## The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

#### NOTES ON NEWS.

The Liberals had a grand meeting at the Memorial Hall the other evening, to condemn the coercion and imprisonment proceedings of the Government in Ireland. This is well enough, and everyone who thinks freedom a matter worth considering must agree with their resolution against the stupid bourgeois tyrants who have set themselves the task of conquering a determined people by a kind of persecution, which proves conclusively that they themselves at home are the masters of a country nowise free. But there are one or two points to be considered before we can let our Liberals blow their trumpet too loudly. These very same men, when they were opposed by the Irish people, acted much in the same way as those whom they now condemn, and would do so again if occasion served. Far greater applause greeted the news of the imprisonment of Mr. Parnell and his colleagues at the hands of Mr. Gladstone than is now uttered at an anti-coercion Liberal meeting.

The truth is, once more, that the Liberal leaders only use this "imprisonment for political offences" as a stalking-horse for getting a shot at the official benches, and the ordinary Liberal follows his leader blindly and hilloas when he is told. This has been often enough said, but it is necessary to remember it in order to calm one's amazement at the shamelessness of Liberal politicians in holding a meeting about the prisoners of liberty and not saying one word about those who had suffered close to their own doors. So it is! Gladstone has given his fiat that nothing is to be said about Trafalgar Square, and all his following do his bidding with a tameness that has no parallel in the animal world; and poor Harrison must rot in prison and have his life worn out month after month, and no notice taken of him because his case doesn't come within the scope of "practical politics."

W. M.

One of the lessons of the Canonbury murder seems to be that the morally-miraculous police in being made an efficient instrument of coercion has lost proportionately in the power of preventing or detecting crime. Men whose training has been intended to fit them for the suppression of public meetings or the bludgeoning of passers-by, are necessarily not the best to look after the lives and limbs of unoffending citizens; the military drill and dependence on command take out all individual initiative and fertility of resource. Besides, if so much effort is expended on Trafalgar Square and Socialist meetings, it is evident that it must be withdrawn from somewhere else.

A few days after the Canonbury affair came one in Holborn, where a man was knocked down, had his leg broken and his watch stolen, and the men got off safe with their plunder. But, after all, I Warren, is not intended for anything else but what he is, the suppressor of the people. Not only in his neglect of the rudiments of public safety, but in his consistent refusal to interfere with disorderly houses and the like, he has always shown an utter disregard of anything but the comfort and pleasure of the "upper" classes.

I Warren, and the Government were neatly stopped by Mr. Firth in their endeavour to work the blackmailing cases as that of Endacott was worked; that is, to get up a "prosecution" with a pre-arranged programme, and a wind-up of whitewash. Mr. Firth refused all evidence without a public enquiry was granted into the whole system; the Government was "afraid to face the music," and the enquiry was burked.

An incidental side-light is thrown on the Government and its supporters by the fact that Mr. Maple, M.P., presented himself at the Sweating Committee when a man who had worked for him was about to give evidence against him, remaining while the witness was giving his evidence, plainly for the purpose of intimidation. That this man Maple should do such a thing will cause no surprise, but it certainly does a little surprise one that the Committee and the Government alike are unable or unwilling to protect witnesses who are called on for evidence.

At the same committee, Lord Thring asked one of the witnesses if he believed that "men who were well fed were killed by hard work." Whereon the Pall Mall expostulates: "Why the point of the whole inquiry is that it is barely possible for the sweaters' victims to keep flesh and bones together on the starvation wages. Why did he not ask the witness if good dinners were matters of every-day occurrence in

the working dens? If meat was often served on the tables of the workpeople? If they had tables to serve it upon? Bread and tea, with a stray bloater on high days and holidays, we should say, form the menu which is most familiar. There are other little matters which the noble lord seems to ignore, such as fresh air, rest and sleep. Of course recreation is unknown."

But there is "hope for the weary"! A large number of M.P.'s on both sides of the House have organised themselves to work for "Legislative Social Reform." They have long been, so they say, dissatisfied with the apathy of Parliament on social questions, and they are now going to try and alter it. High hopes are being built on this foundation, slender enough though it seems to us, especially as the components of the organisation include landlords, capitalists and privileged people galore. Can the leopard change his spots, the lion lie down with the lamb not inside him, or the social parasite refrain from performing his "due function" of feeding on the people?

#### THE HISTORY OF A SWEATER.

HIS DEVELOPMENT.

My name is Myer Wilchinski. I came from the city of Kohl, near Carlish, Russian Poland. My father occupied a good social position, as he was a wealthy carman and contractor, besides owning several omnibuses which ran between our city and Carlish. At the age of eighteen, I and others were called on by the authorities for the conscription. My father spent many roubles in trying to get me off, but it was only for a time, and I had to join the army of the Czar a year later. We were all sent to Tomazow, and then I began to feel my position most acutely. I, who had had such a happy, comfortable life, with all the pleasures that my father's wealth could procure, to have to mix up, by day and by night, with such specimens of humanity as the abominable conditions of Russia alone can produce. When I considered that for eighteen years I should have to serve, and have to fight for, so rotten and so cruel a despotism, it was maddening to think of. And how well I remembered our (Polish) people telling the stories of how their dear native land was barbarously torn from them, and with what cruelty they and their wives and children were treated by the invaders, and the right to speak their own language denied them, under heavy pains and penalties. To think that I should have to serve such brutal scoundrels made me watch for the opportunity to desert and escape from such a holy Christian country. (Can you blame me, reader?)

To escape was a comparatively easy task, as I had money, and was generally liked because of that; and so corrupt is Russian officialism that it is a byword with the people that you can buy a policeman or sentry for a salt herring or a drop of schnapps (spirituous liquor) and their superior for a silver rouble. One night I determined to make the attempt. To change my clothes and bribe the sentry was a very easy matter, to bribe another on the outside also not a risky job. Once on the road, to get a lift from a kindly waggoner, and tell him my tale, got me a long ride and a little rest. I rewarded him, to his entire satisfaction, as he understood my motives and sympathised with me. We soon reached a part of the road where a small wood was all that was between me and the granitz (frontier). I here parted company with my good friend, who, after warning me to be very cautious, cracked his whip and went. I had really to be very careful, as it was getting daylight and the sentries were looking to be relieved; but a few more small bits of silver did the trick, and at last I was off Russian territory.

I felt for my passport (which my father had manufactured for me), and made my way to the resident official, but I had a difficult task to speak German without the Jewish accent, so I determined to speak as little as possible, and tied my face round with my handkerchief, as if I had faceache. By the aid of a bottle of good rum, I soon was on good terms with the resident official, and we drank each other's health several times. I then got my passport signed, which completed all that was necessary to take me all through Germany to Hamburg. There I was uncertain what to do next, but determined on placing water between us, I took the boat for Hull, remembering that England was the land of the "free," where Jews enjoyed the same privileges as others; where there were Jew members of Parliament and a Jew prime minister.

On the ship I met others who had left other paternal governments for various reasons, among whom were several who had been in a good way of lansiness, sancias a widness, another as a kides shoomaker, who were both oldiged to leave Galicia (Austrian Poland) wholly another both oldiged to leave Galicia (Austrian Poland) wholly who were continually robbed and maltreated by the ignorant; superstitious peasantry, stressally on Gatholic holy days, and when they appeared to the matherities they received only insult. Being in the minority, they would not be much obliged to us, for if we had not hanged Christ you would not have had a Saviour." Now these men who came to England to breathe the air of freedom (as they thought) were soon penniless and living on charity.

When we arrived at Hull I parted from the rest, as I wanted time for reflection. I was now in a strange land, with no idea of the language, and no knowledge of any trade, with only thirty roubles in my possession. Seeing so much squalor and wretchedness around me, I determined to go to London, the richest city in the world, where the largest number of people lived together, and where every nationality in Europe was represented in separate localities. There, thought I, will I be able to find something, especially as I am young, strong, and educated (more in theology than in any thing else, I must admit).

Well, I reached London one fine foggy, drizzly day in February 1882. I soon found the Russian Polish colony in Whitechapel, and soon felt somewhat in my native element, but the filth and poverty and misery appalled me. On the Saturday following I was invited to go to the chgazar marrk (swine market), which I was surprised to find was no market at all, but only the place in an open thoroughfare where the masters met the men who were seeking employment—a veritable slave-mart, to which place I would gladly accompany anyone, and speak to these people in their own dialect. Many of them, like myself, "green-ers" (new arrivals), willing to work at anything that would bring them the scantiest means of existence; some married and with families, and all with that enquiring, beseeching look, that half-starved, help-less, hopeless human beings must of necessity possess. I, looking perhaps brighter than the majority (who really looked like so many unwashed corpses) soon got into conversation with a master, who told me he was a barber and wanted a smart fellow to learn the trade; he wanted no premium, but would give lodgings and coffee to such a one. I declined the offer, not feeling quite so destitute as the fellow that went with him must have done. I received the same offer from a rivetter (boot and shoes), who told me that his trade was easy to learn to anyone that had naturally quick movements. I thought that I should see others first, so I promised to think it over and see him at night. I was then beginning to feel kind of interested and independent, but remembering that I only possessed eleven shillings, I determined to chance my luck, and closed with a tailor who offered to teach me the trade and give me lodgings and coffee for three weeks, and six shillings a-week afterwards, until I learned one branch of the trade (coat-making), when I would be able, he said, to demand from four to eight shillings a-day for my toil. He lived in one of the many dirty streets in Spitalfields, and the work he made was railway and seamen's coats—hard heavy work, that required more brute strength than skill. He occupied two rooms on the second floor, for which he paid seven shillings a-week; had a wife, and three children aged respectively seven, four, two; very intelligent, almost crafty.

The room we worked in was used for cooking also, and there I had to sleep on the floor. The wife helped as much as she could at the trade, besides doing all the work of the house and the children. A young woman worked the machine from eight in the morning till nine at night, for 3s. a-day; not very often making a full week's work. My work at first was to keep up a good fire with coke, and soap the seams and edges; and the elbow-grease I used was considerable. I had to get up in the morning about half-past five, and we finished at aight between ten and eleven, and turned out every week about thirty coats, which came to about £4. The master himself worked very hard indeed; and he himself told me afterwards that he had left the old country for the same reason as myself, and that a few years previously he had been a cow-keeper and dairyman, but was now a "tailor."

I soon learned to sew on buttons and do bits of hand-sewing, as well as pressing the seams. The three weeks passed, and I had learned to make myself tolerably useful; and my master told me that if I was willing to werk the machine he would give me the 6s. a-week that he had promised me. I was rather pleased at this, so I consented; but the young woman who had previously done the work was sent away. For the next few weeks my life was anything but pleasant; but my master was most patient with me, and I learned to operate the machine.

In about three months I learned from others in the trade that I was being imposed upon, and that I was worth more wages; so I went and discussed the matter over with my master, who said that I was very ungrateful, but at last consented to give me 15s. a-week.

About this time I made up my mind to drop the latter part of my name, so I called myself Mr. Myers. The reason was that the greater part of my acquaintances did the same thing as soon as they began to get on a bit. About four months later I left my situation to work for a larger employer, for 30s. a-week as machiner. I worked from seven in the morning till nine at night, and this is called proper hours, even now, among both the masters and the men. Often we worked only two days a-week, which would make my wages only 10s. But I was contented, because I saw so many other men, better than myself, work ing longer hours for less money.

Communicated by Henry Samuels.

(To be concluded.)

#### THE SAVING OF LABOUR.

Inads as a universal benefactor to the people. Now one great element in the question of cheapness is the cost of labour; hence anyone who can reduce the amount of labour or the price of labour medica the amount of labour should make any protest it will be told that, although the amount of labour required in that particular business may be less, still the cheapness of the article will enable people to buy more of other things, and so more labour will be wanted elsewhere. Or, if it should be a question of the reduced price of labour, it will be told that although the money wages may be less, still, on account of the reduced cost of the articles bught with them, the real reward of labour will be as much, or even more, than it was before.

real reward of labour will be as much, or even more, than it was before.

Let us take an instance of the first case, which is really the application of labour-saving machinery. We will suppose that a large iron company lays down £400 of capital in a hydraulic crane to take the place of a steam one, thereby saving the labour of an engine-man, which we will suppose cost them £60 per annum, what will be the result? The gross saving to the company is £60 per annum, of which £20 will go as interest on the capital used in making the change, leaving £40 net saving. With this £40 the company can do two-things—either keep it to increase their profits, or cheapen their iron to that extent. If possible they will do the former, in which case the £40 will follow the £20 into the pockets of the shareholders. The chances are that this £60, which has found its way into the pockets of shareholders instead of into those of the engine-driver, will be spent in the ordinary way as part of the shareholders' income. The net result of the proceeding, then, is that the labouring class have lost and the capitalist class have gained £60 a year: for we must not allow ourselves to be led away and confused by following the £60 through a series of exchanges which in reality have nothing to do with the case. This would doubtless be attempted; thus the supporter of the present system of cheapening at the cost of labour would say that the capitalist spending his £60 extra a year would give employment to the same amount of labour as had been thrown out. But then would not the engine-driver's spending of his £60 have equally given employment? That fact is often lost sight of. The engine-driver is unable to give this employment, as he has lost his £60 a year; so that if there anything in this giving of employment at all, it is the same in both cases. It is not a question of spending, but of who shall spend! The tradespeople and those whom they employ are equally well off whether the  $\pounds60$  is spent by the engine-driver or the shareholders. The real question is, Who is enabled to enjoy the produce of £60 worth of labour, the labourer or the capitalist? This question of giving employment is a very common bugbear. Let me show how absurd it is. The share-holder gets his £60. We will suppose he spends it in clothes; well, according to the common idea, he gives employment to one man for about a year making clothes for him (or, what is the same thing, perhaps he gives employment to four men working three months). But now our tailor has £60; therefore, of course, he can give employment to a man for a year growing food for him. Again, the farmer has £60 to spend, so he can give employment to a man for a year making ploughs for him. But this plough-maker must live; he has now £60 to spend, so he, too, can employ a farmer for a year growing food for him, and naturally wishing to deal with a good customer, he goes to the same farmer and with his £60 employs him to grow his food. But we will not follow this wonderful £60 any further—the magic purse we will not follow this wonderful £50 any further—the magic purse into which, if the owner puts a £5 note, each time he takes it out he will find it *increases*, is nothing to the £60. We have already seen that this £60 which was saved from the engine-man's wages has provided £60 worth of clothes for the shareholder, £60 worth of food for the tailor, £60 worth of ploughs for the farmer, £60 worth of food for the plough-maker, and £60 in hard cash for the fortunate farmer, when has already had ploughs out of it to the same amount! comes this absurdity? Simply from the fact that we had forgotten that money is a commodity. Had the shareholder been paid in pigiron, we should not have fallen into the error; for if he gives pigiron for clothing he has simply made a exchange, not found employment for anyone, for to the extent to which he may have stimulated the clothing trade, to exactly the same extent he has depressed the pigiron trade. The real question of importance to labour is not whether the pig-iron shall be exchanged for clothes or stocked for future use, but whether the shareholder or the engine-driver is to be allowed to spend—that is, exchange—the pig-iron for food and clothing; for evidently, if the engine-driver spends it and enjoys the use of the food and clothing, the shareholder cannot do the same, and if the shareholder spends it, the engine-driver goes short.

The only man who gives employment by spending is the man who produces something. If a man produces something which someone else wants, he thereby causes that man to produce something else which he wants, and they exchange for their mutual advantage. The producer gives employment because he has produced something with which to reward it. All other men simply use the means of employment which they have been able to get hold of in one way or another from the producer. And here we come to the simple groundwork of all honest economics, that a man should enjoy what he produces, and of the produce of other men's labour he should enjoy what he pays for with an equivalent amount of his own, and no more than that is he entitled to.

But to return to our instance, for we have by no means exhausted it yet. There is one way, and, so far as I know, only one, in which the labouring class may not lose the whole of the £40 after it has gone to

the shareholder. Suppose that, instead of spending it as a portion of His yearly income, he uses it to put down some capital, it is conceivable under the following conditions that the result may be to save labour from the entire loss of the £40. If there happens to be an opening for producing something which would not otherwise be produced, if this £40 is the only capital available for the purpose, and if it would not have been used for this purpose had it gone to pay for labour, then and then only might labour be compensated in part, or possibly even to a greater extent than the original loss. That or possibly even to a greater extent than the original loss. these conditions often occur is now impossible, for there is not a trade in which the amount of trade already existing is not large enough to produce many times the quantity of goods which is now turned out. Nor is there a trade which could not easily get enough capital to take advantage of any new departure. Hence we may say, I think, that at the present time, our powers and instruments of production being vastly in excess of the utmost requirements of our trade, and capital being plentiful, that any new labour-saving machinery which increases the interest paid for capital or the profits of shareholders is a source of loss to the workers.

We must now consider the other alternative which we saw the company had of reducing the price of the article to the extent of the £40. The £20 must go in any case. Should the article thus reduced be one exclusively used by the workers, then their class would gain the advantage of the cheapened article to the extent of £40, or twothirds of their loss as a class; but this is an extreme case. the wealth produced, we may say roughly that the producers consume one-third of it; hence, if an average article is cheapened, they will regain in cheapness one-third of their loss in the price paid for labour; the other two-thirds will go to the idlers. It is, of course, conceivable that the reduction of £40 in the price of the pig-iron turned out by the company in the year might stimulate increased demand for the iron, and so labour might recover some of its loss in this way, and no doubt, when the question is narrowed from the whole classes of labour and capital to the portions of those classes in one country, this may often be the case. In fact, the small reduction in price resulting from the introduction of this labour-saving crane might conceivably bring such a large addition of foreign trade as would more than compensate the labourers of this country for the loss of £60, but at the same time the loss to the labourers of some other country would equal their gain!
But enough has been said, I think, to prove abundantly that the

introduction of labour-saving appliances is very frequently attended by loss to the labouring population, while all the gain goes to the capital-owning class. The other point which I alluded to in opening, and which I shall now deal with, is the question of reducing the price of goods by reducing the price of labour. It has been asserted on the one hand that when the article is one used by the workers, they gain as much by the reduction in price as they lose by the reduction in wages. It has also been asserted—once, at all events, by a writer in the *Commonweal*—that should the workers force up wages, the consequent rise in prices would bring their actual wages to the same level as they were before.

In both these statements the fact seems to be lost sight of that on the average the worker only consumes one-third of what he produces; hence that when his wages are reduced to reduce the price of an article, he has to suffer the whole loss in the reduction of his wages, and only shares in one-third of the gain of reduced prices. For example, a worker making three suits of clothes in a week, we will suppose, gets 9s. a suit for making them, or 27s. a week. The suits sell for 27s. each. Now in order to reduce the price to 24s., the sell for 27s. each. Now in order to reduce the price to 24s., the worker is dropped from 9s. to 6s. a suit, or to 18s. a week. Taking the usual average, we will suppose the worker consumes one-third of the produce, then he will gain 3s. on the price of his suit and lose 9s. in his wages, or a net loss of 6s. a week.

For the same reason the rise in prices resulting from a rise of wages does not deprive the worker of all he gains. price is put on to the goods, and as the worker only consumes onethird, he only has to pay one-third of the total increase, while he obtains the whole of the increased wage which was the cause of the enhanced prices. So that cheapness, so far as it is due to cheap labour, is bad for the workers, because they lose the whole amount which all articles are cheapened out of their wages, and only recover in cheapness on the comparatively small portion which they consume. On the other hand, high prices due to high wages do not take away the advantage of the better wages, because the high prices on the greater part of goods have to be paid by the non-workers. It is natural, therefore, that the upper classes should so glory in cheapness, for they get all the gain and none of the loss which comes with it.

I think the examination of these few points in the economics of our present system must convince us of the absolute necessity, when we rush into the labyrinth of economical discussion, of keeping the simple fundamental truth before us, all the more that the worker produces all wealth, and that only the man who has produced wealth to offer in exchange ought to be able to command the services of another or the result of his work. Since the introduction of associated labour and complicated labour-saving machinery, Socialism is the only economic system which can put this truth in practice. Socialism will enable the worker to share in all the improved processes of production, will enable each man to produce in the easiest way known and to enjoy the fruits of his own labour, and as much of the fruits of other men's labour as he pays for with his own; hence Socialism may be said to be the adaptation of the highest economic teachings to the needs of modern RAYMOND UNWIN.

#### PRISONER AT THE THE BAR.

(A REMINISCENCE OF TROUBLED TIMES.)

By J. DE JEAN FRASER.

(Reprinted from the 'Irish Felon,' July 15, 1848.)

'Tis a jest to ask me, why
For my deeds I should not die?
I appeal for my reply,
To your thongs!
To my corn beneath the hoof!
To the flame-flag from my roof!
Do ye want more maddening proof
Of my wrongs?

Honest men before my eyes, Have been tortured into lies!
And ye bought, from perjured spies,
Priceless blood. Friceless blood.
Ye corrupted and debased,
Ye inveigled, trapped, and chased,
Ye o'erswept, deformed, defaced—
Like a flood.

The loftiest—or the least— In the fight—or when it ceased— The fair virgin—or the priest— Did ye spare?
Till now, by force and fraud,
Human feeling is outlawed, And oppression stalks abroad, Bold and bare.

Ye plunderers of our plains! Ye exhausters of our veins! Ye firers of our fanes! If I be, For resistance, when ye trod Flesh and spirit as the clod—A dark Felon before God; What are ye?

If some tyrant's blood I spilt,
On the tyrant is the guilt;
If I met him hit to hilt
For my own:
And—free me from this chain,
I will dare you thus again—
Though you gird with cannon train
Me alone.

It may by heaven be meant
That oppressors should relent;
But not the oppressed repent
Of the few
Brave deeds of heart or hand,
They can do to lift their land
From the growelling to the grand,
Un anew! Up anew!

And this persisting zeal,
Which all trampled men must feel,
Will defy your fire and steel,
Till ye yield
The plunder ye have gained,
And the captives ye have chained;
To a host—perchance untrained
To the field.

Though my fate be in your hands, With my life's fast-falling sands, I will lay my stern commands On my son;
By the honour of his wife,
By his fame in death or life,
To be faithful to this strife,
Till 'tis won!

#### HOW A SALOON-KEEPER WAS INDUCED TO APPEAL TO HEAVEN.

At Detroit, Mich., the Women's Temperance Union, or the women crusaders and Salvation Army, visited a liquor saloon and tried by hard praying to induce the proprietor to close the place. The proprietor invited the ladies to seats and asked them to pray, and he himself offered the following prayer: "Almighty Creator, Thou who hast made the heaven and the earth and created man after Thine own image as rulers of the earth, while animals are living on grass and water, Thou didst teach Thy servant Noah to make wine, and Thou didst punish him for making intemperate use of it. At the wedding of Cana Thine own son, Jesus Christ, transformed water into wine when the juice of the grape was exhausted that the enjoyment of the guests might not be disturbed. The great reformer, Martin Luther, said: 'He who does not love wine, woman, and song, remains a fool all his life long,' and one of the divine commands of the book Thou hast given us is: 'That man shall drink no longer water, but shall use a little wine for the stomach's sake and his often infimities.' All great men of this earth have been drinking of the wine. Thou hast given Thy children upon the earth. O Lord, we pray Thee, have pity on the women here, who are even like the beasts of the field and drink water like an ox, while they dress extravagantly and lead their husbands by other extravagances, not tending to our well being, to be bankrupt, depriving them of the pleasures of this world; yes, driving them to suicide. O Lord! have mercy on these ladies; look upon them. They wear not even the colour of the face which Thou hast given them, but they are sinning against Thee, and not content with nature they paint their faces. O Lord! Thou canst also perceive that their figure is not as Thou hast made it, but they wear humps on their backs like camels. Thou seest, O Lord, that their head-dress consists of false hair, and when given mem, our mey are sinning against Thee, and not content with nature they paint their faces. O Lord! Thou canst also perceive that their figure is not as Thou hast made it, but they wear humps on their backs like camels. Thou seest, O Lord, that their head-dress consists of false hair, and when they open their mouths Thou seest their false teeth; and, O Lord, just make a note of the spiral spring and cotton batting contrivances they wear in their bosoms, for no other purpose than to make themselves voluptous, and to excite in man a much worse passion than the use of wine; and for the same reason they have a number six foot pinched into a number three shoe, and a number forty waist squeezed into a number seventeen corset. O Lord, these women will not bear the burden of married life, and obey Thy commands to multiply and replenish the earth, but they are too lazy to raise their children, and, O Lord, Thou knowest the crimes they commit. O, Lord, have mercy on them and take them back into Thy bosom; take folly out of their hearts; give them common sense that they may see their only toolishness, and grant that they may be good, worthy citizens of our beloved city of Detroit. O Lord, we thank Thee for all the blessings Thou hast bestowed upon us, and ask Thee to deliver us from all evil, especially hypocritical, lying women, and Thine shall be the praise for ever and ever. Amen.

—Duncannon Record.

We have received a pamphlet issued by Mr. A. D. Duvivier, 32 Gloucester Road, Regent's Park, in which he sets forth his grievances against the managing clique of the Royal Academy of Music for wrongful dismissal. Upon the face it appears a very bad case, and one that should be taken up by some organ more influential in ordinary circles than we can be.

by some organ more influential in ordinary circles than we can be.

THE BATTERSEA VESTRY AND THE S.D.F.—Comrade John Burns asks us to announce "that the four candidates for the local vestry run by the Battersea Branch S.D.F. were all elected by very large majorities, much to the surprise of the old gang. Three of the candidates are workmen—one brick-layer, one bootmaker, one modeller. This makes five Socialists now on our vestry. The conditions under which they were elected were as follows: All local work, buildings, etc., to be done by local authority without contractor; where not done by vestry, only by builders who pay union rate and work their men decent hours. Employés of parish authorities to have better wages and conditions of work; salaries of high officials to be reduced: Reverse the prohibition against costermongers trading in the streets. Better cleaning and repairing of roads and streets in working-class districts; etc."



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

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

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CONTRIBUTIONS received—will be used: J. L.; T. S.; A. C. H. G. F. (Catechism); A Swiss.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday May 23.

Democrat
Freedom
Justice
Leafet Newspaper
London—Freie Presse
Labour Tribune
Norwich—Daylight
Railway Review
Worker's Friend ENGLAND

New South Wales Hamilton—Radical Toronto-Labor Reformer INDIA Bankipore—Behar Herald Madras—People's Friend

Madras—Feople's Friend
UNITED STATES
New York—Der Sozialist
Truthseeker
Volkszeitung
Jewish Volkzeitung
Boston—Woman's Journal

Auring the week ending |
Liberty
Chicago—Labor Enquirer
Chicago (III)—Vorbote
Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung
Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer
Detroit—Der Arme Teufel
Fort Worth (Tex)—South West
Miwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt
Arbeiter Zeitung
Providence (R.I.)—The People
St. Louis (Mo.)—Altuust
San Francisco—Commonwealth
Coast Seamen's Journal
FRANCE

Coast Seamen s Journal
France
Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)
La Revolte
Journal du Peuple
HOLLAND
Hague -Recht voor Allen
Amsterdam—Voorwaarts
EBLIGIUM
En Avant

En Avant Ghent-Vooruit

Antwerp—De Werker Liege—L'Avenir Switzerland Zurich—Arbeiterstimme

ITALY Milan—Il Fascio Operaio Rome—L'Emancipazione Marsala—La Nuova Eta

El Producto PORTUGAL Lisbon—O Protesto Operario GERMANY Berlin—Volks Tribune

AUSTRIA Arbeiterstimme Brunn—Volksfreund

ROUMANIA Vittorie Romanie Jassy-Muncitoriul Sweden Malmo-Arbetet

#### MODIFIED MURDERERS.

THE characteristics of our present society, indifference to life and the plenty of shoddy goods, are in their essence the same. We find embedded in the ancient literatures, amidst the evil and bloodshed pictured in them, the marks of the uprising in men's minds of the doubt, whether the slavery or death of one's enemy were all that men should aim at. Cain's defiant question "Am I my brother's keeper?" had to do with one part of life, but for the murder of the soul take Homer's words-"A man loses half his manhood on the day that makes him a slave." These two together mark the gradual change from the bestial into the human mind, noted and promoted by the seers, prophets, or poets, who have ever been before their time. Such movements are slow: they may fall motionless, not dead, for centuries. Their real revival, their fresh start, has been embodied in that poetic language, which a people deeply moved is capable of, and which touches and animates hundreds of generations, whether it tell the story of the carpenter's son of Nazareth or the camel-driver of Mecca. That impulse has spent itself: otherwise we should not resort so often to the satire or the joke. When we once more become real, we shall not so show our shame of appearing to have a genuine feeling about anything, we shall not put away our views of murder in such rough and jocose rhymes as these

"Taint your eppyletts an' feathers
Make the thing a grain more right;
Taint a-follerin' your bell-wethers
Will excuse ye in His sight.
Ef you take a sword an' dror it,
An' go stick a fellow thru,
Guv'ment aint to answer for it,
God'll send the bill to you.

"I dunno but wut it's pooty,
Trainin' round in bobtail coats,—
But it's curus Christian dooty
This 'ere cuttin' folks's throats."

These verses are the modern way of putting Cain's question—"Am I or is government to be responsible for a murder?" The answer has wavered backwards and forwards; sometimes it has taken the form of exacting the life of one or more of the particular tribe which committed the murder of a stranger, or, as in Ireland quite lately, of fining a district in which a murder has taken place, at others of hanging or more effectually slaying the murderer by shutting him up for life. But these few items sink into insignificance beside the gigantic killing, whether by gun or sword, or some other form of coercion, carried out by governments, and approved by the respectable classes throughout the world.

That society gives its approval to the more obvious forms of murder requires but little proof in the present state of Europe, overshadowed as it is by the storm-cloud of impending war, a war to be waged for the purposes of the interested classes—of the stockjobbers and usurers. Society puts the actors in the drama into eminent positions, treats the occupation as the only one fit for a "gentleman," and dresses up its princes in habits suited to the business. M. Emile de Laveleye is mistaken in supposing that "the residence of the Pope is the only place in the world where murder is publicly glorified" (Pall Mall Gazette, April 24, 1888). But is this the worst kind of killing even in respect of the body? It is not so bad as the "child-torture, assault, starvation, neglect, desertion, cruel exposure to excite sympathy in the streets," and so on, set forth in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, Dec. 23, 1887, and coupled with an appeal, which is supported by certain. Countesses and Honourable Ladies, people of the class whose sympathy has to be excited by the "cruel exposure in the streets." It is not so had as the sweating system nor for the matter of that as the comso bad as the sweating system, nor, for the matter of that, as the commercial system in general; the details of some bad bits of which the Committee of the House of Lords is listening to with interest. Their lordships also hear the suggested remedies, and in particular that given by the reverend vicar of Old Ford. This is very weighty, for he belongs to a body which is very prolific, perhaps even more so than the proletariat. He might compare his class with the poorest in this respect, and determine whether this curious result does not arise from the dullness of life, on the one hand from superior respectability, and on the other from extra misery. Even the commercial conscience is shocked, both at the evil and at the remedies, but it merely proposes to drive its slaves a little more slowly, as it is unpleasant to see them drop out of the ranks and die at our very feet: let them go a little easier, so that they may reach the workhouse or hospital, and get themselves out of the way there.

Reformers desire, no doubt, to amend the present condition, but they cry out against "a Socialist dreamer," or ask with a sneet when our millenium is coming, if one says that the remedies proposed are worse than the disease. I do not mind being called a visionary, since every man must be that who tries to look into the causes of things. If from the seventeenth century and from Voltaire satire has flourished, and the sneer of disbelief has marked the privileged classes, that is the best proof of the rottenness of society. That this is too far gone for mending is not more plainly shown by the coercion of violence now being carried on by the privileged classes in defence of their interests, than by the more covert coercion of the examination system at schools and universities, and of the teetotal-system which our temperance people propose for us. The latter is just as much an attempt to force the workers to accept certain tenets of the idle classes, as Balfour's bayonets are to force the Irish to submit to certain exactions. seal of bigotry is on the first, and as such it touches and degrades the mind in a way that the oppression of the body can scarcely do, until it goes so far as to bring down men to physical slavery. But the slavery of guiding one's life by other people's fancies is the worst of all.

There was a meeting on April 11, 1888, of the Central Association for stopping the sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday. The Archbishop of York (in the chair) said "the Lord's Day was sacred to bodily repose and spiritual sanctification." I don't know, nor is it a matter of much importance, whether this particular Grace employs flunkeys, cooks, horses and carriages on Sundays to get him to church and back again, or to attend when he gives his body that repose and food in the pleasant retreat at Bishopstowe, so well deserved by his morning's attempts towards the spiritual sanctification of himself and others, according to the fashion of his tribe. But we do know that he belongs to and supports the minority who live on the misery of the poor: and he called on his fellow-coercionists to complete the work of rent-coercion by compelling people to cease drinking on Sundays. The Archbishop went on: "They were in fact asserting what had been the charter of the people from the first, and no majority has the right to do anything which would compel any portion of the minority to work on Sunday." An archbishop standing up for the people's rights is a queer sight, and he does it in a queer fashion. For how about the minority who have so arranged matters as to compel the majority to work for a bare living morning, noon, and night, without regarding whether it is a Sunday or a week-day, and this, too, in a way much more like compulsion than anything that can be said of keepers of public-houses? He continued, however, and pitied the brewer's publican who could not take out a six days' licence, instead of one for seven days, without the brewer's permission—"this is a very dangerous state of things from the point of view of a lover of freedom." A lover of freedom!—it makes one's gorge rise to hear this archetype of the enslaver of men's minds talk of freedom. "What he wanted was to have publics closed altogether on Sunday, . . . and this was not a matter for County Boards, but of Imperial legislation." To be coerced by the Imperial Legislature, not even to have the very dim chance of using not sown independs are provided by the now. Bill with its County Boards. one's own judgment, promised by the new Bill with its County Boards, —this is how a representative of the education of society slays the freedom which it pretends to nurture.

Woe to that Society which sets success before it as an ideal! For it is this that has ruined the process of education, and made it into a machinery for turning out not men, but cramped and hide-bound beings fitted for business, or, as it is put, for the "battle of life." They have not imagination enough left in them to understand the co-operation of life, and the dignity of work, but fix their thoughts on that success which gives to the leisured classes a leisure resting on the waste of labour and the shoddy lives of the masses. It is impossible that these successful ones can have any sympathy with those whom they have

crushed in their ascent. Yet these are they whom the author of the phrase, "the classes and the masses," flatters with the idea that they will for ever bear rule over others. Their poverty-struck imagination shows itself in their schools and universities, which are mere idling places, to which their sons may be banished during the noisy period of boyhood and youth. If anything is taught there it is the art of making a fortune, and but little heed is given to the "religion, learning, and education" which they flourish on their sign-boards and advertisements. Their religion is exhibited in their five or ten thousand-pounder princes of the Church, and in the ineffable drivel of Convocation. Their learning?—and their education? It is sunk to the cramming of the mind with formulas; men's natural turn is killed out, and the void filled with other people's ideas. They come out of the education-mill labelled Tory, Whig, or Radical, but with no under-standing of the phrases which they have been severally taught to use, and they follow the steps of some party leader. There could be no such thing as party if there were any real education; for no one with any sense of the dignity of man could consent to oppose in public what he advocates in private. This system of lies, which it is openly declared that a party man must fall in with, is a natural result when success is put before us from our very birth as the object of life. To aim at that object one must fill the mind with cant, and to attain it must drop one after the other every reasonable principle of life. The idea dominates the whole system, from the infant-school upwards. We choose as teachers in the Board Schools those who long for success, without having the capacity for reaching it. We know that it is in the time of infancy and childhood that ideas, good or bad, get most firmly rooted in the mind. Yet we not only secure inefficiency in the teachers, but go further and make their pay depend upon a wretched success in training the children to get marks in examination. The abominable idea of competition and the ridiculous distinction of classes, in such a system, destroy the innocent socialism of childhood, and turn them into snobs before they are well in their 'teens. It is a slaughter of the innocents, worse than to take them and dash them against the stones. This is what our boasted respect for life comes to, an indifference with regard to the body, but a very mockery towards that freedom of the soul, without which true life cannot be. There are but few who escape from this slaying of the true life; it is hard to say whether it is the leisured classes who suffer more from their overcharge of the competitive-intellectual food, or the worker from his scanty allowance of it.

This is what Socialists have to put before themselves. killing of the bodies, but of the minds of men that we have to see to. The first will inevitably produce its natural fruit in a revolution. But till the mind is educated, we should not recognise freedom if it came to us. I take it that our real business is to turn all our energies to educating men for freedom, to the nurture of an ideal which shall enable them to see and know what freedom is. Let the leisured classes go on their way; as a class they are of no concern to us. They may garrison their institutions by bribing small numbers to their side by allotments or peasant farms; or by the coercionist palliatives which they adopt, they may perhaps defer the struggle for a few years. Do Socialists wish for this putting off? or if they do desire it, is it not that the time will be all too short, even with their utmost efforts, for the necessary work of education? C. J. F.

#### THE LEEDS JEWISH TAILORS' STRIKE.

AFTER a spirited battle of about a fortnight's duration, the strike amongst the Jewish tailors has collapsed. Some three years ago, when the men struck for a reduction in the hours of labour, the expiration of a week saw them successful. At the present time the hours worked are from 62 to 72 per week; and the wages vary from 2s. 6d., 3s., 3s. 6d., 4s., 5s., up to (in a few instances) 7s. per day. The average number of days worked per week during twelve months, will be about 3, or at the outside 31, so that the best paid workmen, taking brisk and slack times together, does not earn more than about 24s. weekly. Against these conditions the men struck. Their demands were a week of no more than 58 hours for tailor's pressers and machinists, overtime to be paid at the rate of time and a-half, and "society shops. A circular was addressed to the employers, some 65 in number, asking them to meet a deputation of the men. One only put in an appearance. Nothing remained but to call out the men, which was done, and about 1,200 of them struck. Altogether about 3,500 men and girls were rendered idle. The employers, trusting to the docility and lack of organisation amongst the hands, were furious, especially as they saw a forecast of the entire Whitsuntide trade being lost to them. What was more, public opinion from the very first has been with the men, and the masters to prevent this resorted to the most barefaced They circulated through the press that the objects the men had in view would put a stop to the employment of English girls. The average wages, according to them, were from 6s. to 7s. per day; and the time worked  $5\frac{1}{2}$  days per week. At a meeting of the English girls employed in the Jewish workshops, a resolution was passed denying the statement of the employers and expressing sympathy with the men; and in answer to the statement respecting the wages paid, it was declared at a meeting of about 6,000 people convened opposite the Town Hall, that 1,000 of the strikers were willing to sign an agreement for two years to accept a standing salary of 22s, per week. The employers have been discredited right and left, and had it not been for the conduct of a handful of scabs occasionally going in, and

thereby raising hopes that the men were giving way, I believe the strike would have ended favourably to the strikers. Nothing more mean than the tactics of the employers could be imagined. They frightened the grocers into refusing any goods on credit to the families of those on strike, but the difficulty was overcome by giving securities to a couple of shopkeepers for goods to the extent of about £20. Another of their mean dodges was to go to the infirmary and dispensary-both public institutions-and influence them to refuse assistance to the strikers. But though the men have lost this battle, they have doomed the existence of the middleman. Deputations of the workmen waited upon the large warehouses—from whence the sweaters obtain their work—and opened their eyes to the amount of bribery and corruption which exists betwixt the sweaters and the functionaries who have the letting out of the work. At several of the warehouses a wish was expressed to dispense with the middlemen altogether, and bring the workmen inside.

Of funds there was little or nothing to fall back upon. In this lay the great mistake, and although several small sums of money were collected from private persons and from meetings held to express sympathy with the men, they were inadequate to keep the strike going. As it is the men will have a harder life than ever after this strike, and many have expressed a determination to leave the town. Comrade Kemmelhor, chairman of the Associated Societies—the head and front of the strike—and others who took an active part in the strike, will be surely boycotted from the trade in Leeds. To meet this evil they intend opening a workshop on co-operative principles, and expect to commence within a week.

Our branch has, from the commencement, taken up the strike vigorously. In addition to Kemmelhor, who worked night and day while the strike was on, Maguire and myself will have addressed no less than 15 meetings. Several of the most active men amongst them. are members of our branch, and we expect another accession now that: the strike is over. T. W. P.

#### CHANTS OF LABOUR.1

Such a book as this has been long desired and looked for; now that it has been prepared and published it should be given the heartiest welcome and no effort should be spared to make it a success. Valuable as a propagandising influence, helpful to while away profitably a spare minute (if a true Socialist has ever such!), the songs of labour have hitherto been practically inaccessible. One knew this and another that, this had been published and that not, and so on; but now, although there are some that will be missed, the selected 55 are fairly comprehensive, and will afford something for every taste. The book, too, is produced at such a low figure that one marvels "how it was done"; 100 closely-printed pages of clear music and small type for a shilling is bargain enough to appeal even to a commercial mind. Thirty-four writers have been chosen from, and for the most part the Inity-four writers have been chosen from, and for the most part the selections are happy. The only ones to quarrel with are the three Irish songs. The version of the "Wearing of the Green" given is by no means the best. If two of Sullivan's were needed, why not give "God Save Ireland" and "From the Backwoods"?

On fitting tunes to the songs, however, it is that there is most room given for fault-finding. Ernest Jones's "Song of the 'Lower Classes is torn away from its own air, the one written for it, and to which it was published, and quite unnecessarily given another, hitherto unconnected with it. Most's "Hymn of the Proletariate" is unjustifiably divorced from "Zu Mantua in Banden" ("Andreas Hofer"), to which it has always been sung, and violently wedded to the uncongenial and impossible "British Grenadiers"! "The Voice of Toil" may be sung to "Ye Banks and Braes," but is assuredly not suited to it. Why is Bax's setting of "All for the Cause" put aside for a nondescript "English air" which is not a tithe so appropriate? Josef Scheu's really impressive setting of his brother's fine song is given, but being apparently thought insufficient, the song is repeated with a very commonplace air by another writer, thus taking up room to no purpose that might have been filled by another song. But the worst feature of the book is formed by two feeble travesties of church anthems, made out of some words of Walt Whitman's, about the poetry of which there may be doubt, but about the applicability of which to their present purpose there can be none.

Omissions there are many, as of course there must necessarily be. It is to be hoped that the venture will not only succeed enough to warrant another edition, in which the few faults of the present may be remedied, but that a second volume also will soon be found necessary, in which room can be found for another half-hundred favourites.

A prominent member of the Government was recently hanged in effigy\* and the ordinary citizen is going around saying "History may well ask: Why in effigy?"

Do you say that the highest aim ought not to be merely the production of wealth cheaply, but the happiness and the elevation of mankind? Surely you haven't studied political economy or you would not entertain such unscholarly ideas. What, you insist! You say that men are more important than bales of merchandise; and the souls of men of greater value than hoarded dollars. Ah, it is to be feared that you are tainted with socialism, or agrarianism or "some other ism of violence and blood." The police must see to you you must be suppressed—Canadian Labor Reformer. see to you, you must be suppressed.—Canadian Labor Reformer.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 'Chants of Labour,' with Music. Edited by Edward Carpenter. With front and title by Walter Crane. Swan Sonnenschein, 1s.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

The outlook for Bury (Lancashire) is very depressing. Six out of about fifty mills are now closed, besides three large foundries, and the railway company, have also removed their works.

The weolien-trade is very bad in Littleborough. It is stated that a number of werkplaces are about to be closed for a considerable time:

The miners employed in the No. 1 pit of the Hermand Oil Company, West Calder, have struck work until a definite answer has been obtained from the manager in reference to their check-weighman.

The riveters employed in the shipbuilding yard of Messrs. Scott & Co., Greenock, are on strike for an advance of 1s. per 100 rivets. The riveters in Messrs. Caird & Co.'s yard, who came out about a month ago, remain out.

OLDHAM.—A general meeting of the Oldham Master Cotton-spinners' Association, held on Thursday night, decided to concede an advance of wages to the operatives. This declaration affects about 30,000 workpeople.

The strike at Palmer's ship-building yard at Jarrow, still continues. During the week over 120 labourers have been imported from Sheffield to take the place of the platers' helpers. On arriving at the yard, a number of the "strangers" refused to work, alleging that they had been misled.

BLACKBURN.—Notices have been given by the loomers and drapers at fifty Blackburn cotton mills to cease work, as the masters have refused to adopt the uniform list of wages proposed by the men. This will seriously affect the weaving and spinning branches of the cotton trade.

A MEAN ADVANTAGE.—The weavers at Gannon (Burnley) resumed work last Thursday after a nine day's strike, the employers insisting on stopping each weaver 2s. per loom for power, and deducted it from the wages earned before the strike, amounting altogether to £106, there being 1,060 looms. As may be supposed considerable dissatisfaction exists, and it is very doubtful if the firm will be any gainers in the long run.

"A LESSON FROM THE ENEMY."—From the division list of the voting on the occasion when the second reading of the Steam Engine and Boilers Bill was defeated in the House of Commons, it will be seen that the "Noes" contain Whigs, Radicals, and Tories, and shows how all shades of politicians can combine to protect their interests when their position as capitalists is assailed. What a lesson is there not here for working-men—railwaymen in particular!—Railway Review.

COLNE.—Another Strike at Garden Vale Mills.—A batch of about 19 weavers who have been working at this place since the strike, which began about six months ago, have come out on strike and another batch have given in their notices. Not one of the original strike hands have yet returned to work. The twenty-fifth report of the strike committee shows an income of £80 3s. 10d. The expenditure includes 2s. per loom for 584 looms, and sundry payments to winders, twisters, tenters, and a small sum for children.

EMPLOYING MARINES AS DOCKYARD LABOURERS.—The Western Davily Mercury announces that the dockyard authorities at Devonport have within the past few days been instructed to draw 100 men from the local division marines in order to execute labourers' work in Keyham yard in consequence of the dearth of employés due to the late reductions. Of these fifty had to be obtained from Chatham, and the local division is now so weak that little more than a score of men are available for ordinary duty. It is, moreover, asserted that the marines in question are not effective. Great discontent prevails amongst the marines and in the dockyards.

A RENEGADE'S PORTRAIT.—The Amalgamated Hosiery Union of Leicester are using the photographic art in a manner at once amusing and effective, for the purpose of "showing up" a former member who has lately turned renegade. In a firm where a dispute is still unsettled, this man has gone in as a knobstick foreman, and is trying to induce other men to follow his example. Some of the members happen to have had a portrait of this man, taken when he was once picketing a shop for the Union. At the time he was taken he had a clay pipe in his mouth, and the Association have had his photograph repropued, clay pipe and all, and have pasted a copy in each of their monthly reports. The gentleman in question is likely, therefore, to become tolerably well known, in a sense not conducive to his comfort nor popularity.

A TYPICAL EXAMPLE.—Boys' and girls' boots at 6d. a pair! Such is the statement made, not before the Sweating Committee, but at the meeting of the City Board of Guardians. The chairman admitted it was true that boys' and girls' boots were supplied by contract to the Central District Schools at Hanwell at 6d. a pair, that they cost 1s. 6d. to repair, and that new boots had now been ordered instead of repairing old ones. What must be the wages of the workpeople employed in making these articles? A mystery of the contract system, Mr. Lyon said, in explanation of the low price. Mr. Lindsey's description of it as a scandal was more to the point. Unless the contractor is recouping himself by overcharging upon other parts of his contract, there must be a good deal of pain and poverty connected with the turning out of boots at 6d. a pair. The Sweating Committee should probe this case to the bottom.—Pall Mall Gazette.

this case to the bottom.—Pall Mall Gazette.

"Big Rocues and Little Ones."—A Midland porter has been sentenced to three months' imprisonment, with hard labour, by the Luton magistrates, for appropriating excess fares paid by passengers to the amount of 9s. 4d. He had been in the service of the company since 1877, and had a wife and eight children. His wages were 17s. a-week, and it is said he had hitherto borne a good character. We by no means wish it to be thought that we could encourage the retention of excess fares by any company's servant, nor can we defend the action of the unfortunate porter in this case; but we cannot pass over the fact of the man having only 17s. per week upon which to maintain a wife and eight children. The company could surely never expect that this man could fulfil his obligations to his family out of the bare pittance allowed him for wages; and they might have been sure that the temptation of augmenting his income out of excess fare money would be difficult for him to resist. To offer a man such a wage is a disgrace to so wealthy a company, while tooxpeet him to be honest with it was hardly consistent.—Railway. Review.

THREATENED STRIKE IN THE NUT AND BOLT TRADE.—Thursday night a meeting of the Council of the Midland Counties Trades Federation was held at the Castle Hotel, Castle Street, Dudley; Mr. John Taylor presiding. Mr. Juggins, the secretary, said the efforts of the spike-nail makers had been successful so far as they had gone. The masters met the men in a

friendly spirit; and there was a general belief that matters required amending. The only question was as to the amount of the advance. A list had been submitted, but it was rejected on the ground that some of the items were an advance of 50 per cent. It was, however, agreed that the highest prices and the lowest prices should be put together, divided, and then 25 per cent. added. That was an agreeable advance, but it was likely to be still further improved. He (Mr. Juggins) trusted the men would remember the manner in which the masters had treated them, and do their best to see that there was no running in and asking for work at less-prices. In reply to the chairman, the secretary said the other subjects connected with the spike trade had not been broached, for the wages question lasted two hours. The question of female labour would have to be soon discussed, for it was sweating in another direction. The next business was the threatened strike in the nut and bolt trade. Mr. Juggins said the men had done all they could, and had asked for a meeting with the employers on three occasions; but they had been treated with contempt. When the masters refused to meet the men they had a bad case. Nearly all the masters in Darlaston had broken the list, whilst in other places there was a disposition to pay the list, and more, if there was unity in the matter. But such masters could not go on selling nuts and bolts whilst paying more for wages than the others. Consequently nothing less could be done than to issue a general notice to all masters to raise the standard of wages, and the men would come out on Saturday. Some of the masters were pursuing strange tactics, and were stating that the men were never to come back. They were also trying to adopt a system of deduction by which a man would have to receive about 12s. when he had earned £1. In reply to a question, Mr. Juggins said the men paid 1s. 6d. for blast and 4d. for the placing of the breezes on the hearth, a matter which he believed would come under the provisions o

Metropolitan Pauperism.—The weekly return of metropolitan pauperism shows that the total number of paupers relieved in the first week of the current month was 99,712, of whom 57,466 were indoor and 42,246 outdoor paupers. The total number relieved shows an increase of 5,725 over the corresponding week of last year, 8,213 over 1886, and 11,863 over 1885. The total number of vagrants relieved on the last day of the week was 1,068, of whom 842 were men, 199 women, and 27 children under sixteen.

As Elsewhere.—The Dutch workman illustrates the old law of labour familiar to students of factory life—that long hours lead to comparatively less production. He works twelve, thirteen, and fourteen hours for wages from 2d, to 3d, an hour, reaching to 6d, and 8d, for skilled painters and engravers, and he does not turn out as much as an English workman would do in half the time. A poor diet and little sleep lead to a low state of nervous energy, whilst in the factories night and day shifts of workmen prevent effective ventilation. The Royal Commission, which has been recently investigating the facts, has presented a terrible picture of toil and competition, of evaded laws for the protection of children, and of popular ignorance. Legislation is imperative, and the Dutch Government is copying, in some respects, our own factory laws. Labour questions are just now attracting immense attention everywhere, and there is a weird similarity about many of the revelations that suggests a social cataclysm in the near future.—Pall Mall Guzette.

The Labour Party.—Labour is not the peculiar function of a particular class. All men able to do so are presumed to labour. Nature imposes this as a necessity upon every person, and punishes for disobedience to her decree. He who is able and does not labour is not worthy of consideration one way or the other. No able man can be honest and an idler at the same time. He owes it to himself as well as to humanity to exercise and utilize the faculties which he possesses to the fullest extent. Such being the fact and labour nature's universal demand upon normal humanity—not only a necessity but a duty—there is no sense in referring to labour as including only a class. It embraces all of humanity worthy of the name. What is needed in the country to-day is a party having the protection and elevation of humanity as its primal aim. A party that will place the protection of labour as more important than the protection of what labour has created—or capital. In its creed the creator and not the created should be the first consideration. We know that the old existing parties are not actuated by this spirit but the reverse. Their own and ablest men admit this, that money rules and manhood is enslaved; that capital has been favoured by special legislation and labour wronged and robbed by the same process; that property has been petted and privileged while humanity has been left to sink into serfdom and degradation. Every honest, earnest effort to reverse those conditions should be commended and encouraged.—South West.

The Equilor in China.—A report containing some curious facts about Chinese trade guilds has been got up by the American Minister to China. He says that in every city in China there are guilds controlling arbitrarily every branch of business. Boycotting is carried out in the most thorough manner. In the great cities there are numerous trade unions who regulate hours of labour, strikes, and prices on the most approved American plan. These guilds have existed time out of mind. In most cities each province has its own guild. The guild protects its members against sectional prejudice, prevents litigation, and performs the usual functions of a chamber of commerce. Trade unions are very numerous, and some of them are very wealthy. There are unions for blacksmiths, carpenters, wire-drawers, silk-weavers, millers, postal companies, and barbers. Provincial compatriot guilds have two main objects in view—protection against sectional prejudice, and for the prevention of litigation among its members. These guilds are local affairs, and their membership seldom exceeds 30. Funds for their support are raised by self-imposed tax on commodities sold by the members. The books of each establishment or house are examined every month, the examination being made by the clerks of the firms in rotation. Punishment is provided for against any false rendering of amount of sales. The penalty is expulsion and the withholding of all intercourse with the offending member for ever after, and "any member discovered to have dealings with either from sympathy or friendship shall pay a fine of 100 taels." Each guild provldes its own weights and measures, as there is no common standard. A Chicago speculator would not know how to do business in China. Fictitious buying and selling being illegal, Chinese legislation provides against every species of monopoly.

#### THE LIVING TO THE DEAD.

(Words to Luther's Air, "Now thank we all our God.")

O dumb forgotten ones O dumb forgotten ones,
O brave, amsung in story,
In us, your sons of sons,
Behold your joy and glory.
Say, was your toll for naught,
Or lost your patient lore,
Whereby to us was brought
The torch of Hope ye bore?

No Golden Age ye knew ; For this our mothers bore us. Tor this our mothers bore us,
That fairer world to woo,
The world that is before us.
Your spirits none the less
• Are with our conquering band;
Yea, side by side we press
To gain yon promised land. No lords doth Labour need, Our thought no priestcraft smothers; One all-embracing creed We boast, that men are brothers. We boast, that men are be.
Whereso, afar or near,
Our glad new gospel flies,
See bondage disappear,
See Fellowship arise.

Wherever one may roam,
When Wealth gives way to Labour,
No land but shall be home,
No man but shall be neighbour;
And Fear shall melt in Mirth,
And Mirth such charm shall strow,
That our poor loveless earth
True Paradise shall grow.
C. W. BECKETT.

#### LONDON'S INDUSTRIAL MARTYRS.

MR. CHARLES BOOTH read his second paper on "The Condition and Occupation of the People of East London and Hackney, 1887," at the Statistical Society's meeting on the 15th, and gave some most interesting statistics. For the past three years Mr. Booth has employed himself in compiling, with the aid of the 66 School Board visitors, the district registrars, and other authorities, a complete census of East Lordon, setting forth the condition of life of the one million people who live west of the City and the Kingsland life of the one million people who live west of the City and the Kingsland Road, and north of the Thames. His conclusions were extremely startling. He stated that his lowest class, the predatory and idle vagabonds who loom so large in the eyes of respectably middle-class society, comprise less than 1½ per cent. of the population. In East London there were 11,000 loafers and semi-criminals. Passing from these, his next class was that of the "very poor," people in receipt of casual wages, amounting to "considerably below" 18s. to 21s. per week. This class, "who live in a state of chronic want," number no less than 11½ per cent. of the population. There are no fewer than 100,000 of these "very poor" (one quarter being adult men), whose means are insufficient for any decent life, in East London.

The "poor," with intermittent earnings of 18s. to 21s. weekly, number

means are insufficient for any deeent life, in East London.

The "poor," with intermittent earnings of 18s. to 21s. weekly, number 75,000; those with the same incomes more regularly earned comprises 128,000. These two classes, barely able with constant struggle to make both ends meet, make up nearly a quarter of the whole population.

The two next classes, the regularly employed wage-earners (377,000) and the "aristocrats of labour" (121,000), make up together 55 per cent. In all East London there are only 80,000 middle-class, or less than 10 per cent, even including all the small shopkeepers, clerks, etc. Nine out of every ten of the population are in receipt of weekly wages for manual labour. Out of every nine, one is chronically destitute, ill-fed and ill-clad, and two just manage to struggle along. In addition there are the paupers, criminals, invalids, and idiots. Truly a fine result of our industrial civilisation!

Of the "very poor," Mr. Booth gave as the immediate causes of their destitution:—Drink, 14 per cent. only; sickness, large families, and infirmity, 27 per cent; irregularity and want of employment, 55 per cent.; "loafers," 4 per cent.

Mr. Booth then passed to the whole of London, and from the data collected estimated that its 4,000,000 people include—

lected estimated that its 4,000,000 people include-

"Loafers," etc	• • •	• • •	• • •	• • •	50,000
"Very poor" (in chronic war	ıt)				300,000
(Turamilan comings	•••			• • •	250,000
Poor Regular, but low pay	•••	•••	•••	•••	400,000
Regular standard earnings, and all above that					1,000,000 3,000,000
					4.000.000

In conclusion, Mr. Booth pointed out how the 300,000 chronically destitute "very poor" pressed constantly on the heels of the struggling poor above them, and made harder their fierce fight for life.

A discussion followed of the kind usual in such places; later marriages,

technical education, and a removal of the coal dues were most in favour among the "remedies" suggested.

Neither days nor lives can be made holy by doing nothing in them. The best prayer at the beginning of a day is, that we may not lose its moments; and the best grace before meat is the conscionsness that we have earned our dinner.—

John Ruskin.

The proletariat, in the last analysis, is the only one who really stands between the worker and his natural right to the land, and the just remuneration of his toil, because the ultimate resort is to physical force. When "bayonets think," and the soldier fraternises with the people, then comes the end of monarchy and of all arbitrary power. When the troops, ordered out at the behests of the corporation kings, refuse to fire upon their own class, disputes between employer and employed will be submitted to rational arbitration. And when working men refuse to waste their force in voting the kept solicitors of capital into places of power and profit, there will be more attention paid to their rights by those who seek office.—J. K. Ingalls.

who seek office.—J. K. Ingalls.

Take care that in every town the little roofs are built before the large ones, and that everyone who wants one has got one. And we must try also to make every-body want one. That is to say, at some not very advanced period of life, men should desire to have a home which they do not wish to quit any more, suited to their habits of life, and likely to be more and more suitable to them until their death. And men must desire to have these their dwelling places built as strongly as possible, and furnished and decorated daintily, and set in pleasant places, in bright light and good air, being able to choose for themselves that at least as well as swallows. And when the houses are grouped together in cities, men must have so much civic fellowship as to subject their architecture to a common law, and so much civic pride as to desire that the whole gathered group of human dwellings should be a lovely thing, not a frightful one, on the face of the earth.—Ruskin.

20 2 To 60 No. 80

#### REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING JUNE 2, 1888.

1	1	
27	Sun.	1793. Trial of John Frost for seditious words. 1797. Babeuf killed himself. 1860. Palermo taken by Garibaldi.
28	'Mon.	1807. Agassiz born. 1871. Fall of the Paris Commune.
29	Tues.	1630. Trial for publishing "A Proposition for His Majesty's Service to bridle the impertinence of Parliaments." 1660. English Monarchy restored.
30	Wed.	1778. Voltaire died. 1844. O'Conneil and others sentenced for political conspiracy. 1884. Dynamite explosion at Scotland Yard, etc. 1887. Co-operative Congress at Carlisle.
31	Thur.	1882. Strike of iron and steel workers in United States.
1	Fri.	1821. J. T. Wooler sentenced to 15 months' imprisonment.
2	Sat.	1777. Trial of John Almon for selling Junius' "Letter to the King." 1780. "No Popery" Riots. 1817. Trial of Andrew McKinley for administering unlawful oaths. 1831. Labour Riots at Merthyr, red flag carried. 1878. Nobiling's attempt on the Emperor William. 1882. Garibaldi died.

Trial of John Frost.—On November 6, 1792, John Frost, an attorney, "being a person of a depraved, impious, and disquiet mind, and of a selftious disposition," did, at the Percy Coffee-house in Marylebone, say publicly that he saw no reason why any man should not be on a footing with another, and he was for equality. On May 27, 1793, he was tried, and as he was a well-known reformer, having been associated with Horne Tooke, and Wilkes, and others, his fate was fore-ordered, and in spite of Erskine's eloquence he was found grilty. On the 19th of June he attended to receive judgment, and was sentenced to simonth's imprisonment, during that time to be pilloried at Charing Cross for an hour daily, and afterward to give five years bonds of good behaviour. He was also struck off the roll. On December 19th, between 11 and 12, he was released from Newgate and placed in a coach, rolled in blankets and apparently very feeble. After entering in recognisances at the house of Mr. Justice Grose in Bloomsbury Square, he was discharged from custody. As soon as he was at liberty the people took the horses out of the carriage, and drew him home to Spring Gardens, stopping at St. James's Palace and such places to cheer vociferously. On December, 1813, he received a "free pardon" from the Prince Regent, but was not replaced on the rolls.—S.

Trial of Andrew McKinley.—December 20, 1816, some people met at the house

but was not replaced on the rolls.—S.

Trial of Andrew McKinley.—December 20, 1816, some people met at the house of a weaver in Abercromby Street, Glasgow, and there the defendant was said to have administered the following "unlawful oath": "In awful presence of God, I, A. B., do voluntarily swear that I will persevere in my endeavouring to form a brotherhood of affection amongst Britons of every description, who are considered worthy of confidence; and that I will persevere in my endeavours to obtain for all the people in Great Britain and Ireland, not disqualified by crimes or insanity, the elective franchise, at the age of 21, with free and equal representation, and annual Parliaments; and that I will support the same to the utmost of my power, either by moral or physical strength, as the case may require. And I do further swear, that neither hopes, fears, rewards, or punishments, shall induce up to inform on, or give evidence against, any member or members, collectively or individually, for any act or expression done or made, in or out, in this or similar societies, under the punishment of death, to be inflicted on me by any member or members of such societies. So help me God and keep me steadfast." He was brought up for trial in the High Court of Justiciary in Edinburgh, on June 2 and other days; on July 19 the charge was declared "Not Proven," and the prisoner dismissed.—S.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

Offices: 13 Farrington Road, E.C.

Library.—The Library is open to members of the Socialist League and affiliated bodies.

LIBRARY CATALOGUE, containing the Rules, 2d.

D. J. NICOLL and W. BLUNDELL are the Librarians.

Annual Conference.—On Sunday last the Annual Conference was held, delegates attending from the Glasgow, Edinburgh, Norwich, Ipswich, Walsall, Leicester, Oxford, Bradford, Mitcham, Merton, Acton, Fulham, Hammersmith, Marylebone, Bloomsbury, Hoxton (L.E.L.), North Lenden, Stamford Hill, Mileend, Hackney, and Clerkenwell branches and affiliated bodies of the S.L. Fuller details will be given next week.

**East-end Propaganda Fund.**—Princes Square (donation), 10s. Collected at Princes Square, May 22, 3s.  $7\frac{1}{2}$ d.—JCSEPH LANE, Treasurer.

#### "COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

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

#### REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY .- A very successful concert was held here last Thursday in aid objectives of the monopole of

Commonweal.—H. M.

ABERDEEN.—Open-air propaganda for the season commenced on May 19.

Aiken as chairman made vigorous opening speech. Leatham thereafter leverage to large crowd on "Socialism the only Hope for the Workers," speaking for over an hour, and dealing with all the suggested "remedies" of Malthusianism, Teetotalism, Republicanism, Protection, and Co-operation. No opposition, but attempt made by religious body to drive the meeting off the ground. Good sale of literature.—J. L.

GLASGOW.—At 10.30 on Sunday morning, Pollock and Downie held a very successful meeting on Jail Square. Many people evidently on their way to church, remained at our meeting and heard the principles of Socialism explained. At 5 o'clock our usual meeting was held at Paisley Road Toll by Gilbert, Pollock, McCulloch, and Downie; and at 7 o'clock our conrades went to hold another meeting in Infirmary Square, but as several evangelical meetings were going on they retired to the rooms for business meeting.—S. D.

Leeden and the proposed co-operative workshop amongst the Jewish tailors.—P.

Norwich.—A well attended meeting was held on St. Catharine's Plain last Friday night by C. W. Mowbray and Poynts. Successful meetings were held at Catton and Market Place on Sunday, addressed by Turner, Poynts, Morley, Browne, and Swash. Fair collection for propaganda fund, and average number of Commonweal sold.—E. B.

WALSALL.—On Monday at indoor meeting, Sanders lectured to a fair audience on "The A B C of Socialism." Tarn (Birmingham) addressed a good openair meeting on The Bridge on Saturday evening. Sunday morning, Guillemard and Deakin spoke to large audience on the West Bromwich Road, a favourite spot for the gathering of workers on Sundays, and our speakers have on each visit met with a hearty reception. Good sale of pamphlets. Deakin also lectured on Saturday to the Young Men's Improvement Society, Bilston; subject, "Has Machinery Benefited the Working Classes?" Good and useful discussion at close.—J. T. D.

JUNIOR SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY.—The discussion on "Authority" will be opened by Lefevre at 14, Kempsford Gardens, West Brompton, on Saturday, May 26, at 8 o'clock.—A. F.

L.E.L. CLUB AND INSTITUE.—On Saturday last a Concert on behalf of the above took place here. The facilities afforded by this institution for gatherings of this character being somewhat meagre, some difficulty was experienced in finding accommodation for the numbers which attended, the place being crowded to excess throughout the evening. The success which has up till now attended us here augurs well for the future. Classes for instruction in French, Political Economy, Logic, Physiology, Shorthand, etc., are about to be established.—H. A. B.

### LECTURE DIARY.

#### LONDON.

LONDON.

Acton,—17 High Street, Acton, W. (adjoining Purnell's Dining Rooms). Sundays at 8 p.m.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road. Thursday May 24, at 8.30, Business Meeting. 31st. G. B. Shaw, a lecture. June 7. Dr. E. B. Aveling, "Evolution and Social—sam."

\*\*Olerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farring-don Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7.

Fulham. -8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Hackney.—28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Road, Hackney Wick.

Hammersmith.—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Hexton.—Labour Emancipation League Club and Institute, 1 Hoxton Square (near Shoreditch Ch.). Sunday May 27, at 8 p.m., a Lecture.

Merton.—Club-house, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. Mitcham.—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place.
Club Room open Saturday, Sunday, and Monday
evenings from 7.30 till 11. W. E. Eden, 12 Palmerston Road, Wimbledon, Secretary.

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

at 9 p.m. Debating Class for members after meeting.

North Lowdon.—The business meetings will be held on
Friday evenings at the Autonomic Club, Windmill
Street, Tottenham Court Road, after the open-air
meeting at Ossulton Street. All members are asked
wto attend at Ossulton Street at 8 o'clock. Secretary,
Nelly Parker, 109 Cavendish Buildings, opposite
Holborn Town Hall.

#### PROVINCES.

Aberdeen (Scottish Section).—On Saturday May 26, at 8 p.m., Leatham will lecture at Castle Street on "Socialism: What it is, and what it is not."

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

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

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

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Discussion every Thursday at S.
 Galashiels (Scot Sect).—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., sec.

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

\*\*Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily.

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

Leccester.—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8.

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

Morwich.—Gordon Hall. Tuesday at 8.30, Members meeting. Wednesday at 8.30, Ways and Means and Literary Committees. Thurday, open from 8 until 10.30 p.m. Saturday, Co-operative Clothing Association, 8 until 10.30. No lectures will be held in Gordon Hall on Sunday evenings during summer months. Sunday May 27th, at 11 a.m., a meeting will be held at Wymondham, addressed by comrades Adams and Sutt. Adams and Sutton.

Nottingham.—Club and Reading Rooms, 1 Tokenhouse Yard, Bridlesmith Gate, open every evening. Lec-tures and Discussions every Sunday.

Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.
Walsall.—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall.

Mondays at 8 p.m.

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

#### OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON-Sunday 27.

Friday.
...Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street...N. London Bch.

#### PROVINCES.

-Sunday: Jail's Square at 10.30; Paisley

Noad at 5.

Leeds.—Sunday: Vicar's Croft, at 11 a.m.

Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place at 3 and 7.45.

West Bromwich.—Near the Fountain, every Sunday morning at 11.15.

Smethwick.—Near Spon Lane, every Sunday morning at 12.

#### • EAST-END] [PROPAGANDA.

Sunday.—Leman Street, Shadwell, at 11. Mileend Waste, at 11. "Salmon and Ball," Cambridge
Road, at 11.30. Gibraltar Walk, Bethnal Green Rd.,
at 11. Wheler Street, Bethnal Green Road, at 12.
Well Street, Wick Road, Hackney, at 11.45. Kingsland Green, at 11.30. Victoria Park, at 3. Lea
Bridge Road, at 3. Stone Bridge Common, Haggerston, at 3. Triangle, Hackney Road, at 3. Stamford
Hill, at 7.30. Broadway, Plaistow, at 7.30.

Monday.—Near Row Church, at 8. "Weavers'

Monday.—Near Bow Church, at 8. Arms," Stoke Newington, at 8.30.

Tuesday.—Mile-end Waste, at 8.30. Shackland ane, Kingsland, at 8.30. Southgate Grove, Southgate Road, at 8.30.

Wednezday.—Broadway, London Fields, at 8.30. Broadway, South Hackney, at 8.30. Charlotte Street, Gt. Eastern Street, at 8.30.

Thursday,—Philpot Street, Commercial Read, at 8.30. Clapton Pond, Clapton Road, at 8.30. Packington Street, Essex Road, at 8.30.

Friday.—Tottenham Road, Kingsland Read, at 8.30. Union Street, Commercial Road, at 8.30.

Saturday.—Ashreve, Commercial Rd., at 8. Mile-end Waste, at 8.

Help from all speakers who can spare the time on any of these evenings, and also help in donations for spreading literature, etc., is earnestly requested. Ad-dress, 38 Ainsley Street.

UNITED RADICAL CLUB, Kay Street, Hackney Road.

—On Sunday May 27, at 8.30, H. A. Barker will deliver the concluding lecture of the course—subject, "Socialism."

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