

# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 96.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON NEWS.

☪ The Supreme Court of the United States has refused to grant a writ of error in the case of the condemned of Chicago, and as I write there is nothing between them and the gallows except the will of the Governor of Illinois, who can, if he pleases, commute their sentence. The Press is already gloating on the preparations for their slaying with that base pruriency which is one of the most horrible symptoms of the degradation which the criminal law-court brings on civilised humanity. Before the date of this issue of the *Commonweal* the people of America will have decided upon one of the most momentous events in their history. It is a hope against hope that they will yet give themselves a chance of repairing the injustice they have already done to our friends, and that yet some ray of intelligence may pierce to the dull brains of the money-lords there; so I will yet express a hope, so likely to be falsified before this appears in print.

☪ If not, what can one say but that social crimes do of necessity bear their fruits and prepare a natural and inevitable punishment which no constitution or law can bar. I say this to the well-to-do people of America: If you are sure that henceforward the working-men of your country will live placid and happy lives then you need think no more of the murder you have committed; for happy people cannot take vengeance, however grievously they have been wronged. But if it be so with you as with other nations of civilisation, that your workers toil without reward and without hope, oppressed with sordid anxiety for mere livelihood, deprived of the due pleasures of humanity, if there is yet suffering and wrong amongst you, then take heed! increase your army of spies and informers, hire more reckless swashbucklers to do your will, guard every approach to your palace of pleasure without scruple and without mercy—and yet you will but put off for a while the certain vengeance of ruin that will overtake you, and your misery and suffering, which to you in your forgetfulness of your crimes will then seem an injustice, will have to be the necessary step on which the advance of humanity will have to mount to the happier days beyond. You yourselves will have made it necessary by making people unhappy and then punishing them for their unhappiness. You have sown the wind, you must reap the whirlwind.

The shopkeepers in the neighbourhood of Trafalgar Square are once again very angry; and under the very natural impression that the Square belongs to them and no one else, or at any rate should do so, they are petitioning to prohibit meetings there. Before the meeting at Exeter Hall took place they are reported to have determined that if the request was not acceded to they would take other and more drastic measures for helping themselves. I don't see how they can take more "drastic" measures for helping themselves (to other people's earnings) than they already have taken; but I suppose they mean that they will hire roughs to keep the peace in Trafalgar Square by breaking heads; which may turn out rather a dangerous game for them. Perhaps they will go further, and imitate their brethren on the other side of the Atlantic, and get up another Pinkerton army here; they will find that very convenient no doubt; but it will have the disadvantages of war—in the long run the knocks wouldn't be all on one side.

In the meantime if their businesses have suffered from the meetings of the unemployed, whose fault is it? Whose, but those who raised the ridiculous outcry in the press about the dangerous attitude of the demonstrators, who were perfectly peaceable until they had to defend themselves against the police? Whose but those who hounded on the police against the peaceable people?

And yet it lies deeper than that; if there were no unemployed, no poor in short, there would be no rich shopkeepers dealing in wares that nobody wants, but for which they can manage to teaze a price out of the vacant lives of the rich who live on the labour of others.

However it is not unlikely that this Exeter Hall attack on free speech is part of a regular conspiracy of coercion, which the Government and its allies are on the point of setting on foot, irritated by their disgraces in the Irish campaign. The double arrest of our comrade Allman and the arrest of others points to this; and the morning's paragraph makes it pretty certain that so it is. "It is understood that the matter under discussion [at the interviews between Matthews and Lord Salisbury and Matthews and Warren and Howard] was the measures

which the Government are resolved to take regarding the continued assemblies in Trafalgar Square, and the use of seditious language."

We Socialists will have every reason to thank the Government if they put such a clear and simple issue before us as the freedom of speech, and we believe that we also shall find allies in this case as in the affair of Dod Street. The Tories should remember that what drew that enormous crowd into the streets was the certainty in the public mind that the police had interfered with the meetings not because they inconvenienced the public, but because the authorities did not like the opinions of the speakers at them. Since then, when we have been harassed by the police, we have been informed with all official solemnity that we were brought before the magistrates not for opinion, but for that remarkably elastic offence, obstruction. It will be a good thing if the mask is at last stripped off, and we find ourselves attacked for doing what we *must* do, telling our fellow-citizens the truths we have learned, and urging them to accept their consequences.

At first sight all this fussing and fuming at the peaceful meeting of a few hundred unarmed and unorganised men in the streets seems so cowardly and foolish as to be difficult to understand. But what we have to remember is this. It is not a riot, even a serious one, which the authorities are afraid of; they have ample force to quell it at once; and perhaps would not be sorry to show what organised force could do, and to have an opportunity of striking terror into the hearts of the discontented. It is not what goes on in the open street that is alarming our masters, but what is happening in the workshop, the factory, and the counting-house. The spectre of coming *ruin* is rising up behind the dusky procession of the unemployed, and its "still small voice" is being heard amidst their cries and the answering bluster of the lords of society. Coercion is a good weapon in the hands of a class whose business is going well, and when all is prosperous with it; but then in such times it seldom has to be used, for then the poor are helpless. When the complaint of the poor forces itself on the ears of the rich it is a certain sign that, however unconsciously, they are aiming at better days to come. The Fear of the Rich is the Hope of the Poor.

Our masters are not so much afraid of what their slaves *mean* to do as of what they will be *forced* to do. It was not the hope of the glory of conquest that urged the tribes of the North to fall on the effete Roman Empire, but hunger rather; and so it will be again. And yet in our days when the force behind the workers grows strong enough, their aim will grow clear, because they *are* the workers and must reconstruct as well as destroy; the stir amongst them throughout civilisation is as much a sign of their growing knowledge as of their growing necessity. The Government will do well to put down *sedition*, *i.e.*, the *sowing of revolt*—if it can.

☪ "Bombs have been 'discovered' in Lingg's cell," says an American telegraph, "and a revulsion of feeling has been caused against the condemned men." Indeed! Who put the bombs there? Is this not proof rather of the disgrace of the American capitalists? Does it not make it certain that there was no case against the men when authority is forced to resort to such base and clumsy shifts as this to justify its murder?

☪ Henry George approves of this murder; do not let anybody waste many words to qualify this wretch's conduct. One word will include all the rest—**TRAITOR!!** W. M.

## PRISON LIFE IN ENGLAND.

In writing a short account of my experience of prison life, I do so for the purpose of showing my comrades what they may expect when it comes to be their turn to take a holiday in one of "Her Most Gracious Majesty's" country mansions. It is needless for me to explain the crime for which I was sentenced to nine months; let it suffice when I say it was for addressing an unemployed meeting in Norwich on January 14th, 1887. And I may say in passing that I hope my friends and comrades will never waste money by engaging "counsel," commonly called "*liars*," to defend me whenever I may get "run in" again. I was advised in every manner possible to "twist" and "lie" in order to get out of being sent to prison. I called no witnesses, simply because if they had spoken the truth I should have received a

heavier sentence than nine months, considering the temper of those who had to try me. I was certainly guilty of addressing the meeting, and taking the policeman's truncheon out of his pocket, but I was not guilty of saying to the police, "For God's sake, don't use these things!" I received my sentence for showing a "good" example by disarming the policeman nearest to me. I will not comment on the judge's summing-up or the constable's evidence, but will at once begin to describe my reception in the prison, and the kind of employment, diet, etc., which I received.

I felt a little strange the first day when, under the hands of the reception officer, the first performance I had to undergo was a bath (warm), after which I received flannel underclothing, cotton shirt, worsted socks, fustian trousers and vest, light-brown shoddy jacket, and Scotch cap, nicely besprinkled with broad arrows, also ankle shoes, after which I went under the hands of the hair-dresser, who took good care that I should not require a comb and brush for some considerable time. On seeing myself in the glass which stood upon his desk, I really thought myself a "masher." I felt a little uncomfortable when I found my splendid curls and moustache, like Othello's occupation, "gone," but fortunately for me they did not take out the roots.

In describing the cell in which I was confined (and all are nearly the same), I wish to point out that it was about 9 ft. by 6 ft., nicely ventilated, and in winter time heated by hot air. The furniture consisted of a stool, a plank bed, a side cupboard, the top of which was used for storing bed and bed-clothing, a wooden spoon, tin-pot, comb and brush, salt-cellar, bible, prayer, and hymn-book. There are four stages through which all prisoners must go:—

The 1st stage (for one month) each prisoner must (unless disqualified by the doctor) go upon the "wheel," or, as it was commonly called, the "monkey's piano." He must do four hours a day upon this instrument of torture, after which he must pick a certain quantity of oakum, sometimes consisting of  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb., sometimes more according to the number of previous convictions, or the temper of the oakum officer. He earns no gratuity, sleeps on a plank bed, and is not allowed exercise on a Sunday.

The 2nd stage (or second month) each prisoner receives a bed, which he is not allowed to use for two nights of the week. He also receives 1s. gratuity per month, has school-books and slate in his cell, is also allowed "exercise" on Sundays, and is employed on oakum picking (quantity, 3lb. per diem), which will take a novice ten hours or more to do.

The 3rd stage (or third month) each prisoner is allowed to use his bed except one night per week; receive 1s. 6d. gratuity per month; has exercise on Sundays, school-books and slate, and also library books (mostly those published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge), and is employed on oakum picking (quantity, 3lb.)

The 4th stage (or fourth month) each prisoner is eligible for employment of trust in the service of the prison, such as cleaning, painting, or other kinds of work in and around the prison. He also receives his bed every night, has exercise on Sundays, and earns a gratuity of 2s. per month.

He remains in this stage during the remainder of his imprisonment, providing his conduct is good. The gratuity paid to a prisoner on his discharge must not in any case exceed 10s. Each prisoner must go to chapel every morning, unless he receives leave of absence from the governor; and when in chapel he must listen with patience (a very hard task) to the greatest humbug it has ever been my lot to listen to. He receives a double dose of this salvation on Sundays. For my part I should have objected to go to this piece of mummery, had it not been that we were confined in our cell for 23 hours out of the 24; so that it was the means of getting us half an hour or more out of our cell, and it also gave me an opportunity of sometimes talking to other prisoners, most of whom knew I was a Socialist. It also was the means of making me, if that were possible, hate the accursed cant more than I had hitherto done. It is needless to say that there was very little religion among the prisoners, who it seems always recognised the "parson" as J.C. (I don't think this meant Joe Chamberlain). The chaplain was a very good hand at his business of trying to make believe, but I fancy he found me too hard a nut to crack. We afterwards had short discussions on Socialism, one of which took place when Mrs. A. Besant paid a visit to Ipswich to lecture (this prison is better than Norwich). I was rather rough upon him when in the heat of discussion he called our comrade Mrs. Besant a pestiferous woman, I in return risking the punishment attaching to insulting the representative of "God" on earth, told him he was neither able or plucky enough to meet this pestiferous woman on a public platform and confute her arguments. I also called him a d—d humbug. But he was a good-tempered little fellow, and tried very hard to win my "soul" from "eternal blazing damnation," but could not. I flatter myself I converted him to Socialism, for he himself told me he had been induced by my arguments to buy five books on Socialism. Poor fellow! he seemed dreadfully frightened that Atheism and Socialism were rapidly spreading among the working-men of this country, a statement which filled me with pleasure.

C. W. MOWERAY.

(To be continued.)

Those that labour starve, and those that do nothing wear fine clothes and live in luxury. The slightest inconveniences of the great are magnified into calamity, and while tragedy mouths out their sufferings in all the strains of eloquence, the miseries of the poor are entirely disregarded; yet some of the lower ranks of people undergo more real hardship in one day than those of exalted stations suffer in their whole lives.—Goldsmith.

## THE BISHOP OF HEREFORD ON SOCIALISM.

THE DIVINE INSTITUTION OF PRIVATE PROPERTY DEMONSTRATED.

THOSE who seriously think that the bishops and clergy of the Established Church are likely to do anything towards making England a land where useful work will be duly rewarded and idleness punished, should read the speech delivered at an ale-house in Hereford called the "Green Dragon" last week by the Bishop of Hereford. It was as full crammed of vindictiveness towards the people as it was possible to be. A Mr. Rankin, M.P., had made a speech on what he called the progress of the country during the Queen's reign, upon which the Bishop rose and stated that he was much interested in the account Rankin had given of the progress of the nation, and especially of the progress of the nation in education. It was, he stated, a matter of great importance that the young should be carefully trained,—a truly original and brilliant remark! He then gave his notion of the training that was good for the [class] State, for the Throne, and [least important and therefore last] the welfare of the people. The children should be brought up religiously and carefully, and shown what an advantageous thing it was for them to have landlords to appropriate rents, to have clergy to guzzle tithes, to have capitalists to pocket profit, and usurers to fatten on interest, so that they should not be at the trouble of having to use all the wealth they have produced. They were to be carefully taught that in the infiniteness of his wisdom God has ordained that the producers should honour the queen, the landlord, and the man of money, and allow the produce of their labour to be quietly confiscated; and most important of all, should it happen that in the mysterious workings of Providence when they grew to be men they found themselves hungry and homeless, they were on no account to demonstrate or hold meetings for having affairs righted.

The bishop then went on to commend a series of lying and spiteful articles which have appeared in the *Birmingham Post* during the past few weeks on Socialism, and on the Socialist candidature of a member of the S.D.F. for the Birmingham Municipal Council; after which his lordship gave his experiences regarding the recent unemployed demonstrations in London. He began with a well-worn lie that has been public property for about three years. To give the yarn an air of truth he coupled the name of a friend of his called Fairbairn with it. This gentleman—a baronet—having nothing on hand, desired to go to Paris to spend the money most likely he had managed to screw from some of the workers. He wanted a jacket to go in, and having, as is the habit of baronets, left everything in the way of stores to the last minute, he told the tailor to be as quick as possible. Being, probably, of a flighty disposition, as is not unusual in the "hupper circle," he resolved to go a day earlier than he first intended, so he visited his tailor to hurry him on with the jacket; but the veracious tailor, no doubt having had similar visits from other of his customers, was sorry he could not comply with Fairbairn's desires, as his foreman had gone to attend a meeting of the unemployed! The paper reports that loud laughter followed the joke; but the really curious part of the matter is the right reverend father in God did not seem to know it was an old joke he had been retailing. After this exhibition Englishmen must not say anything about Scotchmen being unable to understand a joke—unless it should turn out that this bishop was a Scotchman. After the story the bishop proceeded to say that he yielded to no man in his sympathy for those who could not get work—which, judging from the tone of his speech, is most likely untrue; and wound up by solemnly asserting that the unemployed should not be allowed to meet together, and that if they persisted in doing so, advised that they should be dispersed by force.

Stripped of verbiage, this is a sample of the after-dinner oratory of one of the dignitaries of the Church of England. Milton described the clergy of his day as "blind mouths," and to-day it is to be feared that a very large proportion of them, especially among the higher clergy, are still more anxious to shear their sheep and sell their wool than to tend them. A prophet of Judah once proclaimed to his countrymen that "In Judah, her princes in the midst of her are roaring lions; her judges are ravening wolves, they leave nothing till to-morrow. Her prophets are light and treacherous persons; her priests have profaned the sanctuary, they have done violence to the law." And so it is in England to-day, and we fear they will never mend themselves, nay, more, that they never can be mended, but must be utterly swept away.

A. K. DONALD.

A few days back I was in the Strand, and I saw the army of the unemployed passing on its way from the Square to the City, their only standard a red handkerchief roughly tied upon a broomstick. As usual, there were police to the right of them, police to the left of them, police in front of them, and mounted police behind them. As I looked on the long array of lean, hungry, hopeless men, and saw how physically incapable many of them seemed, I asked myself, why does authority fear them? Are these the terrible unemployed at the mention of whom the West-end shopkeeper shivers with fright behind his counter? Surely there must be some mistake—these men are too weak, too helpless, too despairing to rise against their oppressors. Then came the words of a great novelist into my mind: "There is a prodigious strength in hunger and despair"; and then I remembered how starving peasants of France were as crushed-down and dispirited as the men who were then passing, yet rose one day when their load of misery became too heavy to bear, and perfumed seigneurs fled before the starving *canaille*. The procession passed on and one heard a shrill and doleful sound: it was the crowd who were singing the "Marseillaise." A middle-class lady laughs; "How absurd!" she exclaims. Some day she may cry "How terrible!" when she hears that tune thundered forth as the battle-song of a risen people.—*Norwich Daylight*.

## THE SHEEP WITHOUT A SHEPHERD.

(AFTER VICTOR HUGO.)

*"In Tenebris Colocavit me."*

Poor trembling, shivering crowd! Through storm and mist  
Treading the dreary highway of the world,  
While tempests rage and bleak winds slay like death;  
What hand has shorn you of the sacred fleece  
God gave you as your right, and left you bare  
To the wild driving of the pitiless rain?  
On, on, for ever on, the mournful march  
Of toiling, suffering, working, dying men;  
Naked, while weaving royal robes for kings;  
Houseless, while building gorgeous palaces;  
Starved, while they fill the granaries of others;  
Oh, patient people, ye who nourish all,  
Where is your recompense? Robbed, scorned, despoiled—  
Men of the honour due to honest toil—  
Women of holy joy in motherhood—  
Maidens of all that makes life beautiful—  
From God or man have you no higher right  
Than ceaseless toil, and want for evermore?  
See how your masters revel in their wealth,  
And grind your lives down for their luxuries;  
Body and soul and brain—the rich want all,  
And no man pleads for you. Chiefs, Leaders, Priests—  
Can they not shield you from the greed of those  
Who take the wool and then will take the flesh?  
Oh, haggard crowd! Wild, wasted, wandering flock,  
So helpless 'neath the blows that drive you on,  
While every word held sacred on our lips,  
Truth, Justice, Right, and manlike dignity  
Is trampled in the dust along with you,  
Is there no help for this eternal war  
That fate and laws and social usages,  
Still wage against the poor? God knoweth best—  
Yet, why should trouble beat them to the earth  
And hungry want bite through them like a serpent?  
Why must the shadow fall upon their lives  
So darkly that it blots out all the sun?  
Still no help comes. The doom remains unlifted,  
And patiently through sorrow, toil, and tears,  
The poor must bear the bitter yoke of want  
Until the rending of the thunder-cloud  
Flashes the light of Freedom on the world,  
And the dread vengeance of the Lord comes down  
On those who left them naked to the blast.  
Pass on, O pallid crowd! Soon not a trace  
Of all who toiled and suffered will remain  
Amid the work their hands and brain have builded.  
Pass on to nameless graves, unwept, unpitied—  
Innumerable hosts of weary men  
Lost in the darkness of eternal night!

SPERANZA (Lady Wilde).

## CORRESPONDENCE.

## IS FREE TRADE A FRAUD?

Have Liberals, Radicals, and above all, Socialists, a right to advocate Free Trade? Free Trade-to-day means that if I go to another country where the price paid for labour is much less than our own, and buy articles and supply them to Englishmen at a lower price than they have paid for home produce, I am allowed to bring them here free, and thereby stop the production of those articles in this country; the other country and myself growing richer upon the transaction. If this Free Trade is allowed to continue, shall we not have every article brought from abroad which can be produced cheaper through the low wages paid to the workers, until there is no necessity to produce anything in this country? If it is right to bring one article from abroad that can be produced here, it is right to bring all articles, until our workers are compelled to work at the starvation wages of downtrodden Russia, etc., and after that point has been reached, nation will have harder to compete against nation, each trying to cut out the other, and trying their hardest to force all the wealth into the pockets of the Free Trade capitalists. I have heard it stated several times from Radical platforms that the reason we benefit so much from Free Trade is, "that we pay for all our imports by goods produced here, and the country grows richer year after year," but, it does not necessarily follow that the people are better provided for. There is not as much manual labour done per head of the population for the relative value received, as there was before machinery had reached such vast productive proportions. If machinery will do as much per hour as 20, 30, or 40 men could do, it means that, although the production is larger it requires less men to produce it, and yet the population is growing larger and larger, and are compelled to subsist upon what half their number had to subsist upon two generations ago. Free Trade is a Robbery! I have a slight remembrance that a President, some three years ago, of one of our colonies, whom the *National Reformer* claimed to be a Freethinker, stated "that he considered it to be dishonourable to bring Chinese or low-paid labour into his country, where the people had been educated up to a higher class living and requirements." Now what is the difference between bringing low-paid labour into our country to compete with our workers, or to take the work done from the low-priced workers and place it free in our markets to compete against our own production? The only difference that I can see is that the goods are manufactured there instead of here.

ERNEST RANGEP.

## THE POLICE AND THE PUBLIC.

In Marlborough Street police-court, on Monday last, Oct. 31, a painter out of work, named Oldland, was committed for trial on the charge of assaulting the police at Hyde Park, on October 18th. The original charges included one of riotous assembly, but Mr. Poland dropped this at the conclusion of the third day's hearing. Evidence was given that on the day in question much disturbance had been caused by the action of the police, who closed the Park gate in the face of the crowd seeking egress and then charged them, thus hemmed in, the foot police striking right and left indiscriminately with their staves, and the mounted police charging at full gallop. A reporter bore witness that Oldland had done his best to restrain the crowd thus angered, had interfered to save a solitary policeman who was surrounded by angry men, and had tried to prevent the breaking of the trees. Several witnesses gave evidence that he was deliberately attacked by the police, and most brutally beaten. As a matter of fact he was disabled by the blows he received, and two days afterwards he was scarcely able to walk. It is admitted that he struck two blows in self-defence, and the whole question turns on the point: "Has a man a right to defend himself against a constable who strikes him when he is exercising his ordinary rights as a citizen?" We say Oldland was illegally prevented from leaving the park, and that he did nothing to provoke the assault committed on him by the police. A few friends have saved him from the rough and ready "justice" dealt out by Mr. Newton at Marlborough Street, and the case has been sent for trial.

Our object in making this statement is to ask those who consider that the public have a right to hold a meeting in Hyde Park without being shut in, charged by mounted and foot police, and then brought up as rioters if they defend themselves against blows, to help us with the money needed for Oldland's defence. We have made ourselves peculiarly responsible for it, but we are both poor and cannot bear it alone. If Oldland were a rich man, or a member of Parliament (in England), the police would not have dared to touch him. He is poor and helpless, and we have interfered to get him at least a fair trial, and to expose the way in which the police have lately been handled. We confidently ask those who think we have done right to give us the money of which we stand in need. Cheques, postal orders, or stamps can be sent to Annie Besant, 19, Avenue Road, Regent's Park, N.W., or to the Rev. S. D. Headlam, 31, Upper Bedford Place, Russell Square, W.C.; and an account of receipts and expenditure will be sent to each subscriber when the case is concluded. The trial will take place at the Middlesex Sessions commencing on November 7th.

ANNIE BESANT.  
S. D. HEADLAM.

[As will have been seen in the daily press, since the issue of this bill, our comrade Allman has been arrested. The Secretary of the Socialist League will be happy also to receive subscriptions.—Ed.]

Collected by Barker at Hoxton on Sunday, 5s. 7d.

## A CHARLATAN'S "OPINIONS."

The blush of shame for their leader must mantle the cheeks of such honest men as have so far followed blindly the erratic leadership of Henry George when they read his late ebullitions against those who have permitted a sense of right and justice to guide them in their actions regarding the "shamelessly illegal" conviction of the so-called Anarchists of Chicago. In a pettish tirade against the Labour Party of New York, George takes occasion to class them with violent outlaws because they have the courage to protest against the judicial murder of seven men who are the victims of a class conspiracy and a jury chosen for their willingness to render a verdict in accordance with the desire of their employers. But it is not necessary for us to accuse Mr. George of charlatanism—he convicts himself. We simply point out the facts. In his paper of the 8th inst., he says that a Socialist, at the previous meeting of the New York Central Labour Union, "called on God to bless the hand that threw the bomb at Chicago." Now Mr. George was better informed than that; but he elected to utter a lie in company with his fellows of the "satanic press." Why? Simply to gratify a petty spite that indicates only too plainly the smallness of his soul and the narrowness of his intellect. When it seemed to his advantage to tell the truth in the matter of the Haymarket affair, he used his ability as a dispenser of "King's English" to earn the approval of fair-minded men. Thus he said in the *Standard* of January 15 last that "Spies and his associates were convicted by a jury chosen in a manner so shamelessly illegal that it would be a charity to suspect the judge of incompetency." Yet in the same paper of October 8 he said: "The truth is that there is no ground for asking executive clemency as a matter of right." So he practically asserts that men who were convicted by an illegally chosen jury have no right to clemency! And why does he change his tune? Evidently because men who have fathomed his shallow pretences adhere to their convictions and express themselves as George did last January. Again, George said in his paper of January 15: "No well-informed lawyer can defend the conviction upon legal grounds." But in his last week's issue he says: "It was proved beyond a doubt that these men were engaged in a conspiracy, as a result of which the bomb was thrown, and were therefore under the laws of Illinois as guilty as though they themselves had done the act."

And this is the man that would pose as a leader of intelligent and honest working men! This is the author (or compiler) of 'Progress and Poverty'! Surely adulation and petty ambition have done their degrading work, and the man who was honoured for the good he promised is first pitied and then loathed. Oh, the pity of it! One more quotation which convicts its writer "out of his own mouth": "Which, then, is the law and order class?—the class that demands a lawful trial for victims of popular hate and fear, and out of its slender means contributes to that end, or the class that uses the machinery of the law to mangle the law itself in an endeavour to silence doctrinal adversaries?" The answer is obvious: it is the latter class. And with that class we must include those who use the press to mangle the truth in order to cast obloquy upon doctrinal adversaries and to gratify a most unworthy and pitiful spite—those whose "opinions" are the expressions of charlatanism and demagoguery. But they convict themselves. Henry George stands self-convicted.—From the *Workmen's Advocate*.

One of the best articles that has ever appeared in the ordinary press on the Unemployed question was in the *Dublin Nation* of the 29th ult. It is more especially worth notice, as showing the educative effect of the long continuance of the land war in Ireland.



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

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

R. I.—Address of the secretary of the provisional committee of the "National Labour Party" is T. R. Threlfall, 19 Sussex Road, Southport.

MINER.—The Miner is Id. monthly, and its address is Cumnock, Ayrshire. It is the recognised organ of the miners of Scotland and the "Sons of Labour."

J. W. B.—Thanks, but unsuitable.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday November 9.

ENGLAND Die Autonomie Labour Tribune London—Freie Presse Norwich—Daylight Our Corner Personal Rights Journal Railway Review Radical NEW SOUTH WALES Hamilton—Radical SOUTH AUSTRALIA Adelaide—S. Austral. Register INDIA Bankipore—Behar Herald Madras—People's Friend UNITED STATES New York—Der Sozialist Truthseeker Volkszeitung Leader Boston—Woman's Journal Liberty	CHICAGO (ILL.)—Vorbote DENVER (COL.) Labor Enquirer HAMMONTON (N.J.) Credit Foncier MILWAUKEE (WIS.)—Volksblatt ST. LOUIS (MO.)—Die Parole SAN FRANCISCO (CAL) The People Arbeiter-Zeitung ALBINA (OREG.)—Weekly Courier BUFFALOER Arbeiter-Zeitung FORT WORTH (TEX.)—South West TROY (MICH.)—The Advance CORNING (IOWA) Revue Iearienne	BRUSSELS—L'Avant-Garde LIEGE—L'Avonir GHENT—Vooruit SWITZERLAND Zurich—Sozial Demokrat ITALY Marsala—La Nuova Eta SPAIN El Productor Madrid—El Socialista Cadiz—El Socialismo PORTUGAL Lisbon—O Protesto Operario GERMANY Berlin—Volks Tribune AUSTRIA Arbeiterstimme VIENNA—Gleichheit ROMANIA Jassy—Lupta SWEDEN Malmo—Arbetet	FRANCE Paris—Le Socialiste Lille—Le Travailleur Guise—Le Devoir HOLLAND Hague—Recht voor Allen Amsterdam—Voorwaarts BELGIUM Seraing (Ougree)—Le Reveil
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HONESTY IS THE BEST POLICY;  
OR, THE INCONVENIENCE OF STEALING.

[A DIALOGUE between MR. JAMES BROWN, a business man, and MR. OLAF EVANS, a kind of artist and literary man; neighbours.]

PART II.

SCENE—A Room in MR. OLAF EVAN'S house, a good deal littered with odds and ends of art and literature; pipes and tobacco, and materials for grog on the table; in a conspicuous place a rather large bundle of MS.

Brown. Well, you see I've come.  
Evans. Yes, and thank you for coming. Do you know, this morning you were very nearly quarrelling with me. However, let us hope the Bruce will mend all that."

B. (hastily, and looking furtively at the MS) Oh yes, I was glad to come and have a talk with a neighbour.

E. Well, light up, and let me mix you a glass of grog before I begin.

B. (taking his eye from the M.S., and looking hard into a corner of the room.) Oh, thanks, thanks, presently; I'm not in a hurry.

[Lights his pipe and smokes busily.]

E. How is business?  
B. So-so; it's the old story. I have got to do twice the business to make half the money that my father did.

E. How do you account for that?  
B. Competition; things must be sold cheap or down you go.

E. A good thing for the country though, especially for the working-classes.

B. Well, I'm not so sure of that; to tell you the truth, taking them all round, I don't think they are so much better off; if they get nominally higher wages they don't get such constant employment, and some don't get higher wages. There are the clerks now—do you call them part of the working-classes?

E. Well, yes, as things go. They certainly don't belong to the proprietary classes.

B. Well, I tell you that they are not as well off as they used to be, by a long way; I can get a steady going German who knows three languages thoroughly for 30s. a-week or less. Some years ago there would have been a fight for such a youth at the price.

E. Still, to have things cheap ought to be a benefit.

B. Well, I don't want them cheap. And look here, if things go on at this rate I shall have to sell my business at what it will fetch, and live as well as I can on the interest of what I have saved. I can't go on for ever slaving for 2½ per cent. And what I shall do other people will do, and are doing. Capital will be withdrawn from business wholesale, and then a nice mess your working-men will be in with nobody to employ them.

E. H'm—well now shall I mix for you—and begin the business of the evening?

B. Oh, we needn't be in a hurry, there's plenty of time. Let us talk.

E. Very well, I'm agreeable; only I hope we shan't quarrel.  
B. I don't think we shall. You are in a reasonable humour now, I can see, and inclined to listen to people when they talk on subjects that they understand better than you.

E. Yes, there are many business matters I don't understand. I'll ask you a question or two presently.

B. Do; and one thing I can easily make clear to you, that an employer of labour doesn't lie on a bed of roses in these days. Everything that's done now must be for the benefit of the working-classes; as to the middle-classes, the real back-bone of the country, the real working-classes, mind you, they may take care of themselves.

E. Well, they can do that pretty well, I think.

B. How, I should like to know, with prices falling and wages rising on all hands?

E. But I thought you said you could get clerks (who we are agreed are working-men) cheaper than you used to do.

B. Not in proportion to the profits I make.

E. Well, let that pass; for I want to raise your spirits by showing you how the middle-classes can take good care of themselves, and in fact do so. Only I think you must abandon your ideal of their all retiring from business, and all living on the interest of their savings.

B. Well, I warn you that you trades' unionists and Socialists may drive us to that if you don't take care.

E. If we could only drive you to trying it! but it won't go quite in that way, I fear. But I admit that many of you can retire without bringing the whole thing about your ears, and can so take care of yourselves; while the rest of you take care of themselves by going down to their offices and looking at their clerks, and doing other laborious work for four hours a-day when they are not holiday-making.

B. Now, Evans, you are getting unreasonable again; talking about matters you don't understand.

E. Excuse me, Brown, my questions, the answers to which are to enlighten my ignorance, are just going to begin. What are you going to live on when you retire disgusted with 2½ per cent. profits, on what I imagine to be a biggish turnover?

B. (rather crustily) On my earnings.

E. On what you have made?

B. Yes, of course, on the money I have made.

E. Oh! I didn't know you made money, I thought you made soap.

B. Yes, of course. I manufacture soap, but I make money.

E. Manufacture—to make with the hands—soap is a cheapish article. What a lot of soap you must have made with your hands to live on your earnings in the style in which you live! You must be one of the cleverest men alive; I am quite proud of your acquaintance, Brown.

B. Here come these nonsensical paradoxes again! However, go on; go on.

E. Paradoxes? Don't you make the soap with your hands then?

B. Why, you know I don't, not an ounce. Go on with your questions.

E. But you manufacture many tons of it?

B. Why, of course I do. How could I live else?

E. And who does make the soap with his hands which you manufacture?

B. With his hands? Why, I employ over 500 men at my works.

E. Oh! I see! But I can't understand how soap is so cheap then. Because as those men make the soap and you don't, and you I suppose are only a kind of hanger-on or parson to them, of course they must live as comfortably as you do, and like you can retire from business when they are tired of slaving for small profits! How can it be done?

B. (who has mixed for himself, with a grin.) Well, I answer you to keep up the game, because of course you know better than that; the men in my works, the mere workmen, get from 18s. to 30s. a-week.

E. Ah! they need some other people to take care of them then, as long as that lasts. But I want to get at what your manufacturing means in modern speech, since it seems its etymology goes for nothing. You doubtless see to the men's work, superintend the mixing and boiling, and whatever goes on there.

B. I can't say I do; the foremen and managers of the departments do that.

E. And what style do they live in? Can they retire on their earnings? Not that I much care though if they cannot, since the other men cannot.

B. Well, they get £2 and £3 a-week, and the managers more.

E. Well, the soap being made must be sold. Who sells it?

B. It is travelled; the travellers sell it; and then there are the clerks and old Jackson.

E. And could they retire from business and live on their earnings?

B. You heard what I said about the clerks; as for the travellers, no, of course not. Old Jackson might, he has always been a close man; I think he's warm. But look here, of course I know what you

are driving at, Evans, and you must admit that I've kept my temper well. Come, now, ask me what I do.

E. Well, I ask it.

B. I'll tell you. First I find the capital, that you understand; and since you must admit that that is necessary, if I'm not to be paid for that what am I to be paid for? Well, then there is my risk consequent on my allowing my property to be used for the production of wealth; then am I to be paid nothing for superintending such a vast affair? and then remember in these days of sharp competition what a job it is to look after the markets and keep pace with the march of commerce. I tell you it's a regular war with the other manufacturers. I say that I earn my money well, much better than if I helped to make a few tons of soap every week; all the more as it's the machines that do it, much more than the men. (*Getting hot.*) I heartily wish it was all machines and no men; such a bother as we have with them.

E. Shall I tell you a little fable, Brown?

B. Oh, go on—go on!

E. Well, once upon a time the lion and the other carnivorous beasts went a-hunting,<sup>1</sup> and had good sport; and at the end of the day they met to divide the spoil, the lion in the chair. The chairman bade the carcasses be separated into four equal portions, besides the guts and other offal, which was put in a heap by itself. Great expectancy there was among the beasts: the leopard purred and waved his tail; the bear rolled about jovially; water ran from both sides of the wolf's mouth; the jackals whined happily;—the fox, though he smiled a good deal, as his custom is, was the only one that seemed uneasy. "Friends," said the chairman, "here is the wealth which our united labour has produced; I thus apportion it according to the sacred rights of property: the first is mine because I am called lion; the second because I kindly allow you to live; the third because of my strength, beauty, and nobility, without which the world were a dull place indeed; as for the fourth, let him touch it who dares; but yonder heap of offal you may divide it amongst you as you please; but if you follow my advice you will consume it with thrift and temperance." So said the lion; and the other beasts, like the law-abiding citizens they were, declared themselves contented.—Well, Brown, it seems to me that the lion managed to take good care of himself.

B. Again I see what you are driving at; but I don't think much of your fable as applied to a captain of industry.

E. Well, you see, Brown, all fables have their weak places, this amongst others. As you have noticed, I suppose, the lion probably did a good share of the hunting, being in that respect quite unlike the captain of industry. But, to leave fable and come to your statement of what you do, you say you find the capital: yes, pretty much as those—individuals—found your pears last night. And as to the risk you run in employing what you have found, I daresay they run some risk in turning these findings into the universal equivalent. As to your payment for superintending such a vast affair, you as good as told me that Jackson in the office and the managers at the works did that: so at any rate don't take too much—the lion's share—for that service. There remains your payment for that war with your brother soap-boilers which you told me about, which I admit under the circumstances seems necessary: yet don't you think it rather rough on those that make the soap that they should have to pay for that incident of its manufacture?

B. Rough on them—what do you mean? What have they got to do with it?

E. Nothing, I admit.

B. Well, you have got some preposterous utopian nonsense in your head, so you had better bring it out at once, since we have got on this unlucky subject again.

E. My utopianism drives me to wishing that the word "manufacture" could be used in its original sense, and that there should be no occasion for using it in its modern sense.

B. Well, you see the fact that it has so changed its sense ought to show you how much more important in the production of wealth is the direction of labour than the labour itself.

E. (*softly, as if to himself.*) H'm: the foremen couldn't retire, nor the managers at the works; Jackson might, perhaps, and you certainly could,—a sliding-scale of usefulness at all events from the foremen downwards: the men who do most get least.

B. You are getting rude again, Evans.

E. I am afraid I shall get ruder presently. I really must say that the—individuals—who—did business—in your pears have a right to claim the title of manufacturers—so far as they went.

B. (*emphatically, but not angrily.*) Meaning that I'm a thief?

E. Well, you are not a thief—morally—not at present; because, till you have heard all I have to say and thought about it, you know no better. But it does seem to me that your very respectable business of manufacturing soap really means stealing soap and selling it, and sticking to the plunder. I admit by the circuitous process of robbing the people who make it.

B. Yes, I thought we should come to it again. However, go on.

E. Well, in for a penny in for a pound. This morning you called stealing the worst kind of war—a beastly miserable destructive vice. Isn't your account of what business is coming to proof positive of that? See what a market you are bringing your pigs to! You have achieved complete success in producing wares marvellously cheap, and the result is, if it stops there, that the workmen, take them all round, are none the better for it; and as for yourselves, the employers, you are threat-

ening to give up employing, because that war which forces you to crush out the life and individuality of your workmen bids fair to ruin yourselves—the conquered conquered and the conquerors undone. All that comes of stealing.

B. Well, Evans, I see I was wrong to think that you were not in earnest. But since you acquit me of the moral guilt of theft—and you must remember, by the way, that here I am in my position, and even supposing I wanted to get out of it, how can I—since you admit what you do admit, why do you use such hard words?

E. Why, in the first place, though I acquit you personally of moral theft, I don't acquit your class: that upas-tree of *Capital* which overshadows the whole middle-class in this country, and, for aught I know, throughout all civilisation, and poisons every action of our lives, and makes our pleasures, our art, our literature, our would-be aspirations even, sickening to any one who can think of an honest world,—is not this a symptom of our guilt? Year by year we of the middle classes, as we are getting more and more conscious of what ought to be, are getting more and more hateful and contemptible to ourselves and others—building up wrath against the day of wrath. How will the change come? What horrors may you and I live to see! Yes, that is the reason why I use hard words—or plain words—or bitter words, if you will: because I feel them and cannot help it. But, apart from the moral side of things, as to the material "inconvenience," there—

B. There, I admit at once that if you are right in condemning the system as dishonest the "inconvenience" of it—that is, the necessary disturbance and misery—is of course much worse than that which results from what we call stealing now, we respectables. Spasmodic stealing disapproved of by society in general we could almost afford to pass over without notice (when our gardens had not been just spoilt by it); but continuous stealing, approved of by respectability, authority, and religion,—well, if that really is the basis of our classes to-day, I must as an honest man who tries not to be a fool admit that no price would be too high for ridding ourselves of that: riot, ruin, civil war, revolution, would all be a cheap bargain. But you must convince me class society is so founded.

E. I will try to do so. Meantime I can't tell you how glad I am that we have got as far as we have done. When a man can see that the occasional theft of the product of labour is a joke to the theft in one lump of the whole of the raw material and instruments which alone allow labour to be, it is not difficult to argue with him.—Well, old fellow, it's too late now to begin on that "Birth of the Bruce"; so have another glass of grog, and then we'll say good-night in peace and quietness: though it *did* seem rather like a quarrel at one time.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

#### TORY LAW-BREAKING.

After the disturbance at Yarmouth reported in our last issue, it was feared that serious violence might be used against the next speaker who went there. However, as the meeting was arranged to be held weekly, our comrades determined to continue it. The following cutting from the *Eastern Daily Press* of last Friday contains an account of the meeting, and shows the complete defeat of the Tory ringleaders: "Last night, in accordance with his promise, Fred Henderson, the Socialist lecturer of Norwich, visited Yarmouth for the purpose of addressing a working-class meeting. He arrived by the 6.20 train, and punctually at 7.30 took up his stand in front of the Star Hotel on the Quay. There were several hundred people present awaiting his arrival, and as soon as he appeared a general rush was made to the spot, and a ring was formed round him. Henderson said that during the week he had received various anonymous messages containing threats against him if he ventured to revisit Yarmouth, but he wished them to understand that he should not on any account be deterred from carrying out his intentions. The address was heard throughout with great attention, no attempt being made at disturbance. Special police arrangements had been made in view of a possible emergency."

A. K. Donald also writes: Following up the tactics reported from Lowestoft and Yarmouth, the Birmingham Tories have endeavoured to prevent our meetings here. Finding hustling and the usual kinds of rowdiness of no avail, on Sunday a more serious and deliberate attempt was made to break up one of our meetings. Tarn had held a meeting in the morning at Springhill; I held a successful one in the afternoon at the Bull Ring, and again in the evening a second meeting along with Tarn at the same place; after which at eight o'clock we adjourned to the Council House to hold our usual meeting. I had spoken for twenty minutes when suddenly a bag of flour came smash against my face, then another and another—about a dozen in all. I got off my chair and addressed myself to one of a gang of constables to protect the meeting. The constable, with the usual red-tapeishness of officialdom, referred me to an inspector; so instead of wasting time on the police, I told three friends—Tarn, Shorter, and Barr—to keep a bright look-out, and the moment they saw another bag come to seize the man and hold him at any cost. I then mounted the chair again. By this time the crowd numbered four or five thousand, and I endeavoured to obtain silence. For a few seconds I obtained order, and got my address under way, when a half-full flour-bag came again in my direction. This time the man was noticed, and Shorter, Tarn, and Barr rushed forward to seize him. His name was Price, and he turned out to be a well-known "bruiser," hired by the Conservatives, and used by them as chief of their gang of "chuckers-out." The police moved forward, and a general scrimmage resulted; policemen and their inspector lay on their backs; two of our friends were knocked down and badly manled by the Tory hired roughs. At last the man was secured between two constables and marched to the lock-up. When I arrived there, almost immediately Farnedale the chief of the Birmingham police appeared on the scene. The upshot was that I was told I should have to summon the Tory bruiser Price, although he was caught red-handed in the act of creating a disturbance and assaulting our comrades. It is rather a mystery to me why I should be at the expense of prosecuting the smasher. It looks uncommonly like an attempt on the part of Mr. Farnedale to put us Socialists to as much trouble as possible.

AMERICAN JUSTICE.—Mr. George S. Turner, a "wealthy cotton-mill owner," of Columbia, South Carolina, has been sentenced to five years' imprisonment for murdering one of his workmen who had asked for more wages. The prisoner was (of course) released on bail pending an appeal. The *New York Tribune* heads its report of the case "A light verdict for a rich murderer." This employer was an Anarchist; an Anarchist of the L.P.D.L. school, quite a different individual from the workman Anarchist.

<sup>1</sup> This illustration is taken from Proudhon's 'What is Property?' The fable an ancient one, as might be expected.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### BRITAIN.

**NAILERS' STRIKE.**—The strike in South Staffordshire, which has lasted two months has terminated, the employers having conceded an advance in wages of from 10 to 15 per cent. Many of the operatives have resumed work.

**THE LATE STRIKE AT BOLTON.**—At the end of the first week after the settlement of the Bolton strike there are still about a thousand men idle, the various firms being unable as yet to find them work. Many will never recover their situations, as over 300 imported men express a determination to remain in the town. Bolton finds employment for over 4000 men in the engineering trades, of whom 1700 were out at the strike.

**DOCK LABOURERS.**—A well-attended meeting was held last Friday evening at St. Stephen's Schools, Borough, for the purpose of forming a Southwark branch of the Tea Operatives and General Labourers' Association. Addresses expressing sympathy with the movement were delivered, and the proposal to form a branch was adopted with enthusiasm.

**LOOKING FOR WORK.**—Large numbers of unemployed are pouring into Cheshire in expectation of finding work in cutting the Manchester Ship Canal. Preparations for the actual cutting are being pushed forward between Eastham and Ellesmere Port, Cheshire, but at least another month or two must elapse before the works at the Cheshire end will be in full operation. The canal works will employ several thousands of men.

**WELSH MINERS' WAGES.**—Notices have been posted at all the Welsh collieries, under the South Wales and Monmouthshire Collieries Association sliding-scale, employing upwards of 20,000 miners, that, as a result of the audit of the coal-owners' books for four months past, the wages payable to the workmen will continue as hitherto.

**END OF MINERS' STRIKE.**—After enduring the hardships of a two months' strike, the miners in the employ of Messrs. Gilmour and Co., Goatfoot and Burnbank Collieries, resumed work on the old footing last week. The men came out on strike at the request of the union, and were promised hearty support from the members of that body. Funds, however, fell short, and the strike collapsed.

**THE DOWLAIS IRONWORKS.**—Some consternation was caused in Dowlais on Monday morning on its becoming known that Lord Wimborne, chief proprietor of the Dowlais Iron and Steel Works, had taken a large tract of land in the vicinity of Cardiff Docks whereon to erect steel works of the most advanced type, preparatory to removing the Dowlais works. Almost the entire population of Dowlais (35,000) are dependent on the works.

At a general meeting of the miners of Fife and Clackmannan, held at Dunfermline on Monday, it was unanimously agreed to approve heartily of a national scheme of restriction of out-put by working not more than eight hours per day, taking a holiday each week in districts and one week's holiday simultaneously all over the United Kingdom.

The London and North-Western Company are gradually reducing their hands, small parties of men receiving notice every week. Over 200 men employed in the forges have been thrown idle this week, owing to the rebuilding of the boilers and furnaces. Workers are advised to be thrifty, so that when King Capital requires them to cease work for a time, he will not be called upon for extra poor-rate.

**THE CROFTERS.**—Some extraordinary revelations were made before the Crofters Commission at Wick last week. The cases under consideration were from the Clyth estate, and from the evidence given it appeared that the land lord gave no receipt for the money paid unless the rent was paid in full. The tenant received a blank bill, to which he had to sign his name on pain of removal. It was then forwarded to the proprietor, who filled it up. The blank bills were not returned to the tenants, but remained in the bank, where they were discounted.

**WELSH TINPLATE WORKERS.**—In consequence of what is known as a "corner," i.e., a recognised legal mode of swindling, in tin, the Nantyglo, Blaia, Abertillery, and Pontyminster Tinworks, have closed. This stoppage will affect some 4000 men. The Abercarn Works has also partially stopped for the same reason. The "corner" has so adversely affected the Welsh tin plate trade, that several large works have had to close, and as a consequence more than 20,000 men are thrown out of work. The employers hold out but scanty hope of reopening the works at an early date; and, although they express sympathy for the men, seem also to consider that their own case is a very hard one. The masters will lose their profit: the workers will starve.

**REDUCTION OF AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS' WAGES.**—In West Somerset an organised attempt is being made to reduce the wages of agricultural labourers; and as they do not belong to the Labourers' Union, there is every probability that the employers will be successful. This is easily accounted for when the number of acres under cultivation—owing to the private ownership of land—is rapidly diminishing. Labourers must either accept smaller wages or flock to the towns. A Cumberland newspaper publishes a list of 133 farms in Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Dumfriesshire which have been advertised to be let during a single week. Some of these farms are of enormous size, especially those on the Dumfries estates of the Duke of Buccleuch; the average size is about 300 acres. Altogether, in these three counties, the whole agricultural acreage of which is but slightly over a million, nearly 40,000 acres are either on the landlord's hands already or are about to be surrendered into them by the tenant.

**DOCKYARD DISTRESS.**—The Woolwich Board of Guardians have decided to erect a temporary building in rear of the receiving-wards, for the accommodation during the winter of the able-bodied poor who are expected to throw themselves upon the workhouse.—At Chatham the ranks of the unemployed have been much swollen through the heavy discharges which recently took place in the Royal Dockyard; and the prospect for the coming winter is the most gloomy one ever known in this district. The majority of those who have received their discharge from the upper dock-yards and the lower extension works resided in the Bromptons, where there are whole streets well-nigh empty, and sturdy mechanics and labourers are now going round the country in search of work, with their families left at home in a state of destitution. The Medway Union guardians have decided to allow out-relief in these cases.

In the society of the future, when the antagonism of the classes have ceased—when there are no more classes—wages will no longer be determined by the minimum time of production, but the time of production devoted to an article will be determined by its utility.—*Karl Marx.*

## CONTINENTAL NOTES.

### GERMANY.

On the 24th of the present month the Reichstag will re-open its session, and its first work will be to reaffirm the laws against the Socialists, and most probably to add thereto some new and more despotic paragraphs.

The unemployed of Berlin are relatively as numerous as those here. The position of caretaker at one of the Berlin public meat-markets being vacant, no less than seven thousand candidates applied for the same!

On the 12th inst., the trial of the famous "Central Committee" of the Socialist party, detected at Berlin last July, will commence before the magistrates of the *Landgericht*. The police hoped to find a great deal of secret documents, and the bourgeois papers at the time spoke in a somewhat mysterious tone about the discovery, but now it appears that they found nothing whatever of a compromising character, and that the whole affair will be a mere *farce*—nevertheless followed, as is usual in that scandalous land, with a more or less great number of months of prison.

Thirty-eight Socialists are now on their trial at Breslau on a charge of secret conspiracy. In the same town a Socialistic paper has been suppressed, the *Breslauer Volksstimme* (the Voice of the People). It is impossible for us to notice all the prosecutions against Socialists and Anarchists, which are incessantly reported by the papers. Germany has even surpassed Russia in that respect.

### AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

The 27th of last month the first number of a new Socialist paper, *Arbeit* (Labour), was issued at Vienna, under the editorship of comrade R. Hanser. It is not, exactly speaking, a new paper, although it appears for the first time at Vienna, but rather the continuation of that active and persevering organ of our Austrian comrades which appeared successively at Gratz, Villach, and at Linz, and was everywhere forced to stop its publication by police prosecutions of all kinds. We hope that it now may have a better chance; but we must say our hope is not a very sanguine one. Nevertheless, our comrades deserve the more acknowledgement and encouragement because they have to work under such hard circumstances.

That these circumstances are really intolerable is proved by the fact that comrade Aug. Kreal, the editor of the co-operative paper *Bäcker-Zeitung* (Baker Journal), the appearance of which we announced in our last Austrian notes, was arrested last Monday week at Vienna. Mind you, that paper is by no means devoted to mere Socialistic propaganda; it is in fact a trade paper, in the narrowest sense of the word.

The German police is not only at home in Germany, but also in Austria—as in fact they are at home everywhere. The Berlin police gave directions to cause the arrest of comrade Franz Süß, an Austrian sculptor, who was apprehended at Vienna because he had distributed Socialistic literature in Austria!

At Frankenthal, comrades Schenk and Betch were sentenced to several months imprisonment for the same "offence."

### SWEDEN.

Happy little Sweden is struck with consternation: its two greatest authors, the illustrious poet Bjornsen and the celebrated drama-writer Ibsen have publicly declared themselves Socialists! Ibsen, who had lately come to Stockholm, had been enthusiastically received by the Court, the ministers, the scientists, the professors of the university—in one word, by all the *grand monde* of the bourgeoisie. He was entertained at dinner by all these magnates, and in answering a toast, in which the orator had spoken of the untold blessings of present society, he said calmly but firmly, "No, no, my friends, don't tell me any longer that we are living in the happiest possible world. On the contrary, our time is only a transient period, out of which a new society will grow. I am convinced that the actual political and social institutions soon will give place to other institutions, which will answer in a far better way the needs of the future. I can't tell you now what that future will be, but one thing is certain, it is to be more just than the present state of things. Socialism only shall make us a happy, worthy and prosperous mankind." Tableau! His friend Bjornsen has made a similar declaration in one of the greatest Scandinavian papers. The so-called high classes of Sweden are "ashamed" of the shocking transformation of their best adulated literary men.

### BELGIUM.

At Ghent the Socialist party "Vooruit" have issued their yearly 'Socialist Almanack.' It is well worth reading, the best article in it being a biography of Domela Nieuwenhuis, by Croll, editor of *Recht voor Allen* (Right for All).

The Brussels Federation of the *Parti ouvrier* (Working-men's Party) intends to do a very good thing indeed—namely, the revision of its statutes. Nine sections will be established: 1. trade associations; 2. co-operative societies; 3. universal suffrage; 4. statistics of work and wages; 5. universal legislation of work; 6. Socialistic presswork; 7. general propaganda; 8. collection of funds; 9. library. We wish our Belgian comrades good success in the fulfilling of their work of reorganisation, and we may add that we are of opinion that they only will succeed if a larger and brighter sense of true revolutionary Socialism penetrates and saturates their labour. A completely new portion of their work will be the creation of a large Socialistic library; and we should like to make here to our Belgian friends a suggestion which perhaps might deserve their consideration. Should it not be possible to institute at Brussels a general Record Office (archives générales) of international Socialistic literature? We feel assured that the existing literature in all tongues would be speedily acquired through the instrumentality of the various Socialistic bodies in every country, and the forthcoming publications would certainly be presented by their publishers or their authors to such a record office, if it were well conducted and of course accessible to all those who wish to study the various branches of political history, social economy, labour statistics, revolutionary class struggles, etc. We need hardly point out the manifold advantages of such an institution, and we think our Belgian friends are in a good position to undertake a work of that kind.

A large and crowded meeting was convened last Sunday at the Navalorama Hall, at Brussels, to protest against the judicial murder which is about to be perpetrated at Chicago. The meeting unanimously passed a resolution, worded in the strongest possible terms, condemning the action of the American judges.

### ITALY.

ALESSANDRIA.—The establishment of a new metal-working company has been inaugurated here with a great flourish of trumpets, and much boasting on the philanthropic aspect of the speculation, employment of labour, and

V. D.

all the rest of it. Yet these philanthropists will make a very good thing of it—if they follow all the accumulated traditions of their class, which there is little doubt they will do—for trade is very bad in the neighbourhood, and wages consequently low, and they will get labour at very easy terms; for instance, for a 12 hour's working-day paying 1.50 or 2 lire.

MILAN.—The second Co-operative Congress will take place in Milan, on the 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th of November, when the working and management of Co-operative Societies will be discussed.

A good many of the Italian Revolutionary Societies have at their late meetings passed resolutions sympathising with the Chicago Anarchists, whose fate unfortunately is so very near being decided, and expressing indignation at the criminal sentence of death passed against them by American capitalism.

SPAIN.

BILBAO.—A new society is being formed here among the iron and metal-workers; they will have for an organ a paper called the *Proletariato*.

VILLANUEVA-Y-GELTRU.—A considerable demonstration of working-men and women took place here a little time back. They marched before the municipal buildings and demanded bread and work. The mayor addressed them from a balcony, and advising them to respect "law-and-order," recommended them to retire quietly to their dwellings. Our informant remarks that they obeyed. . . . What a delightful little *non sequitur* of a manifestation!

BARCELONA.—There is talk of having a Labour Congress in this capital at some time not yet fixed, and the Central Committee has sent out a circular to the different societies to consult with them about the organisation of the same.

M. M.

LETTER FROM AMERICA.

THOMAS B. BARRY, of the General Executive Board of the Knights of Labour, has had a hard fight with Powderley, who desired to freeze him out of the order. His views are not popular with men who, like Powderley, are playing a very, very fishy *role* in the Labour movement. Interviewed, he made the following statement:—

"How will the order fare for the next year? Will there be an increase or falling off in the membership?"

"That will depend on the course the general officers will pursue. There is too much tendency to follow in the wake of Red Men and Odd Fellows. The order was organised for a different purpose. If this course continues it will certainly prove disastrous to the best interests of the organisation.

"The Knights of Labour were brought into existence to relieve the social and political miseries complained of by the labouring people. The organisation must not be conducted from the basis of charity, but from the standpoint of justice, for all mankind.

"The masses who compose the organisation must be educated to understand that the success or failure of the order depends upon their individual as well as collective efforts, and that the success of this organisation does not rest with the officials of a local, district, or general assembly, but with themselves. What they are the movement will be. There has been too much agitation, directing the masses to depend on others to do for them what they can best do for themselves. Hero worship has been the curse of the labour movement in Ireland more than once, and it will destroy the labour movement in America if allowed to grow."

The split in the Knights of Labour has happened this week. The action of the official gang of late has been too much for the intelligent honest faction, and they were forced to the alternative of either belonging to an organisation which is rapidly going to the dogs, or to secede speedily. They chose, as it well becomes sincere advocates of labour emancipation, the latter course. If anything will urge the ruling classes to pursue their mad course in hanging the seven Chicago men, it is the criminal action of Powderley and his clique in Minneapolis.

On returning from the Congress, about 35 delegates representing 13 States, stopped in Chicago and drafted a circular, which is addressed to the rank and file of the order. They charge the administration with usurpation of power, gross violation of the laws, with having organised a conspiracy to hold the salaried offices, illegal expenditure of many thousands of dollars, the alteration of the constitution in an illegal manner, etc. They further maintain that nearly every important strike or lock-out in which the general officers interfered was lost.

The development of this business is highly interesting. However, it will be utopian to expect as yet any radical change in the minds of even the seceders. They will continue, in spite of all bitter experience, to build constitutions for organisations to enable them to gain a paltry few more cents in wages, instead of turning revolutionists to end the present horrible system.

S. E. Shevitch debated with Henry George last Sunday, October 23rd, at Eighth Avenue Theatre, the latter's scheme to substitute a single land-tax for all other methods of taxation as a means to solve the social question. George got worsted beyond description; not even his well-known sophisms could help him out of the dilemma. Shevitch, in summing up, did not even use all the time allotted to him, and confessed his inability to debate with a Rip van Winkle in social economics.

Patrick Ford, of the *Irish World*, who enabled George to gain an international reputation by sending him over as correspondent of his paper to Europe, on the other hand, declares he cannot support George any longer on account of this gentleman's antagonism to the Pope. This is the *coup de grace* to the would-be Secretary of State. He has denounced the honest labour element, the Socialists, and is now in turn denounced by the Moderates. George is a dead man. Peace be with his ashes.

What can be done, what will be done, to save our Chicago comrades, I do not know, but strange to say the conviction "They will not be hung" is still gaining more supporters in labour circles.

A mass meeting to protest against the intended brutal assassination of the seven men will be organised to-morrow night, by the New York Knights of Labour at Cooper's Union.

Krapotkin's letter to the French papers is published to-day verbatim by the New York papers.

LABOUR MOVEMENT.

An advance of 12½ cents. per ton is to be demanded by the coal miners in the Belleville, Ill., district.

LIST OF STRIKES FOR OCTOBER.

Number of strikers to Oct. 13	7,685
Bloomington, Ill.—miners, sympathising with men discharged for activity in forming a trades' union, Oct. 8	300
Philadelphia, Pa.—shoemakers, in anticipation of lock-out by Manufacturers' Association, Oct. 18...	5,000

Pittsburgh, Pa.—labourers, misunderstanding of Italians as to what constituted a day's work, Oct. 13	...
Roxbury, Mass.—brewers	...
Pittsburgh, Pa.—carpenters, to compel foreman to become a union man	...
Sharon, Pa.—carpenters, for nine-hour day with full pay, Oct. 17	126
Dayton, Ohio.—railway employes, against reduction in wages, Oct. 18	290
New York City—compositors and pressmen (additional)	20
Waltham, Mass.—masons, for discharge of non-union men, Oct. 19	...
Ashaway, R. I.—woollen weavers, for advanced wages, Oct. 18	...

Total known for October 1st to 21st ... 13,331

The great printer's strike in New York is reported to-night to be practically ended. As far as any facts can be ascertained, it appears that matters in dispute between bosses and employes have been compromised.

New York, October 28, 1887.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

THE CONDEMNED ANARCHISTS.

Last Thursday, Nov. 3, the news reached London that the Supreme Court of the United States refused to allow the eight condemned Chicago Anarchists a fresh trial. With a thrill of indignation and horror we learned that in one week (on Friday Nov. 11) seven of our comrades were to be hanged. Nothing remained between these men whose only crime is their devotion to the cause of labour, but a forcible rescue or the interference of the Governor of Illinois. Unhappily London workmen are powerless to effect a rescue; they can only during the few days that remain add their weight to the pressure which is being exercised by the workers of America upon the smug middle-class democrat who holds our comrades' lives in his hands, to compel him to do justice and save these innocent men from judicial murder, and the London workmen have set to the task with a will which illustrates the enormous recent growth of the International Labour Movement.

By the combined efforts of Socialists and Radicals, over 16,000 votes of protest have been collected in one day. The following cablegram has been sent from the London Patriotic Club to Governor Oglesby, Springfield, Illinois. "At 49 meetings, Sunday last, 16,405 London working men and women voted protest against execution of sentence on Chicago Anarchists."

The London Patriotic, Haggerston, Borough of Hackney, Hoxton, and East Finsbury Liberal and Radical Clubs have summoned a public meeting in South Place Chapel on Wednesday Nov. 8, at 8 p.m., from which a like resolution of protest will be cabled to Governor Oglesby.

The delegates of several Radical Clubs and of the Labour Emancipation League called upon the American Minister with the same object, on Monday; but with the insolence of your true Middle-class Republican, he refused to see them.

Further, a petition calling upon the Governor of Illinois not to sadden the Centenary of the Republic with the execution of men "who have already endured a death-agony of more than a year," is being signed by humane men and women of all classes whose names may carry some weight in America. It is to be cabled on Wednesday night. The only dissentient voices are the politicians and the Positivists. The M.P.'s are afraid of offending their propertied constituents, and the priests of Humanity are—lawyers.

The quick sympathy shown by London workmen for the Chicago martyrs, is a most significant sign of the increase of both solidarity and revolutionary feeling amongst the proletariat.

C. WILSON.

SOCIALIST DEFENCE ASSOCIATION.

An Association has been formed of Socialists who are willing to stand by their poorer comrades, now so unjustly persecuted by the police authorities, and to secure them at least a fair hearing before they are thrown into prison.

This Association consists of householders willing to offer bail for persons arrested for taking part in public meetings, and of members who guarantee costs to the amount of £2 2s. each.

The Association will only pledge itself to bail members of Socialist organisations, as these may fairly be supposed to act upon principle, and are not likely to endeavour to escape trial.

If any bail should be forfeited, the amount will be shared among the members of the Association, but care will be taken that no risk shall be incurred by the bailing of unknown persons.

As poor men are brought up, condemned upon police evidence, and sentenced without chance of defence, the Association desires, by offering bail, to obtain time for defence, and, by instructing a solicitor, to prevent the infliction of unjust punishment on undefended men.

Six cases have already been attended to by the Association, but it is sorely in need of funds, and of an increased number of bail.

Socialists are earnestly begged to help the work of this Association in whatever way they can. The police tyranny is becoming intolerable, and Socialists who do not risk their persons are bound to help with their purses.

News of any arrest should be at once communicated to Annie Besant, 63, Fleet Street, E.C., and exact details should be sent as to the place to which the prisoner has been conveyed.

Donations may be sent to the Secretary, or to the Rev. S. D. Headlam, 31, Upper Bedford Place, W.C. Persons willing to serve as bail, or to become members, should communicate with the Secretary. ANNIE BESANT, Secretary.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

Resolution of Council.

At the usual weekly meeting on Monday the following resolution was passed; "That the Council of the Socialist League protests against the execution of the seven workmen of Chicago."

London Members.—The monthly meeting of London Members will take place on Monday next, November 14.

'Commonweal' Concert.—Members and friends are requested to send in returns without further delay of tickets at present unaccounted for.

Strike Committee.—Collected in Regent's Park—Sunday October 30, 8s. 9d.; Sunday November 6, 4s. 4d.—J. LANE.

Fund for the Provision of Wives and Families of the Condemned Anarchists.

Under this heading we shall be pleased to acknowledge donations for the above object. Labour Emancipation League, 5s.

BRANCH SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID.

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

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Weekly Subscriptions—K. F., 1s. C. J. F., 2s. Oxford Branch, 2s. Langley, 2s. P. W., 6d. W. B., 6d. Hammsmith Branch (4 weeks), £2. P. W., Treasurer, Nov. 8.

