

checks and trammels we should have to impose" in order to ameliorate the lot of the wretched victims of Commerce, "would in all probability do more to cripple and impede our commerce than the diminution even of the sweating scandals would justify." Of course; if Commerce will have his victims, the sacrifice must be made. For what is a man, and who cares for his life or death or degradation? The victims must be found, even, if necessary, at the cost of foregoing that show of freedom of sacrifice. If Commerce should require it, "it is the bounden duty of the State to . . . compel the industrial classes to acquire that skill and knowledge in which lies our only chance of safety" (*Standard*, Jan. 30). So then we gather that Commerce is "our" god—i.e., the god of the non-industrial or exploiting classes; and to gain his favour "we," the said classes, must be prepared to compel the industrial classes (from whose ranks the victims are chosen) to sacrifice themselves to him for "our" exclusive welfare.

Truly, an instructive glimpse into the religion of the idle or exploiting classes! If the industrial classes will consider it, they will see that to them Commerce is, like fire, possibly a good servant, but decidedly a bad master, and that, exalted into a divinity, he "walketh about seeking whom he may devour." A divinity against whom revolt is justifiable and desirable; whose very anger (should they try to cast off his yoke) can hardly be more cruel than his bondage. And learning this they may also learn from Socialism of that far mightier divinity whose dwelling is in every man's heart, whose name is Comradeship, and who requires no other service than the happy lives of healthy and noble-hearted men and women. Commerce is great and powerful; but that combination of free men united by comradeship which Socialists desire, will enable us to make a servant of commerce, and to live a life in which all such fearful sacrifices will be avoided, and from which, amongst other secondary advantages, the cloudy dulness of the daily papers will have passed away. G. STURT.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 8, 1888.

2	Sun.	1685. Alice Lisle beheaded. 1793. Meeting of the London Corresponding Society at Lewis's Auction Room, Oxford Street. 1803. Trial of James Byrne for high treason. 1830. Riots at Leipzig. 1867. 2nd General Congress of the International at Lausanne (2nd--8th). 1870. Badinguet surrenders at Sedan. 1871. Courbet tried for destruction of Vendome Column. 1872. 5th General Congress of the International at the Hague.
3	Mon.	1650. Battle of Dunbar. 1651. Battle of Worcester. 1658. Oliver Cromwell died. 1794. Watt and Downie tried at Edinburgh for high treason. 1803. Trial of John Begg for high treason. 1866. 1st General Conference of the International (3rd--10th) at Geneva. 1877. Adolphe Thiers died.
4	Tues.	1870. Proclamation of 3rd French Republic.
5	Wed.	1794. Trial of David Downie for high treason. 1803. Trial of Walter Clare for high treason. 1842. Trial of 150 "rioters" at York. 1850. Haynau horsewhipped at Barclay and Perkins' Brewery. 1857. Aug. Comte died. 1868. Cab strike in London. 1869. 4th General Congress of the International (5th--12th) at Basle. 1887. Trades Union Congress at Swansea.
6	Thur.	1798. Oliver Bond died. 1803. Trial of Felix Rourke for high treason. 1863. Flight of the King (Bomba) of Naples. 1868. 3rd General Congress of the International (6th--11th) at Brussels.
7	Fri.	1794. Second trial of David Downie for high treason. 1803. Trial of John Killen and John M'Cann for high treason. 1860. Garibaldi enters Naples. 1886. Trades Union Congress at Hull.
8	Sat.	1882. Arabi declared a rebel.

Attack on General Haynau.—This "distinguished officer," whose brutalities in Hungary had even caused his recall by the Austrian Government, visited England in 1850. On the 5th September, a little before 12 o'clock, three foreigners "of distinguished appearance," called at Barclay and Perkins' brewery and asked to be allowed to go over the establishment. This was readily granted, and they signed their names in the visitors' book and they crossed the yard with one of the clerks. One of the remaining clerks looked at the signature in the book, and in less than two minutes, say eye-witnesses, the whisper had passed to the remotest corner of the brewery, and by a spontaneous movement the whole of the workers were out in the yard which the general had not yet crossed. He was soon covered with dirt, and as he ran howling to and fro was turned back on all sides by the horse-whips of the draymen. As the memory of his woman-whipping exploits began to revive among the crowd, they were speedily becoming roused to the pitch of tearing him limb from limb. At last, in a very panic of fear, he burst through them and ran frantically along Bankside to the "George" public-house, where he was put on board a police-galley and rowed up to Somerset House. He had had enough of England, and immediately left it. No steps were taken either by the firm or the Government to find out or punish the "perpetrators of this indignity," as some of the papers called it. The safety with which certain illustrious people move about among us, shows that during the intervening years English workers have increased their regard for Law'n-Order beyond the standard of 1850!—S.

"History, looking back over this France through long times . . . confesses mournfully that there is no period to be met with in which the general twenty-five millions of France suffered less than in this period which they name the Reign of Terror. But it was not the dumb millions that suffered here, it was the speaking thousands and units; who shrieked and published, and made the world ring with their wail, as they could and should: that is the grand peculiarity. The frightfullest births of Time are never the loud speaking ones, for these soon die; they are the silent ones, which can live from century to century!"—*Carlyle's French Revolution.*

POVERTY AND WEALTH.

JOHN BEDFORD LENO.

You see that 'ere fine row o' mansions,
Wi' gardens that stretch right away;
Now, who do yer think, Jack, has built 'em?
You don't know the cove, I dessay?
Well, I does; it's that chap a-coming,
A-riding that smart looking cob;
He was born, I have heered, in a workus,
And started to trade with a bob!

"All fair"? not a bit of it, Johnny—
To plunder without fear or shame;
He went up to town quite a younker,
And started the swindling game.
He fust made a book on the races,
Laid odds on the horses that run,
And cheated the poor flats who backed 'em
By welshing the lot if they won.

After that, just by way of divarsion,
He took to what folks call the 'Change,
When he did summat queer, and they out him—
Which sounds, well, a leetle bit strange;
For it must have been summat outrageous,
To startle them chaps, that be clear;
I expects he was up to a swindle
And some on 'em hadn't a share!

Then he turns to what I calls a spider,
An' spun a great web on the sly;
An' sent out what folks call a 'spectus—
All sugar, and treacle, and lie;
And the poor silly dupes they were tempted,
And so, by his falsehoods and snares,
He cleaned 'em all out in a jiffy,
An' left 'em to starve on his shares.

Then, at length, that 'ere company busted,
When he started another, I'm told,
To buy up the City Road scrapings,
An' turn 'em to real solid gold.
He used up his printing as ground bait,
Which brought all the fish to one spot;
When, his hooks being artfully kivered,
He caught a fair share of the lot.

The most that he caught were poor widders,
Whose husbands had left 'em a bit
To keep 'em outside o' the workus,
An' folks wi' more money than wit;
As for pity, lord love yer, that's pisen
To such chaps as he, you can bet;
They cast their barbed hooks in the river
And stick to the swag they can get.

Then he married a real parson's darter,
And that gave him station, yer see,
An' that's how it be he's looked up to
By folks who would shun you and me.
And when he put up for the county
You see he was bound to get in,
For there's nuffin on earth that men worship
So much as a cartload of tin.

It was "two to one bar none" he licked 'em,
For there's nothing that wealth cannot reach;
The parson, in course, didn't forget him
Whenever he chanced for to preach.
He pictured the rogue as a hangel,
Called God to confirm what he'd done,
An' offered up prayers in the pulpit
As soon as the 'lection was won.

You and I, Jack, have spent our lives workin',
In turnin' o' muck into gold;
But we ain't got a steever between us,
Our wealth has stuck fast in the mold!
You ain't got a brick as I knows on,
You ain't got a shovel o' dirt,
An', as for your wife, Jack, God bless her!
She's misery wrapped in a skirt.

THE TRAITOR TO THE COMMUNE GONE MAD.—Jules Ducatel, the miserable hound who enabled the Versailles troops to take Paris from the Communist insurgents in 1871, has now felt the revenge of fate. For his services he received a present from the Thiers Government of 300,000 francs, and with the *Figaro* subscription he became the possessor of another sum of 200,000 francs. The bourgeois enthusiasm in favour of Ducatel was so great that the Opera Comique and other theatres inscribed his name on their free lists for life. Ducatel was also named chief tax-collector at Melun, but embezzled freely. On Thursday 23rd Ducatel was found to be quite mad, and was taken to the asylum of St. Anne, where he occupies the cell adjoining that of Aubertin, who "shot" at Jules Ferry.



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

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 15 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication. As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. 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, 15 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

F. K.—Poem used next week. Book at office. Will be used—R. U.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday August 29.

ENGLAND Die Autonomie Justice Labour Tribune London—Freie Presse Norwich—Daylight Our Corner Ploughshare Postal Service Gazette Radical Leader Railway Review Worker's Friend	FRANCE Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) Le Parti Ouvrier (daily) La Revolte La Femme et L'Enfant Le Coup de Feu Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	HOLLAND Hague—Recht voor Allen	ITALY Gazetta Operaia Rome—L'Emancipazione Cremona—Il Democratico	SPAIN El Productor Madrid—El Socialista Saville—La Solidaridad	PORTUGAL Lisbon—O Protesto Operario	GERMANY Berlin—Volks Tribune	AUSTRIA Wien—Gleichheit	ROMANIA Jassy—Municipal	DENMARK Social-Demokraten	SWEDEN Stockholm, Social-Demokraten Malmo—Arbetet	WEST INDIES Cuba—El Productor
INDIA Bankipore—Behar Herald Madras—People's Friend	UNITED STATES New York—Freiheit Der Sozialist Truthseeker Volkszeitung Albion Workmen's Advocate Boston—Woman's Journal Chicago—Labor Enquirer Verbote	DETROIT Der Arme Teufel Port Worth (Tex)—South West Milwaukee—National Reformer Paterson (N J) Labor Standard Coast Seamen's Journal	BELOGIUM Seraing (Ougree)—Le Reveil Ghent—Voornit Liege—L'Avenir Antwerp—De Werker	SWITZERLAND Zurich—Social Demokrat Arbeiterstimme							

NOTES.

LOOKING over, though with no careful scrutiny, the mass of matter wherewith industrious letter-writers have been aiding the big dailies during the dull time, one is struck even there by the progress that is being made. Fully one per cent. of the writers in the *Telegraph* on the marriage question, for instance, have given evidence of some glimmering of knowledge on the real nature of the evil. Hard and fast, legally enforced monogamy is being widely recognised an impossible ideal, and an undesirable one at that, so long as men and women are as they are. But woman is economically helpless in society as it is, and so long as that lasts, the present form of marriage is indispensable for her protection. Here then is a beautiful dilemma for the advocate of the existing heaven-sent arrangement!

Here and there among the letter-writers there was one who obviously had some dim idea that private property was not necessarily an eternal thing, and that legal enforcement of "conjugal rights" was a revolting anomaly. This is a good deal for *Telegraph* readers.

In the *Chronicle*, among other things, "Sunday fares in trams" has been touched on, and the tramway companies have been, nearly all, convicted of doubling their fares on Sundays. When so many abuses exist it is hard to choose fit words for any one of them, but surely one of the meanest and most barefaced thefts is that which waits for the poor worker on a Sunday trip, the one day of his week, and filches an extra penny or twopence from his scanty pocket. On the West London lines I knew they were swindled thus, but did not know till now how widespread the system is. If someone will furnish the names of the shareholders, amount of dividends, and wages paid, of one of the companies doing this, a little wholesome publicity might do good.

This year the harvest is bad, and farmers grumble, and labourers are counting the days to the workhouse or the grave. But the landlords will still have their rent, and capitalists profit by enhanced prices and popular misery. Playing the pleasant game of "Heads I win, and tails you lose," the capitalist is unaffected by the goodness or badness of harvest, save that if there be any difference between them for him, the bad ones are the best.

The same weather which has made the crop of grain scant, has made plentiful the unemployed. For the past week their flag has been regularly raised in Hyde Park, and large groups of miserable men have gathered round it, speaking on and discussing their situation. The "unemployed agitation," which has been chronic in London of late winters, is with us earlier than usual, but looks as if it had come to stay. Few of the papers have noticed it; among those that have the *Pall Mall* signalled itself by a facing-both-ways, sit-on-the-fence-till-we-see-how-the-wind-blows kind of an article.

A few days later the *Pall Mall* did much towards retrieving its position when dealing with the "Lords and the Unemployed." Criticising the Report of the Lord's Committee on the Relief of the Poor in times of exceptional distress, the *Pall Mall* says: "It is written throughout in the spirit of a high-and-dry official optimist, a hide bound pedant of the old school of political economy. It may be taken to represent the high water-mark of the dominant doctrine."

It is no wonder that the *Pall Mall* should cry out upon this monstrous report, for the Noble Idlers who are wise only by their birth and rich only by inheritance or robbery, come out more openly than anyone dare who depends on votes for his place in Parliament. They find fault with Poor Law guardians for opening stoneyards, reprove charitable people for starting relief works, condemn industrial villages; and in short say in a cloud of words to the out-of-work, "Oh, you go starve, and be damned to you!" S.

ROGUES AND VAGABONDS.

THE rogues and vagabonds must be restored to the position of honour which under the present order of society they are entitled to occupy. Too often they are treated with disrespect, sometimes with absolute contumely, though it is evident that under competition this important class of consumers should command from all but Socialists, admiration and gratitude. Oh! for a forty-parson power to chant their praise, or shall we commend the task to some of the smart writers of the Liberty and Property Defence League, a labour of love it should be, of re-instating them in their proper position in society? The author of "An Enconium upon Rogues and Vagabonds" might be forthcoming in the writer of a leading article which appeared in the *Standard* about two years ago, wherein the sapient scribbler proved to his own satisfaction that better times might be anticipated, since signs were abundant that the then coming harvest would prove a partial failure. This was a consummation, he assured us, devoutly to be wished, since it would avert the disasters which follow over-production. We admire candour, whether in friend or foe, and when one of the leading lights of the capitalist press frankly avows that the whole duty of men is, in its opinion, to produce commodities to be trafficked in by their masters, and tells them plainly that when they produce more than their masters know how to handle to a profit, they must pay the penalty of excessive industry in complete abstinence from the enjoyment of any of the good things their labour has produced, we exclaim, "Oh, wise man, who revealest to us things hidden from common-sense!"

Certainly, if *Te Deums* are to be chanted for a bad harvest, and from the profit-monger's point of view it is right that at such a time his praises should ascend, he should spare some of the laudation he lavishes upon "bad harvests," so styled, for "bad men," so-called. It is not difficult to prove that they have an equal claim to his gratitude.

To begin with, there is the idle vagrant—the unemployed are generally categorised by the press under this title, "who wouldn't work if he had the opportunity." This is reproached against him as though it were a vicious trait in his character, whereas it testifies to the nobility of his soul and the tenderness of his heart. Has not our old nobility, whom we could ill-spare, the same aversion to work? To brace his breeches his lordship needs a valet, to tie her garter her ladyship summons a maid. The tenderness of his heart is evident in his unwillingness to deprive a fellow-being of the work which the capitalist class provides for some but not for all; in sort, that every man in work must reproach himself that he is keeping some one else out of a job. This, by the way, I urged upon my stockbroking friend who, converted to Socialism, took up with cabinet making. No! an injustice has been done by the well-to-do to the noble army of rag-a-muffins, as they call them, which Earl Pembroke must set himself to repair. The English, who dearly love a lord, if he but give the word, will bow the knee where once they voided their saliva. Yet for sake of the candour we admire in others, we must confess that among the unemployed, with whom we have a wide acquaintance, there are numbers who are mean enough to beg for the work—to beg for it with tears in their voices—which they can get only by underselling the labour of their fellow-workers and throwing them out of employment. Alas for human nature! They find their excuse, a poor one perhaps, in the wives and children who clamour for bread. It is more pleasant to turn one's attention from them to the noble vagabond, who will be no master's man. After a careful study of bourgeois political economy he has recognised the suicidal tendency of Capitalism, and has resolved to check it. Capitalist society for this owes him much thanks. He means to gain its tardy applause of his efforts to adjust the balance between production and consumption. He sees that capital is in a constant conspiracy to cut down wages, when if it rightly understood its own interests it would conspire to keep them up. The worker is

satisfied if in return for his labour he receives a wage which enables him to purchase a modicum of what his labour produces, leaving the enjoyment of the rest to the landlord, the profit-monger, and the usurer. But they conspire to take away from him that purchasing power, and so conspire, in their blundering stupidity, to limit his ability to minister to their wants. Like the old woman in the nursery tale, they kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. The vagabond by refraining from entering the labour-market, prevents the still further lowering of wages, the loss of customers for the capitalist which that means, and so delays the fall of Capitalism. By the exercise of the art of mendicancy, so extolled and so assiduously practised by all religious teachers, not unaided by theft, example of which he finds in the great ones of the earth, he gains as honest a livelihood as theirs without entering into the degrading competition for wages, whose ultimate result will be the overthrow of wagedom. Weigh well these facts Baron Bullion, Duke Broadacres, and scorn no more your vagabond allies!

The vagrant Christy minstrel, the organ-grinder, the itinerant vendor of groundsel or other unconsidered trifles, even the sturdy pedlar who, under pretext of hawking laces, lightens your laundry lines, all these, though less deserving your esteem than he who makes no pretence to work, but like you stands proudly aloof from toil, have claims upon your kindly consideration. As non-producers making shift to be consumers, they do what lies in their power to extricate you from the difficulties in which over-production has involved you. Unlike the mistakenly honest but spiritless workman, who when denied by you the opportunity to produce, ceases,—himself, his wife, and his children,—to consume, the rogue or vagabond manages by hook or by crook—in your case we say by the exercise of intelligence and ingenuity—to continue an effective consumer.

"What we want is a good war," says Mr. Bagman. Quite right, sir, anything that turns wealth into smoke after it has yielded you a profit leaves room for the creation of more wealth and more profit. But a large accession to the ranks of the rogues and vagabonds would serve the same purpose, for their stomachs are as capacious as cannon bellies, and would consume as much, and continued accessions to their numbers will enable them in time to counteract the mistaken efforts of the policeman to limit the sphere of their activity.

But we have thrown out enough hints on what lines a very instructive essay might be penned by any competent individualist. We will conclude with a few words to those Socialists who feel sore at the reproach being constantly levelled at us that all the "rag-tag and bob-tail" of society are in our following; who are concerned that we do not win more 'respectable persons' to our Cause. We are not so much averse to respectability that we would make it a disqualification for membership of our organisation, but the respectable people who put principle before respectability will not allow this reproach to deter them from enlisting under the red flag, and for the rest let their respectability choke them, as it is like to do. At our outdoor meetings I have seen some of the most forlorn castaways of society drop the copper into the collecting-box, which would have saved them from a night's lodging "under the stars." These, too, are our brethren. They will do good service in our fighting regiment—in our Turco contingent. It is not amiss when deputations from the unemployed wait upon hide-bound, stupid officials, to pray that at least the children in board schools be fed, that at least healthy dwellings be constructed to take the place of rack-rented hovels, that behind the small deputation stands a larger one, which is careless whether it enters by the doorway or the window. Courage, "rogues and vagabonds!" the day is not distant when you shall have the opportunity denied you to-day, of leading useful lives in a community in which happiness will be the meed of honesty, from which the only outcasts will be the dishonest, not by circumstance but of choice.

J. HUNTER WATTS.

THE FREE SPEECH FIGHT AT YARMOUTH.

THERE seems to have been some delay in serving Reynolds with a summons for speaking here, probably owing to the fact that the ground on which meetings are now being held (and on which Poynts spoke) is apparently under the control of a Market Corporation, and toll had unknown to our comrades been paid for the standing by a Yarmouth friend (Mr. Leach). This made our comrades think the authorities had made a muddle of the whole business, and were acting illegally in attempting to prevent meetings on this spot. But Reynolds has now been duly summoned, and his case came on last Wednesday; while Cores and Mowbray have already had their names taken, and are awaiting summonses.

The captain of the Salvation Army has also been summoned, as the authorities probably recognised it was otherwise a too flagrant case of persecution for opinion's sake merely; and as our comrades intend whatever happens to fight the question out, and the Salvation Army as usual have no intention of being behindhand in the matter, we may expect a good stand will be made in defence of the right of Free Speech.

As Poynts has an aged mother depending upon him for support, and it was thought by the members of the Norwich branch that he was being illegally detained, they have paid the fine and costs, amounting to £3 12s. 6d., in his case intending, if possible, to test the case as one of false imprisonment.

A good meeting was addressed there last Thursday by Cores, the only approach to obstruction being caused by the action of the "moral miracles in blue," who got at loggerheads with the Company's toll-keepers.

A mass meeting will be held on the spot next Sunday morning at 11 o'clock, at which it is hoped all the friends of Free Speech in the neighbourhood will attend and help us.

F. C.

If every worker would promptly and cheerfully subscribe to his local labour paper, and urge others to do the same, his interests would be well looked after, and the quality of the labour press would rapidly improve, but so long as the workers spend more money to support the opposition press than they do for their own, the labour press will have a hard road to travel. Send in your dollar and sustain your own paper.—*Labour's Stage.*

LETTER FROM AMERICA.

THE *Omaha Herald* published the following item:—"Judge Gary, of Chicago, the once brilliant lawyer who conducted the Anarchist trial, passed through here last night with the inter-State express of the Union Pacific going west. He was in company of a Chicago physician, who accompanied the judge to the Pacific Coast. A reporter of the *Herald* saw the once celebrated judge, and was astonished to find a physical and mental wreck, which had to be carefully watched by a nurse in the person of a young physician. His life, as far as it can be of use, seems to be ended, and the remainder of his existence will probably be very miserable." As the *Omaha Herald* is a capitalistic paper, the truth of the statement cannot be doubted.

On July 30th, Chleboun, the informer, has been released in Chicago against bail. The next day Rudolph Sevic was able to procure bail for himself to the amount of 16,000 dols. On the motion of Inspector Bonfield, the indictment against Chleboun has been withdrawn. The trial will be during the September sessions.

On the 30th of July, Bauereisen, Goding, and Koegel, three of the men charged with the Chicago Burlington and Quincy conspiracy, had another hearing in the Court at Aurora, Ills. The only new evidence Bowles gave was that Bauereisen purchased some ammonia and several packages of blue-vitriol at a drug store, and gave it to him with instructions to go to Mendota, and put it in the tanks of several locomotives. He (Bowles) went to Mendota, but the engines were so closely watched that he had no opportunity to use the stuff. The prisoners were held to bail, Bauereisen in 9,000 dols. on three charges of conspiracy, malicious mischief, and unlawful handling of dynamite; Goding in 6,000 dols. on two charges of conspiracy and handling dynamite, and Koegel in 3,000 dols. on charge of handling dynamite.

The managers of the "Q" road are circulating the following rumour:—"Within the last ten days the Burlington has re-employed quite a number of the striking engineers." Of course this is a perversion of the real condition. All the strikers are unanimously in favour of continuing the strike.

On the 10th of August, delegates from the different grievance committees of the Locomotive Engineers met in secret convention in St. Louis. Very little is known of the business transacted, but one thing is certain, the revival element is gaining ground daily, and the conservative element of Chief Arthur and his clique has been broken. It is also believed that a plan for the amalgamation of the four great railway organisations has been drawn up, discussed, and accepted, in spite of the opposition of Chief Arthur.

At present there is very little heard about either of the two alleged dynamite conspiracies. A good many policemen in Chicago even candidly admit that as regards the "Anarchist conspiracy" it was nothing but a put-up job by Bonfield, and that he was the only conspirator. Brutal Captain Schaaek, the unscrupulous tool of the Citizen's Association, is of the same opinion. He admitted to a friend, who also happened to be a friend of a Socialist, that the police had to say the least of it made a cruel mistake. The reptile press hardly talks about either of the cases, which have apparently gone up like a rocket and come down like a stick.

I do not believe that in the alleged Burlington conspiracy Bonfield was the sole, leading motive, but rather the Pinkerton detective agency fixed that case. This agency receives every year from the Burlington people the sum of 50,000 dollars for "services rendered." Last year the Pinkertons did not "discover" anything but the defalcations of an assistant cashier amounting in all to about 5,000 dols. Naturally "discoveries" of that kind are not worth 50,000 dols., and so the honourable Pinkerton had to manufacture an "important discovery." The strike broke out. During the progress of the strike a good many strikers became dissatisfied with the conservative policy of Chief Arthur, and wanted more radical steps taken. But having little experience in either radical tactics or a radical policy, some of the men at last, exasperated, permitted themselves to be entrapped by the cunningness of the Pinkerton scoundrels. More than three-fourths of the originally accused men have turned out to be directly in the pay of the detective agency, and about the honesty of at least one-half of those that remain opinion is decidedly divided. Perhaps three originally indicted are honest, but novices in revolutionary warfare. The Burlington conspiracy is a failure from every point of view, but the Pinkertons have done us, the revolutionists, a great service, which a hundred years of "parliamentary propaganda twaddle" would never have done to us: they have broken the conservative spirit of a good many American workmen, and we are thankful to them for this achievement. In the words of Earsons: "Those who once cried loudest for the Merritt laws now cry loudest for the repeal of these laws."

A great tie-up has happened in Brooklyn. About 400 men, the whole staff of the Erie Basin and Crosstown Street Railway Company of Brooklyn went, on August 4th morning at 4 o'clock, on strike. The company operates 100 cars and has 600 horses in their stables. On July 31st morning a car was sent out with Frank Demange as driver and Con. Sheehan as the conductor. It returned to the depot four minutes ahead of regulation time. William Bray, the starter, reported the matter to superintendent Sullivan, and on August 1st last week Demange was discharged and Sheehan suspended for four days. A committee of the Knights of Labour, to which organisation the employes of the road belonged, called on the superintendent, but without effect. The consequence was a strike. On August 4th the company tried to start some cars manned with the high officials of the road. But some of these new-fashioned drivers and conductors got a thrashing, and at last the attempt to run the cars as usual was given up. On August 5th morning another attempt was made. At 7 o'clock five cars left the Erie Basin stable and started for Greenpoint. The cars were coupled together like a railway train. In front of the first car was a police patrol wagon. Then a section of mounted police rode on either side of the cars. Each car carried about a dozen policemen riding inside as passengers. The horses were handled by superintendent Sullivan, his nephew Daniel Sullivan, foreman Cruise, day starter William Bray, and inspector Downey. On the way stones were thrown from the roofs of houses and from the sidewalks. Several attempts were made to obstruct the cars. Railroad ties, old wagons, and cobble-stones were also placed on the tracks in the worst positions of the city through which the cars run. The company at last had to declare itself beaten, and did not continue to run the cars any longer. During the day a committee of the Executive Committee of the local assembly of the Knights of Labour, F. F. Donovan, member of the State Board of Arbitration, and superintendent Sullivan of the road, effected a compromise. Demange was reinstated as driver, and the strikers gave up their demand about dismissal of starter Bray.

Newark, N.J., August 14, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

WAGES ADVANCE IN IRON TRADE.—The boilermakers, fitters, and angle-iron-smiths in Victoria Works, Dukinfield, have been granted the advance of 10 per cent. in the wages asked for a week or two ago. This is the first firm in the Ashton-under-Lyne district to grant the advance.

WEAVERS' STRIKE.—On Monday 20th the weavers of Moss Street Mill, Blackburn, again struck on account of extra work. The weavers of Nova Scotia Mill also struck on Monday, on the grounds of extra work and excessive use of steam. About 2,000 looms are idle at the two sheds.

LONG HOURS ON THE RAILWAY.—A correspondent writes to the *Railway Review* stating that the engine-drivers and firemen of the L. C. and D. Railway work from twelve to fifteen, sixteen, and seventeen hours per day, and are called out again after having only four or five hours' rest off the footplate.

SPIKE NAILMAKERS.—Monday 20th, a meeting of spike nailmakers, who are agitating for an advance of 25 per cent., was held in the Hasbury Reading Room. A resolution was unanimously carried demanding an advance of 25 per cent. The last time the men asked for an advance they only received 10 per cent.

WARTENING REVIVED.—On Sunday morning 26th it was found that the chain-shop owned by Joseph Fowkes, Beehive Street, Cradley Heath, had been forcibly entered during the night and nine pairs of bellows slit with a knife. The damage is estimated at £20, and is laid to the charge of some of the workers who are on strike. The strike leaders, however, emphatically deny this.

THE ABERDEEN STRIKE.—The ironworkers now on strike in Aberdeen maintain their determination not to yield in their demands. The news that a 10 per cent. advance has been granted to the employes of an iron firm near Ashton-under-Lyne has strengthened their resolve. The men are receiving the customary relief from their Trade Union funds, the payment for the first week, received on Thursday 22nd, being 12s. to the older and 10s. to the younger members.

MORE REDUCTIONS IN CAB HIRE.—About 150 drivers of the London Improved Cab Company resigned their whips on Tuesday 21st, and demanded a reduction on the rates paid for their vehicles. Of these men 100 ply from the Midland Railway Station and 50 from the Great Northern. Their being out would not have suited the convenience of the masters, so they agreed to knock 1s. off, and now the hansom men pay only 11s., while their brethren of the four wheeler get off for the half sovereign.

TAILORS AND THE SWEATING SYSTEM.—On Wednesday 22nd the triennial conference of the Amalgamated Society of Tailors concluded its deliberations in Belfast. A resolution was passed that one of the direct causes of the sweating system was the non-provision of workshop accommodation by employers, and the Conference urged that legislation was required whereby employers of labour should have to provide workshops for their workpeople. It was arranged to hold the next Conference in Liverpool. The head office of the Society will be in Manchester for the next three years.

SHIPBUILDING STRIKE AT BELFAST.—The strike at Harland and Wolff's still continues. Many workmen belonging to various sections of the shipbuilding trade, have left for England and Scotland; but the great bulk of the 5,000 men and boys out of employment continue to hang about the streets and docks, some showing no anxiety about the state of affairs, and boasting that they could do without work for months, while others manifest anxiety to arrive at an understanding with the employers. It is reported that the foremen of the several departments had a conference, at which overtures were drawn up for presentation to the management of the firm.

NUT AND BOLT MAKERS.—On Wednesday 22nd, a meeting of the Darlaston nut and bolt makers was held at the Cross Guns Inn, with reference to the strike in the trade. It was unanimously agreed, "That this meeting tenders its best thanks to those workmen in other trades and to the public generally for the kind assistance they have already given, and requests a continuance of their support through the present struggle." The question of a general strike was also mooted, and, after some conversation, a resolution was unanimously passed that the meeting recommended the men employed in the various works to consider the advisability of a general strike, and report next week.

MINERS' STRIKE.—The Featherstone Haigh Moor Pit, near Castleford, has been set down for a week; the miners state that they have no intention of resuming work on the conditions suggested by the management, against which nearly 400 men have struck. The men state that they have had several interviews with the management, without result. The main objection the men raise to the terms offered by the company is that these deprive them of the perquisites they previously received for "ripping and packing," which was paid for at the rate of 7s. 6d. per yard. In addition to this, the price they receive for tonnage is very low, and under the new conditions they would not be able to earn sufficient to maintain themselves and their families.

GUNLOCK FILERS.—The Darlaston store gunlock filers have issued an appeal for aid, in which they state that for many years past they have been unable to earn the barest living, their average wages, when fully employed, after paying for pins, files, oil, shop-rent, etc., not exceeding 1s. 2d. per day of fourteen or fifteen hours. Now, in consequence of an improvement of trade, they have made application for an advance of 2d. per lock, and, the application not having been responded to, they have turned out on strike. Even at the advanced price they would not be able to earn more than from 10s. to 11s. per week. They earnestly appeal to the workmen engaged in other trades for generous assistance that they may be able to improve their wretched condition.

A SWEATED TAILOR.—In a five-shillings-a-week stuffy little room in Whitechapel the other day a *Star* reporter discovered a poor worn-looking tailor hard at work on a postman's tunic, for which he would get 2s. for making it in his own home, but only 1s. 6d. if he worked inside. But inside the machine and thread would be provided, so it is much the same thing in the end. He had a daughter working in a factory who the week before last earned 3s. 10d., and out of that there was 6d. stopped for reels. She finished three greatcoats for postmen at 5d. each, and six blouses for telegraph men for 5d. each in the week. The sweated paid 1s. 2d. for the making of a greatcoat. It included working five buttonholes and pressing. The buttonholes and pressing are now done separately by women who only get 3d. The truth of some statements made before the Sweating Commission were urgently denied. "He says women outside the firm were never em-

ployed to finish trousers at 7s. per dozen. Well, I made trousers, turned them out finished and all, for 8d. a pair. So how could he give women for finishing 7s. a dozen? He also said it cost them 18s. a dozen to finish trousers, and a quick woman would finish one pair in an hour. That's what was said in the papers, and if that was the case a smart woman working 12 hours a-day could make £5s. 8s. a week. There are plenty, sir, as bad as I am, and I'll bring them over to see you at the *Star*."

STRIKE OF SPINNERS.—The strike at the Padiham Co-operative Mill still continues, though the matters in dispute are now very small. There is no change to report in the dispute at the Victoria Spinning Mill, the hands being still out and the mill stopped. During past week the mill has been started twice, but with no better success than on the first occasion, only two spinners putting in an appearance. Another interview has taken place between representatives of the spinners and the company, but no agreement was arrived at. The amount paid last week to the hands on strike was about £14, and the committee declare that they are in a position to maintain the struggle for months if necessary, and are taking steps to secure support to those who are not members as well.

CHAIN TRADE.—The majority of the operatives in the South Staffordshire district, who recently struck for an advance, have resumed work, some at an advanced and others at the former rate. A good number of the men have resumed work in consequence of there being no funds to support them.

An effort is being made to induce the Royal Commission on Sweating to visit Dudley and Cradley Heath to inquire into the alleged sweating in the chain trade. A memorial on the subject has been forwarded to the chairman of the Commission, the Earl of Donraven.

The rivet makers in the Blackheath and Rowley districts are again agitating for an advance. Some time ago circulars were sent round to the operatives to ascertain whether they were willing to co-operate with the committee with the view of securing an advance of wages. To this appeal only about one-half responded. An attempt is being made to induce all the workmen to join in the movement, and if this can be accomplished it is expected that early steps will be taken to secure an increase in prices.

GOODS GUARDS.—An agitation is proceeding among the goods guards on the G. W. R. Co. as to the long hours they have to work. It is complained that what is known as "booked time" has in some cases been stopped, and that the guards and brakemen are worse off than what they would be under the "trip" system. It is further averred by the men that, the trains being booked in an unreasonable way, no attention appears to be paid to the trains keeping time. The goods guards have resolved that arrangements shall be made for their delegates to meet the directors at an early date, and lay before them the grievances of which they complain.

A representation has just been made to the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants that the engine-drivers and firemen of the L. C. and D. R. are being kept at work from twelve, fifteen, sixteen, and seventeen hours per day, and that they are often called out to work again after only four or five hours' rest off the footplate. A movement to bring the facts on which this complaint is founded before the directors is being promoted, and the men believe that when the startling figures are brought to the directors' knowledge a remedy will be at once applied to their grievance.

THE COAL OUTPUT.—Some striking facts, says the *Labour Tribune*, were brought out at the meeting held at Oldbury in connection with the proposed formation of a Wages Board for the coal trade. The fact that the same number of men should have raised 32 million tons more coal in 1887 than in 1874 certainly offers food for reflection, and shows that after every allowance has been made for improved methods and accelerated speed in mechanical appliances, "the screw has been put on" with considerable pressure.

The strike of the colliers at Ebbw Vale still continues, masters and men being equally determined not to yield. The horses are being raised out of the pits, while orders for the colliery are sent elsewhere. Workmen are leaving the district by scores.

A well attended meeting of delegates from most of the principal collieries in Derbyshire has been held at Chesterfield, for the purpose of considering the movement made by several other counties in favour of a general advance of 10 per cent. in wages. Reports were presented from many of the collieries, and after these had been discussed at some length a resolution was unanimously carried, expressing approval of the proposal to seek the advance mentioned, and pledging those present to do all in their power to secure it.

A well attended meeting of miners of Blackheath, Old Hill, Rowley, and surrounding districts, held at the Shoulder of Mutton Inn, Halesowen Street, Blackheath, decided to support the miners of Cannock Chase who are on strike. A resolution was also passed to join other districts in an effort to obtain an advance in wages during the coming winter.

The South-East Lancashire colliers on the 24th decided to claim an advance of 10 per cent.

AMERICA.—August 14.

About a hundred men have been discharged by a Sheffield (Pa.) firm for belonging to the Knights of Labour.

The annual meeting of the State Federation of Trades in Indianapolis denounced the Republicans and endorsed the Democrats.

Delegates have been elected by Local Assembly No. 300 Knights of Labour to attend the International Congress of Window Glass Workers, to be held in France one week hence.

The French Canadian Society of Stonecutters of Montreal is enforcing the rule in practice in some of our cities, making stonecutters from Great Britain pay 50 dols. for initiation to the Union.

Of the 10,000 piano-makers in this country, about 5,000 live in New York. Each one makes about 18 dols. a week, and belongs to an organisation which takes care of its members when sick or out of work.

President Samuel Gompers, of the American Federation of Labour, says that the condition of labour legislation in Washington is satisfactory. Of course Sammy knows all about it; he is in the swim.

Becoming disgusted at the condition of affairs in D. A. 49 in New York, the silk workers assembly of Yonkers, N. Y., with a membership of over one thousand, have left the Knights of Labour and organised an independent society.

The shoed dealers held a Convention at Rochester last week, and adopted a uniform measurement. It was also decided to mark shoes with letters instead of figures. Samuels, of Hartford, Conn., was elected President of the Association.

The Tenth Annual Congress of the New Jersey Federation of Trades will meet in the State House, Trenton, on Monday, August 20th. The per capita tax is five cents per year for every member represented—a sum altogether inadequate. Every bona fide organisation is entitled to send three delegates for 100 or less members, and one delegate for every additional 100 members.

Work in the building trade is unusually dull in New York and vicinity at present. As a consequence dozens of carpenters, plasterers, and masons may be seen coming in to Newark on the trains every morning and leaving again in the evening.

A meeting of the Union and the United Labour Party was held in Cincinnati on the 5th of August, at which a hundred of the leading spirits of both parties were present. A resolution was adopted and signed by all present whereby the United Labour Party of Ohio is consolidated with the National Union Labour Party.

Coal is going up. There is no scarcity of coal, no trouble in the mining regions, the freight of coal is as cheap, if not cheaper than it has been for years, the miners are only working on half time in order to prevent the market from being overstocked; and yet coal is going up. The barons have decided to raise the price, and of course their decision is stronger than even the decision of a law court.

Representative White of Indiana has introduced into Congress the following bill: That every male citizen or alien over twenty-one years of age who may be employed as a labourer in any capacity shall be entitled to and shall be paid not less than 1 dol. 50 c. (6s.) per day of ten hours; every woman of over eighteen years of age shall be paid not less than 1 dol. (4s.); and every minor over fourteen and under eighteen shall be paid not less than 75 c. (3s.) a-day.

In pursuance of a resolution adopted at a meeting on Saturday, the miners of the fourth pool in Pittsburgh on the 31st of July, demanded an advance in wages of twenty-five cents per 100 bushels. The advance has been refused by all the operators who have been heard from. When this news reached the mines all the employes at once gathered up their tools and went home. They have been getting two and three-fourth cents per bushel, and propose now to stand firm for the three-cent basis. H. F. C.

RAILWAY STRIKE IN THE UNITED STATES.—NEW YORK, August 27.—All the trains on the Mackay system have ceased running, owing to a strike of the employes, including the engineers, firemen, and switchmen.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

ITALY.

RAVENNA.—Cipriani arrived at Ravenna last week, and was received by a large and enthusiastic crowd who were waiting for him at the station, with bands playing and banners flying. The ex-convict of Portogoue was greeted with hurrahs and cries of "Viva la Commune!" "Viva la Rivoluzione Sociale!" The demonstrators thence proceeded to the Alighieri Theatre, where a crowded meeting was held. Cipriani addressed his friends and electors at very short length, excusing himself from speaking longer by blaming the Government which had robbed him of his voice in prison.

Ludovico Marini, of the Republican party, died at Rome last week. He was an indefatigable fighter in the Italian struggles for independence, taking active part in the Venetian defence in '48 and '49, and by Trentino in '66 and at Mentana in '67. He had lately settled down in Rome, after his wandering and varied life, as a prominent member of the Italian Republican party. M. M.

AUSTRALIA.

SYDNEY, N.S.W., July 4.—An interesting sign of the effect which is following the work of the Australian Socialist League is given by the fact that at a meeting of the Hebrew Literary and Debating Society last Thursday, P. J. Marks, B.A., read a most interesting paper on "Socialism." Starting with the apparent paradox, that as a nation increases in wealth and power, so do the poorer classes become more miserable and degraded, till at length they can scarcely earn enough to keep body and soul together, he stated that it was to remedy this unequal distribution of wealth that Socialists propounded their doctrines. He proceeded to trace the growth of the doctrine from the earliest times down to the present, and treated of it in its relation to history, political economy, and practical legislation; concluding by criticising the leading points of all Socialist platforms, with special reference to land nationalisation. The paper was warmly discussed, and may lead to further developments.

There is a great labour dispute going on here; nearly a thousand men are camped on Doocooma station, consisting principally of Union shearers. The men are there because the shearing started with scab shearers. It is feared a disturbance will take place. A detachment of police are starting for the scene. There has been considerable activity amongst Union men and their agents during the last two weeks. The agents state that they are prepared to form strong camps for resistance, and to supply rations for the men holding out.

In Melbourne the printers are having trouble. Yesterday morning, in compliance with a resolution passed by the Typographical Society, the chapels and members of the job-printing offices submitted to the employers an enquiry as to whether they would accept the society terms. These terms are, that "stab" hands be paid £3 per week of 48 hours, and piece hands 1s. 2d. per thousand ens from ruby to pica, inclusive. The majority of the masters declined; the employes in every such case gave a week's notice of their intention to quit their employment.

SYDNEY, August 25.—The attempts at mediation between the masters and miners in the Newcastle coal district regarding the dispute on the question of hewing rates having failed, the men have now gone out on strike, and all the mines are closed. The seamen, whose relations with the shipowners at Newcastle have lately become strained, are not involved in the movement at present.

MELBOURNE, August 25.—The Trades' Council has resolved to support the miners on strike in the Newcastle coal trade. Owing to the scarcity of stocks apprehensions are entertained of a coal famine, which would affect many factories and the supply of gas to this city.

In the coal mines, the miners, no matter if born in this country or abroad, were American citizens almost to a man, and they demanded wages fit for the support of themselves and families in the way to which they had become accustomed. The owners of capital—the "American labour" of the bosses—baffled this by curtailing the output, and thus reducing the gross amount of annual earnings. But they were not satisfied with that, and imported alien labourers, who would work at lower wages until they became acquainted with what natural wages should be. Protection to the American working-man! The protection the wolf gives the lamb.—Mount Holly Dispatch.

A SOCIALIST FUNERAL AT ST. PANCRAS CEMETERY.

LAST Sunday afternoon, a large number of comrades assembled in order to pay their last respects to the remains of comrade Hillebrecht, who was for many years porter at the Communist Club in Tottenham Street. The deceased had been in ill-health for some time, but owing to his lowly position was forced to go into the infirmary, where he died last Tuesday, August 21, and was buried in a paupers grave. His friends of the club therefore chose Sunday as the most convenient time for leave-taking. The speakers were Parker (on behalf of the English comrades), and Rackow, who spoke in German. After the speeches, *Gods Anthem*, composed just before that great poet died, was sung, as well as "Horn Freiheit." A number of bouquets and an illuminated tablet stating name and age of our late comrade, and by whom presented, were placed on the grave. The proceedings were considerably interfered with by the bad weather, but on our return it brightened up, and enabled our comrades to distribute thousands of leaflets and back numbers of the *Commonweal* to the crowds who were taking their Sunday evening walk to Highgate Woods. W. B. P.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

London Members' Meeting.—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, Sept. 3, 1888, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp. As some very special business will be brought forward, it is hoped all members of the League who can possibly attend will make a special effort to be present.

East-end Propaganda Fund.—Collected at Berners Street Club, August 26, 6s. 4d. J. LANE, Treasurer.

FREE SPEECH FUND.

Received—Walter Crane, £2; F. S., 2s. 6d.; G. S., 2s. 6d. Total, £2 5s.

COUNTRY PROPAGANDA FUND.

Already acknowledged—£1 9s. 8d. Received—P. C. Walkden, 2s. 6d.

F. CHARLES, Sec., 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.

REPORTS.

CLERKENWELL.—On Sunday, August 26th, W. Blundell read Kropotkin's 'Law and Authority.' Much discussion followed as to "artificial" and "natural" laws. Some expression of fear and distrust of mankind as to violence to one another was pointed out by some, thus necessitating a law of protection, but this was proved to be unnecessary when men had no commercial or selfish interests, and were united in a bond of international brotherhood.—B.

FULHAM.—On Tuesday evening, opposite Liberal Club, Bullock, Mordant, and Beasley addressed a fair meeting; some opposition and slight disturbances, but all ended satisfactorily. Sunday morning, Maughan and Samuels addressed good meeting. *Commonweal* sold well, and 1s. 9d. collected. In the evening, Tochetti spoke to a capital audience; 1s. 3d. collected.—S. B. G.

HAMMERSMITH.—Usual meeting at Latimer Road last Sunday morning; comrades Fox, Dean, Bullock, and Tochetti were the speakers. 16 *Commonweal* sold. At Welby Road, Sunday evening, a very good meeting was held, Maughan, Tarleton, Bullock, and Tochetti being the speakers, and were well received. Good sale of *Commonweal*.—J. T.

HYDE PARK.—Mrs. Schack, Cantwell, Mrs. Lahr, and Curmack and Underwood held a good meeting here last Sunday afternoon.

MERTON.—Sunday morning Eden held good meeting on Fair Green; Eden and Dalchow in the evening also. In Club-house, at 8.30, Dalchow opened debate on "Anarchism v. Social Democracy." He gave an exhaustive review of Capitalism in various countries, and insisted strongly that Social Democracy would remove all its evils, deprecating Anarchist tactics, especially the policy of "deed." E. Kitz said that Authoritative Socialism may or may not be a prelude to a higher state; but he contended that the aim of the Socialist Anarchist to rest the duties of man to man upon free association and fraternity is a worthy ideal to uphold. Barry, Eden, Curtis, Fowler, and Gregory took part in the debate.—F. K.

REGENT'S PARK.—Good meeting on Sunday morning held by Cantwell, Mrs. Schack, Parker, and Lindé. Opposition of the usual character was offered by Wayland, who seemed a Socialist in disguise who was helping the movement by putting weak and ridiculous questions. 6s. 6d. collected.—P.

ABERDEEN.—At weekly indoor meeting, on 20th, Leatham lectured on "The Evolution of Society" to an unusually good audience. Discussion by Slater, Russell, Aiken, Duncan, and Leatham. Uproariously enthusiastic meeting at Castle Street on Saturday night, when Aiken presided and Leatham lectured on "The Sweating System," answering questions and opposition at close. Rev. comrade Forrest, of Kilmarnock Branch, lectured on "Social Salvation" in Unitarian Church here to a crowded assemblage, drawing a round of applause at the close of his capital lecture.—J. L.

EDINBURGH.—In Queen's Park on Sunday afternoon Smith, Davidson, Webb, and Gilray spoke to a most interested and sympathetic audience. Some aggression; among others, from a man who informed us he had had to do with taking the Duke of Argyll's crofters out to Canada. Audience seemed to be of opinion that it was pretty much one whether the labour problem was fought out here or in Canada.—J. G.

GLASGOW.—On Sunday, stormy weather prevented all out-door meetings. A common effort is being made by all the Socialist groups to welcome the delegation of French workmen on their forthcoming visit to Glasgow.

NORWICH.—Good meetings Friday last on St. Catharine's Plain; Sunday morning, at Wymondham, by Cores and Mowbray; St. Faiths, by Poynts and Adams. Sunday afternoon, good meeting in the Market Place, addressed by Cores (London), Mowbray, and Poynts—the latter speaker making special reference to his late conviction at Yarmouth. Mr. Burgess, proprietor of *Daylight*, also spoke upon free speech, and has offered to support us on this question. In the evening another large meeting was held, which lasted over two hours, and was addressed by Cores, Mowbray, and Morley. Audiences very enthusiastic and attentive. Fair sale of *Commonweal*. 9s. 5d. collected towards Defence Fund.—A. T. S.

DUBLIN.—At the Trinity Ward Branch of the Irish National League, on Thursday August 23, the subject for debate was "Nationalisation the True Solution of the Land Question," all the speakers proclaiming themselves in favour of nationalisation. O'Toole and Kelly argued that the social question would still be unsettled until capital, etc., became also nationalised.

EAST END PROPAGANDA.

An excellent meeting on last Saturday evening at the International Club, Berners Street. In the course of the formal business it was decided that the request of our Norwich friends should be complied with, namely, that a speaker should be sent from London to Yarmouth next Sunday to take part in a great Free Speech Demonstration, and Parker was appointed. A debate was then opened by W. Power, on "How to Spread Revolutionary Socialism in East London," followed by Parker, Freeman, Robinson, Davis, Leech, Cantwell, Werg, and others; 6s. 4d. was collected for the East London Propaganda Fund. The hall was crowded. These gatherings will be held fortnightly.—W. B. P.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON:

Marlow.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Wednesday September 5, at 8.30, Turner, a lecture.

Fulham.—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. The members of this branch are striving to form a Library and Reading Room, and earnestly request all comrades who can aid by sending books and magazines to Mrs. Groser, 8 Effie Road, Walham Green, or Mrs. Tochetti, 4 Railway Approach, Hammersmith, who will be pleased to receive them.

Hackney.—Enquiries, communications, etc., to E. Lefevre, Secretary, 28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Rd., Hackney Wick.

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday September 2, at 8 p.m., Walter Crane, "The Educational Value of Art."

Merton.—Club-house, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road, Singlegate. Lecture on Sunday evening.

Mile-end and Bethnal Green.—95 Boston St., Hackney Road.

North London.—Secretary, Nelly Parker, 143 Cavendish Buildings, opposite Holborn Town Hall. The business meetings will be held on Friday evenings at 6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, after the open-air meeting at Ossulton Street. All members are asked to attend at Ossulton St. at 8 o'clock.

Plaitow.—A branch has been formed here and is commencing a vigorous propaganda in this district.

St. Georges in the East.—A meeting of the members of this branch will be held at 23 Princes Square, on Sunday morning after the meeting at Leman Street. Rochmann, secretary.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen (Scottish Section).—Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St Nicholas Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

Bradford.—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivegate. Meets Tuesdays at 8.

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

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

Dumfries (Scot. Sec.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

Edinburgh (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.

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

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

Glasgow.—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. On Thursday evening at 8, Choir Practice: all musical members invited.

Leeds.—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Rd. and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m. communications to T. Paylor, 11 Sheldon Street, Holbeck, Leeds.

Leicester.—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

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

Norwich.—Monday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Tuesday, at 8.30, Meeting in Gordon Hall. Wednesday, at 8.30, Choir Practice. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association.

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

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

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

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SUNDAY 2.

11.30...Latimer Road Station...Hammersmith Branch

11.30...Mitcham Fair Green.....J. Macdonald

11.30...Regent's Park.....Nicoll

11.30...Walham Green, opp. Station...J. R. Macdonald

3.30...Hyde Park.....Nicoll

7...Weltje Road, opposite Ravenscourt Park

.....Hammersmith Branch

Tuesday.

8.30...Fulham—opposite Liberal Club.....Fulham Bh.

Friday.

7.30...Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street.....Parker

EAST END.

SUNDAY 2.

Mile-end Waste ... 11 ...Mrs. Schack.

Leman Street, Shadwell 11 ...Mainwaring.

Victoria Park ... 3.15...Mainwaring.

Warner Place ... 8 ...Brooks.

TUESDAY.

London Fields ... 8.30...Mainwaring.

Mile-end Waste ... 8.30...Davis.

WEDNESDAY.

Broadway, London Fields 8.30...M'nwaring, Nicoll

FRIDAY.

Philpot St., Commercial Rd. 8.30...Mrs. Schack.

SATURDAY.

Mile-end Waste ... 8 ...Lane.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen.—Saturday: Castle Street, at 8 p.m.

Edinburgh.—Queen's Park, every Sunday, at 3 p.m.

Glasgow.—Sunday: Jail's Square, at 12.30; Paisley Road at 5; Green, near Nelson's Monument, at 7.

Ipswich.—

Sproughton, Wednesday evening.

Westerfield, Thursday evening.

Neeham Market, Sunday morning and evening.

Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

Leicester.—Sunday: Russel Square, at 11 a.m.

Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place, at 3 and 7.30.

North Walsham, Sunday at 11.

Diss, Sunday at 11.

Crostwick Common, Sunday at 3.

Yarmouth, Church Plain, Thursday at 7.30.

St Catharine's Plain, Friday at 8.15 p.m.

BLOOMSBURY SOCIALIST SOCIETY.—On Thursday August 30th, G. B. Shaw will lecture on "The So-called Period of Apathy," at the Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street. Commence at 8.30.

THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—The Committee will meet at the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, on Saturday September 1st, at 7.30 p.m. Subscriptions received and members enrolled at 9 p.m.

EAST-END PROPAGANDA.—A meeting of all interested in the Socialist propaganda in the East-end of London will be held at the Berner Street International Club, Commercial Road, E., on Saturday September 8th, at 8 p.m. The second of a series of fortnightly debates will be held, the subject for discussion being "Is a Peaceful Revolution Possible?"

YARMOUTH.—Sunday next, a great Free Speech Demonstration will be held at Yarmouth, Church Plain, at 3 p.m. Several Norwich comrades will be present and take part, and we also expect one of our London comrades will be present. We ask for the co-operation of all local bodies interested in this question of Free Speech, and help us to make the meeting a success.

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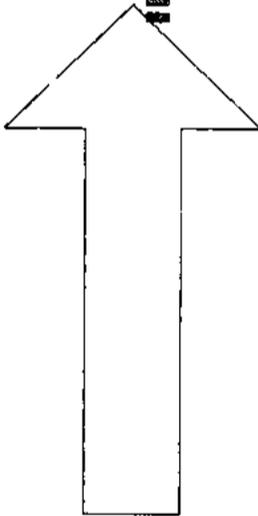


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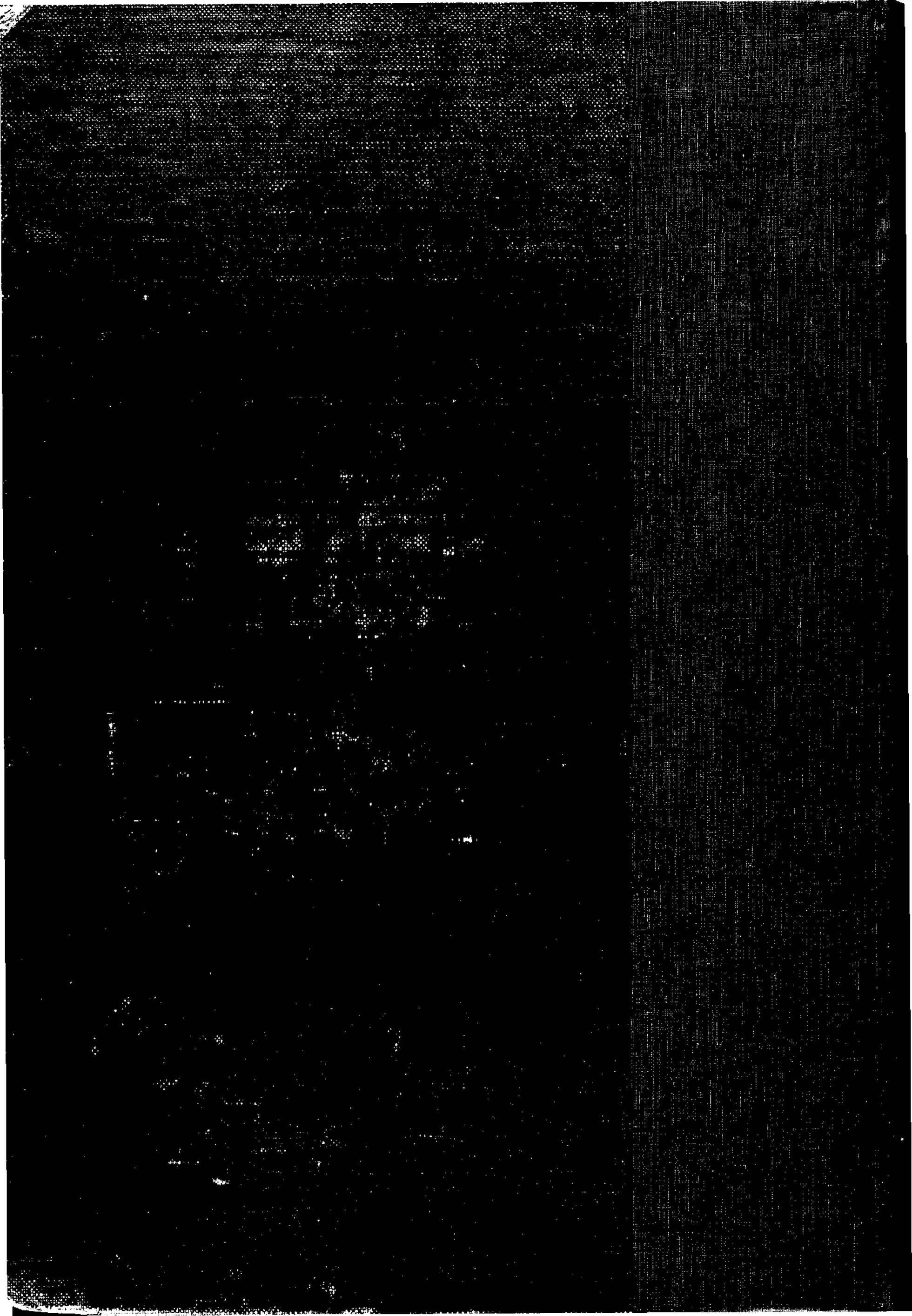
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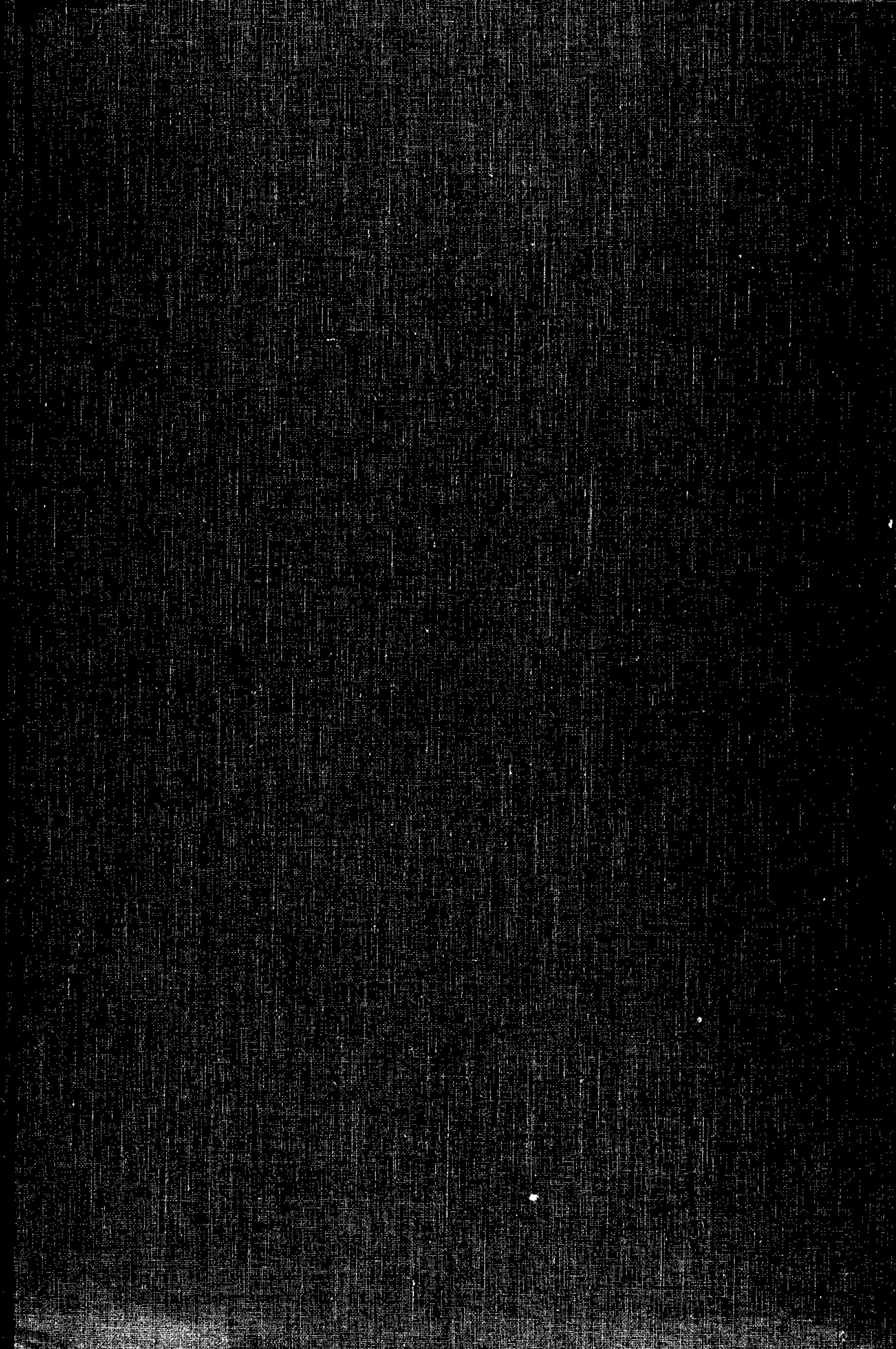
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VOL. 4.—No. 139.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

MR. BALFOUR has laid his hand on a new batch of Irish "obscure notabilities," and they will, of course, take their due share of **skill and oakum-picking**. In time to come, if there is a history published of the present time which has any truth in it, how the historian will jeer at these futile proceedings! Mr. Balfour's "plan of campaign" stamps him even among pedants as a helpless fool. What on earth does he think he will do to serve his cause by these prison batches? Two or three leaders sent to prison with such solemnity and show of judicial impartiality would have produced some effect perhaps,—and perhaps imprisoning twenty thousand Irishmen at once might have been a good stroke,—but to make the honour of imprisonment **every** of attainment for the mere rank and file of the party, and yet not to make it so common as to deprive it of its honour, is surely the *ne plus ultra* of wooden stupidity.

The Liberal press and the Liberal meetings are still open-mouthed about the iniquity of treating political prisoners no better than "criminals," and we must agree once for all that political imprisonment should simply mean keeping troublesome people out of the way till such and such a crisis is over; and we agree to this on the grounds that it is of no use trying to "reform" a Nationalist or a Socialist; your problem with him is of the simplest. But here our agreement with our Liberal friends comes to an end; this has often been said in these columns, but one more word remains perhaps to be said. The clear insight that people are now getting into the fact that an English or Irish prison means *torture*, and the loud protest against the torture of political prisoners brings into clearer relief the distorted morality of decent modern society, which claims full permission to torture all prisoners who are non-political without questions asked.

The Caffre-queller, rider-down of unarmed and peaceable citizens, and "charming" lecturer on Jerusalem, our old acquaintance Sir Charles Warren, is beginning to get somewhat **be-mired**. His old supporter, the *Daily News*, has discovered that though he is endowed with all the public virtues which make a man a monumental hero, he is a military martinet and not fit for his place, and that **short** he had better go. It is not our business to crow over his *accidental* dismissal if he does go; the only triumph for us would be **people** coming to their senses, and dismissing him in disgrace as an organiser of rioters in the neighbourhood of Trafalgar Square—which is not likely to happen. But if he is dismissed we shall **have to say** that the bourgeois have not treated their champion well, **but shabbily**.

W. M.

The *Pall Mall Gazette*, however, has found a **place** for him. "In my fathers house are many mansions." Eastern Africa just now affords an opening, it thinks; such a master **swaab-buckler** as the present guardian of the peace of London is perhaps **rather** thrown away in the present lull of English politics, and Ireland is at present tolerably well manned with that kind of humanitarian.

The results of Cardinal Lavigerie's preachments would seem to be already bearing fruit outside his eminence's own fold; since the English and Scotch missionaries on Lake Nyassa are endeavouring to stir up an Arab war with the intention of **keeping** the sore open till a new war can be stirred up, which will have as its ultimate aim the "opening up" of the whole Central African region and the reduction of the native races under the grinding and **ceaseless** despotism of capitalism, in place of the sharp but short sufferings of the slave-hunt.

For it is acknowledged by the most enthusiastic admirers of the present crusade, as evidenced by an article from this point of view in the *Daily Chronicle* (of August 31st), in which the writer significantly enough admits that the enslaved African once **settled** down to his new condition, sings as joyously and appears to **enjoy** life as much as when tilling his own field in freedom.

Bad as all slavery is, it is well known that under Islam its evils are **minimised**. The Mussulman slave is in a much better condition than the "free" fellah of Egypt, not to mention his "free" brother, working his way toilsomely towards the workhouse in the English fields, or indulging in all the refinements and pleasures afforded to him by the South Lancashire factory and its surroundings.

We cannot too often impress on our readers that this sham philanthropic business is but a matter of "two of a trade" finding the street too narrow for them. Propertyless labourers are a necessity for the English capitalist, and if he can help it he will not allow the Arab exploiter to use them up. They **must** be thrown into the labour world-market. It is again a case of the big capitalist working through others swallowing up the small working on his own account. Slave hunts are bad, monstrous and cruel; but once more the new crusade aims at transforming the local slave-hunts on a small scale into a gigantic slave-hunt in the interests of embarrassed capitalism. Our speakers and lecturers should understand this question so that they may be able to deal with the conventional prejudice which glorifies the noble deeds of the pioneers of "civilization." E. B. B.

The discovery that our Secularist friends have treated Mr. Bradlaugh shabbily is surely of the nature of the (non-existent) enormous gooseberry, and Mr. Bradlaugh himself disposed of it speedily. Meantime a person with any sense of humour cannot help being somewhat tickled by the spectacle of the enthusiasm of "the Respectables" for the man they once treated as an outcast such a very little while ago. It would be unfair to twit Mr. Bradlaugh with this sudden conversion, for he has never professed to be a Socialist; but it may have something to do with the discovery of respectability that an "Iconoclast" is not necessarily a Socialist, who is the true dangerous person.

Our comrades Cores and Reynolds are in prison for committing obstruction according to Nupkins. It ought to be quite obvious to those who, though not Socialists, are prepared to defend freedom of speech in England, that this is mere persecution for opinion. The "running in" of a Salvationist at the same time is a blind, and nothing more; the fact that the police witness at our comrades' trial was allowed unchecked to spin a long yarn as to what they said on the Church Plain, shows clearly enough that "obstruction" is a bare-faced excuse for attacking opinion. In my hearing at an obstruction case (at Marylebone I think) a London magistrate stopped a police witness who was running on in this way, and told him that the defendant was accused not of seditious speech, but of obstruction, and that what he said had nothing to do with the matter. W. M.

The Trades Union Congress has been opened, and is now in full blast. One of the great annual features is always the President's opening speech; a carefully prepared summary of the situation from a Trades Union viewpoint. This year though, Mr. Shaftoe is, so far as eloquence goes, by no means up to the level of his immediate predecessors. He is obviously abreast of the times. He and those who have spoken up to the present show plainly that our work is bearing fruit; almost all leading trade-unionists have got as far as the "labour electoral" kind of business; "they now cry aloud for a labour party," said Mr. Shaftoe. If they only get out of this stage as quickly as they have got into it, the "rev" is not far off.

The *Glasgow Herald*, of the 29th, reports a case heard at the Kilmarnock Sheriff Court the day before, in which a colliery manager was tried for a contravention of the Coal Mines Regulation Act. Through sheer neglect on his part a collier had been killed. Fined £5 or 21 days. On the same day, in the Glasgow Sheriff Court, a young woman was sentenced to 6 months' with hard labour, without option of fine, for resisting arrest when drunk and assaulting the police. Contrast the two cases, and the relative value assigned to a workman's life and the comfort of a moral-miracle, and you have the spirit of law'n-order well illustrated. S.

THE CO-OPERATIVE FESTIVAL AND THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.

(Concluded from p. 274.)

G. J. HOLYOAKE, in his address declaring the Exhibition formally open, said, "The dignity of Labour" is the cant phrase of well-meaning but blind morality, used to reconcile workmen to unrequited industry. The workman is to have the "dignity," and capital the profit. Co-operators hold that there is no dignity in labour until labour is endowed with the right of profit.

The *Daily News*, commenting on the Festival, says Mr. Holyoake's temperate and moderate claim was not the least of his services to the cause. "It would have been impossible to say less, and to Englishmen, with their rooted suspicion of panaceas, it would have been in the highest degree imprudent to say more." The *Standard* has a different opinion of the moderate claim: "We cannot allow them to overrate the character of their achievements. There was a good deal of magniloquent talk about the "emancipation of labour" which, though perhaps excusable under the circumstances, might with advantage have been left unsaid. The emancipation of labour—whatever that curious phrase exactly signifies—is in no sense secured by Co-operation. We are not aware that Labour in England is enslaved; but even if it is, Co-operation has not effected its liberation. What is more, all the Co-operation would fail in the attempt."

The *Standard* really should keep to history; it is off balance in the prophetic business. That Co-operation has done little yet to the emancipation of labour is true enough, as could be learned from the details given by the chairman of the evening demonstration (E. O. Greening). After figures of the whole of the Co-operative movement, he said, "Still, with all this success, their movement had hardly yet become more than a mere shopkeeping movement. They had only taken the first step towards the emancipation of the workers. In production they had invested, inclusive of loans amounting to £207,718, less than one million sterling, namely, £953,641, and this amount included all the workshops in the movement, whether they shared profits with the workers or not. With regard to the share profits of the workers, there were only forty-two profit-sharing societies, and the number of their members was but 7,089. The business they did amounted to £345,597, or about a third of a million, while the profits amounted to £16,326, or 15 per cent. of the capital employed. This meant that they had up to the present only shown the possibility of emancipating the working population, but as yet were only on the threshold of the question."

These are the words of one of the firmest, most loyal, and oldest Co-operators, speaking on an occasion of which he had every reason to be proud, it being his idea and bringing about, and trying to make out the best possible case for Co-operation. If this is the best that can be done in a half century, the *Pall Mall Gazette* and the *Standard* are right; the emancipation of labour will never come by such co-operation. Less than one million invested in productive Co-operation, against all the hundreds of millions directed by private capitalists; only £113,493 of capital over which the workers have any direct control for their own benefit, against all the hundreds of millions which they have made and allowed to be monopolised to their own hurt. It seems hardly possible that the millions of labourers should have allowed themselves to be gulled and robbed into such a state, and it is absolutely certain that such will not always continue.

It is something more than pitiful, it is maddening, to think that eighty-eight years from Robert Owen's start at New Lanark, 7,089 should be the full tale of self-employing associated labourers; it is almost enough to cause some impatience at the progress (?) of Co-operation, and to make one accept even the *Standard's* prophet. That almost fifty years after the Toad Lane venture it should be possible for Judge Hughes to point out to the Bury people that £50,000 should be lying in the local banks and not a penny invested in productive work, should surely shame some loud-talking Co-operators. That fifty years from Ralahine there should be a population of five million men, women, and children Co-operators, of whom less than 1 per cent. are fed on Co-operative grown farm produce, is warrant to challenge W. R. Cremer's suggestion that the English Co-operators have all the common sense.

These things justify at least one line in the Co-operative Ode by the Jubilee poet, "We come to-day in this our solemn mirth." Solemnness more than mirth is the feeling when one thinks of the slaves who make the matches of which Co-operative societies use some millions, helping to dividends of 20, 30, or 40 per cent. such as Bryant and May have paid. When Co-operative productive exhibitions contain exhibits of the hundred and one articles of daily use, which to-day are produced at the cost of blood, and sweat, and bitter tears, then will be the time to talk of "unqualified success," "but, ah, not wholly yet."

Until much more is done in the way of production; while it shall be possible for such a letter to be written as appeared in the organ of the Co-operators 25th inst., that 7s. per week is considered enough for a worker over eighteen years of age in a store where the dividend is 3s. in the £—to purchasers—Socialists are justified in suggesting that Co-operation to-day "is a mere scheme or policy of self-aggrandisement, due to two of its main institutions—interest and dividends"; and the writer in the *Co-operative News*, who criticises the Socialist Co-operative Federation, could easily be less hypercritical and more historically accurate than he is when charging the Socialists with borrowing from Co-operators, and attempting something "not intelligible" in "holding capital in common."

The writer of the particular article in question adopts such a supertone of patronage and tolerance, that one is rather doubtful which to treat him—whether to laugh at him for letting Socialists do as damn please, or to pity him for his short memory. "Clear your eyes of cant" is good though old-fashioned advice, and worth recalling now. One of the very commonest bits of cant which comes of dealing with the Co-operative movement is that about "British common-sense," or "practical sense," or "sound business capacity with any sentiment," and so, and so. Mr. Cremer in his speech at the Festival had to trot it out, to the depreciation of the French, whom he charged with want of understanding of Co-operative production—a statement which was almost point blank contradicted by the next speaker. Our writer, having complimented Socialists on turning aside from "barren disquisitions," holds that "it is surely a tribute to the practical sense and caution of Britons that Socialists in this country should be borrowing the methods of the Co-operative movement." By using the word "Britons" in one place and "Socialists" in the other the writer has possibly confused himself into the belief that he means something, but it is rather difficult to find what point there is in the sentence if the same word is used in both places; for the Socialists in question are Britons, and, strange as it may seem to the writer, there are Britons who are Socialists; wherewith the sentence comes to a statement that Britons pay a tribute to Britons' practical sense and caution.

The first item of the Socialist Co-operative programme of which much is made is the objection to pay interest. This is a large and debatable question; if Socialists can get capital on such terms they will be very fortunate and shall be congratulated on their good fortune. Our critic is very kind to us, but he is surely a little at fault in laying so much stress on the point by suggesting that Socialists have proposed anything very unheard of before. Large sums have been advanced before now without any stipulations as to interest, and probably will be again.

The next point dwelt upon is that all goods are to be "sold as near cost as possible," as though that was something quite Socialist, you know, instead of being one of the very first principles of Co-operation. "Co-operation is a scheme for obtaining honest commodities at wholesale prices, and eventually at the cost of production" (Dr. Watts, quoted in *Manual for Co-operators*, p. 127). "They [the Co-operators] had introduced a system which made honesty in trade a necessity: a Co-operator who purchased for himself, who distributed for himself, who consumed for himself" (Lloyd Jones, Newcastle Congress, 1873) would surely be getting things pretty near cost price. These are two extracts taken haphazard, lying close to hand, which surely prove the Socialist in agreement with the Co-operator. Scores of other quotations to same purport could be given. The point of the objection made seems to be that "membership" gives no benefits whatever, and that therefore the society will have to be kept alive by the fire of enthusiasm only. The objection comes with a very bad grace from one of a movement which for many years depended on the same life-giving flame; which even now is not quite independent of it.

The same bad grace marks the objection that Socialists are over-sanguine in their ideas on production. All reformers are over-sanguine in the minds of those who prefer the ordinary rut; but surely a teacher of Co-operators can find something better to do than to re-preach and re-echo the croakers of whom there are always too many among the unthinking, without thinking men taking up the croak.

It is possible that the details as to management may have to be varied; that there is something not exactly the best as to voting; but seeing the miles of discussion on voting and representation on the Wholesal Board, etc., etc., which the files of the *Co-operative News* present, it seems our critic protests just a bit too strongly that Socialists show no desire to profit by Co-operators' experience.

The whole gist of the objections and the differences are explained when the critic says "the average citizen cannot breathe the rarefied air of the mountains of sentiment." The bulk of the co-operative leaders have, like our critic, talked down a trifle too much to the commonplace and sordid, which was not what Robert Owen and his school did, which was not what Maurice, and Kingsley, and Ludlow did.

The money-grubbing Co-operators of to-day have the position they have, control the power they do, because in the early life of the movement the fire of enthusiasm moved men over dangers and trials where an extra penny of "divi" would have failed.

Robert Owen plus John Ruskin may yet prove factors of weight in the life of the workers of this land; and perhaps it may be permitted to hope "that our Co-operative friends will be charitably disposed to the shortcomings of Socialists, seeing they claim to have hopes of furthering the elevation and happiness of the masses of the people." Extreme optimism may be bad, but extreme pessimism is much more dangerous; this extreme pessimism has for years hampered the advance of Co-operative production, Co-operative distribution receiving all the attention. It is well to be wise in time; there is a spirit abroad to-day which hints that unless production is more attended to there will be something in the form of distribution in no way Co-operative.

"Hast thou chosen, O my people, on whose party thou shalt stand,
Ere the Doom from its worn sandals shakes the dust against our land?"

ANACHARSIS

Under the present system the labor of women and children competes and triumphs in the competition with the labor of men. The man must work for wages paid to the woman and the child, or join the grand army of tramps marching up and down the land.—Paterson *Labor Standard*.

MEN WHO ARE NOT SOCIALISTS.

IV.

I don't like clergymen. My antipathy towards them does not spring from any sort of bigotry. It is true clergymen are not as a rule Socialists, but neither are Orangemen or Primrose League dames, yet I have rather kindly sentiments towards both. I never did like clergymen. When a child I always associated them with black beetles, and that peculiar fancy sticks to me still.

In my schoolboy days nothing gave me greater joy than to see a clergyman slip on a piece of orange peel, and spread himself frantically upon the pavement—especially on a wet day—while his hat darted down the street in search of a cart-wheel or a river. I believe I was even guilty of purposely dropping orange peel upon the pavement so as to bring about this occurrence. Sometimes even yet I have difficulty in repressing a disposition to do so when I see one of them waddling up the street.

Clergymen somehow don't appear to belong to the same order of beings as other men. They seem to be of a kind of special sex of their own,—a sort of compromise between very old women and very young men. I speak of average or typical clergymen; of course there are exceptions. I know some rattling good fellows, some of them good Socialists too, who have the misfortune to be clergymen. They are oases in the clerical wilderness, and I bless them!

Here are a few zoological and sociological observations regarding clergymen, which I beg leave to set down without malice. I intend them to form a kind of appendix in the reader's mind to the study of scientific Socialism.

Clergymen I find are publicly respected, but secretly despised by most people. They live long and have usually large families. They generally reside in the best quarter of the town, and prefer houses with a stout iron fence in front, and a high wall with broken glass on the top round their back gardens. They don't allow children to play on their door-steps, and generally keep a big black dog in their halls to frighten beggars away from their doors. They open their doors much sooner to a man with a silk hat than to a man in moleskin trousers. They generally invest their savings in concerns that pay high dividends. When they die they seldom leave any bequests to charitable or religious institutions.

If you take a sail in summer to any pleasant holiday resort, you seldom fail to find several clergymen on board the steamer, who have invariably discovered and monopolised the snuggest corners on deck to themselves. At the landing-stage you are sure to observe among the crowd of young ladies who are waiting to greet their friends on arrival, at least one gentleman—a clergyman.

In Wales and in the Highlands of Scotland, clergymen are always the first summer arrivals at the hotels—they are the harbingers of the tourist season. When the last clergyman departs, winter is surely at hand. In France, Switzerland, Italy, Greece, Norway, and indeed in every quarter of the globe where an atom of historic or picturesque scenery is to be found, the inevitable flat-sphered hats and black coats of these saviours of souls may always be observed undulating to and fro.

Clergymen are seldom to be seen out of doors in dirty weather. In winter, when most other varieties of men—including even the bloated landlord and capitalist—are affecting an interest in some business or other in the city, clergymen are generally snugly seated toasting their sanctified toes at their parlour fires. If they do venture out into the pitiless storm, it is to pay a visit to some interesting and well-to-do young lady friends who can discourse Mendelssohn's "songs without words" on the pianoforte, discuss the newest society novel, and retail the latest fashionable gossip.

It has been observed as a curious, but by no means inexplicable circumstance, that clergymen almost invariably marry the richest—even if they happen to be the ugliest—young, or for that matter, old, lady members of their flocks. We sometimes hear of a lord marrying a ballet-girl, a judge marrying a cook, a Royal Academician marrying a milk-maid, and similar freaks of nature; but clergymen have not trained themselves to mortify the desires of the flesh to such poor advantage. I have only known of two recent exceptions to this rule, one who married a mill girl, and another who married the fat widow of a village butcher. The former, however, turned infidel; and the latter, poor fellow, took to drink and died mad.

I have been told by the editor of a newspaper, that whenever he wishes a severe and unmerciful criticism upon the public utterance or behaviour of any local clergyman, he always employs the clergyman's nearest clerical neighbour to write the article.

Clergymen are not so bigoted in their belief in divine providence as many good people suppose. Once an actor had to take the part of a clergyman in a play. In the middle of a prayer which he had to make the theatre took fire; but with the view of allaying the panic amongst the audience he continued his prayer and was consumed in the flames. In real life when a church takes fire, clergymen stop their prayers and are outside the building before you could say Amen. Clergymen are very seldom roasted alive in this world—at least in Christian countries.

Clergymen have seldom scorched their fingers by holding the torch-light of freedom against the storm. Nor do they prominently figure in history as pioneers of progress. They pay their devoirs to popular ideas as they do to women—they prefer the dowagerly and rich to the beautiful and poor.

I have stated that it is not because clergymen are not Socialists that I am disaffected towards them. No, indeed! In fact, frankly speak-

ing, I don't want clergymen to become Socialists—at least to any great extent. They serve the cause admirably as enemies—they would spoil it as friends. Wherever two or three clergymen are gathered together, there, surely, are hypocrisy and humbug in the midst of them! The blacker the hosts of the enemy become with clerical coats, the nearer and the easier will our victory be.

May clergymen always have health and strength, and especially good lung power to denounce us vigorously! What they denounce, lives and flourishes; what they praise sickens and dies. That is the reason why I am strongly in favour of a State Church so long as the present system lasts. Their salaries must be maintained, else they will fall away like leaves in autumn. We cannot afford to lose them yet; if necessary we must increase their salaries to keep them at their posts, even if we have to reduce the number and salaries of our own paid agitators. We must consider after all what is best for the Cause.

Clergymen are admirable for debating with; they invariably get a bad defeat. Whenever I meet a clergyman in a railway carriage I use every stratagem to inveigle him into a discussion—especially if the compartment is full. This is a most excellent method of propaganda. It is surprising the converts one gains. Somehow, everybody—including even the clergyman's wife and eldest daughter—takes sides with you against him. If he appeals to a listener for confirmation of any statement, the listener professes not to have been paying the least attention to what he was saying and declines to venture an opinion. If a child begins to squall while he is speaking, no one attempts to hush it; and some one is sure to remark that the train is going dreadfully slow and is much behind time, just as he is proceeding to illustrate the critical point of his argument.

Yes, I say, heaven preserve the clergy! both the fat ones and the lean ones! Providence has sprinkled them plenteously upon our path, and we must avail ourselves devoutly of them. I mean to exemplify this teaching in my next.

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 15, 1888.

9	Sun.	1803. Trial of John Doran for high treason. 1830. Outbreak at Dresden. 1864. Louis Lingg born. 1883. Swiss Workmen's Congress. 1887. Mitchelstown massacre.
10	Mon.	1797. Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin died. 1803. Trial of Thomas Donnelly and three others for high treason. 1883. Trades Union Congress opened at Nottingham.
11	Tues.	1752. New Style Calendar introduced in Britain. 1823. D. Ricardo died. 1879. Communist rising in Colombia, South America. 1884. Trades Union Congress opened at Aberdeen.
12	Wed.	1793. Rev. T. F. Palmer tried for seditious practices. 1820. Twenty-two reformers tried for high treason, York. 1860. William Walker shot. 1886. Monument to Arnaud unveiled in Paris.
13	Thur.	1806. C. J. Fox died.
14	Fri.	1839. Dissolution of Chartist National Convention. 1843. Revolutionary movement in Greece.
15	Sat.	1613. Sir T. Overbury poisoned in the Tower. 1856. Address presented on Primrose Hill by Chartists to John Frost on his return from exile. 1865. Seizure of the <i>Irish People</i> . 1866. John Blake Dillon died.

Death of Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin.—Mary Wollstonecraft was born at Hoxton, of Irish parentage, in 1759. Her father ruined himself and his family by habits of intemperance, and from 1760 to 1792 Mary Wollstonecraft supported herself and helped her sisters by teaching and literary work. During this period she wrote her well-known "Vindication of the Rights of Woman," the main object of which was to show that "if woman be not prepared by education to become the companion of man, she will stop the progress of knowledge." In 1792, Mary Wollstonecraft went to Paris, where she witnessed many of the scenes which she afterwards described in her "View of the Origin and Progress of the French Revolution." At Paris she formed a connection with Captain Finlay, an American who was there engaged in commerce; but after the birth of a daughter in 1794, she was deserted by Finlay and returned to London. Here, in 1797, she married William Godwin, the author of "Political Justice"; but after a brief spell of happiness she died in the same year at the birth of a daughter, who afterwards became the wife of Shelley. Mary Wollstonecraft was a woman of undoubted genius, and filled with an intense and passionate desire to diminish the sufferings of the poor and oppressed. Her "Vindication of the Rights of Woman," which drew on her a storm of abuse and calumny, is remarkable for its free and outspoken language and unsparing denunciation of social shams and hypocrisies.—H. S. S.

The following note was held over from last week:—

Oliver Bond—Born in Ulster about 1762; died in Dublin, Sept. 6, 1798. In business as a woollen draper, his energy and ability made him, while yet a very young man, one of the most successful and respected merchants in Dublin. When he joined the United Irishmen he flung the same energy and ability into their work and became one of their most prominent leaders and organisers. March 1, 1792, with the Hon. Simon Butler, he was imprisoned and fined £500 for reflections on the House of Lords. When liberated they were presented with congratulatory addresses. In 1797 he was exceedingly active in administering the oath and enrolling and arming men. The meetings of the Leinster Directory were usually held at his house (now 9 Lower Bridge Street). Here on Feb. 19, 1798, was passed the famous resolution, "We will pay no attention to any measure which the Parliament of this kingdom may adopt, to divert the public mind from the grand object we have in view, as nothing short of the entire and complete regeneration of our country can satisfy us." Through the treachery of Reynolds, Bond's house was surrounded on March 12, 1798, and fourteen members of the Directory seized. Bond was tried and convicted on July 24. It was mainly to save the life of one they loved so much that T. A. Emmet and the other State prisoners entered into their well-known compact with Government; but Bond only survived the commutation of his sentence five weeks, and then died suddenly in prison of apoplexy.—S.



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

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

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

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Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 15 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

E. G. and G. P.—Unsuitable.

Calendar.—Note on Ricardo held over.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday August 29.

ENGLAND Church Reformer Christian Socialist Labour Tribune London—Freie Presse Norwich—Daylight Telegraph Service Gazette Railway Review Worker's Friend	FRANCE Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) Le Parti Ouvrier (daily) En Avant Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	ITALY Milan—Il Faucio Operato Gazetta Operaia Rome—L'Emancipazione Cremona—Il Democratico Messina—Il Risentito Turin—Il Muratore	SPAIN El Productor Madrid—El Socialista Barcelona—Acracia
INDIA Bankipore—Behar Herald Madras—People's Friend	HOLLAND Hague—Recht voor Allen	PORTUGAL Lisbon—O Protesto Operario	GERMANY Berlin—Volks Tribune
UNITED STATES New York—Freiheit Der Sozialist Truthseeker Volkszeitung Alarm Workmen's Advocate Boston—Woman's Journal Liberty Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung Chicago—Knights of Labor Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote Chicago—Labor Enquirer	BELOIUM Seraing (Ougree)—Le Revell Ghent—Vooruit Liege—L'Avenir Antwerp—De Werker	AUSTRIA Wien—Gleichheit	ROMANIA Jassy—Municipalul
	SWITZERLAND Zurich—Sozial Demokrat Arbeiterstimme	DENMARK Social-Demokraten	SWEDEN Stockholm, Social-Demokraten Malmo—Arbetet

to individuals," which the Treasury proposes to commute, should be more like £60,000. If we suppose, however, that the twenty-seven years' scale were lowered, so that the percentage of reduction rose as high as 25 per cent., the saving effected even on the £60,000 would only be £15,000 a-year.

The article goes on to quote certain scandalous bits of history about the great Marlborough, Captain-General of the Forces of Queen Anne. These show that he "applied to his own use" over half a million of money, which he had got out of the army-chest, or squeezed out of the soldiers' rations. The hard name of "embezzlement" is applied to the great man's acts. But what of that? He was made Earl and Duke, and his embezzlement was condoned, was in short made legal. His heirs have the law neither more nor less in their favour than those others, who have managed and go on managing one way or another to filch away the land and the daily rations of the great army of workers. Take a glaring example in our railways. The reformer's article above quoted is followed by an American's "Grumble at English Railroads." The foreigner there says that for "less than a halfpenny a mile he is provided with first-class accommodation" in his daily transit to New York from a village some 20 miles therefrom. He goes on to wonder that any one with decent habits can travel in English local trains. As to express trains for long journeys he says, "I have a comfortable separate chair, good ventilation, and easy springs, . . . the use of a wash-room, nice closets or bath, . . . a good meal in the buffet-car or on my own seat; the whole road is smoother, and better laid than most English roads; all this with say the price of parliamentary trains, plus eight or ten shillings a-day for extras." Leaving out the extras, we may well ask how is it that this first-class comfort costs in England not a halfpenny nor the parliamentary penny a mile, but twopence or threepence? It can scarcely be the cost of the labour or materials, of which the first in especial is cheaper here, if the picture drawn by our emigration agents of the paradise of the workman is to be trusted. It is not that; it is the monstrous laws made by the Parliament of monopolists in their own favour. By the side of these, Marlborough's mal-practices seem mere pettifoggery. But if the scandal of Queen Anne's time would, as the advanced reformer seems to think, justify us in abolishing the resulting pension, it seems to me that we should be equally justified in repudiating a very large portion of the whole railway debt. As a Socialist I do not propose this, feeling that under the present system every such change would be rapidly turned wholly to the advantage of the tyrant monopolist. I do not expect even the most advanced reformers to make the attempt, seeing the formidable laws behind which the various interests represented in Parliament lie entrenched. I can only hope that it is mere despair of getting the real loaf from Parliament that makes them seem contented with so small a crumb as the above saving of £15,000 a-year, and that despair may turn them to see that the solution must come from without, not from within Parliament.

C. J. F.

SWEATED BASKET-MAKERS.

THE laudable system of doing business in the Government departments shows to great advantage in the way they let out contracts for the goods required in the Post Office, for instance. In the Parcel Post department, a large number of baskets, of special construction, are used to pack the small parcels in. Well, a certain namesake of the Immortal Joe, one J. Chamberlain, a retailer of ironmongery and brushes at Newington Causeway, having some mysterious influence among the Government officials, manages to get contracts for various things (although he himself is only a shopkeeper) of which he has no technical knowledge, and then he hunts up the manufacturers of the articles required and sublets the contracts to them. Among other things, he secured the first contract for the Parcel Post hampers, and sublet it to various basket-making firms, on which they both got a handsome profit, the workmen only getting the regular trade union price for doing the necessary part of the business. The second contract was tendered for by the firms who had previously made them, but J. C. managed to get the biggest share of the contract, and he again sublet it for a rather low figure. This year another contract is out, and some of the firms feeling rather certain of being able to secure a share of it, made considerable preparation for it, and tendered for it at a very low figure, but the omnipotent J. C. managed to get the whole of the contract, much to the disappointment and loss of the firms before mentioned. Now this man has been practising the very worst form of sweating on this contract, he letting anybody make them who will do so at his price, which is 10s. 6d. for No. 3 hampers, the trade union wage for which is 8s. and material costs 5s., making 13s.; so that in order to meet his price none but very bad "scabs" would work on them. No. 1 baskets he pays 15s. for, the trade union wage of which is 13s.; stuff costs 7s. 6d., so that is 20s. 6d. This unscrupulous "employer" is allowed to take advantage of the slackness of work in our trade to sweat the scabs severely. Instead of the contracts being let to men in the trade, he by his influence in official circles is able to accumulate a fortune, without doing anything useful to the community, he being now about to retire on the profits of the sweating system.

I put this forward as a sample of the jobbery and corruption of Governments, for this man does not only contract for Tory Governments, but Liberal ones also, and for other things and departments besides the P. O.

I have put down the lowest actual cost of stuff and wages, without any other expenses; and I think, as he does this sort of thing in other crafts besides ours, trades unionists ought to interest themselves in the matter and look up the iniquities of the contract system, and put an end to the system of wage-slavery and profit-mongering which makes such things possible.

THOS. CANTWELL.

IS HALF A LOAF BETTER THAN NO BREAD?

THE idea of this question is a wide one. Why should we not go on to say that a halfpenny bun is better than no loaf? Why not argue that a crumb is better than nothing at all? In this way we may include among our gains the small results forced from parliament. We may be permitted to wonder, however, that the advanced reformer should plume himself as he does, on the measure which the alliance of the Tories has helped him to pass. It is so very short a time since the present Right Hon. Leader of the House of Commons brought up these same allies to defend even by force the petty bit of bigotry which the reformer thinks that he has now got rid of. The shortness of the time shows all the more strikingly, that they would be as ready as the other party to abolish the Church itself at a pinch. It can scarcely be that men who change sides so easily can be other than mercenary troops, who abandon this small outwork in the hope of having their former opponent's help to defend their real citadel, the fortress of legality and privilege. "Anyone, either with or without religion," will now be admitted among these mercenaries, if he be willing to "affirm or to swear his allegiance" (*Pall Mall Gazette*, Aug. 20, 1888). What is this allegiance, to which the troops who muster at St. Stephen's Palace are to hold fast? It is a symbol of a belief in our now existing society, presided over as it is by a formal Defender of the Faith. This it is which drives our London police to bludgeon those who dissent from the orthodox creed, or the soldiers and emergency-men in Ireland to bring their battering-rams to bear on the homes and their bayonets on the bodies of our Irish fellow sufferers. The same excuse is made that has always been made by the persecutor: "You may hold what belief you like, so long as you do not preach it; if you wish to preach it, you must get the law altered." That is to say, you must get the law altered, without proposing to have it altered. There is no true liberty in such a state of things, and the oath has been commuted, not abolished. To affirm or to swear allegiance is tying one's mind and hands in the chains of bigotry, whether the idol before which we bow down be named Orthodoxy or Law.

There is a second case of commutation, with regard to which the advanced reformer himself has lately expressed his disappointment at a certain "Treasury Minute on Perpetual Pensions," in an article in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of Aug. 17, 1888. He allows the accuracy of the Minute where it says that to commute perpetual pensions at twenty-seven years' purchase would make a saving to the nation of about 19 per cent., but protests against twenty-seven years' purchase as too high; and he maintains that the "£12,000 of remaining pensions, etc.,

We are constantly reminded of the "high wages" paid to American workmen. High wages! What an insult! Are they paid one-fourth the wages they earn? And do they receive high wages? Answer, ye struggling toilers!—*Paterson Labour Standard*.

LETTER FROM AMERICA.

THE POSITION OF CAPITALISM IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

AMERICA is the home of capitalism *par excellence*. Even more so than England. Smart, cunning, unscrupulous, untiring, alert as American capitalists are, they are always on the look out for new departures for development and progress in the capitalistic sense. Improvements which it takes other countries ten or twenty years to introduce, are almost forgotten in America in a year or two. Given these characteristics it was inevitable that America was bound to arrive before every other nation at a crisis, at the verge of an economical revolution.

To-day the economic system of the United States is undergoing a tremendous change, a revolution whose end no one either can foretell or foresee. Economically the United States has been based in the past on the principles advocated by orthodox political economists. Orthodox political economists taught that it is best for a nation to put no legal or any other restrictions in the way of producing and distributing commodities necessary to maintain life, that the greater the competition is between the producers, as well as between the distributors, the better it is for the consumers, because only through unlimited competition the greatest possible cheapness could be realised. The result of this mode of procedure in matters economical has been—Prosperity, over-production, crisis, and stagnation. These four periods changed in constant rotation. In the early time of capitalism a crisis was only arrived at about every 25 years, but of late this space of time has been considerably shortened, so much so that to the eye of a person uninitiated in the mysteries of the capitalistic world, there appears to be at present but one long period of stagnation, of production, of dullness of trade.

The smart, cunning, plotting, and ever-calculating American capitalists have arrived at the conclusion that it is necessary for them to change their economic policy, or the workers, the class of people who suffer most from the terribly uncertain state of affairs now existing in the United States, might take it in their heads themselves to bring about a change, much to the disadvantage of their rulers and masters. One glance at the condition of either agriculture or industry will be sufficient to show the absolute necessity for a radical alteration of the economical basis of the United States.

Agriculture.—Years ago, at a time when international competition was not as yet developed to such an extent as at present, and the government of the United States had still unlimited tracts of virgin soil at their disposal, it was an easy task for the American farmer to have his products exported. But to-day the very same farmer is hardly able to make a living. Indian and Russian grain are his strong competitors, and the folly of unreasonably and madly exploiting the soil without consideration for the future, also shows disastrous results, and it is no exaggeration to maintain that about three-fourths of the farmers of the United States are so heavily mortgaged as to compel them to work for a money-lord instead of themselves. Nearly all the land worth having has been disposed of by the government, and new comers from foreign shores, trusting to be able to found a snug homestead, must content themselves to do job work on old-established farms. The railroad charges for grain from the place of production to the seaports are, to say the least of it, exorbitant beyond reason, and altogether the present position of agriculture could hardly be a more gloomy one.

Industry.—(1) There are momentarily in the United States, like everywhere else, more goods in the market than can be consumed by the buying power of the people. All the warehouses are filled from top to bottom, and a good many establishments have to cease producing because of "slackness of orders." (2) The importation of goods during the past financial year has exceeded the export by about 100 million dollars, this fact proving clearly that the exchange of commodities between the United States and foreign countries is in an unhealthy condition. (3) The army of tramps and unemployed workmen is constantly increasing. Authorities who on this point may well be trusted, agree that there are over 100,000 tramps and nearly one million unemployed in the country. The figures are not the "wild inventions of a red-hot revolutionist," but the estimates of capitalistic sheets, and a man as Conservative as Sam Gompers, President of the American Federation of Trades. (4) Capital cannot find easy employment.

It must be perfectly clear to everybody that a nation where such circumstances as just described do exist, is bound to bring about a sweeping change, is forced one way or another to remedy to a considerable extent these evils. We the revolutionists have a remedy, a good and sound remedy which might establish society on a correct and truly humanitarian basis—The abolition of private property in the means of production and distribution. But, very naturally, our capitalistic antagonists do not look with favourable eyes on our scheme, as under the system proposed by us their occupation and opportunity to fatten themselves on other people's labour would be gone. However, the American bourgeois are not quite as lethargic as for instance their English cousins, and so they very much intend, to judge from all appearances, to take the wind out of our sails. And right here, I believe, there is danger ahead! For if American capitalists do succeed with their nefarious plots, it would be but too natural that capitalists of other countries should imitate the given example. But it would be foolish on our part to pursue an ostrich policy, to refuse to recognise the coming danger, and to avoid discussing the necessary steps to be taken to prevent the success of the capitalistic conspiracy for fear "our enemies might learn something." In No. 133 of the *Commonweal*, comrade E. Belfort Bax has opened the discussion of one part of this conspiracy by asking the question: "What influence will the opening up of Africa to capitalism have on the Social Revolution?" and every true revolutionist must be thankful to him for having taken the initiative. It is no argument to say, "Ah! we might give a tip to our antagonists; because the capitalists—anyhow, they do over here—watch the development of events quite as closely as we the revolutionists are in the habit of doing.

The tactics the American capitalists are pursuing at the present moment to prevent a Social Revolution are of a two-fold nature:—(1) By building a Chinese wall round the United States through levying high prohibitive duties on all foreign manufactured goods, and through restricting immigration to a minimum; and (2) by concentrating the means of production and distribution in a very few hands, that is by the formation of Trusts.

We have already a high protective tariff, and all the twaddle about the introduction of free trade is hardly worth the paper it is written on, and it is nothing more nor less than an electioneering dodge on the part of the Republicans to discredit the Democrats. Nobody of any importance, with the exception, perhaps, of Henry George, is seriously thinking of even only advocating free trade. But what about Grover Cleveland's celebrated so-called free-trade message? one or the other reader of the *Commonweal*

may ask. Well, through the levying of exorbitant duties on foreign goods a tremendous amount of money—some say 400 million dollars—has accumulated in Washington, an amount of money nobody, strange to say, knows at the present moment what to do with; and in order to reduce at least temporarily this accumulation of the surplus, Cleveland and the Democrats propose to reduce the duty on certain raw materials; but a reaction against this policy is sure to follow. Blaine, James G. Blaine, the prince and champion of boodlers and in demagogic eloquence the Gladstone of America, has just returned from Europe, and he is telling the people over here—naturally only in the interest of the capitalistic gang—wonderful stories about the pauper labour of England, pauperised through free trade only; and I for my part am inclined to believe that the present agitation will eventually lead us to still higher details. A high protective, a prohibitive tariff, has no other object than the isolation of America as regards the exchange of commodities. The purpose of a restriction of immigration is of exactly the same nature. Of late we have had a committee specially appointed ostensibly to investigate the consequences and the character of pauper immigration. A great deal of noise has been made in all papers about this committee and the "startling discoveries" made. But of course no reasonable human being ever expected that American capitalists, or their representatives the members of Congress, could have the slightest sympathy with the victims of Italian or, for the matter of that, of contractors of any other labour. Contractor here stands for the middleman who furnishes cheap workers to enterprising capitalists. This investigating committee was inaugurated for no other reason than to produce in the minds of the American voter so strong a prejudice against the European workman, as to enable Congress to pass a law restricting immigration. The following paragraph, which appeared in the *New York Herald* of August 17th, will clearly prove that my interpretation of the capitalistic aim as regards immigration is correct:—

"The following letter, which has been addressed to Congressman Oates, of the Committee on Immigration, by a distinguished Southerner, one of the most conspicuous business men in the country, shows with what enthusiastic approval the *Herald's* crusade against imported pauper labour is regarded:

'Savannah, Ga., August 14th, 1888.

'To Congressman W. C. Oates:

'MY DEAR COLONEL,—For a long time I have been wanting to send you my warmest congratulations on your being on the Committee on Immigration. As president of a railroad for years I have seen how the unemployed have been increasing everywhere, and have regretted to see the fair opportunities of this country, which our own descendants will want, being wasted and thrown away on the paupers of foreign nations. And for the South I have always opposed foreign immigration. We want farmers from the Northwest, but no foreigners.

'I hope your committee will recommend radical legislation and you will find the whole country with you. As to how to make it effective you will be far better able to judge than myself. The only idea that has occurred to me is to put a heavy tax (500 dol., may be) on every arrival, and even if it were collected from our own citizens who go abroad for pleasure or profit, it would not be without reason or good result. It is worth more than twice that to be born in this country, and it ought to be worth half price to come to it; and people who have grown so rich among us that they can afford foreign travel might pay that much tax for the privilege. But the great practical difficulty about heading off immigration or anything else will be to keep undesired immigrants from getting in through Canada or through Mexico. However, I hope your committee will have some measures ready for this winter. You need not trouble to reply; I know how busy you must be. Yours truly."

And listen to what Mr. T. V. Powderly, General Master Workman of the Knights of Labour and paid agent of Jay Gould to sell out the workers, has to say on the point in the *North American Review*:—

"To my mind the better plan would be to oblige every person who contemplates emigrating to this country to file a declaration of such intention with the American consul next to his place of residence at least three years before date of emigration. Make it the duty of the representative of the United States Government abroad to ascertain what the character of the applicant is, what his qualifications for citizenship are, and what his intentions are. Allow only those who come bearing a certificate from the United States consul to land."

This is even too strong a dose for the committee of investigation, who say they do not quite approve this proposition.

The American party of Jingoism in the United States, as yet small in numbers but already of great influence, has been in Convention some days ago in Washington, Detroit, and they inserted in their platform the following planks:—Restriction (regulation) of immigration; extension of time required for naturalisation to fourteen years (at present five years); and American land for American settlers. This is national enough if you like.

In No. 134 of the *Commonweal*, comrade Wm. Morris sums up the situation of immigration in America correctly by saying: "But at any rate you transporters of the British and Irish, you had better look out, for clearly this door is going to be shut against your troublesome people soon."

With the second part of the American capitalistic conspiracy, "The concentration of the means of production and distribution in a few hands, and the freezing out of competition," I intend to deal in a second letter sub-headed "Trusts."

Newark, N.J., August 21, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

THE DEVIL AS A LANDLORD.—A correspondent at Helsingfors wrote to the *Daily News* some time ago: "The following singular case is troubling the heads of the Finnish lawyers at present: A man died a week or two ago in Pielisjärvi, in the interior of the country, who was said to have led a bad and ungodly life. He had always been known to be well off, but nobody knew how he had gained his possessions. There were many strange stories afloat, but the one which was more credited than all the rest was to the effect that Huolarinen, as was his name, had, in his early days, been on an intimate footing with "Wibthausu" (the "evil one"), with whom he had had several transactions of a commercial character. When Huolarinen's will was opened it was found that he had bequeathed all his landed property to the Devil. The family naturally protest against the will, and the question now arises how this ticklish matter is to be settled. Everybody seems anxious not to offend any of the parties concerned. There can be no doubt that the Devil is thus a landowner, by legal right, in Finland." On this the *Star* commented: "The Father of Evil has found his level at last. . . . It is said that the will is likely to be disputed. It will be a pity if it should be upset, for the world will then lose a most interesting opportunity of seeing whether the Devil himself can be a worse landlord than —. Irish tenants please finish the sentence." Whereto we add that there are English ones to be heard from also.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

The nut and bolt strike at Darlaston still continues, and is likely to till Christmas. The bosses are resolved to starve the men out.

Six hundred spinners at the Caldron Jute Works, Dundee, struck on Tuesday, 4th, for an advance of 10 per cent.

About 400 miners remain out on strike at the Haigh Moor Pit, Featherstone. There seems to be no immediate prospect of a settlement. The majority of the men on strike have no other means of livelihood than what is obtained by systematic begging throughout the district.

COLLIERY DISPUTE.—The workmen of the London and South Wales Risca Colliery have struck against the price proposed to be paid for the cutting of a lower black vein seam struck there. The *Labour Tribune* says the men will receive support should the dispute continue unsettled.

SCOTCH SHALE MINERS.—A meeting of Holmes miners was held on Tuesday, Aug. 28th, to consider the practical working of the recent agreement, the employers complaining that the men were filling too much unproductive material. The men complained that they were being "crowded" for nearly the whole of 20in. conceded to the men in recent dispute.

THREATENED STRIKE OF BOILER-MAKERS.—A dispute which affects 2,500 men prevails in the shipbuilding trade of Liverpool. The boiler-makers demand an advance of 1s. 6d. weekly on time, and 5 per cent. on piece-work. The men allege that the improvement in trade warrants an advance. At a meeting of the employers on Friday 31st, it was decided not to grant the demands of the men.

TROUBLE AT MONTROSE.—The workers at the Chapel Flax Spinning Mills, Montrose, struck work Friday, August 31st, owing to refusal of an increase of ten per cent. The firm employ over 1,000 hands, and only the foreman and 30 workers went in Friday. The employees wish to be placed on the same footing as the spinners by Dundee, but the masters contend that the wages in Montrose are ruled by those paid in Fife and Aberdeen.

STRIKE IN THE GAS TUBE TRADE.—About 100 men are on strike at Messrs. Jones, Russell and Sons, Crown Tube Works, Wednesbury, against a reduction of 15 per cent. The men have already submitted to a 10 per cent. and a 12½ per cent. reduction. Mr. Juggins, Secretary of the Midland Trades' Federation, speaking on Wednesday last, said the firm treated the men worse than dogs, and he believed that the strike would lead to more strikes, and would bring all the trade to see the necessity of combination. The strikers have joined the Trades' Federation.

THE STRIKE IN THE CHAIN TRADE.—A well-attended meeting of chain-makers on strike was held on Friday, in the Salvation Army Barracks, Grainger's Lane, Cradley Heath, Rowley Regis. It was announced that a large number of additional chainmakers had come out on strike for payment of the 4s. list of prices. A number of the employers were paying the required prices, and if the operatives would only be united they would all succeed in getting proper payment for their work. It was resolved to continue the strike at all factories where the 4s. list is not being paid.

AN ENCOURAGING SIGN.—Recently at a meeting of the Hull Free Library Committee, says the *Star*, there was a proposal to hire "sandwich-men" through a contractor, who asked something under 2s. a day. It is stated that the price paid to the men themselves would have been 1s. 6d. There were, however, working men and trade unionists on the committee who manfully stood up for these unskilled fellow-workers, and insisted that the men employed should be hired direct at not less than 2s. 6d. a day each. Here is one more encouraging sign of the increasing solidarity of the whole body of workers.

TIPS TO PORTERS.—Mr. Laing, the chairman of the London, Brighton, and South Coast Company, is said to be a persistent breaker of the rules forbidding tips, and never allows a porter to handle his luggage without rewarding him; this has repeated in the ordinary Press as though it were a great virtue; but the *Railway Review* comments, Mr. Laing would have no conscience at all if he did otherwise, seeing that his company has the services of so many porters without paying them any wages, they accepting the position and donning the uniform of the company for the sake of the tips, notwithstanding the rule forbidding them.

WHEEL TAPPERS' WAGES.—Few will deny, says the *Railway Review*, that the position of a carriage examiner, commonly called a "wheel tapper," is an important and responsible one, for he not only has to tap the wheels, but is supposed to detect the slightest defect with anything visible in a very short space of time. On his vigilance and care much depends, and many disastrous accidents are averted. To one in such a position it would naturally be expected a fair wage would be given, but that is not so, as very few of them can reach over 25s. per week, while in many cases their wage is less. On the London and South Western Railway they can be found with only 18s. per week, a most inadequate wage for the responsible duties performed.

SWEATING IN BREWERIES.—In a letter to *Reynold's*, "A Working Brewer" gives the following particulars of the conditions under which men employed in breweries are compelled to work. The usual hours are supposed to be from six in the morning till six at night, and this for six days a week, which, deducting one and a-half hours daily for meals, make a total of 63 hours a week. This, however, rarely represents the actual time the men work; they are frequently made to work (owing to pressure of business and other causes, which help to enrich their employers, but do not put one penny extra into the pockets of the men themselves) until seven, eight, and even nine o'clock at night. The orders from head-quarters are imperative. Such and such a thing must be done before leaving off to-night; and done it must be, if the men wish to keep their situations. This extra work seldom commands extra pay. Again, there is always more or less work to be done on Sunday. The weekly wage has to cover this also. The ordinary workman in a brewery earns from 12s. to 20s. per week, and is usually allowed about three pints of beer daily; and men are not infrequently seen in breweries working from 70 to 80 hours a week for the miserable sum of 12s. The draymen, again, are infinitely worse off, although their services command more pay. These poor fellows are compelled to be about, night and day, in all weathers, without regular meals or sleep, frequently being in bed only four nights a week, and then, perhaps, for a few hours only. His letter ends with the query:—"Can any one of your many readers suggest a remedy for this deplorable state of things? A strike would only ruin the men, and there is no union among them, and hundreds would be found only too willing to jump into their places."

AMALGAMATED SOCIETY OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS.—The August report of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners reports that the Dewsbury employers, except two, have advanced to a standard of 7d. per hour. Halifax also dresses up.

The Hartlepool, Middlesbro', and Stockton branches have secured an advance of 1s. 6d. per week on shipyard work.

At Sunderland also the same advance has been secured, upon the decision of a Board of Conciliation without umpire.

At Bradford things are unsettled, and at Leeds the trade is on strike.

LANARKSHIRE MINERS.—A circular, proposing an agitation for an advance of wages, has been sent to the local secretaries throughout Lanarkshire by the secretary of the Stirlingshire Miners' Association. The circular says that at a mass meeting held Monday, August 27th, a resolution was passed requesting the co-operation of the men of Lanarkshire in pressing for an immediate advance in wages to the extent of 10 per cent. The reasons for making such a demand are well known to all, and would amply justify a demand for more than is now asked for. From every meeting held in Lanarkshire during this week deputations should be sent to employers asking for an immediate reply on the question, and, if unfavourable, action should follow to compel concession of the demand.

EBBW VALE STRIKE.—It was understood on Thursday, 30th, that the great strike of Ebbw Vale miners had been brought to a close. The men having waited upon the employers after a mass meeting of colliers, and announced that they would return to work on certain conditions, an amicable arrangement was arrived at, and it was expected that the men would go in yesterday; but in the morning a meeting, attended by about 1,000 colliers on strike, was held on the summit of a mountain at Ebbw Vale, and the men saying that there had been some mistake, repudiated the action of the committee, and decided not to return to work until the Ebbw Vale Company dispense with contractors in the mine, these contractors being regarded as middlemen. Thus the strike, to the surprise of every one, must be continued. It has now lasted more than a fortnight.

CHAINMAKERS' WAGES.—The Special Commissioner of the *Labour Tribune*, writing from Cradley Heath, says the pay of the chainmakers is wretchedly small. "I have made the most careful enquiries, and I find that even under the 4s. list the amount that can be earned, one week with another, is totally inadequate to maintain life decently. But under the prices that are now being paid it is simply amazing how the people manage to live at all. I know of one place where a man employs about 30 apprentices. Some of them are boys, but most of them are girls, and it appears that some begin at nothing per week, others get 2s. 6d., and others again get 4s. There are other places having ten or twelve apprentices, and the same, or similar, wages are paid. There are plenty of places where men cannot, however hard they work, make more than from 6s. to 8s. per week. A man will make—say 6 cwt. of chain, for which he will get perhaps 15s., and out of that he will have to pay 3s. for a blower, and find his fuel and repair his tools, and pay rent; and then he will have about 7s. 6d. left. But cases are frequent in which the net earnings of women do not amount to more than 4s. and 5s. for a week's work. As an illustration of what the people earn, I may mention that a man will make the chain which is used as a back chain for horses for 13d., including the swivel, which latter article an ordinary smith could not make alone at the price."

TRADES UNION CONGRESS.—The Trades Union Congress opened on Monday 2nd, at the Technical College, Bradford. The official programme, as now conclusively settled, is as follows, and is being discussed in the order named at the Congress, which, however, is empowered to add to it as it may think fit:—(1) the Employers' Liability Bill, 1888; (2) the infusion of steam into weaving-sheds; (3) the amendment of the law of limited liability; (4) certificates of competency for men in charge of steam-engines and boilers; (5) the desirability of increasing the number of factory and workshop inspectors; (6) the right of the relatives of deceased miners to be represented at coroners' inquests; (7) co-operation and its relation to trade unionism; (8) representation of labour in Parliament; (9) reform of land laws; (10) the proposed International Trades Union Congress; (11) report of the Parliamentary Committee on the vote of the trades on the eight hours' question. Bradford is not a stronghold of trade unionism. Some of the leading unions—such as the engineers, iron moulders, the stone masons, the carpenters and joiners, who have for many years past taken a leading part in the question of wages and hours of labour—have strong branches in Bradford. But those engaged in local industries—the worsted, and woollen, spinning, weaving, and other trades—have not hitherto been remarkable for their devotion to trade unionism. The Congress will perhaps have the effect of strengthening their organisations.

THE LEICESTERSHIRE MINERS.—The miners employed at the Ellistown No. 2 pit, for nearly six weeks have been on strike against a new method of payment proposed by the owners. The miners in the district have hitherto been paid by piecework at a fixed rate of 1s. 9d. per ton, but it appears that at Ellistown the coal is easier to win than at the neighbouring collieries, and therefore, at the same tonnage rate, other conditions being equal, the men employed there were able to earn larger wages than at the surrounding collieries. The Ellistown owners at last awoke to this fact, and came promptly to the conclusion that they were the proper persons to have the benefit of this favour of nature. Knowing, however, that an attempt to reduce the tonnage weight would be strenuously resisted by the whole of the miners in the district, and would almost certainly fail, they proposed that the miners should be paid by day wages instead of by the tonnage rate, and on the men refusing to agree to the change, the strike took place. In the columns of the local press, the employers maintained that they were anxious to procure a fairer distribution of wages than then prevailed, as under the tonnage system, some men secured very good wages, and others very bad. However, the supposed sufferers seemed quite averse to a change. It is gratifying to know that the men on strike received a good deal of support from the Leicester shoe and hosiery trades, and last week a settlement was agreed to whereby the men gained a complete victory.—J. B.

AMERICA.—August 21.

The furniture workers' co-operative factory at Baltimore has closed its doors.

It is intimated that the Chelsea (Mass.) co-operative factory will be sold before long.

At Courtlandt, Cal., 30 Chinamen struck for 1 dol. 50 cents. per day instead of 1 dol. 25 cents.

The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers met in Detroit, Mich. on the 17th of August to celebrate its 25th anniversary.

The strike of 1,400 of the brickmakers in Chicago is ended. The men have lost; 900 strikers have been re-engaged, the rest are without work.

The Order of Machinery Constructors is experiencing a steady growth, and new councils will soon be formed in Providence, Fitchburg, and Worcester.

The President has signed the bill granting the employés of the Government Printing Office a thirty days' leave of absence annually with full pay. A few hundred more conservative workmen will be the effect of this bill, that is all.

The window-glass factories in Pittsburgh will open October 8th, although a month later than usual. Postponement is not due to alleged menace of the Mills bill, but the fact that 200 new pots will be put in operation on that date and the production increased.

According to the report of the Department of Agriculture, the present average rate of monthly wages for farm labour in the United States is 18 dols. 24 cents a month. The wages paid for farm labour is therefore an accurate measure of the general earning of unskilled labour.

The Bricklayer's Union of Chicago has just awarded the contract for what is to be the finest edifice owned by any one labour organisation in the world. The main hall, with its immense gallery, will have a seating capacity of nearly 4,000. When finished this investment will cost the union about 50,000 dols.

Acting under instructions from the International Union of Bricklayers and Masons, the strike which has been in progress in Fall River for several months has been declared off, and it has been decided to work ten hours per day instead of nine. This is a backdown on the part of the masons, who struck for nine hours per day at ten hours' wages.

The plant of the North Chicago Rolling Mill Company at South Chicago is to be shut down for a time. Fifteen hundred men have been paid and laid off. The blast furnaces were unaffected by the order, and will continue in active operation. The cause of the unexpected turn of affairs is due to the lack of orders on the books of the North Chicago Company.

A strike of weavers is in progress at the linen mills in Fall River, and 2,000 looms are idle. It was caused by an order from the authorities requiring weavers to throw away the steel wire combs with which they remedy slight imperfections in the cloth, and use a comb made from the blades of defective card combers. A conference of the authorities was held, but the weavers prefer to consider themselves discharged.

A telegram in the American capitalist press says: "Since the hanging of the Anarchists, Mrs. Judge Gary has had on an average three servant girls a week. When Mrs. Gary secures a servant, the wits of the latter are scared out of her by the thrilling tales poured into her ears by the domestics employed in the neighbouring houses of dynamite plots, and the probabilities of being blown into eternity at any moment. All the intelligence offices have Judge Gary's name on their books, and all applicants for situations are sent there, though some of them do not stay more than a few hours." On reading this who can help remembering the words of August Spies: "Our silence will be more powerful than words can be!"

The Convention of Engineers, held at St. Louis in the middle of August, adopted the federation scheme, notwithstanding the protests of Chief Arthur and the conservative Eastern engineers. The scheme of co-operation is something like this: A grand advising committee is to be formed composed of two members from each of the four brotherhoods. When a grievance against a railroad is submitted and a conflict comes, a strike can only be ordered by a majority of the Advisory Board and a majority of the four brotherhoods employed on the line. Each of the brotherhoods will remain intact in its organisation, but will co-operate. This plan will be submitted to the Annual Convention of the engineers, firemen, switchmen, and brakemen, which takes place in a few weeks. H. F. C.

HELPING THE EDITORS.—Several of our friends aid us in completing our record of passing events in the labour world by sending us their local papers with each item of interest marked. We should be glad if provincial sympathisers especially were to follow this plan. If one person in each of the large centres would do so, we should be enabled to make the *Commonweal* far more effective even than it now is. We should also be glad to receive a specimen copy of any trade organ or labour paper which is not acknowledged under "Periodicals Received" on middle page. Trade unionists could further help by sending reports of their societies and other information.—S.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

FRANCE.

The third Congress of the National Federation of the Trades Unions (Chambres Syndicats) of France, will be held this year at Bordeaux, from the 28th of October until the 4th of November. All communications referring to the Congress are to be sent to comrade J. Dormoy, Rue de la Paix, at Montluçon (Allier Department). The second Congress, held at Montluçon in 1887, was attended by delegates of two hundred Syndicats; and from information already received, the Secretary states that the Bordeaux Congress will be visited by even a larger number of Trades' representatives.

Another Congress of the organised workers of France is to be held in October next, at Troyes (Aube Department) and all communications referring to that meeting must be directed to comrade G. Batisse, Secretary, 22, Rue de la Grande Planchette, at Saint-André, near Troyes (Aube).

Two new Socialist papers: *La Loire Socialiste*, at St. Etienne, edited by comrade Delmores. Among its contributors are Felix Pyat, Benoit Malon, John Labusquiere, T. B. Dumay, etc. The other weekly, entitled *La Révolution démocratique et Sociale*, is published at Sedan (Ardennes Department).

L'Homme Libre (The Free Man) the daily organ of the Blanquists, has ceased its publication, but all its contributors have gone to the *Cri du Peuple*, which now becomes the official mouthpiece of the revolutionaries of the school of Blanqui. The paper, under the political leadership of our friend Edouard Vaillant, is edited by comrade Granger. Mme. Severine, the former editor of the paper, has withdrawn from it with all her friends.

"Republican" France becomes every day more reactionary, and has no longer to look on "imperial" Germany for tyranny and despotism. Floquet is aware that his last days of office are near at hand, and he now shows very well that his radicalism has only been humbug all through. Strikes are going on nearly in all departments, and Floquet, the friend of the workers, as he used at one time to call himself, orders the toilers to be arrested for mere trifles. We trust that the game he is now playing will soon be over.

GERMANY.

To all Socialists who understand the German tongue, we would recommend the volumes of the "International Library," published by W. Dietz, at Stuttgart. The first series of this important library is just finished, and contains the following contributions to philosophical, economical, and social science: 1. The theories of Darwin, by Aveling; 2. The economical doctrines of Karl Marx, by K. Kautsky; 3. Creation and destruction of the world, by O. Köbler; 4. The agricultural question, by Kabulow; 5. Thomas More and his Utopia, by K. Kautsky; 6. Charles Fourier, his life and doctrines, by A. Bebel; 7. Modern pauperism and modern overpopulation, by M. Schippel. The eighth volume, being the first of the second series, will be a popular history of the French revolution (1787-1804) by W. Bloss.

The Socialists of Dortmund have issued a new paper, entitled *Westfälische Freie Presse* (The Westphalian Free Press). We wish the new workers' organ every success, and hope that it will live longer than the *Freie Presse* which was suppressed in virtue of the Anti-Socialist laws.

In various parts of Germany, wholesale arrests are announced of Socialists, who have all committed the same offence: secret conspiracy. It is very strange indeed that out of all these "conspiracies" there never comes anything which is worth noticing. If only one-tenth of these conspiracies occurred in France or elsewhere, the governments would already have been thrown to pieces. But we think that in Germany, most of these "conspiracies" are police-work, and nothing else. Some day or other, we hope the real "big conspiracy" will burst out there, and then it will be all over with William Hohenzollern and his confederates.

William Liebknecht has been elected a member of the Reichstag by the Berlin voters, instead of Hasenclever, who has gone mad, and is not likely to recover.

BELGIUM.

L'avenir (The Future), the organ of the Socialists of Liege, has resolved to appear three times a week, to begin with the month of October. It is published now twice weekly.

The *Reveil* of Seraing has stopped its publication, but in the same place another organ, which intends to struggle for the workers' interests, is about to appear; it will be entitled *L'Organe de Seraing*, and edited by Marquet and Bonvalet.

Comrade Bertrand, editor of the *Peuple* of Brussels, has in the press a work on "Co-operation and Socialism." V. D.

FRENCH WORKMEN DELEGATES IN GLASGOW.

THE visit of the French workmen delegates to the Glasgow Exhibition has been made memorable by their refusal to drink the toast of "The Queen" at a banquet given to them by the City Corporation. Quite a hubbub has arisen in the local papers over the affair. Their declaration that they were all Socialists and Republicans has, of course, excited additional comment, and to an extent advertised our principles.

On Friday evening the delegates were entertained by the joint Socialist bodies in Glasgow in the S. D. F. Hall, Market Street, Moses McGibbon (S. D. F.) in the chair. Comrade Adams (S. L.) read an address of welcome in the name of the Socialists of Glasgow, to which the delegates replied. Various toasts were then given and speeches made, the principal speakers being Mavor (S. L.), Morais (S. L.), Small (S. L.), Hutchens (S. D. F.), Curran (S. D. F.), and McCulloch (S. D. F.); and for the delegates, Philippe, Bailliet, Bestetti, and a resident member of the Commune, A. Felix. Dan McCulloch (S. L.) sang "The Poor of Wadby England," Molat (S. L.), "The Roman Lass," and Tom McCulloch "Annie Laurie," in memory of poor Parsons, which the delegates enthusiastically encored. The "Carmagnole" was sung several times at the request of gathering by the delegates, and the meeting, which was exceedingly lively and enthusiastic, concluded with vigorous cheers for Socialism and the Revolution.

On Saturday, an improvised conversation was held on the station platform, previous to the departure of the delegates, where a large number of Socialists had gathered to bid farewell to their French comrades. Cunningham Graham, M.P., arriving on the platform at the time, delayed his journey south till a later train, so as to converse with the delegates. Graham, who was asked for a speech gave an excellent address in French, which the delegates warmly applauded. The "Carmagnole" was sung and several times repeated, Scottish comrades joining in the chorus. "A Man's a Man for a' that" and "The March of the Workers" was also sung. Finally the train departed with deafening cheers for "The Social Revolution," "The Commune of Paris," and the "Workmen Delegates," while the little red flag of the delegates waved from the car window till the train was out of sight.

Altogether the visit of the delegates has been most stimulating to the cause, and the hearty fraternisation of the workers of the two countries is a promise of what the Social Revolution will achieve for all countries. J. B. G.

YARMOUTH AND FREE SPEECH.

We have received the following from our Yarmouth correspondent:—On Sunday, Sept. 2, about thirty members of the Norwich branch, and Samuels (of Loadon), went down to Yarmouth to hold the demonstration against the police interference at public meeting. It had been announced in the previous evening's *Breeding News* that Mr. De Caux, the magistrate at Yarmouth, had agreed with Mr. Brogden, the chief constable, that no meeting should be allowed. Seeing that this was an admirable advertisement, we were not surprised to see when we got to the Church Plain an enormous concourse of people, who behaved much better (considering the presence of the head constable and his minions) than we expected. In the twinkling of an eye, while Poynts and Samuels were discussing the technicalities of the case with the head constable, a large table made its appearance, 8 ft. by 6 ft., on which at once sprang comrade W. Moore, who was soon followed by Beare, Poynts, and Samuels. They were, however, not allowed to proceed until they had given their names and addresses to the police, the crowd hooting the police all the time. There was then no fewer than 6,000 persons present, who seemed very enthusiastic and sympathetic. It would take too long to write what was said, but Poynts referred to the previous prosecutions, and Samuels related the circumstance that Mr. Labouchere, M.P., had, after the Mitchelstown business, laid it down as good law that the police had no right to force their way into a meeting through the people; but the authorities were not so successful here, and did not provoke a riot. After passing a resolution (which about half the people held up their hands for, and no one against), we declared the meeting over. We disposed of our specious platform, and scattered so as to get the people away; but they were now thoroughly excited and so we were obliged to leave them. The police were looking for some of our comrades, and unfortunately succeeded in arresting one, whose name is R. Riches. We applied for bail to be allowed for him, but we were sternly refused. We heard afterwards that altogether 23 names were taken on Sunday (not a bad catch), and these comprised Church Mission people, Salvationists, and Socialists. At the meeting held in Gordon Hall, after the Market meeting (where 600 were collected), we collected the fares for Mowbray, Sutton, Syder, and Samuels to go to Yarmouth to give evidence in and watch the proceedings on behalf of our imprisoned comrade.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of Commonwealth and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday.

London Members' Meeting.—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, Oct. 3, 1888, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

FREE SPEECH FUND.

Already acknowledged—£2 5s. Received—J. A. Morris, 10s.; T. R. W., 5s.; Regent's Park collection, 1s. 11d. Total, £3 1s. 11d.

COUNTRY PROPAGANDA FUND.

Already acknowledged—£1 11s. 2d. Received—Regent's Park collection, 6s. 6d. F. CHARLES, Sec., 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.

REPORTS.

FULHAM.—Owing to the bad weather we were unable to hold our Tuesday evening meeting. On Sunday morning, notwithstanding the rain, Mrs. Schack, Toebatti, J. Macdonald, and Turner addressed a fair audience.

REGENT'S PARK.—In spite of the wretched weather, a small meeting was held here under the trees. Cantwell, Nicoll, and Parker spoke; 2s. 11d. collected.

ABERDEEN.—At indoor meeting on Monday night, Leatham read lecture on "Radicalism and Socialism" to good audience. Discussion carried on at close by comrades Barron, Aiken, Duncan, Leatham, and Mr. Thompson, a visitor.

EDINBURGH.—On Sunday, 2nd inst., the members of the S.D.F. and of the S.L. entertained to luncheon the 16 French workmen who have been visiting the Glasgow Exhibition, and who have created quite a flutter among the bourgeoisie by declaring themselves all Socialists.

GLASGOW.—Good meeting held at Paisley Road Toll, Glasier being the only speaker. This was the only meeting held, as some of our comrades had to attend a meeting of miners held at Blantyre.

NORWICH.—Good meeting held on St. Catharine's Plain, by Mowbray and Reynolds, on Sunday morning. Meetings were held at Diss, North Walsham, and Market Place.

LECTURE DIARY. LONDON. Bloomsbury.—This Branch will shortly be actively working. Socialists resident in this locality should send their names in at once to 13, Farringdon Road.

Fulham.—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. The members of this branch are striving to form a Library and Reading Room, and earnestly request all comrades who can aid to do so by sending books and magazines to Mrs. Grosar, 8 Effie Road, Walham Green, or Mrs. Toebatti, 4 Railway Approach, Hammersmith, who will be pleased to receive them.

Hackney.—Enquiries, communications, etc., to E. Lefevre, Secretary, 28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Rd., Hackney Wick.

Hammersmith.—Kelmascott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday September 9, at 8 p.m., G. B. Shaw (Fabian), "The Old Social Order and the New." Sunday, September 16th, J. Brailsford Bright (Fabian), "Division of Labor the true basis of Organisation."

Hoxton.—Persons wishing to join this branch are requested to communicate with H. D. Mergan, 22, Nicholas Street Hoxton.

Merton.—Club-house, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road, Singlegate. Lecture on Sunday evening.

Mile-end and Bethnal Green.—95 Boston St., Hackney Road.

North London.—Secretary, Nelly Parker, 143 Cavendish Buildings, opposite Holborn Town Hall. The business meetings will be held on Friday evenings at 6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, after the open-air meeting at Ossulton Street.

St. Georges in the East.—A meeting of the members of this branch will be held at 23 Princes Square, on Sunday morning after the meeting at Leman Street, Rochmann, secretary.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen (Scottish Section).—Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St Nicholas Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

Bradford.—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivegate. Meets Tuesdays at 8.

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

Cowdenbeath (Scot. Sec).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., see Dundee (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

Edinburgh (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.

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

Glasgow.—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. On Thursday evening at 8, Choir Practice; all musical members invited.

Leeds.—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Rd. and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m. communications to T. Paylor, 11 Sheldon Street, Holbeck, Leeds.

Leicester.—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

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

Norwich.—Monday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Tuesday, at 8.30, Speakers' Class. Wednesday, at 8.30, Choir Practice. Thursday, at 7.30, Yarmouth (Church Plain). Friday, at 8.15, St. Catharine's Plain. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association.

Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25, Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.

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

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

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

SCOTTISH SECTION S.L. (S.L.L.L.).—The General Conference of the members of the Scottish Branches will be held on Sunday next, at 84, John Street, Glasgow, beginning at 11 a.m. prompt.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SUNDAY 9.

11.30...Latimer Road Station...Hammersmith Branch
11.30...Mitcham Fair Green...Walker
11.30...Regent's Park...Nicoll
11.30...Walham Green, opp. Station...Fulham Branch
3.30...Hyde Park...Nicoll
7...Weltje Road, opposite Ravenscourt Park...Hammersmith Branch

Tuesday.

8.30...Fulham—opposite Liberal Club...Fulham Bh.

Friday.

7.30...Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street...Parker

EAST END.

SUNDAY 9.

Mile-end Waste ... 11 ...Parker.
Leman Street, Shadwell ... 11 ...Turner.
Victoria Park ... 3.15...Brooks.
Warner Place ... 8 ...Brooks.

TUESDAY.

London Fields ... 8.30...East-end C'mittee.
Mile-end Waste ... 8.30... "

WEDNESDAY.

Broadway, London Fields 8.30... "

FRIDAY.

Philpot St., Commercial Rd. 8.30... "

SATURDAY.

Mile-end Waste ... 8 ... "

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen.—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7 p.m.

Edinburgh.—Queen's Park, every Sunday, at 3 p.m.

Glasgow.—Sunday: Jail's Square, at 12.0; Paisley Road at 5; Green, near Nelson's Monument, at 6.30.

Ipswich.—

Sproughton, Wednesday evening.
Westerfield, Thursday evening.
Neeham Market, Sunday morning and evening.
Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.
Leicester.—Sunday: Russel Square, at 11 a.m.
Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place, at 3 and 7.30.
Wymondham, Sunday at 11.
St. Faiths, Sunday at 11.30.
Crostwick Common, Sunday at 3.

THE PROGRESSIVE ASSOCIATION, PENTON HALL, 81, Pentonville Road.—Sunday, September 2, Dr. W. E. Burton: "The Great Panacea."

At the Farringdon Hall, 13, Farringdon Road, on Friday, September 14th, a Free Discussion will be opened by A. Marsh. Subject: "Work and Social Utility," at 8.30 prompt.

THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—The Committee will meet at the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, on Saturday, September 8th, at 7.30 p.m. Subscriptions received and members enrolled at 9 p.m.

EAST-END PROPAGANDA.—A meeting of all interested in the Socialist propaganda in the East-end of London will be held at the Berner Street International Club, Commercial Road, E., on Saturday September 8th, at 8 p.m. The second of a series of fortnightly debates will be held, the subject for discussion being "Is a Peaceful Revolution Possible?"

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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 Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

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SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

BARON BRANWELL, the champion of the Liberty and Property Defence League, it seems, defends the present system of robbery on the grounds that the chief business of any community is to increase its "pile" at the expense apparently of every other consideration; a theory which would lead to some curious consequences if acted up to without remorse or compromise, but which no doubt is a convenient one to those who may happen to be on the right side of the hedge—rich men that is.

The others, those who are not rich, *i.e.*, the vast majority of the population will hardly, if they think about it, agree with this theory of "the whole duty of man." They will be apt to say, "However the 'pile' of the whole country increases, though we are richer per head than other countries, though we are so much richer as a country than we were 500 years ago, yet this increase of the 'pile' of the country has done us no good, we are just what we always were, labouring men, without property and without hope."

To unprejudiced people who can use their senses, it is clear that life in a poor country is much more happy for a poor person than in a rich one; *e.g.*, the peasants of Norway and of Greece are far better off than those of England or France; better off in all ways, but especially in self-respect, simply because class society has not reached the same pitch of perfection as with us. I remember when I was in Iceland, whose poverty is deeper than most English people could conceive of, being much struck with this. In conversation with my guide, an intelligent and well-read man, I could not make him so much as understand the difference of classes in civilisation; and I say without hesitation that in that wretchedly poor country the people generally are happy, because they have not a trace of the degradation which our inequalities force upon the poor of a rich country.

My Lord Bramwell, the truth is that no one in a poor country is rich enough to own slaves; and you are such a fool as to think that the ownership of slaves is necessary to the happiness, dignity, and elevation of character of a civilised man. Once more, what do the slaves think about it?
W. M.

By copies of the *North British Daily Mail* and *Glasgow Daily Mail* received from a correspondent, I see that there is still a rather warm controversy going on over the visit of the French workmen delegates to Glasgow, and their protest as to the loyal toasts. From this it appears that there was an agreement between the givers of the spread and the workmen that neither the Queen or the President should be toasted, and that the loyal humbugs broke the agreement, and tried to sneak through their little bit of kow-towing before they could be stopped; whereupon the protest. Several other things have come out as to the way the spread was prepared, and the "anything-good-enough-for-workmen" spirit displayed, and have aroused much feeling among the working-classes of the city. Oh, that our masters would always thus misbehave!
S.

The Small Farm and Labourers' Land Company has recently issued its report for the year ending Lady Day, 1888. This company has been in working for about three years. Its published purpose was to encourage a desire for the acquisition of land among the labouring classes. The *Financial News* of 29th ult., in noticing the balance-sheet, gives great praise for the exceedingly careful way the company is managed. The praise may be deserved as to cost of management, but when the *News* goes on to say that the result of the years' work is a proof of the bad times from which the landed interest is suffering, it is time to protest.

Although it may seem contradictory, the report has no bearing on the question. The Small Farms question, the Bad Times question, and the Landed Interest, although factors of one great sum are factors that have no common denominator, most certainly the company in question is not the common denominator. This can be seen from a few of the figures given. For 11½ acres and cottage in Cambs, the

lucky (?) tenant proprietor pays just £90 (!) per acre; or, throwing off £200 which would build a really good house, £72 per acre for the land only. For 150 acres near Chippenham, Lord Lansdown has agreed to take £4,500, *i.e.*, £30 per acre. At these prices whoever may suffer, it will certainly *not* be the landed interest.

It is reported that Mr. Crocker, a Californian millionaire, just before his death recently, said as the result of a tour in Europe, that he would not give twenty years' purchase for any piece of property in the civilised world. A number of landowners are coming to the same notion and the Small Farms and Allotments dodge, simply means a process of unloading land in favour of something more portable. Lord Wantage gained great kudos for his philanthropy a year or two back in getting rid of some land which is out of the way of any possible market or means of transport. Added to the excess rents which are being charged in some parts, the Small Farms movement is hampered by the legal complication which is being wound about the attempt to put labourers back on the land. Long, wordy, technical agreements, and excessive charges and stamps, and then the cry is "Farming don't pay!"

The *Pall Mall Gazette* is on the whoop again about Africa, and in the course of an article on the 31st made a suggestion which for unadulterated damn wickedness, even the *Pall Mall* hasn't equalled for some time. It suggests that the difficulty about Sir Charles Warren should be solved by promoting him to the position of Warden of the Marches of the Upper Zambesi. This is how the *Pall Mall* gives itself away every now and again, and it can only be explained by the American moralist, "That human nature's a strange onery sort of a cuss." If the column and a-half on the front page of the *Pall Mall* is always done by the same lump of human nature the moralist is proved right.

There should be no difficulty about what to do with Warren. In a state with any decent approach to even-handed justice there would be no difficulty; he would simply be put upon trial for the murder of the men Linnell, Curwen, and Harrison, and the question of his promotion could be safely left to the jury—with the sure and certain hope of a speedy ascension. Remembering the instances in history where long delayed justice has at length caught bigger criminals than even Warren and Balfour, there is some ground for hope yet.

When, however, instead of this it is coolly suggested that this bludgeoning brute shall be transplanted to Africa, so that, unchecked by even a *Pall Mall Gazette* publicity, he can develop his brutal tastes by bludgeoning the unhappy African—for his ultimate good of course, it is time to kick out. "The treasures of the land of Ophir" seem to have entered into the dreams of the *Pall Mall* "forwardist," and that these "treasures" should "pass to other owners" fairly puts him on his ear; to justify his lust after these treasures, of course the usual bosh is trotted out about "our allies and protégés being destroyed by confidence in our word." Allies and protégés to the infernal gods. Two or three rum-dealing missionaries, a magnified "drummer"—*i.e.*, commercial traveller—subsidised by a few capitalists "to explore in the interests of science," in reality to find new areas for exploitation, and there is the whole secret of our whole foreign "forward" policy; there is the whole secret of the never-ending "capitalist's wars," of which Ruskin has written in such burning scorn.

This game seemed all right when England was the only country playing at it; but now when Germany, France, Italy, and Belgium, "even little Belgium," want to take a hand in the rubber, the position is quite different. Rival traders to outpace one another stir up dissension among rival tribes of natives so as to hamper, and if possible exterminate the rival expedition. The local frictions are sent home to the respective Governments, and a wrangle between two Resident Agents or Consuls becomes a national quarrel, as between France and Italy at the present moment; as has been between England and the Dutch, England and the French, the German, the Spaniard, the American; until to-day England is the Ishmael of the world, and the march of civilization is impeded by the ever-increasing load of cannon and ironclads.

And what has this system at last brought us to? An Empire on which the sun never sets, and on which for millions it never rises, which spreads over eight and a-half million square miles, and has within its own native borders as much barbarism as can be found in any place where it has taken its so-called civilization, which contains in its own chief city more poverty, misery, suffering, and hideous sin than over the cities of the plain in their worst wickedness dreamt of, "Shudders hell through all its regions."

To add to this great, this unwieldy State, is what the *Pall Mall Gazette* is screaming for. To take the poor African under our wings more closely than has yet been done, put the military bully who has for months been playing the tyrant of London, in possession of more power and bigger pay, and all shall be well. "History is clarified experience," says Lowell. If fools would only learn from history—why, then they wouldn't be fools, of course; this, by the way. But in history is somewhere related how a man was about to depart on an expedition which was to minister more to his own ambition than to the common weal. He didn't go. The man who pointedly and practically protested against the filibustering expedition was imprisoned and threatened with torture, but overcame his judges on that point, and from one of the poems addressed to his honour the following is an extract:—

"I would have posterity to hear
He that can bravely do can bravely bear.
Tortures may seem great in a coward's eye;
It is no great thing to suffer, less to die.

Farewell, undaunted stand, and joy to be
Of public service the epitome.
Let the duke's name solace and crown thy thrall;
All we for him did suffer, thou for all!"

T. S.

WHAT HAS MR. GLADSTONE DONE?

It is recorded of a certain French king, that when he was lying sick and popular grief showed itself very strongly, that he ejaculated, "What have I done to be so loved?" The same question must often present itself before the mind of an eminent statesman of the present day. Surely, he must ask himself, when mere mention of his name is received in public with bursts of rapture: "What have I done to deserve this?" It may be just as well that we should set ourselves to consider this important question: What has Mr. Gladstone done for all his unparalleled popularity? It is likely that if we asked it of one of the audience in a vast political meeting who had been applauding with all the power inherent in the feet and lungs of a member of the British proletariat, the mention of the great man's name, that we should not get a very intelligible answer. Probably, however, this member of the British proletariat would at once throw himself upon a popular catchword, and murmur softly something about Mr. Gladstone being a Grand Old Man, and after a bit, he might add something concerning his friendship for the working classes. Well, let us examine both these reasons for Gladstone-worship, and endeavour to ascertain their exact value. We may admit at once that Mr. Gladstone is a Grand Old Man; but, is that any reason for his extreme popularity? I don't know that grand old men are so very uncommon among the English middle class, who leading lives of healthful ease, with but little trouble or anxiety, frequently under these favourable conditions retain comparative youthfulness and vitality to a very advanced period in life.

Nor is it after all Mr. Gladstone's splendid vitality as evinced in his tree chopping, post-card writing, and speech making proclivities that makes him popular. It would be quite possible for Mr. Gladstone to display all these various gifts and yet be unloved by the masses; and let us clearly above all things understand what Mr. Gladstone's popularity really is. It is not a popularity merely grounded upon admiration of his abilities, or his good nature, or any other popular quality. The people love the great leader of the Liberal party because they trust him, because they believe in him, because they think that his heart is with the masses in their struggle against the great ones of the earth. Benjamin Disraeli was popular, but the people never expected anything from him. They only admired his dash, his craft, and his ability. Randolph Churchill is popular even with the Radicals who hoot his name at public meetings, but only because they admire his cheek and audacity, and enjoy the amusement he affords them when he upsets the potent (!), grave, and reverend signiors of his party; but no one hopes that he will ever set his little finger to heavy burdens that bear down the backs of the toilers. Gladstone's popularity differs from others in the great element of confidence and trust; but what foundation have the people for their confidence? On considering the question by the light of past and present events one is forced to admit, none whatever.

Let us leave this question for a moment to glance at another side of the subject. While he is popular with masses, Gladstone is hated by classes, who rejoice openly because his life must now be confined in the ordinary course of events to a very few years. What is the reason for this? If we study Mr. Gladstone's career, we can only come to one conclusion, that he is hated by the rich because he is beloved by the poor. It is not so much the man that is feared as the force that is behind him; a force which the classes recognize as naturally revolutionary, and which they fear may so act upon the impressionable temperament of the Grand Old Man, that the people may drag him with them along the path of revolution, hurling him as a battering ram against the rotten buttresses of modern society.

If these people were capable of thinking they would see what an utter fallacy their dread is grounded upon; neither by word or deed has the Grand Old Man ever proved himself to be the friend of the people, unless the occasional mock-heroic burst of unmeaning rhetoric common to the most ordinary political impostors, who, however, not possessing Gladstone's ability cannot make their flight of fancy so brilliant and dazzling, may denote the popular champion. I would ask the indignant Radical, who may be offended by my frankness, to pause before he condemns. Let him think; let him consider what desperate cause where feeble right was ranked against almost unconquerable might has Mr. Gladstone ever defended? Is he not on the other hand, as he himself admits, an "old parliamentary hand?" That is in plain English an artful old politician, who delights to walk with Truth when she has her silver slippers and is on the sunny side of the street.

Again, let our Radical friends ask themselves another question, how many even of those minor measures to give the working man even the scantiest portion of what is his by right has Mr. Gladstone promoted? Nay, let us ask ourselves again, have we not invariably found that when the "Old Parliamentary Hand" has found himself in office that he has forgotten the promises that he made when out? His Radical supporters have carried him to Downing Street with a cry of "Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform," and have held out their hands for these good things to be showered upon them. What have they received? Instead of Peace, War; for Retrenchment, Increased Taxation; and for Reform, Coercion. "But this is an old story," our Radical friends may exclaim, "those were the days in which wicked Whigs had exclusive domination in the Liberal Party; but now we have changed all that. Now the Whigs are only to be found in their proper place in the Tory ranks. Mr. Gladstone has thrown off his Whiggish encumbrances and stands in the light of day, an earnest Radical, boiling over with fervour in the defence of oppressed Ireland, to whom he longs to extend the benefits and advantages of Home Rule."

This is all very well, but it would be well for us to remember that even his boasted Home Rule Bill was accompanied by another measure which did not correspond nearly so well with popular taste. Have our Radical friends forgotten the Land Purchase Bill which many of them found a very bitter pill to swallow? Have they forgotten that the Grand Old Man proposed to buy the Irish landlords out at a price far above what is now the actual market value of the land? We know now only too well, for the Bodyke and Vandeleur evictions have proved it to us with startling force, that it was a price that Irish tenants would actually be unable to pay. Therefore the cost of filling the pockets of idle and rapacious Irish landlords would fall upon the already overburdened shoulders of the English workmen, and would only have ended in stirring up feelings of antagonism between two groups of workers whose interests should lie in the same direction—the expropriation without compensation of all the idlers who live upon their labour. If the Land Purchase Bill is an example of William Ewart Gladstone's friendship for the masses, the people may well cry out to be delivered from their friend.

But this is not the only proof of friendship that Gladstone has given to the English workers. Have you Radical workmen already forgotten Bloody Sunday? Do you still remember that glorious day when Warren's butchers struck you down like sheep for daring to march to a place where you had held meetings for generations? Have you forgotten your dead comrades bludgeoned to death, for claiming what was once thought the most elementary right of an Englishman—the right to say the thing he would? But who was it who pronounced an apostolical benediction upon the murderers in blue? Who was it who could find no fitter name for them than that of "our admirable police?" Who is it that even now walks out of the House of Commons whenever the question of the people's claim to Trafalgar Square comes up? Who, but William Ewart Gladstone—the lover of the people—the friend of the masses—the Grand Old Sham?

William Ewart Gladstone is the incarnation of Whiggery. The Whig party has always been an organized hypocrisy, wooing the people with fair words and siren flattery when they could obtain the good things of office by their means, and to desert them in the hour of danger and difficulty. This has always been their policy, and Mr. Gladstone has only logically carried it out in the matter of Trafalgar Square. But let me ask for a moment, is it fair-weather friends, like Mr. Gladstone and his party, of whom the British workman is in need? Does he require only soul-inspiring rhetoric or honey-sweet words for his sustenance in this "vale" of human misery? If so, let him stick to the great Liberal party, and he will obtain exactly what he requires. If he wants to be humbugged, he can there enjoy that inestimable pleasure to his heart's content; but let him not run away with the idea that he will ever obtain anything more than a plentiful diet of words, and "fill his belly with the west wind," for if he does he will be grievously disappointed.

But we have not yet discovered the source of Mr. Gladstone's remarkable popularity, and if we seek a good reason for its existence we shall be certain to fail in our quest. Its real reason-of-being can only be accounted for in the same way as the craze for various patent medicines, which although possessing few virtues, are yet believed in by a credulous public, because they are so extensively and respectably advertized. As it is with Pears' soap, Holloway's pills, and Mother Seigel's syrup, so it is with the Grand Old Man. The proprietors of these medicines spend thousands in advertizing them in every newspaper. The Grand Old Man is more fortunate; he is widely proclaimed as a sovereign remedy for social and political ills by every Radical paper and platform orator for—well, a reasonable consideration; they

live by the Grand Old Man, and the Grand Old Man lives in public fame by them. So they are all at it; the people are stunned with a din of voices all proclaiming his manifold virtues; the big drums of these enterprising showmen are always beating, and our ears are wrung with the shrieking testimony. No matter how advanced a Radical speaker may be, he must praise Mr. Gladstone, or he would soon find that the caucus would have nothing to say to him, and his chance of a seat in Parliament would perceptibly diminish. I spoke sometime ago about the promises which Mr. Gladstone has made, and has not found convenient so keep. But here let me not be unfair, Mr. Gladstone has made few promises to the masses; that is all done for him by his faithful henchmen the Russells, Bradlaughs, and Laboucheres of the party. It is these who are always beating the drum and calling on the public to enter the show. "Walk up! Walk up! There is no deception! A Grand Old Man in a remarkable state of preservation will solve the social and political problems in a few minutes if you will have patience and wait!" The workman has waited and is waiting, but little comes of it. He begins to doubt the omnipotence of his idol. He begins even to lose his belief in the loud-voiced showmen. It seems to him that after all Mr. Gladstone may not be the Christ of the modern Democracy, and that if the people need salvation they must find it for themselves. They are tired of trusting to oily-tongued politicians. They are sick at heart with promises made only to deceive, and they are recognizing at last that although Mr. Gladstone may be a very nice old gentleman, with a most estimable private character, yet after all he is only a middle-class politician, a bourgeois, and a philistine, devoid altogether of the ardent sympathy for the toiling millions that his supporters would ascribe to him.

D. J. NICOLL.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 22, 1888.

16	Sun.	1841. Chartist Riot at Monkwearmouth. 1845. Thomas Davis died. 1868. Spanish Revolution.
17	Mon.	1740. Major John Cartwright born. 1819. Seven persons imprisoned for selling Carlyle's <i>Freethinker</i> . 1848. Revolt at Frankfurt. 1871. Fourth General Congress of the International met in London (17th-23rd). 1872. Joseph Johnson died.
18	Tues.	1685. Bloody Assizes begin. 1797. Hoche died. 1867. Rescue of Kelly and Deasy at Manchester, and death of policeman Brett.
19	Wed.	1803. Trial of Robert Emmet for high treason. 1820. Joseph Waddington tried for seditious libel. 1831. Russell's Reform Bill passed the Commons. 1849. <i>Neptune</i> arrives in Simon's Bay.
20	Thur.	1798. Trial of D. Black and J. Paterson for sedition. 1803. Legal Murder of Robert Emmet. 1870. Italians troops enter Rome. 1885. Dod Street Meeting; 20,000 present.
21	Fri.	1792. Louis XVI. dethroned.
22	Sat.	1792. Proclamation of French Republic; <i>L'ère Républicaine</i> begins. 1862. Lincoln threatens abolition.

Death of Thomas Osborne Davis.—Born at Mallow, October 14, 1814; died in Dublin, September 16, 1845. With John Blake Dillon and Charles Gavan Duffy, now the sole survivor, Davis founded the *Nation* in 1842, when the more ardent spirits among the repealers were dissatisfied with O'Connell and the demoralising influence of the policy he taught. Thenceforth as a political writer and poet, he continued to his premature death to be the chief of the "Young Ireland" party, which wielded an enormous power over the Irish democracy. His industry was miraculous, and he toiled with the same unrelenting ardour at anything that came to his hand which he thought would benefit the people. In this way he at last exhausted and broke down a splendid constitution, and died of fever before he was 31. The *Nation* said of him truly: "The characteristic features in the public life of Davis were a simple spontaneous truth, that scorned all subtleties, personal or political, and counted candour the soundest policy; an absolute unselfishness; an earnestness that nothing could abate or dishearten; and an industry that has had no parallel in the history of young men of this country."—S.

Death of Joseph Johnson.—Died September 17, 1872, aged 80. Fifty years before had been an active associate of Hunt, Cobbett, and Bamford; underwent two years imprisonment for his part in Peterloo. Ten years later he, however, refused to join in the reform agitation, and was known as a rather eccentric sort of a Tory for the rest of his life.—S.

Robert Emmet.—Born in Dublin, 1778; hanged there September 20, 1803. During a brilliant college course at Trinity College, he not only exhibited great aptitude for scientific and other studies, but also in the debates of the Historical Society spoke so eloquently on the rebel side that old and known orators were sent by the Fellows to try and counteract the effect he produced. He became a United Irishman, travelled on the Continent, studied military matters, and interviewed Napoleon, who gave an assurance of his intention to invade Ireland in 1803. In 1802 Emmet returned to Ireland, and made great preparations for a rising in the following summer. He had about £3,000 of his own, and £1,400 advanced by a friend; with this he established depots of arms, etc. Owing to an accident, the rising which he had intended for August took place in July. It was hopeless from the first, as nearly all arranged risings are, and he was soon arrested, tried, and hung. He might have escaped to France, but for his own folly in refusing his last chance in order to see Sarah Curran, his sweetheart, who was the heroine of Moore's "She is far from the land," but who was "happily married" little over a year after Emmet's death! His speech before sentence was a remarkable piece of sustained eloquence, and on the gallows his last words were: "My friends, I die in peace, and with sentiments of universal love and kindness to all men."—S.

The following note was held over from last week:—

Death of David Ricardo.—This eminent economist died at the age of 51, after accumulating a fortune of £700,000 on the Stock Exchange. Yet he failed to analyse, or to explain with any accuracy, either wages, the rate of interest, or mercantile profits. His name is indissolubly associated with the economic "law of rent," discovered by Anderson in the eighteenth century, but independently

re-discovered about 1817 by Malthus, Sir Edward West, and Ricardo, and first exhaustively explained by the latter. This law, which expresses scientifically the necessary exclusion, under a system of private property in land, of the mere wageworker from the advantages of all but the worst land in use, is in reality the economic basis of Lassalle's "iron law of wages," and of Socialism itself. The second great economic achievement of Ricardo was the "law of comparative cost," which forms the basis of the determination of international prices, and the fundamental support of Free Trade. This law explains the frequently occurring paradox of a nation importing (and that profitably, not only to the merchant but also to the whole community), of commodities which could be produced cheaper and at less labour at home. Ricardo's third great economic doctrine, the law of exchange value (the "cost of production" theory), has now been abandoned by economists, either (as by the Jevonians) in principle, or (by the rest) practically in its application, by the admission of any number of disturbing influences and exceptions, and notably by the concurrent recognition of the influence of the law of rent. Ricardo was a purely analytic economist. His human beings were absolute abstractions, and indeed mere "catallactic atoms." His exposition, too, is always severely condensed and abstract, so that most of those who oppose or condemn him, may be discovered merely to have misunderstood his meaning.—S. W.

THE LANDLORD.

WHAT boot your houses and your lands?
In spite of close drawn deed and fence
Like water, 'twixt your cheated hands,
They slip into the graveyard's sands,
And mock your ownership's pretence.

How shall you speak to urge your right,
Choked with that soil for which you lust?
The bit of clay, for whose delight
You grasp, is mortgaged, too; Death might
Foreclose this very day in dust.

Fence as you please, this plain poor man,
Whose only fields are in his wit,
Who shapes the world as best he can,
According to Truth's higher plan,
Owns you, and fences as is fit.

Though yours the rents, his incomes wax
By right of eminent domain;
From factory tall to woodman's axe,
All things on earth must pay their tax,
To feed his hungry heart and brain.

He takes you from your easy chair,
And what he plans that you must do;
You sleep in down, eat dainty fare,—
He mounts his crazy garret stair
And starves, the landlord over you.

Feeding the clods your idlesse drains,
You make more green six feet of soil;
His fruitful word, like suns and rains,
Partakes the season's bounteous pains,
And toils to lighten human toil.

Your lands, with force or cunning got,
Shrink to the measure of the grave;
But Death himself abridges not
The tenures of almighty thought,
The titles of the wise and brave.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"AFRICA."

Your correspondent Robert Grierson quite misses the point of *Bax's* contention (so far as I understand him); and to such as are in constant touch with colonial and "new country" exploiters and exploitation, the statement that the "Social Revolution" may possibly be postponed for another century in consequence of the opening up of new markets is quite possible and very probable. Of course a great deal depends on what one means by the "Social Revolution." To many of us the revolution is *now* present, the battles being fought in office, factory, and mine, far away from any organised nominal "activity of Socialists" "in Europe and America." I think that some of our comrades are in the habit of thinking that a great uprising of the people will occur "some day"; and they then return to their life and participate in the beer and skittles, sometimes as players in the game watching "Fortune's" ball, and sometimes as onlookers, with parched throats and empty stomachs, looking with anxious eyes for "some day," but not unwilling to join in the game of skittles if the opportunity occurs.

By all means let a note of hope prevail, but not of triumph; for the work of making the world into an organised whole, instead of the chaotic condition in which it now is, is too great to waste time in triumph over what is after all only an outcome of the evolutionary movement in which we are involved.

It appears to me, generally speaking, that if a number of our comrades could work in amity and unity, much could be done to alter our surroundings; it seems that while we are asked by your correspondent to "triumph," we are also invited to subscribe for the benefit of one of our members who has been out of work. Is it not possible that there may be some means adopted whereby those of our comrades out of work could be taught or assisted to work by those who are in a position to do everything by co-operative effort?

TAUSIN.

LABOUR AND WAR.—Out of every 1,000 recruits inspected in 1886, 634 were labourers, 156 artisans, 121 mechanics, 57 shopmen and clerks, 12 were professional men, and 20 were boys under 17.—*Arbitrator*.

WANDSWORTH UNION.—The friend who sent us the note as to the ill-treatment of paupers here, now writes that affairs have been mended somewhat through the attention drawn to them. If they again worsen he will let us know.



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN 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.

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, 15 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday September 12.

ENGLAND	Milwaukee—National Reformer	SPAIN
Bradford Observer	Faterson (N J) Labor Standard	El Productor
Freedom	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Madrid—El Socialista
Justice	FRANCE	Cadix—El Socialismo
Labour Tribune	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Barcelona—Tierra y Libertad
Norwich—Daylight	Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	PORTUGAL
North British Daily Mail	La Revolte	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Railway Review	Le Coup de Feu	GERMANY
NEW SOUTH WALES	En Avant	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Hamilton—Radical	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	AUSTRIA
INDIA	HOLLAND	Wien—Gleichheit
Banikpore—Behar Herald	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Brunn—Arbeiterstimme
Madras—People's Friend	BELGIUM	ROMANIA
UNITED STATES	Ghent—Vooruit	Jassy—Muncitorul
New York—Frothuit	Liege—L'Avenir	DENMARK
Der Sozialist	Antwerp—De Werker	Social-Demokraten
Volkzeitung	SWITZERLAND	SWEDEN
Alarm	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Boston—Woman's Journal	ITALY	Malmo—Arbotet
Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung	Rome, L'Emanipazione (daily)	WEST INDIES
Chicago—Knights of Labor	Cresmona—Il Democratico	Cuba—El Productor
Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Florence—La Question Sociale	
Fort Worth (Tex)—South West	Torino, Nuovo Gazzetta Operaia	

CIVIL (?) SERVANTS.

In all ages and in all countries the "Jack in Office" has been a subject for objurgation, satire and scorn; there can be little doubt but that they have deserved it. It has constantly to be impressed on the servants of the State, that they are paid by the State, that, in theory at least, they are not the masters. In practice we all know that too often the servants of the State are servants only on pay day, and masters all the rest of the time.

The Army and the Navy are on a quite different footing to that part called the Civil. Nobody today looks upon the Army and Navy in any other light than a class outside society, paid by a blood tax to assist the rights of power and despotism only; pledged and sworn and drilled to murder father, mother, or brother at any moment without question.

Of late we have seen in the Police a rapid development from a "civil" to a "military" force. It is an exceedingly interesting study to watch the bringing about of the change. First appear a few apparently quite innocent rules and regulations concerning the premises graced by our "servant," next a few rules as to our conduct towards our "servants," more important is the next step which will vary the conduct of our "servants" to their employers. This is brought about by the immediate heads of the department in question taking some steps and making some regulations which make broad distinctions between the servants as a body and the general body of citizens; this tends to a class feeling, which rapidly grows, and soon it is time for the general body of citizens to expect trouble.

It will be found that each new set of rules and regulations is more and more autocratic and despotic, especially those which concern the internal affairs of the body of servants themselves, that they are deprived of privilege after privilege until they lie helpless at the command of some superior.

This has been the course of events in our regular army; it is going on in volunteer, army, and the militia; particularly in the volunteer force.

In the police force the above order of events has been marked of late years. A constantly increasing strictness of discipline so that today the rank and file of the force are treated absolutely as automata, with hardly a single civil or citizenship right. For the merest trifle of breach of discipline a man's home can be broken up, all his arrangements upset, right of promotion set aside, and set down in a new district, a stranger, and in the eyes of those native to that part an interloper, a spy, and therefore friendless, and therefore more amenable to the persons above him, which is the point aimed at.

Even under our London School Board there has been a growth of autocracy which is bodiful.

At our Parliament house can be found some droll proofs of in how strange a fashion servants can come to treat their paymaster, of how public servants treat the public.

To get into the portion reserved for the public is a task; to submit to a long stay there is a greater. If you stand up you are ordered to sit down; if you dare exhibit the corner of a newspaper you are to put it away; if seen making notes you are forthwith hauled out by a lackey ornamented with a brass chain and a fire insurance sign off the front of an old house.

George Jacob Holyoake a year or so ago made public complaint of the difficulties of approaching a Member of Parliament while on duty. Lazy, dishonest members, anxious to avoid any calling to account by indignant constituents, have set up a vexatious series of barriers around their national club-house, so they should not be troubled or reminded of their neglected duties. They however, like all the other servants, suffer in time; having annoyed and insulted the general public and minimised their rights, presently Nemesis appears. Thus M.P.'s having denied right of easy access to themselves and their workshop now find some of their rights cut down at the will of a dyspeptic irresponsible Speaker, or a brutal majority. The police have less civil liberty than five or ten years ago; the army has none; M.P.'s are losing theirs.

The Post Office is the department which, strange as it may seem, can exhibit some of the most striking proofs of the insolence of public servants. For years complaints have been regularly made of the preposterous regulations insisted on, one of the latest being that it was not allowed to correct an address on a post card. Insolence may seem a strong term to employ, but I should be glad to know of any other with which to stigmatise such a notice as one issued by the Post Master General in connexion with the Parcels Post, and dated April, 1886, wherein it is stated that he will "voluntarily and as an act of grace" give compensation for loss and damage, etc., etc. "Act of grace," forsooth; by my halidame the knave doth protest and promise too much. Where in thunder is the grace I'd be glad to know? Paying the taxpayer out of the taxpayer's own funds for damage done by his own servant. "Not in consequence of any legal liability, but voluntarily, and as an act of grace." By Jove, it fairly tries one's patience! The cool insolence of such an address from a highly-paid servant of the public, prepares one, however, for some high-toned action when dealing with the lower servants.

It is well known that the Post Office service has for a long time past been a seething pit of discontent, which is prevented expression by rules and regulations which form a veritable cast iron gag on each sufferer who is denied even an audible groan by way of relief. The state of submission to which a large body can be brought by a despotic tyranny built up of an immense number of infringements on individual liberty can be roughly estimated from the following, which is one of the latest example, "Civil" Service *in excelsis* :—

THE DREDGE TESTIMONIAL.

"The Postmaster General's attention has been called to a printed appeal which appears to have been very generally circulated inviting Subscriptions to a testimonial on behalf of Dredge, a dismissed Postman, this appeal purporting to be signed by the Postmen Lawrence, Bell and Hinton. These three men having been called upon to explain how they came to put their signatures to a document reflecting in improper terms on the Head of the Department, have given their assurance that the appeal was prepared by Dredge himself, and that they had nothing to do with its preparation; that they had not so much as read it until after it was circulated; and that had they been aware of the terms in which it was couched they would not have allowed their names to appear at the end of it. They have, further, expressed their deep regret that they should have consented to let their names appear, now that they see what unauthorised use has been made of the permission. The Postmaster General thinks it right to make it known that except for this assurance and expression of regret he would have felt constrained to mark his sense of this breach of discipline by dismissal from the service. He has now under consideration what steps should be taken to deal with an offence which cannot under any circumstances be allowed to pass unpunished."

It needs a really first class artist to do this delivery justice. Picture "these three men" on their knees, protesting their innocence, and promising to be good boys in future. Picture the Postmaster-General or his underling the gospel-spouting Blackwood graciously unbending and accepting the expression of regret; and picture him "still considering what steps shall be taken," when his boots have been sufficiently licked.

THOS. SHORE, junr.

THE FREE SPEECH FIGHT AT YARMOUTH.

ONE result of the meeting reported in last week's *Week* was the trial on Friday before the local Nupkins, of 38 persons, in batches, as they belonged to the Socialists, Salvation, Blue Ribbon, and Church Armies. Mr. Dill, who defended the members of the three armies, offered a compromise, by which the cases were adjourned, and it was agreed that no meetings should be held on the disputed spots for a week to enable some workable understanding to be arrived at with the authorities. He strongly urged this arrangement should not apply to the Socialists, as their objects were different, but the magistrates finally agreed otherwise, and adjourned all the cases.

Last Sunday our comrades from Norwich, accompanied by W. B. Parker (of London) went to the contested spot, and finding large crowds of people waiting for them, they formed a big procession, and held a very fine meeting on the beach, where being interfered with by the police, a fisherman offered them his boat, from which they spoke. On their return to Norwich, a special collection amounting to 24s. was made for the purpose of buying a suit of clothes to present to Cores on his release from prison in another fortnight.

ABREAST OF THE TIMES.—The Roman Catholic priests of the Argentine Republic are said to be on a strike. The government issued an order lowering the rates for masses, marriages, burials, and other ecclesiastical functions, and the priests determined to resist this encroachment upon their income and prerogatives, so the churches all through the republic are closed, and even the ringing of the bells is stopped.—*Chicago Engineer.*

LETTER FROM AMERICA.

THE POSITION OF CAPITALISM IN THE UNITED STATES.

Trusts.—The orthodox theory about the eventual gradual evolution of the next revolution in society may be shortly summed up like this: Competition will become fiercer and fiercer; all the markets will be overstocked with goods; employment will become scarcer and scarcer—partly through what is called over-production, and partly through the development of machinery—and consequently the purchasing power of the people at large will be reduced to a minimum; the small establishments will be crushed to the wall; the discontent of the people will get stronger and stronger, and ultimately quite unrestrained, till at last, through one long pull, one strong pull, in one mighty movement all the discontented will unite and bring about such an upheaval which will finally settle the capitalistic system.

This theory would be quite correct if our antagonists, the bourgeois, were to act absolutely without reason and according to the maxim "Après nous, le déluge"; but this assumption, which I also once entertained in the inexperienced and happy-go-lucky period of my youth, I am afraid is not entirely infallible. The small-fry, the unintelligent of the bourgeois class may do so, but certainly the big fish are not so stupid as all that. In the bygone times the dangers arising through the consequences of competition to capitalistic society were comparatively small, and therefore the preventatives to be taken could also be of a paltry nature. The safety-valves of bourgeois society—workhouses, useless employment of the unemployed, hospitals, dispensaries, bread and soup tickets, five per cent. philanthropy, and so forth—largely answered their purpose. But things have changed, and now competition itself must go. This can only be effected by creating monopolies or through Communism. The last possibility is naturally for capitalistic society out of question. However, competition is the great idol of the bourgeois class, as a class; they have taught so long that only benefits can be derived from it to society, that they believe it themselves—as a class only, of course. The most cunning, the scheming, in fact the cream of the capitalists, see and recognise the folly of the competitive system, and are afraid of the end it is rapidly leading to, and they want to create monopolies. Now the great secret is to form a combination devised for the purpose of relieving the created monopoly from the charge of being a monopoly, and from the charge of any breach of the conspiracy laws passed by the various States, or of ostensibly being a combination to regulate or control the price of production and distribution of any commodity. And all this has been done through the trust. An analysis of the nature and the character of the trust will prove this. The trust is a combination of all the manufacturers or the distributors, or of both, of one commodity, to be controlled by a central body. The best example is the Standard Oil Trust, the oldest and best organised organisation of its kind. The facts I give about this combination are principally taken from published investigations made by a Mr. Bacon, member of Congress and chairman of the Committee on Manufactures.

The Standard Oil Trust is an organisation not incorporated but formed by a voluntary agreement between the stockholders of various corporations. These corporations really divide themselves into two classes—first, the corporations which deal with the transportation of the oil; second, the corporations which deal with the refining of the oil and the sale of the refined product. From the testimony given before the Committee on Manufactures, it appears that there exists a certain number (about a hundred) of corporations organised under the laws of different States and subject to their control; that these corporations have issued their stocks at the time of their formation years ago to various individuals, the stockholders, who now hold the stock as their property; and that these individual stockholders of the different corporations have surrendered their stock to the trustees appointed in an agreement creating the trust and accepted in lieu thereof certificates issued by the trustees named therein. *The agreement provides that the various corporations whose stock is surrendered preserve their identity and carry on their business as before.* The duties of the trustees—the central body—are nominally restricted to the receipt of the dividends declared by the various corporations and the distribution of the aggregate of them to the holders of the trust certificates, *pro rata*; but *de facto* the central office controls and regulates the entire business of all the different corporations. It will be observed that through this devilish arrangement the different corporations to transport, to refine, and to sell the refined oil do exist separately, carry on their business apparently independent, and distribute dividends to their shareholders, and yet that at the same time the whole business of transporting, refining, and selling oil is in the control of a few individuals, called the trustees, forming the Standard Oil Trust! It is a monopoly and yet not a monopoly, exactly that what the clever amongst the capitalists dreamed to be an ideal concentration. Hardly a day passes without that we read of the formation of a similar trust in some other article. A few details will show the grandeur of the Standard Oil Trust. Neither of the corporations connected with the trust has anything to do with the bringing of the oil to the surface. Their control over it begins, however, the very moment it leaves the earth, because they own all the local pipe lines. Whenever a well is bored and oil struck the owner of it constructs a small wooden tank, into which the oil is run and pumped from the well. He then notifies the officer of the corporation that has control of the local pipe line to his well—and there is such a pipe to every considerable well in the oil region. Those small pipes are brought down and gradually emerge and finally come together at a point where the oil has either to be put upon the railroads or put into the through pipe line. These through pipes conduct the oil to the seaports, and have been built with a cost of two million pounds. All the local pipe lines and the through pipe lines belong to corporations connected with the trust. Under present arrangements the Pennsylvania Railroad takes 26 per cent. of the oil and the through pipe lines the balance to the seaports. The transporting companies charge 50 c. a barrel transportation charges, and the cost doesn't exceed 20 c. The probable desire of competition of the Pennsylvania Railroad people has been stifled by giving them a quarter of the transportation of all the oil produced. This is only a description of the business of the transportation corporations connected with the Standard Oil Trust; the refining and selling corporations are equally well organised and gigantic.

The latest development of the business of the Standard Oil Trust arose out of the formation of an association in Pennsylvania among the well owners calling themselves oil producers. They formed an organization early in 1887, whose officers stated that the organization was formed against the Standard Oil Trust, to protect themselves against it, and that they expected to overcome or alleviate the monopoly which the Standard Oil Trust had secured in the transportation, refining, purchase and sale of petroleum, by refining and marketing their own product. That organization first attempted to get some legislation from the State of Pennsylvania which would enable

them to have their oil delivered from the pipe lines at such points as they might elect instead of at the seaboard. They failed in that, but they continued their organization with the idea of starting independent refineries and building an independent pipe line. They found that that was going to take a good deal of money, and they appointed a committee to confer with influential people in the Standard Oil Trust. At that conference the position taken by the representative of the Standard Oil Trust was that the low price of crude oil, which the witnesses asserted was less than the cost of getting it to the surface of the ground, was due mainly to the fact that there were stores of surplus oil, amounting to about thirty-one million barrels, in the pipe lines and tanks of the pipe line companies, for which certificates had been issued, while the actual production by the wells was about equal to the demand of the markets of the world. It was suggested to the well owners that the way out of the difficulty was to stop the production of oil until this large accumulation had been disposed of.

The committee went back to the Oil Producers' Association and discussed the matter, and finally went to the Standard people and made a proposition which was based upon the argument that if they shut off their production of oil the Standard people, owning the accumulated stock, would reap the benefit of the increased price, and that they should be willing to share that with the owners of the wells, or no such arrangement as they proposed could be made. As the result of these negotiations the Standard people, asserting that they owned 10,000,000 of the 31,000,000 barrels, agreed to put up for the Oil Producers' Association certificates for 5,000,000 barrels of the accumulated oil, to be sold during the year after the signing of the papers, and the difference between the then price of crude oil—sixty-two and a half cents a barrel—and what the 5,000,000 barrels sold for, less storage, insurance and assessment charges, was to be paid over to the well owners and distributed among them *pro rata*. This upon condition that the well owners should reduce production at least 17,500 barrels a day, and as much more than that as they could up to 30,000 barrels a day. The committee of the Oil Producers' Association took that proposition back and it was accepted and a formal agreement was drawn up, which was circulated among the well owners, and before the 1st of November, 1887, they had procured signatures of well owners agreeing to reduce the production of their wells each one by a certain number of barrels and aggregating about nineteen thousand barrels a day. This reduction has probably increased, because by the very process of shutting in the wells clog up and do not produce as much oil as they would if kept working to their full capacity. The market price of oil advanced very rapidly.

After this arrangement had been made of course the amount of labor needed in the oil regions was very considerably diminished, and the expert men there whose business it was to clean out wells and dig wells had no employment. They were inclined to be rebellious about it, and thereupon a further arrangement was made by which the Oil Producers' Association set aside 1,000,000 out of the 5,000,000 barrels that they had an interest in, and the Standard Oil people set aside another 1,000,000 barrels to be sold, and the proceeds over and above the sixty-two and a half cents a barrel to be devoted to paying the wages of the unemployed labourers. This labor is organized into what is known as the Well Diggers' Association, having lodges in different parts of the oil producing country. That association, or the members of it, agreed to refrain from work for the members of the Oil Producers' Association or for anybody else in consideration of their being paid their wages at a fixed price from the treasuries of their lodges.

The money to meet these payments was provided by the Oil Producers' Association, and they were reimbursed from the sale of the 2,000,000 barrels of oil. There were members of the Well Diggers' Association on the stand before the Committee on Manufactures, and they testified that they had done no work and did not propose to do any except as they were permitted to do by the Oil Producers' Association, and that they had been paid their wages as agreed upon from the money furnished by the Oil Producers' Association.

To recapitulate. The end purpose of a Trust is:—First, to create or carry out restrictions on trade; second, to limit, to reduce, or to increase the production or prices of commodities; third, to prevent competition in the manufacture, making, sale, or purchase of commodities; fourth, to create a monopoly; fifth, to regulate wages and working men's associations; sixth, to get the cheapest freight; and all this is effected *not by ruining through cut-throat competition rival establishments, but by combination of the different enterprises.* This development of capitalism suggests to me the possibility of a feudal-capitalistic system, when all the means of production and distribution are in the hands of a few leading Trust-lords, who might arrange all things according to their own liking—the workers being absolutely at their mercy. And here lies the danger!

But there is no reason for pessimism. Just on the contrary. The cunningness of our opponents ought to instil us with new energy, new devotion. One thing, however, is absolutely necessary—the overhauling of our present mode of propaganda and organization, and to see whether under these changed circumstances they are equally effective. And I hope that my articles have given cause for this.

Newark, N.J., August 28, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

LONDON PAUPERISM.—The number of paupers in London on Saturday 25th, exclusive of lunatics in asylums and vagrants, was 91,242, as compared with 88,794 on the corresponding day of last year, 86,877 in 1886, and 85,155 in 1885. The vagrants relieved on the same day numbered 1,027, of whom 805 were men, 209 women, and 22 children under 16 years of age.

SOME EMIGRATION STATISTICS.—The immigrants who entered the United States during the year which ended on June 30 last numbered 539,818. Germany sent 107,624; England and Wales, 83,132; Ireland, 73,238; Sweden and Norway, 72,915; Italy, 51,075; Russia, 33,407; Austria, 25,884; Scotland, 24,396; Hungary, 19,927; Denmark, 8,981; Switzerland, 7,737; France, 6,427; the Netherlands, 5,845; and Poland, 5,826.

PROPHETIC.—On June 27, 1798, the state of Ireland was debated by the Lords with closed doors. The Earl of Bessborough moved that an address be presented to the king, imploring him to use measures of conciliation and to employ persons in the administration of the country who would possess the confidence of the people. Against the rejection of the motion Edward Harley, Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, protested, among other reasons, "Because I hold that when an Irishman is tortured, an Englishman is tortured; for the same men, who in violation of the laws of their country, and of every dictate of humanity, can dare to put to torture Irishmen, will not hesitate, when they think it expedient, to put Englishmen to torture also."

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

The strike in the shipbuilding trade in Belfast still continues. Efforts are being made by the mayor and others to effect a settlement, but without success so far.

Glasgow tramway servants complain of having to work eighteen hours a-day, at pay which gives about 2d. per hour. Mr. Duncan, the manager, is an office-bearer in the Church of Scotland, and is supposed by a complainant to be in ignorance of how the men are treated.

The employes of Chapel Flax Spinning Works, Montrose, who are at present on strike for a 10 per cent. increase of pay, resolved at a mass meeting, 4th inst., to resume work next day on the assurance of the employers to consider the grievances complained of.

The strike in the gun-lock trade at Darlaston, which has lasted three weeks, has terminated in favour of the men, who demanded an advance of 2d. per lock, making the price for filling store locks 7d. each. Even at this price the operatives, it is said, are not able to earn more than 10s. to 12s. per week.

Between five and six hundred spinners employed in the Caldum Jute Works, Dundee, came out on strike 4th inst., for an advance of wages. They were lately allowed an increase of five per cent., and they now declare that the improved state of trade warrants an additional increase of five per cent. being given.

COLLAPSE OF A COLLIERY STRIKE.—The workmen at Cynmer Colliery, Rhondda Valley, having been on strike for over four days, resolved at a meeting held yesterday to refer to arbitration the dispute between them and the managers as to the thickness of a recently-discovered seam, claimed by the men to be seven feet, and by the masters five feet. They also agreed to return to work on Monday on fortnightly instead of daily contracts as heretofore.

COLLAPSE OF THE BIRMINGHAM MALLEABLE NAIL STRIKE.—The strike of malleable nail founders in the employ of Mr. Frank Shaw, of Glover Street, Birmingham, has collapsed, owing to Mr. Shaw having decided to transfer his business from Birmingham to the Eagle Ironfoundry, Dudley Port. Most of the workpeople engaged at Glover Street have removed to Dudley Port, but none of the strike hands have been re-engaged. The new works are very extensive, and when in full operation will find employment for 300 operatives, as compared with 80 in Birmingham.

THE FEATHERSTONE STRIKE.—The miners out on strike at the Haigh Moor Pit, Featherstone, near Normanton, are reported to be very fairly supported by the public. There are about 800 to 400 miners and their families to be provided for, and a weekly appeal is made to the public, and the funds are divided amongst the men. This fund is all that the great majority of the miners have to resort to. As to the dispute, there seems little probability of an early settlement, for the men still refuse the scale of prices which the owners offer as a basis of settlement.

L. C. and D. RAILWAY SERVANTS.—A correspondent writes to the *Railway Review* deriding the statement in a previous number that the servants of this company are on the point of agitating for less hours and an increase in their pay. He evidently regards them as much too "lowdown and onery" to do anything of the kind; and says: If the editor came and inquired for himself he would find at the Victoria terminus plenty of porters working for what they can get out of the travelling public. The same thing occurs at the City end. Another thing to be found at Victoria is that guards volunteer to work the cheap Ramsgate trains on a Sunday, when it is their Sunday off duty, for what they can get out of the travelling public and no pay from the company; they will offer their services free for about fifteen hours!

STRIKE OF RATHMINES SCAVENGERS.—The Commissioners of Rathmines last week made a regulation which has given umbrage to a number of scavengers in their employment. They require their scavengers to wear a metal badge similar to that worn by the employes of the Corporation. The men protested against this order, and some thirty-five carried their objection so far that they knocked off work rather than don the badge. This occurred on Friday, but Saturday some of the strikers went back, and the Commissioners have replaced the absentees by other men, for there is no lack of labourers in the township willing to take employment wherever they can get it under any conditions. The scavengers were not asked to put on the badges, but an official stated that the Commissioners will enforce their new regulation.

MIDLAND COUNTIES MINERS' FEDERATION.—The monthly meeting of the above federation was held at the Coffee-house, New Street, Birmingham, on Monday. Mr. E. Edwards (Burslem) presided. The meeting took into consideration the attitude of the Netherseal Colliery Company towards their workmen *re* the question of "Billy Fairplay," and they unanimously agreed to support the men in their struggle. The action of the West Cannock Colliery Company in attempting to reduce their workmen at No. 4 plant pit was discussed at considerable length, and the Secretary explained the course taken to settle the same, when the federation decided to assist the men by drafting them away for work or supporting them at home. The meeting further resolved that the present was an opportune time to press for an advance in wages, believing that the state of trade and the present lowness of wages warranted such a course, and strongly advised all districts in the Midlands to press for the same with the coming winter trade.

COTTON TRADES' STRIKE.—The strike of some forty strippers and grinders employed at the Atlas Cotton Mills, Bolton, against a change in the system of weighing the cotton, threatens to end in the closure of six mills belonging to the same firm. The card-room hands, siding with the strippers, struck work Wednesday, 5th, and the spinners were instructed in consequence to close work as they finished their set. The principal of the firm says the action of the card room hands will ultimately lead to the closing of the whole of the mills for an indefinite period, with a weekly loss of wages amounting to £1,053. The closing of three mills, thus throwing 1,400 hands idle, is somewhat endangering the peace of the town. In opposition to the decision of the society, several of the cardroom hands have refused to strike, and last evening as they left the mills were confronted with a mob numbering some thousands, who assumed a most threatening attitude. The police were called to their assistance, and they had to be escorted home, the mob following all the way and loudly hooting.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

FRANCE.

Two Anarchists, Lucas and Saulnier, have been tried before the Court of Assize of the Seine Department, for having fired at comrade Rouillon whilst he was placing a wreath of flowers on the common grave of the Communists slain in the Pèrè Lachaise cemetery during the month of May, 1871. Rouillon has not been injured at all, but two other men were dangerously wounded. Strange to say, Lucas got five years' imprisonment, but Saulnier, who has confessed that he excited and provoked Lucas to the stupid deed, has been acquitted. We should not at all be surprised to hear one day or other that one at least of these Anarchists is an *agent-provocateur*, or what Puttkamer used to call a "non-gentleman."

The strike of the carpenters and cabinet-makers at Paris has resulted, as could not otherwise be expected, in the defeat of the workers; but, as *La Révolte* justly observes, even those strikes have one good result, viz., that they make the workers become acquainted with the idea of a general strike, and so prepare them for the big struggle which is about to begin.

All the hosiers of Troyes are on strike, and have resolved to combat the tyranny of their masters to the utmost of their power. At the time when the toilers of Charleville, of Vierzon, of Cholet, and of Paris were striking, their fellow-comrades of Troyes have always been to the front of the helpers and supporters; now they hope that the workers everywhere will show towards them their spirit of solidarity. The Socialist papers of Paris have made a warm appeal to the toilers of France on behalf of their brethren of Troyes, and it is to be hoped that their appeal will be listened to and answered accordingly.

The railway workers of the line from Brive to Limoges also have stopped their work; they ask an augmentation of their wages. The navvies are paid 2½d. an hour, and claim from 3d. to 3½d.; the masons are paid 3½d. an hour, and ask from 4½d. to 5½d.; the carpenters who earn 4d., claim to be paid at 5d. an hour. The contractors refuse to increase the wages of their men. The strikers, who are very quiet, receive some assistance from the philanthropic establishments of Limoges, and from the economical "soup-kitchens" of the town, and up to the present moment the inhabitants fully sympathise with the men on strike.

BULGARIA.

A new Socialist paper, entitled *Christopotoff*, from the name of a celebrated Bulgarian revolutionist, has appeared last week at Sofia. The "authorities" quickly issued an order for the arrest and imprisonment of all the contributors and the publisher of the paper, and so it was at once done to death. At the same time, a very interesting discovery has been made in that model land. Among the *brigands* that infest the mountains and forests of the country, and several of whom have lately been caught, are two members of the Bulgarian Legislative Assembly! The Bulgarian Skouptchina must be a nice kind of Parliament.

BELGIUM.

Comrade Oscar Falleur has left Liverpool on the 3rd of this month *en route* for America. Before leaving Europe he went to France for a fortnight, as he wished to bid farewell to some relatives of his living at Trélon, in the Nord Department. The Belgian secret political service at once informed the French Government of Falleur's dark design, and the Paris Minister of the Interior caused the following stupendous letter to be sent to the Prefect of the Nord Department: "République Française.—Monsieur le Préfet, I think it my duty to forward to you the following details, which may be useful: Oscar Falleur, the Belgian Anarchist, sentenced to hard labour and imprisonment for life in consequence of the riots of 1886, conditionally set free by the Minister of Justice, and authorised to provisionally remain in Belgium, provided he should not make Socialist propaganda, has just been expelled from his native land because he has mixed himself up with the Socialist Glass-blower's Union. He has been ordered to leave Belgium or to return to prison. He left Lodelinesart on the 15th inst. in order to go to Trélon (France), a small town near Maubeuge, where big glass-blower's establishments happen to exist. He will stay there for three weeks, and is likely to put himself into communication with his confederates. I have the honour to be, etc., xx., General Controller of the Police."

The Prefect of the Nord Department at Lille, transmits dutifully this letter to his colleague, the sub-Prefect; YY, at Avesnes, who sends the same to the Maire of Trélon. This Maire, having very carefully watched the movements of the dangerous Socialist, has now forwarded his report to his chiefs. It runs as follows: "I, the undersigned, Maire of Trélon (Nord), hereby declare that M. Oscar Falleur has sojourned in this town from the 15th of August to the 2nd of September, and that his presence has not caused any disorder. M. Falleur's behaviour always has been a good and regular one."

That is a piece of the ridiculous machinery by which Socialists sometimes are annoyed, and the Governments entertain whole armies of officials to perform such functions.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

The organ of the Austrian compositors and printers, *Vornirts*, published at Vienna, has been confiscated by the police nuisances. Even trade papers are no longer safe in that country of bigotry and re-action. In the same capital, a lecture on "The Relations between Socialism, Science, and Art" was not allowed to be delivered, on the ground that such lectures are most dangerous to the safety of the State. On this point we can easily agree with the so-called authorities, for such lectures certainly are dangerous; but the interdiction of lecturing will not make Socialism less dangerous to the State. So we Socialists are always winning and the State is always losing, and that will go on until the State shall have nothing to lose, having passed away altogether. And that is the fun of prosecution.

A considerable number of Socialists have been favoured at Prague and Reichenberg with police visitations; these gentlemen were in search of "Anarchist" literature, they having been "informed" that a great amount of leaflets were about to be spread all round and even posted on the walls. But, strange to say, the Socialists did not know anything whatever of the matter, although a very few leaflets were really posted here and there at street corners at the very moment when the house visitations began. Our friends there are strongly of opinion that this is a new departure in the methods of prosecution, namely, that the police make themselves revolutionary leaflets and post them on the walls, in order to have a pretext of entering the houses of our comrades. Several Socialists in consequence thereof were arrested, the gentlemen having found some pamphlet or other or some forbidden paper in their possession.

ROUMANIA.

An officer of the Roumanian army, comrade Chineru, from the Norhoi district, near Tassi, has just been sentenced to one year of imprisonment because of his incessant revolutionary propaganda among the soldiers and peasants. It is a fact worth noticing, that the little Roumanian army is completely permeated with Socialist ideas. The government are no longer confident in their stock of common laws to prevent the spread of the revolutionary movement, and it is said that during the next Session of the Legislative Assembly they intend to bring in an exceptional bill against Socialism. In the meantime, at any rate, a new Socialist organ is about to be published, entitled *Lucratorul* (The Worker). It will be written by manual workers only. A few days ago the specimen number of another paper has also come to light, which is likely to do good service to the Cause. It is entitled *Glasul Tavanului* (The Voice of the Peasants), and is to be issued as a weekly. Go ahead, Roumania!

The engineers, iron and wood-workers of the Roumanian railways at Bucharest, and those of Galatz and Turn-Severin, are on strike. At the present time one thousand men have left work, and the number of strikers is expected to increase. The worker's claims are the following: (1) Exact settlement of the price of piece-work; (2) Twenty-five per cent augmentation of their wages; (3) Extra hours (the normal day to be of 10 hours) to be paid at 50 per cent above the regular price of wages; (4) All fines to be entered in the relief-fund for invalid workers; (5) Railway free tickets, to be had four times a-year; (6) Diseased workers to be attended to at railway company's expenses; (7) The wages to be paid regularly twice a month. These claims, lodged in a memorandum signed by 640 men, were addressed to the directors, but they at once declared that they refused to take any notice whatever of its contents. They also refused to listen to a deputation of the workers. The Government, stupid as all Governments are, immediately proceeded to send soldiers and *gendarmes* to the district where all these strikers live, and ordered in their usual way to settle the question by provoking the workers. But in vain. The Strike Committee appeals specially to the Austrian and German toilers not to come over to Roumania and accept work there. That is of course a matter of international solidarity. The Roumanian Socialist party being very young, they further state that they are in need of funds, and those who are in a position to help may send their subscriptions to the editor of *Gleichheit*, vi., Gumpendorferstrasse, 79, Vienna, who has accepted to forward them to our Roumanian friends. V. D.

ITALY.

ROME.—The Roman police manage to "keep the dull times off" for the *Emancipazione* with considerable faithfulness and regularity. Here, for instance, we are apprised of another confiscation of one edition which was devoted to the subject of Pietro Barsanti, the anniversary of whose execution in 1870 was celebrated the other day in Rome. And yet again two more recent confiscations for which the police refuse to give any reason, making three out of four numbers thus treated. The "Revolutionary Republicans" (which we believe is their correct title) of this city naturally bow to the Crispinian rule with a very bad grace, chafing and murmuring under it ceaselessly.

Although months have passed since the crisis in the building trade here, conditions are little bettered, and hundreds and hundreds of men are still without employment. A meeting is shortly to be held under the auspices of the Builders' Society and other associations, to discuss the subject and protest against those *mistificatori* who in times of depression come with fair promises to the workers, taking advantage of their distress and also of their credulity.

THE ROYAL JOURNEY AGAIN.—On visiting the town of Forli, King Humbert expressed a desire to inspect a working-man's house chosen hap-hazard. The choice "happened" to be a happy one, and his high and mightiness expressed himself loudly pleased and charmed with the decency and cleanliness of the little household. The good wife listened with surprise and impatience, and muttered as the party left, "But do these kings think the people are just so many pigs?" The writer is reminded of a little scene that took place on the threshold of a very noble dwelling in London, where some meeting was being held "by gracious permission," etc., etc. One of our Socialist friends had occasion to attend, and was requested in grave accents by the flunkey in charge to "Wipe your feet, please," as if no one under a duke understood the use of scraper and door-mat! The dullness of the meeting was entirely retrieved for our friend by this timely incident, which acted as a freshener or appetiser to the feast of reason and flow of soul that followed. The one word of sense we have read in all the Italian papers about this mock show of royalty, is uttered by a writer who rebukes the Socialists for making such a to-do about it.

RAVENNA.—Some arrests of Socialists have been made here and at Russi, in consequence of some anti-Monarchical demonstrations on the occasion of the king's visit. The public seems to be if not hostile to, at least half-hearted about the monarchical display. There is a good deal of curiosity, but not too much cheering.

VARESE.—The Society of Workers in this town have lately celebrated the third anniversary of their existence in a meeting and social reunion of a pleasant nature.

The 4th Congress of the Italian Labour Party was held on the 8th, 9th, and 10th inst., at Bologna. The subjects discussed were of the usual nature, but we have received no particulars of the proceedings as yet.

Como.—On the 26th of August, a Congress was held by the workers in the province of Como; 150 delegates were present, representing 9,960 members of the body, and the Labour Party on invitation sent three delegates. The scope of the Congress was to discuss the *organisation of labour*, system of resistance, and the attitude to be maintained at political and administrative elections. It is needless to say that the latter question was discussed with much ardour, one delegate alone fighting for the necessity of abstention from political agitation.

MARIANO (BRIANZA).—The women employed in the silk factory here earn 80 centesimi a-day, working 15 hours. Last month they rebelled against this and struck, but not for long, as they were put down with a good deal of brutality by the authorities. M. M.

The *Riforma* publishes the text of telegrams recently exchanged between King Humbert and Signor Crispi, referring to the necessity of ameliorating the condition of the working-classes. Everything will now be all right!

The Wood Turners at Hamburg, on September 3rd, struck for a reduction of hours to 9½ daily, and an increase of wages to 20s. per week. Hope no English workers will go over. One of the masters has told his men that it makes no difference to him, as he can obtain all the men he wants from London.

MAN'S INHUMANITY.

A JUDGE at Schoharie sent two tramps to the Albany penitentiary for six months each. That is Right. Every one of them ought to be taken in and put at hard labor for a year. Keep them breaking stone, if there is nothing harder for them, and feed them on bread, a little meat once a day, and water—plenty of water, but not too much meat and bread. There is no excuse for a man being a tramp, not the least, and it is impossible for judge or jury to err on the side of being too hard on them.—*Rochester Herald*. Every man who has to leave his house to search for work, if he is too poor to pay his railroad fare, is called a tramp, and is subject to the penalties of the tramp law. The above paragraph fitly describes the feeling which exists in society circles, when the poor unfortunate wage-worker has to take the road to find work that he may live. Hundreds of wage-slaves are discharged from their work through no fault of their own, their wages have been small while working, so they could not save much to help them in times of depression. There are many men to-day in good circumstances who some time or other in their lifetime have had to tramp from town to town seeking work. The wise-acre who wrote the above extract says: "There is no excuse for a man being a tramp." No excuse? What is a man going to do after being discharged from his work, and he cannot find any in his neighbourhood; he must go or starve, and when he finds himself outside of his own locality society dubs him a tramp. It is the cruel system of competition which makes tramps. The difficulty which men have to contend with in procuring employment breaks up hundreds of men; they become dispirited and lose self-respect, and finally sink down to be a regular vagrant. There is no discrimination with society when speaking of the wandering wage-earner. They are all tramps, and ought to be put in prison because they are poor. Poverty to-day is a crime in this free republic, made so by society, who have become rich by oppressing the wage-earners. Getting machines to do the work of men, and driving out of the factories thousands who go around "begging their brothers of the earth for leave for them to toil." The straws show us which way the wind blows. We must see to it that we ourselves must combine to stop the cruel system of hindering a man of the means of existence and happiness. There should be no "out of work" when a man is free, able and willing to do it.—*Union*.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

London Members' Meeting.—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, Oct. 3, 1888, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

Propaganda Fund.—C. Walkden, 10s.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Langley (six weeks), 12s.; P. W. (six weeks), 3s.; C. J. F. (six weeks), 15s.; K. F. (six weeks), 6s.

FREE SPEECH FUND.

Victory at Yarmouth is now almost assured, but it has proved a very heavy financial drain upon the branch, and subscriptions, however small, are urgently needed, and should be sent to F. Charles, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.

Already acknowledged—£3 1s. 11d. Received—Collections: Regent's Park, 2s.; Victoria Park, 2s. 10½d.; Berners Street, 8s. 5d. Total, £3 15s. 2½d.

F. CHARLES, Sec., 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.

REPORTS.

FULHAM.—On Tuesday evening, opposite the Liberal Club, Maughan, Ballock, Beasley, Groser, and Ashborne addressed a good audience. On Sunday morning, Tarleton and Mrs. Schack addressed a very good meeting. Fair sale of *Commonweal*. In the evening, Maughan, Groser, and Sampson (S.D.F.) spoke. Some opposition, to which Sampson and Groser replied.—S. B. G.

MITCHAM.—Good meeting Sunday morning on Mitcham Fair Green, addressed by Eden (S.L.) and Walker (S.D.F.) In evening, at same place, Walker, Kitz, and Eden addressed a large and enthusiastic audience. Slight opposition by Salvationist easily disposed of by Walkden. Good sale of *Commonweal*.—E.

ABERDEEN.—Leatham lectured at weekly indoor meeting on the 3rd inst. Small meeting at Castle Street on Saturday night, at which Aiken presided and Barrow spoke.

GLASGOW.—On Sunday, a Conference of members of the Scottish Land and Labour League and the Glasgow Branch of the Socialist League, took place in the rooms. A general agreement as to the future relationship of the branches to one another and the League was come to, the points of which will be sent to the branches for ratification. At 5 o'clock our usual meeting was held at Paisley Road. After Pollock and Glasier had said a few words, comrades J. Smith (Edinburgh) and James Leatham (Aberdeen), who had come to the Conference, addressed the meeting. Leatham was unfortunately interrupted in the middle of an excellent address by the arrival of the Salvation Army, who occupy the ground after 6 o'clock.

NORWICH.—Thursday last, good meeting was held at Yarmouth by comrades Poynts and Beare. Friday, meeting on St. Catharine's Plain by Reynolds and Morley. Sunday morning, meeting held at Wymondham by comrades Adams and Barker. Comrade Parker (London) addressed a good audience in the Market Place. In the afternoon a good meeting was held by comrade Morley and Mr. Burgess, who spoke in support of Free Speech. In the evening our meeting was a very large one, addressed by comrades Mowbray and Parker; the latter comrade spoke for some considerable time, the audience being very pleased and enthusiastic with his address. After meeting we adjourned to the Gordon Hall, where comrade Parker and several others rendered some capital songs and recitations. Collected during the day, £1 13s. 4d. Sale of *Commonweal*, 7s.—S.

EAST END PROPAGANDA COMMITTEE.—A debate was opened on Saturday evening, at Berner Street Club, by H. Davis, on "Is a Peaceful Revolution Possible?" A very interesting discussion followed. The hall was packed, 8s. 10½d. collected.

THE UNEMPLOYED.—Tuesday last, the unemployed met in Hyde Park, at 2 o'clock, in large numbers. McCormick arrived at 2.30 with red flag. In his speech, he asked why people should starve, while there was plenty of bread in bakers' shops. Three inspectors came forward and arrested him. A member of the Socialist League spoke, followed by Springfield and others. The procession to Clerkenwell was started at 5 o'clock, headed by Springfield, who carried the red flag. When outside the Park, the police, horse and foot, charged and took the flag after a sharp struggle, amid the shouts of the crowd, of "Have you caught 'Leather Apron'?" The crowd marched back to Hyde Park, and held a protest meeting, at which strong resolutions were passed condemning the action of the police.

LECTURE DIARY.
LONDON.

Bloomshury.—This Branch will shortly be actively working. Socialists resident in this locality should send their names in at once to 13, Farringdon Road.
Olerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday, September 16, at 8.30, W. Blundell, "The Trades' Union Congress."
Fulham.—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sunday evening, J. Turner, "Socialist Co-operation."—The members of this branch are striving to form a Library and Reading Room, and earnestly request all comrades who can aid to do so by sending books and magazines to Mrs. Groser, 8 Effie Road, Walham Green, or Mrs. Tochatti, 4 Railway Approach, Hammersmith, who will be pleased to receive them.
Hackney.—Enquiries, communications, etc., to E. Lefevre, Secretary, 28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Rd., Hackney Wick.
Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday, Sept. 16, at 8 p.m., J. Brailsford Bright (Fabian), "Division of Labour the True Basis of Organisation."
Hoxton.—Persons wishing to join this branch are requested to communicate with H. D. Morgan, 22, Nicholas Street Hoxton.
London Fields.—All communications, etc., to Mrs. G. G. Schack, 26 Cawley Road, South Hackney.
Merton.—Club-house, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road, Singlegate. Lecture on Sunday evening.
Mile-end and Bethnal Green.—95 Boston St., Hackney Road.
North London.—Secretary, Nelly Parker, 143 Cavendish Buildings, opposite Holborn Town Hall. The business meetings will be held on Friday evenings at 6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, after the open-air meeting at Ossulton Street. Special Meeting on Friday September 21st. All members are asked to attend at Ossulton St. at 8 o'clock.
St. Georges in the East.—A meeting of the members of this branch will be held at 23 Princes Square, on Sunday morning after the meeting at Leman Street. Rochmann, secretary.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen (Scottish Section).—Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St Nicholas Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.
Bradford.—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivegate. Meets Tuesdays at 8.
Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Tuesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. H. M'Cluskey, Millar Street, Secy.
Dundee (Scot. Sect.).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec
Dumdee (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.
Edinburgh (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.
Galashiels (Scot Sect.).—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., sec.
Gallatoun and Dysart (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatoun Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.
Glasgow.—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. On Thursday evening at 8, Choir Practice; all musical members invited.
Leeds.—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Rd. and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m. communications to T. Paylor, 11 Sheldon Street, Holbeck, Leeds.
Leicester.—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.
Lochgelly (Scottish Section: Fife).—Secs. (pro tem.), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.
Norwich.—Monday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Tuesday, at 8.30, Meeting in Gordon Hall. Wednesday, at 8.30, Educational Class—subject, "Liberty." Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association.—On Monday September 24th, a Special Entertainment will be held in the Gordon Hall by comrades and friends, commencing at 8 p.m., to clear off the debts in connection with the late prosecutions at Yarmouth. Admission 3d. each.
Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.
Walsall.—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.
West Calder (Scottish Section).—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SUNDAY 16.

11.30...Latimer Road Station...Hammersmith Branch
11.30...Mitcham Fair Green...Macedonald
11.30...Regent's Park...Parker
11.30...Walham Green, opp. Station...J. Macdonald
3.30...Hyde Park...Parker & Brooks
7...Waltje Road, opposite Ravenscourt Park...Hammersmith Branch
Monday.
8...Wimbledon Broadway...Burns

Tuesday.
8.30...Fulham—opposite Liberal Club...Fulham Bh.

Friday.
7.30...Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street...Parker

EAST END.

SUNDAY 16.

Mile-end Waste ... 11 ...Mrs. Schack.
Leman Street, Shadwell 11 ...Nicol.
Victoria Park ... 3.15...Mrs. Schack.
London Fields ... 8 ...Mainwaring.

TUESDAY.

London Fields ... 8.30...East-end C'mittee.
Mile-end Waste ... 8.30... "

WEDNESDAY.

Broadway, London Fields 8.30... "

FRIDAY.

Philpot St., Commercial Rd. 8.30... "

SATURDAY.

Mile-end Waste ... 8 ... "

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen.—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7 p.m.
Edinburgh.—Queen's Park, every Sunday, at 3 p.m.
Glasgow.—Sunday: Jail's Square, at 12.0; Paisley Road at 5; Green, near Nelson's Monument, at 6.30.
Ipswich.—
Sproughton, Wednesday evening.
Westerfield, Thursday evening.
Neeham Market, Sunday morning and evening.
Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.
Leicester.—Sunday: Russel Square, at 11 a.m.
Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place, at 3 and 7.30.
North Walsham, Sunday at 11.
Diss, Sunday at 11.
Crostwick Common, Sunday at 3.
Yarmouth, Thursday at 7.30.
St Catharine's Plain, Friday at 8.15 p.m.

THE PROGRESSIVE ASSOCIATION, PENTON HALL, 81, Pentonville Road.—Sunday, September 16, at 7.45, J. F. Oakeshott, "The Coming Democracy."
At the Farringdon Hall, 13, Farringdon Hall, 13, Farringdon Road, on Friday, September 14th, a Free Discussion will be opened by A. Marsh. Subject: "Work and Social Utility," at 8.30 prompt.

THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—The Committee will meet at the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, on Saturday, September 15th, at 7.30 p.m. Subscriptions received and members enrolled at 9 p.m.

UNITED SCANDINAVIAN CLUB, 43, Rathbone Place, Oxford Street, W.—Tuesday, September 18, at 8 p.m., Annie Besant (Fabian Society), "The Social Problem." Monday September 24, at 8, Harold Cox, B.A. (Fabian Society), "Trades Unionism and Co-operation"

EAST END PROPAGANDA.—Instead of the usual fortnightly discussion next Saturday week, the 22nd, a special entertainment is being arranged for on behalf of the Free Speech Fund. It is hoped all will do what they can to make this a success. Further particulars next week. Our Jewish comrades have also recently had parades on Sunday mornings, at 11 o'clock, down Petticoat Lane, to sell their paper *The Workers' Friend*; but as they have been very badly illused there, it is hoped all English comrades who can spare the time will accompany them next Sunday, and take the opportunity of selling the *Commonweal*, *Freedom*, and other English literature, which can be obtained of J. Lane, 38, Ainslie Street, Bethnal Green Junction, and thus help in protecting them, and shewing they are not Jew sweaters and enemies, but fellow workers for the complete Emancipation of Labor, and also give practical expression to our International sentiment.

SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.

Chants for Socialists. By William Morris. 1d.
Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism. By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). 1d.
The Commune of Paris. By E. Belfort Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. 2d.
The Aims of Art. By Wm. Morris. Bijou edition, 3d.; Large paper, 6d.
The Rights of Labour according to John Ruskin. By Thomas Barclay. 1d.
The Tables Turned; or, Nupkins Awakened. A Socialist Interlude. By William Morris. In Wrapper 4d.
The Manifesto of the Socialist League. Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and William Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. 1d.
Useful Work v. Useless Toil. By William Morris. 1d.
"All for the Cause!" Song. Words by William Morris; Music by E. Belfort Bax. 4to, 4 pp. 6d. per dozen, 4s. 6d.
"Vive la Commune!" Cartoon by Walter Crane. Best paper. 2d.
Mrs. Grundy (Cartoon). By Walter Crane. Fine hand-made large paper. 6d.

BOOKS FOR SALE.

To make room, and allow me to purchase other books required for *Commonweal* work, I shall be glad to hear from buyers of following duplicate copies and other items, of which full details will be sent:—

HISTORY OF AMERICAN SOCIALISMS. Quite new. 8s. 6d. (published at 15s.). (Noyes).
LIFE OF WILLIAM LOVETT. New. 3s. 6d. (pub. 5s.).
MEN OF THE TIME. A useful Dictionary of Biography. 5s. (pub. 12s. 6d.).
MANUAL FOR CO-OPERATORS.
CO-OPERATIVE AGRICULTURE.
HONE'S ANCIENT MYSTERIES.
BURKE ON THE EVILS OF ALL STATE GOVERNMENTS. 1s., post free.
SECRET SOCIETIES OF THE EUROPEAN REVOLUTION. (Frost.) 2 vols., newly bound, 7s.
VOLNEY'S RUINS. 2s.
COBBETT'S LIFE and GRAMMAR. New, 3s. 6d.
WORK AND PAY. Levi.
FOUR CIVILIZATIONS OF THE WORLD. Wikoff.

Country friends will be well advised to write for particulars. THOMAS SPOKE, jun., 33 Newington Green Road, Balls Pond, London, N.

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Plaiston.—A branch has been formed here and is commencing a vigorous propaganda in this district.

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BY WILLIAM MORRIS.

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Advocate of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity
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TRUE AND FALSE SOCIETY.

BY WILLIAM MORRIS.

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THE COMMONWEAL

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

THE controversy between the *Daily News* and Mr. Davitt shows on what shallow foundations rests the hope that the Liberal party will deal satisfactorily with the Irish question. The whole matter for the *Daily News* is one of party politics; to import any reality into the question and look facts in the face appears, naturally enough from this point of view, an impertinence. Mr. Davitt is an interloper, "a dangerous firebrand," because he actually wishes to save his countrymen from the immediate miseries of eviction, and does not hesitate to say what he thinks will stir up some honest men to help in the matter. Anyone who has belonged to the Great Liberal Party at a crisis and has had strong opinions of his own at the time will at once recognise the true Whig flavour in the wretched snobbery of the *Daily News* article the other day; and Mr. Davitt's scorn which met it was most amply justified, whether he was right or not in his estimate of the present mind of English Liberals as to Ireland.

But surely he *was* right. No doubt the eyes of working men who are true to their class have been opened on the subject of Ireland, and Mr. Davitt can rely on these for support. But what is their power in the Liberal party? Next to nothing. Their enthusiasm has been wasted, they have been snubbed and Trafalgar-Squared, and in short treated as inconvenient persons—like Mr. Davitt.

The party, as a party, is apathetic, and the Irish constitutional section is pinned on to its apathy. The truth is that these Gladstonite Whigs can see nothing except the general election, which they believe, and probably rightly, will bring them into power once more. The swing of the pendulum will then most likely give us a Liberal government again; but as far as anything they can do, that prospect is not encouraging even as regards Ireland, which is the only question the *Daily News* and its masters will allow us to look at. When one comes to think that the serious consideration of the relations between the Irish tenant and his landlord and the advocacy of some kind of land nationalisation makes a man a "firebrand" in the eyes of the Great Liberal Party, one's raptures at the probable change of government are apt to be moderated.

What will happen? A compromise on Home Rule, a temporising measure in favour of the tenants, and the whole question as a real matter of everyday life handed over to the Socialists to deal with, and agitate upon.

Even the bourgeois papers call Mr. Saunders over the coals for his last appearance in the character of Nupkins. Of course people cannot help laughing at the monumental stupidity of the man; but it is just this stupidity which is the dangerous thing, for on such stupidity is based the immovable cruelty of the governors to the governed. A man not irredeemably stupid could not help thinking, "Here is a poor man in a foreign country, whose language he cannot even talk, who is extra helpless and has been wronged: if I am so hard-hearted as not to feel for him, at any rate let me *pretend* to do so." Such wisdom is not to be had out of Nupkins; a hard fate drives him to proclaim his incurable stupidity, which has at least the effect of cruelty.

All this would not much matter if we read this week that Mr. Saunders has been dismissed in disgrace—which is not likely to happen; the freaks of an East End magistrate have nothing to do with the comfort of well-to-do people, for whom alone the laws are made, though they may inflict misery enough amongst the people whom he rules over, and who have no redress for his hard-dealing and insults.

The coming winter is not likely to lack its share of "discontent," which is becoming a thing to be looked for among the poor, just as "the Season" is among the rich. We are beginning early too; the pauper refuges full, meetings of unemployed, police attacks on them; prosecutions for violent speaking; this does not look very like the peace and prosperity we have been promised.

As to the prosecutions for violent speaking, it is much to be wished that the authorities will attack us in this way rather than by means of

their old sneaking obstruction tactics; it is much more satisfactory to go to prison for straightforward preaching of what is undoubtedly a dangerous doctrine, than for an offence which mixes up Socialists with Salvationists, etc. Only if we are to be run in for violent speaking, let it be for saying something that we shall not be ashamed to see quoted in the papers. Let it be for attacking the essence of our sham society, and not its accidents; let us in fact talk Socialism, for that may be both reasonable and violent at the same time. It is as well to have witnesses also, not for the sake of the police courts, where the magistrates will not heed them, but for the sake of putting ourselves right before the public and our comrades. As an author I know the unpleasantness of being misrepresented by newspaper critics; and I fear that police witnesses will not be much better than these.

According to the *Star*, the Salt Trust is to be succeeded by a Coal Trust, which will arrange matters (of course) for the benefit of the public, by taking care on the one hand that we don't get our coals too cheap, and on the other hand that the men shall be employed (as much as the employer finds it convenient to employ him). The promoters of the scheme are of course too modest to mention themselves, but clearly expect us to believe that they are actuated by the purest public spirit. The affair, along with others of a similar nature, is interesting to Socialists as showing in the first place that the unlimited competition on which our whole commercial system rests is beginning to break down, and in the second place the helplessness of the general public before the great capitalists: for of course, to drop irony, the real aim of these schemes is to rob both producer and consumer as safely and as much as possible. Meantime labour must pay for the whole game.

W. M.

Mr. George Kennan has recently written a series of articles in the *Century* which might be entitled, "The Russian Prison System from the Standpoint of the Superior Middle-class Person." In these he endeavours to prove that the Russian Nihilist is not the dangerous revolutionist of contemporary newspaper fiction; on the contrary he is a mild speculative individual, much addicted to reading Spencer and Comte, and looking upon the Republican Government in America as his highest administrative ideal.

Mr. Kennan has had some conversation with some of the Siberian exiles. He appears to have expected to meet a gang of murderous savages, who would perform a war dance while brandishing daggers and revolvers around the helpless tourists. Instead of this he encountered a number of mild young men and women, who might have done honour to a Young Men's Christian Association in any land but Russia.

Clearly either the Russian police or Mr. Kennan have made a serious mistake; still I cannot help thinking that some one has been gammoning Mr. Kennan. It is quite possible, too, that these exiles not knowing Mr. Kennan, and remarking that he was on very friendly terms with their jailers, hesitated at delivering themselves so freely in his presence as they otherwise might have done.

This worthy gentleman is very severe upon what he calls "incomprehensible cranks," whom he defines as "people with some education, a great deal of fanatical courage, and a limitless capacity for self-sacrifice, but with most visionary ideas of government and social organisation, and with only the faintest idea of what an American would call 'hard common sense.'" He goes on to observe, "I did not expect to have any more ideas in common with them than I should have in common with an Anarchist like Louis Lingg."

We have seen he was agreeably disappointed, and if the exiles he met with are anything like he represents them to be, we can only wonder at the stupidity of the Russian Government in exiling people with whom a respectable middle-class journalist like Mr. Kennan can sympathise. Much better to have given them a government post and thus effectively closed their mouths.

But let us examine Mr. Kennan's definition of "a incomprehensible crank" as a person of some education, a great deal of fanatical courage,

and a limitless capacity for self-sacrifice, with only, unfortunately, the faintest trace of hard common-sense. I defer, of course, to Mr. Kennan's superior knowledge; but I have hitherto thought that this would be an excellent definition of heroes who have carried every great revolution that has transformed the face of the earth, but I find I was mistaken. Jesus Christ, Socrates, Galileo, and John Brown were all "incomprehensible cranks, with only the faintest trace of hard common-sense," or they would never have been hung, tortured, poisoned, and crucified.

Stupid fanatics! they had much better have fallen into the ways of the respectable world, and devoted what small talents they were possessed of to improving their position in life. Those people who admire and venerate are quite mistaken them, they were not heroes but "incomprehensible cranks." Mr. Kennan says so, and he ought to know!

It is pleasant to hear that Mr. Kennan has "no ideas in common" with these people, and therefore runs no risk of inconvenient martyrdom. By-the-by, that excellent young man might be surprised to hear that "Anarchist Louis Lingg" derived his incendiary notions from the comrades of the political exiles whom he met in the wilds of Siberia. That, however, happens to be the fact, as every student of Socialism knows; but Mr. Kennan being a clever journalist, is quite capable of laying down the law upon a subject without knowing anything at all about it. That is one of the necessary accomplishments of his profession.

D. N.

LABOUR'S TRIANGULAR PROBLEM;

OR, MEN VERSUS MACHINES.

"There is no security against the ultimate development of mechanical consciousness in the fact of machines possessing little consciousness now. A mollusc has not much consciousness. Reflect upon the extraordinary advance which the machines have made during the last few hundred years, and observe how slowly the animal and vegetable kingdoms are advancing in comparison. The more highly organised machines are creatures not so much of yesterday as of the last five minutes, so to speak, in comparison with past time. Assume for the sake of argument that conscious beings have existed for some twenty million years: see what strides machines have made in the last thousand! . . . Even now the machines will only serve on condition of being served, and that too upon their own terms. The moment their terms are not complied with, they jib, and either smash both themselves and all whom they can reach, or turn churlish and refuse to work at all. How many men at this hour are living in a state of bondage to the machines? How many spend their whole lives, from the cradle to the grave, in tending them by night and day? Is it not plain that the machines are gaining ground upon us, when we reflect on the increasing number of those who are bound down to them as slaves, and of those who devote their whole souls to the advancement of the mechanical kingdom."—(Samuel Butler: 'Erewhon,' pp. 189, 200.)

THE thought-provoking book from which the above is taken contains in chapters xxi, ii, and iii, probably some of the most extravagant speculation ever risked, even in a satirical fable, as it is. The pity is, there is so much of truth in the statement as to the increasing number of those who are slaves to machines.

I am hoping to give some fuller samples of 'Erewhon' some day; just now the question is machinery. Political economists at Bath, and trades unionists at Bradford, have just recently been dealing with the questions of machinery, production, distribution. Production and distribution the great question to settle; machinery the great distributing element.

The orthodox political economist says "Produce more and eat less"; the trades unionist, "Produce less and eat more"; the Socialist, "Produce more and eat more." The political economist says, Increase your powers of production and be more thrifty; the ordinary trades unionist says, Restrict the output; the Socialist says, Control the whole means of production and distribution: produce as much as you want, and consume it. It is a sort of triangular duel, in the course of which some most wonderful nonsense has been written.

The *British Printer*, one of the latest organs devoted to that trade, and far and away the best printed, in its last number has the following par., which for its size contains more serious warning and specious balderdash than one could think possible:—

"EDISON ON THE LABOUR QUESTION.—In reply to the question, 'When motive power gets to be four times as cheap as it is, what will become of the labouring man?' Mr. Edison replied, 'He will be enriched by it. Machinery will be his slave. See how machinery has multiplied in the last fifty years. As a direct result, working men get double the wages they did then, and the necessities of life cost only half as much. In other words, a hand-worker can to-day buy four times as much with ten hours of work as his father could fifty years ago. For the first time in the world's history a skilled mechanic can buy a barrel of flour with a single day's work. The machinery in the United States represents the labour of a thousand million men, or fifty times as much labour as all the men in the country. When motive power is still further cheapened—say in another generation—I believe that the unskilled labourer, if sober and industrious, can have a house of his own, and a horse and carriage, and a library, and a piano. It is terrible stupidity that leads some labouring men to suppose that machinery is their foe. It is the thing which gives them independence and even freedom. Without machinery society would drift into the condition of master and slave. The multiplication of machinery means for every worker more food, better clothes, better house, less work. In fact, I believe that the indefinite increase of machinery is going to solve what folks call "the labour problem"—that is, the desire of hand-workers to get a bigger slice of the margin of profit."

It is rather refreshing to find such a par. in the pages of a journal whose *raison de être* is the minimising of machinery. The *British Printer* is the outcome of a move made some ten or twelve years ago by a few earnest men, with some artistic feeling, to prevent the absolute extinction of printing as a handicraft and art; every page is a typographic protest against the dreary mechanical work of ten to twenty

years ago, and a proof of the good effects which have come of once more allowing and urging the workman to be really a craftsman and an artist, instead of a mere automata attending on a machine.

This is by the way; only may it be noted, however, that the incongruity of such a paragraph in such a place is accentuated by finding that the sheets are fastened together with those confounded machine-driven wire staples, which are "stabbed" through as though to murder a choice bit of work, as special sacrifice to the machine demon.

Returning to the paragraph itself, the very serious part is the statement that "the machinery in the United States represents the labour of one thousand million men, or fifty times as much labour as that of all the men in the country." Extremes meet, we are told, and probably it will be allowed that Robert Owen and J. S. Mill and John Ruskin and Professor Cairnes, extreme of orthodox economists and extreme of Socialists all agree on the position as expressed by Mill, that "it is questionable if all the mechanical inventions yet made have lightened the days of toil of any human being."

Edison says that the amount of machinery now permits a man to buy four times as much with his ten hours of labour than his father could. A writer in the *Denver Labour Enquirer*, Jan. 1885, said, "When it takes 75 bushels of western man's corn to buy one ton of Ohio coal, and the miner has to dig out twelve tons of coal to buy one bushel of corn, we may well stand aghast at our system of developing the country." This is the way to examine this question; this puts aside the confusion caused by the money value put upon things. The same rule-of-three sums can be worked out here in England on the figures in any labour paper, and gives point-blank denial to Edison's statement.

As to exactly how much man-labour is represented by the machine power in use in the world, that is a very difficult question, but the following from various sources may be useful, just at this time when the Trades Union Congress is being held and is discussing the growth of machine power. "In 1851 machine and tool making employed in England and Wales 48,000 persons; in 1861, 117,000; in 1871, 175,000. In 1851 our exports of steam-engines and other kinds amounted to £1,168,000; in 1875 to £4,213,000."¹

To make by hand all the yarn spun in England in one year by the use of the self-acting mule, carrying 1,000 spindles—viz., 1,000 threads at the time—would require 100,000,000 men.²

Kolb's 'Condition of Nations,' 1880, footnote p. 99, says, "According to Fairbairn, in 1860 the metal works and smelting furnaces of England employed so many steam engines as to represent together 450,000 horse power. The steam-engines of the manufactories had together 1,350,000 horse power; the steamers 850,000; and the locomotives 1,000,000; making together 3,650,000 horse power. But inasmuch as this power is continuous, while horses would only work eight hours, the figures should be increased to 11,000,000. It is reckoned that the power of seven men is equal to one horse-power, so the steam-engines of England perform a work which would require 77,000,000 men to perform."

According to M. Chevalier there were 16,500 locomotives at work in Europe. These represented 8,000,000 horses, or 40,000,000 able-bodied men, or the working capacity of a population of 200,000,000 human beings. (*Democrat*, Nov. 1886.)

Prof. A. Russel Wallace, in 'Land Nationalisation,' 1882, footnote p. 6, says, "There seems to be no means of getting at the exact amount of steam power now in use. A writer in the *Radical* newspaper states it at 2,000,000 horse power. Mr. Thomas Briggs in the *Peacemaker* states that 'in 1851 we had steam machinery which represented 500 million pairs of hands,' but I am informed he means by this the number which would be required to do the same work by the old hand-power machines. In a periodical called *Design and Work* (vol. x, 1881), it is stated that England now employs 9,000,000 horse power. Taking this estimate as approximately correct, we have a power equal to 90 million men. One-half our population (15 millions) consists of children and persons wholly dependent on the labour of others, and from the remainder we may deduct all the professional, literary, and independent classes, the army and navy, financiers, speculators, Government officials, and most tradesmen and shopkeepers—none of whom are producers of wealth. Taking these, together with the criminals, paupers, and tramps, at 6 millions, we have 9 millions who do all the productive physical labour of the country, while the steam power at work for us is at least ten times as much."

What this vast increase of power really means can be judged by taking a few of the trades most affected by steam and machinery:—

"In 1874, 538,829 persons employed in mining and handling coal above and below ground extracted 160,713,832 tons of coal. In 1883, 514,933 persons produced 163,737,327 tons—an increase of nearly 23,000,000, with 24,000 fewer persons employed. In 1874 the miners won 261 tons per head; in 1880, 334 tons per head. In 1880, 53,896 were unemployed. In the working of iron and steel, in 1872, 360,356 persons employed produced and used 6,741,929 tons of pig-iron. In 1883, 361,343 persons were so employed, and they produced 8,490,224 tons—an increase of 1,750,000 tons for nearly the same number of persons as in 1872. In the cotton and flax industry 570,000 persons used 1,266,100,000 lbs. of cotton in 1874; while in 1883 but 586,470 persons used 1,510,600,000 lbs. In every case it is the same—decreased number employed, and immensely increased production. In agriculture in England and Wales, persons employed have fallen from 2,010,454 in 1861, to 1,383,184 in 1881, of whom but 800,000 are classed as agricultural labourers. Bear in mind that all this while population has been increasing at the rate of 10 per cent. per annum."³

THOS. SHORE, jun.

(To be continued.)

¹ Leoni Levi: 'Work and Pay,' Strahan, 1877, p. 51.² Idem, p. 25.³ *Nineteenth Century*, December 1884.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 29, 1888.

23	Sun.	1651. Battle of Worcester. 1829. Major John Cartwright died.
24	Mon.	1798. Bartholomew Teeling hung. 1866. Great Reform meeting at Manchester.
25	Tues.	1870. Siege of Paris begun. 1877. Communist Club intervenes in strike at new Law Courts, and causes German masons to return home.
26	Wed.	1848. Trial of Chartists.
27	Thur.	1798. Thomas Muir died. 1803. Trial of H. Howley for high treason. 1830. Outbreak at Berne. 1885. Dod Street demonstration; 70,000 present.
28	Fri.	1840. Trial of Louis Napoleon for Boulogne attempt. 1848. Trial of Smith O'Brien for high treason. 1864. International founded. 1870. Capitulation of Strasburg; Rising at Lyons.
29	Sat.	1783. Hussey Burgh died. 1887. Northumberland miners' gala.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

FRANCE.

The ultra-radical Premier, Floquet, goes on very well in the way of reaction: this week, he has ordered twenty foreign workers, among whom are eighteen Belgians, to be expelled from France, their crime consisting in being real republicans in that sham republican country.

In the centre of France, at Allasac, Brive, Tulle, etc., the strike of the navvies continues, and the men are very energetic. The soldiers that have been sent there by Floquet-Rayonet had a glorious day: armed with rifles and sabres, they fought against poor unarmed women, the wives of the strikers, and wounded them, some fatally, many others very severely. But at last they became ashamed of their work, and in spite of the orders of their commanders, they opened their ranks and the women and children passed on their way. How much longer is Floquet going to govern France?

Comrade Jules Guesde, who for years past has valiantly by pen and tongue fought for the cause of Social Revolution in Italy, in Switzerland, and in France, is so dangerously ill, at Montlucon, that the doctors have given up all hope for his recovery. We earnestly wish, in spite of the verdict of the physicians, that our friend may be rescued of his severe illness.

Le Coup de Feu (the Gunshot), the valiant bi-monthly organ edited by our old comrade Eugene Chatelain, has now developed in a weekly Socialist, literary and artistic Review of 16 pages large crown folio, and continues to do good work in the propagation of revolutionary ideas. Two new contributors have been secured: Felix Pyat and T. B. Clement, who, with Chatelain, Courret, Roland, Lucas, Simon, Besse and others, form an effective staff of able and devoted Socialists. We wish our good friend Chatelain every success, and hope that his Review, in its new form, will contribute to a larger extent even than before, to the furtherance of the cause for which he has suffered so many a year of imprisonment and exile.

GERMANY.

William I. is going from bad to worse, and we should not at all be surprised to hear one of these days that he has become mad. He only thinks of his military forces, awakes at four o'clock in the morning, runs to some barracks, where he himself orders the soldiers to the drill-field, and there he parades until late at night. To do such work, almost day after day, he ought to be in good health, but it has recently transpired that he is only apparently so, and that his feverish activity is nothing else but the result of bad health. The despotic pupil of Bismarck suffers very heavily from a cruel disease of the ear, which seems to be an hereditary gift of the Hohenzollerns to their children, and he shows such an irascible temper that it is almost intolerable to live near him. For several weeks past he has been unable to sleep, hence his nocturnal visits to the barracks and the early military manoeuvres ordered by him. Sometimes he is in very low spirits and confidentially consults his physicians as to the premature end of his life. To his military mania he adds another: a profound detestation of French wines and of French words used in the German tongue. He has ordered all the French wines to be removed from the imperial cellars, and does not allow any of his servants to make use of one single French word, even of those words that have passed for a long period of time in the German language. He also fears very much to be killed by some "wicked" revolutionary, and therefore is always accompanied by a bodyguard of well-drilled "non-gentlemen"; he has just now sent out the notorious Krueger, the chief of that sort of gentlemen, to Vienna and to Milan, where he intends to have soon a trip, in order to make the journey safe for his royal person, exactly as the abominable Czar is obliged to do. In short, it seems very likely that we will have soon to "mourn" over a fresh Hohenzollern loss.

Numerous expulsions of Socialists are about to be perpetrated in the northern provinces of the blessed Fatherland, and it is announced that the towns of Naumburg and Altona will be particularly distinguished, the Socialists there being very strong. Happily enough that the social Revolution will not therefore cease to go ahead.

Dr. Krieger will soon have to appear before the magistrates and very likely will be convicted for an offense which until now at least had happily passed unnoticed: the poor doctor has laughed in a public trade's assembly, because a policeman has ordered a speaker to "shut up," as we say here. "What are you doing there?" asked the policeman. "Well, I am laughing!" was the answer. "Laughing is not allowed; that is provoking and disrespectful." And so they are in Bismarck's land: oftentimes atrocious and brutal, but also sometimes stupid and ridiculous!

ROUMANIA.

The Slavonic populations of the Donau region, says *La Révolte*, are perhaps about to prepare a solution of the Oriental question which has not been foreseen by the European diplomatists. The agrarian revolt exists there in a state of permanency. In spite of the bloody repression of the outburst of last spring the disorders have not ceased, and the revolutionary movement kept down on one spot recommences a few kilometres further. Regular sets of people are travelling all over Roumania, turn the farmers out of their houses, kidnap the functionaries, and sometimes even hang them. The

same things occur in Servia; the monasteries are plundered, the agents of the government are knocked down, and whenever soldiers come across the peasants they soon find all resistance impossible. Everywhere the same enemy—religion, capital, authority.

The strike of the engineers, iron and wood-workers of the Roumanian railways, to which we referred at some length last week, is spreading all round, and has now been joined by the engine-drivers. The arsenal workers have declared that if they are compelled to do provisionally the work of the strikers, they at once are determined to join their fellow-comrades in the struggle. It is exceedingly hopeful for the Cause to see how our Roumanian friends go hand in hand with their Hungarian, Polish, and German brethren, in spite of all the provocations of the bourgeois press, which does its utmost to spread discord and hatred among the workers of the various nationalities. This strike is looked at by the Roumanian Socialists as very important for the future development of the revolutionary ideas in their country.

POLAND.

A considerable number of revolutionary Socialist proclamations have lately been distributed in the streets of Warsaw, and among the peasants of the neighbouring villages. It is a fact worth noting that the revolutionary Socialists with their scanty means, meet with greater success and better results than the so-called patriotic party with all their wealthy resources. A new "Polish insurrection" of the olden type is no longer to be feared; the next one will be a social one, and our friends there make good speed towards it.

RUSSIA.

As it appears, the Terrorist party will ere long have again a word to say in Russian matters. Lately ten arrests have been made at Petersburg; seven men and three women, who were carrying bombs somewhere in the neighbourhood of the palace. At Kharkow and Odessa, numerous friends of the Cause have also been arrested in connection with the Petersburg affair. Several working-men's organisations have been formed in various parts of the country, and, as *La Révolte* observes, they manage their own business very well, apart from the admixture of the students of the universities in revolutionary matters. This certainly is a sign of progress, although we highly acknowledge the immense services rendered to the Cause of Revolution by hundreds of heroic young men and young girls of the wealthy classes.

A new Russian Socialist paper has just appeared at Geneva, with the world-known motto, "Proletariat of all countries, unite!" Its editors are Peter Axelrod and G. Plechanow. The first number of this new periodical has the following contents: (1) A word from the editors; (2) The means of conquering a constitution; (3) Our men of letters, by Plechanow; (4) Parliamentarism and Boulangism, by Paul Lafargue; (5) The inevitable change, by Plechanow; (6) The minister-demagogue, by T. E.; (7) Russian life; (8) The workers' movement in 1860 and at the present time, by Axelrod; (9) Bibliography; (10) Obituary: Metschnikow and E. Endes; (11) History of the International Workingmen's Association, by V. Sassulitch.

There is a sad event also to be recorded about Russia. Tikhomiroff, formerly a member of the Terrorist executive committee, and editor of their two secret organs: *Land and Freedom* and *The Will of the People*, has become a traitor to the Cause. He has published at Paris a pamphlet written in the Russian language, in which he explains why he has ceased to be a revolutionist. He no longer believes in Revolution, speaks with much respect for the Czar and the Imperial Government, finds it necessary to muzzle even more the Russian press, wants for Russia "a strong Government," and invites all his countrymen to rally themselves under the regime of the Imperial autocrat. His reasons for betraying the Cause to which he once belonged are the same of those of all renegades. The miserable autocrat has already granted him his pardon for his past life, and he is now about to commence a new one—a life of shame, in luxury and wealth.

V. D.

ITALY.

THE IRON LAW.—A correspondent to the *Muratore* of Milan writes: "At the very first opening of the large building works at Milan an enormous number of labourers from the neighbourhood flocked to the town and entered into violent competition with the workers there by offering themselves to the contractors at a much lower rate than that already settled upon between the masters and their employes at the time of last year's strike. Accustomed in their country districts to receive a daily wage of l. 1.50 (1s. 3d.), and to live on poor bread and polenta, they think themselves lucky to gain in the town from l. 2 to 2.50 a-day and get good bread to eat. The additional comforts of night-work, and, when they can sleep, of sleeping here, there, or wherever it may be about the works, they do not seem to mind." The writer goes on to lament this competition, begging these fellow-workers from the country to combine for higher wages, so as not to be at warfare one against the other, and lower the tariff laboured for and gained with so much effort. This state of things is indeed very hard, and so is the Iron Law of wages a hard fact, and it shows as a particularly glaring fact in Italy, where trades-unionism is only just beginning to take root under different names—Socialism among others.

The King of Italy has written a letter to his trusty Crispi as the outcome of his journey through Romagna—a letter of form and ceremony, expressing his pleasure, etc., etc. The letter is a mere matter of course, and surely not worth the page or two of notes that the *Emancipazione* bestows upon it. As a matter of fact, with all deference to our republican friends in Italy, Humbert does not deserve one quarter of the abuse he comes in for among other and more "worthy" objects of contumely; nor does it state the case to say that he and Crispi are both "flour from the same sack" (a picturesque simile, by the bye). In many ways he makes a better puppet than any other so-called ruler, whether monarchical or republican, and to our thinking has about him a certain rough honesty and attempt at straight dealing, which is no doubt frustrated at every turn by his political wire-pullers, whom we freely deliver up to the lively pen of our energetic and interesting contemporary of Rome.

M. M.

METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.—The weekly return of metropolitan pauperism shows that the total number of paupers relieved in the first week of the current month was 91,565, of whom 55,163 were indoor and 36,402 outdoor paupers. The total number relieved shows an increase of 2,932 over the corresponding week of last year, 4,289 over 1886, and 6,264 over 1885. The total number of vagrants relieved on the last day of the week was 924, of whom 807 were men, 162 women, and 15 children under sixteen.



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

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication. As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. **Rejected MSS.** only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. **Subscriptions.**—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d. **Business communications** to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

Will be used—'Socialism in Perthshire.'

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday September 19.

ENGLAND Bradford Observer Justice Labour Tribune Norwich—Daylight North British Daily Mail Railway Review Telegraph Service Gazette Worker's Friend New South Wales Hamilton—Radical INDIA Bankipore—Behar Herald Madras—People's Friend UNITED STATES New York—Der Sozialist Truthseeker Volkzeitung Jewish Volkszeitung Alarm Workmen's Advocate Boston—Woman's Journal Liberty Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung	CHICAGO (Ill.) —Vorbote Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West Milwaukee—National Reformer Providence Independent Citizen Paterson (N.J.) Labor Standard St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole Coast Seamen's Journal FRANCE Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) Le Parti Ouvrier (daily) La Revolte Le Coup de Feu En Avant Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur Nimes—L'Emancipation HOLLAND Hague—Recht voor Allen BELGIUM Ghent—Vooruit Liege—L'Avenir Antwerp—De Werker PORTUGAL Lisbon—O Protesto Operario	SWITZERLAND Zurich—Sozial Demokrat Arbeiterstimme ITALY Gazetta Operaia Rome, L'Emancipazione (daily) Marsala—La Nuova Eta Cremona—Il Democratico Turin—Il Muratore SPAIN El Productor Madrid—El Socialista GERMANY Berlin—Volks Tribune AUSTRIA Wien—Gleichheit Brunn—Arbeiterstimme ROUMANIA Jassy—Municipalul DENMARK Social-Demokraten SWEDEN Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
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A MODERN MIDAS.

In one respect at least, we Socialists have an advantage over other people. The very simplest and rudest ideal that a Socialist can conceive of would bear realisation well; a Socialist could only be discontented with such realisation by ceasing to be a Socialist; and there are few creeds or causes of which this could be said. Some have discounted the usual ideals, so to say, and rejected them beforehand, like the old Scotch lady who declined to sacrifice her pleasure on earth for the chance of sitting on a damp cloud and singing psalms all day for ever in another world; others, like Swedenborg, have gravely (though in his case with much humour also) tried to reason devotees out of the more foolish parts of their ideal, and put heaven before them as little more than the realisation of Socialism in a future state. Modern creeds, on the other hand, with characteristic cowardice, have generally evaded the difficulties that beset the realisation of ideals by taking care to make them so vague that at no stage of the change could it be said whether they were realised or not.

One religion there is, however, whose ideal as a religion is simple and straightforward enough, and quite capable of realisation, and indeed is often realised: that religion is the religion of money-making. To put yourself in such a position that no one could for a moment suppose that you need do or were doing anything useful, is, as we all know, the one thing to be striven after according to the Money-God; although the pursuit of this ideal is made easier by the pretence of having others, of the damp-cloud and psalm-singing nature. But the realisation of this ideal does not always (it is said) bring satisfaction: "to live the life of a gentleman" has been found irksome to many who have had in earlier days more exciting ways of life than that. Nay, one anecdote I know, which was told me as a fact by a business man of great respectability, which seems to show that a "gentleman's" life has unexpected dangers. A man in business in a large Midland town, said my acquaintance (who knew the man), after a long struggle as an agent and broker and what not, carried on with that untiring energy and strength of mind which so distinguishes the English bourgeois (only, by the way, the man was a German)—this man at last grew rich, and "lived like a gentleman"; and then very rich, and lived, I suppose, more like a gentleman. But here came the hitch: either he was so bored by the results of his triumph, his realised ideal, or his mind was so strong before that now it became weak, and he found that the only fun to be got out of his ideal was the pursuit of it. In short, this German representative of English industry went mad, and his madness took the form of his thinking that his ideal was still

unrealised, and that he was poor and struggling still. He now grew so little like "a gentleman" that he begrudged his own belly, his own back (and not other peoples') victuals and clothes. His friends (or hangers on) would come to him and say, "So and so, the doctor has ordered you a mutton chop"; and he would answer, "Well, the doctor had better send it me then; I can't afford it." The case being urgent, and the man daily growing weaker, the "friends" would say, "Well, that's true; but look here, if you will have a mutton chop we will pay you for eating it."

Then Midas, believing, as he naturally would, that the money which he had "made" came from nowhere in particular, and that there was no reason why this miracle should not be again, and even continuously exhibited, would say with caution, "Well, what will you give me?" and they, having command of an unlimited bogus cheque-book, would say, also with caution, "Well, let us say £100"; but Midas would turn away with a snort of indignation, and the bidding would rise to £500. "Come," Midas would say, "make it £750! Eating chops is such expensive work"; and they after some demur would agree, the cheque would be solemnly drawn and signed, and Mr. Midas would fulfil his part of the contract with all the probity of a British merchant. But of course the game had to be repeated at every fresh meal. The same comedy had to be played with the clothing of this pattern of industry. When he became visibly lousy, or perhaps a little before, there was the job to get him to change his shirt! He would manoeuvre and dodge about to screw another £100 out of his bribers, as though he had got a treasure to sell them, which they could not bear to lose, and would chuckle over his bogus cheque with complete enjoyment.

I don't know how long this industrious apprentice lived in this condition; I unamiably hope a long time, for he must have been a great nuisance to his hangers on, or keepers, or what not, and they deserved it for not being Socialists. It must be observed that the man was admittedly mad, and not an ordinary miser, and had kept a plenteous house and great state before he reverted to his original thrift and industry.

The moral is obvious enough not to need repeating: only perhaps some of our Fabian friends will not so much see Midas in the story, as a judgment called down on the man for neglecting to learn the true theory of rent in its various forms.

Indeed, I must unsay what I have just said, and end by asking our readers to look upon this true story, which does not stand by itself, as a type of our sham society, which inflicts so many miseries on others in order to be itself unhappy. W. M.

YARMOUTH AND FREE SPEECH.

THREE comrades have already been heavily fined, or the option of a month's imprisonment for obstruction at Yarmouth. On Saturday last, four comrades appeared before the Great Unpaid; a fifth summons had been issued, but our comrade did not turn up. The cases had been heard the week previous and was adjourned so as to enable us to compromise, which we refused to do, as we intend to win at all costs. On Saturday morning considerable excitement was caused, and the public crowded the Court. The number of cases was 38, comprising Socialists, Salvation, Blue Ribbon, and Church Armies. The defendants being called on, the magistrates adjourned for a short time to consider the *injusticia*, not *justice*, they should pass upon these men and women. Upon their return into Court, the chairman announced that he, and the four other idlers of society, had carefully considered the cases, and must carry out the law by inflicting a fine which all could pay, viz., 1s. including costs, or three days imprisonment. All the defendants decided to go to prison, except in one case, that of a female belonging to the Salvation Army, the fine being paid by a friend much to her annoyance. Time is allowed the defendants to pay the fine; if not paid, distress warrants are to be issued; that failing they go to prison. In all cases defendant's goods are secured, so the authorities cannot touch them. Our own comrades, I am pleased to say, have no goods, so they will do the alternative—go to prison. We are winning all along the line. It looks like the authorities surrendering, as only a few weeks back the fine and costs amounted to £2 19s. 4d.—Saturday last, 1s. and costs!

Since the decision on Saturday, we understand twelve names of the Salvation Army have been taken for holding a meeting on the disputed spot. On Sunday we held a meeting and had no interference from the police. We intend holding meetings during the week, and expect action will be taken against us; still we shall carry on the fight with more vigour, as we intend to win. We are fast gaining the sympathy of the workers in Yarmouth. A. T. S.

DAMN THE PUBLIC, BY ORDER.—The following regulation has been issued to the employees in telegraph offices:—"Telegraphists are not to give to the public any assurance as to the time telegrams are likely to be in transit. By order." (Here followeth the official seal.)

SOCIOLOGICAL LIBRARY IN FLORENCE.—The managing committee appeals to writers and publishers of books and pamphlets upon social subjects to send copies of their publications to the above institution, as the utility of the library is obvious for the furtherance of knowledge of social science and the Socialist movement. *Librarian:* Dott. A. Salvestrini, Via Cavour, 27. *Secretary:* Dott. I. Danielli, Via De' Robbia, 8.

ROUGH ON RAILWAYMEN.—A convalescent home has been opened for railwaymen, at Dover, which the *Railway Review* calls "a boon"; it is, however, not by any means an unmixed one, as they will have to share its privileges with policemen. What have railwaymen done that they should deserve to be classed with moral-miracles?

"**THAT IS THE LAW, MADAM.**"—A woman applied to the magistrate at Westminster police-court the other day, asking for a separation order from her husband. He deserted her some months ago, but had now reappeared and threatened to sell her furniture. She had bought the few things she had with her own earnings. The magistrate having elicited that she was married eighteen years ago, said, "Your husband can take everything you have, and sell it. That is the law, madam." "It cannot be so cruel," replied the woman, weeping. "To think that my home should be sold up by a man who will not work!" "That is the law," repeated the magistrate. "If he threatens you with personal violence, that is another matter. Don't remain under the mistake, however, that the things you have bought are your own."

SCOTTISH NOTES.

The Lord Provost and magistrates of the city of Glasgow invited the Queen to "open" the new municipal buildings a couple of weeks or so ago, and after a vast expenditure of money, and a mighty deal of pomp and ceremony, the old lady was graciously pleased to declare the buildings open—and there was great applause.

But either the Queen did not do her work in a thorough and tradesman-like manner, or she was grossly imposed upon, for notwithstanding her declaration the buildings are not opened yet, and won't be for weeks to come! The front entrance is still barricaded, and the interior is not half stuccoed or painted; lumbago and rheumatism only dwell within its walls.

It is surely not a Christian act to make an old woman with one foot in the grave tell lies in public.

The statue of Robert Burns was removed from its position in the grand hall of the Exhibition, and stuck in a corner to make way for the temporary throne, upon which her Majesty sat and surveyed one of the largest crowds of hypocrites and funkeys that ever tempted an earthquake to open its granite jaws and gobble the surplus population up. But earthquakes, like everything else now-a-days, are no darned use.

It is interesting to note that the conduct of the Edinburgh Trades' Council, in dispensing with the orthodox formality of honouring God by saying "grace before meat" when taking tea with the French workmen delegates (on a Sunday too), has not caused one-thousandth part of the comment bestowed upon the refusal of the delegates to honour the Queen by toasting her health. The hypocrisy of loyalty is a higher virtue, it would seem, than even the hypocrisy of religion in Scotland.

Loyalty rivals religion in more ways than one. Baillie Gray—who presided at the now notorious luncheon given by the Corporation to the delegates in the Exhibition—knowing well that the delegates repudiated every sentiment of loyalty to the Queen, and knowing also that it had been clearly stipulated beforehand that no toast either to Queen or President should be proposed, actually took advantage of his guest's ignorance of the English tongue and proposed the toast, thus tricking the delegates into drinking it! Had the delegates not discovered the fraud and "withdrew" from the toast, her Majesty might have flattered herself that a band of French Communists were deeply devoted to her person and worldly pretensions! I commend the incident to the attention of Sunday-school teachers and writers of religious tracts, as a touching exemplification of the relation of loyalty to the ninth commandment.

But surely one of the most vile of all acts of funkeyism perpetrated during the visit of our Jubilee Queen, was the attempt made by Mr. John Ferguson—well known as a Home Ruler and Land Restorer—to get up a petition and present it to her for the release of John Dillon. Irishmen, I am glad to say, refused to sign it; and Lord Lothian refused to allow it to be presented. Brave John Dillon would prefer, I am sure, the tortures of a hundred Balfours to the insult of an act like this.

A meeting was held in Glasgow about a fortnight ago to form the "Scottish Parliamentary Labour Party." The meeting was chiefly composed of Land Restorers, Social Democrats, miner's agents, and advanced Radicals. The programme, so far as yet announced, is a compromise—or rather a mixture of State Socialism and ordinary Radical reform. Cunningham Graham desired to include with the nationalisation of the land, the nationalisation of the means of production also, but the motion was declared out of order as the subject was not on the agenda paper.

While the Home Rule question lasts, and while Mr. Gladstone leads the Liberal party, Labour candidates have little chance of being returned in Scotland. When Home Rule is granted to Ireland and the Liberal party breaks up, let us hope that the whole fraud of politics and Parliament will break up also, and a straight march to the Revolution begin.

Let us keep to the highway of Freedom; it is the nearest, the easiest, and by far the pleasantest road. Why go slinking down bye-paths, dodging through hedgerows, and floundering into morasses, when we can keep our feet—and for that matter, our powder—dry, and march with swinging steps instead of hirpling along footsore, tattered, and famished beyond recognition? We are not out for a days preaching or a game of hares and hounds, we are hastening to reach the City of the Commune before night falls.

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

The Queen has visited Glasgow, but trade has not improved. What say the "labour leaders" who alleged that trade would be revived by the Queen visiting the industrial centres?

The Glasgow Exhibition has brought extra work to the carmen. That is the benefit the Exhibition gives labour. They get nothing from the extra income their increased labour brings—the shareholders get it all. That is the benefit the Exhibition gives to capital.—S. M.L.

THE UNIVERSITY OF THELEMA.

THOSE who are familiar with Rabelais's description of the Abbey of Thelema, that delightful abode of Anarchy where the only law was *Fais ce que veux* (Do what you like), and who know something of the senseless methods of "education" so-called that obtain today, will especially enjoy the following sketch of the University of Thelema, written by Paul Heusy and translated by Boston *Liberty* from *Le Radical*.—

It is built on the side of a hill shaded by beautiful trees, at the foot of which flows a wide river with a swift current. The numerous pavilions that compose it form a sort of little city in which each house rises in the middle of a garden full of shrubs and flowers. In every direction air and light in abundance. The halls, large and high, running north and south, receive through immense bay windows the white rays of the morning and the purple rays of the afternoon.

Over the main entrance, whose two swinging doors are never closed, appears the following inscription:

Learn what you like.

There are taught all sciences, all philosophies, all legislations, all literatures, all tongues, old and new. Sanscrit has its chair, but so has the barbarous jargon of the Polynesian tribes.

There is no discussion whether greater attention should be given to living than to dead languages, or to science than to literature, for the excellent reason that all are equally well treated.

The University pays no attention to the student's programme. It asks nothing of him, imposes nothing on him.

The student is expected to investigate for himself. He goes and comes at will from pavilion to pavilion. So much the worse for him, if, after trying everything, he does not find his way. In that case, apparently, study is scarcely his *forte*. He is not obliged to stay. There are enough occupations in the world that do not require a previous poring over books. Let him go to them.

Never are any prizes distributed to students, never any ribbons given to professors; usually the latter teach in vests; some, however, prefer jackets; I have even heard that sometimes, in hot summer days, these gentlemen appear in their shirt-sleeves.

These costumes excite great astonishment among the doctors from neighbouring countries who visit the University of Thelema.

Generally they raise their arms to heaven and cry:

"What! you do not wrap yourselves in robes and wear square caps on your heads?"

"No," answer the professors, smiling.

"But how do you inspire respect without robes or caps?"

"Why should any one dream of failing in respect, inasmuch as we do not compel any one to follow our lessons?" say the professors of Thelema.

"Prizes excite emulation," continue the foreign doctors; "without the hope of reward most of our students would not work."

"Perhaps you are mistaken," gently hint the professors of Thelema; "the emulation which you provoke seems to us purely artificial. It results more from a desire to shine than from a desire to know."

"People have to be taken by their weak sides."

"Such is not our opinion; we believe they should be encouraged to recognise their strong sides."

"The maxim seems to us to fit grown men only; and yet all your students are not grown men."

"True, we admit lads of fifteen."

"You see!"

"At fifteen they begin to think; that is all we want."

"And you do not divide the studies into different stages to be taken successively?"

"Oh, yes, we grade the studies."

"Very good, but you do not submit the students to any examination in passing from one grade to another?"

"No."

"Then how do you know whether they are fit to rise one degree?"

"We do not trouble ourselves about that," answer the professors of Thelema; "the students must question themselves and judge for themselves."

At this reply the foreign doctors generally shake their heads and run away frightened.

The University of Thelema, it is scarcely necessary to say, gives no diplomas. The student leaves when he considers himself sufficiently a lawyer, doctor, engineer, man of letters, or man of science.

And as in the country where Thelema is situated all professions are open, these young people are not subjected to the slightest embarrassment. They practise law, medicine, build bridges, etc., without fear of being stopped in the midst of their work by a policeman who asks for their parchment.

It is even remarked that, having no papers in their pockets which declare them "doctors," they never feel themselves freed from the obligation to continue to learn. So, when they have any leisure, they spend it at the University of Thelema, on whose benches they hasten to take their places again as attentive listeners.

Such a phenomenon is rarely observed in countries where diplomas are given, inasmuch as the diploma serves famously as a substitute for knowledge.

LITERARY NOTES.

Articles of interest to Socialists in September magazines:—*Contemporary Review*: "The Present Problem in India," Sir W. W. Hunter, LL.D.; "State Socialism," John Rae; "Henry More, the Platonist," Arthur Benson; "The Rights of Children," Mary C. Tabor. *Nineteenth Century*: "Pages from a Work-Girl's Diary," Beatrice Potter; "Socialism through American Spectacles," General Lloyd S. Bryce; "The Miners of Scotland," Robert Haddon; "Co-operative Stores for Ireland," H. C. Plunkett; "Slavery in East Central Africa," Oswald Crawford.

Bomba Balfour has been the guest of Sir Charles Lennart at his country house, The Glen. The latter is a Gladstone Liberal politician. Can the earnestness of present political warfare be better illustrated?—S. M.L.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

Cumberland blast-furnacemen are waking up and extending their organization.

DUNDEE MOULDERS.—The moulders in Dundee are agitating for an advance of wages.

Signalmen at Portadown Station on the Great Northern of Ireland Railway have to work 84 hours a-week for 12s.

Yorkshire miners will soon ask for a 10 per cent. raise. They refuse to accept the new code of rules until materially amended.

ENGINEER'S STRIKE AT PAISLEY.—The engineers employed at the Thistle Works by Messrs. Bow M'Lachlan, having demanded an advance from 5½d. to 6½d., not getting any reply have come out.

Consternation has been caused at Portsmouth dockyard by the announcement that further serious reductions are to be made. One hundred and fifty men of the engineering department have already received notice.

Among the nail-makers of The Lye, a maker of Brazil nails was found by the *Labour Tribune's* special commissioner, who was "proud of the fact that he earned more than his neighbours"—working from 6 in the morning till 9 at night, six days a week, he got 16s.!

END OF THE DISPUTE AT MESSRS. RUSSELL AND SONS, WEDNESBURY.—The screwers employed under the above firm, who for three weeks have been on strike against a 15 per cent. reduction, waited on the masters on Thursday 13th and amicably arranged to resume work at the old rate of wages.

THE STRIKE IN THE NUT AND BOLT TRADE.—At a meeting of nut and bolt makers at Darlaston on Thursday 13th, it was stated that a number of operatives were still out on strike in consequence of being unable to obtain wages in accordance with the recognised list of prices. It was resolved to continue the strike.

A full representative meeting of miners was held at Pelsall on Tuesday, and, after an address on "The Present State of Trade" had been delivered by Mr. B. Dean, it was agreed that the time was opportune for an agitation for an advance of wages, and it was decided to join other districts in a movement to that end.

STRIKERS HEAVILY FINED.—At Dudley, on Friday 15th, two anchor-smiths, named Poole and Jones, were fined £10 and expenses for leaving their work without giving notice. There was a strike at the time, and, though defendants' employers granted them an advance, they left work because other employers had not given their workmen an advance.

In consequence of the substantial improvement in the iron trade, the finished ironworkers of the North Staffordshire Branch of the Amalgamated Association of Ironworkers of England, Scotland, and Wales (a new organization which is rapidly extending its influence to all the iron producing districts of the kingdom), have resolved to apply for an advance of wages.

STEELWORKERS' STRIKE AT WORKINGTON.—On Monday 10 a strike occurred at the Moss Bay Iron and Steel Works, Workington, against a reduction of wages was given notice of under a contractor who has taken the bessemer department. The reduction affected wages to the extent of 10 to 15 per cent. About 100 men are affected, and the stoppage will interfere with the other portions of the works. The employes are very firm in their determination not to accept any reduction.

THE BELFAST SHIPBUILDING STRIKE.—On Friday 15th, a deputation of the men belonging to the Queen's Island Shipbuilding Works waited on the employers, and succeeded in effecting an arrangement by which the works, which have been closed for a month, will re-open to the employes on Monday, Sept. 17th. It will be remembered that the lock-out resulted from a strike among the boiler-makers. The questions involved are now stated to have been nearly all arranged, the terms, however, not being disclosed.

MIDLAND COUNTIES IRON AND STEEL WAGES BOARD.—A meeting of the employers' section of the Wages Board was held at the Queen's Hotel, Birmingham, on Thursday, 13th, to consider the suggestion that a sliding scale to automatically regulate wages should be re-established. The employers determined to put forward a proposition for the consideration of the operatives. After consultation with the officials of the operatives' section of the Board, it was finally agreed that a meeting of the full Board should be held on Monday, 24th, to consider the proposed sliding scale and other matters. An intimation was given on behalf of the operatives' section that an advance of wages would be asked for.

LIVERPOOL SAILORS.—For somewhat past serious dissatisfaction has been felt among the seamen offering themselves for employment at the Liverpool Sailors' Home. This has led in one or two instances to a strike for an advance. On Saturday, 8th, placards were posted calling a meeting to consider what action should be taken. All the vessels, however, which were down to ship their crews on Monday did so, with one exception, and on Tuesday there was practically no refusal to accept the wages current, though in one instance of a sailing-ship going a long voyage 5s. per month over the late rates were given. The men, knowing there has been an increase in the freight, naturally want to participate in the rise; but as in former instances, when the Liverpool sailors have struck for higher wages, there is no proper organisation among the men, and the attempt is therefore hopeless. They should learn a lesson from the Pacific coast.

LOCK-OUT OF QUAY LABOURERS AT GLASGOW.—Four hundred labourers on the Glasgow mineral quays have been dismissed, and 150 Protestant Irishmen have been brought to Glasgow from Belfast to fill their places. Two hundred more are expected to arrive. The masters dismissed the men because they belong to a Union, the rules of which prevent other men working who are not connected with it. An increased staff of police has been placed on duty on the quays to prevent acts of intimidation. With the help of the imported labour, the stevedores are having little difficulty in carrying on the work independent of the union men. The hopelessness of the situation is already having its effect upon the union. Many of the men have quietly left it, and gone to work on the same footing as the strangers. Although there is much bitter feeling among the idle men there has been no disturbances, and only one case in which complaint of intimidation has been made. Charles Mulherron, residing in Dale Street, has been apprehended by the marine police at the instance of a "black nob," said to have been, until the present difficulty arose, one of the leading members of the union. Mulherron, he says, used threatening and abusive language to him, and offered to put his head through a window.

STRIKE AT DARLINGTON.—Owing to a dispute between two workmen and a foreman in the sleeper department, the Darlington Steel works have been stopped. The union men came out on strike because the manager refused to reinstate the two men, and as a result of this course upwards of 800 men are laid idle. The mayor, Mr. Sedgwick, undertook to act as intermediary between the manager and the workmen, but his negotiations failed. On Friday 14th summonses were issued at the instance of the manager against 50 of the men for ceasing work without notice.

CANNOCK MINERS.—A very remarkable meeting was held at Cannock on Friday 7th, to congratulate and present £5 each to the men who were sent to prison for "intimidation." "The account of the meeting," says the *Labour Tribune*, "will hardly be pleasant reading for the gentlemen who instituted the proceedings, or to the magistrates who inflicted such heavy penalties. Whoever was 'intimidated,' it is clear the men are not. . . . The strike has terminated in favour of the men. We congratulate them and their leaders on this happy result of a struggle that throughout has been fought with indomitable pluck and perseverance."

EBBW VALE MINERS.—The following appeal has been issued, and should be largely responded to:—"We, the miners now on strike at Ebbw Vale, after doing all that lay in our power to obtain our just rights before taking this last step in laying down our tools until the same be conceded to us, therefore appeal to our fellow workmen in the mining districts of this vast country for support during the time we are compelled to remain out on strike. We feel we are fighting battles on behalf of our fellow workmen as well as ourselves. Various collieries and sub-districts have decided to support us by putting on a levy of sixpence per week or until the dispute is settled. Our success will depend upon the support our fellow workmen will be able to give. We are nearly 1,600 affected. We have already been out four weeks and our resources have all gone." All donations should be made payable to Thos. Richards, 23, Carwel Town, Beaufort, near Brynmawr.

STOPPAGES FROM WAGES.—T. C. Waller, a workman of the sturdy, independent sort, and good character, was employed several weeks as carman by the Crown Bottling Company, Brixton, who make deductions from their carmen's wages for "wrong stoppers"—i.e. bottles belonging to other companies brought in by mistake instead of the firm's. They, however, do not return the bottles to the men, and so secure both coin and bottles. This was tried on Waller, who quietly submitted, but thoughtfully put down the amount of stoppages in a little book. They soon totalled up, by sixpences, ninepences, tenpences, and eightpences, to 13s 6½d. The next stoppage announced was 7s. 6d. This was more than even the patient Waller could stand. He gave a week's notice, and demanded the 13s. 6½d. The firm responded by a curt refusal and immediate dismissal. Application was then made for a summons at Lambeth Police Court, but the day before it was made returnable the firm sent the full amount—£1 4s. wages, 13s. 6½d. stoppages, 5s. expenses, 2s. summons, in all £2 4s. 6½d.—to Waller's house, thus fully admitting the illegality of their action and the justice of the claim. His idea of keeping a little book may be commended by all workmen who are fined by their employers.

COTTON TRADE.—The strike at Atlas Mills, Bolton, strippers and grinders, remains unsettled, and over 1,000 operatives are, as a result, walking the streets, with no immediate prospect of resuming, as both sides remain firm in the attitude taken up. The matter originally in dispute was only a very trifling one, and at first affected but 40 men, the amount involved being but 11d. per man per week, or £2 per week to the firm.—The notices served by the operative spinners at Lodge Mill, Burnley, expired Wednesday 12th. They demand compensation, alleging that since the recent advance of 5 per cent. they are earning less money than before. About 60 spinners and 38,000 spindles are affected. On Monday 10th a strike of weavers took place at Whittlefield Shed, Burnley, against being underpaid. The weavers resumed work on Tuesday morning, with the understanding that the prices were to be made right.—At Wigan on the same day a strike took place, and ended in the same way.—At a mill in Heywood there were at one time four cardroom jobbers to do certain work. One was knocked off, and the work divided among the other three without extra pay. During the last fortnight the employer stopped one of the three, putting the work on the other two, who were only to receive their previous wages, 21s. The men naturally resented this, and struck, and are now in receipt of strike pay. Their places have been filled, however, by two knobsticks, who have consented to do the work with the assistance of a lap carrier, who will receive 15s. per week, the employer thus having a profit of 6s. a-week by the change.—The minders who struck work about sixteen weeks ago for the five per cent. advance at the Broad Field Mill, Smithy Bridge, are still out. All the minders in this district have received the advance, with the exception of this mill.—The operatives of Sun Mill, Littleborough, are on strike, and both masters and workers seem determined to stand out. It is stated that operatives from neighbouring towns are to be got to the place, and the strike hands have had to solicit assistance from fellow-operatives.

SOCIALISM AT OXFORD.

Our comrades at Oxford are finding that the town is as reactionary as the University, and are beginning to suffer for being Socialists. A short time ago a Radical manufacturer there sacked some of his workmen because they "kept bad company." The "bad company" was that of two brothers of the manufacturer, who had till quite recently also worked in his shop, but who are members of the Socialist League. The master also gave notice that none of his men would be allowed to belong to any Benefit Society, or Co-operative Society, of which his brothers might happen to be members. This petty piece of tyranny had reference to a small society which the workmen had set on foot for supplying themselves with some of the most needful articles of consumption.

Two of this Radical's workmen, upon being dismissed, claimed more wages than he was willing to pay. They and an apprentice boy, whom he had fined, summoned him, and the case came into Court on September 8th. It is not the question of the contract and the wages that may be legally claimed under it that deserve notice, so much as the animus displayed by the master's attorney. He asked the claimants whether they were members of the Socialist League, and he did his little all to raise a prejudice against Socialists by handing up to the bench copies of *Justice* and *Commonweal*. An eye-witness reports that the magistrates studied these while the case went on. May they profit by it!

The case went for the master; but it must be allowed that that would probably have been so, even if the men had been quite ordinary mortals, instead of Socialists. It can scarcely be otherwise with a bench taken from the class of masters. The poor apprentice not only got no redress, but suffered still more heavily from a weighty lecture delivered from the Bench. This painted in dark colours the crime of rebellion against a good master, who allowed him to get pocket-money by doing piece-work. The boy's ordinary wages may go to his parents; for pocket-money he would work much more heartily. The kind, kind master perhaps knew this, as other kind masters do who encourage piece-work.

C. J. F.

PRISON THOUGHTS.

ERNEST JONES.

Composed when confined in a solitary cell on bread and water, May 1849; for lack of writing materials written in his own blood on the fly-leaf of a book.

TROUBLESOME fancies beset me,
Sometimes, as I sit in my cell,
That comrades and friends may forget me,
And foes but remember too well;

That plans which I thought well-digested
May prove to be bubbles of air,
And hopes when they come to be tested
May turn to the seed of despair.

But though I may doubt all beside me,
And anchor and cable may part,
Whatever, whatever betide me,
Forbid me to doubt my own heart!

For sickness may wreck a brave spirit,
And time wear the brain to a shade,
And dastardly age disinheret
Erections that manhood has made;

But God let me ne'er cease to cherish
The truths I so fondly have held,
Far sooner at once let me perish
Ere firmness and courage are quelled.

Though my head in the dust may be lying,
And bad men exult o'er my fall,
I shall smile at them, smile at them, dying,
For the Right is the Right after all.

CORRESPONDENCE.

EMILE ZOLA.

The paragraph in a recent issue of the *Commonweal* referring to the prosecution of the publisher of his works in this country gives me an opportunity of putting in a word on his behalf. I would strongly urge all Socialists to read the three books of Zola's here named—

'Germinal,' the hell of collier life.
'L'Assommoir,' the hell of the workman's life in a modern city.
'La Terre,' the hell of peasant life.

I do not know any books so calculated to stir people's minds up and to force them to see the necessity for a complete change in the conditions of modern labour.

It may be objected that Zola is writing of French colliers, French working men and women, and French peasants; but so much are the conditions of working people under capital in different countries alike, that all the time I was reading 'Germinal' I felt as if our own people were being described. That bleak, hostile landscape, with its black, spectral, colliery buildings—have we not seen it all many a time in our own coal districts? And we have only to go into our gin-palaces and we shall find ourselves in the atmosphere of 'L'Assommoir.' As for our feeble-minded philanthropists babbling of a peasant-proprietorship—let them read 'La Terre'!

I would point out that the true cause of the hatred for Zola's works which is so zealously displayed by the bourgeois journals both in this country and in France, is the fearless and unflinching manner in which he has exposed the misery and degradation on which their "society" is based. These critics shut their eyes to the social questions which must arise in the minds of thoughtful men from a perusal of these works, and appalled at the naked realism in which his facts appear, can only shriek Uclean! Immoral! etc., etc. As if a book is immoral because it is not suitable for a ladies' school!

Bury, Lancashire, 6 Sept. E. E. MINTON.

EXAMINE ALL THINGS.

The article in the current number of the *Commonweal*, called "Men who are not Socialists," is in my opinion somewhat waste of space and time, while there are so many and all-important things to be said and discussed. The work we have in hand is so great and noble we ought not to allow any personal or petty feelings to get mixed up in the matter, but pursue our object with earnestness and tolerance, and do the best we can to keep our own eyes clear, that we may be able to see the mote or beam in other eyes. I think each point for and against Socialism ought to be freely discussed in the *Commonweal* from week to week, and encouragement given to comrades to put forward their views as well as they can, so that answers might be given and errors rectified. I am quite sure that the habit of writing down one's ideas is very useful, and would often clear up views and misapprehensions. We cannot all get time to read big books—or indeed small ones—nor can we put our hands on the books or passages in them which would "lighten our darkness," but by being able to ask questions and get answers given by experienced Socialists we would gain greatly. Now, for instance, I have been thinking for the last few days how the increase of workers, which would take place in a state freed of monopoly would affect the community at large. I can see easily enough that if our resources were un-increasable there would be a greater number of workers to do the same amount of work which a smaller number did, the result would be a decrease in the number of hours of work for each individual, and as a consequence more leisure to them, but no increase of wealth. And if our resources were increasable, and all workers did a long day's work, our wealth would increase. Now it seems to me if the latter view be true it is very important for us to have clear statements regarding our resources, so that we may see plainly what we are at.

Bearing on this point I see a few remarks in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Lord Bramwell says, "It is a truth hard to believe; but I am satisfied it is a truth. The great object of a society in this matter should be to make what the Americans call the greatest pile. . . . I do not say that a more equitable division than exists is not desirable, but I say that in the attempt to

bring it about by law the pile will be reduced." "Bramwell would admit that it would be better to produce £900 and distribute it equally between ten men than to produce £1,000 if the latter could only be done by giving one man £750 and dividing £250 between the other nine." "Lord Bramwell would probably reply that the difference between the pile accumulated under the present system and that under a Socialistic régime would be much greater than that between £900 and £1,000." Now what sort of Socialism does Bramwell or the *Pall Mall Gazette* think of? Might not a great deal be said about the quality of the "pile"?

Again, look at the sneer of Bramwell at the "kindly but short-sighted men" who denounce machinery as means of taking the bread out of the mouths of the labourers, and the *Pall Mall Gazette's* remarks on the same subject in its leading article: "We laugh at the simplicity of" anyone who experiences feelings with regard to the sufferings caused by the displacement of human labour by machinery. "The race gains" on the whole. Now, we want the opposite view put by some of your able writers, as there is a great danger of people accepting these views as final. If we cannot prove that machinery is of no use, at least it might be plainly stated how a change that is supposed necessary for the general good, though causing suffering to some individuals, ought to be borne by all, not by a few.

And again, there is the question of State Socialism, and anti-State Socialism, to which I believe we of the Socialist League belong. I feel certain that many of our friends are very vague with regard to this subject, and an opening of the subject would be a gain.

Finally, I may say that I think the remarks on the subject of the marriage discussion were inadequate. The remark in the account given of an interview with Mrs. Caird by the *Pall Mall*, struck me as much to the point. It was "free marriage is not possible until the proposed contract can be free in fact as well as in name. That is, until women are no longer dependent on men for their daily bread." To talk about altering the marriage laws without first considering the society out of which they have their growth, and how to change it, is like grumbling at the weeds for growing when you neither weed nor hoe, but allow them to cast their seeds from year to year. How can a state of independence, such as Mrs. Caird suggests, be brought about? Only in one way—by creating employment enough to give women a certainty of earning an independent living. Can the present state of society give such employment? Well, "the proof of the pudding is in the eating." Society at present does not give employment to anything like all; nor does there seem any chance of the employing power being increased, rather the opposite. The great question comes then, in what state of society would the greatest amount of employment be obtainable? It seems obvious that the greatest amount of employment would be obtained in a state in which all that is necessary to the production of the comforts and necessities of life would be in the hands of the workers—free of all tax, and free of all claims on the part of individuals—to be used by the workers for the workers only, combined of course in an organisation which aimed at getting the most and the best for the whole community.

To conclude, the complete independence of women can only be begun to be realised when the last spadeful of earth has been thrown into the grave of monopoly, and the motherhood of women—as free individuals—is looked upon with admiration and respect, not with loathing and reproach.—Yours fraternally,

R. CATTERSON SMITH.

Shorne, near Gravesend, Kent, Sunday, Sept. 9, 1888.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

London Members' Meeting.—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, Oct. 3, 1888, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

Propaganda Fund.—Anon., 11d.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Langley, 2s.; P. W., 6d.; C. J. F., 2s. 6d.; K. F., 1s.

FREE SPEECH FUND.

Victory at Yarmouth is now almost assured, but it has proved a very heavy financial drain upon the branch, and subscriptions, however small, are urgently needed, and should be sent to F. Charles, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.

Already acknowledged—£3 15s. 2d. Received—Collections: Regent's Park, 2s. 3d.; Victoria Park, 2s. 4d.; W. R., 2s. 6d.; Clerkenwell Branch, 1s. Total, £4 3s. 3d. F. CHARLES, Sec., 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.

REPORTS.

CLERKENWELL.—A very large meeting was addressed on the Green Sunday night by Nicoll, Parker, and A. Burrows (S.D.F.) In hall, W. Blundell lectured on "The Trades' Union Congress." He criticised the action of delegates in passing "petti-togging" (Parliamentary) resolutions, which meant little or nothing to the great mass of the workers, "skilled" and otherwise. Pointed out that the conclusions of the delegates on land nationalisation was but a half-hearted matter, and was useless without the communalisation of the means of production, not only in England or the United Kingdom, but the whole world over. Good discussion.—E.

FULHAM.—On Tuesday evening, Beasley, Bullock, Maughan, Ashborn, and Grosier addressed a good meeting. On Sunday morning, Bullock and Samuels spoke. Fair sale of *Weal*, and 1s. 3d. collected. In the evening, Sampson (S.D.F.) opened the meeting, Turner afterwards giving a lecture on "Socialist Co-operation."—S. B. G.

HAMMERSMITH.—Morris and Tarleton held a meeting at Weltje Road on Sunday morning 11.30 (first time) to quite a philistine audience and kept their attention for an hour and a half, some of them not liking Socialism, judging by the remarks made, but they listened with attention. Fair sale of *Commonweal*. Next Sunday the speakers will be there at 11.30—Tarleton and Bullock. Good meeting held at Latimer Road on Sunday, mainly composed of intelligent working men. The speakers were comrades Fox, Maughan, Dean, and Tochetti; the audience listened very attentively, and took the points well. Four new members made. Fair sale of *Commonweal*.

HYDE PARK.—The unemployed, having no speakers in the Park on Sunday, requested our help, which was given by Parker, Brooks, Cantwell, and others, who addressed a great crowd.

REGENT'S PARK.—The meeting was begun very late, but a large number of persons were addressed by Parker and Brooks. 2s. 4d. collected.

VICTORIA PARK.—Good meeting held by Mainwaring, Schack, Bullock, and Tochetti. Opposition from a young man, who spoke of Fair Trade and better Acts of Parliament being the remedy for the working man. 2s. 2d. collected.

ABERDEEN.—At indoor meeting of branch on 10th, Comrade McIntyre read lecture on "Law and War." No open-air meeting held on Saturday, owing partly to rain and partly because comrade Leatham was engaged at a trade society meeting, where his presence was urgently required.—J. L.

GLASGOW.—On Sunday at 2 o'clock (instead of 12.30 as announced) Glasier, McKechnie, T. Burgoyne, and J. Burgoyne, held a very good meeting on the Green. At 5 o'clock Glasier spoke to a good audience at Paisley Road. At the conclusion of his address several questions were asked and answered. A French class has been formed (see announcement).

NORWICH.—Friday, comrade Mowbray addressed a good meeting on St. Catharine's Plain. Sunday morning a large meeting was held at North Walsham by Morley; meeting very enthusiastic; all the *Commonweal* sold our comrade took with him; it is hoped a branch will be formed very shortly. In the afternoon a large meeting held in the Market Place by Morley, Poynts, and W. Moore; meeting lasted two hours; opposition from one of the crowd, who advocated thrift and temperance, and thought every working man could save sixpence a week; our comrades soon disposed of the opposition to the satisfaction of the audience. In the evening another large meeting was held, addressed by Mowbray; opposition was again offered by the same individual as the afternoon, who is a member of the Peace Society; opposition easily disposed of by Mowbray; fair sale of *Commonweal*.

LECTURE DIARY.
LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—This Branch will shortly be actively working. Socialists resident in this locality should send their names in at once to 13, Farringdon Road.
Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday Sept. 23, at 8.30, "The Futurity of Parliamentary Agitation to assist the Social Revolution"—a debate between W. B. Parker (S.L.) and S. Moffat (S.D.F.).

Fulham.—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. A Special Committee Meeting will be held on Friday the 28th inst. All members are earnestly requested to attend.
Hackney.—Enquiries, communications, etc., to E. Lefevre, Secretary, 28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Rd., Hackney Wick.

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday, Sept. 23, at 8 p.m.
Hoxton.—Persons wishing to join this branch are requested to communicate with H. D. Morgan, 22, Nicholas Street Hoxton.

London Fields.—All communications, etc., to Mrs. G. G. Schack, 26 Cawley Road, South Hackney.
Merton.—Club-house, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road, Singlegate. Lecture on Sunday evenings at 8.30.
Mile-end and Bethnal Green.—95 Boston St., Hackney Road.

North London.—Secretary, Nelly Parker, 143 Cavendish Buildings, opposite Holborn Town Hall. The business meetings will be held on Friday evenings at 6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, after the open-air meeting at Ossulton Street. Special Meeting on Friday September 21st. All members are asked to attend at Ossulton St. at 8 o'clock.
St. Georges in the East.—A meeting of the members of this branch will be held at 23 Princes Square, on Sunday morning after the meeting at Leman Street. Rochmann, secretary.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen (Scottish Section).—Douglas M'Intyre, Sec., 17 Queen Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

Bradford.—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivergata. Meets Tuesdays at 8.

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

Dundee (Scott. Sect.).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec Dundee (Scott. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

Edinburgh (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.

Galashiels (Scott 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 Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8. **SPECIAL NOTICE.**—French Class, to be taught by Theodore Bonin, begins on Sunday, and will be held every Sunday from 11 till 1 o'clock.
Leeds.—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Rd. and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m. communications to T. Paylor, 11 Sheldon Street, Holbeck, Leeds.
Leicester.—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

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

Norwich.—Monday, at 8, Special Entertainment by members and friends will be held in the Gordon Hall, to clear off the debts in connection with the prosecutions at Yarmouth; admission 3d. each. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Wednesday, at 8, Educational Class—subject, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." Thursday, at 8.30, Meeting in Gordon Hall. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association.

Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.
Walsall.—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.
West Calder (Scottish Section).—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SUNDAY 23.

11.30...Latimer Road Station ...Hammersmith Branch
11.30...Mitcham Fair GreenThe Branch
11.30...Regent's ParkTurner & Nicoll
11.30...Walham Green, opp. StationMrs. Schack
11.30...Weltje Rd., Ravenscourt PkHammersmith
3.30...Hyde ParkParker & Turner
7 ...Weltje Road, opposite Ravenscourt Park
.....Hammersmith Branch

7.30...Clerkenwell GreenParker
Monday.
8 ...Wimbledon Broadway.....The Branch

Tuesday.
8.30...Fulham—opposite Liberal Club.....Fulham Bn.

Friday.
7.30...Euston Rd.—Ossulton StreetNicoll

EAST END.

SUNDAY 23.

Mile-end Waste ... 11 ...Mainwaring.
Leman Street, Shadwell 11 ...Parker.
Victoria Park ... 3.15...Bullock.
London Fields ... 8 ...Tochatti.

TUESDAY.
Mile-end Waste ... 8.30...Davis.

WEDNESDAY.
Broadway, London Fields 8.30...Lane.

FRIDAY.
Philpot St., Commercial Rd. 8.30...Parker.

SATURDAY.
Mile-end Waste ... 8 ...Parker.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen.—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7 p.m.
Edinburgh.—Queen's Park, every Sunday, at 3 p.m.
Glasgow.—Sunday: Jail's Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock.

Ipswich.—Sproughton, Wednesday evening.
Westerfield, Thursday evening.
Neeham Market, Sunday morning and evening.

Leeds.—Sunday: Huaslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.
Leicester.—Sunday: Russel Square, at 11 a.m.

Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place, at 11, 3, and 7.30.
Yarmouth, Church Plain, Sunday at 3.

Wymondham, Sunday at 11.
St. Faiths, Sunday at 11.
St Catharine's Plain, Friday at 8.15 p.m.

THE PROGRESSIVE ASSOCIATION, PENTON HALL, 81, Pentonville Road.—Sunday, September 23, at 7.45, Graham Wallas, M.A., "The Chartist Movement."

THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—The Committee will meet at the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, on Saturday, September 22nd, at 7.30 p.m. Subscriptions received and members enrolled at 9 p.m.

UNITED SCANDINAVIAN CLUB, 43, Rathbone Place, Oxford Street, W.—Monday September 24, at 8 p.m., Harold Cox, B.A. (Fabian Society), "Trades Unionism and Co-operation."

YARMOUTH FREE SPEECH FUND.

A GRAND CONCERT will be held at the International Club, 40, Berner Street, Commercial Road, E., on Saturday, September 22, at 8 p.m., for the benefit of the above fund. Songs, Music, and Dramatic Readings by W. Morris, W. B. Parker, T. Cantwell, H. James, Annie Taylor, Miss M. Morgan, W. Blundell, D. Nicoll, F. Kitz, J. Bull, F. Charles, Miss L. Stores, and other Comrades. During the evening several Choruses will be sung by the Choir of the Socialist League. Admission by Programme, 3d.; can be obtained from Secretary, Socialist League, 13, Farringdon Road, or the Secretaries of any of the London Branches.

WANTED, AN IMPROVER TO THE WATCH AND CLOCK TRADE. Socialist preferred.—Apply 41 and 43 High Street, Deptford.

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Country friends will be well advised to write for particulars. THOMAS SHORE, jun., 33 Newington Green Road, Balls Pond, London, N.

SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.

Chants for Socialists. By William Morris. 1d.

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

The Commune of Paris. By E. Belfort Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. 2d.

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

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

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

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THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 4.—No. 142.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

THAT organ of renegade Radicalism, the *Echo*, has startled the world recently by a new discovery. It states *gravely* enough that the Whitechapel murders have their origin in the incendiary speeches of Trafalgar Square agitators.

To back this extraordinary assertion it is good enough to give the authority of Mr. W. Thompson, who happened to point out that these outrages occurred at the same time as the agitation of the unemployed. Probably Mr. Thompson intended to suggest that the attention Sir Charles Warren was giving to the unemployed agitation prevented the police from attending to their ordinary duties, for it would certainly never occur to the mind of any sane person outside the *Echo* staff that denunciation of the apathy and luxurious cruelty of the rich can have anything to do with the beastly barbarities committed upon the persons of the weakest and most helpless of the poor.

Let the editor of the *Echo* try again. Some time ago there was a play produced at Farringdon Hall, written by our comrade William Morris, in which a policeman accuses a Socialist of inciting to disembowel the capitalists of London. Perhaps the *Echo* will suggest, on a future occasion, that the Whitechapel murders sprang from the Socialist drama of "The Tables Turned; or, Nupkins Awakened," and the *Echo* is welcome to this idea if it chooses to seize upon it with the frantic originality which characterises that excellent journal.

The Whig element is, I am glad to see, giving its last kick in the Metropolitan Radical Federation. The Great Mr. Foote, who has constituted himself the leader of this party, received two crushing defeats last Wednesday night, the proposals to extend popular control to voluntary schools, and the one free meal a day resolution of Social Democrats, being carried against him by overwhelming majorities, in spite of his strenuous opposition.

This is good news, not because we look upon the resolutions carried as any but the semiest of semi-Socialism, but we remember the fact that it was mainly owing to Mr. Foote that the Radical Federation abandoned their intention of contesting the right of public meeting in Trafalgar Square. The "moderation" of "the soldier of freedom" at that time has doubtless had its share in producing his crushing defeat last Thursday.

Whig Radicalism has had its day, and, judging by the present rate of progress of the Radical Clubs, it will not be long before they recognise that the salvation of the working classes can only be obtained by the overthrow of the robbers who rule and plunder us. Although we, as revolutionary Socialists, may not think much of such a pitiful palliative as the one free meal a day to the children of starving workmen, still we must acknowledge that its adoption by the Metropolitan Radical Federation is a significant sign of the way in which the world is moving.

A horrible story comes from the Dark Continent. Socialists have never been blind to the real mission of philanthropic British explorers, but we were not aware that "the benefits of civilisation" were to be extended to benighted savages at the merciful hands of cannibal tribes. We hear now, on the authority of a Christian missionary, Mr. De Winter, that the late Major Barttelot did not hesitate to employ these monsters for this purpose. Nay, he made a treaty with them to the effect "that if four hundred of the cannibals in question would consent to accompany him, that they should not be interfered with, so that pillage, murder, and man-eating might lay waste the country along the line of march."

What matters it? for we hear that by the benevolent aid of these amiable savages "the column will thus be able to throw open still more the virgin country to Manyemas, who will be able to supply the Stanley Falls trading factory with marvellous cheap ivory." Dead men will tell no tales, and the midnight volley and shrieks of dying man far back in the gloomy forest will never be heard by the passing

Congo steamers, and the new governor, Tippoo Tib, can scarcely be expected to object to deeds which only struck Englishmen as sensational scenes for their sketch-books, and which called forth no protest because "our object was to get on well with the Arabs." Hurrah for "cheap ivory" and "Christian civilisation"!

Yes, Christian English officers have gazed unmoved upon "human feet and hands sticking out of the cooking-pots of the Manyemas." They have looked on with pleasure "while their Manyema allies have fired at the heads of unhappy men and women who had leaped into the river and were trying to swim across, and have gathered round the Manyema camp fires at night to hear them relate their prowess."

What upset even the barbarous Zanzibarees and Soudanese had no effect upon the strong stomachs of robust Englishmen. What mattered it if fiendish atrocities were committed, so long as ivory was cheap! And yet we are denounced as bloodthirsty scoundrels because we would overthrow the system that makes these devilish deeds possible, calling them Christianity and civilisation.

We can at least congratulate ourselves on this. One practical Christian has met with his deserts, and is by this time doubtless comfortably reposing in the stomachs of his cannibal allies. Major Barttelot will sanction no more cannibal raids. Would that the other scoundrels could also receive justice. Hail to the Revolution! Ah, even though it be carried by sweeping the earth clear of these miserable wretches! That will make extension of this kind of Christianity and civilisation impossible. May it soon be here! D. N.

If there is any truth whatever in the reports concerning Major Barttelot, one can only rejoice that such a human fiend has had justice dealt out to him. It is stated that, in addition to various unmentioned barbarities on the members of the expedition he had got together to help him pioneer the conquest of central Africa for commercial purposes, he deliberately tortured one of these unhappy victims to death. Is it not a commentary on the mechanical and newspapering nature of the emotions of the average Englishman that he can go into fits over the mutilation of a *dead* woman in Whitechapel (for that that is to most people the main element of horror in this case there can be no doubt), and yet can continue to complacently talk of the execution of Barttelot, who caused a *living* man to be murderously mutilated, as a disaster? This extraordinary anomaly (the average Englishman) thirsts for the blood of some presumably poor, ignorant, and squalid wretch in the East-end of London, and regrets that vengeance has overtaken a bloody and brutal gentleman in Africa. For our part, we can only say we sincerely trust that the whole ruffianly gang of philanthropists, quondam suppressors of the slave-trade, missionaries and explorers, which at the present time infests those regions, may share a like fate. E. B. B.

"If anything could lend weight to the theories of the dreamers who want to see all private property destroyed, it would be the selfish and criminal co-operation of these syndicates to make their millions out of the difficulties and embarrassments and ruin of a whole trade. For such greedy wretches there should be no mercy. They live by the spoiling of the community. If, in return, they could be stripped of their last farthing by the action of the community, we should rejoice at the administration of so wholesome a lesson." So says the *Standard*, when speaking of the "Trusts" and "Rings" which are springing up on all sides to-day. By-and-bye folk will find that all capitalists are even as these; that no profit at all is made anywhere to-day but out of the "difficulties and embarrassments of a whole" class.

But as long as that class remains as apathetic as it is to-day, there is little hope of the "wholesome lesson" being taught at all quickly. Even one section of the working class cannot combine and pull together for its own benefit. Surely there could be no class of men with so much solidarity of interest as coal-miners; but they are split up into ever so many societies, and so are beaten in detail. They are wholly unable to rise to the level of a large combination which should cover the country and bring the strength of all to bear on the wrongs of each.

A glance at our "Labour Struggle" columns week by week will soon show what a sluggish creature is the British worker, and how tardy in recognising his own needs, much less those of his fellows. Next week we will give an item there which eloquently speaks of his apathy and of his gullibility as well; the list of rat papers read to the Trades Union Congress; it includes no single Socialist, Radical, or Free-thought paper; every one is a religious or temperance organ, which thousands of workmen will go on reading with devout attention.

They will not stop to ask the value of the religion or the virtue that is kept up on sweated labour and maintained by means of screwing the last penny from half-starved workers! To take one crucial instance: how many working men Good Templars will ever take the trouble to raise the question of their Watchword being a rat sheet? Or other teetotallers as to the Alliance News?

Sobriety! Thrift! Religion! Judging by outward appearances, it would seem that "Sobriety" keeps men's heads cool and their hearts cold; that "Thrift" on their own behalf leads to the compulsory poverty of others; and that "Religion" makes heaven for them here after, but allows them to make a hell for others now! S.

LABOUR'S TRIANGULAR PROBLEM: OR, MEN VERSUS MACHINES.

(Continued from p. 298.)

The Times (December 27, 1882) reported on northern coal trade as follows:—

"On the question of production, it may be said that in South Durham in 1875 each person employed in and at the pits brought to bank on the average 339 tons of coal. That rose to 350 in 1879; in 1881 it was 370, and there is ground for the belief that 1882 has given a further increase."

And Mr. Burt, speaking at the Durham miners' gala, said:—

"In 1873, a year of high wages, they produced 35,000,000 tons of coal less than in 1883. During those ten years the average produce of each person had increased no less than 20 per cent. Those employed were producing 80 to 90 tons per man more than in 1873; not all due to improved machinery, the bulk due to increase of manual labour."

"Not all due to improved machinery" is important to note, for it is the expression of a curious confusion of thought; it is an error with much truth. It is correct that the increase is "due to increase of manual labour," but this increased effort is extorted by fear of machinery; extorted from each labourer by the knowledge that there is a large surplus of unemployed men desirous of taking his place if he does not do the extreme task demanded; so therefore the increase is indirectly the result of improved machinery. The man in one pit is matched against the machine in another.

Returning to agriculture for a moment, W. Saunders (Democrat, March 7, 1885), on increased productiveness, says:—

"One man with a reaping and binding machine drawn by three horses can cut and bind 12 acres in a day—an amount of work which formerly required 20 persons."

In shipping, he continues, some records dealing with Hull show, in

"twenty-eight voyages from Hull to New York and back in 1835, 15,500 tons of cargo were carried; average length of voyage 119 days, the total number of days for the crew being 53,440. The same quantity of cargo this year carried in five Hull ships, average voyage being 47 days, total days being 8,295, or less than one-sixth of the days formerly occupied, the labour of the crews being six times as effective."

In spinning, 1 person is equal to 750 of a hundred years ago."

Sketchley, in his 'Review of European Society,' p. 214, quotes from Carpenter on machinery the following table of productive powers of machinery:—

Year.	Population.	Estimated number of workers.	Productive powers equal to the labour of men.	Productive power in relation to workers.
1817	20,250,000	5,200,000	200,000,000	As 37 to 1
1832	24,500,000	6,200,000	400,000,000	As 52 to 1
1840	26,500,000	6,600,000	600,000,000	As 90 to 1

And from 1840 to 1878 they had again doubled, being equal to the labour of 1,200,000,000 of men, and as 130 to 1 compared to the number of workers. At p. 223 he quotes from a letter of James Caird to the Times of June 5, 1875, that one reaping-machine would do the work of ten men; that in the harvest of 1875 40,000 machines were employed, equal to the labour of 400,000 men; that one steam-plough is equal to the labour of eight men and twenty horses.

Kolb (1880, p. 908) says:—

"Great Britain manufactures at least as much cotton as all other countries together. From 1735 to 1749 only 1,000,000 lbs. were consumed annually, but by 1860 at least 1,000,000,000—that is, more in one working day than in three years of the former period."

The total population of England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland in 1801 is given as 15,717,287; in 1861 the population was 28,974,362. Roughly, one might say population multiplied by 2 in a period during which production is multiplied by 1,000!!

Sidney Taylor in his speech at the evening demonstration of Co-operators made a laboured but poor attempt to show that the people who lay so much stress on inequalities of distribution are wrong:—

"If it be urged that the rich eat more than their fair share of food, and wear more than their fair share of clothes, I reply that after all the rich have only one stomach a-piece, of limited capacity; and that if they were restricted to one or two suits of clothes each the surplus would go a very little way towards covering the nakedness of our widespread destitution."

Democrat, August 8, 1885.

This is really very little else than fooling in economics; more, it is not true economically. Every rich man is a consumer with as many stomachs as he has immediate retainers and dependents, who are like himself pure consumers only, and not wealth producers. It will need something stronger than Taylor's "only one stomach" argument to explain how it comes that ten or fifteen pounds per head is spent on one banquet; there must be a few poor men's coats consumed somewhere to allow one man to be sued for a tailor's bill of £750 for one year's clothing for one man. The women who spend two and three thousand per annum in dress, although having only one back to cover, do so at the expense of sweated East-end shirt-makers' shifts, and Sedley Taylor ought to know it, if he does not.

An increase of a thousand-fold of production, against three-fold of consumers (not consumption) shows distribution to be a little unequal; and in urging this I am not forgetting the exports argument. This is discounted by the fact that other countries have also increased vastly in powers of production. For instance, take America.

"In 1880 it was estimated we in Britain produced 5,439,645,000 yards of piece goods, and the home consumption about 27 yards per head of population. This would give less than 1,000,000,000 yards, leaving about 4,500,000,000 for export. Now take the United States. In the same year the stated production was 2,131,530,000 yards, and the home consumption equal to 40 yards per head. This would give a total of about 1,900,000,000 yards, leaving about 200,000,000 yards for export. She exported cotton goods to the value of 9,981,000 dols. In 1881 she increased this to 13,371,000—an increase in one year of 3,390,000 dols."

The same report also makes the important statement that while the average consumption per spindle in Britain is only 32 lbs. of raw cotton, in the United States it is 66 lbs.; therefore one American operative works up as much material as two English. In piece goods the American production is 2.75 against English 2.50.

In coal, iron, and steel the figures given by different authorities are more crushing in their completeness than even in cotton.

In coal the output increased in the term 1869-1880 in Belgium 9 per cent.; Austria, 28 per cent.; Great Britain, 34 per cent.; France, 42 per cent.; Germany, 76 per cent.; United States, 135 per cent.!!

In pig-iron in same period, Belgium, 18 per cent.; Great Britain, 28 per cent.; Germany, 64 per cent.; France, 66 per cent.; United States, 126 per cent.!!

Steel production, United States:—

	1872.	1875.	1878.	1880.
Net tons:	129,108	375,517	732,226	1,203,173

According to Parliamentary Paper, April 2, 1883, the total production of steel in all European states in 1882 (including England) was 2,200,000, while the production in the United States was 1,800,000 tons. By the same paper we find that during 1882 the quantity of iron ore imported into the United States was only 580,207 tons, value £337,535, of which Spain sent 246,941 tons, France 142,856 tons, England 98,690, and Italy 31,237.

These figures, which I quote from Sketchley's useful handbook, prove that America, once our very best customer, has set up business for herself, and starts with many advantages over her teacher. Note the very important detail re the increased output per spindle, 66 lbs. against our 32 lbs. It explains several knotty points. It explains how it is that America can underbid us in what we used to call "our" markets, even in our own home markets; it also explains how it is that the American operative has so little advantage in comfort over the English or Continental worker."

John Bright to-day is using all his influence to secure to the landlords of Ireland the high rents obtainable years ago. In January 1885, however, he wrote a letter to the treasurer of the National Industrial Association in explanation of his statement that "if land is not worth rent, it should be, and will be, rent free"; and he went on to say that "in Lancashire there are scores of mills closed now owing to the competition of modern mills of better construction." The most modern mills are of course those started in America and abroad, where the capitalist embarked with the newest machinery and without any old-fashioned lumber of sunk capital and useless obsolete machinery.

THOS. SHORE, jun.

(To be continued.)

EMIGRATION FROM GERMANY seems to be flowing on in a steady stream. According to official statistics the total number of emigrants from Germany to oversea countries during the period from the beginning of January to the end of July this year was 63,505, while in the corresponding period of the previous year the number was 63,979, a decrease of only 474.

The "triumphant democracy" of Andrew Carnegie's ideas and the "effete monarchies" of the old countries must be twins, for this triumphant democrat hires Pinkerton thugs just as readily as the Czar of Russia orders out his troops. It seems to us "we could be happy with either were t'other dear charmer away."—Granite Cutters Journal.

METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.—The weekly return of metropolitan pauperism shows that the total number of paupers relieved in the second week of the current month was 91,488, of whom 55,239 were indoor and 36,249 outdoor paupers. The total number relieved shows an increase of 1,624 over the corresponding week of last year, 4,752 over 1886, and 5,986 over 1885. The total number of vagrants relieved on the last day of the week was 935, of whom 787 were men, 178 women, and 20 children under sixteen.

1 Fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of New Jersey, U.S.A., 1881, and quoted by Sketchley.

2 This, by the way, is only a repetition of what took place between England and France. "It is said by one of our factory inspectors that in France one workman looks after 14 spindles; in England one minder and two assistants can manage a mule with 2,200 spindles" (Trant: 'Trades Unions,' 1884, p. 136). This is an increase of 5.235 per cent., a greater increase than between England and America, which is only a shade over 100 per cent.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 6, 1888.

30	Sun.	1793. Riot at Bristol. 1830. Belgium separated from Holland. 1857. Aug. Comte died.
1	Mon.	1803. Trial of John McIntosh for high treason. 1842. Trial of rioters, Stafford. 1843. Repeal demonstration on the Rath of Mullaghast. 1849. Klapka surrendered Komorn.
2	Tues.	1853. D. F. Arago died. 1887. Right-of-way demonstration at Latrigg, Keswick.
3	Wed.	1803. Trial of Thomas Keenan for high treason. 1846. Sir Chas. Wolsey died. 1883. Pittsburgh Convention of Socialists of U.S.
4	Thur.	1810. Felix Pyat born. 1871. "Seven points" excitement.
5	Fri.	1789. Rising of women in Paris. 1803. Trial of D. L. Redmond for high treason. 1840. Lassalle born. 1887. Revolt of 6,000 Work-women in Madrid.
6	Sat.	1642. Parliament raised army. 1842. Trial of Cheshire rioters. 1848. Revolt in Vienna.

NOTE.—By mistake the Battle of Worcester was given last week as fought on September 23rd, having already been correctly given for Sept. 3rd.

Sir Charles Wolsey.—Born July 20, 1769; died Oct. 3, 1846. This great Radical of the early years of the century received a great part of his political education in France, and was at the taking of the Bastille. About the close of the Napoleonic wars he made himself prominently known in England in connection with parliamentary reform. His family seat being near Birmingham, he was placed at the head of the Radicals of that place and of the organisations that afterwards went far towards gaining the Reform Bill. In those days, electing a member for Birmingham was little short of treason; but this, however, was done, and Wolsey was the man selected by a meeting of about 50,000 Brunites, principally workmen. For their performance Wooler and others were imprisoned; soon after, Wolsey himself was imprisoned for a seditious speech at Stockport. Again in 1820 he was sentenced to eighteen months for sedition; but nothing could damp his ardour, and he continued to work assiduously as long as Reform meetings continued to be held; but when they were resumed in 1830 after the lull, he was, though only sixty, already feeling the effects of what he had undergone, and left the leading places to younger men. He was a man of good parts, well educated, and of sterling worth; although by no means belonging to the most advanced school of reformers even of his own time, he was one who achieved some solid work and deserves to be held in remembrance.—S.

Unavoidably held over from last week:—

Thomas Muir.—Born in Glasgow, Aug. 24, 1765; died at Chantilly, near Paris, Sept. 27, 1793. One of the most attractive personalities among the British revolutionists of last century. At the grammar school and university he was notable for a quiet and studious disposition, having a taste for old books and an easy mastery of languages; intended for the church, but decided for the bar, studying civil law under one of the best jurists that even his native country had ever produced. In the troubled times which followed the removal of Prof. Anderson (founder of the Andersonian Institution) from his office in 1783-4, Muir was one of the warmest upholders of student-rights, and was largely instrumental in deposing Edmund Burke from the lord rectorship and installing therein the reformer Robert Graham of Gartmore.¹ In consequence of the part he played, he, with twelve others, was excluded from the classes of the university, a proceeding which excited great indignation and disgust. He then went to Edinburgh, completed his studies there, and was in 1787 admitted a member of the Faculty of Advocates. A fluent and ready speaker, well versed in law and general knowledge, and possessed of a winning presence, he soon became popular and acquired influence. The French movement was then exciting much interest in other countries, and naturally attracted Muir's attention: a society calling itself the *Friends of the People* had been founded in London, and on October 16, 1792, a public meeting was held at the Star Inn, Glasgow, at which Muir and many others were present, and a similar society was there organised. Their object was to agitate for political reforms, and their example was followed by like associations that sprang up all over the country. William Pitt, the great renegade, was naturally irritated to see the principles he had flung behind him for the sake of office preached with such vehemence by men whose character and very existence was a standing reproach to him. Many public meetings or "conventions of delegates" as they were called, were held in 1792-3 in Edinburgh, and in all these Muir was prominent. On Dec. 21, 1792, he read the celebrated address of the United Irishmen to the Scotch reformers. On the other hand, the Ministry was active. Burke had stooped his mighty head to the yoke, and was a biting writer against liberty; he was but the giant of the pension-list; spies, provocative agents, libellers, swarms of lesser vermin, shared it with him. Muir was one of the first reformers to feel the clutch of the Government; Jan. 2, 1793, he was arrested on a charge of sedition, and was liberated on heavy bail to appear when called on. While on bail he visited France, arriving in Paris on the eve of the execution of Louis XVI.; this was a very unwise step, as in spite of his public announcement of his intention and the openness with which he proceeded, it gave many openings to his enemies. When he was called on to stand his trial, the war then raging prevented his return except by a roundabout route, which precluded his arriving in time; on February 25, as he had not surrendered, he was declared an outlaw, and on March 6 struck off the rolls of his Faculty. In July he returned, and was at once seized and on August 30 brought to trial before judges who were known to have fore-condemned him, a well-packed jury, and an array of bought witnesses, who was headed by a parson whose name for years afterwards adorned the pension-list of Scotland. After a "trial" lasting eighteen hours, he was condemned to fourteen years' transportation. The disgraceful character of the case and Muir's powerful speech in defence, excited great attention everywhere, and was the subject of several warm but unavailing debates in Parliament. After being subjected to many indignities, Muir, Palmer, Margat, and Skirving were shipped on board the *Supra*, transport for New South Wales, arriving at Sydney Sept. 25, 1794. On Feb. 11, 1796, he escaped on board the *Otter*, which had been fitted out in America for the purpose, but after four months at sea was wrecked near Nootka Sound, and reached shore with two others, sole survivors, in a state of destitution. After wandering 4,000 miles on foot, dependent on Indian charity, he reached Panama, and finding it impossible to reach the United States from there, went to Havana to renew the attempt, was there imprisoned for a few weeks as a dangerous man, and then shipped off to Spain. Just as the ship in which he was and her consort were off Cadiz, they were attacked by two English frigates, and after a bloody battle were taken; Muir being desperately wounded and left for dead. Landed at Cadiz, the French Directory heard of his position and sent a special messenger to look after him and defray all expenses. In September 1797 they followed this up by conferring on

¹ By the way, Mr. Graham founded an annual prize, in perpetuity, being a gold medal, value at least £5, to be presented to the student who wrote the best *Discourse on Political Liberty*. Is this prize still given?

him the honour of citizenship and inviting him to France, demanding of the Spanish Government that he be set free. On his entry into France he was entertained at a fraternal banquet by the citizens of Bordeaux, Dec. 4, 1797. Traveling by painfully slow and easy stages, he reached Paris February 4th, and was received with the greatest honour; but the hardships endured in the convicts-ship, his lonely American wanderings, and the Cuban prison had done their work, aggravated by the fearful wounds he had received off Cadiz, and he lingered awhile and died in spite of all that could be done. He received a public funeral by order of the authorities. A monument has been erected at Edinburgh to his memory and that of his fellow-martyrs, but it may be doubted if there be one in ten thousand in all "modern Athens" who could tell what it means.—S.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"SWEATED BASKET-MAKERS."

Sir,—Would you kindly allow me space to ask a few questions of Mr. Cantwell, as I have been somewhat startled by some of his statements contained in your issue of September 8, 1888. Firstly, is his evidence good that Mr. Chamberlain obtained the whole of the first year's contract, and can he substantiate his statement about this year's contract? I would like to know if his statement of the trade union wage is correct, because I deem the correctness of these statements to be of the greatest importance. My shopmates and I agree with him that it is a scandal that our Government should encourage anything that would lead to sweating, and I can assure him of our hearty co-operation in giving such a state of matters publicity by bringing it before our Trades' Council, or in some form before the House of Commons. I would be obliged to Mr. Cantwell if he could tell us if the protectors and umbrella baskets are got up by sweaters, as we understand they are?—I am, etc.,

JAMES DRYDEN.

43, Potter Row, Edinburgh, September 17, 1888.

PROPAGANDA.

As winter approaches it behoves us to consider ways and means of carrying on our agitation during the "cold season." Now it appears to me that our lectures should be made considerably more attractive than at present. In saying this I don't wish to insinuate anything against Socialist lecturers but rather the blame, if any, rests upon the organisers of meetings. As at present conducted a chairman is elected, the lecture follows, and the only thing to enliven the audience is (sometimes) a discussion, and it is to this dull rigmarole that I attribute the small meetings. Now, in addition to this, why not have a series of diagrams, or dissolving views introduced into our meetings? For instance, we could have depicted, "all 'ighly color'd" the average Monster of Averages, with a representation of a Sweater taking £4 10s Od. and his victim taking 10s. weekly, with the *Political Economist* pointing and saying, "The average wage of the workers is £2 10s. weekly." Or any other instance that will readily occur to the reader. And why not use this simple means of propaganda? What are the use of lectures but to point the moral? And a diagram will do this most effectively, as all other parties have discovered and utilised years ago. Even the Radicals use this means, and why not we? One instrument would do for London if properly exchanged among the branches, and the collections would soon pay for the initial expense. Then again, I should suggest always having a resolution proposed at all meetings, such resolution to be advertised with the meeting, as the discussion of a resolution adds greatly to the interest of a lecture. Lately singing has been introduced with very satisfactory results at some of our meetings; this ought to be greatly extended, as it is an excellent means of raising the enthusiasm of an audience, especially where the songs have a good chorus. I hope that this note will bring forward some further ways and means of making our propaganda more attractive and effective to the tired and worn out wage-slaves.

T. R. C.

"THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION."

"Tausin," whose letter appears in your columns of this date, is evidently a superior person, in touch with all things excellent in this world and the next, and I feel considerable deference in questioning anything he says, but he irritates me to the speaking point when he sneers at the Social Revolution, now in the womb of Time, and does what little he can to make an abortion of it. According to this oracle the revolution is now present, and he leads us to infer that a future definite and united uprising of the people is a foolish and fatuous fancy. If this be his conviction it is assuredly not mine, and not that of the vast majority of intelligent and earnest Socialists the world over. Our eyes have not yet seen the Messiah which sages and prophets have named the Social Revolution, and our hearts still wait its coming with expectation and with hope. Truly the time of its appearing draweth nigh, and some of us have already seen its star in the east. Tausin says we should not sound a note of triumph while our work is undone. Poor Tausin! An army that is sure of winning feels triumphant before the battle is begun, and all the time it is in progress.

Let Socialists drop this rot about the revolution being here and in process of accomplishment. It is not here and we are not ready for it. Nor will its battles be fought in office, factory, and mine, although the enlistment and equipment of recruits may for the present be very usefully carried on in these places. The Social Revolution will have a definite and distinct time and place in the history of our race. It is not a national affair, but must be effected in concert and in friendship with the workers of all countries. The system it seeks to overturn was established by force, and force will have to be used in the destruction of it. Moral suasion has been a long time trying to kill the drinking habit and it has not succeeded yet, but it would prove a thousand times more ineffective if arrayed against the sacred interests of Property. Let us take all we can get through the slow, hesitating, and devious ways of parliament, but let us never lose sight of the coming day when that bungling benefactor, along with monarchy, aristocracy, and a host of useless encumbrances, shall be swept away by a supreme effort of mankind to accommodate itself to present circumstances.

I agree with Tausin when he emphasises the importance of amity and unity among Socialists, and I have been pleased to observe of late that trivial points of dissension do not prevent comrades of different schools from working together. The end we aim at is so desirable, and ultimate defeat in attaining it so impossible, that all should be of one mind in a religious, or if you please, a fanatical determination that the behests of Justice shall be done.

ROBERT GRIERSON.

Sept. 15, 1888.



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

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

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'LABOUR REFORMER' (Toronto).—If still in the land of the living, we shall be glad to see you again; it is some months since a copy came to hand.

G. McL.—Much obliged by letter and enclosures, duly utilised.

REPORTS must be addressed to sub-editor, and reach office Tuesday morning. Addressing them to other people causes delay, and sending them later keeps them out.

'ANARCHIST' (S. E.).—Thanks for your letter, which is just the kind we want.

A. C. (Dublin).—Will do as you ask in a very short time and also write you direct. Glad to hear from you.

'DER ARME TEUFEL' (Detroit).—We gladly acknowledge your esteemed paper whenever it reaches us, which it does not always do. An exchange copy is regularly mailed to you.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday September 26.

ENGLAND		Chicago—Knights of Labor	ITALY	
Labour Tribune	Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	Rome, L'Emancipazione (daily)	Cremona—Il Democratico	
Norwich—Daylight	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Turin—Il Muratore	Turin—Nuovo Gazzetta Operaia	
Railway Review	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	SPAIN		
The Miner	Milwaukee—National Reformer	Seville—La Solidaridad		
Worker's Friend	Faterson (N J) Labor Standard	PORTUGAL		
New SOUTH WALES	Coast Seaman's Journal	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario	Porto—A Revolucao Social	
Hamilton—Radical	FRANCE	GERMANY		
INDIA	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Berlin—Volks Tribune		
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	AUSTRIA		
Madras—People's Friend	La Revolta	Brunn—Arbeiterstimme		
UNITED STATES	Le Coup de Feu	SWEDEN		
New York—Der Sozialist	L'Attaque	Malmo—Arbetet		
Freiburg	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	WEST INDIES		
Truthseeker	HOLLAND	Cuba—El Productor		
Volkszeitung	Hague—Recht voor Allen			
Jewish Volkszeitung	BELGIUM			
Workmen's Advocate	Ghent—Vooruit			
Boston—Woman's Journal	Liege—L'Avenir			
Libertas	Antwerp—De Werker			
Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung				

SCRAMBLING.

"SCRAMBLING absolutely prevents pleasure, however much there may be—multiply what we have of means of enjoyment fifty-fold, and still let it be scrambled for, and the very same evils must still be, and surely even worse. So treated there cannot be enough."

This little quotation from some MSS. of James Hinton very aptly gives the reason for the poverty and misery of to-day, and also points to the only possible remedy. When we once realise that it is impossible for any amount of wealth to go all round so long as we scramble for it, we begin to look in a new direction for a remedy for poverty; until people realise this their hope is in the increase of wealth or in the reduction of the number of people who have to live out of it. But once let people realise that no increase of wealth can bring enough for all so long as we scramble for it, and they will cease to be engrossed in the attempt to get more and more wealth produced, and will begin to turn their attention to the finding of some better method of sharing it than the present one of scrambling.

Let any one try the experiment among a large party of children; set them scrambling for nuts or cakes, and keep them going until every child has got at least as many as it can eat, and they will find, before that point is reached, that they will have used as many cakes as would have satisfied them all round for several meals had they been handed round at a table, each one being able to have as many as it could eat. And the reason will be that even in such a simple matter as scrambling for cakes there will be a great difference amongst the children; some will be sharper, more eager, or less considerate of their neighbours than others; and so before the most backward in the scramble have been able to get enough to give them one fill of cakes, some of the others will have got enough to last them a fortnight.

So it is in our scramble for wealth to-day; before the backward one can get enough to keep body and soul together, many of the more forward ones have collared enough to last them and their children for generations—nay, in some cases they have enough to keep them and their families for thousands of years, if they could only live as long!

But it is often urged that all this scrambling tends to the picking out of the best men and rewarding them, and so to the survival of the

fittest; and the animal and vegetable kingdoms are pointed to as showing that the law of scrambling is of universal application. But one may point out, in the first place, that the analogy with the rest of nature breaks down, for this reason amongst others, that when an animal or plant has had its fill of meat and drink it ceases to consume or collect, whereas there is no limit to the amount of wealth over which a man will acquire the right of preventing others from using. The struggle for existence would look rather different if an acquisitive buffalo could take to itself enough prairie-grass to last it a thousand years and prevent all others from touching it! Moreover, man has not only, in a greater degree than the animals, the power of adapting himself to his surroundings, but also the power of adapting the surroundings to himself.

If we grant for the sake of argument the full force of the contention that the scrambling results in the survival of the fittest, we need not therefore be convinced that this end is a desirable one; we may even think that it would not be half a bad thing if we could do something to prevent these fittest from surviving. For what sort of people will they be? Well, they will be energetic, quick, and persevering. So far, good. But they will also be the most unscrupulous, the most regardless of the needs or feelings of those around them, and the most ready to use their elbows to shove others aside or climb on their backs. On the whole, it may be very much questioned whether the survival of these people is worth the price we pay for it—the price of the poverty and misery we see around us—and whether by doing away with the scramble we might not give a chance to a much pleasanter and altogether more desirable sort of people to survive; and, in short, whether the abolition of the scrambling method of sharing wealth would not make the world a very much happier place than it is.

Even if we waive the point that "the fittest" are after all not a very pleasant sort of people, and try to look upon them as the most desirable people possible, I should still question whether it is a sensible way to make the mass of the people poor and wretched in order that these few may be selected out and rewarded to such an extent. I think if all the people could have a decent share in the good things of life we could bear with tolerable resignation the loss of those splendid people whose existence the present scramble fosters so much! If there was any end to the system, one might put up with it better; if, after the scramble has selected these so wonderful people, and rewarded them, there was an end of it, and the people generally could have a chance to enjoy life, it would be different. One can do with a scramble at a children's party, because the fun compensates for the inequality, and as soon as it is over they all go in and enjoy a good supper, where the fittest only gets his share with the rest! But for a society to go on endlessly scrambling, keeping the great majority of its members in poverty, misery, and toil, in order that a few may be able to rise on the backs of their neighbours, even if those few are the best possible sort of people, is unbearable, and must be put a stop to as soon as possible.

Our society is in the form of a pyramid, in which all are struggling to get at the top; the higher the few get the broader must be the base of poverty and misery to support them; in the struggle the strong and unscrupulous scramble up and trample down the weak and considerate people to form the base for them to stand on.

So, by building society in the form of a pyramid, we first create an enormous weight that has to be carried, and then we set the weakest to carry it. And so long as we maintain the pyramid form there is no help for it. Some have rejoiced at the increase of the middle classes of society; but it simply means that the pyramid is a little enlarged about half way up, and there is all the more weight to be carried by those at the base.

Against this form of society let me place another, again using the words of James Hinton: "If there must be poverty—which it does not appear there need be—the strong should take it, not the weak endure it." Our aim is to do away with the pyramid and develop a society in which the good things of life shall be shared—handed round, as it were, to all—not scrambled for, and in which, if there need be any extra burden carried at times, it shall not be thrust upon the weakest, as it is to-day, but the strong shall take it, thinking it an honour so to help the weaker ones; and an honour it shall be to them too!

RAYMOND UNWIN.

THE ECONOMICAL CONDITION OF THE LABOURERS IN DENMARK.

For some time past, a committee has been appointed in Denmark to investigate to what extent the intervention of the State would be necessary for the sake of insurance of old and disabled workers, and our comrade P. Knudsen, Secretary of the Danish Social Democratic Federation, in his capacity of member of the above-named committee, has just published a very extensive report dealing with that subject and kindred matters. This highly interesting publication, which forms a volume of 320 pages, contains a considerable amount of statistical information as to the economical condition of the Danish workers, their annual wages, and their expenses for necessaries of life, as also on the activity of the various benefit societies and sick funds, and it concludes with an exposition and critical review of the question of insurance of old and disabled workers.

The most valuable part of comrade Knudsen's book, for consideration by and instruction of English Socialists, is certainly that which deals directly with the economical condition of their fellow workers in

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

The officers of the United States warship *Enterprise*, are trying to engage men at Leith at the rate of £5 per month, three years engagement, for American navy.

The labourers in Fairfield shipbuilding yard, Glasgow, on Thursday, 28th, came out on strike bodily for an advance of wages. Their pay is at present 15s. 9d. weekly, and they demand 18s.

Goods guards on the Irish Great Southern and Western Railway, who used to have an assistant, have now to work single-handed 14 or 15 hours at a stretch, for the same wages as before.

STRIKE AT AUCHTERARDER.—250 power loom weavers in employ of Hally and Company, Auchterarder, struck work on the 20th inst. in consequence of the imposition of fines for short lengths.

STRIKE AT GOVAN.—Riveters and platelayers in boiler department of Ross and Duncan's, Whitefield Road, Govan, came out on 21st ult. The riveters demand advance of a halfpenny, and the platers a penny per hour.

CALENDERS' STRIKE IN DUNDEE.—About 50 girls employed partly as learners in Trades Lane and Ladywell Calenders came out on strike last week for an advance. The girls have at present 6s. per week, and want 1s. advance.

CRADLEY CHAINMAKERS.—The chainmakers' strike has now practically come to an end. The majority of the small chain-makers have resumed work at the 4s. list, but there are still a large number of men who cannot find employment.

LEEDS CLOTHWEAVERS.—The 500 clothweavers in employ of Wilson and Sons, Wellington Street, Leeds, struck on Wednesday, 19th, against a revised wages list which they say will reduce their earnings from 1s. 6d. to 4s. 6d. per piece. The strike will cause 700 hands employed in the mill to be idle.

END OF THE CARPENTERS' STRIKE AT GREENOCK.—The apprentices of Caird and Co., who have been on strike on account of several carpenters who had served their apprenticeship elsewhere being engaged without being "brothered," had an interview with their employers, and have gone back to work.

EMPLOYERS ASHAMED!—A large number of warehouses in South Staffordshire and East Worcestershire district have intimated to their operatives their willingness to concede 10 per cent. in wages, some of them remarking that they had for some time been ashamed to pay the miserable low rate of wages!

AN ADVANCE CONCEDED TO CLYDESDALE STEELWORKERS.—On Wednesday 19th the Clydesdale Iron and Steel Co. intimated to their hammermen and steel-smelters that their wages are to be advanced 10 per cent. It is believed other large steel-producing establishments will follow suit, as the contracts booked recently have been numerous.

END OF CRADLEY ANCHOR TRADE STRIKE.—The operatives in Cradley anchor trade, numbering about 300, in Cradley, Cradley Heath, Old Hill, Netherpton, and other districts, who have been out for an advance, decided on Wednesday, 19th, to resume, the whole of the employers having acceded to their demand of about 15 per cent. advance on prices paid during last eighteen months.

The *Economist* cannot understand how it is that the Scotch railway companies have been enabled to carry without increased cost a very much larger volume of traffic, whereas on the English lines fully half of the gain in the gross receipts of the half year was absorbed by the additional expenditure. Perhaps the workmen employed by the Caledonian and North British lines understand how it is done.

LIVERPOOL BOILER-MAKERS.—The strike of the boiler-makers and iron-ship builders in Liverpool has terminated, and the men have resumed work, the masters having conceded the advance demanded. Pieceworkers now receive an advance of 5 per cent. on previous rates, and smiths, platers, and riveters an advance of 1s. 6d. a-week all round. These terms are similar to those paid on the Tyne and at Belfast.

SALFORD GAS STOKERS' STRIKE.—About 80 stokers employed at the Salford Gas Works, Regent Road, struck over a new system of retort charging which has been introduced by the manager. On Friday morning 30 stokers at the Bloom Street Gas Works gave notice of their intention to strike if the demands of the Regent Road men were not conceded. A compromise has since been arranged, and the men have returned to work.

SAILORS WILL CONFER.—Last week we recommended English sailors to take a lesson from the Pacific Coast. This week we see from the *Coast Seaman's Journal* that the advice was taken before given. The "National Amalgamated Sailors' and Firemen's Union" has written to 'Frisco inviting delegates to an international Conference, at which they hope to also have the Australian organisation represented. J. H. Wilson, of Sunderland, is secretary.

A KNEADED UNION.—A meeting was lately held at Digbeth, Wal-sall, to form a branch of the Amalgamated Union of Operative Bakers and Confectioners for the town; there was good attendance. The chairman explained object of their association, which was not only a friendly and a trade society, but also a source of information on practical details of their work; he also mentioned that in some places he knew men who had to work 100 hours a-week, the result being that many men, who were able and willing to work were kept out of places.

THE "ISLAND LAMBS" GO IN.—The strike in the Belfast shipbuilding trade ended last week, Harland and Wolff's works opening at the usual hour on Saturday morning. Terms of settlement: Advance of 1s. 6d. per week to riveters throughout works and to platers employed in shipyard, and 1s. per week to platers working in boiler-makers' shop. The men, on their part, concede piecework prices to the firm at same rates as paid in other parts, and in other yards in Belfast. Fitters, however, are standing out for a 2s. rise, and another lock-out is expected.

ABERDEEN STRIKE.—Sheriff Dove Wilson, to whom recent dispute between Aberdeen Banner Mill Company and their employes was referred—the strikers having meanwhile resumed work—has issued a decision that the workers' claim for a 5 per cent. rise has been made too soon, on the ground that capital is entitled to a certain percentage (not specified) before labour can claim anything more than bare subsistence. If, however, trade improves at its present rate till the end of present half-year, he thinks there will be a fair case for an increase. By arrangement previously made, the decision is binding on both sides, despite the rage of the entrapped workers.

LONG HOURS ON THE TAFF VALE RAILWAY.—Below are the number of hours given by the *Railway Review* as being worked on what is termed the Newport Pilot—a branch mineral train—by men belonging to Treherbert. The train is booked to leave the latter place at 6 a.m., but is not booked to return, having to get back when it can. It is quite evident that the train has too much work imposed on it, as there is only a single day out of the ten given on which the work has been done under 18 hours. Dec. 13 (1887), 23h. 15m.; Dec. 14, 22h. 50m.; Dec. 15, 23h. 10m.; Dec. 16, 21h. 10m.; June 17, 21h. 30m.; June 12 (1888), 18h.; June 13, 20h. 40m.; June 14, 20h. 50m.; June 15, 21h. 15m.; June 16, 15h. 30m.

MORE OVERWORKING AMONG CHESHIRE TEAMSMEN.—The overworking of Cheshire teamsmen seems to continue, as was evidenced by another case at the Sale Petty Sessions on Monday 17th, when Frederick Wild was fined 10s., including costs, for being asleep in his cart at three o'clock in the morning, when returning from Manchester market. He stated that he had not been in bed from the Wednesday night up to the time he was found by the officer (Friday morning). He might have had two hours' sleep or so, but he had not been asleep above two or three minutes when he was booked. The bench "considered 41 hours out of all reason to work, and that the masters were quite as much to blame as the men"; our readers will word it otherwise.

LANARKSHIRE MINERS.—The leading districts of the county have adopted Saturday as an idle day in each week in order to carry out their policy of restriction. The men are agitating for advance of 10 per cent., which even according to the master's criterion for fixing wages, ought to have been given long before now. According to trade and prices, the second advance of 10 per cent. is now due, and some masters have conceded—generously, no doubt—the first 10 per cent. Messrs. Dunn, of Wellshot Colliery, Cambuslang, gave the first advance on Saturday last, on condition that the men come under obligation to work 12 days a fortnight. That's good for Messrs. Dunn. In that stroke they force the men to break through their restrictive policy, and secure increased supplies without the full legitimate advance, while the men are disorganised in order to fight them the better when organised.

ADVANCES DEMANDED BY IRONWORKERS.—The South Staffordshire ironworkers have given notice for a 5 per cent. advance, which has been refused, and there is now talk of arbitration.—The men in engineering trades of North Staffordshire will come out Saturday 29th, unless employers increase wages to the rates of 1886. In that year wages were reduced in Lancashire and North Staffordshire, but the employers in the latter district promised that when an increase was granted in Lancashire they would grant the same. Lancashire rates have advanced to the old scale, but in North Staffordshire there has been no change. No alteration has been made since January 1886. Wages were then reduced 10 per cent., bringing puddlers to the present 6s. 9d. per ton. Since then marked bars have been reduced 10s. Common bars and sheets show little alteration in price as compared with the date of the last wages reduction.

COLLIERY DISPUTES.—At a meeting of South Staffordshire and East Worcestershire miners at Dudley on Monday last, it was resolved to give notice Saturday 29th for 10 per cent. advance. This decision affects upwards of 12,000 workmen. At a meeting of the Committee of Management of the Coal Masters' Association held on the previous Thursday, it had been resolved that a meeting should take place in Birmingham on Thursday October 4 between employers and miners' representatives, to consider some self-adjusting arrangement for the regulation of wages.—The labourers at Battisfield Colliery, the largest works in Flintshire coalfields, struck work Monday 24th for a reduction of underground working hours. Their action has brought the works to a standstill, and some hundreds of men are, in consequence, without employment. Disturbances being feared, a force of police was picketed in the neighbourhood of the works.

LONDON TAILORING.—Some time ago we gave a list of prices paid for making clothing at Messrs. J. R. Bousfield's, 126 Houndsditch. By the kindness of a correspondent we are now enabled to give more. At that time they were paying the handsome sum of 1s. for making a double-breasted pilot reefer, and that is surely bad enough, but now they have actually reached as low as 8d. and 9d. No goods are made on the firm's premises, and the "hands" have to find their own thread, etc., out of this enormous sum. Juvenile cord knickerbockers, lined, are made for 3d. Boys' lined tweed trousers, from 5d. upwards. Men's ditto, from 7d. Men's worsted overcoats, with bound edges, from 1s. 9d. Boys' ditto, from 1s. 6d. Men's print and cotton tweed overcoats, from 1s. 6d. Boys', from 1s. 4d. Juvenile overcoats, from 9d. Ditto, with capes, from 1s. Juvenile sailor suits (jacket, knickers, and flannel), from 1s. 1d. Men's common unlined tweed jackets are made (?) for 6d. and 7d. Boys' ditto, for 5d. and 5½d. "These prices are paid," says our informant, "by a Christian firm who, a short time back, gave one of their employes the 'sack' for being an Atheist, after eight years in their employ as a steady, honest, and sober workman. In this same firm the prices paid for cutting were reduced a short time back, thereby making it impossible for the cutters to earn anything like the same money. The men submitted like a lot of sheep. If they had had a union, they might have resisted, or even have stood out for a larger share in the wealth they had produced. But no; the majority of cutters in this establishment are Tories, who think that workmen have no right to dictate to employers what their wages shall be, etc., and who are too thick-headed to see what can be gained by combination."

CORRIS TRAZZ.—The twistors and drawers, fifteen in number, are on strike at Deker Mills, Oldham. The firm has been paying 5½d. per thousand ends for twisting, less 8 per cent., and 7½d. per thousand ends for drawing, less 8 per cent., the drawers having to pay their own reachers. Their loss declared this was more than was being paid elsewhere, and in future proposed to pay 4½d. per thousand ends for twisting and 6½d. per thousand ends for drawing, or a reduction of 12 per cent. in twisting and 8 per cent. in drawing. The men declined to accept, and struck, and at present a few boys are trying to fill their places. Mr. Greaves, the employer, says he will only pay Blackburn prices in future, but the men point out a great difference between their work and that at Blackburn. They have to twist and draw all counts at the same price, and they say there is generally a great difference between the warp they have finished and the one they have to put in, while they have to find all their own work, which generally causes them to lose an hour between finishing one warp and beginning another. At Lower House Mill 6½d. per thousand is paid for drawing, and it is all lease work there, whereas at Deker it is slashers' work, which ought to be paid 1d. per thousand extra. What will be the result of the struggle is difficult to say, but the foreman of the twistors and drawers has given in his notice and joined the men.—A few mills in Bury and Elton district still follow out the

system of running overtime, starting before time and stopping after time, making up a considerable amount during the length of a week; but no one seems to know how to begin kicking.—Great dissatisfaction exists among the weavers at Lock Gate Mill, Haslingden, in consequence of overtime and underpaying, and the weavers' committee have determined should no understanding be arrived at during present week, to bring the weavers out on strike.—The weavers at Banfield Mill, Blackburn, have tendered their notice, and it expired on Wednesday. The dispute is under-payment.—The spinners at Moss Bridge Mill, Darwen, have served a fortnight's notice, which terminated Friday 21, on account of extra work.—The strike of tenters at Meanock's mill, Micklehurst, Mossley, has been settled. A fortnight ago, Mr. Meanock, who is making an alteration in the hank roving, which he claims makes less work for the tenters, deducted 2s. each from their wages. As they had had no notice, they struck, and Meanock filled their places with hands from his mill at Uppermill, but these met with such a warm reception that on Wednesday, 12th, they refused to serve any longer, and the carding room was stopped; by Friday the whole place was at a standstill. On that day and on Tuesday the men's representatives had interviews with Meanock; he agreed to refund the 2s. and to put the tenters on standing wages until the change in the hank roving had been fully effected, after which they are to be paid by piece. Work has since been resumed on these terms.—Two-thirds of the spinning-trade using American cotton having agreed to adopt short time, it was decided at a meeting of the executive committee of the United Cotton Spinners' Association held at Manchester on the 21st that the resolution take effect. By this means it is hoped the operations of speculative rings will be thwarted. The employés are co-operating with the employers on this point.

CIVILISING AFRICA.

THE great obstacle in the way of the "Civilisation of Africa" (a polite rendering of the coarse but more exact phrase of "The Exploitation of the African") has been very frankly put forward by the Deputy-Governor of the Niger Company. "The natives," says this gentleman, "being unaccustomed to labour, are averse to it. They have been accustomed hitherto to supply their own immediate wants, and no more." This is indeed shocking, but, at the same time, very natural, and, I should say, decidedly wholesome. The African negro is, in fact, perhaps to his own moral injury, in a position to lead, without injuring anybody else, very much the sort of life which the British Peer or millionaire leads to the infinite detriment of all the classes beneath him. The nigger is happy (perhaps wickedly) and idle at his own expense. The Peer is happy (mostly wickedly) and idle at the expense of other people.

Now for my part,—but then, of course, I have no pecuniary interest in the higher ethics, whether expressed in "loaded" calico or bad rum,—I feel a certain sympathy for these—

"Whom Ocean's friendly distance
Preserves still unenslaved; for whom
No tasking of existence
Makes this one rich and that one poor,
In Gold's illusive treasure,
But all, of easy life secure,
Are rich in wealth of leisure."

Whether this be "the wise, free way of life, indeed," may be questionable. But at any rate it is better than the life of grim and grinding and unremitting labour which forms the lot of the mass of the population in "civilised" countries. I would, therefore, implore all "gentlemen and others" who take up, from a sense of duty or dividends, the exploitation of the Dark Continent, to clear their minds and prospectuses of cant, and to say boldly, "We think we can do a good thing in niggers. We calculate that we can make 25 per cent. out of Quashee." This, I think, would be better than all the talk (but utterly empty talk) about "Christianity," and the "suppression of the slave trade," and the "raising of the negro in the scale of humanity." What does Manchester or Birmingham care about the scale of humanity? The only thing which operates to secure to the niggers a continuance in their present ignorance is the rivalry of the various European Powers. If an arrangement can be effected in this respect, the probable fate of the African Continent is to be divided, at no distant day, into a number of European-ruled Indias, all over-taxed, all worked out to the last possible degree, all governed by an over-paid European bureaucracy. I confess that, though a European, I can't work myself up into any great enthusiasm for the programme. If I were an African, the project would find me not merely enthusiastic but decidedly hostile. I should prefer to remain "uncivilised" and unexploited. "After all," I should say to myself, "tall hats and new rum may have their attractions, but it is better to be black, as nature made me, and bareheaded, and even sober, than to wear a tall hat, and get drunk, and be done brown by the Bible-reading Pale-face."—*Truth*, Sept. 22, 1888.

THE DOCTRINE OF "CONSENT."

CHICAGO, Aug. 15.—A meeting of the Western Window Glass Manufacturers' Association was held here yesterday. It was decided to keep all the factories controlled by the association out of blast until Oct. 8.

B. F. Jones: Our works will close down to-morrow, and remain closed until a satisfactory—that is, a lower—scale is presented to us by the workmen.

J. G. Blaine: I say here that the wages of the American labourer cannot be reduced except with the consent and with the votes of the American labourer himself.

Chorus of Individualists, led by the basso-profundo C. B.: "Legislative interference is the very worst of crimes; you must give the workman liberty in these here blessed times!"

"Protected" by a duty of 75 cents a ton on their product, and paying wages about as low as the wages paid abroad, the owners of Mine No. 6, at Rich Hill, Mo., neglected to take precautions to prevent the explosion of gas, because such precautions would cost money, and dollars were more to them than the lives of the poor fellows they had employed to work the mines. The result was a series of explosions and a terrible loss of life not long ago. The poor miners who are dead had to compete in the labour market, and were given none of the benefits of protection. Their rich employers will reopen the mine as soon as possible and go on in the old way. The industry they protect and that they court protection for is their own. Necessity will spur other poor men to take the place of the dead.—*Troy Press*.

A PRISONER'S NIGHT THOUGHTS.

ERNEST JONES.

My life is but a toil of many woes,
And keen excitement wearing to the core,
And fervently I hope an hour's repose,
My duty done and all my labour o'er.

Load shouts have beaten on my tingling brain,
Lone prisons chilled the fevered thread of life;
The trophies perish, but the wrecks remain,
And burning scars survive the dizzy strife.

Oh, 'tis a dreadful war for one to wage,
Against deep-rooted tyranny and power;
Crush in one life the seeds of many an age,
And blast black centuries in a single hour!

Who dares it, throws his life into the scale,
Redemption's voluntary sacrifice;
His hope—to be a martyr should he fail,
Or, at the best, to conquer as he dies!

FREE SPEECH IN HYDE PARK.

THOMAS BOLAS sends us the following account of the treatment of Socialists at our so-called Courts of Justice:—"At Marlborough Street Police-court on Wednesday, Sept. 14th, the grossest possible travesty of justice was perpetrated. The police stated that McCormack had used language calculated to bring the Royal Family into contempt, and that he had incited a crowd to sack shops in the West End, but the latter allegation McCormack was quite able to confute by witnesses. The magistrate ordered McCormack to be bound over in two sureties of £25 to keep the peace for three months, or to be imprisoned for a month in default of finding sureties, a course unusually corrupt, for magistrate Cooke would not have dared to commit McCormack to prison on the offence charged, unless after hearing his defence; so he sentenced McCormack to a month's imprisonment in default of finding sureties, and left it to the Court officials to take every care that he should not find the sureties. Surely a cowardly and miserable way of getting imprisonment for a political prisoner, without fair trial and by a side issue. Various tricks were practised and false statements made by the Court officials to prevent McCormack obtaining bail, and just before the Court rose, T. Bolas obtained a hearing of the magistrate and bitterly complained of the conduct of the Court officials. McCormack was imprisoned, not because he could not find bail, but because the Court officials just made false statements to keep bail away, and then when substantial bail was tendered they would not accept it, all this being no doubt at the instigation of that Government which so much dreads Free Speech, and which must suppress it even though all law and justice be outraged. On Saturday, September 22, substantial bail was offered to magistrate Newton, and at the same time T. Bolas complained to him of the continual obstructions offered by the Court officials, but the slanderer of Miss Cass was insolent, and refused to take the offered bail. All this made it pretty clear that the authorities intended to keep their political prisoner in Millbank for a month on the false issue—not finding bail—although substantial bail was offered; but on Sunday, September 23rd, such revolutionary grumblings were heard in London as made the authorities conclude that to retain McCormack longer by refusing bail would be unsafe. So on bail being again tendered on Monday, the 24th, it was intimated that the bail would be accepted. Incidentally it may be remarked that what should have taken not more than ten minutes, was stretched out by the officials from 12.15 to 4.30 p.m., every obstruction being offered to tire the bail out; and among the incidents was the illegal demanding or taking of a fee or fine not inflicted by the magistrate; but this was returned when the clerk found that a prosecution would probably ensue. Those who conspire to defeat justice by such means are the men who really incite to breach of the peace, and if the English workers were not exceptionally forbearing, Millbank Prison where McCormack was confined would soon be razed to the ground, and there would indeed be a riot."

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

London Members' Meeting.—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, Oct. 3, 1888, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Langley, 2s.; P. W., 6d.; C. J. F., 2s. 6d.; K. F., 1s.

REPORTS.

LONDON (OPEN AIR).—*Clerkenwell Green*.—Last Sunday evening, good meeting addressed by Nicoll and Turner. *Ossulton Street*.—Friday last, large meeting addressed by Cantwell and Parker. *Leman Street*.—Meeting held Sunday morning. The St. George's-in-the-East branch is thoroughly working the district. *Regent's Park*.—Meeting Sunday morning, Cantwell, Nicoll, Turner, and James speakers; fair sale *West*. *Hyde Park*.—Some three thousand persons assembled at unemployed meeting Sunday afternoon; speakers were Underwood (S.D.F.), an Indian, Cantwell, Parker, Nicoll, Brooks, and Presberg. Two collections made, first for unemployed funds, second for League propaganda. Revolutionary songs were sung, including the "Marseillaise," "No Master," "The Proletariat," and "La Carmagnole." *Victoria Park*.—Good meeting Sunday last by Mainwaring, Bullock, Davis, and Mordhurst; some opposition easily disposed of.

CLERKENWELL.—On Sunday, Sept. 23, W. B. Parker (S. L.) and B. Moffat (S. D. F.) debated on "The Futility of Parliamentary Agitation to Assist the Social Revolution." Good attendance of members of both organisations. At close of debate there was general discussion, and evidently much difference of opinion.—B.

FULHAM.—Tuesday evening, opposite Liberal Club, Bullock, Beasley, and Groser spoke. Sunday morning, McCormack (S.D.F.), Mrs. Schack, Samuels, and Tarleton spoke. In evening, Mrs. Schack lectured on "Ought Women to join the Workmen's Movement?" Tochatti, Groser, Davis, and Maughan also spoke. 2s. 9d. collected during the day.—S. B. G.

HANMERSMITH.—Weltje Road, Sunday morning, meeting held by Bullock, Sparling, and Mordhurst. In evening another meeting by Tarleton, Tochatti, and Maughan, the choir singing "No Master." At Latimer Road usual meeting in morning by T. Spire, Tochatti, Maughan, Fox, and Davies. In evening Carruthers lectured on "Capital." Meetings good and appreciative throughout the day.

MITCHAM.—Last Sunday, good meeting morning and evening at Mitcham Fair Green, addressed by Eden and Kitz. On Monday evening, at Wimbledon Broadway, a good meeting, addressed by Eden and Kitz. The audience listened very attentively. At close a resolution was put to meeting condemning action of Free Library in boycotting our paper and misrepresentation of local press; was carried unanimously.—E.

ABERDEEN.—At indoor meeting, on 17th, Sidney Webb's lecture on "The Progress of Socialism" was read and discussed by Barron, McIntyre, and Leatham. Leatham thereafter gave an account of the proceedings at the Glasgow Conference of Sunday, 9th. At usual Saturday night open-air meeting Duncan and Leatham had large crowd. Choir made good appearance.

GLASGOW.—Thursday evening meetings of members continue well attended. Sunday, 2 o'clock, Glasier and Joe Burgoyne spoke on Green. At 5 o'clock Glasier, Joe Burgoyne, McCulloch, and Tim Burgoyne held excellent meeting at Paisley Road Toll. Our French Class made a capital start on Sunday forenoon.

EDINBURGH.—On 16th Montgomerie, Noble, and John Smith spoke in Queen's Park. On 23rd same speakers held most successful meeting in same place, Smith speaking brilliantly.

NORWICH.—Thursday last, good meeting on Church Plain (Yarmouth) by Mowbray. Police asked for his name, but, being refused, they quietly walked away. Friday, meeting on St. Catharine's Plain, addressed by Poynts, Morley, and Reynolds. Sunday afternoon, usual meeting in Market Place by Mowbray; in the evening another large meeting, when Mowbray gave an address upon "What Socialists have Done." Audience very attentive; fair sale of *Commonweal*; 9s. collected for Propaganda.—A. T. S.

EAST-END PROPAGANDA.—A most enjoyable evening was spent by the crowded audience on Saturday night at the Berner Street Club. English, Russian, German, and French songs were sung and speeches made, after which there was dancing. The proceeds of this entertainment will be given to the Yarmouth Free Speech Fund. The next meeting will be held at this club on Saturday, October 6th, when the subject for discussion will be "Our Winter Propaganda."—W. B. PARKER, sec.

LECTURE DIARY. LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—This Branch will shortly be actively working. Socialists resident in this locality should send their names in at once to 13, Farringdon Road.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday Sept. 30, at 8.30, p.m., Wm. Blundell, "Internationalism: Does it Interfere with Modern Politics?"

Fulham.—8 Effie Road, Walham Green (opposite the railway station). Sunday September 30, at 8 p.m., J. Macdonald, "Socialism from a Worker's Standpoint."

Hackney.—Business Meeting on Tuesday October 2nd, at 9 p.m., in Berner Street Club. All members requested to be present; important business to be discussed.

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday, Sept. 30, at 8 p.m., Thomas Shore, jun., "About a Market."

Hoxton.—Persons wishing to join this branch are requested to communicate with H. D. Morgan, 22, Nicholas Street Hoxton.

London Fields.—All communications, etc., to Mrs. G. G. Schack, 26 Cawley Road, South Hackney.

Merton.—Club-house, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road, Singlegate. Lecture on Sunday evenings at 8.30.

Mile-end and Bethnal Green.—95 Boston St., Hackney Road.

North London.—Secretary, Nelly Parker, 143 Cavendish Buildings, opposite Holborn Town Hall. The business meetings will be held on Friday evenings at 6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, after the open-air meeting at Ossulton Street. All members are asked to attend at Ossulton St. at 8 o'clock.

St. Georges in the East.—General Meeting of Members on Friday October 5, at 8 p.m., in Berner St. Club. Rachmann, secretary.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen (Scottish Section).—Douglas M'Intyre, Sec., 17 Queen Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

Bradford.—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivegate. Meets Tuesdays at 8.

Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Tuesday, at 9 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secy.

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

Dumfries (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

Edinburgh (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.

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

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

Glasgow.—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class (teacher, Theodore Bonin) meets every Sunday at 11.

Leeds.—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Rd. and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m. communications to T. Paylor, 11 Sheldon Street, Holbeck, Leeds.

Leicester.—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

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

Norwich.—Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Wednesday, at 8, Educational Class—subject, "Historical Basis of Socialism." Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association.

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

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

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

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SUNDAY 30.

11.30...Latimer Road Station ...Hammersmith Branch
11.30...Mitcham Fair GreenG. B. Shaw
11.30...Regent's ParkMainwaring & Davis
11.30...Walham Green, opp. Station.....The Branch
11.30...Weltje Rd., Ravenscourt Pk.....Hammersmith
3.30...Hyde ParkParker
6.30...Weltje Road, opposite Ravenscourt Park

7.30...Broad Street, SohoHammersmith Branch
7.30...Clerkenwell GreenBloomsbury Branch
7.30...Mitcham Fair GreenParker
7.30...Mitcham Fair GreenThe Branch

Monday.

8 ...Wimbledon BroadwayT. Burns

Tuesday.

8.30...Fulham—opposite Liberal Club.....Fulham Bh.

Friday.

7.30...Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street.....Brooks

EAST END.

SUNDAY 30.

Mile-end Waste ... 11 ...Nicoll.
Leman Street, Shadwell 11 ...Parker.
Victoria Park ... 3.15...Davis & Nicoll.
London Fields ... 8 ...Schack, M'waring

TUESDAY.

Mile-end Waste ... 8.30...Mainwaring.

WEDNESDAY.

Broadway, London Fields 8.30...Nicoll.

FRIDAY.

Philpot St., Commercial Rd. 8.30...Davis.

SATURDAY.

Mile-end Waste ... 6 ...East-end C'mittee.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen.—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7 p.m.
Edinburgh.—Queen's Park, every Sunday, at 3 p.m.
Glasgow.—Sunday: Jail's Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock.

Ipswich.—
Sproughton, Wednesday evening.
Westerfield, Thursday evening.
Needham Market, Sunday morning and evening.

Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

Leicester.—Sunday: Russel Square, at 11 a.m.
Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place, at 11, 3, and 7.30.

North Walsham, Sunday at 11.
Yarmouth, Church Plain, Sunday at 3.
Yarmouth, Church Plain, Thursday at 7.30.
St Catharine's Plain, Friday at 8.15 p.m.

BATTERSEA BRANCH, S. D. F.—W. Morris will lecture on Clapham Common, Sunday, Sept. 30, at 3.30, on "Equality."

THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—The Committee will meet at the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, on Saturday, September 29th, at 7.30 p.m. Subscriptions received and members enrolled at 9 p.m.

NORWICH.—Friday next comrade Cores will be released, after doing a month's imprisonment for obstruction at Yarmouth. A small fund has been opened to supply him with clothing. On Monday next, Oct. 1, a special Concert will be held in the Gordon Hall, for the benefit of comrade Cores, to enable him to get some tools so that he can start work. Songs, recitations, choruses, and instrumental music will be given by members and friends. Admission 3d. each. It is hoped our own comrades will turn up in strong force and help to make it a success.

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THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 4.—No. 143.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

MR. DILLON in his speech before the National League in Dublin, said all that he was likely to say, and no doubt said it well enough. He upheld the Plan of Campaign stoutly; as he well might, because at present, now the alliance between Parnellites and Gladstonians is so close, the Plan is the one distinctively Irish piece of strategy, and if it were gone, mere party politics would bury the whole Irish business under the usual mountain of procrastination and trickery.

On the other hand, Mr. Dillon deprecated "impatience"; that is to say, in his position—very different to that of Mr. Davitt—he could not say anything that could be construed by stupid people into the beginning of a quarrel with the Liberal allies. This is the policy which Mr. Dillon is pledged to, and of course he cannot get out of it, unless the Gladstonites formally abandon the Irish cause, which probably they cannot do. When the fulness of time comes the electoral pendulum will swing the other way; Gladstone will be in, and Parnell with him.

But the "impatience" of Davitt has another purpose than merely quickening the pace of the worn-out Liberal post-horse on the road to party victory. It is a warning to the Liberals not to be too liberal of compromise when their day of office comes. Of course what they will want to do is to grant the Irish the semblance of their claims without the reality, if they can thereby stop the mouth of the British democracy even though the Irish democracy is not satisfied. This is the reason why all Irishmen who are not precluded from it by official position should be steadily "impatient."

Those of our friends who are inclined to be "impatient," in another sense, of this long-dragging Irish Question, which bears with it so much that is indifferent or hostile to Socialism, should consider one remark made by Mr. Dillon in his speech which I believe to be made quite honestly and with a single heart. He said that all the old enmity which was once one of the master feelings of his heart had disappeared before the present action of the English democracy. So hollow, so easily got rid of, are these monstrous national antipathies which foolish persons believe to be so deeply rooted. If the Home Rule agitation does nothing else than destroy one branch of this deadly upas-tree of sham patriotism it will have been worth all the trouble.

Moralists are trying to find out causes for the horrors which have lately shocked the sensibilities of "cultured" society. Lord William Compton sees, as all people who have ever thought for a moment on the subject must see, that the condition of life in the East end slums is quite enough to account for such brutality, which is a necessary consequence of it. But what causes the condition of life in Whitechapel? The answer is plain: the *exclusive* culture of those whose sensibilities are so shocked by the brutality, the responsibility for which their greed and cowardice evades. These sensitive, moral, cultivated people are prepared to do anything (by the hands of others) which will sustain the inequality which is the foundation of modern society and which they glory in; and when the dark side of this glorious inequality is thrust on their notice, they are shocked and read moving articles in the newspapers—and go on eating, drinking, and making merry, and hoping it will last for ever, Whitechapel murders and all.

Have they considered a little event of which we have just had news, which comes of this determination of theirs to be thieves as long as possible? Another glorious victory for the British army, and indeed a real good cheap one, with the killing *all* on one side: 400 Tibetans killed and wounded and half a dozen slight hurts on the side of—culture. If the history of this slaughter had been given Homerically—*i.e.*, with abundance of realistic detail—it would have made a pretty good multiplication of a Whitechapel murder.

And was the reason for it any more excuse for this multiplied murder than the reason for the London horror? No. No worse cause could be found for a slaughter. It was perpetrated (and remember

it is one among hundreds) in order to keep going that degradation of life which Lord William Compton so much deplores, which he would doubtless remedy if he knew how to without destroying our "society" of inequality; but which under those circumstances he *cannot* know how to remedy.

Apropos of these "little wars," or great murders, our friend the *Star* has a well-meant article which misses the point disastrously. After having attacked the commercial Jingo policy, it says: "Our profound conviction is that *as a rule*" (*italics* ours, in honour of journalistic qualification) "warfare tends not to the advancement, but to the postponement of large commercial relations with another country. . . . Trade may be compared to a great natural force—silent, invisible, and invincible," and so on after the Manchester manner. In short, our contemporary, for the moment at least forgetting the blessings of civilisation, such as Vandeleur evictions and London rent-grabbing from working-men, which it often laudably denounces, wants to purge the march of commerce of war and violence.

But unhappily it is *itself* war, and violence is of its essence, whether that violence takes the form of "the soldier with his gun or the sailor with his iron-clad," or the other form of the sword of cheapness and the spear of shoddy backed up by law—*i.e.*, the policeman *masking* the soldier and sailor—is a mere incident of its ceaseless, remorseless war. For as the aim is, so must the means be; and what is the aim of Commerce? Answer: to substitute its peculiar form of slavery for whatever it happens to find on the ground which it is bent on conquering; and that form of slavery is a "Society" (or gang of robbers) governed by rich men, who shall make slaves of the producers of goods without the expense of buying the said slaves and without the responsibility of feeding them. Friend *Star*, the Sikkim massacre is bad, and you do well to object to it (though you do *that* very mildly), but the cause of it is worse—*nay* the worst.

Re the Salt Trust, the *Pall Mall* says: "The syndicate will for a time have a depressing effect upon the labour-market in the salt districts of Cheshire, as the low range of prices prevailing for the past five years is directly due to over-production. . . . Owing to intense competition, prices have fallen 50 per cent. during the past ten years. Great confidence is felt in the future of the trust in Cheshire, where the money has been largely subscribed."

I beg to propose a design for the seal or badge of this glorious modern gild, to wit: A Benefactor of Humanity with one hand in the pocket of a working-man, a salt operative, and the other in the pocket of the public typified by a respectable London mechanic. It is indeed pleasing to see the B. H.'s so naive and outspoken as to the robbery which they are contemplating, and we Socialists should wish them all success. Monopoly has, unhappily, so far been made bearable by competition, but monopoly without competition will turn out to be altogether unbearable, and will help on the beginning of the end.

The vegetarians have tried to collect the London parsons to sing their praises, but the reverend gentlemen for the most part declined to be caught with chaff. Only thirty attended, presided over by Canon Farrar. I have not a word to say against vegetarianism voluntarily practised on the grounds of its suiting the health of the practiser, or of a natural sentiment against "corpse-eating" as a friend of ours has called it; but in most more or less laudable associations that are not Socialist there lurks a snake in the grass; and the reptile is not lacking in the verdant meadow of vegetarianism. Canon Farrar, *e.g.*, not knowing, I suppose, what the devil to say, praised it because it would lead to simplicity of life, and because it would be a remedy for poverty.

Simplicity of life—good, most good, so long as it is voluntary; but surely there is enough involuntary simplicity of life, *i.e.*, hard fare, already; and to live poorly is no remedy against poverty, but a necessity of it. And really, hasn't Canon Farrar had time amidst his arduous ecclesiastical duties to learn that if our whole capitalistic

society were to become vegetarian together, the "poor," i.e., the producers, would be forced to live upon vegetarian cag-mag, while the rich, i.e., the proprietary class, lived upon vegetarian dainties? When we are a society of equals we shall be able to consider all these niceties of life, and to do what we think best. Meantime, I bid Canon Farrar and the school of social reformers to which he belongs, not to evade the real question: Why are we not a society of equals? W. M.

LABOUR'S TRIANGULAR PROBLEM;

OR, MEN VERSUS MACHINES.

(Continued from p. 306.)

THE statement that numbers of men were being deprived of means of living by increased machinery, used to be met by the statement that they could find work at some other trade, and that there were so many more engineers and machine makers wanted that all came out level in the end. Leaving out of consideration the absurdity of the nineteen agricultural labourers finding employment as reaping machine makers, it must be patent that as the same process is going on in every trade, the forced idleness must be increasing in every trade, even in the trade which is the great agent of all this idleness, the engineers and machine makers.

It is rather startling to find at what a rate this disestablishing of disestablishers is going on; to find how very rapidly the engineer is being hoisted on his own petard.

Mr. Shaftoe, President at the Trades' Union Congress, Sept. 4, 1888, dealing with "Labour-saving Machines," said:

"There is scarcely any branch of industry to which these mechanical inventions have not been applied; and the effects have been intensified by the subdivision of labour. We find, for instance in the use of steam hammers, that nine men have been displaced out of every ten formerly required. Machinery has displaced five men out of every six in the glass bottle trade; in the manufacture of agricultural implements 600 men now do the work which fifteen or twenty years ago required 2,145, thus displacing 1,545. In the production of machinery itself, there is a saving of 25 per cent. of human labour; and this even reaches 33 per cent. in the production of metals. In the boot and shoe trade one man now does the same work as required five; we find a single lace machine displacing 2,000 women; in paper-making 10 persons can do what used to require 100; in ship-building the displacement is 4 or 5 out of every 6; in clothing 1 man can do what used to employ 6 to 9. The general effect during the last 40 years is a saving of labour to the extent of 40 per cent. in producing any given article."

No matter which way one looks there is no variation, not the slightest; increased production to the capitalist, the machinery controller; decreased consumption to the worker, the producer. A striking example was given by one of the speakers at the Industrial Remuneration Conference, 1885. Mr. J. G. Hutchinson made an elaborate statement to prove the general improvement in the worker's position; he was answered by Mr. James Aitkin (Greenock Chamber of Commerce):—

"In carpet weaving fifty years ago the workman drove the shuttle with the hand, and produced from forty-five to fifty yards per week, for which he was paid from 9d. to 1s. per yard, while at the present day a girl attending a steam loom can produce sixty yards a day, and does not cost her employer 1½d. per yard for her labour. That girl with her loom is now doing the work of eight men. The question is, How are these men employed now? In a clothier's establishment, seeing a girl at work at a sewing machine, he asked the employer how many men's labour that machine saved him. He said it saved him twelve men's labour. Then he asked, 'What would those twelve men be doing now?' 'Oh,' he said, 'they will be much better employed than if they had been with me, perhaps at some new industry.' He asked, 'What new industry?' But the employer could not point out any except photography; at last he said they would probably have found employment in making sewing machines. Shortly afterwards he was asked to visit the American Singer Sewing Machine Factory, near Glasgow. He got this clothier to accompany him, and when going over the works they came upon the very same kind of machines as the clothier had in his establishment. Then he put the question to the manager, 'How long would it take a man to make one of these machines?' He said he could not tell, as no man made a machine, they had a more expeditious way of doing it than that; there would be upwards of thirty men employed in the making of one machine; but he said 'if they were to make this particular kind of machine, they would turn out one for every four and a-half days' work of each man in their employment.' Now, there was a machine that with a girl had done the work of twelve men for nearly ten years, and the owner of that machine was under the impression that these twelve men would be employed making another machine, while four and a-half days of each of these men was sufficient to make another machine that was capable of displacing other twelve men."¹

It has been urged by the orthodox economists that although the individual worker may have suffered from his enforced idleness, that since competition resulted to the good of the public generally, competition must continue.

In some cases the reduction in the sale price of an article has been reduced in proportion to the reduced sum paid for labour, but in hundreds of instances which could be given, the whole of the amount saved has for years been the sole profit of the monopolist machinery-controller.

When Charles Babbage issued his 'Economy of Machinery and Manufactures,' great as had been the strides made in developing the power of steam, its position then was not a circumstance as compared with to-day. For a book dated 1832, in many respects its tone in dealing with the worker was in advance of the day; some hard knocks are dealt at employers and monopolists. It is admittedly in favour of machinery and economy in manufacture; but, when dealing with the "Effects of the Application of Machinery," the summing-up is roughly, which is the best—or rather, which is the least evil—sudden death or slow starvation?

¹ 'Report,' p. 72.

"It is almost the invariable consequence of such improvements ultimately to cause a greater demand for labour, and often the new labour requires a higher degree of skill than the old; but, unfortunately, the class of persons who have been driven out of the old employment are not always qualified for the new one; and in all cases a considerable time elapses before the whole of their labour is wanted. One very important inquiry which this subject presents is the question, Whether it is for the interest of the working-classes that any improved machinery should be so perfect as to defy the competition of hand-labour, and that they should be at once driven out of the trade by it; or whether it is more advantageous for them to be gradually forced to quit the trade by the slow and successive advances of the machine?"

The italics are Babbage's, and to me seem to suggest that Babbage was rather wanting to give the machinery owners a hint to be careful. There may be some question as to which would be best or worst for the worker—rapid starvation or slow —there is no manner of doubt as to which has been the best for the exploiters. By the gradual process it has been possible to bring the workers to a degree of endurance of suffering, which by no conceivable stretch of imagination could have come about by a sudden change. By slow degrees we have become accustomed to an immense army of unemployed, which would have sent society to everlasting smash had it been formed or made suddenly by one or two great machines, instead of an infinite number of changes towards automatism.

Constantly, constantly, constantly growing, growing, growing, recruited by tens, by hundreds, by thousands, the army of wholly unemployed, and the army of very irregularly employed, has grown until to-day there is ready for some great Carnot of Labour such a body as never the Hannibals of the past led to the victory of the gory field.

The passage in Babbage above quoted continues thus, "The suffering which arises from a quick transition is undoubtedly more intense; but it is also much less permanent than that which results from the slower process." Just so. Had the mechanical perfection of to-day been possible in say two or three years, instead of taking from eighty to a hundred to bring about, there would have been enough of energy to overthrow the tyrant and break the cords; but year by year the sufferer became more and more accustomed to the suffering; year by year new cords were woven on, and it is only just now that education, a quickened intelligence and mental grasp, is enabling him to understand the causes of his troubles, and will enable him to do by wit and mind what might have been done by main force, had only the accumulated miseries of to-day have been placed on one generation, instead of filtering down through several.

The "right to live" must be made to mean something nearer "right living" than the mere standing by a machine to feed it with raw material to make a monopolist's profit.

The full displacing power of machinery is hardly sufficiently realised by many. The displacement has in most cases been so gradual, and therefore the starvation so gradual, that the starvelings have gradually become accustomed to it, and quietly submitted. But these gradual displacements have been tolerably severe in cases.¹

In hollow-ware, for instance, Richard Roberts, civil engineer, stated in evidence given to House of Lords' Committee on Patent Law Amendment, that by "stamping up" from sheets of metal the labour-cost was one-fiftieth of that by the old process. A certain article made at one blow by machine in France could not be done in England without fifty blows and ten annealings; made by machine at the rate of ten a minute, but by hand hardly ten in the hour.²

This means, therefore, that out of each fifty men employed, forty-nine would by the machine be dispensed with. Since 1851 this stamping machine has been much improved.

In evidence before a Commons' Committee 1829, Joseph Merry, ribbon-manufacturer, said he was possessed of an improvement in making ribbon velvets which enabled him to make forty pieces while another man was making one,³ and exhibited a sample of the goods made.

This book of Macfie's from which I have been quoting has more similar evidence as to the displacing power of machinery; but the work is specially devoted to a question which leads immediately to one other point on which a few words must be said when dealing with the question of "Men v. Machines." THOS. SHORE, jun.

(To be continued.)

A BRAVE PARSON!—Rev. F. Minton, vicar of Midlewich, Cheshire, presiding at a meeting addressed by Mr. Brunner, M.P., said Liberals had the greatest cause for congratulation on the democratic spirit which every month was becoming more apparant among workmen. They had not yet crushed out injustice to Ireland, but they had stirred the people. "There was no more useful gospel than the gospel of discontent. The world was not meant for privileged parasites, and workmen should combine to hasten the social revolution."

HOW A CHINESE MAGISTRATE SETTLED A DISPUTE.—That modern Haroun-al-Raschid, the magistrate of the Mixed Court at Shanghai, had lately before him a complicated family dispute about land, which he settled in this way. Finding that only one lawyer was engaged in the case, he had this gentleman haled before him and soundly whipped; then he invited the litigants to dinner with him, enlivened the repast by having the sermon from the sacred edict on the benefits of harmony between relatives read out, and lectured the parties severely as obstinate blockheads.

¹ How exceedingly gradual in some cases may be seen by this example; "The present spinning machinery which we now use is supposed to be a compound of about eight hundred inventions. The present carding machinery is a compound of about sixty patents."—(Paul Rapsey Hodge, civil engineer; evidence before House of Lords, 1851; quoted in 'Copyright and Patents for Inventions,' R. A. Macfie, 1883, p. 233.)

² Report, 1851, quoted in 'Copyright and Patents for Inventions,' R. A. Macfie, 1883, p. 241.

³ Macfie, p. 214.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 13, 1888.

7	Sun.	1843. Proclamation of the Clontarf Repeal meeting.
8	Mon.	1866. House of Fearnought, a rat saw-grinder, blown up. 1887. Gweedore evictions.
9	Tues.	1848. Smith O'Brien, Meagher, and others tried. 1856. N. Cabot died.
10	Wed.	1794. Kosciusko defeated. 1831. Nottingham Castle burnt by "rioters." 1837. Fourier died. 1842. Trial of Lancashire rioters.
11	Thur.	1831. Reform riots in London. 1834. Explosion at Quebec: 14 Nihilists sentenced at St. Petersburg.
12	Fri.	1660. Major-General Harrison hanged, drawn, and quartered. 1797. William Orr hung at Carrickfergus for high treason. 1819. Richard Carlile sentenced for publishing 'Age of Reason.' 1879. Re-burial of the bones of the Martyrs of Liberty at Rome.
13	Sat.	1881. Arrest of C. S. Parnell. 1883. Ladies' School at Warsaw searched.

Execution of Harrison.—Major-General Harrison has always been one of the butts of royalist scribblers. Of course men who believe in nothing except in robbing and oppressing their fellows have great contempt for enthusiasts of all kinds. Harrison was the leader of the Fifth Monarchy men, who, if destined to disappointment in the precise realisation of their Biblical ideal, had yet a natural and noble yearning for setting human affairs into better order than at present, when Jesus of Nazareth would probably be tortured to death by a Millbank warder and John the Baptist would be torn to pieces by an ignorant mob in Whitechapel, to suit the purposes of an evening newspaper bent on working up a sensation.—L. W.

Arrest of Parnell.—The great duel between Gladstone and Parnell in October 1881 is principally interesting to revolutionists as showing the infamous and illegal character of that secret conspiracy against the liberties of mankind known as the British Cabinet. On Friday the 6th, in the Clothyard at Leeds, Gladstone denounced Parnell as a robber, at the same time (with that low political cunning for which he has always been famous) trying to seduce John Dillon by a bit of the most alluring flattery, concluding with that ever-to-be-remembered bombastic boast that "the resources of civilisation were not exhausted." On Sunday the 8th Parnell at Wexford made that short, sharp, and deadly thrust at the Gladstonian bubble which will live in history as long as Ireland endures. Meanwhile John Dillon rejected Gladstone's "soft sawder" with honest contempt. Gladstone's pet "civilised world" waited with breathless interest for the "resources of civilisation" to appear. Never was a more contemptible exhibition. On Wednesday the 11th the secret salaried assassins at Downing Street held one of the most protracted meetings ever known. Not till six in the evening did Buckshot Forster hurry away to catch the Irish mail, with the mandate from his brother criminals to throttle a few honest men for telling the truth. Early next morning Parnell was seized in Dublin, while the seizure of Sexton, Dillon, Davitt, and O'Kelly soon followed. Of course the bull-headed plans of these Downing Street ruffians ended in their ignominy, yet this shows the amount of liberty England possesses under Gladstonism.—L. W.

THE ECONOMICAL CONDITION OF THE LABOURERS IN DENMARK.

(Concluded from p. 309.)

THE NECESSARIES OF LIFE.

ACCORDING to the best medical and physiological authorities, the average of the necessary quantity of nutritious elements which the daily food of one adult (or two children) ought to contain, is as follows: 105 grammes of albumen, 60 gr. of fat, 500 gr. of farinaceous substances. This estimate is based upon the largest possible quantity of flour that can be admitted, to make the food as cheap as possible. The quantity of farinaceous substances ought not to exceed 500 gr. in a wholesome food for an adult person. On the other side, the quantity of albumen is so small that, according to many other physiological analyses, it can scarcely be considered as an average. Partly the same may be said about the stated quantity of fat. The necessary quantity of meat of common quality, according to Prof. C. Voit, ought to amount to 300 grammes for one adult or two children.

Based upon these estimations, the sufficient but frugal support of a single man or working family respectively will cost at Copenhagen the following amounts per year:

Single men.	Husband and wife.	Parents and child.	Parents and 2 children.	Parents and 3 children.	Parents and 4 children.	Parents and 5 children.
Kr.	Kr.	Kr.	Kr.	Kr.	Kr.	Kr.
About 770	996	1,190	1,370	1,540	1,790	1,970

The domestic and economical conditions of the labouring classes in Copenhagen present themselves as follows:—

About 23,800 workmen, or about 62.3 per cent. of the total number, have an annual income from 800 kr.—which is nearly the amount necessary for the support of a single man—and down to about 400 kr.

Among these 23,800 workmen, about 15,800 are heads of a family, and of those—

About 11,800 families consist of from	2—4 persons
" 4,000	" 5—7 "
" 500	" more than 7 "

About 3,400 workmen, or 8.9 per cent. of the whole number, have an income of from about 400 kr. to 900 kr., or from the amount that is required for the support of a single person to an amount not sufficient for the support of two persons.

The total number of men whose annual income is less than 900 kr., is about 27,200, or about 71.2 per cent. of the whole number.

About 3,000 workmen, or about 8 per cent. of the whole number, have an annual income from about 900 to about 1,000 kr.—i.e., nearly

the amount which is required for the support of a family of two persons. In all, about 30,200 workmen, or about 79 per cent. of the whole number, have an annual income of less than 1,000 kr.

Of these 30,200 workmen, 19,400 must be considered to be heads of a family, and of these—

About 13,900 represent families consisting each of	from 2—4 persons
" 4,900	" 5—7 "
" 600	" more than 7 "

About 7,000 workmen, or about 18.3 per cent. of the total, have annual wages from about 1,000 to about 1,400 kr., or from the amount which is required for the support of two persons to the amount that is necessary for a family of four persons.

About 800 workmen, or about 2.4 per cent., have annual wages from 1,400 to about 1,600 kr.

About 200 workmen, or about 0.5 per cent., have annual income from 1,600 to about 9,300 kr.

The number of workmen in Copenhagen whose annual income was of about 1,000 kr. and above amounted to about 8,000, and amongst these about 4,500 were heads of a family. Of the latter—

About 3,550 represented families consisting of	from 2—4 persons
" 880	" 5—7 "
" 70	" more than 7 "

Of the 33,600 workmen in the boroughs and the industrial labourers in the counties whose annual income was about 800 kr. and less, about 22,300 must be considered as heads of families.

Working-men having an annual income of 1,000 kr. or less were found to number 43,500, out of which about 27,900 may be supposed to be heads of families.

As to the workers in the counties, the proportion between income and expenses does not differ essentially from the proportion stated for Copenhagen. The consequence hereof is, that the workmen's income in general, in Copenhagen as well as in the counties, is far from being sufficient to cover the expenses for the necessaries of life. Most of the workmen, therefore, must reduce their consumption of food in nearly every respect, and very often to such a degree that all regard of conserving health and keeping up strength is wholly neglected.

To what degree the insufficient wages compel the workmen to reduce their consumption of food is proved by the statements made by Dr. Sørensen, concerning the situation of workmen in the boroughs. The complete informations in this statement concern but eight working families with an annual income from about 300 to 800 kr., but by comparing them with other information, it is proved that the reductions in the conditions of living which these families had to make, also prevail in a number of working families that is equal to the number of those who have an annual income of 800 kr. or less.

Though the daily food ought to contain 105 gr. of albumen, 60 gr. of fat, and 500 gr. of farinaceous substances for each adult, the average nutritious elements contained in the daily food of the above-mentioned families was 65.5 gr. of albumen, 63.0 gr. of fat, and 390.5 gr. of farinaceous matter, or an average deficiency of about 40 gr. of albumen and 110 gr. of farinaceous substances. The most badly situated families had the following deficit: of albumen were wanting 57.5 gr. per day for each adult, or half of what is required; of fat were wanting 12.5 gr. a-day, or one-fifth of the necessary quantity; of the farinaceous substances were wanting about 205 gr. daily, or two-fifths of the amount required. But the workman's want of albumen is, in fact, much greater than the above-mentioned figures show, as a too great part of it is consumed in the form of vegetables, and it is a well known fact that the digestive organs are to a much less degree able to extract the albumen of the vegetable than of the animal provisions. According to Prof. Voit, each of the families referred to has an average deficit of 400 klg. of meat a-year, or equal to the amount of 400 kr. This reduction of nutriment prevails for a number of working families that is equal to the number of those who have an annual income of 800 kr. and less, and that number amounts to about 38,100, or about 73 per cent. Consequently, 38,100 families, or 73 per cent. of all the working families in Copenhagen and the counties—besides the agricultural labourers—receive on an average about 400 kr. less per year than is required to get their sufficient quantity of meat!

The Danish Social-democratic Federation, according to their principles of State intervention, and believing that the economical condition of the workers can be bettered by parliamentary measures, presented, as far back as 1880, a Bill to the Parliament of Denmark, concerning the organisation of health institutions, asking therein that the State should direct all insurance in time of illness, with a compensation to the sick and their families for the loss of wages during illness, and subsidiarily, that the State should at least give to all poor persons gratuitous means of relief, such as medical assistance, medicines, accommodation in hospitals, etc. They also urge that the insurance of old and disabled workers must be the duty of the State, as of course they are wholly unable to save anything for themselves. The Danish State has done nothing of the kind, and even if they would, they could not do anything in the way of altering the economical condition of those who produce all wealth and get starvation wages in compensation. These starvation wages will continue to exist as long as private property and monopoly, the very essence of the institution of the State, will last; it is therefore the abolition of private ownership and the destruction of monopoly that we must aim at, to get rid of not only starvation wages, but wage-system and State-institution altogether, and live a free life in a community of free men, where, there being no master—i.e., exploiter—each of us will be enabled to have all that he needs.

V. D.



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW? FIRST, FEW MEN 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.

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

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

G. McL.—Thanks for Scotch notes, labour and general. We have two other comrades who collect news for us; we echo your wish that they were more! E. B. B and F. K.—Crowded out this week quite unavoidably. Will be used next week.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday October 3.

<p>ENGLAND Justice Labour Tribune Norwich—Daylight Postal Services Gazette Radical Leader Railway Review Shetland News Worker's Friend</p> <p>INDIA Bankipore—Behar Herald Madras—People's Friend</p> <p>UNITED STATES New York—Der Sozialist Truthseeker Workmen's Advocate Boston—Woman's Journal Chicago—Knights of Labor Detroit—Der Arme Teufel Paterson (N.J.) Labor Standard St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole</p>	<p>FRANCE Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) Le Parti Ouvrier (daily) La Revolte Le Coup de Feu Sedan—La Revolution Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur</p> <p>HOLLAND Hague—Recht voor Allen</p> <p>BELGIUM Ghent—Vooruit Liege—L'Avenir</p> <p>SWITZERLAND Zurich—Sozial Demokrat Arbeiterstimme Geneva—Przedawit Bulletin Continental</p> <p>ITALY Milan—Il Fascio Operaio Rome, L'Emancipazione (daily) Marsala—La Nuova Eta</p>	<p>CREMONA—Il Democratico FLORENCE—La Question Sociale TURIN—Nuovo Gazzetta Operaia</p> <p>SPAIN Madrid—El Socialista Barcelona—Tierra y Libertad Seville—La Solidaridad</p> <p>PORTUGAL Lisbon—O Protesto Operario</p> <p>GERMANY Berlin—Volks Tribune</p> <p>AUSTRIA Wien—Gleichheit Brunn—Volkstfreund</p> <p>DENMARK Social-Demokraten</p> <p>SWEDEN Stockholm, Social-Demokraten Malmo—Arbetet</p> <p>NORWAY Kristiania—Social-Demokraten</p>
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A STRIKE AND AN ARBITRATION FRAUD.

SOME weeks ago the girls at the Banner (Cotton) Mill, Aberdeen, came out on strike for an increase in their wages of 5 per cent., the reason assigned by them for their action being that trade was brisk, profits good, and the wages paid in Lancashire much higher than those paid in Aberdeen. The dispute attracted a good deal of attention at the time, notices of it appearing in the *Commonweal* and the *Link*, and the Aberdeen Socialists taking occasion to make capital out of it. The local Trades' Council took up the matter on behalf of the girls, and ultimately arbitration was resorted to as the method of settlement.

Dr. Hunter, M.P. for North Aberdeen, was first named as arbiter—by the workers; but Hunter is rather a bluff, uncompromising fellow, whose sympathies with the workers would carry him a considerable way, and although no formal objection was advanced against him as arbiter, the directors would be sure to consider him an unsafe man; and they indicated their preference for Sheriff Wilson, a dormant Tory and the intimate friend of some of their number. Not knowing the sort of person the sheriff was (except, perhaps, that he was proud, solemn, and addicted to athletics, which, like "the flowers that bloom in the spring," had, of course, "nothing to do with the case"), the girls and their friends of the Trades' Council, nothing doubting, agreed to accept him as arbiter, and went back to their work on the old terms pending his decision. The result has been that this man, whose judgment used to excite general admiration among Aberdonians, and who was regarded as "an honourable gentleman," has betrayed their trust, and has handed them over to the Philistines bound hand and foot for the time being.

Among working people the general forecast as to the result of the arbitration was that at least a compromise would be made—that 2½ per cent. of an increase would be granted to the girls. But "blessed is he that expecteth nothing, for he shall not be disappointed." The decision which has just been declared ought, with its wealth of judicial acumen and inventive ingenuity, to show how little unsophisticated "inexperienced" workers know about the rights of labour, and the sacrifices our betters make for our well-being. When we saw the shareholders (most Christian magistrates and Liberal candidates) driving in carriages, giving donations to charities, and maintaining sons and daughters in luxury and idleness, we thought it must be good to be a shareholder. We were correspondingly blasted and knocked out of shape when we were told by Sheriff Wilson that these shareholders had for a long time been running their mill "at a dead loss." The shareholders themselves said that at the outset of the dispute;

but we considered it simply as the desperate subterfuge of cornered capitalism. None of the workers took this plea very seriously. One night, speaking in Castle Street to some hundreds of men and women, I said if these gentlemen did not get their living by shareholding, then they ought to be "run in" as vagabonds, since they had "no visible means of support." And the women led the laugh that greeted my application of the legal definition of a vagabond. But it appears we were treating the matter with the levity of ignorance, for the document in which the sheriff declares his decision bears their statement out.

Trade is brisk, he admits, and in Lancashire good profits are being made and good wages paid; but the Banner Mill is so far from the markets and the coal-fields that the cost of transportation of raw material and manufactured goods handicaps the directors in competing with Lancashire firms, and renders it impossible for them to pay Lancashire wages. These causes entailed on the shareholders a loss during several years (that is to say, they only got 3½ per cent. of a dividend, whereas they might have got 5 per cent. anywhere!); and now when times are better their 10 per cents. are required to recoup them for those losses. Therefore, says Sheriff Wilson, the present demand for an increase of wages has come too soon. But (he proceeds more hopefully) if the present prosperity continues, an increase may be granted; only I would have you workers bear in mind that while you have been drawing thousands of pounds of wages, capital has been getting nothing (save 3½ per cent., otherwise, "a dead loss")!

Meanwhile the girls have to go on working ten hours a-day for an average wage of 6s. a-week, while the shareholders continue to pocket their 10 per cent. After declaring the dividend last half-year, the directors carried a balance of £1,200 to account. In order to give the workers the desired increase of 5 per cent., only some £300 out of that sum would have been required (meaning about 1 per cent off their profits); and yet although the girls have been sharing the effects of trade depression in the shape of reduced wages during the last few years, the decree of the just judge is that they have no right to share the fruits of the present trade expansion—at least, not yet.

Sheriff Wilson would most likely admit that 6s. a-week is insufficient to maintain a woman in decency and comfort, but he chooses to be generous to capital before he is just to labour. Some of the Scotch "democratic" organs have been humane enough and outspoken enough to charge the sheriff with having shown the class bias, and they discuss his decision and lay down the law in the usual oracular style. If there were such a thing as commercial morality I could understand why they should see this arbitration job to be a fraud. But it seems to me that the sheriff in his judgment gives faithful expression to the commercial view of how the "cake" ought to be divided. His decision is quite in order—only a little meaner and more brazen-faced than some men would have made it. Capital is entitled to as much of the "cake" as it can get; Labour is entitled to as much as it can get; and there is no other natural rule which can be applied to their relationship. A thief has just exactly the same right to my sovereign that he has to my shilling—none at all; and shareholders have just as much right to 100 per cent. as to 1. Our "Democrats" and their organs have yet to realise the mountainous absurdity of gravely telling thieves what honour and honesty requires that they should do while still remaining thieves!

Well! we learned long ago that strikes were no good; and this story illustrates the uselessness of arbitration, inasmuch as an arbiter must reason from a commercial and not a moral standpoint, and, whether he be honest or not, go upon the assumption that stealing is no dishonesty.

But there is also something cheering for us in the otherwise sordid story. If the sheriff's quaint account of "a dead loss" be true, then the fact that the co-operation of capital, organising ability, and the toil of several hundred women can only bring 3½ per cent. (in commercial language "a dead loss") to the capitalist and 6s. a-week to the worker, is a telling illustration of the diamond-cut-diamond nature of competitive commerce. It ought to fortify our hope that our fellow mortals "who are not Socialists" will ere long see the folly (if nothing else) of a system where the thieves are so numerous and so deft, the honest people so poor, and the market so full of swag, that it would pay as well to turn honest and spend the remainder of their days in earning their livelihood instead of stealing it.

JAMES LEATHAM.

Superintendent (of lodbail tram-car line): "The driver of No. 75 ran over an old lady to-day, and broke her arm." President: "Well, people ought to be more careful." Superintendent: "And the amount of money in the box indicates that he is careless about fares." President: "Wha-at Discharge him at once!"

PROJECTED COTTON FACTORIES IN CHINA.—The success of the Bombay cotton factories in profitably sweating the natives has led to projects for the establishment of similar works in Shanghai, which is the centre of the principal cotton growing district in China, but they meet with no encouragement from the Chinese authorities. The latter are still trying to resuscitate the Chinese Cotton Spinning Company, which was first projected under official auspices in 1879. The foundations of the buildings were laid, but owing to mismanagement further progress was stopped, and up to this date attempts to raise additional capital have proved unsuccessful. One of the inducements held out to shareholders, who are all natives, is a monopoly for the manufacture of cotton cloth promised by his Excellency Li Hung-chang, and dread of interference with this monopoly has hitherto caused the local officials to discourage and endeavour to prevent the establishment of cotton factories of all kinds, whether projected by foreigners or Chinese. Bombay meanwhile is sending yarns to China in ever increasing quantities, to the enormous enrichment of her mill-owners.

AS IN GREAT; SO IN LITTLE.

POSSIBLY it may interest the readers of *Commonweal* to know how Socialism and other advanced doctrines are penetrating into the heart of the Perthshire highlands. A short time ago a branch of the S.D.F. was formed in the fashionable town of Crieff by a few earnest Socialists, and an effort was made to raise the propaganda from its secret grooves into the broad light of day. With that object in view, comrade Glasier from Glasgow was invited to give a lecture on Socialism in the public square. A large crowd collected to hear our comrade; and for the first time they listened and learnt what Socialism really meant. The audience was large and most attentive, and from cool critical listeners they became most enthusiastic in demonstrating their approval of the new gospel. A meeting-place was secured, and later on Tom Mann was invited to give an open-air and also an in-door address, and again a good audience greeted our comrade's exposition of Socialism with decided approval. At both meetings a great quantity of literature was sold, including a few quires of *Commonweal* and *Justice*.

During the summer months the propaganda has considerably slackened; workers who reside in small country towns will be able to appreciate the cause of this. But although the meetings have been discontinued for the present, an attempt will again be made to carry on a series of indoor meetings during the coming winter. The little band of Socialists in Crieff are thorough, earnest men, and the secretary has both initiative and steady courage to make the movement in the district a genuine success. Where a few men are ready to act as well as give suggestions on "Organisation," much work can be done, and a feeling of reliance is inspired when enthusiasm is not confined merely to the tongue.

Seven miles west from Crieff, and undisturbed by the din of railway traffic, lies the sweet little village of Comrie. It is the very picture of peace and soothing rest, as it snugly nestles at the foot of a range of lofty mountains. It has made a slight noise in the world by the frequency of its earthquakes, but beyond a passing rumble at long intervals there has been nothing to make a boast of! But proud are the villagers of their earthquakes, and woe to the stranger who doubts their reality. One would think that here at least competition must be more humane, and that its vile trickeries and loathsome effects on the character must be less marked than in our large cities. The visitor who approaches Comrie with dreams of idyllic bliss has them rudely dispelled when he sets his foot across the bridge of Lednock. A vision of low narrow houses, stuffy looking and unhealthy, despite the pure air from mountain and stream, at once meets his gaze, and instead of a population with marks of strength and vigour on their faces, he sees prematurely old men and women with each wrinkle on their faces speaking loudly of the hard and long struggle for existence. In a population of something near 2,000, one is struck with the very small number of young men; and here the same pathetic tale has to be told of the forcing of the best blood, and possibilities of true manly character, into the dens of our large cities, there to swell the tide of gaunt competition among the large army of toilers. A few years ago between thirty and forty tailors in Crieff and Comrie could easily earn a comfortable livelihood, but now the sweating system has raised its ugly head and machinery and underpaid women will soon make the two or three that still remain a thing of the past.

The population of Comrie a short time ago was nearly double its present amount; and though plenty of land lies ready for useful cultivation, it is fast sinking out of existence. Glenartney and Glenlednock used to hear the merry sounds of human life, but everywhere one sees the ruined cottages of the "bold peasantry." The beautiful glens, instead of yielding human food and supporting many healthy families, are being rapidly given over to sheep and deer. It is more profitable to the landlord; and to judge from the acquiescence of the authorities, we may suppose it is also beneficial to the community. Lord Aveland is the principal possessor of this quarter of the globe, and for his pleasure and profit has been "spurned the cottage from the green," and large acres of land given over to grouse, deer, and sheep. In the village the effect of competition is most marked upon the merchants. There are half a dozen grocers and bakers, and the struggle for customers is most humorous as well as pitiful. Each one possesses a van, and in order to secure a customer and "place him on the list," the baker would carry a single loaf a halfpenny cheaper to Loch Earnhead—a distance of thirteen miles! Each of the merchants is of course religious, and they would fight to the death among themselves for the "Auld," Free, or U. P. Churches; but when the little English chapel is opened in the summer time for three months to give diversity of entertainment to the grouse-shooting and deer-stalking visitors, then farewell creeds and Shorter Catechism! All the merchants with their wives and families religiously attend every service, and the heart of Sir Pertinax McSycophant would be gladdened by the elaborate scraping and "booming" of the local capitalists as the wealthy visitors are played out of church to the lively music of the "kist o' whistles." Of course the result is some "orders" in the ensuing week; and one can well believe they have been paid for dearly enough. I am told that the character of the people has completely changed within a recent period. Instead of being robust and self-dependent, with all the old hardy vigour of Scotch character, they are snobbish, poor, and vain—the result of being compelled to hang out their banner for the attraction of summer visitors. Those who have stayed for any length of time at villages or towns dependent on the summer visitor, will know how false and corrupt the character becomes through the painful efforts to become "genteel" and look as if they had never done a stroke of work in all their lives.

It is long since the doctrines of Henry George penetrated to this place, and a most encouraging feature is the eagerness with which the land question and other social topics are discussed by the farmers, artisans, and even gamekeepers, and their readiness to embrace extreme views. They have undoubtedly ceased to hope for anything from either of the "great political parties," and slowly but surely the truth is dawning upon them that "Tories" and "Liberals" are mere phrases to keep them divided. The most of the young workmen here—mostly apprentices nearing the end of their term—are far more advanced in social questions than many of their city brethren, and I found a few of them studying Laurence Gronlund's valuable work. Quite an interesting picture could be presented to the readers of *Commonweal* of an old shoemaker, erect in figure and with quite a refreshing look of manly individuality on his face, seated on a stool in the centre of his clean-looking old thatched hut, surrounded by a number of young men listening eagerly as he read and expounded the leading articles from *Reynolds's Newspaper*, all his utterance primed with the hottest sedition! The little school has now got considerably beyond *Reynolds*, but the old man will ever regard with affectionate fervour the slashing articles in that fairly honest and serviceable paper.

Is it not significant that wherever one goes it is social topics that are discussed and not political ones, and that our doctrines are penetrating silently everywhere, even without the aid of the propagandist? Competition itself is sending the schoolmaster abroad, and even the diseases it manufactures speak with a plaintive eloquence to all thoughtful men, and long before our first-class debaters in St. Stephen's have reached "Manhood Suffrage" the dissolution of our rotten society will be upon us.

J. M. B.

EMANCIPATION.

Ho, workers, all and everywhere,
Rouse up, rouse up, give careful heed;
Why waste your days in beating air,
And scattering salt instead of seed?
Your cramping toil in mine and field,
The deadly drudgery of the mill,
See, what a treasure-heap they yield!
How comes it then ye fare so ill?

Ye smile. Ah, then, ye understand
Whose is the lion's share of spoil;
Ye know full well that plundering band,
The masters of the means of toil.
Your lives they strip to load their store,
Wielding, wherewith to swell their gains,
The work of hands that are no more,
The fruit of unrequited brains.

What else but mastery, brothers mine,
Dooms you to strive where hope is none?
What else but mastery bids you pine
Amidst the wealth your hands have won?
What else, in foul and wolfish strife,
Against your friends demands your power?
Or spilt the precious stream of life
To coin the troubles of an hour?

Then rid you of the rognish clan,
Who filch the gifts they feign to give;
Join hands, and claim for every man
The leave to labour and to live.
The world, released from wrongful gain,
May well be different from to-day;
Deal then to Privilege its bane,
And make of life the most ye may.

C. W. BECKETT.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"SWEATED BASKET-MAKERS."

With regard to friend Dryden's questions, I have been to several people for information, and I have been also to the committee of our union, and as far as I can get information nobody has contradicted my statement about the first year's contract; and as regards this year's contract that also is practically correct, because the only other person who has got a portion of the contract is Harrison, of Grantham, and from all that I have ever heard of him he is a sweater actually if not technically, and his idea of a workman's wage is very low.

The Trades' Union Committee inform me that my statement of the wage of No. 3 hampers ought to have been 8s. 10d. instead of 8s. The other is correct.

With regard to the umbrella baskets, I have not heard of any being out this year; none are being made in London. But the protectors are being made by scabs who are making them for 1s. 9d., the proper wage being 2s. 5d.—Yours fraternally,

THOS. CANTWELL.

A VOICE FROM THE GRAVE.—A letter was written by A. R. Parsons to his children, shortly before his murder, by his request it will not be opened and read until November 11, 1888.

METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.—The weekly return of metropolitan pauperism shows that the total number of paupers relieved in the third week of the current month was 91,646, of whom 55,316 were indoor and 36,330 outdoor paupers. The total number relieved shows an increase of 1,994 over the corresponding week of last year, 5,015 over 1886, and 5,929 over 1885. The total number of vagrants relieved on the last day of the week was 966, of whom 783 were men, 155 women, and 28 children under sixteen.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

There is to be a great meeting in Glasgow on the subject of the sweating system on October 18.

The apprentices in the employment of Milne and Sons, engineers, Aberdeen, struck work on Sept. 24th for a reduction of hours.

It has been arranged that the apprentice engineers at Aberdeen who struck work for shorter hours, should have them reduced from 57 to 54 per week.

The Forth Bridge strike initiated on Sept. 22nd, still continues with determination on both sides. The platers want either the terms asked for, or that a regular division of night men be organised.

A Dewsbury telegram states that the miners at Thornhill Combs Collieries, Dewsbury, have struck because the employers refused an advance. The men allege that they are paid less than the neighbouring miners. Over 60 men are out.

The handloom carpet weavers of Alexander Murdoch and Co., Bridgeton, Glasgow, are on strike in consequence of a proposed reduction of 20 per cent. The men on strike have, for the past three months, been earning on an average 7s. per week.

The dock labourers at Glasgow quay are still locked out by the stevedores. They can only do it with the help of Belfast Protestant labourers, who are loyal to all and everything which keeps them poor, servile, and despised. Verily, bad Belfast produces poor Protestants!

WAGES ADVANCED.—The Clyde shipbuilders, at a meeting held on September 25th, unanimously resolved to recommend an increase of not more than 5 per cent. on the time wages of engineers, ironworkers, joiners, and pattern-makers who have not already received advances.

TEN PER CENT!—The East Lothian Miner's Association, at a meeting held on Sept. 27th, unanimously passed a resolution that a deputation from each coal-work should approach the masters requesting an advance of 10 per cent., the result to be reported to next fortnightly meeting.

FINES.—The strike of 250 power-loom weavers at Auchterarder, in consequence of the imposition of fines for short lengths, which was noticed in this column last week, has now terminated. The fines are abolished, and the tenters are to "pace" the webs so far as the yarns will allow.

At the conference of miners at Manchester a resolution was carried to the effect that each district represented at the conference pledged itself that the pitmen should give notice to secure an advance of 10 per cent. on all underground workmen's wages, and that the notices should not be withdrawn unless the advance was conceded.

SCOTCH MINERS.—Thursday afternoon (27th) a meeting of Scotch miners' delegates at Glasgow unanimously agreed that the miners in the various districts should demand an advance of 10 per cent. without conditions as to the number of days to be worked. Mr. Keir-Hardie, late labour candidate for Lanark, said, what the Scotch miners wished, in short, was 5s. for an eight hours day.

RATTENING AT MACCLESFIELD.—On the 24th it was found that 90 warps in a loom at Lower Heyes Cotton Mill had been cut overnight with a sharp knife. Several driving belts had also been tampered with, and the perpetrator must have known inside the mill well to have eluded the watchman. Two thousand weavers at the mill have been on strike for eight weeks. Their union repudiates complicity in the "outrage."

BAD NEWS FOR BRITISH IRONWORKERS.—The British iron trade in Italy is to be further reduced. A company has been formed for the erection of extensive ironworks in the neighbourhood of Milan. It is expected to employ 5,000 hands at the outset, and the company has secured a patent for heating the raw material, by which a great saving of labour and wages will be effected. "It moves"—the vanishing of wages by labour killing machines.

A NEW LABOUR COMPETITOR.—A new mining machine, combining some novel improvements, has been brought out by A. Wood and Sons, Glasgow. One of the improvements is the reducing to silence the noise caused by the old "kicker" arrangement. How long will the miners wait and suffer until they determinedly adopt a method of organisation and action which will reduce to silence the noise of the "kicker" arrangement with which they at present combat capital? "How long, O Lord; how long?"

POOR FELLOW!—Mr. Thomas Whitehead, 21, Stoneleigh Street, Oldham, late foreman of the twistors and drawers at Derker Mill, writes furiously to the *Cotton Factory Times*, denying the report that he had joined the men on strike: "Joined the men, I most emphatically deny, and defy either your correspondent or anyone else to prove that such is the fact. That I have given notice, and left, is quite true, but not on account of the prices paid, the prices offered, nor yet to join the men." What a shame it was to hurt his feelings by supposing him capable of joining with common workmen in a rude strike!

A SCOTCH SLAVE MARKET IN 1888!—The usual man, maid, and cattle fair was held at Castle Douglas on Sept. 24th, when the following prices were given for six months' surrender and use of the lives and liberty of the "human cattle" as they are sometimes called. The buyers lose nothing through the deterioration of this kind of stock, and the slaves have to accept whatever food and housing the masters may be pleased to give. Ploughmen, £9 10s.; byrewomen, £6; kitchen-maids, £5; cooks, £7; girls, £3 10s.; general servants, £4 10s.; lads, £3. The slaves provide their own clothing and retiring allowance for old age when unable to work. Horses and cattle sold well, a few roadsters and "screws," and some men, women, and girls not finding buyers.

PIECERS OBJECT TO WORK OVERTIME.—For a considerable time past it has been customary at one of the cotton mills near Roylson for the engine to "warn" at 5.30 p.m., at which time the whole of the operatives, with the exception of the minders and their piecers ceased work. These latter would then continue to work until a quarter to six, and sometimes longer. The piecers were not at all satisfied at the prospect of this overtime being persisted in, which meant additional work without any extra remuneration. One evening last week they refused to work after the proper time. As the result of this action the minders have been compelled to cease work at the same time as the other operatives. The course adopted by the piecers referred to might be imitated with advantage by others who are placed in a similar position.

The Govan labourers strike has forced the employers to offer an advance of 3d. per hour, being one-half of the labourers' demand. The labourers have provided for future emergencies by joining the Govan branch of the Labour Protection League. The League is rapidly gaining strength here.

BAKERS' UNION IN SCOTLAND.—A very large and representative meeting was held in the Albion Hall, Glasgow, on Sept. 27th, to hear the report regarding the delegate meeting lately held at Aberdeen. The secretary in his report said that the numbers now connected with the new federation reached the astonishing number of 3,676—a good show of work done in six months' campaign showing most conclusively the men are awakening to the fact that there is something wrong with the present state of things, and it is their duty to try and put it right. It was resolved to hold another series of mass meetings, in order to get those who are still keeping back to step out and show they have the interest of their trade at heart. £3 was voted to assist the carpet weavers on strike at Murdoch's Mills, Bridgeton, and £3 to the mineral dock labourers, who are being at this time attempted to be put out of union by the stevedores.

MORE SIGNS OF BAD TRADE.—The following are a few particulars gleaned from the balance sheets of going concerns. Let it be borne in mind that in every case the fat salaries of the directors and managers, together with the interest on borrowed capital, has been paid in addition to the profits named below. Falcon Engine and Car Works—profits on year, £4,086 16s. 2d. The directors complain that the competition is so keen that profits have "virtually disappeared." Gloucester Waggon Company—net profits, £34,000. Normanton Collieries—the profits are £25,000. In addition to this they paid £21,000 as mine rents and royalties. These two sums together would have increased the men's wages by 50 per cent. Sandwell Park Colliery Company—profits, £13,214 8s. 1d. The dividend paid was 11 per cent.; last year it was 10. Wigan Coal and Iron Company's account show a profit of £10,340. Nobel Dynamite Company—dividend paid amounted to one hundred and thirteen thousand, four hundred and eleven pounds, six shillings and sixpence!!! The Steel Company of Scotland has made a net profit during the year of £24,000. Stavelly Coal and Iron Company admit to a profit of over £39,000.—*Miner.*

THE PRICE OF COAL.—The Lanarkshire Coal-masters' Association has just issued their monthly returns of sales for August. By these the masters own to "an advance of only 3d. to 5d. per ton on July prices, so that it does not give any advance of wages for October"—under the sliding scale which the masters made themselves without consulting the workmen. The other side of the picture—as given by Keir Hardie at a Miner's Conference held at Glasgow on Sept. 27th—proves conclusively that coal was selling in Glasgow last week at an advance of 9d. per ton, and that the employers intended on 1st October to put 1s. per ton on household, and 6d. per ton on shipping coal, entitling the men thereby to a second advance of 10 per cent. The masters would then offer the workmen the first 10 per cent., and expect them to be satisfied. What the Conference aimed at was not 10 per cent. advance, but as many advances as would bring the wages up to at least 5s. for an eight-hour day. A Glasgow paper thinks the masters should give 5 per cent. of an advance, and that the men should be content with it.

Saturday 29th the majority if not all of the coalmasters in Dudley district were served by their workpeople with notice for a 10 per cent. advance. At many collieries the price of coal has already been advanced, coal and slack is in brisk demand, and it is anticipated that the advance asked for will be yielded.

In the Manchester district the colliery owners who advanced the price of coal on Monday 1st have decided to grant the miners an advance of 5 per cent. The men had asked for 10 per cent.

MINERS' CONFERENCE.—The conference of delegates, representing about 200,000 miners in England, Scotland, and Wales, who had been sitting during the previous few days, concluded their deliberations on Friday 28th at the Co-operative Hall, Manchester. There were present 49 delegates. A discussion took place as to the steps to be taken to obtain the 10 per cent. advance the conference had decided to press for, and the time when the notices to be given shall terminate. The following resolution was submitted and unanimously agreed to: "That seeing that the conference has agreed upon notice to be given for an advance of wages, it is hereby agreed that all notices shall be given so as to terminate in the week ending October 27th." The conference next considered what action should be taken in the event of certain colliery owners offering to concede a smaller advance than that asked, or only granting it subject to conditions. It was resolved: "That in case of any colliery or district represented at this conference being offered any advance less than that decided upon at this conference—namely, 10 per cent.—they shall still carry out the resolution by lodging notice demanding the full amount agreed upon. Further, that no district shall accept 10 per cent. on such condition that it shall lose it in the event of any other district represented at this conference not obtaining it." When next meeting should take place was considered, and it was agreed, "That a conference be held on Monday October 29, to consider the position of the districts represented at this conference with regard to the demand for an advance of 10 per cent." "That the next conference be held on October 29 at Derby."

IRONWORKERS' WAGES.—A meeting of the Midland Iron and Steel Wages Board was held on Monday, 1st, at the Council House, Birmingham, to hear an application from the operatives' section for an advance of 12½ per cent. It will be remembered that a meeting of the Board was held on the previous Monday at the Queen's Hotel, Birmingham, to consider re-establishing a sliding scale, and other matters. An application for an advance of 12½ per cent. was then made by the men's representatives, but the employers' section would not decide the question, expressing a willingness to have the application made before the arbitrator. The men, after consultation, accepted this, therefore the present meeting was held. The men's delegates stated that during the late depression wages had been reduced in the aggregate 50 per cent., and the wages of tonnage men 65 per cent. These reductions were enforced owing to the scarcity of orders, and now an improvement had taken place in trade it was only right that the men should have back what had been taken from them. On behalf of the employers it was said that "contracts had been taken upon which the men would be employed for next three months, at lowest price of iron that had ever ruled. If the men obtained an advance, an advance would have to be given to other workmen. They had succeeded in lessening the severe competition on the part of Germans and Belgians, and if an advance were conceded competition would be renewed. Although trade had improved, prices had not improved with it, and therefore they were not in a position to give an advance; they would only be too glad if they could do so." The arbitrator will give his award in due course.

RAT PAPERS.—The following list is taken from a report submitted to the Trades' Union Congress:—"Alliance News," United Kingdom Alliance, Percy Bros., Manchester. "Banner," Church and Constitutional, Clay, R. and Sons (Limited). "Banner of Israel," Proving Identity of Lost Tribes, Banks, R. and Sons. "British Weekly," Social and Christian Progress, Hazell, Watson and Viney (Limited). "Catholic Press," Roman Catholic, National Press Agency (Limited). "Catholic Times," Roman Catholic, Father Nugent, Liverpool. "Christian," Denominational, Unwin Bros. "Christian Age," Sermons, etc., Spottiswoode and Co. "Christian Commonwealth," Religion and Temperance, National Press Agency (Limited). "Christian Herald," Sermons, etc., 3, Dorset Buildings, E.C. "Christian Union," Religion and Temperance, 8, Salisbury Court, E.C. "Ecclesiastical Gazette," Church of England, Clay, R. and Sons (Limited). "Free Methodist," Denominational, Hurd, H. F. "Good Templars' Watchword," Official Organ of Order, National Press Agency (Limited). "Good Tidings," Temperance and Christian, Hurd, H. F. "Inquirer," Unitarian and Free Christian, Woodfall and Kinder. "Jewish Chronicle," Anglo-Jewish, 2, Finsbury Square, E.C. "Jewish World," Anglo-Jewish, 8, South Street, Finsbury, E.C. "Literary Churchman," Reviews, etc., Reynell and Co. (Limited). "Primitive Methodist," Primitive Methodism, Hurd, H. F. "Protestant Standard," Anti-Roman Catholic, Kirkman, G. F., Liverpool. "Record," Church of England, Spottiswoode and Co. "Rock," Church of England, Collingridge, W. H. and L. "Signal and Gospel Union Gazette," Religious, 3, Dorset Buildings, E.C. "Tablet," Roman Catholic, 19, Henrietta Street, W.C. "Temperance Caterer," Temperance, Rider, W. and Son. "Temperance Chronicle," Church of England Temperance, Unwin Bros. "Weekly Herald," Roman Catholic, 280, Strand, W.C. "Weekly Register," Roman Catholic, Westminster Press.—The above must be rather unpleasant reading for Temperance and Religious "friends of the working man"!

LETTER FROM AMERICA.

On the 15th September the capitalist press published the following telegram from Chicago:—

"The arrest of the Anarchist bomb-maker, Charles Bodendieck, was admitted to-day by the police. He is a suspect who has been absent from the city some time. An officer doing duty in citizens' clothes succeeded in becoming Bodendieck's room-mate shortly after the Anarchist returned here. The prisoner is an avowed revolutionist. His apartment is fairly littered with incendiary publications. There is little doubt that the police secured in his room a considerable quantity of dynamite. That Bodendieck had confederates, or at least that he was supplied with money from some suspicious source, is plain from the fact that he did not earn money himself, yet paid his rent for weeks with great punctuality and expended quite a sum for Anarchist literature and paraphernalia. Inspector Bonfield refused this evening to talk about the arrest, saying his men are still working on the case. Bodendieck is a German, who came to this country about four years ago, and immediately joined the armed section of the Anarchists. [This is a lie; known to the scribe to be a lie.] He has ever since been an active participant in all the demonstrations of the revolutionary element except the Haymarket massacre, at the time of which he was in jail for extorting money from Police Justice White under threats of death. Bodendieck was sentenced to one year in the penitentiary for this, which he served. A parcel found among his effects would indicate that, on being released, he drifted West and led the life of a cowboy before coming back to Chicago."

Last Sunday the following telegram reached New York:—
"Charles J. Bodendieck is held in the Central Police Station on the charge of having in his possession a quantity of explosive matter without being able to show any license for having it. It is reported that Bodendieck has made a confession. The *Daily News* [Chicago] says: 'About two months ago Inspector Bonfield was informed of the queer actions of the man. Detective "Phil" Miller, disguising himself, applied for lodgings at the house and was fortunate enough to be assigned to a room directly over that occupied by Bodendieck. Under the assumed name of Peter Martin he soon scraped an acquaintance with Bodendieck, who took him into his confidence and unfolded his plot to him. For two weeks Miller slept with his victim, and then, under the pretence of leaving the city, suddenly disappeared, but assuming a different disguise, shadowed Bodendieck night and day for three weeks, keeping his superiors aware of the man's movements by nightly reports. About two weeks ago Bodendieck became alarmed, and fearing that his plans were about to be made known to the police, moved to No. 159 West Washington Street. He paid daily visits to the reference room of the Public Library, and there studied the manufacture of explosives, the library containing a number of volumes on this subject. He also procured a copy of Most's treatise on bombs and their manufacture. He had already intimated to his friend "Martin" his fear of handling dynamite, and the consequences attending his capture, should any of the dangerous stuff be found on or near him. This accounts for his desire to procure an explosive equally deadly in its work, but which would apparently be considered harmless should he fall into the hands of the police. Little dreaming that his new found friend was a detective in the employ of the city, he carefully explained his plan to avenge the death of Spies, Parsons, Fischer, and Engels. His first point of attack was to be the city buildings, and without exciting the suspicion of any one but his tireless shadow, he explored every nook and corner of the City Hall where he thought his explosive would be most deadly in its effect. Last Tuesday he had everything in readiness for his diabolical plot, and set to work to obtain the chemicals with which to manufacture his explosive. With the directions he had obtained from the library, he went to Fuller and Fuller's drug-store and laid in a supply of chlorate of potash, oil of tar, saltpetre, sulphur, and several other articles. He then went to the warerooms of the Hazard Powder Company and purchased one hundred feet of fuse and thirty fulminating caps. Inspector Bonfield had been informed of the new move of the dynamiter, and ordered his arrest before he had a chance to make a dangerous move. Bodendieck, when arrested, exhibited not the slightest surprise, as he said he had rather suspected something of the kind. His room at No. 159 Washington Street was searched and the dangerous stuff confiscated and taken to the Central Station. The explosive which Bodendieck was about to make, it is said, acts as would a huge torpedo, which, being thrown to the ground, explodes with terrific force. It is not known if there was any one else with him in his scheme beside the detective, as he was fearful of betrayal.'"

As the case is before the authorities and not as yet settled, I prefer to abstain at present from giving you any comments or further information.

The case against the Bohemian Anarchists was called on the 17th inst., in the court of Judge Tuthill in Chicago, and held over to the October sessions.

The counsel for the accused Hronek, a Mr. Goldzier, moved that the case should be postponed to the November sessions, to enable the defence to produce in court the man Karafiat, who at present is on a visit in Europe. It will be remembered that Hronek maintained at the time of his arrest that he received the alleged bombs from Karafiat. State attorney Longenecker opposed the postponement, but the judge split the difference and granted a postponement to October. Chlebowa, the informer, has been entered on the charge-sheet, but he did not even take the trouble to engage a counsel. He was not present in court when the case was called. Sevie demanded a special trial, but this was refused to him. He was represented by a counsel of his own and denies that he sold any stuff to Hronek.

About a hundred delegates, representing sixty-one trade and labour unions, met on the 17th September in Harmony Hall, Troy, N. Y., in response to a call made by the New York Central Labour Union. The object of the conference, as officially stated, is to devise some means whereby certain clauses of the conspiracy section of the Penal Code of the State of New York may be amended or repealed. There has been of late among the union men a feeling that the law assumed that all strikes except those inaugurated to secure higher wages or to prevent reductions were conspiracies, and this feeling has been intensified by decisions in law courts based on the conspiracy laws. The conference is to decide what can be done to have the law amended. The first day was filled up with the appointment of various committees. The whole convention has no other purpose but to pass such resolutions as would enable the leaders to sell the labour vote to either of the two great parties.

Over 2,000 engineers, firemen, brakemen, and switchmen participated on the forenoon of the 17th September in St. Louis, Mo., in a parade, amid a chilling rain, in honour of the executive officers, delegates, and visiting friends who assembled in St. Louis to attend the third annual convention of the Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association of North America.

The Knights of Labour of Pittsburg are beginning to advocate the plan of admitting none but Americans to the order. The strict execution of this rule would reduce the membership of the order about three-fifths. The theory on which the Pittsburg men propose to act seems to be that a foreigner ought to be compelled to live in America twenty-one years before being permitted to vote or join a labour organisation.

Advices dated the 17th September from Havana indicate that the cigar-makers' strike is no nearer settlement than when it started five weeks ago. The manufacturers are well prepared and organised, and seem determined to break for ever the spirit of independence of their men. It is estimated that 9,000 workmen are out of employment, and the distress among their families, augmented by the effects of the recent hurricane, becomes greater daily. Three delegates from the Cigarmakers' Union arrived in New York City on the 16th September from Havana to appeal to American cigarmakers for help. At preliminary meetings it was decided to solicit assistance from cigarmakers throughout the United States to continue the strike. Already numerous contributions have been made, and a large amount will probably be collected.

It will be remembered that a glassblower in Belgium named Oscar Falleur was condemned in July 1886 to twenty years' hard labour for having participated in the sacking and burning of the castle and factory of one Eugene Boudoux. He was sent to the prison at Louvain, but later on released, on condition of emigrating. He first went to France. Some days ago the State department in Washington received the information from the United States minister Lambert Tree in Brussels that Falleur had emigrated to the States. He arrived on the 18th inst. by the Cunard steamer "Aurania." He gave his right name and admitted having participated in the Belgian riots. Falleur has been arrested according to the law prohibiting the immigration of "obnoxious people," and will be sent back. Now, how in hell's name can America call itself a free country?

Newark, N.J., September 18, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

A meeting of the metropolitan speakers of the League will be held at 13, Farringdon Road, on Tuesday, Oct. 9, at 8 o'clock, when it is hoped all the speakers will be present.

London Members' Meeting.—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, Nov. 5, 1888, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

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

Propaganda Fund.—H. Samuels, 1s.

Strike Committee.—Collected in Hyde Park, Sunday, Sept. 23rd, 3s. 9d.; Sept. 30th, 3s. 1d. J. LANE, Treasurer.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Langley, 2s.; P. W., 6d.; C. J. F., 2s. 6d.; K. F., 1s.

FREE SPEECH FUND.

Already acknowledged—£4 3s. 3½d. Received—J. Underwood, 1s.; Dean, 6d. Total, £4 4s. 9½d. F. CHARLES, Sec., 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.

Proceeds of Concert organised by East End Propaganda Committee for free speech. From Wess, £1 10s. 3d.; Charles, 3s.; Autonomie, 6d. Total, £1 13s. 9d.—J. LANE.

REPORTS.

LONDON (OPEN-AIR).—*Leman Street*.—Excitement caused by murder outside Berner Street Club prevented usual meeting here on Sunday. *Hyde Park*.—Henderson, Brooks, Cantwell, Boyce, Presburg, and Parker sang several labour songs and spoke here; 3s. 1d. collected. *Broad Street, Soho*.—New ground broken here Sunday evening, when a large crowd was brought together by the horse and foot police, who followed the procession here. Brooks, Cantwell, and Parker spoke. *Clerkenwell Green*.—Procession from Broad Street then marched here, when a great meeting was addressed by McCormack and Parker. Several songs sung. *Victoria Park*.—Good meeting Sunday last, addressed by Nicoll and Davis. Some thrift and temperance opposition replied to by Nicoll and Davis to evident satisfaction of audience; fair sale *Wool*. *Regent's Park*.—Last Sunday an attentive audience addressed by Samuels, Brooks, and Cantwell. Literature sold well.

CLERKENWELL.—On Sunday, Sept. 30, Wm. Blundell lectured on "Internationalism: Does it Interfere with Modern Politics?"

FULHAM.—Tuesday evening, back of Walham Green Church (note, Liberal club has now other premises) meeting opened by singing "No Master;"

HAMMERSMITH.—At Weltje Road, Sunday morning, 11.30, Tarleton being the speaker; same place in evening, 6.30, Mordhurst, Tarleton and Bullock addressed fair audience.

MITCHAM.—Good meeting last Sunday, at 11.30, addressed by G. B. Shaw. Good sale of 'Weal.'

ABERDEEN.—At indoor meeting on 24th, Champion's lecture, "Wrongs that require Remedies," read.

GLASGOW.—Members' meeting held Thursday, Sunday, 2 o'clock, Glasier and Tim Burgoyne addressed good meeting on Green, enlivened by number of questions as to what we would do with the "loafers."

NORWICH.—Thursday last, Kahler and Reynolds spoke at Yarmouth, several Commonweal sold; Friday morning Cores was released from prison, a good number of comrades waited outside the prison some time before he was released singing revolutionary songs and cheering at intervals.

LECTURE DIARY. LONDON.

- Bloomsbury.—This Branch will shortly be actively working. Socialists resident in this locality should send their names in at once to 13, Farringdon Road.
Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.
Fulham.—8 Effie Road, Walham Green (opposite the railway station). Sunday October 7, at 8 p.m., George Bernard Shaw (Fabian Society), "Anarchy and the Way Out."

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen (Scottish Section).—Douglas M'Intyre, Sec., 17 Queen Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

Bradford.—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivegate. Meets Tuesdays at 8.

Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Tuesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secy.

Cowdenbeath (Scot. Sec).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec Dundee (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

Edinburgh (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.

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

Glasgow.—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8.

Leeds.—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Rd. and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m. communications to T. Paylor, 11 Sheldon Street, Holbeck, Leeds.

Leicester.—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

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

Norwich.—Monday, at 8, meeting in Gordon Hall. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Wednesday, at 8, Educational Class—subject, "Moral Basis of Socialism." Thursday, at 8, Meeting in Gordon Hall. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association.

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

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

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

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SUNDAY 7.

- 11.30...Latimer Road Station...Hammersmith Branch
11.30...Mitcham Fair Green...Brooks
11.30...Regent's Park...Nicoll & Davis
11.30...Walham Green, opp. Station...The Branch
11.30...Weltje Rd., Ravenscourt Pk...Hammersmith
3.30...Hyde Park...Nicoll & Parker
6.30...Weltje Road, opposite Ravenscourt Park...Hammersmith Branch
7.30...Broad Street, Soho...Nicoll & Parker
7.30...Clerkenwell Green...Blundell
7.30...Mitcham Fair Green...Brooks

Monday.

8 ...Wimbledon Broadway...G. B. Shaw

Tuesday.

8.30...Fulham—opposite Liberal Club...Fulham Bh.

Friday.

7.30...Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street...Parker

EAST END.

SUNDAY 7.

- Mile-end Waste ... 11 ...Mrs. Schack.
Leman Street, Shadwell ... 11 ...Parker.
Victoria Park ... 3.15...Davis & Mnwaring
London Fields ... 8 ...Schack, Mnwaring

TUESDAY.

Mile-end Waste ... 8.30...Davis.

WEDNESDAY.

Broadway, London Fields 8.30...Davis & Mnwaring

FRIDAY.

Philpot St., Commercial Rd. 8.30...Lane.

SATURDAY.

Mile-end Waste ... 6 ...East-end C'mittee.

PROVINCES.

- Aberdeen.—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7 p.m.
Edinburgh.—Queen's Park, every Sunday, at 3 p.m.
Glasgow.—Sunday: Jail's Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock.
Ipswich.—Sproughton, Wednesday evening. Westerfield, Thursday evening. Needham Market, Sunday morning and evening.
Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.
Leicester.—Sunday: Russel Square, at 11 a.m.
Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place, at 3 and 7.30. North Walsham, Sunday at 11. Yarmouth, Sunday at 3. St Catharine's Plain, Friday at 8.15 p.m.

EAST-END PROPAGANDA.—The next meeting will be held at the Berner Street Club on Saturday October 6, when the subject for discussion will be "Our Winter Propaganda." Very important business.

SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.

- Chants for Socialists. By William Morris. 1d.
Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism. By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). 1d.
The Commune of Paris. By E. Belfort Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. 2d.
The Aims of Art. By Wm. Morris. Bijou edition, 3d.; Large paper, 6d.
The Rights of Labour according to John Ruskin. By Thomas Barclay. 1d
The Tables Turned; or, Nupkins Awakened. A Socialist Interlude. By William Morris. In Wrapper 4d.
The Manifesto of the Socialist League. Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and William Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. 1d.
Useful Work v. Useless Toil. By William Morris. 1d.
"All for the Cause!" Song. Words by William Morris; Music by E. Belfort Bax. 4to, 4 pp. 6d. per dozen, 4s. 6d.
"Vive la Commune!" Cartoon by Walter Crane. Beat paper. 2d.
Mrs. Grundy (Cartoon). By Walter Crane. Fine hand-made large paper. 6d.

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THE COMMONWEAL

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SATURDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

ONE of the most curious things in that curious jumble, modern journalism, is the way in which the "democratic" dailies treat the rulers of Russia and Germany. If one were to trust the *Pall Mall*, the Czar is the most delightful of human beings, one upon whom all praiseful superlatives must be lavished unceasingly. True, he ill-treats Nihilists, but it is all for their good; if they only behaved a little better, and approached him properly, all would be well. He is always eager to "grant reform," but some wicked folk are for ever in the way, and nothing is done. Meantime robbery, murder, outrage, and injustice go unchecked; every foul thing that human tongue can speak is perpetrated in his name. Yet the "new journalism" can see no blot on the Great White Czar; the blood-gouts that speck his ermine are hidden from the loving eyes of his admirer, whose ears are also deaf to the never-ending wail of his victims.

The *Pall Mall* has done yeoman service in many a good cause; but who can tell how much of its other work has been rendered nugatory by its unweaning worship of the ice cold Colossus of the North, whose yoke is the heaviest ever laid on the neck of an oppressed people?

By way of balance, it may be supposed, the *Star* gives adulation to the German Emperor and the "Man of Blood and Iron." In justice it must be said that the adulation is not lavished wholesale; it is applied sparingly; but there it is. Nor can one wonder much at those who refuse to wholly credit a professed red-hot hatred of wrong at home while there is but the suspicion of a wink at wrong abroad. When will even the most advanced "leaders of popular opinion" wake to the fact that the peoples of the world are one proletariat, and that their rulers are one in kind though they differ in degree? Balfour and Warren, Bismarck and Manderöth, Floquet and his prefect, are of the same gang and are all enemies of the whole of the workers; and the sooner our "democratic" opinion-mills learn this the better for them and for their readers.

At the same time, we cannot credit the latest "theory" of the Whitechapel tragedies, though it is broached by one well acquainted with police methods in many lands. He will have that Sir Charles Warren has arranged the whole thing. For, says he, Warren wants more men; this will get them for him. Warren is a stern Biblical Christian, to whom adultery is worthy of death; and so duty chimes with interest. They are worthless lives that have been taken, and much good to "society" may result; and so the end will justify the means. Worse things have been done in Africa in the cause of Christianity and cheap cottons; why not in London for equally worthy ends?

We cannot credit it! More than one atrocity was charged against Warren when he was in Africa "spreading civilisation"; but even if these were brought home to him they would not prove him capable of repeating on white subjects that which he had wrought on black. But if he is not a scoundrel he is at least a fool; replying to the Whitechapel Board of Guardians about the murders, he says: "I have to request and call upon your Board, as popular representatives, to do all in your power to dissuade the unfortunate women about Whitechapel from going into lonely places in the dark with any persons, whether acquaintances or strangers." A Daniel come to judgment! S.

The gentleman who occupies his spare time in mutilating and murdering in the neighbourhood of Whitechapel, has quite unintentionally done Society a service. By his latest masterpieces he has made Sir Charles Warren's position almost untenable, and it will probably not be long before the London Socialists will bid adieu to their best friend.

His loss will leave us inconsolable. Oh, if he could only stay another year, and give us another Trafalgar Square performance! The small Radical remnant who have not yet accepted the Gospel of Revolution at his hands, might then be driven, by dint of hard knocks and furious charges of mounted men, into our ranks; and we might even witness the prompt conversion of Mr. Charles Bradlaugh and G. W. Foote, Esq., to the only religion which any sane person professes.

We might even have seen Charles Bradlaugh demonstrating the beauties of peaceful Radicalism by rolling policemen over like ninepins; while G. W. Foote might be led in triumph like a Roman captive to the nearest police-station, having proved by deeds his title to the noble name he claims.

But alas, it is all over! Warren is bound to go! Not only is he attacked by the ordinary Liberal and Radical press, but even the *Daily Telegraph* attacks him slyly under the pretence of going for Matthews. What a piece of artful humbug this is. There is no one less an admirer of Mr. Matthews than the present writer; but it is not fair to pour upon his devoted head the penalties due to the crimes of other people.

Mr. Matthews is not a personification of earthly wisdom; but if he were it would not be his duty, any more than that of any other citizen, to illumine with its light the dark places beneath the thick skulls of our detective officers. The man who is responsible is the Chief Commissioner of Police, who has also the detective department under his control since he sacked Superintendent Munro. It is he who has thrown everything out of gear by his fierce vanity, his martinetism, and his pig-headed obstinacy. It is he and not Matthews who is the real culprit.

It may be admitted that Matthews is incompetent; but if every Minister is to get the sack who can have that accusation brought against him what remnant of any Government would remain? If Matthews is incompetent, what in the name of the universe is Mr. Smith, Arthur Balfour, or Lord Salisbury? No; this is the real truth of the matter. Last year, after the battle of Trafalgar Square, the *Daily Telegraph* exhausted its whole vocabulary of eloquent admiration in sounding the praises of the mighty conqueror. It would now be too much of a come-down to have to admit that their sometime hero was an utter fraud. So "the largest circulation" agitates for the overthrow of the Home Secretary, hoping, with all the belief of which that Hebraic Christian paper is capable, that Matthews will drag down Warren in his fall. For the *Telegraph* knows full well that if the new Home Secretary is anything but a harmless abject figure-head like Matthews, that he and the imperious Warren are certain sooner or later to fall out, and this can only end in the resignation of the butcher. How admirable are the tactics of commercial journalism! D. N.

The late Rev. Dr. Edwards, who was minister of a United Presbyterian Church in the poorest part of the East-end of Glasgow, according to the Sheriff Court books, has left personal estate to the value of £20,313 14s. 6d. According to the Christian criterion could he have been a "neighbour" to the victims of civilisation with whom his lot was cast? Could he have had compassion on them? I hold that the man who gains a living by preaching Christ's doctrines, and who can die with thousands of pounds unused, must have been getting his money by false pretences.

Christ threatened with final condemnation the uncharitable. To the woman taken in adultery he said, "Go and sin no more," but to the accumulators of wealth "How shall ye escape the damnation of hell?" Pieces of silver—yea, piles of gold—are still secured by thousands of betrayers of Christ, who trade on the ideal embodied in his name. Although they subscribe to his test of judgment, "Inasmuch as ye did it not to them," etc., they can die leaving it undone, notwithstanding the means and opportunities they had to do it. But this game, as with the Established, is almost "u.p." with the U.P. Church.

The Glasgow policemen, instead of carrying their batons in leather sheaths as they have hitherto done, will henceforth keep them in a pocket specially made in their clothes. Every expediency must be given to the smashing of the heads of the people. Formerly, each "moral miracle" had to "pay for his whistle" at the rate of 1s. 3d. each, but a whistle costing 11d. each, of a new pattern, warranted to give a louder "birl," will be supplied to each man by the authorities. Other improvements than these are required to make "the force"

efficient in detecting real criminals. The real criminal does not sing to the "Bobby": "Oh, whistle and I'll come to you, my lad!" And does not "the force" protect the worst criminals?

It was reported on Glasgow Exchange on the 2nd inst., "that the Lanarkshire miners were getting very restive," (How strange!) "and are evidently concerting for the purpose of forcing an advance in wages!" The *Glasgow Herald* remarks that the result of the agitation is looked forward to with some concern by members of the Exchange. Some of these gentry who toil not, but who do spin—webs to entrap toilers—contend that the rise in prices so far does not warrant any concession to the men, while others admit that in their case at least a moderate increase is justified. Numerous complaints are made of the difficulty experienced by shippers in obtaining supplies of coal, three or four collieries having to be drawn upon where one sufficed before.

The workers' policy of restriction, by which they have for long suffered semi-starvation, has freed the market from over-supplies, and raised the selling value of their product by over 1s. 6d. per ton. Each man put out, on an average, four tons of coal per day, so that the increased price of the results of a day's labour amounts to over 7s., the whole of which the masters are pocketing, while they refuse a share of 6d. to the men. Yet they are surprised at the men concerting to get 6d. out of the 7s. increase their work produces. I hope the men will yet give the knaves more serious cause for alarm. G. McL.

THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY.

WE are often admonished by the professional politician and by the man of "common sense" of the sacredness of the will of the majority, or as it is sometimes called, the popular will. The expression of this so-called will of the majority in legislation and social and political institutions, is conceived as authoritatively representing the wishes and convictions of the greater number of persons inhabiting the country or the given area; and it is assumed as an axiom by the persons in question that the will of a majority has an inviolable claim to respect. The latter proposition, I submit, can only have a measure of truth in any case; but what I am here concerned to show is that it is not true at all as applied to modern society, and can in fact only be true in the case of a society of equals; further, that even in this case it has one distinct principle of limitation.

What has been hitherto called the will of the people, or the will of the majority as manifested in the modern constitutional state, does not express any act of will at all, but the absence of will. It is not the will but the apathy of the majority that is represented. How many of the—not majority, but minority—of persons that vote, *consciously* will a particular line of policy? To show the utter absurdity of the whole thing we have only to remember that in theory the whole common and statute law of England is supposed to be the expression of the public opinion of the people of England. Yet if, as in the case of the Swiss referendum, the people of England were formally polled (even those possessing votes) and the whole issue respecting every law placed before each, how many laws, now undisputed, would not be swept away? It cannot be too emphatically impressed upon the ordinary law-abiding citizen that the greater part of law, as it at present exists, does so by the ignorance of the majority, not by its consent. It is the expression, not of the *suffrage* but of the *sufferance* of the people.

But this is not all. Supposing there were a referendum or poll of all the people of England to-morrow, it would be of little avail on any but the very simplest issue. For so long as there is inequality of education and of natural conditions and the majority are at a disadvantage in respect of these things, they are necessarily incapable of weighing the issue before them. Their very wants are but vaguely present to their minds, and in their judgment as to the means of satisfying them they are at the mercy of every passing wind. But given an equality of education and economic circumstances, there is yet another condition requisite before the opinion of the majority can be accepted as anything like the last resort of wisdom, and therefore as worthy of all acceptance. It is this. Public opinion, the verdict of the majority, even in a society of equals, if it is to have any value, presupposes a high sense of public duty—a standard of morality which exacts that everyone shall take the *requisite interest* in public questions for an independent judgment on them. The man who has not taken the trouble to train himself to think out these things cannot help to form an effective public opinion on any question presenting itself. Given the conditions mentioned, on the other hand, and the judgment of the majority would unquestionably represent the highest collection of wisdom up to date. But until these conditions are fulfilled, the opinion of the majority as such can have no *moral claim* on the allegiance of minorities or of individuals, although it may be *convenient* in many or in most cases to recognise it.

The only public opinion, the only will of the majority, which has any sort of claim on the recognition of the Socialist in the present day, is that of those who have like aspirations with him, who have a definite consciousness of certain aims—in other words, the will of the majority of the European Socialist party. Even the Socialist party, owing to the economic conditions under which its members, with the rest of society, labour, does not fulfil the conditions above stated as necessary for the formation of a public opinion which should command respect. But such as it is, there can be no doubt that it represents the nearest approach to an authoritative tribunal which we can find to-day.

As to those persons who prostrate themselves before this idol, the will of the majority (of present society)—of the mere mechanical majority, or count of heads—and swear they would yield anything to the authoritative utterance of "the people" (in this sense), it would be interesting to know how far in the direction of its logical conclusion they would be prepared to go. There are some among them, we believe, who, while avowedly holding the current theology to be pernicious, yet would nevertheless not oppose its being taught in public schools if the "majority of the nation" were in favour of it. Now it must be admitted that it is exceedingly probable that if the majority of the nation were actively in favour of "religious education" they would get their way. But it is also conceivable that were the majority not very energetic, an energetic minority might carry the day. Yet according to the "majority" *cultus*, it would be wrong to assist in opposing the "will" of the majority. Again, we would like to ask the pious majoritist whether he would complacently see the Holy Inquisition, gladiatorial combats, or bull-fighting established; or on the other hand, witness the abolition of all means of travelling on Sunday, the total prohibition of alcohol and tobacco, the closing of all theatres, and all because an ignorant majority decreed these things? Yet unless a man is prepared to follow a majority (so to say) through a quick-set hedge, the principle of bare majority-worship falls to the ground. Majorities are then tacitly admitted to be nothing *per se*, but only to be respected in so far as their judgments are themselves reasonable, or at least in so far as it is convenient to respect them.

The only conditions which can ensure a judgment on the part of the majority representing the highest practical reason of which human nature is capable up to date, as we have already indicated, are—(1) perfect economic and educational equality; (2) healthy interest in all questions affecting the commonwealth. In a society wherein these conditions were realised, all persons would be competent—some more, some less, of course, but all more or less—and the verdict of the majority ought clearly to be binding on all, so far as active resistance is concerned (and allowance always being made for the right of verbal protest on the part of the minority). There is one exception to this, however—an exception not very likely to occur, I admit, but nevertheless conceivable. It is the principle referred to as limiting the right of all majorities—even though the dissentient minority be only one. I refer to actions which Mill calls self-regarding, or those which in no way directly concern the society or corporate body. Were any majority to enforce a particular line of conduct in such actions, and to forbid another, it is the right and duty of every individual to resist actively such interference. For just as the free motion and development and disintegration of the cellular tissue is essential to the life of the animal body, the cause of death in cases of mineral poisoning being the stoppage of this process, so the healthy freedom of the individual within its own sphere is essential to the true life of the social body—as much so as the subordination of the individual in matters directly affecting society.

Were a majority, therefore, to seek to regulate the details of the private life of individuals in points where it does not directly come in contact with public life, any resistance on the part of individuals would be justified. Those entrusted with the carrying out of the mandates of the majority in such a case should be treated as common enemies, and if necessary destroyed. Even though the private conduct of individuals might have an indirect bearing on the commonweal, this would not justify direct interference; any temporary inconvenience would be better than the infraction of the principle of the inviolability of the individual from coercive restraint within his own sphere. Let us suppose a case. The habit becomes prevalent in a Socialist community of sitting up late at night. This habit renders some of those addicted to it not so capable as they would otherwise be of performing their share in the labour of the community. Now an otherwise sane majority might here easily lose its head and enact a curfew. In this it would be clearly going beyond its function, inasmuch as the habit in question is primarily a private and purely self-regarding matter. Let the majority if so minded exact more stringent standards of discipline and efficiency in work, and enforce obedience to them—such enactments should be binding on all good citizens. But an enactment compelling the citizen to go to bed at a particular time should clearly be resisted at all costs. Of course the probabilities are that a habit which really tended, although indirectly, to be detrimental to the community, would be voluntarily given up in a society where a social morality prevailed.

Again, the fact of an action being distasteful to the majority may be a valid ground for its not being obtruded on public notice, but is no ground for its being forbidden in itself. For instance, a certain order of Parisian palate devours with great gusto a species of large garden snail called *Escargot*. To the present writer, the notion of eating these snails is extremely disgusting. Now supposing an intelligent but unprincipled majority took the same view, as very likely it might, there would likely enough be proposals carried for prohibiting the consumption of these articles of diet—on the ground that it was bestial and degrading. Here, again, would be a case for resistance to the knife. But take the other side to this *escargot* question. The aforesaid molluscs are in Paris hawked about in the early morning in barrows, around the sides of which they crawl, the sight of them tending to produce "nausea and loss of appetite" (to employ the phraseology of the quack medicine advertisement) in those about to take breakfast. Now it is obvious that if this result obtained with the majority, the majority would have a clear right to prohibit the public exposure of these commodities, even if the would-be consumer were thereby *indirectly* debarred from obtaining them.

The same reasoning applies to sexual matters. Society is directly concerned with the (1) production of offspring, (2) with the care that things sexually offensive to the majority shall not be obtruded on public notice, or any obscenity on "young persons." Beyond this all sexual actions (of course excluding criminal violence or fraud) are matters of purely individual concern. When a sexual act from whatever cause is not and cannot be productive of offspring, the feeling of the majority has no *locus standi* in the matter. Not only is it properly outside the sphere of coercion, but it does not concern morality at all. It is a question simply of individual taste. The latter may be good or bad, but this is an aesthetic and not directly a moral or social question.

Once more, the drink question, in so far as the consumer gets what he wants, namely, pure liquor and not adulterated stuff, in a great measure comes under the same category, although not so completely, since the directly injurious effects to society invariably resulting with certain temperaments (irresponsible violence, etc.), from the taking of alcohol, might justify prohibitive treatment as regards those cases. Even this, however, would not justify any general measure of prohibition.

The above, then, is what I have termed the principle of limitation of the coercive rights of all majorities, however enlightened. When they overstep these limits, whether at the bidding of whim or foolish panic or what-not, the minority or the individual has the right and the duty of resisting it, the efficacy of the means to this end being the only test of their justifiability. On the other side of this clear and distinct line, on the contrary, in a free society of equals, free that is, economically as well as politically, the will of the majority must be the ultimate court of appeal, not because it is a theoretically perfect one, but because it is for reasons before given the best available.

The practical question finally presents itself, What is the duty of the convinced Socialist towards the present mechanical majority—say of the English nation—a majority mainly composed of human cabbage stalks, the growth of the suburban villa and the slum respectively? The answer is, Make use of it wherever possible without loss of principle, but where this is not possible disregard it. The Socialist has a distinct aim in view. If he can carry the initial stages towards its realisation by means of the count-of-heads majority, by all means let him do so. If on the other hand he saw the possibility of carrying a salient portion of his programme by trampling on this majority, by all means let him do this also. Such a case, though extremely improbable is just barely possible, as for instance, supposing Social Democracy triumphant in Germany before other western countries were ripe for the change of their own initiative. It might then be a matter of life and death for Socialist Germany to forestall a military and economic isolation in the face of a reactionary European coalition by immediate action, especially against the stronghold of modern commercialism. Should such an invasion of the country take place, it would be the duty of every Socialist to do all in his power to assist the invaders to crush the will of the count-of-heads majority of the people of England, knowing that the real welfare of the latter lay therein, little as they might suspect it. The motto of the Socialist should be the shortest way to the goal, be it through the votes or through the skulls of the majority. As has been often said before, and said with truth, every successful revolution in history has been at least initiated by an energetic minority acting in opposition to, or at least irrespective of, the inert mass constituting the numerical majority in the state. And it is most probable it will be so again. Be this as it may, the preaching of the *cultus* of the majority in the modern State, is an absurdity which can only for a moment go down with the Parliamentary Radical who is wallowing in the superstitions of exploded Whiggery.

E. BELFORD BAX.

Can any honest man feel surprised at learning that "lawlessness" is on the increase in many regions of the country, when the sole aim of the law seems to be to place labour in such absolute subjection as can scarcely be paralleled in Turkey or China?—*Paterson Labour Standard*

The "STRAIGHT TIP."—The nail masters of Birmingham have at last become conscience stricken, and are feeling ashamed of the starvation wages they have so long paid their workmen: the result is that the latter are to receive a ten per cent. advance. Want of organisation brought them to their wretched condition, as they have been compelled to submit to be ground down for some years past, until now they can hardly keep body and soul together. There are many railwaymen in a similar position, which is due to the same cause, but if they wait until the railway companies are conscience stricken, or take compassion on them, they will have to wait till the millennium.—*Railway Review*.

LATE CONVERSIONS.—It is a rather queer feature in our social life, the *Cotton Factory Times* thinks, that when a man becomes a Parliamentary representative he at once begins to find out what good institutions trades unions are. It is somewhat singular that a man may carry on a business for years, and constantly be brought in contact with working men, and yet never find out what good fellows they are until he wants their votes. We are far from saying that the votes of working men have any influence with Mr. Brunner, M.P., the Cheshire salt king, but he has been talking very "fine and large" about them. According to this authority, English working men are the best workers in the world. He (Mr. Brunner) pays half as much again to his workmen as is paid to workmen in the same trade in other European countries, and yet he says his labour costs him less per ton of salt than it does his competitors. This is valuable information, and it was supplemented by a recommendation to workmen to form strong trades unions. We are bound to confess that we rather like this, but we should have liked it still better had Mr. Brunner found it all out before he became a member of Parliament. Very likely, however, he had not time to study out the matter in his younger days, being too busy getting his large business together, but on the principle that "it is better late than never" we can accept this new recruit.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 20, 1888.

14	Sun.	1814. Thomas Davis born. 1817. J. P. Curran died. 1842. T. Cooper tried for treason.
15	Mon.	1326. Walter Stapleton Bishop of Exeter, Lord Treasurer of England, beheaded at the Cross in Cheapside by the London apprentices. 1794. Robert Watt hung for high treason. 1817. Kosciusko died. 1819. Carlile tried for publishing Paine's 'Age of Reason.' 1842. Nation founded by T. Davis, J. B. Dillon, and C. G. Duffy.
16	Tues.	1792. Society of the "Friends of the People" founded at Edinburgh. 1793. Marie Antoinette guillotined.
17	Wed.	1760. St. Simon born. 1803. W. Smith O'Brien born. 1859. John Brown at Harper's Ferry.
18	Thur.	1794. Suppression of the Jacobin Club. 1861. W. Sharman Crawford died. 1881. "No Rent" manifesto issued.
19	Fri.	1887. Fight between police and unemployed in Dover Street, Piccadilly.
20	Sat.	1817. Trial of W. Turner for high treason. 1830. Charles X. lands at Newhaven. 1881. Proclamation of Land League.

John Brown at Harper's Ferry.—This item is much too big for a note, and will be treated in a special article in our next number.—S.

The following note was held over from last week:—

Searching the Ladies' School.—The school, which had been founded by the Duke of Leuchtenberg and was under the patronage of the Czarina, was regarded by the Government as a valuable means of russifying Polish aristocrats, and to that end noble families of both nations were encouraged to send their daughters there. The police, becoming suspicious, searched the school, and arrested the head-mistress and eight of the leading pupils. Many "seditious" documents were found, and it was said to have been for a long time an active and very effective centre of revolutionary propaganda.—S.

HUNGER AND COLD.

SISTERS two, all praise to you, With your faces pinched and blue; To the poor man you've been true From of old: You can speak the keenest word, You are sure of being heard, From the point you've never stirred Hunger and Cold!	Rude comparisons you draw, Words refuse to sate your maw, Your gaunt limbs the cobweb law Cannot hold. You're not clogged with foolish pride, But can seize a right denied, Somehow Truth is on your side, Hunger and Cold!
Let sleek statesmen temporize; Palsied are their shifts and lies When they meet your bloodshot eyes, Grim and bold; Policy you set at naught, In their traps you'll not be caught, You're too honest to be bought, Hunger and Cold!	You respect no hoary wrong More for having triumphed long; Its past victims, haggard throng, From the mould You unbury: swords and spears Weaker are than poor men's tears, Weaker than your silent years, Hunger and Cold!
Bolt and bar the palace door; While the mass of men are poor, Naked truth grows more and more Uncontrolled; You had never yet, I guess, Any praise for bashfulness, You can visit sans Court-dress, Hunger and Cold!	Let them guard both hall and bower; Through the window you will glower, Patient till your reckoning hour Shall be tolled. Cheeks are pale but hands are red, Quiltless blood may chance be shed, But ye must and will be fed, Hunger and Cold!
While the music fell and rose, And the dance reeled to its close, Where her round of courtly woes Fashion strolled, I beheld with shuddering fear Wolves' eyes through the windows peer; Little dream they you are near, Hunger and Cold!	God has plans man must not spoil, Some were made to starve and toil, Some to share the wine and oil, We are told. Devil's theories are these, Stifling hope and love and peace, Framed your hideous lusts to please, Hunger and Cold!
When the toiler's heart you clutch, Conscience is not valued much, He recks not a bloody smutch On his gold: Everything to you defers, You are potent reasoners, At your whisper Treason stirs, Hunger and Cold!	Scatter ashes on thy head, Tears of burning sorrow shed, Earth! and be by pity led To Love's fold Ere they block the very door With lean corpses of the poor, And will hush for naught but gore, Hunger and Cold!

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL (1844).

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE KAWEAH COLONY.

Dear Sir,—I noticed in one of your numbers of a few weeks back a reference to J. J. Martin for information as to the Kaweah Colony. Having no wish to allow any one to be possibly gulled, and to find things not altogether as they expected, I beg any enquirer to be very careful before he subscribes to the Colony in its present state and under its present usurped management—or comes out here relying upon it to help him any.

I would advise any one seeking information to by all means enquire first of the present secretary, Alf. Cridge, *Weekly Star* Office, San Francisco, or of—Yours truly,
W. J. CUTHBERTSON,
President of Kaweah Colony.

307, Phelan Buildings, San Francisco, California.

The editor wrote that Jay Gould was all worn out and unstrung. The compositor set it up: "Jay Gould is worn out, but yet unhang." The proof reader let it go at that.—*Baltimore Free Press*.



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

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

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

CANUCK.—The Liberator is not a revolutionary paper. It deals with only one topic, the disestablishment of the Church of England; and never has a word to say of labour matters.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday October 10.

ENGLAND Church Reformer Christian Socialist Die Autonomie Hertfordshire Express Justice Labour Tribune London—Freie Presse Norwich—Daylight Postal Service Gazette Radical Leader Railway Review Worker's Friend	Jewish Volkszeitung Alarm Workmen's Advocate United Irishman Boston—Woman's Journal Chicago (Ill)—Vorbote Douglasville (Ga.)—Roll Call Detroit—Der Arme Teufel Fort Worth (Tex)—South West Milwaukee—National Reformer Paterson (N J) Labor Standard	SWITZERLAND Arbeiterstimme ITALY Turin—Nuovo Gazzetta Operaia SPAIN Madrid—El Socialista Cadix—El Socialismo Barcelona—Tierra y Libertad Seville—La Solidaridad PORTUGAL Lisbon—O Protesto Operario GERMANY Berlin—Volks Tribune AUSTRIA Brunn—Arbeiterstimme Wien—Gleichheit ROMANIA Jassy—Municipal
NEW SOUTH WALES Hamilton—Radical Sydney—Australian Star	FRANCE Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) Le Parti Ouvrier (daily) La Revolte Le Coup de Feu Sedan—La Revolution Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	GERMANY Stockholm, Social-Demokraten Malmo—Arbetet WEST INDIES Cuba—El Productor
INDIA Bankpore—Behar Herald Allahabad—People's Budget UNITED STATES New York—Der Socialist Freiheit Truthseeker Volkszeitung	HOLLAND Hague—Recht voor Allen BELGIUM Ghent—Vooruit Liege—L'Avenir	

CHICAGO MARTYRS AND BLOODY SUNDAY.

"Our silence will be more powerful than our speech."

MRS. PARSONS has accepted the invitation of the Commemoration Committee to speak at the various meetings to be held in London and the provinces next November. Arrangements have already been made for meetings to be held on Saturday, November 10, at 8 p.m., at Wornum Hall; at Regent's Park on Sunday, November 11, at 11.30 a.m.; and in the afternoon at Hyde and Victoria Parks at 3 o'clock. Further particulars will be announced next week. Meantime, funds are urgently needed, and should be sent to J. Lane, Treasurer, at the office of the Socialist League, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C. Any information can be had by communicating with Secretary of the Commemoration Committee.

W. B. PARKER, Secretary.

WIMBLEDON AND MERTON NOTES.

SINCE the successful meeting held on the Wimbledon Broadway on behalf of the match-girls, where a truce was proclaimed between the hitherto warring Socialists and Christians, and we both pulled together to help the girls, the branch has been actively at work to permeate the neighbourhood with Socialistic ideas. The temporary alliance with the Christians is a curious fact in connection with our local propaganda; there exists the ruins of a Radical Association, done to death by starched respectability and want of verve. There is also a scattered group of Freethinkers, whose toleration of Socialist opinions does not extend so far as the purchase of a *Commonweal* for perusal; being as our Christian opponents say "without God," they worship instead the triton and minnows of the Secularist party, and we who are fighting against social wrongs do not receive the least assistance from either Radical or Freethinker, and hence the strange spectacle was seen of Revolutionary Socialists and Christians uniting in an attack against monopolist tyranny.

We are blessed here with a "Free" Library, which is largely used as a lounge by the respectable inhabitants of the jerry-built villas in this jerry-built place. Their respectability is of such a nature that it stiffens features and joints, and prevents a natural walk or speech. This respectable clique have expunged *United Ireland*, the *Star*, and the *Commonweal* from the library stands; the reason given for rejecting the *Weal* being in the elegant language of one Norman Bazalgette, that it wanted to "shove up all that was down and bring down all that was up." So we are taking up the suggestion of our Australian comrades, and shall open our club-room as a really "Free Reading Room," and should be glad to receive any help that comrades can give in the direction of gifts of papers, books, etc. In conclusion, we ask the purchasers of this journal in the neighbourhood to give us some help towards our branch and its work. (Pro Committee) F. KITZ.

A SAFE INVESTMENT.

"THERE is meat on that bone yet," is the way to speak of the recent discovery by a London daily that a safe four per cent. can be made by supplying moral "doss-kens" to the waifs and strays of London. The chief next the *Times* of the reptile press says it is a "certain thing," and a correspondent, delirious with joy, writes to say that even more can be made out of this Christian endeavour to raise our fellow-creatures and wring a percentage out of them at the same time.

The retiring modesty of the leader-writer (possibly the same who vilifies the unemployed) did not permit him to exhaust his theme, and "even more" can be made from the venture than he presumed.

Enchanting prospect! to save society and pocket four per cent. safe, and "even more"; to surround your scheme with a halo of sanctified purpose, like the nimbus around the head of the dead Christ; to invoke his name as sanction to your plan; to hide your prospectus under a mass of phrases about the moral and physical degradation of the mass and your own self-sacrificing determination to uproot and alleviate it, and withal secure your four per cent., and even more!

It seems a far cry from Whitechapel to Peru, but a Spanish society has been formed to discover any chance loot that Pizarro's cut-throats may have left untouched when they invaded illfated Peru. Like their English congeners, the Spanish adventurers think there's "meat on that bone yet." The slums of London and all our cities and towns are the result of landlordism and capitalism. The method of life adopted by Annie Chapman and her fellow-victims is the alternative one to slow murder for sweaters' pay. Had they died slowly, starved or worked to death, the journals now so moved over the manner of their ending would have barely noticed the inquests, if any were held; they would certainly not have displaced their Court News to make room for an obituary. But there is an opening for profit made *literally* with the murderer's knife; and the gutters of London and its terrible human wreckage shall be made to yield four per cent. and "even more"!

With singular inconsistency, the journal which is booming the new enterprise calls loudly for the detection and punishment of the criminal. How ungrateful to denounce the direct cause of making four per cent.! Such ingratitude is only equalled by the parson when denouncing the Devil and all his works; for no Devil, assuredly no parson and no salary. To speak well of the bridge that carries one over is evidently not the motto of the Fleet Street Judas.

These wretched capitalistic sheets are produced themselves under conditions which slowly murders the operatives. They are filled with accounts of military operations wherein hundreds bite the dust in order to increase the profits of the capitalists.

The perpetrator of the recent crimes will, if caught, suffer in person for his crimes (if not *very* rich). An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, say the law and the press. When shall the doctrine of retribution be carried out on those who at home exploit and rob their fellows, making the awful lives of Annie Chapman and her associates the only life possible to thousands, and abroad use up our sons and brothers in atrocious exploits beside which the Whitechapel tragedies pale in comparison? As a foul and dank hole will engender noisome creatures, so will the horrible surroundings of the poor breed monsters, and their victims of the Annie Chapman type. That the human virtues flourish at all under such conditions shows the capacity of our race to withstand corrupting influences.

The murderer may be in this case a homicidal maniac, but we have uprising in our midst gangs of unfortunates, begotten of vile surroundings, who stop at no outrage or crime. The wretched sisterhood of the pavement are their first victims, and next belated wayfarers. In the first case their guilt is shared by the police, who in every locality partake of the wages of prostitutes and join with the roughs and bullies in blackmailing them. These "guardians of the peace" are to be, some long day ahead, the detectors of the Whitechapel murderer.

Meanwhile, as easiest to their hand, they attack half-starved men and lads, and steal a few bits of red cloth when borne aloft in the processions of the unemployed. The bourgeoisie is shrieking aloud for its dear police, sorely tried public servants as they termed them when bludgeoning the unemployed. Who knows which way the knife may be turned next? The four per cent. sympathy they now display for the victims is the same kind of motor which moves them to look after the sanitary conditions of back streets when an epidemic is threatened: they might catch it themselves. The police are suited to the work they have to do—viz., to drive discontent under the surface and break their fellow countrymen's heads, if poor—and no murderer need fear arrest at their hands. These bulky chawbacons, like the evicting R.I.C., are the laughing-stock of the light-fingered fraternity. The contumely heaped upon our comrades of the Berner Street Club by their silly quest of a miscreant already far away from the scene of his crime is as nothing to the outrages committed by these chartered ruffians in uniform at the International Club a few years back. We Socialists, with the memory and actual experience of that scene of pillage and brutality enacted by the police and of the farcical travesty of justice which followed upon process against them in the courts, can well read with amusement articles calling upon the police for protection from depredators. False swearers, blackmailers, committers of outrage and assault upon their fellow men—these are the agents of "justice" in a system of society which is based upon legalised violence and robbery: they are to bring to judgment those who commit *un-legalised* depredation and murder.

F. KITZ.

What is pauper labour? Labour that must beg for employment whether in this country or any other.—*Twentieth Century*.

LETTER FROM AMERICA.

THE refusal of the authorities to allow comrade Oscar Falleur to land was a little too stiff. American workmen have not yet reached such a state of depravity as to swallow with good grace such hot pepper. So on September 21, James Quinn, Master Workman of District 49 Knights of Labour, sent a telegram to the Secretary of the Treasury, saying that Oscar Falleur was prohibited from landing under the pretext that he is a convict whereas he is only a political offender. He added that if the department ordered Falleur to be sent back it will be the first time that a political offender was ever debarred from entering this country. Later in the afternoon, Acting-Secretary Thompson wired the collector of customs at New York to detain Falleur until he has had an opportunity to prove his allegation that he is a political offender and not a convict. Falleur, in consequence, did not sail in the "Aurania." Ex-Civil Justice Gedney, who has been retained to look after Falleur's case, says: "The law especially specifies that the detention of a convict shall continue until the sailing of the vessel upon which he arrived," and as Falleur did not return in the "Aurania" he cannot now lawfully be returned on any other steamer.

At the last meeting of the Central Labour Union in New York on the 23rd of September, the following resolution was passed:—

"Whereas, a Belgian refugee named Oscar Falleur, President of the Belgian Glasworkers' Union, is being prevented by the authorities of Castle Garden from landing and making this country his permanent home, and whereas this action is the result of a contemptible conspiracy of the Consul representing the American Republic in Belgium with the ruling class of that country against a man whose only crime was that he was a devoted friend of labour and a labouring man himself, the President of the Glasworkers' Union, and a member of the order of the Knights of Labour, who has suffered imprisonment for participating in a strike, and whereas the extradition of Mr. Falleur would be contrary to the traditions of this and every other civilised country, be it Resolved, That the Central Labour Union solemnly protests against this proposed outrage upon our brother Falleur, and we demand that all proceedings interfering with his landing be dropped, so as to prevent the disgrace attempted to be cast on this Republic, which has always recognised the principle of free asylum for refugees from oppression and tyranny."

A copy of this resolution will be sent to the Secretary of the Treasury.

In all probability there will be a renewal of the engineers' strike on the Burlington Railroad system. There surely will be if certain proposed measures looking toward a reduction and re-organisation of the present force of "scabs" are carried into effect. It has been understood that a new schedule has been prepared, to take effect on October 1st. It is generally supposed that a reduction of the engineer force is one feature, and the substitution of firemen for the engineers laid off. The "scabs" are much excited, and declare they will not stand the reduction. The old Brotherhood men are flocking back, and openly say they will pave the road back inside of a month.

Judge White, in Pittsburgh, has laid down the law that an employer always has the right to discharge an employé with or without cause. We knew that long ago.

In the *New York Herald* appeared an advertisement for an assistant book-keeper, to which there came 374 answers. If you want a job—don't come to America!

At the last meeting of the Chicago Trade and Labour Assembly an effort was defeated to pledge that organisation to the Union Labour Party, the almost unanimous feeling being against using the Assembly to endorse any political party.

More than forty of the law-'n'-order lambs who attempted on the 4th of May, 1886, to break up at the Haymarket in Chicago a peaceable meeting, have since been discharged from the force for various crimes, as vagrancy, drunkenness, etc.

In spite of exceedingly bitter experiences made in previous years, the Socialist Labour Party (Social Democrats) have resolved at their meeting last Sunday to go again into politics, and to put up a ticket all to their own cheek. State and municipal tickets will be put into the field. A committee was appointed to arrange for a Convention, at which the nominations will be made, the date of which has not yet been decided upon. The decision was carried by an almost unanimous vote; the party this year will not attach itself to any other party. It must be understood that the Socialist Labour Party is principally composed of German speaking citizens of the United States, and consequently naturally can exercise but very little influence on the American public. The selling out of George, McGlynn, and others, seems not to be sufficient for these people—they want more!

Henry George is at present making stump speeches for the Democrats at 500 dols. a night, and McGlynn, in conjunction with the wire-pullers of the United Labour Party, is drawing boodle from the Republicans. Such are the results of a Parliamentary agitation. Thank you!

A report from Chicago says that Bodendieck was released on the 21st of September. He states that during the whole time of his incarceration—12 days—he was kept a close prisoner in a dark underground cell at the central station, and was unable to communicate with any one. Every means known to the "Sweat-box" high priests was resorted to, to wring from him a "confession," but Bodendieck having nothing to tell remained firm. On releasing him Bonfield told him that no charge was entered against him, and he was not even brought before a justice; he was simply deprived of his liberty at the whim and caprice of our Chicago Vidocq-Bonfield. The latter cautioned him to leave the country, as he was liable to arrest in every city and town in the United States. The whole story of Bodendieck's conspiracy to destroy property was made up to furnish the newspapers with a sensation, and to add glory to Bonfield's record, but principally to prejudice public opinion against the Bohemian Anarchists, whose trial was to take place the Monday following his arrest.

Bodendieck has been known to me as one of the best workers in Chicago—a man never tired to work for the good of the cause. He has done immense service in spreading revolutionary literature, and he is a man not easy to be "sized up" or bullied into cowardly submission by a Bonfield, a vulgar and coarse brute of the lower prize-ring type.

'Trade Unions: Their origin and objects, influence and efficacy, by Wm. Trant, M.A., with an appendix showing the history and aim of the American Federation of Labour, followed by a brief sketch of the growth, benefits, and achievements of the national and international trades unions of America,' is the rather ambitious title of a pamphlet published by the American Federation of Labour, containing on forty-seven pages closely printed a good deal of interesting matter. The five opening chapters of this pamphlet are condensed from the prize essay on Trade Unions written by Wm. Trant, who secured for it the £50 prize offered a few years ago by the Trades Union Congress of Great Britain. Trant deals principally with English unions, and it might be worth while for a member of the League to look up Mr.

Trant's eminently shoddy and extremely silly production and review it. To show you the quality of his essay, I will just quote the concluding passage:

"Jack is as good as his master, and the men know that if employers would only acknowledge this—if they would only meet their workmen as men on an equal footing with themselves, and discuss the wages system with them, as the late Mr. Brassey, Mr. E. Akroyd, Mr. W. E. Forster and others were in the habit of doing—then strikes would be impossible. Trades unionism has a great future before it. Its ultimate result cannot be otherwise than to convince both employer and employed that they are the truest friends each of the other, for each derives his revenue from the other."

Enough. The two appendices written and compiled by P. B. McGuire, secretary of the Federation, are the most instructive and interesting. Here the story is told in cold type—unconsciously of course by McGuire—of the modern Sisyphus, the trades unions on their present basis. How many times have the trade unions been broken up because of incapacity to fight capitalism effectually on their present basis, and yet always having learned nothing and forgotten nothing, they re-formed themselves exactly on the same basis. Here are a few extracts:—

"Early in the year 1866 the trade assemblies in New York City and Baltimore issued a call for a national labour congress, and in accordance with that appeal one hundred delegates, representing sixty open and secret labour organisations of all kinds, and covering an area of territory extending from Portland, Me., to San Francisco, Cal., met in Baltimore, Md., on August 20. At this meeting the National Labour Union was formed. From 1867-1872 a yearly congress was called to perfect the organisation. In 1872 it was decided by the union to go into politics, and David Davis of Illinois was chosen as candidate for president. . . . This drifting into political action provoked so much dissension that one local organisation after another withdrew its support, and interest was lost in the central body. . . . In the next year, 1873, the great panic swept upon the country and demolished the trades unions. . . . The distress of the winter of 1873-4, and inability of organised labour to stem the reductions of wages that were taking place in every branch of industry, induced a number of leading trades unionists to call another "Industrial Congress" with the intention of forming a federation of the trades and labour unions of the entire country. . . . New organisations were formed, but they did not last more than a year each. . . . A call was published for a convention to be held in Pittsburgh in November 1881, and this gathering proved to be successful. . . . A permanent organisation was effected styling itself "The Federation of Organised Trades and Labour Unions of the United States and Canada." . . . At the second convention of this organisation in November 1882 a manifesto was issued. . . . Conventions were held every year. . . . At the convention held October 7, 1884, in Chicago, steps were taken for a universal agitation in behalf of the eight hour system, and the 1st of May, 1886, was fixed upon as the date for the general inauguration of the plan. . . . At the convention held in Columbus, Ohio, in December 1886 the old Federation of Trades and Labour Unions was dissolved and the American Federation of Labour created. . . . Twenty-five national organisations were blended in it, with an aggregate membership of 316,469 working men. . . . The American Federation of Labour is numerically the strongest labour organisation, possessing to-day an aggregate membership of 618,000."

I may add that in the lock-out and strike of the brewers it has been clearly proved that the Federation has no power, in spite of its numerical strength.

Newark, N.J., September 25, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

"Mamma," said Albert, "do you believe in the faith cure?" "Yes, dear," said mamma, "and I practice it, too." "Mamma," continued the boy, feeling his damp hair uneasily, "if a boy goes a-swimming and then lies about it, can you cure him of lying by faith?" "No, dear," said mamma sweetly, "that vice is cured by laying out of hands." And in ten minutes thereafter Albert was the best-cured boy on all Long Island.—*Truthseeker*.

A NEW S. A. S. S.—A new strike against sneaking snobbishness was instituted at Mr. Carnegie's lecture in the St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow. The snobbishness which has hitherto been practised at such large meetings, when the national anthem is played by the organist, was dispensed with. When the city organist played "God save the Queen," the audience neither stood on their feet nor took off their hats; but at the close some of them gave a bad, bold, braid, well-defined hiss! That is a straw on the stream of tendency which shows the direction and force of the current.—G. McL.

IMMIGRATION AND THE KNIGHTS OF LABOUR.—Is it true, Mr. Knight of Labour, that the globe is the symbol of your organization, the people of all countries your brothers, the barriers of bigotry and race broken down? If it is true, what right have you to try to keep for yourself this star-spangled country? What right have you to say, "I am here first. I have got my seat at the table. Let the less fortunate go and eat grass?" Restrict immigration if you want to. Self preservation is the first law of nature, and if you really think you are going to starve if your cousin from Ireland, or Germany, or Italy comes here, why slam the door in his face, but don't be a hypocrite about it and pretend to believe in the "solidarity of the labour of the world."—*Boston Labor Leader*.

WAGES FOR WATCHING THE QUEEN!—The elaborate arrangements made for the protection of Her Majesty when travelling by rail are pretty well known to most people, but it is reserved for a limited circle to know at what cost it is done. The impression, of course, is that the special precautions taken involve the companies in heavy expenditure, but if they were all obtained at as cheap a rate as is the guarding of the railway bridges, level crossings, etc., the expenditure would certainly not be much felt. According to a Great Western correspondent, platelayers required for the latter duties were, on the occasion of the last journey of Her Majesty northwards, paid at the rate of 2½d. per hour, in the Bilstol (W.M.) district, for their services—services which, it should be noted, were rendered during the night after their usual day's work was over. Twopence farthing per hour for guarding the life of the Sovereign is certainly not calculated to make the men concerned very loyal subjects.—*Railway Review*.

RAILWAYMEN'S CONGRESS.—The annual congress of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants was opened in the Assembly Rooms, Public Hall, Lime Street, Preston, on Tuesday, 2nd, and continued throughout the week. The subjects for discussion were: Accidents to Railway Servants, the Employers' Liability Bill, the Railway Regulation Bill, the Railway and Canal Traffic Act, especially as regards the clause giving the Board of Trade power "to order railway companies to furnish such statistics as it may require," the inspection of railways, and the desirability of extending the principle "of appointing practical men as inspectors of railways, as has been done in the case of factories, workshops, and mines," returns of over-work on railways, the Engineman's Certificate Bill, the Coroners' Courts, and the right of the relatives of deceased workmen or their representatives to take part in inquiries as to the cause of death or otherwise, continuous brakes, the eight hours' question, and the question of the amalgamation of the English and Scotch societies.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

WAGES ADVANCED.—Denny Bros., shipbuilders, Dumbarton, gave notice of an advance of 5 per cent. on all time-worker's wages in the yard to date from September 30th.

STRIKE SETTLED.—The Aberdeen ironmoulders have agreed to accept the offer of the masters of an increase of one farthing per hour on present wages. The men asked an advance of 1d. per hour.

At the Westminster County Court on the 2nd inst., a doctor admitted that the competition in his line was so great that "some of the medical men attended patients for 2½d. per week." The "intellectual proletariat" grows apace!

STIRLINGSHIRE MINERS.—At usual monthly delegate meeting, on 4th inst., it was unanimously decided to recommend miners throughout the county to renew demand for an increase, and to fall in with policy resolved upon at Manchester Conference.

STRIKE OF BOILERMAKERS AT KIRKALDY.—No definite agreement has been come to yet, but the masters will, in the meantime, take on a few of the men at the increased wage. May that not be a scheme to disorganise and defeat the men? The men, like the coal-masters in Lanarkshire, should be united and wait until the rise is general.

DERBYSHIRE MINERS' WAGES.—A conference of delegates, representing 16,000 underground workers in Derbyshire mining districts, met at Chesterfield on Saturday 6th, and decided finally to carry out the resolutions of Manchester Conference, and give fourteen days' notice, demanding 10 per cent. advance, notices to terminate in week ending 27th inst.

DUNDEE MOULDERS' WAGES.—As already announced, the foundry owners in Dundee resolved to grant the moulders in their employment an increase of 1s. per week in their wages. The men, who asked for an advance of 2s., were dissatisfied with the increase made, and as the result of a meeting with employers on Saturday 6th the latter agreed to the full increase.

THE SCOTCH STEEL TRADE.—The steel and malleable iron trades in the West of Scotland are active, and likely to be so for a long while. Orders continue to be placed for shipbuilding material in quantity, and buyers readily give increased prices asked. The men who make the steel get a poor share of the increased prices, but they get all the increased labour.

ADVANCE IN THE WROUGHT NAIL TRADE.—The whole of the employers in the wrought nail trade in the Staffordshire and Worcestershire districts have delivered iron to their workpeople at an advance of 10 per cent. There are about 15,000 operatives employed in the trade, amongst whom the decision of the employers to increase the wages has caused general satisfaction.

WEST CALDER SHALE MINERS.—As settled on Friday, the men were again idle on Saturday 6th, and a deputation waited on the manager in the morning. No definite arrangement was come to, and at a meeting held afterwards it was resolved to work till Wednesday 10th, and if no settlement regarding "crows" was come to, that the men lift their graith and remain out until an arrangement is made.

END OF FORTH BRIDGE STRIKE.—A meeting in connection with the strike was held on Saturday night, when it was agreed that work be resumed on Monday 8th. The contractors agreed to grant the demand for time and half after eight o'clock. One or two of those on strike will not be taken on again, and we think that the conduct of the others in agreeing to this victimising calls for some explanation. What have they to say?

MIDLAND IRON AND STEEL WAGES BOARD.—The arbitrator awards that puddlers' wages shall continue at 6s. 9d. per ton until the 20th inst., and from and after that date puddlers' wages shall be 7s. 3d. per ton. The wages of mill and forge men shall be regulated by the same rate and in the same manner as heretofore. That the above award shall be subject to one month's notice, to be given at the end of any week by either side of the board.

CLOSE OF THE EBREW VALE STRIKE.—The colliers' strike concluded on the 3rd inst. Mr. Abraham, M.P., and two delegates from the Miners' Federation, waited upon the employers' representatives, and after discussion an understanding was arrived at. The dispute was referred to the arbitration of Mr. Abraham, representing the men, and Mr. Edward Jones, for the employers, their decision to be final. The men have resumed work.

PUDDLERS' WAGES.—At the meeting of the Midland Iron and Steel Wages Board it was shown that, taking the fortnight, the utmost that could be earned by a puddler was 24s. 9d. a week—23s. was nearer the mark. At some places the men were allowed to make 27 cwt. per turn, earning for the ten turns £4 7s. 3d. Out of that each had to pay £1 18s. 6d. for his underhand in addition to lighting and fettling, leaving him £2 7s. 9d. for ten turns.

NORTH WALES MINERS.—The men at most North Wales collieries have resolved on a 10 per cent. advance. So far as can be ascertained, the only collieries where the men have not yet given in adhesion to this demand are Von Ffrwd and Brynbo Companies' blast-pits. Notices for advance will be served on managers on 13th inst., and expire on 27th. A Welsh paper is responsible for the statement that, should the men at the collieries named above refuse to co-operate with the general body, serious disturbances are likely to ensue.

GLASGOW QUAY LABOURERS.—A large meeting of mineral quay labourers was held at Glasgow on the 3rd inst. A statement was laid before the meeting as to their application for power to act as stevedores, which had been before the Licensing Committee of the Clyde Trust on the 2nd inst., by whom it had been postponed. An opinion was strongly expressed by those present that the delay was an injustice to the men. It was pointed out that the labourers had not struck work, but that they were locked out by the stevedores.

FIFE COLLIERIES.—The monthly meeting of the Fife and Clackmannan Miner's Association, was held at Dunfermline on September 30th. The Board instructed Mr. Weir to attend on the Home Secretary with a deputation from all trades regarding the Employers' Liability Bill when Parliament meets. Mr. Weir is always pretty successful in securing numerous ~~trips~~ trips at the expense of the miners, which result in very little benefit to them. The Board also decided not to ask for an advance in wages just now. The Fife district of miners is the greatest enemy the Scotch colliers have to contend with at present, and it would be amusing and instructive to all interested in the labour struggle to watch closely the advice and movements of the secretary; how they affect Mr. Weir and the miners respectively.

THE STRIKE AT FEATHERSTONE—AN OFFER REFUSED.—A deputation of the miners on strike at the Featherstone Haigh Moor Pit waited upon the managers on Thursday 4th, to try to settle the dispute. The owners offered the men slightly better terms than those contained in the new scale of prices which they endeavoured to enforce. But on consideration at a subsequent miners' meeting, it was resolved not to accept the new terms, as they were a reduction on the old rate of wages. The strikers are being well supported by their comrades elsewhere.

MIDLAND MINERS.—A conference of masters and men from the South Staffordshire and East Worcestershire districts was held in Birmingham on 4th. The notice by the men for an advance was considered, and it was suggested that the notice should not take effect until 27th inst., when the notice of the Manchester Conference will come into operation. It was decided to form a wages board, and the following regulations for the future were agreed to: (1) The board to consist of an equal number of masters and men; (2) the minimum shall be 3s. 4d. per day for thick coal, and thin coal wages in proportion; (3) when the average selling price of all coals and slack advances or falls 2d. per ton, thick coal men's wages shall be affected 1d. per day, and thin coal men in proportion; (4) the average selling-price at the colliery to be twelve firms equally chosen by masters and men; (5) that all perquisites to miners be continued as heretofore; (6) that it exist six months certain, and subject to three months' notice.

COOPERATIVE GERMAN BOTTLE-BLOWERS AT GLASGOW.—Some German bottle-blowers lately employed at Portobello have started bottle-making in Glasgow on co-operative lines, and have already received large orders from exporters; there is every prospect of the enterprise proving most successful. As the bottle-blowers are nearly if not all Socialists, we especially wish them success, and trust that their undertaking will set an example to other classes of workers in this country. A mean and, let us hope, illegal attempt has been made by their late employer to delay and if possible mar the undertaking at the outset by refusing to pay their last fortnight's wages. On the final Saturday it appears the metal would not work properly, owing to some colouring ingredients which their employer had put in the furnace. After several unsuccessful attempts to use the metal, the men refused to work more; and on the plea that their refusal caused him loss, the employer has kept back their entire fortnight's pay. A test case against the employer has been raised in the Edinburgh Sheriff Court. We will inform our readers of the result.

YORKSHIRE COAL TRADE.—During last week a large number of meetings held, at the whole of which in both South and West Yorkshire the men decided for an advance of 10 per cent. One of the largest and most important conferences hitherto held of the Yorkshire trade, on Thursday, 4th, adopted same resolution, and recommended giving notice to terminate at end of month. Delegates representing 40,000 men were present. A ballot showed that 90 per cent. of the men were in favour of striking if advance was refused. The miners' agents are advised that other districts are acting in a similar way, so that by the end of October it is anticipated that 170,000 miners will bring out their tools unless the advance is given. The South Yorkshire Coalowners are very stubborn. They have not only declined to meet the men's representatives, but they are preventing the men holding "pit-gate" meetings on the colliery premises. Mr. Pickard, M.P., speaking at a miners' meeting at Sheffield on Friday 5th, said, with reference to Lord Houghton's suggestion that the claim for an advance should be referred to arbitration, that the time for arbitration was past. Owners had had a fair opportunity to make the men an offer, but they had declined to do so, and they must take the responsibility. The condition of trade justified the advance, and the men would get it by force if in no other way.

LEEDS WEAVERS' STRIKE.—Tuesday, 25th, the firm met the employe's delegates, who asked for an advance upon the new list of 1d. per "string" on work at 66, 72, and 76 "picks" per minute, and upwards, according to the different sorts of looms. After debate, they accepted one-third of a penny per "string" on all above 86 "picks." In other words, the new list meant an average reduction of about 3s. per week; and the amount yielded by the firm will give back about 6d., and in some cases 1s. Fines are to be stopped and workers dismissed for bad work; a plan which they unanimously prefer, as they have sometimes been fined for faults of the loom. No weaver will be "sacked" for having taken part in the strike. On the other hand, it is rumoured that the obnoxious manager is to leave. The terms are not good for the women; but they have gained something of value by the strike, apart from the small advance. They have learned the need of organization, and they have learned that the organized men of their own district are their sure friends in time of need. The Leeds Trades' Council and the Women's Trade Union Provident League are helping the girls to form a union, which will probably be a branch of the West Riding Power Loom Weavers' Association. Miss Clementina Black, Industrial Hall, Clark's Buildings, Bloomsbury, W.C., will gladly receive subscriptions or other help.

SCOTCH COAL TRADE.—Household coal was advanced 1s. per ton on Oct. 2nd in the Glasgow market. A good trade was done in Glasgow last week on the increased prices. The increased rate, so far, has been readily enough conceded by the merchants, who, on their part, have advanced the prices accordingly. Nothing has been conceded to the men who produce the coal. Messrs. Dunlop and Co. told their men they were members of the Lanarkshire Coalminers Union, and consequently could not give the 10 per cent. asked for until a general advance had been conceded, which would not be in any case until November 1st, when they expect another rise in price of coal, owing to expiry of notices at English collieries. A miners' meeting held at Motherwell on the 2nd inst. resolved: "That the miners of Lanarkshire take off the present day half a ton, and boys to get only what they are fit for according to their age." It was further agreed to continue the Saturday holiday. The report submitted by the delegates who waited on the masters showed that the masters refused the advance, notwithstanding that they were getting 1s. more per ton for coal. It was reported on the Glasgow Exchange: "As a rule, stocks at present, with the exception of those at the East of Scotland collieries, are low, and therefore any stoppage in the output would be serious"—to the thieves who pocket something for nothing! If the colliers of England and Scotland would unite in a body, the "iron ring" which binds them to perpetual unrequited toil could easily be broken; but will they?

CONDITION OF THE LOCK FILERS.—The "Special Commissioner" of the *Labour Tribune* says: "A gun lock, as everyone knows, is a very delicate and important piece of work. It requires to be finished with the utmost nicety and care, and therefore calls for the exercise of very considerable skill. I was amazed, therefore, to find that the gun-lock filers were so miserably paid. It is necessary for my purpose that I should avoid tech-

nicalities as much as possible, and therefore, without attempting to describe a store lock, it must suffice to say that this particular lock is taken as the standard—that is to say, the price paid for work done on a store lock is the standard price, and the price for work done on all other kinds of locks is fixed accordingly. The present price paid for filing and fitting a store lock is 5d. It has been down as low as 3½d. It used to be 7d., and in times now long gone by it was 1s. and 1s. 1d. It appears that four can be done in a day, and twenty-four is counted a good week's work. That means, of course, that the weeks wages amount to 10s. But the Darlaston gun-lock filer has to pay out of his 10s. as much as 2s.—or an average of 1d. per lock—for shop-rent, pins, firing, oil, tools, and light. So that his net wages are about 8s. per week when he does a full week's work. And out of this, again, he has to pay house-rent, which ranges from 2s. 6d. to 4s. a week. The miracle to me is how these people manage to live at all. The steel re-bounding lock is a superior piece of work, but the amount which can be earned in one week, even upon these, is fearfully small. This lock is used for sporting breech-loaders. The separate parts of the lock, six in number, are supplied to the lock filer. They are made of hard steel. Every part has to be most carefully filed to a particular gauge, and as many as thirteen holes of different sizes have to be drilled. The work upon the spring of the lock is most delicate. A very superior workman working at these locks can earn, in a full week, as much as 15s.; but from this there are reductions similar to those already mentioned in the former case. I was told, on good authority, that the best workman in Darlaston, engaged on the very best work in connection with the gun-lock trade, could not earn more than £1 per week. But, bad as all this is, the condition of things is aggravated by the circumstance that it is exceedingly rare for any man to do a full week's work. It seems to be characteristic of these small shop industries that the men do not work with any regularity. They do the work as it comes in, but, unfortunately, it does not always "come in," and I gathered that a man who got five days' steady work in a week counted himself fortunate."

AMERICA.—September 25.

The delegates of the labour organisations to the convention at Troy, N.Y., passed a resolution for striking out of the conspiracy laws the passage making intimidation a crime, and resolved to endorse only such candidates for political offices who pledge themselves to support this resolution.

There were 178 business failures reported during the last week, against 145, 156, and 148 in the corresponding weeks of 1887, 1886, 1885.

A general strike of New York City furniture workers is talked of in case the employers attempt to enforce the ten-hour rule and to institute "free" shops against union shops.

The western window-glass manufacturers have decided to resume work generally on October 1, instead of October 8 as originally intended. The resumption will give work to about 6,000 men.

A Brooklyn framers' union has compelled an employer to furnish 800 dol. bonds for the prompt payment of union wages to his men.

Fall River weavers will ask for an advance of 1 per cent. on print cloths and 5 per cent. on all other cotton cloth manufactured by them.

The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers in convention at Atlanta this week formally approved of federation with the brakemen, switchmen, and firemen. It is also stated that the Knights of Labour will amalgamate with these orders.

LIST OF SEPTEMBER STRIKES.

Previously reported	...	3,154
Scottsdale, Pa.—Coke-workers, for advance, Sept. 3; failed Sept. 11	...	—
Stewart, Pa.—Coke-workers, for advance, Sept. 1; failed Sept. 8	...	—
Moyer, Pa.—Coke-workers, for advance, Sept. 8; compromised Sept. 11	...	—
Tacoma, W. T.—Carpenters, for nine-hour day, Sept. 10	...	250
St. Louis, Mo.—Telegraph-messengers, for unionism, Sept. 10	...	—
Falls City, Neb.—Lock-out of cigar-makers, unionism, Sept. 6; succeeded Sept. 8	...	—
Ashland, Wis.—Switchmen, for advance, Sept. 17	...	—
Fall River, Mass.—Cotton-spinners, against using bad stock, Sept. 18	...	30
New York City—Newspaper reporters, for payment of wages due, Sept. 17; compromised same day	...	—
Marlborough, Mass.—Shoe-lasters, against employment of one man, Sept. 17; compromised same day	...	—
Brooklyn, N. Y.—Labourers, for payment of over-due wages, Sept. 19	...	60
Philadelphia, Pa.—Cigar-makers, unionism, Sept. 19	...	140
Brooklyn, N. Y.—Carpenters, in bakery, against non-union men, Sept. 19	...	—
New York City—Building hands, for over-due wages, Sept. 19; succeeded same day	...	10
Total number of strikers known to September 19	...	3,644

H. F. C.

Mr. Shepard, of the pious *Mail and Express*, in a speech before the Chautauqua Assembly, said: "To attempt to abolish poverty is an attempt to discredit our Lord Jesus Christ's declaration and prophecy, 'The poor ye have with you always,' and either one of these attempts is as sensible, and not more so, as to attempt to abolish appetite." The *World* on this remarks: "Mr. Shepard is a son-in-law of the late Wm. H. Vanderbilt. His poverty was miraculously abolished several years ago in the face of Christ's declaration and prophecy, and it is but natural that he should regard the effort of his fellow-beings to benefit themselves as more or less sacrilegious."—*Truth-seeker*.

PATRIOTIC FUSTIAN.—An American who was recently in England was interviewed on his return by a reporter for *Boots and Shoes*, and is reported to have said as to the relative condition of English and American workmen:—

"There is a great gulf between the two. The average English workman earns £1 a week, and probably spends it all. The American labourer earns 48s. or £3 a week, and perhaps spends it all. Both may expend all they receive, with this difference: the American buys luxuries that his English cousin never dreams of. Workmen in England are contented with their lot because they don't know any better. Provisions and other necessities of life are cheaper there than here, because every one is content with a smaller profit, and also for the reason that there are fewer middlemen there than here."

Whereupon the *Shoe and Leather Record* is most patriotically angry, and says:—

"This is the kind of fustian that is written for the purpose of bolstering Protection in America, where 'the pauper labour of Europe' is a phrase which has become enshrined as a truth too holy to be called in question."

What we should like to know is, which has riled the *Record*—the truth told about the English workers—or the lie that Americans are much better off?

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

ITALY.

VARESE.—The women spinners employed at Masnago near here, together with a few workers in both towns, held a meeting the other day to draft a demand to the director of the spinning-factory and to the Municipality to settle between the masters and workers the question of the length of the working day. Although the meeting was private, the carabinieri penetrated into the place where it was held and arrested one of the men. The women resisted the police and followed them to the police-barracks with loud protests. Their disturbance had the desired effect, as the man was set at liberty. The women then declared themselves on strike, demanding a reduction of the working day to eleven hours and a daily pay of 2 l. 16 c. (1s. 8½d), without counting food and lodging.

BOLOGNA.—The Annual Congress of the Italian Labour Party took place here on the 8th, 9th, and 10th of last month, during which time the usual questions were discussed, with no particularly noteworthy departure. In the discussion of the "Programme of Communal Administration" which the central committee had been charged to draw up by last year's conference at Pavia, there was a distinct gathering into two parties—those who favoured taking part in political agitation and communal administration, and those who feared the influence of any such participation in public life. After a lively discussion between the champions of both sides, the programme was accepted, leaving the methods of carrying it out to the discretion and needs of the moment in the various branches and districts. A representative was elected to attend the coming International Conference of Trades Unions in London; and apropos of this I feel bound to point out, what is perhaps obvious to most of our readers, that the Italian labour party almost exactly parallels our trades unions in sentiment and scope at present, and that while recognising the absolute necessity of some form of union among the Italian workers, it is to be hoped that once arrived at that point of organisation, they will not remain stationary like the trades unions and like them represent a merely commercial organisation of equal importance, according to the point of view of the Socialist economist, to the employers and capitalists as to the employed and wage-workers.

At one sitting of the Bologna conference proceedings began at 7 a.m., after an over-night sitting terminating at 1 a.m. Such alertness and enthusiasm forms a very excellent example to us English keepers of "Social-Democratic time," as it is bitterly called, the two first words being here none too complimentary in their qualification!

THE BUILDING CRISIS IN ROME.—A public meeting was called for the 30th September in the Piazza Dante to discuss the present position of the workers in the building trade. The preparations for the German Emperor's visit to Rome will occupy only a few weeks and then the condition of the workers will be as before, a parlous one. The building crisis affects, of course, not only the masons themselves, but the many other trades dependent thereon—decorators, carpenters, painters, etc.—who are all drawn into the vortex.

PUBLIC MEETING IN ROME.—Talking of this public meeting, the *Messaggero* says with a burst of enthusiasm, "The Government has permitted that this meeting should take place. . . . It is the first time in Italy that a meeting has been allowed in a public square, and such a concession is greatly to the honour and credit of Crispi's upright and loyal policy. We hope that the workers will show themselves worthy of the concession," etc., etc.

AN ENGLISH INNOVATION.—The *Messaggero* is not so well up in current popular affairs in England as so distinguished an organ might be, as the writer goes on to complain gently of Crispi's "innovation à l'Anglaise," saying that if it succeed not, the responsibility will be on the heads of those who convened the meeting, and it will be an experiment never to be repeated. This touching tribute to the "right of free speech" in England is now, unfortunately, a little out of date—say, by a year or two. M. M.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

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

A meeting of the metropolitan speakers of the League will be held at 13, Farringdon Road, on Tuesday, Oct. 16, at 8 o'clock, when it is hoped all the speakers will be present.

London Members' Meeting.—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, Nov. 5, 1888, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

M. P. H., 2s. 6d.

REPORTS.

LONDON (OPEN-AIR).—*Leman Street*.—Turner and Hicks spoke here Sunday morning. Several new members made. *Hyde Park*.—Large meeting on Sunday afternoon; 4s. 7d. collected. John Williams (S.D.F.), Springfield, Nicoll, and Parker spoke. A procession was formed and marched to Broad Street, Soho, being well taken care of by horse and foot police. Usual singing took place. *Broad Street, Soho*.—A great meeting here on Sunday evening, addressed by Nicoll, Springfield, and Parker. *Clerkenwell Green*.—Big meeting on Green Sunday night; Parker, A. Burrows and Pearson (S.D.F.), and M'Cormick spoke, and revolutionary songs were sung.

FULHAM.—Sunday morning, Tarleton spoke to fair audience. In evening, Bullock, Davis, Samuels, and Groser spoke outside rooms. G. B. Shaw afterwards lectured inside to good audience on "Anarchy and the Way Out." Several questions and good discussion.—S. B. G.

WHITECHAPEL AND ST. GEORGE'S-IN-THE-EAST.—The first meeting of this branch was held at Berner Street Club last Friday evening. The branch starts with forty members.—P.

ABERDEEN.—Open-air work much interfered with by stormy weather. Meeting Monday last at Correction Wynd, a station from which Mahon was driven on the night of his arrest. Choir made capital appearance and gathered a crowd, which, in spite of the biting wind, listened attentively to what Leatham said. Fair sale of *Weal*. At indoor meeting same evening, Leatham lectured on "Work v. Waste." Discussion carried on by Barron, Aiken, Semple, and Duncan. Social gathering being arranged to celebrate our anniversary.—J. L.

EDINBURGH.—No open-air meetings last two Sundays, owing to inclement weather. Arranging for hall for winter lectures. Next Thursday evening begin study of one Proudhon's works.

GLASGOW.—Business meeting on Sunday, at 2.30. At 5, Joe and Tim Burgoyne addressed usual meeting at Paisley Road Toll. At 6, Glasior and Anderson held meeting on Green; afterwards in rooms. Seven of our German comrades, who, with others, are about to start a Co-operative Bottle Works in Glasgow, joined the League. One of our German friends sang the German "Marseillaise" and the "Proletariat."

NORWICH.—St. Catherine's Plain and Yarmouth meetings not held, owing to weather. Sunday afternoon, good meeting in Market Place, addressed by Cores; audience adjourned to Gordon Hall, where Cores resumed his address. W. Moore and Mowbray also spoke. In evening, short meeting in Market Place, addressed by Poynts. At Gordon Hall good meeting held; one of the audience took the chair. Proceedings opened with "March of the Workers." Mowbray gave an address; Cores also spoke; meeting closed with "No Master." Fair sale of 'Went'.

EAST-END PROPAGANDA.—A crowded audience assembled to hear a discussion on "Our Winter Propaganda." Davis, Leach, McCormack, West, Parker, and others took a part. Practical suggestions made will be found useful in the coming winter. It is intended to hold meetings on Thursday, Friday, Saturday and Sunday evenings in district. Comrades who intend to assist are requested to turn up at the Club, 40, Berner Street, at 8 o'clock on any of these evenings, where we assemble previous to going out to meetings. 5s. was collected for the strike fund.

SOUTH HACKNEY RADICAL CLUB.—Parker lectured here on Sunday morning to an appreciative audience on "Why the Social Revolution is Inevitable."

LECTURE DIARY. LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—This Branch will shortly be actively working. Socialists resident in this locality should send their names in at once to 13, Farringdon Road.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday, October 14, at 8.30. Open Discussion on "Are Palliatives Reactionary?"

Fulham.—Our rooms, 8 Effie Road, Walham Green, will in future be opened on Thursday evenings at 7 o'clock to all persons interested in social matters.

Hackney.—Secretary, E. Lefevre, 28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Road, Hackney Wick.

Hammersmith.—Kelmecott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Oct. 14, at 8 p.m.

Hoxton.—Persons wishing to join this branch are requested to communicate with H. D. Morgan, 22, Nicholas Street Hoxton.

London Fields.—All communications, etc., to Mrs. G. G. Schack, 26 Cawley Road, South Hackney.

Merton.—Club-house, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road, Singlegate. Lecture on Sunday evenings at 8.30.

Mile-end and Bethnal Green.—95 Boston St., Hackney Road. Members and friends of this Branch will meet on Saturday Oct. 13, at 8.30 p.m., to consider the best means of forming a Socialist Club in district.

North London.—Secretary, Nelly Parker. Business meetings held on Friday evenings at 6 Windmill St., Tottenham Court Road, after open-air meeting at Ossulton Street.

Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.—Meeting of Members on Friday October 12, at 8 p.m., in Berner Street Club.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen (Scottish Section).—Douglas M'Intyre, Sec., 17 Queen Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

Bradford.—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivegate. Meets Tuesdays at 8.

Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Tuesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secy.

Dumfries (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

Edinburgh (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.

Galashiels (Scot Sect.).—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, secy.

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

Glasgow.—34 John Street. Reading-room (Drafts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class meets every Sunday at 11. Important business meeting on Sunday at 1.30.

Kilmarnock.—Secretary, H. McGill, 22 Gilmour St.

Leeds.—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Rd. and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m. communications to T. Paylor, 11 Sheldon Street, Holbeck, Leeds.

Leicester.—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—Sunday, Gordon Hall at 8.15. Monday, at 8, meeting in Gordon Hall. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Wednesday, at 8, Educational Class—subject, "Moral Basis of Socialism." Thursday, at 8, Meeting in Gordon Hall. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association.

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

Walsall.—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.
West Calder (Scottish Section).—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SUNDAY 14.

11.30...Latimer Road Station...Hammersmith Branch
11.30...Mitcham Fair Green...The Branch
11.30...Regent's Park...Nicol & Davis
11.30...Walham Green, opp. Station...The Branch
11.30...Weltje Rd., Ravenscourt Pk...Hammersmith
3.30...Hyde Park...Morris
6.30...Weltje Road, opposite Ravenscourt Park
...Hammersmith Branch

7.30...Broad Street, Soho...Cantwell
7.30...Clerkenwell Green...Blundell
7.30...Mitcham Fair Green...The Branch

Monday.

8...Wimbledon Broadway...The Branch

Tuesday.

8.30...Fulham—back of Walham Green Ch...Branch

Friday.

7.30...Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street...Nicol

EAST END.

SUNDAY 14.

Mile-end Waste... 11...Whitechapel Bh.
Leman Street, Shadwell... 11...Mrs. Schack.
Victoria Park... 3.15...Schack, M'waring
London Fields... 8...M'waring, Schack

TUESDAY.

Mile-end Waste... 8.30...Whitechapel Bh.

WEDNESDAY.

Broadway, London Fields... 8.30...Mainwaring.

FRIDAY.

Philpot St., Commercial Rd. 8.30...Whitechapel Bh.

SATURDAY.

Mile-end Waste... 6...Whitechapel Bh.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen.—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7 p.m.
Glasgow.—Sunday: Jail's Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock.

Ipswich.—

Sproughton, Wednesday evening.

Westerfield, Thursday evening.

Needham Market, Sunday morning and evening.

Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

Leicester.—Sunday: Russel Square, at 11 a.m.

Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place, at 3 and 7.30.

North Walsham, Sunday.

Yarmouth, Sunday at 3.

St Catherine's Plain, Friday at 8.15 p.m.

HAMMERSMITH RADICAL CLUB, Grove House, Broadway.—Mr. R. P. Cottam (U.C.), "The County Council and Local Taxation." Sunday Oct. 14, 8 p.m.

STREATHAM LIBERAL CLUB, Broadway, Streatham.—Mr. F. Verinder (E.L.R.L.), "The Land Question for Townsfolk." Tuesday Oct. 16, 8 p.m.

GREENWICH REFORM CLUB, 10 Nelson Street, Greenwich.—Rev. S. D. Headlam (G.S.M.), "Christian Socialism." Thursday Oct. 18.

FREEDOM DISCUSSION GROUP.—At Farringdon Hall, 13 Farringdon Road, on Friday October 12th, a Free Discussion will be opened by Dr. Merlino, on "The Organisation of Labour," at 8.30 prompt.

THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—The Committee will meet at the Labour Union Printery, 158 Pentonville Road, N., on Saturday October 13, at 8 p.m. Subscriptions received and members enrolled at 9 p.m.

INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S EDUCATIONAL CLUB, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road.—Grand Concert and Ball, Sunday next, October 14, at 8 p.m. (sharp). Proceeds will be devoted to Chicago Commemoration Fund. A first-class company will be present. Admission 3d. This is the first of a series of four concerts to be given by the East-end Propaganda Committee.

FABIAN SOCIETY.—The Fabian Society is giving a course of lectures on "Socialism: its Basis and Prospects." The first part of the course is devoted to "The Basis of Socialism." Of this, two have already been given—Sept. 21, (1) "The Historical Aspect," Sidney Webb; Oct. 5, (2) "The Economic Aspect," G. Bernard Shaw. Those that are to follow are:

Oct. 19, (3) "The Moral Aspect," Sydney Olivier; Nov. 2, (4) "The Industrial Aspect," William Clarke. The second part of the course will deal with "The Organisation of Society": Nov. 16, (1) "Property under Socialism," Graham Wallas; Dec. 7, (2) "Industry under Socialism," Annie Besant; Dec. 21, (3) "The Outlook," Hubert Bland.—The meetings will be held at Willis's Rooms, King Street, St. James's Square, S.W. The chair will be taken by the Rev. Stewart D. Headlam, B.A., at 8 p.m. precisely. Tickets for the course may be obtained from the Hon. Sec., Sydney Olivier, 189 Portedown Rd. W.

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES;

WITH REMINISCENCES OF

Albert R. Parsons,

AND HIS CONNECTION THEREWITH, COVERING A PERIOD OF TWENTY YEARS.

ALSO THE

Posthumous Papers of A. R. Parsons,

His numerous Missionary Journeys, with Letters to his Wife and Friends while on Agitation Trips, and many Letters, Reports and Papers relating to his Trial and Murder.

The Book will be brought out in the same elegant and substantial style as 'ANARCHISM,' and will be a book of between three and four hundred pages, and will be beautifully illustrated.

AN APPEAL

TO FRIENDS AND THOSE INTERESTED.

The importance of the work I am undertaking will be readily appreciated by all who love justice and humanity. Future generations will prize every detail in the history of these fast-moving years. The movement towards a higher civilisation needs a correct presentation of facts; and the veil of prejudice, which an unrelenting ruling class has woven about the events of the past two years, must be torn aside before it shades into tradition. Much of the matter presented is of the deepest interest, and can be obtained from no other source.

In order to bring out this work as it should be done, heavy expenses will be entailed, and it is unnecessary to mention that my means are limited. I, therefore, ask all who feel interested in seeing this work carried out, to send in subscriptions, or parts of subscriptions, or contributions from the financially able and willing. It is impossible at this date to give the exact size and price of the book, but subscribers may be sure that besides getting the full worth of their money in interesting information and good reading, they will be aiding a good cause, and assisting in the support of two children made orphans by the State. I have chosen this work rather than to take up any of the ordinary occupations open to women, because I believe I can best finish the labour my beloved husband laid down, and at the same time care for the innocent children he left helpless.

The price of the book will probably be about 1 dol. 50 c. Parties sending in clubs of five or over will obtain wholesale rates. It will be out at the latest by December 1, 1888, if friends will contribute promptly. Without your generous aid it may be impossible for me to accomplish this great task I have undertaken.

With fraternal greetings, yours,
MRS. A. R. PARSONS,
785 MILWAUKEE AVE., CHICAGO, ILL., U.S.A.

Price 1d.; Post-free, 1½d.

THE RIGHTS OF LABOUR ACCORDING TO JOHN RUSKIN.

Arranged by THOMAS BARCLAY.

Second Edition.

"Your pamphlet is the best abstract of all the most important pieces of my teachings that has yet been done; and I am entirely grateful to you for doing it, and glad to have your letter."—Extract from letter received from Mr. Ruskin.

Commonweal Office, 13 Farringdon Rd., London, E.C.

THE AUSTRALIAN RADICAL

Advocate of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity

New Lambton Road, Hamilton, Australia.

This journal is the organ of the Australian Socialist League. Copies may be had at the office of the *Commonweal*, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. 1½d. per copy, 1s. 6d. per quarter, post free.

THE MINER.

AN ADVANCED POLITICAL JOURNAL, DEVOTED TO THE INTERESTS OF LABOUR.

EDITED BY J. KEIR HARDIE,

Monthly, 1d. Subscription, 1s. 6d. per annum.

Miner Office, Cumnock, Ayrshire.

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THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 4.—No. 145.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 20, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

CHICAGO MARTYRS & BLOODY SUNDAY.

"Our silence will be more powerful than our speech."

Mrs. PARSONS has accepted the invitation of the Commemoration Committee to speak at the various meetings to be held in London and the provinces next November. Arrangements have already been made to hold meetings on

Sunday, November 11, at 11.30 a.m., in
REGENT'S PARK.

Sunday, November 11, at 3.30 p.m., in
HYDE PARK.

Monday, November 12, at 7.30 p.m., in
STORE STREET HALL.

Sunday, November 18, at 3 p.m., in
VICTORIA PARK.

Speakers, resolutions, and further announcements will be made next week. Meantime, funds are urgently needed, and should be sent to J. Lane, Treasurer, at the office of the Socialist League, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C. Any information can be had by communicating with Secretary of the Commemoration Committee.

W. B. PARKER, *Secretary.*

NOTES ON NEWS.

THE *Pall Mall* during the past week has been adding one more item to the list of those things that go far toward almost earning it forgiveness for its mischievous Czar-worship. It has been, with great industry and a few diagrams, knocking to pieces the militarised police despotism under which we live, and showing how little real "protection to property" it ensures. Except for the great ones of the earth, there is very little "protection" going on; small folk might as well—or indeed very much better—be relying wholly on themselves. Now that the shopkeepers, the vestrymen, and men with votes are being made "practically" to feel this, there will be a change made. But will it be a change so very much for the better all round?

I think not. The words "popular control" are alluring; but I doubt that the ideal is a utopian one while the present system lasts. The "respectable classes," that is, the Haves and the Hangers-on, will rule still; they will appoint the County Council and that will appoint the Chief Commissioner, or whatever he may be called. Then the shops will be better looked after—but free speech? Then popular safety may be greater—but popular liberty! We may, and probably shall, be a little better off; but so long as class society endures, and its pillar monopoly, the dominant class by the necessity of its position will be compelled to have police, and to use them against the lower class; no control, "democratic" or otherwise, can help that.

"Sir" Peter Edlin is a well-known incarnation of bourgeois justice. A little while ago he inflicted some of his notorious sentences on some poor beggars. Last week he had two hotel thieves before him, and sentenced one of them six times over to five years' penal servitude! As the *Star* said: "We have no desire to take up the cause of hotel thieves. They are a great nuisance within their sphere, no doubt, though the sphere is rather limited, and their victims generally people who have plenty to lose. But it is impossible to help contrasting

these sentences for offences against property with the usual scale at the Middlesex Sessions and elsewhere for offences against the person."

We may add, especially if it is a working-class person!

Almost on the same day, that other illustrious Nupkins, Mr. Saunders of the Thames Police Court, gave an example *per contra* which may serve to cite. A painter in full work, and earning fair wages as wages go, but who spent them in drink, was charged, with his wife, with endangering the life of their child, aged two and a half years. The child was found alone, with only its shirt on, in a room full of indescribable filth, the stench of which was unbearable. A doctor was fetched; the child found to be almost dying, and taken to the infirmary; after five days careful treatment, though its life was out of danger and it was much improved, it was still very weak and "hardly able even to cry!" The neighbours had used to throw in food through the window, or the boy would have been dead long ago.

But it was only the worthless life of a working-class baby that was endangered; and though everything was proved up to the hilt, Mr. Saunders pooh-poohed the case and declined to convict.

As at home, so abroad. In comparison with the "prestige of the empire, etc., what are a few "damned niggers"! A Reuter's telegram from Simla the other day stated that General M'Queen had informed the Hassanzais and the Akanzais that unless they accepted his terms by the 15th inst. he would begin a systematic destruction of their crops, which are uncut. How the frontier folk must love the "great white mother" and the religion of her children! S.

Our high opinion of the intelligence of the police increases day by day. Could we have a more charming proof of their possession of this inestimable quality than the disclosures vouchsafed at the inquest on Catharine Eddowes? We hear there that when the murderer was good enough to leave an absolute clue to his identity by writing on a wall an inscription ascribing the murder to the Jews, that the metropolitan police, at the instance of "a high official," ordered the inscription to be rubbed out, despite the protests of the members of the City force, who not being on their own ground were forced to submit.

Who was the "high official"? universal history will exclaim. The *Pall Mall Gazette* says it was Sir Charles Warren. The good gentleman was known to be upon the ground at the time. It is also known that he labours under a morbid dread of riots, and beholds in any chance crowd collected by accident or curiosity in a public thoroughfare the nucleus of the dreaded mob. Besides, who but a very high official would have dared to order the destruction of such a very excellent clue? Everything points to Sir Charles, and Sir Charles does not deny the soft impeachment.

It may be admitted, of course, that it may be some smaller luminary which gathers its light from the glorious sun in Scotland Yard. But if this is so we should like to know the name of the perpetrator of the latest stroke of genius. Will not some lover of his kind announce it to expectant humanity?

It is said by some cynics that the perpetrator of these awful crimes is a member of the metropolitan police, and that is why his comrades and his chief are doing their utmost to cover up his tracks.

Meanwhile, we would advise Sir Charles to denude Whitechapel of its police. There would be some chance of catching the murderer then.

We are often told by smug middle-class gentlemen that under their beneficent sway crime decreases, and with the spread of the commercial system will gradually disappear. They are always ready to support their assertion with the latest official statistics, which, as is customary with most things official, invariably contradict the every-day experience of the ordinary citizen.

In the old days there was a clear line drawn between the honest middle-class merchant and the ordinary swindler. Nowadays it is very hard to make the distinction; they are so much alike that we cannot tell the one from the other. Commercialism is so thoroughly incultured with roguery, that the scoundrel, so long as he is well dressed, can pursue his operations within the pale of society without the slightest risk of a scratch from the talons of the law.

But now we are, it seems, threatened with an epidemic of crime from outside respectable circles. Thanks to Sir Charles Warren the petty thief can pursue his occupation—with the same ease as his more respectable brother—in the quiet suburban streets of the town.

Most of our readers, we suppose, have read the doleful reports recently published in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, which tell us that in such thoroughfares as Gray's Inn, Hackney, and Southwark Park Roads, there is hardly a shopkeeper who hasn't lost something during the last two years, the period of Sir Charles Warren's time of office.

We must also remember that this has been a time of sharp distress, and that it is quite evident from the unconsidered trifles that are stolen that the thefts in many cases are not the handiwork of professional thieves, but are the deeds of starving men. As long as Society can offer no relief to the poor man but the workhouse, who can be surprised if he prefers to relieve himself?

With a gloomy winter before us it would be well for the middle classes to consider these things. As the workhouse returns show, there are more people in London driven to desperation through want than at any time during the last thirty years. We are threatened, thanks to beneficent operations of corn monopolists and baker rings, with a rise in the price of bread, and this while thousands of people are starving through lack of employment.

What will be the result? Sir Charles Warren may stop unemployed meetings in Hyde Park and Trafalgar Square, but that will not prevent the sack of baker's shops should the famished multitude make up its mind to starve no longer while bread can be had. This is the situation which the rich have to consider. D. N.

LABOUR'S TRIANGULAR PROBLEM; OR, MEN VERSUS MACHINES.

(Continued from p. 314.)

THE contention of the orthodox economist and business man and inventor has always been that, although there might be some amount of—well! "inconvenience" (starvation sounds too ugly,) caused to those unfortunates thrown out by each new invention, yet the great amount of good resulting to the whole community was quite enough to warrant new inventions, and such encouragement as could be given by the protection of Patent Copyright Acts. It is urged by the inventor, but more especially by the capitalist, who almost invariably gobbles up the inventor, that the increased output and the great reductions in price resulting, more than compensates for the few extra "out-of-works." The glad-to-be-satisfied consciences of the bourgeoisie, who are the chief consumers of the results of improved methods in machine manufactures, accept the statement and no more is said.

Macfie's book is an attack on Patents and Copyrights, and contains a mass of matter of use to Socialists directly on those questions, and incidentally some very useful information on proving that almost every invention has conduced more to the direct profit of the monopolist, to the direct suffering of the workers, and only in the very slightest has benefited the consumer, the supposed to be much studied consumer.

One or two very short examples can be given to prove how exceedingly small has been the benefit received by the general body as compared with the immense and immediate profit which has resulted to the monopolists, and then I will conclude with a short summing-up of the case against monopolist control of machine power.

W. S. Hale, a maker of stearine and composite candles, in evidence before the Lords, 1851, said "that he was able to reduce the price of two wick candles three halfpence per pound immediately on the expiration of Palmer's patent." Palmer by his patent, therefore, extorted three halfpence per pound more than was required by a manufacturer not holding a monopoly. Three halfpence extra profit on every pound of candles used forty years ago represented a very large sum of money.

Of necessity, in dealing with the question of Machinery, one has to come in contact with the question of Patents; it is an essential part of the monopoly which lends to the constant debasement of the labourer.

In Sir Henry Bessemer's evidence before the House of Commons Committee, 1871, we have a series of statements which show the enormous profits made by these monopolists. "£4,000 was the cost prior to my bringing the invention before the public, and about £16,000 after my paper was read at Cheltenham, making altogether an outlay of about £20,000." In three weeks he had sold licenses amounting to £26,000; two iron-masters paying £10,000 each. "Of course, I had a larger stake to play for; I knew that steel was selling at £50, or £60, or £70 per ton, and I knew that if it could be made by my plan, it could with profit be sold at £20 a ton."

The men who gave these premiums of £10,000 each, made no attempt to utilise the power they had, and five or six years later Bessemer bought back these privileges, giving in one case £20,000 for what he had sold for £10,000. It paid Bessemer to do this, as he then "swept the market clear of all these privileges," and was able by his further patents to dictate fresh terms—this time a royalty of £1 or £2 per ton on every ton of steel made.

In another manufacture an article was being supplied from Germany and sold at 7s. per ounce, the raw material of which was only worth 11d. per pound. He applied himself to the matter, and was able to make a similar article at a cost of 4s. per pound. He sent out a traveller, and the first order he took was at the rate of 80s. per pound net. For twenty-eight years this trade has been carried on (he is speaking in 1871, and it is still going on), and we are charging the trade 300 per cent. profit, . . . in the first instance it was more than 1,000 per cent. profit.¹

That this great profit has been made mainly by dispensing with manual labour, is proved indirectly in his statement, that three out of his five assistants having died, "the secret was in the possession of only two besides himself," and it is known that the amount of the trade done was considerable.

At p. 401 he says, dealing with the royalty on iron and steel, "The manufacturers are getting £3 a ton more for railway bars under a 2s. 6d. royalty, than they sold them for under a £1 royalty two years ago." How much profit do you suppose the seller of that 100,000 tons which you have referred to would have on that transaction?—"I should say that a judicious manufacturer there would have a profit of £2 a ton." Then your royalty was equal to one-half of the manufacturer's profits?—"We took one-third of the spoil in that case, but that was on the lowest article in the trade, namely, railway bars; on some other articles where we were charging £2 a ton, the manufacturers were getting £25 a ton profit."

Without any further quotation, it must be allowed as proved that the general public has not benefitted in any way proportionate to the above, while in every instance the amount of labour displaced has been immense. This displacement is constantly going on, and with constantly increasing rapidity, and the time is not far distant when absolute starvation of thousands will force the consideration of two questions—a revival of the old-time machine-smashing mania, or a direct control of all machinery by the whole working body of the people. Sheer self-defence will in the near future force a settlement of this detail; and, although they do not seem to know it, the ordinary newspapers have lately much exercised on a matter which is proof of this statement. "On the threshold of Socialism" was the title of an article in the *Pall Mall Gazette* a few days ago (Sept. 13), dealing with the rapid growth of the American trust system, which has grown to such an extent as to demand the attention of the president of the United States. The particular trade dealt with was the manufacture of jute bagging (used for cotton packing). The total output is about forty-five million yards. Eight firms, manufacturing two-thirds of the total output, join in a trust, and by one man placed in New York, can practically control the whole trade; for their body, having power to force prices up in its own interest from 7½ cents to 11 cents for its own goods, enables the third who stand out from the ring to get some increase in price simply by the dearth made by the trust holding its goods in. In the *Commonweal* of September 15, H. F. Charles in the American Letter gave some interesting and useful details as to the Standard Oil Trust, probably the most gigantic monopoly ever formed. Soap, and corn, and beef, and even coffins, have, with other commodities, been subjects of "trusts" in America, and now our turn has come. At the present time the "Great Salt Syndicate" is an important newspaper "item," but the idea has been working for some time. Amalgamation of dock companies, of canal companies, of railway companies, has been a growing topic in City circles. The dock amalgamation is a fact; the amalgamation of five London railways into two is almost sure very soon. When dock has joined dock, the next and easy step is canal to dock, and then railway to that.

Says the *Pall Mall Gazette* article: "In the end the fighting trusts are apt to amalgamate, and then the monopoly becomes complete. Underselling is not the only weapon by which a trust can kill out competition. Boycotting is freely resorted to. One trust allies itself with another trust for offensive and defensive purposes. In short, the work of centralisation is going on at railroad speed."

THOS. SHORE, jun.

(To be concluded).

The following notice appeared in a shop window of a tailor in Hull: "Wanted, two apprentices, who will be treated as one of the family."

Cunninghame Grahame denies emphatically that he is about to resign his seat for North West Lanarkshire in order to seek a quieter constituency.

RETREBUITION.—St. Peter (to applicant): "You say you were an editorial writer on a daily newspaper?" "Yes, sir." "Step into the elevator, please." (Steps in)—"How soon does it go up?" "It doesn't go up, it goes down."—*Labour Tribune*.

METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.—The weekly return of metropolitan pauperism shows that the total number of paupers relieved in the fifth week of the past month was 92,528, of whom 55,953 were indoor and 36,575 outdoor paupers. The total number relieved shows an increase of 1,593 over the corresponding week of last year, 4,924 over 1886, and 6,409 over 1885. The total number of vagrants relieved on the last day of the week was 1,117, of whom 883 were men, 203 women, and 31 children under sixteen.

¹ Macfie, p. 394-97.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

FRANCE.

The extra-Radical government of France is very near to its death, and nobody will mourn the fall of Floquet and Co. That Radical humbug will have shown, even to the blindest, what Radicalism means, in office as well as out of office. His last move has been that infamous decree against the foreigners who reside in France and contribute, at least a considerable portion, to the production of her wealth. It has been said that Floquet has acted under the direct inspiration of the Russian despot, who wants to know the names and addresses of the Nihilists; if that be so, he is even more stupid than one would have thought. Our French comrades, all over the country, are preparing to break through all obstacles by means of a revolution; they know that the Boulangist movement is only a mere interlude that will soon be played out, and then their turn will arrive, and we earnestly hope that this time the tables will be turned once for all. It is the duty of all Socialists to closely watch the French revolutionary movement, in expectation of the eventful times that are coming nigh, in order that they may be of some help to those who have hitherto been the heroic forerunners of the cause of justice and liberty in the world. If solidarity and internationalism are not mere words in the wind, if we are as it were permeated by the very meaning and profound sense of these expressions of the revolutionary language, we ought to entertain close and warm feelings just now towards our friends over the channel, because from France again will in the nearest future come a new revolutionary impetus that shall give rise to a general social outbreak all over Europe. It may very well so happen that, with the celebration of 1789, the triumph of bourgeoisdom and commercialism, revolution shall ring the knell both of commercialism and bourgeoisdom!

Revolutionary France has again lost two of its most energetic defenders: Jules-Léon Fontaine and Emile Gois. Citizen Fontaine, fellow of the Polytechnical School and professor of mathematics at the Lycées Saint-Louis and Condorcet, had reached the age of seventy-six years. He refused to enter the service of the State, remaining free professor of science and devoting all his leisure hours to the study of social questions. After the revolution of 1848 he likewise declined to accept the cross of the Legion of Honour, which was spontaneously offered him by the Republican government. During the fatal years of the Third Empire he gathered secretly around him some revolutionary friends with whom afterwards he tried to organise a Socialist movement in various quarters of Paris. Implicated in the trial of Blois (conspiracy against Napoleon), he was sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment, but the revolution of the 4th September released him from captivity. The Commune of Paris made him director of national property, and in that capacity he seized all the goods belonging to the infamous Thiers. For this he was sentenced to twenty years' hard labour in the galleys of the isle of Nou, where he remained until the general amnesty of 1880.

Citizen Emile Gois, of the Blanquist group, died at the age of fifty-nine years, having been born in 1829. He was one of those who boldly took up arms against the *coup d'état* of Napoleon, and after the victory of that imperial scoundrel, was transported to Lambessa in Africa, where he remained until the amnesty of 1859. He then came back to Paris and organised, with a handful of friends, those secret groups that followed the inspiration of Blanqui. In 1870 he was prosecuted for the famous plot of Blois, but escaped imprisonment by flying to Belgium, where he lived until the disaster of Sedan. During the siege of Paris, he took service in the ranks of the National Guard, at the same time contributing to Blanqui's paper, *La Patrie en Danger*. He also was at the affair of the 21st October, and took part in the battle of the 22nd January. After the proclamation of the Commune, he became a colonel attached to the staff of General Eudes and was president of the court martial which dealt most energetically with the enemies of the revolution. He happily escaped to London, after having fought to the last moment on the barricades. The general amnesty of 1880 enabled him to return to Paris, where again he was a most brilliant contributor to Blanqui's *Le Dieu ni Maître*. He also aided in the formation of the central revolutionary committee. His last years were sadly troubled by constant and painful illness, the fatal consequence of a life of hard and vigorous struggle.

GERMANY.

Whilst William II. is travelling in Austria and in Italy under pretext of settling peace-alliances, but in reality for the sake of preparing war, his employes at home continue their reactionary work. The state of siege has been prolonged for the towns and districts of Hamburg, Hanau, Stettin, Frankfurt, etc. Numerous arrests have been made at Augsburg, at Munich, and in the district of Elberfeld. Judgment has been given on Friday at Hamburg in the Socialist trial. For belonging to a secret association—i.e., to the Social Democratic party, which is not at all a secret society—comrade Bapst was sentenced to three months' imprisonment, comrades Wuerfel, Fricke, Rohde, and Noak to two months. Six others were acquitted, the court holding that they had suffered sufficient punishment by their detention in gaol pending examination. How magnanimous this sounds in despotic Germany! In Freyburg several Socialists coming from Switzerland have been arrested, but before the gentlemen of the police were at hand more than 2000 copies of the *Freiheit* had been distributed.

The Socialist fraction of the Reichstag have again lost one of their members. Julius Krücker was born Jun. 26, 1839, and died at Breslau, a few days after his release from prison, on the 2nd of this month. He has been active in the Socialist workers' party for more than twenty years. He attended the popular school of his native town until his fourteenth year, when he commenced his travelling tour, as a saddle-maker, all over Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Russia. Before the proclamation of the muzzle-laws, he was contributor to the *Wahrheit* (Truth) and sub-editor of the *Breslauer Tagblatt* (Breslau Daily Gazette), and afterwards editor of the *Schlesischer Courier* (Courier of Silesia). He was also a partner in the publishing firm, Kühnert and Co. at Breslau. 1867 he entered the Workersverein of Breslau, and 1868 became a member of the Social-Democratic party. He sat in the German Reichstag from the year 1881 up to the date of his death. He is the author of a book on the causes of the misery in Upper Silesia. His career has been full of sadness; son of very poor parents, he has always had to struggle against poverty and misery. Besides, he has been among those who have steadily been prosecuted by the German police, his last condemnation being one for secret conspiracy. At his funeral the police prohibited any procession to be formed, and no farewell speech was allowed to be pronounced on his grave. The Silesian workers have lost by his death one of their best and truest friends.

BELGIUM.

The outlook is again very dark in the industrial centres of Belgium, and it is seriously apprehended that a general strike might burst out at a

moment's notice in the Borinage district. In the basin of the Sambre, exceptional measures are taken by the local "authorities" against any possible uprising of the workers. In the centre district prevails an agitation which seems very intense, although not as yet widely spread. The workers are in a state of excitement which grows from day to day; all their peaceful manifestations, their gatherings, their petitions, their strikes even, have proved to be of no avail and completely useless, and they seem rather inclined to take up another course which could perhaps do away altogether with their masters, industrial and political. Besides, they are now well aware that the partial revival that has been manifesting itself in their industry, has only proved beneficial to the mine-owners and not in the least to themselves. They have to live with their wives and families on an average salary of £30 a year. Again, the Government and several mine-owners seem to provoke the workers to commence action at any cost. Numerous arrests have been made at Couillet; Falleur has been exiled; comrade Chauviere, municipal councillor of Paris, has been expelled from Belgium whilst peaceably lecturing for the workers; and the masters refuse to give any work to those who have been engaged as leaders in previous strikes. All these vexations and prosecutions have created in the mining districts an intense feeling of discontent, which is likely to lead to what the toilers call the general "black" strike. It is also rumoured that the exploiters of labour have agreed to at once stop work in the mines and in the factories whenever a partial strike should occur, and it may well be certified that if they stick to such an agreement, ere long we shall have another insurrection there, much more violent than that which was the consequence of the "hunger strike" of 1886.

HOLLAND.

The Parliamentary reports of the Parliamentary Commission, appointed last year by the Dutch Chamber to inquire into the condition of the labouring classes in Holland, has now been published, and contains some interesting facts which condemn, here as elsewhere, the bourgeois system of commercialism. Holland is essentially a country of small industries, and having no coal or raw materials of its own, the manufacturers are able to meet foreign competition only by utilising badly paid labour to the utmost. The smaller master bakers of Amsterdam, for instance, in order to compete with the machine-made bread of wealthier bakers, work sixteen hours a-day all the week, except on Fridays and Saturdays, when they work for twenty-six hours without intermission. The 5,000 tailors of the same city try to compete with the large firm of Van der Waal, which employs machinery worked by women and girls, by working with their wives and children till midnight, and sometimes twenty-four and even forty-eight hours on end. Day-and-night work prevails in Dutch bakeries, steam-mills, breweries, vinegar factories, sugar refineries, and the gas, glass, paper, and many other industries. The work is done in shifts or relays, so that the man who works during the day one week works during the night the following week, and if men are ill or away others who have already worked must take their places, so that extremely long hours—eighteen, twenty-four, and thirty-six hours are mentioned—are common. The average day in the great majority of the factories is thirteen to fourteen hours. In one province in which complete statistics were obtained, it was found that 39 per cent. of the total number of workpeople was composed of women and children, and the number everywhere is constantly increasing. The effect of women and child labour on the rising generation is exhibited in various ways. Infant mortality in all Holland increased 19 per cent. between 1880 and 1885, while in Maastricht the increase was 21, Eindhoven 30, and Gouda 33 per cent. The recommendations made by the Commissioners to the Government are of the same palliative kind as happens in all countries on such like occasions: Efficient factory inspection, enforcing the law against child labour, prohibition of night and Sunday labour for women and children, and provision for securing adequate rest for them, and prohibition of female labour for a month after confinement. But it cannot be too often repeated that all these palliative measures will prove to be of no avail for the working-classes; there is only one remedy, and that is the abolition of wage-slavery and competition altogether—and that means no more nor less than the Social Revolution.

HUNGARY.

The first report of the Hungarian factory inspectors has been issued. Among the workpeople in the chief centres of manufacture there are 38 females to every 100 males; and of the total number there are 97 under 16 years of age for 1,000 above it. In Budapest 40 per cent. of the women are engaged in tobacco manufacture, and 15 per cent. each in printing and textile manufacturing. In the districts of Fiume and Klausenburg there are 2,395 women in tobacco factories and only 120 men; in the bent-wood furniture factories also the women predominate. In Hungary the average effective working-day is ten to eleven and a-half hours, but in the paper and some other factories it lasts eighteen, and in glass-making fourteen to nineteen hours, while in mills relays work twenty-four hours at a stretch; also in iron foundries, while Sunday labour is rare, except where the work must be carried on continuously. In Upper Hungary the wages vary between 10d. and 1s. 5d.; in Budapest and other places from 1s. 5d. to 2s. a day for ordinary workmen, while locksmiths, smiths, tanners, and some other trades are paid a little more. V. D.

ITALY.

BOLOGNA, Oct. 1.—Yesterday and to-day the Congress of the Italian Co-operators was held in this town, with the assistance of the Government, the municipal authorities, several M.P.'s and senators, and Messrs. Holyoake and Vansittart Neale, who, as guests, took part in the discussion. The annual report shows that there are at present in Italy 176 manufacturing productive societies (63 in the building trade), 229 dairies, 31 agrarian societies, 43 bakeries, and 405 co-operative stores. The next Congress will be held at Turin in 1890. There was nothing noteworthy in the debates except, perhaps, the evident fear of these gentlemen lest Signor Crispi should keep his word and do something towards the solution of the social question. One of the speakers protested, amid the applause of the audience, against what he called "precipitate measures." No fear! The Government is not so suicidally minded as to propose anything really effective. For the sake of the king, a weak-kneed but honest fellow, who has pledged his word, there will be some attempt at ostensibly social legislation in the forthcoming Parliamentary Session. But, besides the starting of some public works, designed of course with an eye towards the enrichment of their promoters, nothing of any salutary consequences need be expected.

VICENZA, Oct. 6.—The journeymen bakers of this town struck work for an increase of wages, and opened four productive shops in the central localities as a means of pressure against their masters, who gave in and accepted the terms of the men. H. SEA.



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

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

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

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Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 15 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

J. O. H.—Of course your opponent was talking nonsense. Socialists have always been and are on the side of education. The first infant school established in London was the one in Vincent Square, Westminster, which was managed by a Mr. Buchanan on the model of that at New Lanark, where he had been trained.

Music-Book.—Will the comrade who borrowed a manuscript book of revolutionary songs and airs from May Morris, and whose address she does not know, kindly return it to her at this office.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday October 17.

ENGLAND	FRANCE	GERMANY
Freedom	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Justice	Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Brunn—Arbeiterstimme
Labour Tribune	La Revolte	Wien—Gleichheit
London—Freie Presse	Le Coup de Fou	Jassy—Municipal
Norwich—Daylight	La Revue Socialiste	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
North British Daily Mail	Scelan—La Revolution	Cuba—El Productor
Our Corner	Little—Le Cri du Travailleur	
Radical Leader	Nimes—L'Emancipation	
Sozial Demokrat		
Telegraph Service Gazette		
To-Day		
Worker's Friend		
NEW SOUTH WALES		
Hamilton—Radical		
VICTORIA		
Melbourne—Our Good Words		
INDIA		
Bankipore—Behar Herald		
Madras—People's Friend		
UNITED STATES		
New York—Der Sozialist		
Freiheit		
Truthseeker		
	HOLLAND	
	Hague—Recht voor Allen	
		WEST INDIES
		Cuba—El Productor
		ITALY
		Turin—Nuovo Gazzetta Operaia
		Messina—Il Riscatto
		Turin—Il Muratore
		Florence—La Questione Sociale
		SPAIN
		Madrid—El Socialista
		Sevilla—La Solidaridad
		Barcelona—El Productor
		BEELGIUM
		Ghent—Vooruit
		Liege—L'Avenir
		Antwerp—De Werker

HIGH TREASON AND LOW TREASON.

THE Grand Old Man, speaking in Wales a few days ago, tried to explain something which he had said or had not said about the political prisoners of Bomba and of Balfour. He might, without exciting wonder, have forgotten how many persons he had seen thirty or forty years ago in the prisons of the first tyrant and the different chains and dungeons allotted to the various grades of prisoners. He, it appears, saw one man in Bomba's prisons accommodated with a convenient private room, in which he could write and read and amuse himself. This one had not as yet been convicted, and was therefore better off than innocent people in England with ragged coats who happen to fall under the suspicion of the police. So far, however, as I could see amid the cloud of words in which the Grand Old Man hid his meaning, he did not express any sympathy for those who had been convicted of high treason. His speech quite bristled in one part with allusions to this awful crime; it was one to be carefully distinguished from low treason. Apparently he would have been ready to act as gaoler in defence of the great fetish of law and order and of its priest King Bomba. The scene was changed shortly afterwards by Garibaldi's high treason, which, being successful, became sanctified; and Bomba's side became the traitors.

When the forsworn President of the Republic crushed the liberties of France in 1851, and transported hundreds of his political opponents to Cayenne and other unhealthy places, our commercial society looked calmly on. As soon as the Brummagem Emperor was dressed out in military guise and big boots, they fell down and kissed the feet of the murderer. They followed his lead to the Crimea, French, English, and Italians, and poured out the blood of the people like water in support of the orderly government of the "unspeakable Turk." The last touch of respectability was put upon him in 1855, when he was enthusiastically received in England. Then (if the accounts of the time are to be trusted) this felon associate of kings and emperors received from royal lips the salute which usually passes between these high and mighty personages. He became, indeed, so powerful a defender of law and order, that in 1858 the commercial person, Palmerston, proposed to assist him in his uneasy task of sitting on the throne, by halting back to his legal mercies anyone suspected of high treason who had avoided his myrmidons by getting over to this side of the

Channel. In 1859 he gratified his own and alarmed the predatory classes of England by the strictly legal and proper conveyance of Nice and Savoy from Italy to France.

Rulers such as these are scarcely men, though they are called divine, and the crime of wishing to get rid of them or of their paltry imitators Salisbury and Balfour must in like manner be called by a high-sounding title. It has been said that at one time anyone proposing to alter a bit of the law came into the assembly with a rope round his neck. It has certainly been universally acted on, in the case of those who wish to alter the whole of the law, to draw the rope tight, very tight, even before they could reach the assembly. Whether more or less than this severity should be allotted to the mysterious crime of treason-felony, invented by the English Government, or to that low form of treason against society which attempts to correct its inequalities by the transfer of a watch or purse from one man's pocket to another's,—all these questions might be referred to reason, if only law and force would hold quiet for a time. But when King Richard III. caught someone, his formula was, "Off with his head; so much for Buckingham"—a plain, straightforward way of checking argument, and of preventing that person from interfering with his, the said Richard's, privileges. Similarly now-a-days Joseph, or the ruling party to which he is an understrapper, having turned William off his throne, calls out, "He's off his head; so much for poor old William"; and tries to keep him in a political lunatic asylum (speech at Bradford, Sept. 19). The lunatic, he says, thinks that the tyranny of having treason in Ireland tried by two magistrates instead of a jury is as bad as the tyranny of King Bomba. I confess I do not see the difference; and if Joseph says he can, well, I should be inclined to send him to bear company with William.

Let us, however, examine what Joseph calls his reasons. Among other things, he expresses his delight at the release of Mr. Dillon, who, he says, is quite honest and yet has done more mischief and has brought more misery upon the people of Ireland than if he had been the greatest criminal. I should have thought that it was very criminal to bring misery on the people of any country; but who the great criminals are, in Joseph's mind, may perhaps be gathered from a letter of Lieut.-Col. A. E. Turner in the *Daily News* of September 12. The colonel says that "the parish priests of Ireland, who help to coerce the tenants, by means of the Plan of Campaign, to lodge their rents with them, thus become very little, if at all, better than receivers of stolen goods." Joseph's mind must surely be wandering. In the same breath he urges that "while the law stands as it is, it must be enforced," and expresses his joy that a man, worse than a systematic breaker of the law, should be let out of gaol to bring yet more mischief and misery on the world. In another place Joseph says that two magistrates are better than a jury in Ireland because the tyranny of the National League would prevent a jury from giving a verdict in accordance with its oath. Poor fellow, poor fellow, take him away: he is quite crazy, and cannot see that if, as he says, the League is king *de facto*, it has the same right to influence the minds of its subjects as every government has had to warp the judgment of its officials, from long before Chief Justice Scroggs down to the present tribe of big and little Nupkinses. For as Thomas More says in his 'Utopia,' "Princes are more generally set on acquiring new kingdoms, right or wrong, than on governing well those they possess"; and again, "Fair pretences will never be wanting, when sentence is to be given in the prince's favour. It will either be said that equity lies of his side, or some words in the law will be found sounding that way, or some forced sense will be put on them; and when all other things fail, the king's undoubted prerogative will be pretended, as that which is above all law; and to which a religious judge ought to have a special regard."

The jumble of arguments brought forward by Liberals and Radicals against the "herding of political prisoners with felons," are an expression of the prejudices of the richer classes. There is a bit, however, in Victor Hugo's 'History of a Crime'—the crime of 1851—which shows that this herding together has its good side. He is describing how he and other deputies, on the mere suspicion that they might be high traitors, were thrust into the prison of Mazas, and treated there like ordinary criminals. An excellent piece of education for deputies, says he; they thus get some knowledge of what they condemn low traitors to. The fact is that criminals of all kinds are political; they all desire to upset the present distribution of property. But those who are commonly meant by the name are such as can give reasons for their ideas; and the power of reasoning has always been dreaded by the privileged classes, and has hitherto led to the stake, the block, and the gallows. In the break-up of all the old beliefs, the governing classes are too cowardly to carry out their expressed opinions to their logical conclusion; they dare not propose to hang the man of whom they say "that he has done more mischief and has brought more misery upon the people, than if he had been the greatest of criminals." This is mere froth, suited to those who expect to have to grasp by the hand men who now or a short time since, "were marching through murder and rapine to the disruption of the empire."

There was a certain trumpeter, who being taken prisoner in a battle, begged hard for quarter, declaring his innocence, and protesting that he neither had nor could kill any man, bearing no arms but only his trumpet, which he was obliged to sound at the word of command. "For that reason," replied his enemies, "we are determined not to spare you; for though you yourself never fight, yet with that wicked instrument of yours you blow up animosity between other people, and so become the occasion of much bloodshed." The moral of this fable is, that there is a little incendiary called the tongue, which is more venomous than a poisoned arrow, and more killing than a two-edged

sword. If then in any civil commotion the persons taken in arms against the government deserve to die, much more do they whose tongues give birth to the sedition and direct the tumult. People like Bomba were logical, and did their best to keep the trumpeters under lock and key; and in doing this, treated them as badly as those guilty of low treason. Our modern enlightened person halts between two opinions; being unable to make up his mind he acts from his prejudices. His political prisoner is as a rule of the same class as himself, but is in his view a renegade. So he puts him in prison for being a renegade, but wishes to treat him as a first-class prisoner, not to be mixed up with lowly traitors.

Our Home Rule friends—I call them friends, for I count Home Rule as the first step towards Socialism—should have gloried not only in blowing the blast of sedition, but in suffering for it, just like ordinary people taken in arms. It is but little like equality to grumble at having to perform—each one for himself, be it noted—*menial offices*. I can imagine the kindly Irish saying, "I would do anything in the world for one of these; I would work my fingers to the bone." That is right, to serve one who serves all. But it smacks of serfdom, not of equality, to have some told off to *menial services*, and this because of poverty and not from any natural turn. So long as there is this feeling that *menial duties* are fit only to the poor, it means that there is to be a privileged class living on the workers. Our Irish friends have got to read and mark that other little fable about the ass, the wise animal, which said, "I will not stir an inch; what is it to me who my master is, since I shall but carry my panniers as usual?"

C. J. F.

THE AUSTRALIAN MINERS' MANIFESTO.

MANIFESTO of the Amalgamated Miners' Association of the Newcastle District of New South Wales.—To our Fellow-workmen of Australasia and the General Public. Fellow-workmen and Citizens.—The miners of the Hunter River district, Newcastle, New South Wales, deeply regret that they have to appeal to you for your moral and pecuniary aid in a most unequal struggle. For years past the miners have upheld isolated strikes, and submitted patiently when locked out in a similar way. This has been an enormous strain on the resources of the organisation, and an unbearable tax upon its members. It was foreseen that such a state of things must, sooner or later, culminate in a general strike such as has now taken place, unless averted by an agreement between the colliery proprietors and the miners for the settlement of disputes. After the miners of three collieries in the district had been locked out or on strike for some months, an attempt was made to obtain a general agreement of this kind. For this purpose a conference of the representatives of the proprietors and the workmen was agreed to and held on the 21st of July last, at which the miners submitted a draft of the proposed agreement. After considerable discussion, the miners were asked by the chairman of the associated proprietors if they would meet the proprietors again at three o'clock in the afternoon of that day, a proposal to which the miners at once assented, but it would appear that this proposal had been made inadvertently by the chairman, because some of the proprietors dissented from it. After consultation among themselves, the proprietors could only agree to place their agreement in the hands of the miners within a fortnight, and possibly meet them again in conference within a month. From that date no promise was made to meet the miners again to discuss and mutually draw up an agreement on any fixed date. This was pronounced against by the miners' representatives, but the conference was allowed to terminate without any understanding being come to as to when it would reassemble. This unwillingness to fix a date for discussing the proposals of their side for an agreement was regarded by the miners as an attempt to indefinitely defer a settlement of the disputes so long pending and arising out of the grievances which had become intolerable. These grievances are too numerous to admit of recapitulation here; but the chief among them is the attempt on the proprietors to compel the men to work and throw back rubbish from among the coal for nothing; or, in other words, to do additional work without increase of pay. In several of the collieries bands of stone run through the coal seams, which have to be extricated and separated from the coal by the miner. For several years this work was paid for on the lines laid down in a mutual agreement which the masters themselves absurdly terminated, and refused to come to any fresh agreement, leaving the miners to obtain payment for this extra work as best they could. Arbitration has been refused by the masters, a general agreement indefinitely deferred, and repeated endeavours were made to force the workmen to agree to a reduction of from 6d. to 5d. per ton, which means, taking the average production per man per day at two tons, a reduction in the miners' daily earnings of from 1s. to 1s. 6d. per man. In addition to this, miners who have been locked out of the South Waratah mine, and who sought and obtained work elsewhere, have been prevented from getting work, or dismissed, at four different collieries, and boycotted and victimised in the most heartless and unceremonious manner. These reductions and this arbitrary and inhuman treatment have been protested against over and over again. Repeated attempts have been made to obtain redress by negotiations, but all have failed, and the miners have been forced to the conclusion that such proceedings could only be prevented by a strike or by submitting to a lock-out. Those amassing wealth and drawing unprecedented dividends from the results of the miners' labour evidently desire and intend to make further inroads on the earnings of the worker toiling for his daily pittance, and to extort from labour its legitimate reward. We wish it to be clearly understood that in this case we are not the aggressors. We are simply defending one of the highest principles for which workmen can contend—a principle worthy of the unlimited support of ourselves and the general body of the workers, and which is summed up in the words 'the unequal distribution of wealth.' There will be nearly six thousand workmen involved in this struggle, and we appeal to your sense of justice to do all in your power to aid the workers now defending their rights and yours—the inalienable rights of labour. Having taken up a position forced upon us in the general interest of a humane cause, let it be your earnest endeavour to prevent us failing in so noble an undertaking. Failure on our part means the further oppression of labour, while successful negotiation for an agreement will mean the establishment of peace and prosperity in one of the first industries in Australia.—JAMES CURLEY, Miners' General Secretary, Committee Rooms, Tattersall's Hotel, Newcastle, August 29th, 1888.

LETTER FROM AMERICA.

THE President has signed the Chinese Exclusion Bill this morning, because, to use his own words, "the experiment of blending the social habits and mutual race idiosyncracies of the Chinese labouring classes with those of the great body of the people of the United States has been proved by the experience of twenty years, and ever since the Burlingame treaty of 1868, to be in every sense unwise, impolitic, and injurious to both nations." No John Chinaman will hereafter be permitted to land in the United States. California is rejoicing over the passage of the Bill.

From January 1st to October 1st, 1888, 323,014 emigrants arrived in New York City, against 300,703 from January 1st to October 1st 1887, or an increase for the first nine months of the year of 22,311 emigrants.

The Switchmen's Association met in convention on the 26th September in St. Louis, Mo. After the routine work, choosing of officers, had been transacted, a plan was proposed and unanimously adopted for the federation of the brotherhoods of the locomotive engineers, the firemen, the switchmen, and the breakmen. It was also agreed to take Knights of Labour in, but as railway employes only, and the order of railway telegraphers will be admitted on the same terms. It seems, therefore, that Powderly's big scheme has succeeded, and there is now an opening for him to materialise new boodle.

J. A. Bauereisen, one of the striking engineers of the "Q" system, and one of the indicted in the alleged dynamite conspiracy, has sent out a circular, of which the most important points are: A great many may think the strike on the "Q" is getting to be an old story, but such is not the case. The strike is just as good as it ever was, and the men are just as determined and solid, and the company is losing money as fast, if not faster, than when the strike began. Wrecks are numerous. Only a few days ago they had a great one on the Kansas City branch, and on the 6th September they had one on the east end so bad that a track was built around it, and all the trains were delayed five hours, but not a word was published in the Chicago daily papers. . . . We must not think of ever giving up the fight, for it is not far before winter will be upon us, and then they will have to come to it or have their road sink into the hands of a receiver, and he will have to settle with the strikers if he wishes to run the road; for as it is now the best of weather and the scabs having wrecks and break-downs, how will it be in the winter and in foggy weather, which is soon to come? . . . We hope that all brothers will see the necessity of being prompt in their assessments, for strikers cannot live without money. . . . The circular says, further, the order of railway conductors should be taken into the federation of railway employes "if it will kick out its scabs and their sympathisers," and proposes that a committee from each organisation form a "grand administrative board," with power to act and control all the systems.

The case of our comrade Oscar Falleur has not been settled yet. He ought to have been sent back last Saturday, but as Secretary of the Treasury Fairchild has not decided the case as yet a further continuance has been granted to Falleur. Organised Labour is doing very little for him.

Capt. W. P. Black and lawyer Salomon are trying to get Schwab and Fielden liberated. They are diligently studying the record of the trial, and maintain that it contains a good many irregularities. These lawyer tricks will do no good.

The Socialist Labour Party of New York have now resolved to go red-hot into politics. A meeting of the combined sections of New York and Morrisiana was held last Sunday. The first business transacted was the consideration of a motion of the German Federation of Trades, "That all members turn out in a parade on November 10th to commemorate the hanging of our Chicago martyrs." A long debate followed, and it was finally resolved to hold a mass meeting in place of the parade. The City Committee reported that a number of persons had been appointed to look after politics in the various districts, and recommended that a ticket be nominated. The Committee further recommended that no ballots be peddled at the polls, but that they be carried from house to house. The report was adopted. A motion that an electoral, State, city, and county ticket, be put in the field, was adopted. The City Committee was given power to make the necessary nominations. A Committee was also appointed to collect monies to defray expenses.

The Sugar Trust and the National Grocers' Association (the Wholesale Grocers) have combined. The grocers are now dictating prices to the public and to independent manufacturers.

The Bay State Sugar Refinery in Boston, acting under orders from the Sugar Trust headquarters in New York, closed down last Saturday night for good, thus throwing out of employment 300 men. This action was a complete surprise to the men employed. Employment for the class of men used to sugar refining is very hard to find at this time of the year. The Trust has been gradually closing down refineries for a few months past, the object being to curtail the production and stiffen up the prices of sugar. So 300 families are made absolutely helpless and penniless simply because a gang of legalised thieves so will it. But, of course, we revolutionists are unable to comprehend the beauties of this best of all possible worlds; we lack the necessary intelligence which distinguishes our capitalistic friends.

Most of the Indian tribes have obtained land grants in years gone by, which are reserved for their use. They hold this land in common. This has always been a point of annoyance to our Washington authorities. They wanted the land, and they also did not like to tolerate "Communism" in their own country; so they resolved to cheat the Indian again. A Commission was appointed to go to the Sioux-Indians to induce them to sell their land. But the Indians, unlike labour organisations, have learned from the past. They told the Commissioners, who, if they resemble their pictures in the illustrated papers, are about the meanest and most thievish-looking persons in the world, that the white men have cheated them and lied to them so many times that they did not desire to have any more dealings with the "big father" in Washington. Corruption was tried next, and although a few chiefs listened more to the arguments of firewater and dollars than to the voice of their own conviction, no definite arrangement could be brought about. The purpose of the Government is either to buy the Indians out, knowing the money would be spent pretty soon, or to parcel out the land now held by the red men in common, assuming that a good many individual Indians would be willing to sell their "property." The Commission has returned to Washington, having effected, fortunately, nothing as yet.

Newark, N.J., October 3, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

THE ALMIGHTY DOLLAR.—Money has become the executioner of all things. Finance is the alembic in which a frightful quantity of goods and provisions are made to evaporate into useless luxury. Money, in the hands of a few, declares war against all the rest of mankind.—Boisguillebert.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

A floor-cloth ring has been formed at Kirkaldy.

The granite polishers of Aberdeen and district have agreed to form a trades' union.

TAILORS' STRIKE.—The strike of the tailors in the employment of Dunfermline Co-operative Store, which has lasted three weeks, is now ended, the principle for which the workers contended having been conceded.

RIVETTERS' STRIKE.—The rivetters of Caird and Co., Greenock, struck work on the 12th, on the ground that detention money fixed by firm is too high. They also ask a slight advance on the hundred rivets for ballast tanks of the P. and O. steamers.

KIRKALDY BOILERMAKERS.—The Kirkaldy boilermakers connected with the association have again resumed work, the masters having yielded the additional halfpenny per hour which was demanded. The non-society men are to come out on strike unless they receive the same advance as the society men.

RAILWAY SERVANTS' CONGRESS.—The railwaymen in their congress have been showing in many ways their way-back position. Their attitude on strikes, co-operation, and other points discussed was much behind that of most trades. One joke which turned up through this was that some of the members wanted to censure the General Secretary because he had gone on a deputation with Peters and Kelly, "who were Socialists"!

PREPARING FOR A TWELVE HOURS BILL.—The Government is going to introduce a Twelve Hours Bill for railway servants. The Board of Trade has demanded a return of men who, in two months last year and two months in the present year, have been kept at work for more than twelve hours. This, however, seems a long way off the eight hours which are now being so largely demanded by even trades' unions as the normal working day.

CLEVELAND MINERS' AND BLAST-FURNACEMEN'S WAGES.—The accountant's certificate for the quarter ending 30th September, relating to the wages of the Cleveland miners and blast-furnacemen has been issued at Middlesbrough. It shows that the price of No. 3 Cleveland pig-iron was 32s. 3.73d. per ton. This gives the blast-furnacemen an advance of $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., and the miners 1.50d. per ton. It is expected that the next quarter's certificate will give a more definite advance.

BAD FOR BAKERS.—It is said that Mr. George Stewart, F.C.S., chemist to J. and B. Stevenson, bakers, of Glasgow and London, has been successful in discovering a method of baking by electricity. The bread is said to be quite as well baked as by the present methods, and more quickly; and there will be a large saving in wages. But, if our present social system is to continue, where will the bakers be thrown out of employment by these "improvements" and money to buy the bread?

NAILMAKERS.—The masters in Rowley, Old Hill, and Hales Owen districts paid the advance in accordance with Birmingham agreement on Saturday, 13th. The executive committee of Nailmakers' Association have arranged for a fund to protect list prices. At present each man will pay twopence per fortnight, and each woman one penny. The funds will be used to support operatives who may strike in consequence of deviations from list. The committee have decided to take prompt measures in case any employer refuses to adhere to list arranged at Birmingham conference.

SHALE MINERS.—The following was unanimously resolved at a representative meeting of Mid and West Lothian Miners' Union, held at Broxburn on 11th: "That, looking at the various disputes that are continually arising in all trades throughout the country, and the success which attends the cause of labour when it is thoroughly organised, we would strongly advise the shale miners to use their best efforts to perfect their union." The dispute at West Calder in connection with the tare and "crowing" of the hutches has been settled by the manager conceding the demands of the men.

IRONSTONE MINERS' WAGES.—At Guisborough, the claim of the owners of the Slapworth Mines for a reduction of 1d. per ton in the rate paid for winning ironstone has been before Mr. J. C. P'Anson, who has given his decision that the increased output and the corresponding increase in the earnings of the men are attributable to the experience which the men have gained in the use of the machines at work in the mine, rather than to the improvements which have been made in the appliances since the signing of the sliding scale. He therefore decides that the masters are not entitled to the reduction claimed by them.

THE IMPENDING GREAT COAL STRIKE.—Since the "scare" about the great coal strike began, all back-bone has lost its power in the "bulls" of Glasgow Stock Exchange. Fear has affected the spine of the "bulls." This was specially noted on Friday, the 12th inst., in connection with the market for Scotch railways. Selling orders came from London of both Caledonian and North British stock accompanied by the "alarmist" intimation that a strike had taken place in the iron trade in Lanarkshire. Now the extent of the "alarm," the "wisdom" and the "honesty" of the "bulls" and "bears" may be gathered from the fact that notwithstanding they had the "truth" of these reports within their own doors, "great damage was done" in the interval of the hearing of the workmen of Lanark being on strike and the regaining of the "bulls'" senses. The coal-owners' organ of opinion, in referring to the "alarm" on the Glasgow Exchange on Friday, says: "Possibly capital will be made out of the wages movement in the coal trade, but we are assured by those best able to form an opinion that there is no likelihood of a strike in Scotland." The Scotch coal-masters base their confidence on the fact that "the Fife men are not prepared to strike." They, like the "bulls," have apparently lost all back-bone, and while other districts throughout Scotland were regulating supplies in order to fight this battle, the Fife men have given so large stocks that the masters are prepared for a strike; in fact, for the masters in Fife "there is meat on that bone." The result of the action taken by the men of Fife and Lanarkshire respectively is that while the Fife masters will not recognise the improvement in trade as warranting an addition to the wages of the men, the Lanarkshire masters recognise that the improvement "has taken place," and they are prepared to give the men a rise. The masters are readily getting an advance of 1s. 3d. per ton on late prices, and they expect to satisfy the men and avoid a strike by ignoring all former advances in prices, and offering a rise in wages regulated by a sliding scale, which has been characterised by the men at their last meeting at Hamilton as "nefarious." The English miners need not fear that their comrades in Lanarkshire will embarrass their struggles as the Fife men did in the late Lanark strike.—G. McL.

NUT AND BOLT MAKERS.—On Friday, 12th, a meeting of nut and bolt makers was held at Darlaston to consider advisability of asking for return of 5 per cent. taken of list of prices of 1885. Mr. Juggins, who presided, said there was already a disposition on the part of some employers to fulfil promise made in 1885, when wages were reduced—viz., to give back same when trade sufficiently improved. Trade was considerably better, and the promise should be fulfilled. Operatives in other trades had already obtained an increase, and it was very desirable that nut and bolt makers should make a similar application. A resolution was passed expressing opinion that the employers should return the 5 per cent. Mr. Juggins was instructed to formally demand that advance.

ENGINEERS' STRIKE.—A strike among employes of various engineering works in the Potteries began Monday 15th, about a thousand men being affected. As announced at the time, members of the Engineers' Society gave employers notice a fortnight ago for an advance equal to 2s. per week, on the ground that recent improvements in trade entitle them to return of a reduction to which they submitted some two years since. The masters, however, stated that state of trade in district did not justify demand, and refused to grant concession asked for; at same time, they asked that notices might be withheld for a month, to enable them to enquire as to correctness or otherwise of men's statements that the advance was being conceded in other centres. The men refused further delay, and gave formal notices for termination of contracts. These notices expired on Saturday, and Monday the men did not resume work. On Tuesday the bosses caved in and all was over. It is said that at one works where wages were not interfered with at time of general reduction, two years ago, no advance was asked for.

THE COAL CRISIS.—The miners of Lancashire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, Warwickshire, Cheshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, and Scotland have pledged themselves to the resolution of the Manchester Conference to get 10 per cent. or strike. Ten per cent. on their wages is a very small part of the increased value of their labour. Thousands of notices have already been handed in, and should the masters persist in resisting the demand, it is expected that over two hundred thousand men will leave off work. The struggle promises to be the biggest ever known in the coal trade. The officials of the Yorkshire Miners' Association report that the strike movement has been determinedly entered upon by the men throughout the whole of Yorkshire. A largely attended meeting of Welsh miners was held at Chein Mawr, Ruabon, on the 11th inst., when it was resolved to unite with the Lancashire miners in giving notices for the advance. The commercial editor of the *Glasgow Herald* says: "The threatened great coal strike in Yorkshire is creating considerable interest in the coal circles here, for in the present position of the trade it is felt that so large a withdrawal of fuel from the market as is meant by the suspension of the labour of 180,000 men cannot fail to have important consequences. Mr. Pickard calculates on the active support of 60,000 men on this side the border. It is not at all improbable that a little patience will ensure for the Scotch miners a moderate advance in wages." We are responsible for the italics in the last sentence, because it deserves to be read, marked, and inwardly digested by the miners. Translated into plain language, it means that if the miners of Scotland help the masters to crush the miners of England, they themselves may get some small share of the spoil, but need not expect a share in proportion to the increased value of their output. Scotch miners are not likely to join the enemy and go against their class. They fully realise what such a policy means. The action of the Fife miners and their secretary during the late struggle in Scotland was that of the "patience" recommended in the above, and it did not improve their lot. It on the other hand disorganised the miners throughout Scotland and strengthened the position of the masters. As the *Labour Tribune* well says: "If a strike is to take place, the best way to make it successful is to be thoroughly determined on the matter. Wavering means certain defeat and failure. So far, the men manifest a greater determination than on any previous occasion."

AMERICA.—October 3.

The Illinois Central railroad switchmen in Chicago have struck for higher wages.

For the last ten days negotiations have been in progress between two committees from the North Chicago Railway Employes Association and Mr. Yerkes, the owner of all Chicago street car lines. These negotiations have resulted in nothing, and a strike is expected.

There were 150 failures in the United States reported during the past week, against 166, 205, 140, and 201 in the corresponding weeks of 1887, 1886, 1885, and 1884 respectively.

A Philadelphia street-car employes organisation has brought suit against the superintendents of several lines for violation of an Act of the Legislature making the working of street-car employes longer than twelve hours daily a misdemeanor.

The National Department of Labour is at present engaged in investigating the wages and condition of persons employed on railroads throughout the country.

LIST OF SEPTEMBER STRIKES.

Previously reported	3,644
New York City—Building hands, unionism, September 19; succeeded Sept. 20	—
Brooklyn, N. Y.—Painters, for recognition of union, Sept. 19	—
New York City—Silk weavers, against reduction, Sept. 19	30
New York City—Furniture workers, against reduction, Sept. 19	—
New York City—Carpenters, against reduction, Sept. 19	—
New York City—Ornamental iron-workers, unionism, Sept. 21	—
New York City—Confectioners, Sept. 15	—
Long Branch, N. J.—Tailors, against reduction, Sept. 21	—
New York City—Piano makers, against reduction, Sept. 20	—
Edwardsville, Pa.—Coal miners, for advance, Sept. 21	500
Brooklyn, N. Y.—Coal-cart drivers, unionism, Sept. 23	—
Hartford, Conn.—Repair shop hands, against overtime, Sept. 22	200
New York City—Bakers, against discharge of one man, Sept. 22	—
New York City—Painters, non-payment of wages, Sept. 24	—
New York City—Clothing cutters, for recognition of union, Sept. 24	—
Indianapolis, Ind.—Natural gas-fitters, for advance, Sept. 18	—
Chicago, Ill.—Railroad hands, for advance, Sept. 19	—
St. Louis, Mo.—Railroad hands, refusal to handle Burlington engines, September 17	—
New York City—Piano makers, for non-payment of wages, Sept. 27	—
Brooklyn, N. Y.—Coachmen, for recognition of union, Sept. 27	—

Total number of strikers for September

4,374

H. F. C.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 27, 1888.

21	Sun.	1841. Distress in manufacturing districts.
22	Mon.	1685. Edict of Nantes revoked. 1817. Trial of Isaac Ludlam for high treason.
23	Tues.	1797. Trial of James Dunn for "conspiring to murder." 1817. Trial of Geo. Weightman for high treason. 1848. Meagher and McManus sentenced. 1851. Kossuth arrives in England. 1881. Socialists and Irish protest in Hyde Park against imprisonment of Parnell, Dillon, etc.
24	Wed.	1669. W. Prynne died. 1793. Meeting of the London Corresponding Society at Breillat's, Hackney Road. 1849. Declaration at Montreal in favour of union with United States.
25	Thur.	1797. Trial of Patrick Carty for "conspiring to murder." 1845. Monster Repeal Demonstration at Cashel. 1878. Attempt upon the King of Spain.
26	Fri.	1795. Meeting of London Corresponding Society in Copenhagen Fields. 1831. "Riots" at Frankfurt." 1848. G. B. Mullins transported.
27	Sat.	1553. Servetus burnt by Calvin. 1843. Trial of "Rebecca" rioters at Cardiff.

Distress in Manufacturing Districts.—This year the people were in a fearful condition. At a meeting held in Leeds on October 23 it was shown that in 4,752 families there, containing 19,936 persons, there were 16,156 unemployed. The average weekly income of each was 11½d., or something less than 1½d. a-day.—S.

SCOTCH NOTES.

THE SCOTTISH POOR HOUSE.—"Every one connected with the administration becomes hardened, from the chairman of the board down to the keeper of the hopeless gate in the joyless wall. The very chaplain and lady visitors get unnatural. Within ten minutes of seeing an aged servant of Christ struggling for nourishment out of a bowl of 'fusionless' soup, a gentlewoman will laugh and grow fat over a six-course dinner. But then she left a tract to the weary and glazing eyes! Yes, there's a chaplain to tell of heaven. No need to say much about hell; his audience could beat him at that! But who is this approaches us, a man of thin lips and majestic mien, with a tome of political economy in one hand and some clippings from the Scotsman curling among the delicate fingers of the other? Be off, you dismal croaker! your head's a mile in front of your heart."—*Christian Leader.* To me the *Christian Leader* credits the *Scotsman's* editor with that which the naked eye cannot detect amongst his assets. His head, therefore, is in front of some other trait of character which is obvious.

A MODEL LIBERAL POLITICAL PAPER PLEASED!—The *North British Daily Mail* says, in consequence of some American firms "offering to build machinery cheaper than we can do": "It is pleasing to learn that a number of the Glasgow establishments are introducing time-saving and improved labour-saving (wages-saving) plant into their shops." The *Mail* professes to be run in the workers' interest. The large circulation of the weekly edition among the workers keeps up the daily edition, and yet the *Mail* is pleased to learn of its supporters being put out by improved labour-saving machinery. Of course, that confession did not appear in a column which the workers who produce are in the habit of reading; it was in the business column of the daily edition, meant for the traffickers in the products of human labour-sweaters. The *Mail* has been in great tribulation for some time past in case working men should do anything that would injure the unity or prospects of the Liberal party, and yet its proprietor—Dr. Chas. Cameron, M.P.—is a shareholder in the notorious firm of Bryant and May, famed for the light they gave into the making of dividends.

A GLASGOW EXHIBITION.—When the Queen visited the Glasgow Exhibition she was not shown anything that explained the advancement of Glasgow more than the following as described by a writer in the *Evening Times*: "From the top of a car at Charing Cross I saw a sad sight yesterday. A waif, a young man, evidently in the lowest stage of destitution, sauntered along with his eyes on the ground and his hands in his pockets. Suddenly he dived into the gutter, picked up something, thrust it into his mouth, and fairly "wolfed" it. It was a small raw potato. Spying another at a shop door, he rushed at it and devoured it with the same voracity. Hitherto he had not shown the slightest hesitation. Turning into Newton Street, he saw some garbage on the ground. This he seemed to eye suspiciously, and he gave it a kick with his miserable shoe. But there was no help for it; hunger conquered his scruples, and the abomination was greedily chewed and swallowed. This happened in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and in the second city of the empire. The occupants of the car-roof looked on with horror." Glasgow is surely second in its poverty and despair. "Oh it was pitiful in a whole cityful," and yet from "scenes like these great Glasgow's grandeur springs."

"LET GLASGOW FLOURISH BY THE PREACHING OF THE WORD."—The evening edition of the *Glasgow Herald*, the capitalist's organ, says:—"The other day an old, poorly-dressed, but tidy woman called at a police-office in the city, and, unfolding on the counter a bundle of shirts she was carrying, humbly asked if the police could do anything to assist her in demanding more than 7d. a dozen for the finishing of the shirts. The bundle contained a dozen and a-half; and to finish them was the work of nearly two days, for which she got paid 10d. (who got the other 3d.). With tears in her eyes the poor creature said she was willing to work, but that she could not make sufficient money to keep her from the poor-house by shirt-finishing. Poor body! the law has no protection for such as you!" Out of their own mouths the capitalists stand condemned. When we remember the treatment of the victims of the Scottish poor-houses, the dread of the poor woman will be understood. Verily the poor-house is the Scotch hell—"the hangman's whip that keeps the wretch in order." The Queen is the outward symbol of the law which keeps wretched women in such order as the above, and yet the Glasgow magistrates would be highly scandalised and indignant if these wretches, when given an extra feed of peas and soda, were to demur at the toast of "the Queen." G. McL.

THE VALE OF TEARS.

(By HEINRICH HEINE. Translated by SIR THEODORE MARTIN.)

The night-wind through the dormer howls
And two poor creatures lay
In a garret upon a trundle-bed,
And wasted and wan were they.

And one unto the other says:
"Oh, gather me into your arm,
And press your lips, dear, close to mine;
I want you to make me warm."

And this is what the other says:
"When I look into your eyes,
Hunger and cold, and want are forgot,
All my earthly trouble flies."

Much did they kiss, they wept still more,
Clasped hand to hand, and sighed.
They laughed very often, and even sang,
Then their talk into silence died.

Next morning the police inspector came,
And there by that woful bed
He with the parish doctor stood,
Who certified both were dead.

"The cruel weather," said his report,
"Combined with inanition,
Has caused the collapse of both—at least,
Has hastened that condition."

When frost set in," he went on to say,
"Tis vital the body should
Be protected by woollen blankets—likewise
Be nourished by wholesome food."

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

A meeting of the metropolitan speakers of the League will be held at 13, Farringdon Road, on Tuesday, Oct. 30, at 8 o'clock, to discuss new leaflet and other propaganda.

London Members' Meeting.—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, Nov. 5, 1888, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

REPORTS.

LONDON (OPEN-AIR)—*Regent's Park*.—Large meeting here Sunday morning, addressed by Cantwell, Nicoll, and Mrs. Taylor; 40 *Commonweal* sold; collection, 1s. 9d. *Hyde Park*.—Cantwell, Morris, and two other comrades addressed meeting here. "Marseillaise," "March of Workers," and "No Master" were sung by the Hammersmith Choir. Some opposition by a protectionist, 9s. worth of literature sold. At end of meeting a procession was formed and marched along Oxford Street under the red flag to *Clerkenwell Green*, our comrades singing lustily the choruses of revolutionary songs. A good meeting was afterwards held on the Green. *Whitechapel*.—A capital meeting was held at Philip Street, last Friday, by Parker. *Victoria Park*.—Good meeting on Sunday, addressed by Mrs. Schaak, Davis, and Hicks. Fair sale of *Commonweal*.

CLERKENWELL.—On Sunday, Oct. 14, White (S.D.F.) and Blundell (S.L.) debated as to whether "Palliatives are Reactionary." Blundell opened, and pointed out that all palliatives, or mere reforms, were simply a patching up of a huge social sore, which would break forth again in an aggravated form, and that the only way out was to steer clear of all political dodgery, and demand the entire abolition of the monopoly of land, tools, machinery, etc., etc.; the workers to manage their own affairs, and live happily; the idlers to starve and die. White advocated the erection of improved artisans' dwellings, one free meal a day to children, free education, and so on; not necessarily to ask Parliament to do these things, but the workers to act for themselves. Very interesting discussion followed, and many things were said which may do good propaganda.—B.

FULHAM.—Tuesday evening, back of Waltham Green Church, fair meeting was addressed by Bullock, Beasley, and Groser. Sunday morning, Morris spoke to excellent meeting, and in evening Graham Wallas lectured inside our rooms on "Some facts in the History of Wages." Several questions and good discussion.—S. B. G.

HAMMERSMITH.—At Latimer Road, on Sunday morning, good meeting; 24 *Weals* sold. Dean, Maughan, and Davies spoke, very ably aided by Lyne, of S.D.F. Several members of Hammersmith Choir also helped. In evening, at Kelmescott House, E. J. Craig lectured on "Ireland and Evictions."

ABERDEEN.—No outdoor meeting, owing to Leatham being obliged to work till 11 and 12 at night and on Sunday. At indoor meeting, Monday, 8th, Carpenter's tract, "Desirable Mansions," read; discussed by Barron, McIntyre, Aiken, and Leatham. Vigorous propaganda to be carried on during winter, "run dog," etc.

GLASGOW.—On Sunday, at 3, Glasier and Tim Burgoyne addressed good meeting in Jail Square. At 5, at Paisley Road Toll, Joe Burgoyne and Glasier spoke to large, attentive audience. At close a number of questions put, replies given meeting with obvious approval of great majority present.

NORWICH.—Unable to hold usual meeting on St. Catharine's Plain owing to wet. Sunday afternoon, large meeting held in Market Place addressed by Mowbray and Cores; audience very attentive. In evening, short open-air meeting held; at Gordon Hall Mowbray lectured on "Two Great Curses of Civilisation—Christianity and Capitalism." Chair taken by Adams; meeting opened with "No Master." A friend in the audience defended the gospel, but mainly dwelt upon humanitarianism, receiving very fair attention from audience, and was replied to by Mowbray.—A. T. S.

CHESTERFIELD DISCUSSION SOCIETY.—Sunday evening last, first lecture of a series was given in St. Thomas's Room, Knifesmith Gate, by Edward Carpenter, subject being "The Future of Modern Commerce." Good attendance, many unable to find seats. These Sunday evening lectures have been organised by the Socialists and some others in the district, for the purpose of educating the people on social subjects and raising discussion on them.—K. U.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—This Branch will shortly be actively working. Socialists resident in this locality should send their names in at once to 13, Farringdon Road. Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday, October 21, at 8 p.m., J. Turner on "Palliatives a Waste of Energy." Fulham.—Our rooms, 8 Effie Road, Walham Green, will in future be opened on Thursday evenings at 7 o'clock to all persons interested in social matters. Hackney.—Secretary, E. Lefevre, 28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Road, Hackney Wick. Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Oct. 21, at 8 p.m., Graham Wallas, "The Revolution of 1848." Hoxton.—Persons wishing to join this branch are requested to communicate with H. D. Morgan, 22, Nicholas Street Hoxton. London Fields.—All communications, etc., to Mrs. G. G. Schack, 26 Cawley Road, South Hackney. Merton.—Club-house, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road, Singlegate. Lecture on Sunday evenings at 8.30. Mile-end and Bethnal Green.—95 Boston St., Hackney Road. North London.—Secretary, Nelly Parker. Business meetings held on Friday evenings at 6 Windmill St., Tottenham Court Road, after open-air meeting at Ossulton Street. Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.—40 Berner Street. Meets Fridays at 8.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen (Scottish Section).—Douglas M'Intyre, Sec., 17 Queen Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8. Bradford.—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivegate. Meets Tuesdays at 8. Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Tuesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secy. Dundee (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station. Edinburgh (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m. Galashiels (Scot Sect.).—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, secy. Galloway and Dysart (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Galloway Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St. Glasgow.—54 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class meets every Sunday at 11. Ipswich.—Pioneer Hall, Jacket Street. Meets on Sunday evenings. Kilmarnock.—Secretary, H. M'Gill, 22 Gilmour St. Leeds.—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Rd. and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m. communications to T. Paylor, 11 Sheldon Street, Holbeck, Leeds. Leicester.—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m. Norwich.—Sunday, Lecture in Gordon Hall at 8.15. Monday, at 8. Concert on behalf of Branch funds in Gordon Hall; admission free. Tuesday, at 8.30. Members' Meeting. Wednesday, at 8. Educational Class. Thursday, at 8. Meeting in Gordon Hall. Saturday, 8 until 10.30. Co-operative Clothing Association. Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m. Walsall.—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m. West Calder (Scottish Section).—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SUNDAY 21.

11.30...Latimer Road Station ...Hammersmith Branch
11.30...Mitcham Fair Green ...The Branch
11.30...Regent's Park ...Morris
11.30...Walham Green, opp. Station ...Mainwaring
11.30...Weltje Rd., Ravenscourt Pk ...Hammersmith
2.30...Hyde Park ...Nicol
7.30...Broad Street, Soho ...Brooks
7.30...Clerkenwell Green ...Nicol
7.30...Mitcham Fair Green ...The Branch

Monday.

8 ...Wimbledon Broadway...The Branch

Tuesday.

8.30...Fulham—back of Walham Green Ch. ...Branch

Friday.

7.30...Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street...Brooks

EAST END.

SUNDAY 21.

Mile-end Waste ... 11 ...Whitechapel Bb.
Leman Street, Shadwell ... 11 ...Mrs. Schack.
Victoria Park ... 3.15...Schack, M'waring
Broadway, London Fields ... 8.30...Hicks.

Mile-end Waste ... 8.30...Nicol & Davis.

TUESDAY.

Broadway, London Fields 8.30...Davis & Hicks.

WEDNESDAY.

Philpot St., Commercial Rd. 8.30...Hicks.

FRIDAY.

Mile-end Waste ... 8 ...Hicks.

SATURDAY.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen.—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7 p.m.
Glasgow.—Sunday: Jail's Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock.
Ipswich.—Sproughton, Wednesday evening.
Westerfield, Thursday evening.
Needham Market, Sunday morning and evening.
Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.
Leicester.—Sunday: Russel Square, at 11 a.m.
Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place, at 3 and 7.30.
Yarmouth, Sunday at 3.
St Catharine's Plain, Friday at 8.15 p.m.

HARROW LIBERAL CLUB.—Rev. S. D. Headlam (E.L.R.L.), "The Land for the People." Monday Oct. 22, 8.15 p.m.

JUNIOR SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY.—On Tuesday October 23, at 31 Upper Bedford Place, Russell Square, a lecture at 8 p.m. sharp.

ST. NICHOLAS COLE ABBEY, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.—Rev. H. C. Shuttleworth, "The Place of Amusement in Earnest Life." Sun. Oct. 21, at 3.45.

ST. CLEMENT'S, Lever Street, City Road.—Special Sermon, C. E. Escreet (G.S.M.), "The Six Points of the Bishops' Social Charter." Sunday Oct. 21, 5 p.m.

KENNINGTON LIBERAL AND RADICAL CLUB, 143 Upper Kennington Lane.—Mr. F. Verinder (G.S.M.), "A Churchman's Plea for Free Schools." Sunday Oct. 21.

EAST-END PROPAGANDA.—Next Saturday, usual debate will be held at Berner Street Club, subject being "How far has Capitalistic Co-operation benefited the Working Classes?" Davis will open.

MILE-END AND BETHNAL GREEN BRANCH.—A meeting of members and friends will take place Sunday, October 23rd, at 25 Cawley Road, Victoria Park, at 8 p.m., after meeting in Park, to consider best means of forming a Socialist Club in district in connection with this branch. Comrades please attend.—H. M.

INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S EDUCATIONAL CLUB, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road.—Grand Concert and Ball, Sunday next, October 21, at 8 p.m. (sharp). Proceeds will be devoted to Chicago Commemoration Fund. A first-class company will be present. Admission 3d. This is the second of a series of four concerts to be given by the East-end Propaganda Committee.

FABIAN SOCIETY.—The Fabian Society is giving a course of lectures on "Socialism: its Basis and Prospects." The first part of the course is devoted to "The Basis of Socialism." Of this, two have already been given—Sept. 21, (1) "The Historical Aspect," Sidney Webb; Oct. 5, (2) "The Economic Aspect," G. Bernard Shaw. Those that are to follow are: Oct. 19, (3) "The Moral Aspect," Sydney Olivier; Nov. 2, (4) "The Industrial Aspect," William Clarke. The second part of the course will deal with "The Organisation of Society": Nov. 16, (1) "Property under Socialism," Graham Wallas; Dec. 7, (2) "Industry under Socialism," Annie Besant; Dec. 21, (3) "The Outlook," Hubert Bland.—The meetings will be held at Willis's Rooms, King Street, St. James's Square, S.W. The chair will be taken by the Rev. Stewart D. Headlam, B.A., at 8 p.m. precisely. Tickets for the course may be obtained from the Hon. Sec., Sydney Olivier, 180 Portsdown Rd. W.

SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.

- Chants for Socialists. By William Morris. 1d.
Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism. By Thomas Manning (London Society of Compositors). 1d.
The Commune of Paris. By E. Belfort Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. 2d.
The Aims of Art. By Wm. Morris. Bijuon edition, 3d.; Large paper, 6d.
The Rights of Labour according to John Ruskin. By Thomas Barclay. 1d.
The Tables Turned; or, Nupkins Awakened. A Socialist Interlude. By William Morris. In Wrapper 4d.
The Manifesto of the Socialist League. Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and William Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. 1d.
Useful Work v. Useless Toil. By William Morris. 1d.

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—:—

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THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 4.—No. 146.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

CHICAGO MARTYRS & BLOODY SUNDAY.

"Our silence will be more powerful than our speech."

Mrs. PARSONS has accepted the invitation of the Commemoration Committee to speak at the various meetings to be held in London and the provinces next November.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 10,

A Meat Tea will be provided at St. Paul's Café, St. Paul's Churchyard, E.C., at 7 p.m. Tickets 1s. 6d. each. Tickets will be issued at 6d. each for those who cannot attend tea, in order to hear an address to Mrs. Parsons and her reply.

CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM, M.P., in the Chair.

Songs will be sung during the evening.

Arrangements have already been made to hold meetings on

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 11, at 11.30 a.m., in
REGENT'S PARK.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 11, at 3.30 p.m., in
HYDE PARK.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 12, at 7.30 p.m., in
STORE STREET HALL.

The Chair will be taken by WILLIAM MORRIS.

Speakers:—P. Kropotkin, F. Kitz, J. Blackwell, Trunk, Dr. Merlino, Cunninghame Graham, and others, whose names will be announced next week. The whole of the Trafalgar Square prisoners released will be present at this meeting. Mrs. PARSONS will speak at Wornum Hall and Hyde Park, and probably Victoria Park.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 18, at 3 p.m., in
VICTORIA PARK.

The following Resolutions will be moved at the meetings:—

FIRST RESOLUTION.

"That this meeting commemorates the legal murder of five men which took place on November 11th, 1887 (Parsons, Spies, Fischer, Engels, and Lingg), and the cruel imprisonment of three others (Fielden, Schwab, and Neebe) by the Government of the State of Illinois for the crime of supporting workmen in a labour struggle against their masters, and the further crime of maintaining the rights of free speech, and emphatically denounces the interference with these rights in all capitalist countries; an interference which is the natural result of a so-called Society founded on the robbery of labour."

SECOND RESOLUTION.

"That this meeting also denounces the attack on Free Speech made in London on November 13th, 1887, during which three men were killed and many sent to prison after a mere mockery of trial, and it calls for the immediate release of Harrison, condemned to five years penal servitude for being present at a political meeting which was ferociously attacked by the police."

Meantime, funds are urgently needed, and should be sent to Joseph Lane, Treasurer, at the office of the Socialist League, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C. Any information can be had by communicating with Secretary of the Commemoration Committee.

W. B. PARKER, Secretary.

NOTES ON NEWS.

So we are on the verge of the sea of quibble and evasion and smothering of truth, which is called a political *cause célèbre*. Fine times for the daily press indeed, certain copy, increased sale, and other soothing advantages for "able editors"! Fine times also for the lawyers engaged on both sides! Though that is not much, for the sun does generally shine pretty bright on their side of the hedge, however cold the weather is for others. But as to supposing that anything else will come out of it, that is all nonsense. Arrangements will be made for the *Times* to fall soft; opportunities will be given to respectable Home Rule politicians to declare their unalterable fidelity to the rights of property and law-'n'-order, and we shall then pass to the order of the day.

Mr. Cunninghame Graham's letter to the *Pall Mall*, which had been in ecstasies at the prospect of something decisive coming out of this Great Evasion, was sensible and to the point. It is absolutely true, as he says, "that the majority of the Liberal electors care not one farthing whether Mr. Parnell wrote or instigated the letters." They are now Home Rulers, just as their opponents are Coercionists, whatever Parnell has done or has not done. And really when the *Pall Mall* is driven to say "that the cause of Home Rule will be decided by the judge's decision" in this Great Evasion Case, it surely wants pulling up.

The fact is that Parliament and the Platform having been talked out on the very simple question of Home Rule for Ireland, the quarrel has to be carried on constitutionally by some other means, and the time "put in" till the blessings of a General Election fall upon us. What better means for procrastination could be found than that sire and dam of procrastination, the Law Courts?

General Gordon's statue has been unveiled with very decidedly "maimed rites," and there stands the Christian hero in all the dignity of modern realistic sculpture. Would not this be an opportunity for the revival of the plan for Hudson's Statue, which long ago succumbed to Carlyle's ponderous hammer-strokes of scorn? He might be taken, I mean, as the type of successful commerce; might be represented standing behind the soldier of Christian Commerce and pushing him on to—I was going to say victory; but that I admit is inappropriate—let us say pushing him on to thrusting his head into the hornet's nest for the advantage of "progress" in Africa.

The claims of General Gordon, apart from his private character, to the worship of the centre of the empire of commerce are these: He served as a soldier of fortune in China, where he helped to put down what could scarcely be otherwise than a righteous rebellion against Chinese bureaucracy. He then "got religion," and became that most dangerous tool of capitalistic oppression, the "God-fearing soldier"; in that capacity he allowed himself to be used to drive the wedge of profit-mongering into barbarous Africa, and was quite prepared to do all that a man must do in such a service if he is to earn the name of a good servant. As, for instance, his orders for the cutting down of the fruit-trees of the people whom he had come amongst as a benefactor. He might have remembered that the "barbarous" Arab Calif Omar (who surely was as clear of his message from God as any modern "Christian soldier" could be), in his instructions to his warriors, expressly forbade them the wanton damaging of the fertility of the earth and the cutting down of fruit-trees on any pretence.

The *Pall Mall* says that "Gordon's whole soul would have risen in revolt" against Sir C. Warren's proceedings last year. Would it? That is a very rash assumption. I cannot help thinking that if he had any fault to find with his companion "Christian soldier," it would have been that he did not repress "popular excesses" in a sharper way than he actually did. Studying Gordon's face by photograph and also by Mr. Thorneycroft's very good portrait of him, I see in it the modern soldier—nothing more; and his actions tell us whose soldier he was—the piratical capitalist's soldier. The centre of the accursed capitalism may well worship him, and say to others: "Go thou and do likewise!"

Meantime a certain Mr. Manning has been holding up to our example the much-abused Portuguese, who have been making a railway from Louanda to Ambaca (distance 225 miles, but called part of a very ambitious scheme). Mr. Manning is of opinion that this will do more to open up and civilise the country than formal missionary enterprises; though considering what missionary work is going on in other parts of Africa, and that the rifle is the principal tool used in it, that seems doubtful.

The *modus operandi* of the capitalists thus engaged in benefitting humanity is described with a *naïf* simplicity which leaves nothing to be asked for. The Portuguese Government have guaranteed 6 per cent. to the shareholders during construction for five years. The contract was let to a Portuguese contractor, who in the first year of the work sublet it to an American—who sublet portions of it to other contractors—some of these again sublet smaller portions to small contractors. These men engaged their own labourers, *did the work* (italics mine), and received a lump sum on the completion of the work to the satisfaction of the engineer of the chief contractor.

Whether the labourers who did the work for the "small contractors" who *did the work*, were satisfied is another matter. It seems that the chief difficulty is scarcity of labour. "So long as the native can get enough to live on by cultivation or trade he will not do manual work"—for other people. Unreasonable black dog!

Though the Japanese have been for long running after the foul skirts of our modern civilisation, and doing their best to lay hold of the filthy thing, they have not come up to us in the matter of prisons: not being afraid apparently of the competition of prison labour with "free" labour, and not being under the spell of the fiendish stupidity of "philanthropy," which forces us to torture our prisoners by every respectable means (i.e., any means which doesn't make blood flow and bones break), they set their prisoners to doing work which pleases and amuses them, and even teach them to do interesting work if they are capable of it. Only 29 out of 2,000 men in the prison visited by the *Pall Mall* Commissioner were set to the lowest work of breaking stones, and a great many were producing works of art. The Japanese after all have much to learn in the ways of civilisation. May they be long about it!

It is asserted by those who are proposing the great coal trust—that is to say, a monopoly which will have the whole public in its power—that its effect will not be to raise the price of coal. This is rather a big pill to swallow; for how is the greed of the monopolists to be controlled? But the very fact that such an assertion can be made shows once more how the confidence in limitless competition is being shaken: for the contention is that the entire margin of profit would come out of the avoidance of waste, and that that waste is caused by the hurry of *reckless competition*.

The following quotation, however, does not quite bear out the sanguine anticipations of the defender of the attempt to form a coal-trust: "The oil trade in this country [America] is [owing to the "trust"] in a more *satisfactory condition* than it has been in for some years. *Prices are higher*," etc. In point of fact the "more satisfactory condition" almost always does mean higher prices, and it is to this that all these combinations of capitalists are directed. They do not trouble their heads about anything else; for business men, like politicians, take care not to forecast matters for more than six months or so ahead—if even that.

W. M.

LABOUR'S TRIANGULAR PROBLEM;

OR, MEN VERSUS MACHINES.

(Concluded from p. 330.)

ALL these companies are great users of machinery, are constantly trying to get improved machinery, so as to dispense with manual labour. A great monopoly in any trade means, therefore, monopolist control of all employed in making machinery to be used in that particular trade. A sole controlling monopoly in any trade can afford to give the very highest premium conceivable for any machine needful to the purposes of the monopoly, or can starve the machine-builders into accepting the very lowest subsistence wages; more than that, having at last made the monopoly complete, can afford any price it likes to buy up and finally crush out any machine or method not desired to be put into use. Improved methods and machines have repeatedly been bought up by established manufacturers, for the sole purpose of *not* being used. Under the trust system this can be carried to any extent desired by the monopolists, for they can recoup by famine prices any sum which they expend to maintain their sole control.

Our national life for years past has been depending on the improvements in and development of the trade in machinery, and yet there can be named no particular interest which could not in two years from now be controlled by ten or a dozen English or American capitalists. Take our railway interest; it represents a nominal investment of some eight hundred millions, a real value of less than four hundred millions; it is not a very extravagant idea, seeing what has been done in America, to conceive of our whole railway system managed by a board of millionaires owning the whole controlling power. The very first result of

this would be the equalisation of all fares, and the throwing out of employ of thousands of booking and checking clerks; for just as we to-day buy toffee and almond rock, cigarettes, cigars, matches, post-cards, and pocket-books in every railway station, so we should then help ourselves to our railway ticket from an automatic. This may seem to some as mere joking, but it is meant in sober seriousness, and in face of the developments in machines during the last thirty years, is not to be lightly set aside. How many "try-your-weight" boys has the automatic machine put out of a job during the last two years? and every day brings forth some new supply box; and the apprentice of Old London who stood outside his master's shop crying "What d'ye lack?" to-day appears in an automatic machine screwed to the door-step or window-frame.

Every day produces some fresh and astounding development in machinery. Even while writing, there arrives some notes on a new method of making sugar by electricity, which if true will totally upset the whole labours and negotiations of some of the 'cutest business men and politicians of the day, who have for months past been dealing with the sugar bounty question, and who, having made careful arrangements to spoil the public, find themselves outdone by a totally unexpected development in manufacture. And so the game goes on—more and more spoil to the spoiler, more and more of suffering to the mass, until, as Ruskin puts it—

"Day after day your souls will become more mechanical, more servile: also you will go on multiplying, wanting more food, and more; you will have to sell cheaper and cheaper, work longer and longer, to buy your food. At last, do what you can, you can make no more, or the people who have the corn will not want any more; and your increasing population will necessarily come to a quite imperative stop—by starvation, preceded necessarily by revolution and massacre." ('Fors' 44, 172.)

Daily more money spent to manufacture idle men, despite the fact it is "mere insane waste to dig coal for our force while the vital force is unused; and not only unused, but, in being so, corrupting and polluting itself. We waste our coal and spoil our humanity at one and the same instant"; and let this be borne in mind, "Your idle people, as they are now, are not merely waste coal beds. They are explosive coal beds, which you pay a high annual rent for."

Just a short while longer and these increasing beds of explosives will go off, and the explosion will be such as will put even Sho-Bandai-San to shame as puny; it will not be the mere question of moving a mountain and leaving a wilderness of mud, it will be as complete as that of the American miner, who, reporting a mishap with some new blasting compound, said when the smoke was gone there wasn't even a hole left. A million of starving people, with another million on the verge of starvation, represent a potential of destructive force to measure which no dynamometer has yet been made, but which will, if suddenly liberated, assuredly and absolutely destroy every vestige of so-called nineteenth century civilisation; will destroy it more completely than time has destroyed the traces of human society of Nineveh, Babylon, Greece and Rome, or even of Mexico.

For the especial benefit of some critics, perhaps it may be well to say in conclusion that no word here placed is to be taken as against machinery and improvements; rather I believe in more and more. I rather like to run back over the history of machinery, the romance of improved methods, and, on the data of what has been done, speculate on what is possible and probable in the future. Although I fail to see what use some of the "saved time" will be after it is saved, yet I would give free rein to every one desired to make time-saving improvements. Ruskin analyses this detail in his 'Fors.' You may keep on making "time-savers" till there is absolutely nothing to do but to make a machine to use up the spare time; but to that the only answer is, if the human mind can occupy itself only in invention of machinery, why let it, and be hanged to it. The only thing to be claimed is the most perfect freedom for every individual to do the same; total denial of the claim that any small section of society shall dominate and exploit the great mass by monopolising the accumulated results of the whole course of time.

And so I pass on, dreaning of and working to realise the dream of the Chartist prison poet:

"Mind writ in every face; books million-fold
Multiplied; galleries with breath-shapes hung
Raffaello might worship, or Apelles old;
Groups from great Shakspeare's world or Chaucer's song
In bronzed or marble life, seeming upsprung
From some new Phidian realm of earth beneath
To gem the populous squares; music's full tongue
Telling to millions what Mozart in death
Enraptured heard, but could not the boon-sounds bequeath;

And all for ALL! Rank, class, distinction, badge
For ever gone! Labour by Science made
Brief recreation—not by Privilege
Avoided, nor its thrift in name of Trade
Or Commerce filched. To give a brother's aid
To brethren, and enlarge the general bliss
From knowledge, virtue, health, beyond parade
Of pomp or gold—affording joy. I wis,
When Truth doth reign, earth shall be such a Paradise!"

('Purgatory of Suicides,' Book viii.)

THOS. SHORE, jun.

"We can never control the working-man until he eats up to-day what he earns to-morrow."—Congressman Scott.

¹ Ruskin: 'Queen of the Air.'

A LETTER FROM AUSTRALIA.

THE GREAT NEWCASTLE COLLIERY STRIKE.

ONE of the greatest strikes in the history of Australia has just come off in the Newcastle district. A fierce and determined struggle between capital and labour is now being fought out in the coal-mining industry of New South Wales, which is the main reservoir for supplying the wants of the rest of Australia. The capitalist press is now given a magnificent opportunity of asserting its reptile power, and is working its level best to make the miners appear as dangerous and "revolutionary" wretches and the mine-owners as deeply injured philanthropists. It is indeed amusing to observe the frenzied and hysterical efforts made by the commercial sheets to bluff the miners, blind the public to the true facts of the dispute, and uphold the grasping tyranny of plutocratic coal kings. The *Sydney Herald* is especially criminal in this peculiar line.

Trouble has been brewing for a long time past consequent on the continued encroachments made by the mine-owners on the rights of their wage-slaves. There had been an agreement between the proprietors and the miners for some time back, which regulated the price to be paid for hewing coal according to its selling price, the price for small coal, the hours of labour, the settlement of disputes, allowance to be made for "deficiencies," and other matters of detail. This agreement, after having been in force for some time, was ignored and finally abandoned by the masters. The miners, maddened by excessive exactions, took up the matter very warmly at meetings of their Association, and eventually a conference of delegates with representatives of the mine-owners was held on July 21st. The miners asked for the old agreement to be renewed, but the masters fought shy. No distinct understanding was arrived at, the masters offering nothing but evasions and shuffling promises.

In the meantime strikes and lock-outs had taken place in several of the collieries; first in the South Waratah, next in the Ferndale, and afterwards in the Co-operative Colliery and the A. A. Company's Sea Pit. According to the old agreement, the minimum hewing rate is 4s. 2d. a-ton when the selling price of coal is 11s. (which it has been for a long time). The seam, according to the agreement, is not supposed to contain more than six inches of "jerry" band; extra pay was to be given should there be more than six inches of "jerry" in the seam. But in the South Waratah Pit the masters shirked the agreement and only offered the miners the minimum hewing rate, when it should have been much higher. The seam in this mine contains a number of dirt-bands, of an aggregate thickness of fifteen inches. This increased the miners' toil and placed them at a great disadvantage. They demanded 5s. 6d. a-ton for the seam, and arbitration was proposed. However, the negotiations fell through, because the masters persisted in appointing one of their own fraternity on the arbitration-board. A lock-out ensued and work was abandoned in this colliery. Subsequently another big disagreement took place in the Ferndale Colliery, on account of the proprietors pursuing a similar course. Then disputes ensued at other mines. In the A. A. Co.'s Sea Pit the miners desired arbitration, but the bosses would have none of it. In fact the majority of the mine-owners were opposed to arbitration, because, they said, all the previous arbitration-boards had finished by conceding most of the men's demands. On that point the money-sharks were rather sore.

By the way, I must not omit to mention a serious grievance of the miners that has been overlooked by the outside public. Allowances were not made by the bosses for small coal; in fact, the men were continually swindled; and although the work of getting the small coal is just as severe as that of getting the big, they were not paid for it. All slack coal that came up was slung on one side and the masters sold it afterwards for 5s., 6s., and even 7s. a-ton. I understand that in some of the mines men were paid 6d. and 1s. a-ton for loading and sending it up, but for a long time were paid nothing. There is a great demand for this small coal on steamers, tug-boats, and in factories and warehouses. When the men asked 2d. a-ton for working it the masters refused. One can easily guess the enormous profits made in this way by those legalised brigands, the mine-owners. They reap a colossal income out of labour that they pay no wages for; the miners are thus robbed in an extraordinary and barefaced manner.

The miners at last made up their minds to force a definite agreement on the masters, in order to get something approaching fair play. A draft agreement was drawn up and submitted to the masters at the conference which was held on July 21st. Mr. Jesse Gregson, on behalf of the mine-owners, said they would lay their proposals before the men in a fortnight. But there and then he dodged from this time to about a month, about which time the bosses would, if it was convenient, meet the miners in another conference. The capitalists all through the business acted in an arrogant and shameless manner, humbugging the workers to the best of their ability.

Matters by this time came to a head. The miners held a very large aggregate meeting a week after, at which two resolutions were passed. The first urged the masters to adopt the agreement submitted to them on the previous Saturday, and the second declared that if the masters would not submit an agreement satisfactory to the miners, the latter would on receipt thereof give fourteen days' notice that they would go out on strike. The masters were incensed when they heard of this, and refused to submit any agreement at all until the resolutions passed at the aggregate meeting were withdrawn. Arbitration was also knocked on the head.

Balloting for the strike was thereupon commenced. The representatives of both bodies met for the last time in the Newcastle Chamber of Commerce on August 11th. The purse-proud Gregson (of the famous A. A. Company) treated the miners' delegates to a severe lecture and behaved towards Messrs. Goudry and Curley (the president and secretary of the Miners' Union) as if they were a pair of presumptuous savages. The overbearing manner of this giant monopolist only made matters worse. The result of the ballot was given that afternoon in favour of the fourteen days' notice to strike by an overwhelming majority. This meant that over 6,000 men should be thrown out of employment in the various Northumberland collieries. The decision threw the capitalist press into a rare state of perturbation. The *Sydney Morning Herald* was especially furious, and in the most dishonest way took the part of the mine-owners, and denounced the action of the men as "arbitrary" and "tyrannical." Every little event was distorted and exaggerated by this organ of the "classes" in order to make the mine-owning vultures appear generous philanthropists and the miners to appear ungrateful irreconcilables. The views of the colliery proprietors (bogus and otherwise) and other exploiters of labour flooded its columns for several days, but the views of the injured wage-slaves were carefully kept in the background.

All through Australia a wild chorus of wailing has gone up from hundreds of commercial rags, and pictures of coal-less, gas-less cities have been painted

in vivid colours. "Able editors" (in the scissors and paste-pot line) shrieked out their "opinions" in extra leaded type, but in most cases they only succeeded in leaving a strong impression in thinking minds that they were hopelessly ignorant and biased in matters economic and social. Some writers advocated that the miners' leaders should be tried for conspiracy and that special legislation should be introduced to make extended strikes criminal conspiracies. They argued that trade and commerce should not be paralysed because the coal-hewers chose to go out on strike. Very little was said, though, about the pig-headed, selfish action of the employers in refusing arbitration and the moderate demands of the miners.

A few papers, such as the *Australian Star*, *Bulletin*, *Bellarat Courier*, and *Radical*, spoke up strongly for the rights of labour. Other papers followed, and before long a big change in public feeling took place, great sympathy being shown towards the miners by the general body of workers. The Seamen's Union and most of the Australian trades organisations are lending them moral and pecuniary assistance.

At a great meeting held in Newcastle a Citizens' Committee was appointed to mediate between the rival parties. But it bungled from the very start; several of the members apparently held briefs for the mine-monopolists. Canon Selwyn, the leading spokesman, made himself particularly obnoxious to the miners, and acted in such a fashion that they refused to acknowledge him in any way. The commercialised "Citizens' Committee" wanted the miners to withdraw from all the positions they had taken up, while the masters yielded nothing but a mysteriously sealed letter, which they wanted the men to accept blindfold. The men stood their ground firmly, and the negotiations collapsed.

Newcastle being the centre of the coal-mine industry in this part of the world, it follows that if the strike is long continued great economic and social disturbances will ensue throughout Australia. Most of the other colonies depend mainly on the Newcastle district for their coal supply. There are only a few mines in other parts and their output is exceedingly limited. The coal and gas supply of the continent is nearly paralysed and will soon be practically cut off. Of course there is the possibility of the capitalists attempting to work the mines with "scabs" or "blacklegs." There will be the devil to pay if they do; the miners are in no mood to be trifled with, and their wives would form body-guards as they did at Illawarra and Bulli a couple of years ago. Already some tall talk is being indulged in by the monied classes about importing 2,000 skilled miners from England to work the mines. It is hinted that should the first lot join the Miners' Union on their arrival, the leading colliery proprietors will import three or four thousand more and pay them a small bonus. They say that they could obtain 4,000 Kauri timber-getters from New Zealand.

Some of the capitalist papers are beginning to recognise in a half-hearted way some of the principles that Socialists contend for. The *Sydney Daily Telegraph* has published a stirring article on the "People's Coal," in which it descants on the duties of the mine-owners to the public and acknowledges that the coal beds are the property of the people. Other articles of a cheering nature have appeared in several land-nationalist papers.

The miners have issued a manifesto (of which the full text appeared in the *Commonweal* last week). It will be seen that the efforts of the Socialist League and the *Australian Radical* are bearing rich fruit. The manifesto has created a sensation amongst the well-to-do classes. The boss slave-driving organ of the colony, the *Herald*, pulls very wry faces over it, and denounces its "Socialistic and Communistic tendency." It has made several violent attacks on Mr. Curley, the miners' secretary, whom it dubs as one of the "professional agitators." It is trying its best to alienate the support of the Trades and Labour Council from the side of the strikers. In fact the *Herald* is horrified that the miners' delegates should dare to use such highly improper language, and asks the T. and L. C. not to give its sanction to the "Communistic doctrine of the seizure of property acquired by industry and economy" (1). The played-out bunkum about the "risks" of capitalists, "capital working the mines" and paying labour, and the danger of capital clearing out of the country, is dished up for the delectation of gulls and profit-mongering plutocrats. The miners appear to be determined, and talk of a wide and improved system of co-operative distribution and of working the collieries for their own benefit and not to accumulate hoards for millionaires and land-robbers. Much stronger and more Socialistic language than has appeared in their manifestoes is being indulged in by the miners and their delegates at their lodge meetings and big open-air gatherings. The manifestoes are being circulated in every town and hamlet in Australasia. Preparations are being made for a prolonged struggle by both sides. There is some talk of an adjustment being brought about by the mediation of Mr. Brunker and other M.P.'s. The outlook is rather gloomy. The coal famine that is ensuing is throwing thousands of other workers out of employment. The Southern (Illawarra) miners have demanded increased pay and threaten to join their Newcastle comrades. The conflict between labour and monopoly has at last assumed a very definite shape in the sunny land of Australia.

Great efforts are being made to make the public believe that the miners were obtaining exceptionally high wages. Exceptionally good pay-days are picked out for this purpose. But the fact remains that in the most prosperous colliery (Wallsend) the average for the whole year was two and a half days a-week. In other collieries it is much less.

The mine-owners are already employing "blacklegs" at the Greta Colliery to fill small coal. Forty were sent from Sydney for that purpose on Sept. 4; a big escort of police accompanied them. The "blacklegs" are kept close to the mine when not working; they sleep and take their meals in a big shed. The miners are not allowed inside the mine property. Over 300 strikers gathered round the mine on Tuesday hooting and groaning. Violence was feared. There is almost certain to be bloodshed, for the police and numbers of the miners are armed with revolvers. Very exciting scenes have already occurred. By the time this letter is published in the *Commonweal* a great forward move will have been registered in the fortunes of the Australian labour movement.

I must now conclude, with fraternal greetings to our English comrades,
Sept. 6th, 1888. W. H. McNAMARA

The attempted mediation between masters and men in the Newcastle (New South Wales) coal district has proved fruitless, and there is no prospect at present of a termination of the strike. Somewhat serious disturbances have occurred at Wallsend, where the attitude of the strikers has become threatening.—(By telegram, Oct. 23.)

The ignorance of public questions displayed by the average Congress-man is only equalled by the folly of the people who elected him.—*Labour Signal*.



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW? FIRST, FEW MEN KNEW IT; NEXT, MOST MEN 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. 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, 15 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

C. S.—The Manifesto of the League, the pamphlets in the "Socialist Platform" series, the leaflets issued by the Council of the League, and articles definitely so stated in the 'Weal', are the only authoritative expositions of the League's "creed and policy."

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday October 24.

ENGLAND Justice Labour Tribune London—Freie Presse Norwich—Daylight Postal Service Gazette Railway Review Social Demokrat Worker's Friend	NEW SOUTH WALES Hamilton—Radical	INDIA Bankipore—Behar Herald Madras—People's Friend	UNITED STATES New York—Der Sozialist Freiheit Truthseeker Volkzeitung Jewish Volkszeitung Alarm Workmen's Advocate	Boston —Woman's Journal Chicago —Knights of Labor Vorwärts Detroit —Der Arme Töfel Milwaukee —National Reformer Paterson (N J) Labor Standard San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	FRANCE Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) Le Parti Ouvrier (daily) La Revolte Le Coup de Feu Le Proletariat Sedan—La Revolution	HOLLAND Hague—Recht voor Allen	BELGIUM Ghent—Vooruit Llege—L'Avenir Antwerp—De Werker	SWITZERLAND Arbeiterstimme Bulletin Continental	ITALY Turin—Nuovo Gazzetta Operaia	SPAIN Madrid—El Socialista Barcelona—Tierra y Libertad Seville—La Solidaridad	PORTUGAL Lisbon—O Protesto Operario	GERMANY Berlin—Volks Tribune	AUSTRIA Brunn—Arbeiterstimme Wien—Gleichheit	DENMARK Social-Demokraten	SWEDEN Stockholm, Social-Demokraten Malmo—Arbetet	NORWAY Kristiania—Social-Demokraten	WEST INDIES Cuba—El Productor
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THE HUMOURS OF PROPAGANDA.

In olden times folk lived better and died happier than now a-days. We grudge to die, having never lived; they having lived did not grudge to die. Heaven bless the good souls who left a laugh behind them upon their tombstones!

The world to-day is so full of ugliness and wrong, that if we were to persistently contemplate the misery around us we would certainly go mad. But going mad would not make the world better, and it is to make the world better that we have become Socialists. And we know that we shall make the world better, and that conviction should cheer us. Only those who are without that hope and confidence—the unthinking or reactionary crowd—should be always melancholy.

We are told of a certain Rev. John Durham, minister of the High Church, Glasgow, some 200 years ago, that he never laughed or smiled. He had his house draped in black, and went about perpetually lamenting the "fall of man." Now this same John was, I verily believe, an honest and a feeling man. He believed that the overwhelming mass of the population, including probably some of his nearest friends and relatives, would most certainly be roasted in hell fire for ever. How could he, therefore, be otherwise than sad and full of mourning? I have no doubt that if John had had as little belief in damnation as most modern parsons have, he would have been a merry and hearty fellow, as most honest-thinking and good-hearted people are who wish to do some good in the world. I have seldom found a man who was always serious and melancholy of much account in lifting the burden of sorrow from his neighbour's shoulders, or capable of spirited deeds and untiring energy when noble work could be achieved. When a man is perpetually serious—if he be not a Calvinist—you may be certain that he allows his liver and peritoneum to usurp the functions of his heart and brain.

Therefore it is that I have humbly resolved to myself to be as cheerful as I can, and make others cheerful also.

Propaganda work is, I know, not usually of a particularly exhilarating character—that is if you stick to it steadfastly, through success and failure, not funk when others funk, not getting wearied of it when others get wearied. Yet even the routine and monotony of propaganda may be enlivened by observing its humorous aspects, and not allowing the enemy to have all the amusement of the little perplexities and awkward situations it sometimes involves us in. Surely, when Christian officers can find magnificent sport in butchering niggers and coolies, when policemen can make merry breaking the heads of members of Parliament and bludgeoning women and children, even Socialists may contrive to extract a humble pleasure in denouncing

landlords and capitalists at street corners, shouting *Commonweal*, and even in reminding forgetful members that it is at least six weeks since they paid their last penny subscription!

Open-air propaganda—even when lacking the excitement and adventure consequent upon police interference—possesses elements of interest and amusement to anyone endowed with average zeal and good humour. It takes some time, no doubt, before one gets quite hardened to the business—especially the speaking part of it. I remember when I first began to speak outdoor, how between the feeling of the cheap-jack nature of the work, and the consciousness of my inability to decently express myself, I was kept in a state of mental torture. When going in the train to some out-of-the-way village, there to practise upon natives, I felt like one going out to be executed. The place appeared to get dreadfully deserted whenever I began to speak, and all my facts and figures vanished from my mind. How I envied the masterly assurance and consummate tact of the itinerant vendor of medicines! Even yet I observe his ways with admiration, and humbly endeavour to imitate them, but I fear with poor success. His knowledge of human nature is profound, whatever his skill in therapeutics may be. You never observe a quack approaching; he appears suddenly in the middle of a market-place or at a street corner like an apparition. If his pharmaceutical chest—carried in his coat pocket—is too small to attract universal attention, he is in nowise disconcerted. Perhaps he places his hat on the ground, walks back a bit and surveys it round; the people begin to notice him and wonder what he is about. Then he ventures to put his finger underneath the hat and withdraws it quickly as if some animal were there, and walks back and surveys it again. When by these manoeuvres he succeeds in gathering a fair crowd all gaping with expectation, he quietly unfolds his parcel and proceeds to dilate upon the wonderful curative virtues of the *Leontodon Taraxacum*, or some other marvellous medicinal herb. In half an hour he has procured the price of a night's lodging, and something to warm him before he tumbles into bed.

The gathering and subsequent behaviour of a meeting is always interesting. When you suddenly shout "Friends!" the people halt, stare at you, wonder if you have hurt yourself in any way, or if you have taken a fit. Then when you get on a bit, some youths draw nigh with a lively expectation that you are about to favour them with a "break down" or an acrobatic feat. The drunk man who jostles into the ring after you have spoken eloquently for an hour upon the robbery of labour, and demands what you are talking about, appears with a regularity that suggests he is an ubiquitous hireling of the capitalists. The annoyance of the drunk man who pronounces himself an enemy of Socialism is not quite as distressing, however, as that of the one who avows himself a friend. The latter invariably insists upon fraternising with you in the most effusive manner. He staggers forward with a swing that nearly knocks you down, plants his beglobbered boot down upon a bundle of *Commonweals*, seizes your hand and holds it till the end of your discourse, every now and then patting you appreciatively upon the shoulder, and encouraging you with "Right you are, my boy!" "God bless you!" and kindred ejaculations of approval.

If you desire to sell literature of any kind don't apologise in any way for its size or quality, rather aggravate, grossly if necessary, its value. The people know you are deceiving them, but they appear to esteem it a compliment that you think they desire a really good thing, and they express their gratification by purchasing. The more barefacedly that a quack exaggerates the virtues of his nostrums, and the more the crowd disbelieve him, the more eagerly, I have observed, they purchase.

If you tell the people, for example, that you are sorry *Commonweal* is not as large as it might be, and that it does not pretend to give all the latest local and foreign news, etc., it doesn't go at all. One of the best sales of *Commonweal* I ever saw, was when a miner's agent took it in hand one day and announced it as follows in thundering tones: "Here we have *Commonweal*! the largest Socialist paper in the country! Edited by William Morris, the greatest poet, painter, designer, and art critic of the age! Cram-full of news about the labour struggle in America, France, Germany, Italy, and Russia! Tells you how you are robbed and who robs you! Tells you what the Social Revolution means, how it can be brought about, and when it will be brought about! Stirring labour songs, correspondence upon important topics, and reports of Socialist meetings all over the country! Price only one penny—less than the price of half a pint of beer, mind you! Only a few copies left!" Nor do I think that those who purchased would be less disposed to do so again when they discovered that its merits might have been more modestly proclaimed.

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

(To be concluded.)

There is but one way for American labour to be protected, and that is to protect itself by organisation.—*Industrial Leader*.

The Indianapolis *Signal* has discovered that the lot of a labour paper is never a happy one. While the editor works and talks about shorter hours of labour for others, he must, in order to keep his paper afloat, put in long hours himself. To publish a labour paper is to take upon oneself a degree of worry and perplexity that would overwhelm more than one stout heart, did not hope tell of a better time coming.

UNEMPLOYED MEMBERS OF THE LEAGUE.—The Editors will insert such a notice as the following for any Branch of the League, in the hope that one member will assist another in obtaining work:—In the Merton and Mitcham Branches there are out of work: One dyer and cleaner (partially); two carpenters (one partially); one each, gasfitter, painter and decorator, sawyer, and labourer.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 3, 1888.

28	Sun.	1794. Trial of Thomas Hardy for high treason. 1813. Louis Blanc born.
29	Mon.	1793. Edinburgh convention of the Friends of the People opened. 1794. Trial of Hardy, Horne Tooke, Thelwall, and others for high treason. 1831. Riots at Bristol, Bath, Coventry, and Worcester. 1883. International Trades Union Congress at Paris.
30	Tues.	1851. Kossuth in London.
31	Wed.	1790. Riot of frame-work knitters at Northampton. 1793. Brissot and others guillotined. 1848. Vienna retaken from the "rebels." 1870. Outbreak in Paris.
1	Thur.	1789. <i>Lettres de cachet</i> abolished. 1811. Henry White the elder tried for seditious libel. 1851. Bondin killed. 1867. Five Fenians sentenced to death at Manchester.
2	Fri.	1841. Daniel O'Connell elected as first Lord Mayor of Dublin.
3	Sat.	1640. Long Parliament met; William Lenthall chosen Speaker. 1815. John Mitchell born.

LETTER FROM AMERICA.

FROM a private letter written by our comrade Charles Bodendieck in Chicago, the following facts are learned: Bodendieck flatly denies having been acquainted with the detective mentioned in one of my last letters, and most certainly he did not elevate this scoundrel to the position of a room-mate. It seems that the detective found a means to get into Bodendieck's room, and search it in the latter's absence. Now Bodendieck not being married, and earning but small and irregular wages, boarded himself. He kept all his grocery—tea, coffee, sugar, pepper, salt, etc.—in different tin cans. The "sharp-witted" detective, seeing these various mysterious-looking cans, and knowing Bodendieck to be a devoted Anarchist, put two and two together and jumped at once to the conclusion, with a sagacity particularly owned by that class of people, that they must of necessity contain chemicals destined to be used in the manufacture of dynamite. Bodendieck was quickly arrested, and his grocery was given to an analyser of considerable repute, who, after the most minute investigation and much scientific speculation, came to the conclusion that the stuff was—well, what it was. He believed himself fooled, and told his friend Bonfield so in plain terms. Tableau! Bodendieck had to be released, and the Chicago police had added new glory of a shoddy character to its past record.

Our comrade, Oscar Faileur, has been permitted to land. Assistant-Secretary of the Treasury, Maynard, did not deem it wise to stab organised labour in the face just before a Presidential contest. Faileur has gone to Pittsburgh in search of work.

The rats are leaving the sinking ship. Within the last month, General Secretary Charles Litchman, of the Knights of Labour, and A. A. Carlton, a member of the Executive Board of the same organisation, have resigned and put their services as political spouters and wire-pullers at the disposal of the Republican party. Last Saturday, Thomas B. Barry, also a member of the Executive of the Knights, sent in his resignation accompanied by a letter to Powderly, which, as Barry had opportunity to learn the inner working of the order, proves conclusively what I always have maintained in reference to this labour organisation. Here are a few extracts:

"I hereby tender my resignation as a member of the General Executive Board, to take effect October 8th, as I can no longer endure to be a witness to the many favors and deceptions practised upon the innocent masses. I find that one of the requirements of a member of the board is to be a party to fraud that leaves the unthinking masses to hunger, with nothing for them but promises never intended to be kept. Your policy of deception must soon come to an end if the Order is to live. I have learned that it is a crime to be a Knight of Labour in the general office, as has been proved by the many discharges of tried and true Knights who helped the Order in its infancy, and the employment of unfair people or those who were not members of the Knights of Labour—something never before known in the history of a labour organisation. It was left to the general officers of the Knights of Labour to show their preference for scab-ism in employing non-members, while hundreds of our own people, equally competent to fill the positions, were made to suffer the pangs of hunger. One work in which you have achieved any amount of success has been in your untiring efforts to destroy not only me but districts that have had the courage to take exception to your worse than criminal policy in handing over the people whose interests you had sworn to protect to corporate greed, as can be proved by the nearly 2,000 people whom your action impelled to walk the streets of Cincinnati for weeks, and many of them to suffer for the necessities of life. For what? That one more representative to the General Assembly favourable to the general administration might be obtained. Had I not been called from the Richmond Convention I would there have exposed your system which you practised upon the representatives of the Order assembled there; when you numbered us all in order that your spies, not being acquainted with the delegates, might dog their footsteps and report to the high lords of the industrial movement what they had learned of the sayings of delegates. Whether those spies were paid out of your private funds or out of the funds of the Order I am unable to say. . . . In refusing to bow in submission and work in unison with the powers that be, in taking this stand against your worse than criminal methods, I do it with the full knowledge of your power to influence and your ability to practice your deception upon the unthinking masses and place yourself before them in the light of injured innocence. Were your power to crush and trample upon the rights of freemen a thousandfold greater I would still pursue the course I have mapped out in the interest of progress. No matter how high on the pedestal of fame a man may have been elevated, if he is wrong, or makes mistakes, I have the courage to tell him so. The die is cast. I have chosen. As for me, I would rather be in hell with the consciousness of knowing that I was right, than in paradise knowing that I was wrong."

There is going to be a lively time in Knights of Labour circles this week. An appeal has been issued to all Knights of Labour and lovers of justice inviting them to attend a mass meeting this Wednesday, where Barry will deliver an address entitled, "The Dry Rot in the Knights of Labour, its Origin and Causes." The appeal closes with the words: "Why has the membership of the order fallen off from 702,000 members in 1886 to 250,000 in 1888? Do you want to know the true state of affairs from those who know them? If so attend the meeting."

It is a matter extremely to be regretted that a powerful organisation has come to this. However, there is no other remedy now but total destruction, so that there may be room for a new organisation.

The immigration question is still in everybody's mind. Powderly devotes in his organ, the *Journal of United Labour*, two columns to the discussion of this question. He says, among other arguments (?):

"On November 22, 1882, I visited the slave pens at Eckert Mines, Maryland, and saw 105 Hungarians, who had been brought to this country under contract to take the places of striking American miners, huddled together in a single room. From that day forth I have spoken and worked against the system. One short year ago papers published in this country protested against a speech which I made on July 4, in denunciation of the system which lands poverty by the thousand under contract and makes paupers of our people. I said then and now repeat that while we owe a great deal to the poor and oppressed of other lands, we owe a great deal more to our own people."

Now Powderly, who has been a member of the Socialist Labour Party, knows that the exclusion of foreign workmen is not a solution of this evil. The Central Labour Union has under discussion a leaflet on the same question, of which I give you the most important points:

"But, inasmuch as the immensely increasing immigration from countries like Italy, Hungary, Poland, and Russia, where the labouring classes are accustomed to a miserably low standard of life, has a tendency to drag down the higher standard of the American workman, means should be devised which will prevent such poorly developed elements from competing with us in the labour market. And one of these means should be to enable such immigrants to become independent of the necessity of seeking employment where the supply of labour is superabundant already. The American nation is the richest in the world. We have millions of acres of unoccupied land. Our resources are almost unlimited. We mean that, in order to get rid of this threatening competition by foreign labour, we should demand from the legislative bodies of the States and the nation that they assist the immigrants in settling on our uncultivated lands. Congress should be prevailed upon to furnish the immigrant with means sufficient to cultivate those lands, and provisions securing the return of such government loans to the immigrant settler may easily be framed. Let us, therefore, immediately commence a powerful agitation for the purpose of impressing it upon the minds of the law-making powers that the remedy for the evils pertaining to increasing immigration is within their reach."

The Central Labour Union are nearer the truth, and if they discontinue to put any trust in government, and take the matter in their own hands, they are very near a solution of the problem.

A committee has been appointed in New York to make preparations for a commemoration meeting on November 11th. The Central Labour Union, the Socialists, and the Anarchists will co-operate. Meetings will be held in all the leading cities of the United States.

A big accident has occurred on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, near Washington, D.C., resulting in the killing of three persons and injuring seven others. The accident was due to a mistake on the part of the freight train men—the freight train coming into collision with an express train. The freight train men say they had been on duty 36 hours, and had gone asleep while being switched off to wait for some trains to pass. They woke up and believed the road to be clear. Considering the long hours railway men work, it is astonishing that accidents are not more frequent.

How sensations are got up may be seen from the following telegram, which was sent on the 6th of October from St. Louis:

"A special from Winfield, Kan., says that there is great excitement in that vicinity over the discovery that a secret military order of Anarchists, known as the 'National Order of Videttes,' exists in Cowley and Sumner Counties. A man named Pryor, formerly of St. Louis, is given as the leader of the band, and the agitation is increased by the discovery that several well-known citizens are members of it. The discovery was made by a detective employed for that purpose who was initiated into the order."

This telegram was published in all leading papers, but from beginning to end it is a thumping big lie.

A strike is announced from Chicago. All the street-car lines in Chicago are worked by a Philadelphia syndicate, whose representative in Chicago is a Mr. Yerkes, President of the syndicate, a man who has served a year in the Philadelphia penitentiary for embezzlement. This syndicate declared that it was willing to spend a million dollars to break up the organisation of their men. President Yerkes, in an interview with the reporters, made the following remarks: "There is no danger of a strike; the men have not ambition enough to strike. This I tell you in confidence; their spirit is broken. Did you ever observe one of our men? They stand anything, they are used to any kind of treatment. They are cursed and damned by passengers to such an extent, that submission has become their second nature. A few weeks ago one of their committees came to me with a list of complaints; I told them they were mistaken, and strange to say they believed my word." On the 6th of October, the men employed in running the street-cars of the west side struck for higher wages and shorter hours. All was quiet. Yerkes employed 200 private detectives and all the Chicago police to guard his property—against whom? Under these circumstances a brutal attack on peaceable citizens was unavoidable, and even all capitalistic papers say that the police was bound to cause the first collision. Sunday night, Captain Schaack, of infamous memory, and a squad of his men, tried to smuggle sixteen scabs imported from Philadelphia into the premises of the Company. Some strikers got a notion of what was going on, and cried "Scab! scab!" This made Schaack mad, and he ordered his bullies to attack the strikers. Strange to say the blue-coats refused to obey orders, and Schaack, who had advanced with drawn revolver to within a few feet of the peaceable citizens, observing the hesitation of his men, shouted to them, "Cowards! cowards! are you afraid? Go on, cowards, disperse this mob." The bluecoats mad through this language obeyed orders, ran at the little knot of strikers with drawn clubs and scattered it in every direction. The north side men have declared that if Yerkes does not give in by to-night, they also will go on strike. On Monday the cars were running again, not separately but bunched, so that more police might be crowded on them. Politics are entering into the conflict now. Yielding to the influence of the Republican city administration, who were afraid to lose votes, Yerkes withdrew yesterday the private detectives. Mayor Roche, or the "Cockroach of the Wild West," as citizen Francis Train called him, is trying to arbitrate between the strikers and the company.

Newark, N.J., October 9, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

Everywhere it is the same—an increase in aggregate wealth means an increase in poverty; one keeps pace with the other. As population increases, wealth increases; as wealth increases, poverty increases. There is a reason for this, and the reason is that some are enabled to monopolise natural opportunities, which others cannot use without paying a royalty.—*Craftsman*.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

RENFREW BOILERMAKERS.—The boiler-makers in Renfrew have got their wages increased from 6d. to 7d. per hour.

ARBROATH MOULDERS.—The iron moulders in Arbroath, having demanded an advance of 2s. a week, the master acceded to their request.

The strike of weavers at Macclesfield still drags itself along. It has now lasted about three months at an immense cost to both parties.

Lord George Hamilton told the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce that although 3,000 men have been discharged from the dockyards the output of work is the same.

MOULDERS AND IRONFOUNDERS' WAGES.—At a meeting of the employers held at Glasgow on the 17th inst., it was agreed to advance wages ¼d. per hour. The men asked an advance of ¼d. per hour.

SHOEMAKERS ORGANISING.—The shoemakers of Enderby, near Leicester, who some time back seceded from the Leicester trade union, have, after further consideration decided to form a local branch thereof.

HALLSIDE PATTERN-MAKERS' STRIKE.—The strike of pattern-makers at Hallside Steel Works has not terminated. The majority of the men are still out, and the few who have commenced work never lifted their tools.

LANARKSHIRE MINERS.—The masters who are united against the men have just made up their monthly returns for September and they say, according to their way of looking at it, the men are entitled to an advance of 2½ per cent.

DUNDEE RIVETTERS' STRIKE.—About fifty rivetters employed by Gourlay Bros. and Co., Dundee, in repairing the vessel "Superb," of Liverpool, struck work on 15th inst., asking their wages to be increased to 8½d. per hour, an advance of 1d.

SHORT TIME IN THE COTTON TRADE.—At a meeting of the United Cotton Spinner's Association, held in Manchester on 19th inst., it was resolved "that this committee recommend the spinning trade not to 'light up' during the month of November."

BLAST FURNACEMEN'S WAGES.—At a meeting of South Staffordshire masters, held at Birmingham on the 18th inst., it was resolved to grant the men an advance of 5 per cent., thus restoring the wages of two years ago. Over 1,000 men are affected.

LEITH PLATELAYERS' STRIKE.—A strike of upwards of 200 boiler-makers and platelayers has taken place in Leith ship-building and engineering yards. The men are paid 6d. per hour, and demand an advance of ¾d. It is understood they would accept 6½d.

HOLMES SHALE MINERS.—A full meeting of miners was held at the works on the 16th inst., when it was reported that no further reductions had been imposed on any section of the mine, and that in the case of the men who had gone to Boson, France, for work, their places had been filled up.

MIDLAND IRONWORKERS' WAGES.—The ironworkers are manifesting much dissatisfaction with the 5 per cent. advance awarded by arbitrators. The Wolverhampton men on the 17th inst. resolved to give instructions to the Wages Board delegates to immediately give notice for a further 7½ per cent. advance.

GLASGOW RIVETERS.—Riveters and caulkers employed by King and Co., Dock Engine and Boiler Works, South Kinning Place, Paisley Road, have come out for an advance. The employees received threepence less in the week than men in similar establishments. The firm offered the threepence, but the men demanded more.

A SHORT STRIKE.—The iron-ship builders at Dundee struck for an advance on Wednesday, 17th. The men held a conference on Friday with the masters; the employers agreed to raise rate of pay from 6d. to 6½d. per hour on new work, and from 6½d. to 7½d. per hour old. The men accepted this increase, and resumed work on Saturday, 20th.

SCOTCH STEEL-WORKERS.—The pattern-makers of Hallside Steel Works, who have been on strike for an advance of halfpenny per hour during the past four weeks, resumed work on the 19th inst., having been promised the advance in a fortnight's time. The moulders of the same works received an advance of a farthing per hour this week.

CO-OPERATIVE BOOTMAKERS.—The Leicester Co-operative Boot and Shoe Manufacturing Society the last quarterly report shows to be in a flourishing condition. The last quarter's takings amounted to £2,171, being 30 per cent. increase on previous three months. The workmen participated in profits to the extent of 1s. 9d in the £ upon wages.

RHONDDA VALLEY MINERS.—A permanent advance of 2½ per cent. in wages was, on the 17th inst., granted to the miners of the Rhondda Valley as a result of the Ferndale sliding scale award. It is announced that the advance, which had already been temporarily conceded, is now warranted by the increased price of coal and the revival of trade.

MIDDLESBROUGH LABOUR DISPUTE.—Efforts were made on Thursday, 18th, to settle the dispute between Bolckow, Vaughan, and Co., and their workmen in the engineering departments of their works. The men claimed an advance of 10 per cent.; but, after an interview with the general manager, the moulders and boiler-smiths agreed to accept merely 5 per cent.

SAILORS AT BRISTOL.—There seems a growing feeling among seamen that they ought to participate in the increased prosperity of the shipping trade. The steamship Titanic was up for signing on Saturday 20th, and the men refused an offer of £3 for seamen and £3 15s. for firemen, and stood out for £3 10s. and £4 respectively. The vessel failed to get her crew on the terms offered.

IRONWORKERS' WAGES.—All ironworkers engaged in North Staffordshire iron trade began work on Monday, 22nd, at an advance of 5 per cent. "This has been brought about by the Ironmasters' Association, without any steps having been taken by the men to secure the same," says the press, "and may therefore be regarded as a most satisfactory evidence of a substantial improvement in trade!"

THREE HUNDRED WEAVERS ON STRIKE.—On Saturday morning 13th, the weavers employed at the Bury Co-operative Manufacturing Co., Limited's Wellington Mill, Hinds, Bury, resumed work, after having been on strike since previous Thursday. The grievance was extra work and excessive steam. A meeting of the strikers was held on Friday morning and the manager interviewed, but he declined to come to terms. It was afterwards resolved to go in, and this was done on the following morning. So much for "co-operation."

MONTROSE MILL-WORKERS' WAGES.—Saturday 20th a meeting of the Dundee district mill and factory operatives was held in Montrose. Rev. H. Williams, Dundee, hon. president, advised them to wait patiently for five months longer, when they would be entitled to the benefit of the union, and then the members in Dundee would help them to strike. A resolution to that effect was adopted.

GREENOCK SHIPBUILDING STRIKES.—Rivetters' strike in Caird and Company's yard, Greenock, mentioned in this column last week, still continues. They are now joined in their demand by fitters, caulkers, and platers in same yard, and also by the rivetters and other iron-workers in Russell and Co.'s yard. Scott and Co., have given notice that, in common with other shipbuilders in Port Glasgow and Greenock, they will give an advance of 5 per cent. on all time-worker's wages.

SCOTCH RAILWAY-MEN.—The half-yearly report of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants for Scotland, just issued, states that many men are yet employed from 12 to 14 and 16 hours per day. At end of Dec. 1887 total strength of society was 2,743. During past half year there have been added 261, which brings total membership to 3004. For the six months ended June £805 was paid for sick claims, £145 for death claims, and £86 for out-of-work and suspension claims. Total balance at credit of society at the end of June was £4,152.

A BIG "IRON RING."—The *Glasgow Daily Mail*, which speaks the truth when a lie cannot help its hatred to the workers, says that a syndicate of all Scotch ironmasters is being formed which will put the copper and salt syndicates into the shade. It only awaits fuller discussion on points of detail—the most important of which is whether it would be possible to work the syndicate without the co-operation of the Cleveland masters, or coerce them into joining. To the Socialist these big syndicates have a peculiar interest, as they mark so clearly the utter smash-up of the Manchester school.

COTTON STRIKE AT DROYLSDEN.—For some time there has been great dissatisfaction amongst the minders at the Victoria Spinning Co. as to work and diminishing wages. Recently the matter was referred to the Minders' Association, who made representations to the employers. An alteration was made by the firm, but would have placed the men in no better position than they were. Matters came to a crisis last week and the weft minders tendered a week's notice, which expired Wednesday 17th, the piecers and scavengers coming out at the same time. For some unexplained reasons the twist minders still remain at work.

MATCHMAKERS' UNION.—The Union of Women Matchmakers which was formed after the Bryant and May strike, is progressing very satisfactorily. Nearly 700 have joined, and their weekly contributions are paid up with commendable regularity. The first quarter will soon be completed, and at quarterly meeting Mrs. Besant and Mr. Burrows, who are honorary secretary and honorary treasurer respectively, purpose giving the girls a musical entertainment, at which it is hoped some of the foreign delegates to the International Trade Union Congress will be present. The union elected two of their number and their secretary and treasurer to represent them at the Congress, but the fee being 10s. for each delegate, they have decided to send only the president of their committee and Mrs. Besant.

KINGHORN SHIPBUILDING STRIKE.—The strike among the rivetters at the yard of John Scott and Co., Kinghorn, still continues. The control of the strike is now said to have passed into the hands of the Boiler-makers' Society, Glasgow, who are prepared to find work for all the men in the yard in the event of an early settlement not being come to. Messrs. Scott have been in communication with the other shipbuilding yards on the east coast—viz., Aberdeen, Grahamstown, and Leith—to ascertain the rate paid at these places, with a view to drawing up a scale to meet the demands of the men and to guide them in future. The firm lately stopped the contracts known as piecework, and have for some time been paying the riveters a fixed sum per week. "The strike is unfortunate, as the company lately procured two fresh orders from the General Steam Navigation Company, London!"

GLASGOW TRADES COUNCIL.—A meeting was held on 10th inst. The cabinetmakers' delegate reported that it had been proposed to reduce wages in the Barrowfield cabinet works by 10 per cent., but it was afterwards withdrawn. It was stated that some of the men who had taken a prominent part in resisting the proposal had been put away, but the rest of the men lifted their tools and left. The engineers' delegate stated that they had accepted an advance of 5 per cent. on the understanding that if warranted by the state of trade they would request another advance in January next. The case of the quay labourers was again before the Council, and it was resolved to approach the Clyde Trust Committee to get the stevedores' licence asked by the men.—At a meeting on 17th inst., the iron-dressers' delegate reported that some time ago they asked an advance of ¼d. per hour, but employers refused it on the plea that state of trade did not warrant it. It had, he said, been agreed to wait a little before any action was taken. A committee was appointed to enquire into the present state of payment of female labour, to see if steps can be taken to improve present position. It was stated that 48 buttons were sewn on and 48 button-holes worked for 6d. A pair of moleskin trousers was made for 3½d. For finishing a dozen men's flannel smocks, 6d. was paid; finishing a dozen heavy blue flannel shirts, 1s; fitting jackets for the machine, 11d. per dozen; finishing duck trousers, 8d. and 10d. a-dozen (about 17 hours' work); for making jacket, vest, and kilt, and providing thread for the same, 2s. 3d.; men are paid 17s. 6d. for making the same.

THE COAL CRISIS.—Everything points to a widespread strike, but it must fail unless better discipline is maintained; already there are signs of disintegration. The universal demand is 10 per cent.; at several collieries this has been conceded, and the men have gone in without troubling about the rest. The "men" at Hamstead Colliery, in South Staffordshire, have accepted a "provisional" advance of 5 per cent., on condition that they receive the whole if the others win it; at Combs Colliery, in Yorkshire, the men have taken even less; and so on. It is but fair to say that the bulk of the men are determined, and will remain firm whatever happens. That is all the more reason why they should knit their organisation closer together and deal in due fashion with blacklegs and faint hearts. The men who won't support their comrades are the kind that the Australian bosses are longing for, in order to break the strike there. Lord Houghton has been suggesting arbitration; but as this would need that the proprietors laid open their books and showed what profit they have been making, they have declined. Enquiries which are being pushed forward in the mining districts show the advance to be badly needed. Near Barnsley one man, a good workman, in what is considered fairly constant work, has made an average of 13s. 11d. a week. 15s. a week is quite a good figure.

Three test cases at Rotherham showed 19s. 4d. for ten days, 8s. 6d. for six days, and 6s. 6d. for six days. The 10 per cent. advance would make only about 4d. a day in thick coal miners' wages, and 2d. in those of thin coal and stone miners. Although the advance has not yet been generally given, the mere prospect has enabled dealers to raise the retail price from 1s. to 2s. per ton; a good many coalowners have done the same, and are making £100 a day profit—but to raise wages would ruin them! During the period 1871 to 1873, the rise of coal to fabulous prices was currently ascribed to the enormous wages paid to the workmen, who were understood to be working but three days per week, and to pass the rest of their time strumming on pianos and consuming champagne; but evidence collected by the Select Committee of the House of Commons put another complexion on the matter. It appears that in the West of Yorkshire district, between October, 1871, and March, 1873, there was an advance of coal at the pit's mouth of 15s. 5d. per ton, while wages in this period were advanced only 1s. 14d. per ton! The strikers and intending strikers are narrowly scanning the various papers that are taking sides for and against them. So far they have found the press by no means so inimical as they expected, but some strong talking has been indulged in about certain papers of which they expected more than they have got. In many places they seem especially sore about the *Star*, which, they say, can only find room for a scanty paragraph now and then about a matter that affects the lives of 200,000 men and the comfort of millions more, and has even discontinued its weekly labour column, while it continues to pour out pages about every insignificant happening in Ireland, and can always puff a man-milliner.

AMERICA.—OCTOBER 9.

The feather-workers of New York have won their strike. The long strike of the cigarmakers in Cuba is considered at an end, although several of the factories are still closed. Very likely the sugar factory of Havemeyer and Elder, of Williamsburgh, N.Y., will be closed. 1,700 men would suffer by the change. Last week the two sugar factories in Brooklyn of De Castro and Donnor were closed. The managers say the closing was effected not by orders of the Trust, but for repairing purposes. About 1,200 men are in consequence out of work. The workmen have forced the Republican electioneering committee to turn the *Mail and Express* newspaper chapel into a union shop. The *Mail and Express* has been considered a stronghold of the "Boss Printers' Protective Association."

LIST OF SEPTEMBER STRIKES.

Previously reported	4,374
(The secretary of the Amalgamated Iron and Steel Workers reports 202 members of that organisation on strike.)	
Philipsburgh, Pa.—Glass-workers, for advance, Sept. 20; succeeded 27	—
Duquoin, Ill.—Switchmen, Sept. 25	—
Johnson county, Ark.—Coal-miners, for advance, Sept. 20; failed 30th	—
Baltimore, Md.—Boys in glass-works, question of management, Sept. 23	90
Baltimore, Md.—Boys in glass-works, question of management, Sept. 28	160
Total number of strikers known for September	4,624

LIST OF OCTOBER STRIKES.

Morewood, Pa.—Coke-workers, against discharge of two men, Oct. 1	1,000
Homestead, Pa.—Rail-makers, against docking system, Oct. 1	—
Philadelphia, Pa.—Lock-out of ship-riggers, against reduction, Oct. 1	85
Southern Illinois coal-miners, for advance, Oct. 1	2,000
Allegheny, Pa.—Tobacco-makers in cigar-factory, for reinstatement of discharged employes, Oct. 1	—
New York City—Feather-workers, against reduction, Oct. 1	300
Scranton, Pa.—Coal-miners, against reduction, Oct. 2	200
New York City—Cabinet-makers, against reduction; succeeded Oct. 4	—
New York City—Painters, against non-union men, Oct. 3; succeeded 4th	—
Total number of strikers known to Oct. 4	3,485

H. F. C.

CORRESPONDENCE.

HOW NOT TO DO IT.

Dear Sir,—As I have to prepare an essay on "Socialism" for a debating society, I should feel very much obliged if you would kindly forward me by return a pamphlet or small treatise on its principles, and enclose 2d. for postage.—Yours, etc.

[The above is a genuine letter, and a fair sample of a large number actually received. Pamphlets were sent, but one can hardly help standing aghast at the temerity which will tackle so vast a subject in such a way.—Eps.]

EQUALITY.—In the hive of human society, to preserve order and justice, and to banish both vice and corruption, it is necessary that all the individuals be equally employed, and obliged to concur equally in the general good, and that the labour be equally divided among them. If there be any whose riches and birth exempt them from all employment, there will be divisions and unhappiness in the hive. Their idleness is destructive of the general welfare.—*Helvetius, De l'Homme, II, vi. 5.*

THE COTTAR'S SATURDAY NIGHT OF LIFE.—The *Christian Leader* says:—"Then think of the fare! 'Coarse and inadequate,' Mr. J. Boyd Kinnear says. Yes, often worse than the dietary of prisons. 'And shovelfuls of soda in it,' said a lady to us yesterday, 'to make the peas soft and the meal swell.' We were forgetting the soda, with its skinning of the lips and disturbing of the night's sleep. Would that one of your thin-lipped gentry passed a night in a poor-house! No cell to yourself as they have in prison, but a large ward filled with done folk in various stages of decay. The coughing and expectorating from diseased lungs, the groans of senility, the peripatetics of the possessors of worn-out organs strained by the doses of soda, the oaths of the sleepers they awake, the hard bed and often insufficient covering, the cock-crow rising, the ignominious regimental moleskins, the sharp tongue of the dragooning governor, and then the weary round of blank monotony—oh! it is sickening. And wherefore all this heathen cruelty? *Pour encourager les autres.* We are to make Sandy Junior thrifty by kicking his father into a criminal's grave! Oh, Christian Scotland! rich in political economy and soda! Oh that our enemy would write a book telling how a man with a wife and family is to save a competence for declining years out of the miserable pittance earned as wages by unskilled labour!"

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

BELGIUM.

Comrade Paul Conreur, of La Louvière, in the Hainault province, has been tried by the Court of Assize of Mons, for offences against the person of the King of the Belgians and the Congoese. Some time ago at a public gathering Conreur dared to express his opinions by saying, "Down with the King! Hurrah for the Republic!" That was all. But Conreur is a Socialist, and for that supplementary reason the offence is of course a very cruel one. The bourgeois who sat on the jury have sentenced him to one year's imprisonment, a fine of 300 frs. and all costs, which means at least another six months. Verily, the king of the African slave-traders is not worth so much as that. Conreur made a very able speech in court, but the jurors certainly did not understand one word of it! Besides, why should they?

We had a few words last week on the dark outlook in the coal districts of Belgium, adding therewith that the miners had to live on extremely reduced wages, whereas the owners' benefit was increasing a good deal. A few figures will illustrate this fact. Last year the production of coal increased by more than one million tons (from 17,285,547 to 18,378,624). In fact, the production of 1887 was the largest that has ever been attained. The province of Hainault alone accounts for three-quarters of this production. The 122 coal-pits of that district sold, in 1887, 108,220,000 francs' worth of coal. Out of that sum, 59,338,800 francs have been paid for wages to 75,000 workers, who extract the combustible with the aid of gigantic machines representing 80,000 horse-power, or the continuous effort of 1,600,000 men. Now that which most characterises this year is, besides the revival of the industry, the energetic way in which the coal-mining societies have worked in order to effect savings by reducing costs. In 1886 the ton was sold at 8fr. 24c., and the cost being 7fr. 95c., a benefit of 29c. only was realised. In 1887, whilst the demand was increasing in considerable proportions, the price per ton decreased to 8fr. 3c., but the cost price was reduced to 7fr. 54c., leaving a nearly double profit, 49c. per ton. This reduction has been obtained on the work of the miners; the number of workers has been somewhat diminished, and the quantity of coal extracted by each worker has increased by nine tons in the year. The average extract, by year and worker, until 1876, was 170 tons and less; in 1887 it has amounted to 179 tons. The situation of the miners, however, has not been bettered. Although they have worked six days instead of four all the year round, their wages in 1887 have only shown an increase of 26 francs on those of the previous year. The miner of Hainault has to live on a yearly income of 787 francs (£35 10s. 0d.). In 1878, when he only produced one hundred and fifty tons, he earned 836 francs; in 1882, a year of heavy production, he earned 1,007 francs (£40), but a downfall has since been steadily keeping on. On the other hand, the shareholders have pocketed all the profits; their benefit has doubled. The general outcome in 1887 has been of 6,688,000 francs, whereas in 1886, it had been of 3,610,000 fr. This, of course, never prevents the mine-owners from declaring to their wage-slaves, when asking for an increase of their salaries, that they cannot do it, and they are very sorry indeed, they are even compelled to work at a loss, and they do so only to keep their workers alive. Scoundrels!

ITALY.

Distress and misery increase day after day, and especially so in some of the Sicilian provinces and in the Neapolitan and Piedmontese districts. The wages that are there already extremely low, have now fallen to the extremest possible minimum. The *Messaggero* states that from 1 fr. 50 cent. a-day they have come to 80 and even to 60 centimes: scarcely enough to eat a little *polenta*. These starvation wages are paid to the privileged, thousands of people being out of work altogether. Under such dreadful conditions it cannot be surprising that the emigration movement makes such rapid progress all over the country. In 1877, according to official statistics, there were 18,000 emigrants. In 1878 the numbers were 40,000; in 1882, 60,000; in 1885, 77,000; in 1886, 80,000; and in 1887, 150,000. At the end of the present year there will be nearly 200,000. In certain provinces, this exodus of the population assumes very dangerous proportions. So, for instance, in the southern part of the Peninsula, in the Basilicate district, there have been 12,128 emigrants on a total population of about 500,000 inhabitants—i.e., 23 per thousand—more than in Ireland, where the proportion has been 17 per thousand for the last years. The mass emigration of the country folk also contributes very largely to the concentration of all the agricultural land into the hands of a few proprietors; the *latifundia* of olden times are re-constituted and are from day to day enlarged by the innumerable small plots of land that are left behind them by the outdriven, who can no longer find their daily subsistence on Italian soil. At this very moment, no less than the three-fifths of the productive land of Italy is owned by the large proprietors, and nothing, in the actual state of things, can prevent the progressive accumulation of the agricultural property by an ever more and reduced group of individuals. Nothing,—of course except Revolution, that shall bring the land to its real owner, the whole community. V. D.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

A meeting of the metropolitan speakers of the League will be held at 13, Farringdon Road, on Tuesday, Oct. 30, at 8 o'clock, to discuss new leaflet and other propaganda.

London Members' Meeting.—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, Nov. 5, 1888, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

Propaganda Fund.—Collected at Regent's Park, 4s. 8d.; at Hyde Park, 2s. 6½d. Total, 7s. 2½d.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Deane, 6d.

REPORTS.

LONDON (OPEN-AIR).—*Regent's Park*.—William Morris addressed very large meeting Sunday morning. *Weal* and other literature sold. *Hyde Park*.—On Sunday an enthusiastic meeting was addressed by Blundell, Henderson, Cantwell, Williams (S.D.F.), and a German comrade. Blundell sang "The March of the Workers," and other Socialist songs were sung. At end of meeting a procession of over 500 workmen marched to *Broad Street*, accompanied by many foot and

mounted police. Revolutionary songs were sung with great fervour. A huge meeting was addressed by Nicholls, Brooks, and McCormick, from which we marched to Clerkenwell Green, where another meeting was held by Nicholl and Power (S.D.F.). **Leman Street.**—Good meeting Sunday morning. Speakers: Mrs. Schack, Turner, and Parker. Procession afterwards round Ratcliffe Highway. 11 new members. **Philpot Street.**—On Friday evening Kitz and Parker spoke. Several songs sung. **Victoria Park.**—Oct. 21st, good meeting, addressed by Davis, Mrs. Schack, and Kicks.

CLERKENWELL.—On Sunday, Oct. 21, J. Turner lectured on "Palliatives a Waste of Energy." The lecturer was of opinion that a body like the Socialist League should be in the main a party of principle, and should certainly hold aloof from all compromise. When the oppressive factions saw a large party of this expression in the county, they would be sure to throw out "sops" of all shapes and sizes. Good discussion followed.—B.

FULHAM.—On Tuesday evening, back of Walham Green Church, Maughan and Groser addressed a very good meeting. Several of Morris's songs were given by Mrs. Tochetti and sister. Sunday morning, Tarleton and Davis addressed a good meeting. In the evening, after Davis and Groser had spoken outside outside our rooms, Tochetti gave his lecture on "Human Sacrifices in England." Several questions and some discussion. 2s. 6d. collected and three members made.—S. B. G.

HAMMERSMITH.—At Latimer Road, Sunday morning, very good meeting. Speakers: Tochetti, Dean, Maughan, ably aided by Lyne (S.D.F.) 24 'Weals' sold. Several of the choir attended. In evening, Graham Wallas lectured on "The French Revolutionary Movement of '48."—J. M.

MERTON AND MITCHAM.—Good meeting on Fair Green, Mitcham, addressed by Kitz, Sunday morning. On Wimbledon Broadway, Monday, Kitz and Groser, of Hammersmith Branch, assisted by members of Hammersmith Choir, held a great crowd together for an hour and a half.—F. K.

WHITECHAPEL AND ST. GEORGE'S.—At a meeting held on Saturday evening, Leach was appointed treasurer; Scheusul, librarian; and Parker and Wess, secretaries.

ABERDEEN.—At indoor meeting on 15th a spirited discussion took place over a lecture on "The coming Revolution." Speakers: Duncan, Aiken, Barron, Turner, Smith, McIntyre, and Leatham. At mass meeting in Castle Street, to protest against the freedom of the city being granted to Goschen (who is Lord Rector of Aberdeen University), Leatham spoke from three different platforms. The meeting showed a decided preference for the strong meat of Socialism, leaving the Gladstonian and trade-union demagogues for the Socialist speaker. Webster also took part, but not as a Socialist.

EDINBURGH.—Not much doing here at present. Still lending pamphlets from house to house. On 18th Smith read a paper, which led to good discussion.

GLASGOW.—On Sunday, at 2.30, Glasier, Gilbert, and Downie addressed meeting on Green. At Paisley Road Toll, at 5, Tim Burgoyne, Joe Burgoyne, Glasier, and Culloch spoke to large and attentive audience; a number of questions asked and answered.

IPSWICH.—On Sunday Creed held meeting at Stutton; Brown lectured at the Pioneers' Hall to good audience; and Thomas spoke at the Debating Club. We are getting on very well with our work since we opened our new hall.—G. T.

NORWICH.—Successful meetings during week at corner of Silver Road and St. Catharine's Plain. Mowbray has been addressing unemployed meetings during week. Sunday afternoon, usual meeting in Market Place, addressed by Mowbray; good audience listened attentively. In evening, Cores addressed open-air meeting in Market. At Gordon Hall, Mowbray lectured to fair audience on "Trades' Unionism and its Present Relation to Socialism." Cores took chair. Good sales of literature, and 8s. 6d. collected for propaganda.—A. T. S.

EAST-END PROPAGANDA.—Berner Street Club hall was again filled, Saturday evening, to hear discussion, opened by Davis, on "Co-operation." A number of speakers took part. 3s. 6d. was collected.—W. P. B.

LECTURE DIARY.
LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—This Branch will shortly be actively working. Socialists resident in this locality should send their names in at once to 13, Farringdon Road.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday, October 29, at 8.30 p.m., Concert in aid of Chicago Commemoration Fund. Free admission; collection to be made. Sunday, November 4, at 8.30 p.m., Social Evening by Members and Friends; free admission. Sunday November 11, at 8.30 p.m., R. L. Allen, "Man in Relation to Life and Matter."

Fulham.—Our rooms, 8 Effie Road, Walham Green, will in future be opened on Thursday evenings at 7 o'clock to all persons interested in social matters.

Hackney.—Secretary, E. Lefevre, 28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Road, Hackney Wick.

Hammersmith.—Kelmecott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Oct. 28, at 8 p.m.

Hoxton.—Persons wishing to join this branch are requested to communicate with H. D. Morgan, 22, Nicholas Street Hoxton.

London Fields.—All communications, etc., to Mrs. G. G. Schack, 26 Cawley Road, South Hackney.

Merton.—Club-house, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road, Singlegate. Lecture on Sunday evenings at 8.30.

Mile-end and Bethnal Green.—95 Boston St., Hackney Road.

North London.—Secretary, Nelly Parker. Business meetings held on Friday evenings at 6 Windmill St., Tottenham Court Road, after open-air meeting at Ossulton Street.

Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.—40 Berner Street. Meets Thursdays at 8.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen (Scottish Section).—Secretary, P. Barrow, 14 Ann Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

Bradford.—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivegate. Meets Tuesdays at 8.

Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Tuesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secy.

Dundee (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

Edinburgh (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.

Galashiels (Scot Sect).—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, secy.

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

Glasgow.—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class meets every Sunday at 11.

Ipswich.—Pioneer Hall, Jacket Street. Meets on Sunday evenings.

Kilmarnock.—Secretary, H. McGill, 22 Gilmour St.

Leeds.—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Rd. and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m. communications to T. Paylor, 11 Sheldon Street, Holbeck, Leeds.

Leicester.—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—Sunday, at 8.15, Lecture in Gordon Hall. Monday, at 8, Concert on behalf of Branch funds in Gordon Hall; admission free. Wednesday, at 8, Educational Class. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association. Tuesday next, Oct. 30th, General Meeting of Branch will begin at 8 p.m. sharp, to elect officers and discuss the propaganda during coming winter, and other important business. Every comrade is requested to make a special effort to be present.

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

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

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

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SUNDAY 28.

11.30...	Latimer Road Station	...	Hammersmith Branch
11.30...	Mitcham Fair Green	.....	Turner
11.30...	Regent's Park	.....	Davis
11.30...	Walham Green, opp. Station	.....	Mainwaring
11.30...	Weltje Rd., Ravenscourt Pk	.....	Hammersmith
3.30...	Hyde Park	.....	Parker
7.30...	Broad Street, Soho	.....	Parker
7.30...	Clerkenwell Green	Nicoll
7.30...	Mitcham Fair Green	Turner

Monday.

8	...Wimbledon Broadway	Mainwaring
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Tuesday.

8.30...	Fulham—back of Walham Green Ch.	...	Branch
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Friday.

7.30...	Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street	Fuller
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EAST END.

SUNDAY 28.

Leman Street, Shadwell	11	...	Parker.
Victoria Park	...	3.15...	Schack, M'nwaring and Davis.
Broadway, London Fields	8.30...		Mainwaring.

TUESDAY.

Mile-end Waste	...	8.30...	Whitechapel Bh.
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WEDNESDAY.

Broadway, London Fields	8.30...		Davis & Hicks.
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FRIDAY.

Philpot St., Commercial Rd.	8.30...		Davis, Kitz, Parker
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SATURDAY.

Mile-end Waste	...	6	...Whitechapel Bh.
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PROVINCES.

Aberdeen.—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7 p.m.

Glasgow.—Sunday: Jail's Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock.

Ipswich.—
Sproughton, Wednesday evening.
Westerfield, Thursday evening.
Needham Market, Sunday morning and evening.

Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

Leicester.—Sunday: Russel Square, at 11 a.m.

Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place, at 3 and 7.30.
Corner of Silver Road, Thursday at 8.15 p.m.
St Catharine's Plain, Friday at 8.15 p.m.

ST. CLEMENT'S, Lever Street, City Road.—Special Sermon. Sunday Oct. 28, at 5.

PADDINGTON RADICAL CLUB, Paddington Green, Harrow Road.—Rev. S. D. Headlam, "The School Board Election." Sunday Oct. 28, at 8.30 p.m.

ST. NICHOLAS COLE ABBEY, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.—Rev. C. E. Escreet, "The Six Points of the Bishops' Social Charter." Sunday Oct. 28, at 3.45.

DULWICH WORKING MEN'S LIBERAL AND RADICAL CLUB, Lordship Lane, Dulwich.—Mr. W. Steer (E.L.R.L.), "Why Landlordism must Perish." Sunday Oct. 28, at 8 p.m.

PRINCES SQUARE.—A concert was given here on Sunday evening by the East-end Propaganda Committee at this Club, the proceeds to be devoted to the Chicago Commemoration Fund.

THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—The Committee will meet at the Socialist League Offices, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C., on Saturday October 27, at 7.30 p.m. Subscriptions received and members enrolled at 9 p.m.

MILE-END AND BETHNAL GREEN BRANCH.—A meeting of members and friends will take place Sunday October 28th, at 26 Cawley Road, Victoria Park, at 6 p.m., after meeting in Park, to consider best means of forming a Socialist Club in district in connection with this branch. Comrades please attend.—H. M.

UNITED SCANDINAVIAN CLUB, 43 Rathbone Place, Oxford Street, W.—Grand Entertainment, with Concert and Ball, in aid of the Publication and Propaganda Funds of the Debating Sections, will be held on Saturday October 27, at 8.30 p.m. The following, and others, have consented to oblige: Miss D. Powell (violin and piano), Mr. Redfern Williams (humorous songs and sketches), Mr. D. J. Nicoll (selections from 'Pickwick Papers'), Messrs. Stewart (jigger sketch). Programme, 6d.

FABIAN SOCIETY.—The Fabian Society is giving a course of lectures on "Socialism: its Basis and Prospects." The first part of the course is devoted to "The Basis of Socialism." Of this, three have already been given—Sept. 21, (1) "The Historical Aspect," Sidney Webb; Oct. 5, (2) "The Economic Aspect," G. Bernard Shaw; Oct. 19, (3) "The Moral Aspect," Sydney Olivier. The first part concludes with: Nov. 2, (4) "The Industrial Aspect," William Clarke. The second part of the course will deal with "The Organisation of Society": Nov. 16, (1) "Property under Socialism," Graham Wallas; Dec. 7, (2) "Industry under Socialism," Annie Besant; Dec. 21, (3) "The Outlook," Hubert Bland.—The meetings will be held at Willis's Rooms, King Street, St. James's Square, S.W. The chair will be taken by the Rev. Stewart D. Headlam, B.A., at 8 p.m. precisely. Tickets for the course may be obtained from the Hon. Sec., Sydney Olivier, 150 Portsdown Rd. W.

CHICAGO MARTYRS—COMMEMORATION MEETINGS.—Mrs. Parsons having accepted the invitation of the Committee to come to England, they trust that all Socialists will embrace this opportunity of making propaganda by holding meetings in different parts of London and the provinces. The expenses of Mrs. Parsons' visit, with printing, hiring halls, etc., will cost at least £40. The Committee trust that all comrades will help to raise this amount. The following sums have been received:—Autonomie Club, £2 10s Princes Square International Club, £2. Berner Street International Club, £2. 1st Section International Club, £2. United Scandinavian Club, £1 10s. East End Propaganda Committee, £1 3s. 6d. Collected a Council meeting Socialist League, 9s. 7½d. Fuller, 1s D. Nicoll, 6d. Total, £11 14s. 7½d.—J. LANE, Treas

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SIGNS OF CHANGE.

BY WILLIAM MORRIS.

Being seven Lectures, delivered on various occasions for the Socialist League.

Reeves & Turner, 196 Strand; or *Commonweal Office*

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THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 4.—No. 147.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

CHICAGO MARTYRS & BLOODY SUNDAY.

"Our silence will be more powerful than our speech."

Mrs. PARSONS has accepted the invitation of the Commemoration Committee to speak at the various meetings to be held in London and the provinces next November.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 10,

A Meat Tea will be provided at St. Paul's Café, St. Paul's Churchyard, E.C., at 7 p.m. Tickets 1s. 6d. each. Tickets will be issued at 6d. each for those who cannot attend tea, in order to hear an address to Mrs. Parsons and her reply. Tickets can now be obtained from Secretary, 13 Farringdon Road, any branch secretary, and all the International Clubs. All unsold tickets and cash must be returned by Friday, November 9, to J. Lane, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM, M.P., in the Chair.

Songs will be sung during the evening by the Choir.

Arrangements have already been made to hold meetings on

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 11, at 11.30 a.m., in
REGENT'S PARK.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 11, at 3.30 p.m., in
HYDE PARK.

Processions will be organised from different parts of London, and delegates from Radical clubs will speak at the platforms.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 12, at 7.30 p.m., in
WORNUM HALL, STORE STREET,
TOTTENHAM COURT ROAD.

The Chair will be taken by WILLIAM MORRIS.

Speakers:—P. Kropotkin, F. Kitz, J. Blackwell, Trunk, Dr. Merlino, Cunninghame Graham, John Burns, and others, whose names will be announced next week. The whole of the Trafalgar Square prisoners released are expected at this meeting. Mrs. PARSONS will speak at Wornum Hall and Hyde Park, and probably Victoria Park.

A Choir Practice will be held on Sunday, November 4th, at 4 p.m., at the Hall of the Socialist League.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 13, at 3 p.m., in
VICTORIA PARK.

The following Resolutions will be moved at the meetings:—

FIRST RESOLUTION.

"That this meeting commemorates the legal murder of four men which took place on November 11th, 1887 (Parsons, Spies, Fischer, and Engels), and the cruel imprisonment of three others (Fielden, Schwab, and Neebe) by the Government of the State of Illinois for the crime of supporting workmen in a labour struggle against their masters, and the further crime of maintaining the rights of free speech, and emphatically denounces the interference with these rights in all capitalist countries; an interference which is the natural result of a so-called Society founded on the robbery of labour."

SECOND RESOLUTION.

"That this meeting also denounces the attack on Free Speech made in London on November 13th, 1887, during which three men were killed and many sent to prison after a mere mockery of trial, and it calls for the immediate release of Harrison, condemned to five years penal servitude for being present at a political meeting which was ferociously attacked by the police."

Meantime, funds are urgently needed, and should be sent to Joseph Lane, Treasurer, at the office of the Socialist League, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C. Any information can be had by communicating with Secretary of the Commemoration Committee.

W. B. PARKER, Secretary.

THE PEASANT AND THE MONEY-LENDER.

THE following little story is taken from a most interesting book called 'Wide-Awake Stories,'¹ a collection of forty-three Indian folk-tales. In reprinting it a few of the names of persons and things have been altered so as to convey more clearly what is meant, but otherwise the story is given here as it is in the book, where anyone loving folk-lore would do well to look for it, and read its companions as well. And now for the story.

There was once a peasant who suffered much at the hands of a money-lender. Good harvests or bad, the peasant was always poor, the money-lender rich. At last, when he hadn't a farthing left, the peasant went to the money-lender's house and said, "You can't squeeze water from a stone, and as you have nothing to get by me now, you might tell me the secret of becoming rich."

"My friend," returned the money-lender, piously, "riches come from God—ask him."

"Thank you, I will," returned the simple peasant; so he prepared three girdle-cakes to last him on the journey, and set out to find God.

First he met a priest, and to him he gave a cake, asking him to point out the road to God; but the priest only took the cake and went on his way without a word. Next the peasant met a holy man or devotee, and to him he gave a cake, without receiving any help in return. At last, he came upon a poor man sitting under a tree, and finding out he was hungry, the kindly peasant gave him his last cake, and sitting down to rest beside him, entered into conversation.

"And where are you going?" asked the poor man, at length.

"Oh, I have a long journey before me, for I am going to find God!" replied the peasant. "I don't suppose you could tell me which way to go?"

"Perhaps I can," said the poor man, smiling, "for I am God! What do you want of me?"

Then the peasant told the whole story, and God, taking pity on him, gave him a conch shell, and showed him how to blow it in a particular way, saying, "Remember, whatever you wish for, you have only to blow the conch that way and your wish will be fulfilled. Only have a care of that money-lender, for even magic is not proof against their wiles!"

The peasant went back to his village rejoicing. In fact the money-lender noticed his high spirits at once, and said to himself, "Some good fortune must have befallen the stupid fellow, to make him hold his head so jauntily." Therefore he went over to the simple peasant's house, and congratulated him on his good fortune, in such cunning words, pretending to have heard all about it, that before long the peasant found himself telling the whole story—all except the secret of blowing the conch, for, with all his simplicity, the peasant was not quite such a fool as to tell that.

Nevertheless, the money-lender determined to have the conch by hook or by crook, and as he was villain enough not to stick at trifles, he waited for a favourable opportunity and stole the conch.

But, after nearly bursting himself with blowing the conch in every conceivable way, he was obliged to give up the secret as a bad job. However, being determined to succeed, he went back to the peasant and said, coolly, "Look here, I've got your conch, but I can't use it; you haven't got it, so it's clear you can't use it either. Business is at a standstill unless we make a bargain. Now, I promise to give you back your conch, and never to interfere with your using it, on one condition, which is this,—whatever you get from it, I am to get double."

"Never!" cried the peasant; "that would be the old business all over again."

"Not at all," replied the wily money-lender; "you will have your share. Now, don't be a dog in the manger, for if you get all you want, what can it matter to you if I am rich or poor?"

At last, though it went sorely against the grain to be of any benefit to a money-lender, the peasant was forced to yield; and from that time, no matter what he gained by the power of the conch, the money-lender

¹ Wide-Awake Stories. A collection of tales told by little children, between sunset and sunrise, in the Panjab and Kashmir. By F. A. Steel and R. C. Temple. Trübner, London, 1884; 8vo.

gained double. And the knowledge that this was so preyed upon the peasant's mind day and night, so that he had no satisfaction out of anything.

At last, there came a very dry season—so dry that the peasant's crops withered for want of rain. Then he blew his conch, and wished for a well to water them; and lo! there was the well, but the money-lender had two—two beautiful new wells! This was too much for any peasant to stand; and our friend brooded over it, and brooded over it, till at last a bright idea came into his head. He seized the conch, blew it loudly, and cried out, "Oh, God! I wish to be blind of one eye!" And so he was, in a twinkling; but the money-lender, of course, was blind of both, and in trying to steer his way between the two new wells, he fell into one, and was drowned.

Now this true story shows that a peasant once got the better of a money-lender, but only by losing one of his eyes!

THE MORAL OF THE WHITECHAPEL MURDERS.

The upper and middle-classes are shocked. Their faithful servants, the police, are astounded and powerless. The terrible deeds of the probable maniac-murderer have shaken society to its very foundation. "What can it all mean?" is the question that all men are asking themselves, while very few seem to be able to give a satisfactory answer.

For years Socialists have thundered out against the ever-growing evils of capitalist society, both in the lecture-hall and in the street. In not a few cases, the prison cell has been the reward of those who have endeavoured to awaken the apathetic to a sense of duty. At length our masters are aroused, and behold! a Royal Commission is enquiring into the particulars of the housing of the poor. In due time the report of the labours of the Commission is submitted to public scrutiny, and—what then? "Society" goes to sleep again until aroused by the fiendish deeds of a master-murderer. And how well do the conditions which surround these vile acts prove the Socialist position, namely, that we are living in a system of slavery, the rich—the masters; the poor—the slaves.

The victims of these atrocious crimes are, after all, so many sacrifices on the shrine of capitalism. The "doss" money would have saved their lives; but our society is not founded on life, but property, and therefore their lives were not worth fourpence. If the murderer be a rich man, surely his wealth and conditions by which he is surrounded in society has driven him mad; if, on the other hand, he is a poor one, his poverty surely has robbed him of every spark of manhood.

Now, there are in London alone no less than 80,000 prostitutes, many of whom are mothers of the rising generation. The poor devils must violate their virtue, and outrage their womanhood, in order to obtain their "doss" money. What pleasant food for reflection; after nearly nineteen hundred years of Christianity, while we have reached an age of progress hitherto undreamed of! Surely we ought to be proud of our boasted civilisation, where "wealth accumulates and men decay."

Bourgeois society, just awakened, is complaining of the badly lighted slums of the East End of London, as though such things were not known before the recent atrocities occurred; so that in our age of contradictions and absurdities, a fiend-murderer may become a more effective reformer than all the honest propagandists in the world. This is by no means a pleasing deduction; but it seems the only one that can be made from the present state of affairs.

Our police, too, considering the expense incurred in maintaining the system now in vogue at Scotland Yard, cut pretty figures in this business; and that they are not kept in existence for the protection of the property and lives of the workers is made amply clear. If some Socialist had been suspected of conspiring to take the life of some capitalist tyrant, then indeed should we have witnessed the successful activity of the police in bringing the culprit to "justice." But what matters? The victims in this case were wage-slaves, of whom there is a plentiful supply; and, seeing how everything to-day is governed by the "law" of the political economist—human flesh and blood being no exception to the rule—when the supply is above the demand its price will fall, yea, even to fourpence, the price of a "doss," what may we not expect?

Well, after all, there is only one way out—the workers must become their own masters, and their present masters must be made to work for their own living instead of living on the labour of others as they do to-day.

H. DAVIS.

The Pinkerton detectives "never sleep." Of course not. While others sleep they put up jobs and then wait for the reward.—*Craftsman*.

When a Labour paper says something that does not suit the opinions of a certain subscriber, the editor receives a postal card or sealed letter bearing the inscription "stop my paper," but newspapers opposed to labour organisations can say what they please, ridicule the demands of the working-classes, hire cheap scab labour, and never hear a complaint from the party that wants his labour paper stopped. The advocate of labour's rights is forced to the wall while the enemy thrives and grows rich.—*Southern Industry*.

ECONOMY AND WAGES.—The capitalist comes home with his specific. He tells the working man that he must be economical, and yet, under the present system, economy would lessen wages. Under the great law of supply and demand, every saving, frugal, self-denying workman is unconsciously doing what little he can to reduce the compensation of himself and fellows. The slaves who did not run away helped fasten chains on those who did. So the saving mechanic is a certificate that wages are high enough. Does the great law demand that every worker should live on the least possible amount of bread? Is it his fate to work one day that he may get enough food to be able to work another? Is that to be his only hope—that and death?—*R. G. Ingersoll*.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 10, 1888.

4	San.	1789. Revolution Society of London sends congratulatory address to National Convention at Paris. 1839. Frost's rising at Newport. 1867. Garibaldi defeated at Mentana.
5	Mon.	1605. Gunpowder Plot. 1789. Distinctions and orders abolished by National Convention. 1809. Great meeting at "Crown and Anchor" tavern to celebrate anniversary of the acquittal in 1792 of Hardy, Horne Tooke, Thelwall, etc.
6	Tues.	1773. Henry Hunt born. 1793. Edinburgh Convention dispersed by force. 1830. Peasant riots in southern England. 1842. W. Hone died.
7	Wed.	1683. Algernon Sidney tried for high treason. 1817. Brandreth and others hanged for high treason. 1837. E. P. Lovejoy killed. 1852. Third Empire established.
8	Thur.	1674. John Milton died. 1793. Madame Roland beheaded. 1848. Robert Blum shot.
9	Fri.	1830. Royal visit and Lord Mayor's Show postponed; unemployed riots in London. 1856. Etienne Cabet died.
10	Sat.	1786. Trial of Woodfall for libel. 1798. Trial of Wolfe Tone for high treason. 1862. T. B. McManus buried. 1880. Trial of Nihilists at St. Petersburg for Winter Palace explosion: sentences—Kviatofski and four others, death; eight men and three women, imprisonment. 1887. Louis Lingg died in prison.

Death of Lovejoy.—The assassination of Elijah Parish Lovejoy at Alton, Illinois, on the 7th of November, 1837, has been one of the great landmarks in the battle for human liberty, free thought, free speech, and free action. The circumstances of his case are very instructive. Lovejoy proved that human villainy and tyrannous oppression can never allow a single honest man to exist in their neighbourhood. The conspiracy of silence must be enforced or every unjust institution totters to its foundation. Lovejoy published an obscure print in St. Louis. This could not be allowed, and, only wishing to stand on the defensive, he left Missouri to stew in its own wicked juice. He went across the "Father of Waters" to the free soil of Illinois. But Missouri could not bear such a breath of honesty blowing across her borders. A mob of St. Louis ruffians made a descent upon Alton again and again and destroyed the printing materials they feared so much. At length they destroyed the printer; but in vain. As the Chicago martyr has said, "his silence was more powerful than his speech." A tempest of wrath swept over the great race of New Englanders such as the world has rarely witnessed. At the meeting of protest in Faneuil Hall the young Wendell Phillips first lifted that never-to-be-forgotten voice against all forms of social oppression; that voice which will ring down the cycles of time as long as the English idiom leaves a fragment to be deciphered by the scholars of earth and the searchers of human endeavour.—*L. W.*

LETTER FROM AMERICA.

THOMAS WARDELL, a rich coal mine-owner, Englishman by birth, has been shot, or "Watrined" as our French comrades would say. The miners in Bevier, Mo., went on strike, and "scabs" were imported from the East. This incensed the strikers, especially against Wardell, who is a "self-made man." Wardell went to the station to meet his new men; he was met by 400 strikers. He was taunted by his old men, and shouted at them, "Well, boys, I will down you yet." A stone was thrown at him; he pulled out his revolver and fired at the crowd; a volley was returned and his body was riddled with bullets. He was done to as he wanted to do unto others. The new men have been so much frightened by this that they are leaving the town as fast as possible.

The Kane County Grand Jury at Geneva, Ill., has found bills of indictment against John A. Bauereisen, Thomas Broderick, Alexander Smith, John A. Bowles, August Koegel, and George Goding. They are charged with conspiracy to injure the property of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad Company, by the use of dynamite at Aurora, Ill., during the last strike of locomotive engineers and firemen on that road. They are all members of the Brotherhood, and Bauereisen is Chief Engineer of Division No. 32, Locomotive Engineers.

The boss bakers of New York have raised the price of bread from 5 to 6 cents.

The trial of the Bohemian Anarchists in Chicago will begin on the 17th inst.

The past week has been very exciting for the people of Chicago. A strike was begun on the street-car system. This in itself, of course, was nothing unusual, since strikes in our days are but a common every-day occurrence. However, one noteworthy fact was clearly demonstrated—the people are becoming more and more imbued with a spirit of revolt. In spite of their protests not to be "Anarchists," they are forced to adopt tactics commonly styled "Anarchistic." The present strike was the first serious conflict between the oppressed and those in power since the glorious May days, and the scenes enacted prove conclusively that in spite of the cowardly conduct and the submissive policy pursued by the infamous gang who dared to vilify, even in the old organ of the International, the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, the principles for which our martyrs fought and died so nobly, the people of Chicago, the real working population of that city, are not willing to submit without considerable protest to capitalistic greed and tyranny. Let us look at the situation. On the one side we see about 2,500 men standing up for their rights, unfortunately stupidly advised and badly guided by their leaders, but well sustained by the honest and intelligent part of the labouring population of Chicago. On the other hand we see the mighty dollar, the brutality of capital supported by unfortunate human beings who are compelled by hunger, misery, and want, to commit treason on their own class, and in the middle we see, like the jackass in the fable, Authority—Republican in this case—fearing if acting too strong to lose the vote of their voting-cattle, and if not strong enough to be dismissed by its present ruler—King Cash. And well they fought, the people of Chicago! Aye, even the tiny little school children felt that a wrong was about to be committed on the oppressed, and with childish instinct, I feel tempted to say, they took the part of the dog who is under. Yes, if such events can happen there is hope yet for the Social Revolution even in America, never mind the cowardice and the treachery committed by those who managed to sneak snug jobs at the expense of labour.

SCENES FROM THE CHICAGO BATTLEFIELD.

October 9th.—The men employed on the West Side street-cars went out on strike this morning. In all the strikers now number about 2,500. There were two collisions between the people and the police to-day. Near the corner of Orchard Street and Garfield Avenue the street had been barricaded by the people, but the police on arrival removed the obstruction. When the patrol wagons containing the minions of law-'n'-order started away, the crowd began to hoot and yell. Obeying the order of their chief, the blue-coats jumped at once from the wagons and began instantly clubbing the "free" citizens. One woman was terribly cut about the head, and also severely injured internally. Fully twenty people were more or less seriously wounded, and the police after this glorious deed "moved" on.

The second collision happened near the car depot on Western Avenue. Three cars were started out here in the afternoon under the guidance of Superintendent Nagli, and were well protected by the police. When the cars returned from the trip the people began to yell and to hoot; Nagli drew his revolver to shoot amongst the crowd, but the weapon was snatched away from him. Stones and other missiles were now thrown by the infuriated people, and Nagli got his jaw dislocated. When he got out of the depot a switchman named Newton Foster got a chance to get near him and knocked him down, thereupon the police charged the crowd with their clubs. Foster was rendered senseless by a blow from a club, and a fight began for the possession of his body. The police behaved like wild beasts, hitting at every head in sight, and finally managed to drag Foster into the depot.

"The city reminds one of the May days of 1886," telegraphs a scribe of a capitalistic paper.

October 10th.—The Knights of Labour Council, in which all the Knights Labour in Cook County are represented, at a meeting last evening adopted resolutions endorsing the action of the striking street-car men, and promising them moral and financial support.

A fierce battle was fought to-day between the people and the law-'n'-order brutes. The officials of the car companies provoked the bloodshed. A great crowd had collected in front of the Western Avenue car-depot; all of a sudden Superintendents Kersten and Gubbins tried to leave the depot in a buggy. Gubbins, who is the willing tool of President Yerkes, of the car companies, is hated by the men like fire. No sooner did he appear on the scene than the crowd howled and shouted at him, also a few stones were thrown. Without any hesitation whatsoever the two officials drew their revolvers and fired each six shots at the crowd. Fortunately only one man, a labourer named Peter Beggan, was hit; the horse of the buggy was frightened and ran away, tearing through the dense crowd and knocking people down right and left. Western Avenue from Randolph to Madison Streets, was densely packed with people. The law-'n'-order lambs telephoned for assistance, which was sent to them from Desplaines Street police-station. Captain Aldrich took command, having about 150 policemen at his disposal. The officials, in spite of advice not to exasperate the people, resolved to run a car. To enable them to do this Police Lieutenant Shea cleared the streets. A "scab" white with fear drove the car, which was occupied as "passengers" by bluecoats and reporters—birds of a kind. The people, now fairly mad through the provoking actions of the authorities and the officials, hissed and howled and also threw stones at the car. Aldrich ordered a charge, and in an instant a battle was waged between the crowd and the police. The people fought well; every inch of ground was contested. Over one hundred bluecoats were wounded. Aldrich received a heavy brick square in the face. At least fifty citizens applied at the drug-stores in the neighbourhood for treatment. The driver dropped from the platform; a brick had struck him fair on the temple and another "scab" took his place. He whipped his horses to a gallop, and the police-wagons in front and in the rear of the car went also a-galloping. The spectacle of the police flying from the people induced the crowd to cheer loudly, and the car continued its journey toward the lake. On the way the bystanders tried several times to stop its progress, but the police always drove them back with clubs. Lieutenant Shea once fired at the people with his revolver, fortunately, however, hitting nobody. When the car on the return trip reached Western Avenue, a huge barricade was found erected on the track. The car had to be lifted from the rails, and to be drawn over the pavement to the depot.

Yerkes says he will try to run cars as usual.

On the North Side, the tracks at several points had been piled high with stones and all sorts of obstructions. The officials had the obstructions removed and started the cars, but the people threw some stones at the track-cleaners. The commanding police officer ordered an attack with clubs at the people. The bluecoats used their clubs very freely, and over fifty citizens were hurt, some very badly indeed.

October 11th.—Mayor Roche, who had been asked to arbitrate, made to-day the following statement to a reporter:—

"A man connected with the West Side Company called at my office this morning and asked if I would not like to see the West Side men. The result was that a committee of ten called at my office and had a long talk with me. I stated to them that all I could do would be to conciliate the opposing parties, but that I was powerless to speak in behalf of the absent party. They said they did not care to meet Mr. Yerkes, but told me just what they could do. While it would not be fair, at this stage of the negotiations, to say what their propositions were, I say that they showed a disposition to yield—in fact, they did yield two or three points. With that as a basis for further guidance, I sent word to the attorney of Mr. Yerkes, and told him that I would like to see Mr. Yerkes. A room at the Union League Club was secured, and there Mr. Yerkes and I talked matters over for several hours. I urged him to make some concessions and a proposition, but I could not get him to do it. He said he thought more of the fact that he would have to discharge some of his men than he did of the money. He said that the West Side men would first have to show a willingness to go back. He told me that he did not contemplate any reduction of wages on the West Side, and even went so far as to say that he would agree to make no reduction, but I could not get him to make any proposition in regard to the North Side men that would come up to what he had said before. I do not mean what he said at the former conference, for he renewed that proposition of 20, 21, and 23 cents. After the other conference I went up to his house, and he seemed disposed to yield more at that time. He would not go beyond his former offer for the North Side men. That is all I could get out of him."

At midnight a crowd gathered at the corner of Oak and Margaret Streets and barricaded the tracks. Bonfires were also built at various places along the tracks of the North Side, and the rails twisted out of shape by the heat. The rails were also pulled up at some places, and in some instances the rails were not only torn up but also carried away. About noon to-day, a vehicle freighted with "scabs" started from Desplaines Street station for the Western Avenue car-depot. Several patrol wagons filled with police, under command of Captain Aldrich and Lieutenant Shea, accompanied the "scabs." Near the depot a crowd had gathered, who, at the sight of the vehicles,

shouted "Scabs! scabs!" Aldrich at once ordered an attack, and eight men were arrested and carted off to Desplaines Street station. Several minor collisions occurred between the authorities and the people. The best allies of the strikers are the children, who gather by the thousands, attack the police, the "scabs," and the cars, and who also notify the strikers of the arrival of new "scabs."

A striker named Julius Kaeseberg has been jailed, under the accusation of having placed a package of dynamite on the street car track, corner of Sedgwick and Schiller streets.

Yerkes said, "All negotiations are off. The mayor has promised me ample protection. I will make no more offers nor receive any."

The Yerkes Syndicate owns also street-car lines in New York, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh, and if the Chicago strike is not speedily settled probably the employes of these will also go on strike.

Oct. 12th.—Several trips were made to-day on Madison Street from the Western Avenue depot, but as the rain was coming down in streams the streets were quite deserted. Also on the north side some cars were run, but here the children took a hand in the matter. When seven Garfield Avenue cars were passing the school situated corner Centre and Burling streets, the school children set up a howl, yelled at the drivers and scared the horses by waving their hats. The tremendous noise created by the youngsters brought quite a crowd together. A car jumped the tracks. Instantly about 500 children crowded round, yelling at the top of their voices "Scab, scab! sneak! traitor! murderer!" and so forth. A few of the resolute haters of law-'n'-order began throwing stones, thereby presenting an opportunity to the minions of law-'n'-order to render an attack on the youngsters plausible, of which they speedily availed themselves. The little sympathisers with the strikers were knocked about in the most brutal fashion. The clubs were freely used, and finally the urchins had to take to their heels.

Captain Schaack and ex-assistant attorney Furthmann (both notorious for the part they played in the trial of "Our Eight") "tested" the dynamite alleged to be found yesterday on the tracks, and declare it to be strong enough to blow up anything and everything. Thomas H. Nicholson was locked up to-day under the charge of being an accomplice of Kaeseberg. Both men were put under bail of 10,000 dollars each.

Oct. 13th.—Yesterday evening the strike committee had a conference with Yerkes in the office of mayor Roche. Yerkes is reported to have said to the west side men, "Well, boys, what are you striking for?" One of them replied, "We are afraid, if you succeed in beating the north side men in their strike, that you will cut our wages down." "But I won't do it. I'll give you any kind of security in reason not to try to reduce wages on the west side for five years," answered the cunning capitalist. After some further conversation he announced to the full committee that if the west side men went to work to-day he would meet the north side committee at his office and arrange the trouble with them. The committee submitted Yerkes' proposition to a mass meeting held late last night, which finally agreed that the west side men should go to work to-day, and also adopted the following resolution:

"Resolved, That if Yerkes does not concede the following rate of wages, which we think is just—namely, twenty-one cents an hour for horse cars, twenty-two cents an hour for trail cars, and twenty-five cents an hour for grip cars—the West Side conductors and drivers run their cars through the day and turn out on Sunday morning, not to return unless the settlement be arrived at."

The west side men returned to work this morning. The north side committee called on Yerkes, but of course he would concede nothing. The excitement in Chicago has calmed down. Yerkes' cunningness seems to have granted him a victory. Cars were running to-day as usual even without a blue-coat bodyguard.

In addition to the two men arrested under the pretext of having put dynamite on the tracks, a third man named Peter D. Thompson was locked up to-day. They were brought before the court for having in their possession dynamite for illegal purposes. The "punishment" runs from not less than five years to no more than twenty-five years. On motion of the prosecutors the case was continued. All the men are out on bail—10,000 dollars each.

Oct. 10th.—The strike is over, and is calculated to have caused the syndicate 100,000 dollars. The men wanted to go out again, but receiving one communication after another from mayor Roche, begging them not to stop work and to await the result of another conference with Yerkes, they agreed to wait. The ultimatum of the men was an increase for the north side men of 8 per cent., the abolishment of the "set car system," pay by the hour, and the return to work of all the old men. Yerkes agreed at once to all demands except the increase of the pay. At last the conference arranged an increase of 6 per cent. Lyman J. Gage, vice-president of the First National Bank, who as a member of the Citizens' Association clamoured for the blood of our martyrs, has been selected arbitrator and will fix the new schedule of wages.

Oct. 15th.—The north side men will probably strike again. "I don't care a d—n if the men do strike again," said president Charles T. Yerkes; "if they do, I'll fill every d—d one of their places." "Will they strike again?" he was asked by a reporter. "Ye-e-e-s," answered the dictator of Chicago, "I shouldn't wonder if they did."

The whole trouble now is that the new men, the "scabs," are still kept on. Yerkes is determined to stand by the new men, of which about 200 had been engaged during the strike. The people once or twice attacked the cars, but nothing of a serious nature occurred.

Newark, N.J., October 16, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.—The weekly return of metropolitan pauperism shows that the total number of paupers relieved in the second week of last month was 93,545, of whom 57,185 were indoor and 36,360 outdoor paupers. The total number relieved shows an increase of 2,104 over the corresponding week of last year, 5,209 over 1886, and 6,125 over 1885. The total number of vagrants relieved on the last day of the week was 1,307, of whom 1,057 were men, 218 women, and 32 children under sixteen.

A great deal of attention is now given to our poor working men. The quacks and demagogues and cheats are all talking for them and praising them to the skies. And with unblushing effrontery they tell them that their condition is much better than that of the European workers. In other words they say: "In many industries the workers of Europe are half-starved; in the same industries in America you are not quite half-starved. You get a few more picks than they get in Europe." Go, ye serfs, and be thankful that ye just live. Your earnings here, as in Europe, are stolen from you, under the laws of the wage system, and your only safety is in the power of organisation.—Paterson *Labour Standard*.



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

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

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

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

T. MUSE (Carlisle).—We have found ourselves unable to publish the Calendar in book-form this year; it will be run through 1889 as it has been for 1888, undergoing constant revision, and we hope during the year to get it complete enough for collected publication. Your article is unsuitable.

D. Y.—Tobolobampo seems to have surmounted, for the present at least, the difficulties that at one time threatened to swamp it. Postal direction is "Tobolobampo, Sinaloa, Mexico, via Fuerte, Overland." The organ of the colony is now published there; terms, 1 dollar a-year, subscriptions to be sent to the New York office, 32 Nassau Street.

V. M.—The book you mention, "1848; Historical Revelations," by Louis Blanc, was written in England, while the author was an exile in London, and published by Chapman and Hall, 1858, 8vo, 10s. 6d. It was translated into French and published next year at Brussels.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday October 31.

ENGLAND Caslon's Circular Justice Labour Tribune Norwich—Daylight Our Corner Radical Leader Railway Review Social Democrat Telegraph Service Gazette To-Day Worker's Friend	LIBERTY Chicago (Ill)—Vorbote Milwaukee—National Reformer Paterson (N J) Labor Standard San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	ITALY Turin—Nuova Gazzetta Operaia
INDIA Bankpore—Behar Herald Madras—People's Friend	FRANCE Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) Le Parti Ouvrier (daily) La Revolte Le Coup de Feu Le Proletariat Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur Sedan—La Revolution St. Etienne—La Loire Socialiste	SPAIN Barcelona—El Productor Seville—La Solidaridad
UNITED STATES New York—Der Sozialist Freiheit Truthseeker Volkszeitung Workmen's Advocate Boston—Woman's Journal	HOLLAND Hague—Recht voor Allen	PORTUGAL Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
	GERMANY Berlin—Volks Tribune	AUSTRIA Wien—Gleichheit Braun—Volksfreund
	BELOGIUM Ghent—Vooruit Llege—L'Avenir Antwerp—De Werker	GERMANY Stockholm, Social-Demokraten Malmo—Arbetet
	SWITZERLAND Arbeiterstimme	NORWAY Kristiania—Social-Demokraten
		WEST INDIES Cuba—El Productor
		MEXICO Sinaloa—Credit-Foncier

SPECIAL NOTICE.

In our Issue of November 10, an Article will appear by Cunninghame Graham, M.P., on "Trafalgar Square," and, it is hoped, one by Mrs. Parsons on "Chicago Martyrs." A splendid Life-like Lithographed Portrait of Mrs. Parsons will also be issued as a Special Extra Supplement to the "Commonweal." Price, with paper, 2d.; single copies, without paper, may be had. Orders should be given at once, as a large sale is expected and the supply is limited.

NOTES.

THE growth of "trusts" is going on merrily; the "Salt Union" is already making an enormous fortune to be shared among its members. When it began there was "only going to be a moderate rise in prices, just to bring them up to paying level"; whether they have reached that or not we cannot say, but they have already doubled and trebled former figures and are still rising! So tempting is this field for plunder that capitalists not in the "Union" are organising a rival organisation to compete with it and work salt mines not held by it. This they do (on their own authority) to protect the public against the rapacity of the original ring.

What will happen will be either one of two things. It may be that the second gang will prepare to compete with the first, threaten low prices and a war of rates, and after going far enough to frighten the others into offering a good price, will be bought off, and dropping all show of enmity, join in a big monopoly that shall comprise the whole trade. Or the competition may be real, though not enough to cut prices below good paying figures; in which case there will be a continuance of the boom now going on, more and more capital will be put in and production extended until the limits of the world-market are passed, and then there will be a crash. Fortunes will have been made

by the lucky capitalists, but the workers will have been earning only subsistence all the time and will be then left destitute.

Meanwhile the doubling and trebling of prices will have brought untold misery to millions throughout the world. In India alone it will act like an epidemic, bearing disease and death to thousands. All this in order that a few people already over-rich may heap up further piles of wealth.

Coal-prices are still growing; even if the 10 per cent. for which the men are asking were granted all round, the mine-owners would be making an extra profit of three times that. As it is, the large stocks of coal hewn and raised at the old prices are being sold at a large advance, every penny of which is clearly pocketed by the proprietors. At the same time they, aided by the reptile press, are trying all they can to set the rest of the working class against the miners, calling them "selfish" for "benefiting themselves at the expense of their fellows," and so on. In that, however, they are meeting with little success, as the position of affairs is beginning to be understood. S.

Mr. W. H. Smith has been once more endeavouring to enlighten the thick-headed workman. At the dedication of the sea-wall at the mouth of the Tees, on Thursday, he demonstrated the self-sacrificing nature and benevolent motives of our capitalists (of whom he is one), and, referring to this piece of work, said that "but for the enterprise and energy of the capitalist in providing employment, the labour expended would not have been required," thereby implying that the workmen would otherwise have starved. It is quite true that the energetic enterprise of the good capitalist has an extraordinary tendency to compel the workman either to do about four times as much work as is either necessary or useful or else to remain in a state of enforced idleness and starvation. He also said that monopoly was not beneficial to society, and was fraught with destruction to the monopolist. How about his newsvending monopoly?

Referring to the *Daily News*, we find that gentlemen are suffering the excruciating agony of finding that it is often hard to distinguish between one of them in evening dress and a *café* waiter. They therefore, with the aforesaid benevolent intent, have been trying to make a difference which the *café* waiter shall not be capable of imitating. They have tried stockings and knee breeches, but failed; short jackets also fail, and they are going to try expensive lace edging; but the *Daily News* says they are doomed to disappointment, for cheap imitations have no limit. Poor fellows! As a Socialist, one cannot fail to sympathise in their efforts not to look like working men of even the most useless kind; if they be idle bloodsuckers, it is right they should look it and mark it in their dress. T. C.

"RENT OF ABILITY."—The honorarium won by the financial engineers of the Salt Syndicate has been pretty high. It is said that £200,000 will be the reward of these experts who have so successfully piloted the Syndicate. HOW IT GOES.—Here is a little contrast:—A collier who had worked hard all his life, and had reared a large family, but always appeared moderately respectable, has died worn out, and must either find respectful interment by public subscription, or, to be more plain, by his neighbours begging the money for the purpose, or must be borne to a pauper's grave on the workhouse bier. On the other hand the will of a deceased managing director of a colliery was recently proved, showing his personal estate to be £33,900. The producer's personal estate was nil, while wealth and luxury has crowned the manipulator of capital.—*Labour Tribune*.

WAGES AND THE PRICE OF COAL.—A correspondent of the *North British Daily Mail* of 24th inst. says:—I observe in your issue of the 18th inst. a paragraph announcing that according to the Lanarkshire Associated Coal-owners' returns for September the price obtained was 3s. 4d. ton. The employers, with their usual generosity, have conceded an advance of 2½ per cent., and the advance in coal "does not warrant any more." I deny that, and maintain that the advance in coal does warrant more than a 2½ per cent., or even a 7½ per cent; it warrants the full amount of 10 per cent. asked by the workmen. I believe that by the sliding scale at present in operation in Lanarkshire wages are to be ruled by the selling-price of tripping in the market, and for every 1½d. of an advance upon tripping the workmen get 2½ per cent. Such a monstrous proposition could scarcely be conceived. Now, in regard to the amount asked by the men, I ask any impartial man, Is it an unreasonable demand? I say the claims of the men to a signal advance of wages are very great, their demands extremely moderate, when, for instance, the advance that has been put upon coal in the market is more by 20 per cent. than the employers would have us believe. Is it to be wondered at that the men should make an immediate demand for higher wages? Is it not a fact that the masters are getting an increased profit of 2s. per ton to-day over what they were getting when the conference took place in Glasgow two years, or nearly two years, ago between employers and employed? If such is the case, are the men not entitled not only to a 2½ per cent., but to at least to a 15 per cent. advance in wages? At that conference they admitted that the men were entitled to a sixpence per day upon their wages, and with an increased profit of 2s. per ton they say the men are only entitled to 2½ per cent on the price of tripping in the market. But I ask the question, what is tripping? Travel over the whole of Lanarkshire, and ask any practical miner what is meant by tripping. He cannot tell. Take, for instance, the colliery I am employed at, and during the two years I have been there they have not sold one waggon of what is known as tripping. And yet they (the employers) would have the audacity to rule poor men's wages upon an article they know nothing of. I call this ruling of men's wages nothing more nor less than a gigantic scale of wholesale robbery and confiscation, and it ought to be put down. Now is the time for the men to assert their manhood and spurn with contempt the paltry advance offered. I deprecate a strike as much as any man, but the callous way in which they are being used by the employers will do more to provoke the men to strike than anything else that can be conceived.

FAITH'S DEATH IS HOPE'S BIRTH.

FRIEND, thou sayest the Gods are vanished,
And the Helper helpless grown ;
That the Hope of Life is banished,
And we stand, at last, alone.
While in sorrow we are learning,
Nature cannot heed our tears,
Though we, to her throne returning,
Plead our cause, our hopes, our fears.

Yea, 'tis true. Yet still, meseemeth,
He who on himself relies
Stronger grows, than he that dreameth
Of a Help "beyond the skies."
And that strength shall yet avail him
To overcome all force and fraud ;
Time fights for him, nor can fail him
Battling ignorance and the sword.

Gods are gone, yet human sorrow
Human joy and love is here,
And our hearts yearn toward the morrow
With the Hope now drawing near.
Courage ! then, though Gods be vanished,
And the Helper, helpless grown ;
Hope is ours and fear is banished,
While we fight the Fight alone.

C. J. G.

SOCIALISM IN AUSTRALIA.

COMRADES,—It is nearly six months since we wrote you last as to the progress of the movement out here. In future we intend to supply you with a monthly summary of the movement out here, if possible. The date on which I write is the anniversary of the inauguration of the League. Since our formation we have done good work, and have brought Socialism well under the notice of the Australian public. Henry George's movement in favour of a single land tax has taken a firm footing here, which is a good sign. The Georgites have a paper called the *Australian Land Nationaliser*, which is edited by John Farrel. The articles are good, but when it supported Interest it showed itself in rather questionable guise ; after a deal of bandying words, the editor frankly admitted that he may be wrong, and so he no longer supports Interest. We have received fair play from the Liberal portion of the press, the opposition to us being mostly from a state-socialistic standpoint, and from the atheistic Torquemada, Joe Symes. The Tory advertising rags have of course cried out bitterly against us, but have failed to do us any harm. As you are aware by our own journal, the *Australian Radical*, we have survived, and are likely to survive, all the opposition brought against us, whether it be from the "Freethought" or Tory camp. Our membership has increased considerably, Socialism spreads like wildfire, and we have been able to obtain permanent quarters. The *Radical* has been twice enlarged, and is fast becoming a factor in Australian life. The *Republican*, after being twelve months under that title, has changed its name to the *Australian Nationalist* ; it is well written, and oftentimes contains strong Socialistic articles. About level with its London namesake, we have the *Australian Star*, a well edited evening paper, which is at times pretty socialistic in its advocacy of reform, and is the only paper out here which gives fair play to the workers and their grievances, which latter are quite as many as those of the workers in England. The *Sydney Bulletin* is strongly socialistic in its tendency. In Victoria the *Buller Courier* (daily) has a regular contributor, "Tom Touchstone," who preaches undiluted Socialism. In Queensland there are the *Boomerang*, the *Normanton Chronicle*, and the *Darling Downs Gazette*, all advanced Radical papers coming our way.

This country and colony in particular seem to be the home of worn-out politicians, and the debauched and degraded members of the British aristocracy. For all this, the people are kept from losing all interest in politics by an occasional set-to between two or more of their representatives (when bare knuckles, varied by water-bottles and copies of 'Hansard,' are freely used) on the floor of the Macquarrie Street rogues' refuge. Of course this does a certain amount of good to our movement, showing up parliamentary representation, and helping to break up the theory of good parliamentary government.

Since we last wrote, there has been another spree and outburst of loyalty to England's mythical constitution. I refer to the centennial farce. We had the unveiling of a statue to that good lady who is so condescending as to rule over us, Mrs. Guelph, in Chancery Square, the rendezvous of the Sydney unemployed ; the dedicating of a large tract of waste land to the public as a centennial park ; the laying of the foundation-stone of the Trades Hall, and a lot of the usual bunkum was gone through. The only celebration of the whole farce that was of any importance was the feeding of ten thousand of the starving poor, five shillings' worth of provisions being doled out to each applicant. As an example of the hard times and scarcity of work in this land that is flowing with milk and honey, where gold is picked up in the streets (emigration-agent sayings), I need only state the significant fact that four thousand five hundred applicants received their "five bobs' worth of tucker" before noon on the first day. Workers in England should take particular notice of this fact, and not let themselves be gulled into coming out here. We want some good speakers and workers in the cause, then we would be able to spin ahead even faster than you in England ; but I would advise any who think seriously of coming out to be prepared for every hardship and trial that they are used to at home. One example of the scarcity of work out here : The *Australian Star* states that seven thousand men are out of employment in New South Wales alone, and it is estimated that the cost of the unemployed relief works, a dead loss to the tax-payers, last year was £300,000.

An important event in connection with the unemployed was the formation of a Labour Organisation. The inaugural meeting was held in the Sydney Town Hall—more than would be allowed even to "respectable" Radicals in England, that land of freedom, where the unemployed are not allowed to meet even in Trafalgar Square. The prime movers in the formation of this co-operative labour organisation were actually Socialists. The principal resolution was : "That, viewing the continued strife between labour and capital, this meeting deems it desirable to form a co-operative labour organisation, with the object in view of giving the labourer the full reward of

his labour and making him his own employer and master." Moved by J. E. Anderton (Socialist League), seconded by J. Fairbank, and supported by W. H. McNamara (Socialist League). The resolution was carried unanimously. The organisation has been a grand success ; Government and municipal contracts are taken up by them, and the members working for it receive as much as 11s. a-day of eight hours, against 5s. a-day of twelve hours under the private enterprise system.

In politics there are two important questions engaging public attention besides the Protection and Free-trade cries—the Chinese Question and Imperial Federation. The former is a very important subject to all reformers here, and one which claims a good deal of sympathy. Although our ideal is the brotherhood of man, we here are compelled to allow that there is a good deal of ground for objection to this yellow-skinned race. They are willing tools in the hands of capitalists, to reduce the wages of the workers in this country ; that is the principal objection. They seem incapable of taking part in reforms, and are noted for treachery and cowardice. Sometimes even we are tempted to join the hue and cry, but of course we do not, knowing that if the land and labour questions were settled, there would be no need for crying down any unfortunate race of men, whoever they were. Time will tell its own tale, but for the present those on the spot must be left to settle this matter for themselves. As education spreads, even the Chinese may yet be counted in the army of progress.

Imperial federation is a question which we oppose tooth and nail. We wish to join hands with the workers of the world, we wish to join the common cause of the workers of England, we wish for the brotherhood of man ; but we are satisfied that if we favour this project, imperial federation, we are only sharpening the knife which will be used to cut our throats. Already they are trying to drive in the thin end of the wedge in the shape of a naval defence bill ; but every blow that is struck breaks off a large piece of the wedge, and there is a likelihood of even the thin end being withdrawn. We are told that if we separate from England we will not be able to hold our own against those enemies of peace, China, Germany, Russia, France, etc. This is the same old cry, Nationality. We are, however, wide awake, and know that in separating from England we are only separating from her usurers and land-grabbers. We would yet be joined hand and heart with the workers of England—aye, with the workers of the world. We know that so long as we support these usurers, so long will we hold back reform in England, their stronghold. The Naval Defence Bill has been ignominiously rejected by the Queensland Government, and is likely to be rejected in sunny New South Wales. Whether it is rejected or not is a matter of indifference ; the great majority of the people of New South Wales are at least Republicans, and as such they would not think of federating with England's monarchy. We have seen a dog wagging its tail, but we have never yet come across a tail wagging a dog : such would be something like the case if Australia federated with England and allowed a little island 16,000 miles to the westward to govern this vast continent. The idea is ridiculous in the extreme, and it is only a few title-hunters, absentee landlords, one or two Australian "statesmen," and a couple of hundred Orangemen, who even dream of the project.

Strikes and rumours of strikes is the cry of the day, but very little comes of them. The Federated Seamen's Union struck work in New Zealand, and the consequence is, they are now running a line of steamers there of their own. The Shipowners' Association are subsidising the Northern Steamship Company of New Zealand, the offending company, and the trades unions in general are supporting the Federated Seamen's co-operative line. So the war between justice and injustice, labour and capital, continues, and as yet there is no likelihood of either side giving in. If the union wins, other trades will soon follow suit, and will adopt the co-operative principle ; several trades, particularly the iron-workers and coal-miners, have already got the project of starting co-operative works under consideration. If there was a man here who thoroughly understood the co-operative question, and had the time to spare, grand results would follow. However, we must be thankful for small mercies, and will make the best of them. A few more ardent workers would make the cause spin ahead out here ; as it is, most of the work is thrown on the shoulders of about a dozen or so. However, with the aid of our paper the *Radical*, and the staunch support of its editor, W. A. Winspear, we have made ourselves felt. Several attempts have been made to keep the *Radical* off the table of the mechanics institutes and reading rooms, and out of the municipal libraries and reading-rooms, but in most their efforts have failed. Several members have joined the local literary and debating societies, of which there are a good many, and are bringing forward socialistic subjects for discussion. Several well-known secularists show their teeth now and again, but as yet their efforts to do us harm have resulted in our gain. We have opened a reading-room in connection with the League, and have about two hundred and fifty different papers filed, from all parts of the world, and representing all opinions, from Anarchistic Socialism to Primrose Leagueism. Strangers can come and read the papers on the payment of one penny. In this way we get a little help to pay our rent, which is very stiff. If any London or provincial comrades could supply us with local papers we would be very thankful, and in doing so they would help the cause onward out here. The reading-room draws up many who are at present afraid of the very name of Socialist, and who couple it with murder. Once they are aware that our principles are humanitarian, we will gain their support ; until we get their support we are powerless. The *Commonweal* is eagerly watched for and bought by those who can afford it, whilst those who cannot, visit the reading-rooms and eagerly peruse it.

Wishing every success to the cause, with fraternal greetings,

A. E. ANDERTON.

Aug. 26, 1888, A. S. S. Reading-room, 533 George Street, Sydney, N.S.W.

The working people fought the battles of the nation, they developed its resources, while the speculator was planning how to rob them. Monopoly now has a mortgage on the bodies of three-fifths of the working people, because they refuse to unite, and the other two-fifths have a hard battle before them to educate the three-fifths who are the slaves of monopoly, and prevent the monster from enslaving them also. Unity is their only safeguard.—*Industrial Vindicator*.

The man who gambles in the necessities of life gambles in human flesh and human souls, and the government that permits it is guilty of every crime known, even to murder. To make a nation of slaves is only to forestal the markets. Our government is legalising the acts of a band of pirates who wreck and rob the producer on his road to the consumer, and wreck and rob the consumer on his road to the producer. Why do not Protectionists talk of protecting American labour from thieves at home?—*Industrial West*.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

DUNDEE ENGINEERS' WAGES.—At a meeting on Oct. 24 of the engineering trade in Dundee, it was resolved to ask an advance of 2s. per week.

GREENOCK JOINERS.—Messrs. Russel's joiners resumed work Monday, the employers having agreed that all feather and groove awning decks are henceforth to be laid by joiners.

SEAMEN'S WAGES.—The fact that a Glasgow liner had to engage a crew at Dundee is not to be taken as a proof of the scarcity of men in Glasgow. The reason is to be found in the Glasgow men's demand for higher wages—£4 per month being asked for western ocean traders, and £3 10s. in other steamboats.

STAFFORDSHIRE NAIL-WORKERS.—A meeting of the nail masters of South Staffordshire was privately held at Dudley on Oct. 24, and after two hours deliberation they informed the spike and nail delegates that the late advance of 25 per cent. was so recent that another advance could not be recommended. The men's representative thought the advance might be forced, and that a strike will probably ensue.

TYNE SEAMEN'S WAGES.—The following notice has been posted at South Shields: "The seamen of Shields have resolved that from October 16 the wages of the port shall be £4 for seamen and £4 5s. for firemen. Sailing vessels—southward £3, Mediterranean £3 10s., Baltic and Quebec £3 15s. per month. Seamen are requested to stand out for this money, as the seamen of Hartlepool have had this rate for two months."

IRONWORKERS' WAGES.—A meeting of ironworkers was held at Brierley Hill on Monday, 29th, to consider wages question. Nine works were represented, and resolutions passed approving of the sliding scale recently submitted by the district representatives and in favour of notice being given for the reconsideration of the rate of wages, with the view of obtaining the remainder of 12½ per cent. originally asked for by the men.

MIDDLESBRO' BLAST-FURNACEMEN.—The men employed by Wilson, Pease, and Company, Tees Ironworks, have sent in fourteen days' notice. All but one are members of the Cleveland Blast-furnacemen's Association, and this one has been taunting them, saying that he got the same wages as them while being a rat. So they will strike unless the man either joins their ranks or is dismissed by the firm. The Association will support their men if the above measures fail.

WOMEN'S TRADE UNION FOR GLASGOW.—At a meeting of the Glasgow Trades' Union held on Oct. 24, Mr. Eddy reported that the committee appointed to consider the formation of a women's trade union in Glasgow had met, and that Miss Black, of London, had approached several ladies in the city in order to obtain assistance in the matter, and had been successful in getting several influential ladies to promise their support. It was also stated that at a meeting at which several working-girls were present, arrangements were made for holding a meeting of girls on November 5th, when a union will be formed.

WAGES IN SPIKE-NAIL TRADE.—On Wednesday, 24th, a meeting of nail-masters was held at the Dudley Arms Hotel, Dudley, to consider an application from the men employed in spike-nail trade for an advance. After a prolonged sitting, the following was communicated to the men and the press:—"Considering that it has been so short a time since the last advance of 25 per cent. was given, and during that time most of the workpeople have been in the harvest-field, we don't think any further advance would be generally adhered to by the trade; and we strongly advise the workpeople to get a re-arrangement of the factory prices." A strike is expected.

NUT AND BOLT MAKERS.—On Friday, 26th, a meeting of nut and bolt makers was held at Cross Guns, New Street, Darlaston, to consider advisability of asking for an advance. Some of the largest employers in the trade were inclined to concede an advance if other employers would do the same. After discussion it was carried unanimously:—"That this meeting instructs their secretary to notify each employer in the Darlaston district that the workmen have decided to ask for an advance in wages, and that the representatives of the Workmen's Association will be prepared to meet the employers on the 16th of November, to give reasons why an advance is demanded."

STRIKE OF WEAVERS AT CLIVIGER.—This village is about two miles from Burnley, in the Todmorden Valley. There are 780 looms in the shed. A strike took place a fortnight since against a reduction of 5 per cent. in addition to 5 per cent. they were underpaid before the strike, making 10 per cent. below the Burnley list. Some three years ago these weavers belonged to the Weavers' Union, but threw out. Since that time they have had to pay dearly for their folly. At the present time there are only about seven who have stuck to the society, and these have now found the benefit, being paid their scale pay. The others having found to their cost the mistake they made, have now asked the society to take them in again. For this purpose a meeting was held in the village school. Nearly the whole of the weavers were present, and it was unanimously decided to again become members. Steps will be at once taken to enrol them.

GREENOCK AND PORT GLASGOW RIVETERS.—About 700 riveters belonging to Greenock and Port Glasgow, met in Greenock on Oct. 24 to consider the prices of work, with the view of laying the matter before the Council of the Association. The meeting lasted from 12 noon till 10 p.m. A few days will elapse before a reply is obtained.—The dispute which has existed for some time between the riveters and their employers in Greenock and Port Glasgow has come to a decided issue. The employers have recently formed an Association to resist the demands of the men, and at a meeting held lately it was (of course) decided that the riveters' demands were greater than they could pay. The men have submitted several scales for the master's approval without reaching a settlement, and they have at last submitted a list of prices which they are prepared to sign as an agreement to work on for six months. They have issued an ultimatum that unless the terms are complied with at an early date, all classes of tradesmen—riveters, platers, and caulkers—will be withdrawn from the yards.

MINERS' WAGES.—The selling prices of coals for September last, as quoted by the *Colliery Guardian*, the official organ of the coal and iron trades of Britain, show that, according to the Scotch masters' own sliding scale, the colliers are entitled to the 10 per cent., not speaking of the larger increased prices now obtained. The collieries in England who are working on the advance are doing a "roaring trade." The coals are bringing to the masters an increase of 4s. per ton on the prices got immediately before the strike, and as 10 per cent. represents only 2d. per ton, that means "good business" to

business to the firms who have given the advance. Manufacturers are generally provided for a month's stoppage of the pits, but the poor workmen in the towns, who buy their fuel in hundredweights, are not provided. At a meeting of Lanarkshire district delegates, held at Hamilton on Saturday, it was the unanimous opinion that the offer of 2½ per cent. by the masters was a deliberate insult or challenge to the miners. The majority were in favour of striking to force the 10 per cent. advance, the final decision to be made on Nov. 1st. The Fife colliers have unanimously resolved to demand the 10 per cent. advance. They have resolved on this owing "to the advance of wages other miners are receiving throughout the country." It was reported that at some of the pits the weighing machines do not count less than half a hundredweight. The chief colliery-owners in Derbyshire, Lancashire, Leicestershire, Shropshire, Notts, North Wales, and Worcestershire have resolved to grant the 10 per cent. advance. The South Stafford men, who lately got 5 per cent., have now received the full advance—10 per cent. The advance has also been conceded by the South and West Yorkshire firms; and the amount of concession already reported is an assurance of victory for the men all along the line. The concessions also prove the hard swearing of the masters.

AMERICA.—OCTOBER 16.

The strike of yardmen in the New York Central Railroad yard at West Albany, was ended by the company acceding to the demands of the men for an increase of wages.

The Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labour will be held at St. Louis, Mo., on December 11.

The hide dealers of the North-west are forming a leather trust for the purpose of controlling the hide market.

James J. Coogan, a former furniture dealer on the instalment plan, has been nominated by the United Labour Party (Henry George's old party) for Mayor of New York. Coogan is rich, and paying the "labour-leaders" well for the honour of having nominated him.

The General Executive Board of the disintegrating Knights of Labour are in monthly session at Philadelphia.

Delegates to the 25th Annual Convention of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers are gathering in Richmond. H. F. C.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

FRANCE.

At the last meeting of the Paris Municipal Council comrade Vaillant has strongly protested against the decree of the Government concerning the foreigners residing in France. He has very clearly pointed out that this scandalous piece of reactionism has been concocted by Floquet and his Radical confederates in order to get rid of the Socialists and revolutionaries who are compelled, by the prosecutions they have to undergo in their countries, to seek a refuge abroad, and he energetically asked for the repeal of that decree, as well as for the repeal of the old law of 1849, enabling the Government to expel foreigners from the French territory.

Comrade Vaillant has also strongly protested against the cruel and ferocious behaviour of the police at the funeral of citizen Emile Eudes, and plainly demonstrated that Floquet and Co. had really made up their minds to organise on that very day what is usually called in Paris "une journée"—i.e., a bloody day, in the shape of our Trafalgar Bloody Sunday. After a pitiful defense of the "law and order" men by M. Lozé, the actual Prefect of police, the Municipal Council has adopted, by 46 against 16 members, a resolution energetically condemning the brutal and violent conduct of the police. Comrade Vaillant at the same time asked for the very suppression of the Prefecture of Police itself, but his motion was not put to the vote of the Municipal Assembly.

BELGIUM.

The co-operative society *Vooruit* at Ghent will inaugurate on the 1st of January next their new buildings, and on that occasion the central committee of the working-men's associations of that town have decided to hold an international exhibition of Socialist papers, magazines, and reviews of every description. A section of the exhibition will be devoted to the exposition of portraits and manuscripts of Socialists, both dead and alive. Another section will contain cartoons, photographs, caricatures, etc., with democratic and Socialist tendencies. To that view, the Federation of Ghent makes an appeal to all Socialists, in every country, promising all exhibitors that the greatest care shall be taken of all goods sent to their address: Ed. Anseele, *Vooruit*, Garenmarkt, Ghent (Belgium).

Our comrades of Ghent have just published their ninth annual popular almanack. It is illustrated by the portrait of our late comrade, H. Gerhard, of Amsterdam, the founder of the International Working-men's Association in Holland, and contains several good articles, as, for instance, a brief sketch of Gerhard's life and work, a posthumous article of Gerhard on production and consumption, an episode of the June days, 1848, at Paris, by Iwan Tourgeniev, a tale entitled "The Unlucky Crown Prince" (nothing about Germany); the Rights of Man, by Jean Paul Marat; Darwinism and Socialism, by Silvia; and several pieces of poetry, of which "Rousseau in the Bastille," a translation from the French of Clovis Hugues, is certainly the best. The almanack of our friends is a handsome little book of sixty-four pages, with illustrated covers, and costs only three-halfpence.

Some months ago comrade Louis Bertrand published a book entitled 'The Lodgings of the Poor and of the workers in Belgium,' with an introduction on the hygiene of the workers by comrade César De Paeppe. We are now very glad to hear that this book has been awarded the golden medal at the International Exhibition of Hygiene at Ostend.

RUSSIA.

Some months ago, in connection with the last attempt made on the life of Alexander III., the despot, and the display of fresh prosecution methods that followed that attempt, a paper of Moscow, *Moskovskaja Wjedomosti*, told us that peace and order were restored in Russia, anarchy and discontent, plotters and criminals, were outrooted, and that the times once more were nigh when Russia should be happy. It seems to us that the paper referred to must have dreamed at the time, because matters there are not at all so bright. Plots and attempts happen nearly every fortnight, arrests are made on a wholesale scale all through the vast country, and the Czar is so far from being "out of fear," that he prevents, as much as he can, all divulcation of every revolutionary movement or attempt made on his "precious life." The Russian papers are even compelled to ignore such deeds as those which

occur in open daylight, and in the very presence of hundreds of people. However, in order to show how the Russian revolutionary movement grows and increases, we need only give to our readers the following facts and figures concerning the repression of the Socialist work and propaganda during last year. In 1887 there have been four accomplished attempts on the life of the Czar and nine unaccomplished—i.e., detected by the police before their actual commission; seven hundred and seven "crimes" committed against persons near to the throne and against State officials, and two thousand eight hundred and fifty persons arrested for political offences. During the same period no less than seven secret printing offices have been discovered and destroyed. These figures show well enough how the revolutionary movement has "vanished" there.

SWITZERLAND.

Up to the present date there has not existed in Switzerland a distinct Socialist party, the Swiss workers being all mixed up in the various revolutionary bodies created by comrades who were driven to that country by the oppressive laws of their respective lands. That state of things is going to be altered, and at a Congress held a few weeks ago at Berne it was decided to form throughout Switzerland a Swiss Socialist organisation and party. Strange to say, this new organisation owes its existence indirectly to Bismarck and the Swiss federal authorities. Bismarck for some time past has pressed upon the so-called Republican authorities of the country to watch more carefully in the future the "criminal" doings of the Swiss and foreign Socialists, and the Federal Council at Bern have at once instituted a large body of Swiss political police. Our Swiss comrades have thought that, in the face of that reactionary creation, they ought to go at once to work; and they have started their organisation. That is certainly a good answer to Bismarck and the Federal Council, with a vengeance too.

On the 20th inst. the workers of Zurich buried one of their sincerest and truest friends, Solomon Vögelin, professor at the University in that town. He died after a long and painful illness, only fifty-two years old. He has vigorously helped to give to the canton of Zurich a free and democratic constitution, a *pendant* of which does not exist anywhere else in the world, and his ambition would have been to extend the same to the other parts of his native country. In his opinion, however, political freedom was only a means to secure the social emancipation of the people, and therefore he aided the workers in their revindications whenever he could do so. To his incessant and hard struggling it is due that democratic-framed Factory Acts have been introduced in the Swiss legislation, and he was at the same time one of the most energetic supporters of the *internationalisation* of these laws. When, last year, Bismarck had succeeded in endangering the future existence of the right of asylum in Switzerland, Vögelin stood by the side of the political refugees and publicly protested against the miserable measures that were taken against them. We therefore fully associate ourselves with the eloquent and much affected article which, in the last issue of *Der Sozialdemokrat*, has been devoted to the memory of the late Professor Vögelin.

ITALY.

When kings and emperors travel, honest folk are evidently in danger of being imprisoned. This was shown again during the recent visit of William II. to Italy. Not only has there been a whole army of German and Italian detectives in motion for the double purpose of protecting the precious visitor and of acting the part of the enthusiastic public, but the festivities were inaugurated by wholesale arrests of Socialists, and Republicans in Rome and Naples, in fact of all those who are suspected of possessing brains and energy. The carnival over, most of them were graciously released, only a few are charged with an "attempt on the security of the State," bringing them artificially in connection with some anti-German manifestations during the Imperial visit.

In Varese, a small town near Milan, the female silk-spinners and weavers of eight factories struck work for an increase of wages on October 22nd. The police, supported by the mayor, arbitrarily arrested thirty-eight of the ringleaders, whereupon the strikers tried to rescue them, and made a most determined assault on the prison. During the night and the following day a large number of soldiers were drafted into the town to protect the frightened manufacturers, and to restore law-in-order. The women were released, but will of course be charged— heaven knows with what!

SPAIN.

BARCELONA.—The Marble-cutters' Association of this city and the neighbourhood, following the instructions of its three sections of polishers, turners, and chisellers, held a meeting here last month with the object of demonstrating to their fellow-workers in this trade the many advantages of association for resistance against the encroachments of their exploiters. The meeting was successful, and brought many new names to the association.

TARRAGON.—The Federation of compositors have held their fourth Congress in this town, the different sections of Barcelona, Valencia, Madrid, etc., etc., being fully represented. The reforms presented by the central committee to their colleagues were passed by the Congress, and it was determined to hold the next Congress at Saragossa.

MADRID.—At the end of last month the Association of printers here numbered 672 individuals, and they have a considerable fund at their command.

According to the official organ of the National Union of the workers in iron and other metals, the Union numbered 968 members last month.

CADIZ.—There is a strike of journeymen bakers announced here. They have issued a manifesto describing the conditions under which they have had to work, which are said to be well-nigh insupportable, and await the answer of their employers peaceably. Notwithstanding their quiet attitude however, the authorities have thought fit to arrest some of their number, which arbitrary act has greatly enraged them.

VALENCIA.—The Anarchists of Valencia have recently held a large propagandist meeting, which the journals say was attended by between two and three thousand persons. A discussion was invited with the bourgeois, but it seems the latter were slow to respond.

The situation of the working-classes in parts of Andalusia is just now as bad as it can be. Misery weighs down the poor and the desolation is general.

PORTUGAL.

OPORTO.—A large meeting of working-men was held in Oporto last Sunday, with the object of starting organisations of a purely proletarian character, which should work for the emancipation of the working-classes, and enable them at the present time to show some resisting force against the opposing forces of the capitalist class.

SONG OF THE DAY-LABOURERS.

ERNEST JONES.

SHARPEN the sickle, the fields are white;
'Tis the time of the harvest at last.
Reapers, be up with the morning light,
Ere the blush of its youth be past.
Why stand on the highway and lounge at the gate,
With a summer day's work to perform?
If you wait for the hiring, 'tis long you may wait—
Till the hour of the night and the storm.

Sharpen the sickle; how proud they stand
In the pomp of their golden grain!
But I'm thinking, ere noon 'neath the sweep of my hand
How many will lie on the plain!
Though the ditch be wide, the fence be high,
There's a spirit to carry us o'er;
For God never meant his people to die
In sight of so rich a store.

Sharpen the sickle; how full the ears!
Our children are crying for bread;
And the field has been watered with orphans' tears
And enriched with their fathers' dead;
And hopes that are buried, and hearts that broke,
Lie deep in the treasuring sod;
Then sweep down the grain with a thunder-stroke,
In the name of Humanity's God!

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

Executive.—The Council of the Socialist League disclaims any responsibility for the East End Bill & Lord Mayor's Show.

London Members' Meeting.—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, Nov. 5, 1888, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

Strike Committee.—Collected at last Council Meeting, 6s. 1½d.

J. LANE, Treasurer.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

T. Muse (Carlisle), 1s.

F. Charles, Sec.

CHICAGO MARTYRS COMMEMORATION FUND.

Already acknowledged—£11 14s. 7½d. Received—East End Propaganda Committee, 11s. 9d.; collected at Hyde Park, 5s. 10½d.; by Concert (Clerkenwell branch), 5s. 6d. Total, £12 17s. 9d.

J. LANE, Treasurer.

REPORTS.

LONDON (OPEN-AIR).—*Leman Street.*—Large meeting Sunday morning. Mrs. Schack and Parker spoke. Several songs sung. *Hyde Park.*—Immense crowd, addressed by Cantwell and Parker, Sunday afternoon. Chants were eagerly bought and singing much appreciated. Some 500 men marched out from park through Oxford Street to *Broad Street, Soho*, in spite of an unsuccessful attempt to break through, and, on arrival, Cantwell, Parker, and Dalchiel spoke. After leaving *Broad Street*, the procession went to *Clerkenwell Green*, but the heavy rain prevented any meeting. *Regent's Park.*—Meeting Sunday morning, addressed by Nicoll and Cantwell. *Broadway, London Fields.*—Good meeting on Wednesday by McCormack and Davis. *Philpot Street, Commercial Road.*—Splendid meeting, Friday, held by members of *Berner Street Club*, addressed by Parker, McCormack, Hicks, Davis, and Turner. Revolutionary songs sung, and good impression made. *Wool* sold well. *Victoria Park.*—Usual meeting on Sunday, our foreign comrades turning up well, displaying red flag and a board with revolutionary inscription and *Commonweal* contents bill. Addresses by members of the League and several of the S.D.F. Slight opposition. Good sale of *Wool*.

CLERKENWELL.—On Sunday, Oct. 28th, successful concert held for Chicago Commemoration Fund. Songs, recitations, etc., were given by members and friends. 5s. 6d. collected for fund.—B.

HAMMERSMITH.—Meeting held at Latimer Road on Sunday. Bullock, Maughan, and Fox spoke to good audience, assisted by members of the choir. Fifteen *Commonweals* sold. Good meeting at Welte Road also. In evening, at Kelmscott House, Mr. Morrison lectured on "India."—G. M.

MILE END AND BETHNAL GREEN.—After Park meeting on Sunday, members and friends of Branch and some of the S.D.F. met at 26, Cawley Road, the residence of our hospitable comrade Mrs. Schaak, who provided an excellent tea, for the purpose of forming a Socialist Club in district. Power (S.D.F.) elected to chair. After discussion, resolved *nem. con.*, "That the formation of a Socialist Socialist Club in the East End is necessary as a local centre from which Socialists of all shades of opinion can carry on the work of propaganda." The meeting then adjourned until Thursday, Nov. 8th, when the subject will be further considered at the Monarch Coffee Tavern, Bethnal Green Road. Members and friends of the S.L. and S.D.F. invited; 8.30 prompt.—H. D.

ABERDEEN.—Good meeting at Correction Wynd, Monday, by Leatham. Choir sang "Marseillaise" and "Hymn of Labour." At indoor meeting Leatham read lecture on "Social Reconstruction, and how to set about it." Discussion by Semple, Barron, McIntyre, and Leatham. (Report of social meeting unavoidably held over.)

IPSWICH.—Creed held good meeting at Statton on Thursday. On Sunday, in Pioneers' Hall, J. Thomas lectured on "The Position of the Worker" to an attentive audience.—J. T.

LEEDS.—Last month, in addition to our usual outdoor meetings, we commenced a series at the Branch which were fairly well attended. The lectures for the next two months will be notified in the Lecture Diary.—T. P.

NORWICH.—Saturday evening, Branch opened new open-air station on Haymarket; very good audience; Cores and Mowbray spoke. Sunday morning, meeting in Market Place; in afternoon usual meeting was well attended, addressed by Cores and Mowbray. Open-air meeting not held in evening, owing to wet. At Gordon Hall Mowbray lectured on "Socialism: what it is and what it is not." Good sale of literature during the day; 8s. 1d. collected for propaganda.

LECTURE DIARY.
LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—This Branch is now actively working. Socialists resident in this locality should send their names in at once to 13 Farringdon Road.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday, November 4, at 8.30 p.m., Social Evening by Members and Friends; free admission. Sunday November 11, at 8.30 p.m., R. L. Allen, "Man in Relation to Life and Matter."

Fulham.—Our rooms, 8 Effie Road, Walham Green, will in future be opened on Thursday evenings at 7 o'clock to all persons interested in social matters.

Hackney.—Secretary, E. Lefevre, 14 Goldsmiths Sq., Goldsmiths Row, Hackney Road. The Business Meeting of Branch will be held in the Berner Street Club on Tuesday November 6th, at 9 p.m. Members please attend.

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday November 4, at 8 p.m., J. Bullock.

Hoxton.—Persons wishing to join this branch are requested to communicate with H. D. Morgan, 22, Nicholas Street Hoxton.

London Fields.—All communications, etc., to Mrs. G. G. Schack, 26 Cawley Road, South Hackney.

Merton.—Club-house, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road, Singlegate. Lecture on Sunday evenings at 8.30.

Mile-end and Bethnal Green.—95 Boston St., Hackney Road.

North London.—Secretary, Nelly Parker. Business meetings held on Friday evenings at 6 Windmill St., Tottenham Court Road, after open-air meeting at Ossulton Street.

Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.—40 Berner Street. Meets Saturdays at 7.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen (Scottish Section).—Secretary, P. Barrow, 14 Ann Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

Bradford.—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivegate. Meets Tuesdays at 8.

Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Tuesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secy.

Dundee (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

Edinburgh (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.

Galashiels (Scot Sect.).—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, secy.

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

Glasgow.—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class meets every Sunday at 11.

Ipswich.—Pioneer Hall, Jacket Street. Meets on Sunday evenings.

Kilmarnock.—Secretary, H. M'Gill, 22 Gilmour St.

Leeds.—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Rd. and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m. communications to T. Paylor, 11 Sheldon St., Holbeck, Leeds. Sunday Nov. 4, at 7.30, G. Roby, "Coal-mining and its Political Aspects." Sunday 11th, J. Groevz Fisher, "Starvation in the Midst of Plenty." 18th, Mr. Chippendale, "How we Live and How we Might Live." 25th, P. Bland, "The Right of Resistance."

Leicester.—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—Sunday, at 8.15, Lecture in Gordon Hall—subject, "The Unemployed." Monday, at 8, Concert, admission free, collection for Branch funds. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Wednesday, at 8, Educational Class. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association.

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

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

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

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SUNDAY 3.

11.30...Latimer Road Station ...Hammersmith Branch
11.30...Mitcham Fair Green ...The Branch
11.30...Regent's Park ...Mainwaring
11.30...Walham Green, opp. Station...The Branch
11.30...Weltje Rd., Ravenscourt Pk ...Hammersmith
3.30...Hyde Park ...Nicoll
7.30...Broad Street, Soho ...Brooks
7.30...Clerkenwell Green ...Brooks
7.30...Mitcham Fair Green ...Turner

Monday.

8 ...Wimbledon Broadway ...Mainwaring

Tuesday.

8.30...Fulham—back of Walham Green Ch. ...Branch

Friday.

7.30...Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street...Parker

EAST END.

SUNDAY 3.

Leman Street, Shadwell 11 ...Kitz.
Victoria Park ... 3.15...Kitz & Parker.
Broadway, London Fields 8.30...Mainwaring.

TUESDAY.

Mile-end Waste ... 8.30...Davis.

WEDNESDAY.

Broadway, London Fields 8.30...McCormick.

FRIDAY.

Philpot St., Commercial Rd. 8.30...McCormick.

SATURDAY.

Mile-end Waste ... 6 ...Parker.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen.—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7 p.m.
Glasgow.—Sunday: Jail's Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock.
Ipswich.—
Sproughton, Wednesday evening.
Westerfield, Thursday evening.
Needham Market, Sunday morning and evening.
Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.
Leicester.—Sunday: Russel Square, at 11 a.m.
Norwich.—Sunday: St. Mary's Plain, at 11; Market Place, at 11, 3, and 7.30.
Corner of Silver Road, Thursday at 8.30 p.m.
St Catharine's Plain, Friday at 8.30 p.m.
Haymarket, Saturday at 7.45 p.m.

WALWORTH AND CAMBERWELL.—Socialists living in this district who desire to join a Branch now being formed, should communicate with K. Henze, 41, Bolton Street, Thomas Street, Kennington Park, S.E.

THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—The Committee will meet at the Socialist League Offices, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C., on Saturday Nov. 3rd, at 7.30 p.m. Subscriptions received and members enrolled at 9 p.m.

COMMUNIST ARBEITER-BILDUNGSVEREIN, 40, Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, W.—On Sunday, November 4th, a Concert and Ball will be given by the Dramatic Section of the C. A. B. V., with kind assistance of the East-end Propaganda Company. Programme 6d. The proceeds will be transferred to the Chicago Commemoration Committee.

FABIAN SOCIETY.—The Fabian Society is giving a course of lectures on "Socialism: its Basis and Prospects." The first part of the course, dealing with "The Basis of Socialism," was concluded on Nov. 2. The second part of the course will deal with "The Organisation of Society": Nov. 16, (1) "Property under Socialism," Graham Wallas, King Street, St. James's Square, S.W. The chair will be taken by the Rev. Stewart D. Headlam, B.A., at 8 p.m. precisely. Tickets for the course may be obtained from the Hon. Sec., Sydney Olivier, 180 Portsdown Rd. W.

ARTS AND CRAFTS EXHIBITION SOCIETY.—The First Arts and Crafts Exhibition is now open daily, Sundays excepted, at the New Gallery, 121, Regent St., from 10 a.m. to 7 p.m. Admission 1s., Season Tickets 5s. The Exhibition comprises specimens of design and handicraft in textiles, gold and silversmiths' work, including enameling; metal and iron work; fictiles; decorative painting and design; wall paper; book-binding; printing; glass; stained glass; wood and stone carving; cabinet making; modelling. On and after Saturday, the 10th Nov., with the exception (1) of Tuesday evening, the 13th Nov., and (2) of Thursday (lecture) evenings, the Exhibition will be open on weekday evenings from 7 p.m. to 10 p.m. Admission 6d. Packets of 25 tickets, each ticket entitling to a single admission, may be had at the reduced charge of 10s. On Thursday evenings in November a course of lectures, in connection with the Exhibition, will be given in the North Gallery. Admission by ticket. For particulars see Syllabus of Lectures. On Sunday the 4th November, and Sunday the 18th November, the Exhibition will be open free (by ticket) from 3 p.m. to 9 p.m. Tickets to be had of Mark H. Judge, Esq., Hon. Sec. Sunday Society, 8, Park Place Villas, W. The Revised Catalogue is now issued, price 1s., and may be had at the Gallery. The Exhibition closes finally on Saturday, December 1.

WALTER CRANE, *President.*
ERNEST RADFORD, *Secretary.*

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AN APPEAL

TO FRIENDS AND THOSE INTERESTED.

The importance of the work I am undertaking will be readily appreciated by all who love justice and humanity. Future generations will prize every detail in the history of these fast-moving years. The movement towards a higher civilisation needs a correct presentation of facts; and the veil of prejudice, which an unrelenting ruling class has woven about the events of the past two years, must be torn aside before it shades into tradition. Much of the matter presented is of the deepest interest, and can be obtained from no other source.

In order to bring out this work as it should be done, heavy expenses will be entailed, and it is unnecessary to mention that my means are limited. I, therefore, ask all who feel interested in seeing this work carried out, to send in subscriptions, or parts of subscriptions, or contributions from the financially able and willing. It is impossible at this date to give the exact size and price of the book, but subscribers may be sure that besides getting the full worth of their money in interesting information and good reading, they will be aiding a good cause, and assisting in the support of two children made orphans by the State. I have chosen this work rather than to take up any of the ordinary occupations open to women, because I believe I can best finish the labour my beloved husband laid down, and at the same time care for the innocent children he left helpless.

The price of the book will probably be about 1 dol. 50 c. Parties sending in clubs of five or over will obtain wholesale rates. It will be out at the latest by December 1, 1888, if friends will contribute promptly. Without your generous aid it may be impossible for me to accomplish this great task I have undertaken.

With fraternal greetings, yours,

MRS. A. R. PARSONS.

735 MILWAUKEE AVE., CHICAGO, ILL., U.S.A.

SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.

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THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 4.—No. 148.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1888.

WEEKLY: ONE PENNY.
INCLUDING SUPPLEMENT: TWOPENCE.]

CHICAGO MARTYRS & BLOODY SUNDAY.

"Our silence will be more powerful than our speech."

Mrs. PARSONS has accepted the invitation of the Commemoration Committee to speak at the various meetings to be held in London and the provinces during current month.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 10,

A Meat Tea will be provided at St. Paul's Café, St. Paul's Churchyard, E.C., at 7 p.m. Tickets 1s. 6d. each. Tickets will be issued at 6d. each for those who cannot attend tea, in order to hear an address to Mrs. Parsons and her reply. Tickets can now be obtained from Secretary, 13 Farringdon Road, any branch secretary, and all the International Clubs. All unsold tickets and cash MUST be returned by Friday, November 9, to J. Lane, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM, M.P., in the Chair.

Songs will be sung during the evening by the Choir, which meets for final rehearsal at 13, Farringdon Road, at 5 o'clock on Saturday 10th.

Arrangements have already been made to hold meetings on

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 11, at 11.30 a.m., in
REGENT'S PARK.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 11, at 3.30 p.m., in
HYDE PARK.

Processions will be organised from different parts of London, and delegates from Radical clubs will speak at the platforms, which will be announced in the daily and weekly press.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 12, at 7.30 p.m., in
WORNUM HALL, STORE STREET,
TOTTENHAM COURT ROAD.

The Chair will be taken by WILLIAM MORRIS.

Speakers at the various meetings:—P. Kropotkin, F. Kitz, J. Blackwell, Trunk, Dr. Merlino, Cunninghame Graham, M.P., John Burns, C. A. V. Conybeare, M.P., Rev. S. D. Headlam, H. A. Barker, F. Charles, D. Nicoll, S. Mainwaring, Wm. Blundell, J. Macdonald, J. E. Williams, H. H. Sparling, R. Hicks, T. Cantwell, J. Turner, A. Brooks, H. Davies, J. Tochetti, S. Bullock, McCormack, J. Lane, W. B. Parker, and others. The whole of the Trafalgar Square prisoners released are expected at these meetings. Mrs. PARSONS will speak at Wornum Hall and Hyde Park, and probably Victoria Park.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 13, at 3 p.m., in
VICTORIA PARK.

Further details next week.

The following Resolutions will be moved at the meetings:—

FIRST RESOLUTION.

"That this meeting commemorates the legal murder of four men which took place on November 11th, 1887 (Parsons, Spies, Fischer, and Engels), and the cruel imprisonment of three others (Fielden, Schwab, and Neebe) by the Government of the State of Illinois for the crime of supporting workmen in a labour struggle against their masters, and the further crime of maintaining the rights of free speech, and emphatically denounces the interference with these rights in all capitalist countries; an interference which is the natural result of a so-called Society founded on the robbery of labour."

SECOND RESOLUTION.

"That this meeting also denounces the attack on Free Speech made in London on November 13th, 1887, during which three men were killed and many sent to prison after a mere mockery of trial, and it calls for the immediate release of Harrison, condemned to five years penal servitude for being present at a political meeting which was ferociously attacked by the police."

Meantime, funds are urgently needed, and should be sent to Joseph Lane, Treasurer, at the office of the Socialist League, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C. Any information can be had by communicating with Secretary of the Commemoration Committee.

W. B. PARKER, Secretary.

In Memoriam.

Murdered by law, Nov. 11, 1887.

GEORGE ENGEL

ADOLPH FISCHER

ALBERT R. PARSONS

AUGUST SPIES

Killed himself in prison, Nov. 10.

LOUIS LINGG

Imprisoned for life.

SAMUEL FIELDING

MICHAEL SCHWAB

Fifteen years' imprisonment.

OSCAR NEEBE

It is just one year since the tragedy of Chicago: enough time does not yet intervene to enable us to realise fully the meaning of the event we celebrate. Saddened by the yet fresh memories of our comrades' long struggle in the toils of bourgeois law, and the pain we felt when they at length fell victims to the deferred vengeance of outraged respectability; so many things combining to obstruct our view and distract our attention; we cannot for awhile see clearly the causes and the outcome of their death. Those things that have deepest significance when afterwards read in the light of history are rarely recognised by those who see them and pass by. It was not until negro slavery had been swept away in the fiercest civil war that was ever waged, not until the cause they died for was triumphant, that men understood why Lovejoy was assassinated and John Brown hung. Just as retribution overtook, and that not slowly, the great organised wrong of negro slavery; just as the martyrs whom it slew were avenged in its fall; so also will its doom come to the wider evil of wage slavery, and the upholders of monopoly be called on to account for the wrongs they have done in its defence.

The great god Commerce that rules wellnigh the whole world with an iron rod, is from one cause and another even more powerful in America than in the older countries of this continent. Reckless greed and sordid wealth are confronted by a larger and more desperate proletariat. There are less of social gradations that here mask and seem to bridge the gulf between the millionaire on the one side and the pauper on the other. The masses are more educated and the classes less refined, the revolt against their rule more conscious and direct. The tramp of the men who struck down slavery still echoes in the ear of their sons. As America is to Europe, so is Chicago to America. There the social war is waged with greater fury, and its fruits are more apparent, than in any city of the world save London, and here it is not brought into so small a compass; in Chicago the opposing forces face one another within a narrower area.

There is no space here to re-tell the story of what happened, and there are but few words needed in which to explain it. The labour struggle was passing through an acute phase, and in all parts of the States there were strikes and lock-outs and threats on either side. Years before, the movement for an eight-hour day had become so strong that several States had fixed that limit for all governmental work, and Congress had followed their example throughout the whole country. But the law was not extended to the general body of trades, and an immense number of workers determined that it should be so; most of these recognised also that the law would be useless without an organisation to enforce it; that, given an organisation, the law did not much matter. In 1885 the general conference of the National Labour Union determined that next year the eight-hour day should be introduced all over the States by a universal strike on May 1st, and great preparations were made to that end. The agitation was hottest in Chicago, and the Socialists and Anarchists there were called on to take their places in the front of the battle. Seeing quite well that nothing short of the full resumption of the means of labour would benefit the workers for any length of time, but knowing also that any effort on their own behalf would elevate the masses and give them at least a passing relief, they encouraged the eight-hour movement by all means in their power; pointing out meanwhile the great ultimate goal that might by no means be lost sight of. So successful were they that it became plain to both sides that the real question at issue was little

likely to be settled or even much affected by the immediate outcome of the eight-hour strike.

As May-day approached the excitement grew, and strike after strike took place. At last the day came, and many thousands of workmen left their work; trade was paralysed; many employers grew frightened and made concessions; for awhile it almost seemed as if the cause were triumphant. But capitalism had not lost its cunning; it relied, and with reason, on its police, their weapons and their spies. The American Republic was to show that not Russia itself could surpass in treachery and brutal violence the behaviour of the ruling class of the "land of the free." A meeting of strikers on May 3rd was attacked by the police, who fired on men, women, and children alike, leaving six dead and many wounded. Next day a meeting of protest was held in the Haymarket, and this was again attacked; as the police advanced upon the meeting with loaded rifles and in fighting formation, a bomb was thrown by some one, traitor or fool, which killed one of them and threw many others to the ground. Firing began at once, and the flying unarmed crowd was followed in all directions by the police, who fired indiscriminately on all they saw. What followed is well known; how houses were ransacked and crowds arrested; how with small excuse or with none everybody was indicted who anyway could be; how a jury was packed, and how they earned the blood-money they afterwards received from the bourgeois of Chicago; how testimony was bought and witnesses made; how the whole "legal" machinery was set in motion and well oiled with enormous bribery. It went for nothing that no connection whatever could be shown between the prisoners and the bomb; they were in the grip of the money-changers whom they would have "scourged out of the temple," and like their legendary prototype were condemned. Month after month dragged on, and appeal after appeal was rejected; the bourgeois would sate their anger on the men who had dared to teach the slaves to revolt. The one last appeal, to the workers of the world, was not fruitless; in their millions they responded, in vain as it seemed then, for unorganised right could not cope with organised wrong, and our martyrs died. But the appeal was not in vain, for the millions looked toward that gallows in Chicago on which four men had died for their fellows, and their "silence was more powerful than speech."

That silence has for us a message, the message of the Commune, the message of all the seeming failures that line the path of human progress: "Agitate! Educate! Organise!" Agitate, that the workers may be stirred and awakened to a sense of their position. Educate, that they may know the reason of the evils that they suffer. Organise, that we and they may overthrow the system that bears us down and makes us what we are; that there may be no futile waste of individual effort, but that the army of the revolution may move forward united, steadfast, irresistible, "for the Freedom of the Peoples and the Brotherhood of Man."

EDITORS.

BLOODY SUNDAY.

(TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMMONWEAL.")

EXCEPT the facts already known to the public, I fear I can tell little of the occurrences in Trafalgar Square last November. As to the reason why three men were killed, many sent to prison, three hundred or so arrested, and several condemned to penal servitude; the retail trade of the metropolis thrown into disorder, the troops called out; as to why many men and women were beaten and brutalised in the public streets, the wherefore that the powers that be chose to expose their capital to the chance of being sacked and burnt by an angry populace,—I confess I am still in the dark. The more I think, the more I cannot tell. It may be that Sir Charles Dogberry had heard of, and wished to imitate, the behaviour of the negro pilot who came aboard a ship in the West Indies, and immediately gave the order, "Haul um jib up, Mr. Mate," and then, amidst the curses of the crew, instantly remarked, "Haul um jib down, Mr. Mate;" giving as his reason that he wished to show his authority.

What I can tell you is merely this, that I was in Birmingham and read in the morning papers that a meeting having for its object to petition the Government for the release of Mr. William O'Brien, M.P., had suddenly been proclaimed without rhyme or reason. At that time I was a newly elected Liberal member. I had heard members of my party, men who at that time I respected and believed to be in earnest, talking big at meetings and telling lies about what they intended to do in Ireland that autumn. I had read Mr. Gladstone's speech at Nottingham, in which he had expressly said that coercion would not be confined to Ireland, but would also be applied to England if the people were supine. I had read this, and—fool that I was—I believed it; for at that time I did not know that Liberals, Tories, and Unionists were three bands of thimble-rippers. I did not know that the fooleries of Harcourt and the platitudes of Morley were anything else than the utterances of good dull men, who at least believed in themselves. I was soon to be undeceived.

To return to my meeting. I came up to London, hearing that the meeting was held under the auspices of the Radical clubs of London, in conjunction with the Irish National League. Now one would have thought that I should have met at every political club in London the local Liberal member encouraging his constituents. One would have thought that the boasters and braggarts from the country constituencies would have rushed up to town to redeem their vaunts on public platforms. I expected that it would be thought as cruel and tyrannical to break up a meeting at which thousands of Irishmen were to be

present, in London as it would be in Ireland. I thought that freedom of speech and the right of public meeting were facts in themselves, about which politicians were agreed. I did not know the meanness of the whole crew even at that time. I was not aware that freedom of speech and public meeting were nothing to them but stalking-horses to hide themselves behind, and under cover of which to crawl into Downing Street. I soon found, however, that the Liberal party was a complete cur, that what they excelled in doing was singing "Gloria Gladstone in excelsis," and talking of what they intended to do in Ireland. You see the sea divided them from Ireland, and one is always brave when no danger is at hand. However, no political capital was to be made out of London, it appeared, therefore Mr. Shaw Lefevre thought better to vapour and obtain a cheap notoriety in Ireland, where he knew he was quite safe, than to help his fellow townsmen—he is, I think, a Londoner—in London, where there might have been some incurred.

Finding myself deserted by all my colleagues, with the exception of Messrs. Conybeare and Walter M'Laren, who would have been at the meeting had they been able, and at that time not knowing many of the Radicals, I turned to the Socialists, some of whom I did know, and hearing their procession was to arrive at St. Martin's Church at a certain time, I determined to join it.

What happened is known to all: how no procession reached the Square; how they were all illegally attacked and broken up, some of them several miles from the Square; how in despite of every constitutional right, and without a shadow of pretext, banners and instruments were destroyed, and not a farthing of compensation ever given, though the loss fell on poor people. It will be remembered, too, how the police, acting under the orders of Sir Charles Dogberry, the Christian soldier (*sic!*) felled men and women, and in some cases little children, to the ground. I wonder if Mr. Henry Matthews, the pious Catholic Home Secretary, approved of this, and how he broached the matter to his priest when he went to confession! It will not be forgotten the sort of bloody assize that followed, and how Judge Edlin wrote himself down ass by the folly of his sentences. No one will forget the trial and condemnation of George Harrison, and his sentence to five years' penal servitude on the oath of one policeman, eleven independent witnesses being of no avail to save him. Then the pantomimic trial of John Burns and myself, and our condemnation by Mr. Justice Charles Shallow, also on the testimony of professional witnesses, and for an obsolete offence. It is still, I think, fresh in the memory of all, how with the help of all the professional perjurers in London, all the arms collected from that vast crowd amounted to three pokers, one piece of wood, and an oyster-knife. How I failed to join the procession, and having met Messrs. Burns and Hyndman by accident, proceeded to the Square; how we were assaulted and knocked about and sent to prison, is matter of notoriety in London.

I can tell no more of the incidents of the day than can any other spectator. I walked across the street with Burns, was joined by no one as far as I remember, and found myself a prisoner in the Square with a broken head. Whilst in there though I had ample time to observe a good deal. I watched the crowd and the police pretty carefully; I saw repeated charges made at a perfectly unarmed and helpless crowd; I saw policemen not of their own accord, but under the express orders of their superiors, repeatedly strike women and children; I saw them invariably choose those for assault who seemed least able to retaliate. One incident struck me with considerable force and disgust. As I was being led out of the crowd a poor woman asked a police inspector (I think) or a sergeant if he had seen a child she had lost. His answer was to tell her she was a "damned whore," and to knock her down. I never till that time completely realised how utterly servile and cowardly an English crowd is. I venture to say that had it occurred in any other country in the world, the man would have been torn to pieces. But no! in England we are so completely accustomed to bow the knee before wealth and riches, to repeat to ourselves we are a free nation, that in the end we have got to believe it, and the grossest acts of injustice may be perpetrated under our very eyes, and we still slap our manly chests and congratulate ourselves that Britain is the home of Liberty.

Other things I saw that pleased me better than this. I saw that the police were afraid; I saw on more than one occasion that the officials had to strike their free British men to make them obey orders; I saw that the horses were clumsy and badly bitted, and of no use whatever in a stone street; and lastly, I am almost certain I observed several of the police officers to be armed with pistols, which I believe is against the law. I saw much too, to moralise on. The tops of the houses and hotels were crowded with well dressed women, who clapped their hands and cheered with delight when some miserable and half-starved working-man was knocked down and trodden under foot. This I saw as I stood on almost the identical spot where a few weeks ago the Government unveiled the statue of Gordon, not daring to pay honour to the memory of one of our greatest latter-day Englishmen because they feared the assembling of a crowd to do him honour; because, I suppose, for both political parties the comments on the death of a man sacrificed to their petty party broils would have seemed awkward. As I stood there, as I saw the gross over-fed faces at the club and hotel windows, as I heard the meretricious laughter of the Christian women on the housetops (it is a significant feature of the decadence of England, that not one woman of the upper classes raised her protest by pen or on platform to deprecate the treatment of her unarmed fellow-countrymen; no, all their pity was for the police), I thought yet, still—I have heard that these poor working-men, these Irishmen and Radicals have votes, and perhaps even souls, and it seemed impossible but that some day these poor

deceived, beaten, down-trodden slaves would turn upon their oppressors and demand why they had made their England so hideous, why they ate and drank to repletion, and left nothing but work, starvation, kicks, and curses for their Christian brethren? Somewhat in this style I thought; this I saw as I stood wiping the blood out of my eyes in Trafalgar Square. What I did not see was entirely owing to the quietness of the crowd. I did not see houses burning; I did not hear pistols cracking. I did not see this—not because of any precautions the authorities had taken, for they had taken none, but because it was the first time such a scene had been witnessed in London during this generation.

Now, whilst thanking the *Commonweal* for giving me so much space, I can only say that I do not contemplate the renewal of such a scene with much pleasure. "You can beat a cow till she is mad," says the old proverb; and even a Londoner may turn at last. I hope that there may be no occasion for him to turn in my life-time, but I know that if he is not forced to do so he will have only himself to thank for having avoided it. No party will help him, no one cares for him; rich, nobles, City, West End, infidels, Turks, and Jews combine to cheat him, and he stands quiet as a tree, helpless as a sheep, bearing it all and paying for it all. This, then, is all I can tell you of the great riots (*sic*) in Trafalgar Square, where three men were killed, 300 kicked, wounded, and arrested, and which had no result, so far as I can see, but to make the Liberal party as odious and as despised as the Tory party in the metropolis. All honour to the Socialists for being the first body of Englishmen in the metropolis to have determined that the death of three Englishmen, killed by the folly of Sir Charles Dogberry, and worthy Mr. Verges, the Home Secretary, shall not go unregarded, and I hope unpunished.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

R. B. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM.

AMILCARE CIPRIANI AND THE UNION OF THE LATIN RACES.

A FEW weeks ago our heroic comrade Amilcare Cipriani launched amidst the peoples of Europe an energetic appeal for the union of the Latin races, and his idea has so far met with approval that a provisional committee has at once been appointed at Paris, including amongst their members, besides Cipriani, the founder of the League, Benoit Malon, ex-member of the Paris Commune and chief-editor of the *Revue Socialiste*; Achille Caille and Xavier de Carvalho, publicists; A. F. Parmentier, Venerable of the Lodge "The Link of the Peoples"; Millerand, Achille Boyer, Camélinat and Ferroul, Socialist deputies of the French Legislative Assembly; Darlot, chairman, and Daumas, member of the Paris Municipal Council. This provisional committee will in the course of a few days convene a general meeting of all those who already have adhered to the League, issue a manifesto and a programme, lay down the rules and regulations of the new body, and proceed to the election of an executive council.

The idea of trying to reconcile the French and Italian democracies is certainly well worthy of our consideration; but at the same time we cannot help thinking and feeling that there lies at the bottom of Cipriani's proposal some kind of national jingoism, that can hardly be held consistent with the principles of international revolutionary Socialism, and therefore we ask leave to lay before our readers some of the reasons, at least, why we disagree with the proposed scheme of a mere Latin union. Far be it from us to doubt the good faith of our comrade Cipriani, or to accuse him personally of chauvinistic or jingoist sentiments, for all who know his life and have followed his career are aware that there has never been even a shade of one-sided nationalism in any of his revolutionary enterprises. As far back as 1860, scarcely a youth of sixteen, he fights with Garibaldi at Milazzo and at Madalloni, and being compelled, after the battle of Aspromonte, to emigrate, he soon reaches Greece, where he takes part as an insurgent on the barricades of Eolo Street, at Athens, in the last struggle against King Otho. Soon afterwards he starts for Egypt, forming at Alexandria a secret society in order to overthrow the Egyptian government. In 1866 he organises at his own expense that Egyptian legion which did duty so valiantly in the Austro-Italian war. Then he goes to Crete, where he fights, along with Gustave Flourens, in the ranks of the insurgents. After a short stay in London, he devotes all his efforts to the Socialist uprising in Tuscany. As soon as Napoleon's empire is torn to pieces at Sedan, Cipriani becomes at Paris one of the most energetic supporters of the French Revolution; on the 31st of October 1870 he is with Blanqui and Eudes among those who try to take possession of the Hotel de Ville. During the Commune he acts as Flourens' chief staff officer, and at the sortie of April the 4th he is taken prisoner by the Versaillese and afterwards sentenced to imprisonment for life in the galleys of New Caledonia. The general amnesty of 1880 only relieves him from ten years' sufferings in the peninsula of Ducos to throw him again into the murderous dungeon of Portolongone, the court of Ancona having sentenced him on the 28th of February 1881 to twenty-five years hard labour for the forgotten affair of Alexandria. At last the Italian government, urged by the irresistible pressure of public opinion, the electors of Ravenna and of Forli having returned Cipriani nine times as their deputy in Parliament, were compelled to grant a full amnesty to that valiant champion of the revolutionary cause, who may truly be said to belong to the family of Buonarrotti, of Garibaldi, of Blanqui, of Barbes, of Gustave Flourens. A man of that description and of such indomitable energy is not and cannot be a mere jingo-nationalist.

Cipriani's appeal nevertheless seems to us inconsistent with the traditions of revolutionary Socialism. It runs as follows: "The kings of Europe are taking aim at France, that grand focus of revolution and liberty, the very intellectual centre of the world: France is threatened to be invaded, trampled down, dismembered. Day after day Bismarck, Crispi, Kalnoky are striving to provoke her in the name of their masters; they would like that the centenary of the great Revolution that inaugurated the Rights of Man should become the last day of her freedom; that the tocsin of revolt which swept away the crowned heads of monarchy should ring the death-knell of peoples; that the "Marseillaise," that sublime hymn that raised the oppressed against their oppressors, should be the funeral song of revolutionary France and Europe. The *finis Poloniae* may teach us of what crimes kings are capable: let us not wait until a second crime be perpetrated, let us not wait until beside the coffin of unhappy Poland that of heroic France also lies on the ground. *Finis Gallie* would mean the mourning of the world, the end of liberty, of fraternity, and of the hopes of all peoples.

"The Italian Government, born from the Revolution, has assumed the infamous rôle of an *agent-provocateur*, has become the slavish tool of the German Chancellor, has come forward as the vanguard of William's armies to overthrow a brother-people. Slavery of the French people means slavery for the Italians and for all their brethren of Latin race. It behoves thus to these peoples, to all who have kept alive in their hearts the remembrance of the Revolution, to all lovers of justice and freedom, to combine in order to resist the monarchical conspiracies, and to avoid that two brother-peoples who fought heroically on the same battle-fields should be used for the consolidation of the thrones of their most terrible foes.

"Nay, that cannot be and will not be. The blood that has been shed at Magenta, Palestro, Solferino, Dijon, Nuits, and Talant, has created between these peoples a link never to be unknotted, and lays on us the sacred duty of uniting all our endeavours to dispel a threatening conflict.

"To this effect a Central Committee of the Latin Union has been sitting at Paris. Its outspoken aim is to wage war against the Jesuitic manoeuvres of our common enemies, to dispel the misunderstandings already brought about by these manoeuvres, to maintain the indissoluble union of the peoples of Latin race by an unceasing propaganda, and, if needs be, by an energetic action to be carried on by all means, even the most extreme.

"Danger is imminent, arms are ready, tinders are alighted. Let us not wait until the orders to give fire be given. Let us organise ourselves, close our ranks, be ready in arms to fight, lest we should become an easy prey to the kings. The Italians should not wait until their government has dishonoured them by dragging them off into a war that would stain their history, their heroic quests, their future. To the conspiracy of the monarchs let us oppose the union of all the oppressed, and above all, the union of the peoples of Latin blood!—AMILCARE CIPRIANI."

The union of the Latin races in order to be effective, as far as it is intended in Cipriani's scheme, must include bourgeois and workers alike, and become a kind of Society of the Friends of Peace, such as that presided over by M. Lemonnier, of Geneva. But nowadays the International Revolutionary Socialists are far ahead of the theories that prevail in that and similar bodies. We do not want to overthrow a Government, be it what it may, because by the smashing to pieces of a Monarchy and its possible replacing by a Republic, even a very advanced one, we have done nothing whatever in the way of Socialism. We are aiming at the overthrow of society at large, inasmuch society is actually based on commercialism and exploitation, and in that work bourgeois and politicians of every shade struggle and fight against us, because their privileges are at stake, not only in Italy or France, but in every country all over the wide world. The union of the Latin races is quite useless if it is intended to avoid war. War will not be avoided, but will become more inevitable the more the revolutionary and Socialist ideas permeate the masses of the people, and the supporters of commercialism and exploitation will have no other means but war to resist our ideas and their fulfilling into practice. War must be in the long run the necessary outcome of our respective positions, with the understanding that it will be a social and not a political war, one of the oppressed of all sorts against the oppressors of all kinds—dynastical, economical, and religious.

Again, for that war, which means nothing more or less than the Social Revolution, the union of the Latin races, instead of being a step forward, is rather one backwards, because it limits the solidarity of the workers and excludes those who are not of Latin blood. Are not our friends of the German proletariat suffering under the same pressure of their tyrants, oppressors of the political machinery and masters of the capitalistic workshops? Are not the Slavonic races labouring under the same hard and mischievous evils? Why then should we go back to the particular idea of a Latin union, whereas we know that only the universal brotherhood of the proletariat of all countries shall enable us to carry out our ideas, in spite of all reaction and all despotism? In a letter written some days ago by comrade Cipriani to his friends at Brussels he says, "There can be no revolution possible without union, without harmony, without the most entire concord." Well, then, let us bring about concord and harmony between the pariahs of the whole world, whatever be the race they belong to, and the curse of commercialism will soon give way to a society of free men, wherein life will be worth living for all, there being no longer a class of rich idlers entertained on the everlasting draining of the starving masses.

VICTOR DAVE.



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

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

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

Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them.
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ringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

ARTICLES unavoidably held over: "Endowments"; "Reflections"; and con-
clusion of "Humours of Propaganda."
UNSUITABLE: T. J.; K. O.; R. S.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday November 7.

ENGLAND Blackburn Times Church Reformer Erie Autonomie Freedom Justice Leicester—Countryman Labour Tribune Norwich—Daylight Postal Service Gazette Railway Review Social Demokrat Yorkshire Post Worker's Friend	CHICAGO—Knights of Labor Vorbote Detroit—Der Arme Teufel Fort Worth (Tex)—South West Milwaukee—National Reformer Paterson (N J) Labor Standard Coast Seamen's Journal	SWITZERLAND Geneva—Przadswit
INDIA Madras—People's Friend	FRANCE Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) Le Parti Ouvrier (daily) La Revolte Le Coup de Feu Le Proletariat Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur Sedan—La Revolution St. Etienne—La Loire Socialiste	ITALY Turin—Nuova Gazzetta Operaia Florence—La Question Sociale Turin—Il Muratore
UNITED STATES New York—Der Sozialist Volkzeitung Alarm Workmen's Advocate Boston—Woman's Journal	HOLLAND Hague—Recht voor Allen	SPAIN Barcelona—El Productor Barcelona—Tierra y Libertad Madrid—El Socialista Seville—La Solidaridad
	GERMANY Berlin—Volks Tribune	PORTUGAL Lisbon—O Proletario Porto—A Revolucao Social
	BEIGIUM Ghent—Vooruit Liege—L'Avenir Antwerp—De Werker	GERMANY Berlin—Volks Tribune
	SWEDEN Stockholm, Social-Demokraten Malmo—Arbetet	WEST INDIES Cuba—El Productor

NOTES ON NEWS.

MRS. PARSONS left New York on the "Arizona," which reaches Liver-
pool on Thursday morning, 8th, after we have gone to press, so that
we cannot announce when she will arrive in London, but she is
expected to do so the same evening. Her public reception on Satur-
day promises to be a great success, but all comrades should still work
their hardest to ensure it being so. S.

The *Echo* has been kind enough to advertise our approaching celebra-
tion of the Chicago martyrs and Bloody Sunday by a ferocious attack
upon us, in which all the old calumnies against our comrades have
been new burnished for the occasion, and we are held up to public
reprobation as "enemies of society." All this is chiefly meant as an
attack on Cunninghame Graham for his having the courage to be pre-
pared to express in public what not only all Socialists, but all democrats
who have enquired into the matter, must feel in their hearts. For the
Echo believes Cunninghame Graham, though an opponent, to be on the
same plane of politics as itself; in which idea it will I feel sure find itself
mistaken.

Meantime let us say once more what was the real state of the case.
Our comrades, the *Echo* says, were tried and found guilty of being
privy to the throwing the bomb. By whom? By the declared enemies
of the people, who for long had no word in their mouths but "shoot
them down." And on what evidence? On evidence rather less valu-
able than what would suffice for the condemnation of an English labourer
before his squire of poaching a rabbit. There was no real evidence
offered or required for the condemnation of our comrades: their guilt
was clear already—they were the friends and fellow-agitators of the
workmen on strike; that was enough.

Does the editor of the *Echo* know anything of that redoubtable
weapon in defence of "society," the Law of Constructive Murder?
It is a comprehensive one and by means of it any obnoxious person
may be "removed" by "society" at a pinch. Any one taking part in
a meeting at which loss of life occurs may be indicted for this wide-
reaching crime. Supposing at some not very distant date the editor
of the *Echo*, taking part in some Unionist meeting at which the audience
gets too excited and shots are fired and someone is killed: how sad it
would be if he was put on his trial for constructive murder!

"Enemies of society"? Of what society? Of the society which
enables friends and kindred and fellow-workmen to live together in
peace and good-fellowship, helping one another through all the dif-

ficulties of life; the society which gives every one an opportunity for
living as well as the nature surrounding him will allow him to live?
We are not enemies of this society, we are now devoted soldiers of it,
and some of us may yet live to be happy members of it. For are we
not Socialists—i.e., people who want to realise true society?

But I suppose the *Echo* is thinking of another society; the society
of classes: the society which insists that most men shall be poor in
order that some may be rich. The society which as its culminating
success in our own days takes care that poverty shall no longer mean,
as it once did, mere rudeness of life and scantiness of possessions, but
utter degradation of body and soul; the society which produces in one
country, in one city, living under the same "equal" laws, the coster's
barrow and the duke's palace; the culture of the Whitechapel slum-
dweller, and the "culture" of the university superfine superior person.
In a word, the "society" that produces the rich and the poor,—that
is to say, the suffering of the world.

Of such a "society" as this—or rather of such a band of robbers
and heap of corruption usurping the holy name of Society—every
honest man must be the enemy, even if he is not conscious of it.

Mr. Balfour in his speech at Wolverhampton was very emphatic in
showing that the difference between the Irish rebels of the present and
the past, was that those of to-day were engaged in a socialistic agita-
tion; the *Daily News* in commenting on the speech was naturally
anxious to disprove this, pointing out that several of the Irish leaders
are strong Anti-Socialists, that Mr. Davitt is not supported in his land
nationalisation by his countrymen, and the Irish peasant is a fanatic
for property in land.

All this is true enough on the surface; nor could it be otherwise,
since the Irishman is conscious of having been thrust off the land by
mere foreigners. The capitalist as he knows him is either an alien in
blood or at least the representative of alien domination. Nevertheless
Mr. Balfour is more nearly right than the *Daily News*, more nearly
right than he knows himself probably. The agrarian agitation in
Ireland is an attack on property, though its immediate results may be
the establishment of a peasant proprietorship, a thing which in itself
all Socialists condemn. The claim for Home Rule is an attack on the
centralised bureaucracy, which is the palladium of the present robbery
sham-society; although its realisation may lead at first to the estab-
lishment of another bureaucratic centre, which will be rotten long
before it is ripe; and although the principle for exclusive nationality
is abhorrent to all true Socialists.

But the Irish are being educated into Socialism by the force of
circumstances whether they are conscious of it or not, and whether
they like it or not. This is what Mr. Balfour means, and he is per-
fectly right.

We need not trouble ourselves about Mr. Vizetelly's "punishment."
He offered his back to the lash, and is of course a mere capitalistic
publisher engaged in bringing out what will sell, irrespective of other
considerations. But a word or two may be said on the scene of ridi-
culous hypocrisy in which he played an unwilling part. M. Zola's
books are horrible. Granted—but are they as horrible as the corrupt
society which they picture? What is good enough to be done is good
enough to be told of; and I think it is but fair to assume (since the
books are undoubtedly powerful) that he is not merely wanton in
writing them, but wishes to show modern Society what a foul beast it
is. On these grounds he may claim at least the pardon accorded to
the hearty good-humoured grossnesses of Shakespeare and Chaucer;
and, as a matter-of-fact, the outspokenness of his books is not so provo-
cative of lust as the veiled corruption of the ordinary erotic novels of
the day.

As to whether all this is due material for art—that is another affair.
But an affair to come before a judge and jury? Preposterous! Why
the very reading of detached passages from the book as a method to
found criticism on, shows how entirely outside the judgment of a law-
court such things must needs be. Really I think the position of the
ordinary newspaper critic as compared with that of the author on
whom he lives is already sufficiently imposing, without dressing him
up in a gown and wig and giving him the power of sending his literary
opponents to prison. In short, this trial of M. Zola (for he was the
real person tried) is another indication, if but a small one, of the way
in which our laws represent the worst side and not the best of modern
life. WILLIAM MORRIS.

METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.—The weekly return of metropolitan pauperism
shows that the total number of paupers relieved in the third week of
last month was 94,950, of whom 57,728 were indoor and 37,222 outdoor
paupers. The total number relieved shows an increase of 1,330 over the
corresponding week of last year, 5,444 over 1886, and 6,303 over 1885. The
total number of vagrants relieved on the last day of the week was 1,263, of
whom 1,027 were men, 204 women, and 32 children under sixteen.

ARTICLES OF INTEREST to Socialists in the November magazines:—
Quarterly: "Technical Education and Foreign Competition." *Murray's*
Magazine: "The Police of the Metropolis," Sir Charles Warren. *Atlantic*
Monthly: "Studies of Factory Life: Black-listing at Fall River," Lillie B.
C. Wyman. *Century*: "The Guilds of the City of London," Norman Moore;
"Political Exiles at Tomsk," George Kennan. *Fortnightly Review*: "Modern
Handicrafts," William Morris. *National Review*: "Remedies for the Sweat-
ing System," Arthur A. Baumann, M.P.

REMEMBER CHICAGO.

(Tune: "THE MEETING OF THE WATERS.")

THEY were slain, our true comrades and yoke-fellows dear,
They were slain in the fury of Hatred and Fear;
But the seed that our foes in their blindness have cast,
It shall spring to a harvest of vengeance at last.

With what pride did our martyrs their torment endure,
For the hope of the helpless, the cause of the poor!
They loved not their lives, they were lost for our gain;
Oh, say, could such heroes have perished in vain?

Where they lead let us follow; they fight in the van,
For the honour of labour, the freedom of man;
Shall we fail of the faith which those strangled ones preach?
By their silence a thousand times stronger than speech?

Like the snow-swollen torrent when winter is gone,
Is the strength of a people whose will is as one;
Take heart, then, ye toilers, have done with despair,
And who shall gainsay when ye break through the snare?

C. W. BECKETT.

NOTES.

A WRITER in the *Radical Leader* contrasts Lassalle and Prince Bismarck; Lassalle was reckless and passionate; Bismarck possesses all the ordinary bourgeois virtues, and is evidently a thoroughly admirable character. It is rather curious, this admiration of a certain school of Radicals, for the man who has done more to make military despotism an exact science than any man in Europe. Suppression of newspapers, imprisonment of men for their opinions, a crushing and brutalising tyranny which destroys alike the mind and the body of its victims. This is the policy of Bismarck, and we are to admire and worship him because of his industry in this damnable work. Is this the latest development of the Radicalism of the Hall of Science?

For my part I say I prefer Lassalle with all his mad passions, which were only the accompaniment of a warm and noble heart, to the so-called personal virtues which gild Bismarck's grinding tyranny. How comes it that the editor of the *Radical Leader*, Mr. G. W. Foote, who was once an ardent admirer of Mirabeau and Danton, who were certainly not remarkable for their observance of the ordinary profanities, praises Bismarck to the skies because he is so respectable, and can find only terms of depreciation for Lassalle. Is it because Lassalle was a Socialist, and that Mr. Foote doesn't love Socialists, for reasons best known to himself.

Mr. Foote takes occasion to declare in correction of Sir Charles Warren, that Socialists had no more to do with the Trafalgar Square demonstration of the 13th of November than "the man in the moon." Then, I suppose, the red flags so prominent on that occasion belonged to Radical club-men, and that John Burns, Cunningham Graham, and Mrs. Besant are followers of Mr. G. W. Foote? It happens, however, that Mr. Foote, with the prudence which characterises that eminent leader of Freethought, was not present at the demonstration, and had no more to do with it than "the man in the moon." Its rather mean of him to endeavour to deprive us of our share of the glory.

We won't rob Mr. Foote of his share. We fully admit that it was only his eloquent exertions that kept the London Radicals from going to the Square on the succeeding Sunday, and thereby prevented them from obtaining an easy victory. Mr. Foote deserves the thanks of every upholder of law and order for his great exertions in thus preserving the peace of the metropolis. Perhaps this is the reason Mr. Foote is now so generally popular among metropolitan Radicals?

D. N.

It has long seemed probable that the *Daily News* employed upon its staff a writer brilliantly qualified for immediate consignment to Colney Hatch. The probability has now become a certainty, for this keeperless lunatic has been again expatiating on matters economic with his usual felicity. In an article, written, as one of the paragraphs clearly proves, to allay the alarm which capital has been thrown into through the result of the coal strike, he gravely informs us "that the houses we live in and in which we receive water for consumption are made by labour," and furthermore he informs us that "the very bricks and mortar are the products of labour applied to otherwise useless dust."

Does the idiot imagine that anyone beside himself ever forgets that labour is the important factor in all these things, and that the other elements in production merely assist labour? But in case we should think that labour, after making the before-mentioned articles, had retired on a competency or else had become fatigued and had decided to rest awhile and watch capital making itself, he explains that "the dress which keeps out the cold involves labour," "that in fact nothing that we eat, drink, use, or enjoy can be obtained without labour." Truly the latterday Daniel is a prodigy, for he also aspires to be a prophet like unto his namesake. He assures us that "a general strike is too great an absurdity to contemplate," because it would be "designed for the imposition of excessive prices." These are but samples of his ravings, the whole of which must be read to fathom the depth of his imbecility.

C. C.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

ITALY.

The process against the suspected leaders of the striking silk-weavers of Varese and its outlying districts, whose arbitrary arrest had caused a riot, came off on the 26th of October. As was to be foreseen, many of them were convicted, though not a vestige of evidence was brought against them. There were thirty-five defendants, nearly all girls from fifteen to twenty-five years, and one male weaver indicted for "intimidation." The public prosecutor called the interested manufacturers, who posed as benevolent masters, and the police did in perjury more than is even expected of this noble profession. But the chief witnesses for the prosecution, the intimidated girls, amongst them a poor child of thirteen years, not only denied the tale of the police, but accused the authorities of threats and physical violence. A factory was closely besieged by soldiers, to hinder the working women, who had decided to strike, to join their comrades in the street. The defendants—who in Italy, unlike in England, are allowed to speak—told a heartrending story of their misery and sufferings. They work fourteen hours a-day and are piece-workers. The price of a metre of silk fabric varies from 2d. to 6d., and they are able to do from two to three metres daily. A good worker contrives to earn from 8d. to 10d. daily, out of which she has to pay for the lamp-oil, which the humane masters pretend to sell them at cost price. A fiendishly elaborate system of reductions and fines lessens these wages considerably. The material given is often of the worst kind. Nevertheless every defect of the work arising therefrom is punished with heavy reductions. Speaking, singing, and laughing is strictly forbidden, and on the offender a fine of 5d. is inflicted. One of the witnesses, who is able to earn 10d. daily, had to record three such robberies in one day for speaking to one of her fellow-workers! The evidence concluded, the public prosecutor made a most ridiculous speech, in which he expressed his fervent hope that the manufacturers would in future treat their workers as human beings, and the like nonsense. The girls, he admitted, had not used physical but "moral violence," and he proposed therefore, with cruel irony, a fine of five francs each. The court, who couldn't quite see how to make these poor starvelings pay five pence, much less five francs, sentenced twenty-six of them to terms of imprisonment from one to three days, and acquitted the remaining eight. The strikers are not intimidated, but cannot hold out much longer, having no means of resistance. After a futile discussion with their masters, they have accepted to refer the dispute to arbitration. Poor sheep, expecting justice from the butcher!

All over the kingdom arbitrary arrests and confiscation of revolutionary newspapers continue. Amongst others, the printer of *La Questione Sociale* has been arrested and the publication of this courageous writer has been suspended.

In consequence of the wholesale arrests at Rome and Naples our comrades in Umbria have issued an appeal to form a "League of Resistance" against the frequent violation of the laws by the authorities.

In the south the misery is indistinguishable. Near Palermo and Trapani starving agricultural labourers and sulphur-workers form themselves in bands, that live on thefts and robberies with violence; they are hunted down like wild beasts by an increased force of police and gallant soldiers.

H. SCH.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 17, 1888.

11	Sun.	1640. Trial of Strafford for high treason. 1864. J. R. McCulloch died. 1865. Capture of James Stephens and other Fenians. 1887. Murder by law of Engel, Fischer, Parsons, and Spies.
12	Mon.	1795. Meeting of the London Corresponding Society at Copenhagen House. 1798. Trial of Wolfe Tone for high treason. 1890. Mr. Boycott "boycotted"; origin of term.
13	Tues.	1848. Trial of Scotch Chartists. 1861. A. H. Clough died. 1871. Richard Pigott sentenced to four months' imprisonment for libel in the <i>Irishman</i> . 1887. Bloody Sunday.
14	Wed.	1831. Hegel died. 1842. Strike "outrage" at Sheffield. 1882. J. G. Kinkel died. 1886. Socialist demonstration at Madrid.
15	Thur.	1816. Meeting at Spa-fields (see Dec. 2) to vote an address from the distressed manufacturers to the Prince Regent. 1848. Count Rossi killed at Rome. Messenhausen shot at Vienna.
16	Fri.	1819. Carline sentenced for publishing 'Age of Reason.' 1872. Mutiny of Metropolitan police. 1880. Kviatofski and Priessnakoff hanged.
17	Sat.	1794. J. Horne Tooke tried for high treason. 1796. Wolfe Tone died. 1830. Revolt of Warsaw. 1858. Robert Owen died.

BENEVOLENT MEN!—Workmen who think that the capitalists only employ their capital for the benefit of their fellow-men should read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest the following extract from the prospectus of the Oriental Lace and Embroidery Company, Cheapside, London, E.C.: "The factories are situate at Saxony in the midst of a cheap labour district . . . where there are no trade unions and the hours of labour are unrestricted."

POLICEMEN'S POSSIBILITIES.—Superintendent McDonald, of the Glasgow police, says that "He could say for the chief constable that it was his desire that the men under him should act towards the citizens in a civil and obliging manner." "It were a large economy for (slops) to do the like." Civility forms no part, at present, of the Glasgow policemen's assets. The shoes and the shout, the grumble and the growl, are the chief characteristics of the Glasgow police, and they are the nearest possible approach of the men to the desire of the chief constable.—G. McL.

It seems the eminent vocalist, Madame Neilson, was once a factory girl, but doesn't appear to have been a brilliant success in that line. A Sydney paper says that when Adelaide Neilson was aged ten she was ignominiously sacked by her first employer, a factory owner, near Leeds, who had ascertained by experiment that she wasn't worth 3s. 6d. a-week in the weaving business. If he hadn't sacked her, she might have risen by this time to 10s. a-week, and have married a light porter. This incident proves for the thousandth time that we should be content in the station to which Providence has called us, even if it calls us to work twelve hours a-day for 3s. 6d. a-week.—*Labour Tribune*.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

A branch of the Scottish Ploughmen's Union has been formed at Aldbar.

A branch of the Bakers' Federal Union of Scotland was instituted at Galashiels on November 3.

Female cigarmakers met on Thursday 1st at St. Jude's Schools, White-chapel, to form a trade union.

The blacksmiths of the Dundee shipyards struck work on the 2nd inst. for an increase of 1s. per week in their wages.

SEAMEN'S WAGES.—The steamship owners of Grangemouth have advanced the seamen's wages 1s. 6d.—viz., from £1 6s. 0d. to £1 7s. 6d. per week.

The operatives at Chapel Works, Montrose, were informed on November 1, that a rise of 5 per cent. on their wages would be given, to take effect at once.

ENGLISH BOILER-MAKERS.—The boiler-makers employed at Sunderland and the Tyne gave notice on the 2nd inst. for an advance of 2s. per week on wages. Several thousand men are affected.

FORFAR FACTORY WORKER'S WAGES.—The employers intimated to a deputation from the Factory Worker's Union that they had resolved to grant an advance of 5 per cent. to take effect last week.

LEITH GASWORKS.—A considerable number of the men employed in the Leith Gasworks have intimated that they will leave off at the end of this week if their wages are not raised to the same rate as is paid at Edinburgh.

DALRY IRONSTONE MINERS.—At a meeting on the 2nd inst., these miners passed a resolution declining to accept the 2½ per cent. advance offered by the masters—which did not come to a penny per day—and renewing their demand for 10 per cent.

DROYLSDEN COTTON STRIKE.—The strike of minders at Victoria Mill continues, neither side evincing any disposition to come to terms. The men say they are determined not to submit until they obtain what they contend they are justly entitled to.

DISTINGTON IRONWORKERS.—The ironworkers employed at the Distington Hematite Ironworks, near Workington, have given notice to terminate all engagements unless the masters agree to certain alterations in sliding scale arrangements in force at works.

DUNDEE JUTE WORKERS.—At meeting on Nov. 1, of the Executive of the Dundee Mill and Factory Workers' Association, it was resolved to agitate for another rise in wages. A number of the workers came out on strike at Ashton jute works on Thursday, November 1.

CLIVIGER WEAVERS' STRIKE.—Since the meeting of weavers on strike at Cliviger last week upwards of 260 have sent in their names to become members of the Association, but they are not yet strong enough to do anything, and have resumed work at the old rate of wages. They have got a practical lesson this time, and it is hoped will stick to the society.

DARLINGTON MOULDERS.—On Monday 29th the moulders employed at Messrs. Summerson's came out on strike. The men gave notice for a rise from 29s. to 31s., on the plea that other shops were paying that amount. The advance, however, was refused, "for the present," and the men were asked to "wait till Christmas"; but this they refused to do, and left.

A SAMPLE OF "FREE CONTRACT."—T. Men in the employ of the Clyde trustees at Dalnair, who have been on strike for a week for an additional 4d. per hour, returned to work on the 1st inst. Their request has not been acceded to, and for want of funds they have been compelled to give way. Their present wage is 3 d. per hour, being about 16s. 10d. per week, while the Clydebank hammermen have from 18s. to 19s., and the Dumbarton men from 19s. to 20s.

ENGLISH AND WELSH MINERS.—As was anticipated in this column last week, the miners have at last been successful in forcing the masters to concede the 10 per cent. advance in wages. There are some insignificant collieries still trying to hold out against the men, but these are of no account, as the men can easily remove to those works working on the advance. The bad grace with which the masters yielded to an advance, which is more than justified by the prices they are receiving, is very significant.

GLASGOW UNITED TRADES' COUNCIL.—At a meeting on Oct. 31st, the iron-dresser's delegate stated that the employers had conceded the demand lately made for a 4d. advance of 4d. per hour. In connection with the quay-labourers, lock-out a letter had been received from Mr. Reith on behalf of the Clyde Traders' Association granting Messrs. Gilmartin and Connelly a stevedore's license, who will now be at liberty to act for the quay-labourers connected with the union. The licenses, however, in the meantime, are restricted to those in the ore trade.

DOCKERS' STRIKE.—The men on strike at Tilbury hold out gallantly; they hope that, if supported sufficiently, they may be enabled to win, as a number of ships are expected in a fortnight which will require unloading, and men are scarce in consequence of the strike. We appeal to the readers of the *Commonweal* to help these poor men, who have held together with a solidarity which gives great hope for the future of the English unskilled workers. Subscriptions may be sent to the editors of this paper, at 13, Farringdon Road, or Benjamin Tillet.

IRONWORKERS' WAGES.—Mr. D. Jones, secretary of employers' section of Midland Iron and Steel Wages Board, has received following notice from Mr. J. Capper, secretary of operatives' section: "Midland Iron and Steel Wages Board, 13, Bloxwich Road, Walsall, November 2, 1888. Dear sir,—In accordance with the terms specified in clause (d) of the president's award, dated October 5, 1888, I hereby give notice on behalf of the operatives that they will require the Board, in the presence of the president, to reconsider the rates of wages fixed by the said award with the view of claiming an advance.—Yours respectfully, JAMES CAPPER, Operatives' Secretary."

THE COLLIERY STRIKE IN NEW SOUTH WALES.—SYDNEY, Oct. 29.—The strike among the Newcastle colliers still continues. Another conference of masters and men is, however, being held, and there appears to be a prospect of the present negotiations ending in a settlement. The three men who were arrested last month at Adamstown on the occasion of the great disturbance, when the strikers interfered with labourers loading coal and the military had to be called out to restore order, have been acquitted of the charge of rioting. Nov. 2.—The miners' representatives and the colliery masters, who have been conferring, have drawn up an agreement for submission to the miners. It is expected that the men's lodges will accept the compromise thus framed, and the strike be brought to an end.

INTERNATIONAL TRADES CONGRESS.—The sitting of the International Trades Congress opened on November 6th, and continued over three following days, at St. Andrew's Hall, Newman Street, forty foreign delegates being present. The subjects for debate were: 1. The most efficacious means for removing the obstacles to free combination in foreign countries. 2. The best methods of combination amongst the workers in various countries. 3. The limitation of production by means of the reduction of the hours of labour. 4. The desirability or otherwise of State regulation of the hours of labour. There was a reception of the foreign delegates by the British trades on Monday evening previous to the opening of the Congress.

SPRING-BAR MAKERS.—A meeting was held on Wednesday 31st at Albion Inn, Wolverhampton Street, Walsall, to consider an advance, they having had to submit to reductions of from 80 to 100 per cent. during last few years. After hearing address from a representative of Midland Counties Trades Federation, following resolutions were unanimously carried: (1) "That we, members of the spring-bar trade present, pledge ourselves to join the Midland Counties Trades Federation at once"; (2) "That, considering the enormous reductions to which we have been compelled to submit in the past, and the state of trade at the present time, we do ask our employers to give us a portion of that which has been taken from us—namely, 40 per cent. on all cast work and 20 per cent. on all forged work." Some of the masters have already intimated their willingness to give the advance.

BOLTON WEAVING DISPUTE.—The weavers in employ of Pearson and Son, Victoria Mill, have struck, and the dispute assumes considerable importance for the weaving industry of the town. The weavers have a special list for "honeycombs" and Alhambra quilts and covers, which is based on a certain number of picks to be woven for an eighth of a penny, in a certain width of cloth. The firm has not adhered to this list and has been paying so much below it that to a person with one loom it means nearly 4s. and with two looms over 7s. per week. The hands have complained repeatedly, and on Tuesday week they gave the usual week's notice to leave unless the price-list was paid up to. Since then the employers have advanced the prices, but have not fully complied with the weavers' demands, so they left work on Tuesday 30th, and have not resumed, over 100 being affected at present.

IRONWORKERS.—On Sunday 28th a large meeting was held in Star Theatre, Stockton, to consider wages question. It was said ironworkers had been kept down more than any industry throughout the country. They had submitted to reductions out of number, and now they were entitled to have something returned to them. The men could not support their wives and families on the 6s. 3d. per ton now paid. If they paid a half-penny per week each, the men of the combined trades of this country would be able to maintain 15,000 men on strike at 15s. per week each, and the masters would not be able to resist an organisation like that. Ultimately it was agreed to have nothing but an advance of 10 per cent. without any condition. Meetings were also held at Consett and Blackhill, and the men were determined on a substantial advance, without any conditions. North of England ironworkers appear to agree to have no sliding-scale, evidently thinking that it would slide all one way—namely, downwards. At Sheffield and Rotherham there is an advance expected. At Brierley Hill a meeting on 29th endorsed new sliding-scale, condemned the last wages award, and resolved to demand the remaining 7½ per cent. asked for.

SCOTCH MINERS.—A mass meeting of miners was held at Hamilton on 1st inst., when it was reported that 10 per cent. had been conceded generally in the Holytown district; at Dixon's, Blantyre; at the Clyde, Hamilton; Douglas Park, Bellshill; and 5 per cent. in some places at Wishaw. It was resolved to adopt a four days per week policy at the pits where the full advance of 10 per cent. had not been conceded, and to request all those who had got the full advance, and those who had never been reduced, to come to the five days per week, and also to intimate to the Lanarkshire masters, who are in union against the claims of the men, the repudiation of their privately-concocted sliding scale, to which the miners were no party, as any such scale can only be recognised when mutually agreed upon. Comrade Small supplemented the district reports by stating that Mr. Cunningham, of Merry and Cunningham, had told a deputation to hold off till November 5th, and that the employers were going to arrange a new sliding scale. At a meeting of the Ayrshire men, held also on 1st inst., it was reported that the full demand of 10 per cent. had been conceded both to the iron and coal getters in the Kilmarnock district. The Airdrie miners have also received the full advance, and have resolved to hold every Thursday as an idle day, in order not to glut the markets. The Dairy miners, having been offered only the 2½ per cent. advance, have resolved on restricting the output until they get the 10 per cent. When one reflects on the power the miners have within their own body, provided they could consolidate it—and they could if they would—this higgling to get a paltry 10 per cent. of the 100 per cent. which is really their right becomes contemptible and unworthy of the heroism of men.

THE BAILIE KNOWS!—Glasgow bailies have of old been credited with a "guid conceit" of their own wisdom and importance. Bailie McFarlane says that the offences dealt with at the police courts "are often trifling; and the greater part seem to be due to the fact that the working men had too much in their pockets on Saturday nights and did not know what to do with it." In that remark there seems to be some sense dimly twinkling through. The policeman when he is cognisant of money in the pocket sees therein a good case and the sure payment of a fine although the working-man's offence may be "trifling," and these cases count to the policeman. A working-man with too much money in his pocket is as rare in Scotland as the Conservative working-man.—G. McL.

THE PUBLIC GOOD.—At the customary mutual congratulations at the expiry of the Glasgow non-paid-Nupkins' terms of office, a police superintendent said that "the citizens were under great obligations to the magistrates for the great amount of arduous work they performed for the city's good." A glance at the class of people operated upon by the bailies in the police courts will clearly demonstrate that the "arduous" work is done at the wrong end of any good. The victims of the police court are poor, and when a solitary swell happens, by mistake, to be tried by a bailie, the unusual event is sure to cause a sensation. Does this not prove that poverty supplies the bailie with material for his "arduous work"? If so, the responsibility of the "crimes" of the police court rests with those economical geniuses who, finding the people poor, contrives to keep them so. A doctor who muddles away at a local affection without enquiring into the general health of the body, just adopts the same method of doing good as is practised in our police courts. Their good is evil.—G. McL.

THE FISHERMAN.

ERNEST JONES.

THREE fishermen sat by the side
Of the many-toned popular stream,
That rolled with its heavy-paced tide
In the shade of its own dark dream,—
Now sullen and quiet and deep,
Now fretful and foaming and wild;
Now calm as a Titan asleep,
And now like a petulant child.

First, sat there the fisher of France,
And he smiled as the waters came,
For he kindled their light with a glance,
At the bait of a popular name.

Next, the fisher of Russia was there,
Fishing for German States;
And throwing his lines with care,
He made his own daughters the baits.

Next, the Austrian fisher-boy set
His snares in the broad river's way,—
But, so widely he stretched his net,
It half broke with the weight of his prey.

And next, on an island I saw
Many fishermen catching with glee,
On the baits of "Peace," "Freedom," and "Law,"
Slave-fish, while they christened them "Free."

And still, as they hooked the prize,
They cried with a keen delight,
And held up the spoil to their eyes,
"The Gudgeon! they bite! they bite!"

But the hooks with time grow dull,
And the lines grow weak with age,
And the thaw makes the rivers full,
And the wind makes the waters rage;

And spoilt is the fishermen's trade,
And the zest of their bait is past,
And those on the fish who preyed,
Are the prey of the fish at last.

RELIGION AND MORALITY ACCORDING TO HEINE.

FRIEND, conciliate the Devil;
Think how brief the course we run!
And the Everlasting Blazes
Is no vulgar pulpit-fun.

Friend, pay up the debt thou owest!
'Tis a weary course we run;
And you'll often have to borrow,
As before you've often done.

ERNEST RADFORD.

A BAILIE'S BOW.—In his valedictory address from the bench in Glasgow Southern Police-court, Bailie Gray said that the work that came before a magistrate "would often touch the heart of the most callous." The records of the police-court "led one often to wonder if this was really a Christian land—a land of human brotherhood and friendly care." To unprejudiced minds there is no wonder or doubt about it. Practically this is not a Christian land, although professionally it appears to be so. Egoism is as much supreme in this land now as it was in Rome immediately previous to its downfall. The same disregard for the workpeople by the propertied class which ruined Rome is "the rule" in this land, and the bailie's "wonder" is a guarantee that he, at least, is cognisant of a like doom approaching "the powers that be" of this land.—G. McL.

NATIVE LABOUR.

J. ROSEVEARE AND CO.
Will have
200 NATIVES
for disposal
On Monday next, 6th inst.

They have been specially selected and engaged to work for a term on the
GOLD FIELDS.

paper writes as follows:—"The result of the sale or disposal resulted in their fetching from 10s. to 25s., as in the former case the 10s. ones being the tired and dying. It is nothing to see a dead Kafir lying on the main road. For instance, between the towns of Middelburg and Pretoria, a distance of seventy-two miles, there were a fortnight ago nine Kafirs lying dead, and also they were left unburied for three weeks; and now, at time of writing, there is a Kafir who has been lying dead for the past five weeks, and the sight is simply horrible, and this only fifteen miles from Middelburg. I myself have seen twenty dead, and a more horrible scene never before have I witnessed, or am I desirous of. Bones protruding from the skin, flesh they had none whatever; and these are the Kafirs brought down to be sold to the gold-mining companies, and those that are not sold to the companies are sold to the Boers, who expect them to work the day they buy them, and if they don't they tie the poor Kafirs to a waggon-wheel and thrash them well, which in nearly nine cases out of ten kills them, or makes them so ill that the Boer drives them away from the house, fearing that he will have the trouble of burying them."—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

A REVOLUTIONARY "SOCIAL" IN ABERDEEN.

THE charge sometimes made against the people of this island, that they take their pleasure a little sadly, is supposed to be specially true of Scotsmen. But I will give any of you Englishmen a chance of writing articles half as funny as those that Glasgow Glasier has of late been furnishing us with. If any one is doubtful as to whether Scotsmen can really laugh, sing, and generally enjoy themselves, let me inform him that the fact that they can do so was to us placed beyond all doubt by the hearty social gathering held by the Aberdeen branch on the evening of Saturday, October 27th.

Although no attempt had been made to push the sale of tickets, and although we had many things to work against us, over forty people sat down to tea. The chair was occupied during the first half of the evening by the Rev. Alexander Webster, and during the other half by comrade Leatham, who, as organiser, reported that over sixty people had joined the branch during the year; that they had brought down seven different lecturers from England and the South of Scotland; and that more than 100 meetings had been held during the year. After paying all expenses, they started the year with a respectable balance in the hands of their treasurer to assist in extending their operations, and if the funds prospered as well during the present as they had during the past year, the branch committee would be looking about them for a hall and club-rooms of their own. He hoped ere long to see "a brawny breed of orators" at work in all the open spaces about the city.

The proceedings began about seven o'clock and lasted till pretty near Sunday morning. A programme of revolutionary chants, songs, and readings, perfectly dazzling in their number and execution, was gone through. There was an hour's dancing at the close, and before a meeting broke up three rousing cheers were given for the Social Revolution.

J. L.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

Executive.—Next Monday being the date of the meeting at Wornum Hall, the next meeting of the Council will take place on Monday, Nov. 19th.

London Members' Meeting.—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, Dec. 3, 1888, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

M. P. H., 2s.

F. Charles, Sec.

CHICAGO MARTYRS COMMEMORATION FUND.

Already acknowledged—£12 17s. 9d. Received—Comrade Mauer, 10s.; H. Holt, 6d.; by Concert (Clerkenwell branch, 2nd donation), 3s. 7d.; collected at Regent's Park, 11d.; Berner Street Club, 3s. 9d.; Berner Street concert, 6d. Total, £13 17s. 0d.

J. LANE, Treasurer.

REPORTS.

LONDON (OPEN-AIR).—Large meetings at *Clerkenwell Green*, *Regent's and Hyde Parks*, *Leman Street*, and *Broad Street, Soho*, *Victoria Park*.—Two splendid meetings on Sunday, addressed by Kitz, Hicks, and a comrade of the S.D.F. The other was a debate between H. Burrows (S.D.F.) and the Rev. E. Edwards on the population question. When whistles sounded a procession formed of about 1,500 and marched out singing the "Marseillaise," and had another meeting outside, addressed by Hicks and Burrows, afterwards singing the "Starving Poor" and other revolutionary songs on way to Mile End Waste. *Mile End Waste*.—Good meeting on Tuesday, addressed by Davis and Palmer (S.D.F.) *Stainsby Road*.—Meeting Sunday morning, addressed by Parker and John Wood.

CLERKENWELL.—On Sunday, Nov. 4th, successful concert held for Chicago Commemoration Fund. Songs, recitations, etc., were given by members and friends. 3s. 7d. collected for fund.—B.

FULHAM.—Tuesday evening, back of Waltham Green Church, Bullock, Beasley, Groser, and a member of the S.D.F. spoke to good meeting. Sunday morning, Tochlatt and Morris had excellent audience opposite the railway station, and in evening J. Turner lectured inside rooms on "The Sweating System: cause and cure." Several questions and some discussion.

HAMMERSMITH.—Meeting held at Latimer Road, Sunday morning. Speakers: Davis, Dean, and Maughan, assisted by members of choir. Audience good; 14 *Commonweals* sold. In evening, S. Bullock lectured at Kelmecott House on "Want of Employment."

ABERDEEN.—The usual open-air meeting, held in Correction Wynd, on Monday, 29th October. The choir sang two revolutionary songs, and Leatham spoke. At the indoor meeting, on the same night, lecture, "An appeal to the Capitalists," read. Discussion by Leatham, Duncan, McIntyre, and Barron.

GLASGOW.—Sunday, at 4 o'clock, Joe Burgoyne, Tim Burgoyne, and McCulloch spoke at usual meeting at Paisley Road Toll. While Joe Burgoyne was speaking, a knot of Orangemen disturbed the meeting by their rude behaviour. The Orangemen will find that, if they intend bullying Socialism in this way, they have made a mistake.

IPSWICH.—Creed held good meeting at Stutton last week. G. Reed lectured at the Pioneers' Hall, Ipswich.—J. T.

NORWICH.—Tuesday, large meeting of members; important business discussed; officers appointed; secretary re-elected. Several meetings had to be dropped owing to the wet. Sunday afternoon and evening, good meeting in Market Place, conducted by Mowbray and W. Moore; special reference made to death of Chicago Anarchists. At Gordon Hall Cores lectured on "The Unemployed"; meeting opened with "No Master," concluding with "The March of the Workers."

Chicago Martyrs and Bloody Sunday Demonstration in Hyde Park.

A procession with band, flags, and banners will leave Limehouse on Sunday November 11th, at 12 o'clock, calling at Mile-end Waste at 1 o'clock; Clerkenwell Green at 2 o'clock; Fitzroy Square at 2.30; and thence to Hyde Park at 3.30 p.m.

Bloody Sunday Anniversary.

A Torchlight Demonstration will be held on Tuesday, November 13, on Clerkenwell Green, at 8 p.m., by the Finsbury Liberal and Radical Federation, the Socialist League, and the local branches of the Social Democratic Federation and Irish Nationalist League. A procession with band and banners will start from the Triangle, Hackney Road, at 7.30. Comrades are asked to be at the Offices of the League at 6.30 p.m., in order to take banners to the Triangle, as the Radicals want plenty of red flags in the procession.

LECTURE DIARY.
LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—This Branch is now actively working. Socialists resident in this locality should send their names in at once to 13 Farringdon Road.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday, Nov. 11, at 8.30 p.m., Free Concert; collection to be made for the Chicago Commemoration Fund. Sunday Nov. 18, at 8.30, R. L. Allen, "Man in Relation to Life and Matter."

Deptford.—Persons wishing to join branch now forming are requested to communicate with G. W. Leach, 72, Gosterwood Street, Deptford, S.E.

Fulham.—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Committee meetings are held on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock sharp. All members are earnestly requested to attend.

Hackney.—Secretary, E. Lefevre, 14 Goldsmiths Sq., Goldsmiths Row, Hackney Road.

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday November 11, at 8 p.m., J. Brailsford Bright (Fabian Society), "Division of Labour the True Basis of Organisation."

Hoxton.—12, Basing Place, Kingsland Rd. Business meetings of this branch are held every Friday evening at 9 o'clock.

London Fields.—All communications, etc., to Mrs. G. G. Schack, 26 Cawley Road, South Hackney.

Merton.—Club-house, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road, Singlegate. Lecture on Sunday evenings at 8.30.

Mile-end and Bethnal Green.—95 Boston St., Hackney Road.

North London.—Secretary, Nelly Parker. Business meetings held on Friday evenings at 6 Windmill St., Tottenham Court Road, after open-air meeting at Ossulton Street.

Walworth and Camberwell.—Socialists living in this district who desire to join a branch now being formed should communicate with K. Henze, 41, Bolton St., Thomas Street, Kennington Park, S.E.

Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.—40 Berner Street. Meets Friday at 7.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen (Scottish Section).—Secretary, P. Barrow, 14 Ann Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

Bradford.—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivegate. Meets Tuesdays at 8.

Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Tuesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secy.

Dundee (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

Edinburgh (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.

Galashiels (Scot Sect.).—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, secy.

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

Glasgow.—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class meets every Sunday at 11. On Saturday November 10, at 8 p.m., a meeting will be held in our rooms to commemorate the Chicago Martyrs.

Ipswich.—Pioneer Hall, Tacket Street. Meets on Sunday evenings.

Kilmarnock.—Secretary, H. McGill, 22 Gilmour St.

Leeds.—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Rd. and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m. communications to T. Paylor, 11 Sheldon Street, Holbeck, Leeds. Sunday November 11th, at 7.30, J. Greevz Fisher, "Starvation in the Midst of Plenty." 18th, Mr. Chippendale, "How we Live and How we Might Live." 25th, P. Bland, "The Right of Resistance."

Leicester.—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—Monday, at 8, Concert in Gordon Hall, admission free, collection for Branch funds. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Wednesday, at 8, Educational Class. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association. Sunday next, at 3 p.m., in the Market Place, a great Demonstration will be held, to commemorate the legal murder of our Chicago comrades; several speakers will take part, and resolutions will be moved.

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

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

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

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SUNDAY 11.

11.30...Latimer Road Station...Hammersmith Branch
11.30...Mitcham Fair Green...The Branch
1.30...Regent's Park...Demonstration
11.30...Walham Green, opp. Station...The Branch
11.30...Welsje Rd., Ravenscourt Pk...Hammersmith
3.30...Hyde Park...Demonstration
7.30...Clerkenwell Green...The Branch

Monday.
8 ...Wimbledon Broadway...The Branch

Tuesday.
8.30...Fulham—back of Walham Green Ch...Branch

Friday.
7.30...Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street...The Branch

EAST END.
SUNDAY 11.
Leman Street, Shadwell 11...East-end C'mittee.

TUESDAY.
8.30...East-end C'mittee.

WEDNESDAY.
8.30...East-end C'mittee.

FRIDAY.
Philpot St., Commercial Rd. 8.30...East-end C'mittee.

SATURDAY.
6...East-end C'mittee.

NOTICE.—All the speakers at liberty on Sunday morning will meet at Berner Street Club at 11 o'clock sharp, to hold short meetings throughout the East-end and announce afternoon Demonstration, etc.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen.—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7 p.m.

Glasgow.—Sunday: Jail's Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock.

Ipswich.—
Sproughton, Wednesday evening.
Westerfield, Thursday evening.
Needham Market, Sunday morning and evening.

Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vi&car's Croft, at 7 p.m.

Leicester.—Sunday: Russel Square, at 11 a.m.

Norwich.—Sunday: St. Mary's Plain, at 11; Market Place, at 11, 3, and 7.30.
Corner of Silver Road, Thursday at 8.30 p.m.
St Catharine's Plain, Friday at 8.30 p.m.
Haymarket, Saturday at 7.45 p.m.

HAILSHAM NATIONAL SCHOOL.—Mr. W. F. Crowther (G.S.M.), "Dives in the Slums." Mon. Nov. 12.

HATCHAM LIBERAL CLUB, 98, New Cross Road.—Mr. F. Verinder (G.S.M.), "A Churchman's Plea for Free Schools." Sunday, November 11th.

SOUTH PECKHAM LIBERAL CLUB, 19, Linden Grove.—Mr. W. Steer (E.L.R.L.), "Tinkering the Land Laws." Wednesday Nov. 14, at 8 p.m.

THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—The Committee will meet at the Socialist League Offices, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C., on Friday November 9, at 8 p.m. Subscriptions received and members enrolled at 9 p.m.

NORWICH BRANCH S.L.—A course of sixteen lectures will be delivered in the Gordon Hall on Thursday evenings, by C. W. Mowbray, beginning Thursday November 8th, at 8 p.m. prompt. The Choir will sing selections before each lecture. Admission, the general public 1d. each or 1s. for the course; members admitted free. Tickets to be had of the Secretary and at all meetings. Proceeds on behalf of branch funds. Lectures in November:—15th (second lecture), "The Age of Bronze." 22. "Universal History from a Socialist Standpoint, by E. B. Bax." 29. Ditto.

FABIAN SOCIETY.—The Fabian Society is giving a course of lectures on "Socialism: its Basis and Prospects." The first part of the course, dealing with "The Basis of Socialism," was concluded on Nov. 2. The second part of the course will deal with "The Organisation of Society": Nov. 16, (1) "Property under Socialism," Graham Wallas; Dec. 7, (2) "Industry under Socialism," Annie Besant; Dec. 21, (3) "The Outlook," Hubert Bland.—The meetings will be held at Willis's Rooms, King Street, St. James's Square, S.W. The chair will be taken by the Rev. Stewart D. Headlam, B.A., at 8 p.m. precisely. Tickets for the course may be obtained from the Hon. Sec., Sydney Olivier, 180 Portedown Rd. W.

ARTS AND CRAFTS EXHIBITION SOCIETY.—The First Arts and Crafts Exhibition is now open daily, Sundays excepted, at the New Gallery, 121, Regent St., from 10 a.m. to 7 p.m. Admission 1s., Season Tickets 5s. The Exhibition comprises specimens of design and handicraft in textiles, gold and silversmiths' work, including enameling; metal and iron work; fictiles; decorative painting and design; wall paper; book-binding; printing; glass; stained glass; wood and stone carving; cabinet-making; modelling. On and after Saturday, the 10th Nov., with the exception (1) of Tuesday evening, the 13th Nov., and (2) of Thursday (lecture) evenings, the Exhibition will be open on weekday evenings from 7 p.m. to 10 p.m. Admission 6d. Packets of 25 tickets, each ticket entitling to a single admission, may be had at the reduced charge of 10s. On Thursday evenings in November a course of lectures, in connection with the Exhibition, will be given in the North Gallery. Admission by ticket. For particulars see Syllabus of Lectures. On Sunday the 18th November, the Exhibition will be open free (by ticket) from 3 p.m. to 9 p.m. Tickets to be had of Mark H. Judge, Esq., Hon. Sec. Sunday Society, 8, Park Place Villas, W. The Revised Catalogue is now issued, price 1s., and may be had at the Gallery. The Exhibition closes finally on Saturday, Dec. 1st.

SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.

Chants for Socialists. By William Morris. 1d.

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

The Commune of Paris. By E. Belfort Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. 2d.

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

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

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

The Manifesto of the Socialist League. Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and William Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. 1d.

Useful Work v. Useless Toil. By William Morris. 1d.

"All for the Cause!" Song. Words by William Morris; Music by E. Belfort Bax. 4to, 4 pp. 6d. per dozen, 4s. 6d

"Vive la Commune!" Cartoon by Walter Crane. Best paper. 2d.

Mrs. Grundy (Cartoon). By Walter Crane. Fine hand-made large paper. 6d.

SPECIAL PRICES FOR REMAINDERS.

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Threepence.

AIMS OF ART.

By W. MORRIS. On good paper.
Twopence.

The above will be sent on receipt of stamps by Secretary, *Commonweal* Office, 13 Farringdon Road, London, E.C.

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THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALISM MADE PLAIN.

By FRANK FAIRMAN.

Socialism as it is—The Moral Basis—The Economic Basis—Current Fallacies—Objections—Quack Remedies for Poverty—Methods and Future, etc.

With Preface written by WILLIAM MORRIS.

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BY WILLIAM MORRIS.

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

A REPLY TO MRS. BESANT.

“SOCIALISM AND DYNAMITE.”

MRS. BESANT has thought it necessary to issue in the *Link* a sort of manifesto against the Commemoration of the Chicago Massacres and Bloody Sunday, in which we have been greatly engaged during the last fortnight. This is much to be regretted, since Mrs. Besant has often of late been working so hard and so harmoniously with the League and its members; and on the present occasion we cannot let this article in the *Link* pass without comment. Mrs. Besant says that “the union of the two memories was strongly protested against by the majority of representative Socialists.” Such protest has not yet reached us. The Social Democratic Federation, when invited by us to take part, did indeed decline to do so officially, but did nothing further. A member of the Fabian Society appeared as a delegate of that society at one of the preliminary meetings. At the meeting in Store Street, which was the central meeting of the demonstration, members of the S.D.F., John Burns and Blackwell, spoke on our platform, and were quite sympathetic with the meeting; as well as a delegate from the German Collectivists in London, our comrade Lessner; and Mr. Cunninghame Graham, who has taken throughout an active part in the Commemoration. Mrs. Hicks was present, and prepared to speak had time allowed. Furthermore, letters of sympathy were received at that meeting from persons who can by no means be counted as Anarchists, such as Vaillant and Lavroff. In short, the whole tone of that meeting was that of protest against the judicial murder of innocent men engaged in championing the workers in a labour struggle. Mrs. Besant says that she does not know if the Socialist League officially approved of the Commemoration; she could easily have found out by looking into this paper that they did so.

Mrs. Besant's name was, she says, advertised as a speaker, though she had refused to go. This mistake happened at the meeting on Clerkenwell Green on the 13th, with the organisation of which the Commemoration Committee had nothing to do.

After careful re-examination of all the circumstances, we find that in no single case was a name advertised in connection with the Commemoration meetings without its owner's consent. A line did appear on the announcements that the presence of the Trafalgar Square prisoners was expected, but it was Mrs. Besant herself who deliberately thwarted the intention of the committee to invite these friends, by repeated refusals to give their names and addresses, which she alone holds.

As to what might have been said at any of the meetings, it is clear that the promoters of a meeting cannot be responsible for every word that is said on such occasions; nor can one see why Mrs. Besant should condemn the whole commemoration for a few words which she considers rash, when, as above said, the spirit of it was a protest against a peculiarly base and cruel instance of the injustice of the false society against which all Socialists, of whatever section they may be, are daily struggling.

Last year Mrs. Besant entered heartily into our protest against the murder of these men before it was accomplished. Few amongst us at that time hoped that our protest would be of any use except as a protest: since then Bloody Sunday has intervened to show us that we were more nearly concerned with the violent suppression of opinion in America than some would have had us think; otherwise the situation is unchanged, and what was good to protest against then, is still good to protest against, and we fail to see why Mrs. Besant should have objected to make that protest in common with Cunninghame Graham, Burns, Blackwell, Lessner, Vaillant, Lavroff, and many others (including a great many of the members of the Social Democratic Federation present at our meetings), who are not Anarchists, but who think themselves bound to protest against the worst consequences of capitalistic tyranny whenever the chance offers.

*Signed on behalf and by order of the
Council of the Socialist League,*

F. KITZ, *Secretary.*

JOHN BROWN.

On the 2nd of December, 1859, John Brown was hung at Charlestown in Virginia, a few miles from Harper's Ferry, amid the derisive yells and ribald songs and jests of thirty million fools inhabiting the North American continent, and with the applause of all such portion of Europe as heard of the death of the pestilent “agitator.” A few wiser heads were shaken in solemn warning, and a still smaller remnant of reckless admirers cried “Hail to the coming hero!” All the infant fools from Maine to Texas were carefully instructed by the greater fools to heap odium on his name. In less than a year and a-half those thirty million fools were flying at one another's throats in a deadly struggle. About what? “About nothing,” still babbled the fools and humbugs and hypocrites. “John Brown and slavery! Pooh, pooh! nothing to do with it!” In less than another year, five hundred thousand men were invoking the memory of John Brown, not now in ribald jest or contemptuous mockery, but with all the noblest and truest elements of the human soul, to lead them on to death where death was worth the dying. They did not invoke the name of cheap-jack presidents of the Cleveland and Harrison type, nor even the scholarly genius of Jackson nor the copy-book morality of Washington. These are not the sort of people who inspire us to die nobly and unselfishly. Inspiration came not from very clever men who sat at home and thought very fine things and then only wrote about them, or from very nice people who never did any wrong for fear their neighbours would cry lie upon them. No, the heart and soul of a great legion of desperate men went out to the memory of a man who dared to think and dared to act before and above all others. John Brown of Ossawatimie! The noblest, fullest, roundest, completest hero the great Anglo-Norman race has ever produced. He lives in the hearts of the people as no one else can or will ever live. He was, fortunate in his very name. Its simplicity and common ring has a charm which no affected accents of territorial possessions can ever possess. John Brown! Many men have owned the name, and many have risen to notoriety with it, and especially is it of recent years connected in England with anything but ennobling associations. But all this by-play of meaner John Browns will pass into oblivion, and John Brown of Ossawatimie, John Brown of Harper's Ferry, John Brown who was hung, John Brown who gave his life for liberty, will forever shed a reflected lustre upon whoever claims the name in future years. Perverse and ignorant humanity have very absurd notions about names. They think a name must be without honour because it is common, and forget that in names as in all else nature decrees the “survival of the fittest.” John is the most common of names because John the Baptist braved everything in the cause of human emancipation, not that the worthless kin of his murderers have adopted his ideas, but because his noble blood has, from a tiny stream, spread over the globe, and refined all meaner currents with its superlative essence. This is why there are so many Johns, Joneses, and Johnsons. So with surnames. There are so many John Smiths because John Smith has hammered out the English race on his anvil, not because there were originally many smiths. The cousinry of the earls of Derby in the north country bred that army of English billmen, whose strong right arms could bend a bow no other race could approach, and send those shafts with unerring aim which laid the armoured chivalry of France and Spain low in the dust, long before Cervantes had the opportunity to “laugh them away.” The English archer has given the novelist his theme. John Smith has won the pre-eminence of the English-speaking race. Superior skill begets manly confidence and independence; independence begets generous compassion for weaker ones. In other words, complete manhood, self-reliant, able to do all things for itself and for others as well, taking orders from no one and giving orders to no one. This is real manhood. This is the real John Smith, the truest and noblest born of England. The helpless, foppish idlers and bloodsuckers of society are but the lice and fleas, whom John Smith will brush aside when he wakes to their dangerous proximity.

As with the Smiths, so with the Roberts, the Robertsons, and Robinsons. They owe their name as they owe their blood to the fair Heloise, the tanner's daughter of Fulaise, washing the linen in the brooklet. It is because young Robert of Normandy, in the truth and strength and courage of youth, clasped the fair vision at once to heart,

and said that this woman, and this woman only, should sway his destiny and bear child for him. The fruit of that law-defying alliance was the greatest master of men since "the mighty Julius fell." Among the whole hundred thousand warriors who swooped down upon Hastings, proud above all other things of their lineage, their commanding capacities, and independent rank, not one but knew the bastard scion of the brooklet of Falaise was the greatest genius and most commanding mind and body of the whole. The Conqueror we call him, and conqueror he is to this day, but his untamed spirit is conqueror not in the small minds and sickly bodies of rent-robbers and dividend-eaters, and cheating buyers and sellers, who set up as cheap aristocrats on the strength of a stolen name, furbished with ancient polish, to back up a silly story about one among many millions of our ancestral lines who "came over with the Conqueror" and then squatted like an ugly toad upon some sheltered nook, and there, toad after toad, poisoned the air with mischievous wickednesses, century after century. No, no! The conquering spirit of the Conqueror is in the breasts of his courageous sons and daughters, numbered by hundreds of millions, who are working out their destiny by breaking the bonds of artificial restraint and claiming the rights which nature gives all who have the courage to seize their own. All Europe, most of the Americas, great germs in Asia and in Africa, are descended from that bastard of Falaise, many in thousands of ways and through thousands of daring souls: they are working out the grand idea that social slavery must be swept away to preserve the master and not the slave. This is often miscalled the "spirit of the common people." It is really the spirit of very un-common people, but yet nature's assertion of equal rights and equal liberties. Another of the full-rounded, self-reliant, freedom-loving houses of the Norman race have been the Fitz-Geralds. In the "survival of the fittest" the Fitz-Geralds far distanced all other Irish houses. Half the Irish people would be named Fitz-Gerald to-day had they not in sheer self-defence split this paternal name into a thousand variations, while all the Irish race have far more Fitz-Gerald blood than of any other. All the world has heard of the fascinating beauty of Irish women, but Irish women are only beautiful because the Fitz-Geralds have made them so. For the Fitz-Geralds have, almost without exception, possessed the only germs of true human loveliness, brains and poverty, virtue and capacity, intolerance of shams and generous regard for our fellows. Cheap-jack politicians, seeking votes and offices, jabber about the centuries of oppression of "Ireland" by "England." Milk for babes! Flattery for fools! What is "England" and what is "Ireland"? The war against social shackles has gone on in each island hand and hand. The race of one is the evolving mixture as in the other, discarding its weaker and meaner elements, portion by portion. The house of Fitz-Gerald is nominally one of the much-mouthed-about "foreign oppressors." Yet again and again, and again and again, have the greatest and noblest of the Fitz-Geralds dared all in the cause of the people against usurping authority, leading desperate ventures in the fields and facing axe and halter times without number for man and true manhood, women and true womanhood.

Now all the Browns of the English-speaking race are but a branch of the Fitz-Geralds. In Ireland the name was invented, and from Ireland the name has spread over both islands and over the globe. And there is significant appropriateness in the fact that the greatest of all our race's martyrs for human freedom should bear this name. Common as it is, there is a grandeur in its simplicity, a portentous ring to its historic connection. But Londoners perhaps above all others have good cause to reverence the oft-derided names of Smith and Brown. It would leaven with nobility an ocean of insignificant Smiths to recall young Henry of the Silver Tongue, who has hallowed the Church of the Vikings in the Strand with his immortal onslaughts upon usurers and luxurious livers and floggers from the industrious poor. No wonder the modern commercial crowd often chatter about removing this reproachful monument as an obstruction to their filthy traffic. No, no! take away London and leave us St. Clement Danes! Honest humanity can better spare the one than the other. And as with Smith so with Brown, scoffed at by fools. To London the name of Brown begins with a Lord Mayor who did not cadge for ostentatious "subscriptions," but himself literally obeyed the injunction "sell all thou hast and give to the poor," when in a time of real, and not artificially manufactured, famine, the poor were fed by the bread his utmost credit could procure from afar. Most of those arch-humbugs, the "titled" aristocrats, start their pedigrees from the lives their progenitors destroyed; the London Browns begin by the tale of the lives their founder saved. But John Brown of Ossawatimie was not the first of his family who alone and by force of all-pervading energy kept a whole nation in beneficent commotion. His great ancestor, Robert Brown, founder of the Independents, flying for fifty years over England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, daring and defying all the pains and penalties of established privilege, sowed the seeds of our intellectual freedom. Yes, a name like that of John Brown is uncommonly common. But it is the commonness of Nature's best and truest qualities. The sunlight is common, the air is common, the whirling storms and the thunders of the heavens are common, but they are inspiring and great and glorious. Such was the commonness of John Brown of Ossawatimie, his name, his ancestry, his life, his character, his death. It took the best of many climes to produce his matchless parts. The best of the Netherlands and the Rhine, of Italy and Spain, wherever true manhood finds its truest expansion, and high thoughts and high actions have been engendered, thence came inspiration by right of descent to plain John Brown. Every section of the British Isles lent him strength and courage and intellectual and physical superiority. His physical perfection came from those grim soldiers of

English freedom whose unyielding valour hurled back the myrmidons of Romish despotism in the long war in the Low Countries—those matchless soldiers whose masses of mouldering bones are still pointed out with whispered awe by the Dutch countrymen even to this day. But John Brown's superlative brain came direct through many strains from the miraculous family connection which furnished all the intellectual giants of the London of the Virgin Queen; and in John Brown's veins was found the descent from the closest kin both of the author of "King Lear" and of the "Novum Organum," about whose respective personalities foolish scribblers have lately wasted so much good paper. But the preponderance of John Brown's nature, after all, came from the Welsh mountains, that last and surest stronghold of human freedom, and to the noble house of Owen, name dear above most others to social reformers, was he most indebted. Owen Glendower's soul looked from his very eyes, and his father bore the name, and to his father he owed his inherited avocation of Chain-Breaker.

This was our John, and thus he was begotten; for it is only by knowing who he was that we can appreciate what he was. Sorry indeed is the spectacle of the product of noble lineage in corruption and decay. The glory of John Brown and all such as he, is that they come from the noblest the earth can furnish and are greater than all their progenitors. His life was a poem and his death was a psalm. It was the noble self-control which could scorn the scurvy politician's tricks and the wretched money-grubber's ideal of heavenly bliss. John Brown lived and died a simple, useful, honest citizen, bowing to none, cheating none, cajoling none; using no one for his selfish benefit and doing his best to prevent all others from being thus exploited. From his birth on the 9th of May in the last year of the eighteenth century, in Connecticut in New England, as a pioneer on the plains of Ohio, or in the fastnesses of the Adirondacks—above all, as John Brown of Ossawatimie in far-off Kansas—terror and torment to every slave-master of the South, and finally in the last scene of all, he was, above all things, honest; not with the cheap conventional honesty of commercial complacency, but with nature's rugged honesty of exact fairness to all. The commercial crowd, with that uneasy sense of their overshadowing by such a neighbour which always induces them to attempt his corruption, tried again and again to make a tool of John Brown, but in vain. He might have been rich in worldly plunder had he swerved one jot; but he preferred the wealth of innate nobility. This made him an element in life on the American continent which had to be reckoned with,—

"Strong of faith, how weak a hand
Can turn the iron helm of fate."

Others might truckle, others might compromise, others might keep silent, but John Brown made this truckling, this compromising, this silence, all in vain. He simply stood on his right to utter his thoughts, and assist others who claimed their rights. Thus all the Southerners came to know John Brown, the homespun tiller of the soil at Ossawatimie, as the one man who could not be bribed or silenced. They, however, gave away their case into his hands. Negro slavery fell because the slave-holders insisted upon bringing all freemen down to the dust beneath them. They invaded Kansas, and were hurled back in humiliating ignominy by the dauntless courage of John Brown, of Ossawatimie. Then John Brown saw his opportunity to punish these over-reaching autocrats. Acting upon the very arguments and lines which the slave-holders had used for invading Kansas, John Brown invaded the "sacred" slave-ridden soil of Virginia, simply to claim the right to help such negroes as chose to renounce their bondage, enforcing Jefferson's law that "all men are created free and equal." Of course, the attempt was "absurd," but the logic was invincible. They hung John Brown for the attempt; but the logic hurled down negro slavery from the gallows tree above him. Such was John Brown of Ossawatimie, one of those honest breaths of human character which occasionally brush aside the hackneyed sham and humbug of life. What a contrast to the pet heroes of the commercial ideals. Take the cheap hero of the hour in commercial England! At this moment he is fittingly closing his career as he began it, by one of those schemes of gigantic corruption which rot out the heart of a nation. He began his public life by engineering a job for heavy plunder for the loss of his father's slaves. To-day, he is practically engineering a most insidious network of chicanery for abolishing landlordism in name, and making it really more oppressive. "Compensation! compensation!" has been the shrieking burden of his life. He wishes to let the Irish rent-robbers have a grand drunken debauch before they shift their ground. Compensation for what, forsooth? For the robbery of the past? For the rotten useless lives of the past? For the helpless vacuity of to-day? Not only is compensation immoral, it is impossible. There can be no compensation for a man who claims to live upon the labour of others, except to continue the same privilege. Rent or usury, it is all the same; these self-confessed imbeciles must be told that, if they cannot support themselves, they can go to the almshouse and live at our expense, and we will be more humane than they, the black-hearted scoundrels, have been in the past. They shall have a fair living and no tasks, for we are well able to support them in common charity if they will only rid us of their leprous presence.

"Shall we upon the footing of our land
Send fair-play orders, and make compromise?"

Denounce the scheming wretch who advises it. No wonder the great spokesman of this wicked policy is the pride and glory of the social scabs. All the riff-raff bred by the commercial corruption, the hum-bailiffs and pap-fed parasites of the exploiting system, the counter-

Socialism at least has gained; our principles have obtained a far wider circulation, and the heroic deaths of our martyrs have taught men how to die. Tyrants tremble when they think of the 4th of May: they are scarcely likely to do so when they think of the Birmingham programme of the Liberal party.

We have gained much here, and in America the cause has gained still more. The whole trial of our brave comrades was one long propaganda of Socialist principles, and the fruits of that propaganda are already appearing in the defiant attitude of the American people towards the "law and order" of their grinding monopolists. Another thing it has done, it has proved Republicanism to be a delusion and a snare, so long as capitalism flourishes beside it. Thus in every way the 4th of May has advanced the cause of the Social Revolution. Political humbugs do well to deride it; but it will prove too strong for them; and they are beginning to find it out—witness the boycotting of our meetings by the "advanced" press of this free and happy country. I have an important question to ask, and that is,—Please, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, how much nearer are we to Trafalgar Square through this new-found enthusiasm for the law and the constitution?

D. N.

JONES' BOY AGAIN.

"SAY, pa, I heard a couple of men talking stocks the other day. What's stocks?"

"Stocks, my son, are shares. You see, when a number of men form a company each subscribes so much money, and then he is given so much stock in the company. Sometimes it's a bank, sometimes a mercantile or manufacturing concern. Do you understand?"

"Well, no; I don't think I hardly do. Have you got any stocks?"

"Yes; I have got some shares in a coal company."

"Oh, I've heard folks talking about a coal ring; is that it?"

"Not exactly. Our company is a member of the coal section of the board of trade; that's what some rascally fellows have been calling the coal ring."

"The men I heard talking about it said the coal ring were a gang of thieves who ought to be in jail. Did they mean you?"

"No; they couldn't mean me, for I am only a stockholder in my company, and my company is in the section or ring as they call it; so even if the ring did wrong and were extortioners, my company is only one part of it and I am only one in twenty in the company; so, you see, I can't be personally responsible."

"I don't hardly see that; but if you say so, I guess it's so. The men said that the ring kept up the price of coal unfairly, and one man said that, as they took advantage of the people's necessities to force them to pay more than was right, they were all the same as highway robbers."

"Oh, he was some crank. Why, all business is done that way! Anybody who didn't take all the chances that offered would get left. He'd be a fool."

"If you got a chance to get hold of a man's pocketbook when he wasn't looking, would you hook it?"

"No, certainly not; that would be stealing."

"But it would be a chance, wouldn't it?"

"That is not what I mean by chance. I mean a fair chance in the way of business."

"Well, if the man was so cold that he was just going to die, and you made him give you his pocketbook before you would let him into the house to get warm, would that be a fair chance?"

"No; that would be most uncharitable; most un-Christian."

"Would it be stealing?"

"Morally it would; in the sight of God it would be."

"Well, if you knew that ever so many people were almost dying of cold, and you had all the coal there was, and you said you wouldn't let them have any till they gave you ever so much more than it is worth, would that be a fair chance?"

"It wouldn't be right for me to charge more than the market price, I suppose."

"Well, but if you had all the coal, whatever you said would be the market price, wouldn't it?"

"I suppose it would; but one man can't own all the coal."

"But the men, anyway the one you said was a crank, said that the ring had all the coal. So they could make the market price, couldn't they?"

"Yes, I suppose they could."

"Well, didn't they?"

"Oh, I don't know."

"Are the ring fools?"

"Well, hardly; they're about the sharpest that's going."

"Then of course they took all the chances in the way of business, didn't they?"

"Oh, well, it's pretty generally admitted that the rings do things which it would not do for private individuals to do."

"I guess if anyone did, they'd think he wasn't much of a Christian, wouldn't they?"

"Yes, I suppose so."

"But if your company is in the ring then it is as bad as the rest."

"Well, maybe it is."

"Then, if you are one of your company, you are just as bad as the ring, too. Ain't you much of a Christian?"

"Oh, nonsense, boy! A man can't be blamed for what a company does because he happens to hold stock in it."

"Well, your company gets a share of what the ring squeezes out of the people, don't it?"

"Yes, I suppose it does."

"And you get your share of what your company gets, don't you?"

"I'm not supposed to know how every dollar of my dividends is made."

"Say, pa, my Sunday-school teacher says Moses was the greatest law-giver; I guess he wasn't very smart, was he?"

"Yes, my son, Moses was the greatest law-giver that ever lived."

"Well, I guess he didn't know everything, for all that."

"What do you mean? Don't you know it's wicked to talk that way?"

"Well, it wasn't very smart to tell us we musn't steal, when all we have to do is for a lot of us to get together in a company, and then the company can steal all its likes and nobody to blame."

"Oh, you are talking nonsense."

"Why is it nonsense? Isn't getting a man in a fix, and then making him pay more for his coal than it's worth, stealing? You said it was. Then if a company can do this without the members being thieves, don't that get 'round Moses' laws? I guess Moses didn't know much about companies."

"Oh, bother; don't talk so much!"

"Say, pa, I read in the paper the other day about a band of thieves away out in the west, and the people got guns and went after them and killed them all. Was that true?"

"I think likely it was."

"Well, it wasn't right, was it?"

"Oh, out there, where the courts are not regularly established, the people have to take the law into their own hands sometimes."

"But the members of the thieves' company were not responsible for what the company did, were they?"

"Why of course they were."

"But you said that even though the coal ring were extortioners that didn't make you an extortioner. If a member of a ring isn't to blame for what the ring does, how is a member of a thieves' company to blame for what the company does?"

"Oh, bother! you chatter too much."

"Say, pa, you told me once that the majority of people can make any laws they like; can they?"

"Yes; to be sure they can."

"Well, suppose the people who think that members of rings are just the same as thieves and highway robbers get to be the majority, would they get their guns and go gunning for you and the other members of the ring, like the folks out west did for the thieves?"

"Oh, drop it; I'm tired of your senseless jabber."

"SPOKESHAVE," in *Toronto Labour Reformer*.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"MISREPRESENTATIONS."

Mr. Nicoll's rejoinder only makes the matter worse. My letter was a brief one, but his reply is based upon a misconception of everything I said. One of us is at fault. I may be incapable of expressing myself clearly, or he may be incapable of understanding me. In either case our controversy is futile. For my part, I am content to stand by what I wrote, which I do not wish to add to or amend. I have only to say, in conclusion, that I am not "crying out for toleration." In asking any one to be tolerant I merely ask him to be a gentleman. Whether he is so or not is of less importance to me than to himself.

G. W. FOORE.

MRS. PARSONS' VISIT TO ENGLAND.

On Tuesday 19th Mrs. Parsons lectured in the Pioneer Hall, Ipswich, meeting with an enthusiastic reception. A little opposition was splendidly disposed of.

On Wednesday Mrs. Parsons visited Norwich, speaking in evening at St. Augustine's School. Mowbray in chair; subject of lecture was "The Labour Movements in America," closing with an urgent appeal to the workers to support our movement. On Thursday, open-air meeting of some four or five thousand persons in Market Place at 7.45 p.m., Mowbray in chair. Mowbray moved resolution which appeared in *Commonweal*, seconded by W. Moore, supported by Mrs. Parsons. The resolution was carried unanimously. Mrs. Parsons then proceeded to Gordon Hall, which was filled to overflowing with members and friends who had assembled to welcome her. Chair taken by Houghton. Mowbray moved and Mole seconded in name of the Branch, "That this the Norwich Branch of the Socialist League heartily welcomes our comrade Mrs. Parsons to this city, and hopes she will convey our deepest sympathy with herself and the wives and children of our comrades Spies, Engel, Fischer, Neebe, Schwab, Fielden, and the mother of Louis Lingg, and pledges itself to work to the utmost of their power for the cause for which our brave comrades laid down their lives and are suffering imprisonment at the hands of a universal band of exploiters." Chairman then presented Mrs. Parsons with an illuminated address. Mrs. Parsons acknowledged her reception and made a most pathetic appeal to audience to do all they could to help the cause. The meeting concluded with singing "Annie Laurie," "No Master," and the "Marseillaise." A large quantity of literature was sold during the meetings.

Mrs. Parsons returned to London on Friday. After a much-needed rest, she visited Berner Street Club on Sunday evening, and delivered a vigorous address. In the course of her remarks she strongly denounced the article written by Mrs. Besant in the *Link*.

On Monday she went to Edinburgh and spoke to a very successful meeting, returning to London next day.

On Thursday evening, after this paper is published, a farewell meeting will be held in South Place Chapel.

Mrs. Parsons leaves England on Friday.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

The Sheepbridge puddlers are still out.

The callenderers of Dundee have unanimously resolved to obtain 5 per cent. advance in wages or strike.

THE weavers' strike at Lower Heyes Mill, Macclesfield, has now lasted over four months, and seems likely to last.

At a meeting in Dundee, on Saturday, of the recently formed Bleachfield Workers' Union, it was reported that the membership already amounted to 415, these being all connected with the bleach-fields in the neighbourhood of Dundee.

CLEVELAND IRON-WORKERS.—The moulders employed at Cochrane and Co., Middlesborough, have sent in a claim for an advance, and the men employed at the North-Eastern Steelworks have waited on their manager with a similar object.

WOMEN'S TRADE UNION.—A women's trade society has been formed in Glasgow, 89 names having been enrolled, and committee and officials elected. The need of effort was shown by a girl who worked last fortnight for 112 hours, and had as wages 2s. 7½d.

SEAMEN'S SOCIETY.—Mr. Darby, from South Shields, who for the past fortnight has been organising a society in Glasgow amongst the seamen and firemen, has enrolled over 270 members, and he has also been successful in getting large accessions to the society in Greenock.

WALSALL SPRING BAR MAKERS.—At a meeting of the Spring-bar Makers held on Tuesday Nov. 20 it was stated that the whole of the masters had consented to give the advance asked for by the men, and the whole of the men have now commenced work at the advanced prices.

DUNDEE MILLWORKERS.—A demonstration of Dundee millworkers was held in the Barrack Park on Saturday for the purpose of pressing on the employers the necessity of granting the further increase of 5 per cent. on their wages on the 1st December instead of 1st January.

PORT-GLASGOW LABOURERS.—The labourers employed by the ironworkers on piecework have come out on strike for an advance on wages. The rate paid was 6d. per hour, the demand is for 6½d. The rate paid to the ironworkers when they themselves are on a time job is 6½d. per hour.

MILLWORKERS' STRIKE.—About 200 of the spinners employed in the Tay Works, Dundee (Gilroy, Sons and Co.), came out on strike 19th December. They demand that the resolution of the employers to concede an advance of 5 per cent. on their wages, should take effect at once instead of at the New Year.

DOCKERS WAGES.—The secretary to the Dock Labourers' Union before the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the sweating system, said there were more dock labourers than there was work for. Sixteen years ago they could earn on an average 24s. or 25s. per week, now they could only average 7s.

OLDHAM TWISTERS AND DRAWERS.—The twistors and drawers at Derker Mills have now been on strike nearly three months against a reduction of 10 per cent. They have appointed four deputations, but have been unable to bring the dispute to a close. They are prepared to accept the master's terms for plain calicoes, but they want to make arrangements for all heavy goods—viz., all fustians.

CALENDERERS' STRIKE.—At a meeting on 24th November at Dundee the calenderers at present on strike for 5 per cent. on their wages were informed that two of the employers had intimated they would give the rise demanded on 1st January, but the men resolved that unless they got it on 1st December they would not resume work. The men in Victoria Road Calender, who previously remained in, came out in the afternoon.

EAST-END "WAGES."—The following figures are given in a recent pamphlet: Brushmakers work ten hours for 7d. Artificial flowers, 144 violets for 1d. Matchbox-making, 144 for 1½d. Paper bags, 4½d. to 5½d. per thousand. Umbrella-making, 10d. per dozen. Shirts, 2d. each, worker finding her own thread; can make six between 6 a.m. and 11 p.m. Better class shirts, 5d. each; a good worker, by sitting close, can make one each day. Pill-boxes, 1s. for 36 gross—5184 boxes. Ladies fur tippets (sold at £20 each) 3s. a-week.

GLASGOW TRADES' COUNCIL.—At a meeting held on November 21st, a letter was read from the committee of the House of Lords in connection with the inquiry on the sweating system, intimating that the scope of their enquiry is now extended to the United Kingdom, and desiring to know in what trades in Glasgow it was alleged the sweating system existed. The executive could have honestly replied "All," but it was agreed to allow the letter to lie over in order to give trades so affected time to communicate with the Council.

MIDLAND COUNTIES MINERS' FEDERATION.—The Executive Committee held their monthly meeting at the Staffordshire Coffee House, Five Ways, Wolverhampton, Monday 26th. It transpired that there were still a few cases in South Staffordshire where thin-coal miners and ironstone workers had not gained the full 10 per cent. advance, and a resolution was carried urging upon the employers in those instances to act up to their resolution passed at Queen's Hotel, Birmingham, on October 22nd, when it was agreed to concede the workmen a 10 per cent. advance.

SEAMEN'S WAGES.—At Dundee on Wednesday eleven A.B.'s were engaged for the Anchor Line steamer *Devonia*, in the Clyde, at £3 15s. per month. Nine firemen were also engaged, but they held out and obtained £4, being 5s. more than what has been paid up to this time to the men engaged at Dundee for the Anchor and Allan Liners. Seamen shipping at Greenock are able to secure an advance on former rates of pay, and the crew of the *batque Neophyte* were engaged for a voyage to Cape Town via Cardiff at £3 per month—an advance of 5s. per month on the rate given a few weeks ago.

OTLEY STATUTE HIRINGS.—The annual statute hirings were held at Otley on the 16th, when the streets were thronged with persons in quest of servants and servants in quest of situations. There was a scarcity of female servants, but males were numerous. Young girls were engaged at from £5 to £10, and older and experienced hands commanded from £10 to £15. Strong lads obtained from £5 to £9, and higher prices had to be given to older and more experienced servants, though there was a slight tendency downwards owing to the advanced state of farm work at this time of the year.

RAILWAY SERVANTS' WAGES.—We drew attention a few weeks ago in this column to the dilemma of our contemporary the *Economist* in not knowing how the Scotch railways could pass an enormous increase of traffic without increasing their working expenses, and suggested the workers would likely know. A signalman writing to a Glasgow paper states that at Glasgow Central the signalmen are paid 24s. per week, or the fraction of a farthing for every two trains they pass, not including shunting, and the signalmen at Newton and Rutherglen, who have 300 trains daily, get for every four of them the sum of 3d. Verily these companies spare no expense in securing the safety of their passengers or the welfare of their workmen, and that's how it is done.

DARLINGTON ARBITRATION AWARD.—This award which has now been issued, determines that the wages of the men, other than fitters, moulders, roll-turners, carpenters, pattern makers, and boiler and other smiths employed at the Darlington Steel Works, shall remain as they are until the end of the year 1888, and from the 1st of January, 1889, until the operation of the award is determined by either party giving to the other three calendar months' notice, which notice, however, may not be given before the 30th of September, 1889, so as not to expire earlier than the 31st December, 1889. The wages shall be regulated by a sliding scale on the following basis:—The standard rates to be those prevailing on the 12th of May last and continued to the present time, namely, £3 16s. per ton, the wages to advance half per cent. per 1s. increase in the net average invoice price of steel rails of 40 lbs. and upwards, until the sum of £4 10s. is reached, when the advance is to be increased to 1 per cent. per 1s. rise, without maximum or minimum. A corresponding deduction of half per cent. per 1s. is to be made when the price of rails falls below £3 16s.

INDIA.

WORK HOURS IN INDIA.—"Ever since I have been in Bombay city, twenty-three years, the trade-custom in the building trades has been eight hours work per day—just what you are agitating for. Up country, in the country districts, the system has always been ten hours per day—viz., 7 to 12 a.m., 1 to 6 p.m. It gets dark about 6 all round the year here. In Bombay the trade hours are 9 to 1, and 2 to 6—eight hours. The reason is that up country the men have their wives to cook for them and work near their homes. In Bombay they have to walk two to four miles to their work, which is mostly piecework, and having to cook their own meals, refuse to start work till 9 a.m. This does not apply to the spinning-mills, where they have to work from sun-down to sunset—from 13½ hours actual standing in summer to 12 hours in winter. This last is terrible slavery, and ought to be stopped by legislative enactment."—So writes a friend.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

FRANCE.

On the 2nd of December there will be at Paris a manifestation organised by the Municipal Council and all the revolutionists of the French capital, on the grave of the Socialist deputy Baudin, who fell on the barricades of the rue St. Antoine, on December 3, 1851, whilst defending the Republic against the criminal *coup d'état* of Napoleon. The manifestation will be all the more important because of the present political situation of France, which is certain to lead the country into a revolution. Next week we will examine the condition of things, as they result from the treason of Floquet and the other leaders of the sham Republic, stating at the same time what hopes the Socialist revolutionary cause might expect as to the possible overthrow, in the very nearest future, of the reactionary institutions upheld by the so-called "republican" rulers of France.

GERMANY.

At Düsseldorf and at Hamburg a number of comrades were tried for secret conspiracy and, as usual, sent to prison. Some other friends of the cause met with the same fate at Constance. In a few days the same justice-farce is to go on at Freiburg in Baden. Another one, always of the same description, is coming on at Berden (Hanover). Then we will have the secret conspiracy trial at Elberfeld: more than two hundred persons have already been interrogated in connection therewith, including comrades Harm and Schumacher, Socialist members of the Reichstag for Elberfeld and for Solingen respectively.

Comrade Etter has been tried at Stuttgart, in Germany, because he had in his possession at Zürich, in Switzerland, a box containing some dynamite, which he handed over to the notorious police spy Schröder, of Zürich fame. Etter got two years and six months' hard labour for that "offence" which at any rate he did not commit in Germany. William II., the Crank, is safe.

During last week several new Socialist publications have been prohibited, among which a pamphlet entitled "To the Indifferent," and another headed "To the Agricultural Labourers." The last named is an exceedingly well-written one. In spite of the prohibition, thousands have been spread all round and the distribution is still continuing.

At a meeting held at Essen, where M. Krupp reigns supreme, the Socialist delegates of the mining districts have decided to issue a *daily* paper, which will be devoted to the defence of the interests of the working people. In spite of all the reactionary measures of Bismarck and his clique, things are going on pretty fairly at Essen and in the neighbouring places. Let us hope that they will become better still, with the help of William and Bismarck, who really work very well for the cause.

BELGIUM.

Our Belgian comrades have begun a new departure in their propaganda. At Brussels, a member of the *Parti ouvrier*, Laurent Verrycken, has spoken in the open-air. For Englishmen, of course, this is not new; but in Belgium, although the Constitution does not prohibit open-air gatherings, the Socialists have always been in-door workers. In spite of the absolute legality of these meetings, our Belgian comrade has at once had to face a kind of minuscule Charles Warren, in the person of the burgomaster of Schaerbuk, a suburb of Brussels. That silly phenomenon of a burgomaster has ordered his commissioner of police to disperse the meeting, and comrade Verrycken is now to be tried for "obstruction," exactly as the Trafalgar Square speakers have been. In the meantime, some more open-air meetings have been arranged, at which Verrycken, Volders, and others again intend to speak, and they have resolved to stand and fight out their case against the "authorities."

In the province of Hainault the miners are busily engaged in the achievement of their organisation, because it is pretty certain that ere long they

jumpers and tally-keepers, schemers and traffickers, who impudently purloin the noble name of "clerk" (which is a gift, not an occupation), every sort of cheap human foppery which lives by taking and never making, howl themselves hoarse at such a sententious trader's tin-pot deity as the Grand Old Compromiser of to-day. Upon such a spectacle, with what contempt looks such a complete man as John Brown of Ossawatimie, he, who above all others, knew that,—

"They enslave their children's children,
Who make compromise with sin."

LOTHROP WITHINGTON.

LETTER FROM AMERICA.

Two years ago all America was startled by the number of votes Henry George polled in New York as candidate for the Mayoralty of New York City. Not that I mean to say that the politicians and capitalists were much terrified by the voting in itself, but no American exploiter of labour previously believed that there existed so large a number of discontented people in New York City. Anarchism, Socialism, antagonism to capital, were believed to be all very well in Europe, but it was never thought possible that revolutionary doctrines, however indistinct and moderate, could spread to and get hold of the people of a country with "free institutions." I know that the Henry-George-for-mayor-of-New-York-City movement did not identify itself with any particular school of the labour movement, and that it rather represented the discontent of the "lower classes" of New York. It was a momentary crystallisation of the discontent. The discontent was proved to be there, and could not be disputed away. Among the wage-workers Henry George was looked upon as the heaven-sent messiah of the toilers. The formation of a party was the result of the movement: the United Labour Party, with George's land-tax as the principal plank in the platform. Henry George, Dr. McGlynn, John McMackin, and Gaybert Barnes were the leading spirits. The New York politicians having recovered from their "terror," took stock of the new party, "sized" it up, and resolved to try the boodle policy. As a result, the Social-Democrats were expelled at the first convention. Henry George was put up as Secretary of State for the State of New York, but his candidacy proved a complete failure. He then openly stated he would work hand in hand with the Democratic party. The whole United Labour party was already disintegrating. Glynn, McMackin, and Barnes became, or were already, an annex of the Republican party. The toilers had lost all confidence in the old leaders. The United Labour party evolved into one mass of corruption. The tactics—i.e., boodle—of the united politicians and capitalists had been most effective. Looking out this season for new boodle, McMackin found in James Coogan, a retired furniture-dealer on the installment plan, a man possessing many millions, a fool willing to spend a good deal of money for the "honour" of being put up as a candidate for the mayoralty of New York City. He received 9,000 votes. Here is what a capitalist paper says of the result:—

"CHEER UP, MR. COOGAN.

"Ex-candidate Coogan seems to be the sorest of all the defeated aspirants for office on Tuesday. He went into the contest, he says, with assurances of support from all the united labour leaders, and fully expected to win. Listen to Mr. Coogan:—

"Mr. McMackin assured me repeatedly on his honour that I would get the entire labour vote. Even on last Sunday he told me that if I should not come in first I would certainly be a good second in the race. The lowest number of votes which he said he could swing into line was forty thousand, and I felt sure of getting enough more to elect me. Barnes also told me several times that he had no doubt whatever of my victory. The demands for money made by McMackin and his lieutenants were of daily recurrence and urgency. They said it was required to keep up the needed enthusiasm."

"In the fond expectation that his election was thus assured and that the honours of the chief magistracy of the metropolis were surely to be his, Citizen Coogan cheerfully 'paid out during the short campaign not less than a hundred thousand dollars' to 'keep up the needed enthusiasm.' What was the result? Hear Mr. Coogan:

"I have been informed that these men, after getting my money and solemnly assuring me that they would strain every nerve to bring out a large vote for me in their districts, deliberately pocketed my money, destroyed my ballots and betrayed me at the polls."

"Don't take the matter too much to heart, Mr. Coogan. There is a bright side to it. The people that got the hundred thousand dollars doubtless needed it and enjoyed it. The poor labour vote in New York that was so exultant and resonant in 1886, where is it in this campaign? Then, the terror of its coming compelled Tammany and the Republicans to drop their political favourites and nominate Roosevelt and Hewitt. This year the labour vote is never mentioned. It is as dead as Julius Cæsar. The halls and conventions ignore it. Yes, the labour party is dead. But the sixty-eight thousand men who voted for Henry George, where are they?"

Truly, that is a good question to ask: what has become of the 68,000 votes? Well, some of them, the least in number, the Social Democrats, have formed a party of their own, and their candidate for mayor, Alexander Jonas, obtained during this last campaign 2,000 votes all told. Some of the others have gone back to the old parties, but most of them have turned somewhat pessimistic, partly believing that a new messiah, but a more honest one than the little red man had proved to be, was to come, partly having come to the conclusion that American politics are too corrupt a business to meddle with. These are on the right track.

The result of the presidential election, the turning out of the Democrats and the turning in of the Republicans, had been forecast by me in my letters to the *Commonweal*. The large mass of the American voting cattle, the farmers and the aristocrats of labour, want to be protected, and they certainly are in favour of building a Chinese wall round the States. They are apparently less afraid of trusts and combinations than of "pauper labour" and pauper labour products. "Mostly fools."

The General Assembly of the Knights of Labour meets to-day in Indianapolis, Ind. This meeting will probably settle the Order. The "kickers"—that is, the people who object to the administration and the general policy of the Order—are well organised and they intend to make things lively for Powderly and his crew. On the other hand Powderly has used all his influence to get a good many delegates elected from the different assemblies who will stand firm to him, come what may. In his last annual address Powderly said that under no circumstances would he accept office again. He has said so before, however, and afterwards he changed his mind.

The Sugar Trust has closed another factory. The Boston Sugar Refinery at East Boston, Mass., has shut down on the 10th inst.

The Idea of November have been well remembered over here. Commemoration meetings were held in nearly every one of the large towns in the United States, but it must be confessed that the audiences everywhere consisted principally of foreign born citizens. Americans seem as yet totally incapable of grasping our idea.

I have travelled and lived in a good many countries on either of the two hemispheres, and have had in consequence many opportunities to study the ways and customs of most of the prominent races and nations, but I must confess that nowhere have I met with a greater absence of idealism, of culture, and of refinement than in the United States of America. Mutual goodwill between the citizens is an unknown quantity. The whole country appears to be corrupt to the core, eaten up by materialism in its worst sense. The only *raison d'être* of Americans can be summed up shortly in making money and breeding money-makers. Every American has but one ambition—to get rich. And this ruling passion is not restricted to the non-producing class only, but from the worst paid unskilled labourer, eye even down to the tramp, up to the man commanding previously in history undreamt of fortunes, every one has but one idea: How can I make money? And the harlot of competition makes fools of them all. Nowhere in the whole world is less consideration shown to the weak, to the good-hearted, to the true humanitarian; and this cannot be wondered at. People who come to the United States have left their countries, not because they fled from oppression, not because they desired to develop their better qualities in a "free country." No! They had but one motive—to make money, to become rich, to rise in the world. They have preserved all the worst qualities of their respective mother countries, and not one of the perhaps somewhat conciliatory characteristics. Brutality, vulgarity, and coarseness, undisguised and unmasked, reign supreme in the land of the dollar. One look at the "charitable institutions" ought to be sufficient to convince even a European bourgeois of this. Yesterday I found in a *capitalist* paper an article about the lunatic asylum in Flatbush, near Brooklyn, King's County, in the State of New York. Here are a few extracts:

"How many of the eight hundred thousand people of Brooklyn ever think of their fellow beings who are insane enough to be cooped up in the asylum Flatbush?"

"And yet in that great city of ostentatious charities—the 'City of Churches,' which fairly bristles with the spires of pretentious church architecture—there is as cruel an exhibition of man's inhumanity to man as can be found anywhere. There is nothing on earth so pitiful as the mind bereft of reason. Even the animals respect the helplessness of such afflicted ones among their own species. The wild Indian whose mind is gone is free to roam the forests at will. He will be cared for by every passing group, friend or stranger. A 'higher' and more cruel civilisation insists that persons insane shall be confined to prevent their doing injury to themselves or others."

"The overcrowded condition of the Kings County Insane Asylum would not be tolerated by a humane community. If the unfortunate inmates of the institution were sane criminals they would tear down the walls and escape, and their friends in the outside world would assist."

"'Shall we begin at the bottom or top?' asked Dr. J. J. Shanks, the medical superintendent, to whom I had expressed my desire to go through the wards."

"The bottom," I replied.

"Leading the way the doctor went down a pair of stairs to the basement, and then another to the second basement. Most people would call it the cellar, and most people would be right."

"This place was not intended for such use," said my guide, as he unlocked a heavily barred door and motioned me to enter. It would have been, indeed, a cruel matter to suspect that the original constructors of the building had ever intended this cellar for human habitation, and yet to-day there are huddled in this underground hole 120 women and 36 men!

"Is it damp down there?"

"Well, I put my hand against the shining wall and the water trickled through my fingers. The poor souls who lived there did not know what made them sneeze and cough, and start with pain and ache, and grow weaker daily; but the doctor did, and his face grew grave when I showed him my wet hand."

"The air was laden with dampness and the exhalations of many people. It was not cold, yet I shivered as I turned to go upstairs."

"Surely," said I to one of the attendants, "people—even crazy people—cannot live here long?"

"They don't," was the laconic reply.

"This interested me, and I stopped and continued: 'I should think they would get rheumatism, consumption, fevers of all sorts, pneumonia, and die rapidly.'

"They would die if we left them down here, but as soon as they get very bad we move them upstairs, where it is a little dryer."

"And move somebody else down to get sick?"

"Yes."

"Keep them rotating in and out of this pest-hole?"

"Yes, sir."

"But do not their friends make a fuss?"

"Some of them do make a good deal of trouble about it, but we try OUR BEST TO SEND DOWN THOSE WHO HAVE NO FRIENDS, OR WHOSE FRIENDS DO NOT CALL TO SEE THEM!"

"This is going on to-day!"

I repeat, the foregoing is not written by a revolutionary paper, but by the capitalistic *New York Herald*. When capitalistic papers are obliged to publish such horrible revelations it must be bad indeed!

Newark, N.J., November 13, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

UNEMPLOYED MEMBERS OF THE LEAGUE.—In the Hammersmith Branch there are two painters, two carpenters, and one builder out of work.

METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.—The weekly return of metropolitan pauperism shows that the total number of paupers relieved in the first week of last month was 97,581, of whom 58,834 were indoor and 38,747 outdoor paupers. The total number relieved shows an increase of 981 over the corresponding week of last year, 5,878 over 1886, and 6,806 over 1885. The total number of vagrants relieved on the last day of the week was 1,212, of whom 1,022 were men, 170 women, and 20 children under sixteen.

A contemporary remarks that labour rebelled in 1877, broke away in 1879, went to work in 1880, has organised considerably since, and yet now seems to have forgotten that there ever were 3,000,000 tramps in the United States. Aye, men, you have forgotten. You may be forcibly reminded of it yet. Panics return under our false system of society. We had desolating panics in 1818, 1837, 1857, and 1873, and wealth has all the time steadily accumulated in the hands of the few. When will the next crash come? Take care, men! Be prepared for it; don't take things too easy. Political excitements won't help you.—*Paterson Labour Standard*.



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

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

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 November 28.

ENGLAND Glasgow Herald Justice Labour Tribune London—Free Press Norwich—Daylight Railway Review Social Democrat Telegraph Service Gazette Worker's Friend	FRANCE Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) Le Parti Ouvrier (daily) La Revolte Le Proletariat La Revue Socialiste Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur St. Etienne—La Loire Socialiste Sedan—La Revolution	SPAIN Cadiz—El Socialismo Madrid—El Socialista Seville—La Solidaridad
UNITED STATES New York—Der Sozialist Frelheit Truthseeker Volkzeitung Alarm Workmen's Advocate Boston—Woman's Journal Liberty Chicago (Ill)—Vorbote Detroit—Der Arme Teufel Fort Worth (Tex)—South West Paterson (N J) Labor Standard	HOLLAND Hague—Recht voor Allen	PORTUGAL Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
IRELAND San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung Coast Seaman's Journal	BELOIUM Ghent—Vooruit Llege—L'Avenir	AUSTRIA Brunn—Volkstfreund
FRANCE Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur St. Etienne—La Loire Socialiste Sedan—La Revolution	SWITZERLAND Arbeiterstimme Bulletin Continental	HUNGARY Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
FRANCE Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) Le Parti Ouvrier (daily) La Revolte Le Proletariat La Revue Socialiste Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur St. Etienne—La Loire Socialiste Sedan—La Revolution	ITALY Rome, L'Emancipazione (daily)	ROMANIA Jassy—Muncitorul
FRANCE Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) Le Parti Ouvrier (daily) La Revolte Le Proletariat La Revue Socialiste Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur St. Etienne—La Loire Socialiste Sedan—La Revolution	ITALY Rome, L'Emancipazione (daily)	DENMARK Social-Demokrat
FRANCE Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) Le Parti Ouvrier (daily) La Revolte Le Proletariat La Revue Socialiste Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur St. Etienne—La Loire Socialiste Sedan—La Revolution	ITALY Rome, L'Emancipazione (daily)	SWEDEN Malmo—Arbetet
FRANCE Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) Le Parti Ouvrier (daily) La Revolte Le Proletariat La Revue Socialiste Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur St. Etienne—La Loire Socialiste Sedan—La Revolution	ITALY Rome, L'Emancipazione (daily)	WEST INDIES Cuba—El Productor
FRANCE Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) Le Parti Ouvrier (daily) La Revolte Le Proletariat La Revue Socialiste Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur St. Etienne—La Loire Socialiste Sedan—La Revolution	ITALY Rome, L'Emancipazione (daily)	MEXICO Sinaloa—Credit-Foncier

NOTES ON NEWS.

THE Government have passed their bill for the relief of the Irish landlords to the extent of five millions, as they were quite sure to do in the teeth of all opposition, but their victory is not very likely to do them permanent service. Compensation to the Irish landlords at the expense of the British tax-payer is just the rock they are likely to split on, but they cannot help steering in that direction; so that before long they will probably have to make way for their opponents to try their scheme for peasant proprietorship in Ireland; or more plainly, for making a number of small landlords in Ireland instead of a few big ones. Needless to insist on the fact that this also will have to be done at the expense of the British tax-payer, whatever hanky-panky may be used to conceal the fact.

"The flowing tide is with us" (the Liberals) cries the *Pall Mall Gazette*. From the election agents' point of view that is probably true; that is, at present the chances of a Gladstonian success at the next election are brightening. But another metaphor more accurately describes the process by which the change of ministries is being brought about: "The pendulum is swinging to our side again," is the due figure of speech. That is not so encouraging perhaps to some of the members of the "Liberal party," that curious creature with a Whig head and a Radical tail; though I fear a very great many of them are much better pleased that so it is. When the "flowing tide" of really advanced opinion sets in, these gentry will skip out of the way of it with all the nimbleness they are capable of.

Mr. Henry George has come to England once more with his old pretensions to Socialism abandoned, but clinging obstinately to his old economical heresies, with which in past days he used to weave a veil of vague socialistic aspiration and eloquence. Free trade and the single-tax, i.e., what he used to call land nationalisation, but which he now more accurately describes as the taxing of land values, is his platform. He says it is but a step from free trade to the single tax, with a very curious oblivion of the not very recondite fact, that England has been a free-trade country for many years and is not very far on the road to the "single-tax."

Mr. George combats the cry of the land for the cultivator with the cry of the land for the people; but, unhappily, it is but a cry. What he really means is "the land for the money capitalist"! And how he proposes to separate the land-capitalist from the money-capitalist passes human ingenuity to imagine. Is it possible for a man to be sincere, who with plenty of people teaching him, has not been able to learn this through all these years? To be a forward politician; to make a

great agitation, clamouring for a great change which would change nothing in the life of the toiling people; but which happily cannot by itself be attempted even. This seems now Mr. George's career, after all his big words.

The frightful case of injustice perpetrated by "justice" against the two poor men, Murphy and Branaghan, and the case mentioned by Mr. Bernard Coleridge, in which no pretence to remedy a similar injustice has been made (though, indeed, how can you "remedy" the murder of so many years of a man's life?), shed a lurid light on all the ways and manners of our criminal law. For who can doubt but that many and many such cases have happened, and will happen as long as our sham society lasts, and calls for such a system of defence?

One remark in the papers about this shameful affair struck me particularly. It was stated that there were serious doubts at the time of conviction as to the guilt of the men, but that they were overborne by the sympathy felt for the victims of the burglary. Does not this show how the whole feeling of the public is corrupted by our laws? An offence is committed, and straightway in the interests of society a man-hunt is set on foot; some one is arrested, and the public will be so bitterly disappointed if nobody is caught that if the guilty person cannot be convicted, at least convict somebody; and then the whole machinery of the law is set at work to get a conviction, of the guilty man if possible, but at least of some one. A theory of prosecution is started, and the whole mass of circumstantial evidence is manipulated by it; a sham jury give a verdict which purports to be theirs, but is in fact nothing but a deduction from the judge's summing-up—and, as far as they are concerned, the play is over and the public speedily forgets it, while the unhappy victims of its idiotic thirst for theatrical revenge are rotting in jail if they have not been hanged. The word *rolling* being no figurative word, let us remember, but a literal expression of a fact.

Mr. Pyke, in his interesting volume on the 'History of Crime,' notes that in the height of the Middle Ages in England juries were very unwilling to convict. There is no more significant token of the servile condition we have dropped into than the ease with which convictions are got now-a-days; *per contra*, when juries begin to think about their position, and the Courts complain of the difficulty of getting convictions, we may begin to lay some claim to be of the same blood as our stout ancestors.

W. M.

What trifles will throw some people into rapturous ecstasies. A week or so ago that very advanced *Star* went almost insane with joy over Mr. Gladstone's Birmingham programme. This perhaps should not occasion any remark, for that organ of London Radicalism, having its due share of Celtic impetuosity, takes very little to excite it; but when the Able Editor of the *Star* asks comrade Morris what the people in America have reaped from the bomb at Chicago compared with what the people of London have gained from the peaceful and constitutional action of the *Star* editor, the time has come, I think, to make some reply.

What in the name of all that is wonderful is there in this Birmingham programme for the people of London to rejoice and be thankful for? What above all is there for the poor wretches who hardly know where to get their next meal, who are starving for want of work, and who see the grim demon of hunger advancing to devour them?

Leasehold enfranchisement! This may make the heart of the small shopkeeper and house-farmer leap with joy within him, because he will have no ground landlord to share the spoils he wrings from his rack-rented tenant; but it will hardly afford much comfort to the unemployed workman who is going to be turned into the street by the house-farmer because when he is out of work he cannot pay the exorbitant rack-rent which his landlord wrings from him.

"Such changes in the land laws as would prevent the dreadful overcrowding of the poor in London." What does this mean? As far as I can see it may mean *anything*, from free land to some form of land nationalisation; but those who know the Liberal party may well guess that it does not mean the latter.

It means "free land," then—that is, expropriation of the encumbered aristocratic landlord in favour of the arrogant plutocrat of the towns. Capitalism may then own the land as well as the factories. A grand advantage, truly; but how this will diminish overcrowding I will leave my readers to find out.

Then again "something" is to be done to provide the working classes with decent dwellings, but concerning *what* is to be done the great chief of the Liberal party is commendably reticent.

On the whole, nothing has occurred to justify the enthusiasm of the *Star*, or to give London workmen any notion that the great Liberal party has changed its character. It is still the miserable sham it has been in times gone by, and those who trust to it will reap their reward.

The workers of London have gained nothing but promises, and very poor promises. But it may be objected that the American workmen have gained as little from the events at Chicago. This may be, but

will once more resort to a gigantic strike, which this time might become a general black strike. Already some partial strikes have occurred at Carnières, Hornu, and other places. In the province of Liege also the miners of Tilleur have struck, and it is expected that this and next week work will be stopped in various other localities. Never have the toilers been so badly paid as nowadays in Belgium, and the misery of the wealth-producers seems at last to have become unbearable.

ROUMANIA.

The Socialist propaganda makes very great progress indeed in Roumania; day after day our friends form new groups, which carry on the work in a systematical way. There, as elsewhere, there are Parliamentarians who go in for what is called constitutional means; comrade Mortzun, one of those who believe in legislation, has been re-elected member of the Roumanian Chamber; comrade Nadetje, formerly Professor at the University of Jassi, and one of the ablest propagandists of Socialism, has been returned in the capital of Moldavia. At Galatz and at Suceava also, Socialist candidates are likely to win legislative seats. At the municipal elections a number of Socialists have been chosen in some places, as for instance at Cuenteni, the Socialist candidates securing five times as many votes than the candidates of the landowners.

A new Socialist paper has been issued, which appears daily under the title of *Drepturile Omului* (the Rights of Man) and the editorship of comrade C. Millé, who has formerly written very interesting articles on the Roumanian peasantry in E. Malon's *Revue Socialiste* (Paris). The Socialist party has now in Roumania one daily paper, one monthly magazine, and two weeklies.

Along with the Socialist movement there is also a strong propaganda made, almost in the rural districts, in favour of the Anarchistic view of Socialism, and it will not be long before a new organ, a daily one too, will come to light in defence of the principles of Anarchical Socialism.

V. D.

SPAIN.

VALENCIA.—The saw-mill employés of this city are occupied at present in taking preliminary steps for the formation of a trades' union among themselves.

GRAZALEMA.—The situation of the working-class in this part is one of the most extreme poverty and wretchedness. Many of the labourer's wives find themselves obliged to go out to domestic service so as to keep body and soul together. Not a few of the men on returning from their work in the fields at night fail to find a crust of bread in the house. At the same time money has been provided by a capitalist to the extent of 12,000 or 13,000 crowns for church reforms and alterations.

SABADELL.—A meeting was held here lately, organised by the "Union of Resistance." The attendance was numerous, almost filling the theatre where the meeting was held. The speakers laid stress upon the necessity for union and organisation among the working-classes for the forwarding of the emancipation of labour and the Social Revolution.

CUBA.—HAVANNAH.—The tobacco strike in Havannah has terminated with the victory of the employés in the majority of the factories. It will be remembered that what they demanded was a rise in price in certain departments of the industry, besides complaining of the quality of the tobacco they had to manipulate. We hear that the solidarity among the workers during the strike has been most satisfactory, help being received from other associations in the island and in the United States.

SANTIAGO.—*El Productor* (Havannah) says that the working-class movement is decidedly progressing in this town. In December next, the employés in the tobacco factories intend to organise a movement whose object is to obtain for themselves higher pay and certain necessary improvements in the workshops.

M. M.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 8, 1888.

2	Sun.	1816. Spa-fields riots. 1851. <i>coup d'état</i> in Paris. 1852. Frances Wright died. 1859. John Brown hung. 1872. Strike of 2,400 gasmen in London. 1887. First victim of Bloody Sunday (Linnell) died.
3	Mon.	1871. Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants formed. 1882. Arabi Pasha banished to Ceylon.
4	Tues.	1795. Thomas Carlyle born.
5	Wed.	1806. Trial of "Thrashers" at Sligo.
6	Thur.	1793. Trial of Thomas Briellat for seditious words. 1882. Louis Blanc died.
7	Fri.	1683. Algernon Sydney beheaded. 1795. Meeting of London Corresponding Society at Jews' Harp House. 1879. Jón Sigurdsson died.
8	Sat.	1643. John Pym died. 1837. Faneuil Hall meeting on Lovejoy's assassination; Wendell Phillips' first speech.

If wage-workers hope to succeed in their struggle for justice, freedom, and honest pay, they must aid their labour papers. The papers which are subsidised and supported by capital will not defend capital. Why should they? Are they not well paid to defend capitalism?—*Labour Standard*.

The Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway Company would seem to have been ill-advised in appealing against the award of £4,500 made by a Sheffield jury, a few weeks ago, to Mr. Vernon, who lost his leg and sustained other injuries in the Hexthorpe collision, seeing that after appealing to the Queen's Bench the company agreed to a reduction of the amount to £4,000. After the costs that the company has incurred in prosecuting this appeal have been met, and the limbs of the law are satisfied, it is to be feared there will not be much of the £500, withheld from the injured man, left to find its way to the coffers of the company. £4,000 is a large sum to pay for taking off a man's leg compared with what a railway company pays for taking one of its own workmen's legs off, which by the new Employers' Liability Bill would be compensated for with a paltry £250. This is an example of the laws we have for rich and poor respectively. We venture to say that the £4,000 would be of much more service to a working man than to one in the position of the gentleman alluded to above, but our laws give the most to those who have and the least to those who haven't.—*Railway Review*.

KETTLE AND POT.

("This Helmet, I suppose."—SULLIVAN.)

"THE landed class, said Joe,
"Will clearly have to go;
Their wealth to win,
They never spin,
And do they toil? oh, no.
So off those gentry go."

The game-preservers groan,
"Oh, leave the land alone!
The employers who
Apply the screw,—
With them go pick your bone;
But leave the land alone."

"Accept our thanks, we pray,"
The working folk may say,
"From each in turn
This truth we learn:
We work that you may play.
Be off, and clear the way!"

C. W. B.

They can reduce it to a fine point at Buchan. They have not yet reached the single straw, but the current report of the managers of the New Maud Poorhouse, shows that the inmates are fed (!) at the rate of 2½ per head per day. The managers no doubt believe in the golden rule, but they hold it as some sentimental socialists do their belief—true, but, under present circumstances, unpracticable. The managers of the Scotch poorhouses are generally men who have been enriched by the poverty of the poor, and so it is pleasing and proper to them that the poor should slip their skins as soon as practicable, in accordance with "law and order," the god of the pillars of present-day society. The poor, with the increased education now forced on them, will not for long be content to "fold their tents like the Arabs and silently steal away."—G. McL.

DISCRIMINATING CRUELTY.—Every one knows, I presume (writes a correspondent), that there is a society of ladies in London, presided over by the Princess of Wales, which aims at the abolition of the cruel and foolish fashion of wearing stuffed birds as ornaments for female attire. I had the curiosity the other day to inquire of a fashionable Bond-street vendor of ladies' hats how the principles of this society affected her trade. "I don't find that it makes much difference," replied Madme. L—. And, indeed, nearly all the smartest hats in her window were adorned with the skins and feathers of brilliantly coloured birds. "I suppose the ladies who belong to the society do not deal here?" I queried. "Oh, yes, they do," said Madame. "I have ten or a dozen of them on my books; but when I sell one of them a hat trimmed with birds, I have to cut the heads off; they don't mind wings and tails, but they think it cruel to wear the heads." Alas, poor humanity!—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

Notice.—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.
FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

Propaganda Fund.—H. Samuels, Is.

London Members' Meeting.—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, Dec. 3, 1888, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

CHICAGO MARTYRS COMMEMORATION FUND.

The expenditure in connection with this commemoration having greatly exceeded the estimate of the Committee, and a wish having been expressed that the Committee should pay Mrs. Parsons' return fare to Chicago, this will bring the expenditure up to about £70. The Committee up to the present have received about £40. All those having monies in hand from collections, sale of tickets, or donations, are urgently requested to pay them in to the Treasurer the latest.

Already acknowledged—£31 2s. 2½d. Received—United Scandinavian Club, 10s. F. F. M., 5s. Total, £31 17s. 2½d. J. LANE, Treasurer.

REPORTS.

HAMMERSMITH.—Good meeting Latimer Road, Sunday Morning, Astbury, Dean, Lyne, and Tochat, speakers; choir sang several songs, and were well received. Weltje Road, 11.30, Catterson Smith and S. Bullock spoke, moderate meeting owing to weather. Same place at 7 o'clock, Mordhurst and Hall held meeting, at conclusion inviting audience to Keimscott House to hear William Clarke (Fabian), lecture on "Growth of Capitalism in the United States." Good lecture, full of information, audience much impressed by it.

ABERDEEN.—No report last week owing to misunderstanding. On 18th, large meeting in Castle Street, by Aikens, Duncan, and Barrow. On 20th, at indoor meeting, Leatham lectured on, "An Individualist's Nightmare," criticising the article "Socialism Seen Through American Spectacles," by General Buyce, in *The Nineteenth Century* for September (the lecture will be published by request). On 25th, largest and most enthusiastic meeting of season, addressed by Aiken, Duncan, and Leatham.

IPSWICH.—Sunday, Read lectured in Pioneer Hall, Woodhouse in chair, upon "Co-operation as it is, and as it Should Be." Read will continue his discussion on Thursday night at 8 o'clock, sharp, in the Pioneer Hall.—J. T.

NOZWICH.—Sunday, meetings in Market Place, addressed by Mowbray in morning, evening by Poynts and W. Moore. At Gorden Hall, Mowbray lectured on the "Anti-Statist Manifesto."

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—This Branch is now actively working. Socialists resident in this locality should send their names in at once to 13 Farringdon Road.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday, December 2, at 7 p.m., Adjourned Business Meeting. At 8.30, Free Concert by Members and Friends.

Fulham.—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Committee meetings are held on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock sharp. All members are earnestly requested to attend.

Hackney.—Secretary, E. Lefevre, 14 Goldsmiths Sq., Goldsmiths Row, Hackney Road. The next meeting of members will be held at 28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Road, Hackney Wick, on Sunday Dec. 9, at 5.30 p.m. All members are requested to attend.

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday December 2, at 8 p.m., A Lecture. Wed. Dec. 5, at 8 p.m., Graham Wallas (Fabian Society), "Property under Socialism."

Hoxton.—12, Basing Place, Kingsland Rd. Business meetings of this branch are held every Friday evening at 9 o'clock.

London Fields.—All communications, etc., to Mrs. G. G. Schack, 26 Cawley Road, South Hackney.

Merton.—Club-house, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road, Singlegate. Lecture on Sunday evenings at 8.30.

Mile-end and Bethnal Green.—95 Boston St., Hackney Road.

North London.—Secretary, Nelly Parker. Business meetings held on Friday evenings at 6 Windmill St., Tottenham Court Road, after open-air meeting at Ossulton Street.

Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.—Meets at the International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road, on Saturdays at 7.30 p.m.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen (Scottish Section).—Secretary, P. Barrow, 14 Ann Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

Bradford.—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivegate. Meets Tuesdays at 8.

Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Tuesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secy.

Dundee (Scott. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

Edinburgh (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.

Galashiels (Scott Sect).—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, secy.

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

Glasgow.—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class meets every Sunday at 11.

Ipswich.—Pioneer Hall, Tacket Street. Meets on Sunday evenings. All members are earnestly asked to meet Sunday morning at 10.30. A Concert will be held on Saturday November 9, at 7.30; members and friends please turn up and make it a success.

Kilmarnock.—Secretary, H. McGill, 22 Gilnour St. Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday.

Leeds.—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Rd. and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m., communications to T. Paylor, 11 Sheldon Street, Holbeck, Leeds. Sunday Dec. 2, at 7.30, F. Corkwell, "Two Systems: A Contrast." 9th. T. Paylor, "What we Want, and How to Get It." 16th. T. Maguire, "Leeds and its Inhabitants" (with lime-light illustrations).

Leicester.—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—Sunday, at 8.15, Gordon Hall. Monday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Tuesday, at 8, Meeting in Gordon Hall. Wednesday, at 8, Educational Class. Thursday, at 8 p.m., Lecture by comrade Mowbray in the Gordon Hall, subject "An Enquiry into the Life of Christ according to Strauss and Rénan"; tickets 1d. each. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association.

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

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

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

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SUNDAY 2.

11.30...Latimer Road Station...Hammersmith Branch
 11.30...Mitcham Fair Green...The Branch
 11.30...Regent's Park...Mainwaring & Parker
 11.30...Walham Green, opp. Station...The Branch
 11.30...Weltje Rd., Havencourt Pk...Hammersmith
 3.30...Hyde Park...Mainwaring & Parker
 7.30...Froad Street, Soho...Mainwaring & Parker
 7.30...Clerkenwell Green...Nicolli

Monday.
 8 ...Wimbledon Broadway...The Branch

Tuesday.
 8.30...Fulham—back of Walham Green Ch. ...Branch

Friday.
 7.30...Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street...The Branch

EAST END.

SUNDAY 2.
 Leman Street, Shadwell 11...Nicolli

TUESDAY.
 Mile-end Waste ... 8.30...East-end C'mittce.

FRIDAY.

Philpot St., Commercial Rd. 8.30...Whitechapel Bch.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen.—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7 p.m.
Glasgow.—Sunday: Glasgow Green at 2 p.m.; Paisley Road at 5.30.
Ipswich.—
 Sproughton, Wednesday evening.
 Westerfield, Thursday evening.
 Needham Market, Sunday morning and evening.
Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.
Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place, at 11, 3, and 7.30. St Catharine's Plain, Friday at 8.30 p.m.

CHELSEA BRANCH S.D.F., Pelham Rooms, Kimbolton Row, Fulham Road, S.W.—Sunday Dec. 2, at 8 p.m., Daniel McEwen, "Irish Land and Labour."

THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—The Committee will meet at the house of S. Oliver, 139 Trafalgar Street, Waiworth Road, on Saturday Dec. 1 and Dec. 8, at 7.30 p.m., to receive subscriptions and enrol members. Friends in South London particularly requested to be present.

FABIAN SOCIETY.—Willis's Rooms, King Street, St. James's Square, S.W. December 7, at 8 p.m., Annie Besant, "Industry under Socialism." December 21. Hubert Bland, "The Outlook." Tickets may be obtained from the Hon. Sec., Sydney Olivier, 180 Portsdown Rd. W.

LEICESTER.—A course of lectures on "Socialism, its Aims and Principles" is being delivered in Leicester Secular Hall. The third lecture will be delivered on Sunday Dec. 9 by William Clarke—subject, "The Industrial Aspect." Dec. 30. Sydney Olivier, "The Moral Aspect."

SOUTH LONDON.—Friends who are willing to form a Branch of the Socialist League in South London will please place themselves in communication with C. Henze, 41 Bolton Street, Thomas Street, Kensington Park, S.E., or by letter to H. Hopkins, 17 Garloch Road, Shenley Road, Peckham, S.E.

SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.

- Chants for Socialists. By William Morris. . 1d
- Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism. By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). . 1d.
- The Commune of Paris. By E. Belfort Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. . 2d.
- The Aims of Art. By Wm. Morris. Bijeux edition, 3d.; Large paper, 6d.
- The Rights of Labour according to John Ruskin. By Thomas Barclay. . 1d
- The Tables Turned; or, Nupkins Awakened. A Socialist Interlude. By William Morris. In Wrapper . 4d.
- The Manifesto of the Socialist League. Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and William Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. . 1d.
- Useful Work * Useless Toil. By William Morris. . 1d.
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THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 4.—No. 152.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

THE School Board election for London has passed over, leaving behind it the usual electioneering dregs of defeated ambitions, empty boasts, compromises which no one believed in when they were made, and which will be sorely regretted hereafter by many who made them. As for the results, they are little except the dregs. For what does it all come to, this virulent storm in a saucer? In any case the children will be taught something; in no case can there be any satisfactory education under our present sham society; and the whole theory of School Board education is a bad one, even for our present system.

Setting all other considerations aside, is it worth the wear and tear for Socialists, who have so much work before them in merely putting before people the bare elements of their creed, to spend their energies, first in electioneering and next in the committee-room grind, in doing work which would be done quite as well, if external pressure were put upon them, by Radicals and Secularists, who otherwise hinder the work of propaganda?

The one thing of any real importance which could be done at once for the children is getting them the free meal, and it seems to me that with moderate pushing from the outside this could be got; not, of course, from pedants of the Lyulph Stanley kind, but from Radicals or even Tories not desperately committed to party shibboleths. The late cartoon in that very bourgeois print, *Punch*, in which the poor little advanced scholar claims something to still the cravings of hunger before going on with his "intellectual" work (save the mark!), is sufficient indication that the suggestion of this piece of elementary humanity and common-sense is not so terrifying to the general public as it used to be.

Lord Salisbury has been bidding high for Whig abuse, and will probably have his belly-full of it in these current days. And indeed he may be always trusted at a crisis to say the most snobbish thing that can be said, and his "Black-man" utterance quite comes up to the standard expected of him. The jeers at the Irish members, though rather stale now, and the heads on Temple Bar, are also reasonably good in the blackguarding line, and probably show that the most noble is not very hopeful of the coming election (when it does come).

But attack on this stupid reactionary "splitting of the ears of the groundlings" does not come with a good grace from journals which are revolutionary in Ireland and Whig in England. Until the *Daily News* breaks the conspiracy of silence on the judicial murder of Socialists or Anarchists who were slain for their opinions in a crisis that coward society thought dangerous, it ought to hold its tongue on Lord Salisbury's ferocious but harmless hints. Until its brother Whig the *Star* has learned that the whole duty of man is not limited to the returning of Gladstonian Whigs to Parliament at any cost, it ought also to hold its tongue; unless it is prepared to admit the fact that as to morals and principles it heartily agrees with Lord Salisbury's "short way with revolutionists" though the exigencies of party warfare compel it to pretend to be his opponent. W. M.

Replying to a protest against his slanders upon the Chicago martyrs, the editor of the *Star*, Mr. Thomas Power O'Connor, says of them: "They did not deny that Lingg handed about his consignment of bombs at their meeting, just as they did not deny that they shot the policemen before the policemen shot them." Now, it is not too much to say that of all the fictions and forgeries of the *Times*, over which the *Star* has been shrieking so pitifully, not one is so gratuitously mean and false as this. Neither of these things were denied, because neither of them were asserted. Until the *Star* took it in hand, there was not found a creature foul enough to father such a lie. Even the Chicago blood-hunters and Pinkerton thugs recoiled from such a task; it has been left to the magnanimous, the enlightened Thomas Power O'Connor, parasite of the Liberal party and editor of the *Star*.

As he has made an assertion never made before, as he has gone even beyond the disproven indictment, will he now condescend to give some rag or scrap of reason for saying what he does?

Will he also condescend to reconcile the apparent contradiction between his notes on the Chicago affair with the following note, cut from his consistent columns?—

"It is difficult to feel angry with a man who, so to speak, 'gives himself away' like this. But let it not be forgotten what a light this throws upon the true inwardness of coercion, upon the abnims which actuates the present rulers of this country towards their political opponents. A line further on Lord Salisbury is speaking of 'political murderers,' and the usual mode of dealing with them. Whether he has any particular political murderer in his eye at this moment is left in doubt, but we cannot forget the inquiry proceeding simultaneously with this speech, the efforts of Lord Salisbury's Attorney-General to fix on the Irish Parliamentary party the responsibility for the crimes of the Moonlighters. Political murderers! Yes; in the eyes of Lord Salisbury and those of his school of political thought, whenever the opposition of the privileged classes to a movement of the people has resulted in bloodshed, the leaders of the people (not the leaders on the other side) are 'political murderers.' Mazzini was a political murderer; John Hampden and George Washington were political murderers, and had they been unsuccessful would doubtless have been condemned by the Salisbury of the day to lose their heads or be blown from guns."

S.

It is asserted by a Glasgow paper that sailors *can be well fed* for 11½d. per head per day, and an instance is quoted of a long voyage where it was done for 10½d. The editor did not say what the men, for whom the sailor toils and risks his life, "can be well fed for," but it is obvious that his code of right would allow as much to the shipmaster's dog as to the sailor. Sailors take note.

Railways are the favourite investment of clergymen in Scotland for their surplus "earnings." To put their spare cash in such a safe investment is better, in their eyes, than lending it to the Lord (giving it to the poor), for they are certain it will return to them *before* many days. It gives them also the soothing satisfaction that they are providing work for working-men. The providing of wages is another matter.

Those clergymen who grow rich and important by speculations of divers sorts never think of providing work for themselves. Neither are they concerned whether the employments their pious investments provide are profitable to the workers, or whether their dividends are not the transformed life's-blood of the workers they allege to benefit; thus making such clergy accessories to slow murder, which is more cruel than sudden death.

When I hear, as I have done, those clergymen, with their safe investments, denouncing from their pulpits the victims of their dividends for their scanty church collections, and the pulpit unctuously assuring the pew that the latter by its want of practical enthusiasm is undermining the power of the former for "good," I cannot refrain from letting the sun go down upon my wrath.

A glance at the wages paid to the people in the pews and the dividends paid to the parsons in the pulpits, will explain the scantiness of the church collections and the decay of pulpit power for "good." By the bye, the church-door collections of the parish churches in Scotland belong by law and right to the poor of the parish, and, as these collections never reach the poor, it would be of interest to know who annexes them, and why they are diverted from their legitimate and lawful object.

But, to enquire into the nature of these clergymen's railway dividends, we find it stated by a booking-clerk that he has to work 12 and 13 hours a-day, and be responsible for the several hundreds of pounds that pass through his hands daily, for the handsome salary of 19s. 3d. per week. Signalmen are boxed in a cabin for 12 hours daily, constant duty, taking their meals as best they may, passing (including shuntings) 500 trains a-day, and for each train having from three to six levers to draw and put back; also block and bells to mind, book marking, and seeing that every train that passes is in proper running condition, all for a salary of 22s. per week. A railway porter on the line between Glasgow and Carlisle says he does 15 hours a-day, no

time allowed for meals, for 17s. per week. He has been seven years at the same hours and pay, and has a house, wife, and family to provide for.

We can form an estimate from the above instances, which are a fair and exact criterion of each of their kinds, how much time and money the railway dividends of the clergy permit the workers to spend for the good of their families or the sustenance of the church. Nay, does not the pulpit's conspiracy of silence account for far more than the decay in pulpit power, and is not its appropriation of such ill-gotten dividends the very essence of Antichrist? G. McL.

MISSIONS, COMMISSIONS, AND OMISSIONS.

THESE three are members of one family. Missions and commissions are the parents of omissions. Our rural and city missions divert a certain energy and enthusiasm which might be directed to a more practical purpose, and our Government commissions but delay reforms which otherwise could not be successfully resisted. I grudge the missions and commissions the wealth, power, and time they consume, because what they divert and delay makes the omissions of society cruel, ugly, and unjust. I do not doubt the earnestness and honesty of purpose of those pious men and women engaged in mission work, and I think few who are cognisant of the motives of the creators of commissions will say as much for the creatures engaged in them.

It is becoming a favourite pastime of evangelical enthusiasts in Scotland to hold forth in the back courts and alleys of the slums of our cities, and also at the huts of navvies engaged on public works in the country. The Rev. Mr. McNeill, the preaching "star" of Edinburgh, who is wanted by the London Regent Square Presbyterian Church, if haply they may get him, told a large audience in Glasgow the other Sunday, on the condition that they would not tell anybody, that he used to go into the slums of Glasgow when younger and shout up to the windows, telling the women to put their hands on the fire and their heads out of the windows and he would give them the gospel. The women of the slums appeared to give more attention to the ham than the gospel, and now Mr. McNeill pipes to the well-fed women of mediocrity, and they flock to him in thousands to hear pulpit jokes like the above one, which was worn bare by Henry Ward Beecher. Whether Mr. McNeill's popular piping results in any practical good is another matter. The sum of the success towards real effective good of all the evangelical energy of the various sects is not encouraging, because they apparently fail to recognise the cause which creates the effect they wish to remove. It is as if they endeavoured to clear a muddy spring by laving the water into a surface stream which flowed back into the well. If the evangelists who are in earnest to help the poor and helpless could be made to see the root of the evil they combat, and to reflect on the waste of time and energy occasioned by their present methods, they might be enlisted on the side of those who seek first to stop the inflow of the muddy stream and so permit the natural law to restore the spring to purity and wholesomeness. There is something latent in the affections and passions of healthy men and women which makes for purity and nobility, provided they be not affected by surface influence. The conditions of present society create the influence which makes cowards of us all. In a society based on chance and cunning, where honest worth is too frequently submerged and humiliated, it is hard for the bravest to be free from the fear of the chance of being reduced to the lowest level of opportunity to gain the means of existence. This fear has a place and force in all our plans and efforts even when we do not suspect it. Evangelists report that in their mission to the navvies employed at the works at Ardrossan they came across men amongst them who had received a university education! These men surely could not be convicted of a want of a knowledge of "the truth" as it is in evangelicism. "The spouting rant of high-toned declamation" would sound strange in their ears and leave an aching void in their hearts. The evangel of the emancipator, who would free them from the social law and order which binds them to their ugly, unhealthy and degrading surroundings, would, I think, be more acceptable and profitable to them. The remembrance of what-might-have-been, or the looking forward to what-yet-may-be, can never fulfil the functions of what-ought-to-be. The water-lily can never grow towards perfection in a dry sandy soil, and neither can true nobility of character be perfected in a society which gives its rewards, and right of existence, to the selfish. The most beautiful and valuable of flowers will assume an ugly and worthless appearance if planted in a soil and atmosphere unsuited to its nature; and need we wonder, when we reflect on the traits of character conducive to success in present society, if men and women of the noblest natural temperament are found in its lowest and ugliest places and abandoned to its worst influences.

A glance at the soil and atmosphere where present society plants its most laborious workers in city, town, or village, will at once show the hopelessness of improving them morally until their physical conditions are improved and set on a better basis. When the kingdom of justice and of brotherhood is found, all the other things will naturally be added thereto, with as little trouble as the spring clears itself when the inflow of surface impurities is stopped.

So much has been said of late about the number and brutalising effects of the one-roomed houses in our cities, that I need not now notice them; but the hovels of the workers who reside in our villages and hamlets are no better conditioned, unless it be by a freer inroad for the wind, rain, and cold. The colliers' rows of our large colliery com-

panies, whose accumulated fleecings are proverbial, are as disgraceful and unhealthy as any city cesspool, and the huts provided for the navvies are even worse. In case it may be imagined I exaggerate the horribleness of the huts, I will give you what a writer in the *Christian Leader* says regarding them: "In connection with the bringing in of a larger supply of water to one of the largest towns of the kingdom, you could have seen forty men huddled together in one hut twenty feet square, and this the only place for cooking, washing, dressing, and sleeping in. The stench and dirt were past description. The hut-keeper, with wife and family of five, in a small place boarded off from the larger hut; and this woman, with her girl about fifteen years of age, to look after all these men—to cook and wash, etc., for them all, and pass through this floor where all the men are either dressed or undressed, as there is only one outside door for the lot of them." A residence in that hut, with the heavy exhaustive toil of a navvy, would be enough to set Sir Wilfred Lawson to drink; and can it be wondered at that these men should seek to exchange the huddling in the hut for the stupefaction of the spirit shop. It is sickening to see those who profit by the brutalising of the workers going to them as evangelical philanthropists, and finding therein a soothing satisfaction which is as superficial as their exhortations are worthless in effecting any good. These missions usurp the power and place of a more beneficial and practical propaganda, and serve the same purpose to social reforms as the Government commissions serve to legislative—viz., the perpetuation of cruel omissions. GEORGE McLEAN.

LETTER FROM AMERICA.

GREEK has met Greek. The Sugar Refineries Company (Sugar Trust) controls the sugar interest in the East, and Claus Spreckels, jun., the California sugar king and dictator of the Sandwich Islands, in the West. There is not room for two such rivals in the States in these days of concentration, and one will eventually have to be merged in the other. Claus, cunning and daring native of Pomerania, has entered the warpath first, and what's more, has in some way played his trumps so well as to compel the people of New York State to fight his battles for him. On the 11th of November, the Attorney-General Tabor in the name of the people of the State of New York, as the phrase goes, opened proceedings in the Supreme Court of New York against the North River Sugar Refining Company. This company is a corporation organised under the General Manufacturing Act of the Legislature of 1848, and now forms part of the trust. It has been selected to establish the precedent necessary to attack the other corporations. The Sugar Trust consists of eighteen refining companies, capital of 50 million dollars. Notwithstanding the excessive valuation at which the refineries were taken into the monopoly—the share was taken as equivalent to three—the trust pays dividends of 2½ per cent. for five months. The indictment summarised reads as follows: "The North River Sugar Refining Company ceased in violation of the law as to the exercise of its franchise to manufacture refined sugar, transferred all its stock and plant to the Sugar Refineries Company, and about the 1st of October, 1887, became a member of that combination." Another cause of action against the North River Company was that during the year 1888 it had wilfully neglected and failed to make or file a public report of its business during the preceding year, as all corporations are required to do annually under section 12 of the Laws of 1848. The third count was that the defendant in December, 1887, went out of business and ceased its operations, and thenceforward ceased to sell or manufacture sugar or to do any business, and that from that date to the present the company has not done any business whatever or exercised its corporate powers. The Attorney-General, who was in possession of the original agreement which the members of the trust have signed, submitted the following analysis:—

- "That the Sugar Refineries Company is controlled absolutely by a Board of Trustees.
- "That each corporation surrenders outright its entire capital stock.
- "That the entire capital stock of such corporation is transferred to the Board.
- "That the Board holds this stock as trustee.
- "That the voting power of the stock is lodged with the Board.
- "That no director in a corporation can be chosen without the consent of the Board, for they alone can transfer stock so as to qualify a person to be a director.
- "That having the entire voting power as shareholders in each corporation the Board have absolute control of the directory and management of each corporation.
- "That competition between the Board and the corporations is prevented by the prohibition against members of the Board being interested in the purchase and sale of sugar.
- "That within the sphere of the operations of the refineries in the combination the production and price of sugar are absolutely under the control of the Board—that is, *pro tanto*, the Board is a monopoly.
- "That since the capital stock of the several corporations is vested in the Board undistinguishably, since the stockholders in each corporation are, as such, stockholders in the others, and since the certificate holders receive a profit, whether the corporation whose stock has been exchanged for their certificates make a profit or not, virtually here is a consolidation of the several corporations.
- "That since the shares of corporation stock are held by the Board in trust for the benefit of its owners, and the Board cannot dispose of that stock, the Board has no capital stock.
- "That the Board are but bailees of the corporation stock, and the certificates issued were only evidences of the interest of the holders in the corporation stock held by the Board.
- "That the Board is charged with no duty but to hold the corporation stock for its owners and to collect and distribute the profits made by the corporation refineries.
- "That not the Board nor the certificate holders, but the several corporations, are engaged in the business of buying, refining, or selling sugar.
- "That the Board usurps these corporate functions:
 - "To have a corporate name and a seal; to create offices and appoint officers; to issue transferable certificates of stock; to have perpetual succession; to make by-laws, and to sue and be sued as a collective entity."

It may be observed that the Sugar Trust is very similarly constructed to the Standard Oil Trust. Several members and officials of the Board of Trustees were called as witnesses and gave important testimony, confirming in every particular the statements made by the Attorney-General. The case was then adjourned to the 27th inst.

The General Assembly of the Knights of Labour began business at Indianapolis, Ind., on the 13th of November, Powderly presiding. It is essentially a Powderly friendly delegate meeting, and either he or one of his tools will be elected to the first position in the order. T. B. Barry, the seceded member of the executive, was present at the opening, and when his right to be present as a delegate came up he attempted several times to speak, but Powderly always rapped him down. He finally called out, "Well, if I cannot be heard here, I will be heard at the bar of public opinion," and left the hall. His case was referred to the committee on appeals.

The report of treasurer Turner is not at all of an encouraging nature to the Knights. The income amounted in the last fiscal year, from 1st of July 1887 to 30th of June 1888, to 222,507 dols. 9 c., and the expenditure to 222,342 dols. 23 c.; balance in hand, 164 dols. 86 c. The expenditure is chiefly composed of expenses for administration. The general officers, about half a dozen in all, drew 37,700 dols. 69 c. Here is the account of A. A. Carlton, a member of the executive and by no means the best salaried: Hotel allowance, 1,116 dols.; salary, 1,188; railroad fares, 1,199 49 c.; postage, telegrams, and messenger, 47.40; telegrams, 128.27; messenger, 12.77; bank discount, 1.50; postage, 9.91; amount advanced on account, 165.73; total, 4,170 dols. 7 c. General Master Workman Powderly drew 5,955 dols. during the last fiscal year. The expenses of the General Executive Board department were 2,302 dols. 62 c.; expenses of the General Secretary's office, 22,717 46 c.; General Secretary's supply department, 24,758 72 c.; postage, 8,151. The payment of the *per capita* tax shows a great falling off. For July, August, and September of 1887 the receipts under this heading amounted to 32,539 dols. For the same months this year they were only 15,354 dols. This indicates a membership of less than 290,000.

The report of General Secretary Hayes is equally gloomy. The total membership on July 1st, 1887, was 259,518, or a falling off against the year previous of 300,000 members. In his annual address Powderly accounts in many ways for the decline of the order, but the most remarkable passage is the following:—

"These attacks upon the Knights of Labour come from the persistent opposition which has been shown to the idea of allowing other organisations to control the Knights of Labour. . . . I do not mean the trade unionists. Their cause and ours are one in the main. The organisation . . . is the International Workingmen's Association, which passed resolutions three years ago to secure the election of its trusted agents as general officers of the Order of the Knights of Labour. The proofs are in my possession. The plans of these men met with but little success, and from that time to the present the members of that organisation have secretly and unobtrusively worked for the ruin of this order. There are members of that society who are members of this, who do not favour the schemes of the warring factions of the International Workingmen's Association, but they are few and far between, for those who are known are intent only on destruction."

This remarkable utterance is the exact reverse of the truth. Many members of the International are also Knights. The International as an organisation has never attacked the Knights, and the most friendly feelings between Knights and Internationalists have always existed. But what has been attacked and will be attacked is not the labour organisation known as the Knights of Labour, but the policy of their general officers—the men who have no other purpose but to fleece poor hard-working men and to live as pleasant a life as any "boated capitalist" at the expense of working men who desire by combination to better their condition. There are hundreds of thousands of working men in the States and elsewhere desiring to join the Knights if the order could be purified. By the way, brother Powderly, was not Parsons—A. R. Parsons—also a Knight, and a true one, as true as there is one in the order? Was he not also a member of the International? Or are we to take your remarkable utterance as an explanation why you joined the mob who clamoured for the blood of a brother Knight? Speak up, brother Powderly!

The committee on the state of the order presented an unfavourable report on a resolution from District 49 (New York) providing that no action should be taken by the General Assembly in regard to the question of immigration. George Schilling, of Chicago, introduced an amendment to the effect that the General Assembly was opposed to narrow prejudices which objected to any kind of immigration. Then Mr. Powderly took the floor against the admission of "that class of immigrants who by reason of their degraded condition were able to work for lower wages than American workmen can live on, and who have to be tagged with numbers to tell one from another." When a vote was reached Mr. Schilling's amendment was lost and the report of the committee, which favours action on the question of immigration, was adopted by a majority.

The meeting of the delegates will probably last all through next week.
Newark, N.J., November 19, 1888. HENRY F. CHARLES

A VOICE FROM THE GRAVE.

At the commemoration meeting held by our Chicago comrades at the grave of "our five" in Waldheim Cemetery, George Schilling, Master Workman of District Assembly 21 Knights of Labour, read the following letter from our comrade A. R. Parsons:—

"TO A. R. PARSONS, JR., AND HIS SISTER, LULU EDA PARSONS,
FROM THEIR FATHER,

With a request not to open and read this letter till November 11th, 1888.

"DUNGEON NO. 7, COOK COUNTY JAIL, CHICAGO, ILL., NOV. 9, 1887.

"To my darling, precious little children, Albert R. Parsons, jr., and his sister, Lulu Eda Parsons:

"As I write these words I blot your names with a tear. We never meet again! Oh, my children, how deeply, dearly your papa loves you! We show our love by living for our loved ones; we also prove our love by dying, when necessary, for them. Of my life, and the cause of my unnatural and cruel death, you will learn from others. Your father is a self-offered sacrifice upon the altar of liberty and happiness. To you I leave the legacy of an honest name and duty done. Preserve it, emulate it. Be true to yourselves, you cannot then be false to others. Be industrious, sober, and cheerful.

"Your mother, oh, she is the grandest, noblest of women! Love, honour, and obey her, my children, my precious ones. I request you to read this parting message on each recurring anniversary of my death, in remembrance of him who dies not alone for you, but for the children yet unborn. Bless you, my darlings. Farewell!"

"Your father, ALBERT R. PARSONS."

MINER'S WAGES.

The "Special Commissioner" of the *Labour Tribune*, from whose useful and instructive articles we have several times made quotations, has been looking up the Black Country miners, and his article in the "wee green" of Oct. 17th gives the result. After seeing the work and what it required, he thought the wages of the miner should be exceptionally high, but when he came to inquire into the facts of the case, to his surprise he discovered that they were exceedingly low. The pikeman is the man who gets the coal. He is in strictness the miner. He bores by the aid of pick and shovel, and chisel and wedge, and hammer into the coal seam, and so "gets" the coal. It is very laborious work, though not more laborious than many other kinds of work, except that it is carried on with much greater risk, inasmuch as the miner is so far from the surface of the ground. And the best of ventilation will leave a pit, and especially the cavities in which the men regularly work, much less healthy to work in than any workshop above ground. Customs vary a good deal in different parts of the Black Country. Some men work by the "stint," that is, by piece-work, some by the ton, and some by the day, but the general wage of the pikeman now, that is since the advance of 10 per cent. recently obtained, is 4s. 7d. per day, reckoning the day as beginning at 7 a.m. and finishing at 4 p.m. Among the miners this 4s. 7d. is called a day-and-a-quarter's wage; that does not mean a larger day, but only the difference between the wages paid to the pikeman and that paid to the man next in rank, viz., the loader. The wage of the loader is 3s. 8d. in the thick coal. To get the wage of the pikeman you have to add a quarter, which gives the latter 4s. 7d. for the day of the same length. If the pikeman could work six days a week all the year round, he would get £1 7s. 6d. a-week. But, as a matter of fact, four days a week the year round is a high average, which gives 18s. 4d. per week. The loader takes the coal from the pikeman and puts it into the tubs or small trucks that run along the narrow gauge tramways from all parts of the workings to the foot of the shaft. Of course there is no skill worth speaking of required in shovelling coal into a waggon. Nevertheless it is hard work, and is carried on, of course, under the same risks. The wage of the loader varies. They work, as do the pikemen, by the stint, the ton or the day, but their average wage is 3s. 8d. per day—nine hours down the pit—in the thick coal, and 3s. 6d. per day in the thin coal. It is difficult to see what justification there is for this difference. There is supposed to be less risk in working the thin coal, but at all events it is just as hard work to load a wagon of thin seam coal as to load one of thick seam coal. As in the case of the pikemen four days a week the year round is a high average, thus a loader would get from 14s. to 14s. 8d. per week, taking one week with another—rather less than more. Then come the drivers. There is much variation here. In some pits the wagons are small, and strong boys can manage them, but in other pits the wagons are large, and then strong young men are required, for of course the ponies only draw the wagons, and much handling of the wagons is called for on the part of the drivers. Wages begin at 2s. and range from that up to 3s. per day, and taking again four days as the normal week, wages range from 8s. to 12s. per week the year round. It is very common for drivers to be married men. Next come the horse fettlers or hostlers. These, as a matter of course, are in the pit much longer hours than other men. For whether the miners work or not the horses have to be looked after, and they require fettling on Sundays as well as any other days. The occupation, moreover, is perhaps the least agreeable of all. The stables are constructed in a big hole in the workings, and are not the sweetest places in the world. These men accordingly get 18s. or a guinea a week. Then there are the small boys called door-minders. It is their business to open and close the doors, which are set in the roadways of the pit, at stated intervals, and must be kept closed. The object is to protect one part of the pit from any danger which may arise in another part. These lads begin work at an early age, and get 1s. a day. Other boys are employed as metal cleaners, and clean the dirt from the ironstone in ironstone mines. Others again run errands. Women and girls are not now employed in the pits or on the pit banks in the Black Country—at least not at all generally. If there are any employed at all it is in cleaning the stone, that is removing the dirt from the ironstone. As to how the men live, the article says that a pikeman taking home 18s. 4d. per week would pay 3s. or 3s. 6d. per week rent for a house in a town, and this house would be very small, in most cases consisting of one room downstairs and two smaller ones above it; and frequently opening on a small court. In the country, rents range from 2s. 6d. to 3s. or 3s. 6d. In the latter case there would be a small bit of garden, but the accommodation in the house itself would not greatly differ from that of a house in a town. Now, suppose such a man has a family of five children and three of them have to go to school, 9d. per week would be required for school pence, or perhaps 6d., and this would leave say, at the very outside, 15s. a week out of which to find food and clothing for a man, his wife, and five children. A loader would live in much the same house and have much the same expenses. The drivers, of course, being younger men and frequently youths, live with their fathers and mothers. A youth of 17 or 18 living at home, would perhaps give his mother 6s. 6d. or 7s. a week and find his own clothes. But it is most usual for the youth to give his mother all he earns, save perhaps 1s. which he keeps for pocket money, and the mother somehow finds the clothes. It is the habit of the men to take a snack—that is a bit of bread and butter (generally margarine)—before going down the pit. Then at 11 o'clock they stop for a time and have a meal, which sometimes consists of bread and bacon, but most commonly of bread and cheap lard and butter (margarine) with coffee or tea. Sometimes the employers provide "small beer." This is the only meal taken in the pit. Dinner is taken at home after four o'clock, and generally consists of potatoes and bacon, sometimes there is cheap beef, mutton, or pork. But in very many cases dinner consists of bread and margarine, and tea. Later, say about eight or nine o'clock, some men will have a crust of bread and cheese.

It was land monopoly that declared war with France, and trade fought the battle. Napoleon was struck down by no eloquence of the House of Commons, by no sword of Wellington. He was crushed and ground to powder by the steam-engines of James Watt.—*Wendell Phillips.*

Go to, now, ye rich men, weep and howl for the miseries that shall come upon you. Behold the hire of the labourers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth. Ye have lived in pleasure on the earth and been wanton; ye have nourished your hearts as in a day of slaughter. Ye have condemned and killed the just, and he doth not resist you.—A text unpreached on.



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

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

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

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CORRESPONDENTS are specially asked to address all literary communications to the Editors, all business letters to the Secretary, and to write only on one side of the paper.

P. R.—Mazzini's article on the International appeared in the *Contemporary Review* for 1872 (p. 155), and George Howell's in the *Nineteenth Century* for 1878 (p. 19).

The editor of the *Alarm* complains in issue of Nov. 24 that the exchanges of *Commonweal* have not reached him. They have been sent, however, and there must be some reason for non-delivery, which perhaps the U.S.A. postal authorities could explain.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday December 5.

ENGLAND Church Reformer Christian Socialist Die Autonomie Justice Labour Tribune Labour Elector London—Freie Presse Norwich—Daylight Postal Service Gazette Railway Review Social Democrat To-Day Worker's Friend	ALARM Workmen's Advocate Boston—Woman's Journal Chicago—Knights of Labor Staeker Zeitung Vorbote Detroit—Der Arme Teufel Milwaukee—National Reformer San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung Coast Seaman's Journal	SWITZERLAND Arbeiterstimme ITALY Turin—Nuova Gazzetta Operaia SPAIN Barcelona—Tierra y Libertad Barcelona—El Productor Madrid—El Socialista Seville—La Solidaridad PORTUGAL Lisbon—O Protesto Operario GERMANY Berlin—Volks Tribune AUSTRIA Brunn—Volksfreund Wien—Gleichheit HUNGARY Arbeiter Wochen-Chronik WEST INDIES Cuba—El Productor ARGENTINE REPUBLIC Buenos Ayres—Herald
NEW SOUTH WALES Hamilton—Radical INDIA Bankipore—Behar Herald UNITED STATES New York—Der Sozialist Freiheit Truthseeker Volkszeitung Jewish Volkszeitung	FRANCE Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) Le Parti Ouvrier (daily) La Revolte Le Producteur Le Coup de Pen Ville—Le Cri du Travailleur St. Etienne—La Loire Socialiste HOLLAND Hague—Recht voor Allen BELOUIM Ghent—Voortuit Liege—L'Avenir Antwerp—De Werker	

ENDOWMENTS.

THE extent to which the general body of the people lack the most elementary knowledge of true economics may be estimated from some remarks made the other day at the opening of Prinlows Church bazaar by a man of note and prominence—Principal Cunningham of St. Andrews. He said the object of the bazaar was "to provide a stipend for the minister for ever and ever," and maintaining that this was a laudable aim, he took occasion to castigate those who, on the ground that they should do nothing for posterity because posterity did nothing for them, objected to the endowment of the church.

It is apparent that both Dr. Cunningham and those he was taking to task believe honestly that the burden of supporting the men, who will in all years yet to come minister to the spiritual needs of certain of the citizens, may be wholly borne by the people of the present day. It is a striking sign of the prevalent superficiality of observation and of thought in economics that it is necessary to point out the physical impossibility of a vicarious sacrifice of this kind. A little consideration will make it evident that nearly all the wealth consumed by clergymen and by everybody else living at any given period, must be produced by the workers co-operating with them. The wealth of the community is continually being used up and having to be replaced. Some kinds of capital, but very few indeed, may, it is true, be regarded as having somewhat of a permanent character. But all kinds of capital must be constantly kept in repair, and most kinds are used up very rapidly, and have to be renewed at very short intervals. Not only is this so, but nearly all the wealth that satisfies directly the material wants of man must by its very nature be used but a short time after its production. Of this nature are, along with many other forms of wealth, all food and clothing which alone constitute such a large portion of the products of labour.

Each generation, then, is dependent for the supply of its wants almost wholly on its own efforts. Of course it is, as it were, started in life by the previous one, and is the heir to the sifted knowledge and experience of all the past; yet, for all that, without the labour of its own hands it could not exist. It is therefore incorrect to suppose that by the endowment of a church or of any other institution we can

lighten appreciably the labours of posterity, except perhaps to a slight extent those of our immediate successors.

To endow a church is to devote to the payment of all, the expenses connected with it the income derived from the users of a certain quantity of capital lent in the church's name. It is to secure for the church a share of the land or of the capital—of something which the workers cannot do without—and employ for church purposes the rent or the interest which the workers are forced to pay for the use of it. Believers in certain doctrines who make provision for an endless succession of teachers of these doctrines by a scheme of endowment, simply shift thereby the toil and trouble of supporting these teachers from themselves and their successors in the faith to the great body of workers, who perhaps care nothing for the teaching or even think it false and harmful to society. No matter how pernicious some may regard the beliefs, they as workers will have to contribute their share towards the expenses incurred in propagating them, for no other reason than that the endowment trust has in its possession a quantity of wealth, in some shape or form, which is absolutely necessary for the subsistence of man, and which it is legally entitled to refuse the community the use of, if the community does not make it a payment in the form of rent and interest. The trust is thus able to extract from the workers a very large portion of the product of their labour without giving an equivalent for it. That is what we Socialists call robbery. And this huge injustice will last as long as private ownership of land and capital is permitted. It will not cease until the people place under public control everything necessary for the production of wealth. Whenever private individuals or corporations are allowed, as at present, to appropriate mines, lands, railways, factories, workshops or machinery—in fact, anything which is required to provide man with the means of subsistence and of enjoyment—they invariably take advantage of their position to force those who own none of these things, and yet are in absolute need of them, to work hard and to deliver up all the products of their labour except what is necessary to maintain them as efficient machines and to rear others to replace them when worn out.

It is clear, then, that the endowment of any institution implies that the general body of workers are compelled to provide it with funds. There could be no objection to such an arrangement if the institution were regarded by the workers as beneficial to them and if it were really devoted to their use. Few endowed institutions, however, in the present day are such as would benefit the workers, and those that might do so are generally monopolised by the well-to-do. Under Socialism certain institutions would of course be maintained by the whole community, but only those that would be certain to benefit everybody. In no case would the community support institutions which, like churches, happen to exist for the satisfaction of the wants, real or imaginary, of mere sects or classes, however large. Of course if any workers have real wants originating solely in the nature of the work they do for the consumers, it would, I think, be but wise and just that provision should be made to satisfy these wants, not, however, by the State or community as a whole, but by those consumers for whose benefit the particular kind of work is done.

It will have been seen from the foregoing that we Socialists object not only to State churches, but to all endowed churches, of whatever denomination they may be, for the reason that all of them rest on the exploitation, on the robbery of the workers. Under Socialism there would be no hindrance to the propagation of any kind of religious belief; but it would be rendered impossible for religious bodies to have their paid teachers supported by any but those who chose voluntarily to lend their aid.

J. HALDANE SMITH.

FAREWELL TO MRS. PARSONS.

SOUTH PLACE INSTITUTE was very well filled on Thursday evening, 29th ult., considering that within a few streets' distance there was the Holborn election in full swing, with all its attendant attractions and circuses. H. Davis took the chair, and said a few introductory words as to the occasion of our meeting there that evening—to bid farewell to a comrade who had come among us for a very brief while, but who had endeared herself to us in so doing. The Hammersmith Choir then sang "No Master"; after which Mrs. Wilson read the description of some of the anniversary meetings in the States and elsewhere, and spoke at some length on the meaning and progress of the labour movement in America, and the part our comrades had played in it. William Morris reviewed the position of the workers for the world's advancement, and eloquently set forth their aims and methods. Kropotkin dealt with the decentralisation of social life and the increased scope for development of the individual that Socialism would bring about, and insisted on the elevation of character that would result.

The choir then sang "Down among the Dead Men," and David Nicoll, speaking next, alluded in strong terms to the ill-treatment he considered Mrs. Parsons had received, and begged her not to allow the ill-doing of individuals to mingle in her memories of England and the Socialist party here. Sparling summed up the objects of the meeting, and asked Mrs. Parsons to convey the greetings of Old World Socialists to those of the New.

Mrs. Parsons then replied; she spoke of her position, and deprecated any personal merit or importance; circumstances had made her to some extent the mouthpiece and representative of others. Her position had been a difficult one, and not rendered easier by certain things that had happened; but on the whole she could look back upon her English visit with pleasure, and speak in high terms to her friends of the progress we were making.

After singing the *Marseillaise*, and cheering for the Revolution, Mrs. Parsons, Morris, and Kropotkin, the meeting dispersed.

Mrs. Parsons left St. Pancras Station Friday night for Liverpool, whence she sailed on Saturday for New York. The platform was crowded with Socialists of all opinions and nationalities. "Annie Laurie" was sung, and addresses were presented. Mrs. Parsons thanked those present for their enthusiasm, and said her visit to England had met with good results. She was pleased to see that the working classes were combining to put an end to their misery. She was determined never to rest until the wage slaves were free, labour emancipated, and Socialism triumphant. The train left the station amid cheers and the strains of the *Marseillaise*.

TO WORKING WOMEN AND GIRLS.

COMRADES.—We Socialists want a word with you. Perhaps you, into whose hands this has fallen, are the wife of a working-man and mother of children, and unless yours is an exceptional case your daily life is as sad and troublous as thousands of your sisters in so-called Happy England to-day. The rack-rented room, the inconvenient, nay often pestilential house, the struggle to be decent and self-respecting amid miserable surroundings, the fight to make both ends meet, and to know that illness, death, or want of employment on the part of the breadwinner will plunge you and yours into utter destitution. A life filled with sordid cares and anxiety for the morrow, its prime spent in a futile struggle with poverty, its end possibly the punishment of poverty—the workhouse and the pauper's ditch.

Your husband, when out of employment has to endure the heart-sickening tramping search for work, and when in to sell his independence and manhood over the pay-desk of his employer; to have the fear of starvation as a whip to drive him into compliance with his master's will and price. He is robbed over that pay-desk in the first instance, and you, when pestered in the market-place how to lay out the scanty wage to the best advantage, are robbed again by the hucksters of the shop-counter, who buy cheap and sell dear. Does it ever come into your mind, when paying a cheating price for poor and adulterated food, and anxiously limiting your outlay to the barest necessities, that there is in this country not only enough for all but a superabundance of all that can make life happy? and, furthermore, that this wealth is created by the working-class to which you and your husband, brother, and sweet-heart belong. Who enjoys it, the bees or the drones, the workers or the idlers? Look around you and see.

Whilst your life is a scene of anxious care, theirs is one of varied pleasures. Are you and yours less than they that you should bear a heavy burden through life? Because we denounce creeds you are told that we are without religion. How do they reconcile their profession of belief in a state hereafter, where all shall be equal and poverty a passport to it, when they squander untold wealth produced by the blood, sweat, and tears of the toiling masses? They prate of justice and humanity, and treat their animal pets better than their fellow-creatures.

Doubtless you have also been told that the Socialists are immoral, and would destroy family life and home-like associations. What destroys the family but the wretchedness of the mass? "Whom God has joined together," says their marriage service, "let no man put asunder"; but at the workhouse-gate, man, wife, and child are separated because of their poverty.

Emigration and war again do their work to destroy the family; but we are immoral; and yet the West-end thoroughfares are at night nearly impassable with harlots and their rich patrons. The wealth wrung from the labourer is used to debauch his daughters, and these, with the alternative of starvation wages or vice presented to them, too often choose the latter. Remember also, that if all the fallen sisterhood of the pave, and all the victims of society in jail, were to try and lead what is hypocritically termed lives of honest toil, it would mean the cheapening of labour and the increase of the sweater's gains.

And so we Socialists say with truth that the present system, which denies the right of the workers to the means of existence except upon the terms of spoliators, breeds its own crime, poverty, and prostitution, and then claims the right to punish its victims in jail, workhouse, and penitentiary. Can you look in the faces of your children and feel assured that they will not swell the ranks of pauperism, prostitution, and crime? You give them up now as wage-slaves, or as soldiers to be shot down in cruel and useless wars with peoples with whom they have no quarrel; to work or fight in the interest of labour robbers, land thieves, and usurers. Surely if you can give up all that is nearest and dearest for the present abominable system, you will not stand in opposition to a newer and better life?

"What would you have us women do," say you, "even if we agree with you that all is not as it should be?" We ask you to come and help us in the work we are engaged in, to make the now despondent people look up and see the possibility of a brighter and better life, now and for the future. Educate your children to believe that the daily shifts and early labour to which they are put is in order that the children of the idlers may have their college training and foreign travel, their pictures, books, and ease. Urge husband, father, brother, and sweetheart forward on the path of Socialism.

We are a party composed of men and women of no regard to nationality, and looking upon men and women as equals. Wherever so-called civilisation with human misery and woe exist, there is up-raised the red banner of our movement. We declare that the fruitful soil of the earth should be cumbered with no land robber, but should sustain all its children; that the means of production shall be for the benefit of all, and not to enrich a class; that our children as the future race shall be free from grinding care, and their education and physical welfare shall be the care of a free and happy community. To achieve this noble ideal we want your help. Our aim is the extinction of poverty and its necessary consequences, crime and misery. You can assist. Will you, we ask again in conclusion, give us your help?

[It is intended to issue the above article as a leaflet by the Propaganda Committee. Readers are asked for criticism, and might suggest improvements.]
D. J. NICOLL, Secretary of Propaganda Committee.

All that the labourer asks is justice, not charity; all that woman asks is justice, not pity; and all that the negro asks is justice, not humanity.—Wendell Phillips.

THE RED FLAG O'ER US FLYING.

Air: "The Trumpet Sounding Loudly" (Y GADLYS).

We have no tyrant ruler
To drive us on our way,
No leader or befooler
To blind us or betray.
But each with each is vying,
In battle fierce against the wrong;
And to the fray we march along,
The Red Flag o'er us flying.

We let no sea divide us,
No frontier make a foe;
All people stand beside us,
One flag alone we know.
For all men's freedom trying,
For liberty in every land,
In arms arrayed for fight we stand,
The Red Flag o'er us flying.

Who comes, with heart high beating,
To struggle for his own,
To fight without retreating
Till Wrong be overthrown?
Who comes, the foe defying,
With us to work in word and deed,
Until shall float o'er all men freed,
The Red Flag o'er us flying?

AN GEALBHAN GARAIHDH.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 15, 1888.

9	Sun.	1789. John Stockdale tried for a libel on the House of Commons. 1793. Trial of John Lambert, James Perry, and James Gray for seditious libel. Trial of William Hudson for seditious words. 1824. Battle of Ayacucho.
10	Mon.	1805. W. L. Garrison born. 1839. Trial of Monmouth Chartists begun. 1855. Aug. Spies born.
11	Tues.	1858. Leigh colliery explosion.
12	Wed.	1653. Cromwell made Protector.
13	Thur.	1204. Maimonides died. 1799. Heine born. 1867. Clerkenwell explosion. 1884. London Bridge explosion.
14	Fri.	1709. George Washington died. 1831. Affray at Carrickshock. 1873. Agassiz died. 1883. Herr Hlubeck killed.
15	Sat.	1794. J. B. Carrier guillotined.

Battle of Ayacucho.—Lord Salisbury and the *Pall Mall Gazette* are forever dinnning in our ears the present tendency of the world to centralisation and the consolidation of great empires. My lord especially has been preaching the undesirableness of looking back into the past for information. He does well. We might get a glimpse of the foul dunghill from whence the sneaking Cecils derive their blood, their titles, and the estates. Such people as my lord poison the air, like some venomous toad, by their presence amongst us: they have no lessons from the past and no hope for the future. The great battle by which the gallant rebels of South America hurled down forever the overgrown and outgrown "imperial federation" of Spain in the early years of this century might be a lesson to these chipper and self-sufficient Cockneys of to-day, who talk so loudly about the "British Empire" which they and people like them could never have helped one jot to form, and which they only possess in the sense that oft-quoted hive of bees (or rather drones) monopolise the noble helmet of a dead warrior giant of the past. Such pretentious frauds as the British empire, the German empire, and the United States of America (kept up for the sole benefit of thieving stock-jobbers) are beginning to stink in the nostrils of honest humanity. We are only awaiting a favourable opportunity to wipe away all such frippery and foppery from the face of the globe. The Romans were great and self-sacrificing and brave, and yet they failed. The British and German shopkeepers are small and ignorant, selfish and cowardly, and not likely to make a better job than their Roman predecessors.—L. W.

The following notes relate to last week's Calendar:—

Death of Algernon Sidney.—The judicial murder of this chiefest pride of English history is particularly interesting at the present moment, when the London social reformers are being disgusted with the shameless apostacy of such timeservers as Mrs. Besant, Henry George, and T. P. O'Connor in regard to the equally infamous judicial crime of our own day. All the trucklers in 1683 in London joined in the parrot cry and said Sidney should be hanged because he had tried to assassinate the king at the Rye House. When confronted with the fact that there was no evidence of such a design, they replied, "Oh, well! he is a republican, and has advised violent methods. He is just as responsible!" The rats are of the same sleek coat in every age.—L. W.

Death of Pym.—Lucy Percy, Sidney's aunt, only saved Pym's life by her timely warning long enough to give the death blow to unlimited tyranny in England. We can only fondly dream what England might have been if Pym and Hampden had lived to fight the swarm of Scotch Presbyterian plunderers who wrecked the people's republic and sold out to George Monk when the game was up.—L. W.

Stop talking politics; begin talking less hours and higher wages. Have sense. Labour is a long way yet from its economic emancipation. But it must keep on all the time trying to reach it.

You cannot make a nation with one half steamboats, sewing-machines, and bibles, and the other half slaves.—Wendell Phillips.

A trade union cannot, should not, and must not be a political party club. The trade union is of greater importance to the wage worker than all the political parties in the world.—Paterson Labour Standard.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

PORT GLASGOW LABOURERS' STRIKE.—This strike was settled Dec. 1st, the men resuming work on the old terms until March, when the advance in wages is promised to be conceded.

DUNDEE JUTE-WORKERS.—The jute-workers of Dundee have been promised 5 per cent. advance by the middle of this month. This is the second advance within two months, but was not given till bitterly needed.

MARYPORT IRONWORKERS.—It is reported that early on Nov. 30th, the men employed at the Maryport Hematite Iron and Steel Works left work without notice. The furnaces were in full blast at the time.

NORTHUMBERLAND COAL DISPUTE.—At the Northumberland coal-owners' and miners' conference, held at Newcastle on Saturday 1st, the miners agreed to accept the offered advance of 5 per cent. on hard and 2½ per cent. on soft coal. The dispute is thus settled.

IRON TRADE WAGES.—On Friday 30th the award in the claim of the operatives in the North of England manufactured iron trade was issued at Middlesbrough. It grants 6d. per ton on puddling and 5 per cent. on other wages, or half of the advance claimed.

THE NEWPORT (MON.) PILOT.—The *Railway Review* gives the following list of hours worked on the notorious Newport pilot on the dates as under: Sept. 25th, 22 hours 40 minutes; 26th, 26 h. 5 m.; 27th, 23 h. 10 m.; 28th, 22 h. 40 m.; 29th, 21 h. 5 m.; Oct. 2nd, 22 h. 25 m.; 3rd, 20 h. 30 m.; 4th, 19 h. 40 m.; 5th, 24 h.; 6th, 25 h. 10 m.

LOCK-OUT AT BARROW.—The men employed at the blast furnaces, Barrow, left off work in a body on Dec. 2nd, their notice for an advance of wages having expired. Eleven furnaces are standing idle. The Steel Company have in consequence closed both the iron and steel works, over three thousand men being locked out. It is expected the dispute will be of short duration.

NORTH OF ENGLAND IRONWORKERS.—The award of Dr. Spence Watson, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, in the matter of the wages in the North of England iron trade, was received in Middlesbrough on Nov. 30th. He decides that from and after Nov. 24th there shall be an increase of 6d. per ton on puddling, and 5 per cent. on all other tonnage rates and wages governed by the decision of the board.

SOUTH WALES MINERS.—According to the sliding-scale in operation, as things stand, the miners get 1-16th of the price of a ton of coal, but when the price increases, their wages do not go up in proportion. £6 represents 15 tons at 8s. per ton. The workman gets £1 out of the £6; but when the price increases he only gets 1½d. on every 1s., so that when 15 tons realises £12 his proportion is 50 per cent. The average wage is 3s. 4d. per day of 9½ hours.

WORKINGTON IRONWORKERS.—The Hematite Ironworks are idle in consequence of a strike. The barrowmen received notice for alterations to be made in certain of their duties. These they would not agree to carry out, and were accordingly discharged, other men being engaged in their places. The employment of the new hands displeased the furnacemen, and they refused to work any longer. There is no likelihood of a settlement being come to at present. About 500 men are affected.

RIVET-MAKERS' WAGES.—An appeal has been issued to masters in rivet trade in Blackheath and Old Hill districts to convene a meeting with a view of placing the trade on a better basis. There appears to be a disposition on the part of some of the employers to concede a portion of the 1s. list until the end of the present year, and then if the trade warrants it, to consider whether the operatives should receive a further advance. Should the whole of the employers agree to this proposal, it is anticipated that the rivet-makers will accept the offer.

CALENDERERS' STRIKE.—The strike at Dundee has been settled by the acceptance of both parties of the compromise submitted by Provost Hunter that the 5 per cent. advance be conceded on 14th December. The masters wanted to delay the advance till after the new-year holidays, and the workers demanded it for 1st December. The girls working in Dundee calenderers have formed a union to protect their interests. The Dundee and District Mill and Factory Operatives' Union have also accepted the compromise suggested by Provost Hunter to accept 5 per cent. on 14th December.

EDINBURGH TRADES COUNCIL.—At the fortnightly meeting, Nov. 27th, Mr. Bell called attention to the strike settlement at Leith Gasworks. He also referred to the pensioning of officials in contrast to the treatment of the workmen, who were dismissed after spending the best of their days in the laborious work of the trust, and Mr. McLean expressed the opinion that working men should bear in mind what had been done by the officials they return to their councils. Mr. Noble thought the matter showed immorality on the part of the officials representing them, who ought never to set their faces in a church as Christians. It is but natural officials should victimise workers and favour other officials with undue rewards, for "a fellow feeling makes us wondrous kind."

STEAM-COAL HEWERS' WAGES.—The standard wage per day of Northumberland coal hewers previous to last strike was 5s. 2d.—that is to say, that was the average made on the whole, for all men do not make alike. They are paid by the quantity they hew. The wages at the end of the strike were reduced 12½ per cent. at the steam-coal pits, so that they now are 4s. 6½d., or about that sum. "stowers" and "shooters" and other off men receive from about 3s. to 4s. per shift. Men living rent free in colliery houses (and the greater number do), and having coal supplied to them, receive what is estimated to be equal to 11d. per shift added to their wages. The men who do not live in colliery houses are allowed from 1s. 6d. to 2s. per week by the coalowners towards the rent they have to pay. There are generally fairly large gardens connected with colliery houses from which industrious men raise a good deal of produce. An average of about 8 days per fortnight out of a possible 11 days is what may be estimated throughout the year. This would give 208 working days per annum. Some pits have worked from 9 to 10 days per fortnight during the past two years, most have been working about full time recently, but 8 days per fortnight seems a fair average all the year round. Deductions: School fees, 6d.; doctor, 6d.; house and coals, 1s.; for weighman, 3d.; pick sharper, 3d.; permanent fund, 7d.; powder and candles, etc., 2s. 6d. Total during fortnight, 5s. 7d. There might be added to this a small amount paid to union, but not more than half the miners, indeed less than half, belong to the association. The men living in rented houses are supplied with coal free.—*Colliery Guardian*.

DUNDEE BLACKSMITHS.—The blacksmiths in the shipbuilding yards, who have been on strike for three weeks, resumed work 27th November. They asked an advance of 2s. per week, and struck because the employers only offered 1s. They went in on 1s. 6d. per week advance.

ABERDEEN COTTON MILLS.—In accordance with the decision given by Sheriff Wilson in the question submitted to his arbitration in September by the managers and employes of Bannermill Cotton Works, the directors decided on December 3rd to give a general advance of wages from the beginning of this month.

MIDLAND WAGES BOARD.—This seems to be in a bad condition, but efforts are being made to pull it together again. A recent meeting resolved: "That the operative members of the Wages Board shall request the President to convene, at the earliest possible convenience, a meeting of the whole board, to consider its present position, and supply information to the operatives as to the actual number of works where employers and workmen are jointly or otherwise subscribers to the funds and amenable to the awards of the Board, and to take such steps as may be necessary by broadening the basis of representation, or alteration of present constitution, to induce the majority of both employers and workmen in the district to become members of and subscribers to the board."

SCOTCH MINERS.—The Airdrie miners have unanimously passed a resolution for another advance of 5 per cent., in addition to the 10 per cent. already conceded, and to abide by the five days per week policy. The Fife miners have been offered 5 per cent. advance by the masters, not, as the latter say, on their being warranted to do so by the state of trade, but in the hope that their attempt to raise prices would be successful. This 5 per cent. offered is only half of the advance conceded by the masters in other districts. At a delegate meeting of Lanarkshire miners, Nov. 29th, a statement of selling prices was submitted, which, it was argued, gave proof that the men are entitled to a 20 per cent. advance (1s. per day) from September prices. 131 works in the country have received the 10 per cent. advance, and 61 the 7½ per cent. Deputations waited on the masters, and the latter, of course, replied that no advance could be given in the meantime.

NOTTINGHAM TAILORS.—A dispute has occurred here with the firm of Dixon and Parker. They do a large "slop" trade, and have a factory and about half a dozen sale shops. They have one shop (the most recently opened) which is advertised as a first class trade, and where good workmen are employed and very little machine work done. Of course they ought to have paid the best price of labour; but no. The coatmakers managed to get paid ½d. per hour to the log of the town (5d. is paid by other first class firms), but the trouser-makers could not even get that. When a deputation waited on the manager of this particular shop, he refused to recognise the trade union, and said he would pay what he liked. Of course the men all came out then, and when they had been out a week he yielded thus far—to pay to the ½d. log, but would not take back the same trouser-makers. And since, he has discharged three coatmakers, who will all be supported by the society till they get work. So as matters stand the dispute is not yet ended, and will be reopened at a more convenient time.—W. D.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

FRANCE.

The manifestation which was held on December 2nd in commemoration of the death of the Socialist deputy Baudin, who was killed December 3, 1851, on the barricades of the rue St. Antoine, has passed off very quietly indeed, the Government having prohibited the entrance to the cemetery of Montmartre and also the making of any speeches. Floquet and Co. thought that their treasonable conduct would have been explained to the assembled masses of the people, and therefore they ordered that no speech was to be allowed. And strange to say, all the revolutionists gathered before the gates of the cemetery kept silent, and the manifestation was a completely *mutisme*, which sounds rather hard for a Paris demonstration. Anyhow, the enormous numbers of people assembled showed, even by their silence, that they were quite aware that Floquet is as much a danger to the maintenance of the Republic as Boulanger himself, and that both are equally enemies to the people and to France. So this manifestation has only been a kind of warning to them, and we hope that in a very near future France will, once for all, get rid of Boulangerism and Floquetism alike, and all their supporters, who, for a long time past, have made it their sole business to trade upon the people. France has become more corrupt now than it has ever been, even in the last years of the miserable Napoleonic era, and it is wellnigh time that all those contemptible "money-changers of the temple" should be swept away by the revolutionary masses, assembled in their thousands in order to do justice—at last!

BELGIUM.

The open-air propaganda is going on day after day at Brussels, in spite of the ridiculous decrees of some of the mayors of the suburbs, in spite also of the approval these mayors have met with from the chief burgomaster, M. Buis. The last-named gentleman thinks himself absolute master of Brussels, and gives orders broadcast to persecute the Socialists, who very rightly laugh at him. Charles Warren has prevented meetings being held in Trafalgar Square; so he also, Buis Lilliput, proclaims them. At Liege and at Huy the workers have followed the example of their Brussels comrades and held successful open-air gatherings. They intend going on and defying at law any one of the silly magistrates who will try to make a dead letter of the stipulations of the Belgian constitution.

In the mining district of Le Centre, province Hainault, some two thousand miners are at strike, and meetings are held in several places in order to induce the workers to follow suit. It is certain that in the course of a few days the strike will become a general one. The Government, stupid as usual, have already sent their soldiery to the spot, and that is the very way to create disturbances. Revolver shots have been exchanged between toilers and gendarmes, and one of the "law and order" men has been wounded. The wives of the strikers are particularly excited; they encourage their husbands to make it this time a hard nut to crack for the capitalists. *Novus frapperons un grand coup*, is the phrase they generally use to show what they intend to do.

We have received the following telegram: "The Socialist and Republican Congress of working men assembled at Chatelet, to-day (Dec. 4th) resolved, by 35 against 17 votes, that a general strike should be commenced immediately." V. D.

ITALY.

The strike of the silk weavers of Varese has brought some slight advantages to the workers. The principal firms have granted the small increase of 1½d. to 2d. per working day, which will be in the future 10½ hours. Fines are to be restricted to cases of wilful damage to the materials and the machinery. When the strike came to an end in Varese, it spread all over the province and town of Como. More than 4,000 silk-weavers, men and women, resolved at two enthusiastic meetings held in Como on the 18th and 19th of November, to strike for an increase of wages. The resolution arrived at shows how far these wages have gone down during the last few years; it demands the revival of the tariff of 1883, for the workers in both town and country. As an answer, the employers offered a general reduction of 10 per cent. of the tariff in question, and on the refusal on the part of the workers a board of arbitration was formed, which consisted of ten employers and ten workers, presided over by the mayor. Finally, a new tariff was drawn up and approved of by both parties, which forms a compromise between the tariff of 1883 and the present starvation wages. Our comrades of Milano, who rightly feared that the workers would be cheated out of their original position, tried to induce them to take a firmer stand against the doubtful kindness of the mayor and the obstinate spirit of the employers, but failed.

A strike of the tram-conductors of Bologna has ended in the defeat of the men, who had to submit to the conditions of the directors. The supposed ringleaders of the strike were refused re-admission to service.

A short strike of the cab-drivers of Genoa was more fortunate, the men having succeeded in some points.

The journeymen bakers of Venezia, who struck work on the 24th of November, have very little chance of carrying their points. They are not well organised, have no money, and are interfered with by the government, who have sent military bakers to take the place of the strikers, all of course to illustrate the principle of non-interference in economical matters!

In Parliament, many measures have been passed which have a direct bearing on the labour movement, as for instance, the law of public security, containing the organisation of the police, on whom it confers the power of restricting the freedom of speech, and of placing under police supervision suspicious characters. Working-men are in future saddled with a little book, a sort of passport, that is to show their movements, and will in spite of all the protests to the contrary on the part of the government—be used to mark out the black sheep amongst them. Comrade Costa made a hopeless stand against all these reactionary proposals, much to the dismay of Signor Crispi, who on one occasion furiously retorted to Costa's protest: "We know you, we know you well. You have words, words, empty words, but no deeds." This is indeed a true and humiliating reminder to the whole Labour party, but becomes in Parliament and from the mouth of a prime minister a most vile and despicable provocation. It seems, however, as if Signor Crispi would not have it all his own perfidious way in matters of foreign policy. His vain-glorious alliance with Germany and Austria is ruining the country with taxation, and is bound to draw it into a disgraceful war with the French Republic. Hence it meets with a very strong resistance from the whole nation. Everywhere peace societies are formed. The working-men are going ahead. Independently from and unlike the middle-class combinations, they mean business. At a mass meeting in Milano, 46 labour societies have sent forth a manifesto against national wars. "The enemies we have to fight," they say in it, "are ignorance, injustice, and misery. Those who speak of national honour and dignity remind one of the *Potagra*. This fell disease is brought on by chronic starvation through the exclusive use of *potenta* (Indian corn-cake) among the Italian peasantry." They further point to the constantly increasing emigration, the wholesale exodus of poverty-stricken people flying from their native soil. "If," they exclaim in conclusion, "Italy has a mission amongst the nations, it must be that of peace and humanity!"

H. SCH.

CIGAR MACHINES IN ENGLAND.

I HAD occasion to comment on this subject some time ago in *Commonweal*, in order to show that in all probability machinery in this trade will, before long, nearly supplant manual labour. Many still entertain the belief that machine work will never be successful in this trade. A circular, however, has just been issued which bids fair to disappoint these sanguine workmen. I will just give sufficient extract from it to show how these machines are being developed, without advertising the firm who supplies them:—

"... It is of interest though to know that this will not be achieved at the expense of the workers, since the machines are so happily devised as to bring relief not only to manufacturers, the trader and consumer, but provide in many ways a vastly enlarged field for the employment of manual labour as well, especially for females (!) ... To show the advantages of these machines over hand labour, we will suppose 10,000 cigars are to be covered and finished daily, the bunches being prepared already in forms, giving every advantage to skilled labour, a clever hand-maker may turn out 400 cigars per day, accordingly 25 skilled workmen would be required to do the work. To accomplish this, two sets of the improved cigar machines worked by six hands would suffice. The immense saving in wages of 25 skilled cigar makers, as compared with those paid to the more or less ordinary workers employed in the machine, we leave to the consideration of manufacturers having to depend necessarily more or less upon the condition of labour ruling in the various countries they live in. In order to put the advantages derived from the improvements in the proper light, it should be borne in mind that the machines have been worked up to the present moment advantageously without the said improvements, in both France and the United States of America. Consequently, the product of the machines being at the present juncture at least doubled, and the last shred of skilled labour done away with, they ensure the manufacturer an enviable independence."

The audacity of the firm who supply these machines becomes apparent on reading the circular, which pretends to benefit the workers by the introduction of them. But they would become a boon to the workers providing that they were the acknowledged property of the workers of the country; but while they remain in the hands of a few monopolists, who will ever use the machines to grind profit for themselves, they will grind out the lives of the workers in the process.

H. DAVIS.

Notice.—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.

FRANK KITE, Secretary.

THE ONE THOUGHT.

ALEXANDER PETŐFI (Magyar poet of 1848).

ONE thought lies heavy on my heart,
One only thought—that I
On the soft bed of indolence
May pass away and die,
May fade, as slowly fades the flower,
When wanes its little day;
A beauteous, but a useless life,
To lead and then decay.
May pale as pales the flickering light
Of Morning's latest star,
When comes the Day God from the East
In his triumphant car.
Great Father, grant this may not be;
Let not thy Magyar name
Be linked with such a fate as this,
With such a death of shame;
A rock torn from a mountain brow,
A storm-uprooted tree,
A lightning struck and blasted tree,—
No, rather let it be
A death where meets the fettered race
Tired with its galling chain,
In mustered rank and serried line
Upon the battle plain;
With Red Flag flashing to the breeze
Its characters of gold,
The sacred signal there inscribed
For despots to behold;
The signal that sends far and wide
The summons to be free,
To East, to West, to North, to South,
For the Worlds Liberty.
There would I fight the glorious fight,
There in my heart's blood lie,
And battling in a glorious Cause,
Be well content to die.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"ANARCHISM."

On Sunday evening, the following resolution was passed:—"That the Bermondsey Branch of the S.D.F. regrets that most of the prominent members of the Federation seem to have practically boycotted the noble wife of the heroic Anarchist Parsons, who has lately visited this country; and they utterly deprecate the latter portion of the last "Tell Tale Straw" on page 4 of *Justice*, Dec. 1st, which confounds the anarchism of the present system with the noble Cause for which Parsons and his brave comrades have died, and for which some of them are now suffering imprisonment; and they wish to state that this is not the view held by Social Democrats generally."

—Yours fraternally,

THOMAS SMALLWOOD.

592, Old Kent Road, Bermondsey, S.E.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

Executive.—At the meeting of Council on Monday, it was resolved that none but members will be admitted to sittings of Council, and that the members be asked by steward to produce their cards.

CHICAGO MARTYRS COMMEMORATION FUND.

Already acknowledged—£31 17s. 2½d. Received—Proceeds of Concert at Communist Club, 49, Tottenham Street, £2 6s. 4d.; collection at South Place, £1 11s. 8½d.; profit on literature at South Place, 7s. 2½d. Total, £36 2s. 5½d.

J. LANE, Treasurer.

REPORTS.

CLERKENWELL.—On Sunday, Dec. 2, successful "social" evening held by members and friends. 2s. 6d. collected.—B.

FULHAM.—Tuesday evening, back of Waltham Green Church, Bullock, Beasley, and Tochetti spoke to good meeting. Sunday morning, opposite Railway Station, Leonard Hall and Bullock, and A. K. Donald (Labour Union) spoke. In rooms at 8.30, F. Verinder (G.S.M.) lectured on "A Churchman's Plea for Free Schools." Questions and discussion followed.—S. P. G.

HAMMERSMITH.—Latimer Road on Sunday morning at 11.30, usual meeting; good number mustered. Choir sang several songs; Astbury, Davies, Lynes, and Maughan were speakers; well received. Good sale of *Wear*. Weltje Road at 11.30, meeting opened by J. Tochetti; Catterson Smith followed. Starch Green good meeting at 8 o'clock, Mordhurst and Davies speaking, making a great impression on the Radicals, who requested them to come again. Weltje Road at 7 o'clock, meeting held by Lyne, L. Hall, C. Smith, and Tochetti. Choir sang "No Master"; good sale of *Wear*; altogether a most successful meeting.

ABERDEEN.—No open-air meeting on Saturday night owing to wind and rain. At indoor meeting on 26th ult., Barrow delivered lecture on "Society as it is, and as it might be," to good audience.

GLASGOW.—Sunday no meeting at 2.30 on Jail Square owing to rain. At 5.30, Downie, Joe Burgoyne, and Glasier spoke at Paisley Road. We have started taking collections at the latter place for propaganda. The new departure has not proved an extraordinary success. Last Sunday we got 9d.; the Sunday before, 1s. Scotchmen will sacrifice their lives much readier than their purses for their convictions.

LEWIS.—Thursday Nov. 29, Read lectured in Pioneer Hall on "Co-operation." Good discussion followed; Creed in chair. Sunday, A. Spink lectured upon "What is Home Rule?" H. Brown in chair; good discussion.—J. T.

NORWICH.—Thursday, Mowbray continued his series of lectures on "Universal History." On Sunday, in Market Place, our usual open-air meeting addressed by Mowbray. At Gordon Hall, Mowbray delivered a very interesting address upon "The Philosophy of Anarchism."

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—This Branch is now actively working. Socialists resident in this locality should send their names in at once to 13 Farringdon Road.
Camden Green.—3, Datchelor Place, Church St. Meeting next Monday at 7.30 p.m.
Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday December 9, at 7 p.m., Special Business Meeting. At 8.30, a Lecture.
Fulham.—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Committee meetings are held on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock sharp. All members are earnestly requested to attend. Sunday December 9, at 8 p.m., J. Macdonald, "Practical Socialism."
Hackney.—Secretary, E. Lefevre, 14 Goldsmiths Sq., Goldsmiths Row, Hackney Road. The next meeting of members will be held at 28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Road, Hackney Wick, on Sunday Dec. 9, at 5.30 p.m. All members are requested to attend.
Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday December 9, at 8 p.m., A. W. Thompson, "The Peasants' War." Wednesday Dec. 12, at 8 p.m., William Morris, "The Future of the Middle Classes."
Hoxton.—12, Basing Place, Kingsland Rd. Business meetings of this branch are held every Friday evening at 9 o'clock.
London Fields.—All communications, etc., to Mrs. G. G. Schack, 26 Cawley Road, South Hackney.
Merton.—Club-house, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road, Singlegate. Lecture on Sunday evenings at 8.30.
Mile-end and Bethnal Green.—95 Boston St., Hackney Road.
North London.—Secretary, Nelly Parker. Business meetings held on Friday evenings at 6 Windmill St., Tottenham Court Road, after open-air meeting at Ossulton Street.
Walworth and Camberwell.—C. Henze, 41 Bolton St., Thomas Street, Kennington Park, S.E.
Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.—Meets at the International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road, on Saturdays at 7.30 p.m.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen (Scottish Section).—Secretary, P. Barron, 14 Ann Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.
Bradford.—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivegate. Meets Tuesdays at 8.
Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Tuesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secy.
Dumfries (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.
Edinburgh (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.
Glasgow (Scot Sect.).—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, secy.
Gallatoun and Dysart (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatoun Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.
Sheff.—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class meets every Sunday at 11.
Ipswich.—Pioneer Hall, Tacket Street. Meets on Sunday evenings. Members are requested to turn up on Monday at 7 p.m. sharp.
Kilmarnock.—Secretary, H. McGill, 22 Gilmour St. Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday.
Leeds.—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Rd. and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m. communications to T. Paylor, 11 Sheldon Street, Holbeck, Leeds. Sunday Dec. 9, 7.30, T. Paylor, "What we Want, and How to Get It." 16th, T. Maguire, "Leeds and its Inhabitants" (with lime-light illustrations).
Leicester.—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.
Norwich.—Sunday, at 8, Gordon Hall. Monday, at 8, Meeting in Gordon Hall. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Wednesday, at 8, Educational Class—subject, "International Revolutionary Socialism." Thursday, at 8, Lecture in the Gordon Hall by comrade Mowbray, subject "Life and Times of Edward III.," tickets 1d. each.
Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25 1/2 Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.
Walsall.—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.
West Calder (Scottish Section).—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SUNDAY 9.

11.30...Latimer Road Station...Hammersmith Branch
11.30...Mitcham Fair Green...Turner
11.30...Regent's Park...Parker
11.30...Walham Green, opp. Station...The Branch
11.30...Weltje Rd., Ravenscourt Pk...Hammersmith
7.30...Hyde Park...Nicoll
7.30...Broad Street, Soho...Brookes
7.30...Clerkenwell Green...Nicoll

Tuesday.
8.30...Fulham—back of Walham Green Ch. ...Branch
Friday.
7.30...Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street ...Cores
EAST END.
SUNDAY 9.
Leman Street, Shadwell 11 ...Nicoll.
FRIDAY.
Philpot St., Commercial Rd. 8.30...Kitz & Parker.
PROVINCES.
Aberdeen.—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7 p.m.
Glasgow.—Sunday: Glasgow Green at 2 p.m.; Paisley Road at 5.30.
Ipswich.—
Sproughton, Wednesday evening.
Westerfield, Thursday evening.
Needham Market, Sunday morning and evening.
Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.
Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place, at 11 and 3. St Catharine's Plain, Friday at 8.30 p.m.

PLUMSTEAD RADICAL CLUB, 58 Walmer Road.—Rev. S. D. Headlam. Sunday Dec. 9.
STOCKWELL.—Rev. S. D. Headlam, "Christian Socialism." Thursday, Dec. 13, at 8 p.m.
HAILESHAM, NATIONAL SCHOOL.—Mr. F. W. Crowther, "Lights and Shades; a Picture of Society." Monday Dec. 10.
ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, HAMMERSMITH.—Rev. F. L. Donaldson, M.A. (Special Sermon), "The State of Society." Sunday Dec. 9, at 5 p.m.
BERMONDSEY WORKING MEN'S INSTITUTE, Fort Rd.—Mr. H. W. Hill, "The Land Question for Townsfolk." Saturday Dec. 15, at 8 p.m.
CHARLTON LIBERAL CLUB, The Planes, Lower Rd., Charlton.—Mr. F. Verinder, "The Taxation of Ground Rents and Values." Friday Dec. 14.
CHELSEA BRANCH S.D.F., Pelham Rooms, Kimbolton Row, Fulham Road, S.W.—Sunday Dec. 9, at 8 p.m., Hubert Bland, "Nihilism."

STREATHAM LIBERAL CLUB, Broadway.—Rev. T. Hill, "The Elements of Liberalism and Conservatism in the Christian Religion." Tuesday Dec. 11, at 8.
The Mitcham Branch is about to be reconstituted. All desirous of helping in the work of the S. L. in and around Mitcham, Merton, and Streatham should communicate with comrade J. Campbell, 95 Wellfield Road, Streatham.
EAST-END PROPAGANDA COMMITTEE.—The discussion on Saturday evening, 8.30, at Berner Street Club, will be opened by W. E. Parker—subject, "Mrs. Parsons' Visit to England: What it has effected." All members should turn up.
LEICESTER.—A course of lectures on "Socialism, its Aims and Principles" is being delivered in Leicester Secular Hall. The third lecture will be delivered on Sunday Dec. 9 by William Clarke—subject, "The Industrial Aspect." Dec. 30: Sydney Olivier, "The Moral Aspect."

THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—The Committee will meet at the house of S. Oliver, 139 Trafalgar Street, Walworth Road, on Saturday Dec. 8 and Dec. 15, at 7.30 p.m., to receive subscriptions and enrol members. Friends in South London particularly requested to be present.
SOUTH LONDON.—Friends who are willing to form a Branch of the Socialist League in South London will please place themselves in communication with C. Henze, 41 Bolton Street, Thomas Street, Kennington Park, S.E., or by letter to H. Hopkins, 17 Gaisloch Road, Shenley Road, Peckham, S.E.

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SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.

- Chants for Socialists. By William Morris. 1d
Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism. By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). 1d
The Commune of Paris. By E. Belfort Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. 2d
The Aims of Art. By Wm. Morris. Bijou edition, 3d.; Large paper, 6d.
The Rights of Labour according to John Ruskin. By Thomas Barclay. 1d
The Tables Turned; or, Nupkins Awakened. A Socialist Interlude. By William Morris. In Wrapper 4d.
The Manifesto of the Socialist League. Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and William Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. 1d.
Useful Work v. Useless Toil. By William Morris. 1d.
"All for the Cause!" Song. Words by William Morris; Music by E. Belfort Bax. 4to, 4 pp. 6d. per dozen, 4s. 6d
"Vive la Commune!" Cartoon by Walter Crane. Best paper. 2d.
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BOOKS FOR SALE.

- History of American Socialisms. (Noyes). Quite new. 8s. 6d. (published at 15s.).
Life of William Lovett. New. 3s. 6d. (pub. 5s.).
Men of the Time. A useful Dictionary of Biography. 5s. (pub. 12s. 6d.).
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THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the
SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 4.—No. 153.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

THE DIGNITY OF LABOUR.

THE respectable middle-class man who has managed to rise in the world, perhaps never assumes so characteristically philanthropic an attitude as when he stoops to expound, to his less favoured fellow-creatures, the moral and material advantages to be attained by a close attention to business. Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might: that is the text upon which he will expend his most unctuous eloquence, dilating with infectious enthusiasm and pardonable pride on the pluck and resolution, the abstinence and thrift, which have landed him in his present position of superiority. At times, in the heat of his oratory, he seems to be wafted away on the wings of fancy out of his prosaic middle-class self to a good time coming, when the whole labouring population of the globe, by a titanic effort to embody in their tasks a double portion of kinetic, and simultaneously to reduce by one-half the quantity of foodstuff hitherto deemed more or less necessary to support the animal processes, shall have *all* risen in the world, *all* become the potent grave and reverend proprietors of family mansions in Bloomsbury and pews at the Foundling, and *all* hold railway stock, directorships, freedom of the city, and what not.

So beautiful a dream is this of an universal sleek bourgeois prosperity within reach of the meanest, that a humane man may well pause in the act of applying the pin of criticism to the bubble of a too fervid middle-class imagination. He will at least deal with this well-meaning gentleman with more tenderness than Mr. Matthew Arnold displayed when he riddled poor "Mrs. Gooch's Golden Rule" (or the divine commandment, *Be ye perfect*, done into British) with the shafts of his malicious mockery. "Ever remember, my dear Dan," that excellent mother would say each morning, as she tied the muffler round Daniel's neck before he started to his work, "ever remember that you should look forward to being one day manager of that concern." What is this but an individual application of the theory of our middle-class idealist, that everybody can, if he will, "get on," and that, in Napoleon's phrase, every private carries in his knapsack a marshal's baton?

We live, however, in an age of criticism, and the earnest enquirer will not allow himself to be turned out of the path of free research by the dread of current prejudice, however impregnable it may give itself out to be. In the first place, therefore, we will very gently ask our middle-class prophet, whether the life that seems to satisfy his aspirations, the life of broadcloth, politeness, and first-class season-tickets, the life summed up for ever by Dickens in the one word Podsnappery—whether this life is in truth so admirable and alluring as to entice outsiders in any number to attempt the pursuit of it? We exercise ourselves with extreme diffidence in these great matters, which are confessedly much too high for us; nevertheless, at the risk of exposing our plebeian inability to comprehend the higher joys revealed unto the bourgeois faithful, we would timidly enquire whether the life which finds its daily expression in "getting up at eight, shaving close at a quarter past, breakfasting at nine, going to the City at ten, coming home at half-past five, and dining at seven," may not fall somewhat short of an ideal existence, and in fact be a trifle dull?

Having thus eased our conscience of this painful matter, and thrown out the most delicate hints that there may possibly be something lacking in the middle-class conception of life, we will henceforth assume, for arguments' sake, that the daily existence of the well-to-do family man is a thing of such transcendent charm as necessarily to stimulate the envy of all beholders. We will imagine the lower orders struggling in a body for admission into the blessed company of those who live upon dividends; but here the serious difficulty presents itself that such a wholesale invasion into the profit-getting class is an economic impossibility, seeing that no class would be left, out of whose underpaid exertions dividends could any longer be derived, and the idea of a community in which every individual should bask in the "sweet simplicity of the Three Per Cents," is untenable save by such as cull their economics from the leaders of the respectable dailies. The miserable grain of truth in this monstrous bushel of fallacies, is that the individual worker, here and there, is by no means unlikely, by servility, abstemiousness, and meanness, to better his individual position at his fellows' expense, and in some cases, by unremitting unscrupulous shrewdness, to help himself to a seat upon Commerce's Juggernaut-car, which grinds in its pitiless advance the bones of those

who should have been his comrades. But for the majority of the victims, release by this individualist, devil-take-the-hindmost method is, manifestly, quite impossible.

Now, a plain man, quite innocent of the metaphysical profundities of the Smilesian Philosophy, would probably expect the bourgeois apologist to be a little bit staggered by the very pretty discrepancy between his theory and plain facts when viewed on a larger scale. He would expect him to have some difficulty in explaining, on the basis of his dogma that "hard work pays best," the spectacle of a whole *class* manifestly useless, and at the same time enjoying every luxury, side by side with another *class* correspondingly useful, and deprived of everything except what will enable them to exist in slavery. He would imagine that the comparison as to social usefulness, say, of the sallow and stunted letter-carrier at Clanricarde's door in the Albany with the high-toned nobleman breakfasting within, would present points of considerable awkwardness to one whose object was to persuade us that it is hard work, after all, that "pays" in this world.

Well, anyone who expected such embarrassment to overtake our dear friend would only meet with disappointment. When hard pressed by a threatening array of economic certainties, there is one stronghold into which the bourgeois retires, imperturbably calm. He entrenches himself in the position that after all the material results of toil are far outweighed in importance by the moral, and that questions of mere bread and cheese must give place to considerations of ethical culture. He will maintain, at some length, that the working classes are, if they would but think so, highly fortunate in being furnished (by beneficent employers) with such ample opportunities for exercise of those faculties which otherwise would be only misdirected and abused. Human nature, says he, is so constituted that as soon as the increase of leisure was granted for which a few ne'er-do-weels are clamouring, always have clamoured, and always will clamour, the statistics of intemperance and crime would convince us of our mistake. No, Sir, let people push their own way in the world: everything goes to prove that the average man can push his way in the world pretty well. Of course there are a few who are stupid enough to have been born into this competitive world more or less ill-provided with pertinacity, more or less below the average. Well, they will have to go to the wall; but of course that's all they have a right to expect. The fittest survive, ahem! and it's perfectly fair—to the average man. As for people who pretend that the lower classes are really worked beyond their strength, they know nothing about it. Such persons are simply incapable of appreciating the moral support which the classes in question may, if not actually do, derive from the consciousness of their own special value. They evidently under-estimate the inward compensation bestowed, by approving Providence, upon labour which has unfortunately missed an adequate material return. It is truly deplorable that so many of the labouring class, owing to defective culture, are so miserably sordid in the view they take of their position, and are so much more anxious to discuss the distribution of wealth or the utility of landlords than that which should more nearly "come home to their businesses and bosoms"—the Dignity of Labour.

These counsels of well-nigh stoical perfection are pitched, we allow, in a high and dignified strain, but mere carnal considerations have an obstinate habit of declining to vanish at the bidding of rhetoric, and we have the ghost of a doubt, which our philosopher's glowing periods cannot entirely dispel, that the actual worker of flesh and blood, with aching back and empty belly, will probably, like the deaf adder that stoppeth her ears, refuse to hear the voice of this charmer, charm he never so wisely. Sad that the worker's lack of cultured interest in higher things leaves him so meanly engrossed with his bodily wants. Sad, but true; he feels the need of more rest and better livelihood, and is shockingly indifferent to the moral self-satisfaction which is his due. He asks, in a word, for bread; the bourgeois, out of the fulness of his heart, offers him a stone.

Through the hopeless jungle of apology into which the respectable plunderer has decamped with his ill-gotten booty, we will not pursue him further. In the miserable web of hypocrisy and fraud which he has spread for his professional purposes, let us leave him,—for the present. Let him make the most of the ignorance of his victims, of their fatal disunion, their impossible hopes of compensation in the sky for privation "here below," or the awful apathy which tells of their

despair. Let him hug himself a little longer at the smooth prophecies of his faithful henchmen, the professors of political economy and the oracular scribes of the press, and rejoice while he may in the security of his burglar-proof safes. What does it matter? Neither the spiritual consolation which he purveys at a cheap rate for the beggaring of the disinherited masses, nor the "charity" dust flung in their eyes, nor the mercenary bludgeons with which he is so ready to break their heads upon the first symptoms of discontent, can stave off for long the inevitable day. The Competition which has agreed so well with him, and which he therefore insists on cramming down our throats, whether we relish it or no, is fast losing its savour, and nobody seems to know wherewith it may be seasoned. The very ripeness of Individualism is turning to its destined corruption before our eyes. The results of monopoly are abundantly visible in the increasing severity of the struggle for existence in the midst of increasing wealth; the strange combination of insecurity and monotony in every occupation; and the waste and degradation of human faculties which it involves.

Even for the monopolists themselves life is assuredly not an unmixed joy, since in the pursuit of gain they must needs sacrifice the natural development of their bent for truth, fairness, and brotherliness in acquiring those habits of shrewd selfishness which are the weapons of the business man. The pleasure of gambling is doubtless intense, but, even apart from the dread of ruin, it can hardly be satisfying. But if such be the lot of the slave-drivers, what must be the lot of the slave? We know well enough what it is. Mean taskwork, repeating itself with nauseous sameness, the stifling of every human instinct in the foul atmosphere of hopeless ugliness, the slavish dread of the master's frown, the jealous distrust of our own workmates, the sneers of our "betters" who owe to our unpaid labour even the charity they begrudge us, the risk of starvation through ill-health, freaks of "trade," or the rivalry of machines; and ever looming at the end of the dreary vista, the workhouse and the pauper's grave.

It cannot last very long. To those who can read the signs of the times (and they grow daily clearer), the social edifice based upon monopoly in the means of livelihood begins to give unmistakable warning of its speedy downfall. Nothing can save it; but much mischief and confusion may be averted by careful demolition before the whole structure comes rattling about our ears. The old foundations, resting upon the treacherous soil of privilege, must be removed, and the new building planted firmly and for ever upon its immovable base, the bed-rock of Equality.

In the true Society which then, and not till then, shall spring to light, the Dignity of Labour will lose its efficacy as a hocus-pocus wherewith the workers may be conveniently mesmerised into unconsciousness of their misery, and will gain such a reality instead as by no means enters into the hopes of the officious gentlemen who rejoice in the rôle of patrons of Labour. Common ownership of the necessities of industry, by establishing practical equality in production and distribution, and thus abolishing at one stroke both the pattern of idleness set by the rich, and also the loathing of work forced into the poor by the hopeless futility and monotony of their burdens, will leave to every man room for a pleasure and an interest in his work which are necessarily lacking to the mass of the toilers of to-day. In such a society it will be no longer possible that homage should be lavished upon an individual, whose sole claim to the gratitude of his fellow-creatures consists in the fact that he consumes without producing. Such useless mouths, if indeed they persist, will then appear what they are in truth, the "enemies of society." "A day," says Carlyle, "is ever struggling forward, a day will arrive in some approximate degree, when he who has no work to do, by whatever name he may be named, will not find it good to show himself in our quarter of the solar system." That is one aspect of the day for which Socialists are striving. May it soon be here! C. W. BECKETT.

AN APPEAL FOR THE CHAINMAKERS.—Cunninghame Graham, who has been making himself once more "offensive" to respectable people in defence of the oppressed, replied to official folly in the following letter:—"To the Editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*: Sir,—I see that Mr. Smith, in answer to Mr. Conybeare, asserts that the misery of the Cradley Heath chainmakers is due to the fact that their industry is passing through an economic change." Now, a good mouth-worn platitude no doubt carries weight in the House of Commons. Luckily, however, outside of those "sacred precincts" it is soon discounted. The nailmakers are passing through an economic change, as machinery is driving them out of the field. This is not the case with the chainmakers. Small chains cannot be (or are not) made by machinery. The trade is in precisely the same condition as it was forty years ago. What affects the chainmakers is the scandalous system of sweating (fogging they call it) to which they are subjected. The small chains they make have to pay several profits before they reach the consumers' hands. A dog-chain that costs the ultimate purchaser 1s. 6d. or 2s. is made at Cradley for a few pence. The backboard chain for a car, that is sold retail for 5s., is made for 6d. or 7d. Thus it is easy to perceive that a whole pack of flesh flies are supported by the chainmakers. Hence also no plan can be successful to relieve them that does not make provision for agents, both to buy the raw material and to sell the chains when made. If "I were Government," as the Spanish peasants say, I would make no scruple to pass a short Act in order to get at the middleman in Cradley Heath and the adjoining district under the Conspiracy Laws. Let me point out that the Government has all chains tested when made in order to save life from accidents. Why should they not equally endeavour to protect the lives of those who at Cradley forge a lifelong chain? I know that the habit of striking attitudes, quoting platitudes, &c., is a catching one, and may easily spread from Home Secretary to First Lord, but why should Government money be freely spent to relieve the victims of pseudo "economic changes" in the Highlands and in Ireland, and be refused to the Black Country?—I am, Sir, your obedient servant, R. B. Cuninghame Graham.

LETTER FROM AMERICA.

THE annual reports of the superintendents of the poor of New York County for the year 1888, closing November 1st, are published. The reports deal only with paupers. The figures indicate a considerable increase of pauperism in New York City.

	1887.	1888.
Paupers in department on November 1	9,028	9,467
Paupers received	38,972	42,064
Paupers discharged	26,414	28,631
Children born in Poorhouse	511	434
Number of deaths	3,611	3,919
Lunatics in the department	4,260	4,660
Blind persons in the department	—	98
Idiots in the department	—	305
Native-born paupers supported	14,074	14,710
Foreign-born paupers supported	24,898	27,354
Male paupers supported	—	24,831
Female paupers supported	—	17,233
Received outdoor relief	—	7,607
Total number supported and relieved	—	49,671

The expenditure in connection with this service included 50,000 dollars for outdoor relief and aggregated 1,460,484 dols., as against 1,032,683 dols. in 1887.

The Charities Organisation Society in New York supported during last year about 60,000, and it may be safely estimated that about an equal number of human beings were kept above water through private help of relations, friends, etc. This shows that in a city numbering only a million and a half inhabitants, nearly 200,000 people are without "visible means of subsistence." Even in over-populated Europe matters could hardly be worse.

The Standard Sugar Refinery in Boston, Mass., will be closed shortly by decree of the Sugar Trust. "The supply must be regulated according to the demand. All for the good of the public, don-cher-know."

The Bureau of Statistics in Washington, D.C., has published the summary statements of the imports and exports of the United States for the first three quarters of this year ending September 30th. It appears that the exports have considerably decreased and the imports increased. Here are the figures:

EXPORTS for 1887,	481,464,674 dollars
1888,	445,355,256 "
Decrease,	36,109,418 "
IMPORTS for 1888,	544,511,634 dollars
1887,	535,824,664 "
Increase,	8,686,970 "
Excess of imports over exports, 1888,	99,156,378 dollars.

If these figures do not prove a most unhealthy state of trade, I know not what does.

I believe the following case is only possible in the "land of the free and the home of the brave." Charles T. Parsons keeps an employment bureau in Northampton, Mass. He gains his living by dealing in "foreign pauper labour." Every week Parsons makes a trip to New York City, where he engages about forty or fifty of the newly-arrived emigrants. He takes them to Northampton and there sells them to the farmers of the neighbourhood. For his trouble he gets about fifty dollars for each man. The poor unfortunate men, glad to get employment so quickly, are made to sign the following "agreement":—

"NEW YORK, ———, 188—,

"In consideration of the employment furnished us by Charles T. Parsons, of Northampton, Mass., not over six hours' ride distant, we agree to work for him, or where he places us under this contract, for ——— months, at ——— dollars, less expenses ——— dollars, payment to be made at end of time, excepting what we need for necessaries. Understanding further, baggage to be holden for all money advanced, and if we fail to fulfil this contract we do not expect our wages. The said employer also agrees if we do well at the expiration of our time to give us extra ——— dollars.

"(Signed) _____

"(Witness) Interpreter _____

The men are promised regular wages, but the charges made against them by the farmers for board, lodging, cloth, generally cover more than the amount they have earned. On the 21st inst. Parsons caused a sensation. Here is the story as it is told by the capitalistic press:—

"At nine o'clock this morning Parsons drove to Holyoke, Mass., with one of these pauper immigrants in a wagon. His victim was bound hands and feet with a six-foot chain, which was fastened by a big padlock to the seat of the wagon. Parsons pulled up in a side street, and hitching his horse to a post, left his slave secured there while he went, it is said, to seek a purchaser. At ten o'clock Parsons had not returned, and as the mercury was only a few degrees above zero, the slave was shivering from cold. His condition was noticed and somebody went over to the wagon to invite him indoors. The tears were frozen on his face. A pair of overalls, a shirt, a coat, and an old pair of shoes made up his dress. It was then found that he was chained, and the rumour quickly went around that he was one of Parsons' slaves. Chief of Police Whitcomb and an officer were quickly on the scene, and the Chief was in the act of smashing the seat of the wagon when Parsons appeared and said, 'Hold on, I will unlock it,' at the same time taking a key from his pocket and unlocking the padlock that secured the chain. 'Are you Parsons?' enquired the Chief. 'Yes, sir,' said Parsons. 'Did you chain this man?' further enquired the officer. 'Yes, sir, I did. He is mine,' answered Parsons."

He was taken to the court-house, and the law-and-order people had difficulty in preventing the assembled crowd from lynching Parsons. A clear case was proven against him, and he was bound over to appear before the Grand Jury on the 17th of December in the sum of 2,000 dollars. The poor unfortunate Pole told the following story:—

"I landed in New York from Poland on the fourth day of last May. Next day I was hired by an agent of Parsons and taken with others to Northampton. In a few days I was hired out to a farmer on contract. I was to get 12½ dollars a month. I worked there until a few weeks ago, and never got a cent in wages. About two weeks ago I ran away. I wandered about and didn't know where I was going, as I didn't know the country. I finally found myself in Northampton, where I applied at the police-station for lodging. I stayed there over night, and the next morning Parsons came and took me away. I worked around Parsons' farm for a week. Then I asked for some money, and he struck me with his clenched fist and told me to go on and work. Yesterday morning early he told me to get into the wagon. When I was in the wagon he grabbed me and put a

chain around my feet. Then he drove to this town, stopping in four or five places on the way. I didn't know where he was bringing me to or what he was going to do with me."

Parsons is the same man who caused a sensation four years ago by making ice-water for his labourers with the ice that was packed around the dead body of his wife in a casket awaiting burial. He is a regular church-goer.

On the 17th inst., the Monongahela River coal operators at their meeting in Pittsburg decided to shut down the mines of the district for an indefinite period. This is done simply for the purpose of reducing the production and thereby increasing the price. Seven thousand miners, not to talk of a very large number of mine labourers and river men engaged in transporting the coal, are, through this arbitrary action on the part of the bosses, thrown out of employment; and this happens to them just at the beginning of a hard winter! Just think of it you labouring men! But things will be worse still shortly. Election is over now, and the votes of the voting cattle are no longer needed. The employers are preparing a general onslaught on organised labour. I believe we are just entering on the most trying period organised labour has ever been subjected to. The action of the Monongahela operators has only been a feeler, and more than likely it will be followed by an almost general lock-out or suspension of work throughout the entire anthracite and bituminous coal mining districts of the State of Pennsylvania. During the months immediately preceding the Presidential election miners had steady work; but no sooner was the result of the farce known than matters changed. In the Wyoming district of the anthracite fields, the men are at present working generally on three-quarter time; in the Schuylkill and Lehigh regions, it is from one-half to three-quarters time, and after December 1st it is said it will be even less. And all this is done in spite of the fact that the coal business has never been more prosperous. "How long, O Lord, how long will the toilers stand such barbaric treatment?"

The enemies of the Knights of Labour are victorious. Powderly has been re-elected as General Master Workman, and what is more, his power has been increased to absolute autocracy. The General Assembly now sitting at Indianapolis simply says ditto to all his propositions. Asked whether he would consent to another nomination, he made the following declaration: "I will accept the position of General Master Workman again under certain conditions. They are that the opposition party shall have nothing to do with the administration of the affairs of the order, and that I shall be given colleagues in the general officers men who are thoroughly in sympathy with me. I will appoint the officers. On these considerations and on no other will I consent to take another term." The Committee on law suggested that the General Master Workman, after his election, present to the General Assembly the names of eight delegates, and from these names the four members composing the Executive Board should be selected by the Assembly; that the General Master Workman is given power to fill all vacancies among the general officers, even to members of the Executive Board. This report was adopted, and thereby the delegates inaugurated the "one man power." Powderly and the Executive Board were also given the power to expel members without trial and without the right of appeal. It is pretty sure he will soon ride the order to destruction. The miners are already threatening to leave the organisation in a body. Master Workman Lewis, of the National District No. 135 (the United Miners), made this remark to a reporter:—

"I believe that National District Assembly No. 135 will leave the order in a body. In the position in which I stand, and the power which has been given the General Executive Board to expel without trial and without the right of appeal, my hold would not be safe for three months. If I remained in the order I would run chances of having my character blackened by being unjustly expelled. The question of whether we will remain in the order or not will be settled at Columbus, Ohio, December 5, at the meeting of the Miners' Federation."

The Committee on finance proposed that the salary for the General Master Workman should remain at its previous figure, that is, 5,000 dollars a-year; that the secretary-treasurer should receive 2,000 dols. a-year, and that the members of the Executive Board be paid 4 dols. a day besides expenses. An amendment was offered fixing the salaries of Powderly and the secretary-treasurer at 1,500 dols. a-year. The amendment was lost by a vote of 88 to 52. Powderly was re-elected by a vote of 114 to 28. After his election he presented eight names, every one belonging to one of his creatures, from which the Assembly chose the four members composing the Executive Board. It may be truly said that the general officers of the Knights of Labour have solved the social problem—for themselves. It seems that some Belgian workers are deceived about the Knights of Labour, and steps should be taken at once to inform them of the real condition of affairs, that is, that the organisation simply exists to enrich half-a-dozen individuals. M. A. Delwarte, the delegate from the Belgian State Assembly, presented his report at Indianapolis to the Assembly. The report spoke of the great good being accomplished by the Assembly in Belgium, and of the influence it was beginning to wield in political and labour circles, and in the Courts of Arbitration there.

Newark, N.J., November 26, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.—The weekly return of metropolitan pauperism shows that the total number of paupers relieved in the third week of last month was 98,344, of whom 59,202 were indoor and 39,142 outdoor paupers. The total number relieved shows an increase of 1,530 over the corresponding week of last year, 4,334 over 1886, and 5,634 over 1885. The total number of vagrants relieved on the last day of the week was 1,237, of whom 1,040 were men, 173 women, and 24 children under sixteen.

"OBSTRUCTION."—Twelve months ago all the Tories and Unionists, and not a few of the weak-kneed Liberals, were assuring us every morning and night that there was no need for open-air meetings in London excepting in the parks. To hold public political meetings in public thoroughfares was declared to be an outrage on civilisation, and quite incompatible with the necessities of traffic. This doctrine was laid down with such immense emphasis in order to justify the claim of the Government to harry the people out of Trafalgar Square. What is it that we see to-day? An election is in progress in Holborn, and in this morning's papers we have a list of no fewer than seven open-air meetings to be held on behalf of the Conservative candidate, all in public thoroughfares, and all of which will be addressed by leading members of the Conservative party, beginning with the Prime Minister's son, Lord Cranborne, who will speak at South Crescent, Store Street. Surely there could not be a more crushing *reductio ad absurdum* of the daily outcry of last year than is supplied by the list of to-day's meetings.—*Pall Mall Gazette*, Nov. 27, 1888.

"THE PRESENT CRISIS."

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, 1854.

When a deed is done for Freedom, through the broad earth's aching breast
Runs a thrill of joy prophetic, trembling on from east to west,
And the slave, where'er he cowers, feels the soul within him climb
To the awful verge of manhood, as the energy sublime
Of a century bursts full-blossomed on the thorny stem of Time.

Through the walls of hut and palace shoots the instantaneous throes,
When the travail of the Ages wrings earth's systems to and fro;
At the birth of each new Era, with a recognising start,
Nation wildly looks at nation, standing with mute lips apart,
And glad Truth's yet mightier man-child leaps beneath the Future's heart.

So the Evil's triumph sendeth, with a terror and a chill,
Under continent to continent, the sense of coming ill,
And the slave, where'er he cowers, feels his sympathies with God
In hot tear-drops ebbing earthward, to be drunk up by the sod,
Till a corpse crawls round unburied, delving in the nobler clod.

For mankind are one in spirit, and an instinct bears along,
Round the earth's electric circle, the swift flash of right or wrong;
Whether conscious or unconscious, yet Humanity's vast frame
Through its ocean-sundered fibres feels the gush of joy or shame;—
In the gain or loss of one race all the rest have equal claim.

Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide,
In the strife of Truth with Falsehood, for the good or evil side;
Some great cause, God's new Messiah, offering each the bloom or blight,
Parts the goats upon the left hand, and the sheep upon the right,
And the choice goes by forever 'twixt that darkness and that light.

Hast thou chosen, O my people, on whose party thou shalt stand,
Ere the Doom from its worn sandals shakes the dust against our land?
Though the cause of Evil prosper, yet 'tis Truth alone is strong,
And, albeit she wander outcast now, I see around her throng
Troops of beautiful tall angels, to enshield her from all wrong.

Backward look across the ages and the beacon-moments see,
That, like peaks of some sunk continent, jut through Oblivion's sea;
Not an ear in court or market for the low foreboding cry
Of those Crises, God's stern winners, from whose feet earth's chaff must
fly;
Never shows the choice momentous till the judgment hath passed by.

Careless seems the great Avenger; history's pages but record
One death-grapple in the darkness 'twixt old systems and the Word;
Truth forever on the scaffold, Wrong forever on the throne,—
Yet that scaffold sways the future, and, behind the dim unknown,
Standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch above his own.

We see dimly in the Present what is small and what is great,
Slow of faith, how weak an arm may turn the iron helm of fate,
But the soul is still oracular; amid the market's din,
List the ominous stern whisper from the Delphic cave within,—
"They enslave their children's children who make compromise with sin."

Slavery, the earth-born Cyclops, fellest of the giant brood,
Sons of brutish Force and Darkness, who have drenched the earth with
blood,
Famished in his self-made desert, blinded by our purer day,
Gropes in yet unblasted regions for his miserable prey;—
Shall we guide his gory fingers where our helpless children play?

Then to side with Truth is noble when we share her wretched crust,
Ere her cause bring fame and profit, and 'tis prosperous to be just;
Then it is the brave man chooses, while the coward stands aside,
Doubting in his abject spirit, till his lord is crucified,
And the multitude make virtue of the faith they had denied.

Count me o'er earth's chosen heroes,—they were souls that stood alone,
While the men they agonised for hurled the contumelious stone,—
Stood serene, and down the future saw the golden beam incline
To the side of perfect justice, mastered by their faith divine,
By one man's plain truth to manhood and to God's supreme design.

By the light of burning heretics Christ's bleeding feet I track,
Toiling up new Calvaries ever with the cross that turns not back;
And those mounts of anguish number how each generation learned
One new word of that grand *Crucio* which in prophet-hearts hath burned
Since the first man stood God-conquered with his face to heaven upturned.

For Humanity sweeps onward: where to-day the martyr stands,
On the morrow crouches Judas with the silver in his hands;
Far in front the cross stands ready and the crackling fagots burn,
While the hooting mob of yesterday in silent awe return
To glean up the scattered ashes into History's golden urn.

'Tis as easy to be heroes as to sit the idle slaves
Of a legendary virtue carved upon our father's graves;
Worshippers of light ancestral make the present light a crime;—
Was the *Mayflower* launched by cowards, steered by men behind their time?
Turn those tracks towards Past or Future that make Plymouth Rock
sublime?

They were men of present valour, stalwart old iconoclasts,
Unconvinced by axe or gibbet that all virtue was the Past's;
But we make their truth our falsehood, thinking that hath made us free,
Hoarding it in mouldy parchments, while our tender spirits flee
The rude grasp of that great Impulse which drove them across the sea.

They have rights who dare maintain them; we are traitors to our sires,
Smothering in their holy ashes Freedom's new-lit altar fires.
Shall we make their creed our jailer? Shall we, in our haste to slay,
From the tombs of the old prophets steal the funeral lamps away
To light up the martyr-fagots round the prophets of to-day?

New occasions teach new duties; Time makes ancient good uncouth;
They must upward still, and onward, who would keep abreast of Truth.
Lo, before us gleam her camp-fires! we ourselves must Pilgrims be,
Launch our *Mayflower* and steer boldly through the desperate winter sea,
Nor attempt the Future's portal with the Past's blood-rusted key.



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

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

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

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

A. C., E. P., and others.—Reports too late; must be to hand first post on Tuesday morning.

UNDER CONSIDERATION.—J. S. (Birmingham); D. McC. (Glasgow).

CA IRA.—"Ca Ira" is said to have been first sung in Paris in May or June 1790. The "Carmagnole" became popular about two years later.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday December 12.

ENGLAND Blackburn—N. E. Daily Gazette Northern Daily Telegraph Justice Labour Tribune London—Frete Presse Norwich—Daylight Personal Rights Journal Railway Review Telegraph Service Gazette Social Democrat Worker's Friend NEW SOUTH WALES Hamilton—Radical INDIA Bamapore—Behar Herald Madras—People's Friend UNITED STATES New York—Der Sozialist Freiheit Truthseeker Volkzeitung Jewish Volkszeitung	ALARM Workmen's Advocate Boston—Woman's Journal Liberty Chicago (Ill.)—Yorbo Detroit—Der Arme Toufal Milwaukee—National Reformer St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung San Francisco Chronicle Coast Seamen's Journal FRANCE Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) Le Parti Ouvrier (daily) La Revolte Le Proletariat Le Ca Ira Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur St. Etienne—La Loire Socialiste Sedan—La Revolution HOLLAND Hague—Recht voor Allen	BELGIUM Ghent—Vooruit Liege—L'Avenir Antwerp—De Werker ITALY Gazetta Operaia Home, L'Emancipazione (daily) SPAIN Barcelona—El Productor Madrid—El Socialista Seville—La Solidaridad GERMANY Berlin—Volks Tribune BRUNN—Arbeiterstimme Wien—Gleichheit HUNGARY Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik WEST INDIES Cuba—El Productor
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IN AND ABOUT COTTONOPOLIS.

ON Sunday the 2nd, I delivered my annual lecture to the Sunday Society at Ancots to an audience larger than usual. These lectures are not followed by questions and discussion, so there was not much opportunity for finding out what the audience thought about Socialism. The audience seemed, as usual, much made up of the "lower middle-class" and the "aristocracy of labour." But there was a sprinkling of our comrades of the S.D.F., with whom to help I engaged in a good private discussion at tea (which followed the lecture) with enquirers and carpers, which is also a usual feature of these gatherings. In the evening I went with comrade Hunter Watts to the rooms of the Manchester Branch of the S.D.F., where I addressed our comrades. The members of the branch were almost all of the non-aristocracy of labour, but many of them were as eager and earnest as could be desired. I take it that the above-said aristocracy of labour in Manchester are very shy of Socialism, though it is making very good progress among the labouring class even in Manchester itself. There is also a good deal of sympathy (as it is called) from the definitely well-to-do, who say here as elsewhere: "We agree with you, but—"

On Monday the 3rd, I went to Bolton and lectured (by request) on "Art and Socialism." The audience was fair only, the room not being full. The chairman was a middle-class man who really seemed in sympathy, and I think the audience was in the main socialistic. The condition of labour in Bolton is very instructive; business is brisk there, very brisk; but there are among the spinners at least 4,000 out of employment, and with no hope of it. Moreover, a great deal of the "employment" that there is, is at starvation wages; the "piecers" often fathers of families work for the noble reward of from 12s. to 13s. a-week! I was told that the engineers here were in a very depressed state of mind after last year's strike, with all its excitement, and were in an attitude of abject humility before their masters; which, dismal as it is, seems to be a natural consequence of defeat in a struggle which had no ideal in it, whose aim was the usual narrow one of strikes in this country.

On the 4th, I went to Blackburn and lectured in the Spinner's Hall, which was not quite filled; our comrade Sharman took the chair. The audience were very eager, and took up all the points well. One or two of the questions asked were to the point, but it seems that these were asked by Socialists. The others were of the usual type, questions asked by persons who expect the lecturer to say so-and-so, and are perhaps put out by his perversity, but nevertheless ask the question they had intended to ask before they heard him.

The open-air meetings have been very brisk in Blackburn, where there is a good open space in which no meetings are interfered with. The branch of the S.D.F. is good here, and there is a strong branch of the S.D.F. at the neighbouring town of Darwen.

On the 5th I had to address a very different audience to these; to wit, the ladies and gentlemen gathered together for the rather mild amusement of listening to artists talking about art. I was not able to get to Liverpool in the morning, and so missed hearing Walter Crane's address; but I was told that he spoke very plainly in condemnation of the present system of production. I myself had a large audience (in the Rotunda), and of course spoke nothing but Socialism. I challenged opposition, as I had heard that some of the capitalists were going to "smash me up"; but I am sorry to say that they thought better of it; and the little that was said turned out to be of a discouraging feebleness, turning on the village-industry and technical education. The next day I heard a paper of Cobden-Sanderson on Craft-Ideals, in which he preached Communism pure and simple. Also an architect, not a Socialist, received applause for asking the question, What was the use of museums and art education if the social condition of the people remained what it is now? I shall have a few words to say about this same congress next week, so I will say no more now.

The evening of the 6th I went to Rochdale and lectured to an audience fair in numbers and otherwise good. It was followed by a long conversational debate, the questions being, as a matter of course, the usual ones, but, by the working men present, asked and stuck to with the pertinacity and in the good-natured bullying manner with which I am familiar in Lancashire and the North generally. Two or three middle-class opponents were of great use to me in enabling me to state my position again and again. One of these said that as far as Rochdale and the neighbourhood generally was concerned I had exaggerated the poverty of the workers! But this I conclude to be a conventional tradition, the birth of the history of the sham co-operation which began with the good intentions of the Rochdale Pioneers; and has now by the confession of very moderate people become a reactionary force, "Divi" being the one thing looked to, and jobbing in "Co-op" shares being a favourite occupation among the small capitalists created by the system.

Anyhow our comrades gave me a very different view of the "prosperity" of the workers of Rochdale, and told me that wages were very low and hours very long there, and that in short the masters had it pretty much their own way. The branch of the S. D. F. is strong in numbers, and has in it some very strenuous and sincere propagandists.

Altogether, except in Liverpool, where there is nothing doing, the S. D. F. branches are doing well in S. Lancashire; the drawback to their usefulness is that they are giving so much attention to electioneering matters; a course of action which, whatever else may be said about it, must trench upon the time which they ought to be giving to learning Socialism thoroughly, so as to be able to hold their own in argument with the non-Socialists around them. I say this in spite of the fact that I talked with some of our comrades who had mastered the subject by dint of very hard work done in the "leisure" which their slavery allows them.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

LIVERPOOL AND ITS POOR.—The Manchester Guardian lately printed the following letter from a correspondent:—A week or two ago the Clerk of the Liverpool Select Vestry called attention to the fact that pauperism was increasing in the city. In explanation of the circumstance, he asserted that the accommodation offered to paupers in the Liverpool workhouse was so good that persons who formerly shrank with horror from "the house" were now flocking in, and were even advising their friends to haste to take advantage of parish good cheer. An outsider surveying the social condition of Liverpool may perhaps find some more probable explanation of the increase of pauperism than a desire on the part of the poor to rush into what is known in the Midland counties as the "Bastille." Two causes operate to produce in Liverpool a large amount of chronic destitution. One is its geographical position, and the other is the nature of the employment offered to its labouring population. Liverpool is the place to which the Irish peasant, driven from home by bad government and landlord rapacity, first directs his steps. It is, in fact, a kind of junction where the poor, not only of Ireland but of Europe, change trains. And a very considerable proportion of these unfortunate persons never get any further, but remain year after year to swell the large squalid population. They are tempted to make Liverpool their home because they have in most cases no technical skill, and nothing but physical strength on which to rely for their daily bread. Now Liverpool affords comparatively little scope for the skilled artisan; it has no manufactures and no great industries requiring the higher kinds of manual dexterity. But it has a great shipping trade, which affords a somewhat precarious employment for men who have nothing to turn into daily bread but brawn and muscle. Great crowds of unskilled labourers herd together in the poor quarters of the city. It is estimated that there are between ten and thirty thousand (authorities differ) dock labourers and cotton porters in Liverpool, and these men do not make, on an average, more than ten shillings per week in wages. It is obvious that a labourer who has a wife and family, whose earnings do not exceed this sum, who is always out of work during many weeks of the winter, may easily—nay, must often—be brought face to face with the alternative of starvation or the poorhouse. It is indeed surprising that there is not a greater proportion of pauperism in Liverpool than actually exists. New persons realise how enormous is the disparity in numbers between the classes which enjoy comfort and comparative security and the classes which are actually destitute or hovering about the brink of poverty. In Liverpool there are over 600,000 inhabitants, but only 17,000 of them pay income-tax on their yearly earnings. That is to say, only about 17,000 persons in Liverpool make £3 a week and over by their daily labour, and of these only 7,000 are returned as earning more than £400 a year. These striking figures show that a little increase in the price of provisions is sufficient to account for an increase of pauperism, without the existence of any consuming passion on the part of the poor to seek the sybaritic retreat of a Liverpool workhouse.

NOTES ON NEWS.

THE Suakim business is growing, and England's hired slaughterers are lending a hand in getting rid of the Dervishes, of whose doings as much as possible has been made in order to give a fresh opportunity for pushing the fortunes of the market-mongers, and the persistent hammering at the story of this stupendous siege after the manner of the tremendous adventures of Major Geoghegan, appears likely to produce its fruits in some way or other. Only since the country is clearly not very anxious for any more "glory" in the Soudan, the gist of the plan now is to keep up Suakim as a running sore, and to push traders up the country so as to involve us in a tangle which shall end at last in a new expedition for the smashing of the Mahdi. The plan is not very new or ingenious, but it is likely to succeed.

Mr. Henry James, the American novelist, has been writing an ingenious paper on the impression made by London on his feelings; but as a matter of course, his view of the monstrosity is taken from the stand-point of the superior middle-class person, who looks upon the working-classes as an useful machine, and, having no experience of their life, has not imagination enough to realise the fact that the said machine is composed of millions of men, women, and children who are living in misery; that is to say, they are always undergoing torments, the fear of undergoing which would make many a "refined" person kill himself rather than submit to them. And to these torments they must get used, as the phrase goes; that is to say, hopeless suffering must be the element in which they live. It is this from which is born the "dreadful delight" on which clever but dull Mr. James expatiates so ingeniously. Does he ever ask himself what is likely to be the final price which his class, who have created this Hell, will have to pay for it?

I should like a view of London from a quite different kind of man from the clever historian of the deadliest corruption of society, the laureat of the flirts, sneaks, and empty fools of which that society is mostly composed, and into whose hearts (?) he can see so clearly. I should like the impressions of London given by one who had been under its sharp-toothed harrow.

But he should not be a man born and bred in the slums, nor even "used" to them, nor a man born poor anywhere, but someone who once lived in a pleasant place with hope beside him. From him I should like a true tale of the City of Dreadful Delight. If we could but have some new Defoe with the added bitterness bred of the tremendous growth of the burden of hideous tyranny to tell us such a tale! Or it may be rather that no words could tell it.

Besides, if it were attempted it would be brought into Court and judged by a jury of comfortable and respectable men, and a luxuriously-living judge, and be condemned as filthy literature, horribly indecent—in short, shocking, and its author would but add one fresh note to the song of suffering, which if it is good for nothing else, is good enough to tickle the ears of superior persons, more hypocritical and less naive than the ogre in the Eastern story, who, when his captives awaiting the spit were lamenting and moaning, said: "Hark how sweetly my nightingales are singing!" W. M.

Some simple-minded worshipper of the cheap idols of the hour was evidently made uneasy by my note of a few weeks back about the Harrisons, and has written to the president-elect to know if it is really all a pious fraud for campaign purposes his pretending to be descended from Harrison, the regicide. As if a tricky politician ever acknowledges his little games!

The ancestors of the president-elect were in Virginia loudly proclaiming their sycophantish loyalty to the king at a time when Thomas Harrison, the regicide, was at school. As a matter of fact, such time-serving tools of "property" thieves as Ben Harrison know nothing about the man. If they did, they would scoff at him and applaud his murder, as they scoff at, and applaud the murder of, his apostles to-day, such as August Spies and Albert Parsons. They do not even know Thomas Harrison's name. It is generally given wrongly in so-called histories and dictionaries.

The last grand scene at Charing Cross on October 14, 1860, reminds us forcibly of the present time. The London mob, as usual with all mobs, was jeering the prophet and applauding the work of the dissolute rascals just installed at Whitehall. "How about the 'grand old cause' now?" yelled one smug rascal. "I go to seal it with my blood," calmly replied Harrison, and ascended the stairway.

So to-day our friend the editor of the *Star* strokes his "fair round belly with good capon lined," and cries, See what great and mighty prophets I and Mr. George and the rest of us are. How the mob cheer us and elect us to office! What a poor little affair the *Commonweal* is! *Nous verrons*, says the Frenchman; *nous verrons*.

If he looks at the poem in another column he will find:—

Then to side with Truth is noble when we share her wretched crust,
Ere her cause bring fame and profit, and 'tis prosperous to be just;
Then it is the brave man chooses, while the coward stands aside —

S.

WE SHALL BE FREE.

ERNEST JONES.

BASE oppressors, leave your slumbers
Listen to a nation's cry:
Hark, united countless numbers
Swell the peal of agony.
Lo, from Britain's sons and daughters,
In the depths of misery,
Like the sound of many waters,
Comes the voice, "We shall be free!"

Winds and waves the tidings carry;
Spirits, in your stormy ear,
Winged with lightning, do not tarry,
Spread the news to lands afar.
Tell them, sound the thrilling story
Louder than the thunder, go,
That a people, ripe for glory,
Are determined to be free.

By our own, our children's charter,
By the fire within our veins,
By each truth-attesting martyr,
By their sighs, their groans, their pains,
By our right by nature given,
By our love of liberty,
We proclaim before high heaven
That we must, we shall, be free.

Tyrants, quail, the dawn is breaking,
Dawn of Freedom's glorious day;
Despots on their thrones are quaking,
Tyrants' bands are giving way.
Kingcraft, priestcraft, black oppression
Cannot bear our scrutiny;
We have learnt the startling lesson
That we must, we shall, be free!

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 22, 1888.

16	Sun.	1687. Sir W. Petty died. 1689. Bill of Rights passed.
17	Mon.	1792. P. W. Duffin and T. Lloyd tried for seditious libel. 1830. Bolivar, liberator of Columbia, died. 1875. Violent Bread-riots in Montreal. 1881. Lewis H. Morgan died. 1883. O'Donnell, executioner of Carey, hung in Newgate.
18	Tues.	1773. Tea-riots at Boston. 1792. Paine found guilty of libel in 'Rights of Man.' 1817. W. Hone tried for publishing a parody on Wilkes' 'Catechism of a Ministerial Member.' 1876. Famous demonstration in the Kazan Place, St. Petersburg, where people were openly invited to strive for freedom and fatherland, brutally dispersed by the police. 1887. Funeral of Linnell.
19	Wed.	1817. W. Hone tried for publishing a seditious parody on the Litany. 1877. Riots at Montreal. 1879. Hanged at Odessa: V. Malinska, L. Maidauski, J. J. Drobianky.
20	Thur.	1789. Richard Oastler born at Leeds. 1817. Trial of W. Hone for publishing a seditious parody of the Athanasian Creed.
21	Fri.	1795. Trial of James Weldon for high treason. 1830. Trial of Prince Polignac. 1883. Ten dynamitards sentenced at Glasgow.
22	Sat.	1620. Landing of the "Pilgrim Fathers." 1797. Trial of Peter Finerty for seditious libel. 1881. "Ghost of the Czar" seen in Kazan Cathedral. 1884. Sentences on Reinsdorf, etc., at Leipzig.

Simon Bolivar.—The great smasher of the Spanish empire in South America was an example of how quickly all men are liable to outlive their usefulness. Although it was but forty-seven years from his birth at Caracas in 1783 to his death on the Spanish Main in 1830, he had much better have died many years before for his own fame and for humanity. Imbued in his youth with personal experiences of the French Revolution, being educated in Paris, he was a daring apostle of liberty so long as the mere question of Spanish domination was concerned; but, abolishing this, he wished to introduce the "constitutional" slavery of the so-called "United States of America," where he and his fellow oligarchs could reign supreme, and practice tyranny and spout liberty simultaneously. But the climatic and racial characteristics of the South American continent were not favourable, and Bolivar was practically fleeing for his life to England, chosen home of all "constitutional" clap-trap, when he died.—L. W.

Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers.—On the 11th of December, 1621, or the 21st when accommodated to our present reckoning, the passengers on the good little ship "Mayflower" landed at what is now called Plymouth in New England, a waste to this day of swamp and rocks and barren woods. This was the actual foundation of those twin overgrown monsters of to-day, the British Empire and the United States of America. The previous settlements in the East Indies and Virginia were only traders' outposts, weak from their inherent formation. The Plymouth colony was the mother of the English communal settlements, self-contained, self-governing, and self-reliant, which to-day circle the globe, and which are, in all their lasting elements, united to-day in demolishing all semblance of centralised authority such as are at the bottom of all "unionist" and imperialist intrigues.—L. W.

It is no doubt a somewhat low ideal of human society which bases the respect paid to the rights of individuals or of classes, solely upon their ability to defend themselves when attacked or menaced; but in the present stage of civilisation, when combat seems to be the normal law of existence, it is simply suicidal for any class to trust to the benevolence and good feeling of its neighbours. A class or a nation which is not in a position to injure those who injure it, and that right speedily, is a class that will be trampled on.—*The Link.*

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

The coalowners of West Cumberland have granted an advance of 5 per cent. to the colliers for the 10th inst.

The Arbroath mill and factory owners have agreed to increase wages 5 per cent. The first increased payment will be made on 21st inst.

ABERDEEN JUTE-WORKERS.—The directors of the Aberdeen Jute Company have decided to increase on an early date the wages of their workers to the extent of 5 per cent.

The Fife miners have resolved that if they do not get the other 5 per cent. advance, which will give them the same as other districts, a fortnight's notice shall be given after the new-year holidays.

MACCLESFIELD WEAVERS.—The strike at Lower Heyes Mill still meanders on; it has lasted more than 20 weeks, and no settlement likely. There was a little disturbance on Tuesday week, some of the strikers going for one of the rats and smashing his windows.

CHATHAM SWEATERS.—These are Admiralty officials who "deduct" from the women in Government employ to such effect that in some recent cases the deduction was half the earnings (6d. from 1s.), and in others more even than that (7d. paid for 1s. 3d.).

BARROW BLAST-FURNACEMEN.—The blast-furnacemen who have been on strike at Barrow held a meeting on Tuesday 4th in the Amphitheatre and agreed to resume work at wages based on a sliding-scale, the advance due under the scale from October 14th to be paid in a fortnight. Thirteen blast furnaces were damped down owing to the strike. Operations were to be resumed at both the iron and steel works on Wednesday. About 3,000 men have been idle.

DOCK AND RIVERSIDE LABOURERS.—The secretary of the Tea Operatives and General Labourers' Association writes to the press from 19, Huntslett Street, Bonner Lane, Green Street, Bethnal Green, E.: "Will you kindly assist us in the matter of calling the attention of dock and riverside labourers that the Lords' Commission is now enquiring into the grievances under sub-contract? Any one who has any information to give that would explain the evil need not fear publicity given to their name if they will send to the above address and the matter is *bona fide*."

TRADES' FEDERATION MEETING.—At a meeting called to consider the question of Trades' Federation, at the New Connexion Schoolroom, Brettell Lane, on Tuesday, 4th, Mr. E. Juggins, of the Midland Counties Trades' Federation, addressed the meeting. He gave a number of instances in which trade organisation had been of signal benefit to working men, and pointed out that its principles were becoming better known and understood than they once were. He urged them to organise.—A resolution was unanimously passed in favour of the principles of trades' federation.

RIVET TRADE.—In reply to appeals that have been issued to the employers in the rivet trade for an advance in wages, several of the leading firms have consented to take action with a view of conceding better wages to the operatives. For a considerable time past the masters in the Old Hill district have been underbuying the Blackheath employers, and it is contended that the Old Hill firms should at once raise the price of rivets to the same standard that is being paid in the upper districts. It is stated that the Old Hill masters are paying 4d. and 7d. under the employers of Blackheath. Efforts are being made to induce employers to adopt one uniform price. The rivet makers are receiving at the present time a lower rate of wages than has ever been known.

CHAINMAKERS' WAGES.—The Executive Committee of the Chainmakers' Association decided on Saturday, 8th, at Cradley Heath, to call a meeting of employers and men with the view of having the recognised scale of wages established, and a Wages and Conciliation Board formed. It is stated that although there is plenty of work at the present time hundreds of operatives were never in receipt of lower wages, and unless a substantial advance in wages is conceded a general strike will be declared after Christmas. A number of employers have conceded an advance.—On Saturday Mr. T. Homer (president of the Chainmakers' Association), acting upon the instructions of the Executive Committee, sent out invitations to the chain manufacturers in the Cradley, Cradley Heath, Old Hill, Reddall Hill, and Dudley Wood districts inviting them to attend a meeting at Cradley Heath during the week for considering the desirability of forming a Wages and Conciliation Board. At the present time there are numerous complaints of a section of the employers refusing to pay the recognised list of wages, and in some instances it is asserted that the wages are now lower than they have ever been, whilst in others it is stated the employers will only pay the price on a less size than the one specified in the list, the result being that the operatives sustain a loss from 2s. to 3s. per week. Unless the price lists are rectified at many of the factories it is stated that the operatives will come out on strike. It is, however, considered that some favourable arrangements will be made, and thus obviate difficulties.

RAILWAY SWEATING.—The Middleton goods train, which hails from Miles Platting, on the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway, is likely to prove a formidable rival to the notorious Newport Pilot, lately referred to. Taking its working for 24 recent dates, we find there were—one day of 21 hours, one 20 hours, and one nineteen hours. The times on the remaining days were—over 18 hours, one; 17, two; 16, four; 15, six; 14, five; only once 12 hours, and once ten minutes less, while on a solitary occasion it completed its work in a reasonable time—viz., nine hours. These last three days, it should be mentioned, were Saturdays, when the work would be lighter. So long as this order of things is allowed to continue, the L. and Y. Company must not lay claim to having much regard for the safety of its goods guards, who, after such long spells of arduous work, cannot be in fit condition to jump about among wagons without running considerable risk. What forms an additional complaint in relation to the above excessive work is that the guards, instead of being paid overtime for the extra hours, have to play the time off, and, what is worse still, they have, when so laid off, to hold themselves in readiness to be called out to come to work if required, a system we have always protested against as being an imposition. When men are laid off duty the companies have no right to expect them to be at their command unless they pay them for it, which in this case is not done.—*Railway Review.* Hadn't you better begin publishing a few names, friend? Holding up to light of day the shareholders who draw profit from and are responsible for this kind of thing would have great effect. Mere complaining will do no good.

DOCKERS' STRIKE.—Those men who took a prominent part in the late strike have been excluded by order of the company from their employment for the future. Messrs. Sydney Buxton and Samuel Montague, M.P.'s, protested against this, saying: "It seems a very great stretch of power thus permanently to injure men by preventing them from earning their ordinary livelihood simply because they have been prominent in a legitimate, if unsuccessful, attempt to improve the position of themselves and their fellows. So far the protest has had no effect. Who are the shareholders? Let them have some salutary publicity *a la* Bryant and May."

CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT AT FIFE AND CLACKMANNAN COLLIERIES.—The decision in the High Court of Justiciary on Friday 7th, by which it was found that the manager of the Dunfermline Coal Company had been guilty of a contravention of the Truck Act, affects the whole of the collieries in Fife and Clackmannan, as the general regulations and conditions of employment, which were adopted in 1874, are uniform. The fourth article of these regulations, which provides for the employer, at the end of an engagement, retaining the wages of any workman occupying a colliery house until such house is vacated, and exacting a rent of 1s. per day for every day the house is occupied after the miner leaves the employment, is practically declared illegal, and will have either to be amended or deleted, while the pay ticket signed by the men will also have to be altered. This is one of the rules of which the miners have frequently endeavoured to get rid, and there is consequently much gratification felt that it has been authoritatively settled.

ARE THE GIRLS' PUBLIC DAY-SCHOOL COMPANY SWEATERS?—A correspondent writes to the *Pall Mall*, "to claim your interest for the ill-paid and hardly-worked teachers of the Girls' Public Day-School Company. The sweating system that exists there is quite as bad as any at the East-end, which has evoked the sympathies of the public. The head mistress gets a good salary, with a capitation fee, but with that exception the other women employed in such schools are overworked and badly paid. I know of one school in London where the classes are so large that it is impossible for the one teacher to do justice to her pupils or herself, and yet the salary paid is less than you would give a cook, of course including the value of bread. While at the present time the shareholders, I see, are taking 9 per cent., the council is lowering the number, as well as the salaries, of the teachers. In *Murray's Magazine* for December there is an able article on this very subject by Alfred W. Pollard, who substantiates all I now write. If you would draw public notice to these facts you would receive the gratitude of hundreds."

NUT AND BOLT TRADE.—The adjourned conference of employers and operatives in the nut and bolt trade took place on Thursday 6th, at the Queen's Hotel, Birmingham. The operatives claimed an advance in wages of 10 per cent., in consequence of the improvement in trade and the advance in prices which had taken place. They pointed out that they had been promised an advance of 5 per cent. when trade improved. It was eventually resolved that, subject to the advance being paid by the bolt and nut manufacturers in the South Staffordshire and Birmingham districts, an advance of 5 per cent. be given to the men from January 1st, 1889. It was also resolved that a Conciliation Board be formed, comprising twelve masters and twelve men, six of each from the Smethwick district and a similar proportion from the Darlaston district, for the purpose of regulating wages. The operatives retired to consider the offer of the employers, and on their return said that as the employers had now fulfilled the promise they had made to advance wages 5 per cent. when the condition of trade warranted it, the men were willing to accept the offer. They hailed with satisfaction the proposed formation of a Conciliation Board, and would do their utmost to secure the adhesion of the men, and trusted employers would secure the support of manufacturing firms. The chairman said that the desire of the employers was to work as amicably as possible with the men. There was no doubt the interests of capital and labour went hand in hand together (1). If the co-operation of the men could be obtained, a Conciliation Board would become a valuable institution for the regulation of wages questions.

BURY AND ELTON CARD, BLOWING, AND THROSTLE ROOM OPERATIVES' ASSOCIATION.—A special general meeting was lately held in the Co-operative Hall, Knowsley Street, Bury, to take into consideration the revised code of rules and the proposed sliding-scale of contribution and benefits. Back-tenters by paying 3d. a week if working 20 hours to a full week, and 2d. when out of work, would be entitled to 5s. a week as strike or lock-out pay, 5s. victim pay, 5s. accident pay for the first 13 weeks, and 2s. 6d. for the second 13 weeks, and 5s. for fires, failures, breakdowns, and for stoppages for bad trade, from the local funds; while the benefits from the amalgamation would be for permanent accident £20, fatal accident £6, and funeral allowance £3. Female card and throistle room operatives on payment of 4d. weekly if working 20 or more hours, or 2d. when out of work, entitled them to 7s. a week for strikes, lock-outs, fires, failures, breakdowns, and stoppages for bad trade, and victim pay, 7s. a week for accident pay for the first 13 weeks, and 3s. 6d. for the second 13 weeks from the local funds, and for permanent accident £25, fatal accident £8, and funeral allowance £4 from amalgamation benefits. Either male or female card, blowing, and throistle room operatives can participate in the following benefits: On payment of 5d. if working 20 hours or more, and 2d. when out of work, members receive 8s. 6d. a week for strikes, lock-outs, and victim pay, 8s. for fires, failures, breakdowns, and stoppages for bad trade, 8s. 6d. a week for the first 13 weeks for accident, 4s. 3d. for the second 13 weeks, while the benefits from the amalgamation fund would be £30 for permanent accident, £10 for fatal accident, and £4 funeral allowance. The rules provide that all members must pay full contributions while upon the funds of the association, and also provide that members changing from one rate of contribution to another will, until they have paid the same 26 weeks, receive the old rate of benefits, and after 26 weeks the new rates. It was resolved that the new code of rules be adopted and brought into force on the first Saturday in January 1889.

PREPARING!—A "Landlord" writes to the *Pall Mall* as follows: I saw to-day, in a draft lease for a West-end shop, the following new covenant, which may interest some of your friends who are agitating for a reform of the Land Laws:—"And the lessees covenant that they will pay all rates and taxes, etc. . . . and the land tax which now or shall or may at any time during the continuance of the said term be rated charged assessed or imposed on or in respect of the said demised premises or any part thereof or on the landlord or tenant for the time being in respect thereof by authority of Parliament or otherwise." It will be for those who draft any bills dealing with taxation of ground-rents or values to see that the intentions of the Legislature are not defeated by contracts of this nature.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

FRANCE.

The organising Committee of the Congress to be held at Troyes (Aube Department) on Dec. 23rd and following days, has issued its agenda-paper, which is very interesting indeed. It runs as follows:—1. Organisation of a great national federation of all the workers; 2. Creation of a daily collective paper, where the theories of all Socialist schools should be expounded and discussed freely; 3. National and International Congresses; 4. Strikes and their consequences; 5. Moral and physical results of women and children's work; 6. The using of peaceful means for bringing about the social transformation; 7. Necessity of uniting all the forces of the working-classes in order to resist the Radico-Opportunist reaction and the threatening dictatorship; 8. Economical and political mission of the syndicates; 9. Socialisation of the means of production; 10. Socialistic revision of the constitution; 11. Suppression of the public debt and practical means to come to it; 12. Free Communism v. State Communism; 13. Right of work; reduction of the hours of work; minimum wages; suppression of piece-work; employers liability as to accidents; institution of labour exchanges; suppression of registries' offices; society to provide for the old, children, and invalids; 14. Suggestions for social reforms after the revolution; 15. Ways and means for the application of the resolutions voted by the Congress. All communications concerning the Congress to be had from comrade E. Panne- tier, Rue du Paradis, 2, Troyes (Aube).

The Federation of the Socialist working-men of France have issued the following appeal, which we reproduce hereunder as document:—

"Citizens,—The International Conference held at Paris in 1886, at which England, Germany, Belgium, Austro-Hungary, Sweden, Australia, and France were represented, adopted during the sitting of August 28th, the following resolution:—'In 1889 an International Workers' Congress will be held at Paris, and the French Socialist Workmen's Party is entrusted with its organisation.'

"The International Trade Union Congress of London, at which delegates from England, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Italy, and France were present, confirmed this resolution at its sitting of November 10th by coming to the following unanimous decision:—'That the international regulations of labour shall be definitely adopted at the International Congress which will be held at Paris in 1889 on the terms of the decision of the International Conference at Paris in 1886.'

"The National Committee of the French Socialist Workmen's Party have the honour to inform you that they have now commenced to organise this Congress, which will undoubtedly prove of considerable importance.

"Conformably with the decision come to at Paris, and confirmed at London, the Congress of 1889 will be the beginning of that international organisation the principle of which was voted at the sitting of Nov. 9, 1888.

"The workers of the entire world cannot remain indifferent in the presence of this Social-Democratic revival which is manifest in every nation.

"The organisation which will be the outcome of the Congress of 1889 in grouping and utilising the scattered Social-Democratic forces of to-day, will augment considerably the power of the organised workers, will ensure our witnessing in the near future the triumph of the workers and the suppression of those frontiers which separate us materially though not morally.

"We invite you then, to participate in the deliberations of this Congress.

"Circulars fixing the organisation and the business agenda will be sent in due course.

"You will oblige us by letting us know whether the groups of your organisation are disposed to send representatives to the Congress.

"Awaiting the pleasure of your reply, receive our fraternal salutations,

"THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE—Lavy, Picau, Delacour, Ribanier, Allemane, André, Augé, Barthault, P. Brousse, Colas, Chaussée, Dejeante, Dumay, Heppenheimer, Joffrin, Lamothe."

Next year also, during the Paris Universal Exhibition, an International Congress of women in the capital of France will be held. The first Congress of the rights of women was organised with zealous care by M. Léon Richer, founder and director of the journal *Les Droits de la Femme* (Woman's Rights) in 1878, and was attended by delegates from Alsace-Lorraine, France, England, America, Belgium, Brazil, Italy, Holland, Poland, Roumania, Russia, Sweden, and Switzerland. It is hoped that next year, the memorable date of the centenary of the French Revolution, a new and imposing manifestation will be made to foster the objects and aims of the Society of Women. All communications as to date, agenda, etc., can be obtained from M. Léon Richer, 4, Rue des Deuxgares, Paris, or from Madame Jeanne Deroin, 58, Cobbold Road, Askew Road, Shepherd's Bush, London.

BELGIUM.

The miners of Belgium, before resorting to a general strike, have asked from their employers an increase of their wages, which has been refused by the mine-owners, under the pretext that the situation of affairs is not so good as the workers assert it to be. Now the following figures will show that the shares in the mining business have increased in four months from 10 to 28 per cent., which fully justifies the demand of the workers:—

Names of the Mines.	Aug. 1, 1888.	Nov. 28, 1888.
	Fr. c.	Fr. c.
Charbonnages belges	135	150
Chevalières a Dour	760	810
Couchant du Flénu	169	197.50
Courcelles-Nord	580	620
Falnuée	406	420
Fontaine l' Evêque	222.50	252.50
Gosson Lagasse	1,300	1,400
Grand Bouillon	34	38
Grande Mach. à feu Dour	448	560
Hornu-Wasmes	1,800	2,100
Houillères-Unies Charleroi	159	180
Kessales-Jemeppe	1,375	1,520
Levant du Flénu	1,620	2,190
Marihaye	606	650
Monceau Bayemont	445	547.50
Monceau Fontaine	1,450	1,750
Nord de Charleroi	745	845
Produits du Flénu	2,250	2,700
Sacré-Madame	1,356	1,625
Sars-Longchamps	430	535
Ouest de Mons	172.50	196

The mining districts of Charleroi, of the Borinage, and especially of the Centre, are in a state of great excitement. Meetings are held day after day, some in the morning, and others, the most important, at night and in the most complete darkness. (Hence the denomination of *black meetings*,

where the *black strike* is organised.) The strike is already complete at Houssu, Sars-Longchamps, La Paix, La Louvière, and St. Eloi. All the miners of Morlanwelz have also struck. At Carnières, Chatelinaeu, Les Vanneaux, several hundred miners are on strike, and general cessation is imminent.

Dynamite has made his appearance on the spot. Last Wednesday, two explosions occurred at Morlanwelz, causing some damage to property. At once the civic guard have been drummed out, and they are now patrolling day and night. By order of the authorities the inhabitants have to shut their houses at 10 o'clock at night, and nobody is allowed to perambulate in the streets after that hour.

At Carnières and Leval-Trazegnies, other dynamite explosions have occasioned some damage, one of them smashing to pieces all the doors and windows of the house of the police commissioner. Another explosion has taken place at the house of the director of the Houssu coal-mines, causing but little damage. A portion of the mine-owner's house at Trien-Kalsin has also been smashed by the same explosive.

The governor of the province of Hainault has been ordered by the Home Office to at once reinforce the posts of *gendarmérie* at Châtelet, Charleroi, Lodelinsart, and Bascoup.

Comrades Laloi, chairman of the Congress at which the general strike has been decided; Mignon, member of the General Council of the Socialist Republican party, and Georges Defuisseaux, general secretary of the same party, have been arrested and conveyed to the prison of Charleroi, which is watched by a cordon of gendarmes and policemen. Several other arrests have been made at Dampremy. Comrades Ledoux and Adam have had their houses searched by the magistrates.

SWEDEN.

Last week the police were working hard among our Swedish comrades. Three Socialist papers, out of four that are in existence, have been confiscated, and their editors will very soon be on their trial. At Stockholm the editor of *Social-Demokraten* is accused of offence against religion; at Norrköping the editor of *Proletären* is to be sent to prison for the same "crime"; and at Gothenburg the editor of *Folkets Röst* has committed a lot of crimes: he insulted his poor king, and then the Reichstag of his country, and afterwards even the chief commissioner of police. Our comrade Pehr Erickson, having committed so many crimes in one and the same week, must be a very wicked man indeed! He must be hung, forsooth, if there are Nupkinses at Gothenburg. At the same time, our comrade Björk, the actual editor of *Arbetet* at Malmö (Axel Danielson being in jail), has got his sentence of four months' imprisonment confirmed by the High Court of Justice, and comrade Lyingholm is to be locked up for a couple of months because of his "riotous" conduct. Comrade Tanhakt, from Stockholm, has been arrested at Ystad while on a propaganda tour, and conveyed to Malmö, because he also offended the king at a public meeting held at Helsingborg.

By the way, all these prosecutions have helped our comrades here to carry on their propaganda afresh, and that's the fun of it. The Socialist movement, all through Sweden, goes on remarkably well, and the number of adherents grows day after day.

V. D.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

Executive.—At the meeting of Council on Monday, it was resolved that the Ways and Means Committee send out a statement of the position of the *Weal* to all branches and ask their opinion thereon.

Branch Subscriptions Paid.—1888: Clerkenwell and Leicester to December, *Notice to Branch Secretaries*—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees as soon as possible. A list of Branches in arrears will shortly appear.

Notice.—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.

FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

CHICAGO MARTYRS COMMEMORATION FUND.

Already acknowledged—Total, £36 2s. 5½d. Received—North London Branch, 10s.; Mrs. Lockhart, 6d. Total, £36 12s. 1½d. J. LANE, Treasurer.

REPORTS.

CLERKENWELL.—On Sunday, Dec. 9, after several revolutionary songs had been sung, Blundell opened very good discussion on "The Force Doctrine." Fair sale of *Weal*. 2s. collection.—B.

FULHAM.—On Tuesday evening, back of Walham Green Church, our meeting was opened by Wolff (S.D.F.), Catterson Smith and Groser afterwards addressing a good audience. Several songs were given. On Sunday morning Lynes, jun., and Leonard Hall spoke to a capital meeting. Fair sale of *Commonweal*. In the evening, at the same station (opposite Railway Station), Lynes, jun., and Groser got together an excellent meeting for J. Macdonald, who lectured on "Practical Socialism." Toehatti and Hall afterwards spoke; several *Weals* sold, and 1s. 9d. collected. All members are particularly requested to turn up at meetings of the branch.—S. B. G.

MITCHAM.—Good meeting, addressed by Kitz, at Mitcham Fair Green.

ABERDEEN.—Good meeting at Castle Street Saturday night, addressed by Aiken, Duncan, and Leatham, Choir singing "When the Revolution Comes." At indoor meeting on 3rd, lecture read by Leatham, "Why I am a Socialist."—J. L.

GLASGOW.—Sunday, at 5 o'clock, members turned out well at Paisley Road; Glasier and Joe Burgoyne addressed a large and attentive audience. Burgoyne had to compete with a harmonium some 30 feet away playing lively Salvationist airs. 1s. 1d. collected. Later on, in our rooms, arrangements were made for having a hogmanay gathering to bring in the new year with song and dance.—Comrade J. Fisher McLaren lectured to the Cambuslang Social Union on Thursday, on "Land, Law, and Money." There was a good attendance, and a very interesting discussion followed, during which many pronounced themselves Socialists, and became at the close members of the Union. This society is doing a good educational work, there being already over 80 members, and it promises to be of some assistance to the Glasgow branch of the League. There are lectures and discussions weekly on social subjects, and they have opened reading and recreation rooms in the principal street of the town, which are open daily. A number of League members are to be amongst the lecturers throughout the winter.

NORWICH.—On Thursday last Mowbray continued his series of lectures, subject, "Old English Guilds." On Sunday morning a meeting was held in the Market Place; audience not so large as usual, owing to inclemency of weather. At the Gordon Hall Mowbray lectured on "All for the Cause." Questions were asked at close of lectures.

EDINBURGH.—On 2nd a conference of delegates from the Scottish branches of S.D.F., S.L., and Christian Socialist Society met to consider proposals for the organised and effective teaching of Socialism in Scotland. It was agreed that a committee, consisting of delegates of Scottish Socialist bodies, should be formed, and should sit in Edinburgh for the first year; that the delegates should receive instructions as to voting on important matters from the bodies they represent; and that the committee should receive the proceeds of monthly collections from these bodies to be devoted, along with a tax to be hereafter fixed, to the support of Socialist lecturers to be regularly employed, and to the payment of expenses of lecturers brought from a distance on tour.—S.

LECTURE DIARY.
LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—This Branch is now actively working. Socialists resident in this locality should send their names in at once to 13 Farringdon Road.
Olerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday December 16, at 8.30, H. Davis on "Anarchist Communism versus Social Democracy."
Fulham.—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Committee meetings are held on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock sharp. All members are earnestly requested to attend. Sunday December 16, at 8 p.m., H. Halliday Spurling, "The Leprosy of Politics."
Hackney.—Secretary, E. Lefevre, 14 Goldsmiths Sq., Goldsmiths Row, Hackney Road.
Hammersmith.—Keinsoott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday December 16, at 8 p.m., A Lecture. Wed. Dec. 19, at 8 p.m., Annie Besant (Fabian), "Socialism the only Hope for the Workers."
Hoxton.—12, Basing Place, Kingsland Rd. Business meetings of this branch are held every Friday evening at 9 o'clock.
London Fields.—All communications, etc., to Mrs. G. G. Schack, 26 Cawley Road, South Hackney.
Merton.—Club-house, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road, Singlegate. Lecture on Sunday evenings at 8.30.
White-end and Bethnal Green.—95 Boston St., Hackney Road.
North London.—Secretary, Nelly Parker. Business meetings held on Friday evenings at 6 Windmill St., Tottenham Court Road, after open-air meeting at Ossulton Street.
Walworth and Camberwell.—This branch is now in working order. Friends in this locality are earnestly invited to co-operate, and send their names in. Committee meetings every Monday, 7.30 p.m., at 3 Datchelor Place, Church St., Camberwell Green.
Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.—Meets at the International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road, on Saturdays at 7.30 p.m.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen (Scottish Section).—Secretary, P. Barron, 14 Ann Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.
Bradford.—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivegate. Meets Tuesdays at 8.
Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Tuesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secy.
Dumfries (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.
Edinburgh (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.
Galashiels (Scot Sect.).—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, secy.
Gallatoun and Dysart (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatoun Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosalyn St.
Glasgow.—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class meets every Sunday at 11.
Ipwich.—Pioneer Hall, Tacket Street. Meets on Sunday evenings.
Kilmarnock.—Secretary, H. M'Gill, 22 Gilmour St. Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday.
Leeds.—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Rd. and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m. communications to T. Paylor, 11 Sheldon Street, Holbeck, Leeds. Sunday December 16, T. Maguire, "Leeds and its Inhabitants" (with lime-light illustrations).
Leicester.—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.
Norwich.—Sunday, at 8, Gordon Hall. Monday, at 9.30, a Prize Draw will take place in Gordon Hall; several useful articles will be disposed of; proceeds towards clearing off the debts of the branch. Comrades are earnestly asked to help us out of the present difficulties. Tuesday, 8.30, Members' Meeting. Wednesday, at 8, Educational Class. Thursday, at 8, Lecture by Mowbray, subject "Democracy in Europe"; tickets 1d. each. Friday, at 8.30, Meeting in Gordon Hall. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association.

Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.
Walsall.—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.
West Calder (Scottish Section).—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SUNDAY 16.
11.30...Latimer Road Station ...Hammersmith Branch
11.30...Mitcham Fair Green ...Turner
11.30...Regent's Park ...The Branch
11.30...Walham Green, opp. Station...The Branch
11.30...Weltje Rd., Ravencourt Pk ...Hammersmith
3.30...Hyde Park ...Hicks
7.30...Broad Street, Soho...Nicoll
7.30...Clerkenwell Green ...Brookes & Hicks

Tuesday.

8.30...Fulham—back of Walham Green Ch. ...Branch

EAST END.

SUNDAY 16.

Leman Street, Shadwell 11 ...McCormick.

FRIDAY.

Philpot St., Commercial Rd. 8.30...Kitz & Parker.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen.—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7 p.m.
Glasgow.—Sunday: Glasgow Green at 2 p.m.; Paisley Road at 5.30.
Ipwich.—Sproughton, Wednesday evening. Westerfield, Thursday evening. Needham Market, Sunday morning and evening.
Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.
Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place, at 11 and 3.

WEST DEPTFORD REFORM CLUB. 31 Reculver Road. —Rev. S. D. Headlam, "The Unemployed." Sunday Dec. 16.

ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, HAMMERSMITH.—Rev. F. L. Donaldson, M.A. (Special Sermon), "The Repentance of Society." Sunday Dec. 16, at 5 p.m.

CHelsea BRANCH S.D.F., Pelham Rooms, Kimbolton Row, Fulham Road, S.W.—Sunday Dec. 16, at 8 p.m., Sydney Olivier, B.A., "English Socialism."

CENTRAL CROYDON LIBERAL AND RADICAL CLUB, Crown Hill, Croydon.—Wednesday December 19th, at 8 p.m., Eleanor Marx-Aveling, on "Working Men and Politics." Men and Women invited.

The Mitcham Branch is about to be reconstituted. All desirous of helping in the work of the S. L. in and around Mitcham, Merton, and Streatham should communicate with comrade J. Campbell, 98 Wellfield Road, Streatham.

LEICESTER.—A course of lectures on "Socialism, its Aims and Principles" is being delivered in Leicester Secular Hall. The fourth lecture will be delivered on Sunday Dec. 30 by Sydney Olivier—subject, "The Moral Aspect."

THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—The Committee will meet at the house of S. Oliver, 139 Trafalgar Street, Walworth Road, on Saturday Dec. 15 and Dec. 22, at 7.30 p.m., to receive subscriptions and enrol members. Friends in South London particularly requested to be present.

SOUTH LONDON.—Friends who will help to establish a Branch of the Socialist League in South London will please place themselves in communication with C. Henze, 41 Bolton Street, Thomas Street, Kennington Park, S.E., or by letter to H. Hopkins, 17 Gairloch Road, Shenley Road, Peckham, S.E.

SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.

- Chants for Socialists.** By William Morris. . 1d
- Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism.** By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). . 1d
- The Commune of Paris.** By E. Belfort Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. . 2d
- The Aims of Art.** By Wm. Morris. Bijou edition, 3d.; Large paper, 6d.
- The Rights of Labour according to John Ruskin.** By Thomas Barclay. 1d
- The Tables Turned; or, Nupkins Awakened.** A Socialist Interlude. By William Morris. In Wrapper . 4d.
- The Manifesto of the Socialist League.** Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and William Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. 1d.
- 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. per dozen, 4s. 6d
- "Vive la Commune!"** Cartoon by Walter Crane. Best paper. 2d.

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THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 4.—No. 154.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 22, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

THE news from the Soudan is somewhat portentous, if, as seems pretty certain, Stanley as well as Emin Bey is in the hands of the Madhi. It is in any case satisfactory that Stanley's expedition has fallen through; it gives us breathing-space, at any rate. Also as a matter of course the Soudanese are in a better position, for the present, for their possession of these important hostages. But on the other hand the danger of these "pioneers of civilisation" (once called pirates) will be worked by the market-mongers and Christianity-shovers for all that it is worth, and the difficulties in the way of having a small half-responsibility expedition in the Soudan will tend to push us into a big affair in which we shall be fully responsible, and in which it would be almost too good to hope for serious defeat.

Mr. Page Hopps' "Radicals' Creed," as printed in the *Pall Mall*, is as lamentable a piece of feebleness as a well-meaning person ever produced: the opening sentence of it convicts him at once of incapacity of understanding the whole social question. Says he: "It is always foolish and wicked to set class against class, but the time has come for a resolute forward movement in favour of the toilers of our streets and fields." Indeed the time *has* come, and long ago; nor for such a movement has the time ever failed. But pray, how can "a resolute forward movement" on behalf of the toilers take place without its finding itself at once face to face with a class which says, "Thus far and no further; we have won our position by a long struggle and have overthrown our masters; but now we are the masters. Your resolute forward movement must stop, unless it can go forward over us."

Will Radicals of Mr. Page Hopps' kind *never* learn that whatever is done to raise the condition of the "poor" *must* be done at the expense of the rich; since the latter are only rich because the poor make them so by allowing themselves to be compelled into poverty? To waste their labour for the rich, and to be paid for their wasted labour with leave to live to waste their labour, this is what they are compelled to do. This is a fact, and there is no evading it. Let the "Radical" read his Adam Smith, and see it stated there in plain terms before the days when the modern social revolution was thought of and when there was no danger in stating it.

Who or what sets class against class? The whole evolution of society. That is, the existence of the classes. That is indeed a foolish and wicked thing, and since we now see that we can make an end of it, let us make an end of it at once. Here is a wall which hinders us from the use of a fair garden: there is the hindrance, and it is caused by the wall; which is there, whether we shut our eyes to it or not. Nor shall we be any more inside the garden because we turn round and dig in a few potatoes outside it, and pretend there is no wall between us and the garden, and that we don't want to get in if we could. Moral—down with the wall! even if it is necessary to say plainly that it exists. More of the Radicals' Creed another time.

Mr. Arthur Arnold takes the trouble to attack Mr. George, over whom he, as a defender of capitalism, could win an easy victory, if he had taken the trouble to understand what the land monopoly really signifies, and how impossible it is to separate it from monopoly of the other means of production; but such a victory would not be a victory for the champion of "free land," but for the Socialist. Mr. Arnold tells us pretty plainly what his aim is when he says: "Here, alas! the monopoly of the land is neither great nor wide nor deep; it is only narrow; I trust we shall make it great and wide and deep." Just so; Mr. Arnold's aim, like that of many others whose instinct rather than their reason drives them to seek it, is the perpetuation of inequality—*i.e.*, the misery of the many, by means of the widening of the basis of robbery. He thinks (or feels), and rightly, that the more people you can get interested in the maintenance of oppression, the safer that oppression will be from the attacks of the disinherited. Plunder by all means, but don't let the few keep the plunder to themselves: if many share the plunder they will form a stout body of men who will be as firm in their opinion that "the abolition of the monopoly is impossible" as the slave-owners of Aristotle's time were as to *their* monopoly.

Says Mr. Arnold, something or other "would be cruelly unjust to the working-classes, and would impoverish them by enhancing the value of foreign investments." How a labouring man on 15s. a-week can be impoverished by a rise in prices in foreign investments, is surely beyond the ken of anybody but a very wise financier—or a very great fool.

Mr. Arnold makes a curious quotation from J. S. Mill: "'The monopoly of land,' says Mr. Mill, in words which no accurate thinker can repudiate, 'is a natural monopoly . . . which cannot be prevented from existing.'" Well, I cannot, I fear, claim to be an accurate thinker, but I am in the habit of weighing the value of language, and I should say that a man who would use such a phrase as "natural monopoly" might presently talk about "dry water" without astonishing us much. To such a man I should deny the title of an "accurate thinker," were he Mr. Mill, or the Pope, or even Mr. Bradlaugh.

In plain words a monopoly can be maintained as long as the monopolists have fraud and force enough to hoodwink the most of men and bully the rest; failing that sufficiency of fraud and force, it is scattered to the winds.

But will Mr. Arnold, or any other Free Land Leaguer, tell us *why* the abolition of the monopoly of land (or say the means of production generally) is impossible? He might as well say that it is impossible for a man to touch his toe with his hand. It is impossible as long as his hand is tied behind his back.

Mr. Morley has been making what is conventionally called a "great" speech in Clerkenwell. To judge by the reports and their many columns, it was at least a big speech; but there was in it little or nothing to note. Leasehold enfranchisement was the chief part of the song; and it is to be hoped that even advanced Radicals are not blind enough to see it as, what Mr. Morley half hinted he considered it, a step to the abolition of the land-monopoly. A measure to increase the number of landlords is about all that its supporters can claim it to be. But, as a matter of fact, it means merely aggrandising the capitalist, big or little, at the expense of the land-owner; and it is only meant to stop people's mouths, a make-believe of energy on the part of the "Great Liberal Party."

Mr. Morley put before Liberals an ideal quoted from Shakespeare: "I earn that I eat: I get that I wear: owe no man hate: envy no man's happiness; glad of other men's good." Very pretty sentiments, but to whom are they addressed? To the workers? Well they certainly earn what they eat and get that they wear, but also what other people eat and wear. To the possessing classes? well, when they can say that with truth it will be a changed world indeed. For they would be both naked and hungry if they only ate and wore what they earned; and if they were glad of other people's good, how about the Soudan, and Imperial Federation, and the whole disgusting war of the market, and oppression of that great tyranny the British Empire?

The *Star* has been doing a little bit of canonisation of Mr. Brunner as the worker's friend, which under all the circumstances it was bound to do, for where would the *Star* have been without Mr. Brunner, or rather without Mr. Brunner's money? But Mr. Brunner is a Gladstonian, so the *Evening News*, which is no doubt quite prepared to canonise a Tory or Unionist employer of labour, has taken the part of the Devil's Advocate, and has taken pains to show that Mr. Brunner is just about as good as might be expected from his position, *i.e.*, a man belonging to a class which compel other men to keep them gratis against their will, and competing (*i.e.*, fighting) with other members of his class for the biggest share he can get of this plunder. The motto of the *Star* is, "a Gladstonian can do no wrong even if he is one of our owners," and the *Evening News* has done some service to us (unwittingly) by attacking this "eternal truth" or infernal lie. Let the *Star* do as much for the *Evening News* another time, and so do honour to an ancient proverb.

W. M.

In reference to what I have said about the new President of the United States and his descent from the great regicide, a genealogical friend sends me the following:—

"It seems that the new unco' guid President (who never so much as

smiles on the 'Sabbath') has no excuse of ignorance for endorsing this audacious lie, since his ancestors have been always cheap-jack aristocrats, and are well known to him and others, and the impossibility of his descent (very much of a descent it would be) from Thomas Harrison is obvious. Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, the president-elect, is the son of Senator John Scott Harrison, of Ohio, son of President William Henry Harrison, of Ohio, son of Congressman Benjamin Harrison, of Virginia (signer of the Declaration of Independence and the cowardly opponent of Patrick Henry), son of Benjamin Harrison (speaker of the Virginia House of Burgesses), son of the 'Hon. Benjamin Harrison, Esq.', who was born in Surrey, Virginia, in 1645, whose epitaph loudly proclaims he was 'always loyal to his prince.'

Now even a Philadelphian lawyer, much less one from Indianapolis, cannot cram down our throats the tale that the great Leveller, Thomas Harrison, who in 1645 was winning his spurs in the flush of youthful prime on the battle-fields of England, had a "descendant" born in far-off Virginia at the time, and one, too, "always loyal to his prince"!

The fact is that Thomas Harrison is the one Englishman about whom more infamous lies have been told than any other. He was one of the simplest in demeanour, most honest in action, most brave in endurance, most advanced in intelligence, and clearest-headed in understanding. That he was deeply imbued with the doctrines of the Bible is most true. But all those alleged rantings and ravings we have heard so much about, are the dust his enemies designedly kicked up to hide his real character. Carlyle has a justly savage tirade against the cowardly stupidity of the English people in allowing the one great heroism of their history, the uprising of the Puritan democracy, to be lied down.

In his single person, Thomas Harrison represents the lion's share of this martyrdom. From the pamphleteers and balladists of 1660 down to that bigoted Tory, Sir Walter Scott, every use of Thomas Harrison's name has been coupled with an outrageous invention. The few fragments of his utterances preserved to us, and every authentic fact recorded of him, prove him to have been the unswerving, incorruptible apostle of the rights of man. Among a phalanx of thieves, who had stabbed the fair form of English liberty and sold the English Republic to stuff their own insatiate maws (and whose descendants are revelling in that plunder to this hour), it was Thomas Harrison's boast when, as first martyr of the Restoration, he mounted the scaffold at Charing Cross, that he left nothing to his wife and babes but the Bible he had held as his text-book. No wonder the land, and tax, and usury-eating thieves, who had just partitioned England among them, had to lie down such a reproach to their iniquity! S.

JONES' BOY ONCE MORE.

"SAY, pa, what is that big place over there?" asked the inquisitive boy, as he was taking a walk out on Sunday afternoon.

"That is the central prison, my son."

"What is it for, pa?"

"Oh, for putting bad people in; thieves and such."

"What are thieves, pa?"

"A thief is a man who takes things that belong to other people."

"Oh, yes, I mind now. When Bill Fisher went into Mr. Shortweight's grocery store and bought some things, and then, when Mr. Shortweight was not looking, put a whole lot of other things in his basket, they said he was a thief. He was sent to prison, wasn't he, pa?"

"Yes, my son. Everybody said it served him right, too."

"No, not everybody, pa; I heard one man say that the judge should have considered that Bill's wife was sick, and he hadn't any money except what he had just paid the grocer, and had no work, and that the things he stole were just what his wife and his little baby needed. He said the jury should be strung up. You was on the jury, wasn't you, pa?"

"That man was some socialist, or something. It would not do to allow sentiment to interfere with justice."

"I heard a man say that Bill's wife had died of a broken heart; that two of his girls had turned out bad, and that it was more than likely all the others would, as no one would hire them because their father was a thief. He said, too, that Bill would come out of prison a regular criminal."

"You see, my son, the way of the transgressor is hard; and the sins of the parents are visited on the children."

"If ma was sick and me and the rest were starving, and you had no money and couldn't get work, and had a chance to steal a loaf of bread, and couldn't get it any other way, what would you do?"

"I'd— Why do you ask such foolish questions?"

"Because I think you'd be too mean to live if you didn't steal it. And if I had been on the jury, Bill wouldn't be in jail and his girls wouldn't be gone bad."

"But stealing must be put down."

"Then it's really and truly stealing if a man takes two dollars' worth of goods and only pays for one of them, is it; even if he does it to keep his family from starving?"

"To be sure."

"Say, pa, is Sam Jones working in your brick-yard now?"

"Yes, and he is a pretty good man; about as good as I've got."

"How much do you pay him?"

"A dollar a day."

"How much do you pay the other men?"

"Just the same; a dollar a day."

"Well, I heard you tell ma that Sam did more work than three men; does he?"

"Yes, he's a first-class man."

"Why does he work for the same as the men who don't do as much work? Why don't he quit?"

"He's hired by the year, and his time is always up in the slack time, when he couldn't get another job. Then he has a lot of children, and his wife is sick mostly, so he can't risk losing his job."

"My! you got him in a fix, didn't you, pa?"

"Oh, well, business men have to make the most of their opportunities."

"I guess Bill Fisher thought he was making the most of his opportunities when he took his chances when the grocer wasn't looking."

"What do you mean?"

"Oh, nothing; only I was thinking whether there was much difference between you and Bill Fisher. He took more things from the grocer than he paid for; you take more work from Sam Jones than you pay for. Is taking more work than you pay for stealing, pa?"

"No, stupid! What I make off Sam is profit; it is perfectly legitimate!"

"What's legitimate?"

"Legitimate is legal; sanctioned by law. Anything the law allows is legitimate."

"Oh, I see. Taking a man's work without paying for it is profit, because it's legitimate; taking a man's groceries without paying for them is stealing, because it isn't. That's the way, is it?"

"Oh, don't bother; you make me tired."

"Say, what's law? What makes anything law?"

"Why, the voters; that is, those who have votes elect men to Parliament, and then Parliament says what is to be law. Do you understand?"

"Have you got a vote, pa?"

"Yes, I vote for four members."

"Has Sam a vote, too?"

"Yes, he has one."

"Does he vote for the same men as you do?"

"Well, I expect him to. If I found he didn't I might discharge him."

"I guess men who work like Sam have not much to say in making laws, have they?"

"Well, they have their votes, but intelligence counts. We generally fix things so they can't do much harm. Last election our side nominated Mr. Straddle and the other side put up Mr. Jumper, and so, whichever was elected, we knew that the laws would be all right anyhow."

"I guess if Sam and his set had the making of the laws they would send men to prison for the legitimate stealing just the same as the other kind. How would you like to be sent to jail, and have ma die and your children go bad, like Bill Fisher, and when you couldn't say that you stole Sam Jones' work to keep your sick wife and children from starving, either?"

"Tut, tut, boy; don't be so silly."

"Say, pa, I heard the minister telling you that Sam and his wife are real Christians; are they?"

"I believe they are."

"He said that though they were very poor, and had no carpets and pictures, and no furniture to speak of, and hardly enough to eat, they were content and piously thankful to God. Do you believe that?"

"Why, of course."

"Are you piously thankful, too?"

"I hope so."

"Well, you ought to be. If Sam is thankful for one dollar when he works for three, you ought to be pretty thankful for two when you don't work for any."

"Run away now, and play. Here's ten cents to go into the zoo and see the monkeys."

"I don't want to see the monkeys; I'd rather talk to you and amuse you. The minister said it was the devil that tempted Bill Fisher to take the things from the grocer; was it him that put you up to making that bargain with Sam?"

"Oh, don't bother me; you're talking nonsense."

"Say, pa, will Sam Jones go to heaven?"

"Likely: he's a good Christian."

"Will you go, too?"

"I hope so."

"What will you say if he asks you about that two dollars a day, and begins to talk about doing unto others as you'd like them to do to you?"

"Oh, don't chatter so; you make my head ache."

"And suppose they ask you about being on that jury, and about Bill Fisher and his girls?"

"Stop talking, I say."

"Say, pa, have they got dictionaries in heaven?"

"What a question! What would they do with dictionaries?"

"Oh, I just thought it would be lucky for you if they had, or they mightn't know the difference between legitimate stealing and the other kind."

"Quit, now! Not another word or I'll send you right home."

SPOKESHAVE, in *Labour Reformers*.

THE RECENT INTERNATIONAL TRADES CONGRESS.

The Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee report as follows to the trades unions of the United Kingdom, on the International Trades Union Congress, held in London on November 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th, 1888. We think that our readers will find it interesting, though hardly in the way it was intended:—

TO THE OFFICERS OF TRADE SOCIETIES AND TRADES COUNCILS.

Gentlemen,—In obedience to the resolution passed at the Bradford Congress, appointing us its representatives, we attended the International Trades Union Congress, held in London, in November, 1888. In addition to ourselves, there were 77 delegates from the Unions of the United Kingdom, 17 from France, 10 from Belgium, 9 from Holland, 2 from Denmark, and 1 from Italy, making a total of 115 delegates present. Mr. George Shipton, our chairman, was elected chairman for the week, Mr. Slatter, treasurer, and Mr. Broadhurst secretary. In consequence of the publication of a report of the Congress, it is unnecessary here to dwell on the details of its procedure and results. The initial difficulty of international gatherings is the confusion of language. However efficient the interpretation, it can never serve the purpose of direct verbal intercourse. Having regard to this great barrier, we may with reason say that less confusion was felt than might have been expected. Mr. A. Smith (the committee's interpreter) is a writer for the *Proletariat*, one of the organs of the Paris workmen, and in an article immediately preceding the Congress, used language in respect to the British trade unionists calculated to lessen their influence in the Congress, and to hold them up in a disparaging, if not odious, light to their fellow delegates from the Continent. Mr. Smith was questioned by us with regard to his conduct, and made what we considered to be a very unsatisfactory reply. After a careful perusal of the report of the Congress you will be enabled to form your own opinion as to the resultant value of the meeting. In order to assist you to arrive at a sound judgment we present the following points for your consideration:—1. Has the cause of labour in the United Kingdom been advanced by the Congress? 2. Has the cause of trade-unionism (as we understand it) been advanced on the Continent? 3. Has the Congress done anything towards cementing the friendship of the workers of different nationalities? We cannot undertake the responsibility of saying no to these questions, but, notwithstanding our present inability to discern that any good has been accomplished, we trust that seed may have been sown and germs engendered which may in the distant future grow and ripen into solid gain and advantage to the cause of labour. It must always be remembered that the Continental worker starts upon a basis not yet adopted in this country—that with regard to labour it is the duty of the State and the Municipality to do nearly all that has been done and is being done in this country by private and individual or associated effort. On the other hand, the Anarchists—the extreme party—disbelieve in governments and corporations, and advise universal strikes at a given time, throughout the world, in order to bring about a revolution and to starve capital. It was not shown at the Congress whether labour was or was not to starve also at the same time. Curiously enough the majority of the British section was driven to vote for a resolution proposed by an Anarchist in preference to a Socialist resolution. In this case we only voted for certain words, and were entirely opposed to the reasons which prompted the resolution. This incident illustrates the difficulty and danger of going into such diverse councils without appearing to support resolutions which we really condemn in order to escape from what we consider to be greater evils. We shall, however, take no action on any of the resolutions passed unless instructed so to do by the Dundee Congress next September. As an appendix to the Congress report, we publish the agenda of business, which contains the whole of the resolutions which were prepared on the four questions contained in the programme upon which the Congress was convened, in order that you might see what possibility there was of any practical decisions being arrived at. The people represented by the continental delegates are engaged in the same industries as those represented by the British delegates; and in many cases are manufacturing goods which come into competition, both at home, our colonies, and abroad, with the goods manufactured in this country. Continental workmen are toiling 60 or 80 hours per week for about half the wages obtained by Trade-unionists in Great Britain for 40 to 60 hours' labour per week. Yet, so far as we are aware, little or no notice was taken of this vast difference of condition. No inquiries were made as to how we had obtained this advantage; nor was any tribute paid to the organisations and the means by which our present position had been attained. We were advised that it was our duty to obtain by law a further approach to a national eight hours a day. Of course, the foreign delegates gave the same advice to their own countrymen, but we would rather see them reduce their own excessive hours down to our level, and bring their wages somewhat nearer to our standard, before we enter into an agitation for the establishment of an eight hours law in this country. We think eight hours' work per day is long enough for any man, much less a woman, and we are glad to know that many British workmen have practically reduced their working time to that limit, and in some cases to even less. This might be even more extensively accomplished if the workers would join trade unions in greater numbers. The general outcome of our observations is that we think there is little substantial advantage to be gained by the British trades in taking part in an international conference while such conditions prevail. If the Continental workers would organise and make a determined stand against their low wages and long hours, it would be our duty to help them in every possible way; but until they accomplish something solid in this direction, it is open to grave doubt whether much practical good can come out of conferences the constituent parts of which are so dissimilar and unequal. We do not at present intend to express any definite opinion on the question of future International Congresses, as we have no desire to prejudice the trades on the subject. The voting at the late Congress was by nationality, and as all the Continental delegates almost invariably voted one way, the British were destined beforehand to be out-voted in most cases by five to one. It was the desire of our friends that the foreign delegates should have every opportunity of making speeches and inquiries, consequently the British delegates occupied but little of the time of the meeting, many not speaking at all during the whole week. The Parliamentary Committee gave a reception, at the Westminster Palace Hotel, on the eve of the Congress, to the whole of the delegates, both British and foreign. The London Trades Council gave a princely (*sic*!) dinner to the whole Congress, at the Holborn Restaurant, on the Thursday night, and the managers of the Toynbee Hall gave a supper to

the foreign delegates on the Wednesday night, to which the Parliamentary Committee were invited, but were unable to accept the invitation. We felt that a brief report of some impressions of this international event was due to the trades who composed the last Congress, and who delegated us to represent it. In consequence of the correspondence being very large, and most of it in foreign languages, the work of organising the Congress was exceptionally heavy. It is quite safe to say that such a pressure on the office has never been known since the formation of the committee, twenty-one years back. Yet we hope, and believe, that our heavy home correspondence and general work has not been neglected to the detriment of the interest of the trade. We are, yours truly,

G. Shipton (chairman), E. Harford (vice-chairman), H. Slatter (treasurer), J. Mawdsley, W. Crawford, T. Birtwistle, J. M. Jack, W. Inskip, J. Inglis, J. Swift, Hy. Broadhurst (secretary).

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1888.

23	Sun.	1789. Heine born. 1864. Bronterre O'Brien died.
24	Mon.	1795. Trial of Michael Maguire for high treason. 1833. Arabi leaves Egypt an exile. 1887. Strike on Philadelphia and Reading Railroad.
25	Tues.	Christmas Day. 1066. Inauguration and election of William the Conqueror at Westminster Abbey. 1676. Sir Matthew Hale died.
26	Wed.	1825. Revolutionary rising of several guard regiments against accession of Nicholas to the throne (<i>Decembrists</i>). Sentences: death, 5; hard labour, 88; banishment, 18; enlisted as soldiers, 9.
27	Thur.	1867. Fenian attack on Fota Martello Tower. 1880. Trial begins of Parnell and others for "conspiracy to prevent tenants from paying their rent."
28	Fri.	1795. Trial of John Leary for high treason. 1870. Marshal Prim shot at and fatally wounded.
29	Sat.	1834. T. R. Malthus died. 1883. Col. Soudeikin and his chief assistant found dead.
30	Sun.	1870. Death of Marshal Prim. 1878. Henry Vincent died. 1834. Socialist League founded.
31	Mon.	1857. Sepoys blown from guns. 1874. Ledru Rollin died. 1882. Gambetta died.

James Bronterre O'Brien.—This greatest of the Chartist leaders was probably the most honest and widely informed of all social reformers who have put their faith in the sublime blessing of a paternal government, acting in the interest of "the people." That no coercive government, acting through frail mortal agents, can possibly be an honest servant of all its constituents is one of those eternal truths which men are learning by sad experience. O'Brien was unfortunately a lawyer, and poisoned from the start with a lawyer's religious reverence for "legal" methods. The wonder is, however, that O'Brien was able as an outsider to so educate himself and to educate others in the secrets of the social shackles of the wage-slaves. O'Brien was born in Ireland in 1802, and died in London. To him, more than any other individual, the newspaper press owes its present freedom. He suffered imprisonment and ostracism, and the only powerful democratic newspaper to-day in Great Britain which has the remotest claim to be anything but a wolf in sheep's clothing, so far as the workers are concerned, practically owes its foundation and all its inspiration to O'Brien. It is a satire on human fancy that, although Irishmen are above everything else devoted to political and social science, by far the greatest man as a politician and social philosopher Ireland ever has or is ever likely to produce, is almost unknown even among his fellow-countrymen, while swarms of Irish place-hunters and spouters, creatures of the hour, have their names on every tongue and consider themselves enshrined in "history." Yet thoughtful men, honestly seeking for solid intellectual food on social subjects, will keep enshrined as that of a giant memory the name of James Bronterre O'Brien.—L. W.

The following note was omitted last week through want of space:

The Ghost of the Czar.—A report circulated in St. Petersburg that the ghost of the late Czar had been seen during the night in Kazan Cathedral. It had come out of the sanctuary and had proceeded to light the candles upon the high altar. It had then turned towards the body of the church, and said, "My son, come to me; thou shalt meet with the same fate as thy father." The next night a sentinel was placed on guard inside the cathedral, and it is said that he witnessed the same apparition and was afterwards found half dead with fright. It is very improbable that this miraculous event could have happened anywhere else but in Russia, where the dim twilight of ancient superstition still lovingly lingers. One wonders whether the awful apparition was the effect of the great events which disturb men's minds, an adventurous Nihilist, or a somnambulant priest whose nightly slumbers were disturbed by an indigestible supper. Probably the latter hypothesis is the correct one, as we are not aware that his late majesty, before his translation to heaven by scientific agency, knew much of priestly duties, in which the ghost appears to have been an adept. Will the prophecy fulfil itself, I wonder, and thus add another authentic apparition to the list of the Psychological Society?—D. N.

NOTE.—The Revolutionary Calendar has now completed a year in the columns of the *Commonweal*. During the latter part of the time, the notes upon the events recorded in it have suffered from the pressure of unforeseen events. It will be again issued weekly in the *Commonweal* throughout the coming year, and advantage will be taken of the fact to perfect it in all ways as far as possible, and to prepare for its issue in a volume of handy size as an almanack and calendar for 1890. As will be remembered, the nucleus of the calendar was compiled by comrade Tom Muse of Carlisle; with his consent, I assumed the editorship and set to work to add dates and secure contributions. In so doing I have received constant and valuable aid from comrades Dave, Shore, Thaykovsky, and Withington, who have all promised to continue their co-operation. Further announcement will be made shortly. H. H. S.

SAME HERE.—In New South Wales, a rioter is one who strikes against long hours, low wages and industrial slavery, and passes his time in booting scabs. An industrious and honest working man, is one who works when others strike, and loafs when others work; and who always assists the down-trodden capitalist to defeat the tyrannical unionists.—*Radical*.



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

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication. As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d. Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

- CLUB SECRETARY.—We shall be pleased to insert notices of your lectures regularly if you send them in time. We make no charge.
- O. F.—The "White Terror" was that which followed the restoration of the Bourbons in 1815, when the clericals and reactionaries took a wild and sweeping revenge.
- S. F.—"Selections from the Poems of Alex. Petöfi," translated by Henry Phillips, jun., Philadelphia (privately printed), 1885; 12mo. "Translations from Alexander Petöfi," by Sir J. Bowring, London, 1886; 8vo. "Gems from Petöfi and other Hungarian Poets," W. N. Loew; New York, 1881; 8vo. None of these contain any of his revolutionary poetry.
- S. M.—Warren Hastings, Governor-General of India, was tried by the peers of Great Britain for "high crimes and misdemeanours," the taking of bribes, etc. The trial lasted 145 days, covering seven years and three months; beginning February 13, 1788, ending with his acquittal April 23, 1795. Sheridan's was chief among the great speeches delivered in the course of it.
- S. C. H. and J. S. R.—Replies next week.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday December 19.

ENGLAND	Chicago—Knights of Labor	ITALY
Freedom	Vorbote	Turin—Nuova Gazzetta Operaia
Die Autonomie	Die Fackel	Rome, L'Emancipazione (daily)
Justice	Herald	SPAIN
Labour Tribune	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Barcelona—El Productor
London—Freie Presse	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Madrid—El Socialista
Montrose Review	Coast Seamen's Journal	PORTUGAL
Norwich—Daylight	Valley Falls (Kan.)—Fair Play	Lisbon—O Profetado Operario
Postal Service Gazette	FRANCE	Porto—A Revolucao Social
Railway Review	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	GERMANY
Rochdale Observer	Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Berlin—Volks Tribune
S. gl' Demokrat	La Revolte	AUSTRIA
The Union	Le Proletariat	Wien—Gleichheit
Worker's Friend	Le Coup de Feu	Brunn—Volksfreund
NEW SOUTH WALES	Lilla—Le Cri du Travailleur	HUNGARY
Hamilton—Radical	St.-Etienne—La Loire Socialist	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
INDIA	HOLLAND	Roehmanien
Banking—Behar Herald	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Jassy—Municipal
Madras—People's Friend	BELGIUM	DENMARK
UNITED STATES	Ghent—Cooruit	Social-Demokraten
New York—Der Sozialist	Liege—L'Avenir	SWEDEN
Truthseeker	Antwerp—De Werker	Malmö—Arbetet
Alarm	SWITZERLAND	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Baecker Zeitung	Arbeiterstimme	NORWAY
Workmen's Advocate	Geneva—Przedswit	Kristiania—Social-Demokraten
Boston—Woman's Journal		
Liberty		

TALK AND ART.

THE ART CONGRESS (or whatever is the proper name for it) at which I assisted last week, may easily be made a mark at which to shoot shafts of ridicule. The crowds of lion-worshipping ladies, the many worthy artists set up to speak about an art which is above all things a matter of the instructed eye and deft hand; and many of them into the bargain but poor speakers, in all senses of the word (small blame to them for that same, since above all things their craft is of *doing*). The bands of idle busy-bodies; the stock phrases bandied about by people who, if questioned about them, would have been able to give but a sorry account of their meaning; and which phrases, when repeated to a reasonable person for the fiftieth time, became at last difficult to reply to with the amiable grin expected on the occasion instead of an outburst of the fury within him. All this the outward manifestation of the set of fashion towards "earnestness" in the minor arts is discouraging enough, and I thought I discerned in the faces of my Socialist friends whom I met there some of the shame-facedness which I myself felt. Nor did I wonder that the "manufacturers" lay low under the storm of open denunciation and implied censure and scorn which was the leading feature of the Congress: nay, I had an uncomfortable sensation, as though I could feel them chuckling at our expense, as if they were saying, "Well, after all, this fine gathering for talk, and all its materials, including the well-fed, well-clothed, well housed artists who are abusing us, have passed through our hands before they got here, and by no means unfruitfully for us. You also, our friends the artists, are our slaves, though your tether may be somewhat longer than that of our factory hands; nor do we much heed your talk, for it and your Congress and your village industries do us

no harm on the one hand, and are rather good for trade on the other. In short, we are the masters of the situation, and you cannot help it; and indeed the greater part of you would be very sorry to help it if you could, and sacrifice your comforts to disturbance in the present and severity of life in the future."

That at first seemed to me to be the mocking echo of our talk at Liverpool; and no doubt not one cog or fly-wheel will be displaced in that horrible South Lancashire by all the murmuring sea of talk. Yet after all even this set of fashion against commercial production on one side of it, and the silence of the manufacturers under it, are tokens of the sickness of society and the change drawing near: an epoch whose system is healthy and flourishing does not protest against and is not conscious of any loss which it suffers from the necessary process of that system; it accepts without murmur the gains which the system has brought about, and only thinks of fresh gains to be obtained by the perfecting of the process which has been found necessary to the conditions of life of the passing day. Nor, in spite of their chuckling, are the manufacturers in as good a position as they boast themselves: we know that. They are driven by necessity to find work for the demon which they have created, and which threatens to eat them up. Perhaps it is the knowledge or suspicion of this fact that keeps them silent under the attack of the artists. Else one would have expected to have seen many utterances like a clever letter published the other day in the *Manchester Guardian*, the writer of which told the artists roundly that it was their business to paint and not to talk (meaning, of course, that they should forget that they, scrubs as they are, are citizens), taunting them with wrapping themselves up in the past and not heeding the present world-grief (he used the German word), and reminding people that a spinning-jenny was a much more important thing than a carved chest or an illuminated manuscript.

All this sounds at first sight like common-sense, and even seems to have some elevation of aim in it; but after all it is but clap-trap. Let us forget the grievance of the humbug and hypocrisy that always hangs itself on to every movement that shows discontent with the present, and see what it is that the artists are aiming at, those of them who are in earnest. Their aim, instinctive or conscious, is to make everybody an artist; whereas the aim of the *Guardian* letter-writer (signing himself "P.") is to make everybody a "manufacturer" or a manufacturer's "dependent." To him the spinning-jenny is glorious, not because it produces yarn which the public can use, but because it produces "hands" whom the manufacturers can use; so no wonder that "P." wants the artists to glorify the modern world-grief, since it is the system which he and his live by and have created. "P.'s" aim is to realise a world for the manufacture of market-wares—i.e., manufacturers' profits—made without the will of the makers and in the teeth of their miserable toil.

And what for? That Manchester may be made. And why should Manchester be made? That market-goods bearing a profit may be made. What a lamentable vicious circle! But the artists' aim is that all men should be artists. Folly! cries "P.," and perhaps also some of our readers. But wait a little! What is an artist? A man who works at useful work that is fit for him and according to his own will. Therefore the artists are right in their aim; for when work is so done the world will be happy, but not before. Here is a worthy aim indeed; whereas "P." and his brethren have no aim, nothing more than an instinct for going on living at the expense of the workers.

I say again, in wishing to make all people artists, the artists are absolutely right, whatever follies they may be entangled in while they are still unconscious of their aim and its meaning. But those of them who are worth anything will not long remain unconscious of their aim. They see through the hypocrisy about the world-grief, with which the Philistine tries to sentimentalise filth, stink, and hideousness; their senses as human animals have led them on the right road so far at least as to demand beauty and interest in life for themselves at any rate, and they will soon find out that they cannot have this except by means of the co-operation of the labour that produces the ordinary wares of life; and that co-operation again they cannot have as long as the workmen are dependent on the will of a master. They must co-operate consciously and willingly for livelihood, and out of that free co-operation will spring the expression of individual character and gifts which we call art. Then those spinning-jennies which so affect "P.'s" soul will be used for producing yarns which we want, and not yarns that we only want to sell.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

NOTICE.

Subscribers who find a red mark against this notice are thereby reminded that their subscriptions have expired and must be renewed before the New Year if they wish to continue to receive *Commonweal*.

ENGINE-DRIVERS' HOURS.—What does Colonel Rich mean when, in his report on the collision at the Subway Junction of the Great Western Railway, he presents to the Board of Trade the hours of duty of the engine-driver in such a form as he has selected? He says the driver commenced work at 4.45, but was not working between 9.50 and 12.37 p.m., 1 and 2 p.m., 2.30 and 4 p.m., 4.55 and 5.55 p.m. At 7.13 p.m. he came into collision, but Col. Rich declines to say that he had been on duty 14½ hours, as he had been, simply because between the hours mentioned above the man was not running a train. Is Colonel Rich so ignorant of railway matters as to believe that in those intervals he has quoted the driver had nothing else to do but twirl his thumbs or lie on his back? If he is so credulous as to believe such things, the fact is to be deplored that one holding such a position as he does should be so easily gulled.—*Railway Review*.

THE SOWER.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

I SAW a Sower walking slow
Across the earth, from east to west;
His hair was white as mountain snow,
His head drooped forward on his breast.

With shrivelled hands he flung his seed,
Nor ever turned to look behind;
Of sight or sound he took no heed;
It seemed he was both deaf and blind.

His dim face showed no soul beneath,
Yet in my heart I felt a stir,
As if I looked upon the sheath
That once had clasped Excalibur.

I heard, as still the seed he cast,
How, crooning to himself, he sung,
"I sow again the holy Past,
The happy days when I was young.

"Then all was wheat without a tare,
Then all was righteous, fair, and true;
And I am he whose thoughtful care
Shall plant the Old World in the New.

"The fruitful germs I scatter free,
With busy hand, while all men sleep;
In Europe now, from sea to sea,
The nations bless me as they reap."

Then I looked back along his path,
And heard the clash of steel on steel,
Where man faced man in deadly wrath,
While clanged the tocsin's hurrying peal.

The sky with burning towns flared red,
Nearer the noise of fighting rolled,
And brothers' blood, by brothers shed,
Crept curdling over pavements cold.

Then marked I how each germ of truth,
Which through the dotard's fingers ran,
Was mated with a dragon's tooth
Whence there sprang up an armed man.

I shouted, but he could not hear;
Made signs, but these he could not see;
And still, without a doubt or fear,
Broadcast he scattered anarchy.

Long to my straining ear the blast
Brought faintly back the words he sung:
"I sow again the holy Past,
The happy days when I was young."

LETTER FROM AMERICA.

How depraved American journalism is may be seen from the following paragraph I clipped from the New York Herald (italics mine): "The heaviest sorrow of his life has fallen upon General William Tecumseh Sherman, for his beloved wife, whose hopeless illness was announced exclusively in the Herald, died yesterday morning at half-past nine o'clock."

The delegates to the Knights of Labour General Assembly at Indianapolis have gone home. More than likely this will be the last conference of any importance. The seceders, under leadership of Thomas Barry, will meet in a few weeks in Chicago and draw up a constitution and declaration of principles for an improved society. I believe this new organisation will meet same fate as one Joseph Buchanan and some previous seceders started also in Chicago about one year ago—that is, it will die pretty speedily. In the declaration of principles, Barry will lay special stress on the eight-hour day, the abolition of child labour, the regulation of female labour, manual training, and factory and shop inspection. He will denounce the antagonism of the Knights of Labour to the trades unions. The local assemblies will be independent, acknowledge no general executive board, and pay no tribute to general officers. The organisation is to be secret in the same sense as the Knights of Labour. The chief novel feature, however, is said—and here the cloven foot is shown—to be the active interest the new organisation will take in politics, and Barry will use either Democrats or Republicans to gain his ends.

In my last letter I predicted a general onslaught on organised labour, but I never supposed the bosses would act so cynically as they have done during the last week. The Brewery Working-men's Protective Association (ale and porter brewers) of New York had boycotted David Stevenson and Co., on account of employing rats. The Employers' Association resolved to sustain the boycotted firm. The Protective Association threatened a general strike of the fifteen hundred employes. The bosses resolved to discharge any employe who would not pledge himself to stop paying dues to his union so long as it is engaged in a boycott. They advertised for men in want of permanent employment, and 1,400 immediately offered. Their names and addresses were taken. Promptly during the dinner-hour each boss assembled his men and required each one to pledge himself as stated. With the exception of perhaps a dozen men, all the employes agreed to the terms proposed. The bosses at once met and resolved—

"Whereas all our present employes have this day pledged themselves not to contribute to any organisation which is engaged in forcing a boycott; and whereas we have accepted this pledge in good faith; therefore be it resolved that upon receiving sufficient evidence that any man in our employ has broken this pledge he will be immediately discharged."

Jay Gould's nerves may be unstrung, but his condition, apparently, does not prevent him pursuing his old game of robbing the public in grand style. He has developed a scheme for concentration which bids fair to be the

marvel of the nineteenth century. Perhaps in no branch of trade or industry has competition been so bitter as between the different railroads. Yet Jay has found the way for union. It is not a trust in name, but a trust in fact. The inter-State commerce law forbids the railroads to unite as a trust or to form a pool; but Jay Gould has found, to use the words of Russell Sage, his henchman, "a way to evade that law." Another equally candid railroad-magnate says, "The railroad managers have succeeded in beating around the inter-State commerce law." But to the point. From the best information now available the railroad mileage of the United States is estimated at 152,781. Jay Gould, C. P. Huntington, Charles Francis Adams, and others, have been in conference for weeks, and the result has been a great combination to include all the lines between Chicago and the Rocky Mountains. The roads who consent to join are—Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe, 8,000 miles; Burlington and Missouri River, 2,753; Burlington, Cedar Rapids, and Northern, 1,046; Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy, 2,063; Chicago, Burlington, and Northern, 442; Chicago, Rock Island, and Pacific, 4,000; Chicago and North-Western, 4,383; Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul, 5,669; Chicago, St. Paul, and Kansas City, 800; Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Omaha, 1,354; Colorado Midland, 221; Central Iowa, 636; Chicago and Alton, 1,000; Denver and Rio Grande, 1,474; Denver, Texas, and Fort Worth, 800; Fremont, Elkhorn, and Missouri Valley, 1,351; Illinois Central, 2,600; Minneapolis and St. Louis, 600; Missouri Pacific system, 6,000; Northern Pacific (part of), 1,000; St. Louis and San Francisco, 1,457; Union Pacific, 6,392; Wisconsin Central, 700; Wabash (part of), 956; Southern Pacific (part of), 1,200. Total principal systems, 65,997 m.

Three propositions were presented to the conference—one providing for a division of traffic, another for a division of earnings, and a third for a "clearing house." It is understood that the last plan was accepted because the other two were likely to bring the roads interested into conflict with the inter-State commerce law. Under the "clearing house" arrangement, there is to be an executive board of three. One is to be chairman of the "clearing house," and the other two are to be known as vice-chairman of the freight department and vice-chairman of the passenger department. The object of the "clearing house" is—

"(a) To secure complete reports of all competitive traffic carried by either of the parties hereto between points west of a north and south line drawn through Chicago and Milwaukee on the east, St. Paul and Minneapolis on the north, the State of Colorado and the territories of New Mexico and Wyoming, all inclusive, on the west, and the State of Kansas on the south. (b) To prescribe the rates, rules and regulations which shall govern in the conduct of the passenger and freight traffic as aforesaid, and insure their strict maintenance by all members. (c) To prescribe the character of the service and the conveniences which shall be offered the travelling and shipping public."

It is expected that rates will go up at once in consequence of this arrangement about 25 to 50 per cent.

The wholesale butter-dealers have formed a trust, and the price of butter has been raised within the last ten days from 1s. 1½d. to 1s. 10d., or a sudden increase of 8½d. a pound.

The trial of John Hronek has come off in Chicago, and he has been sentenced to twelve years' imprisonment. It is the same old story, and Bonfield has not even thought it worth while to introduce new methods. State-Attorney Longenecker appeared for the prosecution, and a Mr. Goldzier for the defence. The "trial" began on November 27th in the Court of Judge Collins. Longenecker explained that Sevic, Chapek, and Chleboun had been granted separate trials to enable Chleboun to turn informer. Chleboun testified that he met prisoner at the house of an Anarchist; afterwards he was a frequent visitor at Hronek's house. The last Sunday in May, Hronek said he had missed a chance to kill Bonfield, and showed him about ten bombs. Bonfield here produced a tin can about 5 inches high, covered with a pretty paper and labelled "Cure for Rheumatism." Bonfield said the can contained dynamite of enormous strength, and the jury got the cold shivers. Hronek, continued Chleboun, said he wanted to kill Bonfield, Gary, and Grinnell. Hronek told him he wanted to do the killing himself, and after he was hung he wanted him (Chleboun) and Chapek to avenge his death. When Cleveland was last in Chicago, Hronek would have thrown a bomb under his carriage if a man called Schneider had not prevented him. Hronek had confessed having thrown the bomb at the Haymarket meeting. Some Bohemian detectives gave similar testimony. For the defence Hronek was put on the stand. He denied Chleboun's story *in toto*; he said he never had had any confidence in him, and always believed him to be in police pay. As regards the empty bomb-shells found in his house, he said, a man called Karafat had given him a box in charge. Karafat is now in Europe. The defence put about 50 of Chleboun's acquaintances on the witness-stand, who all gave him a very bad character. Many of them declared they would not believe him even under oath. He was a man who never could tell the truth. The jury returned a verdict of guilty. The jury was out for about an hour, and then could only agree to a compromise, many of the jurymen being in favour of a longer sentence.

Hronek is as innocent as a child. The whole affair reduces itself to this: Bonfield wants to make his position safer by always "saving" the Commonwealth of Illinois. He got on to this man Chleboun through the good services of an unprincipled lawyer named Fisher. Chleboun knew Hronek, and had also heard of a mysterious box left by Karafat at Hronek's house. Taking this as a basis Bonfield constructed the whole case. There is only one witness of importance—an informer; a person whom most of his acquaintances knew to be a confirmed incurable liar, and yet his testimony is taken to send a human being for twelve long dreary years to incarceration. However, we are living in a free country!

Newark, N.J., December 3, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

RAILWAY TYRANNY.—"We wish," says the *Railway Review*, "that the official in charge of the locomotive department at Grantham, Great Northern, would endeavour to act with a little more consideration towards those who are placed under his supervision, as by doing so he would not only render their lives a little more endurable, but would gain for himself a small modicum of respect, which by his present attitude towards his men he forfeits. Fines and other punishments for petty offences have been grievances for some time now at Grantham, and we have frequently been requested to refer to them. The latest inflexion is that of multiplying the punishment for one offence, seeing that now all men who are fined have to sacrifice what becomes due to them as a coal premium. The originator of such a shabby proceeding has himself to thank for any ill-feeling that springs up against him in consequence of his action." That is all right so far as it goes, but are not the shareholders responsible for the ill-doings of their tool?

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

Sheffield and Rotherham ironworkers expect another advance shortly under the arbitrator's award.

Derbyshire miners are getting along well with their new organisation; they are feeling the effects of standing aloof hitherto.

In response to an application for an advance by the stokers in its employ, the Wolverhampton Gas Company has conceded 2s. per week.

The Brechin mill-workers resolved, at a meeting on Saturday night, to use all legal means to secure the advance of wages demanded.

WELSH MINERS.—Six hundred men, employed at Battisfield Colliery, Bagillt, Flintshire, struck work on Tuesday in consequence of a wages dispute. This is the third strike within that number of months at the same colliery.

WAGES IN IRELAND.—Lady Aberdeen says the deepest depth of the sweating system is touched by the Donegal worker. The knitters of Donegal are paid from 1½d. to 2d. a pair for long socks; 1½d., or 2d. at the outside, for a day's work; 14d., if we include Sunday as a working day, for a whole week's toil.

CARPENTERS' STRIKE.—The carpenters employed in the Grangemouth dockyard, struck work Dec. 17th, and state that it is on account of the masters breaking an agreement made with them the other week, viz., not to employ joiners at carpenter work. The men on strike number thirty, and are members of the Trades' Union.

LYE CLAY MINERS.—There is a movement among the clay miners in the Lye district for an advance of wages. The men engaged at one important firm have ceased working owing to their application not being granted, and others are expected to follow their example. The men work under charter-masters, the rate of pay being according to the bulk of clay got.

SHORT TIME IN THE COTTON TRADE.—At a meeting of the Master Cotton Spinners Association of Bolton and district, held in Manchester on Tuesday 11th, it was resolved to run the mills only three days a week. The decision, which will affect many thousands of operatives, is the outcome of a dispute between the employers and workmen as to the quality of material supplied.

SCOTCH COAL TRADE.—At a private meeting held at Glasgow on Wednesday 12th, the Lanarkshire Coalmasters' Association agreed to advance their colliers' wages an additional 5 per cent. from the 15th January. This makes the total advance since October last 12½ per cent. The Fife and Clackmannan miners determined, Thursday 13th, to strike unless they received 10 per cent. advance.

GLASGOW BAKERS.—At a mass meeting of bakers held at Glasgow on Dec. 15, Mr. John Hayworth, President of the Baker's Federal Union, spoke of the need that existed for action, as he had met a man the other day who worked 86 hours a week. A motion was agreed to unanimously pledging all "to continue the present agitation until, by establishing a uniform hour in the morning, the trade as a whole may enjoy the rights of which they have for years been deprived."

CRADLEY HEATH CHAINMAKERS AND CO-OPERATION.—On the 12th inst., Cuninghame Graham, M.P., and Mr. Mahon, Secretary of the Labour Union, waited, at Dudley, on the Counties Trade Federation to explain a co-operative scheme for the Black Country chainmakers. The scheme was to borrow money from the Government at a minimum rate, erect factories, take tenders, and dispense with middlemen. The Federation agreed that the scheme was practicable, and proceeded to discuss it as workmen.

CUMBERLAND MINERS' WAGES.—At a meeting of the Cumberland Coal-owners' Association and the miners' representatives, held at the Commercial Hotel, Workington, on Thursday 13th, after a long discussion, it was agreed that an advance of 5 per cent. be given from the 10th inst. to the January audit, 1889. Should the audit allow a greater advance, the miners are to receive more; but should the audit give less, no reduction to be made till the April audit, at which time the wages will be paid on a sliding-scale average.

THE WALSALL CHAINMAKERS.—Application has been made by the men in connection with this trade for an advance in wages. At a meeting on Friday last (Dec. 14), replies were received from eight masters, four of whom expressed their willingness to give an advance if others would. The other replies stated that the application was premature, the state of trade not warranting an advance at present. The men contend that trade has improved, but that under it they are getting worse off. Ultimately it was resolved to appoint a deputation to meet the employers as early as possible in the new year, and that the secretary should write to the employers asking them to meet the deputation.

HORSE NAIL MAKERS.—The employers in this industry a short time ago decided to advance wages of operatives 3d. per 1,000, consequently the strike, which was general, soon terminated. The advance was given on condition that all employers paid the same. In one or two cases the whole of the men were not allowed to resume work, the employers refusing to pay the advance except on orders that were required. This, it was feared, would lead to another general turn out. This has now been avoided by the last of the employers sending for his workmen on Saturday last, and giving out iron at the advanced price. The operatives began work Monday. The workmen have now formed a union, and joined the Midland Counties Trades' Federation.

UNION OF BURNLEY MINERS.—Friday 14th, a large and enthusiastic mass meeting of Burnley miners was held with the view of forming a Union in the town. The President of the Lancashire Miners' Federation said that miners here, who number six thousand, had not dared to hold a public meeting for fourteen years, but during the last few weeks three hundred had joined the Union. Several of these had been discharged by their employers, but the matter would be brought before Parliament. The 10 per cent. advance had been refused in Burnley. The following resolution was unanimously passed: "That this meeting rejoices in the great amount of success which has attended the efforts recently put forth to organise the miners of Burnley like their fellow-workmen in other parts of Lancashire. We deeply regret the unfair action of the managers at the several collieries in discharging, and thus boycotting, about sixteen colliers for no other crime than joining the Union. Believing as we do that an intelligent Union is a means of self-protection, necessary to get miners their just rights, we hereby determine to press on with the work of organisation, and not to rest satisfied until we have got perfect freedom of action."

COLLIERY DISPUTE AT GREASBRO'.—The Old Parkgate Colliery has been set down owing to the dispute about the appointment of a checkweighman, and a fresh method of sorting the coal in the pit being introduced by the manager. The men have all along been indifferent as to unionism and organisation. During the recent agitation for an advance, they gave notice for 15 per cent., finally accepting 10 per cent. Since then a great change seems to have come over them. They have all, or nearly every one joined the association, and because there is no convenient place near the colliery where they can hold their meetings, they have allied themselves to the Carr House branch of the Yorkshire Miners' Association. They have not hitherto had a checkweighman. The men say they are now required to pick out all the hards from the softs in the pit, and receive no extra price for it. This, the men say, is giving them 10 per cent. with a vengeance. A number have received summonses for damages in laying the pit idle.

DEDUCTION OF FINES FROM WAGES.—In the House of Commons on Friday 7th, Mr. Bradlaugh asked the Home Secretary whether he could communicate to the House the opinion of the law officers of the Crown with reference to deductions from wages as "fines" when such deductions are other than the stoppage of unearned wage, and whether he would issue a circular to the inspectors of mines and factories giving instructions on that point. The Attorney-General, who answered the question, said: I have no objection to state that, in the opinion of myself and of the Home Secretary, deductions from wages as "fines" other than the stoppage of unearned wage are illegal. Of course, I ought to say that the facts of each particular case would require examination. The *Birmingham Post* comments: It is scarcely necessary to point out the great importance of this pronouncement. Fines are decreed for specified acts of misconduct, and are enforced by deductions from wages, in a very large proportion of factories in Birmingham and throughout the country. The legality of deducting fines from wages has, it is true, always been contested by the trades unions; but we believe no clear decision from a superior court has ever been obtained, and the almost invariable practice of magistrates in cases brought under the Employers and Workmen's Act of 1855 has been to confirm all such deductions from wages. After this declaration by the law officers of the Crown and by the Home Secretary, the practice of the magistrates will probably be reversed, and fines, if inflicted, will have to be recovered in some other way. At any rate the attention of the working classes will everywhere be directed to the fact that they are entitled to all the wages they have earned without any deduction. The pronouncement will be received with great satisfaction by trades unionists; and, there can be no question that in many factories systems of fines, pushed to an undue extent, and rigorously enforced, have been made the instruments of great hardship and tyranny.

"SOCIETY."

"Why, yes. It cannot be disguised. There are at Chesney Wold this January week, some ladies and gentlemen of the newest fashion, who have set up a Dandyism—in Religion, for instance. Who, in mere lackadaisical want of an emotion, have agreed upon a little dandy talk about the Vulgar wanting faith in things in general; meaning, in the things that have been tried and found wanting, as though a low fellow should unaccountably lose faith in a bad shilling after finding it out. Who would make the Vulgar very picturesque and faithful by putting back the hands upon the Clock of Time, and cancelling a few hundred years of history.

"There are also ladies and gentlemen of another fashion, not so new but very elegant, who have agreed to put a smooth glaze on the world and to keep down all its realities. For whom everything must be languid and pretty. Who have found out the perpetual stoppage. Who are to rejoice at nothing, and be sorry for nothing. Who are not to be disturbed by ideas. On whom even the Fine Arts attending in powder and walking backward like the Lord Chamberlain, must array themselves in the milliners' and tailors' patterns of past generations, and be particularly careful not to be in earnest or to receive any impress from the moving age.

"Then there is my Lord Boodle of considerable reputation with his party, who has known what office is, and who tells Sir Leicester Dedlock with much gravity, after dinner, that he really does not see to what the present age is tending. A debate is not what a debate used to be; the House is not what the House used to be; even a Cabinet is not what it formerly was. He perceives with astonishment, that supposing the present government to be overthrown, the limited choice of the Crown, in the formation of a new Ministry, would lie between Lord Coodle and Sir Thomas Doodle—supposing it to be impossible for the Duke of Toodle to act with Goodie, which may be assumed to be the case in consequence of the breach arising out of that affair with Hoodle. Then, giving the Home Department and the Leadership of the House of Commons to Joodle, the Exchequer to Koodle, the Colonies to Loodle, and the Foreign Office to Moodle, what are you to do with Noodle? You can't offer him the Presidency of the Council, that is reserved for Poodle. You can't put him in the Woods and Forests, that is hardly good enough for Quoodle. What follows? That the country is shipwrecked, lost, and gone to pieces (as is made manifest to the patriotism of Sir Leicester Dedlock) because you can't provide for Noodle.

"On the other hand, the Right Honourable William Buffy, M.P., contends across the table with some one else that the shipwreck of the country—about which there is no doubt; it is only the manner of it that is in question—is attributable to Cuffy. If you had done with Cuffy what you ought to have done when he first came into Parliament, and had prevented him from going over to Duffy, you would have got him into an alliance with Fuffy, you would have had with you the weight attaching as a smart debater to Guffy, you would have brought to bear upon the elections the wealth of Huilly, you would have got in for three counties Juffy, Kuffy, and Luffy, and you would have strengthened your administration by the official knowledge and the business habits of Muffy. All this, instead of being as you now are, dependent on the mere caprice of Puffy.

"As to this point, and as to some minor topics, there are differences of opinion; but it is perfectly clear to the brilliant and distinguished circle, all round, that nobody is in question but Boodle and his retinue, and Buffy and his retinue.

"These are the great actors for whom the stage is reserved. A People there are, no doubt,—a certain large number of supernumeraries, who are to be occasionally addressed, and relied upon for shouts and choruses, as on the theatrical stage; but Boodle and Buffy, their followers and families, their heirs, executors, administrators and assigns, are the born first actors, managers and leaders, and no other can appear upon the scene for ever and ever."

CHARLES DICKENS in *'Black House.'*

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

FRANCE.

As our readers are aware, we do not care a fig for parliamentary methods and tactics, and electioneering at large is considered by us as mere humbug and dodgery; but at the same time, in this column of "notes and record of events" we have only to deal with facts, not with theories. As such, we chronicle this week the election of General Cluseret as representative of the Var Department, a completely agricultural district, in the French Assembly of Deputies. His election is all the more worth noticing, because it clearly shows the more and more revolutionary character of the French provinces. The bourgeois of the Var Department resorted to all sorts of means, good and bad, in order to defeat the Socialist candidate, and yet it was all in vain. Cluseret, the peasants were told, is a revolutionary by profession—the worst kind of man; with him the doctrines of international Socialism would enter the Chamber, exclaimed the *Temps*, the biggest of all bourgeois papers; his return meant "violent revolution" and "revenge of the Commune," and so on. The Opportunists, the Radicals with Clémenceau at their head, the Possibilists—all did their utmost against him; the whole governmental and administrative machinery was set at work to beat him; the Boulangists throw their best forces against him in the battle. At last they contested even his eligibility, he having been at war with Garibaldi against the Bourbons of Naples and afterwards against the slaveholders in America, losing thereby his nationality as a French citizen. In spite of all that, and solely because he was put forward as a revolutionary Socialist and an ex-member of the Commune, he won the contest. And on the very same day, in the Ardennes Department, another ex-member of the Commune, J. B. Clément, was shamefully beaten, not because he had been a "Communist," but because he had morally ceased to be one since he joined the "Possibilist Socialists," who seem to go more and more hand in hand with the Floquet-Ferry gang of sham-Republicans.

GERMANY.

We shall soon have a monster trial for secret conspiracy at Elberfeld. No less than one hundred Socialists are to be tried on that indictment, and it is said that the proceedings will last for three months. There has never before been such a gigantic judicial farce in Germany. Several hundred witnesses, male and female, will come forward. The preliminary instruction of this forthcoming trial commenced on April 4, and concluded on Nov. 21. Several of them were then set free on bail, amounting to 10,000 marks. A considerable number of the accused having wives and children, the Socialists thought it their duty to collect funds for their support, but the magistrates, no doubt thinking that it would do them good to let them starve somewhat before sending them to prison, hurriedly got out an order preventing any collection being made. Such magistrates are not even scoundrels, they are simply beasts, and there will come a time when such beasts will be remembered by our German friends.

Last week, in connection with the above-mentioned trial, a thorough search was made at Dresden, at the houses of the two Socialist deputies, Bebel and Singer, who are already comprised in the list of witnesses. Perhaps the authorities thought that they would find something important, which might have enabled them to raise their position of witnesses into that of accused. But it appears they were completely disappointed.

BELGIUM.

Strikes are going on in the Hainault province, increasing in some places, decreasing in others, but on the whole affect a rather serious character. In fact, it cannot be foreseen what to-morrow may bring us: the workers may at once recommence toiling for mere starvation wages, or a violent and desperate insurrection may be the result, and a very natural one too, of the numerous black meetings that are held day after day. We do not intend to record to-day, as we started doing last week, the new spots where strikes have broken out, or the numerous dynamite attempts that have been made here and there; we possibly may have to consider these events in our next issue under a somewhat different light to what many people perhaps think, and if so, we shall speak plainly. For the time being, some fifty or sixty men have been sent to prison, the Attorney-General of Brussels, Van Schoor, and the Administrator of Public Safety (i.e., the head of the Belgian detective department), Gauthier de Rasse, are on the spot, a thing which has never been seen or heard of before, and their agents, known and unknown ones, act under their personal supervision. We only wish to say now to the Belgian miners at strike that it will be very wise for them to be more prudent than ever and to watch very closely the various sorts of people they are dealing with in the numerous meetings and other manifestations they are now engaged in.

The open-air propaganda is carried on very lively in a way in Belgium. The Brussels burgomaster has prohibited meetings altogether; the mayor of Laeken, a suburb, also; that of Ixelles, another suburb, has allowed them to be held and even protects the meetings; and so it goes on in the various suburbs, the silly magistrates prohibiting and the wise ones admitting the public gatherings. Comrade Verrycken speaks at Laeken on the revision of the Belgian Constitution; is at once stopped by the police and charged by the disapproving magistrate with obstruction or what not. Then he walks along for half an hour or so and reaches Ixelles, where he speaks on the very same subject, amidst the general applause of the audience, including the approving mayor, who listens very attentively to our comrade. At Huy, near Liège, another Socialist has started open-air speaking and the mayor there fails to see anything wrong in it; at Liège, the burgomaster, a most liberal-viewing man, issues a decree based on a law enacted August 4th, 1790, and forbids all speechifying! On the whole, open-air meetings will be held everywhere, and the magistrates will soon be defeated.

ITALY.

Our comrade Paolo Valera, who has been sentenced in Italy to several years of imprisonment, and has since lived in London as a political refugee, will shortly issue at Milano a pamphlet entitled "Lasciatemi passare" (Let me pass through!), which is likely to create a great deal of sensation in Socialist circles, and perhaps also some ill-feeling. He intends therein to persuade Socialists convicted for political offences to ask for pardon from their respective governments, in order, as he takes it, that they might again be enabled to devote themselves to Socialist work and propaganda in their own country. Having been compelled to live far away from Italy for a considerable time, he seems to have come to the conclusion that Socialists

are hardly useful workers in the cause as soon as they have left their native land. We may further discuss his views when we have read his pamphlet; but in the meantime we know comrade Valera well enough to predict that he will hardly himself take advantage of his proposal. His intentions, we are certain, are good enough; but we know that hell even, as the saying goes, is paved with good intentions. V. D.

After the strike of the silkworkers of Varese and Como, the town of Lecco in the same province had its turn. On the 3rd inst. all the female silk-spinners struck work for shorter hours and an increase of wages. Their demands give a very sad illustration of their wretched condition, more impressive than any words could convey. They asked a franc (i.e., tenpence) for a working day of ten hours and continuous employment all the year round. Great excitement prevailed. The women diverted the water of the Gerenzone, which supplies the motive-power of several mills, and marched with flying banners through the town. The masters on their part declared every concession impossible, and called for protection. Police and troops were drafted into the town, and after these preparations for a free and friendly settlement of the dispute, a benevolent mayor—like in the case of Como—intervened as peacemaker. After a wrangle of several days, the starving workers accepted the following conditions: 12 hours' work in autumn, winter, and spring, 13 the three summer months, for a daily wage of tenpence.

The strike of the journeymen bakers of Venezia has ended with a defeat of the men, thanks to the intervention of the authorities.

One of the measures towards the solution of the social question, so boastfully announced in consequence of the royal visit to the Romagna some time ago, has at last been brought forward in the shape of a police law for the regulation of emigration, or better, for putting emigration agents under police supervision. Comrade Costa asked in Parliament whether that was redeeming the pledge of the Government? Not regulation of emigration was wanted, but the removal of the causes of the evil. If, he says, in the province of Ravenna the emigration has not taken greater proportions, it is because the Socialists in this province advise the workers not to ask bread and work from America, but from their own country. The cultivation of immense barren plains like the Agro Romano and the Tavoliera di Puglia would give bread to millions. But, he exclaimed, you have not the money to undertake the cultivation, you will answer me. You squander it in distant enterprises and in armaments which drive the nation into a dishonourable war, that is condemned by the public conscience!

Whilst the Government thus make a lame show of protective legislation for the working classes, they are most carefully engaged in the brutal repression of the labour movement. In Florence our comrades Cioci and Clementi, the editor and the publisher of the suppressed paper *La Questione Sociale* have been condemned to eighteen months' imprisonment and to a fine of 1,800 francs each. At Carrara fifteen Anarchists were brought before a middle-class jury for "seditious cries and rebellion"—that is, resistance to the police. Nine of them were found guilty and condemned to imprisonment from four to five years. "E pur si muove!" H. Sch.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

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

London Members' Meeting.—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, Jan. 7, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

Branch Subscriptions Paid.—1888: Clerkenwell and Leicester to December. Notice to Branch Secretaries—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Contribution fees as soon as possible. A list of Branches in arrears will shortly appear.

Notice.—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication. FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

REPORTS.

CLERKENWELL.—H. Davis lectured last Sunday on "Anarchist Communism v. Social Democracy" to crowded and attentive audience. A very interesting discussion followed. 25 *Commonweal* sold, besides other literature.—B.

FULHAM.—On Tuesday evening, back of Waltham Green Church, Sampson (S.D.F.), Hall, Groser, and Smith addressed a fair meeting. Sunday morning, opposite the Railway Station, Hall spoke for an hour to an excellent audience. Fair sale of *Weal*. In the evening, outside our rooms, Hall and Davis spoke, and succeeded in obtaining a good audience for Sparling, who, inside, lectured on "The Leprosy of Politics." Several questions asked and some discussion followed.—S. B. G.

HAMMERSMITH.—Good meeting at Latimer Road Sunday morning by Maughan, Catterson Smith, and Dean; choir assisted. At Welje Road in evening, Lyne, jun., Maughan, and Catterson Smith spoke to good audience. Choir sang "No Master." At Kelmescott House, Mr. de Mattos lectured on "Socialism and Political Economy."

ABERDEEN.—At indoor meeting on 10th inst., Leatham lectured on "Materialism and Transcendentalism." At Castle Street on Saturday night, good meeting addressed by Aiken and Barron, the latter satisfactorily disposing of questions at the close.—P. B.

GLASGOW.—Sunday at 5, good meeting as usual at Paisley Road Toll, where Glasier and Joe Burgoyne spoke. Our own members mustered well. 2s. 4½d. collected. At 7 o'clock we held a short open-air meeting at the Co-operative Stores, Morrison Street, where Downie spoke with unusual vigour to an unusually small audience.

IPSWICH.—On Thursday, Murphy lectured on "The Church, what Effect it has upon the People," J. Thomas in chair; good discussion followed. On Sunday, a debate took place between Read and Murphy, "Can Parliament set aside the Law of Supply and Demand?" Goodhouse in chair.—J. T.

NORWICH.—Thursday, Mowbray continued series of lectures; subject, "Life and Times of Edward III." Swash took the chair. Sunday afternoon short open-air meeting in Market-Place, audience small owing to inclement weather. Sunday evening usual lecture not held in Gordon Hall; a conversational meeting held by a few members.

LECTURE DIARY.
LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—This Branch is now actively working. Socialists resident in this locality should send their names in at office to 13 Farringdon Road.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday December 23, at 8.30. Frags Concert by Members and Friends.

Waltham.—8 Effie Road, Waltham Green. Committee meetings are held on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock. All members are earnestly requested to attend. Sunday December 23, at 8 p.m., G. Berlew (Fabian), "Socialism and its Rivals."

Hackney.—Secretary, E. Lefevre, 14 Goldsmiths Sq., Goldsmiths Row, Hackney Post.

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday December 23, at 8 p.m., William Morris, "Equality." The series of Wednesday lectures will be resumed early in January; further notice will be given.

Hoxton.—12, Basing Place, Kingsland Rd. Business meetings of this branch are held every Friday evening at 9 o'clock.

London Fields.—All communications, etc., to Mrs. G. G. Schack, 26 Cawley Road, South Hackney.

Merton.—Club-house, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road, Singlegate. Lecture on Sunday evenings at 8.30.

White-end and Bethnal Green.—95 Boston St., Hackney Road.

North London.—Business meetings held at 6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, on Friday evenings. All members please turn up, without fail, to appoint a new secretary, on Friday next, December 21st. Important.

Walworth and Camberwell.—This branch is now in working order. Friends in this locality are earnestly invited to co-operate, and send their names in. Committee meetings every Monday, 7.30 p.m., at 3 Datebelor Place, Church St., Camberwell Green.

Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.—International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. Meet for urgent business—Friday next at 8 o'clock sharp; hoping secretary will turn up.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen (Scottish Section).—Secretary, P. Barron, 14 Ann Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

Bradford.—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivegate. Meets Tuesdays at 8.

Carnoustie (Scottish Section; Forfarshire).—Meeting every Tuesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secy.

Dumdee (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

Edinburgh (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.

Galafruels (Scot Sect.).—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, secy.

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

Glasgow.—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class meets every Sunday at 11. SPECIAL—Soiree, Concert, and Dance on Hogmany Night, to bring in the New Year, Waterloo Pillar Hall, at 7.30. Revolutionary songs in English, French, and German. Tickets, 1s. 3d.

Ipswich.—Pioneer Hall, Tacket Street. Meets on Sunday evenings.

Kilmarnock.—Secretary, H. McGill, 22 Gilmour St. Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday.

Leeds.—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Rd. and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m. communications to T. Paylor, Leicester.—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—Sunday, at 8, Gordon Hall. Monday, at 8, Meeting in Gordon Hall. Tuesday, 8.30, Members Meeting. Wednesday, at 8, Educational Class. Thursday, at 8, Lecture by Mowbray, subject "Life of Copernicus the Astronomer"; tickets 1d. each. Friday, at 8.30, Meeting in Gordon Hall. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Assoc.

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

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

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

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.
(Weather permitting.)

SUNDAY 23.

11.30...Latimer Road Station...Hammersmith Branch
11.30...Regent's Park...The Branch
11.30...Waltham Green, opp. Station...The Branch
3.30...Hyde Park...The Branch
3.30...Victoria Park...Davis
7.30...Broad Street, Soho...The Branch
7.30...Clerkenwell Green...The Branch
7.30...Weltje Rd., Ravenscourt Pk...Hammersmith

Tuesday.
8.30...Fulham—back of Waltham Green Ch. ...Branch

EAST END.
SUNDAY 23.
Leman Street, Shadwell 11...Nicoll.

FRIDAY.
Philpot St., Commercial Rd. 8.30...The Branch.

PROVINCES.
Aberdeen.—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7 p.m.
Glasgow.—Sunday: Glasgow Green at 2 p.m.; Paisley Road at 5.30.
Ipswich.—
Sproughton, Wednesday evening.
Westerfield, Thursday evening.
Needham Market, Sunday morning and evening.
Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.
Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place, at 11 and 3.

BRYANSTONE WORKING-MEN'S CLUB AND INSTITUTE, Broadley Terrace, Lisson Grove.—Rev. S. D. Headlam. Sunday Dec. 23.
ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, HAMMERSMITH.—Rev. F. L. Donaldson, M.A. (Special Sermon), "The Renewal of Society." Sunday Dec. 23, at 5 p.m.
CHELSEA BRANCH S.D.F., Pelham Rooms, Kimbolton Row, Fulham Road, S.W.—Sunday Dec. 23, at 8 p.m., W. L. Phillips, "Labour and Socialism."
BERNER STREET CLUB.—On Saturday December 29, Mr. Gould, of the Limehouse Branch S.D.F., will deliver a lecture—"Will Parliamentaryism help to bring about the Social Revolution?"
NORTH HACKNEY RADICAL CLUB, 83 Church Street, Stoke Newington.—Sunday Dec. 23, at 8.30, Mr. G. Langley, "Is War Beneficial?"
The Mitcham Branch is about to be reconstituted. All desirous of helping in the work of the S. L. in and around Mitcham, Merton, and Streatham should communicate with comrade J. Campbell, 98 Wellfield Road, Streatham.
LEICESTER.—A course of lectures on "Socialism, its Aims and Principles" is being delivered in Leicester Secular Hall. The fourth lecture will be delivered on Sunday Dec. 30 by Sydney Olivier—subject, "The Moral Aspect."
THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—The Committee will meet at the house of S. Oliver, 139 Trafalgar Street, Walworth Road, on Saturday Dec. 22 and Dec. 29, at 7.30 p.m., to receive subscriptions and enrol members. Friends in South London particularly requested to be present.
SOUTH LONDON.—Friends who will help to establish a Branch of the Socialist League in South London will please place themselves in communication with C. Henze, 41 Bolton Street, Thomas Street, Kennington Park, S.E., or by letter to H. Hopkins, 17 Gairloch Road, Shenley Road, Peckham, S.E.

SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.

Chants for Socialists. By William Morris. 1d
Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism. By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). 1d
The Commune of Paris. By E. Belfort Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. 2d
The Aims of Art. By Wm. Morris. Bijou edition, 3d.; Large paper, 6d.
The Rights of Labour according to John Ruskin. By Thomas Barclay. 1d
The Tables Turned; or, Nupkins Awakened. A Socialist Interlude. By William Morris. In Wrapper 4d.
The Manifesto of the Socialist League. Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and William Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. 1d
Useful Work v. Useless Toil. By William Morris. 1d
"All for the Cause!" Song. Words by William Morris; Music by E. Belfort Bax. 4ts, 4 pp. 6d. per dozen, 4s. 6d.
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THE COMMONWEALTH

The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 4.—No. 155.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

MR. GLADSTONE'S answer to the unemployed was, I suppose, what the writers of the vague and quite desperately polite letter to him expected. If they did not expect such an answer they should have written a less vague letter to him, in which case they would have had no answer at all, or a very curt one. After all, the answer drawn from that venerable dodger is meant to amount to little more than staining white paper with a black pattern. There is, however, something more in it, which may fairly be translated from Gladstonian into English thus: "Unemployed, what should I know about them? They are not my business. Parliament might—but no, they have something better to do than bothering themselves about the poor of London. So look here! I will call it 'local' matter just to make you know your proper places."

The old gentleman has either quite made up his mind to ignore the fact that there are people who are discontented with the present state of society, and have learned by study of their own dreary conditions of life to know *why* they are discontented, and *how* they can alter the said dreary conditions; or else (and that really seems to me possible) he is genuinely quite ignorant of what Socialism is, and what its claims are.

One thing the unemployed may be quite sure of, to wit, that the governing classes are quite determined to do nothing for the workmen out of work except at the expense of the workmen in general. They would not if they could, and they cannot if they would, as long as the present system, that of capitalist and wage-earner, lasts. It is true that some Government, Tory-Democrat or Radical-bitten-by-Socialism, may make a show of it in a desperate attempt to win popularity, but all they can do as long as "society" is owned by the monopolists, is to shift the burden from one group of workers to another. Unless competition keeps down the wages of the mass of the employed to a bare subsistence wage, the capitalists of the country will be "ruined," that is, will cease to employ; and this glorious arrangement can only be kept going by dint of the capitalists holding in hand a large reserve army of labour. As that is absorbed into the active ranks of labour, the capitalists will be driven to fresh marvels of organisation, and fresh machinery to cheapen "muscular labour" still more, and so remain masters of the situation.

The other day we had news that at Zanzibar, which for 25 years had been free from capital punishment (*alias* judicial murder), the Sultan had begun to imitate the foul deeds of English and American courts of "justice" by striking off the heads of four of the "natives." Great indignation was expressed in our papers about this outrage, and surely this anger was but due against the wretched tyrant who was such a fool as to copy the customs of civilisation.

But what now? Who is the civilised English Government copying now?—Zenghiz Khan or Tamerlane? Scarcely even these; for these destroyers had their ideas stirred and their blood heated by the atmosphere of personal war and violence in which they lived, and at worst they were no hypocrites. But our black-coated, smug-visaged, dinner-party-giving, go-to-church "scourges of God," who have not even the spirit to plead for themselves that they are curses and must act after their kind, who can one liken them to? For the sake of what one cannot even call a whim—for the sake of one knows not what, they must slaughter a number of innocent persons whom they are pleased to call "the enemy."

Consider too that this Massacre of Suakim, whatever the Gladstonian party (equally guilty with the others) may say, will be heartily applauded by the average Englishman. Nay, it will be considered by the politicians who are now governing us as a stroke of good luck which will help to stay their falling fate, and will probably win them a seat or two of those that are going in the electoral scramble. This is the morality of the English nation, of which we have heard so

much! Indeed, I admit that it is caused more by rank stupidity than by malicious scoundrelism; though there is an element of that in it also.

"The enemy"—Yes; if they are the enemies of such a nation as ours there must be some good in them I think, since commercial patriotism has brought us to this pass. Yet, indeed, once more it is no great wonder that the rich men who are callous to the murder of misery at home should be callous to the murder of battle abroad.

A meeting of the unemployed held some days ago, at which a resolution was passed calling on the Government to set on foot relief works, was stated by Reynolds to have been held under the auspices of the Socialist League. By the instruction of the Council, the Secretary wrote to disclaim this, as the Socialist League holds that the present system necessitates the existence of an army of unemployed, and that no palliative will get rid of it; and that any attempt that a capitalist government might make to satisfy the claims of the unemployed would mean nothing more than helping labour at the expense of labour. This disclaimer was accompanied by the Manifesto on the subject published by the Council, Oct. 29, 1887; but we are sorry to say Reynolds has not inserted the letter, and thereby has refused to correct its inaccurate statement. W. M.

Mr. Gladstone seems rather sore on the subject of election promises. No wonder; no gentleman seeking the suffrages of the "free and independent electors" has made more, which he has unfortunately been unable to keep. The references to the past labours of the Liberal party, "during the last fifty years, in setting free both capital and handicrafts of all kinds both from much undue taxation and from restraints devised for the benefit of special interests at the cost of the people at large," might form a subject for laughter to the gods.

"These efforts," the honourable gentleman further informs us, "have resulted, not in a uniform, but in a very general and a large improvement of the condition of the working community." What! are there, then, no sweaters' dens? no women compelled to sell themselves for a night's lodging? no East-end filled with swarming misery? How is it, then, that with all these beneficent labours of the Liberal party that in this great city alone there are 179,000 starving men crying for "work or bread"? Here are some questions for Mr. Gladstone to answer.

But "the cares and labours of the House of Commons embrace the whole empire." That is, our capitalist masters are too busy butchering "blackmen" to trouble themselves with "a case of local even though acute distress." Is this so, Mr. Gladstone? Well, the "local though acute distress" may trouble the House of Commons if it does not take care, for the day will come when the starving will resolve to starve no longer. Then the House of Commons and respectable politicians may look out for squalls.

What a sham is capitalistic philanthropy, whether it finds expression in charity mongering or in the mild State Socialism of the modern Act of Parliament! Some time ago there was a great fuss made concerning a new Act of Parliament which, according to its admirers, would protect the poor man's small belongings from the clutches of the rapacious house-farmer.

Would you be surprised to hear that this Act is a complete sham? At Marylebone Police-court last Monday, Thos. George, a broker, was summoned before Mr. De Rutzen for seizing the tools and bedding of a poor tenant contrary to this Act. It appears, however, from Mr. De Rutzen's decision that a bedstead is not "bedding," and also that if a landlord openly defies this Act of Parliament he incurs no penalty by so doing. Delightful, isn't it? I wonder if a man who did not belong to the propertied classes helped himself to anything that wasn't lawfully his own, whether the law could find no punishment for him? But against the propertied classes law is powerless. It was only instituted to keep their slaves the workers in want and misery.

D. N.

MATTHEW ARNOLD, AND "A MAN'S A MAN FOR A' THAT."

A RECENT reviewer in the *Spectator* has been commending Matthew Arnold's criticism of Burns' "A Man's a Man for a' that." Mr. Arnold was of the opinion that the sentiment of that song did not express the real feeling of Burns, but rather an affected feeling. "The accent of high seriousness, born of absolute sincerity," is, he says, lacking in it. "Surely if our sense is quick, we must perceive that we have not in these passages a voice of the innermost soul of Burns; he is not speaking to us from those depths, he is more or less preaching." That there is "preaching" in "A Man's a Man for a' that" may be admitted; but surely the preaching is sincere enough, surely it came from his "innermost soul." It may be true that Burns did not always practice what he preached—that his own conduct did not always accord with the sentiments expressed in the song—that he rather liked sometimes to meet lords and receive recognition and patronage from persons of rank, in whom "Honesty" and "sense" were far from being conspicuous characteristics; but what would become of the race if poets and moralists preached in accordance merely with the thoughts and instincts which inherited and acquired habits have fostered in their nature, instead of in accordance with the purer conviction of what is just and right, which observation and experience have impressed upon their minds? Preaching, whether in prose or verse, is a noble function, provided it is true and its application to life possible. Socrates preached, Christ preached, John Ball preached, Bruno preached, Sophia Perouskaia preached, and Albert Parsons preached; and who shall say their preaching was not sincere? They devoted their lives and died in testimony of their sincerity—and we have yet to learn a higher standard by which to judge sincerity than that. Yet, it would be taking, I fear, rather too exalted an estimate of the character of even these martyrs, to suppose that—despite their self-sacrifice—their own immediate selfish impulses did not frequently war with their ideals. Their glory is, that their sincere conviction of what was true and just, triumphed over their latent animal and habitual instincts, and inspired them to do and die for their fellows.

Matthew Arnold is not, I think, the best guide in the matter of sincerity; for there has seldom been found a man having such a clear perception of religious and social error, who so sweetly ordered his own conduct that he might not disturb error or inconvenience himself. An atheist by conviction, he was a churchman in practice; in perception a social reformer, in personal disposition a Tory. The wine of his thought was so diluted with the water of his own ineptitude for personal initiative, that it has passed through the minds of his countrymen without stimulating them to a single honest impulse to forswear falsehood—a single brave endeavour towards social or intellectual freedom.

The significant fact about Burns is, that his poetical impulse lifted him above the plane of the grovelling instincts of his time—above, it may be, his own prejudices and ambitions, and caused him to see, dimly perhaps, through the black night of the passions, purposes, and conventions around him, the truth of human equality and brotherhood; and inspired him to give strong and manly protest against the meanness and inhumanity that surged in the sea of human strivings amid which he lived.

So too, it is with Socialists; they are made of the same clay, have the same selfish impulses, the same anti-social dispositions as other folk; but they have been constrained to look beyond their own circumscribed cravings and prejudices, and to regard rather the weal of all, in which, they truly perceive their own personal desires and wants—rightly interpreted—will be best subserved. A Socialist cannot practice Socialism to-day; neither can he feel or think as he believes men should feel and think if society were rightly arranged. His merit is, that he discards the vicious inclinations inherited from his animal origin as being the best to be fostered and made permanent in the race; and seeks instead, that the more humane and social tendencies which have grown unconsciously in the hearts of men, and ever and anon assert themselves, shall be set free and encouraged, and if possible made supreme and universal. If Mr. Arnold means by the "voice of the innermost soul" the beseechings of our deeply implanted self-love and acquisitiveness, then we who are Socialists to-day, do not sing "A Man's a Man for a' that" with any more "absolute sincerity" than Burns did. We are no doubt as ready as was Burns to seek the patronage and favour of the rich and noble, and as liable as he to violate in our daily conduct the principle of the brotherhood of man; but we trust we are sincere, as we believe he was sincere, in despising the nature that prompts us to do these things, and in fervently wishing that "honest worth o'er a' the earth may bear the gree"—and until then, preferring poverty to dishonesty, and obscure toil to rank and wealth maintained by plunder. And this is what most thoughtful men would designate "the accent of high seriousness" and the "voice of the innermost soul."

It is true the song is neither mournful nor grave, but mournfulness and gravity are not necessary adjuncts of seriousness. Burns himself referred to the production as a "vive la bagatelle" and professed it had no poetical merits. This fact may have misled Mr. Arnold. Poets are notoriously poor judges of their own poetry—they distrust the merit of what comes easily and rapidly from their brain, and over-estimate the value of their more highly constrained and artificial productions. There were reasons, however, why Burns at the time might not wish the song to be regarded as a serious poetical effort.

The hopes excited by his connection with men of rank had proved illusory, and his worldly prospects were dreary in the extreme; and he feared lest the song might be accepted merely as a proclamation of personal chagrin and vindictiveness.

The sentiment of "A Man's a Man for a' that," did not, however, represent a merely momentary or adventitious feeling of the poet's mind. It was ever constant and strong within him. In many other songs and poems it finds passionate and even more complete expression. It recurs again and again in his letters to his friends. Many of these utterances display such a clear comprehension of social injustice and so strong an aspiration for social equality, that, if their authorship were unknown, the capitalistic reviewer of our day would no doubt set them down as the "wild ravings of some mad revolutionary whose reason has been subverted by the incomprehensible economics of Marx, and whose feelings have been unstrung by the dying shriek of the Commune of Paris."

Tested even by his own conduct, the "sincerity" of his "preaching" was strongly exemplified. Despite the fact that he had occasionally to submit to the conventions of his time and yield to the constraints of his own position, no other man in Scotland, in his own day or since, more bravely asserted in practice the principle of "A Man's a Man for a' that" than he himself did. His gratification at receiving the attention of lords, professors, and literary magnates did not long survive his discernment of their commonplace and mean instincts, and the artificial glamour of their society. He sacrificed preferment rather than disguise his political principles; he remained poor rather than act dishonestly or toady to privilege and favour.

To "A Man's a Man for a' that" is largely due whatever little sturdiness and spirit is left in Scotchmen to-day, and we as Socialists are reaping some of the fruit of its "preaching."

Let Socialists sing it, for even they have need of its manly sentiments to straighten their backs sometimes. Nor need we quibble over its celebration of poverty. He is a dullard who does not recognise that poverty is almost the invariable lot of honest toil and manly and generous conduct now, as in the days of Burns. Poverty is no virtue, but it is hardly possible to be virtuous without being poor. And while that is so, shall we not sing:—

"What tho' on hamely fare we dine,
Wear hoddin grey, and a' that;
Gie fools their silks, and knaves their wine,
A man's a man for a' that!
For a' that, and a' that,
Their tinsel show, and a' that,
The honest man, though e'er sae poor,
Is king o' men for a' that!"

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

CORRESPONDENCE.

S. H. C. (Cleckheaton) writes:

I should be much obliged if you would inform me through the medium of the *Commonweal* the name of the publishers of the English translation of Karl Marx's work on Socialism, and title of same.

'Capital: A Critical Analysis of Capitalist Production.' Translated from the 3rd German edition by S. Moore and E. Aveling. Sonnenschein, 1887. 8vo.

Also if there is any book which treats of Trade from its earliest commencement. I once read an account of a book which described trade as beginning through the needs of exchange of commodities between hostile tribes, but I do not know the name.

ANDERSON (F.)—'Historical and Chronological Deduction of the Origin of Commerce.' London, 1764, 2 vols. fol. 'Supplement.' London, 1789; 1 vol. 4to.

CRANK (G. L.)—'History of British Commerce from the Earliest Times.' Knight, London, 1844. 3 vols. 12mo.

DELMAR (ALEX.)—'History of Money in Ancient Countries from the Earliest Times to the Present.' Bell and Sons, London, 1885. 8vo.—'Money and Civilisation; or, a History of the Monetary Laws and Systems of various States since the Dark Ages, and their influence upon Civilisation.' Bell and Sons, London, 1886. 8vo.

GILBERT (J. W.)—'Lectures on the History and Principles of Ancient Commerce.' London, 1847. 14mo.

LEVI (LEONE)—'History of British Commerce and of the Economic Progress of the British Nation, 1763-1878.' Murray, London. 2nd. ed., 1880. 8vo.

LINDSAY (W. S.)—'History of Merchant Shipping and Commerce.' Sampson, Low; London, 1874-5. 4 vols. 8vo.

MACPHERSON (D.)—'Annals of Commerce.' London, 1805. 4 vols. 4to.

YEATS (J.)—'Growth and Vicissitudes of Commerce,' and 'Technical History of Commerce.' Philip, London 1887. 8vo.

Also, 'Encyclopedia Britannica' under "Commerce," "Exchange," "Money," etc. Delmar's books would be most likely to be useful.

J. S. R. (Marykirk, Montrose) asks:

Would you kindly inform me as to the following matters: (1) Who is publisher of F. Engels' Work on the 'Condition of the English Working Classes' (translation)?

William Reeves, 185 Fleet Street, London, E.C.

(2) Could you recommend me a French Socialist weekly, stating the rate of subscription and the address of the publishing office? Cheapness, other things being equal, is a consideration.

La Revolte, 180 Rue Mouffetard, Paris. 7f. per ann.

THE CITY FATHERS.—Aubrey tells of Sir Miles Fleetwood, who was Recorder of London when James came into England, and made an oration to the City, wherein he said:—"When I consider your wealth I do admire your wisdom, and when I consider your wisdom I do admire your wealth."



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

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

As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them.

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T. S.—Will be used.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday December 26.

ENGLAND Justice Labour Tribune London—Freie Presse Norwich—Daylight Railway Review Telegraph Service Gazette Social Demokrat Worker's Friend NEW SOUTH WALES Hamilton—Radical INDIA Bankipore—Behar Herald Madras—People's Friend UNITED STATES New York—Der Sozialist Freiheit Truthseeker Volkzeitung Jewish Volkszeitung Baecker Zeitung Workmen's Advocate Boston—Woman's Journal	CHICAGO —Knights of Labor Vorbote Detroit—Der Arme Teufel Port Worth (Tex.)—South West Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volkblatt St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole Coast Seamen's Journal FRANCE Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) Le Parti Ouvrier (daily) La Revolte Le Proletariat Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur HOLLAND Hague—Recht voor Allen BELGIUM Ghent—Vooruit Lige—L'Avonir Antwerp—De Werker ITALY Rome, L'Emancipazione (daily) La Humanera	SWITZERLAND Arbeiterstimme SPAIN Madrid—El Socialista Seville—La Solidaridad PORTUGAL Lisbon—O Protesto Operario GERMANY Berlin—Volk's Tribune AUSTRIA Brunn—Arbeiterstimme ROMANIA Jassy—Muncitorul DENMARK Social-Demokraten SWEDEN Malmo—Arbetet Stockholm, Social-Demokraten NORWAY Kristiania—Social-Demokraten WEST INDIES Cuba—El Productor
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FRANCE, THE PAPACY, AND THE REVOLUTION.

THE French Government appears to be doomed to make mistakes in its relations to the Papacy and the Revolution. Whatever party is in power, whatever the name or the form of the Government, each and all seem to feel or to recognise some kind of obligation to protect or uphold the Papacy. That such should be the case is lamentable, not only for France herself, but because it tends to complicate the great questions of the day, and to place France in a false position. We all look to France as the centre of the revolutionary movement; we all hope to see her take the lead in the holy war for the emancipation of humanity, for the regeneration of human society. But between the Revolution and the Papacy there is eternal war; between them there can never be peace. And in the great struggle for which the despots are arming, for which the nations are preparing, and for which the oppressed of every land are hoping, the Papacy will be the centre and the rallying cry of all the reactionary elements in the European conflict. High above even the Imperialism of Germany rise the lofty pretensions of his holiness of Rome. Those pretensions can never be recognised by any European Government. They can never be realised except by destroying the last vestiges of human liberty.

One of the greatest crimes France ever committed, and at the same time one of the most fatal of all her mistakes, was the assassination of the Roman Republic of 1849. Herself a Republic, and recognised by all the leading Governments, yet France, at the appeal of his holiness to the Catholic Powers, must needs destroy the Republic of Rome, must needs drown the newly-won liberties of the Roman people in the blood of Rome's defenders.

Of all the revolutionary movements of 1848-9, that of Rome was the most successful, and promised to be the most beneficial. So oppressed had been the people by the implicated despotism under which they had groaned for centuries, so disgusted were they with the priestly tyranny by which for ages they had been kept in bondage, that the revolution was hailed and accepted by the great mass of the population. When, in the early days of February, 1849, the Constituent Assembly met at Rome, which Assembly had been elected by manhood suffrage in Rome and the States of the Church, one of its first decrees was the deposition of the Pope as a temporal prince. The vote of the deputies was all but unanimous, 139 to 5. That decree was followed by the formal adhesion of the municipalities, elected under the old Papal régime, 263 in number. The population was unanimous. There were no elements of discord, none for the reaction to play upon; and nothing was left for his holiness but to appeal to external brute force to re-instate him on his blood-stained throne.

That Austria, Spain, and Naples should respond to the appeal of his holiness was to be expected; but had France thrown the shield of her protection over Rome as she did over Belgium in 1830, the Republic of Rome would have been safe. The French Government chose to play the part of the assassin against the liberties of Rome; a fatal blunder which helped the reaction throughout the Continent and the triumph of Imperialism in France in the shape of the Third Empire. And the butcheries in Rome and in the rest of Italy were followed by the massacres of December.

The executions in Italy were terrible. After the people had been crushed in the Legations, after they were disarmed and every means of assistance destroyed, 208 were executed at Bologna, 24 at Simgalia, 5 were shot at Rome by order of the French, and 44 by order of the Sacred Council. For the whole of Italy these executions reached a total of 6,649.

But what were the deeds of the French to prepare the way, to make it possible for the arch-hypocrite to re-ascend his throne of blood? Their ammunition being exhausted, Garibaldi and his heroes had to give up the defence of Rome on the 3rd of July. On the 4th, the French entered the city, and the same day established a council of war for political offences. On July 5th they dissolved all the clubs and suppressed public meetings. On the 6th they dissolved the National Guard; on the 7th they disarm the people, and on the 14th they suppress all the newspapers. These measures in Rome were soon followed by similar measures in France itself. The deeds of the bloodthirsty order-mongers are everywhere the same. The reaction triumphant is everywhere heartless and cruel, and the Papacy is the incarnation of the principle of absolute despotism. It is the remembrance of those deeds on the part of France, and being face to face with the claims and pretensions of the Vatican, that has driven, and will drive Italy into the arms of Germany. Much as the people of Italy may regret it, much as the people of France may deplore it, Italy is bound to seek safety and security for her unity and independence.

Here is work for the friends of the Latin race, for those who wish to break the Triple Alliance, who seek to promote the union of France, Spain, and Italy. Let France break once and for ever with the Papacy; let her cease to recognise, directly or indirectly, the monstrous claims and pretensions of the Vatican, and Italy will soon cease to rely upon the arms of Germany.

The revolution is universal, because resting on a principle that is universal in its application. The Papacy, resting on the principle of despotism, and the Revolution—the principle of equal liberty, of eternal justice—are the extremes of the world-wide controversy that has existed for ages, a struggle that will cease only when the Revolution is everywhere triumphant. Being universal the Revolution is international, and the right of initiative is wherever there is the requisite unity, energy, and devotion. It belongs to France, to Spain, to Italy, to Germany, to Austria, to Russia, to England—to wherever the elements of success are strongest.

The revolution wars against tyranny wherever it exists, against despotism wherever found, whether in the Church or in the State, in the laws or the institutions. It recognises neither the pretensions of the Papacy, the claims of Imperialism, nor the prerogatives of royalty. It recognises neither the aristocracy of birth nor the aristocracy of wealth. In all the States of Europe we have yet to conquer political freedom, to combat political tyranny.

But the revolution is social as well as political. Henceforth, every revolution that is not social and economical will be tricked away by political parties and for party purposes. We may war against the Church, we may war against the State, we may combat the tyranny and corruption so prevalent in both, but we must go beyond these. In all the more civilised nations, the social and economical conditions render absolutely necessary the reconstruction of society itself.

Let us not shut our eyes to the complicated nature of the impending struggle in Europe. The revolutions failed in 1848-9. Let us hope they will not fail in 1889-90. And let us hope, too, that France will cast to the winds of heaven the Papacy, with all its corruption and all its pretensions, and that she will grasp hands with Italy in the name of the revolution, for the freedom and elevation of humanity.

J. SKETCHLEY.

NOTICE.

Subscribers who find a red mark against this notice are thereby reminded that their subscriptions have expired and must be renewed before the New Year if they wish to continue to receive *Commonweal*.

"Where the men and women think lightly of the laws; where the populace rise at once against the never-ending audacity of elected persons; where the citizen is always the head and ideal; where children are taught to be laws to themselves—there the great city stands."—Walt Whitman.

In political affairs, the most critical and dangerous moment to the popular party is that which, for that party, ought to precede a complete and final triumph. It is at such a moment that the enemy is too much despised, and the popular force is over-rated. We are disposed to rely on our friends and on half-converted enemies, not upon the only safe resource—our own exertions.—Daniel O'Connell.

But I almost think we are all of us ghosts. It is not only what we have inherited from our father and mother that walks in us. It is all sorts of dead ideas, and lifeless old beliefs, and so forth. They have no vitality, but they cling to us all the same, and we can't get rid of them. Whenever I take up a newspaper I seem to see ghosts gliding between the lines. And then we are, one and all, so pitifully afraid of the light.—Henrik Ibsen.

TO DOMESTIC SERVANTS.

FRIEND,—This is your "Evening out," or your "Sunday out," isn't it? Then you actually get, once a fortnight, or once a month, a whole evening, or a whole Sunday afternoon, free to yourselves? Isn't that so? And the rest of your time? Ah no, you are not free then. You have sold the rest of your time to your mistress, and for all but just this afternoon or evening, you are hers; not your own.

One would think she must be very busy, to want you all the week, and even Sunday mornings. But no; on Sunday mornings you must cook the dinner, make the beds, clean the door-step, while she is in church. Now either she must be more wicked than you, or else she doesn't care whether you are wicked or not, so long as she finds dinner all ready; or, which is most likely, she doesn't think Church necessary, and only goes to kill time. If so, one can scarcely see why she shouldn't now and then kill time by cleaning the step, or polishing the grate, and let you go to church, or for a walk. But she has got some silly idea that it is degrading to do this work, and forgets that what is degrading for her is just as degrading for you; and that if it would make her tired, she carelessly tires you out every day.

Then week-days it is just the same. Whilst you are wearing yourself out with hard toil from morning till night, doing her work for her, she longs for something to do; but she will not help you, because she wants you to feel that you are hers, and that she is "superior" and you "inferior." She may be kind and well-intentioned; but she doesn't understand that you are just as good as she is, and that you have faculties as good as her own for enjoyment, if only you had the chance to exercise them.

Here then is this woman idle and extravagant, yet rich: meanwhile your mother at home works hard and would be so glad of the help you could give; yet she is so poor in spite of all her work, that she has sent you to sell your time to help another woman do nothing.

Your mistress's children have a governess, or are sent to some expensive and fashionable school. All sorts of pleasant enjoyable things they have a chance to learn. They have plenty to eat, (happy if not too much), and their clothes are so numerous and costly as to be an encumbrance to them. At home your little sisters and brothers are left to themselves;—their school-pence can ill be spared, sometimes only by cutting short their dinner; and you know better than anyone can tell you what shifts your mother is put to to keep their clothes sufficient for them. At night your father comes home tired out; and if you should chance to go home, there is no room for you in the crowded cottage; the cost of what you eat is a consideration to them; and they are relieved when you are gone. You find that your home is broken up for you; and you know that your little sister must go too, as soon as she is allowed to leave the school.

What a difference between your family and your mistress! Yet you feel that you are really as good as she is: but you have been kept down and are ignorant of the cause of it, besides of much else you would like to know.

And then, to come back to this short holiday of yours. You have to be in quite early, and perhaps to give an account of yourself. Probably your mistress really means well by you in this. But how is it that she thinks harm might come to you, and so keeps you prisoner? You know only too well. It is because many men have to toil so hard, and are so poor, that they are ignorant of true happiness (never having had the chance to learn) and of the goodness and sacredness of womanhood. And there are others (whom perhaps your mistress meets in the drawing-room) so ruined by the idle pampered lives they have led, that their blood is corrupt for want of honest exercise; and in their miserable state they care nothing for your honour. Contrast these idle rich men with your over-worked father, and then ask: "How is it that the idle are rich, and those who make all things are poor?"

If you and your friends would learn how all this unhappiness arises, how your masters unjustly claim the shops and fields in which your fathers and brothers and sweetheart work, and how the money you see the rich waste has been kept back by them out of the working-people's wages; if you would understand this, we Socialists ask you to join us. For your fathers' and mothers' sake, for the sake of your little brothers and sisters, and (when you get married) of your own children, in order that they may not have to undergo the sorrow and drudgery which is your lot, but may grow up and have health and leisure and pleasant learning. We invite you to help us.

Come to our meetings on your "Sundays out," and bring your brothers and sweetheart with you; get all you can to join us, and learn how all this poverty and inequality may be ended; teach your young sisters and brothers at home, so that, when the chance occurs, we may be numerous enough to overturn this wrong and wretched state of things, and begin a new way of life, in which the welfare and happiness of all shall be the aim of each; and Freedom with good Friends every day, instead of the "evening out," shall be the Rule for all, and not the Exception as it is to-day. G. S.

For surely it is the test of every divine man—and without it he is not divine or great—that he has fire in him to burn up somewhat of the sins of the world, of the miseries and errors of the world. Why else is he there?—*Thomas Carlyle.*

Your nobles are nothing but rich men inflated with empty traditions of insufferable, because unwarrantable, pride, and drawing substance from alliance with the merchant class. You worship your so-called aristocracy perforce in order to preserve an ideal of contrast to the vulgarity of the nation.—*George Meredith.*

THE STARVING POOR OF OLD ENGLAND.

(REPRINTED BY REQUEST.)

Tune—"Union Jack."

LET them brag until in the face they are black,
That over oceans they hold their sway,
Of the Flag of Old England, the Union Jack,
About which I have something to say:
'Tis said that it floats o'er the free, but it waves
Over thousands of hard-worked ill-paid British slaves,
Who are driven to pauper and suicide graves—
The starving poor of Old England!

Chorus—

'Tis the poor, the poor the taxes have to pay,
The poor who are starving every day,
Who starve and die on the Queen's highway—
The starving poor of Old England!

There's the slaves of the needle, and the slaves of the mine,
The postmen and sons of the plough,
And the hard-worked servants on the railway line,
Who get little by the sweat of their brow.
'Tis said that the labourer is worthy his hire,
But of whom does he get it, we'd like to enquire;
Not of any mill-owner, or farmer, or squire.
Who grind down the poor of Old England!

Old England's a dear native land in its way,
For those who have plenty of gold;
They thieve all the land on the sides of the way,
And heap up their riches untold:
'Tis dear to the rich, but too dear for the poor
When hunger stalks in at every door;
But not much longer these evils we'll endure,
We the working-men of Old England!

DOING GOOD.

Now that the season of the year specially devoted to family reunions, merriment, and sympathetic displays to our less fortunate brothers and sisters, has come round again, every Socialist is reminded of the hollow shams by which the ignorant and the poor are deluded into contentment with their unfortunate lot.

What mean these charitable appeals to the benevolent, with which all the London bourgeois papers team? Some rich old maids, harbouring the delusions which their training and associations have implanted in them, whilst contributing their guinea to some benevolent (?) fund, doubtless have a feeling that they have done some good. They would even feel a somewhat sanctified happiness if present on the occasion when those guineas which they subscribed were transformed into viands and placed before their guests, some of whom perhaps have not partaken of a substantial meal for months. But how that happiness would vanish if some famished guest at the repast, some victim of our sham society, some worker denied the right to live by labour, were to tell them that but for him and his comrades in distress, they would not even be in the position to contribute their guinea to enjoy the pleasure of witnessing the misery which they and theirs have produced.

It is pretty well time that these benevolent and charitable persons got to understand their relations and responsibilities to society. Doubtless many of these good people would deeply regret the losses of opportunity of "doing good" which they would sustain by a Social Revolution. They have some vague idea that the wicked Socialists are trying to abolish poverty, and then when there are no poor there will be no scope left to them for doing good, for they have no other conception of doing good. But can this ever be? Can there be social equality? Why, we have it on the undisputed authority of holy writ, "The poor ye have always with you." The only argument that would convince such people would be to make them the guests at charity dinners. If they only observed the precepts of holy scripture, they would sell all they had and give to the poor. The tables could thus be easily turned. A. BROOKES.

THE LAW AND LIBERTY LEAGUE.—The first annual meeting of the Law and Liberty League was held on Saturday, 15th, and the report for the year and the balance-sheet were presented. The report showed a notable record of work done. In announcing the release of the last of the Trafalgar-square prisoners—with the exception of poor George Harrison—the secretary was able to say that every man, on his liberation from prison, had found his home safe, and his dependents cared for during his absence. Not one home had been broken up, nor one wife or child suffered want. A very large number of cases were reported, in which legal advice and assistance had been given. Thus an action had been brought against an employer who had dismissed an apprentice; £30 damages were recovered, and the father had repaid the costs advanced by the League. A summons issued against a firm that had dismissed a labourer without notice had obtained a week's wages for the labourer, and stopped the attempt to introduce a system of dismissal without notice. Compensation had been obtained for a mother whose son was killed by an accident. A broker had been compelled to pay three times the amount of illegal charges levied. Illegal hours had been stopped in one factory, fines in many, and so on and on through a long list. All legal advice given by the League is given free. Where gross injustice is being committed against the very poor, assistance has been given to bring the cases into court so far as its funds have permitted. With a little more financial assistance its work might be greatly extended. The balance-sheet showed an expenditure of £1,132, and a debt remaining of £170. Until this debt is discharged the League cannot undertake any further financial responsibilities, but it is hoped that sufficient subscriptions will come in from the public to enable it to continue its modest work as poor man's advocate. The greater part of the work which it originally took in hand being now successfully completed, it was thought well to revise its constitution, and to devote its resources chiefly to the task of rendering legal assistance to the poor, and thus enabling them to resist injustices inflicted on them in consequence of their defencelessness. Subscriptions and donations to the League will be gratefully acknowledged if forwarded to Annie Besant, hon. sec., 34, Bouverie-street, E.C.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

BELGIUM.

The strikes in the mining districts are momentarily over. The legitimate demand of the workers would have unavoidably resulted in an increase of wages, if the struggle had only lasted for a fortnight longer under normal circumstances, but those who had a strong interest in the defeat of the strikers, have once more resorted to base and vile means in order to compel them to resume work. Under the present conditions of affairs, when the demand for coals is at the highest pitch, and the price therefore day after day increasing, a miners' strike, simultaneously breaking out in the four coal districts, would have certainly resulted in the victory of the workers, and one big strike being won, would have done more for the furtherance of Socialism in those regions than six months', or perhaps one year's propaganda work, by meetings and speeches. That, the government seem to have been aware of, for they have immediately set themselves at work in order to transform the workers' contest into a kind of a criminal dynamite plot. The great mass of the public were manifestly sympathetic to the miners, and fully recognized the legitimacy of their claims; therefore the government did all they possibly could in order to create a strong reaction against them, by making people believe that all these miners were wicked men, capable of all sorts of attempts, and actually engaged in using dynamite against the so-called "property" of their masters. In fact, some twelve or fifteen dynamite explosions occurred in the Centre district, without causing any harm to individuals or damaging property at all; but the hand of the *agents-provocateurs* was so evidently visible in these deeds that not one serious person has had for one single moment the idea of accusing the strikers of having used these explosives themselves. But of course the Attorney-General, Van Sclaeor, who by the way is also a good friend of the German authorities, affected to believe that the strikers were guilty of using dynamite, and he ordered all the delegates of the Chatelet Socialist Congress, where the general strike was resolved, to be arrested. None of those delegates has had anything to do with explosives of any kind; everybody knows that very well, but nevertheless these comrades are to be tried for the "crime of having destroyed or tried to destroy public and private property, by means of dynamite," and so on. The real *provocateurs* are completely free and walk about unnoticed by the police authorities. For this time, the government have managed to cause fifty or sixty Socialists to be arrested, who will be convicted for the dynamite-throwing that others have done; but there might come such an emergency, that the workers, thwarted by their governments, would use all means, even dynamite, to get rid of their exploiters, and who should then dare to condemn them?

SWITZERLAND.

The readers of the *Weal* know that on May 11th last the Federal Council issued that now famous circular to the Swiss authorities, in which they called their attention to the "Socialist propaganda" made chiefly by foreigners. The result was that the Swiss workers at once started an organisation of their own. The various cantonal authorities, in pursuance of the above-mentioned circular, have now set to work and organised in their respective cantons what is termed the "political police department." One of the "secret instructions" addressed by the Council of Aargau to the police force of that canton has found its way through the press, and it shows very clearly what old Helvetia, acting under Bismarck's provocations, has done with her free institutions. The document runs as follows:—

"SECRET INSTRUCTIONS CONCERNING THE DUTIES OF THE POLITICAL POLICE.

"1. The cantonal police authorities have to gather very carefully all doings which occur in their respective divisions and have regard to the internal safety or to the international relations of the country. Without further orders, they have to report to the Department of Justice and Police on all such occurrences, and on the authors of such doings.

"2. They have to watch especially all public and private gatherings, as also all papers and other publications wherein questions as to the political or social organisation of Switzerland and of other countries are discussed. They have to report on each of these meetings and to take care that each one of these prints should be regularly sent to above-named department.

"3. As regards these meetings and publications, the cantonal police divisions have to report carefully names, origin, profession, means of existence, antecedents of the persons most actively connected therewith. In the same way they have to report in the case of foreigners whose means of subsistence are unknown, or whose presence may for other reasons become dangerous to the safety of the country.

"4. As often as one such person leaves the canton, and moves to another, notice of such removal is to be at once given to the police authorities of that canton. All reports to be sent in regularly once a month, and, for such cases as may occur, immediately, to the above-named Department of Justice and Police, through the police direction of the canton."

These "secret instructions" were issued June 15th of this year, and pretty near transform "free Helvetia" into a kind of Prussian province in a state of siege.

AUSTRIA.

The Austrian Socialists have now made their final arrangements towards the convocation of the first Congress to be held on Austrian soil, since the exceptional anti-Socialist laws have been put into force. The Congress, to be held from December 30th, 1888, to January 1st, 1889, will take place at Hainfeld, in Lower-Austria (St. Pölten-Leobersdorf) and the following subjects will appear on the agenda-paper: 1. Manifesto of the Social-democratic party in Austria; 2. On political rights; 3. Labour legislation and Social reform; 4. The Socialist Press; 5. Relief question; 6. Trades' Unions' organisation; 7. Labour parliament; 8. Popular education.

The last number of our Austrian colleague, *Arbeiterstimme* (Voice of the People), which is published at Brünn, has been confiscated by the authorities.

The composers' strike at Vienna has ended by the victory of the workers, their claims having been fully recognized by the masters. This result is chiefly due to the admirable solidarity shown by all the composers, and especially by the female workers.

HOLLAND.

The Socialist cause is progressing very favorably in Holland; in nearly each large town and in many country places, the propagandists are numerous and devoted, and the comrades generally support with all their power the Socialist paper which is their official organ: *Kocht voor allen* (Right for all). The result of it is that the paper, increasing in subscribers, is able also to increase its publication. It was started as a small weekly, but soon came out

twice a week, and since about six months has been issued three times weekly. It now announces that, to begin with January the 1st, it will be published as a daily paper. Comrades here should take example of this, and likewise support the *Weal* by all means in their power. V. D.

ARGENTINE REPUBLIC.

The strike at Buenos Ayres on the Southern Railway has ended in the contractor's acceding to the demand for an increase in wages of over one-half, under pressure of the loss caused by the strike, but has been immediately followed by a strike at Sola station to compel the company to allow, in paying their wages, for the depreciation of gold. One of their meetings has been attacked by police and soldiery armed with sabres and remingtons. After a smart affray, in which some of the combatants were wounded, a large number of the strikers were arrested. At Villalonga, the labourers have struck successfully for an increase. 122 foundrymen have also struck, but their employer is holding out, promising only to increase the wages "of those who deserve it." The men are naturally averse to taking such terms.

SPAIN.

At Sabadell there has been so prolonged a crisis in the labour market, that a large number of workers a few days ago started for the Argentine Republic, in the vain hope of escaping the sordid and lifelong scramble for existence they were subjected to at home. How far their hope is likely to be realised they will find when they are landed amid the labour troubles that affect the New World as well as the Old. At Valencia the locksmiths are organising themselves, and making an active propaganda for the purpose of forming a strong society to resist the encroachments of their employers. The shoemakers of the same town are engaged in the same task, as their employers are trying to lower wages. M. M.

METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.—The weekly return of metropolitan pauperism shows that the total number of paupers relieved in the first week of December was 99,831, of whom 59,721 were indoor and 40,110 outdoor paupers. The total number relieved shows a decrease of 2,728 on the corresponding week of last year, an increase of 3,753 over 1886, and 5,586 over 1885. The total number of vagrants relieved on the last day of the week was 1,250, of whom 1,077 were men, 152 women, and 21 children under sixteen.

It is a familiar example of irony in the degradation of words that "what a man is worth" has come to mean how much money he possesses; but there seems a deeper and more melancholy irony in the shrunken meaning that popular or polite speech assigns to "morality" and "morals." The poor part these words are made to play recalls the fate of those pagan divinities who, after being understood to rule the powers of the air and the destinies of men, came down to the level of insignificant demons, or were even made a farcical show for the amusement of the multitude.—*George Eliot*.

COTTON TRADE.—Macclesfield weavers are still out; no sign yet of giving in on either side.—The Earley weavers' strike ended in an advance of 3d. a cut. At New Mills the employers have conceded the advance asked for, and so averted a strike.—The operatives at Cinderhill Mill, Castle Street, Todmorden, complain very strongly about extra work, and a fortnight's notice to leave has been tendered by the weavers unless the master improves matters. There are 450 looms in the shed. The spinners at the same place came out on the 13th inst., the cause also being extra work, about which they had previously complained. They remained out for that week, but resumed operations on the Monday morning, on the understanding that Mr. Barker would improve matters. He made a similar promise to the weavers.—At Bolton short time has been enforced by the employers in consequence of the dispute with their employes, and they threaten a general lock-out if the latter do not soon give in.

The Durham Salt Company (limited) will be worth keeping an eye on. It is just being formed, and its prospectus is worth preserving. It purposes in the first place to purchase from the present holder 1000 acres of land in Durham, worth about 30s. an acre agricultural value. Underneath this barren soil, however, nature has deposited a layer of salt 100 feet thick, and so the vendor, instead of claiming £150 for his land—its true value—claims, and is to receive, £168,000. Nor is that all. He is to receive in future a royalty of 1s. for each ton of salt extracted, and 8d. per ton on coal. First he sells his land for 1000 times its value, but actually reserves the right to levy blackmail on it for all time coming, or at least as long as the salt deposit holds out. This is not theft, but business! Then the Durham Salt Company (limited) with a charming simplicity tell us that they propose to charge a profit of 12s. per ton on the salt they make, and as they propose making 2000 tons a week this will amount to £31,000 a year, or 36 per cent. on the capital invested. I am quoting literally from the report, and neither adding to nor taking away. Who has to pay for all this? First the workers, whose wages will be 6d. an hour; next the consumers, who will have to pay three times the value of all the salt they purchase. Who would not be an individualist?—*Minor*.

HAMMER AND TONGS.—Gladstone at Limehouse and Salisbury at Scarborough have been abusing one another in hollow political fashion, and trying to outbid each other for the support of the "people," or so much of the people as are on the voting lists. For the rest of humanity the smug, selfish place-hunters have no care. After all is said, what do either offer? They both talk a great deal about the working man and what is best for him, and each has his bit of advice. What does it all amount to? Nothing. Neither Salisbury nor Gladstone can teach the working man anything worth knowing. The working man already knows the essential thing, that is, how to work. All either Salisbury or Gladstone can teach is to know how to steal. Now this is not useful knowledge. The working man is learning by long and bitter experience that it does not pay to toil on eternally in a false position in the hope of at some future time being able to plunder his fellow workers, and so escape toil himself. This is the Salisbury and the Gladstone doctrine in bald fact, divested of all word-juggling. These two schemers may abuse one another to their heart's content, but when they appeal to the workers it is enough to pin them down to their hard doctrines. Ask either of them what he is after, what will he do? Will he make one single idle parasite of the commercial scheme become of necessity an honest producer? Not they! They only are scheming and shuffling to ease the commercial robbery in such places as it has made too scandalous festers; but every idler is to be continued, and every toiler to be plundered as of old.—L. W.

LETTER FROM AMERICA.

ENGLISH Socialists will remember Sir William V. Harcourt's famous saying: "We are all Socialists now." Well, this phrase has decidedly been improved upon over here. In an interview with a reporter, Congressman Anderson is made to say, ". . . I mean Jay Gould. He is, in my opinion, the greatest Communist in the United States." We, the revolutionists, are glad to get any convert, but I guess we will have to draw the line at Jay.

Talk about evictions in Ireland! There are more evictions in any one of the leading cities of the United States than in all Ireland together. Last week about 1,000 settlers were evicted on the Des Moines railroad lands. On the 5th inst., writs were issued for the eviction of 2,000 squatters near St. Paul, Minn. The squatters are very poor, and some of them have lived on the land as long as 20 years. They have seen their children grow up in the shanties built by their own hands, in the midst of their little gardens, and they are in consequence in a very "ugly" frame of mind, as the capitalistic press puts it, at the idea of being evicted just before a hard winter. Probably the constables will meet with armed resistance; I hope so.

T. B. Barry, the seceder from the Knights of Labour, has issued a manifesto to the working-people of America, calling upon them to join his new organisation, The Brotherhood of United Labour. "In taking this step," he says, "I am not doing so for the purpose of fighting the Knights of Labour or to gratify any personal ambition, but for the sole purpose of establishing honesty in and placing the labour movement on a decentralised basis." The cardinal principles of the Brotherhood of United Labour will be, to use Barry's words:

"Land, currency, and transportation reform as beneath all the social questions of our time. These three are of primary and universal importance, and are now agitating the great minds of the world.

"First—The right of man to the use of the earth.

"Second—The taking from usurers and Shylocks the right to control our currency.

"Third—The government ownership of the means of transporting persons, freight and intelligence, and the taking of those engines of human happiness out of the hands of stock gamblers and speculators, and operate them for the benefit of producer and consumer.

"While seeking a settlement of those questions we shall labour for ameliorative terms, such as the reduction of the hours of labour to eight per day, the prohibition of child labour, the abolition of the contract system in the employing of convicts, abolition of the central system in national, State and municipal works; prohibition of foreign labour under contract; the purification of our politics through the adoption of the Australian system of voting."

This programme is merely a rehash from the Knights of Labour platform, and it is not expected that Barry will meet with much success.

On the 4th inst., shortly before the dinner hour, the following notice was posted at the entrance to the Philadelphia and Reading railroad machine shops at Reading, Pa.:

"From December 5, working hours will be as follows:—From 7 a.m. to 12 m.; from 1 p.m. to 4 p.m.; making eight hours per day.

"E. J. SANDT, General Foreman."

This notice was also posted at all the company's shops along the entire line. Naturally there will also be a proportionate reduction in wages. The order will probably continue in force for several months, and more than 25,000 men will be affected. This action may be termed: Introducing the eight hours day with a vengeance!

Telegram of the 5th of December:

"Most of the engineers on the Montana Union Railroad are on strike because of the discharge of three of their number by the master mechanic. The strike greatly interferes with the working of the copper mines at Anaconda, M. T."

Telegram of the 6th of December:

"The strike on the Montana Union road has been settled in favour of the men, but in return the manager of the great Anaconda, the largest copper works in Montana, has received orders to close down the smelter and mines until next May, throwing 1,800 men out of work."

The Pottsdown Iron Company are asking (!) their nailmakers to accept a 25 per cent. reduction in wages, and they will open the factory.

The Secretary of the Treasury has issued his report. The income of the United States amounted to 379,266,074 dollars, and the expenditure for the government to 259,653,958 dollars, leaving a surplus of 119,612,116. Of this surplus 83,084,405 dollars were utilised for a reduction of the public debt, leaving 36,527,710 dollars in cash in the treasury for which absolutely no use could be found!

The Federated Association of Miners and Mine Labourers and District Assembly 135 Knights of Labour, the two rival national orders of miners, met in joint session on the 5th December in Columbus, Ohio. In spite of speeches made by T. V. Powderly and other leading Knights of Labour, the joint convention decided to form a new and independent organisation. District Assembly 135 had a membership of about 20,000, of which 10,000 left the Knights of Labour at the first meeting of the joint session. The remaining members are expected to follow suit pretty quickly. It was decided that the name of the organisation should be the National Progressive Union of Miners and Mine Labourers; that it shall be an open organisation; and that the officers shall be a president, two vice-presidents, a general secretary, financial secretary, and treasurer, and a general executive board, consisting of seven members, of which the president and general secretary shall be members *ex officio*. The salary of the president is to be 1,200 dols.; vice-presidents, 900 each; general secretary, 1,000; the financial secretary, 900. The vice-presidents will act as organisers. The first part of the constitution sets forth its aims and objects, which are pretty much the same as those of all other trades unions—viz., reducing the hours of labour and raising the wages. The coal-fields are divided into districts. The legislative body of the new organisation meets in February. The head-quarters are at Shawnee, Ohio.

The arguments of counsel pro and con in the suit of the people of the State of New York (read, Claus Spreckels, jr., the western sugar king) against the Eastern Sugar Trust, were heard in court last week. The lawyers are instructed to have their briefs ready by the 22nd inst., and the judge will make his decision probably soon after new year.

The fire insurance companies of New York are talking of organising a "clearing house"—that is, of forming themselves into a trust.

The Federal Grand Jury returned indictments against J. A. Bowles (the informer), J. A. Bauereisen, and Thomas Broderick, the so-called dynamite conspirators against the property of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy

Railroad. The three were taken to Geneva, Ill., where the trial began on the 4th inst. Two days were wasted in "picking" a jury. It is the same story over again as in the trials against the Chicago martyrs and against Hronek. An informer tells a tale (Bowles in this case) how he has been persuaded to join the conspiracy and how he refused to act. His testimony is taken as unimpeachable, and no matter how many witnesses to the contrary the defence can produce in court, it is all of no avail. I certainly expect also a conviction in this case. The trial will be continued this week.

Congressman Oates, a member of the Immigration Committee, has introduced into the House of Representatives a bill of which the following is an extract:—

"Section 1 provides that no alien shall be admitted into the United States who is an idiot, insane, a pauper or liable to become a public charge or who has been legally convicted of felony or other infamous crime, or who is a polygamist, Anarchist, or Socialist, or who is affected with any loathsome or contagious disease, or who has entered into contract to perform in the United States any labour or service for any person, firm, company, or corporation; or who comes upon any prepaid ticket, or who is furnished with the money to pay passage upon a promise, understanding, or agreement to repay the same by labouring for any person, etc., after arrival within the United States, excepting skilled labourers as are now allowed to be imported under existing law."

"Section 4 provides a tax or duty to be levied on each alien coming into the United States, except those in the diplomatic or consular service of foreign governments and such as come for travel, amusement, instruction. . . .

"Section 5 provides that any alien who desires to immigrate into the United States to reside therein or to become a citizen thereof, and not to become a labourer therein for a limited time, with the intention of returning, shall, three months prior to his embarkation, obtain a certificate from the United States Consul or diplomatic representative stationed nearest the place of residence of such person, showing that he is not of the classes prohibited in the first section; but such certificate shall not be conclusive evidence nor shall it relieve the master or other officer in charge of the vessel, railroad train, or other carrier from the performance of any and all other duties required by him by law relating to such passengers."

O, what a blessing it is to live in a free country!

Newark, N.J., December 10, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

THE FATHERLAND.

LOWELL.

WHERE is the true man's fatherland?
Is it where he by chance is born?
Doth not the yearning spirit scorn
In such scant borders to be spanned?
O yes! his fatherland must be
As the blue heaven wide and free!

Is it alone where freedom is,
Where God is God and man is man?
Doth he not claim a broader span
For the soul's love of home than this?
O yes! his fatherland must be
As the blue heaven wide and free!

Where'er a human heart doth wear
Joy's myrtle-wreath or sorrow's gyves,
Where'er a human spirit strives
After a life more true and fair,
There is the true man's birthplace grand,
His is a world-wide fatherland!

Where'er a single slave doth pine,
Where'er one man may help another,—
Thank God for such a birthright, brother,—
That spot of earth is thine and mine!
There is the true man's birthplace grand,
His is a world-wide fatherland!

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

London Members' Meeting.—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, Jan. 7, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

Branch Subscriptions Paid.—1888: Clerkenwell and Leicester to December. *Notice to Branch Secretaries*—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees as soon as possible. A list of Branches in arrears will shortly appear.

Propaganda Fund.—F. Sturt, 6s.

Notice.—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication. FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

REPORTS.

BROAD STREET, SOHO.—A short meeting was held at this station last Sunday. **CLERKENWELL.**—The usual Sunday evening meeting was held, when Brookes and Cores spoke.

VICTORIA PARK.—Good meeting on Sunday, addressed by Davis and Charles. 24 *Commonweals* sold. 2s. given for unemployed, which has been sent on to the secretary of S.D.F.

ABERDEEN.—At indoor meeting on Monday, article on "Scaring the Capitalists," read by Leatham, served to introduce a lengthy discussion. No meeting held at Castle Street on Saturday owing to wind and rain. On 18th, Leatham, by invitation, went to debate under auspices of Woodside Parish Church Guild, the question being "Ought the Land to be Nationalised?" His speech was from a Socialist standpoint, yet it was better received by the crowded assemblage than any of the others. As an indication of how things are going, it may be mentioned that 60 voted for and 13 against land nationalisation, many abstaining from voting.

(Several late reports are unavoidably crowded out.)

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—This Branch is now actively working. Socialists resident in this locality should send their names in at once to 13 Farringdon Road.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. No lecture on Sunday Dec. 30.

Fulham.—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Committee meetings are held on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock sharp. All members are earnestly requested to attend. Sunday December 30, at 8 p.m., R. Catterson Smith, "What is Liberty?"

Hackney.—Secretary, E. Lefevre, 14 Goldsmiths Sq., Goldsmiths Row, Hackney Road.

Hammersmith.—Kelmocott House, Upper Mall, W.

Hoxton.—12, Basing Place, Kingsland Rd. Business meetings of this branch are held every Friday evening at 9 o'clock.

London Fields.—All communications, etc., to Mrs. G. G. Schack, 26 Cawley Road, South Hackney.

Merton.—Club-house, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road, Singlegate. Lecture on Sunday evenings at 8.30.

Mile-end and Bethnal Green.—95 Boston St., Hackney Road.

North London.—Business meetings held at 6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, on Friday evenings.

Walworth and Camberwell.—This branch is now in working order. Friends in this locality are earnestly invited to co-operate, and send their names in. Committee meetings every Monday, 7.30 p.m., at 3 Datchelor Place, Church St., Camberwell Green.

Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.—International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen (Scottish Section).—Secretary, P. Barron, 14 Ann Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

Bradford.—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivogate. Meets Tuesdays at 8.

Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Wednesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secy.

Dundee (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

Edinburgh (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m. A Social Meeting will be held in 35 Lothian Street, 3rd January, at 7 p.m. All Edinburgh Socialists and their friends are invited. Tickets, 6d.

Glasgow (Scot. Sect.).—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, secy.

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

Glasgow.—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class meets every Sunday at 11. SPECIAL—Soiree, Concert, and Dance on Hogmanay Night, to bring in the New Year, Waterloo Pillar Hall, at 7.30. Revolutionary songs in English, French, and German. Tickets, 1s. 3d.

Ipswich.—Pioneer Hall, Tacket Street. Meets on Sunday evenings.

Kilmarnock.—Secretary, H. McGill, 22 Gilmour St. Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday.

Leeds.—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Rd. and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m. communications to T. Paylor, Leicester.—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—Sunday, at 10 a.m. sharp, a Special Committee Meeting; all members are requested to be present. At 8, Lecture in Gordon Hall. Monday, Gordon Hall open from 8 p.m. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Wednesday, Gordon Hall open from 8 p.m. Thursday, at 8, Lecture by Mowbray, subject "Irish Federation, its Aims and Objects"; tickets 1d. each. Friday, Gordon Hall open from 8.30 p.m.; Members' Meeting. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association.

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

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

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

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

(Weather permitting.)

SUNDAY 30.

11.30...Latimer Road Station...Hammersmith Branch
11.30...Regent's Park...Mainwaring
11.30...Walham Green opp. Station...The Branch
3.30...Hyde Park...Cores
3.30...Victoria Park...Nicoll
7.30...Broad Street, Soho...The Branch
7.30...Clerkenwell Green...The Branch
7.30...Weltje Rd., Ravenscourt Pk...Hammersmith

Tuesday.
8.30...Fulham—back of Walham Green Ch...Branch

EAST END.

SUNDAY 30.

Leman Street, Shadwell 11 ...Davis.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen.—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7 p.m.
Glasgow.—Sunday: Glasgow Green at 2 p.m.; Paisley Road at 5.30.

Ipswich.—
Sproughton, Wednesday evening.
Westerfield, Thursday evening.
Needham Market, Sunday morning and evening.

Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place, at 11 and 3.

BERNER STREET CLUB.—On Saturday December 29, Mr. Gould, of the Limehouse Branch S.D.F., will deliver a lecture—"Will Parliamentaryism help to bring about the Social Revolution?"

The Mitcham Branch is about to be reconstituted. All desirous of helping in the work of the S. L. in and around Mitcham, Merton, and Streatham should communicate with comrade J. Campbell, 98 Wellfield Road, Streatham.

LEICESTER.—A course of lectures on "Socialism, its Aims and Principles" is being delivered in Leicester Secular Hall. The fourth lecture will be delivered on Sunday Dec. 30 by Sydney Olivier—subject, "The Moral Aspect."

THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—The Committee will meet at the house of S. Oliver, 139 Trafalgar Street, Walworth Road, on Saturday Dec. 29 at 7.30 p.m. The half-yearly Members' Meeting will be held at 13 Farringdon Road, E.C., on Saturday January 12, at 8 p.m. Members please bring or send subscription cards for audit.

SOUTH LONDON.—Friends who will help to establish a Branch of the Socialist League in South London will please place themselves in communication with C. Henze, 41 Bolton Street, Thomas Street, Kennington Park, S.E., or by letter to H. Hopkins, 17 Cairloch Road, Shenley Road, Peckham, S.E.

International
Working-men's Educational Club,
"Zur Morgenröthe,"
23 PRINCES SQUARE, CABLE STREET, E.

ON SUNDAY, DECEMBER 30, 1888

An Extra Benefit

will take place at the above Club, to assist
COMRADE C. W. MOWBRAY, OF NORWICH,
to return to London.

Having fearlessly championed the cause of the sweated workers in the town, especially in the clothing trade, he is rigorously boycotted by the capitalists, who refuse to employ him; consequently he is in great distress, having also a wife and five children to support.

Theatre, Concert, and Ball,

To commence at 7.30 p.m. prompt. Programmes, 6d.

Programmes can be obtained at the above Club; Berner Street International Club; F. Kitz, 13 Farringdon Rd.; or from secretaries of metropolitan branches of the S.L., etc.

LA REVUE SOCIALISTE.

EDITED BY BENOIT MALON.

8, Rue des Martyrs, Paris.

SUMMARY OF THE DECEMBER NUMBER.

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