

THE COMMONWEAL

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

THE defeat of the Government over the police-managing clauses was not a great matter in itself, as it might have been if the whole bill was anything else but a sham; neither is it by itself of much moment in the game of Ins and Outs: but taken with other matters it becomes a sign that the pendulum is swinging again towards the Gladstonian section of the Whigs.

Those gentlemen have a special opportunity now afforded them by the confirmation of the ferocious sentence on Mr. Dillon. They have been raising a great outcry on the illegality of this sentence. That would be a matter of importance if law were what it professes to be, a protection to peaceable citizens against violence and wrong-doing; but since it is in fact nothing but a machine for the support of the privilege of successful persons, the legality or illegality of an act of the executive is by itself not worth considering, since an executive which cannot find law enough to put down any act of rebellion is not worth its salt. If the force at its command is overwhelming, its acts will in any case be legal; if there is a general feeling that its acts are illegal, that means that its power is wavering. Mr. Dillon is in prison because he is an enemy of the Government, and, whether he is conscious of it or not, of the "rights of property." Harrison is in prison for exactly the same reason. It has always been the custom for persons in authority to suppress their enemies when they dared: but when their enemies are the friends of society, it is in the long run bad for the suppressors.

However, if the Gladstonian Whigs feel this affair so sorely, what are they going to do? They have done what the *Daily News* calls "a very wise and very bold thing"; to wit, moved a vote of censure on the Government, which they knew beforehand they could not carry. This may be wise; though its wisdom is obscure to a simple person. As to its boldness, the said simple person wonders where that is hidden; its consequences do not seem of a nature to make even a newborn hare tremble.

A bolder course than that is conceivable and can be stated, though even this does not threaten the life, the limb, or even the next day's dinner of the champions engaging in it. If ever there was a case for abstention, here is one. Let the whole Gladstonian and Irish party walk out of the House after the due overwhelming majority has been recorded for the Government, and not come back again till at least the Coercion Act was repealed; leaving the Government and its friends to do the best they could without an opposition to help them in playing the game. If the Gladstonians are not bold enough for this, at least the Irish members might strike such a stroke; if they dared or could do so it probably would be enough, and Irish coercion would be laid aside, till a Liberal government found it useful, if indeed it were ever possible after such an act.

But it goes without saying that nothing of the sort will be tried. The Irish party are bound hand and foot to the great Liberal ditto, like the living to the dead in the old story. And as for the Liberals, they are only too conscious of their reason for existence as a party. Their business is to keep the game going steadily, and not to do anything to interrupt, far less put an end to it. Abstention would look like favouring revolution; it would have to be explained to the constituencies, and it could not be explained away; and explaining away is the great "art and craft" of success in the game of Ins and Outs, of official success. Such a success as attaining to the end you profess (to your constituents) by the shortest road, being a thing by no means desired by the Liberal side of the game at any rate.

Meantime Mr. Dillon is in prison, and his strictly political friends don't seem in a hurry to get him out of it. It is a comfort to think that he himself must have known this all along and understanding his allies, has gone into the trap with his eyes open, knowing well that his imprisonment would further the cause he is striving for. All honour to him for that.

The proclamations of the Kaiser William II. to the Army and Navy and to the Prussian People may be considered by some as mere pieces of conventional official fustian; but they mean more than this both in what they say and what they refrain from saying; thoughtful persons scarcely need to read between their lines. Reaction of the coarsest kind is what they announce. It is possible that this will be less injurious to the cause of the people than the steady respectable bourgeois dead weight of inaction which would have been what the late Kaiser would have tried for, probably unsuccessfully as against the more open reactionists.

The proposal of the Rifle-shooting Association—or whatever it calls itself—to destroy Richmond Park for the benefit of its annual picnic, fair, and prize shooting match, would be a piece of impudence almost incredible if one did not remember the lazy and thoughtless stupidity of the public. There is any amount of space on the sandy wastes south of London—e.g., about Woking—of no use for any other purpose, since nothing will grow on these places and they are too hideous to be "spoilt" by anything short of iron-puddling. They would seem to be provisionally ordained for the requirements of modern sham-soldiering; and yet there are persons seriously taking into consideration the proposed ruin of one of the few solacements of our beastly muck-heap of a London! Really, the horrors of war are on us already.

Note that our friend the *Star* has the fatuity to favour this cruel injury to the democracy. I fear the reason why is clear—to wit, that it is a chance of attack against the Duke of Cambridge, and royalty through him, too good to be thrown away. "Is it worth the wear and tear?" There are so many occasions for the display of this kind of revolutionary fervour, that surely we need not cut the nose off our face to spite the face and make an occasion. See how foolish party spirit makes us! Surely we can despise the preposterous old martinet without destroying what in a fashion is our own, without handing it over to a private company to make money of.

Mr. Balfour gave an explanation the other day (probably untrue) of the circumstances of the imprisonment of Shane O'Donnell, imprisoned for refusing to give evidence against his fellow resistors to tyranny, and who was said to have fainted on the way between jail and court. In the course of this explanation, Mr. Balfour said that he could scarcely be called an old man as he was only 64. Pray, is Shane O'Donnell a working man? I ask this, since I have seen field-labourers in England who were old men at 50 and very old men at 64—if they managed to live so long as that.

The Sweating Commission has been receiving evidence of a different character to some that it had received before. Mr. Lionel B. Alexander has tendered it what the press calls "rebutting evidence." But his evidence was in the main a defence of the Jewish workmen against the attacks of Mr. Arnold White, and a calling attention to the fact that the last link in the chain of sweating, the poor sweater, is not the criminal in the case, but the employer of the said sweater, who is himself sweated to the bone. As to his defence of sweating, it amounted to little more than his perception of the necessity for it in some form or other as long as competition under privilege exists. Cheapness at any cost he sees is necessary to our system of manufacture, and he does not see his way to limit it—nor will the Commission.

The position has often been stated, but one may be allowed to state it again. Wage-slaves like other slaves can only consume slave wares; but our wage-slaves are so numerous that the production and sale of slave-wares is an important branch of commerce, and any check to it would lead to a great number of the poorest labourers being unemployed; for none but those who are driven down by competition to the lowest point can be used for producing wares cheap enough for this shameful market, and these must take any wages that will keep them alive.

Moreover since this mass of cheap labour necessary for the produc-

tion of slave-ware is offered in the market, and there is still an excess of it, ~~it is used for the production of articles of comfort and luxury consumed by the richer classes, who thus add to the income derived from their profit on slave-ware by getting the wares they need at a price below the average.~~

It is an old, old story; the poor always punished for poverty. Those that have shall receive more abundantly, and those that have not it shall be taken from them even that which they have. Can a royal commission alter this? If so, how? Yet it will be altered, and probably Mr. Arnold White will not like either the alteration or the method of it.

Mr. Blundell Maple's "evidence" was a curious business. If the report of it may be trusted, he bullied the commissioners and threatened all his enemies in a way that only a very rich man dares to do. He also (like a good business man) did not miss the opportunity of puffing his firm gloriously; and painted his own portrait, so to say, as the true friend of the working-classes—even to the extent of working his sewing-machines by a gas-engine for their exclusive benefit; and increasing his turn-over by thousands of pounds for the same disinterested purpose.

But even if Mr. Maple were an angel of light, and had absolutely no other aim in doing business than the welfare of his employes, he could by no possibility succeed in that aim. His gas-engine would benefit him and not the luckless sempstresses thrown out of work by it. He must use his enormous army of employes for producing wares at a cheaper rate than his competitors, or else his huge business, of which he gave such glowing account before my lords, would land him in bankruptcy and put an end to his career of usefulness. As long as he is engaged in making profits out of other men's labour, he is simply a helpless unit of a class, whose enemy is the class which it employs, and which employed class is engaged on its part in working for and fighting against the employing class.

The announcement of Court mourning consequent on the death of Kaiser No. 2 drew from the morning papers a regret for the state of business among the shopkeepers of London, and a further regret that it was absolutely necessary to make this worse by a period of Court mourning, which it was thought would certainly be the case. And indeed it seems that business is bad enough and that it is not the most advisable time for a person to die who must be mourned for publicly. I was told, for instance, by a person who knew the fact, that at a large optician's shop in London, conducted with all the usual pomp of manager, partners, and the rest of it, the whole take for one day a week ago was eighteen pence!

But here is a curious piece of folly, or rather two pieces, or indeed masses of folly: in the first place that the "employment," i.e., the livelihood of a huge number of deft, ingenious and industrious men, depends on the whim of certain idlers, and their empty inclination (scarcely to be called a desire) for such and such frivolities and luxuries; and in the second that when it is loudly declared by the rich that their luxuries and frivolities are a blessing to the poor, they nevertheless are quite prepared to interrupt the flow of such blessing by any little piece of official superstition connected with the Court; the very existence for which humbug and centre of corruption is often defended on the grounds that it is good for trade. Those that think so should try to get royal personages who are immortal—or as some would prefer, carve them out of lime-tree wood and paint and gild them duly. Such articles have been known to last for centuries.

W. M.

STRIKING SUPERSEDED.

The late strike of the Leeds Jewish tailors, which to outsiders seemed a defeat, is destined to be a complete success. What could not be gained by means of a strike has been accomplished through the medium of a co-operative workshop, and the action of a dozen men, in finding out how to work without the middleman, has done more to terrify the employers than all that the whole body of workmen had previously accomplished.

The middlemen, through the loss of the Whitsuntide trade, must have lost, as a body, several thousand pounds. They were prepared to lose this, however, rather than forego their opposition to the demands of the men, and as a consequence the hands were driven by necessity back into the workshops on the old terms. Smarting under the defeat, the idea of a co-operative workshop (which had previously been discussed) was revived, and a shop taken, tables, machines, etc., purchased, and every preparation made for at once commencing operations. At this stage it was suddenly discovered that the employing middlemen were violently in love with the workpeople. With the help of a party of four, who, unauthorised by the men, took upon themselves the responsibility of going as a deputation to the masters, a meeting was arranged for to take place at the Gower Street Board School, where the masters were willing to concede the points at issue, on one condition—that the co-operative undertaking should be abandoned. What was more, they (the employers) were desirous of joining the men's trade society, "working hand and hand with them," and helping it both by money and personal help. Somehow this glorious, and, by the way,

startling idea, was not snapped up by the men as readily as was expected, and precautions were taken to go to the masters' meeting in a body. It was expected that Kemmelhor would not be admitted, and it was arranged that if this were so, the society's banner should be turned round as a signal for the men to proceed no further. This was what happened. Kemmelhor was stopped by the police, and the men followed the banner to a piece of waste land called by the euphonious name of the "midden," where a platform was arranged, and speeches delivered by Maguire, Kemmelhor, Paylor, Hill, and Cohen. The middlemen sweaters, deprived of the presence of the "hands" they wanted to love so well, held a meeting composed of a sprinkling of slipper-makers, drawn thither by curiosity, and the previously mentioned four. The composition of this party of four is a rather peculiar one. Two of them—Korn and Balsam—proved themselves scabs during the strike, another of them—Lewis Rosenberg—is a nondescript, and the fourth—Sweeney—is a shoemaker, who previous to this was always credited with more sense. No resolutions were passed—as there wasn't audience to pass a good-sized resolution—and then some of the middlemen who had walked down to the meeting to benefit—be it borne in mind—the men, actually went home in cabs, fearful lest any workmen—who couldn't see these things as masters see them—should punch their benefactors' heads. Such is the perversion of a "sweater's" intellect! The "four" have had a bad time of it since, one or two having to be escorted to and from work by the police, to the music of a hissing crowd.

The right nail has been struck on the head, I believe, in this co-operative idea, and if, as there is every reason to believe, we can make a success of this, there will be no resting until every sweater is driven back to his original avocation of tinkering, glazing, organ-grinding, etc. The shop is one of the brightest and cleanest in the town, and there is no fear of a visit from the factory inspector. Work is being obtained plentifully, and we hope this week to see it thoroughly busy. In only one direction has there been a drawback. Singer and Co. would not let us have machines without some very stringent restrictions, and the idea is freely entertained that the employers brought pressure to bear upon them. We hope our London comrades will notice this, especially the tailoring portion of them. Machines were eventually got elsewhere, and Singers dispensed with.

I hope ere long to be able to chronicle the opening of another workshop.

T. W. P.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

ITALY.

MODENA.—The Court of Appeal at Modena has confirmed the condemnation of several men who took part in a strike at Finale Emilia two years ago, and they are now, after all this time, sentenced to several months' imprisonment! This is a specimen of the "law's delay," with a vengeance!

LIVORNO.—The *Messaggero* has it seems, relative to the elections of Livorno, called upon the Socialists not to vote for Amicare Cipriani, as their votes are necessary to ensure the election of the Democratic candidate as against the two Moderates. We seem to have heard of these sorts of appeals to Socialists in England, and not very long since. If Socialists are to meddle with politics at all, they have surely a right to vote for their own chosen candidate without exciting the wrath of Liberal or Radical prints for not supporting any one the latter choose to put up. These querulous complaints are ludicrously unreasonable.

RMINI.—In a recent sitting of the Municipal Council here, eight of the councillors voted against the proposed sum to be expended by the town on the expected visit of the King and Queen to Romagna. The Democratic and Socialist part of the town express their lively indignation at such waste of money in times of distress like the present.

Odescalchi, honourable member of the Italian Chamber of Deputies, declared himself to be a Socialist the other day during a sitting, but was not, said he, one of those who wish to "transform Society by means of dynamite, but of those who wished the State to put forth a helping hand to all co-operative societies." This is a touching confession of faith from the honourable member's lips, condensing in a few sentences a wonderful ignorance of the doings and aspirations of true Socialists, and an equally wonderful belief in the power for good innate both in "The State" and in Co-operative Societies.

A considerable number of working-men's and mechanic's societies and associations have issued an abstentionist manifesto, addressed to the "electors of Rome," in which they express their determination to abstain from voting at the present elections, and their views on the uselessness of the administrative vote as at present constituted.

M. M.

Carlo Cafiero will in a short time leave the asylum of Imola, cured, with the exception of a slight melancholy. He was one of the foremost Italian Communist-Anarchists, and the endless prosecutions and imprisonments ruined him for a while. He took part in the revolt of Benevento, when in 1877 he and a small band went to several villages and initiated the revolt of the peasants against their exploiters, tax-collectors, etc. The rough climate and other unfavourable conditions forced them to surrender, and after more than a year they were acquitted by the jury. When in 1882 the franchise was given to larger numbers of workers and they commenced the farce of returning Socialists to parliament in that country too, thus spoiling the hitherto revolutionary movement, Cafiero misled by others, and certainly already mentally disturbed, pronounced himself in favour of this policy. If he now is able to again enter the ranks, he will see what became of his former friends Costa, Brousse, etc., very types of renegades.

On July 1st, "*Spartacus*, organ of the white slaves," Anarchist, will make its first appearance at Genoa.

FRANCE.

On June 20 the first number of a new daily Socialist paper *L'Homme Libre* (the free man) was published at Paris, edited by Edouard Vaillant, of the Blanquist school of Socialists. Three daily papers are now competing, viz., the old *Cri du Peuple*, which has deserted the workers' cause and gone over

to the Boulangists. One of the most rabid Boulangist organs is published at the same place and, it is said, written by nearly the same writers, so the *Cri* will have to disappear, and its successor may be either the *Parti Ouvrier*, the Possibilist organ, or *L'Homme Libre*, the Blanquist paper.

L'Idée Ouvrière of Havre has stopped its publication from want of funds—a valiant Anarchist paper the less.

L'Attaque, Organe Socialiste Révolutionnaire de la Tennesse, will be published from June 20th weekly (at Paris).

Louise Michel has published a volume of poems ('A travers la Vie,' Paris, 1888).

The wife of our comrade Duval, transported last year to French Guiana wanted to join him, but is not allowed by the Government to proceed thither. They sent her a letter of refusal telling besides that Duval has already undergone "a certain number of disciplinary punishments for very serious offences." Thus it is evident that the government who dare not execute a revolutionist in France, have resorted to killing them abroad, as they have already done in the cases of Cyvoet of Lyons, and Gallo of Paris.

HOLLAND.

A translation of Bakounine's 'God and the State,' has been published as No. 1 of the *Radikale Bibliotheek* (Amsterdam, Fortnign); it is high time that a cheap English edition of this book be published, which ought to be more read and spread than it is.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

Since the discontinuation of *La Bandera Social*, Madrid has been without a revolutionary paper, the *Socialista*, merely being an organ of Social Democrats. Now the apparition of *La Bandera Roja* (weekly, edited by Ernesto Alvarez) is announced to take place this month.

Pinto who shot the bourgeois journalist Chagas (see *Commonweal*, March) has been sentenced to 18 months prison and 3000 francs fine. The advocates who had to defend him, *pro forma ex officio*, unanimously refused to do so.

A Revolução Social, published at Porto, will reappear at Lisbon.

RUSSIA.

Most readers will remember the execution of the Russian inspector of police, Sudjeikin, at St. Petersburg (1883) by his own spy Degajeff, and several others. Last year, in May, 21 Socialists (one of whom turned out a traitor) went through the farce of a trial, and it is not until now that a trustworthy report of it reached their exiled comrades, who have just published it in a small pamphlet (Geneva, 1888, price 1 fr.). From copious extracts of it which have been translated we take the following:—"The scoundrel Sudjeikin was possessed of exorbitant ambition, he wanted to become the person of chief influence with the Czar; and the imprisonment, nay, the murder of hundreds and thousands of Socialists was to have paved his way to the very heart of that man who, as he well knew, likes nothing better than hecatombs of the best men and women of his country. We are sorry to state that he was able to enter by intermediary spies into relations with revolutionists; he is said, in the translations to which we referred (*Social Demokrat* and *Gleichheit*), to have supplied large sums of money for revolutionary propaganda, and it seems that only his immense vanity and conceit saved still greater losses to the party, for he wanted to let the minister Tulstoj, Count Pleve, and the grand-duke Wladimir be killed successively by Socialists, and when these rivals were removed and the Czar, always a coward, frightened to madness, he would step in as the man of the situation, arrest and execute all, and get his filthy reward for it. Happily enough, Sudjeikin, from whom by the way Puttkammer has still much to learn, overstrained the bow; he wanted to kidnap refugees from western countries, and Degajeff, until then his spy, appears to have had some conscience left, an almost unique case; in short, having confessed his relations to the police and being given the alternative to kill Sudjeikin and then to disappear for ever or to be killed, he and others killed that man, with whom much of information which he had kept to himself was fortunately buried. Starodvorsky and others were tried in May, 1887, for the charge of being connected with this murder, after being kept for three years in preliminary solitary imprisonment in the damp dungeon cellars. One moved on crutches, unable to walk from scurvy and necrosis; another was nearly blind; several had become consumptive, and all were ruined for life." From the words of the Crown prosecutor let us quote: "The mere fact of belonging to the revolutionary party is punished by death by the Russian law. I need not speak against Lopatin by his past alone, he has already deserved death; Miss Salova deserved death as the secretary of Lopatin. Suchovnin must go to the gallows, since in all these three years he betrayed none of his accomplices. As to Jakubovich, he too must be sentenced to death, for though he was against Terrorism I believe that if not arrested he would have developed into a Terrorist." Hermann Lopatin is one of the best known Russian Socialists, escaped several times even from Siberia, but was arrested in 1884, when he unfortunately had with him several important addresses which led to further arrests. He was seized and pulled down from behind, and did not succeed in swallowing the important papers, but was half strangled and cruelly ill-treated; he was then sick for eight months, and is always most bitterly reproaching himself for his incautiousness. He made an impressive speech at the trial, asking at death's door the pardon of his comrades for his involuntary fault, and sank down overwhelmed by tears, and nearly all his friends wept too. As to the particulars of the "crimes" with which they were charged, it is not worth while to enumerate them, for even in coerced Ireland nearly none of them has ever been thought of as a "crime"; 13 were sentenced to death, amongst whom were Lopatin, Starodvorsky, Konashevich, Ivanov, Antonow, Miss Salova, and Dobruskina; but the Czar preferred the dry guillotine of the dungeon-holes of Schluessburg, and "pardoned" them to lifelong imprisonment! And there they are now, whilst the Czar revels at St. Petersburg!

The second number of the "*Samopravlenie* (Self-Government), organ of the revolutionary Socialists in Russia," has been published in May (48 pp., in 4to); it is a secret paper, and said to be printed in Russia itself. So we see that in spite of many hundreds being taken year after year out of the ranks of the Russian Socialists by the ruthless persecutions, they are struggling on as devotedly as ever. We wish them success.

AMERICA.

Those who still believe in politicians if they only, in front of working-men's audiences, say that the social question is a "very important one" and that they are "Socialists too," ought to look on the recent history of Henry

George as a warning for them in this country. This man's merits consisted in putting together some arguments, none of which was new, against the present land system; the positive part of his programme, the proposed scheme of reform of taxes, is of no value, and has been scores of times refuted by Socialists. Notwithstanding this at the New York Mayoral election of 1886 the Socialist party worked hard for him, and he polled nearly 80,000 votes. At that moment the workers had gained him a world-wide reputation, and this being done he did not want them any more, his aim being a prominent place in the bourgeois parties. So he last year severed every connection with the Socialistic Labour Party, denounced Socialism over and over again, and to make himself quite respectable he, like Powderly, the other large scale humbug in the American movement, pronounced himself openly in favour of the murder of the Chicago Anarchists. A short time ago he travelled to Washington, evidently to sell himself there to the Democrats, and on returning wanted the amalgamation of his party, the "United Labour Party," with the Democratic party. This was too much even for his own party. A committee of investigation was appointed, and on May 28th the following resolution was carried unanimously:—"Resolved that the conduct of Henry George as a member of the United Labour Party is unmanly, and in contradiction with the actions of honest men, and that his acts are those of a traitor. Since we do not want him to be regarded any longer as a member of our party, we hereby declare him expelled therefrom." Thus the last link between Henry George and the workers is separated; he is a typical example of the way working-men's alleged friends go once they enter into the rotten atmosphere of political struggle. * *

THE REIGN OF LABOUR.

(Words for Schubert's air, "Was ist Sylvia?")

I.

Who is Labour, what is she,
That all our hearts acclaim her?
She shall reign and make us free,
Though fools and rogues would shame her;
Who so well our queen could be?

II.

Is not Labour Beauty's foe,
Earth's fairness rudely toiling?
Nay, what loveliness should flow
From forced and gainless toiling?
Give her hope, and ye shall know.

III.

Then of Labour let us sing,
That she alone shall rule us;
Priestly knave and brutal king,
They did but rob and fool us;
Lo! their yokes from us we fling!

C. W. BECKETT.

IN AND OUT OF OFFICE.

LORD SALISBURY: NEWPORT,
October, 7, 1885.

MR. BALFOUR'S AGENTS: CORK,
June 19, 1888.

Not very long ago a man who was boycotted walked into a Roman Catholic church, when every one of the rest of the congregation got up and left the church. What is the use of Acts of Parliament against a system of that kind? You cannot indict people because they do not go to church, or because they leave church.

The police escorted Norah Fitzmaurice to Lixnaw chapel. As soon as they had taken their seats, Dowling left the building, signalling to the congregation to follow him. Sullivan followed Dowling, and beckoned to the people to leave the chapel. The defendants were sent to hard labour for six months.

Socialism approves of the tendency of the times to swallow up smaller concerns into larger, and to develop these latter into limited companies, as teaching the people, the workers, their foremen and superintendents, the principles and practice of co-operation, so that when the proper time comes, and limitless competition in making goods to sell has brought down the profits of every concern to zero, the system of interest-mongering will fall by its own inability to continue. Then the new era will begin, we know not how soon, of producing goods not for the purpose of selling at a profit, but for the purpose of using them. Then rent and interest will be abolished, universal co-operation in producing things useful to the community will become obligatory upon all, rich and poor; town and country will be divided up into small municipalities or communes of a manageable compass, each containing its complete circle of farms and artisans, sufficient to supply its separate community with food, clothes, and houses. Each commune will have its representatives in its own town or county municipality, and each municipality will again be represented in the great assembly of the nation. Two hours' work per day, when every one works to produce something useful, will be sufficient to supply a moderate competence, while in factories, mines, and roads, or other distasteful and laborious work, there will be two shifts daily, so arranged that all shall have three or four Sundays per week, instead of one or none as at present. So small an amount of useful labour is required from each when all able-bodied persons, or at least all able-bodied men, co-operate to that end, that each will have ample time to associate with others for the purpose of making such luxuries as may be to his taste, and I should judge that in this way the trade of pianoforte-making and art furniture will go on very much as at present, though as in those days there will be no servants, and each will take his or her turn of cooking at the communal restaurants, houses and rooms will necessarily be of as small and *bijou* dimensions as possible.—D. GOSLING in *Times of India*.



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

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

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

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

C. D.—There have been several celebrated men of John Ball's name, among them two namesakes. One, a Puritan divine (1585-1640), of whom Richard Baxter says he deserved "as high esteem and honour as the best bishop in England"; and the other a Presbyterian minister (1665?-1745).

B. T.—'Plays for the People' (Bell and Sons, 1883), are by C. E. Maurice, author of 'English Popular Leaders in the Middle Ages,' but are very far from the level of the latter work.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday June 27.

ENGLAND Bristol Evening News Justice Leaflet Newspaper Labour Tribune London—Freie Presse Norwich—Daylight Railway Review Telegraph Service Gazette Worker's Friend Woolwich Echo	CHICAGO —Labor Enquirer Chicago—Knights of Labor Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung Detroit—Der Arme Teufel Fort Worth (Tex)—South West Coast Seaman's Journal	LIEGE —L'Avenir ITALY Rome—L'Emancipazione Marsala—La Nuova Eta Cremona—Il Democratico Florence—La Question Sociale
INDIA Bankipore—Behar Herald Madras—People's Friend	FRANCE Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) Le Parti Ouvrier Le Ca Ira La Revoltue Lille—Le Travailleur	SWITZERLAND Zurich—Sozial Demokrat Arbeiterstimme SPAIN El Productor Madrid—El Socialista
UNITED STATES New York—Der Sozialist Volkszeitung	HOLLAND Hague—Recht voor Allen BELGIUM Seraing (Ougree)—Le Reveil Ghent—Vooruit	PORTUGAL Lisbon—O Protesto Operario AUSTRIA Arbeiterstimme Wien—Gleichheit

THOUGHTS ON EDUCATION UNDER CAPITALISM.

THE other day I heard Mr. Charles Leland (better known as Hans Breitman) speak on the teaching of the "minor arts" (we wont trouble for the present as to what they are) and he told us he was engaged in carrying out a plan (in America) by which all children should be taught these arts and so gain an interest in handicrafts which he thought, and I heartily agree with him, would be a great gain to the art and consequently to the happiness of people generally. Mr. Leland said that he had been engaged in this work of educating children's hands for many years, and he expected success to follow his efforts, a success which would mean, if it were worth speaking of, that the interest in sound workmanship combined with beauty would become general, and that a demand for such work would follow and compel the manufacturers to get such work turned out.

But such success is impossible even supposing that hundreds of persons were following Mr. Charles Leland's laudable example. It would indeed be possible enough, nay it would be certain, if the capitalists the "manufacturers" were the servants of society as they sometimes profess to be; but who shall force such a prodigious change upon them as success even in such a minor matter as this would indicate, so long as they are the masters of society, which is their real position? For Mr. Leland's scheme means, if it were logically carried out, i.e., if it were successful, the substitution of handicraft for "manufacturing" in all the wares of which art or beauty forms a part and which admit of being done by handicraft, in short to take us back to the Middle Ages as far as these wares are concerned. But it is clear that the wares so produced will, if the labour on them is decently paid, cost so much more than the manufactured wares which they are intended to supplant, that only rich people with a whim for art will be able to buy them; they will not be produced in any great quantity, and if there should be a passing fashion for them, the "manufacturers" would immediately imitate them by machinery and "organised labour," and cheapen them out of existence; or indeed if the whim of rich people for the genuine article still went on, another process of cheapening would be resorted

to; wholesale dealers in such articles would exploit the unfortunate handicraftsmen (or women, whose cheap work would certainly be largely used for such wares). They would take advantage of the competition for the most miserable livelihood between people in dire necessity to produce "cheap art" for the swelling of their own purses; and if the thing grew it would be a favourite form of exploitation, as it would require little capital and little managerial capacity, and would have a dash of philanthropy and "practical remedy" about it, which would help to make such sweating an honourable as well as pleasant occupation. Cheap art indeed—and nasty! But in all probability the fashion for such articles would be limited and transitory, and all that would happen to the persons educated into a capacity for and a pleasure in refined handicraft would be that they would have to be used up in the mere mechanical drudgery of commercial production.

But it is not the matter of art that I wish to illustrate by the mention of this feeble attempt of Mr. Leland and others (for the kind of futility is common enough). It is rather the relation of our capitalistic system to general education. For just as the capitalists would at once capture this education in craftsmanship, suck out what little advantage there is in it and then throw it away, so they do with all other education. A superstition still remains from the times when "education" was a rarity that it is a means for earning a superior livelihood; but as soon as it has ceased to be a rarity, competition takes care that education shall not raise wages; that general education shall be worth nothing, and that special education shall be worth just no more than a tolerable return on the money and time spent in acquiring it; and, mind you, such special education must be very carefully directed towards the one aim of commercial success in the speciality, or it will miss, and be thrown into the mass of general education which earns nothing.

As to the pleasure to be derived from education at present by hard-working men, a bookish man is apt to think that even the almighty capitalist can hardly take that away from his slave if he has really learned to enjoy reading and to understand books, and that whatever happens he must have an hour in a day (or if it were only half an hour) to indulge himself in this pleasure. But then does the average hard-working man (of any grade) really acquire this capacity by means of the short period of education which he is painfully dragged through? I doubt it. Though even our mechanical school system cannot crush out a natural bent towards literature (with all the pleasures of thought and imagination which that word means) yet certainly its dull round will hardly implant such a taste in any one's mind; and as for the *caput mortuum*, the dead mass of mere information which the worker comes away with when his "education" is over, he will and must soon forget this when he finds out that it is of little use to him and gives him no pleasure.

I must say in passing that on the few occasions that I have been inside a Board-school, I have been much depressed by the mechanical drill that was too obviously being applied there to all the varying capacities and moods. My heart sank before Mr. McChoakumchild and his method, and I thought how much luckier I was to have been born well enough off to be sent to a school where I was taught—nothing; but learned archaeology and romance on the Wiltshire downs.

And then supposing the worker to be really educated, to have acquired both the information and the taste for reading which Mr. McChoakum-child's dole will allow to him under the most favourable circumstances, how will this treasure of knowledge and sympathy accord with his daily life? Will it not make his dull task seem duller? Will it not increase the suffering of the workshop or the factory to him? And if so, must he not rather strive to forget than strive to remember? Will not nature force him to that? I cannot help thinking that as a rule it must be so, unless he has joined the ranks of the discontented; in which case he will gain something of pleasure from mere bitterness and railing if he is not a Socialist, and how much more than that some of our readers know well, if he is one.

Now if I am told that this is *à priori* reasoning, I am prepared to fortify it by my own observation. I have often been told by workingmen (Socialist and others) that they cannot read books; are too tired with the day's work to do so, and the like. Also amongst my middle-class acquaintances, who believe that they work hard, I meet with men who clearly do not read books, and therefore, I suppose, cannot; and I move in each case in a circle that has decided literary tendencies. So that other person's experiences will, I am sure, lead them to conclusions on this point not more favourable than mine.

Then there is the enormous mass of printed paper which is not books or literature, but which the public pays for every day, since I suppose a faculty once acquired produces a habit and must be exercised, even when it is the mechanical one of reading print. The quality of this joint product of paper-maker, compositor, and sub-editor, confirms my *à priori* reasoning remarkably, for no adventure in this kind of wares has any chance of success if it has more than the merest suspicion of a flavour of literature or thoughtfulness, as we have often been told when the prospects of the *Commonweal* have been under discussion. I will not say that the worse a periodical is the better chance it has of success, but that if it intends to succeed it must

appeal to habits that are as much akin to the reasonable aims of education as is the twiddling of a bit of string by a fidgety person.

I believe, indeed, it is thought by some that this habit of the consumption of newspapers is the first step in education. Good! the second step, I take it, will be the cessation of that habit.

All this betokens that the end towards which our sham Society directs the means, "education" is the one end to which all its "social" dealings are directed to, the sustaining and easy working of its usurpation of true Society. People are "educated" to become workmen or the employers of workmen, or the hangers-on of the employers, they are not educated to become men. With this aim in view the conditions under which true education can go on are impossible. For the first and most necessary of them are leisure and deliberation; and leisure is a thing which the modern slave-holder will by no means grant to his slave as long as he grants him rations; when the leisure begins the rations end. Constant toil is the only terms on which they are to be had. Capitalism will not allow us the leisure, either for education or the use of it. Slave labour and true education are irreconcilable foes, for the latter means the continuous and duly balanced development of our faculties, whether in the school, the workshop, or the field, and how can that co-exist with the continuous, hopeless, mechanical drudgery of the man who whatever he produces will have all taken from him that exceeds a bare subsistence.

In short, our present education outside its uses to our enemies, the masters of Society, is good for one thing, the creation of discontent. I doubt it will serve us in no other way.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING JULY 7, 1888.

1	Sun.	1867. T. F. Meagher drowned.
2	Mon.	1644. Battle of Marston Moor. 1846. Anti-Corn Law League dissolved.
3	Tues.	1450. Jack Cade enters London. 1849. Oudinot enters Rome.
4	Wed.	1776. Declaration of Independence. 1777. Trial of John Horne for libel. 1798. Trial of J. and H. Sheares for high treason. 1807. Garibaldi born.
5	Thur.	1798. Trial of John McCann, W. M. Byrne, and Oliver Bond for high treason. 1882. Inauguration Meeting of L.P.D.L. 1885. First General Conference of the Socialist League.
6	Fri.	1373. Huss born. 1415. Huss burnt. 1813. Granville Sharp died.
7	Sat.	1797. Trial of David Maclean for high treason. 1831. W. Cobbett tried for sedition.

Thomas Francis Meagher.—Born at Waterford, August 3, 1823; drowned near Fort Benton, Montana, July 1, 1867. Educated at Clongowes Jesuit College and Stonyhurst. Left college in 1843, and soon after made his appearance as a public speaker at the great national meeting at Kilkenny, presided over by O'Connell. From that on he was working with the Young Ireland party, soon becoming one of their leading men. In a debate in the Irish Confederation between the "Conciliation" and revolutionary sections, he made the celebrated speech which gave him for ever the title "Meagher of the Sword." In 1848 was sent to Paris with an address from the Confederation to the Provisional Government, and on his return brought an Irish tricolour which he presented to the citizens of Dublin in the name of France in a fiery patriotic speech. Arrested March 21 on the charge of sedition, and bailed to appear at the Court of Queen's Bench; while on bail the Treason Felony Act was passed, and he was immediately re-arrested under it; tried and sentenced to death in October, 1848. Sentence afterwards commuted to transportation for life, and he was sent to Tasmania, whence he escaped in 1852 and went to the States. Here he studied for the bar and was admitted, but at the outbreak of the civil war flung off the gown and took to the sword. After fighting awhile in the renowned 69th, he organised the Irish brigade, being elected colonel of the first regiment. Feb. 3, 1862, he was made general of the brigade, and with it fought bravely at Richmond, Bull Run, Fredericksburg, Antietam, and Chancellorsville. After the latter his brigade was so decimated that he resigned, and was out of the war until early in '64, when he was recommissioned and assigned a command. At the close of the war he became Secretary of Montana Territory, and in September, '66, was made Governor *pro tem*. While engaged in taking measures for the protection of settlers from the Indians, he fell off the deck of a steamer at night and was not missed at the time. His body was never recovered. By dying then he was spared the knowledge of the treachery of the United States Government, which had got the hearty support of the American-Irish through a rather more than implied promise of a *quid pro quo* when the latter were fighting England.—S.

Battle of Marston Moor.—This famous struggle of the Civil War, fought within a few miles of the city of York, at Long Marston, turned the tide against the "gentlemen of England." Here Cromwell first came to the fore as the master spirit, and first showed his relentless spirit. The Scotch army under Leslie and two English armies under Fox and the Earl of Manchester, were besieging that royal stronghold, the capital of Yorkshire. The ever restless Rupert raised the siege by one of his sudden dashes, and, together with the Marquis of Newcastle, gave battle at the moor near by. The Parliament's army were almost routed, the Scotchmen being almost entirely put to flight, when Cromwell made his renowned charge with his troop of "Ironsides." The result is almost like an Arabian fable. For miles away the ground was strewn with the bodies of thousands of slaughtered Royalists, of whom, with grim satisfaction, the Republican witnesses related were many whose fair skins and rich doublets betokened the hitherto insolent dandies of Whitehall. But under the sod they went, along with the nameless multitude. The killed on the other side was almost insignificant, less than a dozen according to some reports. Rupert had to betake himself to the fells and fastnesses of the North to recruit his shattered ranks, while a whole bevy of the northern Royalist swashbucklers, the brothers Cavendish, the brothers Witherington, Faulconbridge and Carnaby, Mackworth and Marmaduke Langdale, fled to the Low Countries, to gather courage for Naseby Field in the following year. It is interesting to recall, as regards Marston Moor, the heroic though hopeless efforts of the two Cavendishes. The Marquis of Newcastle, though jealous like others of Rupert, nevertheless fought to the bitter end, while Sir Charles Cavendish, the chosen leader of the "Devil's Own," the Templars from London, a little man with a mighty heart, performed prodigies of valour, though unable to meet the glorious fate of his cousin and namesake who died in the war surrounded by

enemies who gave no quarter but received many a death blow before they pulled down their prey. Britain is divided to-day between two autocrats, the scions of the houses of Cavendish and Cecil. The first we can at least admire if not love. It is a common mistake to speak of the Cavendishes as sprung simply from a pettifogging lawyer's land jobbing. As a fact, they have fought for their position with almost unexampled valour, and never professed any hypocritical regard for the democracy. They boast that their progenitor, not Lord Mayor Walworth, was the treacherous assassin of Wat Tyler, while they have since shed their blood like water to enforce the chains of tyranny on the English people. This is certainly more noble than the ways of the cruel, crafty, cringing, cowardly Cecil, who bow to every storm and shrink from every danger, but have crushed out by treachery the noblest Englishmen again and again during the three centuries of their accursed ascendancy.—L. W.

Final Meeting of the Anti-Corn Law League.—On July 2, 1846, at the Manchester Town Hall, at meeting which was held with George Wilson in the chair, "for the purpose of considering what course the League should take, now that the Bill for the Repeal of the Corn Laws had received the Royal assent." Among those present were Cobden, John Bright, Douglas Jerrold, Edward Barnes, W. R. Greg, and a long list of well-known names, which raise strange thoughts and mixed chronological ideas, from the mere fact of some of the men being to-day only the faintest of memories, while others are still alive and fighting. The League was formed January 10, 1839; for some years a war of agitation was carried on, which has no equal in the way of agitation and propaganda of idea. It is urged that the Cobdenites, as they are called, were men of only one idea, and that a poor one; that may be quite true, but it may also be urged that they attacked a giant monopoly, strong in years of precedent and vested interests of immense value. The fight was bitter, for the monopolists fought to the death, or at least secured good terms at the finish; for, although the Bill for repeal passed in 1846, the final extinction of the duties did not take place until Jan. 31, 1849. Byron in "The Age of Bronze," xiv., gives a really vivid summing-up of the position attacked by the Cobdenites, and for a seven years' fight a very fair show was made in the way of damaged armour, or disgusted forestallers.—T. S.

The "Declaration of Independence."—The 4th of July, 1776, witnessed the appeal to the world of the United British Colonies of North America, announcing that they would thenceforth style themselves the "United States of America," this new name being but "a poor thing, and not their own." The name "United States" was cribbed from the gallant Dutchmen, and "of America" is a palpable fraud. America, or rather the Americas, constitutes half the globe, while the territory embraced in the rebellious provinces was only a small fraction of that hemisphere. Ignorant people have since coined a new meaning for "America" and the "Americans," and live under the delusion that there is such a nation, and such a race. Nothing is more mistaken. The present extended territory of the United States embraces many races and many nations, with diverse laws, customs, and characteristics. The federation to which they give a jealous and restricted allegiance is powerless to enforce a mandate upon any particular member without that member's free assent. The most overwhelming effort ever made by one community to coerce another was that of the North against the South in the late civil war, but all in vain. The spirit of Jefferson's immortal utterance is too strong for human effort to destroy or supplant. To-day we see the South installed in greater power at Washington than ever before, while it has only accepted the incidental abolition of chattel slavery because it has found it profitable, and only the easily gulled esteem the negroes as less enthralled to-day than before their so-called "emancipation." In fact, they are bound to continue in virtual subjection until they are developed into something like mental and physical equality with their masters. The beauty of the system of the United States is that it is founded upon "rebellion, flat rebellion." In England all customs and privileges date their origin from a conquest, from the rule of the oppressor. Across the water the air is laden with a different essence. One only has to look back to first principles to be inspired to any needed reform. If the advocates of present injustice and abuse appeal to the common usage for an excuse, one can only answer, "What of it! I will issue a new Declaration of Independence! Wrong shall never be recognised by me because it is established!" The truth is that the brave men who signed Jefferson's statement set us a glorious precedent. They dared everything, because all experience told them their lives would be the penalty of failure. It seemed a most hopeless struggle then, but their very audacity carried them through. It is a gauge for all of us in the future, when the time comes to declare our social independence, and to some great struggle of the present or the future century to pledge "our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour."—L. W.

Trial of John Horne, afterwards Horne Tooke.—At a special meeting of the Constitutional Society, held at the King's Arms Tavern, Cornhill, June 7, 1775, during an adjournment, it was resolved "that a subscription should be immediately entered into by such of the members present who might approve of the purpose, for raising a sum of £100, to be applied for the relief of the widows, orphans, and aged parents of our beloved American fellow-subjects, who, faithful to the character of Englishmen, preferring death to slavery, were, for that reason only, inhumanly murdered by the king's troops at or near Lexington and Concord, in the Province of Massachusetts, on the 19th of last April." The sum was at once collected and handed over to Mr. Horne, to be paid in to Dr. Franklin's bankers to be applied as above said. For publishing a report of this occurrence in the *Public Advertiser*, and also a notice that the money had been handed over, Horne was prosecuted by Government for a "false, wicked, malicious, scandalous, and seditious libel of and concerning his majesty's government and the employment of his troops," and sentenced to pay a fine of £200, to be imprisoned for twelve months, and give sureties for three years after. The prosecution was one of revenge for the part he had taken in stimulating American resistance; it had been allowed to slumber for two years—and was then tried cursorily enough on the very day that across the ocean men were signing the immortal declaration, that but for Lexington would never have been written.—S.

Trial of John and Henry Sheares.—An account of this will be given, with a sketch of their lives, under their death-date, July 14th.—S.

Trial of McCann and others.—McCann, Byrne, and Bond were United Irish men, the last-named being secretary to the Dublin section. They were concerned with Lord Edward Fitzgerald in his projects, were "tried," and of course convicted. McCann and Byrne were hanged; Bond received a conditional pardon, but died of apoplexy before he could say if he complied with the conditions.—S.

Granville Sharp.—Born 1734, son of a clergyman, and educated for the bar but never practised. It was owing to him that the Somerset case was brought to trial, and slavery declared illegal in England. Afterwards he founded an Anti-Slavery Society, in connection with which he is best remembered. He was also ardent as a political reformer.—S.

Trial of David Maclean.—"Republican institutions," however contemptible they may appear to us to-day, who have higher ideals before us, were the summit of advanced aspiration at the end of last century. France and the States were good examples in the eyes of the Canadians, and there was some danger of the sacred Crown of Great Britain losing one of its brightest jewels. Among the measures taken for its security was the arrest and trial of a poor trading Yankee, whose trade failure had sent him over the line under an assumed name, and who had brought his Republican opinions along, and had here and there expressed them. He was tried at Quebec, convicted, and sentenced to death. On July 21st he was hung, behaving with great calmness, and saying a few manly words to the bystanders.—S.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

The wages dispute in the Tyne shipyards was settled on the 18th, as far as the platers and boiler-makers are concerned. The masters met the representatives of the men, and conceded an advance of 5 per cent. for piecework and 1s. 6d. for timework. This is just half of what was asked.

The Edinburgh Trades' Council have brought charges against the Corporation of that town for allowing sweating in city contracts. Not only, it was stated, were some of the contracts given into the hands of sweaters, but some of the clothes for city officials were made by penal labour in the prison.

The London Trades' Council have passed a resolution in favour of the Weekly Wages Bill and Preferential Payment of Wages Bill now before Parliament, "as not only equitable and just, but also necessary for the alleviation of much misery which the present system of payment of wages inflicts upon a large proportion of the industrial population."

THE SWEATING SYSTEM.—Mr. Conybeare, M.P., addressed a meeting of dock labourers and others at the East India Dock Gates Sunday morning, and urged combination in order to abolish the sweating or sub-contract system, which, it was stated, is carried on to a large extent in dock works. A resolution was also passed condemning the imprisonment of Mr. John Dillon, M.P.

All the men and boys employed in the Thorncliffe and Lidgett seams at Hoyland Silkstone Colliery, one of the largest in South Yorkshire, brought out their tools and stopped work on the 20th inst. About 750 are employed, and as 300 employed in the Silkstone seam struck a fortnight ago, nearly 1100 are now idle. The colliery is entirely stopped, clerks and all kinds of workmen having been discharged. Nearly 50 houses in the district are empty, workmen leaving the locality daily. The colliery had been worked under an order of the Court of Chancery prior to the strike.

COERCION FOR IRISH TRADE UNIONISTS.—A trade union demonstration was held on Sunday (writes the Dublin correspondent of the *Times*), called together by the National League and the Gaelic Association, for the purpose of protesting against the proprietors of the *Constitution* introducing piecework into their printing office. Mr. Slattery, a member of the National League executive, stated that he would undertake that any one who thenceforward sold or bought the *Constitution* should be boycotted. The Mayor seconded a resolution protesting against the authorities having sent a Government shorthand writer and a force of police to protect him to the meeting.

The *Railway Review* has an appeal on behalf of the fireman as of all railway employes the one who works hardest for his living. He would not stick at his laborious work but for the prospect of some day becoming a driver. The greater portion of firemen are only paid from 3s. to 3s. 10d. a day. "In any future re-arrangement of scales of wages," says the *Review*, "the low wages of the firemen should receive a fair share of consideration, and efforts made to improve their condition. Their wages ought to be more commensurate with the labour extracted from them." Very few of the firemen, it seems, are members of the Amalgamated Society.

THE NUT AND BOLT TRADE.—On Saturday the operatives employed by the Staffordshire Bolt, Nut, and Fencing Company, whose notice expired for a reduction of 15 per cent., came out on strike. The men employed at the works of Mr. J. Wiley are still out on strike. Messrs. J. and R. Rose, London Works, have given every nut and bolt maker in their employ seven days' notice to leave, which notice expires to-day. In reference to Messrs. F. W. Cotterell's (Limited) where, it is said, part of the men have been paid an additional 5 per cent. reduction, Mr. Juggins addressed a letter to the manager on Saturday morning calling his attention to the fact that the reduction had been made without notice, and on these grounds demanded the wages due to the workmen. The manager complied with this request, and gave seven days notice that such a reduction would be made. A general strike is expected.

MEETING OF WELSH MINERS.—A large mass meeting of house-coal miners of Monmouthshire and South Wales was held on the summit of Trebanog Mountain, above Rhondda Valley, on Monday afternoon, and was addressed by Mr. Isaac Evans and Mr. Morgan Weeks, house-coal workmen's representatives on the South Wales Sliding-scale Committee. Complaints were made that the wages earned were insufficient and the hours of labour too long. The workmen were therefore urged to join the Miners' Federation being formed in South Wales and Monmouthshire. Mr. Evans considered the sliding-scale was far from perfect; but it was better than none at all. It was decided to support the sliding-scale for two years, and a hope expressed that by that time the House-Coal Miners' Organisation would place the workmen in a better position financially. Resolutions were unanimously adopted pledging the meeting in favour of the formation of district associations in connection with the Miners' Federation.

THREATENED STRIKE OF MINERS IN SOUTH WALES.—A movement is rapidly spreading among the Welsh collieries, to make a decisive stand in favour of reducing working hours from twelve to eight per day. Mr. W. Abraham, M.P., recently addressing a meeting of delegates representing 20,000 colliers in the Rhondda Valley, said that the miners were suffering from actual want of rations to keep body and soul together, and it was high time a strong stand was made for better wages. This could be done only by restricting the output of coal and reducing the hours of labour. He seldom advised such strong courses as this, but having considered the matter, he felt justified in now doing so. The delegates unanimously resolved, "That the time has now arrived when we should make a decisive stand for reducing the hours of labour and curtailing the production of coal, with a view to securing better wages, essentially needed to enable us to procure necessary sustenance; and that we invite all the miners of South Wales and Monmouthshire to co-operate." Similar resolutions have been passed by other delegate meetings, and a general strike seems imminent.

SWEATING IN THE PROVINCES.—Since the Lords commenced their inquiry into sweating, the subject has been taken up in almost every large provincial town. The Sanitary Committee of the Leeds Corporation has caused an inquiry to be made into the condition of sweaters' dens in that town. The rooms were generally found to be badly ventilated, cramped, and deficient in water arrangements. In conclusion, the report says:—"Much has been done by your committee and the Jewish Board of Guardians in the endeavour to improve the habits and surroundings of these people. Notices in English and Hebrew have been served upon them personally, and also

posted in the quarters occupied by them, and men have been specially appointed to daily cleanse the streets, but it appears that something more remains to be done; more efficient supervision is requisite for both the dwellings and workshops occupied by these people, and I would respectfully suggest that one additional inspector should be appointed by your committee to daily inspect the Jews' dwellings, and that some more satisfactory arrangement be made with the authorities having the control of the factories and workshops."

STRIKE OF THE CABLE-CHAIN MAKERS.—On Monday morning the cable-chain makers in the Cradley Heath, Old Hill, and surrounding districts, turned out on strike for an increase of wages. A large meeting of the operatives was held at the Red Lion Inn, Cradley Heath, under the presidency of Mr. A. Smith. Representatives from Netherton, Old Hill, Cradley Heath, Tipton, Stourbridge, Chester, and the North of England were present. The chairman said that the trade had got into a bad condition. At one time they had the 1s. 7d. list, which they were now anxious to obtain. If the men were determined to have the list it would soon be conceded. They were now working at 1s. 3d. per cwt. Offers had been made on the part of the employers to give them an advance of 2d., which the men declined to accept. They were now demanding the 1s. 7d. list.—Mr. Tromans, of the North of England, explained that Staffordshire ruled the trade, and other places had to rise and fall according to the prices in Staffordshire.—Mr. Homer said he was sorry to see there was another struggle in the chain trade. It was said the chainmakers were always striking. If they gained the price they did not keep it long. When they obtained the list they ought to maintain it. There was a great necessity for being banded together. There were men who did not pay their levies, and those were the men whom the employers got to work under prices. The Staffordshire and Worcestershire districts had ruined the trade. At the present time there was very little chain being made at Bristol.—Mr. R. Juggins also spoke. It was decided to continue the strike until the 1s. 7d. list was conceded.

THE DISPUTE AT AVONMOUTH DOCK.—On Friday the dispute of corn-porters at Avonmouth Dock in regard to the use of the grain elevator for the discharge of cargoes assumed a critical stage, when the men, as they had threatened, decided not to resume work when the appliance was placed on the steamer *Dominion*. The men continued discharging the grain from the *Dominion* and the steamer *Royal Prince*, which is also lying in Avonmouth Dock, until twelve o'clock, at which time the elevator was towed up to the former vessel. It was then placed in position, and the corn-porters immediately ceased working on board the *Royal Prince* as well as on the *Dominion*. The men, numbering between 130 and 140, left the dock in a body, and held a brief open-air meeting, at which it was decided not to resume work while the elevator was used. Much indignation is expressed by the men about the introduction of the elevator. Its use on the present occasion is, it is alleged, contrary to a promise which, some time ago, had been given by the Docks Committee, to the effect that the appliance should be used only when it was absolutely necessary owing to the number of steamers in dock waiting to be unloaded. There are now, they say, only two vessels with corn, and they contend that they would easily be able to unload the *Dominion* within the time stipulated by the agents. Another statement forwarded on behalf of the men is that during the winter, when the shipping trade is not particularly brisk, they have to remain at Avonmouth waiting for the arrival of grain vessels, and in these circumstances, they argue, it is unfair to introduce the machinery when they have an opportunity of earning wages.

If vegetarianism means cheaper living and an excuse thereby for lower wages, we hope that the Englishman will retain his partiality for a good old-fashioned beef-steak, and will have back-bone enough to fight for the means of obtaining it.—*Labour Tribune*.

SIX WEEKS FOR THAT!—At Ennis, on the 21st, in the case of a man convicted of inciting to unlawful assembly by wearing a National League card in his hat, Judge Kelly confirmed the sentence of six weeks' imprisonment, but said the man should have been summoned for unlawful assembly, and blamed the Government for leaving these cases to the ordinary police.

METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.—The weekly return of metropolitan pauperism shows that the total number of paupers relieved in the second week of the current month was 92,502, of whom 55,187 were indoor and 37,315 outdoor paupers. The total number relieved shows an increase of 2,176 over the corresponding week of last year, 4,668 over 1886, and 7,476 over 1885. The total number of vagrants relieved on the last day of the week was 1,061, of whom 832 were men, 195 women, and 34 children under sixteen.

Can it be that the Jubilee gift of a park to the town of Crewe has after all been at the expense of the London and North-Western workmen rather than of the company, as has been represented? Since September last, through the short time worked by the company's men at Crewe, there has, up till this last week or so, been a reduction of £1,000 per week in the wages of the men there, and as a consequence much poverty; and, according to the *Crewe Chronicle*, the idea has extensively prevailed that the gift of the park has had something to do with the long continuance of short time, which has made a profound impression. If there be any grounds for this suspicion it will deprive the company of whatever credit they have sought to obtain for the granting of the park in question, which, it would seem, has been obtained by starving the men who form the bulk of the population of the town to which it has been "presented."—*Railway Review*.

LAISSEZ-FAIRE.—The master of horses, when the summer labour is done, has to feed his horses through the winter. If he said to his horses: "Quadrupeds, I have no longer work for you; but work exists abundantly over the world: are you ignorant (or must I read you Political Economy Lectures) that the Steamengine always in the long-run creates additional work? Railways are forming in one quarter of this earth, canals in another, much cartage is wanted; somewhere in Europe, Asia, Africa, or America, doubt it not, ye will find cartage: go seek cartage, and good go with you!" They, with protrusive upper lip, snort dubious; signifying that Europe, Asia, Africa, and America lie somewhat out of their beat; that what cartage is wanted there is not too well known to them. They can find no cartage. They gallop distracted along highways, all fenced in to the right and to the left; finally, under pains of hunger, they take to leaping fences; eating foreign property, and—we know the rest. Ah, it is not a joyful mirth, it is sadder than tears, the laugh Humanity is forced to, at *Laissez-faire* applied to poor peasants, in a world like our Europe of the year 1839.—*Carlisle: 'Chartism.'*

WHEN THE REVOLUTION COMES!

TUNE—"Come, landlord, fill the flowing bowl."

Come every honest lad and lass!
Too long we've been kept under
By rusty chains of fraud and fear—
We'll snap them all asunder!
When the Revolution comes,
When the Revolution comes,—
It's coming fast—our turn, at last!—
The social Revolution!

A thunderstorm of Freedom shall
Go forth among the people;
Our flag shall flourish o'er the land
On every stalk and steeple!
When, etc.

The knave who lives in idleness
By plundering his neighbour,
Shall learn to use the pick and spade,
And live by honest labour!
When, etc.

That robbers' paction styled the Law
To frighten honest folk, sirs,
We'll set ablaze and fumigate
The country with the smoke, sirs,
When, etc.

For such as contrite editors,
And penitent policemen,—
We'll find nice sinecures, and say:
Go live and die in peace, men!
When, etc.

The landlord and capitalist,—
If you should wish to see 'em,
You'll have to take a holiday
And search in the museum!
When, etc.

And superstition perish shall
Like flame of waxen taper;
And rank and pride and privilege
Dissolve in noxious vapour!
When, etc.

Then let us hail the coming day!
The glorious hope before us!
And with brave deeds anticipate
The good time of our chorus!
When the Revolution comes!
When the Revolution comes!
Then three cheers give, of, "Long, long live
The Social Revolution!"

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE AND THE BOARD OF WORKS.

Last Sunday's meeting in Victoria Park was a great falling off from the previous week. This was owing to a large number of comrades being at Epping Forest with the great excursion of London Socialists which annually takes place in June, and also at a big demonstration held on Peckham Rye against the Coercion Act, while the inaction of the Board of Works, who have "thrown up the sponge," caused many to stay away who would assist us in a struggle whenever it takes place. Nevertheless, a very good meeting was held. Among the speakers were H. Davis, J. Power, Hicks, and W. B. Parker. The collection amounted to 4s. 6½d., and the *Commonweal* sold well.—W. B. P.

RIGHT OF WAY CASE AT CAMBUSLANG.—Practical politicians are seldom to the front when any real practical work has to be done. An excellent illustration of this truth was afforded by an incident that occurred at Cambuslang, near Glasgow, on Saturday last. There is a glen in the village through which from time immemorial, there has been an undisputed "right of way." Recently an attempt has been made by interested parties to close the passage through the glen against the public. A road has been made right across the glen and a strong wooden fence erected. Dr. Henry Muirhead, F.R.S., a venerable old man, has come forward to champion the people's rights. He organised a small band of working men, and announced that on Saturday the fence would be broken and the glen entered. Only some three score of people, including a number of women and children, turned up, and not more than half of that number had the pluck to enter the glen after the fence was broken, because some half dozen of police were standing by. Seven members of the Glasgow Branch of the Socialist League were among the first to enter. A meeting was held beside an old well, and a resolution—which one of our comrades spoke to—was passed, pledging those present to maintain the right of way. Of course the leading local champions of political progress were conspicuously absent as they invariably are when the initiative has to be taken in any honest resistance to oppression. They recognise, wisely perhaps, that "practical" politics consists in big-drum electioneering parades and sham-fight party encounters in parliament.—J. B. G.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

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

A meeting of London members will be held at 13 Farringdon Road on Monday next, July 2, at 9 o'clock sharp. It is hoped all London members will endeavour to be present.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Medical Student, 10s. K. L., £1. Two weeks' subscriptions—Oxford Branch, 4s.; C. J. F., 5s.; P. W., 1s.; Langley, 4s.; K. F., 2s.

Strike Committee.—Collected in Regent's Park, Sunday June 24th, 6s.
J. LANE, Treasurer.

East-end Propaganda Fund.—Collected at Berner Street Club, 2s. ½d.; Bernstein (for leaflets), 2s.; Salmon and Ball, 1s. 5½d.; Victoria Park, 4s. 7d.
J. LANE, Treasurer.

REPORTS.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, June 20, William Morris on "The Revolt of Ghent." Touzeau Parris in the chair. The lecturer dealt chiefly with the different historical stages of revolt, until the revolt proper and victory followed amidst burning enthusiasm on the part of the men of Ghent. A capital lecture, one friend remarking that it was "an historical treat," and he is quite correct. Several questions asked and answered. Good audience and fair sale of *Weal*.—B.

FULHAM.—Tuesday evening, opposite the Liberal Club, Grosier, assisted by M'Cormack and Barton of the S.D.F., addressed a good audience. Sunday morning Fry, Grosier and Morris spoke to a capital meeting. Fair sale of *Weal*. In the evening Mahony and Sparling spoke outside our rooms. During the day 4s. 10d. collected.—S. B. G.

MITCHAM.—Good meeting on Mitcham Fair Green Sunday, addressed by Eden and Kitz. Fair sale of *Commonweal*, and 1s. 4½d. collected for hire of Mitcham Vestry Hall for comrade Morris to lecture in shortly, the cost of same £1 1s.—W. C. P.

NORTH LONDON.—Last Friday evening at Ossulston Street, Parker, Kitz, and Cantwell were the speakers. At Regent's Park on Sunday morning, Sparling, Cantwell, Brooks, Mainwaring, and Mrs. Schack spoke; 6s. collected. *Commonweal* sold well.

GLASGOW.—On Sunday forenoon, Glasier, McCulloch, and Segzel held a good meeting at Jail Square. At five o'clock Pollock and Glasier addressed a large audience at Paisley Road, assisted by McCulloch and Adams. At seven o'clock in our rooms, Arch. McLaren, M.A., gave an exceedingly interesting lecture on "Marital Relations and Population under Socialism." A discussion followed. There was a good attendance of members, including a number of our German comrades, who are taking an actual interest in the work of the branch.

NORWICH.—Meetings at Thorpe and St. Catharine's Plain. On Thursday, Mowbray and Poynts went to Yarmouth, and were requested to come every week, which we intend doing. Sunday morning, Mowbray, Sutton, Adams, and Syder held good meeting at Wymondham. It is hoped that we shall soon be able to form a branch there. Meetings in Market Place afternoon and evening. It was announced that Mrs. Besant would visit this branch during next month. Good sale of *Commonweal* and fair collections.

WALSALL.—At indoor meeting Monday, Sketchley (Birmingham) lectured on "The Currency Question." Sanders spoke to large audience on The Bridge on Saturday evening, and on Sunday on West Bromwich Road. Much interest evinced by audience.—J. T. D.

EAST-END PROPAGANDA.

A very good meeting was held last Sunday at High Street, Plaistow, addressed by Brooks, Cores, and Parker, at which all the literature was sold out and several names handed in to form a branch. As usual a good meeting was also held at Leman Street, addressed by Parker, at which arrangements were made for forming a St. Georges-in-the-East branch. New branches are also in course of formation at Hoxton, Millwall, and the North-east district. At the Salmon and Ball on Sunday, Davis debated with Rev. Henley Henson, of Oxford House, on "Socialism and Temperance," when each spoke for 20, 15, and 10 minutes. They had a good audience, containing many temperance friends. Davis opened by stating the Socialist position as fully as the time would allow. Henson in his replies persistently ignored the main points at issue, though he felt compelled to admit that temperance would not remedy all the evils of class society. At the close 1s. 5d. was collected for East-end propaganda. J. Lane lectured on "Poverty, its Cause, Effects, and Cure" at the North-east Bethnal Green Radical Club, on Sunday morning. A very attentive audience, and a useful and intelligent discussion at the close. At our various other stations during the week we have only to report the same attentive hearing and good reception for our speakers. Our ideas and hopes are evidently deeply permeating the great mass of wealth producers who live in our district. The harvest is truly ripe but the workers are far too few, and we would earnestly appeal for help from all sympathisers who can help in some department or other of our work.

JUNIOR SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY.—On Saturday, Henderson lectured on "The Possibility of a Higher Life," which was followed by an interesting discussion.—E. F.

LABOUR UNION.

WOOLWICH.—At the Arsenal Gates last Sunday, James Macdonald addressed large gathering on "The Claims of Labour." One of the finest lectures we have had here, and made a good impression; a few questions asked and ably answered. We sold out all our paper and pamphlets, over 100, and collected 4s. 6½d., and considering our regular contributors were at the Peckham Rye demonstration, was very good.—R. B.

SOCIALISTS IN EPPING FOREST.

Last Sunday, an enjoyable outing was spent in Epping Forest by members of the various Socialist bodies in London. Besides singing revolutionary songs in different languages, dancing, and other games, a meeting was addressed by Mainwaring, Rochman, Blundell, and others. A lot of *Weals* and other literature sold. During day we had a good illustration of the work our "admirable police" are paid to do. There was a large number of police, both mounted and on foot, at different points *en route*, besides several detectives in plain clothes. One of them wore a red-tie, and represented himself as a member of some German singing club; watched for about two hours by some comrades, he tried by all means in his power to get a ticket from some member for drink, displaying to the full the well-known abilities of "moral miracles" in lie-telling. He at last persuaded a woman comrade to sell him a ticket, obtained her name, and promised to summon them for contravening the Licensing Acts, and so departed no doubt well pleased with the idea the police would be able to lighten the profits of the day, and so shorten the share of them which is to be devoted to the East-End propaganda.—F. C.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Acton.—Any information from Secretary Harnett, 7 Redmore Road, Hammersmith.
Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7.
Fulham.—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sunday July 1, at 8 p.m., William Morris, "Misery and the Way Out."

Handwritten note: 2 copies in issue 29 June 1888

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen (Scottish Section).—Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St Nicholas Street. Sunday night meetings, Baker Street Hall, 6.30.
Bradford.—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivegata. Meets Tuesdays at 8.
Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Tuesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. H. M'Cluskey, Millar Street, Secy.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SUNDAY 1.

11 ... Turnham Green—Front Common ... Acton Bch.
11.30... Hammersmith—opposite Latimer... The Branch Rd. Station.
11.30... Mitcham Fair Green ... The Branch

11.30... Regent's Park ... Turner & Cantwell
1.30... Walham Green ... Fulham Branch
3.30... Hyde Park ... Cantwell, etc.

EAST END.

SUNDAY 1.

Mile-end Waste ... 11 ... Lane & Davis
"Salmon and Ball" ... 11 ... M'waring, Charles
Leman Street, Shadwell ... 11 ... Parker.

TUESDAY.

Mile-end Waste ... 8.30... Lane, Mainwaring, and Charles.

WEDNESDAY.

Broadway, London Fields 8.30... Cores, Fuller, and Mainwaring.
Charlotte St., Gt. Eastern St. 8.30... Charles & Lane.

THURSDAY.

Packington St., Essex Road 8.30... Parker & Charles.

FRIDAY.

Philpot St., Commercial Rd. 8.30... Parker, Charles, and Lane.

SATURDAY.

Mile-end Waste ... 8 ... Lane & Davis.
S. Docks, Millwall ... 6 ... Parker, Charles, M'waring & Cores.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen.—Saturday: Castle Street, at 8 p.m., Glasier and Leatham. Sunday: Duthie Park, Waterside Gate, 3 p.m.
Glasgow.—Sunday: Jail's Square, at 12; Paisley Road, at 5 o'clock.
Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

HOXTON.—Persons wishing to join this branch, which is in process of formation, should communicate with H. D. Morgan, 22 Nicholas Street, Hoxton.

LABOUR UNION—WOOLWICH.—Arsenal Gates (open air), Sunday July 1, at 6.30 p.m., Fred Verinder. 8th, Rev. S. D. Headlam.

EAST-END PROPAGANDA.—A meeting of all interested in the Socialist propaganda in the East-end of London will be held at the International Club, 23 Princes Sq., Cable Street, E., on Saturday evening at 10 o'clock.

EXCURSION OF LONDON SOCIALISTS.—A Committee has been formed for the purpose of arranging an excursion to take place in August. Through misunderstanding, several delegates left Berner Street last Saturday disappointed.

On Sunday evening next there will be a Dramatic Representation at Berner Street International Club of a piece in four acts, entitled "Die Nihilisten," by our murdered comrade of Chicago, August Spies.

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