



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

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

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

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

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

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday June 27.

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

THOUGHTS ON EDUCATION UNDER CAPITALISM.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

WILLIAM MORRIS.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING JULY 7, 1888.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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