions.

"At the commencement, Mr. Broadhurst thought he might promise that the Parliamentary Committee would endeavour to meet our views to the best of their ability. Later on, however, he declared in his letter of 25th January, 1888, addressed to our comrade Weiler at London, whom, in conjunction with comrade K. Kautsky, we had charged with interviewing the Parliamentary Committee, that the Parliamentary Committee could not entertain our conditions; the international congress to be convoked was to be a trades union congress exclusively, wherefore also the delegates would have to observe the standing orders as framed by them, the English.

"Thus the agreement so necessary in the interests of the cause was rendered impossible, and that not through any fault of ours.

"While we now truthfully publish the position of affairs, we would entreat our comrades, as also the working classes in all countries, not to attend the congress to be held next November at the invitation of the Parliamentary Committee of the English Trades Unions, but rather to reserve their strength and make up their minds to attend in all the greater numbers a Universal International Working-men's Congress which is to be convened for the year 1889.

"The attitude of the Parliamentary Committee in this matter is not worthy of a body claiming to represent working men and having at heart the real interests of their class.

"We need not here enter upon the motives and tactics leading the Parliamentary Committee to assume this attitude, but we take leave to doubt, until further evidence is forthcoming, that the refusal of the Parliamentary Committee was given in the interest and by consent of the Committee's constituents—namely, the delegates of the English working men at the Trades' Union Congress held at Swansea.

"We have now resolved, in common with the representatives of the working classes in every country, to call a Universal International Working-men's Congress for the year 1889, and we request that all resolutions and communications on the subject be addressed to W. Liebknecht, at Borsdorf, near Leipzig.

"The Socialist press in every country is requested to reproduce the present declaration.

"Berlin, March 1st, 1888.

**BEBEL, DIETZ, FROHME, GRILLENBERGER,  
HARM, KRACKER, MEISTER, SABOR,  
SCHUMACHER, and SINGER.**

"Social-Democratic Section, German Reichstag."

**LITERARY NOTES.**

Stepniak has in the press a work of an exhaustive character on the present condition of the Russian peasant.

A series of papers on economical subjects by Kropotkin will appear in the *Nineteenth Century* shortly. The first will be on "The Integration of States." Articles of interest to Socialists in the March reviews:—*Nineteenth Century*: "A Plea for the Worthless," Cardinal Manning; "The Swarming of Men," Leonard Courtney, M.P.; "The Invasion of Pauper Foreigners," Arnold White; "Local Government," Lord Thring; *Life on Weekly Wages*—(1) "On 30s. a-week," Miss Miranda Hill; (2) "On a Guinea a-week," W. Roberts; "A Few Words on French Revolutionary Models," John Morley, M.P. *Contemporary Review*: "Further Notes and Queries on the Irish Demand," W. E. Gladstone, M.P.; "Garibaldi's Memoirs," Karl Blind; "Recent Economic Literature," John Rae; "The Negro Question in the United States," George W. Cable. *Fortnightly Review*: "Social Problems and Remedies," Archdeacon Farrar; "State Colonisation," Lord Monkswell; "Home Rule in the Western Pyrenees," Wentworth Webster; "Domestic Service and Democracy," Edward Salmon; "Mr. Herbert Spencer as a Moralist," W. S. Lilly. *National Review*: "Disestablishment in Wales," Matthew Arnold; "Free Trade and the Economists," C. A. Cripps.

**A SONG FOR SOCIALISM.**

Are ye willing to work and to wait,  
To work and to wait for the day  
When brotherhood and mirth shall beautify the earth,  
And weariness and want be away?

When leisure and pleasure shall be free,  
And hardship and hunger shall go,  
When the worker has his place at the top of the tree,  
And the loafer is somewhere down below,  
Below, below,  
And the loafer is somewhere down below.

Keep clear of the poison of the press,  
Let your grand old misleaders alone;  
It will pay for all your pains to educate your brains,  
And do a little thinking of your own.

For leisure and pleasure, etc.

Hold fast your own idea of Right and Wrong,  
Don't take it from the gospel-grinding band,  
For the "truth" they preach to you is very seldom true,  
And what is true they do not understand.

But leisure and pleasure, etc.

Have justice for ever in your eye,  
Steer wide of the charitable sneak  
Who, to lull the cry of toil, spares a trifle from the spoil  
He has wrung from the wreckage of the weak.

For leisure and pleasure, etc.

Don't play into the stock-jobber's hand;  
'Tis masters, not men, are our foes;  
'Tis because the workers' band is busy linking every land,  
That the tyrants are shaking in their shoes.

For leisure and pleasure, etc.

Have done at last with haggling for a wage;  
Too long you've nursed the swindler and the drone;  
Why labour at a loss for the profit of a boss?  
Get ready now to labour for your own.

For leisure and pleasure, etc.

C. W. BECKETT.

**THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.**

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

**Annual Conference.**

The Fourth Annual Conference of the Socialist League will be held at 13 Farringdon Road, on Whitsunday, May 20. The attention of Branches is particularly referred to (1) Rule V. on the subject of the annual conference, pp. 3 and 4 of Constitution and Rules; and (2) that all branches wishing to be represented at the Conference must pay their subscription up to the 31st March by May 1st.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1887: Hastings, Nottingham, Pelsall—None. Bradford, Croydon, Glasgow, Hackney, Ipswich, Leeds, Marylebone, Merton, North London, Norwich—to end of March. Edinburgh—to end of May. Mitcham—to end of July. Walsall—to end of August. Hull—to end of September. Bloomsbury, Walham Green, Wednesday—to end of October. Leicester—to end of November. Clerkenwell, Hammersmith, Hoxton, Mile-end, Oxford—to end of December.

**London Members.**—The London Members' Meeting will, owing to Easter Holidays, be held on Monday April 9th.

**The Executive** will meet on Sunday next at 3.30 p.m. (sharp), instead of Monday, the Commune celebration being held that day.

**A Demonstration** will be held by the Socialist League on Good Friday, on Hampstead Heath. Further particulars will be given next week.

**"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.**

Herbert Hookey, 2s. 6d. A. B., 3s. *Weekly Subscriptions*—C. J. F., 2s. 6d. K. F., 1s. Langley, 2s. P. W., 6d. Oxford Branch, 2s. W. B., 6d.

**Commune Celebration.**—Fuller, 6d. Medical Student, 2s. 6d.

**REPORTS.**

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Wednesday, March 7, H. H. Sparling gave an interesting lecture on "The Cato Street Conspiracy." Good discussion. On Sunday, March 11, Touzeau Parris lectured on "The Evolution of Society." This was decidedly instructive, and branch members were exceedingly pleased with the lecturer's very pointed and amusing style. Other branches would not do amiss in inviting him for this lecture.—B.

**FULHAM.**—Tuesday evening, good meeting held opposite Liberal Club; Day, Maughan, Tochetti, and Grosier spoke. Sunday morning, on account of weather, usual outdoor meeting not held; but in rooms, Parker (of Norwich) addressed a fair audience. Sunday evening, Mrs. Wilson lectured on "The Social Revolution" to an excellent audience.—S. B. G.

**HACKNEY.**—A general meeting of the members of the Hackney branch was held on Monday, March 12, at Berners Street International Club. Good attendance, and some new members made. Arrangements were made for recommencing the work of the branch. W. Lefevre was elected treasurer, G. Cores secretary, and E. Lefevre librarian. The next meeting of members will be held at same place Monday week at 9 p.m.

**BRADFORD.**—Sir Henry Mitchell lectured on "Socialism" at the Barkerend Adult School, on Sunday afternoon, March 11, and several of us went to hear him. Sir Henry is a Tory, and we expected severe criticisms, instead of which he simply deprecated State Socialism and preached the moralisation of the capitalists. Scott (S.D.F.) from Manchester, and J. Mitchell of Bradford, showed the futility of that, and after good discussion the president of the school invited us to go as often as we can, and they will give us opportunity of discussing Socialism point by point. Bland lectured on "Socialism v. Individualism" at Laycock's Temperance Hotel, to a large audience; Scott (S.D.F.), Mitchell, and Mintz taking part in a good discussion.—P. B.

GLASGOW.—On Tuesday night, in the Renfield Street U.P. Church Literary Association, Pollock maintained the affirmative in the debate "Is Socialism Just?" On Thursday night, McLean delivered a powerful lecture to the Kilsyth Literary Society on "Socialism Vindicated;" the discussion that followed showed that the good seed sown by our comrades last summer had taken root, and that our cause was progressing favourably in the district. Glasier on Sunday lectured to the Irish N.S. in Kilsyth on "Socialism Inevitable," and demonstrated to a large and appreciative audience the inadequacy of Nationalism or Radicalism to benefit the people permanently. On Sunday, Adams and McCulloch attempted to hold our usual outdoor meeting at Paisley Road Toll, but had to abandon it through the inclemency of the weather.—S. D.

NORWICH.—On Thursday last a large meeting was held by the lock-out men in the shoe trade here, which was supported by members of this branch. Mowbray spoke at some length. The same evening a Co-operative Clothing Association was formed in the Gordon Hall. Saturday evening a mass meeting of the lock-out men was held on the Haymarket, and Mowbray again took part; we are doing some good propaganda by this means. On Sunday, good meetings in Gordon Hall morning and evening. Good sale of *Commonweal*.—S.

SOUTH SUSSEX.—Several new converts recently made, and slight rustling in local mutual improvement dovecots, via papers, lectures, and discussion. Hall will make an assault on the villages lying under the shadow of the South Sussex Castles shortly, although threatened with vague consequences. The condition of these village serfs is indescribably awful, many large families having "lived" through the winter on 5s. a-week, the rate of pay for reasonable rural labour.

WALSALL.—Last Monday, Russell delivered an interesting address on "Why I am a Socialist." Lively discussion. On Saturday, Saunders addressed a good open-air meeting on The Bridge. Questions were put at the close, and answered to entire satisfaction of the audience.—J. T. D.

DUBLIN.—At Saturday Club, A. Upward, B.L., lectured on the "Next Home Rule Bill," outlining a thoroughly Democratic Constitution for Ireland. Conlan, Karpel, O'Toole, and Kavanagh (Socialists), made interesting contributions to the debate, giving the audience glimpses of the ideal society towards which we work.

LONDON PATRIOTIC CLUB.—On Sunday evening, a debate took place at this club on Lane's "Anti-Statist Communist Manifesto," between Mr. Hardaker and the author of the manifesto. The debate was fairly well sustained. A lively discussion followed, in which several well-known members of the Socialist League took part. Mr. J. Fuller took the chair.

JUNIOR SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY.—On Sat. Feb. 25th Cooper's paper on "The Reward of Labour" was read, and good discussion followed. The meeting was held at Mrs. Aveling's, 65 Chancery Lane.—On March 10th, at 14 Kempford Gardens, Mary Gosling read a short but very interesting paper on "The Emancipation of Woman."—Next Saturday, March 17, Mrs. Aveling will lecture on "The Woman Question," at 65 Chancery Lane, 8 o'clock sharp. Members and friends only.—H. M. F.

#### Scottish Land and Labour League.

EDINBURGH.—On 4th, Davidson lectured on "Scientific Socialism," and on 11th Hossack read a paper on "The Worker's Share of Civilisation." On the 8th Mayor delivered his second lecture, "Industry in Modern Times," to the St. Cuthbert's Co-operative Society. The trustees of the Gray's Prize Fund are this year offering prizes of £20, £10, and £5 for the best three essays on "Socialism in the Nineteenth Century." Competitors must be students of Edinburgh University.

CARNOSTIE.—On Tuesday the 6th, weekly meeting held, when Steven read paper on "The Progress of Socialism in Carnoustie;" good discussion. Afterwards the forthcoming School Board election was discussed, when it was resolved that the members use all their influence in order to secure fit and proper persons to represent the ratepayers on that body.—H. M.C.

### LECTURE DIARY.

#### LONDON.

- Acton.—17 High Street, Acton, W. (adjoining Purnell's Dining Rooms). Sunday March 18, at 8 p.m.
- Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road. Thursday March 15, Meeting of Concert Committee at 7.45. Dr. Aveling will lecture on "The Gospel of Socialism" at 8.30. Thursday 22nd, Special Business Meeting for members of Branch only.
- Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7. Sunday March 18, at 8.30, Commune Celebration. Wednesday 21, at 8.30, W. H. Utley, "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity."
- Fulham.—8 Effie Road, Fulham Green. Sunday at 8.
- Hackney.—28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Road, Hackney Wick.
- Hammer-smith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday at 8.

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—C. J. Young, 8 Dunloe Street, Hackney Road, Secretary. Members please take up their membership cards for 1888.

Mitcham.—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open Saturday, Sunday, and Monday evenings from 7.30 till 11. W. E. Edeu, 12 Palmerston Road, Wimbledon, Secretary.

Mile-end and Bethnal Green.—95 Boston St., Hackney Road. Business Meeting every Thursday at 9 p.m. Debating Class for members after Business Meeting.

#### PROVINCES.

Aberdeen (Scottish Section).—Sunday night meetings in Baker Street Hall, at 6. Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St. Nicholas Street.

Birmingham.—Meetings at Summer Row Coffee House every Saturday evening at 8.

Bradford.—Morris's Dining Rooms, 114 City Road. Wednesdays, at 8.

Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Tuesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. H. M'Cluskey, Millar Street, Secy.

Cowdenbeath (Scot. Sec).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec

Dublin.—Saturday Club, Central Lecture Hall, 12 Westmorland Street.

Dundee (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station. Political Economy class, 2 p.m. Lecture at 8.30.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Every Thursday at 8, class for study of Marx's 'Capital.' Trades Hall, 142 High Street, Sunday March 18, at 6.30 p.m., C. W. Tuke, "The Religion of Socialism." In Oddfellows Hall, Forest Road, on 22nd, 8 p.m., Rev. John Glasie, "The Relation of Socialism to Co-operation." On 26th, William Morris, "The Society of the Future."

Galashiels (Scot Sect).—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., sec.

Gallatoun and Dysart (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatoun Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.

Glasgow.—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Propaganda Committee, Mondays at 8. Discussion Class meets every Thursday evening at 8 p.m.

Leeds.—Lady Lane. Open every evening. Business meeting Fridays at 8. Address all communications to T. Paylor, 11 Sheldon Street, Holbeck, Leeds.

Leicester.—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8.

Lochgelly (Scottish Section: Fife).—Secs. (pro tem.), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.

Norwich.—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Monday, day, Members meeting at 8.30. Wednesday, Ways and Means Committee at 8.30. Thursday, Discussion class (Gronlund), 8. Friday, Literary Com-Paria Commune—Tea and Entertainment, 1s. Tuesday at 8; Band practice at 8. On Thursday March 22, a special Entertainment will be given by the Mistrrel Troupe, on behalf of the funds of the men that are on strike.

Nottingham.—Club and Reading Rooms, 1 Tokenhouse Yard, Bridlesmith Gate, open every evening. Lectures and Discussions every Sunday.

Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.

Walsall.—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

West Calder (Scottish Section).—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.

#### OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

##### LONDON—Sunday 18.

- |       |                             |                       |
|-------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| 11    | Acton—the Steyne            | Acton Branch          |
| 11    | Turnham Green—Front Common  | Ham'smith             |
| 11.30 | Hoxton Church, Pitfield St. | Nicoll                |
| 11.30 | Merton—Haydons Road         | The Branch            |
| 11.30 | Regent's Park               | Parker                |
| 11.30 | St. Pancras Arches          | Bloomsbury Branch     |
| 11.30 | Walham Green                | Fulham Branch         |
| 3.30  | Hyde Park                   | Mainwaring and others |
| 7     | Acton—Priory                | Acton Branch          |

#### PROVINCES.

Leeds.—Sunday: Jack Lane End, Meadow Road, at 10.30 a.m. In Prince's Field, at 3 p.m.

Norwich.—Market Place, at 3 every Sunday.

PROGRESSIVE ASSOCIATION, Penton Hall, 81 Pentonville Road.—Sunday March 18, at 7 p.m., Percival Clubb, "Ethical Socialism in Practice."

LEYTONSTONE WORKING MEN'S CLUB, 1 Cathall Rd., Leytonstone.—Sunday March 25, 11.30 a.m., H. Halliday Sparling on "What Socialists Want."

SHEFFIELD SOCIALISTS, Commonwealth Café, Scotland Street, Sheffield.—Discussions or Lectures every Sunday evening at 7 o'clock. Free.

The Strike Fund.—Entertainments will be given on Saturday evenings in the Hall of the League, at 8 p.m., in aid of the above Fund. Friends wishing to assist with songs, recitations, instrumental music, etc., should at once communicate with W. B. Parker, at office of League. First Entertainment, March 24th.

East-end Socialist Club.—A Grand Vocal and Instrumental Concert will be given in Hall of League, at 8 p.m., on Easter Monday, April 2nd, in aid of funds of projected East-end Club.

SPECIAL NOTICE.—The members and delegates of the four Branches—viz., Hoxton, Hackney, Mile-end, and Stamford Hill—will meet on Friday evening the 16th inst. in the *Commonweal* Office—time, 8.30. Important business.

#### PARIS COMMUNE CELEBRATIONS.

CLERKENWELL.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C., on Sunday March 18, at 8.30. Short addresses by Mrs. Schack, H. A. Barker, F. Kitz, J. Turner, and W. Blundell. Songs, etc.

BIRMINGHAM.—It is intended to celebrate the Commune by a Dinner, etc., on March 19. Friends wish- ind to join in the same please communicate with comrades Sketchley and Copeland, 8 Arthur Place, Parade, immediately.

NORWICH.—On Sunday March 18, at 3, a great meet- ing will be held in the Market Place, to celebrate Paris Commune. Addresses by Mark Manly (of London), and others. Other out-door meetings will be held during the day. On Monday 19th a Tea and Enter- tainment will be held in the Gordon Hall. Tickets 1s. each, to be had of the Secretary.

NOTTINGHAM.—Socialist Club, Tokenhouse Yard, Bridlesmith Gate.—To celebrate the Commune, a Tea and Social Evening, with short addresses, songs, etc., will be held in the Club Rooms on Saturday 17, at 6 o'clock. Tickets 6d. each.

DUBLIN.—The celebration of the anniversary of the Commune of Paris will be held, under the auspices of the Dublin Socialist Club, at 2 Bachelors Walk, on Sunday March 18th, at 8 p.m. Tickets 1s. each.

SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.— Meeting at *Commonweal* Office, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday March 25, at 3.30 p.m.

WANTED—Cheap, perfect: 'Anarcharis Clootz,' 'Orateur du genre humain; par Georges Avenel,' 2 vols. 8vo. This book was given during 1885 to sub- scribers to *Le Question Sociale* (Paris, monthly) as a special prize. Address: T. S., care of H. H. Sparling, *Commonweal* Office.

## THE TABLES TURNED.

### ENGAGEMENTS.

Friday March 23 . . . . . BERNERS STREET

Applications for engagements to be made to the Manager, H. A. Barker, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 4.—No. 115.

SATURDAY, MARCH 24, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON NEWS.

MR. BRADLAUGH'S Oaths Bill has been carried at length, and Radicals are jubilant. That can hardly be wondered at, but the triumph looks a good deal smaller when it is remembered how the Social Question has come to the front during the five or six years that have passed since "Iconoclast" was flung out of the House by thirteen stalwart moral miracles, and how it has relegated to the background those forms and ceremonies over which men used to fight so.

Property needs all the aid it can get now to resist the onrush of "Spoliation"—otherwise resumption by the people of their own—and the vote of an Atheist is worth as much on a division as that of an Archbishop.

A delightfully old-fashioned air was given to the debate by some speakers, among them Mr. Sydney Gedge, who objected to the Bill because, among other reasons, "the common people were not afraid of a subsequent and problematical prosecution for perjury, but they were afraid of being damned; and it was to their interest to encourage this salutary fear of future punishment." We are used to this policy, but it is not often so frankly avowed.

When one remembers the Radical jubiliations over the Allotments Act, and the way in which our criticism was resented, it is interesting to note that our words are being found true. A meeting of agricultural labourers was lately held at Spalding, to consider the possibility of taking further action to put the Allotments Act in force in the district. The speakers stated that labourers had repeatedly and vainly applied for allotments to the local authorities and individuals. The meeting appointed a committee of six labourers to act on their behalf, and they have since addressed a letter to the Allotments Association declaring the Act a delusion and a sham, and expressing satisfaction that Mr. Jesse Collings, "who combined with the Tories to pass the miserable *sham*," had been removed from the chairmanship of the association.

Sir Charles Russell, leader of the English Bar and Liberal Attorney-General, who prosecuted Hyndman and others for their share in the riot of February 1886, is now so much further on as to demand that the State should undertake the responsibility of maintaining all the aged poor. Here are his words: He claimed that it was the duty of the entire community that had received the benefits of the youth and manhood of the men who ultimately became the subjects of relief, to recognise as an obligation resting upon them relief of those who had in their day and according to their measure, worked for the general good of the community; and further, that there should be no degradation or humiliation accompanying the receipt of relief out of the public taxation of the country; and also that such should have their full share of the help to which they had become entitled.

Of course, his utterance may mean anything or nothing, according to the way in which the political wind blows, but that the wily lawyer should speak so plainly marks which way it is blowing now. It is one of the straws that show how fast the Socialist movement is pushing along the people of all parties.

At the Middlesex Sessions on Saturday 10th Major Borrowes was found guilty of having assaulted Lord Howard de Walden, causing actual bodily harm. He was ordered by Mr. Injustice Edin to pay a fine of £400 to the Crown, to pay costs and expenses of the prosecution, and to enter into his recognizances in £500, and find two sureties each of £250 for keeping the peace, especially towards Lord Howard de Walden, for twelve months.

It may be as well to recall the fact that what he is punished for is protecting a woman's life against her husband, who is in the "eye of the law" her proprietor and "natural protector," even when it happens that he is a drunken ruffian. The "sanctity of the marriage tie" must be preserved!

Contrast with this the "justice" meted by two Liverpool magistrates on the 16th to a woman for cruelly illtreating an orphan child aged thirteen. The girl had been an inmate of the Kirkdale Industrial Schools up to about eight months ago, when she was taken out by the

defendant, who kept a stationer's shop. After she had got into defendant's service, defendant began to beat her in the mornings, and send her out with papers.

One morning the girl got up at half-past five o'clock and opened the shop, but having been late up the night before, she fell asleep on the sofa, and the defendant beat her about the face and head, kicked her, and broke her arm. She ran out of the house, and a police-officer took her to the hospital. The medical evidence was that, besides the broken arm the child had two black eyes, and bruises on the head and various parts of the body. On paying £5 compensation to the child, and the costs, the magistrates allowed the defendant to leave the court.

You see, it was only an orphan pauper, and she a servant, so that while interference with vested rights in a woman's body must be atoned for by a heavy punishment, interference with the poor liberty of life and limb of a pauper may be cheaply paid for!

An exception to the general rule of ineptitude and brutality among those who "adorn the judicial bench" seems to be Mr. Justice Matthew, who in charging the Bristol grand jury, endorsed Mr. Justice Day's opinion that for minor offences against person or property sentences of long imprisonment were inexpedient. "They were unjust to the individual and impolitic from a public point of view. He trusted that the remarks falling from the bench generally on the subject would be attended to throughout the country."

Afterwards, in sentencing an old woman to one day for petty larceny, he said, "she had been frequently convicted for small thefts, and had been sentenced to seven and eight years' penal servitude for little offences. These sentences were unjust and absurd." We cannot hope that his brethren will follow his example, but it is interesting to note that he classed "person and property" together, and further that it was a theft he gave the small punishment for.

Most of his "learned brothers" give thrice the punishment for a theft that they do for a brutal assault, and reckon a dead worker at less than a stolen turnip.

Socialists who smoke cigarettes should look up a small society established by workmen for cigarette-making at 157 Houndsditch, E.C., about a year and a half ago. I smoke a pipe usually, and cigarettes very rarely indeed, and fear I must wait a good while before I can find a co-operative smoking-tobacco manufactory, and so feel that no capitalist is making a profit on my favourite weakness. S.

There is a sort of feeling of expectation in the air of something to happen in Germany, now that the ignominious old man who has so long filled the joss-seat has gone. Some hope that the new Emperor will go further than merely doing his best to keep the peace of Europe unbroken; that he will inaugurate "reforms" in Germany itself, relax the oppressive laws just re-enacted against the Socialists. An article in the *Pall Mall Gazette* dwelt on the solemn position of the Emperor Frederick, placed as he is between the new throne and probable speedy death, and seemed to think that his acts would be the more conscientious and beneficent for that reason.

I don't know: I cannot help thinking that he will rather feel himself an *ad interim* Emperor whose business it is to do nothing. Besides, I doubt the effect of illness as a stimulus to action: it seems to me that people who are ill and drawing near their death are rather apt to think more about their illness than anything else. It is from those who are vigorously alive that one expects vigorous action.

And after all, is it to be believed that it will be so easy for this one man and the clique in the Court that follows him to break through the strength given by the long years of the Bismarkian policy?

Finally, in no case, even if Kaiser Frederick lives and inaugurates the reign of reform, will it be good for the cause of the people or bad for it. May it not bring about a state of things not better but only more plausible? a state of things like that which we have so long "enjoyed" here; in which people are free—to starve; free also to speak—so long as their speaking does not annoy their masters too much. These are questions which we cannot help asking ourselves.

W. M.

## THE MAN IN THE OFFICE.

To assert that officials are persons of more than ordinary forbearance, is to assert that which no one except officials themselves believe. The popular conception of them is that they are heartless monsters. My own impression is that like other men they are neither all good nor all bad; and that among them are to be found the affable and sympathetic as well as the stony-hearted. But whatever my opinion may be, the general belief is that they are bad to a man. The reason for this belief may arise from the fact that the majority of mankind expect to find in the official the ideal man, and consequently one above the frailties of human nature, and, in short, the very incarnation of all the known virtues. But even if the popular view be correct, judging by my own experience as a man in office, when it is considered what trials and tortures officials are compelled to undergo, there is no cause for wonder even if they are all bad.

"Your experience!" says Mr. Sarcastic.

"Yes, my experience," I repeat. "Here am I as savage as a caged lion puzzling over the most extraordinary problems that ever beset the mind of man. Here, for example, is one that has frequently engaged my attention, and which I have given up in despair more than once. Perhaps Mr. Sarcastic can help me to its solution?"

"Dear Sir,—I am to deliver a lecture on 'Socialism' on Wednesday next, at K——. I intend to completely smash up its opponents. Please send me a list of the best arguments to use for that purpose, as I have not yet had time to study the question.—Yours in the Cause, "X——."

When I first took office, to make a *satisfactory* reply to this sort of thing was quite beyond me. I tried but invariably failed to do so. Whether I wrote short essays, sent packets of pamphlets, or referred my correspondent to the best known books on the subject, it was all one, I could not supply the right article. My correspondents seemed to have an idea that I was a small god, who on being applied to could supply them with a magic composition which they had only to repeat to completely outwit all who ventured to question the wisdom of their discourses. But the result proved them to be mistaken, and caused their estimate of me and my products to undergo a complete revolution. I usually learned this by receiving something like the following:—

"Sir,—I have to thank you for making me the fool you did last night. Your arguments (?) were knocked into a cocked hat. The audience could not understand them, and neither could I, though I did my best to defend them. What on earth do you mean by an 'economic revolution,' and such terms as 'bourgeoisie,' 'proletariat,' 'social equality,' etc.?"

"In your future correspondence with me I must request you to give a plain answer to a simple question.—Yours in the Cause, "X——."

These plain answers to simple questions I have already expressed my inability to supply, and although in the early days of my official career I manfully strove to do so, experience taught me that I was attempting the impossible, and that to ignore them was the only way out of the difficulty.

Although generally successful this expedient has sometimes failed, for a correspondent crops up now and then who will insist on having an answer, and about the third day after the receipt of his precious missive a post-card turns up with:—

"Sir,—I have received no answer to my enquiry of the —th inst. Reply per return.—Yours fraternally, "X——,"

written thereon. "Reply per return"! How the deuce can I reply per return as to:—

"What are the writings of Marx? Have they any reference to Socialism? and if so, what? Who are Proudhon, Lassalle, and Bakounine? What place, if any, have they in the Socialist movement? Is there a paper edited by a Mr. Morris called the *Co-operative Commonwealth*? If there is please send me a copy, and I will forward stamps for it on receipt. What are your views on the marriage question? Are you in favour of free love? Would not its adoption lead to the most disastrous consequences?"

To these queries I send a packet of pamphlets, and a short note recommending besides their perusal certain well-known books as the best answer I can give. But this method of treating the correspondent that *will* be answered does not satisfy, you are again reminded by him, this time by letter, that:—

"The pamphlets you send are not answers to the questions. What has 'Useful Work,' 'Organised Labour,' 'Plea for Socialism,' 'The Anti-Statist Communist Manifesto,' the 'Manifesto of the Socialist League,' and the 'Aims of Art' to do with them?"

"I don't want to buy Marx or Bebel's 'Woman,' nor any of the other books you mention. The paper you sent me called the *Commonweal* is a most revolutionary publication, and not what I asked you to get me. I return it with this post. Please send what I ordered. I do not wonder at the unpopularity of Socialism if mine is the treatment earnest enquirers receive. You either can or you cannot answer my questions; if you can't I shall know what to think of Socialism."

To tell him to think what he liked is what any one free from the trammels of office would do, but the man in office must not do so, but must answer his correspondent in the politest manner.

This forbearance generally acts as an inducement to the correspondent to exhibit to the full his prowess in the science of controversy, his superior intelligence completely pulverising that of the poor puny official. But as there are limits to human endurance, it sometimes happens that his "superior intelligence" is requested to take itself to a region where the temperature is reputed to be somewhat above that of the rest of the universe.

I think that examples enough have been given of the *simple* questions that the man in the office is called upon to answer by his numerous correspondents, but before leaving them I may mention that besides

these there are numerous other puzzlers which have to be dealt with, such as: "Was Carlyle a Socialist?" and "How can one best, taking into consideration the circumstances of to-day, act up to the Socialist ideal?"

There is, however, a class of persons that continually haunt the office, beside which the correspondent, to use a time-honoured phrase, pales into insignificance; and this is the "Caller." There are several orders of the class "Caller," for example:

1. Those you-are-all-wrong-and-I-can-put-you-right individuals.
2. Currency-mongers.
3. Editor-hunters.

Here is a specimen of the first-named order, addressing the man in the office:—

*Specimen of 1st Order:* "You Socialists are all wrong. All your talk about Social Revolution is nonsense."

*Man in the Office to Specimen:* "Well, nonsense or not, it is coming."

*S. of 1st O.:* "Yes, that's the confounded twaddle you agitators are always preaching! Now look here (*impressively*), if you people go on ranting about equality for a thousand years you will never bring it about. Its impossible; no two men are exactly the same size. Besides, even if you *could* realise your dreams, think what 'a beautiful continuity of sameness it would be,' in short, 'a divine monotony.' Just fancy now a state of society in which all the houses were built exactly the same height and shape, and where everybody ate the same kind of food and wore the same kind of clothes! Why, it's preposterous! And let me tell you this, that abuse the wealthy classes as much as you like they are the best friends the working-classes have. If you want their generosity you must leave off spouting about and abusing them; and I can assure you that your talk of revolution and equality is the very thing to make them button up their pockets and let you starve rather than help you. And serve you right!"

*M. in the O.:* "But we don't want their generosity. We want to get possession of the means of subsistence, and we shall before our agitation ceases."

*S. of 1st O.:* "You mean you want to rob the rich people!"

The Man in the Office endeavoured to explain what it was Socialists wanted, but all to no purpose, for the specimen rushed from the office exclaiming as he went, "A set of blockheads and rascals!" and left the man in the office—smiling (?).

Now, a specimen of the second-named order is a different kind of being altogether. He has usually written a book on the great "Currency Question," and this he will insist on explaining in the most detailed manner whenever he makes his appearance.

A novel specimen of this order turned up the other day; a shortish, thin, and excitable person he was. Red hot he bounced into the office and gasped out:—

"Are you Mr. —?"

I replied that I was.

"Oh," said he, "have you seen my book on the 'Currency Question'?"

"I have not had that pleasure," I answered.

"What a pity," he went on; "if you had I am sure you would see the necessity for the change it advocates; because it clearly shows that what is wanted is not Socialism but a proper system of currency."

"But," said I, "I don't see that a change in the currency system would do away with the necessity for Socialism. Because—"

"Ah!" he interrupted, "you haven't read my book. Look here, page 21 clearly proves that if the change I advocate were adopted, capital might be so employed that the men now out of work could be set to work and the employer at the same time reap a good profit. It's quite simple."

"But we Socialists," I answered, "don't believe in employers getting profit."

"But you surely don't mean that seriously?" he interrogated.

"I do," said I.

"But how are they to live then?" he asked.

"I'm afraid," I answered, "that you haven't studied Socialism. Here is a paper which will tell you something about it, and here are some pamphlets. Will you please read them?"

"Ah! well!" said he, "perhaps I will, but I don't see the use of doing so. Socialism may be all very well in its way, but what is wanted is the change in the currency system which I advocate."

"Well, I shall have much pleasure in reading your book or in handing a copy of it to our editor," said I, anxious to draw the conversation to a close.

My mention of the editor had an effect on the currency man which I did not anticipate. He wanted to know who the editor was, where he lived, would he grant him an interview, etc., etc. To all these questions I replied as best I could, and whether he has yet encountered the editor I know not. Having satisfied him as to the editor, I put out my hand and bade him "Good-day!" He grasped it firmly, and holding it in his he looked me straight in the face and said:

"Good-bye, you read my book and you'll soon come to the conclusion that it's not Socialism that is wanted but the change which I advocate in the currency."

With this he bounced out and flew down two flights of stairs into the street in less time than it takes to write it.

The third named order of the class "Caller" is so well known that it is unnecessary to particularise; the editor is well acquainted with it, but not nearly so well as that unfortunate individual—the man in the office. He it is whom the numerous genera of the editor-hunting order besiege with a thousand and one enquiries—not the proverbial thousand and one—as to the editor and every conceivable thing connected therewith. But without going further I think it has been conclusively proved that the life of the sour-visaged man-in-the-office is not one of undisturbed serenity, but is full of care and anxiety. This being so is it not absurd to expect him to be "above the frailties of human nature and the incarnation of virtue?"

H. A. BARKER.

THE NEW YORK UNION CIGARMAKERS.—The strike of the union cigarmakers of New York against a reduction of wages and the tenement house system is still in progress. Extensive preparations are being made to effectually boycott Jacoby & Bookman, the firm who evicted a large number of tenants recently. The union's committee has a list of the firm's customers, and they will no doubt have some dealings with union committees which will not particularly increase Jacoby & Bookman's trade. An interesting feature of the prosecution of this boycott will be the distribution of lithographic reproductions of photographic views of the eviction of the twenty-two families by the greedy firm with the assistance of the organised capitalists' obedient servants, the notorious clubbers for which New York is famous. These pictures will be sent to labour organisations throughout the country with the boycott circulars and list of the scab firm's brands.—*Workmen's Advocate*.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

BELGIUM.

On the 1st and 2nd of April, the Belgian Workingmen's Party will hold their annual Congress. The Federations of Verviers, Dison, Ensival, Pepinster, Seraing, the Centre, Brussels, Louvain, Malines, Ghendt, Antwerp, Charleroi, and Mous will attend at the Congress, which is to be held this year at Liege, and the members of the party at Brussels seem to foresee that a reconciliation between the several fractions might possibly take place. The following questions are to be discussed:—1. Universal suffrage, and tactics to be adopted at electioneering time; 2. Minimum wages and reduction of hours of labour; 3. General amnesty. On the same date the Socialists of Seraing, near Liege, will open their new premises built on purpose for them.

It appears that contrary to the wish expressed by the Socialist fraction of the German Reichstag in their circular published in last week's issue of this paper, the Belgian Workingmen's Party intend to send delegates to the English Trades' Union Congress to be convened this year at London. At any rate they will be represented at the International Socialist-Congress of 1889 as well.

HOLLAND.

At the Hague the meeting held to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the publication of *Recht voor Allen*, the Social Democratic organ of the Dutch workers, has proved a fair success. Domela Nieuwenhuis gave a vivid history of the paper, which at first appeared as a weekly, soon afterwards was published twice and since last year three times a week, and the Socialists are now looking forward to transform it into a daily organ. He pointed out specially that a very great part of the success was to be attributed to the energetic pushing of the workers themselves, who were indefatigable in selling it,—a hint to those who sell the *Weal*. A considerable subscription was also made during the meeting for the strikers of Almelo, who had already received through the paper a sum of nearly three thousand guilders.

The Socialist propaganda circles of the Southern Dutch provinces have decided to publish, from April the 1st a fortnightly paper which will chiefly deal with economical and social questions. It will be entitled *de Volkstem* (The Voice of the People) and is to appear at Middleburg. In that part of Holland, where the reaction has its strongest fortress, the new paper will do a considerable deal of good and we hope that its editors may be well supported by their more advanced friends of the Northern provinces, for the common benefit of Socialism in Holland.

FRANCE.

The *Parti Ouvrier* (Workingmen's Party) of France issue a weekly organ entitled *Le Proletariat*; they have a share in the editorship of a political daily paper, *Le Cri du Peuple* (the People's Cry); and they possess a fortnightly literary and artistic review, called *Le Coup de Feu* (the Gun Shot). They are now going to issue a monthly review, under the editorship of Henri Galiment. It will be entitled *Revue du Socialisme Scientifique* (Review of Scientific Socialism), and the first number will appear in the month of May.

Another weekly exponent of revolutionary Socialism appeared on the 18th inst. at St. Etienne (Loire Department), under the title of *Le Dshérité* (the Disinherited). Among other topics it intends to give every week a full record of the revolutionary events in all parts of the world, a quite new feature in French journalism.

A third paper will appear at the end of this month at Paris, and is to be entitled *Terre et Liberté* (Land and Freedom). This organ, published by the Anarchist groups of Paris, will also devote its careful attention to the international movement, and have original correspondence from several countries, both in Europe and in America. Besides, in order to represent as accurately as possible the opinions generally prevailing among Anarchists, the entrance to the editor's offices will be free to all combatants of the Cause, and everything will be submitted before its publication to the comrades assembled.

We have been asked to reproduce the following appeal from the political prisoners now in jail at Paris to the working men of all Europe:

"Paris, Pélagie Prison, March 9, 1888.

"WORKING-MEN OF ALL COUNTRIES.—The Emperor William is dead; the Crown Prince, the personal enemy of Bismark, the only one who in Germany might have opposed the bellicose tendencies of the Chancellor, need hardly be counted among the living.

"At this present moment, the working-men in many lands are asking themselves with anguish in their hearts, What are we to expect, peace or war? and the masses answer, War!—so convinced are they in every camp that the 'saviours' of the people are already designated: here it is Moltke, there Boulanger, others elsewhere.

"Therefore we must not deceive ourselves; it is a very grave situation, and most assuredly the day is not far distant when the trumpet will sound summoning the gathering of innumerable human herds, which the 'shepherds' will devote to death, with this difference, that at the slaughter-houses they are bled by the butcher, while on the battle-field it is the victims who slay one another.

"Once again, Shall it be so? That depends.

"In Germany the Socialists of every shade number about a million and a half of men convinced in their creed, one-sixth of the adult population of that country.

"If they wish it, war will not take place; but for that purpose they must not satisfy themselves with mere protests, as in 1870. If war be declared, they must prevent it. Let them take up a decided attitude, and raise without fear or weakness difficulties for the Chancellor; let them agitate, and fight if necessary, to reconquer the autonomy and independence of the smaller States of the confederation; let them sow broadcast the seeds of the revolutionary idea; refuse to bear arms against France, while turning them without hesitation if needs be against their oppressors; let them vigorously propagate Socialist revolutionary doctrines, forget their dissensions between sects and schools, that they may be united to shake off the iron yoke that weighs them down, and the French revolutionists may be relied upon, at least we hope so, to neglect for the moment all doctrinal questions and turn their attention only to the social war.

"The Italian revolutionists, who are no way minded to assist Crispi, the cantankerous, in his adventures, would not be slow to follow this example and tie the hands of their Government in such manner as to render it incapable of intervening in favour of its master Bismark, if not to send him flying altogether one of these days.

"In this way the grave that is again being prepared to swallow up the

proletarian revendications, might not improbably be dug to put out of the way for evermore the privileged and their monstrous monopolies.

"Well now, comrades in every land, at this critical moment, in the face of this alternative of life and death, let us ask whether the time has not come to close our ranks and to prepare for a final effort? To that end should not all our theoretical disputes be put aside, to make room for fraternal feelings only? Is it not high time at last—and this we repeat without asking anyone to sacrifice his personal preferences—to bring about the union of all the Socialist revolutionary forces and to cease to annihilate one another by internecine strife?

"Is it not our duty the rather to bring together all our strength and all our energy for the struggle and the victory?

"Let the governing classes seek wars of extermination between the peoples, but at the same time let it not be forgotten that it is the duty of revolutionaries to meet such excitations by an agreement between the workers in all countries, that on the day when the despots would seek to lead them into the slaughter they may be prepared to answer the provocations of the so-called directing classes by the class war, a social war which is destined to free mankind!

"DEVENTUS, of the staff of the *Cri du Peuple*; A. BALL, saddler; E. ODIN, staff *Revolutions Cosmopolite*; P. PONS, manager of the *Revolutions Cosmopolite*; G. DEHERME, staff of the *Autonomie Individuelle*."

ROUMANIA.

A rather strong Socialist movement is beginning in Roumania, but strange to say the recruits are mostly middle-class men, professors, teachers, functionaries, solicitors, officers in the army, pressmen, etc. The reason for this curious phenomenon is that the working-classes are, as yet, extremely ignorant, but of course this ignorance will gradually disappear; and it is to be hoped that here, as everywhere else, the emancipation of the workers will become the work of the labourers themselves. Anyhow, at the present time two solicitors of Bucharest, Mille and Ganesco, are endeavouring to organise the workers in various societies. They have formed unions of metal-workers, of wood-carvers, of shoemakers, and a general Labour Emancipation Union, "Circle Muncitor" (the Worker's Society), which has already its weekly organ, entitled *Desrobiera* (Enfranchisement). At Roman, another Socialist of the well-to-do class, comrade Mortun, has been elected member of the Roumanian Parliament. He is co-editor, in conjunction with a former professor at the University, of three papers, *Revista Sociala* (Social Review), *Contemporarul* (the Contemporary), a scientific organ; and *Muncitor* (the Worker), defending the interests of the labouring classes. All three are published at Jassy, the capital of Moldavia, and seem to have considerable influence all over the country. V. D.

SPAIN.

TARRASA.—A strike of about 500 men is reported here. A correspondent writing to a Barcelona journal, says that the sanitary inspectors of the town having made a visit of inspection to the factories, found the gas of such bad quality and so injurious to the weavers, that they at once ordered the suspension of work during the hours which would necessitate artificial light. The employers on seeking to make up for the loss of time involved by extra long hours when the light was improved, were met by a refusal from the workers, whereupon those who were foremost in refusing were dismissed. A strike was the result, and several meetings held among the workmen, resolutions drawn up and a strike fund set on foot, and so forth.

ITALY.

CATANIA.—An important demonstration has taken place in this town, in which the working-men have demanded food and labour of the municipality. This coming close upon the Roman agitation, is yet another among the many signs of the times coming on us.

MONZA.—Philanthropy is rampant in Monza, though certainly its workings are somewhat ludicrous. We hear that a certain influential firm in the town betought them on a sudden of giving a small umbrella or parasol to every one of their work-people, to keep their poor heads from the ardores of the summer sun. Is this a reminiscence of the immortal burlesque electioneering scene at Eatonswill, familiar to faithful students of Dickens, where it will be remembered the town was flooded with green silk parasols as one among the several delicate and poetic means taken to bring over the populace to the Slumkey interest?

How history repeats itself! We hear, too, in this town of another labour-owner, who is quite the conventional type of high-handed autocratic Italian business man. One pay-day he handed to one of his employes something less than his stipulated wage, and on the man protesting threw the balance due on the table, and informed him that in his establishment the work-folk were to take what he chose to give them, and gave him notice that he might find work elsewhere. I only instance this little scene as a type of many, and as such not wholly insignificant.

ITALIAN POINTSMEN.—The pointsman (*deviatore*) on the Italian railways, that most responsible and important factor in railway organisations, living with eye and ear always on the strain—well, he is treated with an unjustifiable indifference (as it appears to me) by the companies, who, through him, are responsible for so much human life. For instance, one article in the *Service Regulations* lays down that "the duration of the day's service is so regulated that the pointsman may get 'at least' 7 hours uninterrupted rest, besides 'at least' 2 hours in the day during the interval of trains passing." Now practically this comes to 17 hours work, for one may guess pretty well that the 2 hours extra repose gets usually absorbed in some unforeseen way, and, whether or no, an hour or so while on duty is not much help physically or mentally. For this arduous work about 50s. a month is an average wage for a man who has been in the service for a long while. The regulations also fix the amount of bonuses which vary between 12s. 6d. and 1s. 8d. per month. "But," says the *Fascio*, "the regulations that are so short and concise as regards payment, are quite otherwise interminable when touching fines and punishments. Five pages are devoted to the classification of punishments to be inflicted on this unlucky staff, who while loaded by a liberal hand with so many benefits, should venture through overpowering hunger or sleep to be found wanting in their fulfilment of the duties prescribed by the Service Regulations. The fines begin at 1 lira and rise to 10 liras, without counting reductions, degradations, etc. Such is the largesse conceded by the railway regulations in action since Feb. 1st, 1888. But it farther seems that those entering the service since then will not be allowed to benefit by the pension fund instituted in 1867." The *Fascio* concludes by urging all the railway staffs to unite for their own defence, and join the Socialist ranks for the furtherance of the emancipation of labour. M. M.



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT WAS DONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN WENT TO IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMNED IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.

Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

#### Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday March 21.

<b>ENGLAND</b>	Boston—Woman's Journal	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde
Die Autonomie	Chicago—Vorbote	Llege—L'Avonir
Jus	Vorbote	SWITZERLAND
Leaflet Newspaper	Corning (Iowa) Revue Icarienne	Zurich—Social Demokrat
London—Freie Presse	Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer	ITALY
Leicester—Countryman	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	Gazetta Operaia
Labour Tribune	Hammond (N.J.) Credit Foncier	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Norwich—Daylight	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volkblatt	Rome—L'Emancipazione
Railway Review	Paterson (N.J.) Labor Standard	Marsala—La Nuova Eta
Worker's Friend	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	SPAIN
<b>SOUTH AUSTRALIA</b>	Coast Seamen's Journal	Madrid—El Socialista
Adelaide—Our Commonwealth	Freethought	Cadiz—El Socialismo
<b>INDIA</b>	<b>FRANCE</b>	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	AUSTRIA
Madras—People's Friend	La Revolte	Arbeiter-Trombe
<b>UNITED STATES</b>	Guise—Le Devolt	HUNGARY
New York—Freiheit	<b>HOLLAND</b>	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
Der Sozialist	Hague—Recht voor Allen	SWEDEN
Truthseeker	<b>BELGIUM</b>	Malmö—Arbetet
Volkzeitung	Antwerp—De Werker	

## CELEBRATING THE COMMUNE.

THE London Socialists celebrated the seventeenth anniversary of the Commune of Paris by holding a meeting in Store Street Hall. In spite of the unfavourable weather, the hall was filled to overflowing with Socialists of all shades of opinion and of all nationalities. While the meeting was assembling the sale of literature was pushed in an energetic manner; large numbers of Walter Crane's "Cartoon," and of the 'Speeches of the Chicago Martyrs,' being put into circulation. One or two banners of the different organisations taking part in the celebration were displayed. The proceedings began with singing "No Master" by the Socialist League choir, after which the chairman—comrade Hyndman—explained the object of the meeting, and expressed his gratification at the fact of the general co-operation of all the Socialist organisations. Whatever personal jealousies may have existed or did exist, were sunk on the occasion, and that was an earnest of what would happen in the event of the Socialists of London being called to do more arduous work than that of demonstrating. Quite a shoal of letters and telegrams were read. In Britain meetings were held at Dundee, Edinburgh, Birmingham, Walsall, Norwich, and Dublin, all of whom sent greetings. A letter came from the New York workmen, expressing the solidarity of the American Socialists; another from the Workmen's Party of Belgium, and one from the workmen of Paris. These international greetings show that the spirit that removed the Vendome Column, animates the Socialists of to-day more than ever. The same feeling was shown in the selection of speakers, and none of the English representatives had better receptions than our Russian comrade Peter Kropotkin, or our Austrian comrade Kautsky.

The resolution was moved by Kitz, who pointed out how the real significance of the Commune was gradually dawning on the working-classes. The upper classes have known all along that it meant free labour and social equality, and hence their bitter and virulent attacks upon it; but in spite of the lies of hireling journalists, and the mouthing of political hacks, the action of the Paris workmen of 1871 is becoming better understood every year.

John Burns pointed out to those people who thought that the horrible carnival of blood which closed the Commune would not occur in this country, that the recent behaviour of the police and military in Trafalgar Square, the present brutality of the Government in Ireland, and the Scottish Highlands, showed that the privileged classes of England were prepared to act exactly like the plutocrats of France, and if need be drown in a sea of blood all who denied their right to live in idleness and luxury at the expense of the toiling masses.

Kautsky pointed out how the Commune was but one of a series of attempts on the part of the workers to rend their chains, and how time after time brute force had been called to the aid of the plun-

derers. The people did not forget how their fathers were slaughtered, and were not prepared to be put off with fair words. Now the people in the provinces of France understood better the political juggle, and every year the education of the proletariat in the social question advanced with rapid strides—so that in the event of another rising, the men of the provinces would be with the workmen of Paris, and would fight to the bitter end; because, not mere dynastic or political reforms would result from victory, but real freedom and social equality.

Mrs. Wilson told how heroically many of the working-women of Paris behaved. She insisted that it was not the mere election of a democratic town council that made her celebrate the Commune, but the fact that it was an attempt on the part of the people to be really free in the full sense of the word.

Mrs. Aveling delivered a most eloquent speech, and showed how real an immortality the martyrs of the Commune have,—how the heroism of Delescluze still lives in the memory of the masses, and how all are urged on to do nobler deeds, because of the devotion of those dead ones.

Comrade Morris declined to call the Commune a failure. There is a time, he said, when men must be prepared to fight for their principles, and most certainly the time most suitable for the proclamation of the social republic and the solidarity of nations was when those principles were being trampled under foot by the hordes of the privileged ones of the earth in 1871 before the intellectual capital of the world. We had progressed since then, because of the action of the men of the Commune. What a blank there would be in history were there no Commune of Paris! Gradually the veil was being torn down, and the oppressors and the oppressed were coming to look one another in the face. The beginning of the end was perhaps not far off; the revolution was not something to come, we were in the midst of it.

Sparling pointed out how the Communists laid down their lives in the cause of humanity, and told the people that while it was very likely many present would be ready to fight bravely, he was afraid that they were lacking in the steadfast everyday devotion necessary for educating and organising the masses.

Kropotkin showed how the time had come round for another revolution in France. Seventeen years had come and gone since the Commune, and dynasties seldom lasted longer in France. When it comes, he hopes the people will seize the means of production, and not allow themselves to be cheated with mere political tinkering.

Mrs. Hicks dwelt on the necessity of the Socialist party organising all its forces, moral and intellectual as well as physical.

The speeches were listened to in the most attentive manner. The utmost enthusiasm prevailed. This was markedly manifest during the singing of the "Carmagnole," and one could easily see that the sentiment of "the republic of humanity" pervaded the minds of all; even the detectives once or twice were carried away by the enthusiasm, and vigorously applauded, in spite of themselves. After the speeches were over, the vast audience stood up and uncovered in memory of the dead. The meeting was closed with three cheers and one cheer more for the social revolution.

A. K. DONALD.

## SECRETARY'S REPORT.

The working-men the civilised world over have been this week celebrating the Paris Commune. This is evidenced by the fact that at the Store Street Hall on Monday night, telegrams and letters of sympathy and greeting were read from Brussels, the National Committee of the French Workmen's Party, Paris; the Socialistic Labour Party, New York; the Federation of Socialists, Paris; Ireland (two); Glasgow, Dundee, and Edinburgh; Ryde, Isle of Wight, Birmingham (two), Hull, Norwich, Bolton, Nottingham, and others. Altogether in England there has been some 20 celebrations.

The grand meeting at the Store Street Hall was organised by the S.D.F., S.L., F.S., and F.G., and is the first occasion that a distinctively English celebration has been held. We notice in consequence of it the London press has changed its manner of attack; formerly the celebrations were sneered at as the incoherent ravings of foreign refugees. This dodge, however, would not do this year, and so we find the Press devoting itself to a criticism of the cut of the clothes of the speakers. Even the organ of the great Radical Party, the Star, sent a reporter with a tailor's eye, for it is perfectly evident from the report that he concentrated almost all his attention on the dress, etc., of the speakers. He did, however, allow himself to wander once from the clothes. He attempted to estimate the number present, and his method of calculation appears to have been based on the assumption that twice two are one—a very different method to that usually adopted by the same journal when reporting Home Rule meetings.

However, whatever the press may say—and the Echo, Evening News, Star, and others, all devote considerable space to it—the phenomenal success of the meeting marks the beginning of a new era of Socialism. Numerically and financially it exceeded the most sanguine anticipations. It was truly a meeting of the working-men of London, so much so that from out of their pockets they paid its cost.

Receipts.—Collected at Store Street, £7 1s. 8½d.; C. J. F., 2s.; P. W., 2s.; H. R., 2s. 6d.; R. Molero, 5s.; and Raymond Unwin, 1s. Total, £7 14s. 2½d. Complete Balance Sheet next week. H. A. BARKER, Secretary.

MADRID.—El Productor says: "Distress reigns in Madrid side by side with opulence, although it has not the same power of manifesting itself. For example when at every moment the press offers for our reading notices of grand parties and banquets among the aristocracy and bourgeoisie, there appears once a week such a notice as the following: 'To-day there passed through several of the streets of this capital a crowd of men numbering a hundred or so, in demand of work. Their attitude was entirely peaceful.' Decidedly Madrid has not yet become Socialist. And again: 'The men at work on the National Library in course of construction, declared themselves on strike the other day, demanding, it appears, a rise in wages. The strikers retired quietly to their respective dwellings.' There is, however, nothing to be disquieted about in this news, for we read next day that the strikers go back to their work under the same conditions as before." M.

**A Speech from the Dock.**

OUR comrade John Burn's speech before Mr. Justice Charles has been printed in full. It is one of those documents which will one day be eagerly sought after as illustrating a remarkable period in the Social Revolution in which we are now all of us taking a part. It is called a speech in defence of the defendant, but in point of fact, considering the nature of the evidence brought forward in support of the ridiculous charges made against our friends Burns and Graham, no defence was needed, except against the legal quibble by which the defendants were found guilty of illegal assembly and sent to jail for having committed this crime. Under these circumstances Burns' speech really took the form of an indictment against the society which had been terrified by the meeting of a few of its victims under the name of the unemployed; and which in its terror, egged on by the bourgeois press, eager to make a sensation of anything that came handy, and the tradesmen of London who pretended to think their trade was in danger, got the meeting of the 13th November proclaimed and manufactured the riots of Bloody Sunday.

Socialists may well be glad this speech has been printed, in which Burns has clearly shown that this fear of the unemployed was the genuine cause of the closing of Trafalgar Square, since it has been the fashion of the half-hearted Radical, and no-hearted Liberal M.P.'s who have been driven to take up the matter, to dwell on the point that the meeting on the 13th was a genuine political meeting and was on a different footing to those that had been held there before during last autumn. Whatever significance there was about that meeting was given to it by the previous meetings and the treatment they had met with; and I repeat that a meeting merely to protest against Irish wrongs would not have been proclaimed. Burns and Graham went to jail on behalf of the unemployed, and for the matter of that for the employed also; those who are employed to produce wealth which their employers and not themselves enjoy. Our comrade did well then to keep their case so stoutly before the court, and to take coolly whatever might befall him from the partisan judge who tried him. All Socialists should be well acquainted with their comrade's defence, not of himself but of them.

W. M.

**CORRESPONDENCE.**

**ABOUT METHODS.**

As Socialists, we must look to it that sectarianism does not get amongst us. We all have practically the same ideal, but there is room among us for honest differences of opinion as to method. There is, however, no room for sarcasms about "penny whistles" or "not being able to see beyond one's nose." This kind of horse-play is apt to lead to worse.

With our aim acknowledged to be the same, why cannot each throw himself into the work that lies nearest to his hand, remembering that the work of others may not be the same as his? If he must gain recruits for his own particular regiment, let him try to draw them from outsiders. Instead of preaching to his fellow Socialists, let him visit the surrounding heathen, and he will have plenty to do there.

We all seek the most effective way of realising our ideal. "Political" say that to do this we must send men to Parliament; that though they be as voices crying in the wilderness, yet they act as propagandists. "Non-politicals" believe the disadvantages to more than outweigh this. The fact of such a difference of opinion existing proves that the time is not yet ripe for concerted Parliamentary action. Until we see clearly that such action is the nearest way to our common goal, then it is not the nearest way for us.

Socialists must remember that they are not mere political reformers. Reforms they have every opportunity to assist in, in their capacity of citizens and voters, and such reforms will be more readily attained if Socialism is kept out of sight. Numberless reforms have been failures, and there is no reason why Socialism, as such, should interfere, perhaps to its discredit, with what is really not Socialism at all. Though we are reformers, we are revolutionists first, parliamentary or otherwise. Let us educate and agitate ceaselessly, for there is a wide field of work before us. Then when we find that parliamentary action is clearly and unquestionably the shortest course to our goal, there will be no need to urge Socialists to political action.

Those who in their prophetic vision see no place for parliamentary action, do not, I think, recognise the many-sided aspects of the struggle. They see that mere evolution can never bring health to the body politic. Disease is on us, and its evolution is Death. As evolution is not always an advance, so evolution of our present society means degradation and retrogression. The conclusion drawn that legality must be thrown aside and only physical force used is unsound. If parliamentary action is to be rejected for ever, then ultimately a line of bayonets will have to be faced. A good general always tries to take the enemy in rear, and with a majority in Parliament we will have got behind the line of steel, and by holding the purse-strings can make the figure harmless. The final struggle will perhaps be in Parliament, and then the babble of legislators pretending to rule will sink into much desired and everlasting silence, and the new era will have begun.

W. A. CARLILE.

[This letter must close the discussion.—Eds.]

**CARDINAL MANNING ON THE WORD "PROLETARIAT."**

SIR.—Reading the other day a pamphlet by Cardinal Manning, entitled 'The Rights and Dignity of Labour,' I came across the following passage descriptive of a term in almost constant use at all Socialist and kindred meetings when the workers are spoken of:

"There are some people who are trying to force into the mouth of Englishmen a very long word—the *proletariat*. I have no doubt you have all heard it and all read it. When I see it in a book, I suspect the book at once. When a man says it to me, I doubt whether he is an Englishman. Our old mother-tongue has

a great many more monosyllables than polysyllables in it, and I love it all the more for that, for I think our old Saxon monosyllables have the strength of a strong race in them. Now, I had ten thousand times rather be called a working man than a proletaire. I will tell you my reasons against the name of proletaire. It is pedantry; it is paganism; it is false; and it is an indignity to the working man. It is pedantry, because it was dug up out of the old Roman law by certain French writers, chiefly in or about the time of the first French Revolution; and that accounts, perhaps, for its paganism in its revived state, and I will tell you why. The population of Rome was distinguished into classes. There were those who were called in legal phrase *capite censi*, or men told by the head. They were mere numbers; they possessed nothing; they were nothing; they could do nothing; they had two eyes and two hands and two feet, and they were entered in the poll-tax by the tale. These were the lowest of the Roman population. Next to them were *proletarii*, or men who had homes and families—if you call a home a roof or shelter where a man could lie down—but they were destitute of property. They had nothing but their children. They could only serve the State by themselves and by their children in military service, or something of that sort. Moreover, they were slaves, or to a great extent they were slaves. They were the greatest of idlers, and the most profligate and the most dependent of the Roman populace. They lived on alms; or what is worse, they were the followers and flatterers of those who had anything to give them. Well, now, I ask whether it is not an indignity to English working men to call them *proletaires*?"

Certainly if this description holds good it should not be a difficult matter to hit on a word already formed, or for the matter of that to coin one, which would be more in harmony with the idea our comrades would like to be formed of them. Perhaps some comrade may be able to give another and better description of the abused proletariat, in case the Cardinal has misread the meaning of the word.

E. W. ANDREWS.

[It seems to us that the Cardinal has proved too much for his own case. Is not the present system forcing the working-class into the position which he describes as that of the *proletarii*?—Eds.]

**MR. THOMAS KIRKUP AND "FREE ENQUIRY."**

COMRADE,—Those critics of political Socialism (as distinct from its active colour-bearers) who attempt to deal with the matter of forces and methods of attainment—perhaps often from personal pusillanimity, sometimes from a plethora of half-science, mostly from painful innocence of the common-places of the life of live men and women—very generally betray the serious fault of ignoring the *literal* truism of the evils they can expatiate about on paper with so much dignity. Removed in the latter case from conditions they therefore cannot correctly analyse, they only perceive things, as through a glass, very darkly. Indeed the arm-chair Socialist "don't know he's living," and current existence—except in its philistine phase—has for him much more of romance than realism. The quasi-scientific revolutionist, in his anxiety to be very largely within the mark, fails to do justice to his case. As an instance in point, is his wretched superstition *re* "free enquiry" and its grasp on revolutionary propagandist work; as to the rude real business of which work, they are as intelligent as sucking-babes. If it were a harmless superstition, it would suffice to allow the gentle hands of time and experience their legitimate province in washing the colour out of it—but it isn't. It is distinctly misleading to those who are as green as its apostles, and, since it means the ignoring of that sort of facts which reverse premises, it is also unscientific. Mr. Kirkup merely records a bourgeois fetish that is infinitely too popular when he remarks with quite pathetic conviction, in connection with a paragraph on militant Socialism ('Inquiry,' p. 116), "In our country happily this discussion is an idle one. We have long enjoyed the right of free enquiry"! Even if he meant merely legal toleration, he is sufficiently inaccurate, and on the other hand I suppose it is satisfactory—in spite of the Greek sage—to think that, socially, so amiable a writer has never personally felt the dismal variance of realities with the almost cynically comfortable creed confessed in these words. Mr. Kirkup does not repudiate (p. 113) the necessity of violent policy in certain (Continental) conditions, "where free enquiry and discussion have been mercilessly repressed," and he sympathetically admits the plausibility in the nature of things that "the violent forms of Socialism have flourished chiefly where free discussion and the reasonable right of combination among working men have been prohibited." Believing him to be sincere, it is only conceivable that the writer of the above enjoys a personal inexperience of the average Britisher's life that is altogether phenomenal. In comparatively modern politics at most it is but a question of degree. Take what I and every Socialist propagandist in the country (outside the atmosphere of well-furnished studies) know to be an every-day illustration of the falsehood of the "free enquiry" fad: I am pretty intimate with a young Socialist who has been "sacked" from successive situations four times within three years—that is to say, deprived of the means of life—simply for his by no means riotous expressions of opinion. This person happens to be fortunate enough to have so far escaped, more or less, that vengeance of Labour-competition which, however, wrecks itself every day on thousands of less lucky others—dismissed, gagged, ostracised, or, if they are not crocodiles, made miserable, as a reward for the practice of the "free inquiry and discussion" which Mr. Kirkup's fancy sketch gratuitously vouchsafes us. Maybe all this is not "merciless repression." But if not, I have yet to learn the meaning of language. Then as to the myth of "free discussion and reasonable right of combination," I need not remind any student of contemporary history of the significance of Mitchelstown, Trafalgar Square, Chicago, etc., even if such a student be blind to the circumstance that the legally theoretic affirmation of these liberties is hourly belied and mocked at by the absolutely dictatorial economic powers that be.

LEONARD HALL.

What is holy? what is sacred? I reply that human happiness is holy, human rights are holy. The body and soul of man—these are sacred. The liberty of man is of far more importance than any book—the rights of man more sacred than any religion, than any scriptures, whether inspired or not.—*Ingersoll*.

Call ye that a society where there is no longer any social idea extant, not so much as the idea of a common home, but only that of a common over-crowded lodging-house? where each, isolated, regardless of his neighbour, turned against his neighbour, clutches what he can get, and cries "Mine!" and calls it Peace, because in the cut-purse and cut-throat scramble, no steel knives, but only a far cunninger sort can be employed—where friendship, communion, has become an incredible tradition, and your holiest sacramental supper is a smoking tavern dinner, with cook for evangelist? where your priest has no tongue but for platelicking, and your high gospels and governors cannot guide; but on all hands hear it passionately proclaimed, *Laissez-faire!* Leave us alone of your guidance—such light is darker than darkness—eat your wages and sleep.—*Carlisle*.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

**STOPPAGE OF TIN WORKS.**—The Abercarn Tin-plate Works (with the exception of a water mill) are closed until further notice. The works have been kept going on day to day contracts for some time. Hence only 12 hours' notice to cease work was required.

**THE EIGHT HOURS' DAY.**—The whole of the members of the Perth branch of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, with one exception only, have unanimously given their votes in favour of the eight hours' limit; and by a majority of three to one have declared in favour of Parliament enforcing the eight hours' limit; and by a majority of three to one have declared in favour of Parliament enforcing the eight hours' day by law.

**MORE TRAMPS.**—Instructions have been received at Sheerness Dockyard for an extensive reduction to be made in the boiler-making department, where work has been slack for months past, on account of the determination of the Admiralty not to refit the obsolete sloops and gun-vessels lately returned from foreign service. New ships are being built to replace them, but as their machinery is supplied by contract, no work is provided for the boiler-making staff.

**THREATENED STRIKE IN THE BOTTLE TRADE.**—The glass bottle-makers of Lancashire, chiefly in St. Helens and Newton districts, are disputing with their employers as to the rate of remuneration, and a strike is threatened. Owing to depression two years ago the wages were reduced 2s. per week and 7s. for overtime, and the men say there was a promise that the reduction would be removed when the state of trade warranted it. They now apply for an advance, and the masters have offered 2s., but refuse the 1s. overtime.

**STRIKE OF BOLTON COLLIERIES.**—There are about four hundred colliers out on strike at Darsy-Lever Coal Company's pits, Bolton. The manager alleging that the men were sending up excessive quantities of dirt in the tubs, had an examination, and knocked sixty pounds' weight off every waggon coming up. This made a difference of nearly four shillings per week in the earnings of some of the men. They resisted the reduction, but the manager remained firm, and the men have struck work in consequence.

**THE SWEATING SYSTEM IN NEWCASTLE.**—The committee of the Newcastle branch of the Amalgamated Society of Tailors have issued a circular dealing with the "Sweating System, and the Spread of Contagious Diseases." In this an appeal is made to the public to consider not only the evils entailed by the system on those obliged to labour under it, but the danger to those wearing the clothes made. A public meeting will be held under the auspices of the Newcastle, Gateshead, and District Trades Council, in the Central Hall, Hood Street, Newcastle, on Wednesday, March 21st, at which the Mayor of Newcastle will preside, "in order to expose the above most obnoxious and degrading system."

**"THOSE WHO WOULD BE FREE."**—The Amalgamated Society of Engineers state that the heavy claims upon its funds makes it impossible at present to make grants to any other trade society engaged in disputes with their employers. Neither can they recommend a levy upon their members, already overburdened owing to the high rate of contributions. Perhaps this will help to make unionists realise the necessity of federating and of establishing a common fund, instead of relying, as is too often the case at present, upon precarious subscriptions from outsiders. The begging system is a very poor basis upon which to fight. If the workers won't pay to create sufficient funds to support them in their struggles, then they must put up with the consequences.

**THREATENED STRIKE OF STEELWORKERS.**—The workmen engaged in the steel smelting department of the Gowerton and Panteg works are now working their notice. This course has been taken by the workmen in order to get back the last two reductions. When the last reduction was made, it is stated that Mr. Wright, one of the partners in the firm, promised that whenever tin bars rose 2s. 6d. in price, he would give back the reduction without being asked for it. Tin bars since that time have risen in price at least 7s. 6d. per ton. The request for an advance has been lodged with the firm by the general secretary of the British Steel Smelters' Association, on behalf of the workmen employed in the above department. Recently a general all-round advance of wages took place all over the steel trade in Scotland and the North of England.

**CRIBBING TIME.**—The raid by the factory inspectors in the Rochdale and Oldham district is producing excellent results, as evidenced by the squealing of the culprits, who are loudly complaining of "officiousness," etc. The operatives' leaders are acting heartily in conjunction with the inspectors, and the alliance is striking terror into the culprits. In some cases, unfortunately, the workers themselves connive at these breaches of the law, and it is found necessary to proceed against them. This happened lately at Bradford, Manchester, when Inspector Platt summoned Messrs. Marsland and Co., cotton-spinners, for employing two young persons for cleaning persons during meal hours. The firm summoned an operative in their employ as the actual offender, and eventually the case against the firm was dismissed and the man was fined £1 and costs in one case and 10s. in costs in the other. Often, however, the workman has no option but to break the law or to lose his place. What the workers ought to do, therefore, in order to safeguard themselves, is to agitate for an alteration in the law whereby the whole responsibility shall be laid upon the shoulders of the employers.

**AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS.**—The annual meeting of the members of the Kent and Sussex Agricultural Labourers' Union was held last week at Canterbury. Mr. T. Pilcher, of Folkstone, presided, and about two hundred and fifty of the branches of the organisation were represented. In presenting the sixteenth annual report, the Executive deplore the continued severe depression in agriculture and trade, and the fall in the rate of wages in several districts. The executive think a measure for the establishment of small holdings and a Compulsory Cultivation of the Land Bill are urgently needed to bring back the labourer to the soil and land into more active cultivation. Where voluntary arrangement for the acquisition of land cannot be effected, compulsory powers should be enforced, and the executive would urge upon land reformers a more general extension of this system. During the past few months the executive have done much to encourage and assist members to put into force the Allotments Act of last year, but they say the results are rather disappointing, as the local authorities, more especially the Poor-law Guardians, which are composed principally of farmers, appear to have a desire to evade the Act, rather than afford labourers the benefit it provides. The Act, it is urged, is too permissive in its character, and certain local bodies shelter themselves behind its provisions to prevent or delay the labourer from being placed upon the soil.

**THE NORTHUMBERLAND MINERS.**—In the circular which he has issued on the subject of the payment of members of Parliament Mr. Burt says: "I was elected when we were on the crest of a wave of prosperity unprecedented in our history. Wages were higher than ever they had been before, or than ever they have been since. From that time till now trade has gone from bad to worse, until, with low wages and irregularity of employment, your struggle for life is at present of the keenest kind. During this prolonged depression repeated reductions in your wages have been demanded and enforced. In the condition of trade, resistance meant suffering, misery, and disaster. It also meant defeat, the acceptance at last of worse terms than were available at the beginning. I was often bound, therefore, to do what is, and always must be, unpopular with workmen, namely, to advise you, as the less evil, to submit to a reduction." This fact, no doubt, to some extent explains the attitude of the miners. The present representatives, however, though no doubt very good officials (in times of peace), and well able to manage the affairs of a trade-union on the orthodox lines, are absolutely without initiative, and too weak-kneed to push on towards a radical change in the condition of the workers. The status quo of master and servant is taken as impossible of alteration. No hope of any change is held out to the struggling miners but the Micawberian possibility that "something may turn up."

**SWEATING BY GOVERNMENT.**—We draw our readers' attention, says the *Star* of the 16th, to a remarkable case of sweating in which the Government are the culprits. On 13th February last a number of tenders were sent in contracting for the keeping of Government offices in London in repair. The contract was eventually given to Messrs. Brass and Co., it having previously been held by Messrs. Perry, who had enjoyed the contract for the last three and a half years. Before the Messrs. Perry came Messrs. Mowlem held it for three years, and we are correct in stating that during a long period the prices of this work have been steadily going down. It is the custom of all contractors to offer large discounts on the nominal prices sent in, and this discount has been gradually increasing. Messrs. Perry, for instance, the former contractors, allowed 15½ per cent discount. How this affected the wages of their men can be seen by a reference to the schedule of prices. For instance, the standard rate of wages for ordinary plumbers is 10d. per hour. In their schedule Messrs. Perry fixed the rate of plumbers' wages at 11d. per hour, but they allowed a discount of 15½ per cent, which reduced the rate to considerably below the standard. Now, however, the tenders have, as we have said, fallen into the hands of Messrs. Brass and Co., who have offered a discount of 16½ per cent. upon the nominal tender, or 1 per cent. more than their predecessors. This reduces the wages of plumbers still lower, and makes the drop a very considerable one. The point is that, according to our information, several officials connected with the Office of Works openly expressed their belief that the work could not be properly executed for the price tendered by Messrs. Brass. On this point we express no opinion. All we say is, that the Government in accepting the tender have made themselves parties to the lowering of the rate of wages of a large body of working men considerably below the ordinary standard.

**THE WAGE-FUND BOGEY AGAIN.**—Mr. Bradlaugh has been down to Newcastle again, where he talked an "infinite deal of nothing" on the labour struggle. The following almost incredible bit of nonsense is from a report in the *Labour Tribune*, a journal devoted to the deification of Mr. Bradlaugh and other so-called labour leaders. Speaking against the movement for an eight-hour working day, he said: "If a man worked nine hours a day at tenpence an hour, he got nine tenpences. If tenpence was taken off his wages how was he to be better off? The unemployed could not be absorbed more than the tenpence worth. At the best, there could be no change except that the men who got formerly nine tenpences would only get eight, and that one tenpence would be taken from each eight of these and given to another. To make a change it would be necessary to provide a new employment, and not to divide employment already existing. Strikes had not done any good in the past, and would not do any good in the future." It seems almost a work of supererogation to analyse such stuff as this. But unfortunately there are so many men who "put out their thinking," and receive as gospel the utterance of any quack if he blows his trumpet loudly enough. In the above instance the speaker, in his new capacity of an advocate for the capitalists, has overshot the mark. If there is any validity in the reasoning that wages must necessarily fall, and in the same ratio with the decrease of the hours worked, then surely that is what should have happened when the nine-hour system was adopted. Yet there must have been many amongst Mr. Bradlaugh's hearers whose personal experience proved the fallacy of his assumption. In my own calling, that of compositor, as in many others, not only was there no decrease of wages following the adoption of the nine-hour day, but on the contrary in several instances, owing to the absorption of surplus labour, the employes were able to enforce better terms. Even, however, should a diminution in wages follow from a decrease in the hours of work, there is to be set off against this the greater security of employment, and also the lessening of the tax for the support of the unemployed, to say nothing of the saving of labour-force; and surely if the workers are anything more than mere wealth-producing machines, their leisure-hours should be worth something for their own sake. It is quite conceivable, after all, that a man might have tenpence taken off his wage, and yet not be a loser. Mr. Bradlaugh appears to have arrived at the conclusion that the present rate of wages are absolutely perfect, and any change will only upset the delightful equilibrium at which we have arrived. He argues from the ridiculous theory of a fixed wage-fund. That is to say, the "margin for profit" or the difference between, say, 15 and 5 per cent. dividend on tramways, match-making, etc., is sacred, and cannot be utilised in employing those out of work or in lessening the toil of those working 12, 14, and 15 hours per day. In other words, the bulk of the workers must be content to be fleeced and overworked and the remainder to become paupers, tramps—outcasts of society. As to the concluding sentence as to strikes, it is constantly urged by Socialists that strikes are costly, cumbersome, and ineffective remedies, as a solution of the labour question; but in the unqualified way in which Mr. Bradlaugh speaks, I as a worker can only say the statement as reported is an absolute lie.

T. BINNING.

One monster there is in the world—the idle man.—*Carlyle*.

To live on the unpaid labour of other men—that is blasphemy. To enslave your fellow-man, to put chains upon his body—that is blasphemy.—*Engels*.

Give the people food and justice, and the trade of demagogue is at an end.—*Ernest Jones*.

Access to what is necessary for the well-being of all should never depend on the self-interest of one. No man has a right to take more from society than the value of what he confers on society.—*Ernest Jones*.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING MARCH 24, 1888.

25	Sun.	1812. Alex. Herzen born. 1879. Attempted Execution of Drenteln.
26	Mon.	1848. Insurrection at Madrid. 1869. Memorial Meeting for Ernest Jones in Trafalgar Square.
27	Tues.	1820. Hunt and others tried for their conduct at Peterloo. 1875. Edgar Quinet died.
28	Wed.	1757. Damiens Executed. 1883. Ten Members of the Irish "Patriotic Brotherhood" sentenced. 1884. Socialist Congress at Roubaix, France.
29	Thur.	1875. John Martin died. 1870. Lock-out at Pinlico Army Clothing Factory. 1884. Riots at Cincinnati.
30	Fri.	1135. Maimonides born. 1870. Negro Suffrage in United States. 1874. Rochefort escapes from New Caledonia. 1881. Arrest of John Most and committal for trial, seizure of <i>Freiheit</i> plant, etc. 1882. Execution of Strelnikoff at Odessa.
31	Sat.	1883. Sentries posted at New Law Courts, Somerset House, etc., hitherto unguarded.

*Death of Edgar Quinet.*—Edgar Quinet, philosopher, poet, historian, and politician, was born at Bourg (Ain Department), February 17, 1803; died at Versailles, March 27, 1875. In 1823, he published his first work, 'Tablettes du Juif Errant' (Notes of the Wandering Jew), and two years afterwards he translated Herder's 'Ideas on the Philosophy of Universal History,' opening it by a masterly introduction, which was enthusiastically received and recommended by Goethe. In 1827, he went to Germany in order to study philology, and became acquainted with Niebuhr, Schlegel, Tieck, Uhland, Daub, and Fr. Creutzer. As a result of his studies he wrote an 'Essay on the Works of Herder,' and a book entitled, 'Origin of Gods.' On his return he was sent to Greece by the French Government, and assisted in the resurrection of that heroic little folk; 1830 he published 'Greece in its Relations to Antiquity.' He warmly acknowledged the Revolution of July in France, and began to write his first political works, continuing therewith his literary and philosophical writings. Successively appeared: 'Revolution and Philosophy,' 'Philosophy in its Relations to Political History,' 'Germany and the Revolution,' 'Political System of Germany,' 'The Bohemian Epopees,' 'The Genius of the Epic Traditions of Northern Germany,' and 'Art in Germany.' These were followed by a wonderful work, 'The Unedited Epopees of the XII. Century,' revealing to France three centuries of its literary history. In his 'Warning to the Monarchy of 1830' he affirmed his democratic and republican ideas, prophesying seventeen years beforehand the decay and the fall of the bourgeois kingdom and the coming of the Republic of 1848. In his work on 'The Future of Religions' he concluded at the annihilation of all the old religious dogmas, and put forward justice and freedom as sole creed worthy of mankind. Then came 'Ahasuerus,' a somewhat nebulous poem in prose; 'The Poets of Germany,' 'Homer,' 'The Latin Epopee,' 'Epic Poetry,' 'French Epopee,' 'Indian Epopee,' 'Unity of Modern Literature,' 'The Genius of Art,' and 'History of Epic Poetry.' On April 10, 1839, he was elected professor of foreign literature at the Faculté des Lettres of Lyons, and in July, 1841, the minister Villainin created purposely for him the class of meridional literature at the Collège de France at Paris. There, in conjunction with Michelet and Mickiewicz, the Polish exile, he fought bravely for the cause of religious and philosophical freedom, and experimented in energetic and masterly language the deadly mortal influence of the Jesuits upon the peoples of Southern Europe. His book, 'The Jesuits,' which appeared in 1848, was an event of European importance, and was soon translated in every tongue. The professor was denounced by reactionaries all over Europe. In 1842, he edited the 'Genius of Religions,' and the following year, after a visit to Spain and Portugal, 'The Inquisition and the Secret Societies in Spain,' and in 1844 'Ultramontanism, or Modern Society and the Roman Church.' In 1846, Guizot ordered his lessons to be suppressed. On the revolution of February 24, Quinet was soon a soldier, and entered armed to the Tuileries. The Parisian voters elected him to the National Assembly by 55,000 votes. He behaved himself very courageously during the insurrection of June. Being elected again to the legislative Assembly, he predicted the dictature and the *coup d'état* of December, 1851. As a matter of fact the new Emperor proscribed him, and he lived an exile at Brussels from 1851 to 1858, and in Switzerland at Vevy from 1858 to 1871. In Belgium he wrote his 'History of the Foundation of the United Provinces,' 'Marnix de St. Aldegonde,' the 'Philosophy of the History of France,' and afterwards an autobiography entitled 'History of my Ideas.' In Switzerland he wrote 'Merlin the Enchanter,' the 'History of the Campaign of 1815,' 'Poland and Rome,' 'France and Italy.' In 1868 appeared 'The Revolution,' which provoked numerous political and historical controversies, to which he answered successfully. In February, 1871, Paris elected him by 200,000 votes. His last years were not very eventful. As poet he was mediocre, as philosopher somewhat nebulous and mystical, but he was a prominent historian and a far-seeing politician, and fond of justice and freedom. As a mere author he is a poetical, warm, eloquent, and vigorous writer.—V. D.

*Death of John Martin.*—John Martin, Nationalist M.P. for Meath. Like his friend John Mitchel, Martin was of Ulster; by religion a Presbyterian, and one of the men of '48 who was by force of events driven to take a course which brought him in conflict with the representatives of law and order, and secured for him transportation. In a fortnight from Mitchel's trial was issued the *Irish Tribune*, and a fortnight after that appeared one of the ablest of the papers produced to advocate the Irish cause, this was the *Irish Felon*. Its editor and proprietor was John Martin, a quiet country gentleman of County Down; he had hitherto been one of the quiet steady workers in all the national movements, but the scandalous proceedings of Mitchel's trial, and the fever of the times had affected Martin as most others. The Government adopted similar tactics to those lately tried by Balfour the Brave (?), the police had orders to seize the vendors and stop the sale anyhow, the offices were raided, presses seized and type smashed, and papers and documents taken. On August 14th, Martin was sentenced to 10 years' transportation; as also was O'Doherty of the *Tribune*. In 1858 he returned to Ireland, and for some time took very little part in public matters; in 1864 he was busy helping to form the National League, with the idea of effecting by open and constitutional means the reforms which were necessary, and which the Fenian organisation headed by Stephens hoped to effect by secret and forcible methods. On December 8th, 1867, Dublin was the scene of an immense funeral demonstration in memory of Allen Larkin and O'Brien, hanged at Salford for the Manchester rescue business; for taking part in this John Martin, A. M. Sullivan, J. J. Lalor, and T. Bracken were summoned as being seditious persons, and only after a severe fight were freed by disagreement of the jury. In December, 1869, Martin was put forward as Nationalist candidate for Longford, in opposition to Mr. Greville Nugent, and although Martin was badly beaten (he was in America), it was one of the most important election fights on record, as it was a fight against priestly dictation as well as for a seat.

In May, 1870, Martin took part in the formation of "The Home Government Association of Ireland." At this meeting Isaac Butt proposed the great resolution, and from then became the Irish leader. At the bye-election, 1871, Martin was returned M.P. for Meath, and at the general election of 1874 he was re-elected, and sat until his death, which was hastened if not caused by his affection for his life-long friend, John Mitchel. Martin was in London exceedingly ill when the news was received of Mitchel's illness. In spite of the protests of friends he left for Ireland, followed Mitchel to the grave, and before a week he, like his elder revolutionist, was done with revolution. He died aged 63, deeply respected by even his opponents and loved by his colleagues. Into his place stepped Charles Stewart Parnell, a similar rebel only more so.—T. S.

NATIONAL ANTHEM.

GOD save me, great John Bull!  
Long keep my pocket full!  
God save John Bull!  
Ever victorious,  
Haughty, vain-glorious,  
Snobbish, censorious,  
God save John Bull!

O Lords, our gods arise!  
Tax all our enemies!  
Make tariffs fall!  
Confound French politics,  
Frustrate all Russian tricks,  
Get Germans in a fix,  
God bless them all!

Interview with regard to the Report drawn up by a leading Member of the Disorderly House Committee, and presented to the Vestry of St. George's, Hanover Square.

For ten weeks had we waited for Warren's reply  
To the letter we wrote,  
Looking eagerly out as the postman went by  
And brought never a note.  
"How is that for politeness?" said Hobhouse and I.

It was not as if nothing had happened before  
That could make us expect  
That the man on good manners would set little store;  
For one must recollect  
He'd behaved like a Bruin whose head-piece is sore.

You'll remember he suddenly altered the plan  
That with never a break  
Had been working for years with success, and began  
Such excuses to make  
As had taught us to measure the mind of the man.

So we sought Mr. Matthews, and begged him to say  
If he really supposed  
It was right to let Warren go on in this way;  
And the interview closed  
With a snub that his worship was bound to obey.

You'd have thought this would settle the question, but no,  
Not a bit of it, Sir;  
For no sooner than Matthews had turned him to go,  
This incurable cur  
Gat him back to his vomit, if I may say so.

And since all we are offered for bread is a stone,  
My Lord Hobhouse and I  
Think it best for the Vestry to let it alone;  
For it's useless to try  
To get anything out of Sir Charles, we must own.

He pretends what we ask for is not in his beat;  
And it surely were hard  
For unfairness elsewhere to find ought to compete  
With our own Scotland Yard.  
Dublin Castle henceforth, Sir, must take a back seat.

But the wrath of the public is now on the swell,  
For Sir Charles has supplied  
By his own good intents a new pavement in hell,  
And ere long will its tide  
Sweep himself to perdition and Matthews as well.

J. L. J.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

**Library.**—The Library is open to members of the Socialist League and affiliated bodies. LIBRARY CATALOGUE, containing the Rules, 2d. D. J. NICOLL and W. BLUNDELL are the Librarians.

**London Members.**—The London Members' Meeting will, owing to Easter Holidays, be held on Monday April 9th.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1887: Hastings, Nottingham, Pelsall—Nov. Bradford, Croydon, Glasgow, Hackney, Ipswich, Leeds, Marylebone, Merston, North London, Norwich—to end of March. Edinburgh—to end of May. Mitcham—to end of July. Walsall—to end of August. Hull—to end of September. Bloomsbury, Waltham Green, Wednesbury—to end of October. Leicester—to end of November. Clerkenwell, Hammersmith, Hoxton, Mile-end, Oxford—to end of December.

Annual Conference.

The Fourth Annual Conference of the Socialist League will be held at 13 Farringdon Road, on Whitsunday, May 20. The attention of Branches is particularly referred to (1) Rule V. on the subject of the annual conference, pp. 3 and 4 of Constitution and Rules; and (2) that all branches wishing to be represented at the Conference must pay their subscription up to the 31st March by May 1st.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Raymont, 2s. 6d. *Weekly Subscriptions*—Omitted on March 10th: C. J. F., 2s. 6d.; K. F., 1s.; Langley, 2s.; P. W., 6d.; Oxford Branch, 2s. For March 24th: C. J. F., 2s. 6d.; K. F., 1s.; Langley, 2s.; P. W., 6d.; Oxford Branch, 2s.; W. B., 6d.

REPORTS.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Sunday, March 18, we held a very successful Commune celebration, short speeches being given by Mrs. Schack, J. Turner, J. Pope, Dan Chatterton, H. A. Barker, and W. Blundell. Songs and recitations, interspersed with music, were given by members and friends. The singing of the 'Marseillaise,' and three cheers for the Social Revolution, concluded a pleasant celebration.—B.

**HACKNEY.**—For several weeks past some members of the Hackney branch have been attending at Swaby's discussion rooms, Mile End Road. As a result, G. Cores was invited to open a discussion on the "Land Question" on Sunday evening last. No real opposition was given, the audience being very sympathetic. Comrades W. and E. Lefevre also spoke. Some pamphlets were sold, and a good number of leaflets distributed. The discussion is to be continued next Sunday evening by a Land Nationaliser.

**BIRMINGHAM.**—The French and English Socialists celebrated the Commune on Monday evening by a dinner, with speeches, the 'Marseillaise,' and other songs. This is the first celebration held in Birmingham, and we intend carrying it out on a larger scale next year.—A. T.

**LEEDS.**—Sunday last we commemorated the Paris Commune. Speeches delivered in English and Jewish. Comrades from Huddersfield paid us a visit.

**LEICESTER.**—Sunday last, 23 sat down to tea at 26, King Street. After tea a short address on the Paris Commune was given, and Barclay, Robson, Fowkes, Warner, Holmes, and others joined in discussion. Several ladies and Nottingham friends were present, and names and subscriptions were taken towards the formation of a Socialist club.

**GLASGOW.**—The heroic effort of the workers of Paris in 1871 to rid themselves of the domination of the selfish and privileged classes, was celebrated on Saturday in our rooms. Many appropriate songs and speeches from comrades and friends. On Sunday, by the holding of three very successful outdoor meetings at St. George's Cross 3 p.m., Paisley Road Toll at 5; and Infirmary Square at 7, the speakers being Gilbert, Glasier, Pollock, McLean, and Downie.—S. D.

**NOTTINGHAM.**—Celebration of the Commune on Saturday very successful. After tea Waine took the chair and gave a good account of the Commune. Proctor followed, and moved that the resolution in *Commonweal* be sent to papers; Doleman seconded. Songs, etc., during the evening by Messrs. Osborn, Dunn, and Drinkwater, and Mrs. Dunn closed with he 'Marseillaise.'—W. D.

**NORWICH.**—Large meetings at Ber Street in the morning and in the Market in afternoon, addressed by Mowbray and Mark Manley (of London). In Gordon Hall in the evening, Manley lectured on the Commune. Resolution which appeared in *Commonweal* carried unanimously. On Monday, successful tea in Gordon Hall, after which speeches, interspersed with revolutionary songs and music by the branch band.

**WALSALL.**—Monday night, Sanders lectured on "The Meaning of Socialism." On Saturday we celebrated the Commune, Sketchley (Birmingham) delivering address; Sanders and Guillemand (a French comrade) also spoke; Deakin in chair. An open-air meeting was held previous to indoor one.—J. T. D.

**LONDON PATRIOTIC CLUB.**—Last Sunday evening, some members of the Socialist League choir attended at this club, and sang revolutionary songs in commemoration of the Paris Commune of 1871.

**DUBLIN.**—The Dublin Socialist Club celebrated anniversary of the Commune last Sunday, at 2, Bachelor's Walk. Large attendance; T. Fitzpatrick in chair. Addresses explaining the principles and aims of the Paris Commune by chairman, King, O'Gorman, O'Connor, Swords, and Coulon. At close of meeting Coulon sang the 'Marseillaise' in French. A telegram of greeting from the Socialist League, London, was read amid great applause.

**EDINBURGH.**—On 18th, Tuke lectured on "The Religion of Socialism." Brisk discussion, in which the indefatigable Job Bone, a pillar of capitalism well known to Socialist lecturers, was severely handled.

**SHEFFIELD SOCIALISTS.**—Monday the 12th, met at St. Barnabas Club-room, when Raymond Unwin lectured on "Socialism and Happiness." After the lecture a question referring to co-operative manufacture very ably replied to.—M. A. M.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

- Acton.**—17 High Street, Acton, W. (adjoining Purcell's Dining Rooms). Sunday March 25, at 8 p.m.
- Bloomsbury.**—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road. Thursday March 22, Special Business Meeting for Branch only.
- Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7. Sunday March 25, at 8.30, A. K. Donald, "Punishment and Prevention of Crime." Wednesday 23, at 8.30, H. H. Sparling, "The Last Revolution."
- Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sunday at 8.
- Hackney.**—28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Road, Hackney Wick. SPECIAL NOTICE.—All members are requested to attend at Berners Street Club at 9 p.m. Important business.
- Hammersmith.**—Kelmiscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday at 8.

- Hoxton (L.E.L.).**—New premises, 1 Hoxton Square. C. J. Young, 8 Dunloe St., Hackney Rd., Secretary.
- Mitcham.**—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open Saturday, Sunday, and Monday evenings from 7.30 till 11, W. E. Eden, 12 Palmerston Road, Wimbledon, Secretary.
- Mile-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road. Business Meeting every Thursday at 9 p.m. Debating Class for members after Business Meeting.

PROVINCES.

- Aberdeen (Scottish Section).**—Sunday night meetings in Baker Street Hall, at 6. Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St. Nicholas Street.
- Birmingham.**—Meetings at Summer Row Coffee House every Saturday evening at 8.
- Bradford.**—Morris's Dining Rooms, 114 City Road. Wednesdays, at 8.
- Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).**—Meeting every Tuesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. H. McCluskey, Millar Street, Secy.
- Cowdenbeath (Scot. Sec.).**—J. Duncan, 30 Artbur Pl., sec
- Dublin.**—Saturday Club, Central Lecture Hall, 12 Westmorland Street.
- Dundee (Scot. Sect.).**—William Morris will lecture in the Barrack Street Hall on Tuesday 27th.
- Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Every Thursday at 8, class for study of Marx's 'Capital.' On Friday 23rd, 8 p.m., William Morris will lecture in Assembly Rooms, Constitution Street, Leith, on "Monopoly"; and on Monday 26th, 8 p.m., in Trades Hall, 142 High Street, Edinburgh, on "The Society of the Future." Admission 1s., 6d., and 3d.
- Galashiels (Scot. Sect.).**—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., sec.
- 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. On Sunday March 25, at 7 p.m., William Morris will lecture in the Waterloo Grand Hall, on "Art and Industry in the Fourteenth Century." Tickets 3d., 6d., and 1s. Those desirous of meeting comrade Morris will be in Rooms at 12 o'clock on Sunday.
- Leeds.**—Lady Lane. Open every evening. Business meeting Fridays at 8. Address all communications to T. Paylor, 11 Sheldon Street, Holbeck, Leeds.
- Leicester.**—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8.
- Lochgelly (Scottish Section: Fife).**—Secs. (pro tem.), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.
- Norwich.**—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Monday at 8, Entertainment by the Muzstrel Troupe, on behalf of the funds of the lock-out men—tickets, 3d. Tuesday at 8.30, Members meeting. Wednesday at 8.30, Ways and Means Committee. Thursday at 8, Band practice. Friday at 8.30, Literary Committee. Saturday, open from 8 till 10.30.
- Nottingham.**—Club and Reading Rooms, 1 Tokenhouse Yard, Bridlesmith Gate, open every evening. Lectures and Discussions every Sunday.
- Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.
- Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.
- West Calder (Scottish Section).**—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder. William Morris will lecture on Saturday 24th, at 7.30 p.m., in Peoples' Hall.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 25.

- 11 ... Acton—the Steyne ..... Acton Branch
- 11 ... Turnham Green—Front Common... Ham'smith
- 11.30... Hoxton Church, Pitfield St. .... Nichol
- 11.30... Merton—Haydons Road..... The Branch
- 11.30... Regent's Park ..... Parker
- 11.30... St. Pancras Arches ..... Bloomsbury Branch
- 11.30... Walham Green ..... Fulham Branch
- 3.30... Hyde Park ..... Mainwaring and others
- 7 ... Acton—Priory ..... Acton Branch

PROVINCES.

- Norwich.**—Market Place, at 3 every Sunday.
- The Strike Fund.**—Entertainments will be given on Saturday evenings in the Hall of the League, at 8 p.m., in aid of the above Fund. Friends wishing to assist with songs, recitations, instrumental music, etc., should at once communicate with W. B. Parker, at office of League. First Entertainment, March 24th.
- East-end Socialist Club.**—A Grand Vocal and Instrumental Concert will be given in Hall of League, at 8 p.m., on Easter Monday, April 2nd, in aid of funds of projected East-end Club.

**SPECIAL NOTICE.**—The members and delegates of the East-end Branches will meet on Sunday evening the 25th inst. at 1 Hoxton Square, Hoxton, 6 o'clock.

**PROGRESSIVE ASSOCIATION,** Penton Hall, 81 Pentonville Road.—Sunday March 25, at 7 p.m., Rev. Stewart Headlam, "Sins that Cause Poverty."

**LEYTONSTONE WORKING MEN'S CLUB,** 1 Cathall Rd., Leytonstone.—Sunday March 25, 11.30 a.m., H. Halliday Sparling on "What Socialists Want."

**INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S EDUCATIONAL CLUB,** 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road, E.—On Tuesday March 27th a Grand Concert and Dramatic Entertainment will take place at the above in aid of

the *Workers' Friend*, on which occasion the *Commonweal* Company will perform "The Tables Turned, or Nupkins Awakened," by Wm. Morris. Programmes, 6d. each, can be had of the Secretary of the S. L. and at the Club.

**SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.**—Meeting at *Commonweal* Office, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday March 25, at 3.30 p.m.

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Merton—Hinton, High Street. Meeron, Haydons Road.

And at all Branch Meeting-Places and Outdoor-Stations of the Socialist League.

[We publish this very incomplete list in the hope that friends will make it their business to supply us with fuller details. Newsagents not included here are requested to supply their names for publication.]

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# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 4.—No. 116.

SATURDAY, MARCH 31, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON NEWS.

THE most noticeable event of the past week in England has been the introduction of Mr. Ritchie's County Government Bill, and the discussion thereupon. This great attempt at decentralisation is perhaps more interesting to us, because it shows how revolutionary all parties are now compelled to be, than for any other reason. Upon the ordinary political press it has come as a great surprise, and as a result the organs of "public opinion" have for the most part sought refuge in platitudes, and wait for the swing of the tide.

So far-reaching and "revolutionary" is the measure, and so inchoate withal, that it will take a good deal of thrashing out in Committee before we can quite see how much grain will come out and what of it is mere chaff.

No doubt a certain proportion of the Bill is mere "deck-load," put there on the chance of going through, and ready to go overboard when rough weather begins, but the bulk of it clearly shows that Mr. Ritchie is, up to his light, an honest and painstaking man, who has tried in all ways to be fair all round. With such a multitude of conflicting interests as he has had to consider, it is no marvel that his Bill looks by no means like an organic whole.

Publicans and teetotalers have, of course, at once fallen out over the clauses affecting them, and are, if we may trust their manifestoes, going to "fight to the death" in the matter. The Board of Works does not seem to have any fight in it; its impending fate seeming even to it, mayhap, to be richly deserved. Other "interests" will be heard from later on.

Against the proposal to leave the metropolitan police in the hands of the Government for the time being, our Radical friends may be trusted to strive with all their might; but in view of the fact that a Liberal Government would find such a weapon just as useful as do the Tories, and have done so many a time, and that all the forces of law'n-order will be arrayed against any proposal for placing the moral-miracles under popular control, there is little hope that they can succeed.

Meanwhile, the necessity of such control is being proved over and over again with every week that passes. On the 21st, "I, Warren," the Christian swashbuckler and bravo, who has been lately boasting of his divine mission to "save society" (*à la* Gallifet, apparently), met with a public rebuke from the mild lips of Matthews for his "want of decorum and good taste" in the case of St. Bloy. In the mouth of a man it would have been a stern rebuke, from the official it came as an apologetic reproach.

"I, Warren" had held an "impartial secret inquiry" into the conduct of a policeman, in which only police evidence was taken, and on the strength of this had insulted a magistrate for hearing other witnesses when they contradicted a moral-miracle. Upon enquiry, Mr. Matthews wriggled and shuffled and would not answer, but had it forced from him that Warren had shown a "want of decorum and good taste."

Just before this happened, another magistrate—Mr. Vaughan, of all men!—had fined a constable named Poole, and made him pay for damage done to a girl's dress. In doing so, he strongly commented on the "singular inhumanity" of the moral-miracle, together with other agreeable graces that will no doubt soon place Poole, along with Eadacott and Bloy, on the roll of those whom Warren delighteth to honour.

A couple of days afterwards at the Thames Police-court, the name of Dales was added to the list. In arresting a man for an alleged assault, he had beaten his victim's face into a ghastly mass of cuts and bruises. His plea was that the prisoner "resisted and assaulted" him, but he was unable to show a single mark of said "resistance and assault," or call a witness. Whereupon Mr. Bennett censured the constable and discharged the prisoner.

Having set his hand to the plough, of course the servant of the Lord(s) of the land may not look back. Or, in less official phrase, having taken in hand the task, for a consideration, of beating out rebellious brains, he cannot afford to lose any chance of strengthening

and making irresponsible the tools of his work. Wherefore we may look for more "secret and impartial" enquiries and further breaches of "decorum and good taste."

If his eye was on Ireland the other day he might have noticed a genius worthy to be enrolled a defender of Trafalgar Square—District-Inspector Hamilton, who "considered cheering for Mr. Blunt and Lady Anne Blunt worse than using sticks and stones!" And of such is the Arm of the Law!

At the meeting of the Ballinasloe Guardians on the 21st, the case of Peggy Dillon, the Aughrim midwife, was brought before them, as she had applied for outdoor relief. She is a highly respectable woman and a good midwife and could live very well until Balfour the Brave destroyed her livelihood for the sake of a rhetorical point. What a comment on the meanness of this "ruler of men"! His itching vanity can stoop to crush a poor woman to show his power and to repeat in parrot-fashion the "reasons" for his action put into his mouth by paid informers and men fitted to be even *his* tools!

In Dublin when he was there lately, a little story was floating about, which if *non vero* is at least *ben trovato*. Balfour is, or affects to be, under the impression that the whole Irish people is groaning under the "tyranny of the League," and that he is their true deliverer. Meeting at dinner a Bishop well-known for his wide knowledge of the land and people, he asked if it were true that the Irish people disliked him, whereon quoth the Bishop, "If they but hated the devil as they hate you, my profession would be gone!"

At the Mansion House on the 22nd, a "largely-attended meeting" was held on behalf of the "Irish Distressed Ladies Fund." The position of these poor people is, no doubt, pathetic; brought up from infancy to look for food without work, and now thrown upon the chance of charity. But one is constrained to think of the thousands, *not* ladies, who are distressed and starving in Ireland and England also, to whom no Mansion House is open wherein to beg or be begged for.

Mr. W. E. H. Lecky made an ill-omened remark in the course of his speech. "He thought that the distress resembled in some degree that which occurred a hundred years ago when French refugees flocked to England." And none who heard him said *Absit omen!* at least, aloud.

*Jus* takes a new departure in the last number that will make some of its readers sit up. I am glad to see that the smart pens which do the leaders for *Jus* are no longer to be trammelled by respect for the prejudices and selfish greed of the large majority of the L.P.D.L. An honest enemy is the very thing that we need most, and if *Jus* can only cut loose from the Lords of Land and Lust, and stand out squarely on Individualist lines, pandering to no man's pride, and paltering to no man's prejudice, it will receive no heartier welcome than from the men it seeks to oppose. The extract in another column looks as if this were to happen.

S.

## THE NATIONAL DEBT AND ITS CONVERSION.

It has been well said that Usury is the grand means by which nations are plundered and peoples enslaved. It has been the curse and scourge of the human race. It was one of the primary causes of the ruin of all the States of antiquity, and it is ruining all the States of Europe. It binds the nations in a bondage more iniquitous than that of the Israelites of old, and dooms to slavery tens of millions yet unborn. And all for the benefit of a few great vampires.

As the question of the English debt is so prominently before the public, it may be as well to take a glance at the debt and see whether repudiation would not be the proper course to pursue.

Many people believe that the National Debt represents so much *truly* lent to the Government. And the money having been lent to the Government—for whatever purpose—it is a debt of honour, and ought to be held sacred. Even the measure of Goschen is condemned as an act of injustice towards the fund-holders, as an act which working men above all ought to condemn. Nay, even working men condemn the measure as one of robbery, of wilful spoliation. That any men, and especially working men, should be so blind to their own interests, so ignorant of the facts of history, indicates at once the great need

there is for a thorough examination of the various means by which the wealth-producing classes are robbed of the great mass of the wealth produced by their labour. Very many years ago, it was pointed out by the old Radicals that while the army and navy belong to the Crown, the Church to the Crown and the aristocracy, and the land with all its minerals to the aristocracy, the Debt belonged to the people. The people need to bear these facts in mind when talking about this debt and its conversion.

The national debt, with the modern funding system, dates from the period of the revolution of 1688, and was the result of the great "No Rent" manifesto of 1660, when the landlords in Parliament assembled, repudiated their feudal obligations, and placed on the shoulders of the people the expenses of government. One feature in the funding system is that the lender is always credited with more than he lends, and the nation always has to pay interest on money the government never received. As, for instance, during the reign of William III. the government borrowed £34,034,518, but the lenders were credited with £44,100,795, and the nation had to pay interest on the latter sum. Take the case of Turkey. In 1874, her debt amounted to £182,981,782, but over fifty-seven millions of that she never received. As samples, take the three great loans. In 1865, there was a loan of £36,363,362, of which she received only £17,272,717. In 1873, another loan of £28,000,000, of which she got £18,240,000. And in 1874, a loan of £40,000,000, of which she only received £16,140,000. But if we turn to Egypt the case is even worse. Up to 1882 the total amount received by the Egyptian Government was only a little over *forty-nine millions*. She had repaid over *seventy millions*, and still owed over *ninety-eight millions*.

Let us now take the English debt. In January 1816 the funded debt was returned at £816,311,939. But no one pretended for a moment that the Government had received that amount. Still for many years the country knew but little about what the Government did receive. It was known that the stock representing the old debt up to 1792 had been converted into new stock, and the eight hundred and odd millions really represented new debt. The late Thos. Attwood and other leading authorities always contended that the debt did not really represent more than four hundred and eighty millions, but when the accounts were published the case was even worse, and stood as follows:

Funded Debt	...	...	£816,311,939
Paid into Exchequer	...	...	476,721,058
Difference	...	...	£339,590,881
Forming a large part of the debt was what were termed the Three Per Cents, amounting to	...	...	£580,916,019
Paid into the Exchequer	...	...	348,519,612
Difference	...	...	£232,396,407

The arrangement was this. Every person lending to the Government £60 was credited with having lent £100, but lent at 3 per cent. But in paying them off, £100 (and not £60) was to be paid.

Again, the great bulk of the debt was incurred when all the necessities of life were at famine prices; or in other words, the bulk of the debt was contracted in a depreciated currency, when cash payments were suspended, and the country flooded with a paper currency, to enable the Government to carry on the war against Napoleon. But the bondholders had to be paid the interest in gold, and after 1823 cash payments were resumed and the £1 notes in England withdrawn. Prices of all commodities were brought down and the wages of labour everywhere reduced. Rents also fell, but not in proportion to the fall in prices. But the debt was kept up to its full nominal amount. In 1856 Mr. Ed. C. Cayley, of the Inner Temple, in the second volume of his *European Revolutions*, shows that the debt, if it had been reduced to a gold standard like everything else, the £476,000,000 paid into the Exchequer ought to have represented about 40 per cent. less, when the debt of £816,000,000 would have represented only £332,000,000. Yet see how the matter stood in 1881: Interest paid, 1801 to 1881, £2,231,900,000, and debt still due £768,703,692. Since then we have about £174,000,000 more, and still the debt remains. Here is plunder on a gigantic scale! More than £2,405,000,000 paid on a debt of £332,000,000, and about £760,000,000 still owing!

And what is conversion? A practical recognition that the debt is not a just one. In 1717 the 6 per cents were reduced to 5; in 1727, to 4; and in 1749, to 3, reducing the charge for the debt £1,230,000 a-year. In 1822 £152,000,000 of 5 per cents were reduced to 4½, and by 1854 to 3 per cents. In 1824 another £75,000,000 of 4 per cents reduced to 3½, and in 1854 to 3 per cents. These and other reductions reduced the charge from £32,100,000 to £27,550,000, being a saving of £4,550,000 annually. In 1873-74 Gladstone dealt with nearly £200,000,000, and now Goschen proposes to deal with £458,000,000, which will take from the bondholders another £2,800,000 per annum. Now, all these conversions are so many repudiations. And if a part can be repudiated, so can the whole. And as the interest paid already amounts to more than *seven times* the amount of the debt when reduced to a gold standard, in which the interest is paid, it is a total and not a partial repudiation that ought to take place.

As to the mass of the population, it had no voice whatever in the matter. Even as far as parliamentary representation went, it was simply a sham. Out of 658 in 1830, 87 English peers returned, 218 members; 21 Scotch peers, 31 members; and 36 Irish peers, 51. Thus 144 nobles returned, 300 members to the House of Commons. Then 171 more were returned by 123 great commoners, and the government nominated 16.

Nor could the people protest by public meetings or otherwise. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended for nine months in each of the years 1794, 1795, 1798, 1799. In 1800 for nine months; in 1803 for six months; and in 1806 for six months. The press, too, was gagged in the most effectual manner in 1795. Neither by public meeting nor through the press could the people protest.

The people, then, are under no obligation with regard to the debt. They never sanctioned it, they never recognised it. And even on the old constitutional principle that taxation without representation is tyranny, the debt ought to be swept away.

The funding system is a gross swindle, a gigantic scheme for the plunder of the workers. Coupled therewith is the whole system of usury, which takes from the people at least *two hundred and fifty millions a-year*, the profits of the Stock Exchange alone, according to Mulhall, taking *one hundred and fifty-five millions six hundred thousand a-year*.  
J. SKETCHLEY.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING APRIL 7, 1888.

1	Sun.	1282. Sicilian Vespers. 1815. Bismark born. 1820. Radical disturbances in Glasgow. 1848. Republican attempted Invasion of Belgium. 1872. F. D. Maurice died. 1878. Greek Insurrection.
2	Mon.	1793. Great Slave Trade Debate. 1865. Richard Cobden died. 1871. Versailles attack Paris. 1878. Lord Leitrim killed.
3	Tues.	1854. Wendell Phillips and Theodore Parker tried for aiding runaway slaves. 1871. Gustave Flourens killed.
4	Wed.	1774. Goldsmith died.
5	Thur.	1794. Danton and Desmoulins died. 1814. Napoleon banished to Elba. 1820. Battle of Bunybridge.
6	Fri.	1669. Rousseau born. 1780. Commons vote that influence of Crown should be diminished. 1809. Arrest of Sir F. Burdett.
7	Sat.	1772. Fourier born. 1820. Klapka born. 1881. Irish Land Bill introduced.

*Radical Disturbances.*—As a demonstration in favour of reform, the working-classes of Glasgow and its neighbourhood, for the most part struck work on April 1, 1820. Weavers, colliers, cotton-spinners, machine-makers, and founders all came out. Thereupon great "military precautions" were taken, the "mob" harassed in a hundred ways, and the "ring-leaders" arrested, in order to provoke a riot. As, however, they failed to do more than get up a passing disturbance, the people never losing their self-control, the "saviours of society" made the remark now grown so familiar, that if they had been in earnest they would not have been so quiet!—S.

*Republican attempt to invade Belgium.*—The Republican attempt to invade Belgium in order to overthrow the Monarchy is known in history under the name of the *Affair of Risquous-tout*, the little frontier village where the whole affair was fought out. Lamartine, the head of the French Government, having allowed all the unemployed foreigners living at Paris to be sent back to their respective countries at the expense of the French Budget, some 2,000 Belgians intended to return home; but, imbued as they were with the new ideas prevailing in France, they tried to enter their native country determined to proclaim a Belgian Republic. Delescluze, later a member of the Paris Commune, being at that time General Commissioner of the French Republic in the North Department, ordered guns to be distributed to the Belgian legion as it came through Lille and Valenciennes. However, the Belgian Government having been informed of the attempt by the very commander of the legion, Colonel Belvaque, sent to the spot a regiment of infantry and some two or three batteries of artillery, under the command of General Fleury-Duray. They met at the village of Risquous-tout, and the Republicans were easily defeated. The battle only lasted half-an-hour, with a few dead and a few wounded on both sides. In its issue of April 3, 1848, the *Débat Social*, a Radical paper issued at Brussels, publicly accused M. Frère-Orban, then Minister of Public Works, of having concocted the whole affair with Colonel Belvaque, but he, of course, emphatically denied the statement. Thirty-six years afterwards, in 1884, the same Frère-Orban, then Premier of Belgium, openly avowed in the Belgian Chamber that he really had bribed Belvaque, and by so doing had "saved" his beloved country from the horrors of a Republican invasion!—V. D.

*Death of F. D. Maurice.*—John Frederick Denison Maurice, born at Normanston, near Lowestoft, Suffolk, 1805; the son of a Unitarian minister. Entered at 18, Trinity College, Cambridge, but not caring to subscribe to the 39 Articles, left without going up for his degree; repented of this, however, and took his B.A. in 1831 and his M.A. in 1855; was appointed chaplain and reader at Lincoln's Inn, and then theological professor in King's College, London, 1846, but his bell, not being hot enough for the very orthodox, the usual cry of the bigot was raised and he retired. He was a voluminous writer. One biographer says "he published too much; he had a very imperfect sense of historical development and his theological works . . . are very difficult to understand," perhaps holding the professorship of moral philosophy and giving a course of "Lectures on Casuistry" may account for the mental fog. Our chief concern with Maurice is that in conjunction with Tom Hughes, Kingsley, Gerald Massey, and others, he was concerned in the "Christian Socialist" movement of 1848-50, which did so much directly for the co-operative movement and indirectly for Socialism. With the men just mentioned he was concerned in publishing *Politics for the People*—of which seventeen numbers appeared—and the *Christian Socialist*. He was one of the prime movers in founding the Working-men's College, Great Ormond Street, which has done a really great work in popularising education; also in founding Queen's College for women. In 1828 was for a short time editor of the *Athenæum*; in 1839 editor of the *Educational Magazine*. After a busy life, pretty equally divided between doing away with our hell upon earth competition civilisation, and preaching away a possible hell after earth, he died April 1st, 1872, and was buried at Highgate Cemetery.—T. S.

*Death of Richard Cobden.*—Richard Cobden was born on June 3, 1804, at Heyshott, near Midhurst, Sussex. He was fourth of a family of eleven. His father, a small farmer, was an affectionate but somewhat too easy going sort of man to deal successfully with short crops and a long family, which in 1813 was broken up by ruin and sale of the farm. By this, Richard's spell of dame-school and sheep-tending were ended, and he was sent by an uncle to Yorkshire, where for five years he received "a disgusting mockery of an education." Next he was some five years in the counting-house of the same uncle, and in 1825 was promoted to the position of commercial traveller and saw much of the United

Kingdom. With two others he soon began business, and in a letter by himself dealing with this part of his life, is a passage which should give a shock to some of the people who talk so much of what can be done by "thrift":—"We introduced ourselves to Fort Bros., and we told our tale honestly, concealing nothing. In less than two years from 1830, we owed them £40,000 for goods which they had sent to us in Watling Street, upon no other security than our characters and knowledge of our business." "Not possessed of £200 each." The venture turned out all right, but "thrift" had not much of a show there. That besides being a busy, shrewd business man, he was an earnest student there can be no doubt. Thorold Rogers says: "If exact and careful knowledge of history constitutes learning, Cobden was during the years of his political life the most learned speaker in the House of Commons," not that he confined himself to history, for his field covered political economy, international commerce, and general politics. He was also an accomplished linguist, and well read in several foreign literatures. In 1833 he visited France, the next year France and Switzerland; in 1835 he crossed to America; and in 1836 he had a six month's tour to Lisbon, Cadiz, Cairo, Egypt, and Turkey. In this same year he published a pamphlet on Russia, giving anonymously some rather novel views on the Russo-Turko-Anglo question, which excited much attention. Up to the time of issuing this work, he had not done very much public work except quite locally on municipal and educational affairs, but in 1837 he was candidate for Stockport, and fairly launched in public life. He was badly beaten at this election, only receiving 418 votes, although, just as if to show what representative government was in 1837, 17,000 people subscribed one penny each for a testimonial to him. At the presentation of the piece of plate Dan O'Connell was one of the speakers. Naturally, Cobden spoke much on the need of "vote by ballot." In the autumn of 1837, Cobden conceived the idea of using the Manchester Chamber of Commerce as an organisation against the Corn Laws, but later on it seemed better to form an association for the special purpose, and on the 10th January, 1839, a meeting was held which was really the formation of the "Anti-Corn Law League." Cobden recommended those present to invest part of their property, to save the rest from confiscation, and the advice was so far taken that £1,800 was at once subscribed, raised within a month to £6,136 10s. This shows there is warrant for saying that the Anti-Corn Law movement materially helped to break up the Chartist movement, and favoured the "Bagman's Millennium" of Free Trade, to the disadvantage of the greater changes aimed at by the Chartists and the Owenites. Compared with the Chartists, Cobden and his co-workers were as butter-milk to nitric acid; yet in the eyes of some to repeal the Corn Laws was revolution. In 1839, a deputation was emphatically told by a nobleman on whom they waited, that they would "as soon overturn the monarchy as effect the repeal of the Corn Laws." In seven years one job was done; pity not born. However one may regret the effect the Corn Law agitation had in killing the Chartist agitation, there can only be admiration for the splendid manner in which Cobden and his colleagues carried their work on; there has never been a movement with so small a scope and aim that has had the support, financial and otherwise, accorded to this; men of the ablest, and money without stint; at one meeting, for instance, £80,000 subscribed in an hour and a-half, and inside a month £150,000 raised. In 1841, Cobden was returned for Stockport. The first division on Mr. Villiers' annual motion against the Corn Duty after Cobden's return to the House, the Repealers were beaten by the tremendous odds of 393 to 30. "Impossible!" "Impracticable!" "Robbers!" "Murderers!" "Assassins!" Such were the greetings and charges, yet 26th of June, 1846, Cobden wrote to his wife, "Hurrah! hurrah! the Corn Bill is law, and now my work is done." In this last he was wrong, for he was concerned in many other important matters. The Free Trade Hall, Manchester, stands on the ground where in 1819 was done the massacre of Peterloo. Cobden bought and gave this site, and the hall was opened in 1848 with a League meeting. Cobden was a pretty constant opponent to England's "Jingo policy," and in 1857 had the honour of boating Palmerston's Ministry and causing a general election, which resulted in Cobden, Bright, and others of the Peace Policy being left out in the cold. Financial trouble fell upon Cobden just now, and the great hold he had on his co-workers' esteem was proved in the subscription of £40,531 odd, which was very privately subscribed to repair his losses, made by railway speculations in America. He had had £76,757 presented to him in 1846. In 1859 he was re-elected, and pressed by Palmerston and Russell to enter the Cabinet, but refused. His next great work was the commercial treaty with France. His was the influence which did away with the need for British subjects to carry passports in France, and reduced cost of postage. On several occasions he was proffered government place and pay, but refused. He died on Sunday, April 2, 1865, and as buried at Lavington, near a much loved son who had died young in 1856. About a year after his death his friends and co-workers founded the Cobden Club, "to encourage the growth and diffusion of those economical and political principles with which Mr. Cobden's name is associated." To estimate how much the Cobden Club is behind Cobden, it is only necessary to recall that the Duke of Argyll is one of their pamphleteers, expressing views which would make Cobden squirm in his grave could he but know. There is no doubt but that Cobden was far in front of most of the annual Cobden dinners of to-day; so is a good man scorned by his admirers.—T. S.

**Lord Leitrim.**—A hard landlord, exacting from his tenants not only their rent to the uttermost farthing, but a more shameful tribute from their wives and daughters; pitiless and revengeful when thwarted, Lord Leitrim had made himself the best-hated man in Ireland. He had been a lieutenant-colonel in the army, and was physically daring, always went heavily armed, and had escaped former attempts. This time the "doers of wild justice" were determined to make sure, and esconced themselves in Cratlaghwood, a plantation four or five miles from Milford on the road to Derry. Lord Leitrim, with his confidential clerk, was being driven on an outside car to Derry to consult his solicitor—no doubt on more devil's work to be done on his estate. His valet, following in another car about a mile behind, came up to find the landlord and his clerk dead and the car-driver dying. The slayers meanwhile had escaped in a boat across Mulroy Bay, and were never traced. The whole country-side was with them.—S.

**Bonnybridge.**—On the morning of April 5, 1820, a member of the Kilsyth Stirlingshire Yeomanry, going to join his troop at Falkirk, was stopped by an armed party of Radicals who demanded his arms, which he refused and fled back to Kilsyth. From the commanding officer there he obtained ten men and a sergeant of the 10th Hussars, and the same number of Yeomanry to escort him, and an orderly who was going to Stirling on their way. They found that the Radicals had taken post on Bonnymuir, and when called on to surrender said they had come to fight. The Radicals then advanced to a stone dyke between two heights and fired some shots. The cavalry horses would not leap the dyke, and had to seek a gap; here the two parties met and a fierce fight began. After a good many wounds had been given and taken, the Radicals broke and ran, several being taken prisoners.—S.

**Trial of Socialists.**—At the Old Bailey, before Mr. Justice Cave, began the trial of John Burns, Henry Hyde Champion, Henry Mayers Hyndman, and John Edward Williams, for uttering seditious words and conspiring together to utter seditious words on February 8th in Trafalgar Square. Attorney-General (Sir Charles Russell, Q.C.), R. S. Wright, and Charles Matthews conducted the prosecution on the part of the Crown. Let their names be knitted in. W. Thompson appeared in defence of Burns and Williams; Champion and Hyndman fought their own fight. Mr. Justice Cave proved himself an impartial judge, and after a five day's effective Socialist propagandist exhibition, reported

by the column in every sort of paper, the accused were declared "Not Guilty," and Socialists scored once more against Government. (See REV. CAL., *Commonwealth*, 11-2-'88, Feb. 17th).—T. S.

**Irish Land Bill introduced by W. E. Gladstone.**—Ruin, famine, revolt, coercion, and grudging concession—such is the cycle of what is called "Government" in Ireland. Doses of murder by starvation and its fever, alternating with murder outright by bullet and bludgeon; "Don't hesitate to shoot." In 1870, a really important Act was passed, important in conception and draft, but minimised much by self-interest; between 1871 and 1880, 28 or 30 different bills were introduced by the Irish party to secure a reality of justice to their constituents, all without avail. In 1879 Ireland's people were again in the pangs of famine. In 1876 the potatoe crop was valued at £12,464,382; in 1879 the value was £3,341,028! In weight the average for ten years was 60,752,910 cwts., while in 1879 the yield was only 22,273,520 cwt. Well might Cobbett call the potatoe "a cursed lazy treacherous root." The natural outcome of this was fearful suffering throughout the whole of Ireland, some struggles against death—crime, outrage—and then more outrage—this time called Law and Order. The Land League is formed and gets strong. Suddenly, March, 1880, having been doored over the Water Monopoly Swindle, Disraeli appeals to the country with a violent Anti-Irish Manifesto, and gets a worse knock-down blow, for May, 1880, saw Gladstone Prime Minister once more, and a stronger Irish party ready to make things lively for the Irish Secretary, and Buckshot Forster ready to make things lively for the Irish party, which he did—as the State-trials record shows. Thursday, January 6, 1881, a new Session begins, begins in the maddest fashion ever man conceived—a positive threat of a strong Coercion Bill, and a positive promise of a sound Land Bill; ushers in the bitterest struggle since members of Parliament held the Speaker in his chair. Suspensions carried on wholesale and retail; members named one after the other and then done by batches, suspending even some miles away; such is Parliamentary representation under a brute majority, and so is another Coercion Act passed. This done Mr. Gladstone gives the sugar candy to take the taste away. From April 7th to July 29th another fight, and then is passed on to the Lords the very worst pill that they ever had to take since they were abolished totally. They slaughtered the Bill—naturally—sent it back to the Commons—who restored it to its former shape—and then the Lords, scared by the rumble of coming revolution, which, in spite of the new Coercion Act grew louder and yet louder, passed the Bill on August 22nd, and broke the back of landlordism.—T. S.

People who do not work have plenty of time to hatch up schemes by which to secure the earnings of those who do, and they call this business.—*New Zealand Watchman*.

**CAPITAL'S CURE-ALL.**—Having clubbed and bludgeoned the unemployed out of Trafalgar Square and forced them into hiding, the "better classes" of London are now declaring that there is no unemployed class. The scores having been hidden from sight, it is now in order to declare that Lazarus's wounds were mythical.—*Canadian Labour Reformer*.

**"TIME BRINGS REVENGE."**—"If this kind of thing goes on, I shall change my name." Such is the bitter cry of Mr. Lewis Morris in the columns of the *Manchester Examiner*, which has been attributing to the author of the 'Epic of Hades' certain "extreme" views lately propounded by the author of the 'Earthly Paradise.' It is too bad, certainly; but the hardship is not all on one side, for was not Mr. William Morris recently taunted by another journal for that he, a Socialist, had been inditing a 'Silver Wedding Ode'?—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

**MR. BRADLAUGH ON CAPITAL AND LABOUR.**—Mr. Bradlaugh, M.P., lectured recently concerning "Labour Problems," and remarked that "there was a very dangerous tendency on the part of a very large number of working men, and a still more dangerous inclination on the part of those who assumed the position of their leaders—Cardinal Manning for example—to look to the State to provide employment for the unemployed. The workers could alone effectively improve their condition by voluntary association and organisation; and it was a regrettable fact that, taking labour all through Great Britain and Ireland, the large proportion of labourers did not belong to any trade organisation at all. A limitation of output in the case of mines, and of shorter time in the case of factories, were suggested as remedies for existing evils; but it was questionable whether a lessened production might prove remunerative to the capitalist for the wear and tear of plant involved and the amount of capital embarked. Some men said capital ought to have nothing, but in that case they would have neither machinery nor mines. It was quite possible that if they destroyed all remuneration to capital they would destroy the capitalists; but they could only do this by reverting to barbarism themselves." That is to say, Mr. Bradlaugh first tells working men not to ask the State to help them, and next tells them not to help themselves, lest they hurt the capitalist. Sound reasoning, truly!—*The Miner*.

"*Jus* has from first to last spoken out frankly and unequivocally against State-backed religion. And for this reason it has been boycotted by an influential section of the Liberty and Property Defence League. It is true that *Jus* is represented on the Council of that body; but the position seems to be a false one. Half-hearted and one-sided individualism is not the doctrine we have set ourselves out to preach. If the doctrine is good for anything, it is good for everything. A body which flaunts the flag only on suitable occasions, when the rich, the strong, and the privileged may benefit by the adoption of the principle, but which remains silent when it cuts the other way, cannot be expected to welcome an organ of the press which positively declines to stoop to political dodgery. If it is true, as its enemies declare, that the League has got into the hands of large landowners, who intend to square individualism with hereditary legislative privilege, with strict settlements and bolstered-up families and estates, and with State-fomented superstition for the degradation and enchainment of the people—well, the sooner it speaks out clearly the better. Anyhow, *Jus* will not hesitate. If the League has really made up its mind to pervert the noble principles of liberty and property to ignoble uses, it will do well to dispense with an organ of the press altogether. Diplomacy and duplicity and chicanery and insincerity and hypocrisy are more suited to the platform than to the press. 'O, that mine enemy would write a book,' is the wish of one who knows his enemy to be dishonest. The honest have nothing to fear from writing a book. Similarly, the society which fears to commit its present contentions to print tacitly admits that it may be convenient to express the contrary opinions to-morrow. If the League sinks again into silence, its attitude will not be misconstrued. It has turned its back on the Individualist Club from its earliest foundation, and working-class individualists understand the reason. If the League survives the calumnies of its enemies, as we trust it will, it will also have to survive the counsels of some of its friends."—*Jus* (March 23).



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW? FIRST, FEW MEN WERE IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.

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Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

RECEIVED with thanks, but found unsuitable for various reasons—A Working Woman; G. T. (Norwich); T. L. (Glasgow). T. M. (Leeds).—Poem accepted; with thanks; article waits Morris's return. We have not seen the comrade you ask for since about a week after he came up.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday March 28.

ENGLAND	Chicago (Ill.)—Knights of Labor	Milan—Il Fascio Operato
Die Autonomie	Danver (Col.)—Labor Enquirer	Marsala—La Nuova Eta
Jus	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	Cremona—La Foccia
Justice	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volkblatt	Bani—Municipalium
Leaflet Newspaper	N. Haven—Workmen's Advocate	SPAIN
London—Freie Presse	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	El Productor
Labour Tribune	San Francisco—Arbeiter-Zeitung	Madrid—El Socialista
The Miner	Coast Seamen's Journal	PORTUGAL
Norwich—Daylight	Freethought	Porto—A Revolucao Social
Railway Review	FRANCE	GERMANY
Worker's Friend	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Berlin—Volks Tribune
NEW SOUTH WALES	La Revolte	AUSTRIA
Hamilton—Radical	L'Autonomie Individuelle	Arbeiterstimme
INDIA	Le Coup de Feu	Brunn—Volksfreund
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Journal du Peuple	Vienna—Gleichheit
Madras—People's Friend	Guise—Le Devoir	HUNGARY
UNITED STATES	HOLLAND	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
People	Hague—Recht voor Allen	DENMARK
New York—Freiheit	BEELGIUM	Social-Demokraten
Der Sozialist	Ghent—Vooruit	SWEDEN
Truthseeker	Liege—L'Avenir	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Volkszeitung	SWITZERLAND	Malmo—Arbetet
Boston—Woman's Journal	Zurich—Social Demokrat	NORWAY
Liberty	Pzedsurt	Kristiania—Social-Demokraten
Chicago—Labor Enquirer	ITALY	
Vorbote	Gazetta Operaia	

SOCIALISM IN SOLUTION.

WHILE fully agreeing with those Socialists who would avail themselves of all, even the most apparently trifling, efforts tending to raise the present condition of the working classes, and which are therefore Socialistic in tendency, if not in fact; yet nevertheless I think too strong a protest cannot be raised against the habit of either blinking or minimising the ideal which all true Socialists (i.e., all who are not using the word Socialism as a tag—pace Sir William Harcourt's "We are all Socialists nowadays") have in view. It is undeniable that there are certain well-meaning but "philistine" persons who are for ever going about with tongue and pen trying to convince weak-minded and timid hearers or readers that the modern proletarian mountain is after all only pregnant with a sort of big mouse. The way they do this is sometimes specious, and hence it is difficult to convict them in flagrante delicto. For instance, their first proceeding is to draw a ring-fence round economics and insist that Socialism is economical and has nothing to say on any other aspect of human life than that of the production and distribution of wealth. Now it is so far true that modern Socialism is a theory of human society based on an economic evolution—that is, it sees in economics the keystone of the social arch. But that is a very different thing from being itself simply an economical theory and nothing beyond, as it is commonly represented to be. Then when this position is granted they proceed elaborately to whittle down the economic revolution itself till they have succeeded in reducing Socialism to modern civilised society with some trifling changes in detail. Mr. Kirkup's 'Enquiry into Socialism' in many respects illustrates both these tendencies.<sup>1</sup>

It would be unfair to deny that there is much useful information to those unacquainted with the subject in the book or that the preface and sundry other passages give hopes of better things than is made good by its general tenour, with its painful and laborious effort to prove that Socialism means nothing in particular.

Let us take Mr. Kirkup's chapter on Current Views on Socialism. (1) Mr. Kirkup starts with the marriage question. The opposition between the "bourgeois property marriage" and that which will take its place is of course sought to be toned down. While admitting that most leading Socialists have attacked the modern or Christian marriage

with its indissolubility or quasi-indissolubility, Mr. Kirkup "cannot see that as a theory of economic organisation Socialism can have any special teaching adverse to marriage and the family." (The italics in this passage are our own.) Now this is because Mr. Kirkup chooses to set up his ring-fence again, ignoring his own definition of Socialism given above as "a theory of social organisation, based on a new scheme of economic organisation." The passage quoted above implies that there is only one form of marriage and the family, that of the modern, Christian and bourgeois. Of course, as a "theory of economic organisation," "Socialism need not have any special teaching adverse" to this; but as a matter of practice the modern marriage and modern family is sustained by the modern system of property, and when the latter gives place to something else, so must the former: but what special form the new institutions will take neither Socialists nor any one else can tell. It is also not true to say that the views on this question of the "leading Socialist writers" referred to as attacking the present marriage system, have been "strenuously opposed within the Socialist schools." I challenge Mr. Kirkup to show a single case in point. But I shall have occasion to revert to this again directly.

(2) Socialism is "by many" believed to be hostile to Christianity, etc. Of course here Mr. Kirkup must step in and plead that "the connection with views of this nature is purely accidental." It is on a par with the attempt in the 'Britannica' article (vol. xxii. p. 220) to make out that Socialism is not more international than any other movement (artistic or literary, for example). So here, Mr. Kirkup trots out his favourite notion about Socialism not being more hostile to Christianity than Continental Liberalism. It is difficult to believe that a man of Mr. Kirkup's reading can fail to see that the Internationalism, like the anti-Christianism of Socialism, is a very different thing from the Internationalism of art or commerce, or the anti-clericalism of the Radical. Of course, having drawn his ring-fence round the economical theory of Socialism, it naturally follows that he can exclude everything else but pure economics from the essence of Socialism. But this economic-and-nothing-but-economic Socialism is a "metaphysical abstraction." One of the greatest insights of Marx was that of the connection of the economic with the other aspects of human life. And Socialism as a revolutionary theory of society implies an ethical, religious, and political revolution as a consequence of the economic one. As such its opposition to the present forms of these things, which in their turn are based on the economics of present society, is a matter of Socialistic principle and in nowise "non-essential" or merely a question of temporary policy as with the Continental Liberal, who, for the rest, never contemplates anything but the curtailment of clerical influence. I would put it to Mr. Kirkup and those other professors of the "science of Socialism made easy to the middle-class philistine," whether they think it would be compatible with Socialism to have a clerical class setting themselves up as spiritual teachers and living on the labour of others or even to allow the small minority (the bulk of whom Mr. Kirkup must allow would be hostile to the economic change) who habitually frequent "places of worship" to monopolise lands and buildings for the purpose of their cultus. As to Internationalism, Mr. Kirkup ought to know by this time that the formal and explicit recognition of the solidarity of labour irrespective of frontier, and as definitely opposed to bourgeois patriotism, forms part of every Socialist pronouncement in which the subject of external politics is touched upon at all; and further that this international question was the great cause of antagonism between the Lasalians and the Eisenachers, an antagonism which was only overcome by the adoption by the former of the international principle, as embodied in the programme of the present German Social Democratic party.

Mr. Kirkup further states that Socialism "has also been associated with Christianity, Catholic, and Protestant." Now in how far is this true? In the same sense in which it has been associated with orthodox views as to the family, etc. The fact of the matter is this: Socialism has by a process of natural selection become the name for a great movement beginning with the present century having for its end the re-organisation of human life, moral and material, on a basis of equality of rights and duties. This movement, on its theoretical no less than on its practical side, is distinguished by certain well-marked stages. The theory of Socialism as a coherent doctrine began with the three great utopist systems of Robert Owen, Fourier, and St. Simon. Not one of these systems took what I may term the abstract-economic view of the subject. They all regarded human life as an integral system, and never dreamt of separating its several aspects. They were all anti-Christian, all opposed to the modern form of marriage, and if not explicitly international they were at least implicitly so. The later schools of French Socialism have always had something to say in the same sense on the subjects of religion, marriage, and racial boundaries, that is, always in a sense hostile to the existing forms of these institutions. Finally, modern "scientific" Socialism, while accentuating the economical revolution implied in the word, has none the less insisted on the fact that the other aspects of human life must undergo a corresponding change.

So much for the growth of Socialist theory. But—and here lies the equivocal of Mr. Kirkup's position—concurrently with the later forms of this development of true theoretical Socialism there has been a series of spurious and bastard systems, clearly distinguishable as such, and which have sprung consciously, or unconsciously for the most part, from a dread of the true economic change. They may be known by this very sign, that they appear to adopt the economic side of Socialism while overtly rejecting the notion of the other social changes which that side implies. But when more nearly viewed, it will be found that they do not really accept the economic revolution at all,

<sup>1</sup> 'An Enquiry into Socialism.' By Thomas Kirkup. Longmans.

but merely some scheme which can be made to bear a superficial resemblance to it. Like Pharaoh's soothsayers, the bourgeois also "did so with their enchantments." "Christian Socialism" such as that of the Comte de Mun in France on the side of Catholicism, or of Herr Stöcker in Germany on the side of Protestantism, the various co-operative schemes with which the working-classes have been from time to time deceived, belong to this spurious Socialism. As the devil of mediæval fancy, on Walpurgis night, travestied the proceedings supposed to take place before the judgment-seat of God, so the modern bourgeois travesties the aspiration of the real proletarian movement in a series of artificially produced counter-movements. In this sense only can it be said that Socialism has been "associated with Christianity both Catholic and Protestant." Is it not easy to understand that those desirous of maintaining a class society, and recognising the importance and "danger" of Socialism, think that if they but hold the proletariat in leash tied to three venerable institutions, "the hearth, the throne, and the altar," or any one of them, that that proletariat is by the very fact rendered harmless. "Oh, drudge, where is thy sting? oh, slave, where is thy victory?" Not under the ægis of Christian, philanthropic, or co-operative "Socialism" we may rest assured.

And now, let us enter Mr. Kirkup's economic enclosure, and see what we find there. On page 96 we read, "It is even quite consistent with the theory of Socialism that there should be private ownership of land and capital, provided it be under collective and equitable control." This may be a new development of Henry Georgism, but it will hardly be recognised by most people as Socialism. The most extraordinary statement, however, is to be met with on pages 102-3, and is as follows: "Though Socialism most naturally allies itself with the advancing democracy, there is no absolute reason why the actual control of the movement should be democratic (!). In Germany it is quite possible to imagine with Rodbertus that it might proceed from the Emperor (!). . . Such an empire served by capable officials like the present (*sic*), and supported by a people and army inspired with the enthusiasm of a better social order, might find its strength and stability immeasurably increased" (!!). Further criticism is surely unnecessary!

I have desired under the form of a review of Mr. Kirkup's new book, where the practice appears in its rankest form, to call attention to the illegitimacy of the attempt so often made nowadays to limit the word Socialism, in a mechanical manner, to the sphere of economics—while objection is taken to its being applied to what the economical change implies in other departments of human activity. Such a limitation is neither logically nor historically valid. As before said, economics taken by themselves are an abstraction. In the real world they are only present as an element in a whole—to wit, human life and society. Historically, as I have pointed out, the word Socialism, which originated with Robert Owen, has never been used in this abstractedly limited sense until quite recently. If Socialism is what Mr. Kirkup represents it to be in certain passages of his book (which it is only fair to say are quite inconsistent with the wider view taken in other passages), then we can readily understand why "we are all Socialists now-a-days," since in this case there is no special reason why Rothschild, Vanderbilt, or Jay Gould should not turn Socialist on the spot. On the whole, we would advise those who hold "current views on Socialism" to stick fast to them until they get something better than Mr. Kirkup's rectification. E. BELFORD DAX.

## TOWARDS REVOLUTION.

### I.

HAVE YOU not heard the new gospel we are preaching?  
We will not reproach you, brother, once we had not heard it;  
Though now it seems our breath of life, the world's one hope,  
Once it was strange to us as it is strange to you.

Or perhaps you have been told that it means violence, strife, class-hatred,  
A loosing of the bonds that hold Society together,  
A sudden and complete destruction of all the marvellous slow upbuilding of  
centuries,  
A swift return to barbarism, each man's hand against his neighbour.

Nay, but it means something far different from this,  
It means that the secret strife of the present shall be open, declared, final;  
It means that the false bonds be severed, the true bonds made manifest,  
A destruction of all that in civilisation which is artificial,  
A return to that which is natural, and the recognition of human relationship.

### II.

See here, it is strange if you have overlooked us, we are everywhere,  
Where civilisation spreads, we spread, its mortal foe,  
Evolved out of its own bosom, its foe and yet its friend,  
For we accept all that which is good in it, rejecting only that which is bad,  
We take the honey and leave the sting.

And slowly but surely that which we believe is becoming that which all believe,  
Consciously or unconsciously people are looking to it as the only true solution.  
It is in the air, it is everywhere, it filters through the world as the morning  
twilight,  
It moulds and colours our thoughts, speech, acts, aspirations,  
It finds its way where it has so long been a stranger, into the pulpit, press,  
platform, Parliament,  
It is the issue to which all things are tending.

### III.

I tell you that all that has gone before has been but a preparation for this,  
That all the early savagery, fierce hunger and thirst, tribal feuds, despotisms,  
All the oppressions and exactions of kings and nobles, the wars, civil wars, and  
popular insurrections,

Have had no other object for their existence than to render this finally possible.

In the earliest ages of the world man did not consciously distinguish himself  
from his fellows,  
He shared in common with the rest of his kin their lot of pain and pleasure,  
But as Society grew more complex, and each individual became more distinct,  
and his sphere more distinct,  
The individual became more and more the end and object of his own existence.

But now in the process of time this individualism has wrought its own contra-  
diction,  
The separation of class from class, of man from man, has intensified and grown  
unendurable,  
And now men's hearts are wildly throbbing for a newer Society of fellowship,  
When the primitive community will again be realised, but on a higher level,  
Each man conscious of himself, but joyfully merging himself in his fellows.

### IV.

Let the Revolution come as soon as it may,  
It will not come before it is wanted.

For ours is a society of slaves and slave-owners, whatever is said to the contrary  
The rich who produce nothing and possess everything, but cannot enjoy it;  
The poor who produce everything and possess nothing, and are miserable of  
necessity.

And see how from this initial injustice spring all other injustices:  
Our wars, crimes, murders, thefts, gluttonies, adulteries, prostitutions;  
The refusal of our wares to those who need them and have made them;  
The feverish eagerness to thrust them by force upon the simple savages, who  
despise them;  
The deadly competition of man with man, of master with master, of nation with  
nation;  
The poverty, filth, overcrowding, disease, anxiety, vice of the poor;  
The langour, selfishness, arrogance, emptiness, cynicism of the rich;  
The unhappiness of both classes, neither living wholesome human lives—  
Only relieved by the blind longing for something clearer and better.

### V.

Fruitful mother of all social evils,  
Long lying hidden beneath shows of religious, legal, and political tyranny,  
Social inequality comes forth stripped bare and recognised at last,  
Holding in thrall the earth and the riches of the earth,  
Made by all or by none, by which all alone all must live,  
Giving to him who possesses them power over the lives of the people.

This initial inequality abolished,  
What will happen but the disappearance of all the evils that flow from it?  
What will happen but that a community of free friends will grow up on the earth?

Labour and pain will be common, but not grievous; joy and leisure also common;  
Only that will be made which is needed, only that will be needed which is rational;  
The hand of one man will no longer be against the hand of another;  
One class will no more envy or despise another class (you shall look for classes  
and you shall not find them);  
One nation will no more provoke another nation, for all nations will desire peace  
and the result of peace;  
One by one the outlying peoples will adopt our mode of life, so winning, so clearly  
to their advantage;  
The world will become a brotherhood of freemen.

### VI.

Doubtless to reach this many of us will have to undergo privation;  
The social isolation, the prison, the false charge, the armed resistance, are  
doubtless waiting for us.  
That which is worth having is not to be had for nothing.

Nevertheless we know that the stars in their courses fight for us;  
The Power behind Evolution has decreed the thing that we strive for;  
Failure on failure may seem to defeat us: ultimate failure is impossible.

Seeing what is to be done, then, seeing what the reward is,  
Seeing what the terms are, are you willing to join us?  
Will you lend us the aid of your voice, your money, your sympathy?  
May we take you by the hand and call you comrade?

REGINALD A. BECKETT.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

Is the course proposed by F. Kitz in your issue for March 3rd the way to  
help or to hinder the sale of *Commonweal*? And (what is more important)  
is it the way to fight or to foster narrowness and intolerance? I had hoped  
to see some answer to the recommendation that we should boycott hostile  
news-vendors. As none has appeared, may I suggest that (to put the matter  
on the lowest ground) by neglecting to encourage, or rather to gently force,  
the news-agents who "would like to see the whole lot of us put down" to  
supply "customers who deal with them for other articles" with *Commonweal*,  
we not only lose new converts, but *deserve* to lose them? If the man who  
"won't have it seen in his place" is paid back in his own coin, he will be as  
hopeless an enemy (and as ignorant a one) this time next year as he is to-day.  
May I further call your attention to the discrepancy between the two  
views of "splitting the party" held by the writer of the paragraph (March  
3rd, too) about George Odger? In lines 17, 18, 19 Odger is "shamefully  
sacrificed" to the false god of party; in lines 20, 21 Waterlow, who refuses  
to listen to the cry "Don't split the party," and so prevents Odger's winning  
Southwark, is a very wicked person indeed! WILLIAM THOMPSON.  
Nottingham, March 18.

## LITERARY NOTES.

'An American Journey,' by Edward Aveling (Reeves, Fleet Street, 1s. 6d.),  
is a rather sketchy but eminently readable account of the sights he saw and  
the things he heard in his recent lecturing tour in the States. It strips  
away a good many of the illusions created by the ordinary travellers' tales,  
and gives a striking and unpleasant view of the American bourgeois, who  
seems to be far worse than even his English congener.  
'The Progress of Socialism,' by Sidney Webb, LL.B. (Modern Press, 1d.),  
is an eloquent and searching study of the subject its title tells of.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### BRITAIN.

There is no improvement in the velvet trade at Oldham.

The moulders of Warrington have decided to strike for an advance of two shillings weekly in their wages.

The outlook for the weavers at Clayton-le-Moors is reported as very serious, several pairs of mules having been stopped at Victoria Mill during the past week.

The strike of weavers at Messrs. Smith and Wiseman's still continues, with no prospect of an early settlement. The knobsticks are guarded by police.

The strike of twisters at the Albany Mill, Oldham, has collapsed. Owing to the weakness of their organisation, the workers have accepted the employer's terms.

The strike of weavers at Victoria Works, Rossendale, still continues. The company are said to be incurring heavy loss through the stoppage of the machinery, whilst the increase sought is very slight.

A strike of miners at Ardsley Colliery, near Leeds, which commenced last November, has terminated by the men accepting the reduction proposed by the masters.

The wages paid at the Clarence Mills, Bollington, are reported to be very unsatisfactory, in some portions of the spinning room being so low as 10s. per week for 2,500 spindles. The Spinners' Association have the matter under consideration.

The Bolton and District General Labourers and Drillers' Union, recently formed in Bolton as a result of the late strike in the iron trade, is progressing satisfactorily. The Secretary is Mr. Ralph Howcroft, 10 Winders Court, off Slater Street, Bolton.

**DISCHARGE OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES.**—Two hundred and twenty-five workmen who have been employed in connection with the Royal Alexandra Victualling Yard at Haulbowline have received written notices that their services will be dispensed with from Saturday next.

**SOUTH STAFFORDSHIRE IRON TRADE.**—The Bilston ironworks of Messrs. W. and J. S. Sparrow have been permanently closed, owing, it is said, to low prices and severe competition. Trade is very bad throughout the whole of the district.

**THREATENED STRIKE IN THE COTTON TRADE.**—There is great dissatisfaction at several mills at Bolton, owing to the bad material supplied to the spinners and the consequent low wages. At one place notice has already been tendered, and it is expected others will follow unless some arrangement is made.

**CLOSING IRONWORKS IN WALES.**—The iron and steel works at Gowerton, belonging to Messrs. Wright, Butler, & Co., were closed on Tuesday and all the workmen paid off in consequence of the continued depression in trade. The ironworks of the New British Iron Company at Ruabon are also permanently closed. Several hundred workmen are thrown out of employment by these stoppages.

**EXTENSIVE DISCHARGE OF WORKMEN AT SHEERNESS.**—An Admiralty Order was received at Sheerness Dockyard on Saturday morning directing an extensive discharge of men employed in the yard craft department. The Admiralty consider the vessels attached to the various dockyards are over-manned compared with steamers in the mercantile marine, and have directed that their crews be reduced by one-fourth, which will effect a saving of over £7000 per annum.

**AMALGAMATION.**—It is with very great pleasure I learn that a fusion has taken place of the Shaw Cord and Blowing Room Association with the Oldham Province. Strained relations have for some time existed between the two associations, arising out of misunderstanding during the late strike; since which time the Shaw association resolved itself into a thoroughly independent organisation. It has been admirably managed, and at the present time has 500 members. Negotiations have been going on, and the Oldham society has on two occasions sent deputations to confer with the committee of the Shaw association. The gratifying result has been that old scores have been wiped off, and at a large meeting held last week at Crompton the proposal for amalgamation was adopted almost unanimously.

**ANOTHER "SELF-HELP" COTTON SPINNING COMPANY.**—Another co-operative company has been started in Burnley. This makes the fourth got together during the last two years. All the weavers and others employed must either be shareholders to commence with, or become so soon after starting, on terms similar to which people become members of distributive co-operative stores. This is a form of self-help infinitely better than the mean, selfish struggle to "get on" associated with the names of Samuel Smiles, Samuel Smith, Iago, and other eminent individualists. It is in this direction of self-employment that the workers should devote all their energies, preparing the way for the Social Revolution, which will once for all get rid of the odious relationship of master and servant, to replace it with the only one consistent with human dignity—that of citizens of a Co-operative Commonwealth.

**WALSALL DISTRICT IRONWORKERS.**—On Saturday night a largely attended meeting of ironworkers belonging to the Walsall district was held at the Priory Hotel, Mr. Ray presiding. Mr. Kirkham proposed, "That this meeting of the Walsall district is of opinion that the time has arrived for a reconsideration of the wages with a view to an advance and hereby instructs its district representative on the Board to give the requisite notice." He urged that wages should be fixed by the selling price of iron free of deductions. The resolution was carried unanimously, as was another appointing Mr. Jno. Williams, of Pelsall, as the representative of the district. Mr. E. Trow delivered a stirring speech, condemning both Liberals and Tories and urging the men to back up their representatives with a powerful organisation, so that they might be the more able to meet the employers and make the Board a reality and not a sham as at present. A unanimous vote of confidence in Mr. Trow was passed. Mr. Capper afterwards addressed the meeting.

**UNION AGAINST UNION.**—The necessity for federation is once more shown by what is just now taking place in Blackburn in the engineering trade. Until a week or two ago a strike had been going on amongst the mechanics of a firm in Blackburn for an advance of 2s. per week. Recently the firm offered to pay 1s. per week to commence with, and the other some time in June. This arrangement was accepted by the Steam-Engine Makers' Society, and its members resumed work. The Association of Amalgamated Engineers have, however, a number of members employed at the firm, and as the

executive were not consulted on the terms of settlement, they have sent down word that their members must come out until the 2s. are granted. This the men have done. Now, both the societies are connected with the same business, and the members work side by side in almost every workshop. It is therefore very regrettable to find them pulling different ways. This is a very serious hindrance to the cause of labour emancipation, and it is to be hoped that those who have the cause at heart will strive to bring about an understanding quickly. United we stand. Divided we fall.

**THE LOCKOUT IN THE NORWICH SHOE TRADE.**—At a meeting of the men locked out by Messrs. Haldenstein & Sons, a resolution was passed "That we the riveters and finishers and citizens of Norwich deplore the action taken by Messrs. Haldenstein & Sons at this critical season of the year, and desire a settlement by arbitration." Whilst, under the circumstances, supporting the resolution, E. Burgess and C. W. Mowbray forcibly pointed out the unsatisfactory action of Boards of Arbitration in securing favourable terms for the workmen. It is foolish of the workers to trust to the generosity of the masters or to find fault with their action. The relation of Labour and Capital is that of war, and till the workers combine to conquer their rights, they will have to submit to whatever terms are imposed upon them. I hear that another firm, that of Messrs. Holblacks Brothers, have taken advantage of the fact that a large proportion of their men are non-unionists, to effect a reduction in prices. My informant calls the men "poor fellows." I agree with him; they are indeed very "poor fellows" if they have not brains and brotherhood enough to support their trade society.

**RAILWAY EMPLOYEES AND THEIR HOURS OF DUTY.**—Copies have been issued of a return, moved for in the House of Lords by Earl Delawarr, giving a number of statistics in connection with railway servants who were, during the months of July 1886, and January 1887, on duty at the railways of the United Kingdom for more than 12 hours at a time, or who, after being on duty more than 12 hours, were allowed to resume work with less than eight hours' rest. The following companies employed drivers and firemen for eighteen hours and upwards: Eastern and Midlands, 90 occasions; Furness Railway, 101; Great Eastern, 3,102; Great Northern, 2,271; Great Western, 1,107; London and North Western, 1,002; London and South Western, nil; London, Brighton, and South Coast, 597; London, Chatham, and Dover, 440 (in this case there are only 633 such servants employed altogether by the company); Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire, 983; Metropolitan Railway, nil; Metropolitan District Railway, nil; Midland Railway Company, 2,481; North Eastern, 1,876; North London Railway, 14; Caledonian, 723; and the North British Railway, 1,487. A large number of the men have also been employed between 12 and 18 hours; and the occasions on which signalmen have been employed for 18 hours and upwards are far too numerous to be compatible with the public safety.

**THE PEOPLE'S BREAD COMPANY.**—The inevitable tendency of the present industrial system to crush out the small capitalists and middleman on the one hand and to displace human by machine-labour on the other, although apparently denied by Mr. Bradlaugh in his debate with our comrade, Bax in the pages of the *Commonweal* last July, is pretty evident to ordinary mortals who study the signs of the times. One of the latest manifestations of the system of "big fish eat little fish" is the formation of "The People's Bread Company, Limited," which swallows up 43 old-established bakers' businesses and a flour mill. The promoters estimate that by the economy in administration and by the use of machinery the profits of the company will admit of dividends of from 20 to 30 per cent. on the capital. We see here again an instance of the one-sided co-operation upon which capitalism is based. The socialisation of labour produces enormous wealth, but the people as a whole do not participate in the advantages accruing. On the contrary, as a rule big dividends and low wages go together. Nor do the consumers benefit, or but slightly if at all, by any cheapening of the products by so-called "People's" companies, which are floated and controlled by dividend-sharks and the usual crowd of highly-paid directors, secretaries, brokers, solicitors, etc. As showing the remunerative character of bread companies, the prospectus before me states that the last dividend paid by the Bred Bread Company amounts to 22½ per cent., and that the Bristol Bread Company pays 35 per cent. per annum. Meanwhile the operative bakers are among the worst paid, over-worked, and badly treated of the working classes. I venture, therefore, to think, in spite of Mr. Bradlaugh, that they have some claim to share in the profits they have created, both in the form of increased leisure and higher remuneration. In other words, that the comfort and well-being of the workers and the satisfaction of the needs of the community must not be sacrificed in order to make big dividends for a comparatively small minority of the people.

**MAGISTRATES AND CLEANING DURING MEAL HOURS.**—Last week referred to the crusade being carried on by the Lancashire factory inspectors against the practice of cribbing time, and cited an instance of an employé being fined for allowing two young persons to clean the machinery during meal hours. It seems to be a common dodge for employers to shirk responsibility by putting up bogus notices in the mills, and then when the inspector brings a case, the magistrates (who are frequently interested in cases they have to adjudicate upon) tell him that he should have summoned the spinner instead of the employer. The *Cotton Factory Times* in an article on the subject, says: "Now, what does such advice mean? It means that the operative spinner must be held responsible for that which his employer compels him to do, or to leave his employment, and thus give a wrong of the thing. Employers in the cotton trade know, or ought to know, that it is an utter impossibility for the operative spinners to do all the requisite cleaning and oiling of the machinery during the meal hour. They also know that the spinners are not allowed to stop their mules during engine hours for the purposes named, except in special cases, and they are also aware that the spinners are required to run the mules ever, and that they can to enable them to get out the requisite number of hanks which they require off the mules. Knowing these facts, they wink at the practices which have to be resorted to in order that their desires may be gratified, and to make it appear that they don't countenance boys, girls, and women working in the meal hours, they put up notices prohibiting them from performing any labour in the mills during meal times, and they pretend to hold the overlookers in the various departments responsible for the due observance of the Acts by those employed under them. They declare that such notices are mere shams, and are only intended to throw dust in the eyes of the inspectors. Both employers, managers, and overlookers are fully aware that the boys, girls, and women are compelled to do prohibited work during meal hours, and there is not a magistrate who is a cotton spinner, but insists upon such work being done. It tells of the magistrates who recommended the inspector to summon the operative spinners, and not the employers, we are informed the little piece are compelled to

work, and that this is done with the knowledge and assent of the employers and their managers. It is all moonshine for magistrates to air their innocence of the practices which they pretend to condemn when on the bench, and for a magistrate to declare that employers have as much difficulty as an inspector in trying to put a stop to infringements of the Act is more than we are prepared to accept as genuine, and we rather incline to think that the only anxiety which troubles employers is the anxiety how to prevent the inspector from detecting them in the act of evading the law. We hope the inspectors in Lancashire will not be deterred in the least from the active path of duty which they have pursued during the past year, notwithstanding the discouragement which they so often receive from magistrates who are employers of labour. Reports from all quarters testify to the wonderful improvement effected in the carrying out of the Act, in comparison to what obtained a few years ago." T. BINNING.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

BELGIUM.

The Brussels Federation of the *Parti ouvrier* has instructed their Committee of Legislation to publish a pamphlet on the question of *Minimum Wages* which is now very anxiously discussed among all the Belgian working-men's organisations. The work is nearly done, and will consist of one hundred pages, at the price of twopence. The contents will be: Introduction; history of the question; intervention of public authorities in economical matters; foreign competition; law of offer and demand; the wages and the labour prices; self-help; minimum wages at St. Josse, St. Gilles, Molenbeek, and Brussels.

On the 18th inst. a *rationalistic* feast was offered at Brussels to the children who do not wish to follow the mummeries of the Catholic Church. The *fête* was organised by the Section of Socialist women, and consisted, among other items, in refreshments being offered to the young lads and young girls; in an extraordinary meeting at the *Maison du Peuple* (the People's House), where V. Arnould, the chairman of the Free Thought Society of Brussels, lectured on a subject fitted to the circumstances; and lastly in the presentation of diplomas to all those young people who have now promised to combat against all religious superstition and never to take part themselves in any ceremony whatever of a religious character.

On the 15th of May the Belgian organ of the Working-men's Party, *L'Avant Garde* (the Vanguard) will be transformed into a monthly review, to be entitled, "*Avant-Garde*, monthly review of international Socialism." Unlike the paper, which was of more polemical nature, this review intends to deal in an exhaustive manner with all the scientific questions of contemporary Socialism, the mere local and actual forthcomings in Socialistic life being left to be treated in the daily organ of the Working-men's Party, *Le Peuple* (the People) which appears at Brussels.

HOLLAND.

Comrade Domela Nieuwenhuis has been elected member of the Dutch Parliament for the district of Schoterland (province of Friesland) by 1167 suffrages, the numbers of the voters being 2203. The Dutch Parliament will now be composed of 1 Socialist, 15 Liberals, and 54 Catholic or Protestant reactionaries. In a few lines which appear in the last issue of *Recht voor Allen* (Justice to All), Domela Nieuwenhuis declares frankly that it will be impossible for him to do anything of practical use for the cause of Socialism in that Dutch Parliament composed of one Socialist and 99 reactionaries of all shades. But one thing at least he will do, so he says, and that is to protest on all possible occasions against arbitrary ruling and injustice. "My real place," he finally adds, "will always continue to be in the very ranks of the masses, and not at all in the files of these gentlemen who do not in the least represent the people of Holland." Now that our comrade has got a seat in that Dutch law-shop, we wish him to protest so loudly that all Europe shall hear it, and so he may do some good, although we must say our hopes are not very sanguine. V. D.

SPAIN.

NAVABRE.—The distress is great among the working population of this province, and we hear of the functionaries of the various parishes, while seeking somewhat to alleviate the hunger of some of the parishioners by doing out daily rations of bread and soup, at the same time informing them that some small sum must be paid for these rations in the autumn. This arrangement, we suppose, is to spare the feelings of the poor folk, for it is well known that indiscriminate charity is "demoralising and degrading." The delicacy of these local functionaries is most praiseworthy. We recommend them to the notice of our British C. O. S.

TARAGONA.—The late disturbances in this town have been the outcome of the long season of deprivation and hunger endured too long in silence by the working class. Even now, during the manifestations of distress, a local journal praises the manifestants for their "respect of private property" during the agitation. What, then! Do the army of the starved come out of their holes to manifest their submission and weakness, rather than their strength? that the slave-owners may laugh and say, "See these folk, they are starving, and yet so submissive to tradition and our will that they dare not harm us or ours! Much we have to fear from them, in truth!" The province of Oviedo has also passed a terrible winter. M. M.

PORTUGAL.

The Portuguese workingmen's movement has in the last ten years lost much of its former straightforward Socialist character. The party leaders, to get influence in politics, have made compromises with the Republican party, and led the movement astray by devoting their forces to the organisation of co-operative experiments. Some of these last have been of a peculiar character, for it is said that in the Co-operativa Industrial Social of Lisbon the workers were forced to strike, etc. At the same time the Portuguese people is not devoid of revolutionary spirit; revolts against overtaxation, etc., are frequent. The latest occurred at Cantanhede, and just now the government is doing its best to stir the people up; for a law has been passed enacting that every worker must take out a licence allowing him to work or else he will be fined or imprisoned. Meetings of protest against this unpopular measure are being held at Lisbon, Porto, etc. The Socialist press of Portugal consisted until lately of some lukewarm Socialist organs inclining to mere Radicalism; only one or two years ago more advanced papers, *A Gloriosa*, and its successor *O Revoltado* of Lisbon, began to appear, but have since died. Since January 15th, 1888, however, a frankly Communist-

Anarchist paper, *A Revolução Social* is edited by the group of Porto, in which numerous translations of French articles on anarchist principles, a long record of the Chicago events besides local notes and polemics appear.

Just now the young Anarchist party is working under great difficulties caused by the following events. A capitalist journalist, of Lisbon, Mr. Pinheiro Chagas, who had always insulted Socialism, published on January 25th an article in which he exulted over the cowardly attack made at Havre on Louise Michel, and glorified her assaulter. Enraged by this, a Lisbon Anarchist, Manoel Joaquim Pinto, fired two shots at and wounded him. This act of an individual, done at his own risk, provoked by the cowardly insults of Chagas, was of course the signal for a raging of the bourgeois press against the whole Anarchist party and their paper. Several other comrades were arrested, and the authorities would evidently like to imitate Chicago.

SWEDEN.

The prosecutions of Socialists have begun in this country also. Palm, who has for some years been the chief propagandist in Sweden, was lately imprisoned some months, and now Danielson, the editor of the Socialist paper of Southern Sweden, the *Arbetet* (Labour) of Malmo, is sentenced to twelve months, because he had dared to criticise the scandalous action of the same court of justice which condemned him, in discharging the director of a prison who had stolen 5000 kr. from the result of the labour of the prisoners. Probably they intended to cut the life of the paper by this; it is, however, announced that *Arbetet*, hitherto weekly, will be issued thrice a-week from April 1st. There are now three other Social-Democratic papers in Sweden—viz., *Social-demokraten* (Stockholm), *Folkets Röst* (Voice of the People: Göteborg since 1887), and *Proletären* (Norrköping, since 1888). The 18th of March was celebrated this year the first time in Sweden by a public meeting in Stockholm. Z. Z.

THE NEW LABOUR PROBLEM.

THE problem of competition with "Chinese cheap labour" is about to be sprung upon the people of the British Islands in a way that seems to be eminently practical, and may prove even more vexatious than the form in which it has been presented on the Pacific Coast of the United States. It is reported that an association of English capitalists is in process of formation, if not already organised, for the purpose of establishing manufactures on a large scale in China, at or near Hong Kong. It is the intention to produce textile fabrics and metallic goods into which labour enters as the chief element of cost, so as to permit the importation of raw material, if need be, and still allow the enjoyment of a great advantage in competing with the products of Western Europe both in their home and in foreign markets. It is well known that the price of labour in China is exceedingly low, even as compared with those countries in Europe where it is the cheapest. A single cent is sufficient compensation for a day's labour in the interior of the Flowery Kingdom, and a few cents per head will hire all the labour that may be needed on the sea-coast in that country of perfect "protection" against foreign commerce, abundant population, and cheap living. Then the ingenuity of the Chinese in working to a pattern is notorious. They are said to excel the ordinary Caucasian workman in that respect, though incapable of originating new processes and slow at any kind of labour which is not strictly the following of a copy.

It is claimed that from the new vantage ground the proprietors of these factories will be able to make an immense profit though offering their goods at prices which defy British competition abroad and underselling the English manufacturer at his own doors. If this be found possible on a moderate scale at first, there need be no doubt as to its indefinite extension within the next few years. The capital of other countries will gravitate towards the place where it can be employed to the best advantage, and the labour which it now keeps busy will be obliged to follow the same road or submit to a radical reduction in the wage scale at home. The people of the old country are thus brought face to face with the question in a way that both trades' unions and combinations of employers will be alike unable to meet successfully. They may, perhaps, obtain protection from home invasion by these Chinese products by resorting to means already in force on the Continent of Europe, but this would be a reversal of the free-trade policy of more than forty years' standing under which they have attained a prominence and power that could never have been achieved by force of arms. And this would not conserve to them their foreign markets, the supplying of which has furnished the money required to buy nearly half the food of the nation from abroad. It is difficult to say what will be the outcome of these new conditions, but it can scarcely be other than a complete revolution in industrial processes, social and class gradations, and form of government.—*The Chicago Tribune.*

COMMUNE CELEBRATION FUND.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
Collected at Store St. Hall	£7 1 2	Hire of Store Street Hall	£4 4 0
Jones	0 1 0	Ribbons for Stewards	0 3 0
G.	0 0 6	200 Posters	0 12 0
Fuller	0 0 6	Handbills	0 10 0
Medical Student	0 2 6	Platform Tickets	0 0 9
P. W.	0 2 0	Postage, Stationery, etc.	1 0 0
C. J. F.	0 2 0	Hallkeeper, fares, etc.	0 5 0
H. R.	0 2 6	Balance	1 6 8
R. Molero	0 5 0		
R. Unwin	0 1 0		
F. W. Broderick	0 2 0		
Clerkenwell Branch S.D.F.	0 1 3		
	£8 1 6		£8 1 5

(Signed) G. CLIFTON, Hon. Treasurer.  
H. A. BARKER, Hon. Sec.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

W. B., 6d. "A long lane without no turning," 2s. F. W. Broderick, 5s. C. J. F., 2s. 6d. K. F., 1s. Langley, 2s. P. W., 6d. Oxford Branch, 2s.



OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

**London Members.**—The London Members' Meeting will, owing to Easter Holidays, be held on Monday April 9th. Council also adjourned to same date.

#### Annual Conference.

The Fourth Annual Conference of the Socialist League will be held at 13 Farringdon Road, on Whit Sunday, May 20. The attention of Branches is particularly referred to (1) Rule V. on the subject of the annual conference, pp. 3 and 4 of Constitution and Rules; and (2) that all branches wishing to be represented at the Conference must pay their subscription up to the 31st March by May 1st.

#### REPORTS.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Wednesday, March 21, W. H. Utley lectured on "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." Sunday, March 25, A. K. Donald on "Punishment and Prevention of Crime." Brisk discussions.—B.

**FULHAM.**—Sunday morning, Catterson Smith spoke at Walham Green. Fair sale of *Commonweal*. In evening, Day (of the Acton branch) spoke in rooms on "Socialism, its Aims and Methods." Fair audience considering weather; several questions asked and answered.—S. B. G.

**BRADFORD.**—Mitchell lectured on 25th inst. at Debating Club in Chrontha Street on "Socialism v. Commercialism." Opposition easily disposed of. We intend having a reunion of Leeds and Bradford members on Easter Monday.—P. B.

**GLANGOW.**—On Saturday, Glasier, Pollock, and Downie held an outdoor meeting on Jail Square; and on Sunday, notwithstanding the severity of the snow-storm, 500 people came to a meeting in Waterloo Hall to hear William Morris lecture on "Art and Industry in the 14th Century." A resolution put from the platform, expressing the necessity for developing the communal spirit of the times, the overthrow of our present society and the realisation of a Socialist system, was carried unanimously.—S. D.

**NORWICH.**—Saturday last, branch members attended a meeting of the lock-out men in the boot trade, addressed by Mowbray. Sunday morning no meeting at Ber Street owing to wet; in afternoon good meeting in Market Place, addressed by Mowbray; no meeting in Gordon Hall owing to it being let that evening for another purpose. We held an outdoor meeting instead in the Market Place, Mowbray spoke on Socialism to a good audience, and was assisted by another branch comrade. Fair sale of *Commonweal*.

**WALSALL.**—Last Monday, Sanders opened a debate at our meeting-room on "Socialism: Political, Christian, and Spiritual," in answer to some recent remarks of a Town Councillor. Good discussion followed, and debate was adjourned until Monday next. On Saturday a large audience was addressed by Sanders in the open-air, and a good impression made. Fair sale of literature.—J. T. D.

**THE STRIKE FUND.**—The first of a series of weekly entertainments took place last Saturday evening. Notwithstanding the stormy weather, a very enjoyable evening was passed by the small audience who had the courage to come through a drenching rain. Don't forget next Saturday evening.

**EDINBURGH.**—On 22nd, Rev. John Glasse lectured on "The Relation of Socialism to Co-operation," and treated the subject from the point of view of a sound, robust Socialist, and did not hesitate to say plainly wherein co-operation is wanting. On 25th, Bain lectured on "Our Social Condition." Animated discussion the causes of trade depression. On 26th, in the Trades' Hall, comrade Morris had a fairly large and very appreciative audience, which received him with rounds of applause. He gave a delightful sketch of life as it should and might be; and though he asked his hearers to hold no one but himself responsible for his "dream" of the Society of the future, it was evident that not only the Socialists but many others were carried away by the beauty of that ideal of his, and were eager to adopt it and defend it as their own.—J. H. S.

#### LECTURE DIARY.

##### LONDON.

**Acton.**—17 High Street, Acton, W. (adjoining Purnell's Dining Rooms). Sunday at 8 p.m.

**Bloomsbury.**—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road. Thursday March 29, at 8.30, adjourned members' business meeting.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7. Sunday April 1st, at 8.30, Free Concert by Wm. Blundell and Friends.

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sunday at 8.

**Hackney.**—28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Road, Hackney Wick.

**Hammer-smith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday April 1st, at 8. Miss E. Warlow, "The

Crofter Question." St. John Burns (S. D.F.), "Six Weeks in Pentonville." 15th. William Morris.

**Hoxton (L. E. L.).**—New premises, 1 Hoxton Square. C. J. Young, 8 Dunloe St., Hackney Rd., Secretary.

**Mitcham.**—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open Saturday, Sunday, and Monday evenings from 7.30 till 11. W. E. Eden, 12 Falnerston Road, Wimbledon, Secretary.

**Mile-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road. Business Meeting every Thursday at 9 p.m. Debating Class for members after Business Meeting.

#### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen (Scottish Section).**—Sunday night meetings in Baker Street Hall, at 6. Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St. Nicholas Street.

**Birmingham.**—Meetings at Summer Row Coffee House every Saturday evening at 8.

**Bradford.**—Morris's Dining Rooms, 114 City Road. Wednesdays, at 8.

**Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).**—Meeting every Tuesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. H. M'Cluskey, Millar Street, Secy.

**Cowdenbeath (Scot. Sec.).**—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec

**Dublin.**—Saturday Club, Central Lecture Hall, 12 Westmorland Street.

**Dundee (Scot. Sect.).**—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Every Thursday at 8, class for study of Marx's 'Capital.'

**Galashiels (Scot. Sect.).**—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., sec.

**Gallatoun and Dysart (Scottish Section: Fife).**—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatoun Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosalyn St.

**Glasgow.**—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily.

**Leeds.**—Lady Lane. Open every evening. Business meeting Fridays at 8. Address all communications to T. Paylor, 11 Sheldon Street, Holbeck, Leeds.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8.

**Lochgelly (Scottish Section: Fife).**—Secs. (*pro tem.*), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.

**Norwich.**—Good Friday—Market Place at 3. On Sunday will be held the second anniversary meetings of this Branch as follows:

11 —St. Faith's—comrade Mowbray.

11.45—Ber St. Fountain—Mark Manly, of London.

3 —Market Place—Mark Manly and Mowbray.

7 —Agricultural Hall Plain—Mowbray.

8 —Gordon Hall—lecture by Mark Manly.

Meetings will also be held on Monday being Bank Holiday. Tues. at 8.30, Members meeting. Wednesday at 8.30, Ways and Means Committee. Thursday at 8, Band practice. Friday at 8.30, Literary Committee. Saturday, open from 8 till 10.30.

**Nottingham.**—Club and Reading Rooms, 1 Tokenhouse Yard, Bridlesmith Gate, open every evening. Lectures and Discussions every Sunday.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

**West Calder (Scottish Section).**—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.

#### OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

##### LONDON—Sunday 1.

11 ...Acton—the Steyne ..... Acton Branch

11 ...Turnham Green—Front Common... Ham'smith

11.30...Hoxton Church, Fitchard St. .... Nicol

11.30...Merton—Hydons Road..... The Branch

11.30...Regent's Park ..... Parker

11.30...St. Pancras Arches ..... Bloomsbury Branch

11.30...Walham Green ..... Fulham Branch

3.30...Hyde Park ..... Mainwaring and others

7 ...Acton—Yrory ..... Acton Branch

**East-end Socialist Club.**—A Grand Vocal and Instrumental Concert will be given in Hall of League, at 8 p.m., on Easter Monday, April 2nd, in aid of funds of East-end Club.

**The Strike Fund.**—Entertainments will be given on Saturday evenings in the Hall of the League, at 8 p.m., in aid of the above Fund. Friends wishing to assist with songs, recitations, instrumental music, etc., should at once communicate with W. B. Parker, at office of League. Second Entertainment, March 31.

**SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.**—Meeting at *Commonweal* Office, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday April 1st, at 3.30 p.m.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 4.—No. 117.

SATURDAY, APRIL 7, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON NEWS.

Mr. Ritchie's Local Government Bill is accepted everywhere as a progressive measure, and surprise is often expressed that such a measure should come from a Tory government. It is hardly worth while for us to go into its details, especially since it is more than possible that, whatever Mr. Ritchie's intentions may be, the Government generally does not intend that it shall pass intact. Meanwhile the putting forward by the Tories of a measure which would have been thought bold by the Liberals, points to that confusion of parties amongst our governing classes which is the sure forerunner of the emergence of the great popular party—Socialism, as the only real opposition to the sham Toryism and sham Liberalism that are now really but one party, the Obstructionists.

It must also be said that since undoubtedly this Bill is intended as a dishing measure and a bid for the popular vote at the next election, this betokens that the feeling for decentralisation, which has made the present form of agitation for Home Rule possible, is on the increase. It was understood by the Tories to be a certain bait, which it would not have been if the feeling in favour of decentralisation were not strong. Doubtless they also think it a *safe* measure; let us hope that it will turn out not to be quite so safe, and that it will be used for other purposes than electioneering.

Great news! An amnesty proclaimed in Berlin as the first-fruits of the new Kaiser's accession. "It chiefly applies to political offences," says the press; "but is not extended to persons sentenced under the Socialist Laws, nor to those imprisoned for high treason." To whom is it extended then in the name of patience? and how many first-class carriages would the non-Socialist political offenders fill? The Socialists, who are no doubt not at all surprised at this act of mercy, must feel themselves much honoured by the exception. Well, well! so ends any hope that may have been founded on the Liberal Kaiser—poor devil!

The consistent supporter of coercion in England, the *Daily News*, in reviewing the prospects for the hatching of that bad egg, the Liberal Party, says that "when Parliament met on the 9th February the Liberal cause had been seriously compromised by the follies of Trafalgar Square." This is an Easter Monday paragraph, and no doubt in such holiday times the production of a paper has to depend on at least its *second-rate* writers, and I think we may fairly suppose that the writer in question has as good a right to give us his views about folly as a blind man has about blindness, or a lame man about lameness.

Yet one must agree with the words of our coercionist booby, if not with his meaning. Balaam's ass has spoken, and spoken truth too; the Liberal cause has been seriously compromised by the follies of Trafalgar Square. Such a folly as that committed by Mr. Gladstone and his followers has rarely been met with, when they fell into the Tory trap by not resisting coercion in England while they were going about bawling over the horrors of coercion in Ireland. Trafalgar Square has been the touch-stone of their genuineness, and has found them out, and they now stand proclaimed as mere politicians and humbugs, who have taken up the Irish question because Mr. Parnell forced their hand by making his party vote against them in 1885. They will find out their mistake at the next election and bitterly regret "The Follies of Trafalgar Square," as given for the first time by the G. O. M. and his world-renowned company.

W. M.

## THE SUPREMACY OF THE FINANCIAL ARISTOCRACY.

THE lords of usury rule supreme throughout the world. They rule supreme in the councils of the nations, and hold in bondage the wealth-producing millions. They direct and control the press of the world, and the pulpit is everywhere their humble servant. Schomburg tells us that in the king are centred all the riches, and power, and wisdom of the nation, and we are assured that the gods of finance are the worlds benefactors, without whose beneficent presence the toiling millions would perish.

We have seen some little of the doings of the financial aristocracy in connection with the so-called English national debt, and the claim they have on the labour of the English workers. But their power is becoming equally great in all the States of Europe; whatever the form of government, the usurer is there. He is a kind of omnipresent vampire—he is here, he is there, he is everywhere—a ubiquitous monster living on the vitals of the people.

If we turn to France we find the public debt increased from £221,000,000 in 1852 to £911,000,000 in 1882, with an annual charge of over £39,000,000. This was the outcome of the Imperialism of Napoleon and the Franco-German war. What a rich field here for the gods of finance! We must remember, too, that France is far less rich than England, the annual income being nearly £10 per head less in France than in England. If we turn to Germany, a still poorer country, its public debt rose from £82,000,000 in 1852 to £271,000,000 in 1882, the annual income of Germany being only about half what it is in England per head of her population, viz., £18 7s. 6d. per head to £35 2s. 6d. in the United Kingdom. If we turn to Austria-Hungary, the case is even worse. In the thirty years ending 1882, her debt rose from £118,000,000 to £458,000,000, with an annual charge of over £20,000,000. And in Austria-Hungary the national income is more than £2 per head less than in Germany. If we go to Italy the case is worse still. There, with a national income of only £12 per head per annum, her debt has gone up from £68,000,000 in 1852 to £353,000,000 in 1882. But if we go to the icy regions of St. Petersburg, the case is even worse. There we find the debt rose from £95,000,000 in 1852 to £553,000,000 in 1882; and the national annual income of Russia is only equal to £9 9s. per head of the population. And the debts of all these States are increasing from year to year, and the taxation of the several States increases in the same proportion.

We have heard a great deal of late of the loss the world has sustained by the death of the old Imperial hypocrite of Germany. We have been told of the glories of his reign, and its immense benefits to the whole of Europe. But from the date of his accession to the throne of Prussia to 1887, the revenues of the European States had been raised from £390,000,000 to £773,000,000, while the public debts of these States had increased from £2,626,000,000 to £4,862,000,000. The result of the warlike policy he at once inaugurated and the imperial spirit of jingoism he and his man of blood and iron created, is that Europe to-day is one vast military camp, the peace establishments having over four millions of men under arms, and in case of a general war nearly seventeen millions of men would be placed under arms. What a commentary on the glorious reign of the late "peace-loving" Emperor!

But we have to look at the gods of finance in other directions as well as in connection with the public debts of the European States. If we go to the United States of America the same system prevails. There the Government borrowed one thousand three hundred million dollars. Up to 1880 it paid in interest two thousand seven hundred and eighty million dollars, in principal one thousand two hundred millions, and then owed one thousand eight hundred millions. In the large sums she borrowed from European capitalists she not only gave them credit for £100 for every £40 received, but agreed to pay them in a gold currency. Since 1880 more than 800,000,000 dollars more have been paid as principal and interest. It is true the Government has reduced the debt from 2,844,000,000 dollars to about a third, but the enormous sums paid and that will be paid before the whole debt is cleared off is a disgrace alike to the Government and people where manhood suffrage exists.

Let us see these gold kings in the capacity of bankers, and the powers they possess to plunder the people.

The Bank of England so called, has the power to issue £16,200,000 in notes without an ounce of gold as security. The shareholders are

guaranteed not less than 10 per cent. per annum, but as much more as they can get. In January, 1876, at a meeting of the Statistical Society, London, at which almost all the leading bankers were present, Mr. R. Baxter read a paper on the effects of the rate of interest, in which he stated that by raising the rate one per cent., and maintaining that increased rate for twelve months, it increased the profits of the bankers eight millions sterling. Now, here is a grand field for plunder. But it has been shown over and over again that while the bankers would thus increase their profits to the extent of eight millions a-year, they would cripple the trade of the country to the extent of fifty millions a-year. The Government also plays into the hands of the Bank of England every year. It borrows from the Bank perhaps two or three millions in the year, for which it gives as security exchequer bonds. The bank lends these out at interest, but the notes it gives the Government do not bear interest. The security for the Government bonds is the revenue of the whole country, while the security for the notes of the bank is only the share capital of the company. Again, if at any time the Bank cannot meet its notes, the Government steps in and authorises the Bank to suspend cash payments, thus protecting the bank against its creditors. This has happened many times.

During the Civil War in America the banks lent the Government 197,780,000 dollars, for which they received 410,000,000 dollars in Government bonds. The notes of the banks cost them nothing but the paper and printing, while the government bonds bore 6 per cent. interest, amounting to 24,600,000 dollars per annum. The banks also got the privilege of charging 7 per cent. on their own issues, amounting to 350,000,000 dollars, bringing them another 31,500,000 dollars. It also secured them a profit of 4½ per cent. on 600,000,000 dollars as deposits, or 27,000,000 more. The banks thus got 83,100,000 dollars per annum because they lent the government 197,780,000 in notes, which, at 6 per cent., would have only brought them 11,866,800 dollars, being additional profit to the amount of 71,233,200 annually. Here was plunder with a vengeance; and the same thing goes on in all the States of the European Continent, nay, throughout the civilised world.

The power of the lords of finance is far greater now than it was in 1848. Yet, even at that time, such was the power of the financial aristocracy that they killed the revolution of France, which in turn destroyed the hopes of all the revolutionary parties on the Continent. Nor will any revolutionary movement ever succeed in any country, whether in Europe or America, that does not at once and for ever destroy the supremacy of gold with the present private banking system, on which the power and very existence of the present capitalistic system depend.

How, it may be asked, does the financial aristocracy thus become master of the situation, master of both governments and peoples. By compelling them to adopt more or less a gold standard, in which the interest shall be paid, if need be. England had to do so in 1823, which produced the terrible panic of 1824-25, and which, by the contraction of the currency, virtually doubled the debts of the country. Almost all the European States have had to do so, and all of them at immense sacrifices. America had to do so in 1873; in four years wages were reduced nearly 40 per cent, and in 1878-79 over two millions of workers were out of work as the natural and inevitable result of the contraction of the currency.

Look at the position to-day of the leading countries. France is compelled to keep a stock of gold at from £190,000,000 to £200,000,000. The United Kingdom about £120,000,000 to £130,000,000; Germany about £70,000,000; while Russia with £22,000,000, Austria with £10,000,000, and Italy with £15,000,000, are struggling on in the best way they can to increase their stock of gold to give confidence to the bondholders. In 1873 America had but £29,000,000 in gold, but she had to bring it up to over £100,000,000 at the pleasure of her creditors. In all the States of Europe and America the gold-mongers rule supreme.

The conditions of society to-day everywhere depend on the plunder of the people; and from the terrible but inevitable effects of that plunder, the Revolution alone can free the workers.

J. SKETCHLEY.

The 18th March has been celebrated in all the centres of the Socialist and labour parties of Italy by meetings and speech-makings, besides the lighter and less weighty pleasures of "social evenings," "teas" and "banquets." At Rome on the morning of the 18th, numerous scraps and ribbons red and black were found attached to the telegraph posts and wires.

LONDON PAUPERS.—The weekly return of metropolitan pauperism shows that the total number of paupers relieved in the third week of last month was 110,698, of whom 60,733 were indoor and 49,965 outdoor paupers. The total number relieved shows an increase of 6,984 over the corresponding week of last year, 7,165 over 1886, and 6,013 over 1885. The total number of vagrants relieved on the last day of the week was 1,323, of whom 1,162 were men, 148 women, and 13 children under sixteen.

WHERE PROFITS GO.—"Who is making the money?" That is what the people are asking who have to foot the bills. "How much is coal worth?" is asked of the superintendent of the mines. "Two dollars and a quarter a ton." "How much is coal worth?" is a question put to the great mining and transportation companies at their palatial office in New York city. "Five dollars a ton." "How much is coal worth?" rings in the ears of the retail dealer along the river front. "Seven dollars and a half a ton." "How much is coal worth?" asks the housewife of a grocer. "Thirty cents a bushel, ma'am." That is nine dollars a ton. "How much is coal worth?" comes from a widow to the peddler in the street. "Twelve cents a scuttle, or eight cents a pail ma'am." That is twelve dollars a ton.—*Beaumont Free Speech.*

## SOCIALISM MILITANT IN SCOTLAND.

SINCE a year may make a good deal of difference in the position of a party, even when it is being carried on by quiet propaganda, I give a brief account of my lecturing tour in Scotland and my impressions of the position of Socialism there. On the 21st March I lectured at Kilmarnock, a not very important town on the edge of the mining district. The chief industry in the town itself is that of the railway works—a tolerably good indication, by the way, of labour being cheap in the neighbourhood; accordingly I was informed that the iron-miners in the neighbourhood are earning about nine shillings a-week working four days a-week, and that the coal-miners in the neighbourhood are not much better off. I spoke in the church of Mr. Forrest, my inviter. The audience was fair as to numbers; they were not demonstrative, and it was found impossible to get them to ask any questions; they were, however, very attentive, and showed their interest in the subject by buying over 10s. worth of literature. A large proportion of the audience seemed to me to be of the middle-classes. A branch of the Scottish Land and Labour League has just been formed here, but I was told that the town was hard to move.

The following Friday produced a failure. Our Edinburgh comrades had taken a large hall for my lecture in Leith (not being able to get a smaller one), but only five persons turned up besides the branch, who showed up well; so the money was returned and we gave it up. However, seeing plenty of people hanging about in the street as we went homeward rather sadly, we started an open-air meeting, and got together upwards of 200 persons, who listened for an hour and a half to me and some of the members of the branch, though the snow presently began to come down fast.

The next day I went to West Calder, a mining village some half-hour's railway ride from Edinburgh. We did not expect much of a meeting on a Saturday evening in such a place, especially as a very moderate amount of advertising had been used; but some of our Edinburgh comrades got down there, and did their best to get an audience by beginning in the open air; the bell-man—or rather, the bell-boy—was sent round also, and we got together some sixty persons, all workmen, into the room, which was thought very good considering the circumstances. They made an excellent audience as to attention and spirit. In the ensuing discussion, one person put forward as an objection a point which I see is made the most of by a well-known hand in *To-day*—to wit, that Socialism will produce wealth so abundantly and easily that we should not find work enough to do, and should deteriorate in consequence. The audience, mostly miners, obviously thought that this was an objection which might be passed over for the present, and were much tickled by the objector's persistency in his threats of a life of ease.

The Edinburgh Whig rag, the *Scotsman*, by the way, paid me the compliment of publishing a paragraph on this meeting, which implied that I could not get an audience and came away with nothing done; and when I wrote to contradict its statement, favoured its readers with an explanation which was a model of the suppression of truth and suggestion of untruth. It is a matter of course that this journal goes out of its way to treat our friends unfairly.

On Sunday I went to Glasgow; and here I had every reason to damn "the nature of things" as heartily as Porson did when he hit his head against the doorpost; for it came on to snow at about one o'clock and snowed till the time of meeting harder than I ever saw it snow, so that by 7.30 Glasgow streets were more than ankle-deep in half-frozen slush, and I made up my mind to an audience of fifty in a big hall: however it was not as bad as that, for it mustered over 500, who passed *nem. con.* a resolution in favour of Socialism. Owing to the weather, our comrades could not attempt the preliminary open-air meetings which they had intended to do; so I passed the day with them in their rooms in John Street, very much to my own pleasure, as without flattery they were, as I have always found them, hearty good fellows and thorough Socialists. All political parties in Glasgow have been depressed of late, they told me, and the Socialists have partly shared in this depression, though not as much as other bodies; but the knowledge of the movement and sympathy with it have grown very much, and our comrades are in good heart about it. The first novelty of the subject has worn off, and those who attend the meetings now are those who look upon the matter seriously. This is the view taken by our comrades wherever I went, and from all I could see I thought it the accurate one.

Perhaps the next day's meeting (Monday) at Edinburgh tended to show this. It was a miserable night again, and we did not expect an audience of dilettanti—and did not get it. It was about as numerous as I got last year under better circumstances, but differed from that in having scarcely any middle-class persons in it. As to quality, it was one of the very best audiences I ever spoke to, and missed no point in the lecture. In fact in Edinburgh at least I seem to have exhausted the sympathies (?) of those who came at first to amuse themselves over the eccentricities of a literary man, and only those are left who really want to take counsel about the one question worth considering—how to free our minds and bodies from capitalistic tyranny. We had the usual treat afforded us by one Mr. Job Bone, who attends and opposes all meetings, and who used to be thought a nuisance, but is now accepted as a convenient shoeing-horn to a discussion, and whose malicious folly is useful in drawing out the lecturer to explain matters that might otherwise remain unnoticed.

The next day I went to Dundee, where I had much the same kind of audience, except that there were more middle-class persons amongst

it, who made themselves useful by asking questions easily answered, but (I hope) in a way not satisfactory to them, though very much so to the working-men present. One of the questioners was the sub-editor of the Radical paper, and I answered an unfair question of his with some warmth, so I was not surprised at getting a very curt report next morning; whereas the Tory journal reported us fairly and well. The audience was very hearty and appreciative. There is a branch here of the Scottish Land and Labour League, manned by energetic workers, whose work, however, is difficult, because ordinary party politics run high in Dundee, and the Radicals there have not got further than the Gladstoneite programme, if it can be called a programme.

From Dundee I went to Aberdeen, where I found another branch of the S. L. L. L., including some energetic and intelligent men, a good deal kept down, as might be expected, by the ordinary Radicalism of the place, and some of whom, I think I may say consequently, are rather eager to try parliamentary agitation. Another stormy and wretched evening made me expect a thin audience; but the hall, which was a small one, was filled. The audience was mostly middle-class here, and rather heavy to lift, though attentive and not disposed to carp. The press reported the meeting carefully and well next morning.

If I could have, I would have visited Carnoustie, a mere village between Aberdeen and Dundee, but which has a good branch; but time was getting on, and I had promised to assist at a social gathering of our Edinburgh comrades on Thursday evening. I had a pleasant and interesting evening with them; and so finished what I came to do.

On the whole, in spite of some poor audiences (though the weather largely accounts for that), I was very favourably impressed by the outlook for Socialism in Scotland. There can be no doubt that much progress has been made since last year, in the teeth of great difficulties. As aforesaid, the novelty has worn off; respectability is beginning to see what Socialism really means, and doesn't like the look of it at all; the press is deadly hostile, and not ashamed of any meanness in its treatment of the movement; those who are dependent on "employers" need expect no mercy from them if they are spotted as Socialists; the traditional puritanism of the country throws additional obstacles in the way of propaganda,—and with all this the movement is gaining ground steadily, and has an appearance of solidity about it which is most encouraging. I saw most of our Edinburgh comrades, and they seem to me to have entered on a new stage of the movement, and to promise to be as staunch as may be. The progress they have made since last year is remarkable.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

### THE CAPITALIST'S CREED.

(With Apologies to the Early Fathers.)

I believe in Capital, the power Omnipotent, Creator of labour and brains.

And in Landlordism, his only-begotten son, our right-hand supporter, who was conceived in Slavery and born of Rapine. Suffered through the opposition of the landless masses, who were crucified, and imprisoned. Descended to bloodshed, cant, and corruption. Weathered the attacks of Socialists and Land Nationalists; and, assisted by "law and order" arose triumphantly from the conflict. Ascended into the Nirvana of wealth and luxury, and sitteth at the right hand of Capitalism. From whence we shall come with bludgeons, bayonets, gatling guns, and fossilised falsehoods, to judge the claims of the proletariat.

I believe in the power of Mammon, the holy congregation of Usurers and Jay Gouldites, the communion of Monopolists, the forgiveness of wholesale murder and exploitation, the resurrection of the rich, and damnation everlasting to Socialists, Radicals, Democrats, and all who oppose our beneficent rule. Amen.

W. H. McNAMARA, in the Sydney Radical.

### LITERARY NOTES.

Articles of interest to Socialists in April reviews:—*Westminster*: "Local and Imperial Taxes: Who Pays Them?" *Law Quarterly*: Public Meetings and Public Order—(1) "Belgium," by H. Leuz, Ministry of Justice; (2) "France," Albert Gigot, sometime Prefect of Police; (3) "Switzerland," Prof. K. G. König. "The Canadian Constitution," J. E. C. Munro. *Nineteenth Century*: "Civilisation in the United States," Matthew Arnold; "The Breakdown of our Industrial System," Kropotkin; "A Model Factory," Earl of Meath; "The Chinese in Australia," Sir John Pope Hennessy. *Fortnightly Review*: "The Destruction of Self-Government," T. G. Bowles; "Healthy Homes for the Working Classes," D. F. Schloss. *National Review*: "Education in Agriculture," Prof. Wallace; "Free Trade and the Economists," Earl of Pembroke. *Blackwood's*: "The Central African Question"; "The Police of the North Sea," W. Morris Colles. *Contemporary Review*: "Frederick III.," Max Müller; "Old Jacobinism and New Morality," Prof. A. V. Dicey; "A Glance at North Africa," Grant Allen; "Islam and Civilisation," Canon MacColl; "Socialism and the Unemployed," Arthur Arnold; "The Irish Landlords' Appeal for Compensation," Michael Davitt. *Temple Bar*: "Recollections of Charles Dickens." *Journal of Education*: "James Cotter Morison," Edmund Gosse. *Macmillan's*: "The Laws of Property," Lord Coleridge. *Longman's*: "The Endowment of the Daughter," Walter Besant.

Not a Paternal State but a Fraternal state is what Socialists want? You growlers for individualism, can't you see a difference?—*The People*.

An action is being brought against Andrea Costa, the Socialist deputy to the Italian Camera at Mantua for incitement to riot in the late demonstrations at Rome.

### THE IMAGE BREAKER.

WHEN the traditional gods once trusted most  
Grow meaningless dull idols to the sight,  
When loathing stretches forth its hand to smite  
Some coveted sweetness secretly engrossed;  
When the light fails upon an unknown coast  
And weak limbs vainly wander through the night,  
What hope of him in the world's war to fight  
Whose heart is ready to give up the ghost?

But he whose soul is resolute yet shall trace  
Sure paths in sunshine, well content at last  
To share the joys and sorrows of his race;  
And seeing the gods—whose symbols in the past  
He ignorantly worshipped—face to face,  
Become a pitiless iconoclast.

REGINALD A. BECKET.

### THE DISPOSAL OF THE UNFITTEST.

"Emigrate! Emigrate!"  
Cry the Captains of the State,  
"Though in far colonial fields  
Life no better promise yields;  
Though all's one abroad or here,  
Wages low and living dear;  
Where the devil you're to go  
How should we profess to know?  
Still, to ease us of a weight,  
Emigrate! emigrate!"

"Emigrate! emigrate!"  
Are we mad that we should bate  
Aught of our accustomed spoil  
Of the produce of your toil?  
Since that toil no more affords

Easy gains to us your lords,  
Worn-out workers, don't you see?  
We dismiss you, you are free,  
Free to seek a fairer fate,  
Emigrate! emigrate!"

Emigrate! emigrate!  
Thus the scoundrels ply the bait.  
"Hold," the victim might reply,  
"You were better spared than I;  
Go, yourselves; take share and scrip  
To amuse you on the trip,  
Take your cash-box; we demand  
Nothing more than tools and land.  
Though you leave us desolate,  
Emigrate! emigrate!"

C. W. BECKETT.

### CORRESPONDENCE.

#### A CAPTIOUS CRITIC.

William Thompson seems to me to be a somewhat captious critic. I am a man of peace, but there comes to my mind a short passage in Lord Macaulay's article on "John Hampden," which seems worth quotation. "Hampden, on the other hand, was for vigorous and decisive measures. . . He had shown that he knew better than any public man of his time how to value and how to practise moderation. But he knew that the essence of war is violence, and that moderation in war is imbecility." Perhaps it is no part of my business to defend Kitz, but it is just a trifle tiresome to see such twopenny-halfpenny quibbling as that in last week's *Weal*.

I maintain that shopkeepers, as shopkeepers, are simply public servants, and nothing else, that it is no part of their business to act as press censors, and that when they do so it is a duty to teach them better morals. If a man refuses to sell to me a copy of the *Commonweal* and persists in trusting on me the *Rock*, it is not only common sense to deal with some more obliging tradesman, but it is also something of a duty to encourage the more obliging of the two and give him the whole of whatever advantage may accrue to him for his accommodating method of business, and therefore to purchase all my papers of him.

Now for my own bone with our curious friend. What in thunder is the matter with and where is the discrepancy in the note re Odger. There is a simple fact stated. I do not find it stated anywhere that Waterlow "is a very wicked person indeed." It is a matter of simple fact and arithmetic. The Tory polled 4686, Odger polled 4382, 304 less than the Tory. Waterlow an absolute outsider and without any real chance from the start, therefore wasted 2966 votes, of which less than a ninth part—which would assuredly have gone to Odger, Waterlow absent—would have put Odger top of the poll; if that is not a shameful offering up of the labour candidate to the "Sir," I don't know what is. Try again, friend Thompson.

T. S.

When the people sleep on their rights they die.—*Ernest Jones*.

THE COST OF A RICH MAN.—"At the smallest average for the making of a single rich man we make a thousand whose life long is one flood of misery. The charnel houses of poverty are in the shadow of the palace, and as one is splendid, so is the other dark, poisonous, degraded. How can a man grow rich except on the spoils of others' labour? His boasted prudence and economy, what is it but the most skilfully availing himself of their necessities, most resolutely closing up his heart against their cries to him for help?"—*J. A. Froude in 'Nemesis of Faith.'*

THE BLESSINGS OF CIVILISATION.—"Anyone who is acquainted with the state of the population of all great industrial centres, whether in this or other countries, is aware that amidst a large and increasing body of that population there reigns supreme . . . that condition which the French call *la misère*—a word for which I do not think there is an exact English equivalent. It is a condition in which the food, warmth, and clothing which are necessary for the mere maintenance of the functions of the body in their normal state cannot be obtained, in which men, women, and children are forced to crowd into dens wherein decency is abolished and the most ordinary conditions of healthful existence are impossible of attainment—in which the pleasures within reach are reduced to brutality and drunkenness—in which the pains accumulate at compound interest, in the shape of starvation, disease, stunted development, and moral degradation—in which the prospect of even steady and honest industry is a life of unsuccessful battling with hunger, rounded by a pauper's grave. When the organisation of society, instead of mitigating this tendency, tends to continue and intensify it, when a given social order plainly makes for evil and not for good, men naturally enough begin to think it high time to try a fresh experiment. I take it to be a mere plain truth that throughout industrial Europe there is not a single large manufacturing city which is free from a vast mass of people whose condition is exactly that described, and from a still greater mass who, living just on the edge of the social swamp, are liable to be precipitated into it."—*Professor Huxley in Nineteenth Century for February.*



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

As a? articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.

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Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

G. M'L.—Thanks. Our poetry file is so full that we cannot reprint the lines.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday April 4.

ENGLAND	Chicago (Ill.)—Knights of Labor	Milan—Il Fascio Operato
Die Autonomie	Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer	Marsala—La Nuova Eta
Jus	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	Cremona—La Feccia
Justice	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volkblatt	Rani—Municipal
Leaflet Newspaper	N Haven—Workmen's Advocate	SPAIN
London—Freie Presse	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	El Productor
Labour Tribune	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Madrid—El Socialista
The Miner	Coast Seamen's Journal	PORTUGAL
Norwich—Daylight	Freshhought	Porto—A Revolucao Social
Railway Review	FRANCE	GERMANY
Worker's Friend	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Berlin—Volks Tribune
NEW SOUTH WALES	La Revolte	Arbeiterstimme
Hamilton—Radical	L'Autonomie Individuelle	Brunn—Volksfreund
INDIA	Le Coup de Feu	Vienna—Gleichheit
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Journal du Peuple	HUNGARY
Madras—People's Friend	Guise—Le Devoir	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
UNITED STATES	HOLLAND	DENMARK
People	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Social-Demokraten
New York—Freiheit	BELGIUM	SWEDEN
Der Sozialist	Ghent—Vooruit	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Truthseeker	Liege—L'Avenir	Malmö—Arbetet
Volkzeitung	SWITZERLAND	NORWAY
Boston—Woman's Journal	Zurich—Social Demokrat	Kristiania—Social-Demokraten
Liberty	Przedsurt	
Chicago—Labor Enquirer	ITALY	
Vorbote	Gazetta Operaia	

## HURRY UP!

SOME people are never tired of praising the wonderful development of quickness in all branches of industry nowadays. They tell you with pride that this is a lightning age: the telegraph will carry your thoughts across the world in a twinkling; the railway will whirl you at marvellous speed from end to end of the country; inventions of machinery enable men to produce goods a thousand times more quickly than before. In the mad race for markets, "every hour must sweat its sixty minutes to the death." We have no time to rest; there is no ceasing, night or day, in this struggle for profits. And middle-classdom looks on, and praises this high pressure of unceasing expenditure of force as one of the great benefits of modern civilisation.

I have come to look very doubtfully on the blessings of civilisation; considering them, indeed, to be no blessings at all, not even in disguise, but mainly curses, whose influence for evil it is well-nigh impossible to compute. And in spite of the praises that our commercial classes shower upon it, I can see no blessing whatever in this vastly increased intensity, this power of ceaseless hurrying that characterises our lives to-day. For what good can there be in passing our time in toil, and leaving ourselves no leisure to enjoy the result of that toil? Of course the privilege of living in a constant and life-long expenditure of force pertains only to the workers; leisure and the full enjoyment of the product of labour do exist, but not for those who create the means of that enjoyment. Notice, too, that the praises of the system are loudest in the mouths of those who enjoy its results without sharing the work of producing them.

Here, then, is a sight for civilised man to boast of: myriads of men toiling day and night; piling up wealth, but never stopping to enjoy it; hurrying themselves into the grave, as if the mere effort of work were in itself the aim of life. Their toil is not performed in order that they may sit down quietly after it is done and enjoy its results, but solely to give a bare sufficiency of the necessities of life to enable them to repeat the toil on the morrow; and so on year after year, till the toil ends only with the life.

Hurry up!—that is our plan of action now. Accidents innumerable happen,—there is no time to take proper precautions against them. Hundreds of lives are lost every year on our railways, because there is no time for the signalman to rest or relax his strained attention for a moment, and, in the nervousness that overtaxed exertion brings on, a mistake is made, too often fraught with awful fatality. According to the journal of the mission to deep-sea fishermen, about 50 per cent. of the men on board the North Sea fleets suffer from various kinds of

accidents, owing to the fact that for weeks together they know no rest; sleep is taken in hurried snatches, and the overwrought frame falls a victim to some mistake, the cause of which is aggravated by the perilous surroundings of the work. In our factories, what wonder is it that the unresting machinery claims so many victims? There is no time for the machinery to stop; it must be oiled and cleaned while going, and very often the worker is entrapped to death by the system of hurry that forces him to thus risk himself. There is no time to allow boilers to cool; they must be cleaned at the peril of a worker's life. No time for anything except the unceasing production of goods for others to enjoy!

The greater intensity of machine work over handicraft, and the fearful strain of long hours, have produced nervous diseases in the worker, and wear out his frame far more rapidly than ever,—an advance in rapidity that our middle-class enthusiasts for civilisation forget most conveniently when they are recounting the glorious wonders of "our increased powers of working quickly." Not only can we produce goods more quickly, but in the process we can destroy men with an equal quickness. If this system could only bring out its dead for men to look upon, there were an argument that would surely show us how much too dearly we have paid for the privilege of increased production; an argument appealing at any rate to those who consider that the welfare of its members, and not its balance at the banker's, is the standard of the success of a system of society.

The workers of the world do not know what life really is: true, they exist—some of them—from day to day; but life, full of glorious possibilities, is far more than mere existence, and ought, to be real life, to include all those pleasurable emotions that education amongst beautiful things and full development of one's nature can give. From this real life the worker is shut out by the beneficent civilisation that surrounds him in this age of hurry. Even the domestic delights that are proverbially supposed to gather round the home life are forbidden to him. There are men, a great number of them, who never see their children during the winter except by candle-light; the little ones are abed before the father gets home from work, and not awake until he is gone in the morning. His time off work is just long enough to allow him to take the food and sleep needed to brace him up for the next day; and every next day the same. This is not life; swine can enjoy as wide an existence as this.

Under the rule of commerce there is but one standard by which all things are judged. "Will it pay?" To this standard commercialism brings everything; love, honour, beauty, manliness—will they pay? If not, then love, honour, and beauty may go to the devil; commercialism will have nothing to do with them unless it can make a profit out of them. There is no time to be wasted on such sentimental foolishness as making the world brighter, unless a good sound percentage comes of it. It is surely no wonder that under such principles Art should leave us, and every spark of generous feeling should die out, leaving but the cold ashes of formalism behind. The workman, when he was a workman and not a mere machine, had leisure to make his work real and to beautify it: now we have no time for reality made beautiful but only for machine-made shoddy, as ugly as one could ill imagine, whose quality matters nothing, seeing that it is made to sell quickly and not to use well.

One day the world may perhaps grow wise enough to learn that there are many things to be done on this side of death, and the chiefest of them is to be happy. A wise society aims at the happiness of its members, and labours only for the sake of producing the means of this happiness. Fools that we are to-day, we have builded but entered not in; have sacrificed the end of life to a constant effort to get at the means to that end, and having the means, never dream of using them to their proper end. We have been producing so much of the means of happiness, that the effort has left us no time to be happy!

FRED HENDERSON.

## SOCIALISM AND PROGRESS.

ONE of the commonest objections urged against Socialism is that it will take away all stimulus to progress, that we should settle down into a quiet monotonous existence, eating, working, and sleeping without care and without any stimulus to invention, and with no competition to force men to seek new methods of cheapening production.

Now in arguing with opponents, there is one thing which we have to remember—namely, that an argument is no use unless it is based upon some ground which our opponent will admit. One often uses arguments which, were we to place ourselves in our opponent's position, we should be obliged to acknowledge would not have much effect upon us. For example, what is the use of trying to convert secularists to Christianity by arguments drawn from the Bible, which are based on the assumption of the special inspiration of those who wrote it, while all the time the people whom it is sought to convert deny the inspiration? And yet how often do we hear this done. Or, for the sake of impartiality, to give the other side, how often do we hear secularists using arguments to convert Christians which only apply to a particularly narrow evangelical creed which many Christians dislike as heartily as they do. In the same way, we Socialists must not be content with an argument if it satisfies us, but we must try to place ourselves in the position occupied by our opponents and see if we can give our arguments a form that will appeal to them, see if we can base them on some ground which they will be likely to admit. In trying to meet this very common objection about the lack of stimulus, it is not enough

to say that our objector is mistaken; that competition crushes rather than stimulates the best individual enterprise and invention; that, far from any lack of invention resulting from Socialism, the conditions will be such as to give scope for a large number of inventors who are at present kept out of sight. All this may be true—probably it is; but it is just what our objector does not believe, he believes that all our inventors are stimulated by the hope of making great gains out of their inventions, and he thinks that if we take away that stimulus they will give over inventing.

Well, there are several points that we may take up and consider without begging the question. First, then, how far is it true that the chance of gain is held out as an inducement to all classes of discoverers sufficiently obviously for us to be justified in looking upon that as the probable motive for their efforts? Here a division at once occurs to us between the class of discoverers who make original researches and the class who apply the results of these researches to practical industrial uses. With regard to the first class, we may, I think, fairly contend that the chance of their reaping pecuniary reward is so small that it would be absurd to regard it as their chief motive. How seldom do we hear of an original researcher who makes any pecuniary gain out of his labour! The microscopist poring for days over his work discovers some minute creature which is harmful to man; he finds out what are the conditions favourable to its growth and what to its destruction, thus conferring a great benefit on mankind; but there is no pecuniary result for him to look forward to. In the same way, the discoverers of almost all the properties and laws of matter, of water, and of gases, upon which our wonderful industrial forces and arts are based—these men have not reaped great fortunes; they have often been poor enthusiasts, neglecting even the necessities of their own existence in their eager desire to find out the unknown. To say that competition or the desire for wealth have stimulated such men is, I think, not only untrue, but absurdly so.

We now come to the second class—those who have made practical applications of the discoveries of the former class. Here I think we may admit that competition and the love of gain have done something in stimulating invention, though hardly as much as our opponents make out. Supposing the scientist has discovered after years of patient study some chemical means of filtering certain noxious properties out of water; although the love of gain has not influenced him, yet it may be the stimulus which sets someone contriving and producing a handy practical filter embodying the discovery of the unpaid scientist. I may remark, in passing, on the manifest injustice, from our opponents' point of view even, of the way this stimulus acts. The men who toil patiently and faithfully for years seeking knowledge reap none of this pecuniary reward, while the man who comes in at the last point, and, taking advantage of all these discoveries made by generations of patient workers, adds the last touch to embody the result in a cheap and marketable form, he it is who gets the pecuniary reward—sometimes! For it is quite as often reserved for the man who chances to have capital enough to place the article in large quantities on the market!

But even of this class of inventions a large number are the result of other circumstances; as when Humphrey Potter invented an automatic method of opening and shutting the valves of the engine he was in charge of, it was not the love of gain or the force of competition which prompted the invention, but the desire for time to play. There is no doubt that a great many improvements have been prompted in a similar way by the desire of a man to ease himself of part of his work by making the machine do it for him.

I think we may fairly say that only a portion of the inventions connected with the practical application of discoveries to industrial purposes can be considered to have been stimulated by our present competitive system. We may now further consider whether this system has any tendency to prevent certain classes of inventors from coming to the fore. I think in one respect particularly we may expect that it has had such influence: I mean in the sort of invention workmen are likely to make to ease their own work. There is no doubt that when a man is constantly employed at certain work he will be very likely to think whether he could save himself in the amount of his work, supposing that such saving would be an advantage to him. But under the present condition of things can it be said that the workers have any idea that a reduction in the amount of work would be an advantage to them? On the contrary, they are more inclined to make work, and look with dislike rather than with favour upon any new labour-saving appliances. I am not an inventor of machinery myself, but as a designer I must say that it is often a trial to me to be set to design machinery for the express purpose of displacing labour, and I certainly should not feel disposed to give my spare time to trying to invent any such. For I cannot but think, in spite of the economists' reasoning to the contrary, that labour displaced by machinery is not always taken on in another quarter to an equal extent. However that may be, it is certain that the experience of the last fifty years has not altered the workman's opinion that machinery is his rival rather than his servant, and this feeling, I am sure, must have acted to check invention.

Another point, which our opponent will, I think, hardly deny, is that some men are moved more by one stimulus and some by another; and that even if we grant to him that a large part of the inventions of modern times have been stimulated by the present competition and race for wealth, that we may at least expect that if we change the system there will be found many men who might be stimulated by other motives under new conditions. *E.g.*, if it became apparent to all that an invention would be a benefit to the workers in lightening their toil, instead of being, as is now thought, a rival to them, many

men would be stimulated by the wish for the good of their fellows—the general gratitude which would be accorded to one evidently a benefactor—who are now not stimulated by competition or greed. Moreover the new conditions which would obtain under Socialism would leave greater leisure for all and so more time to devote to inventive work, and they would give a chance to many quiet thoughtful inventors, who now have not the requisite amount of self-assertion to bring an invention to the front in a competitive market.

There is one branch of science even now where a man is not allowed to use his discoveries for his own gain, but must make them the common property of the faculty. I allude, of course, to medical science. A doctor who kept his discovery to himself and traded on it would be boycotted by the whole profession. In this way much of the ordinary stimulus of private gain is taken away, and yet it cannot be said that there is no progress in the medical faculty; nor do I think it could be shown that progress was at all retarded by this lack of stimulus.

To sum up more concisely the line of argument which may be taken with those whose chief difficulty is this question of lack of stimulus—and they form a large class—we may fairly claim that in the department of original scientific research the stimulus of competition and love of gain is practically inoperative, so that the most important part of our subject is put out of the reach of our opponents' argument, for we must all agree that the great foundation discoveries are of more importance than the practical applications arising from them; these latter will be almost sure to arise sooner or later when once the principles and properties have been discovered. The conditions of Socialism, by giving greater leisure to all and relieving men of their anxiety about getting a living, will be favourable rather than otherwise to original research. Man is an inquisitive animal; give him a chance and he will seek the unknown in all directions. In the line of practical application, we may admit that a good number of modern inventions have been due to the stimulus of competition; at the same time, we may claim that the conditions resulting from this competition have tended to discourage workmen from inventing in some ways. We may also fairly expect that the new conditions under Socialism, which will take away the stimulus of competition and greed, will put in their place the gratitude of the people to a manifest benefactor, and the desire to benefit our fellows and lighten their toil, which we may hope will appeal to as large and as useful a class of inventors.

But even supposing that the event should prove that the men with capacity for practically applying discoveries to the useful arts can only be appealed to by the stimulus of pecuniary gain, there would be nothing to hinder a Socialist community from offering a reward to the best practical application of some discovery. As a rule, a thing is known in the laboratory a long time before any practical (which generally means sufficiently cheap) way of applying it is invented. The electric light was known long before it could be made cheaply enough to become a practically useful light.

The Ordnance Survey department of our Government is a standing proof that discoveries and improvements do not depend entirely on competition. The arts of surveying, map-making, and map-printing have been greatly improved by this department, and some very important processes discovered by men almost as much outside the reach of the stimulus of competition as if they had lived in a Socialist community.

We are apt to over estimate the amount due to the last inventor in any machine or process who brings it practically into use. It is as though we should give great credit for the making of a locomotive to the man who finally oils it and starts it: he but sets going a machine made and perfected by others. Very often the inventor who gets all the credit and the gain from a discovery does little more than set it going; he perhaps simplifies it a little or cheapens its production, thus bringing what was already discovered within the range of commercial or industrial utility.

It so often occurs that the same discovery or invention is made by several people at once in different parts of the world, that it is in some cases only chance which gives the credit and gain to one man; if he hadn't done it another would.

On the whole, I think there is no great ground to fear lack of inventive work under Socialism; it is such a plastic system that it will be able to accommodate itself in details to the conditions which it will in part cause. If certain classes of inventors will not work without pecuniary stimulus, Socialism will be able to give it. The Government of France frequently, I believe, takes in hand various questions and stimulates by various means their solution. But I think it will be found that the best and most useful inventors will do as good work for the sake of benefitting their fellow-men and earning their gratitude as they now do for the sake of gain. And even if we do not go on inventing cheaper and more varied fabrics to the extent that we have done in the past, it will be some compensation that every one at least will have the wherewithal to clothe himself. And if our power generally of producing the means of living should not increase so rapidly under Socialism as it has done under competition, it will be no small set off if we can all have a chance of learning how to use wisely what we do produce—in short, how to *live*; and after all, "The life is more than meat and the body than raiment." RAYMOND UNWIN.

We look forward to a time when society will no longer be divided into the idle and the industrious; when the rule that they who do not work shall not eat, will be applied, not to paupers only, but impartially to all; and when the division of the produce of labour will be made by concert on an acknowledged principle of justice.—*J. S. Mill.*

# THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

The Edinburgh masons have voted by a large majority in favour of an eight hours' day to be secured by Act of Parliament.

The men at Penston colliery in East Lothian, have got warning of a 10 per cent. break. Notices to that effect were posted on their pit-heads at the beginning of last week.

**DOMESTIC SERVANTS.**—Thirty-one thousand domestic servants are computed officially to have emigrated from England last year. It is calculated that there are to-day an equal number of trained servants out of employ in the Metropolis alone.

**STOPPAGE OF A FACTORY.**—It is stated that the works which belonged to the firm of Messrs. Morison, Anderson, and Butchart, Dundee, will in all likelihood be closed after the machinery has been cleared of the material presently in process of manufacture. About 800 or 900 hands will thus be thrown out of employment.

**SMELTERS' STRIKE AT HOLYTOWN.**—The dispute at Clydesdale Iron Works still continues. In support of the position taken up by the steel-smelters, a demonstration was got up on Saturday, in which sympathisers from Bloch-airn and other works took part. The police (who had been on duty since the previous Monday, when a slight collision occurred among the strikers) were present in considerable force, but nothing requiring their interference occurred.

**LINLITHGOW SHOEMAKERS.**—Considerable distress at present prevails among the shoemakers of Linlithgow consequent on the failure of employers to secure, as formerly, a share of Government contracts for the manufacture of military boots. Large numbers of workmen are now idle, and while many have gone elsewhere in quest of employment, nevertheless the effects of dull trade are being keenly felt on all hands. A goodly number of the workmen have been employed for some time past by the Police Commissioners breaking metal for the streets; but even at this but a small pittance is obtained. So far there are no signs of an improvement in the leather trade.

**BOILERMAKERS AND IRON SHIPBUILDERS.**—The annual report for 1877 of the United Society of Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders has just been published. The list of unemployed members is conclusive as to the effect of the terrible depression which commenced in 1883. The total income for the year amounted to £70,551, 11s. 10d., while the expenditure included £22,165, 6s. 6d. paid to the unemployed—an element that had cost them £170,410 during the past four years—£17,165, 9s. 5d. for sick benefit, £3149, 17s. 2d. in benevolence, £4657, 16s. 4d. for superannuation, and £3485, 10s. for funeral benefit. Their disputes during the year had only cost them £1131, 16s. 3d. The total expenditure for the year amounted to £67,445, 11s. 11d., leaving a balance of £25,001, 5s. 2d. The society at present consists of 214 branches, with 24,860 members, a decrease in the membership for the year of 481.

**SWEATING IN THE SHOE TRADE.**—A representative of the *Shoe and Leather Record* has been making some inquiries in the East-end which reveals the wretchedness of the lives of many whose existence is dependent upon the boot and shoe trade. One room he entered he thus describes: "Besides the six workers there were in the room two women and two little girls. The latter appeared to be waiting for some fish that the mother was cooking for supper in the same room in the small hours of the morning. The master (he is a master sweater) showed me one pair which he had back from shop because the bottoms were not clean enough. I have seen some rubbish in guise of boots and shoes, but these were the worst I have ever seen. It is horrible and pitiful to think that men should wear out their lives in the manufacture of such wastrel products. Here are some of the prices: Girls' kid button, strip waist, 2s. 3d. per doz.; women's kid shoes, strip waist, 3s. 9d. doz.; mock kid shoes, black waists, 2s. 6d.; lasting S.S., paper heels, 2s. 3d.; children's leather-lined, 1s. 6d. doz." The writer's informant, whose name, of course, he does not give, used some strong expletives in condemning the conduct of his employer, whose constant threat seems to be that if his unfortunate slaves don't come to his terms he can get others who will.

**SCIENTIFIC DRESSMAKERS.**—A Trade and Benefit Society for Scientific Dressmakers has been formed. Lady Dilke is treasurer; A. E. Sparke, secretary. Offices 27 Margaret Street, London, W. The entrance fee is 1s., and the weekly payment twopence and fourpence. Those paying twopence will be entitled to 5s. per week in case of sickness or out of work; those paying fourpence 10s. per week. There will also be provision made for old age. As the society is to be a real trades union and not a semi-philanthropic scheme the contributions appear too small to cover expenses. It is to be hoped, however, that the dressmakers will largely avail themselves of such a much-needed opportunity for improving their social condition. Women are now ceasing to be regarded for the most part merely as chattels to be bought and sold in the marriage market, and are more and more taking their share as individuals in the labour struggle. As yet, however, they do not understand very clearly that their so-called liberty is really a sham; that like the emancipated negroes of South America, they are but exchanging servitude to a master to become the slaves of a class. By their lack of solidarity they are almost completely at the mercy of the employing classes, thereby not only having to work long hours for scant pay, but tending to lower the level of subsistence for the whole of the workers. Women have too often in the past been willing tools in opposing the efforts of their brothers to better the conditions of labour, e.g., the Factory Acts; and therefore I gladly welcome everything that will help to bring about a common understanding between the workers, irrespective of sex and occupation.

**CLEANING MACHINERY DURING MEAL HOURS.**—An employer in the Shaw districts, near Oldham, has proposed to the spinners that if they will sign a declaration stating that they hold themselves responsible if any of their piecers are caught by the factory inspector performing any kind of work during prohibited hours, that he on his part will undertake to allow the spinners to stop their mules during the engine hours for the purpose of performing all the necessary cleaning and oiling which has been done in the meal hours. This is an excellent proposition, and one that the workers ought heartily to welcome. Unfortunately, the system of piece-work is a great hindrance in putting an end to the objectionable and slavish practice of working during meal-hours. The spinners are forced to shine one against the other to produce the full tally of yarn turned out by the best man in the mill for fear of dismissal, and in order to stand well with the overlookers. The consequence is that they have to run their mules every minute it is possible to do. At another mill in the same district, an instance has

occurred of the selfishness engendered by the competitive wage-system in connection with this matter of cleaning. The employer conceded the right of the men to stop their mules during engine-hours to do all the requisite cleaning, and in order that they might not lose by the change, granted them an increase in the piece-work price. The consequence was that in the course of a few weeks, first one spinner, then another, commenced to do their cleaning in the meal hours and to compel the piecers to assist them, all for the sake of earning a shilling or so more per week. The employer hearing of the matter at once reduced the piece-work price, and the old system was reverted to. "In such a case," says the *Cotton Factory Times*, "it was a pity the employer did not discharge the spinners who broke through the arrangement. If he had done so it would have been a suitable warning to others, and perhaps have been the means of inducing other employers to follow his example. When spinners are given such a chance as the employers referred to offered their men of dispensing with the necessity of piecers having to work during meal times, and they don't avail themselves of the opportunity, by all means they should be held responsible, and made to feel their responsibility by being summoned in all cases where the inspectors may find their piecers at work during prohibited hours."

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING APRIL 14, 1888.

8	Sun.	1848. Trial of "Chartist" rioters. 1884. Labour Riots at Kidderminster.
9	Mon.	1626. Lord Bacon died. 1747. Lord Lovat beheaded for complicity in the '45 rebellion.
10	Tues.	1820. Sir Chas. Wolsey and Rev. M. Harrison tried for sedition. 1848. The Chartist Demonstration on Kennington Common. 1883. Trial of "Invincibles" began at Dublin.
11	Wed.	1814. Napoleon abdicated. 1887. Anti-Coercion Demonstration in Hyde Park.
12	Thur.	1793. Phillips imprisoned for selling 'Rights of Man.' 1871. Pierre Leroux died. 1879. Nihilist Address to the Czar. 1885. Eight Hours' Labour-day Demonstration held in London.
13	Fri.	1812. Luddite Riot at Leeds. 1829. Catholic Emancipation Bill passed. 1861. Taking of Fort Sumter begins American Civil War. 1872. Samuel Bamford died.
14	Sat.	1865. Abraham Lincoln assassinated. 1879. Solovieff's attempt upon the Czar.

*Labour Riots at Kidderminster.*—Certain employers whose workmen were on strike, imported weavers from other parts of the country. Whereupon serious rioting took place, considerable damage was done, and many persons injured on both sides. "Order" was at length "restored" by a cavalry regiment, and things went on as before.—S.

*Francis Bacon died.*—Francis Bacon, Baron Verulam and Viscount St. Albans. How many of the thousands who day after day pass along Gray's Inn Road and under the shadow of one of the ugliest masses of brickwork in the whole of London, connect "Verulam" Buildings with one of the world's greatest philosophers? He was born at York House, in the Strand, January 22, 1561; the youngest son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Keeper of the Great Seal for twenty years of Elizabeth's reign. Nicholas Bacon marks a very important period in English history, he being one of the first "professional" statesmen England produced. A form of "sub-division of labour (?) and "specialisation," for which we have no great reason to be thankful, despite their "reforming" ideas; which set some to be priests, some soldiers, and some statesmen; and which has made as Volney says "a privileged class distinct from the people, who acquire wealth by taking pains to govern," and swindle and betray. In Francis Bacon the principle of "heredity" seems to tell largely; his father was of considerable talent and his mother one of the most learned women of the period, and although after his father's very sudden death in 1580 Francis passed through some years in obscurity, he ultimately passed his father in dignity of offices and renown. Francis was probably one of the youngest students who ever entered Trinity College, Cambridge, which he did at the age of thirteen; staying there some three years and then going to Paris and travelling France. A newspaper writer recently remarked on the fact that Mr. Gladstone's private secretaries are almost always men of talent who make a name, while Lord Salisbury's don't. The Cecil's of Bacon's time seem to have likewise had much dread of talent, and for years Bacon was kept back by their jealousy. In 1590 he was sworn Queen's Counsel; 1593 he was M.P. for Middlesex. In 1597, he first appeared as author. On February, 1601, Earl of Essex was executed, to which end Bacon largely contributed after years of lavish favours at the hands of Essex. March, 1603, Elizabeth died; James VI. of Scotland became James I. of England, and Bacon's sun began to rise. He was knighted and married; 1604 appointed King's Counsel, 1607 Solicitor-General, and in 1612 Attorney-General. He was largely responsible for Union of Scotland with England. In 1616 he was sworn as Privy Councillor, and in 1617 Keeper of the Great Seal, and little later Lord Chancellor. In spite of all this he found time to do such literary and philosophical work as will live years after the memory of his shameful fall shall have almost died out. It is a strange commentary on human nature, that the man who could act as a vigorous prosecutor for a tyrant, as in the case of Earl of Essex and the Star Chamber villainies, could attend a prisoner under torture to wring some incriminating word, as in the case of Rev. Mr. Peacham, could, or years accept bribes for his legal decisions, should study and write as he did "to multiply human enjoyments and mitigate human sufferings." As a philosopher he will rank as one of the most worthy of honour; as a statesman, lawyer, and judge as one of the worst on record, a mean, cowardly lickspittle and traitor to his best friend. To Socialists he is somewhat interesting as author of "Atlantis," which, however, is a very imperfect social scheme. He was the great apostle of experimental philosophy and its martyr, for he caught a cold while stuffing a fowl with snow, having conceived the idea of meat preservation by freezing. He died at Highgate, April 9, 1626.—T. S.

*The Great Chartist Demonstration.*—On Kennington Common, April 10, 1848, was one of those days which seem to be made to just exactly show how very different the English are to the French. Given three or four months of excitement and ferment, red hot oratory and friction between authorities and people, given such a gang of tricksters and bullies as Parliament then was, and then given such a meeting of people as gathered on the Common that day, given then in France with their practise in up-spilling governments, there would have been such a clearing of the political atmosphere as would have been to the advantage of the whole world. That the government guessed something of this can be seen by the preparations made. Troops from Windsor, Hounslow, Chichester, Chatham, and even Dover and Winchester, were poured into London. Heavy artillery from Woolwich; the Marines at the Admiralty. Broad swords and

pistols served out to the police, and two thousand stand of arms served out to the clerks at the post-offices. Dock labourers sworn as specials, churches turned into barracks and filled with troops; public vehicles prohibited running so they should not be used as barricades. Practically the whole available army and navy were under orders for immediate action, for steam was kept up on board such vessels as were handy to bring up fresh troops if wanted. The government won. The monster petition which was to have been drawn on a car to the House was bundled up on three cabs, and taken by a deputation down to the House after the meeting was concluded. Feargus O'Connor had a very nasty dish to swallow at that meeting, but it was not the first time he had to eat his own words, and still he survived.—T. S.

**Death of Pierre Leroux.**—The founder of the system known in history of Socialism as the Doctrine of Humanity (La Doctrine de l'Humanité) was born in 1798, and died at Paris, April 12, 1871. The Commune of Paris gave him a worthy funeral, acknowledging thereby the great services he had rendered to the cause of the emancipation of mankind. From 1848 down to us, little notice has been taken of him either as a philosopher or as a Socialist. As a philosopher, it is said that he belonged to some kind of a mystical school, wishing to bring about a sort of neo-Christianity much larger and more progressive than Christianity of older type, but nevertheless religious in its essence. As a Socialist he is nothing else than an "utopian dreamer" as our modern doctors in economical science style it, and such an utopist is a very contemptible man indeed! We think both assertions wrong, and are of opinion that even nowadays the writings of Pierre Leroux may be read with a considerable amount of fruit and good result for the reader. Leroux is rather a representative of the ideas which prevailed in the first part of this century which, endeavouring to resume the positive tradition of the eighteenth century, suddenly interrupted by the first Empire, could only succeed in it by passing through various new religious hypotheses. Disciple of Saint Simon, even after the secession of the sect of *Enfantin*, he remained convinced that the social reorganisation required a religious transformation. However, his religion of humanity as he calls it, is so closely connected with commutative justice and universal solidarity pure and simple, that he can no longer be said to belong to the old spiritualistic schools of philosophical thought. Then again his tendencies towards absolute equality, and his incessant endeavouring to bring to the front the study of the various social problems, separate him absolutely and radically from these former schools. As far back as 1834, Leroux tried to edit a general encyclopædia, in which are to be found several very important works, as for instance, his vigorous criticism of Eclecticism, which struck a terrible blow at M. Cousin, at that time a kind of *pontifex maximus* of French philosophy. As a Socialist he wrote several works, which even to-day have not lost their interest, as 'Plutocracy' (La Ploutocratie), the 'Malthusians,' 'Equality,' which may be called important economical productions, whatever the modern "scientific" Socialists may think of them. So, for instance, we may say that the question of the *hours of labour*, to which Marx has devoted so much care and so long researches, has been elucidated by Leroux forty years ago in a masterly production which, although it has not the scientific precision of Marx's investigations, forms nevertheless a very lucid *exposé* of the whole question, and of that special question in its relations to the whole social problem. Pierre Leroux has formed a good number of distinguished disciples, among whom we may name his two brothers, Jules and Charles Leroux, his son Luc Lesages, and Aug. Desmoulin, then Grégoire Champeix, Louis Nette, Pauline Roland, Talandier, Paul Kochery, Edmund and Charles Frossard, Adolphe Bertheault, Ulysse Charpentier, Emile Aucante, Ad. Parand, Terson, Raban, Armand, Yverneaud, Ed. Desjardin, Vandamme, Robert du Var, and several others. In 1845, Leroux and his followers decided to form an agricultural colony in order to make propaganda in the provinces, and to experiment in communistic organisation. Fifty-two persons joined in the enterprise, and settled at Boussac, in the Creuse Department. This colony, which would have been a success but for want of practical knowledge in its inhabitants, was dissolved after the Revolution of 1848, when Leroux was elected a member of the Constituante. But the influence which the founder of the Boussac colony and his friends have exercised upon the poor peasants of that country has lasted long after their departure, and even now is not quite extinct in the centre of France. I am inclined to add, for the edification of all "scientific" Socialists, that Leroux explained there at first to the ignorant peasants the famous *law of circulation*, which has contributed so much to make them laugh—not the peasants but the "scientific." And yet nowadays the "utopian" *law of circulation* is nothing else than the *law of restitution* of Liebig, a big scientist, developed since by the illustrious Moleschott, another big scientist! Poor Leroux!—V. D.

**A Nihilist Proclamation of Warning.**—In the space of ten days, from the 1st to the 10th of April, 1879, no less than 1,140 Nihilists were arrested throughout Russia, and in answer to this wholesale persecution the Executive Committee of the Russian revolutionists deemed it fit to draw up a proclamation, which was posted at the corners of the streets of St. Petersburg on three successive nights, and which it will be as well to preserve in our columns. It runs as follows: "To Mr. Alexander Nicolaievitch. The warning and threatening letters, as well as the sentences which we, the invisible delegates of the murderously oppressed Russian people, have sent to the various dignitaries of the present despotic government in Russia, belong as a rule to the preparative work, and for that reason, neither yourself, nor any member of your family appears in the slightest degree menaced by our executive organs. In the first instance we wish to clear out in its lowest and filthiest corners the Augean stables of despotism; to free the people from administrative persecution, which throws them guiltless into prison, and there, without compassion, chastises them and allows them to suffer from hunger and thirst, and then leads them as insurgents to the gallows or sends them to the Polar regions to work in the mines. We sit in judgment and shall be compassionate in the exercise of our office, and shall recoil from the use of no means which may lead us to our object, which is the eradication of the hellish brutality of despotism through fire and sword. The victims cry out to their executioners: *Moriturus te salutant*, and if you, Alexander Nicolaievitch, refuse to hear our warning voice, to put an end to this tyranny, we hereby declare to you that tyranny will be beaten in the end. Your system in Russia is rotten to the core. Our almost boundless resources are ruined. Your army of functionaries are a gang of cruel and insatiable thieves. Your judges are a shame to justice. Your governors, police-masters, and generals are so many satraps worthy of Xerxes or Darius. Wherever we turn our eyes we see nought but stupidity mingled with cruelty, wanton waste combined with the most merciless spoliation of the people. For the army alone you reserve your fatherly care. You are getting into dangerously deep waters, Alexander Nicolaievitch. Therefore we warn you but spare your life. The Executive Committee." Two days afterwards Solovieff made his heroic attempt, and gave up his life in the hope of freeing one hundred million men.—V. D.

**Eight Hours' Demonstration.**—A meeting called by the S.D.F., numbering from 10,000 to 15,000, held in Hyde Park to demand compulsory reduction of the hours of labour in all trades to eight hours a-day and immediate organisation of the unemployed, attracted great attention from the press and public—and much abuse from the former.—S.

**Luddite Riots at Leeds.**—For some days past there had been disturbances, and on the 13th they culminated in a determined attack upon a mill at Rawfold, which had been filled with an armed garrison in readiness. After a fight of half an hour, and the exchange of some hundreds of shots, the assailants were beaten off.—S.

**The Catholic Emancipation Act.**—The Catholic Emancipation Act, like so many more Acts in the books, was passed at the very last minute to avoid civil war

(vide Duke of Wellington's speeches), and when passed giving the very smallest concession which could be palmed off on the victims. In 1823 the Catholic Association was formed by Dan O'Connell and McShiel, it was favourably received at the start, thanks to a large number of the Irish clergy giving their support, but it was not till the following year, when the subscription was made popular by monthly subscriptions of one penny, that the Association began to give the authorities a fright. Within two years the "Catholic Rent," as this subscription was known, reached about £500 per week; naturally the Government tried to suppress the Association, while they prepared at the same time some palliative. This they did in a bill apparently favourable, but which disfranchised all the small freeholders and subsidised the Irish clergy. O'Connell was soaped over to accept this, but the House of Lords, true to its usual habits, threw out the small concession. In 1826 came a general election. Soon after assembling of new Parliament, Lord Liverpool, Prime Minister, died, and Canning was put into power; he, probably not dreaming of so soon being in power, had somewhat committed himself to Catholic Emancipation, therefore the other Tory ministers struck work with the new boss, and he had to get together a new set of gangers. The Tories and the Whigs made union against Canning and his concessionists, and managed to worry him to death in a very few months with very little progress made. Lord Goderich was a stop-gap minister, and in January, 1828, came Duke of Wellington as Prime Minister, and Sir Robert Peel as Home Secretary. At the opening of the Session a petition of 800,000 Catholics was presented by the Catholic Association in favour of the repeal of the Test Act and Corporation Act. This petition in favour of Protestant Dissenters was rather a clever idea of Catholic O'Connell, and had considerable effect in repealing those Acts and also on the affairs of the Catholics, for almost directly afterwards came a bye election, when all the upper-crust politicians—of both parties—were given a smack in the face by the election of Daniel O'Connell for County Clare. The details of this government are too many to discuss here, but it assuredly helped the passing of the Emancipation Act by absolute dread of civil war. O'Connell on coming to London decided, finding that a Bill was fairly on the way, not to hamper the matter by any question as to legality of his return, so waited while the bill was brought in and cussed and discussed, as were all its supporters. The third reading was passed by a majority of thirty-six votes on March 30th, next day was carried to the Lords, and on April 2nd the second reading was moved by Duke of Wellington "to prevent civil war." After some most violent language it was passed by majority of one hundred and four, and on April 13, 1829, a nation was sold for a mess of pottage, for the concession was balanced by disfranchising the whole of the forty-nine shilling freeholders. For this O'Connell and the Irish race have reason to curse Sir Robert Peel, for by this the landlords were given a power they have used to the uttermost to the ruin of Ireland.—T. S.

**Death of Samuel Bamford.**—Samuel Bamford, weaver, poet, and Radical, was born at Middleton, Lancashire, Feb. 28, 1788, the son of an operative muslin weaver afterwards governor of Salford workhouse. Samuel received some education at Middleton, and then was sent to Manchester Grammar School. He learned weaving, and was for some time employed as a warehouseman in Manchester. Accidentally meeting with a copy of the 'Iliad' and with Milton's poems, he became disposed to study of poetry, and later on produced a number of homely verses, which were published under the title 'The Weaver Boy, or Miscellaneous Poetry,' 1819; 'Homely Rhymes,' 1843; and also some in Lancashire dialect, some being very droll. For a short time he was engaged on board a collier trading between London and Shields, and after other changes settled down as weaver. He soon became known in his district as one of the uneasy ones, and soon gained influence. Although he was a "moral force" man, and his speeches more moderate than many, he was yet arrested for having taken part with Henry Hunt and others in the great meeting on St. Peter's Fields, Aug. 1, 1819, the day of Peterloo. He was arrested on a charge of high treason and sent to Lancaster Castle, was liberated on bail, and was tried at York on March, 1820. Was required to enter into recognisances to keep the peace and be of good behaviour for six months. In the following April he was called to the Court of Kings Bench and sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment in Lincoln gaol, walking all the way from Lancashire to London to receive this punishment. About 1826 he became correspondent to a London newspaper, and incurred some dislike of his fellows, which was intensified when during the Chartist agitation he was sworn as special constable. About 1831 he was procured the post of a messenger in Somerset House, but after a few years of this he gave it up and returned to his native home and old trade. He died at Harpurley, Lancashire, April 13, 1872. His 'Passages in the Life of a Radical,' and 'An Account of the Arrest and Imprisonment on Suspicion of High Treason,' make one wonder what cause he had to remain always a moral force man. His name will be seen on the face of the Reformer's Memorial in Kensal Green Cemetery.—T. S.

**Abraham Lincoln.**—The 16th President of the United States. Born in Larue County, Kentucky, February 12, 1809; died April 15, 1865. Farm-boy, hired hand on a flat-boat, store clerk, commander of a company of volunteers in the Black Hawk war, postmaster, and member of the State legislature. After going through these, he opened office as a lawyer at Springfield in 1837, and was soon a prominent Whig leader. Member of Congress from 1847 to 1849, he voted for the reception of anti-slavery memorials and opposed the annexation of Texas. In 1860 was elected President. Then followed secession and the war, during which his tremendous power of work and real organising faculty helped the Northern cause no little. His emancipation proclamation took effect January 1, 1863. Re-elected President in 1864. On April 14, 1864, while sitting with his family in his box at the theatre, he was shot by John Wilkes Booth, a violent Secessionist. He lived for some hours after the shooting.—S.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Council will meet on Monday next, April 9th, 7.45 sharp.  
London Members.—The London Members' Meeting will be held on Monday next, April 9th.

Branch Subscriptions Paid.—1887: Hastings, Nottingham, Pelsall—None. Bradford, Croydon, Glasgow, Ipswich, Leeds, Merton, North London, Norwich—to end of March. Edinburgh—to end of May. Mitcham—to end of July. Walsall—to end of August. Hull—to end of September. Bloomsbury, Waltham Green, Wednesday—to end of October. Mile-end, Oxford—to end of December.—1888: Marylebone—to end of January. Clerkenwell, Hammersmith, Leicester—to end of February. Acton, Hackney, Hoxton (L. E. L.)—to end of March.

## REPORTS.

CLECKENWELL.—On Wednesday, March 28, H. H. Sparling lectured on "The Last Revolution." Good discussion. On Sunday, April 1, a very pleasant "social" evening was spent by members and friends.—B.

MERTON AND MITCHAM.—On Sunday morning, Eden spoke on Fair Green, and meetings here will be held every Sunday in future, weather permitting. The previous Monday a meeting at Mitcham Board Schools was addressed by Mr. Bidder, Q.C., against Socialism. Turner, Sparling, and Kitz opposed him.—E.

BIRMINGHAM.—On Tuesday evening an interesting lecture was delivered by J. Sketchley on "The Commune of Paris, its origin, history, and objects."

GLASGOW.—On Thursday, our comrade the Rev. John Glasie, of Edinburgh, addressed the Co-operators of the Cowcadden district on "Socialism in its Relation to Co-operation." On Sunday, at Paisley Road Toll, a very fine meeting was addressed by Glasier. This is one of the finest stations we have hit upon, the people of the district evidently regarding our meeting as an institution; their friendly demeanour, and the close attention they give to our speakers, being very encouraging. It is to be regretted, however, that nothing like full advantage is taken of this, and in order to do so our comrades should understand that their presence is absolutely required. In the evening another good meeting at Infirmary Square was addressed by Glasier.—D.

NORWICH.—Meeting held Good Friday in Market Place notwithstanding rain. On Sunday morning meeting held at St. Faith's, good audience; in Market much larger meeting than usual, a telegram from Manly was read stating he was unwell and could not come; Mowbray carried on the meeting. In evening meeting held in Market Place, and in Gordon Hall Mowbray lectured, Ashley in chair. Meetings also held on Monday, Bank Holiday.—S.

WALSALL.—Last Monday, Sanders concluded the debate on Socialism, and easily disposed of the little opposition that was offered. On Saturday he addressed a good audience on The Bridge, an attentive hearing being given him and apparently a good impression made.—J. T. D.

EDINBURGH.—On Thursday the 29th ult., instead of usual meeting for reading and discussion, we had a social meeting, which was well attended. Part of evening was spent in discussing subjects of deep interest to Socialists, methods of propaganda, etc. Singing of revolutionary songs, as well as Scotch ones, helped also to pass the time pleasantly. Wm. Morris was present.

EAST-END CLUB.—The Easter Monday concert came off with tolerable success, although the weather was wet and a number of expected performers did not put in an appearance. Those who have taken tickets are requested to send in returns as soon as possible.

THE STRIKE FUND.—The second of a series of entertainments took place on Saturday evening in the hall of the Socialist League. A very enjoyable evening was spent. Don't forget next Saturday, when there will be a special programme.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

- Acton.—17 High Street, Acton, W. (adjoining Purnell's Dining Rooms). Sunday at 8 p.m.
Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road. Thursday April 5, at 8.30, Mark Manly will lecture on "The Unity of Socialists."
Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7.
Fulham.—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sunday at 8.
Hackney.—28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Road, Hackney Wick. A general meeting of members will be held at the International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road, E., Monday next, April 9th, at 8.45 p.m. All members are requested to attend.
Hammersmith.—Kelmecott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday April 8, at 8. John Burns (S.D.F.), "Six Weeks in Pentonville." 15th. Wm. Morris, "Industry in the Fourteenth Century."
Hoxton (L.E.L.).—New premises, 1 Hoxton Square. C. J. Young, 8 Dunloe St., Hackney Rd., Secretary.
Mitcham.—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open Saturday, Sunday, and Monday evenings from 7.30 till 11. W. E. Eden, 12 Palmerston Road, Wimbledon, Secretary.
Mile-end and Bethnal Green.—95 Boston St., Hackney Road. Business Meeting every Thursday at 9 p.m. Debating Class for members after Business Meeting.

PROVINCES.

- Aberdeen (Scottish Section).—Sunday night meetings in Baker Street Hall, at 6. Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St. Nicholas Street.
Birmingham.—Summer Row Coffee House, Tuesday April 10, J. Sketchley will lecture on "Socialism and Anarchism," 8 p.m.
Bradford.—Morris's Dining Rooms, 114 City Road. Wednesdays, at 8.
Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Tuesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. H. McCluskey, Millar Street, Secy.
Cowdenbeath (Scot. Sec.).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., see Westmorland Street.
Dublin.—Saturday Club, Central Lecture Hall, 12 Westmorland Street.
Dundee (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.
Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Every Thursday at 8, class for study of Marx's 'Capital.'
Galashiels (Scot Sect.).—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., sec.
Gallatown and Dysart (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.
Glasgow.—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Discussion Class, Thursdays at 8. Leeds.—Lady Lane. Open every evening. Business meeting Fridays at 8. Address all communications to T. Paylor, 11 Sheldon Street, Holbeck, Leeds.

Leicester.—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8. Lochgelly (Scottish Section: Fife).—Secs. (pro tem.), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.

Norwich.—Monday next, 8 p.m., entertainment by Minstrel Troupe in the Gordon Hall. Tuesday at 8.30, Members meeting. Wednesday at 8.30, Ways and Means Committee. Thursday at 8, Band practice and Troupe rehearsal. Friday at 8.30, Literary Committee. Saturday, open from 8 till 10.30. Sunday, at 8, lecture.

Nottingham.—Club and Reading Rooms, 1 Tokenhouse Yard, Bridlesmith Gate, open every evening. Lectures and Discussions every Sunday.

Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.

Walsall.—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

West Calder (Scottish Section).—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 8.

- 11 ...Acton—the Steyne ..... Day
11 ...Turnham Green—Front Common...Ham'ramith
11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St. ....Pope & Davis
11.30...Merton—Haydons Road.....The Branch
11.30...Mitcham Fair Green .....Kitz & Eden
11.30...Regent's Park .....Cantwell
11.30...St. Pancras Arches .....Dalziel
11.30...Walham Green .....Turner
3 ...Victoria Park .....Davis & Mainwaring
3.30...Hyde Park .....Parker
7 ...Acton—Priory .....Acton Branch
7.30...Stamford Hill.....Morgan & Parker

PROVINCES.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 4.—No. 118.

SATURDAY, APRIL 14, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON NEWS.

THE police have been at it again, and this time, as they have been bearing false witness not against "revolutionaries" or persons who happened to be mixed up with them, but against ordinary citizens not guilty *a priori* of the crime of "demonstrating," they have got into trouble, and the public prosecutor is to look into the matter. Couldn't he go a few weeks backward and look into the cases of the "rioters" of the past winter?

In all soberness, the attention which has been paid to Mr. Montagu Williams' scolding of the police brings out the cowardly injustice of society towards the victims of the raid on free speech into yet stronger relief than before. To judge by the tone of the press about this affair, one would suppose that no accusations had ever been made against the police, that the whole public are perfectly satisfied that their evidence against Harrison and Ellis and dozens of others was admitted to be spotlessly true, and that everybody "run in" for anything (or for nothing) connected with Trafalgar Square was even himself persuaded that he had received a perfectly fair trial. Surely no hypocrisy has ever come anywhere near the Pharisaism of modern bourgeois England!

I get papers from candidates for the vestry shoved into my door at times, besides the voting paper. Some of the former are droll. One candidate appears to me to be at least frank; he says he shall consider it one of his principal duties to see that the contracts are given to persons in the neighbourhood, or words to that effect. The same gentleman says that he will do his best to see that those unfortunate persons who are in need of relief shall, as far as possible, be treated with a fair amount of comfort and consideration. Here is qualification with a vengeance!

The economics of some of our leading papers are wonderful indeed. The *Daily News*, for instance, says, quoting Major Roe about work at Birmingham: "The use of power-driven machinery is daily increasing, with the result of increased output and the substitution of women and youths for the skilled artisan; on the other hand, the men are more than compensated by the increased demand for them in the manufacture of tools and machinery." Which must clearly mean, if it means anything, that the manufacturer, having got rid of human labour at one end of the process, uses up all the displaced labour at the other end, and has besides saddled himself with machinery which he has had to pay for and cannot use, and that he does this without compulsion. On the whole, it is easier to believe that the *Daily News* gets its minor leader-writers from Colney Hatch than to believe this.

Indeed, this explanation gathers credibility as one reads further where the writer, having informed us in the first-quoted passage that women and boys are being substituted for skilled artisans, goes on to tell us that it is said that the days of unskilled labour are numbered. With a leer in his eye and a straw or two and a peacock's feather in his hair, he finishes by drawing a moral for us, the often-told tale that all is for the best in this best possible of worlds, wherein the capitalist can still make a profit out of other people's labour. "Thanks to the Education Act, the condition of the working classes is better than it used to be; they spend both their wages and their leisure better than of old. Technical instruction and sober diligence will be the salvation of many a British industry." Yes; but he means the salvation of much British capital. Make technical education so common that it is no longer of any market value, thinks the capitalist, and then we shall be able to get the skilled workman at the cost of the unskilled; let every workman (that is employed) work two hours a day more than he does now,

and it will put so much the more into *our* pockets, as we shall pay the same for the twelve hours as we do now for the ten. This is the way to safeguard British industry against foreign competition.

Yet education, technical instruction, and sober industry are good things—so good that it is grievous indeed to see them made use of to "cheapen labour," that is, to make legal stealing safer and more profitable. However, let us have courage; education is a dangerous gift to give to slaves. What does our author from Colney Hatch think will be the result (if we should come to it, and we *are* coming to it) of a class of skilled artisans unemployed, or reduced to the ranks, and at the same time "educated" by book-learning as well as suffering? No men, surely, have ever set themselves more busily to sow the wind for the harvest of the whirlwind than our anti-Socialist "Liberal" capitalists.

W. M.

So there has actually been a plot against Mr. Balfour discovered, after all this time of coercion. Of course no sane man believes in any possible utility resulting from the use of dynamite after the manner of the American Fenian. But surely the terms of moral indignation in which the fact was chronicled by certain journalistic advocates of Home Rule partakes of the nature of "cant." Most of these journalists profess to believe in the accuracy of Mr. Blunt's charges against Mr. Balfour. Mr. Balfour on this assumption has tried to kill his political adversaries, the American Fenians do the like, only perhaps more mercifully. The only difference otherwise is that Mr. Balfour is within the law in doing what he does and acts indeed as the representative of the law, whereas the American dynamiters are without the law. But if they, being without the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, it would hardly seem that any special moral blame attaches to them—at least from the point of view of a law-abiding journalist. The American Fenian might surely say to Mr. Balfour and his friends, "How can you, possessed of *such* magnificence at home (i.e., for purposes of coercion)—gaols, plank beds, cells 7 feet by 10, etc., etc.—envy me a humble can of dynamite?"

Freedom according to the conceptions of the modern capitalists is admirably illustrated by the proposals of the syndicate of London bankers and merchants relative to the affairs of Morocco. According to the views of those persons, Morocco is to be compelled to receive European shoddy and to "open itself up" by telegraphs and railways, on pain of forfeiting its "integrity"—that is, of being dismembered by the European band of harpies. The Moors don't want the shoddy goods, or the telegraphs or the railways; but no matter, they *must* expend their substance on things they don't want and had much rather do without, for the benefit of the enterprising European capitalist, commercial and industrial, the first of whom wants to force his wares, and the second to start mining and other operations, at the expense of the unfortunate native. Even the *Daily News* is impressed with the ironical nature of "independence" on such terms.

E. B. B.

Canterbury is doubtful just now whether to laugh or cry over the alteration in its police arrangements. Among the exposures that moral-miracles have made of themselves, no scandals have come to light much worse than those of that ancient town. As a consequence the superintendent has resigned, a constable been dismissed, another degraded, and the city police will be abolished. In future Canterbury will be policed by the county constabulary, and its inhabitants are by no means sure that they will be better off.

It looks like a retrograde step on the part of the municipality, this

giving up of its own police; but probably, as things now are, the blue lambs would be much the same under whatever authority they nominally were.

The *Star* quite rightly calls upon every Radical member to back up Mr. Labouchere in attacking the vote of £5,000 for robes and insignia of Knights, Companions, and other officers of the various orders of knighthood. "If it pleases grown men to indulge in these puerilities, no kind-hearted person will object to their doing so. But that overburdened taxpayers should be asked to pay for such tomfoolery is such a monstrous impertinence that it is surprising that it should be left to Radicals alone to oppose it."

If there were any meaning in these things beyond mere snobbery—if they really were public rewards for public benefits—folk would pay for them without grumbling; but the futile stupidity of a minister paying for a political service by an "honour" out of the people's pocket is enough to move laughter in—hell!

### A LETTER FROM INDIA.

A RATHER remarkable Report upon Taxation has recently been published by the Government of Bombay. For the eight years ending 1886 a License Tax upon Trades had been levied—professions and Government servants being exempt—the maximum which any one party or firm had to pay was £20 and the minimum £1. Below I give the total amounts which had been levied for the years 1878, 1881, and 1885—

Year.	Country.	Bombay City.	Total.
1878	£93,000	£35,000	£128,000
1881	87,000	39,000	126,000
1885	81,000	42,000	123,000

It will be seen that the collections from the country districts steadily declined; those in Bombay just as steadily rose; while the total collections for town and districts uniformly decreased. The complete list shows for each year a uniform progression downwards and upwards in such respective column. As the population of the Presidency is less than 20 millions, the tax amounts to an average all over of one penny per head. It shows that the cultivators and those dependent upon them are becoming impoverished, that the urban population (three-fourths of a million), consisting of merchants and the whole class of middlemen, are getting richer, but that the town and country together are not improving in material prosperity under the agis of British rule.

In 1886 an income-tax of 2½ per cent. was imposed by the then Secretary of State for India, Lord Randolph Churchill, to help to make good the deficit caused by the frantic policy of preparing to fight Russia by means of frontier railways in the mountains of Beluchistan and Afghanistan. This income-tax is levied upon trades, professions, and government officials, all incomes below £50 per annum being exempt. This tax produced in the Bombay Presidency £300,000 only, equivalent to an average tax per head of the population of 3½d. The laws upon which our civilisation is based favour the accumulation of money by the rich, who by means of usury in its many ramifications make the poor their slaves. The course of British government in India is no exception to this rule. The above Government report most instructively shows that in the country districts the money-lenders—i.e., those who live by lending money to the cultivators to pay the Government land-rent, or by lending them grain for seed and sustenance—pay more than one-half the income-tax of the country, the proportion varying from three-fourths as the maximum to one-third as the minimum in thirteen principal collectorates. The average tax paid by the money-lender in the country is £2, 10s., while in Bombay it is double this amount. These figures will greatly tend to confirm the opinion, so strongly urged by Mr. Hyndman, that India is becoming the poorer under British rule.

You may perhaps remember Sir Lepel Griffin, who last year stumped England as a parliamentary candidate of the Jingo class, and greatly offended Americans by the irreverent remarks he expressed upon the types of civilisation rampant in the States. As a sign of the times, it is worth while to quote some portions of the speech he recently made at the investiture by one of the Indian Jubilee princelings of the insignia of the Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire.

"The Rajah is rich, but after all, admiration for wealth, apart from its power to do good, is the attribute of slaves. The G.C.S.I. is granted, like the Garter in England, for reasons altogether apart from merit or virtue. Its insignia may be worn upon the breast of an illustrious prince or by a useless debauchee and tyrant. The old order changes, yielding place to the new. The idea of Divine Right, repudiated by the sentiment of civilised Europe, has taken refuge with barbarism in Russia and in the native states of Asia; but the time is coming when it will have to leave these last strongholds. The past history of the world has belonged to princes and slavery; the future is for the people and for freedom. The time will come when the enlightened judgment of humanity will no longer tolerate the idle, cruel, and sensual prince who looks upon his people as objects of plunder, and neglects every obligation which he should fulfil. In the new world which is coming, there will be no place for rulers such as these, who will disappear before advancing civilisation as wolves and tigers retire from the cultivated plains to the jungle. The only princes whom the conscience of the world will tolerate are those who rule on principles of enlightened virtue, and whose security will be found in the good will of the people."

The reading of this speech fairly took away my breath; it was so

unexpected, and, considering the quarter from which it emanated, so good. It shows that the principles of Socialism are spreading fast, when one so highly placed would give utterance to such ultra-Radical doctrines. "Princes and slavery are to go; the future is for the people and freedom." My thoughts immediately went home; I compared Warren to a tiger, and the upholders of law and order in Ireland to wolves. It is time you drove them into the jungle for good and all.  
Bombay, March 16th. D. GOSTLING.

Note.—The above figures are given in pounds sterling for the convenience of English readers. The currency of the country is in rupees. These used to be worth 2s. each, and are calculated at that rate in the above table, but their current value is now only 1s. 4d., consequent upon the action of the goldbugs of Europe.

### REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING APRIL 21, 1888.

15	Sun.	1836. George Engel born. 1881. Judicial murder of A. F. Jellia-boff, S. L. Perofskaja, W. Kibalchich, T. Mikhayloff, and N. Rissakoff.
16	Mon.	1790. Benj. Franklin died. 1866. Karakazoff's attempt upon Alexander III. 1871. Hyde Park Demonstration of Fraternity with Commune.
17	Tues.	1884. Bradlaugh and Hyndman debate. 1835. Colombian murder of rebels.
18	Wed.	1775. American War of Independence began.
19	Thur.	1772. Ricardo born. 1775. Battle of Lexington. 1868. Fenian trials. 1882. Charles Darwin died.
20	Fri.	1653. Cromwell dissolved "Rump" Parliament.
21	Sat.	1802. Louis Kosauth born. 1868. O'Farrell hung for attempt on Duke of Edinburgh. 1874. Wm. Carpenter died.

*Benjamin Franklin.*—Born January 17, 1706; died April 17, 1790; greatest of tramp printers, was a typical Yankee, for all that his father was an Englishman of later date than the great Puritan exodus, for his mother was of the most energetic New England stock. Although born in Boston, Franklin, like every genuine Yankee, considered the world his country and acted up to this idea. Like every true-bred Yankee also, Franklin was a thorough-paced Anarchist, devoting his whole life to breaking the fetters, political, social, and mental, which weigh down ignorant humanity. His method, however, was one of careful policy and gentle satire, his great defect being a woeful lack of the kind of courage which inspires the daring pioneer and the unfaltering martyr. This defect sometimes induced him to give cowardly advice to bolder reformers, as his well-known counsel to Tom Paine (to suppress 'The Age of Reason') is an instance. Still it takes many sorts of people to move the world as well as to fill it, and no just critic can deny Franklin great praise as a true friend of humanity. The great lesson of his life is the dignity of productive labour. This has nothing to do with the present all-glorified opportunities of the humblest citizen (if only cunning rogue enough) to rise to the highest station through our cheating and thieving commercial system. Franklin was from first to last an almost god-like mechanic. The penniless printer of Philadelphia was courted as a conqueror at Versailles by the most gorgeous and proudest feudal Court the world has ever known, not because he was a successful stock-gambler or pork-factor, but because he had proved his superiority by giving much to mankind instead of taking much from them. He who had sought to chain the lightnings had used the lightning flashes of his own wit to snap the manacles of millions of his fellows. It is the fashion to decry Franklin as "worldly wise." We can well leave his lack of ethereal thoughts to the gospel-brokers. Humanitarians will be little apt to blame him for being only human. Carpers may decry him for not being a god; the kindly will like him the more for being only a man.—L. W.

*Bradlaugh and Hyndman Debate.*—At St. James's Hall, Piccadilly, Professor E. S. Beesly in the chair, a debate between Mr. Charles Bradlaugh and Mr. H. M. Hyndman. One of the most debatable matters which could possibly be debated would be, "Do Debates ever Settle the Debated Topic?" There are very few if any debates on record where a debater has been converted to his opponent's views. During the Corn Law agitation, Cobden and Hume and others debated in various parts of the country, but the result was sometimes breaking up the meeting with a row, sometimes a brass band appeared, and sometimes the adjournment to another night in an adjoining parish, when the corn duty champion would fail to turn up. A weapon to be very carefully called into use in the debate; a man may have the very best of cases to present to judge and jury, and yet by special and peculiar advantages possessed by the opposing counsel, make a very bad show. It is well known that some of the clearest thinkers and writers have been exceedingly bad speakers, and to work out a lucid connected argument at length and in detail is an impossibility to many a good logician. In all that goes to make a platform debater, Charles Bradlaugh has few equals to-day. Voice, clear and powerful enough to command even a mass such as St. James's Hall was crammed with; argument, in the main well planned out, but always with room to allow rough incidental hits over or under his adversary's guard, and not above using a sort of platform boomerang with which to dent a knock on the back of the head when he could break through his opponent's guard. It would be exceedingly interesting to know if any person in the vast crowd present was to any great extent changed in opinions by the speeches of the two debaters, certainly they were very little changed; the feelings of the meeting ran very high, and more than once there seemed danger of a storm. The Socialist was much handicapped, but made a gallant fight, and whether he or the Individualist was the most satisfied, and which of the two followings was most satisfied, is quite impossible to decide; there is this little fact which may be thought worth consideration, the Individualist seemed more than once to be very ill-tempered, which could not be said of the Socialist.—T. S.

*Colombian Rebels.*—The agreeable freedom from conventional restraints enjoyed by the Colombian authorities, enabled them to put in force an expedient that "I Warren" as yet finds beyond his reach. Selecting one hundred of the most conspicuous rebel prisoners, they took them on a steamer out into the bay flung them overboard and left them to drown.—S.

*Fenian Trials.*—Wm. and Timothy Desmond, Nicholas English, John O'Keefe, Michael Barrett, and Ann Justice, tried on April 20th at Old Bailey for murder of a woman named Hodgkinson, killed by the Clerkenwell explosion. Barrett was the only one found guilty, and he was sentenced to death. Hung on the 26th of May.—S.

the precious days of life in an attempt to "gain the whole world, and lose their own souls" by selling them for a bag of money, and the disgusting feeling of superiority.

But to the bishop all this is darkness. He has never looked in the eyes of the toil-worn men and women in the streets—never seen the patient suffering (sweet pastor, he thinks to preach patience to them!) written deep in the lines of their faces—has never longed to "pal on" to them, and go with them, and open all his heart to them. As long as his social inequality exists, it is impossible for an employer to be a real friend, faithful unto death, to the man he is making a profit of, and whom he must dismiss as soon as he ceases to pay. The highest friendship possible under such conditions is that enlogised by the bishop, of "cultivated people living in the East-end," and "women seeking to reclaim outcast sisters"—originally sacrificed to the pride of their superiority. It is a friendship of Condescension and Patronage, gratifying, of course, to the patronised! My Lord Bishop, "the devils and the worms thank you for your polite invitation, but regret that they are engaged!"

To me, no truth is truer than this: That far greater than any trivial "duty" of toil, or what not, every human creature on this earth has a right to develop his faculties to their utmost extent, and make the most of this mysterious life while it lasts. No impediment can be allowed here; but before this right all class distinctions, all claims of property, all laws and Acts of Parliament, and all religions, vanish into insignificance: they fade away, and leave man lord of the universe, in his own right. Those who know that they are travelling this road find life opening out before them in endless beauty, and in place of the selfish solitude left behind, they feel themselves surrounded on all sides by their own equals, journeying on towards the same great goal of Freedom, in which brotherhood with all shall be the greatest joy of life.

The bishop, of course, wound up his sermon with some first-rate soft-soap for Royalty, wrapped up in the very best *Daily Telegraphese*—calculated to make the editor of the *Daily Levy* sit up. Probably, however, he and the bishop are "friends" typical of the time when Jew and Gentile "lie down together" (read what meaning you like for the verb), united in that "one hope of their calling"—to make money.

GEORGE STURT.

### MANCHESTER AND SALFORD TRADES COUNCIL AND THE MANCHESTER CORPORATION.

The Manchester and Salford Trades Council has under consideration the question of corporations contracting themselves out of the provisions of the Employers Liability Act, with special reference to a recent case affecting one of the employes of the Manchester Corporation, and at a numerously attended meeting of representatives of the various trades throughout the district, Mr. Ashton of the Beamers, Twisters, and Drawers' Society in the chair, the following resolution was unanimously adopted: "That the Manchester and Salford Trades Council had learned with regret, from the reports of a recent case, that the Manchester Corporation had evaded its responsibility under the Employers' Liability Act for accidents happening to workmen in its employ by arranging with an insurance company to take over its liability in such cases, and the Council, representing many thousand ratepayers, considered that such a course was calculated to lessen the care which the Corporation ought to feel bound to take to prevent the occurrence of accidents, and that if the business of the various departments were properly conducted, it was a loss to the ratepayers to spend their money in insuring against accidents." Mr. H. R. Slatter (Typographical Society), in moving the adoption of the above resolution, strongly condemned the action of the Manchester Corporation in contracting themselves out of the Act. He considered that the Act was not so much framed to give compensation to injured workmen as it was to make employers more careful in preventing accidents, and seeing a recent case had been decided against one of the Manchester Corporation employes on a technical objection, he considered it reflected great discredit upon a Corporation representing a place of such magnitude as Manchester that they should place themselves in the hands of an insurance company who were devoid of all scruples in availing themselves of technical objections to withhold payment of compensation in such cases as the one he had referred to. A long and animated discussion followed, in which the course of action taken by the Manchester Corporation with reference to the Employers' Liability Act was condemned in the strongest terms. Mr. Clarke (Gold-beaters' Society) said he thought it was the duty of the Council to show the Corporation that they as ratepayers were not afraid of the responsibility the Act imposed, and that they were determined these responsibilities should not be evaded by those who represented them on the City Council. On the motion of Mr. Waters (Typographical Association), seconded by Mr. Quinn (Amalgamated Society of Tailors), it was resolved that a copy of the above resolution be sent to the mayor, aldermen, and councillors of Manchester, and to each trades council throughout the United Kingdom; also that a deputation be appointed to wait upon the mayor and lay the case before him, and the deputation was appointed to consist of George D. Kelly (secretary, Trades Council), Mr. H. R. Slatter (Typographical Association), and Mr. J. Jenkins (Bakers' Society), with instructions to urge upon the mayor the desirability of the Corporation meeting its responsibilities directly, and not by contracting itself out of the Act of Parliament. The secretary was also instructed to obtain if possible an approximate return of the number of Corporations and private concerns who had contracted themselves out of the Act.

We have been suffering for a century from an acute outbreak of individualism, unchecked by the old restraints, and invested with almost a religious sanction by a certain soul-less school of writers.—*Prof. H. S. Foxwell.*

The first and indispensable step towards any serious amendment of the labourer's lot is that he should be, in one way or another, lifted out of the groove in which he at present works, and placed in a position compatible with his becoming a sharer in equal proportion with others in the general advantages arising from industrial progress.—*Prof. Cairnes, 'Political Economy.'*

### "The Tables Turned" in America.

A FEW weeks ago there was an attempt made to produce "The Tables Turned" in Concordia Hall, New York City, by some members of the American section of the Socialistic Labor Party and District Assembly No. 10 of the Progressive Labour Party for the benefit of their organisation. All the internal troubles had been adjusted and the actors had learned their parts when, at half-past six of the evening on which the play was to have been performed, the city police discovered that the hall had no theatrical license. Nothing could be done, and although the boards of the stage still reeked with the steps of ribald dancers, and although a variety troupe performed on the following night and on Sunday night of the same week, those dangerous Socialists were compelled to postpone the production of their play. Had they been half-naked society ladies endeavouring to buy clothes for the half-naked little Kickapoos, it would assuredly have been different. Such performances are given many times a winter without a license; but as these people only happened to be fairly well-dressed Socialists trying to help clothe the less poetic poor in our midst, an obsolete law had to be dragged from its hole for their extinction.

Fortunately a dance had been arranged to follow the play, so that the audience were not entirely disappointed, and, taking their oppression good-naturedly, spent a pleasant evening chatting and dancing with their friends.

Nothing daunted, the committee immediately set about the work of securing a licensed theatre for the production of their play. Soon the Roumania was secured, and the regular troupe kindly consented to perform a little farce as a prelude. No sooner was this known than one of our police captains went to the proprietor of the theatre and, in their usual manly manner, told him that if that play was performed in his theatre, "he would see next year that that theatre did not get a license." I suppose it was an understood clause that sufficient greasing might fix matters a little.

However, we have a Mayor who takes *such* a paternal interest in the affairs of the "children" under him, and is *such* a lover of the working man—a big iron manufacturer—that the committee thought it might be a good chance for him to show his intense desire to put down all sorts of official abuse in the city, so went to him in order to state their case. They were received by "his honour" most graciously, who told them that he had no objection to their performing their little play, provided only it was not *immoral*; that he knew William Morris, and he was a nice fellow, but a little crazy; that he had not ordered the police captain to make his threat, and they were to pay no attention to him, but to go ahead and produce their play, and if the owner of the theatre refused to let them have the house, to *sue him for breach of contract*.

So I suppose it must be one of the inalienable rights of police captains to threaten wherever they choose, and if the threat stands in your way of liberty, you can *sue* the victim of the threat. I don't know how they settled it with the police captain—scaped him, perhaps; but at any rate the play was performed on Thursday evening, March 15th. The cast was:—

<i>Judge Larrett</i> ... ..	A. ROSENBERG.
<i>District-Attorney Bellows</i> ... ..	TOM BLYM.
<i>Jake Harp</i> ... ..	L. WEISS.
<i>Captain Hilliams</i> ... ..	J. EAGAN.
<i>Officer Neverenough</i> ... ..	W. HINTZE.
<i>Mary Pinch</i> ... ..	LIZZIE FEEL.
<i>Lawrence Freeman</i> ... ..	L. GRONLUND.
<i>Ed. Graham</i> ... ..	E. GOLDSMITH.
<i>Bishop Harigam</i> ... ..	CHAS. KEEGAM.
<i>Maya Lewitt</i> ... ..	S. E. SHEVITCH.
<i>George Henry</i> ... ..	J. BORDOLLO.
<i>Clerk of Court</i> ... ..	L. ARNHEIM.

On the whole, the performance was a very creditable one for amateurs, though, of course, they showed, as all amateurs do, that they were not used to the stage. The "stick" of the ordinary amateur performance was entirely wanting.

The make-up in several cases, noticeably Captain Williams, District-Attorney Fellows and Henry George, were decidedly good and very like. Rather the best performances were those of Bellows, Neverenough, and Mary Pinch. But criticisms of the play or players are not to the point, as I wished merely to let you know what a free country this is anyhow, and how beautifully our "reform" politicians protect the interests of the "people."

I often think with Carlyle that a monarch is not so bad, after all, as a demagogue, though I do not see that it is necessary to accept with him the monarch as perfection, but rather aim at the destruction of both these evils in the interests of individual liberty.

FREDERIC A. C. PERRINO.

Continental Hotel, Nevah, New Jersey,  
March 20th, 1888.

# THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

The workpeople at Messrs. Oram & Son's woollen mills, Chesham, are being discharged as their looms come empty.

The new Self Help Company at Burnley has started work with the loom and shed lately belonging to Mr. J. H. Whitaker.

In consequence of bad trade only about 70 looms out of 546 velvet looms, which Messrs. Wrigley and Schofield's Chesham cotton mill contains, are now running.

THE Northern Spinning and Weaving Mill, Belfast, one of the most extensive linen concerns in the north of Ireland, was offered for sale by public auction on Friday last. Nearly 1,000 operatives will be thrown out of employment.

DISCHARGES AT SHEERNESS.—Instructions have been issued by the Admiralty for a reduction in the Chief Constructor's Department at Sheerness Dockyard. Owing to the slackness of the work in the repairing department, it has been found necessary to serve notices for the discharge of a party of shipwrights.

WAGES IN GOVERNMENT DOCKYARDS.—The return upon the number of men employed in the dockyards, and the wages paid, which has been prepared on the motion of Lord Randolph Churchill, shows that while salaries have increased some 25 per cent. wages have decreased, and the work done has been less. About 21,760 men were employed in 1886-7, and the wages paid amount to £2,473,080.

COTTON SPINNERS.—The Council of the Operative Spinners' Association in the Oldham district, have made an application to the Committee of the Master Spinners' Association for an advance of five per cent in the wages of all spinners and twiners in the Oldham district. A joint meeting of the committees will be held on an early date to consider the question, which is one of great importance, as three-fourths of the wages paid in the medium and coarse trade are regulated by the Oldham district.

THE LOCKMAKERS' STRIKE AT WILLENHALL.—The strike of lockmakers at Messrs. Payton and Co.'s factory, Walsall Street, Willenhall, has terminated—so far as the men are concerned—successfully. During the nine weeks the men were out of employment the sum of £188 5s. 9d. was contributed by other working men of the town and district, making a weekly average of £19 16s. 1d. The expenses, consisting of the printing of balance-sheets, etc., came to £8 8s. 10d., leaving an available balance of £180 15s. 11d., which has been distributed to the strike hands, who now take the opportunity of thanking all who have contributed to the funds. The men have found employment at other factories in the town.

FEDERATE! FEDERATE!—A strike of twiners has just been settled in the Oldham district which shows the necessity of wider organisation amongst the various branches of the cotton industry. The negotiations nearly fell through on the point of discharging the men who took the places of the twiners on strike. Now if there were a treaty between the three great amalgamated unions of cardroom workers, spinners, and weavers, to withdraw the whole of their members from any mill employing interlopers in any department in case of strike, the traitors would be effectually squelched and the employers more easily brought to terms. A glimmering of this fact appears to have dawned upon the Oldham Spinners, which, it is to be hoped, will lead to the question of federation being earnestly considered.

FELT HAT TRIMMERS AND WOOL-FORMERS' ASSOCIATION.—A branch of this society is now formed at Bury. The subscriptions are 2d., 3d., and 4d. per week for the following benefits: Loss by fire, out of work, lock-outs, unjustifiable discharge from employment, superannuation, and a sum of money at death. At the inaugural meeting Mr. Wilde, the secretary, stated that during the past eighteen months branches were established at Denton, Hyde, Stockport, and Bredbury; and other hatting centres contemplated following the example set them. The number of members was now near upon 1200, and it was intended soon to start a weekly trade journal to defend the interests of the workers in the silk and felt hat trade throughout the United Kingdom.

PROTEST AGAINST OVERTIME.—The annual report of the Ironfounders' Society, just issued, shows that the income was £46,259 and the expenditure £41,661, leaving a balance in hand at the close of the year of £10,381. The average of unemployed during the year was a proportion of 13 per cent. of the membership. The society numbers 11,713 members. The iron trade is stated to have been very bad for the last four years, and regret is expressed by the executive of the society that improvements in machinery and appliances should always be the means of throwing workmen on the list of the unemployed. The report speaks very strongly on the question of systematic overtime, as it is thought that if this were done away with employment would be found for a large number of men who are now idle.

FEMALE LABOUR IN CENTRAL LONDON.—Mr. Lakeman's Report shows the absurdity of the present mode of investigating and reporting upon labour matters by persons who have no practical acquaintance with the subject. His statements as to City skilled labour are utterly misleading to those who are ignorant, and disgusting to the workers who know how far from the truth are the rose-coloured pictures he draws of machinists earning 20s. to 38s. per week, and "smart little women" making a dozen bonnets per day at 1s. 6d. per bonnet, etc. And then we are informed on the authority of that sublimated Sims, Mr. Besant, that "for really first-class work there is both demand and handsome pay." (!) What an insult to the thousands of clever women who are forced to sell themselves for from 12s. to 15s. per week to the Maples, the Morleys, the Marshall and Snellgroves, *et hoc genus omne*.

DISPUTE AT THE RICHMOND IRON WORKS, NEAR GREAT BRIDGE.—The puddlers employed at these works have for some time been accustomed to heat their furnaces with slack instead of coals, a method which, while it confers pecuniary benefit upon the employers, places the workman at great disadvantage, inasmuch as it necessitates extra work and longer hours. Puddlers employed at other works receive extra remuneration for working slack. The employés at the Richmond gave notice on Saturday for an advance. This the employer refuses to concede, and the work has been closed the whole of the week. A deputation waited on the master on Friday, but no terms were arrived at. A number of the men met at Great Bridge on Saturday morning. They assert that if they resume work at the terms they last received, it will militate against workmen at other places. A number of them seem determined not to commence work unless some

concession is made. Their representative has visited Mr. Capper to obtain his advice in reference to the matter.

THE REPORT OF THE CHIEF INSPECTOR OF FACTORIES.—The Report just issued shows a marked improvement in the administration of the Factory Acts over past years; but there is still much to be done in certain districts, such as Salford, Burnley, Halifax, Huddersfield, etc.—especially the latter district, where the employers have hitherto had things pretty much all their own way both in the mills and on the bench. The total number of informations laid throughout the kingdom was 2,778, under 29 different heads. Of these no less than 1,447 were for employing children, young persons, or women, before or after the legal hour, or during meal times. Another 342 were for employing the same class of hands during legal holidays, whilst the employment of young persons without a certificate of fitness furnished 449. It will thus be seen that these four heads supply the great bulk of the cases. The total number of convictions was 2,142, of cases withdrawn on payment of costs 560, and 76 were dismissed. For the year before the figures were—Informations laid, 1,635; convictions, 1,432; withdrawn on payment of costs, 172; and dismissed, 31. It will thus be seen that the figures for 1887 show a most substantial increase on 1886, whilst in the last named year they were double what they were in 1885.

THE PAYMENT OF THE MINERS' M.P.'S.—The result of the ballot among the Northumberland miners as to whether the salaries of Messrs. Burt and Fenwick, M.P.'s, should be any longer paid out of the funds of the Miners' Union, has been made known. It was as follows:—For continuing payment of the salaries, 4,591; against, 4,291; majority for payment, 292; total number of votes, 8,890. On the last occasion the number voting in favour was 3,387; against, 4,806; or a majority against of 1,419. This time, 8,890 votes have in all been recorded, or an increase of 697 votes over the total number in September. A local paper says: "The miners manifest surprisingly little interest in the subject of their members' salaries. A large portion of them do not seem to care whether the vote is taken at all, while many of them maintain that a fuller discussion of the subject is essential to a final settlement." There can be no doubt that since the propandea of Socialism amongst the miners, a quite different train of thought and hope has taken hold of many. The undisguised and stupid attacks of the "men in office" on the principles and propandea of Socialism, has done much to bring about their own downfall, for the result of the ballot must be taken as a crushing defeat of the M.P.'s. The *Newcastle Chronicle* says: "Mr. Burt seems to labour under the delusion that because no complaints were made at his meetings during the last elections, no discontent with his action exists. The only remark that need be made on this point is that it is unfortunate for himself, and perhaps for the cause of Labour Representation, that his friends have not kept him better informed of the currents of discontent among the miners."

GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS AND LONDON WORKMEN.—On Saturday afternoon the First Commissioner of Works (the Right Hon. D. Plunket, M.P.) received, at his offices in Whitehall Place a representative deputation of London workmen, to urge their grievances as to the present system of letting Government contracts. The deputation, which originated with the London United Trades Council of Carpenters and Joiners, was introduced by Mr. Henry Broadhurst, M.P., who said the main object of the deputation was to make complaint of the outcome of the arrangements for the repairs and maintenance of the different Government buildings, the contracts for which, he understood, were let from year to year for three years. The result of the system was that contracts were let at a price under which the contractor of necessity paid a 1d. and in some cases 1½d. per hour less than the current wages paid in the trade in the metropolitan district. It might be answered that the Government had nothing to do but to accept the lowest tender, provided that the work was fairly well done. But the discharge of the duties of the Department of Works was not done if the workmen's interests were so ignored. The workmen of London by the present system were sufferers in loss of wages to the extent of 8d. or 10d., and even in some cases 1s. a-day less than they would receive in other works. Mr. Dew (secretary of the London United Trades Council of Carpenters and Joiners) presented a memorial which urged upon the First Commissioner of Works the necessity of including a clause in all future contracts to the effect that all labour employed by the contractors within the London district on Government works should be of the best quality, and the standard rate of wages to be paid and the working hours to be in accordance with the rules and customs of the trades, and the total abolition of overtime; also that a clause be inserted to the effect that no portion of the work should be sub-let. In support of these proposals the deputation wished to point out how, for want of a similar clause to the one they had proposed being inserted in the contract for the new law courts, the contractor was able to bring cheap labour into London, and by so doing inflict a serious injury to many trades, and leading to sad disputes during the job. Mr. P. Weighill (Operative Stonemasons), Mr. Browning (Operative Plumbers), Mr. Otley (National Society of Plasterers), and Mr. G. Shipton (Amalgamated House Decorators and Painters), supported the memorial, and especially spoke of the sub-letting leading to sweating in various trades. Mr. Plunket made the usual official reply.

THE CRADLEY HEATH CHAINMAKERS.—The Cradley Heath and District Chainmakers' Association have drawn up the prospectus for the establishment of the Co-operative Society which has been the subject of discussion at the meetings of the operatives during the last few months. The name of the Society will be the Cradley Heath and District Chain Manufacturing Society, Limited. The president is Mr. T. Homer, and the secretary Mr. James Smith. The registered office will be in Upper High Street, Cradley Heath. The prospectus sets forth that the society is established with the object of carrying on the trade of chain manufacturing in all the various branches connected therewith, both wholesale and retail. It is pointed out that trade disputes occur so frequently through the competitive system, manufacturers continually trying to outdo one another in price, for which the workers have to suffer, makes it imperative on the workers to combine for protection, and manufacture their own goods and distribute them. The object of the promoters is to establish a co-operative chain works, in which shall co-operate all the factors necessary to ensure success, thereby making the interests of capital and labour identical, and ensuring to each workman a just share of the profits arising from joint work, and and to the capitalist a reasonable interest for his investment. It is proposed to raise the capital of the society in shares of £1 each, but each individual member will be required to hold not less than five to be entitled to vote. The shares will be payable at the following rate:—1s. as entrance fee on applying for admission, and 5s. per quarter following until the first share is paid up. Any person may, however, pay up his shares at a higher rate, or in full, or on application or allotment, if he so desire. The rate of

*O'Farrell Hung.*—On March 12, 1868, while the Duke of Edinburgh was at a picnic in Sydney, N.S.W., he was shot at and wounded by a man named O'Farrell, who after firing did not try to escape, but made a desperate resistance before he was arrested. He denied connection with the Fenian movement, but admitted being a sympathiser with it. March 26th he was tried at a special sitting of the Central Criminal Court, held at Darlinghurst. Hung there on April 21st.—S.

*Death of Charles Darwin.*—Charles Darwin, one of the greatest naturalists the world has yet seen, was born at Shrewsbury, February 12, 1809. He was the son of Robert Waring Darwin, who was the son of Erasmus Darwin who wrote verse and books on natural history. Erasmus Darwin, perhaps unwittingly, was a believer in the doctrine, that great wits jump, for very much of his work was bold generalisation and speculation without the solid foundation of experiment that has placed the grandson's name so high. That there should be mention of Charles Darwin's life and work in our Revolutionary Calendar is very right and proper, for the work with which he is credited in the minds of most readers is of the most revolutionary character possible for any man to conceive of. According to Grant Allen's somewhat warm biography of Darwin in the 'English Worthies Series,' the very stars seem to have fought to make Charles Darwin great. The French Revolution and Waterloo trouble had all simmered down, and the world had nothing else to do but produce great minds. Lamarck, Malthus, Lyell, Owen, Humboldt, Hooker, Lewes, Spencer, Wallace, and Huxley are all on board together, either just doing something important or just getting ready. Allen does not mention the whereabouts of Samuel Butler, author of 'Erewhon' at this juncture, but it is just a trifle strange that one of the same name should have been Darwin's schoolmaster at the Shrewsbury Grammar School; from there he went to Edinburgh, and thence to Christ's College, Cambridge. Here he became much indebted to one of the well-known botanists of that time, Professor Henslow, who must have had considerable influence on Darwin's turn to natural history. On December 27, 1831, Darwin left England on her Majesty's ship *Beagle*, and did not return till 1836. His book, 'The Voyage of the *Beagle*,' is his reward of that trip. It is not possible within space at command to present anything like a fair digest of what Charles Darwin really did, and what it is claimed that he did, but there may be this said, that he deserves the sympathy of every supporter of unpopular causes if only for the storm of abuse which was showered upon him for his 'Origin of Species,' 1859. The 'Descent of Man,' 1871, was somewhat more tamely received, but still the theologians were too bitter to please the author, and it must with shame be written that Charles Darwin has considerably minimised his own work by mental cowardice which his life-long studies should have made him superior too. As he has effected an immense revolution in thought and method in scientific study, it was perhaps fitting that an immense revolution should take place in thought of him, and that this occurred is proved that one of the most virulently assailed by persons of this age is buried in Westminster Abbey. I have mentioned somewhere in the calendar Samuel Butler's 'Erewhon,' as a hint of yet another revolution which may come about in connection with Darwin. I may suggest that food for much thought will be found in Butler's 'Evolution Old and New,' Hardwick and Boyne, 1879.—T. S.

*Death of William Carpenter.*—William Carpenter, who died in Colebrooke Row, Islington, London, N., on April 21, 1874, was the son of a tradesman who lived in St. James, Westminster. William was born in 1797, and was with the very slightest of education started on his working life as errand-boy to a bookbinder in Finsbury, to whom he was later on bound apprentice. Here he became acquainted with William Greenfield, the self-taught but scholarly editor of Bagster's 'Polyglott Bibles'; the result of the intimacy was that Carpenter by hard study was able to acquire the knowledge of several languages, ancient and modern, and later on was able with Greenfield to issue a monthly publication called 'Critica Biblica.' In 1825, Carpenter produced in three volumes the 'Scientia Biblica,' dedicated to George IV., whose librarian, Dr. Sumner, had read the proof sheets. Besides these, Carpenter produced a long list of similar Scriptural works, sufficient to have secured him an honourable position in literature, but for us his name is interesting in his political and social writings, which of themselves make a tolerable life's work. Biographies of John Milton and William Cobbett; a 'History of the French Revolution,' a 'Report of the Trial of Charles Southwell for Blasphemy, 1842,' 'Address to the Working Classes on the Reform Bill, 1831,' 'Electors' Manual,' 'The Political Text-Book,' 'The Unemployed,' 'The People's Book, their Chartered Rights and Practical Wrongs,' 'Peasage for the People,' also 'Political Letters and Pamphlets,' published for the avowed purpose of trying with the Government the question of law—whether all publications containing news or intelligence, however limited in quantity or irregularly issued, are liable to the imposition of the stamp duty of fourpence.' This series is dated from October 9, 1830, to May 14, 1831, and in my copy is followed by 'A Report of the Trial of William Carpenter in the Court of Exchequer, on Saturday, May 14, 1831, for publishing a number of political letters and pamphlets charged to be newspapers, within the meaning of the Acts of Parliament.' He was condemned in fines amounting to £120. These 'Letters' are addressed to various persons, the opening one being to the Duke of Wellington. It is an 8vo of 32 pages, 25 pages being the letter proper, signed I am my lord Duke the King's loyal subject, William Carpenter. In the letter he gives the whole of the news of the day, home and foreign; a postscript follows, and then market reports and advertisements. The market reports opening, The following my lord Duke is the, etc., etc. The rest of the letters are all in quarto, generally 16 pages, with a symbolical wood-cut engraving at title heading, the engraving not being much in favour of the powers that be. He took some share in the Chartist agitation, being editor of one of their journals bearing the title of *The Charter*.—T. S.

**MID LANARK AND SOCIALISM.**—The following questions were put to the Liberal candidates in Mid Lanark by comrades: Will Mr. M'Liver go in for total abolition of the house of landlords and bishops, nationalisation of all lands and minerals—the natural resources of the State—and the abolition of all monopolies, by promoting such laws as shall finally extinguish robbery of labour by capital? Mr. M'Liver says he has risen to independent means by his own industry: can he instance any man whose fortune is not the result of profits either directly from the labours of men, women, and children, or from the productions of exploited labour?—G. M.L.

**"BEST WALLSEND."**—Mr. Ellis Lever, the Manchester coal merchant, who exposed the Hunter frauds, declares that there is an imposition practised upon the people of London in connection with the coal trade which is less justifiable than the coal tax. Many London merchants, he says, describe the coal they sell as "Wallsend" or "Best Wallsend," and so obtain a price which the quality does not warrant. He fearlessly asserts that no real Wallsend coal has been sent to or sold in London during the last 40 years, although it is advertised daily. The name "Wallsend" is used with no other object than to deceive and mislead, and he thinks the Legislature should interfere, if the Trade Marks Act does not apply to coal. Parliament has made it an offence to sell margarine as butter. The attention of the House of Commons has also been directed to the sale of American cheese which contains animal fat and of American meat as English. If these transactions are fraudulent, then the sale of coal as Wallsend which is not Wallsend must be placed in the same category, and should be made illegal. *Jus* is dead or would object to "hampering enterprise."

**STRIKING THE ROCK.**

"Speak to the rock." He smote it with his rod,  
Crying "ye rebels!" All the people shrank  
From wrath so rare in him: howbeit they drank,  
Fiercely forgetful; and their children trod  
The Promised Land, crossing the stream dry-shod;  
While his swift eye once from the mountain bank  
Swept that sweet scene, and into darkness sank,  
Who mingled curses with the words of God.

Now when the people murmur as of old,  
Fate sends us forth their wanted lives to save,  
And will accomplish all it hath foretold:  
Yet, for one wilful blow when factions rave,  
Our lives may lose the beauty we behold,  
Our glory find an undiscovered grave.

REGINALD A. BECKET

**TO THE WAGE-SLAVE.**

'Tis the dog's to live and the dog's to die  
At the heels of a master—not man's!  
Yet this is the portion of you and I,  
O brothers of mine, and you ask not why!

'Tis the dog's to whimper and whine for the bone  
Which is flung from his master's board;  
And 'tis our's to beg of the haughty drone  
For leave to labour that he may own.

Is it thus we must sneak through the byeways of life,  
Without leaving a trace behind,  
Of a word or a blow 'gainst the wrongs which are rife,  
Or a part howe'er small in the turmoil and strife?

A thousand years answer a thousand times No!  
In the deeds of their bravest men;  
Whose hands laid the wrong and the wrong-doer  
Whose thoughts are the torches the centuries show.

'Tis the man's to be masterless, fatherless, free!  
The slave's 'neath the whip to trudge down,  
And none is so foully misshapen as he  
That sits idly passive where wrong-doings be!

T. MAGU

**OVERTIME IN GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHMENTS.**

In the House of Commons on Friday, on the motion to go into Committee of Supply, Mr. Baumann rose to move, "That, in the present condition of the labour market, it is expedient, with a view to giving employment to a greater number of workmen, to discontinue the practice of working overtime in Government yards and factories, so far as may be done without injury to the public service." The condition of the labour market and the sources of employment were not only a theme for the leader-writer, the philosopher, or statistician, but constituted for the politician—the unhappy drudge of destiny—a problem of extreme importance at the present time. Our statesmanship, like Mrs. Jellaby's philanthropy, was telescopic in its range. Mrs. Jellaby, hon. members would remember, was so occupied with the Carribbee Indians as to allow her children to wallow in the gutter and her husband to go into the bankruptcy court. He could not help thinking the condition of our own artisans was a subject of as much importance as the squabbles of the Egyptian royal family, the Canadian fisheries, or the duties of that interesting person the royal ratcatcher. It was computed that there were at the present time 7,000,000 adult male workers in the three kingdoms, and according to the hon. member for the Rhouda Valley (Mr. Abraham), there were 900,000 workmen out of employment and 6,000,000 worked on an average nine hours a-day. If these were reduced to eight hours the immediate effect would be the absorption of 750,000 out of the 900,000 unemployed. Taking average overtime at 12 hours per week, which was a little less than was worked at Woolwich and Enfield in 1885, this would give employment to 1,500,000. The Government employed at Woolwich and Enfield alone over 10,000 men every week, and at the five great dockyards 21,000 hands per year. It was therefore a matter of special solicitude to see what attitude they took in this matter of overtime. From a Parliamentary return for 1885-6, he found that of the 10,254 men employed at Woolwich and Enfield, 7,760 worked an average of 12½ hours per week overtime for 37 weeks out of 52, making a total amount of overtime of 4,832,950 hours, which if distributed among fresh men, would have given employment to over 1,500 for the 52 weeks at 60 hours a-week. Every five men working overtime kept out a sixth man. It might be said the sixth man was an unskilled labourer, and that the skilled labourer was not there; but, as a matter of fact, the skilled labourer of the country was now largely living out of unemployed benefit funds. There was a great gulf between the artisan earning 40s. or 50s. a-week and your Trafalgar Square rioter. He wanted to prove to the House from statistical tables that highly skilled artisans of the same category as those working overtime were waiting for employment in the streets and about the factories, and were living on the unemployed benefit funds of the trade unions. In the Engineers' Society 7.4 per cent of the members were on the Unemployed Benefit Fund; in the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, 7.8 per cent.; of Steam-Engine Makers, 5.8; of the Iron-founders, 13.9; of the Boiler-makers and Iron Shipbuilders no less than 22.2; of the Pattern-makers, 9.6; and of the Associated Blacksmiths, 14.4 per cent. This was a splendid record of the fight made by trade unionists against the want of employment, but they could not for ever bear such a strain. Having argued that payment for overtime was extravagance, the hon. member remarked that a country like England with an overstocked labour-market must be prepared either to bring about a more general distribution of wages and employment, or to face a very large increase in the pauper and criminal classes.



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS COME WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEARD IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMNED IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 15 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.

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J. R. (Cloverbank, Glasgow)—Fabian Tract No. 5, and the Land Restoration and Free Land Leagues will give you full information on the point you mention.  
 J. S. (Birmingham).—Article received—will be used next week.  
 AUSTRALIAN.—The Radical office is New Lambton Road, Hamilton, N.S.W. Its annual subscription is (for England) 8s., and it is quite the best advanced paper in your native clime.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday April 11.

<b>ENGLAND</b> Christian Socialist Die Autonomie Justice Lancet Newspaper London—Freie Presse Labour Tribune Norwich—Daylight Our Corner Personal Rights Journal Railway Review Worker's Friend	<b>NEW SOUTH WALES</b> Hamilton—Radical	<b>INDIA</b> Bankipore—Behar Herald	<b>UNITED STATES</b> People New York—Der Sozialist Volkszeitung Social Science Jewish Volkszeitung Boston—Woman's Journal Libertas Chicago—Labor Enquirer Vorboten Chicago (Ill.)—Knights of Labor Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer	<b>DETROIT</b> —Der Arme Teufel <b>FORT WORTH (Tex.)</b> —South West <b>HAMMONTON (N.J.)</b> —Credit Foncier <b>MILWAUKEE (Wis.)</b> —Volksblatt <b>N HAVEN</b> —Workmen's Advocate <b>PATERSON (N.J.)</b> —Labor Standard <b>PROVIDENCE (R.I.)</b> —The People <b>ST. LOUIS (Mo.)</b> —Die Parole <b>SAN FRANCISCO</b> Arbeiter-Zeitung Coast Seamen's Journal Freethought San Francisco (Cal) The People	<b>FRANCE</b> Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) La Revolt Le Coup de Feu Journal du Peuple Nimes—L'Emancipation Lille—Le Travailleur Guesse—Le Devoir	<b>HOLLAND</b> Hague—Recht voor Allen	<b>BELGIUM</b> Ghent—Vooruit Liege—L'Avenir	<b>SWITZERLAND</b> Przedaurt Zurich—Sozial Demokrat	<b>ITALY</b> Gazetta Operaia Milan—Il Fascio Operaio Marsala—La Nuova Eta Cremona—La Faccia Rome—L'Emancipazione	<b>SPAIN</b> El Productor Madrid—El Socialista Cadix—El Socialismo	<b>GERMANY</b> Berlin—Volks Tribuna	<b>AUSTRIA</b> Arbeiterstimme Brunn—Volksfreund Vienna—Gleichheit	<b>HUNGARY</b> Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik	<b>ROMANIA</b> Muncitorul Vutoara	<b>DENMARK</b> Social-Demokraten	<b>SWEDEN</b> Stockholm, Social-Demokraten Malmo—Arbetet	<b>NORWAY</b> Kristiania—Social-Demokraten
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IN PRAISE OF EQUALITY.

AMONG all the gush that has been poured out over the death of the German Emperor, not the least noticeable is that sermon which the Bishop of Peterborough preached before the royal family, in the Chapel Royal at Whitehall. The discourse took the form of a eulogium on the beauty of existing social distinctions between mankind, so that the Pall Mall Gazette, in a brief notice of it on the 12th March, heads the article "In Praise of Inequality in Brotherhood."

Taking his text from Corinthians I, chap. xii., the bishop dwelt strongly on St. Paul's comparison of the church to a human body, which, though one body, consists of many members of various functions. The comparison is rather a favourite one with those whose interest it is to uphold social distinctions; a notable instance of its use being that in Shakespeare's 'Coriolanus.' But although the bishop did not (let us hope), as another we have heard of, mis-quote Scripture for his cause, he entirely mis-read it and attributed to the apostle a meaning that the text by no means bears out. For he has chosen to understand the passage as referring to inequality of gifts; whereas St. Paul speaks, not of inequality, but of dissimilarity—a vastly different thing. Indeed, the apostle, in his second epistle to the same people, makes a strong point of equality. He says plainly, "For I mean not that other men be eased and ye burdened. But by an equality, that now at this time your abundance may be a supply for their want, that their abundance also may be a supply for your want; that there may be equality." However, we are not concerned here with St. Paul, but with the bishop, who, regardless of the apostle's reputation for consistency, has chosen to make him figure as a champion of inequality. The Church, which is supposed to comprise all Christians, is compared to a body, whose different members have different functions. If we take the divisions as Shakespeare gives them, we shall get the working-classes for the "hands" as they are so often called, or for the feet, whilst the "upper" classes represent the belly. (I cannot think that the simile holds good here, since all the parts of the body are supposed to perform some function "some more essential, some less so," and I am unaware of any essential function whatever being performed by the aristocracy, who would be more accurately

compared to some foul cancerous growth, draining all the strength of the body and rendering skilful surgery necessary. The distribution to the different members of the social body is carried on by the class of overworked shopmen, who get poorly fed enough. However, we need not quarrel with Shakespeare's decision in the matter; but must object to any special honour or consideration being shown to the wealthy in their capacity of disordered stomach.) Now in a healthy body the main function of the organ in question is to distribute to each member, healthy, sufficient food, bringing glad life to the minutest part of the system. In such a body what comparison can there be between the various members, or how can one be said to be better than another? "Each has its own life movement intelligence, and ridiculous epithets." One tries in vain to imagine any basis on which to found an argument of inequality.

Not so, however, in our "Society" to-day. Here we see the upper classes absorbing all that the "hands" provide, without performing their own work of distribution; the legs tremble and totter under their load; the "hands" hang helpless—useless; the nation has become a very Falstaff (who had not seen for years the knees which supported him, any more than our bishops know aught of the "brethren" on whose labour they live); requiring an enormous belt (of social laws and distinctions of inequality) to prevent its becoming a spectacle of shame before all the world.

And this is the body that the bishop finds so admirable,—such a constitution, this British Constitution of ours! Altogether in such capital order! And yet I fancy that the Founder of Christianity would repudiate with indignation the title, so often given him by the clergy, of Head to such a body. He, despised and rejected by the priests, the friend of outcasts and sinners, the teacher of Equality, who would have us "call no man master";—no! he can have no part in this abomination. Let us rather call it a headless body, one of Victor Hugo's devil-fish, with its eyes in its belly, and so be quit of the simile; hoping that when next his lordship tackles this subject, he will tell us which he considers more and which less essential of the different members of the body of society, and whether, if bishops represent the heart, for instance, it is well that they should be enclosed in such a fat-bed of luxury.

But after all, the bishop is not quite satisfied. He admits that the brotherhood of those who profess Christianity is not altogether a success, and that this is owing to "inequality in the distribution of this world's gifts; wealth, rank, intellect, peace to some, and toil, poverty, weariness to the rest." He also recognizes the antagonism, the class-war, that is beginning between these two divisions of mankind; and he asks, "Have we, ministers of Christ, no help to offer?" Apparently, the ministers of Christ have not; the evils being due, in the bishop's opinion, to the curious way in which the Almighty has made us. For, do what we can, he tells us, "the same social inequalities would still exist, for they are founded on physical inequalities which must always exist." Are we to believe, then, that Lord Clanricarde, being physically unequal to supporting himself, is to remain socially superior to the labourers whose lives are being ruined by his exactions? The bishop forgets that it is possible, and may be advisable, to cut down the ivy which is strangling the oak that supports it. His only suggestion is to teach the rich the "gospel of self-denial" (a tough job he will find it—like training the ivy to stand by itself), whilst "to the poor we must preach the gospel of patience."

But though the brotherhood of the Church is imperfect, nothing else can succeed so well, says the bishop. "You can tell all men they are brothers, but you have no power to create the brotherhood. Your brotherhood is phrase, ours is a fact; it is a living principle." Yes, indeed; to some of us it looks like the "getting-a-living" principle of Judas Iscariot, each dipping his own hand into the dish. But perhaps this is not to be wondered at, considering the low utilitarian ideal that has been held up to the world by the bishops and clergy for so many years. So long as the realisation of products is made the chief aim of human existence, so long as we count the coal of more importance than the miners who dig it, and the corn of more importance than the labourers who harvest it, so long will some system of inequality and slavery be necessary to attain the end required. But when we recognize that "the Life is more than meat," when we understand that men should not live to work, but work to live, and that not perhaps till our few needs are satisfied and the work is put aside can true Life, free, happy, and beautiful, begin to exist,—then we shall find that friendship, deep and true, for all, is altogether desirable, and that nothing can be more delightful than to be surrounded everywhere by Equals with whom to share the Joy of Life.

Is the thing too distant? Is it too much to hope that the day will dawn, when men, weary of this long struggle for existence, shall meet and say: "Working against one another, each trying to get his head above the others, our life has become a burden too heavy to be borne. Together, we could produce plenty of food, firing, shelter, and clothes to satisfy all our needs without half the labour and with none of the anxiety, that now wears away our lives. Those who are unfortunate, we will help; and as long as we can produce anything to share amongst us we will be happy together, and never know want any more, nor any more waste our time in care and distress for things which are so easily acquired." It is the reasonable, common-sense thing to do; and I for one feel certain that, whether it be in five, or fifty, or five hundred years (it depends largely upon ourselves, how long), the time will surely come when men shall at last learn the folly and misery of this swinish scramble, which the bishop of Peterborough vainly hopes to varnish and polish till we imagine it genuine brotherhood; and once having tasted the joy of equality, they will ever afterwards be slow to spend

dividend on share capital shall be 25 per cent. per annum, and in case the state of business does not permit this amount to be paid, the deficit shall be a first charge on the subsequent profits, but without interest. Not less than 10 per cent. of the profits shall be carried to reserve until this fund amounts to 10 per cent. of the capital. It is provided that the net profits, after providing for charges of depreciation, dividend capital, and the formation of a reserve fund, shall be dealt with as follows:— (1) Such sum as the committee may authorise shall be applied for the promotion and encouragement of inventions by the members of the society, to be used for its benefit, also for the reward of special services rendered to the society. (2) The remainder shall be divided among the workers proportionately to the amounts they have respectively received as wages during the period to which the division relates, and shall be accumulated and allotted from time to time as often as they amount in any case to one fully paid-up share. It is proposed to pay all wages by the recognised list of the district, and that shareholders and their children have the first chance of working in the concern, if they are thoroughly competent to do the work required. The promoters state that they do not expect at all times they will be able to show a profit over and above the 25 per cent. paid to capital, but they reasonably say that when such periods of depression come they will ask the workers to consider how the charges on the society can best be met by a curtailment of the working expenses. By this means they believe that the wages may be regulated according to the requirements of the trade, and a sliding scale be established which shall be fair alike to capitalists and workers. Some little delay has arisen in the issue of the prospectus to the public, in consequence of a decision of the Association to alter one of the rules, already registered, enabling them to trade also as general hardware manufacturers, which will embrace all the smaller and kindred industries of the district.

The Mother Grundy school of labour reformers say that the interests of capital and labour are identical, and that there should be no conflict. This calls to mind the story of the lion and lamb, the lion was so distressed about the lamb that he ate him simply to keep him from freezing to death.—*Knights of Labour.*

Whenever the working classes make demands for legislative measures they are invariably met by the cry from certain quarters that it is paternalism. The plaintive wail is raised that the people are losing their sturdy independence and self-reliance, and learning to look rather to government for relief for all ills. It is really too bad that the masses think about utilising the government for their benefit. If they would but only live on their "sturdy independence" and leave the government to, and its power prostituted for the benefit of, a certain select class, then all would be well and no fears might be entertained of the possible dangers of paternalism. Now, self-reliance and "sturdy independence" are admirable qualities, but after an unpaternal government has parcelled out the natural resources and public properties to a favoured few the masses will find it a difficult matter to make a living even with "sturdy independence" to aid them.—*South West.*

MR. BAUMANN, M.P., AND THE OVERTIME DEBATE.—"To the Editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*.—SIR,—In the not unkindly notice of my speech on Friday which a 'Looker-on' contributes to your Saturday's issue, he says, as a proof that I am still in the nursery as regards labour questions, that I referred to Mr. Burnett as 'Mr. Burnand.' If I did so it was the merest slip of the tongue, as I am perfectly familiar both with Mr. Burnett's name and his works. One other remark I should like to be allowed to make in your columns. I was quite aware that systematic overtime had been discontinued in the Government dockyards of late; but I wanted to elicit a pledge from the Government that it would not be revived in the future (except under pressure of necessity), which I more or less succeeded in obtaining. But your 'Looker-on' very truly said that I made the motion a peg on which to hang a discussion about the distribution of employment and the length of working hours generally. There is no subject of more interest and importance to the working classes; it is the only labour question that has been raised in the present Parliament. Never mind by whom the question was raised, whether by a Radical or a Tory, by a front bencher or by one whom the *Star* so truly describes as 'an utterly insignificant personality.' There was the question; but where were the representatives of labour? The motion had been on the paper for four weeks; yet of the so-called labour representatives only two took the trouble to turn up, and of those two neither took the trouble to speak.—Your obedient servant, ARTHUR A. BAUMANN, 44, Hyde Park Square, W., April 8th."

A RUSSIAN "COMMUNE."

A WORK that has just been published in Paris, entitled "La Russe Sectaire," by M. Taskin, contains some curious information concerning the various sects, religious and political, to be found throughout the empire of the Colossus of the North. One of the most numerous and widespread is that known as the Doukhobors, whose fundamental dogma is the negation of all religious ceremony or pomp, and the adoration of God "by the spirit and truth of the Creator, which everybody bears in his own heart." Man, they say, carries God in himself when he seeks to attain the ideal of goodness, simplicity, and honesty. This idea that God does not exist as an independent Being, but that He subsists in the human soul, has inspired the sect with a profound respect for human nature. They open and close their meetings by bowing reverentially to one another, and they explain this movement by saying that in so doing they do homage to the divinity with which every man is possessed. The consequence of this omnipresence of God is that all men are equal, all are sinners, and all susceptible of perfection. Wealth and poverty are an anomaly and an injustice, and there can be no servants or masters, no chiefs or subjects. Equality is carried to the extent of denying the obedience of children to their parents, and consequently paternal authority is null. Women enjoy the same rights as men. Marriage is the union of two free and independent beings, founded by love and mutual agreement, and can be broken at the will of either party. All constraint is prohibited. No authority, whether in temporal or spiritual concerns, is recognised. Every person obeys only his own conscience. All the affairs of the community are arranged in a general assembly. Strange to say, this singular society, although based on the negation of all authority, works relatively well. The moral level of it is said to be superior to that of the neighbouring Orthodox population. The members are more active, more thriving, and healthier. Crime is unknown among them; quarrels are rare, and always end in reconciliation. Mutual assistance is universally practised. In short, the Doukhobors appear to be the very ideal of society dreamt of by Louise Michel and her disciples.—*Pall Mall Gazette.*

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

Library.—The Library is open to members of the Socialist League and affiliated bodies. LIBRARY CATALOGUE, containing the Rules, 2d. D. J. NICOLL and W. BLUNDELL are the Librarians.

Branch Subscriptions Paid.—1887: Hastings, Nottingham, Felsall—Newcastle, Bradford, Croydon, Glasgow, Ipswich, Leeds, Merton, North London, Norwich—to end of March. Edinburgh—to end of May. Mitcham—to end of July. Walsall—to end of August. Hull—to end of September. Bloomsbury, Waltham Green, Wednesbury—to end of October. —1888:—Marylebone—to end of January. Hammersmith, Leicester—to end of February. Acton, Hackney, Hoxton (L.E.L.), Oxford, Clerkenwell—to end of March. Mile End—to end of April.

Annual Conference.—The Fourth Annual Conference of the Socialist League will be held at 13 Farringdon Road, on Whit-Sunday, May 20. The attention of Branches is particularly referred to (1) Rule V. on the subject of the annual conference, pp. 3 and 4 of Constitution and Rules; and (2) that all branches wishing to be represented at the Conference must pay their subscription up to the 31st March by May 1st.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

For April 7 and 14—C. J. F., 5s. W. B., 6d. Photograph, £1. K. F., 2s. Langley, 4s. P. W., 1s. Oxford Branch, 4s.

REPORTS.

ACTON.—Sunday morning at 11.30 we held our usual meeting, not a very large one owing to the wretched weather. R. C. Smith opened with a good explanation of Socialism, Tochetti and Maughan supporting. Two new members made.—J. T.

BLOOMSBURY.—On Thursday last, Mark Masley gave an interesting lecture on "How to Advance Socialism." Slight discussion. On Friday a large meeting, presided over by our comrade Donald, was held in the St. Pancras Vestry Hall to further the election of the two Socialist candidates, Bartlett and Clothier, to the Board of Guardians of St. Pancras. Speakers: Mrs. Hicks, Alfred Hicks (S.D.F.), Bartlett, and Chambers. On Sunday, a meeting at St. Pancras Archway was addressed by Donald and Bartlett; "No Master" and "The Starving Poor" were sung, Parker leading the singing.—W. W. B.

CLERKENWELL.—On Sunday, April 8, business meeting held, when financial business and open-air propaganda was discussed. It was decided to commence open-air work on the Green next Sunday, April 15, at 7.30 p.m.; the more active members of the branch are requested to come and help.—B.

MILE END AND BETHNAL GREEN.—Last Sunday, Mainwaring and Davis addressed a good meeting in Victoria Park. We intend to carry on the meetings at this station through the summer. We have also secured the spacious hall at the Mile End Radical Club, 108, Bridge Street, Mile End, for the branch meetings.—H. D.

STAMFORD HILL.—A good meeting was held here on Sunday evening by Morgan and Parker. Some opposition was offered by J. Williams (an anti-Socialist lecturer), who promised to attend the meetings in future; lively times may, therefore, be expected.—P.

GLASGOW.—At five o'clock on Sunday evening, the banner of Socialism was again unfurled and the Cause of the people vindicated by comrade Glasier at Paisley Road Toll, in an able speech of an hour and a half's duration. Another good meeting was held in Infirmary Square at 7.30, and was addressed by Downie and Glasier, several people at the close signified their intention of joining our branch and assisting to carry on the good work.—S. D.

LEEDS.—Since last report we have had several outdoor meetings, and Maguire has lectured to the Halifax Branch of the Irish N.L. On Easter Monday, we met our Bradford and Huddersfield comrades at Bradford, Tarn (Birmingham) and Teesdale (Hull) also put in an appearance. Future propaganda was discussed, with a view to our common action in outlying districts. The remainder of the evening was devoted to amusement.—P.

NORWICH.—Owing to weather we were not able to hold meetings last Sunday morning; in afternoon a large meeting assembled in the Market Place, addressed by Mowbray; in evening another good meeting held in Market Place by branch. At Gordon Hall, Mowbray lectured on Socialism.—S.

SOUTH SUSSEX.—A debate on "Society and the Individual" was held at the Bexhill Mutual Improvement Association Rooms on Thursday night, a good audience present. Mr. Deeprose and Leonard Hall were the principals, and several others followed. A resolution in favour of the Socialist was unanimously carried amid great excitement.

WALSALL.—No indoor meeting last Monday owing to Easter holidays. On Saturday the usual open-air meeting was held on The Bridge, a good audience listening to an excellent speech by Sanders. A few "Fair Traders" offered slight opposition, and advantage was taken of this to show the utter inadequacy of their remedy to permanently benefit the workers.—J. T. D.

L.E.L. CLUB AND INSTITUTE.—On Sunday evening this institution was opened with every sign of success. The inaugural address explanatory of objects, etc., was delivered by H. A. Barker. This was followed by speeches from A. K. Donald, F. Henderson, J. Pope, H. Davis, and others. The remainder of the evening was pleasantly occupied with songs and recitals. Socialists living this end of London are invited to join.

BALL'S POND RADICAL CLUB.—On Thursday evening last, W. Morris, H. H. Spurling, A. K. Donald, and H. A. Barker occupied the platform of the above club, and gave an exposition of Socialism as advocated by the Socialist League.

ON SATURDAY, APRIL 14th, 1888,

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In addition to these the following have kindly consented: Daisy Scheu, Mr Tochetti, Mathilde Andignoux, G. Brocher, Prof. Pollini, etc., etc.

Admission by Programme, Threepence.

LECTURE DIARY. LONDON.

Acton.—17 High Street, Acton, W. (adjoining Purnell's Dining Rooms). Sunday at 8 p.m.
Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road. Thursday April 12, at 8.30, a lecture by T. J. Dalziel.
Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7. Sunday April 15, at 8.30, W. J. Ramsey. Wed. 18, 8.30, H. Davis, "The Progress of Events."

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen (Scottish Section).—Sunday night meetings in Baker Street Hall, at 6. Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St. Nicholas Street.
Birmingham.—Summer Row Coffee House.
Bradford.—Morris's Dining Rooms, 114 City Road. Wednesdays, at 8.
Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Tuesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. H. McCluskey, Millar Street, Secy.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 15.

11 ...Acton—the Steyne .....The Branch
11 ...Turham Green—Front Common...Ham'ramith
11.30...Hackney—Salmon and Ball .....Mainwaring
11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.....Davis
11.30...Merton—Haydens Road.....The Branch

Tuesday.
8 ...Mile-end Waste .....Mainwaring
PROVINCES.

Leeds.—Sunday: Vicar's Croft, at 11 a.m.
Norwich.—Sunday: New Catton near the Church, at 11.30; Ber Street Fountain at 11.45; Market Place at 3 and 7.30.

MILE-END BRANCH.—William Morris will lecture on Tuesday 17, 8.30, at the Working Men's Radical Club, 108 Bridge Street, Burdett Road.

On Thursday April 12, a discussion will be opened by Dr. Merlino, subject "Is Anarchy the logical outcome of Socialism?" at the Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road.

JUNIOR SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY.—The next meeting of this Society will take place at 64 Chancery Lane, on Saturday April 14, when Mrs. Aveling will read a paper on "Women." Members and friends only. 8 o'clock sharp.

THE LAW AND LIBERTY LEAGUE hold a Dramatic and Musical evening in the Athenaeum Hall, 73 Tottenham Court Road, on Wednesday April 18, in aid of the funds of the League. Tickets 6d., 1s., and 2s. 6d.

SHEFFIELD.—Hall of Science, Rotherham Street.—J. Sketchley will deliver two lectures at the above hall, April 15, as follows: At 3 p.m., "The Theory of Malthus—Is it True?" At 7 p.m., "What is the Basis of Legitimate Authority."

Mrs. Wardle will supply Branch Subscription Cards at 9d. per doz. Leaflet Press, Curator street.

SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—Meeting at Commonweal Office, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday April 15, at 3.30 p.m.

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And at all Branch Meeting Places and Outdoor Stations of the Socialist League.

[We publish this very incomplete list in the hope that friends will make it their business to supply us with fuller details. Newsagents not included here are requested to supply their names for publication.]

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# THE COMMONWEALTH

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

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SATURDAY, APRIL 21, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON NEWS.

Mr. Arnold White has been giving evidence before the House of Lords on the sweating system in the East-end, which no doubt will shock the respectabilities of the middle-class—for a little time; until in fact they forget all about it, and then to them these miseries will no longer exist. Probably the fact that the "sweater" is often as poor as or even poorer than the man he employs will come as a surprise to many who do not know the way in which the poor live. Now they know that fact might they not ask themselves the question, Who sweats the sweater? The question asked by a well-to-do person will have to be answered in the manner of the ancient Hebrew chronicler, *Thou art the man.*

Mr. Arnold White proposed remedies. We will not say that there are remedies, but there is a remedy, which Mr. White, it is to be thought would not relish, and that is the freeing of labour from privileged monopoly; all Mr. White can see as desirable to be done is to make a feeble attempt to stop foreign immigration, to crush out the small employer by a tax on workshops, and so forth, and then to stand by and see how much people would starve then—for they certainly would starve. What workmen should remember is that all this "sweating" is necessary in order to that "cheap" production of wares, which is still quoted as such a blessing to the working-classes (though scarcely I think with the same confidence as formerly). These cheap workmen must be cheapened down to their present misery in order that the more expensive ones may still be cheap relatively to the capital employed in buying them; so that this country may be able to compete with others, and other countries with this country; and in spite of all Mr. Arnold White's "remedies," this process will go on, and must go on until the whole cursed system breaks down—or blows up. The horror-stricken supporters of capitalism must not be so unreasonable as to expect to have an omelette without egg-breaking; or a capitalist without propertyless workers, the final expression of whom is this sweated East-end immigrant.

I should like, by the way, to ask of any of our friends that know the "industry" in question, whether Mr. White's confident assertion that all the sweaters are foreigners is strictly true?

Mr. Saunders is going to try the right of free speech by a civil action against Warren & Co., and some think that if the judges are anything but the creatures of reactionary bureaucracy, something ought to come of that: but as a matter of fact, that is just what they are. If they cannot find law for any piece of tyranny which our masters have a mind to, they are not worth their salt, and our masters should dismiss them. But surely they have already abundantly proved that they are worth their salt. They are expensive but necessary to our masters.

A report of a traveller in Siam says of the Nan slaves: "Every man of the lower orders must be enrolled as the slave of some master; but he is allowed to choose whom he will serve, and if he does not like one, he may enroll himself as the slave of another. . . . A slave is fed by his master while he is working for him, but at other times he must feed himself. No purchase money is paid for the slave by his master." Dear me! Siam is a long way off, and supposing one were travelling to see diversities of the condition of workmen, I for one should scarcely think it worth while to go through so much to learn so little as I should have to do if I were to undertake the journey. For the condition of the Nan slaves is just that of the London slaves; except, indeed that the latter do not find it so easy to shift themselves from one master to another as their Siamese brethren do; for there seems a certain flavour of compulsion on the masters to employ in the hotter and happier country. In fact the *Daily News* from which I extracted this good news of a better land, seems impressed by the fact, and says, "We can even imagine many of our less fortunate countrymen envying their prerogative." Would Mr. Arnold White like to take the place of agent for emigration to Nan-land? Or would he not think the workman too free there? The latter, I am afraid.

W. M.

Last week when Parliament discussed the affair at Ennis on the previous Sunday, the usual amount of bunkum was talked, and the result arrived at was of the usual kind—a majority for law-'n'-order, and everybody pleased with themselves and angry with everybody else.

No new facts were brought out. The same old thing had happened; an "illegal" meeting, an unarmed crowd ridden down and beaten and cut about, and nobody to be responsible for it.

For once Balfour dropped his tone of flippant cynicism, and was as near seriousness as his soulless nature would allow. It is true that his seriousness only led to more careful lying than usual, though, careful as he was, not one of his excuses could stand examination. They were founded on the one-sided, warped, and worked-up version of what happened, handed in to him by his underlings in Ireland.

Stones flung after the bloody little drama had begun in the warehouse yard became the cause of all the bother; none was to blame but the "agitators," who called a peaceful public meeting, for the bloodshed that ensued; a meeting which had been held and was quietly dispersing became in his hands a "riotous and dangerous assemblage."

When one read all this in the next morning's paper one was quite prepared to see, as one *did* see, all his lies made clear in another day or two. In the enquiry the police could only produce, even from among themselves, witnesses to swear that two stones fell near Col. Turner, none being seen to strike him, nor did he bear a mark, and that these two were only seen after the soldiers had entered the yard. One police-witness even admitted, "I do not know of any policeman who was assaulted that day or struck!"

But Balfour was not content with what he had already done, and went on to assure the House, on the word of the doctor attending him, that Mr. Hill, the *Irish Times* reporter who was sabred, was not seriously injured. Whereupon the doctor denies that he has ever been communicated with about his patient's injuries by any one whatsoever.

It is almost certain, however, that Balfour is more a fool than a blackguard; that these lies that flow so glibly from his lips are prepared for him by the resident magistrates who do his bidding—and bend him to their will. These upholders of British power and pillars of the Constitution number 75, and in the official return of them published on the 11th it is said that 35 have no legal qualification at all for their posts.

They are good provocative agents, and ready at brutal repression when a chance occurs. Like Segrave of Mitchelstown, and many another, they have failed miserably in all decent endeavours at a civilised livelihood, but having graduated in bull-whacking and nigger-driving, make excellent underlings and tools to a Coercion Government.

Meanwhile, the unhappy country they keep under is "bleeding at every pore," as the newspapers put it; or pouring out its people at every port, as the fact is. Year after year they go forth to become the bitter unrelenting enemies of the British Empire, and yet the remnant left at home fight on as steadily as ever.

But it must be said that were the Irish people "on all sides of the sea" as united and resolute as they say, and as brave withal, they would have swept the world of the curse of English rule, and would not now be kept down by a sneaking cur like Balfour and the unscrupulous paid bullies who are at his back.

Two of the really brave men who stay for nothing in doing their duty, have once more been taken in the legal toils. William O'Brien and John Dillon will most assuredly be condemned by the satraps before whom they are to be tried. They must be carefully watched over or Balfour may carry out his alleged threat, and the inquest will duly result in a verdict of "suicide" or "natural causes" as others have done before.

In England is done by fraud what is done in Ireland by force. The *Pall Mall* recalls with apparent pleasure some words it uttered last year: "The Church has machinery by which every rectory might be made an emigration centre," and smugly remarks that the suggestion is being acted on. 1,000 emigrants so gathered sailed from Liverpool on the 12th for Halifax, and there are more to follow. Who pays the holy men's commission, and do they wait for death before they get it?

S.

## MID LANARK AND SOCIALISM.

MID LANARK is purely a labour constituency, the majority of electors being miners, who receive sixteen shillings per week for producing one hundred and thirty shillings' worth of coal. The official wirepullers of the "great" Liberal party, when a vacancy was intimated, were of opinion that a fit and proper person to represent these hard-working men would be a youthful and effeminate ex-military captain with a hesitating utterance, but who is a special favourite with certain lords and ladies not connected with the constituency. But these officials had reckoned without their host. The schoolmaster had been abroad in the persons of our comrades of the Glasgow branch of the Socialist League, consequently they had subsequently to take a step back to pause and consider. The working men were determined to test the worth of Liberal professions, and they would not be controlled by the official Liberals' advice. They had a candidate of their own of sufficient ability and experience in labour questions, who was also sound in all the other planks of the Liberal platform.

When the darling pet of the aristocracy and the officials of the "great" Liberal party came to Cambuslang he was confronted by an old worn-out miner—John Forsyth, a member of the Socialist League—who put the following "staggerer" to him and his backers: As Mr. Sinclair is against the principle of perpetual pensions, will he explain wherein the perpetual legal but unjust right of the wealthy class to live in luxurious idleness off the labours of the working classes, because the former possess "capital," differs from that of the parasite pensioners who receive sustenance from the State without ever having in their persons rendered any services to the State? Mr. Sinclair replied he did not allow there was a perpetual legal right of the wealthy class to live in luxurious idleness if other people were starving; as to Mr. Forsyth's reason, he would like him to put it shorter, so that he could grasp it. Mr. Forsyth said, it means that all capitalists live off the labouring man. There is no use taxing the landlord or any other class, because it is the labouring man—the man who takes off his coat—who will have to pay the taxation.

Mr. Sinclair professed to be strongly in favour of the principle that as the capital in the possession of any individual, so should the taxation be proportionate: "is that the thing you want to be at?" No! cried Mr. Forsyth, I mean this: if the rich man has no work to do, if he lives off labour, there is no use taxing him, because he makes the worker pay for it. If you tax the butcher he will take it out of the consumer; and so with the baker, etc. Mr. Sinclair could not allow that there is only one sort of labour; there are lawyers, doctors, clergymen, members of Parliament, business men at hundreds and thousands of different employments who do not labour with their hands. Mr. Forsyth said, We don't take in those parties. Well, says Sinclair, I think the taxation of the working classes should be lightened. Our comrade left him to solve the problem how that could be done when, as he had demonstrated, the working class pay all taxes, those imposed on the rich as well as on the poor.

Another friend then tackled our worthy candidate with the following question: Would you vote for the relief of industry from all taxation, and meet the requirements of the State by a single tax on land and the revenue of mining royalties, both of which really belong to the State, and in justice can never be the property of individuals? Mr. Sinclair wriggled from the reply by saying that was not a practical question—"it is impossible it can happen in our lifetime." Ah, there's the rub! Our politicians are forced into the same position as if the parson were to say, "My friends, it is impossible to live a perfect life, therefore you need not try to be good." But is the consummation of this question impossible? Can it be in our lifetime? I answer yes, if all our comrades set to work to educate the workers in the manner of our friends in Mid Lanark by putting such questions to candidates at political meetings, which, no matter what answer be given, are sure to be impressed on the minds of those who hear them. What a field for propagandism is there if at next political meeting we can distribute leaflets explaining the difference between the collier's questions and the ex-captain's replies.

GEORGE McLEAN.

THE CRY IS STILL THEY GO!—The number of emigrants from Queens-town to America continues to increase. The town is full, a correspondent of the *Pall Mall* says, and unless special steamers are put on the exodus is likely to continue on a large scale into the summer months. The number for the present week is 2,650, or about 600 more than last week, and 1,930 more than the week before. Although Queens-town is the great port of departure large numbers take leave by liners calling at Londonderry, Larne, and Galway. Every one of them driven out of their native land by monopoly, without which they could all live there comfortably, and then folk are found who can be "astonished" at the hatred with which the Irish-American regards the Government that supported his oppressors with all its force!

LABOUR LEGISLATION.—Hitherto there has been a reluctance among all parties to interfere with "freedom of contract" between employer and employed. "Freedom," says Carlyle, "is a divine thing, but when it means freedom to starve it is not quite so divine." I would, therefore, support such legislation as would temper the laws of political economy with humanitarian principles. In mining legislation, for example, I would support an Eight Hour Bill; the establishment of an Insurance and Superannuation Fund, supported from Royalties; the setting up of Arbitration Courts, with power to settle disputes and fix a minimum wage; the creation of a Mining Department presided over by a Minister of Mines; together with all legislation tending to secure the health and welfare of the miners.—J. KEIR HARDIE, Labour Candidate for Mid-Lanark.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING APRIL 28, 1888.

22	Sun.	1826. Sack of Missolonghi by the Turks. 1852. Collapse of a Strike of Engineers. 1875. Birth of "Organised Obstruction" in the House of Commons.
23	Mon.	1873. International Workman's Club formed in connection with British International Federation. 1885. Explosion at Admiralty.
24	Tues.	1731. Daniel Defoe died. 1861. Peasant Riot at Beydna in Kazan Government. 1887. Hyde Park Demonstration for Northumberland Miners.
25	Wed.	1599. Oliver Cromwell born. 1820. Volney died. 1852. Arthur O'Connor died. 1865. Georg Kmety died.
26	Thur.	1711. David Hume born. 1848. Chartist Demonstration on Clerkenwell Green.
27	Fri.	1803. Toussaint L'Ouverture died. 1881. Emile de Girardin died. 1882. R. W. Emerson died.
28	Sat.	1513. Apprentices' Riots in London. 1789. Mutiny of the "Bounty." 1820. Fight at Oldham between Radicals and soldiers.

*Engineer's Strike.*—After a six month's struggle a strike against overtime, piecework, and scab labour collapsed, and the Society put forth a manifesto in which they "frankly and unhesitatingly make the avowal, that in the contest between capital and labour the latter has been defeated. Whatever hopes were entertained that the worker might successfully assert his rights by an open and avowed resistance to a tyranny of the most despotic kind, they have faded before the immense power of wealth and the determination of its possessors to be absolute and unconditional masters. . . . Our future efforts must be constantly directed to prevent the possibility of such a catastrophe again occurring. How shall we set about the work of preparation for a coming time? There is but one way—we must co-operate for production. The events of the last few months have directed the attention of working-men to co-operation, and inclined them to it more decidedly than years of prosperous industry could have done. . . . We have learned that it is not enough to accumulate funds—that it is necessary also to use them reproductively; and if this lesson does not fail in its effects, a few years will see the land studded with workshops belonging to the workers—workshops where the profits shall cheer and not oppress labour, where tyranny cannot post an abominable declaration on the gates, where the opportunity of working is secured without the sacrifice of all that makes work dignified and honourable." And the lesson was not learnt and nothing was done!—S.

Long life and good health to bowld Parnell and Biggar,  
For they have not hearts like the heart of a mouse;  
They're fighting for Ireland with courage and vigour,  
And don't care a hang for "the tone of the House."

—T. D. SULLIVAN.

"Organised Obstruction" born.—On April 22, 1875, was born "Organised Obstruction," out of Coercion by Toryism, Joseph Biggar surgeon in attendance. Somewhat thus should have run the "Gazette" notice of April 23, 1875. In 1868-74, the Tories had "spread themselves considerably" in the way of obstruction to such bills as that for Abolition of Purchase in the Army, by moving endless amendments, but not until Isaac Butt asked Joseph Biggar to speak "a pretty good while," which demand was answered by a four hour's speech, mostly of long extracts from Government reports, did the real Simon Pure come to town, and ye gods, what a sensation the new-comer made! Day after day each Session the press was filled with "More Scenes in the House," "Suspension of an Irish Member," "Suspension of Irish Members," until in 1877-8 it seemed that the whole Irish party would be suspended for good and all. Biggar and Parnell for their action in this crisis deserve the thanks of all future minorities. The "tone of the House," is even to-day too much of a fetish in the eyes of some to be well for the democracy, for while it is held "that a man should be a gentleman first and a patriot afterwards" there is small hope of stamping out the shameful jobs and underhand swindles that are worked in the House of Representatives, but which are not exposed because not "good form" to attack persons or indulge in personalities. As Junius says, "Gentle pressure is not fitted to the present degenerate state of Society. What does it avail to expose the absurd contrivance, or pernicious tendency, of measures, if the man who advises or executes, shall be suffered to escape? To attack vices in the abstract, without touching persons, may be safe fighting indeed, but it is fighting with shadows." It needed a Teufelsdröckh to deal with the House of Respectabilities' old clothes of "Forms" and "Tone," and he came in the person of a pork butcher; the very perfection of poetic justice, the work he did was not much inferior to that of the derider of effete forms who said "Take away that bauble." The effect on the modern House was terrific; well may the author of the 'Parnell Movement' dwell on the spectacle, "The Parliament that trampled upon every Irish demand for so many generations was seen raging in hysteric and impotent fury against the growing omnipotence of two determined men." It will not be well with England till another such piece of history is begun and carried through by some English members. Dr. Hunter once publicly pledged himself to "exhaust the forms of the House on behalf of the Crofters," but he faked, and they all do it except the Irishmen.—T. S.

*Death of Daniel Defoe.*—Born in London, 1663; died April 24, 1731. The most advanced man of his time, and the greatest prose-writer of his century. Every one knows him by "Robinson Crusoe," the first effort made in fiction to deal with the lives of common men, but few know his real greatness or are acquainted with his other writings. A short sketch of his life, prefixed to a reprint of his "Captain Singleton" appeared in the Camelot Series last year, and his "Essay upon Projects" in Cassell's National Library a month or two back. This latter has some lessons even for to-day, and when it was written was far and away in advance of the time. Defoe was imprisoned and pilloried and otherwise honoured for his opinions and political conduct. His works (over 200 there are of them!) attest the wonderful power of the man and his untiring industry.—S.

*Death of Volney.*—Constantine François Comte de Volney was the son of an advocate of Craon, in the province of Anjou. He was born February 3, 1757, and at the early age of seventeen he was put to his own resources; on the advice of his father, who had experienced some ridicule on his name of "Chassebœuf," he took the name of Bois-girais, and this he gave up when he began his journey to the East, taking the name Volney and making it famous. He received some education in the provinces, and having about £50 per annum inherited from his mother, went to Paris and studied medicine and physiology; studied Greek and made himself a good general linguist; wrote something about Herodotus. Was helped somewhat by Baron D'Holbach, and by him introduced to Madame Helvétius and Benjamin Franklin, which probably had to do with the American tour which Volney made later on. His great desire was to travel in the East, and on becoming possessed by legacy of some £240 he started on foot, provided only with knapsack, gun, and his cash packed round his body. On reaching Egypt he managed to get permission to enter a Copt monastery, where for eight

month he studied Arabic. He travelled the East for three years and then returned to Paris, publishing in 1787 in two volumes the 'Voyage in Syria and Egypt during the years 1783-85.' He was appointed by Louis XVI. to a State post in Corsica, and resigned when elected Deputy for his province of Anjou, 1789. In the National Assembly he proposed some useful motions—Nationalisation of all Church Property, and a motion against wars to increase territory. November 23, 1790, he was elected Secretary to the Assembly, and September, 1791, formally and most appropriately presented to the Assembly the original of his 'Ruins; or, a Survey of the Revolutions of Empires.' His 'Travels in Syria' was sent by Grimm to Catherine II. of Russia, and won for him a gold medal; and his appointment as Director-General of Commerce and Agriculture in Corsica was largely due to the same book; but the book by which he is, and will be best known, is without doubt his 'Ruins of Empires.' A magnificent indictment of all State-craft and Priest-craft—he was a Freethinker—such as might be expected from his position in the Assembly. Like Thomas Paine, however, he was not extreme enough for some of the Republicans, and was imprisoned. In 1792 he paid a second visit to Corsica, and became acquainted with Napoleon Bonaparte. On his return to Paris was for a short time Professor of history. In 1795 he went to America, and was accorded a flattering reception by Washington; in 1798 he returned to France, and was invited by Bonaparte to take high office but declined, and incurred the usurper's displeasure. In 1810 he married, and in 1820, on April 23, he died, and was buried with honours in Pere la Chaise. His works are many, one or two on "simplification of languages" have been cribbed from lately to perfect the revived idea of Volapuk or Universal Language; but for us the 'Ruins of Empires,' inspired by his visits to ruins of Eastern Empires, and quickened by the French Revolution, is the book to keep in mind and to study. "Remember . . . it is yourselves that cause the evils of which you complain; it is you that encourage tyrants by a base flattery of their power," chap. xxiii.—T. S.

*Arthur O'Connor.*—Born July 4, 1767; died April 25, 1832; called to the bar 1788; returned to Irish Parliament 1790 for Philipstown by his uncle, Lord Longueville. In 1795 made a "violent" speech in favour of Catholic Emancipation, which led not only to the loss of his seat but to his uncle's disinheriting him—a loss of £10,000 a year. Meanwhile he became a United Irishman, and one of the five who constituted their directory. Arrested November, 1796, for high treason and confined in Dublin Castle, but soon discharged for want of proof. The following month Hoche's descent on Ireland was made; after its failure O'Connor and another went abroad, and saw Hoche at Frankfurt. Returning, he was arrested at Margate, February 28, 1798, with James O'Coigly, a priest, Biens, and another. Tried at the following Maidstone Assizes, O'Coigly was found guilty and hung on Pevenden Heath. O'Connor was acquitted on the one charge but held on a warrant from the Duke of Portland. Some of his friends projected his escape, and the Earl of Thanet and Mr. Robert Ferguson were afterwards imprisoned for the attempt. Sent over to Ireland, when the whole thing had become hopeless, O'Connor and his friends gave up their plans to the Government and were allowed to retire to the Continent. O'Connor went to France, where in 1804 the First Consul made him General of Division, and afterwards Lieut.-General. Married about 1809. 1834 was allowed to revisit Ireland on private affairs of business. On his return bought Mirabeau's birth-place, the chateau of Bignon, from his heirs, and here he lived and died. Feargus O'Connor was his nephew.—S.

*Death of Emerson.*—Ralph Waldo Emerson, born in the capital of New England on the 25th of May, 1803, was descended from a whole host of the strong-minded ecclesiastical scholars, who have been one of the leading characteristics of the Englishmen of the New World. These religious teachers of New England have of necessity been men of eminent wisdom and accomplishments in order to sustain any position of respect in the community, since the New England colonists from the very first put their feet heavily down on priestcraft *per se*, sternly denying any respect to the mere germ of sacerdotalism, and demanding proof of intellectual strength in their preachers before they gave these preachers precedence, having previously stripped them of those functions which priestcraft seeks to assume to awe the vulgar, such as marriage sacraments and other social monopolies. Born of this parentage, Emerson himself one of the greatest scholars ever known, was destined to take a yet grander step in advance, to overthrow even the mental shackles which a really superior religious caste had imposed upon the people, and to proclaim the absolute independence of thought. Before we can have even dreams of social emancipation we must have mental freedom, and all reformers must for ever honour Emerson as the greatest mental emancipator of any age. He freed a whole Continent, which Continent is freeing the world. Although born in Boston, he early in life settled in that famous suburban village of Concord, where the first blood was shed for American freedom. The very air was laden with a love of liberty, and here Emerson, renouncing even his early thin veneer of sacerdotal personality, built up that famous "Concord School of Philosophy," which, though bantered and denounced for two generations, was yet all the while the beacon light to which every honest man feeling the "struggling pangs of honest truth" looked for courage and leadership. A dozen years since a gushing editorial writer of the *Daily Telegraph* having some occasion to gush over Emerson, and searching around for a reason said Emerson was the first to teach America that there was something else in the world besides big railways, and other money-making monstrosities. A more ludicrous utterance never was recorded. The Yankees had scholars and poets galore before they possessed big railways, and Emerson taught the bulk of the people nothing for he never reached them; what he really did was to clear the way for social reformers to tear down the stifling incubus of thieving stock-gamblers and cheating selfish profit-mongers, whose slavering mouthpiece the *Daily Telegraph* makes a pride of being.—L. W.

*Oldham Riot.*—Some dragoons were refreshing themselves in the afternoon at the Bull's Head Inn, where also there was a large company gathered, many of them Radicals. Over their dinner the Rad's drank "seditious" toasts, such as "May the skins of all Church and King men serve as drum-heads for the Radical armies." At length one of them began singing a song in praise of Hunt, whereupon one of the law'n-order men snatched his white hat and flung it on the fire. A free fight began, and the soldiers were driven into an inner room and held prisoners, save one who escaped in the confusion. Making his way to the barracks he procured reinforcements, who rescued their comrades after a hard fight, and by means of more fighting got back again to barracks. Loss—many wounds, bruises, and black eyes on both sides.—S.

**FORBIDDEN TO LAND.**—Eighteen Italian marble-workers, imported under a contract to work for Bowker, Torrey, and Co., quarrymen, of Boston, have been forbidden to land from the steamer *Rugia*, which has just arrived in New York from Hamburg. The importing firm and also the owners of the steamer are liable to pay a fine of 1000 dollars for each man imported, under the law forbidding the importation of foreign contract labour.

**IT MOVES!**—In the *Westminster and Lambeth Gazette* of April 14, 1888, is a report: "Norwood Ladies' Literary Society.—The March meeting was opened by a paper from Mrs. Brown, 'Do the Advantages of Socialism outweigh its Disadvantages?' Mrs. Stopes answered in the negative, and after a lively discussion the majority voted for negative." Socialism is evidently making itself felt when the subject is even considered necessary to discuss in such a place. Of course the "negative" was inevitable.—S. G.

## THE INDIVIDUALIST APOLOGISES.

[AFTER MR. W. S. GILBERT.]

If you'll give me your attention, I will tell you who I am,  
I'm a genuine philanthropist, all other kinds are sham;  
No pauperising charity with harmful hand I fling;  
No,—my benevolence is quite another kind of thing;  
How ignorant and thriftless is our working-class we know;  
I long to lead the labourer in the way that he should go;  
But for all I do to educate the humble artisan,  
He invariably considers me "a disagreeable man,"  
And I can't think why.

I show the masses since their "business faculty" is nil,  
They can't expect to get above the bottom of the hill;  
Whereas the cool, the confident, the calculating few  
Are sure to carry off the cake, whatever we might do;  
And how that grand hypothesis is vindicated thus  
The survival of the fittest, or, in other word, of us;  
But although I try to make it sound as pleasant as I can,  
I've got the reputation of a disagreeable man,  
And I can't think why.

Their ignorant illusion I endeavour to destroy,  
That they need no upper classes to provide them with employ;  
For I show them quite conclusively their chances would be small,  
If capital were scared away, of finding work at all;  
And our working population being clearly far too great,  
I implore them, with emotion, not to breed at such a rate;  
But although I push Malthusianism with all the grace I can,  
My reward is to be rated as a disagreeable man,  
And I can't think why.

I dwell upon the wickedness of going out on strike,  
And describe the dull dead level that the Socialist would like,  
And to show that rich as well as poor of trouble have their share,  
I enumerate the hardships we employers have to bear.  
In competing with the foreigner I show him he must fail,  
Till he drops his beer and lives upon a far less liberal scale;  
But when'er I praise a diet on the Penny Dinners plan,  
I'm called (it seems incredible) a disagreeable man,  
And I can't think why.

C. W. BECKER.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### COUNTY GOVERNMENT BILL

SIR,—I wish to call your attention to a fact which seems to have been overlooked by the promoters of this measure and by the public. The Bill assumes that it is just and right if we in the future deprive the owner of a public-house of his licence, and thus lessen the value of his property, we should remunerate him for the depreciation thus caused, and the Bill makes provision for that purpose. Ought we not therefore to receive from the owners of all future licensed property an amount equal to the increased value of their houses, caused only by our grant of license, and add the money thus secured to the county fund? To illustrate: if to do right we must pay to the owner say £200 for reducing the value of his property from £600 to £400, should we not receive £200 for increasing the value of his house from £400 to £600?—I am, etc.,

T. F. ARMSTRONG.

258 Shirley Road, Southampton.

### PUSHING "COMMONWEAL"

I see that my suggestions as to the best means of getting the 'Weal' circulated in London have brought forth a criticism from Nottingham. Criticism and work should go together; and when the London list of agents for 'Weal' is supplemented by a provincial one, it is to be hoped that Nottingham will head it, and be so placed by the exertions of your correspondent.

London is not Nottingham, but even a smaller experience would give some relative idea of the kind of task in which I have been engaged. The list as it stands at present is no criterion of the number of shops that have to be visited and proprietors fruitlessly solicited to sell and display the paper. Mr. Thompson is greatly concerned lest the advice I gave to boycott hostile newsvendors would "foster narrowness and intolerance," and says in effect perish the *Commonweal* rather; and further, he dogmatically asserts we not only lose new converts, but *deserve* to lose them. I have not gathered whether Mr. Thompson is fearful for the loss of converts amongst the hostile newsgents, or the general public. If the former, I can only admire his simple faith, which I think would be rudely shaken if he trudged with me about this huge Wen, and met the insults and sneers of insolent gradgrinds, who would sooner sell indecent and thief literature than a Socialist publication. Perhaps W. Thompson will formulate some scheme for the conversion of obdurate tradesmen who tell you flatly not to bring "the rag" to them. I am engaged in reaching the general public, and if such as he block the way, I repeat my advice to subscribers to deal only with those newsgents who are in many cases Socialists or sympathisers and are willing to aid the circulation of this journal. The hostile vendor may be "as hopeless and as ignorant an enemy this time next year as he is to-day," but at all events he will not have received Socialist shekels, and the Socialist will be spared the mortification of having helped to keep his enemy. Two thousand years prior to the publication of this journal, the policy of turning the other cheek was formulated; but although London newsgents are for the most part nominal Christians, if it were carried out in their case it would inspire them with more contempt than respect; and as I am concerned to push the *Commonweal* against all opposition, I shall not inculcate such childish notions. I consider that we have as much as we can do to support and sustain our friends. Our enemies are in this case especially well able to take care of themselves: if your hyper-sensitive critic thinks otherwise, there is a wide field open to his philanthropic enterprise.

In conclusion, I ask your readers to supplement the efforts being made to push this journal by sending in to the Manager the names of all newsgents who are willing to sell.

F. KITZ.



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN WERE FOR IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMNED 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.

C. B.—A paper "On the Comparative Efficiency and Earnings of Labour at Home and Abroad," by J. S. Jeans, published Dec. 1884 in *Journal of the Statistical Society*, might give the figures you want.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday April 18.

<b>ENGLAND</b>	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	<b>SPAIN</b>
Freedom	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	El Productor
Justice	Newark—Arbeiter-Zeitung	Madrid—El Socialista
Leaflet Newspaper	San Francisco (Cal) The People	<b>PORTUGAL</b>
London—Freie Presse	Coast Seamen's Journal	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Leicester—Countryman	Freethought	<b>GERMANY</b>
Labour Tribune	<b>FRANCE</b>	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Norwich—Daylight	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	<b>AUSTRIA</b>
Railway Review	La Revolte	Arbeiterstimme
Worker's Friend	Journal du Peuple	Vienna—Gleichheit
<b>NEW SOUTH WALES</b>	Nimes—L'Emancipation	<b>HUNGARY</b>
Hamilton—Radical	Lille—Le Travailleur	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
<b>SOUTH AUSTRALIA</b>	<b>HOLLAND</b>	<b>ROMANIA</b>
Adelaide—Our Commonwealth	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Vutuari
<b>INDIA</b>	<b>BELGIUM</b>	<b>DENMARK</b>
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Antwerp—De Werker	Social-Demokraten
Madras—People's Friend	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde	<b>SWEDEN</b>
<b>UNITED STATES</b>	Liege—L'Avenir	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
New York—Volkszeitung	<b>ITALY</b>	<b>NORWAY</b>
Boston—Woman's Journal	Marsala—La Nuova Eta	Kristiania—Social-Demokraten
Chicago (Ill.)—Vorboten	Cremonia—La Faccia	
Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Rome—L'Emancipazione	

BRITISH RULE IN INDIA.

WE are constantly told that England is the most enlightened nation in the world; that she stands at the head of modern civilisation; that her dealing with other peoples is the most just, and her influence throughout the world the most beneficent; that our wars of aggression are only to moralise the world; that we conquer only to elevate the conquered. And we are assured that this has been especially the case with regard to India; that there the people are happy because prosperous, and that these are the results of England's rule. It is true we are told by some parties that English rule is not so beneficent as the friends of the Government would have us believe, and that the people are not so happy and not so prosperous. But let us take the facts of the case as furnished by the Government itself. If we look at the Government of India, it is one of the purest despotisms; and when Englishmen condemn the government of Russia in Poland, they ought to remember that the government of England in India is not in the least better.

The Government of India consists of the Secretary of State for India and fifteen other persons, eight nominated by the Crown and seven by the Directors. These sixteen reside in England. In India it consists of the Governor-General and three or four others, one of whom is Commander-in-Chief, another has charge of the revenue, another the expenditure, and the other is the governor of the province where the Council happens to meet. These constitute the Council of India. The people have no voice whatever in the government. In 1835 Macaulay thus spoke of the powers of the Government: "No government in the world is better provided with the means of meeting extraordinary dangers. Five persons, who may be brought together in half an hour, whose deliberations are secret, can, at a single sitting, pass a law to stop every press in India."

It may be said that since 1835 things have changed, and changed, as they always do under English rule, for the better; that since then the Queen has been proclaimed "Empress of India," which of itself would add to the prosperity of the country. Well, her majesty was proclaimed empress of India on January 1st, 1877, and on the 5th of October the same year the *Tory Standard* thus spoke of the doings of the then Tory Government: "Henceforth a stroke of the vice-regal pen will suffice to dismiss a council, whilst his excellency declares through the wires his supreme will and pleasure. One consequence of the arbitrary régime enforced during the last eighteen months is very painful to those who remember the bold, self-reliant bearing of the civilians of the olden times. Everywhere timidity, obsequiousness, a bending back

and a protruding neck; nowhere that self-respect which gives to others what it claims for itself. The present is the most despotic government that has ever ruled in India." We thus see that despotic as it was in 1835, it had become more so in 1877.

In 1878 was given to India a press law as infamous as any that ever existed in any part of the world. Its aim was to crush at a single blow the whole native press of that country. By clause 3 every printer and publisher was to give a bond to such amount as the Government might think fit, "not to print or publish in any newspaper any words, signs, or visible representations likely to excite disaffection to the government established by law in British India," etc. And clause 10 reads as follows: "When any book, pamphlet, placard, broadsheet, or other document printed wholly or partially in any Oriental language in British India contains any words, signs, or visible representations which are of the nature described in clause 3, or when any such book, pamphlet, placard, broadsheet, or other document has been used or attempted to be used for any purpose described in the same section, clause (b), all printing presses, engines, machinery, types, lithographic stones, paper, and other implements, utensils, plant, and materials used or employed in or for the purpose of printing or publishing such book, pamphlet, placard, broadsheet, or other document, or found in or about any premises where the same is printed or published, and all copies of such book, pamphlet, placard, broadsheet, or other document, shall be liable to be forfeited to her majesty." And clause 11 provides that any such book, pamphlet, etc., printed elsewhere and brought into British India shall be forfeited to her majesty.

Take also the following, now forming part of the Penal Code of India (sec. 121): "Whosoever by words spoken or intended to be read, or by signs, or by visible representations, or otherwise, attempts to excite feelings of disaffection to the Government established by law in British India, shall be punished with transportation for life, or for any term, to which fine may be added, or with imprisonment for three years, to which fine may be added." Only think of the glories of British rule!

And why this Imperial despotism, this supremacy of ever-rampant tyranny? And why this suppression of the freedom of the press with every outward manifestation of feeling hostile to the Government? Why? The same as in every part of the world, British rule means the suppression of liberty, to facilitate the work of wholesale plunder. Yes, wherever the British flag is carried, to whatever part of the world, there our only aim, our only object, is the enslavement of the people for the sake of plunder. But let us look at a few plain facts.

In 1840, the revenue of India was £20,124,034. In 1858, when it was taken under the mercies of the Crown, it was £31,706,776. In 1870, it was £50,598,253; in 1874, £56,412,370; in 1878, £61,873,651; in 1880, £68,373,843; and in 1882, £75,144,601. We must remember too that India is an extremely poor country, and that seventy-five millions there means something very different to a like sum in England. On August 14, 1878, during the debates in Parliament, the late Professor Fawcett stated in the House that while a 6d. income tax in England would give £12,000,000, equal to 7s. 3d. per head of population, in India it would give only £1,200,000, equal to only 1½d. per head of the population.

But great as has been the increase of taxation, it has not been enough. The debt has increased in an equal ratio. In 1840, it was £34,484,997; in 1858, £69,473,484; and in 1883, £159,270,000.

We hear at times a great deal about the evil effects of absenteeism in Ireland, because four or five millions are taken annually from that country; but in India it is far worse. Taking the *Statistical Abstract*, we find that more than fourteen millions of the revenue of India is spent in England. At page 55, we find that during the ten years ending 1883, while £14,065,104 were spent in England on stores, £46,820,073 went in the shape of interest on railway stock, pensions, etc., and £76,237,446 on other charges, the particulars of which are not given; total, £137,122,625. Revenue received from England, £8,713,596; loss to India, £129,409,029.

Again, take what are termed Council Bills drawn on the different Governments of India. Taking *Parliamentary paper*, No. 3,229, 1882, these are stated at, for the ten years ending 1870, £121,258,000; and for the ten years ending 1880, £172,290,000; total for the twenty years, £293,548,000. And these are increasing every year. Thus in the five years, 1866 to 1871, the total was £30,603,196; five years ending 1876-7, £60,279,340; the five ending 1881-2, £67,279,306; and in 1882-3, £33,532,950 (*Statistical Abstract*, page 74).

Another source of plunder is by exchange through the depreciation of silver. This, too, is increasing at a rapid rate. From 1862 to 1866 the loss to India was only £145,749, and from 1867 to 1871 £1,285,328. But from 1872 to 1876 the loss was £4,395,560, and 1877 to 1881, £12,885,767. In 1882-3, it had gone up to £7,263,644.

But let us look at the plunder of India as shown in her exports and imports. In all countries the imports should exceed the exports, because to the imports are added the cost of freightage and every other charge. Taking them in round numbers, see how the matter stands with the following countries, and with India, 1861 to 1880, a period of twenty years:—

Twenty Years ending 1880.	Imports.		Exports.		Excess of Imports.
	£	...	£	...	
United Kingdom	6,415,000,000	...	4,907,000,000	...	1,508,000,000
France	2,650,000,000	...	2,490,000,000	...	160,000,000
Germany	2,690,000,000	...	1,950,000,000	...	740,000,000
Belgium	869,000,000	...	689,000,000	...	180,000,000

Now take India and Egypt, two countries that are being rapidly

ruined by the curse of usury. For these we must reverse the order of imports and exports:—

Twenty Years ending 1880.	Exports.	Imports.	Excess of Exports.
India .....	1,115,000,000 ...	661,000,000 ...	454,000,000
Egypt.....	320,000,000 ...	125,000,000 ...	195,000,000

See how the matter stands with regard to India:—

	Exports.	Imports.	Excess of Exports.
	1,115,000,000 ...	661,000,000 ...	454,000,000
Deduct for freightage 12 per cent. from Imports .....		78,220,000 ...	78,220,000

Taking the three years, 1881-2-3, Excess of Exports ...	Total loss to India ...	532,220,000
	Excess of Exports ...	83,999,906

Total loss to India in 23 years ..... 616,219,906

And these exports and imports include specie of every kind as well as merchandise.

Here we have the plunder of the people on a gigantic scale. Here is the secret of the poverty of the workers. This is why Imperial despotism reigns predominant, why rampant tyranny rules supreme. And these items only represent the plunder that goes from India, and not that taken by the swarms of English, etc., who are in India, and who there grow rich on the plunder of the natives ere they return to Europe, still to be pensioned on the revenues of that country.

J. SKETCHLEY.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### FRANCE.

Comrade Jules Guesde, formerly editor of *Le Socialiste* at Paris, is now at Lille (North Department) editing *Le Cri du Travailleur* (the Worker's Cry).

Those French Socialists who have started at Paris the "Republican Society of Social Science," under the influence of Benoit Malon and other contributors to the *Revue Socialiste*, have decided to organise an International Congress of Social Science, to be held during the feasts of the centenary of 1789, in all probability in the month of September 1889. The programme of the International Congress runs as follows: 1. The moral and social condition of modern proletariat; 2. Account and summing-up of all the Socialist ideas, doctrines, schemes, from the Revolution of 1789 down to the present day; 3. Account of all the essays of social reform (societary and communistic colonies, co-operative stores, state-socialist institutions, etc.); 4. Economical phenomena and tendencies of modern society; 5. Study of such measures as are actually possible towards the amelioration of the conditions of work in all countries; International relations between the working classes; 7. Ways and means for the complete transformation of society. All communications, documents, proposals, etc., concerning the above-mentioned congress should be sent to Elie May, administrator of the Society of Social Science, 17 rue Béranger, or to Henri Neven, general secretary of same, 11 rue Tournefort, Paris.

### GERMANY.

The readers of the *Weal* already know what kind of sham amnesty has been granted in Germany by the dying Kaiser. A few dozens of Socialists, sentenced to weeks or in some instances to a few months of jail for having distributed forbidden papers or pamphlets, have been set free. And on the very day when that generous amnesty was granted fifty or sixty Socialists were arrested in several towns of the blessed Fatherland and charged with the offence of distributing a leaflet answering the imperial proclamation of Frederick! The prisons have made an exchange of their inhabitants, that is all. In order to puff the amnesty bill, full pardon was granted to all those who had tried to blow up the State buildings, the Reichstag, the hotels of the ministers, and so forth—but there has never occurred one single instance where an "offence" of that kind has been traced. The bourgeois must be proud of the generosity of their new master.

Max Kayser, formerly Socialist member of the German Reichstag, died at Breslau a fortnight ago, after a cruel throat disease which lasted more than eighteen months. He was only thirty-six years old. From 1871 to 1873 he worked very hard for the cause of Social-Democracy at Berlin; in 1874 he went to Dresden, where he became editor of the *Volksboten* (the People's Messenger). In 1878 and again in 1881 and in 1884 he was returned as Socialist member to the German Reichstag, where he represented the 9th and the 22nd Saxonian districts. He has always been one of the most moderate members, even among Social-Democrats, but nevertheless has been very much prosecuted all through his political career. For his share, he had to undergo some twenty months of imprisonment, and he has been expelled from nearly every place where he had wished to settle; so, for instance, in turns from Dresden, Zwickau, Breslau (his native place), Elberfeld, Barmen, Renscheid, Solingen, Lennep. Even in the last period of his disease, wishing to die in the place where he was born, he could only return there by the authority of the German police. Such is the shameful character of the anti-Socialist laws in that cursed land of bigotry and despotism.

Last week the Socialist deputy Schumacher, who lives at Solingen, was searched by the police and all his letters confiscated. Sixteen persons were arrested at Elberfeld, amongst whom were comrades Hüttenberger, Barthel, Emile Muller, Kösser, and Schem. Perquisitions were made at the lodgings of over two hundred Socialists in the region of Wupperthal. In Elberfeld and Cologne, the same proceedings took place. The reason for all this seems to be that Puttkammer wants to arrange a new monster trial for secret conspiracy.

### HOLLAND.

A few weeks ago we announced the publication of the first volume of the posthumous works of our good old friend A. Gerhard, who has been one of the most active and most intelligent forerunners of the Socialist movement in Holland. We now announce the forthcoming of the second volume, which contains the following essays: 1. "Capital and Labour"; 2. "What do the Socialists aim at"; 3. "Legislative Bodies"; 4. "Authority and Liberty, Soul and Immortality"; 5. "Parliamentarism and Legislation." Each of these essays will also appear separately.

### RUSSIA.

During the year 1887 there have been, according to an official document issued at St. Petersburg, 4 direct attempts on the life of the Czar, 9 essays of attempts discovered before actual commission, and 707 attempts on the lives of public officers. The police have found out and confiscated 7 secret printing offices; 2850 arrests of Nihilists have been made. What amount of propaganda on the part of the heroic Russian revolutionaries these police prosecutions mean we need not say, and every one knows under what terrible difficulties they are working and struggling to get rid of the abominable autocracy which reigns supreme there over one hundred million people.

V. D.

### ITALY.

FLORENCE—A provisional committee for the foundation of a society of social studies has been formed in Florence, which society will undertake also the translation and publication of foreign works likely to be useful to Italian students of sociology. The principal scope of this institution will be to spread Socialist doctrines of every school as much to the partisans as to the opposers of Socialism, furnishing only the materials for study, and abstaining from any demonstration of opinions, political or social. The aims of the society seem to us excellent ones, and deserving of all success, as it is absolutely necessary for any Socialist or student of sociology to have easily-accessible materials—growing yearly more numerous—for this study. The committee earnestly request authors and editors to help the society by sending copies of their works and journals, etc. We hope this request will be taken notice of in England as well as in Italy. Such donations to be made to Il Dott. Alfredo Salvestrini, via Cavour, No. 27.

OSTIGLIA. A note reaches us of a little incident that happened at Ostiglia last autumn. A proprietor wanting to get his labour cheaper, imported hands from the province of Venice. This proceeding exasperated the natives in their extreme need of work, and they showed their feelings by "demonstrating." As usual, force was called in to oppose them, and ten of the townfolk were arrested, among them two women. One of the latter and seven men were sentenced from three to six months' imprisonment and fines.

### SPAIN.

BILBAO.—At a meeting of the Socialist Labour Party here the other day, a very favourable report of the growth of the party in this town was made by the chairman, and the rapidity with which its ideas have been spread in a short space of time. The object of the meeting was to explain as fully as might be the views of the party, which was done by several of the members.

BARCELONA.—Two strikes, one after another, among the workers in two shoe-factories have taken place here, terminating, *El Socialista* says, to the satisfaction of the strikers. Their labour-association has proved of great use to them in their resistance to the capitalists.

We read a list of 27 Groups of the Labour Party in Spain, of which *El Socialista* is the recognised weekly organ. M. M.

Lo when we wade the tangled wood,  
In haste and hurry to be there,  
Nought seem its leaves and blossoms good,  
For all that they be fashioned fair.

But, looking up, at last, we see  
The glimmer of the open light,  
From o'er the place where we would be  
Then grow the very brambles bright.

So now, amidst our day of strife,  
With many a matter glad we play,  
When once we see the light of life  
Gleam through the tangle of to-day.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.—The weekly return of metropolitan pauperism shows that the total number of paupers relieved in the first week of the current month was 109,153, of whom 59,889 were indoor and 49,264 outdoor paupers. The total number relieved shows an increase of 9,426 over the corresponding week of last year, 11,238 over 1883, and 19,325 over 1883. The total number of vagrants relieved on the last day of the week was 1,299, of whom 1,150 were men, 135 women, and 14 children under sixteen.

"ANTI-VACCINATION."—With medical matters we don't meddle in these columns, and on that side of the question say nothing. But it strikes me as funny that nigh every one of the arguments against compulsory vaccination is based on the old familiar "Mayn't I do what I like with my own?" The other day there was a meeting at which a Mr. Hopwood made a furious oration, in which he came again and again to "the right of the parent" and "every man to do with his child what he wishes," etc., etc. Now, if there be one thing more abominable to me than another, it is that a helpless member of the community should be handed over absolutely for making or marring in mind and body to two chance individuals, because it has been born of one and begotten by the other. That the rights of citizenship begin even before birth is acknowledged now by the law, and every citizen has an absolute claim upon the highest knowledge of the community. If that tells against vaccination, Society should protect the helpless babe from vaccination, but if it tell for it there is an equal duty of seeing that all are vaccinated. There is no other ground on which the question can be argued; parental right is a savage superstition.—S.

This world is not a very fine place for a good many of the people in it. But I've made up my mind it shan't be the worse for me if I can help it. They tell me I can't alter the world—that there must be a certain number of sneaks and robbers in it, and if I don't lie and filch somebody else will. Well, then somebody else shall, for I won't. I will never be one of the sleek dogs—I would never choose to withdraw myself from the labour and common burden of the world; but I do choose to withdraw myself from the push and scramble for money and position. Any man is at liberty to call me a fool, and say that mankind are benefitted by the push and scramble in the long run; but I care for the people who are alive now and will not be living when the long run comes. I prefer to go shares with the unlucky.—*Felix Holt* (George Eliot).

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### BRITAIN.

Nearly eighty men have struck work on the Ship Canal works, Acton Grange, near Warrington, because their demand for more wages was refused.

The Scotch coal trade continues in a depressed state, there being few colliers working anything like full time.

Instructions have been issued by the Admiralty for a reduction in the chief contractor's department at Sheerness dockyard, owing to slackness of work in the repairing department.

Preparations are being made to restart the New Pit, Choppington. A good many men have left the district, but those who will return to work at the colliery will submit to a reduction of 1½d. per ton.

The rivetter holders-on in the Caledon shipyard, occupied by Messrs. W. B. Thomson & Co., Limited, struck work on Wednesday for a rise of ½d. per hour.

The strike of weavers at Higherfield Shed, Barrowford, has been settled, terms having been offered, after prolonged negotiations, which although not all that could be desired by the Weavers' Association committee, they yet think it advisable under the circumstances to accept.

A strike has occurred among the moulders at Hull for an advance of 2s. per week. The number of men striking is small, but the lachrymose report states that "the inconvenience is great." Small wages, too, cause great inconvenience.

The furnacemen in the employment of the Eglinton Chemical Company's work at Irvine, to the number of 40, have come out on strike for an advance of wages. The original demand was for an increase of 6d. per day, ultimately modified to ½d. per hour.

An attempt at compromise with the riveters presently on strike at Greenock, has failed. The men demand an advance of 1s. per 100 rivets. The employers at a meeting with a deputation from the workmen offered 3d. advance, but this was declined, and the strike therefore continues.

The Cheshire salt trade during the month of March has continued in a very depressed state, the exports having been 69,439 against 84,474 tons for the corresponding month of last year. Stocks are very large, and prices are so low that several works are entirely stopped, while others have effected considerable reductions both as to numbers of men and rate of wages.

**THE TRUCK ACT.—GOVERNMENT PROSECUTION.**—The Lord Advocate has directed the Procurator-Fiscal for the Western District of Fife to raise a criminal prosecution against a local coal company for alleged contravention of the Truck Act by retaining miners' wages in lieu of house rent during the recent strike among the miners.

**REDUCTION IN WAGES.**—The workmen employed at a branch of the Patent Shaft and Axletree Company's works, Wednesbury, have received fourteen days' notice to terminate existing contracts. It is the largest works in the town, and the shopkeepers are considerably alarmed at the outlook, as their welfare depends much upon the success of the works.

**SELF-HELP MANUFACTURING COMPANY.**—An attempt is being made in Nelson to form a Self-Help Manufacturing Company. F. Wilkinson & Co., Limited, are offering the looms in Netherfield Shed for sale. A meeting was recently held in the warehouse addressed by a manager from a Self-Help Company in Burnley, and a committee has been formed to enquire into the matter and report to another meeting.

**STRIKE OF NUT AND BOLT MAKERS.**—The strike of the nut and bolt makers connected with D. Harper's works, Darlaston, has now lasted thirteen weeks, and there is no probability of a settlement, but on the other hand a general strike of the trade may be shortly resorted to. The Smethwick section of the trade favours a general strike. The Darlaston gunlock filers are about to ask their employers for an advance of wages on their present miserable average of 7s. per week. A trade society has been formed and membership is satisfactorily increasing.

**THE DISPUTE AT THE RICHMOND IRON WORKS.**—As notified last week, the advice of the Secretary of the Iron Trades' Association has been sought with regard to the dispute. His services were also called into requisition at a private meeting of ironworkers held at Brierley Hill, where resolutions in favour of an advance in wages and the re-establishment of an automatic system of regulating wages were passed unanimously. The basis for the system is to be the books of 12 firms. Mr. Capper counselled increased organisation before taking any action.

**BOILERMAKERS AND IRON SHIPBUILDERS SOCIETY.**—The annual report of the United Society of Boilermakers and Iron-Shipbuilders is just issued. Last year the society had 21½ per cent. of its members unemployed. The total income was £70,551; out of this the sum of £22,165 was paid to unemployed members, £17,165 for sick benefit, and other large payments were made. The society has now 214 branches, and 24,860 members, a decrease of 1,600 on the year. The sums paid for sickness averaged 13s. 8d. per member, for funerals 2s. 6½d. per member, and to members out of employment the payments averaged 17s. 8d. per member. The number of members out of employment at the end of 1887 was 4,516, or 221 fewer than at the end of the previous year.

**AMALGAMATED SOCIETY OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS.**—The general secretary thus expresses himself. Referring to the condition of trade and the means of improving it, he says: "The remedy I most approve is the one which emanates from ourselves, and consists of a reduction of the hours of labour and the abolition of all systematic overtime and piecework where practicable. All these could be speedily accomplished if working men were but united and true to each other, and it is to this end we must continue steadily to devote our labours." According to the report for the present month, "there is a large preponderance of opinion in favour of a 48 hours week, to be enforced by an Act of Parliament."

**THE IRONFOUNDERS' SOCIETY.**—The annual report of the Ironfounders' Society shows that the unemployed members of the society numbered 2,104, and during the year 18 per cent. of the membership was the average of the unemployed. There are at present 11,718 members of the society, which exhibited a slight reduction as compared with the previous year. The iron trade is stated to have been very bad for the last four years, and regret is expressed that "improvements in machinery and appliances should always be the means of throwing workmen on the unemployed market." Those interested in the question of the displacement of labour by machinery please note this, the very existence of the present form of trades' unions depends on the question being boldly faced.

**AGRICULTURAL LABOUR.**—In Berkshire agricultural labourers' wages are stated to be 9s. per week, and in Huntingdonshire 10s. per week. These figures represent a decline within the past ten years of 15 to 20 per cent., and at least an equal fall in farm labourers' wages is observable even in the northern agricultural counties. Added to low wages is the scantiness of employment and the large number of men who are either entirely without work or are able to obtain it only now and then. Many labourers are out of employment, and those that have worked scarcely getting sufficient to live upon, wages being so low. In the border counties a hind's wages—in money and in kind together—have fallen from £38 to £31, 8s. a-year.

**THE SPINNERS' WAGES QUESTION AT OLDHAM.**—Respecting the agitation for an advance of wages now causing considerable stir in the cotton districts, the *Cotton Factory Times* says: "An advance of wages in Oldham means an advance throughout the country in the cotton trade, and although a 5 per cent seems but a trifling sum to a spinner and his piecers, yet, calculated upon the number of members forming the Amalgamated Association, together with their piecers, it increases their incomes by upwards of £110,000 per year. This sum is worth looking after, as it is capable of affording additional comforts to the toilers who create the wealth. Employers will just be on the same footing as now if the 5 per cent becomes general, only the operatives will be a little better off, instead of the middle-men and the large merchants swallowing up the profits which are being made."

**THE CHARACTER-NOTE SYSTEM IN NEWCASTLE.**—A meeting was held in Newcastle last week to take steps for raising an agitation in the city and district against this system. There was a large attendance of representative workmen, and complete unanimity was shown in condemning the system, which is stated to be growing up on Tyneside, and which in America and on the Continent is extensively resorted to. It was resolved to raise a fund for the support of sacrificed men, and a committee was chosen to carry out this object, and to take steps for holding a public meeting for pushing the movement. It will be proposed that the unions be asked to alter their rules so as to protect their members against the character-note system. Members from the coach-builders, boot-riveters, bricklayers, boiler-makers, machinists, engineers, metal-planers, and other unions were present.

**THE WORKMEN OF STOKE PRIOR SALT WORKS.**—Mr. J. Corbett, M.P., of Stoke Prior Salt Works, has issued a circular to his workmen, in which he notices that several of his workmen are in the habit of getting into debt, notwithstanding that they receive good wages. He therefore gives notice that "any man or men who expend their wages in drinking or otherwise, instead of paying their lawful debts, are no men for these works; and I do hope that any such men will take advice, intended with the best feelings for their good and the comfort of their families." A correspondent writes, "Can't say what are the 'good wages' of men, but the women in 1886, according to Inspector of Factories' Report, kept themselves 'respectable' on 10s. per week." I hope some of the employes will let me know their opinion on the above circular, which forms the text of some insolent remarks concerning the workpeople in a local journal.

**AMALGAMATED ASSOCIATION OF OPERATIVE COTTON SPINNERS.**—The Annual Report for 1887 is very creditable to the Society. The number of members is 15,416, and the accumulated funds now reach £51,746 7s. 8d., constituting it the second wealthiest society in England with over ten thousand members. This result is due to the almost unprecedented devotion to the cause of unionism displayed by the members. In spite of the very high levies, which made the contributions during the year amount to very nearly 70s. for each member working full time, there has been no falling off in the membership. The special levies, however, put on after the Oldham strike of nearly three years ago, were taken off at the end of the year. Like almost every other trade union, the Cotton Spinners have had to meet a large increase in the out-of-work pay. The amount paid under this head was £15,885 7s. 10d., being £1,397 13s. 6d. more than in 1886.

**MIDLAND COUNTIES TRADES FEDERATION.**—On Wednesday night (April 11) a special delegate meeting was held at Wednesbury to consider the advisability of getting a uniform list of prices in the spike-nail trade. Mr. Price, of Halesowen, was in the chair. The Halesowen delegate said the workmen in his district had come to the conclusion to co-operate with the spike nail makers at Sedgley with the view of getting a uniform list, the present list of prices being in their opinion a very unfair one. Mr. Higgins (Sedgley) said that the employers at Sedgley admitted that the existing list was a very unfair one, as no spike-nail maker could earn a living when in full work. Mr. Juggins (secretary) advised them not to run into a strike, but to do all they could to bring the employers and workmen together. Eventually it was moved by B. Winwood (Blackheath), and seconded by W. Millerchip (Walsall), and carried unanimously, that the secretary invite all the employers in the spike-nail trade in Halesowen, Sedgley, and Dudley, to meet a deputation of spike-nail makers at an early date with a view of mutually agreeing upon a list of prices for the regulation of the trade in future and obviating the necessity for strikes.

**A DOOMED INDUSTRY.**—The old-established firm of Messrs. S. T. Cooper and Co., of the Leeds Iron Works, have decided to relinquish business, and the month's notice served upon the men in their employ expired with the end of last week. This step, which had long been in contemplation, gives emphasis to the decay from which the best Yorkshire iron trade has been suffering for many years, and is the more significant from the fact that the firm was the first that was founded in Leeds for the manufacture of what is universally known as best Yorkshire iron, after the discovery of the valuable ore in the neighbourhood of Low Moor, over half a century ago. At one time, when the best Yorkshire iron trade was at its zenith, Messrs. Cooper were the leading manufacturers in the Leeds district, employing several hundred hands, and of course making large profits. The introduction of steel, however, has had its effect, and the growing demand for the more durable metal has pushed iron out of the market to a large extent.—This is one of the effects of the introduction of improved machinery in the manufacture of steel. The displacement of these workers is not temporary, and skilled workers in this industry will probably have to accept work as labourers. Of course youths will not learn a decaying trade, and the last of the industry will terminate with the lives of the present workers.

**A NICE CO-OPERATIVE MILL.**—A mass meeting of weavers was recently held in the Co-operative Hall, Longridge, to consider the best means of assisting the weavers now on strike at the Co-operative Mill. The statements made as to the tyrannical conduct of the manager show the utter fallacy of the idea that the condition of the workers can be improved by promoting co-operative enterprises based upon dividend-making. These concerns are in reality only joint-stock corporations with "neither bodies to be kicked nor souls to be damned," and as a consequence the workpeople are often treated with less consideration than if they were working for the profit.

of an individual capitalist. For instance, in the aforesaid mill, in addition to the list prices being cut down, the weavers were refused leave of absence under the most pressing circumstances, even in case of marriages or deaths. "He did not go to his father's funeral," the manager is reported to have said. "If a weaver asked off for a few hours in consequence of having important business to attend to, they could not understand a weaver having any important business." Then, too, male weavers were discharged as not being subservient enough, and in order that by the substitution of cheap female labour, the manager might obtain a "first-class" reputation "by being able to pay a big dividend out of the operatives' wages." The chairman of the local association, who presided, said there were 552 looms stopped, and only a little over 2000 in the village. With outside help they calculated that 3d. per loom would suffice to carry on the strike. The meeting adopted a motion that this sum should be paid.

"I once saw a smart little woman who could earn nearly £6 a week," says Mr. Lakeman (see article "More Concerning Work and Wages.") Once! Yes, Mr. Lakeman, we don't think you would see such a fortunate lady twice.—*Labour Tribune*.

In the matter of the Mid-Lanark Parliamentary election, and the attempt of the political caucus to ride rough-shod over the wishes of the working-classes, Mr. T. R. Threlfall, secretary of the National Labour Party, desires to make an appeal to the readers of the *Labour Tribune* for subscriptions towards Mr. J. Keir-Hardie's election expenses in fighting the "money-bags" of the Liberal party. That appeal will come as a flash of enlightenment to many a Tribuner who may happen to think that so-called Liberals love working-men as such. Far too many of the party make the same use of the workman as the workman does of his tools. The Caucus needs teaching a lesson or two to show them that money is not always king. Subscriptions should be sent to Mr. Threlfall, 19, Sussex Road, Southport. Labour shall be king.—*Labour Tribune*.

**TWEEDLEDUM AND TWEEDLEDEE.**—The attitude of the official Liberals makes it unmistakably clear that they care nothing for the interests of Labour, except in so far as they can be made subservient to those of the middle-class. Liberals are eager to use our political power as a weapon against Tory landlords, but they are afraid that, in the hands of consistent and independent men, the same weapon may be turned against the social injustice of which Labour is the prey. We do not intend any longer to be merely tools for political tricksters. As the Irish have, by opposing them, forced Liberals to hastily find "political salvation" as to Home Rule, so we can, and will, convert them to a belief in the direct representation of Labour, and the addition to their official programme of measures which will benefit the class to which you and I belong. If Liberalism will not accept our co-operation on fair and reasonable terms, then Liberalism must in the future reckon with our hostility.—J. KEIR HARDIE, *Labour Candidate for Mid-Lanark*.

**PECULIARITY OF FACTORY CLOCKS.**—In prosecuting a manufacturer recently at the Rawtenstall police court for employing women and children during prohibited hours, Mr. Osborn, the inspector, said, "These cases were very difficult to deal with, but it was important that correct time should be kept, out of justice to the large number of employers who were scrupulous in carrying out the Act. It was manifestly unfair that any one manufacturer should have an advantage over anyone else in these matters, because five minutes taken at every starting and stopping entirely recovered the half-hour which was taken away when the hours of labour were diminished in 1874. It was their duty to prevent any part of that time being recovered. It was supposed that that reduction of the hours meant a loss practically of 5 per cent. on the invested capital of employers, and they would see that a few extra minutes each day meant a considerable difference, if persisted in." Alluding to the time-worn "clock" argument that had been used for the defence, the inspector said, "There might have been some mistake in the mill clock, but his experience was that these clocks were always fast in the morning and slow at night. He had never found them the other way."

**PAROCHIAL ADULT TRANSPORTATION.**—A discussion took place at the Clatterbridge (Cheshire) Board of Guardians relative to a proposition to grant £5 per head towards a fund for assisting four young men to emigrate. The board had appealed to the Local Government Board to know if such an application of the funds would be legal, and the Board replied in the affirmative.—Mr. Lloyd accordingly moved that such a sum should be voted, and suggested further that £100 should be raised by a special penny rate for the purpose of promoting emigration.—An animated discussion followed. Mr. Thompson moved a direct negative, and said the moment an Englishman left the country a Polish Jew came into his place. There was now a population of 36,000 Polish Jews, creating low wages and starvation wherever they went.—Ultimately the resolution to assist the emigrants was rejected by a large majority. It may surely be reckoned a sign of progress when a board of guardians pronounce so decisively against the emigration fraud. It is high time that the shameless shuffling to and fro of the victims of Capitalism was put an end to, and that the rascals who advocate the exportation of the workers in the interest of the fleecers should receive their due reward.

**THE NORTHUMBERLAND MINERS AND THEIR M.P.'S.**—The labour papers, bossed or inspired by the labour representatives, are weeping over the attitude of Mr. Cowen and the *Newcastle Chronicle* with regard to the recent vote. The following is from the *Weekly Chronicle*, and fairly states the question:—"The voting of the Northumberland Miners in respect to the stipends of Messrs. Burt and Fenwick has left matters in a very unsatisfactory condition. When a society is so evenly divided as the Miners' Union appears to be, there is generally very great difficulty in preventing a rupture. As for the hon. gentlemen whose means of sustenance were involved in the voting, their position can hardly be considered pleasant, or even comfortable. Mr. Burt, especially, must feel acutely the change which has lately come over the sentiments of the miners. Moreover, the facts disclosed by the vote must seriously impair the moral influence he formerly exercised as the political representative of a large body of workmen. . . . So far as Mr. Burt is personally concerned, the thing to be regretted is, not that the miners have now lost faith in him, but that they did not indicate this decline of confidence two or three years ago. It may be taken for granted, I fancy, that the vote which has just taken place practically means sooner or later the abrogation of the political policy which the Northumberland miners have pursued for the last fourteen years." Mr. Cowen is a veteran democrat, and evidently fully understands the present aspect of the labour movement. The best thing the "very respected" M.P.'s can do now is to amend their ways, and find out what are the requirements of a real labour representative.

T. BINNING.

## THE SWEATING SYSTEM.

A considerable representation of victims of the sweating system appeared on Friday in the Committee Room of the House of Lords, where Lord Dunraven's Committee took further evidence on the subject. The sweaters were distinguishable by their poverty-stricken and dirty aspect, their tattered clothes, and worn, wan looks. Evidence was given by Mr. Arnold White, author of 'Problems of a Great City,' who stated that he had investigated social questions at the East-end, and was acquainted with the sweating system. The sweater was a man who "grinds the face of the poor"—a man without capital, skill, or speculation. He was almost invariably a foreigner, who had been sweated himself. Sweating prevailed mainly in the boot trade, but also in tailoring and shirt-making, and, in a lesser degree, in cabinet-making and upholstery. In the boot trade, out of every four shillings received from the manufacturer the "knifer" or cutter—usually the sweater himself—received 2s. per dozen, while three finishers received only 8d. each. These men worked eighteen hours a-day for four and a half days in the week as long as the work lasted. They could not make a living on twelve hours' work a-day. They could not combine for restricting hours or increasing pay, or registering workrooms—which was what they most wanted—because they would be dismissed if found out and their places taken by "greeners," or foreign paupers, chiefly from Russian Poland. They came largely from Minsk and Odessa, and were induced to come in the belief that London streets were paved with gold, and that they would be better off here than at home. The Foreign Office had been frequently urged to disabuse them of this notion, but for political reasons they refused to carry out the suggestion. He was convinced that if the immigration of foreign paupers was stopped the system would cease. Mr. White displayed to the committee a piece of dry hard coarse bread, which he said was the staple food of the sweater, eaten at his bench. He exhibited also a pair of women's half-cloth elastic-sided boots made by the sweatees, with paper inserted between the soles and uppers. These were atrociously bad goods, and were sent chiefly to the colonies. The men were pertinaciously industrious, and were well-behaved as regarded morality, and very fond of their children, but in regard to cleanliness, abominable. They knew no amusement, they had no pleasure in the past, no hope for the future. They were old men at forty, and their children, though very intelligent, were physically degenerate.—Samuel Wittman, one of the sweated witnesses brought forward by Mr. White, stated that he came ten years ago from Austro-Hungary, where he was a teacher, but was unable to gain a living. He was three months in London without employment, and then went to a boot and shoe shop, where he was told he could learn finishing in a month. He worked from five in the morning till half-past twelve at night for about 15s. 8d. per week, out of which he had to live and pay rent. After some years he joined a trade society. He declined to state the name of his employer, a sub-contractor, because he might lose his work. In the best times a man could earn 28s. per week, and in the worst (December and January) 13s., if he got any work at all.—Mayer Fielwil, native of Russia, stated that he was turned out of town after town in consequence of being a Jew, and at last made his way across Europe to this country, where he arrived three weeks ago, with 3s. in his pocket. He is now doing a month's apprenticeship as a finisher, receiving only a cup of tea or a cup of coffee from his employer.

## LANDLORDISM IN AMERICA.

MILLIONS OF ACRES OWNED BY BRITISH NOBLEMEN.

The landlord (says the *St. Louis Republican*, which is only an ordinary "respectable paper") is rapidly becoming an American institution. It was fondly believed for a long time that the landlord was an adjunct of aristocracy, an offshoot of the feudal system, and that he could neither flourish nor take root in the free soil of the great Republic. This belief is being gradually dissipated. Already landlordism is flourishing to a troublesome extent in Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, Texas, California, and Colorado, and the system has been planted in other States and territories, and will be seen and felt in the near future if something is not done to check its growth. Under this system the agriculturists are quasi-slaves, and the cultivators of the fields little more than peons. All are familiar with the results of landlordism in Ireland. The story has been told a hundred times, and few Americans withhold sympathy from the people of Ireland struggling to shake off the baneful grip of the landlord. But while we pretend to abhor the system on the other side of the Atlantic, it is rather strange that we shut our eyes to its propagation and growth right here at home. Millions of acres in Texas, California, and Colorado are owned by British noblemen, and these vast estates are being peopled with hardy agriculturists, who will cultivate the fields, build houses, and increase the value of the property without any corresponding benefit to themselves. As fast as they increase the value of the lands their rents will be increased, and when they refuse to pay exorbitant prices the courts and sheriffs will be called to the landlord's assistance and the tenant will be driven from his home with all the anguish and ceremony attending evictions in Ireland or Scotland. Already evictions have become familiar in Illinois, Iowa, and Nebraska. Landlordism is the seed of poverty and discontent. It begets anarchy, socialism, communism, robbery, and murder. It is not a native of this country, nor can it ever be made to harmonise with American institutions and American ideas.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

**Annual Conference.**—The Fourth Annual Conference of the Socialist League will be held at 13 Farringdon Road, on Whit-Sunday, May 20. The attention of Branches is particularly referred to (1) Rule V. on the subject of the annual conference, pp. 3 and 4 of Constitution and Rules; and (2) that all branches wishing to be represented at the Conference must pay their subscription up to the 31st March by May 1st.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1887: Hastings, Nottingham, Pelsall—None. Croydon, Glasgow, Ipswich, Leeds, Merton, Norwich—to end of March. Edinburgh—to end of May. Mitcham—to end of July. Walsall—to end of August. Hull—to end of September. Bloomsbury, Waltham Green, Wednesbury—to end of October. —1888: Marylebone—to end of January. Hammersmith, Leicester—to end of February. Acton, Bradford, Clerkenwell, Hackney, North London, Oxford, L.E.L. (Hoxton)—to end of March. Mile-end—to end of April.

**"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.**

"Well-Wisher," 6d. W. B., 6d. C. J. F., 2s. 6d. K. F., 1s. Langley, 2s. P. W., 6d. Oxford Branch, 2s.

Propaganda Fund.—H. Samuel, 1s.

**REPORTS.**

**ACTON.**—At Turnham Green, Front Common, 11.30, good meeting, Catterson Smith opened; Fry also spoke, Tochetti and Maughan supporting. 14 *Commonweal* sold.—J. T.

**BLOOMSBURY.**—On Thursday, at the Communist Club, 49, Tottenham Street, W., F. Henderson lectured here on "What Socialists should do." Good discussion. On Sunday, at St. Pancras Arches, a very large meeting was addressed by Donald, Chambers, and Bartlett.—W. W. B.

**CLERKENWELL.**—Owing to wretched weather last Sunday evening, open-air meeting was abandoned. In hall, F. Henderson lectured on "Municipal Action." Lively debate.—B.

**FULHAM.**—Tuesday evening, opposite Liberal Club, Tochetti and Groser held meeting. Sunday morning excellent meeting addressed by Mahony, Morris, and Turner; 3s. 3d. collected for branch. In evening, Rev. S. D. Headlam lectured in rooms to large audience on "The Sins that Cause Poverty." Many questions and good discussion; 3s. 2d. collected; 45 *Commonweal* sold during the day.—S. B. G.

**HACKNEY.**—Lane and Charles addressed the first meeting of the season at the Salmon and Ball on Sunday morning. Moderate audience and fair sale of *Commonweal*.

**MILE END AND BETHNAL GREEN.**—Lane, Charles, and Davis spoke in Victoria Park last Sunday evening. Sale of *Commonweal* good. Tuesday evening we opened our new hall, when speeches were given by Donald, Henderson, Barker, and Blundell, who also sang "The Starving Poor of Old England."—H. D.

**MITCHAM.**—The first meeting of the open-air season commenced here on Sunday, when an audience of 300 persons were addressed by Kitz, Eden, and Parker. Very good sale of *Commonweal*.

**NORTH LONDON.**—This branch has been revived, and with the beginning of the fine weather resumed open-air propaganda. A very good meeting was held on Sunday morning in Regent's Park. Branch prospects are decidedly good.

**BIRMINGHAM.**—Tuesday evening, J. Sketchley lectured at Summer Row Coffee House on "Socialism and Anarchism." Sunday evening, Tarn lectured at Bakerville Hall on "Robert Owen."—A. T.

**GLASGOW.**—On Saturday, McCulloch, Brown, and Glasier went to Cambuslang to hold a meeting, but on arrival they found the only available space for meetings occupied by the supporters of one of the many candidates in the Mid-Lanark contest, so they had to be content to sell literature and *Commonweal* in the already formed ground. The weather prevented our other outdoor meetings on Sunday. A general meeting of the branch was held in the rooms at 6.30.—S. D.

**LEEDS.**—On Sunday morning, Hill, Paylor, and Sollitt addressed a large crowd in Vicar's Croft.—P.

**NORWICH.**—On Friday last paper read by comrade Poynts, entitled "Why I am a Socialist"; several joined in discussion. Sunday morning, two good outdoor meetings addressed by Mowbray, Morley, and Utley (London). In afternoon large meeting held in Market Place by Mowbray and Utley. In evening another good meeting was held in Market Place by Mowbray. At Gordon Hall, Utley lectured to large and sympathetic audience on "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity." Morley and Mowbray also spoke. Good collections and good sale of *Commonweal*.

**WALSALL.**—Monday last Sanders and Deakin dealt with a Fair Trade manifesto, largely circulated of late in the district. Good discussion followed, their views meeting considerable support from audience. Outdoor meeting Saturday held by Sanders; no opposition of any moment.—J. T. D.

**L. E. L. CLUB AND INSTITUTE.**—On Sunday evening A. K. Donald lectured to a large audience on "Crime, its Cause and Prevention;" an interesting discussion followed. The new venture is making satisfactory progress.

**EDINBURGH.**—Indoor meetings discontinued. On Meadows, 8th inst., John Smith had a long debate with Job Bone. Smith's vigorous and well-directed onslaughts carried the large audience with him. On 15th, Smith, Bain, and some of the S. D. F. spoke, Job forming the opposition.

**JUNIOR SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY.**—Saturday evening, April 14, Mrs. Aveling read a paper on "Woman" at 65, Chancery Lane.—H. W. F.

**DUBLIN.**—At the Presbyterian Association, Upper Sackville Street, April 9, Mr. I. A. Cree read a paper on "Aspects of Socialism in England," in which, after an impartial description of the progress of the movement, he advocated a mild form of State Socialism. An interesting discussion ensued, comrade Fitzpatrick knocking the individualist opponents into a cocked hat. Mr. Jas. Walker (Saturday Club), and several others spoke.

Mrs. Wardle will supply Branch Subscription Cards at 9d. per doz. Leaflet Press, Cursitor street.

**SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.**—Meeting at *Commonweal* Office, 13 Farringdon Road, on Wednesday April 22, at 3.30 p.m.

**LECTURE DIARY.**

LONDON.

**Acton.**—17 High Street, Acton, W. (adjoining Purnell's Dining Rooms). Sunday at 8 p.m.

**Bloomsbury.**—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road. Thursday April 19, at 8.30, H. A. Barker, "The Labour Struggle." April 26. Business meeting—all members requested to attend.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7. Sunday April 22, at 8.30, Mark Manly, "How to Advance Socialism." Wednesday 25, at 8.30, H. A. Barker, "The Moral and Economic Bases of Socialism."

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sunday April 22, at 8 p.m., William Morris, "Socialism."

**Hackney.**—SPECIAL NOTICE—The next meeting of members will take place on Sunday evening next, at 5.30, at 28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Road, Hackney Wick. Tea provided before business meeting. —On Tuesday April 24, William Morris will lecture on "Socialism, its Aims and Methods" at the Morley Coffee Tavern Lecture Hall, next to Morley Hall, Triangle, Mare Street, Hackney. Chair taken at 8.30 promptly by W. B. Parker.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday April 22, at 8. William J. Bull (Hammersmith Constitutional Club), "An Historic Socialism."

**Hoxton.**—Labour Emancipation League Club and Institute, 1 Hoxton Square (near Shoreditch Ch.). Sunday April 22, at 8 p.m., H. Halliday Sparling will lecture on "The History of Radicalism."

**Mitcham.**—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open Saturday, Sunday, and Monday evenings from 7.30 till 11. W. E. Eden, 12 Palmerston Road, Wimbledon, Secretary.

**Mile-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road. A special meeting of the members of the branch will take place on Thursday April 19.

**North London.**—Next business meeting will be held Sunday April 22, 7.30, at 109 Cavendish Buildings, opposite Holborn Town Hall. Nelly Parker, secy. Members specially requested to attend.

**PROVINCES.**

**Aberdeen** (Scottish Section).—Sunday night meetings in Baker Street Hall, at 6. Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St. Nicholas Street.

**Birmingham.**—Summer Row Coffee House.

**Bradford.**—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivegate. Meets Tuesdays at 8.

**Carnoustie** (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Tuesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. H. McCluskey, Millar Street, Secy.

**Cowdenbeath** (Scot. Sec).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec

**Dundee** (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Edinburgh** (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Discussion every Thursday at S. April 26, "How is Socialism to be Realised?" May 3, "Is Socialism merely an Economic Change?" May 10, "Relation of Socialism to Christianity."

**Galashiels** (Scot Sect).—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., sec.

**Gallatoun and Dysart** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatoun Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.

**Glasgow.**—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily.

**Leeds.**—Lady Lane. Open every evening. Business meeting Fridays at 8. Address all communications to T. Paylor, 11 Sheldon Street, Holbeck, Leeds.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8.

**Lochgelly** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Secs. (*pro tem.*), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.

**Norwich.**—Friday next, at 8.30, a paper will be read by comrade Beare. Sunday at 8, lecture. Monday, Entertainment at 8. Tuesday, Members meeting at 8.30. Wednesday, Ways and Means and Literary Committees at 8.30. Thursday, Band practice and Troupe rehearsal at 8. Friday, Debating Class at 8.30—all comrades ought to attend. Saturday, Co-operative Clothing Association.

**Nottingham.**—Club and Reading Rooms, 1 Tokenhouse Yard, Bridlesmith Gate, open every evening. Lectures and Discussions every Sunday.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

**West Calder** (Scottish Section).—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.

**OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**

LONDON—Sunday 22.

11 ...Acton—the Steyne ..... The Branch  
11 ...Turnham Green—Front Common... Ham'smith  
11.30...Hackney—Salmon and Ball ..... Mainwaring  
11.30...Hammersmith—Beacon Road ..... The Branch  
11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St. .... Wade & Pope  
11.30...Merton—Haydons Road ..... Kitz  
11.30...Mile-end Waste..... Turner  
11.30...Mitcham Fair Green ..... Fredericks  
11.30...Regent's Park ..... Nicoll & Parker  
11.30...St. Pancras Arches ..... Bartlett

11.30...Walham Green ..... Fulham Branch  
3 ...Victoria Park ..... Charles & Lane  
3.30...Hyde Park ..... Parker  
7.30...Clerkenwell Green ..... Blundell  
7.30...Stamford Hill ..... Charles & Parker

Tuesday.

8 ...Mile-end Waste ..... Mainwaring & Davis

Friday.

8.30...Euston Rd.—Osulton Street ...N. London Bh.

**PROVINCES.**

**Glasgow.**—Saturday: Cambuslang, at 6.30. Sunday: Jail's Square, at 1 p.m.; Paisley Road Toll, at 5; Infirmary Square at 7.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Vicar's Croft, at 11 a.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday: Ber Street Fountain at 11.45; Market Place at 3 and 7.30.

**MILE-END AND BETHNAL GREEN BRANCH.**—H. H. Sparling will lecture on Tuesday 24, 8.30, at the Working Men's Radical Club, 108 Bridge Street, Burdett Road—subject, "The Blind Samson."

**UNITED RADICAL CLUB AND INSTITUTE,** Kay Street, Goldsmith Row, Hackney Road, E.—H. A. Barker will lecture on Sunday April 22, on "The Aims of Socialists."

A Concert and Draw will take place on Sunday April 29 at the Communistic Working Men's Club, 49 Tottenham Street, W., in aid of Adam Weiler, who has been ailing in health for a considerable time. Tickets, price 6d., may be had at the above-named Club; and at 181 Queen Victoria Street, S. D. F. office; F. Lessner, 12 Fitzroy Street, Fitzroy Square; and the offices of the S. L.

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# THE COMMONWEALTH

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 4.—No. 120.

SATURDAY, APRIL 28, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON NEWS.

Our comrades of the *Sozial Demokrat* have received notice of expulsion from their asylum at Zurich, and will have to leave Switzerland. This attack on freedom by a bourgeois Republic is the sort of thing one expects in these days, but it may be ominous of something special in the welter of European politics, an indication that the huge tyranny of the German Empire is looking on a war as sensibly drawing near, and is putting its house in order, by a further attempt, which will certainly be as futile as the rest to stamp out the growing flame of Socialism.

Just as we are going to press we have received an interesting letter from a comrade on this subject, recounting the shabby pretexts of the Swiss Federal Government for this tyrannical act. Of course, as our comrade states, the Swiss Government is acting under pressure from the German Executive, and the immediate cause of the "energy" of the latter is revenge on the *Sozial Demokrat* for the defeat sustained by Bismark and Co. in the Reichstag, when the attempt was made to strengthen the laws against the Socialists; which to any other Government or potentate, ancient or modern, would seem strong enough as they are. In fact, this expulsion of our comrades is just a part of that forward move in repression.

We may well wonder what Balfour and his mates believe in their hearts will be the end of their Coercion adventure in Ireland, or to what lengths they are prepared to carry it. They must, at least, have a deep faith in the want of generosity of the English bourgeois, and the impossibility of shaming him into anything like manliness, or they would at any rate have made haste to alter the sentence of additional imprisonment passed on Mr. Blane for having the hardihood to appeal against his conviction. Such conduct is worthy of an ill-tempered pedagogue, and no one but a man who considers himself entirely irresponsible to anything but his own indigestion, would dare to act in such a manner outside the ranks of the English or American fool, the quintessence of all stupidity past or present.

Yet it is probable that the Balfourian snobs think that something will come about from the imprisonment of Blane and McFadden and the onslaught at Ennis, and other deeds of a like nature. What is the something which they hope for? Surely that they may at last irritate the Irish into some overt act of rebellion, so that Coercion and its dirty tricks may be justified in the eyes of British respectability. Really if this is so, and all the recent events point towards it, the game hardly seems worth the candle to a calm looker on. For what will Balfour do next—and next—and next? Of course he has not troubled his head about that.

As to Mr. Blane, however, perhaps the Irish authorities may know what they are about, and have laid hands on the right person. Some of us will remember our introduction to him at the tea whereat Graham and Burns were welcomed, and the speech he made on that occasion, in which he spoke like a Socialist and a thoroughly good fellow. No doubt he is a dangerous man, and the opportunity of keeping him under lock and key a few months longer is not lightly to be foregone. Meantime, after what we saw of him on that occasion, our sympathy with him must be of the strongest character.

The meeting summoned by the Metropolitan Radical Federation to consider the Trafalgar Square business will, at any rate, have one good effect, that no Radicals worthy of the name can look with anything but contempt on their "Liberal" representatives in London. Mr. Foote's defence of them in the letter which he wrote to the *Star* is as lame as anything could be; and the round-robin written to the meeting fully deserved the shouts of laughter with which it was greeted. Men who will snatch at such an excuse as Mr. Saunder's civil case will do anything in the way of excusing themselves. If Mr. Saunders gains his case he does not establish the right of meeting in the Square, but only settles under what quibble it is most convenient to forbid meeting. If he loses it, affairs are just in the same position as they are now.

We need not doubt that there is plenty of law to prevent us meet-

ing in the Square; or, indeed, anywhere else in the open-air. For the matter of that a very little ingenuity on the part of lawyers and judges would enable a government to forbid us meeting *indoors* either unless we say there what pleases our masters. There is still, for instance, an unrepealed law which forbids Sunday meetings in places unlicensed for public worship under penalties heavy enough "to make your flesh creep"; and it would be awkward, not to say impossible, for Socialist branches or Radical clubs to get their lecture-rooms licensed as chapels. We may be sure that neither this government nor any other will ever be seriously embarrassed by the laws. What ever is convenient for them to do in the way of keeping the people down they will do if the people lets them—if they dare.

The rights of property take shapes as curious and shifting as the wizard in the old tale. Here is a "common-sense" public horrified at Socialist propositions to meddle with the sacred thing, and invoking the eighth commandment of a tribe which, I think, in those days hardly held the same views about property as the modern bourgeois does. Here is the House of Commons, the judges, the lawyers, the magistrates, the police, the army and the navy all engaged in the holy task of safeguarding property, and yet the whole of this magnificent moral sense, the whole of this irresistible machinery, quite capable of spending a hundred pounds in mending sixpence beautifully, cannot get back for poor Mary Ryan *her* property, which has been "conveyed" from her by the police; though a magistrate (a not very tender conscientious species) gave her an order for it, the judges of a superior court found they were not strong enough to let her have it; and so hopeless is her case that questions have been asked about it in the House of Commons! Her sole remedy now is to bring an action against the police. What a night-mare of stupidity and injustice!

It is puzzling to some brains why Mr. Peters should have £300 as a result of Mr. Bradlaugh's assertion about Lord Salisbury's cheque. It is doubtful if the conundrum is worth much trouble to solve; since it is clear enough that the jury awarded that sum to him to avenge Lord Salisbury on Mr. Bradlaugh. I suppose precedent forbade their recommending from the box that Mr. Peters should offer halves to the Most Noble; but it may be hoped that Mr. Peters will see his way to making the marquis a handsome present out of his windfall: all the more as his lordship belongs to the necessitous class whom Mr. Peters supports politically—the landlords of Great Britain and Ireland. If that could be done, it would be a case of "all's well that ends well": Mr. Bradlaugh's fine paid by M.P.'s who can afford it; Mr. Peters happy; and Lord Salisbury content. W. M.

Events are moving in Roumania with such rapidity that the peasant revolt there will have been crushed, or a revolution carried out, before this number is in the hands of its readers. When the rising took place it was at first described as a mere local outbreak fomented by Russian money; but the flame spread, and village after village rose upon its oppressor, and proprietors had to fly for their lives from estate after estate. Large towns were taken, pitched battles fought, granaries pillaged, and extortionate officials tried and sentenced with rough justice. Day after day it was stated that the rising had subsided, and then that it had broken out again, and then that the territorial troops had fraternised with the people and fired on the regulars who were sent against them.

It is becoming increasingly clear that Russian money, or any other outside stimulus, has little to do in the affair; the movement is Socialist, says the *Pall Mall*, and there is no doubt that Socialists have something to do with it. But the reality of it is nothing more than a huge hunger-revolt—and nothing less. Meanwhile there seems to be no thought on the part of the rulers of Roumania of striking at the root of the evil, and there is most certainly none on the part of their outside advisers. The old "remedy" of repression is to be tried; "order" must be "restored" before anything is done; etc., etc.

But how such wicked proceedings as those of the Roumanians must be looked on with horror by the dear good Englishman, who when hit in the face turns round to be kicked, and sings psalms of loyalty and law'n'-order while he is being plundered! S.

The attitude of the Irish Party at the Mid-Lanark election is very unsatisfactory. They have advised the electors to go against the Labour candidate. This is a shabby return for the self-sacrifice of those English working-men who have gone to Ireland and suffered imprisonment for the Home Rule cause; and the lesson will not be lost on the thousands of workmen who have subscribed their pence for the same cause. The Irish party have talked a lot about their trust in the English democracy, and to a large extent they have gained its sympathy; their action in Mid-Lanark is not calculated in any way to retain it. We hope the election will show them that they cannot afford to insult the Labour party in this way.

F. H.

### A NEEDED TALISMAN.

SIR,—Since the beginning of the present year I have passed through a series of remarkable events. To explain the cause of these events I must trouble you with a short account of my family history. In the days when the philosopher's stone was so eagerly sought after, my ancestors devoted their time and their estates—which latter were considerable—to the search. It is probable they were unsuccessful, as the only heirloom, for several generations, has been a small wooden box. When I received it about twenty years ago from my father the box was carefully sealed up, and bore upon it the directions that it was to be opened by the head of the family of Cliffords when the last three numerals in the date of the year were identical, or, as the inscription put it, when the "trinity of the century" arrived.

When I opened the box I found it contained a small black stone about the size and shape of an egg, and a bundle of manuscripts, many of which I am unable to read. These papers describe the wonderful effects this stone has produced when used by my ancestors in previous centuries. They also contain the "charm" or formula which is necessary to repeat before any effect is produced. On pronouncing this charm all present are unconsciously forced by it to speak the truth. Those who have not cultivated this virtue speak out boldly perhaps for the first time in their lives, while they smile on in happy ignorance, thinking they are still imposing their falsehoods upon us.

I have taken the following reports down in shorthand, but I may in transcribing have made some mistakes. If you think that probable, you are at liberty to alter; only pray do it carefully, as a most awful curse rests upon the person who changes "one jot or tittle" unnecessarily. Should they be printed (correctly) I intend to put your paper in the box at the end of the year (which will be "absolutely the last day" on which the charm will have its proper effect). I shall thus confer a boon on my successor in the year 1999; for your printed matter will be much more readable than the manuscripts I have had handed down to me. I hope therefore for his sake you will have the kindness to insert them.

C. CLIFFORD.

### SCENE—POLICE COURT.

John Bull, whose face was severely cut, covered with blood, and very much swollen, was charged with attempting to rescue a prisoner from the custody of the police, and further with assaulting constable Jones, 441 H, while in the execution of his duty.

The officer stated that just before seven o'clock the previous evening he was in Trafalgar Square, in company with constable Robinson, when he saw a man named C. Fervent (now in custody) causing an obstruction. Witness told him to "move on," and on his refusal took him into custody, when the prisoner, rushing up, struck him on the head and attempted to take the man Fervent from him by force. Thereupon the witness, leaving Fervent to the care of constable Robinson, proceeded to arrest the prisoner, which he succeeded in doing, after a very severe struggle, but not before witness had received some very hard treatment at the hand of prisoner.

The magistrate said the man was evidently a desperate character, and the constable was to be praised for his courageous conduct in arresting the prisoner.

I thought it was about time we heard the truth, so I muttered over the charm.

P. C. Robinson, 301 H, was then called, and deposed that on the previous evening he had assisted the last witness in arresting C. Fervent, and they were endeavouring to knock the opposition out of him when the prisoner came up and called them "cowards," "brutes," etc. He said he would attend the court and give evidence for Fervent. Upon this, leaving Fervent to the care of witness, Jones sprang upon the prisoner, and so effectually batoned him with his truncheon, that he was soon reduced to an almost senseless condition.

While giving his evidence, P. C. 301 H looked quite happy, as though perfectly certain of promotion. But as he advanced in his evidence, the black looks of the magistrate and the relieved look which stole over the prisoner's face, made him feel very uneasy, although unable to account for these peculiar manifestations.

The magistrate then said that the evidence of the last witness clearly proved that the police had tried to incriminate the prisoner by false evidence. It was perfectly evident that the first witness had committed deliberate perjury. It was past his comprehension why constable Robinson had not supported his fellow policeman. However, in spite of this evidence, directly supporting the prisoner's statement, he must sentence him to three months' hard labour. Prisoner was then removed, looking considerably astonished.

It will be observed that the stone does not seem to force the person to act rightly (witness the sentence). Perhaps it is some fault of the charm. I intend to read the papers found in the box, and may find instruction there.

Believing that the Adulteration Act did not fully prevent fraudulent adulteration, I went the other day into a grocer's shop, kept by a Mr.

Grits. On entering the shop, observing that a lady was being attended to by an assistant, I repeated the charm in an undertone, when the following conversation ensued:

*Lady Customer.* Have you any butter which you can recommend?

*Assistant.* Well, madam, this article labelled "pure butter" is a combination of cart-grease, oil fat and various other ingredients, extracted from all manner of filth and rub—

*Mr. Grits* (who has heard the latter part of this description with horror), Here, James, just see to this; I will serve that lady.—Very sorry, madam, that my young man should have told you what he did. You see, this is margarine, though we label it "pure butter." We are able to get so much more profit out of it than we can out of the genuine article. Can I supply you with any of it?

*L. C.* No, thank you; I think I will get my butter elsewhere. (Exit.)

Then Mr. Grits and James indulged in mutual recriminations, during which I thought it advisable to take my departure, and postpone my enquiries until a more favourable opportunity presented itself.

You will see that Mr. Grits and James had both unwittingly displayed that article in its true light. My further experience shall be sent anon.

C. C.

### THE BLARSTED FURRINERS.

THE growth of Socialism and the gradual breaking up of the competitive system, evidenced by masses of poverty-stricken unemployed, is calling into light some curious men with curious ideas as to how Society based upon robbery can be saved, and its human waste and social wreckage bestowed away from sight.

These would-be saviours of Society plus a slight percentage on salvage, are in short a literary police, as useful to the propertied classes as is Scotland Yard. Their work is to start discussions in press and on platform upon various panaceas for admitted social grievances. Trotting out their own pet hobbies, which generally ends in their being called before a Committee of M.P.'s or outside rogues and faddists, to elaborate their brutal shallow schemes of emigration and repression, and their own installation in some official or semi-official position, where of course they discharge their duties without any connection with filthy lucre, but only to satisfy that yearning love for their fellows, especially landlords, which wells eternally in their virtuous hearts.

Having been met and foiled at every turn by the Socialists until it is not possible to hold a successful open meeting in favour of emigration, they are now trying their hand on the poor foreign immigrant. They seek the support of the propertied classes on one hand by asserting that revolutionary Socialism is due to foreign immigration, and of the worker on the other that his labour is badly remunerated on the same account. Thus two antagonistic forces are used as pawns in a reactionary game, which means the total obliteration of the right of asylum or what is left of it after Most's imprisonment in 1881. Conspicuous in urging restrictions on foreign labourers, stands Mr. Arnold White, of emigrationist fame, who thinks a Jew-hunt possible in the East End, and is fearful lest, as he told a Government official lately, the patience of certain Irish cockneys should be exhausted and they take the matter into their own hands.

Whether the convenient Irish cockney is kept in stock and fed like a writer of the three-deckers in the *Daily Telegraph* is supposed to be, on rum and beef, deponent sayeth not. Anyway, Mr. Arnold White being pre-eminently a religious man will, I think, admit that seeing how slack the emigration business has become the foreign pauper arrives as a god-send, and should be treated with gratitude accordingly.

With old prejudices breaking down amongst the really cultured few, and international congresses and societies abounding to deal with all matters pertaining to science and literature, in presence of international leagues and syndicates of exploiters, who rob without caring two straws about the locale or nationality of their prey, men of the "Stöcker" stamp would have no audience were it not for what Emerson styled the "Man in the Street." He lends a ready ear to the wiles of those who wish to distract the attention of the workers from the real causes of their poverty. "We keep German Princes a lot, sir, whilst the poor man with hunger may rot, sir," sings he.

And the foreign refugee fleeing from the conscription of Continental despotisms or political persecution, shares in the anathema which the "Man in the Street" hurls at those "blooming Germans," who as serenities and royalties enable the grateful English public of snobs to preserve the Protestant succession as decreed on high. The "Man in the Street" is not a thinking man, at all events not on a large scale, he lets others think and write for him, and his favourite journal thinks to strengthen its attacks on monarchy by abuse directed against the whole German race, worker and prince alike, for the remote reason that when the English wanted a fresh master they had a brand new foreign one in the person of George I.

Now German Hans and English Jack as workers have had as little to do with the diplomatic and dynastic arrangements, which result in Germans occupying the English throne, as presumably the King of the Cannibal Islands has. But seeing that the nationality and not the status of royalty is objected to, there is nothing more likely than if that *rara avis*, a pure Englishman, could be found, and he could be prevailed upon to accept the English Crown, that the anti-royalist journal of to-day might become the Court journal of the future, as its chief grievance and *raison d'être* for present attitude would be removed.

The foreign working-man landing in a strange land, and speaking a foreign language, finds every man's hand against him on account of this illiberal teaching; ignorant of the relative monetary values in relation to payment and purchasing power, and in nine cases out of ten desperately exigent, he accepts the first offer, and as this is generally made by some labour-robber or master he comes at once into collision with the English labourer. Expatriated by persecution he is worse off relatively than he would be at home were he left in peace. Even in the case of voluntary emigration to sell his labour in the best market, he is but carrying out the teachings of those economists whose ardent disciples a number of the English workmen are.

Where there is a breaking away from the rigid bloodless doctrines of political economy as taught by capitalist mouthpieces, it is largely due to the influence and to the new light of Socialism shed around his English shopmates by the refugee workmen. Are we then to allow the issues at stake in the struggle between the robbers and the robbed to be obscured by an anti-foreigner agitation?

The presence of foreign competitors in our midst is a complicating incident in what is admitted on the side of those who complain to be a battle of life in which the weakest go to the wall. If the foreigner is the weakest he takes the wall side. A mercantile Christian journal gloats over the fact that with the aid of a newly invented machine we shall shortly be able not only to produce our own bottles, but actually compete and perhaps take away the trade now almost exclusively in the hands of Belgians and Germans. What is to become of them our Christian friend says nothing about. A company is floated with the express purpose of competing with and ruining if possible the foreign lapidaries diamond-polishers, who have now a monopoly of this kind of work. The English capitalist having made his monetary wealth out of over-worked factory hands at home, looks down the Stock and Share List wherein to invest, and hence some Peruvian miner or South African is enslaved with the earnings in first instance of the "free-born" English worker.

The game goes merrily on, and workers of every clime fall under the curse of labour under Capitalism, each enslaving the other. Meanwhile the capitalist plays the game of patriot. Whilst egging on the English worker to a conflict with the foreign labourer, he would abase himself in the dust to a foreign prince or millionaire. England, which according to him shall be for the English alone, strives for the world-market. If a war is necessary to attain it, the patriot is prepared to supply the enemy with arms and ammunition to kill his own countrymen with, or he will cheerfully contract to supply them with rotten provisions and cardboard-soled boots. The system of beggar-my-neighbour knows no country or creed; only the working class are fools enough to listen to the patriotic cackle, and the notes are tuned accordingly. I am an Englishman, German, Frenchman, exclaims the individual, as the case may be. So also is the man who robs, says the Socialist onlooker. The capitalist reaps his dividend in every field. Where the research of the scientist or study of the inventor has added to labour-saving appliances, he simply appropriates without discussion as to the nationality of those who furnish him with his income. If Europeans or natives are not cheap enough, there is the Asiatic to fall back on, as see P. and O. Steamship Co.; and in Australia and America where this resource has been availed of there comes, singularly enough, the same obscurantist twaddle about the foreigner. I should like to hear the private opinion of some intelligent Australian aborigine or Maori as to the social wrecks we have poured upon their shores. Men too cowardly to wrest their native heath and pastures from the domestic land-thief, yet despoil the black man of his native wilds. Truly, no foreigner who has landed here has attempted that. Equally interesting would it be to hear the opinion of a decent Redskin as to the would-be American "haristocrat" and the dude who struts amidst the rotten civilisation, which must be purely American and undisturbed by "foreign" agitators.

(To be concluded.)

The age of chivalry is not over, it is dawning now in this present generation. For now we are beginning to see how dependent the possibilities of leading a noble life are on physical and moral surroundings. However great may be our distrust of forcible Socialism, we are rapidly getting to feel that no one can lay his head on his pillow at peace with himself who is not giving of his time and his sustenance to diminish the number of the outcasts of society, and to increase the number of those who can earn a reasonable income and have the opportunity of living, if they will it, a noble life.—Prof. Alfred Marshall.

HIGH AND LOW PEOPLE.—Be it known, then, that the human species are divided into two sorts of people—to wit, high people and low people. As by high people I would not be understood to mean persons literally born higher in their dimensions than the rest of the species, nor metaphorically those of exalted characters or abilities; so by low people I cannot be construed to intend the reverse. High people signify no other than people of fashion, and low people those of no fashion. . . . Now the world being thus divided into people of fashion and people of no fashion, a fierce contention arose between; nor would those of one party, to avoid suspicion, be seen publicly to speak to those of the other, though they very often held a very good correspondence in private. . . . Two places have been agreed to be divided between them—namely, the Church and the Playhouse, where they segregate themselves from each other in a remarkable manner. . . . This distinction I have never been able to account for: it is sufficient that so far from looking on each other as brethren, in the Christian language, they seem scarce to regard each other as the same species. Thus the terms "strange persons," "people one does not know," "the creatures," "wretches," "beasts," "brutes," and many other appellations, evidently demonstrate; which Mrs. Stimplop having often heard her mistress use, thought she had also a right to use in her turn: and perhaps she was not mistaken, for these two parties, especially those bordering nearly on each other—to wit, the lowest of the highest, and the highest of the low—often change their parties, according to place or time; for those who are people of fashion in one place are often people of no fashion in another.—Joseph Andrews, chap. 13, bk. ii.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING MAY 5, 1888.

29	Sun.	1763. Wilkes committed to the Tower. 1828. Test Act repealed. 1882. Infernal machines found in New York post-office.
30	Mon.	1849. French Attack on Rome repulsed by Garibaldi.
1	Tues.	1820. Thistlewood and others executed. 1861. A. Petroff hanged. 1886. Great Eight Hours' Strike in the United States.—First weekly number of <i>Commonweal</i> .
2	Wed.	1818. Karl Marx born. 1842. Monster Chartist petition presented. 1878. Great Strike at Burnley, Cotton-spinners' Riots. 1879. Dubrovin hanged for armed resistance to arrest. 1882. Farnell, Dillon, and O'Kelly released from Kilmainham.
3	Thur.	1748. Abbé Sieyès born. 1782. Commons Expunge Resolutions against Wilkes. 1845. Tom Hood died. 1886. Murder of Strikers in Chicago.
4	Fri.	1799. Irish Rebellion. 1848. Insurrection at Munich. 1886. Hay-market meeting at Chicago.
5	Sat.	1789. Opening of the States-General in France. 1821. Napoleon died. 1860. Garibaldi embarked for Sicily.

*Test Act Repealed.*—The Session of 1828 was opened by a very clever attack on intolerance by the Catholic Association presenting a petition signed by some 800,000 Roman Catholics in favour of removing disabilities attacking Protestant Dissent. This idea of Catholics championing Protestant Dissenters was a notion of Daniel O'Connell's, and to add to the perfectness of the matter the petition was drawn up by a Carmelite friar. The Corporation Act was passed after the Restoration, excluding from office all persons who refuse to take the sacrament, etc. The Test Act excluded all Roman Catholics from office. Lord J. Russell moved the repeal February 26, stating he was much encouraged by the fact that when the last attempt had been made (38 years previously) by Mr. Fox, Mr. Pitt had opposed, but that afterwards Mr. Pitt himself came to favour of repeal. The repeal was passed in the Commons by a majority of 44, Palmerston being one opposed to freedom. Like nineteen-twentieths of what is done in favour of reform and progress, the work was done in such a manner that so late as 1864-66 a fight had to be waged against oaths which Roman Catholics had to take. This fight was commenced by some bigotted arrangement of the Dublin Municipal Council, and raised a storm which swept away the Established Church in Ireland.—T. S.

*Anton Petroff.*—A Russian peasant of the Government of Kazane. When the economic fraud of the abolition of serfdom in February, 1861, became evident to the intelligent part of Russian peasants, riots arose almost in all parts of the country. Peasants everywhere considered the land on which they had toiled for centuries the property of the *mir*, and therefore could not reconcile their minds with the "New Freedom," which simply made them proletarians although it offered them a chance "to buy out" their own land. The riot in Bezdna in Kazane Government was the earliest and the most significant. Negotiations for collective action and propaganda of resistance to "the New Freedom" were carried on among several hundred thousand peasants, not only in Kazane but also the neighbouring districts. Anton Petroff was their spokesman. When the Government sent troops and answered the demands of the people with four volleys, killing 70 men on the spot and severely wounding many hundreds, Anton Petroff stepped forward and said, "It is not a butchery here, take me and let this people alone!" So he was taken and hanged, while the other rioters were terrorised by military force.—T. S.

*Monster Chartist Petition.*—Thomas Slingsby Duncombe on May 2, 1842, presented the great petition in favour of the Charter. It was taken down to the House by the Chartist delegates at the head of a great procession, to facilitate the movements of which the authorities had stopped the ordinary street traffic. The petition was stated to contain 3,300,000 names and was wheeled into the House, and was presented by Duncombe with the prayer that petitioners should be heard in support at the bar of the House. The conduct of the bulk of the members was so scandalously indifferent that only 56 votes supported Duncombe, and he was so disgusted that he declared that should the people trouble about another such petition he would not be a party to their degradation by presenting it.—T. S.

*Death of Thomas Hood.*—Born in London, May, 1799; died May 3, 1845. "He sang the Song of the Shirt!" By that he will be remembered when a thousand greater men have passed out of remembrance; and with true instinct it was that line he selected for his epitaph, and which is inscribed on his monument in Kensal Green Cemetery, unveiled July 18, 1854. The song appeared in *Punch*, Christmas number for 1843, and sprang into unparalleled success. Equal in pathos but inferior in power is his "Bridge of Sighs." But his forte lay in themes of sadness and gladness alike, and throughout his brief life he produced a regular stream of jokes and comic sketches and poems, and several works of more importance.—S.

THE SOCIALISTS IN SWITZERLAND.—Meetings of working men have been held both at Berne and at Zurich, at which resolutions were adopted protesting against the recent expulsion of the staff of the journal *Social Democrat* as a violation of existing rights.

THE LOW MOOR IRONWORKS.—These works, which are known by everybody connected with iron in the two hemispheres, have been registered as a limited liability company, under the style of the Low Moor Iron Company (Limited) by Evans, Hostel, and Wadham, Gray's Inn, London, W.C.; capital £300,000, divided into 30,000 shares of £10 each.

ENORMOUS EMIGRATION FROM LIVERPOOL.—It is estimated that over 14,000 emigrants sailed from the Mersey during last week for the United States and Canada, the number of conveying steamers being 12. Although these figures show enormous developments, it is nevertheless anticipated that future weeks will show as great, if not greater, numbers. The companies having steamers sailing were the Cunard (2), White Star (2), National (1), Guion (1), and Inman and International (1) to the United States; and Allan Line (3) and Dominion Line (2) to Canada. The pressure on all the lines is very great, and to meet the demand extra boats have had to be put on. The White Star Line sailed an extra boat last week, and the Cunard Steamship Company have arranged to send an additional boat every week during the pressure, which has every appearance of lasting. The streets of Liverpool during the week have been very lively, as batch after batch of emigrants with their luggage passed along. Out of the 14,000 emigrants about 6,500 went to Canada.



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN NEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

All articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday April 25.

ENGLAND	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	SWITZERLAND
Die Autonomie	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
Justice	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	ITALY
Leaflet Newspaper	Arbeiter Zeitung	Marsala—La Nuova Eta
Labour Tribune	N HAVEN—Workmen's Advocate	Cremona—La Freccia
Norwich—Daylight	Providence (R.I.)—The People	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Railway Review	San Francisco—Commonwealth	Braila—Ecoail
NEW SOUTH WALES	Coast Seaman's Journal	GERMANY
Hamilton—Radical	Freethought	Berlin—Volks Tribune
INDIA	FRANCE	AUSTRIA
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Arbeiterstimme
Madras—People's Friend	Journal du Peuple	Wien—Gleichheit
UNITED STATES	HOLLAND	HUNGARY
New York—Volkszeitung	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Arbeiter Wochen-Chronik
Der Sozialist	BELOJUM	ROUMANIA
Freiheit	Seraing (Ougres)—Le Reveil	Jassy—Municipal
Truthseeker	Ghent—Vooruit	DENMARK
Jewish Volkszeitung	Antwerp—De Werker	Social-Demokraten
Boston—Woman's Journal	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde	SWEDEN
Liberty	Liege—L'Avenir	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	SPAIN	Malmö—Arbetet
Chicago—Labor Enquirer	Madrid—El Socialista	NORWAY
Denver (Col.)—Labor Enquirer	Barcelona—Acracia	Kristiania—Social-Demokraten

## TEETOTALIST ECONOMICS.

In this paper I purpose to deal with one or two mistaken and mischievous notions peculiar to the teetotalist platform. I have not a word to say against teetotalism or teetotalers, as such. So far as their light leads them, I believe them to be honest and devoted men—albeit fanatically optimistic as to the saving virtues of complete abstinence from intoxicating drinks. As to whether or not alcoholic drink is necessarily an evil, perhaps I am not competent to say. Still I differ in so far with the teetotaler, and am content to differ in the best possible good humour.

Teetotalism, as advocated by the militant propagandist, is, without doubt, out and out individualism. The ideal goal to which all men should bend their energies is "exploitation." "Live sparsely, save all you can, look to 'number one' (i.e., the greatest number), and start business on your own hook with all possible celerity. Let 'Every man for himself' be the guiding phrase, exactly as at present, with just this unredeeming feature to boot—it shall then be every man for himself in cold sober calculating blood." Hence it is that teetotalers invariably oppose Socialism at first sight. Socialism is the very antithesis of the ideal to which they cling. Their sober heads do not help them. They have to unlearn their narrow individualism first (an awful job!), after which there is the average chance open to them of gathering in the truths of Socialism. If teetotalist advocacy only recognised that, while individuals may exploit their fellows for individual profit, the many—the millions—must necessarily remain the wage-paid toilers; if it were less severely indifferent to the hideous struggle for subsistence which makes life, to these, harder and more precarious the easier and surer life ought to become; if it were not conveniently blind to the wage-lowering tendency of labour-saving machinery, which flings thousands annually into helpless destitution,—then it would surely lead to teetotalism, plus something more. As it is, it embraces all the horrors of the present situation, minus intoxicating drink.

But it is with the economic blundering of teetotalers that I wish chiefly to deal. We are told that, since drink is the cause of poverty, and since it is always a waste of sustenance, the community would be well—supremely well—rid of it at all hazards. Now, that drink is sometimes—not generally—the cause of poverty goes without saying; that it often intensifies the miseries attendant on poverty is also true; but then poverty becomes the cause and not the effect of drink. It is useless to chide the folly of the individual. Conditions have greater play upon character than character has upon conditions. Not to indulge in nice points, let us hear the teetotaler further in support of his position. With a great parade of figures, he tells us that, given a teetotal people, industrial depressions might be avoided and that plenty and prosperity would be such a people's portion. For, so he argues,

if the millions of hard cash which are annually wasted in the liquor traffic were diverted into "channels of legitimate trade" (e.g., shoddy clothing, cardboard boots, etc.), an incalculably greater quantity of labour would be called into activity than is required in the production of strong, and doubtless also diluted, drinks.

The foregoing economic tit-bit, plausibly stated, has started false hopes in the minds of many people, but it is based on nothing substantial unless ignorance of economics be regarded as such. In the first place it tacitly assumes strong drink to be especially a monopoly of the workers. Nevertheless it is a matter of fact that the well-to-do classes spend, in proportion to their numbers, considerably more in alcoholic liquors than do the wage-receivers. But are well-to-do people exempted from this sort of self-denial, as in other vexatious things? They lack for nothing in the form of material needs and comforts. Heaven and earth could not move them to make purchases in order to accommodate the labour market. What, then, would their abstention from intoxicants result in? A curtailment of expenditure and a saving to themselves, no doubt; a corresponding increase in capital seeking investment and tending to lessen the rate of interest, which, in turn, would diminish the inducement to abstinence (total and otherwise); all which conclusions are in strict accordance with the approved gospel of political economy. So that no one would profit a penny by the proceeding. Nay, numbers would undoubtedly suffer. There would be a shrinkage of expenditure, and therewith of labour. But we will not needlessly terrify ourselves. The well-to-do are not likely to relinquish their wine-bibbing, whatever necessity may drive their poorer brethren to. At best the increased purchasing power, if any, accruing to a teetotal democracy would not be equal to the "national drink bill." It is manifest, though, that the onus of clearing the markets, of keeping industry merrily spinning, would devolve upon the workers themselves. Apart from the apparent absurdity of any such belief, let us enquire what would then become of the savings-bank accounts which it is popularly supposed would be at every man's elbow? You cannot eat your cake and have it: you cannot spend your money and save it. You can, I suppose, take your choice of the two alternatives, or spit the difference, but you will neither boom a depressed market nor run up a visible bank account, whatever else you do. Clearly the reason over all things why the workers do not buy back the products of their labour is because they do not receive in wages an equivalent for what they produce. Two-thirds of the results of labour go to non-producers, who could not, if they tried their level best, consume what they get, in the staples of "legitimate trade." Those who could, and who rightfully should, consume, are without the means and will remain so while existing social arrangements continue.

Perhaps the most significant feature of present-time industrialism is the tendency of labour-saving, or—as it has been more aptly worded—wage-saving machinery, to reduce the means of consumption, on the one hand, while it enlarges the power of production on the other. This, again, is never taken into account by teetotalist propagandists, although its disastrous effects are everywhere visible. Even the small pecuniary advantages gained by "abstainers" are menaced by the uses to which capitalists subject the available resources of science. Men are compelled to give way before the cheaper labour of women and children; and while production has, in some instances, been augmented a hundred-fold, wages have bade promisingly to fall within measurable distance of a vanishing point. Professor Levi says that production is now increasing at the rate of 20 per cent. per annum—population at the same time increasing only 1 per cent. The power of production is practically beyond measure. We see, however, constant development in results; we see the nations of the world engaged in what looks like a life and death struggle for market-supremacy, boding ill, in the long run, to capitalists themselves, bearing immediately and destructively on the workers of all nations. Every aid that science and the ingenuity of man can give to production quickens and embitters the struggle for existence. Markets are no longer subject to local or national conditionings for supplies, or for what is called the "normal" rate of prices. International competition has linked civilised nations with iron bands and a dead levelling of peoples to accommodate prices which shall yield profits, is what must ensue—always of course assuming that competition holds the field. In the end, that people which can subsist on the least and produce the most will be fittest and dominant. There is thus a chance still remaining for the Chinese.

The struggle is beginning in earnest. English capitalists, under pressure, are now clamouring for technical education. Technical education, they foresee, will eventuate in yet more efficient and economical production. And the end bids fair to be a world, glutted with commodities, and a people without the means to buy.

Now note the open discontent, which he who runs may read, as daily expressed in capitalist journals respecting rates of wages in England. The long hours and short-commons of foreign workmen furnish inspired patriotic material for yards of editorial blank prose. Capitalists threaten to take their capital abroad, or to introduce cheap foreign labour into England (both of which has already been done) should native workmen show stubborn. If only British beef-eating workmen would consent to vegetate on rice and green-meat, what a happy country this might indeed become! Teetotalism would be somewhat, but with vegetarianism combined we could monopolise the production of the world again! Oh to think of it!

Teetotal, vegetarian, or otherwise, as people may be, wages will go down—indeinitely down—to the margin of subsistence, whatever that may be. The law is an economic one, and has been rightly called "the iron law." Your thrifty, sober citizen, out of work through causes over which no individual son of man has control, sooner than see his

small savings dwindle into an exasperating memory, sooner than find himself and family reduced to beggary, will naturally offer to do work at any price the capitalist may choose to pay, and, as self-preservation is a weakness common to us all, the starving will not stop to consider who may suffer by consequence. Enough for him if it fetches bread. Bear in mind that this is no vain speculation; it has already manifested itself, and future pressure can only spread and strengthen the degrading fact.

In the teeth of these warring elements teetotalism is economically nowhere. It is misleading; it is cruel to put forward so paltry an issue and name it the "panacea". And yet this is most frequently done. Regarded as a means of reforming the individual, teetotalism takes a proper though not very imposing position. Even then I fail to see much virtue in it as an adult weaning-process. Lecturing drinkers on the evils of their habit is not quite improving the shining hour, and for exactly the same reason that carrying coals to Newcastle is proverbially reckoned as labour in vain. If broken health, empty pockets, and all the woes that wait thereon, be not enough to induce the sinner to shun the pot-house and its blue-complexioned genii, then it is not in the tongue of man to do it. Experience, if we may trust the sages, is the best of all teachers, and if, in spite of its lessons, men persist in excessive guzzling, we must look behind *prima facie* impulses if we wish to get at the acting causes. Much might here be said about the manifold ways through which men are persuaded into drinking habits by force of the very circumstances in conformity with which they must act in order to live. But I must pass on, remarking it only.

Before parting with my subject, however, a word on certain characteristics peculiar to propagandist abstainers may be fitting. Without cause or warrant, so far as I can see, these have constituted themselves into a sort of lay-parson brotherhood—harping, with an approved twang, on a pseudo-religious string. I do not call them Pharisees—times and the word have changed—but their constant iteration of "Oh, God, we thank thee we are not as other men are—especially as is this publican!" looks decidedly suggestive. Terrible, too, is the enmity which they manifest towards publicans. It reminds one of the theological spirit of former days as shown in the burning of "heretics"; to wit, all who do not see eye to eye with yourself. But by far their most objectionable feature is the scraping and saving ideal life of which these propagandists seem enamoured. We want a manlier creed, with a stronger sense of right and wrong pervading, than is to be found in the grandmotherly platitudes of Thrift-mongers whose prophet is Smiles and whose argument is laughable.

The end of production should not be to hoard, "to put by" (neither should it be for profit's sake), but rather to use and enjoy. Men to-day, speaking generally, live to labour; their lives are a round of toil; they become mere productive automata. Three-fourths of us waste and embitter three-fourths of our days in an anxious prowl after meat and drink. Who should fare so well as he whose days are devoted to making the wherewith to fare well? and yet, who fares so ill as he? Out of the scrapings flung to him he is exhorted to save, to deny himself—whose whole life is a self-denial. While such monster injustices obtain in our midst how exceeding small, by comparison, appears the question of Total Abstinence! The pity is that it is no smaller than the holding capacity of so many well-meaning men.

T. MAGUIRE.

## A PRIMROSE LEAGUE BANQUET.

NOT often does it fall to the lot of a Socialist to be present at a Primrose League banquet. Yet such, recently, was the case, and it may be of interest to the readers of the *Commonweal* to know what these feasts are like.

The hall in which the gathering was held was gorgeously decorated. Flags, banners, and that beautiful little flower, which is now disgraced by political associations of the most contemptible kind, were everywhere displayed. Amongst the flags hung around the room were those of the Republics of France and America. Surely it must have been evident, even to a Tory, that these gave the lie to the principles of the Primrose League. "Imperium et libertas" was woven upon one banner, but in the subsequent speeches the latter was quite forgotten.

The meeting was representative of those who live upon the labour of others. Smug respectability was there in full war-paint, and the gas-light was reflected from the white shirt-fronts of the men and the nakedness of the women. Workmen seemed to be conspicuous by their absence. The room was full of pretty women. The Primrose Leaguers are wise in this direction. They know that whenever the devil wishes to seduce honest men, he sends his temptation in the form of a beautiful female, hence the power these people possess. They also are aware that an Englishman is fond of a good dinner. They therefore work rather by his stomach than his brain. One speaker, during the evening, confessed as much. "The way to win elections," he said, "is to take care that the electors have plenty of entertainments." How low the citizens of this country must have fallen when they are held so cheap!

Many of the men in the room showed their petty pride by wearing various insignia. "What are those decorations?" enquired the Socialist, imagining that maybe they were Victoria Crosses or medals granted by the Humane Society for bravery. "They are badges for special service," was the reply. The "special service" was discovered to be,

in one case, a couple of hours canvassing during the last election. Decorations seem to be easily earned nowadays.

After passing through the most uncomfortable period of an entertainment of this kind—the time before the feasting—the chairman was ushered in with a great flourish. He was too great a personage to enter with the ordinary folk. Grace was said (your Primrose Leaguer is nothing if he is not religious; or rather it is politic to appear so)—"Let us thank the Lord for what we are about to receive," someone said hurriedly: "Let us thank the workers' ignorance" might more truly have been said.

The eating now began. Whatever may be the failings of these good people, fasting is not one of them. They can gorge. Would that some of our unemployed could have seen them, and observed the luxuries, which their class had produced, consumed by their exploiters. It was good for a Socialist to be there: it certainly increased his discontent with the present iniquitous system.

The speeches that followed were neither brilliant nor brief. "Loyalty to our Queen is the first great principle of the Primrose League," said a little self-satisfied worshipper of a human idol. A glance at the programme showed this person to be a notorious Q.C., who has been likened to Judas Iscariot. Poor old Queen! we almost pity her when we think of the laudatory rubbish that is thrown at her. If she is very silly, her pride must be painful; but if, on the other hand, she is clever, she must be nearly sickened to death with it all.

That doleful tune called the "National Anthem" was then rendered, and after some further foolish remarks about "our brave and good" Prince and Princess, and the rest of the royal family, the "hired assassins" were toasted. One speaker declared that our fighting men were in a high state of efficiency. Another that they were not, and that more money should be spent upon them;—it is needless to say that he was a military officer. In the remarks of the latter a strange statement was made—that is, strange in such a place—for he admitted his disbelief in Royal Commissions. "Hear, hear!" bitterly exclaimed the listening Socialist, calling to memory the one that had recently discussed the Housing of the Poor. "Never have our troops been used for political purposes," someone else added. The forms of maltreated Irishmen might have risen behind the speaker and muttered "Liar!" Again, the listening Socialist remembered the Guards riding through the people in Trafalgar Square on Bloody Sunday. One fire-eating gentleman said that this country must imitate the policy of Bismark and make England bristle with bayonets. Would that the workers could have heard some of these gentlemen; Socialistic propaganda would then be comparatively easy work. After these foolish and sanguinary remarks were finished, the Houses of Parliament were toasted. Admirable institutions—so said the proposer,—they always reflected and obeyed the wishes of the people. Some cruel person might have suggested the wanton neglect of the aspirations of Ireland, but the speaker pursued his remarks uninterruptedly. He may have imagined that they were good enough for his audience; and if so, he was right. It was thought by the same orator that perhaps the House of Lords might have power to exclude from its midst those who were immoral and unworthy. He did not inform the company how many then would be left. None but the members of that august assembly should reform it, he added: as sensibly might he have said none but the murderer shall be his executioner.

Mr. Chamberlain, in a subsequent speech, was claimed as nearly a Primrose Leaguer. How will he who spoke of the doctrine of reason like this? Truly the mighty have fallen! The person who said this was he who had gained his notoriety by abusing Mr. Chamberlain when at the height of his career. It was the most sickening spectacle of the evening to watch this man, who had made his reputation, such as it is, by his blackguardly attacks upon the person whom now he was besmearing with his filthy adulation.

During the evening "patriotic" songs were sung, interspersed with nursery rhymes; the "House that Jack Built" coming immediately after the toast to the House of Lords.

There seeming to be no end to the oratory and guzzling of the noble dames, knights, and associates of this organisation, and not wishing to become drunk under the plea of toast-drinking, the writer withdrew from the meeting. The first objects to meet his view as he left the glitter and nauseous flattery of the Primrose Feast were the beggary and vice of our West-end. The comparison was terrible. And these people wish to conserve this system of society, which has these necessary appendages. God help them, their stupidity is such that man cannot.

MARK MANLY.

We have received notice that *La Question Sociale*, which ceased its publication some years ago, will shortly begin its weekly appearance at Florence. The editors will publish early in May a small volume or pamphlet by F. S. Merlini, called a 'Manual of Economy for Working Men' ('Manuale di Economia per gli operai'). We hope its reappearance will be attended with all success.

MEMORIAL FOR GEORGE HARRISON'S RELEASE.—A committee, consisting of delegates from various clubs, and other gentlemen, with power to add to their number, has been formed for the purpose of obtaining the release of (or at least a mitigation of the excessively severe sentence passed upon) George Harrison, a working stonemason, who was arrested in connection with the attempted meeting at Trafalgar Square on the 13th of last November, and sentenced to five years' penal servitude for an assault upon the police, including a charge of stabbing a constable. It is proposed to draw up a memorial to the Home Secretary, setting out such new facts as have been disclosed since the trial; and an appeal is made to all lovers of justice, of whatever class or party, to aid the committee in their work, as this is not a question of politics, but one of common humanity.