

THE COMMONWEALTH

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

PARLIAMENT has met once more, and to all appearance the coming session will be as hopelessly barren of any performance as the most sturdy Tory or the most constitutional Whig could desire. The overwhelming majority in favour of "resolute government" is still there, of course, and is not likely to be altered by the results of the bye-elections. But that is not all: the minority, if it had any cohesion or sincerity, might doubtless "keep the dull times off" their enemies in one way or other; but here is the rub, that they are *not* their enemies. By far the greater part of them are only awaiting a decent opportunity to declare themselves against the one measure before Parliament which tends towards the popular side, and which the chapter of accidents has forced them to put forward as a party test—Home Rule, to wit.

That is the reason why the leaders have passed the word to fight soft; but after all it is a futile expedient, now that the subject has had every word said about it that can be said. What will happen? Much what happened when Mr. Gladstone brought in his Home Rule Bill. He will come into office again sooner or later, and will be obliged to put forward his Home Rule measure, no doubt as strenuously as he knows how, since the rest of his life is pledged to carrying the matter through. Well, then up will jump a new section of the Great Liberal Party, men who are all Home Rulers now, and will cry out, "Oh, but we didn't mean this by Home Rule; this is disintegration of the empire, Socialism, Communism, and the devil knows what!" And they will turn Liberal Unionists, or whatever the name may then be for newly-declared reactionists, and the G. O. M. will be on his back in the road once more as a result of "strictly constitutional" opposition—otherwise fighting soft.

What is the alternative? Why, fighting hard. Mr. Gladstone is, without knowing it, engaged in rebellion—that is the plain truth; and his chance of success lies in his rallying to him all the elements of discontent and revolution throughout the country. These are growing on the one hand, just as the reactionary elements, the instincts towards absolutism, are growing on the other, and between them they make Mr. Gladstone's constitutional position an impossible one.

What could he do this session? It may be said. Well, two courses were open to the minority if they had (as they have not) any heart in them. In any case they could have said, How can this be a parliament when its very members are lying in gaol and are liable to be arrested on the threshold of the House for asserting their elementary rights as citizens? We do not acknowledge the authority of such a parliament. Then they might have proceeded to systematic obstruction, and prevented any business being done as long as the executive upheld its present tyranny.

Or, which would have been better, they might, after making an emphatic protest, have all marched out of the House in a body, leaving behind as traitors any of their party who had a mind to stop, never to return till coercion (in England as in Ireland) was at end, and invited the majority to make any new little laws they chose; they in the meantime meeting as a committee of freedom and giving advice and help to their constituencies.

Both these courses are, it seems, impossible, the first no less so than the last. Therefore the parliamentary opposition is worthless. Nay worse, it is actively harmful, because it prevents people from stirring who might otherwise be driven to do so; since they depend on the action of their precious "representatives."

One disappointment there has been already for those who were sanguine enough to hope for even a good wrangle in Parliament over Trafalgar Square. In spite of the brave words of Messrs. Russell, Pickersgill, Stuart and Bradlaugh, it has gone down the wind. For I suppose few can be found so—well, green—as to imagine that the appointment by the Government of a day when a substantive motion on the subject can be put, means anything else than the *shoff*.

After all something may come of all this; because though we are used to this miserable shuffling and thrusting aside of the people's needs and aspirations at the hands of all parties in Parliament, we are not so used to the assertion of the power (and therefore the right) of the Executive to treat us all like puppets, and our "constitutional

safeguards" as pretty pictures. In order to understand what real freedom is it was necessary for us to learn what middle-class democracy means by freedom, and to feel the full weight of the tyranny of a parliamentary majority, and to learn by bitter experience that it may be as tyrannous as the rule of any despotism of the earlier days. We are likely to grow wise in this knowledge before the end of this year.

Mr. Shaw-Lefevre has held *his* meeting without interference: can it be really true that this is because he is an ex-Cabinet Minister? One scarcely likes to accuse even Mr. Balfour of such mingled shabbiness and stupidity.

Bismark's new Socialist-Coercion Bill has missed fire, and our friends in Germany are not to be subjected to any more stringent repression than they are used to,—which is stringent enough in all conscience. There can be no question but that Singer's and Bebel's speeches in the Reichstag, mentioned in our columns last week, and their showing up of the interior working of Bismark's police, have been in the main the cause of what under the circumstances is a Socialist victory.

The Bermondsey Board of Guardians have been making a good thing out of the "relief" of the poor men employed in their stone-yards,—buying cheap and selling dear to them, as the way of the world is. The chairman thinks that the question was who should reap the benefit of a fall in prices—the ratepayers or the men? He was more of a man of the world than another member of the Board, a Mr. Bedding, who cried out, "Then we are actually making a profit out of our own poor on our own goods. I call it a robbery on these poor people."

It is creditable to Mr. Bedding that he could not take the matter coolly, and that this piece of shabby extortion startled him; but pray how do all capitalists live, except by "making a profit out of their own poor on their own goods"? May we not call it, like Mr. Bedding, "a robbery on those poor people"?

The jury find Arthur Gough guilty of "assaulting" the police (according to the story of the police), but think he did it "in a moment of excitement,"—*i.e.*, "Guilty, but we don't think he did it." W. M.

An instructive example of the way in which bourgeois law regards woman is furnished by the action which Lord Howard de Walden brought against Major Burrowes on the 4th inst. The "noble" lord's wife was lying at death's door with peritonitis. The least excitement might have been fatal to her. Lord Howard de Walden is given to drink, and when intoxicated insists on entering his wife's room. As this might cost her life, her brother, Major Burrowes, finding other means of argument of no avail to induce the inebriated peer to remain outside his wife's door, knocked him down. Hence the prosecution.

The magistrate thought the assault justified it would appear. But the husband was not bound over to refrain from molesting his wife. It is apparently one of the privileges of matrimony that the husband, no matter how drunken, has a right to force himself upon his "property," even if he knows that fatal consequences may result. "May not a man do what he likes with his own?"

Last week also was raised the question whether a husband can rob his wife? Baron Huddleston on the 9th inst. answered this by saying (1) he cannot rob her at all under the common law, which regards all the wife's property as the husband's; and (2) theft is only robbery under the Married Women's Property Act when the wife is living apart from her husband or when he is preparing to desert her.

Whereupon the *Pall Mall* comments: "It is really quite amazing how many advantages a mistress has over a wife in all matters relating to property and to person. It almost seems as if the object of the law was to inflict such disabilities on wives in order to induce the fair sex to prefer concubinage to matrimony." But even the *Pall Mall*, brave as it is, would shrink from facing the *reason* of it all and carrying the question to its logical conclusion.

These anomalies and worse must last as long as private property exists in the means of life and therefore in those that live on them.

British pride has just received a severe shock from a curious dispute between a Japanese railway company and a German firm which contracted to supply rails. The company contracted for German rails as

"not only cheaper, but superior in quality to English rails." On their arrival it was discovered that the rails were all of British manufacture and the company accordingly refused to take delivery. Ultimately the matter was compromised, but "German credit has been brought into great disrepute on account of the transaction." "How have the mighty fallen!" S.

THE NEW ETHIC.

(Continued from p 43.)

A FURTHER point of importance is, that the theological or mystical morality, while recognising the incompatibility of form to content in the individual—in other words, the incompleteness of the individual *per se*—as the crucial fact in the moral and religious consciousness, seeks to obviate this incompatibility, to resolve this contradiction, *per saltum*. The individual as individual cannot be an end or *telos* to himself, it rightly concludes; but his end it seeks to realise by a magic key which eliminates the concrete world altogether from the calculation. This done, the rest follows with the greatest possible ease and logicity. The ethical consciousness having disposed of the real world of concrete relations, proceeds to create an ideal world of abstract relations, in which it seeks satisfaction. And it must not be supposed there is anything arbitrary in this proceeding. The social medium in which morality first arose has changed; the individual has supplanted the community economically, socially, and politically; hence the ethical consciousness can by no possibility find satisfaction in the real world. The most that can do for it is to seek to explain it away by Epicurean or Benthamite theories of enlightened self-interest and the like. These, however, for the most part, only touch the man of learned leisure, and exercise but little real influence on the world at large. So that it is what we have termed the mystical or theological morality which alone really holds the field. And the apparent satisfaction which the latter carries with it only exhausts itself and passes away with the conditions which have given it birth. It was more or less in abeyance during the Middle Ages, when the social ethics of the German races asserted themselves concurrently with the remains of their primitive communism, which entered into the composition of the feudal system. But it existed nevertheless, and under Protestantism sprang up into rank luxuriance. It is the only moral theory the modern middle-class man can appreciate, with the exception of the empirical Benthamite theory, which in some cases is even more to his taste. But the Individualist ethics, whether mystical and introspective, or empirical and practical, is to-day rapidly evolving its own contradiction as its economic basis is dissolving. While the middle classes can conceive of no morality, of no goodness, that is not centered in the individual—be it in his soul or pocket—the working classes find their individuality merged in the collective existence of the group of producers to which they belong. Their whole life is, under the conditions of the Great Industry, a collective one, in so far as the labour of the individual is merged in the labour of the group, the group again in that of other groups, and so on throughout the entire industrial and commercial system. The workman of the Great Industry has never, as a rule, paid much regard to his soul, to the good, the beautiful, the true, as embodied in his character. "Personal holiness" has never been his ethical aim, as it has been the professed (and in some cases doubtless sincerely professed) aim of the moral man, and still more woman, among the middle classes. The idea of a "holy" working man is, so to say, comic. The virtues which the working classes recognise are rather those of integrity, generosity, comradeship, rather than those of "purity," "meekness," "piety," "self abnegation," and the like—in other words, the social and objective virtues, those immediately referable to the social environment in which he moves, rather than the individual and subjective ones—those referable to his own personality as such. The working man has no time to think about his "soul," he will commonly tell you; he leaves that for the man of leisure. The decline of the introspective morality is of course largely connected with the dissolution by modern thought of its old theologic and ideologic basis. While the working classes have for the most part, in so far as they think at all about the matter, frankly renounced the old theology, the middle classes have occupied themselves with the endeavour to find out every conceivable compromise by which they might evade overtly breaking with the speculative tradition. But that it is possible for the introspective morality to survive its speculative basis is evidenced by the Positivists, who, while repudiating this basis, nevertheless retain the introspective ethics of Individualism in the most accentuated form, even to the extent of erecting into a devotional breviary the 'Imitatio Christi.'

As for the other form of the Individualist ethics, the latter-day counterpart of Epicureanism—namely, "enlightened self-interest"—that, like its forerunner in the classical world, is essentially the formulated ethic of the full belly and the full pocket. "Self-interest," from the workman's point of view, might lead him, should a safe opportunity offer itself, to plunder his employer's till, or at least husband his labour-power by doing the minimum of work possible, to the detriment of his master; but this, according to the advocates of the theory, would not be "enlightened." On the other hand, "enlightenment," in the bourgeois sense, would lead the workman (see Professor Huxley, 'Lay Sermons') "to starve rather than to steal"; but this, again, would not be "self-interest" from the workman's point of view, however "enlightened" it might be. So that, altogether, the workman seems rather "out of it" in so far as the gospel of "enlightened self-interest" is concerned.

This objective social morality, of which we see the germs even in the working classes of to-day, where they are not, as to a great degree, in this country, completely brutalised by the conditions of their life, becomes when translated into a higher plane the basis of the religion of Socialism, which consists in a sense of oneness with the social body—in its most immediate form, of oneness with the oppressed class which is struggling to emancipate itself. In the supreme aim and endeavour to aid the economic new-birth of Society, the Revolutionist has no time, and cares not to be continuously looking within, either to admire the beauty of his individual character or to measure its imperfections. He does not think about it. His highest instincts are directed not within but without, not on himself but on the social cause he has in view—the cause which means as its final issue the abolition of classes and the brotherhood of man.

Most of us are familiar with the well-known story of the workman National Guard who, when asked during the last days of the Commune what he was fighting for, replied *Pour la solidarité humaine*. It is quite possible that this poor workman understood but little if anything of "Scientific Socialism," or of the full meaning of the Human Solidarity for which he fought; yet his instincts and that of his fellows were true; they had the religion of Socialism at heart; they knew they were fighting for the emancipation of their class and that in this emancipation human solidarity was involved. The Ethics and the Religion of Socialism seeks not the ideal society through the ideal individual, but the ideal individual through the ideal society. It finds in an adequate and harmonious social life the end and completion of individuality, and at the same time it finds therein its primary condition.

But, says the empirical moral philosopher—and here we come to an important point—all I do is simply done to please myself; my apparently most disinterested actions are really at bottom selfish; I should not do them if it did not please me to do them,—I cannot transcend myself. Now this sound like common sense—irrefutable common sense. But in reality, like all the saws of the Empirical and eighteenth century philosophy, which sounds so plausible, it is but one of those half-truths which, when diligently investigated, evince themselves the most insidious of fallacies. It is quite true that externally and formally every motive actuating the individual has the stamp of his individuality upon it. This is a very harmless and at the same time a very obvious proposition; but it does not by a long way carry with it the implication which the empiricist would put upon it. Though the form of the motive may be individualistic, the content of the motive may transcend its form—i.e., it may have for its end something wholly apart from and even antagonistic to individual interest as such. A man is said to have a high moral character precisely when the material of his motives does predominantly *not* coincide with their mere superficial form. He has a low moral character when this material does predominantly coincide with its form; and he has no moral character at all—i.e., his character is criminal—when the form and the matter—i.e., individual interest and motive-material—absolutely balance one another.

Now, the introspectionist, recognising the fact that morality implies motivation which breaks through its mere form of individual interest, and which may even contradict it, mistakes this merely negative element in the moral consciousness for its salient feature, and thinks the highest morality to consist in a continual mortification of self—in Asceticism. But as we before pointed out, while it seeks to kill off one self, it only does so in the interest of another, and, if anything, still more exacting self. Its object is only the individual in another form. Its great bogey is pleasure; its great end the annihilation of pleasure. Now the new ethic of Socialism has no part nor lot with asceticism. In the first place, it grudges the amount of energy expended by the individual in the effort to acquire the "self-discipline" so-called, which is only another name for moral tight-rope dancing which the ethics of inwardness postulates as its end. It despises the Introspectionist love of "striking an ethical attitude." The mere discomfort, or the sacrifice of the individual *per se*, is for it no virtue, but a folly, unless it be a part of the means to a clearly defined social end. I italicise the words clearly defined, as of course it is possible to smuggle in (*pace* the Positivists) under some vague phrase such as "social order" the whole of the theologic ethics, asceticism included. For it must be remembered that the habit of mind proper to the introspective ethics (sometimes broadly expressed by the word Puritanism) has the ascetic tendency so strongly developed that the possessor of it is never happy unless he is finding out that something or other which pleases his fellow-men is wrong. It is aptly illustrated by *Punch's* joke of the little girl who directs her brother to "go and see what baby's doing, and tell him he mustn't." *Refrain, refrain* is the dreary dirge which alone delights the soul of the being in question. Now the effects of the ascetic poison, as before said, outlives its cause. The introspective ethics of which it is part survive their theoretical basis. Thus even where this basis is no longer present, the mind cast in this mould will endeavour to find a possible evil in everything that conduces to pleasure or relaxation. The taint of introspection will not permit it to view life naturally. It must seek by sophistry to poison it for itself and others. Thus in the cases supposed where the divine fiat, or the inherent evil of matter, can no longer be appealed to, and where direct socially evil results cannot be proved, it will have recourse to vague and lofty phrases such as "Human Dignity" and the like. It is therefore necessary to emphasise the fact that for conduct to be justly condemned under the new ethic it must be proved to be necessarily and directly anti-social. The Ascetic and Puritan may lose his egoistic sense of smug self-satisfaction at being better than other men,

but the loss will be his alone; while the destruction of a false moral ideal will destroy the hypocrisy which is correlative with it. No, the negation of the individual only becomes a virtue for the new ethic when it occurs not for its own sake but as a mere incident, in the attainment of another end.

ERNEST BELFORD BAX.

(To be concluded.)

INSTANTANEOUS STUDIES.

No. 13.—THE "FLASH" PHOTOGRAPH.

(Scene: A Police Station.)

Police Inspector. What's the charge, P 244?

P 244. I was on dooty at eight o'clock to-night in Trafalgar Square, when I see prisoner come along with this 'ere box in his right hand. Directly he got within three or four yards of me, something blazed up in his other hand, and suspecting as the box he'd got was a infernal masheen, and that he was one of them diameters, I took him into custody. I found this powder and this piece of crumpled paper in his possession.

Inspector (to prisoner). Have you anything to say?

Prisoner. Certainly, I have a good deal to say. In the first place, this box is a camera, and not an infernal machine, excepting when it makes people very ugly. This powder and paper, of which I have some more in my waist coat pocket, form the new illuminating combination, magnesium powder and gun paper.

Inspector. Most dangerous. Highly explosive. 21 Reserve, bring a pail of water at once.

Prisoner. Excuse me, but there is not the slightest danger. I was going to say it occurred to me that I would like to take the portrait of P 244 here, and I accordingly lighted a small quantity, as I am doing now—*(Strikes a match and lights the compound. Before the police recover from the shock the flash is over. They rush forward and seize him.)*

Inspector (pale and determined). This is the most dangerous assassin I have ever seen. But for the fact that the stuff evidently missed fire, we should have been all blown up. These men care nothing for their own lives so long as they accomplish their ends.

Prisoner. If P 244 will kindly remove his knuckles from my throat, and his knees from the small of my back, I shall be able to demonstrate that you are quite in error. Perhaps you'll pass the camera.

Inspector (grimly sarcastic). Oh, yes; it looks like a camera, doesn't it? Cameras are just like black leather cases, arn't they? Look sharp with that water, 21. Let no man touch it, for fear it goes off.

Prisoner (losing his temper). Well, of all the stupid—

P 244. Come, no bad language here.

Prisoner (exasperated). Do you mean to say you don't believe me?

Inspector (still ironically). Oh, we believe you. We've been looking out for you a long time. We've had no end of complaints from people who have been frightened by sudden flashes of light exactly the same as yours. No doubt your machines are fearfully badly made, and that's why the stuff doesn't explode.

Prisoner. But, officer, I tell you there's not the least danger. These are all photographic flashes, and the photographic flash is the latest thing out.

Inspector. That'll do. Remove him to the cell, 244.

Prisoner. Anyway, you'll permit me to send for bail.

Inspector. It's like your impudence to ask. Certainly not. Oh, here's the pail. Plunge everything in, box and all, and take them at once to Colonel Majendie.

(21 Reserve gingerly takes up the camera and the powder and the paper, and gently deposits them in the pail. Prisoner is removed to the cell, protesting that he shall sue the authorities for the damage done to his property.)

THE FOLLOWING EVENING.

Inspector. Ahem! We've had an answer from Colonel Majendie, and it appears he can find nothing dangerous in the box, which apparently, is an ordinary camera.

Prisoner. I beg your pardon, it is not an ordinary camera at all. Ordinary cameras are never soaked in water for a night.

Inspector. I cannot discuss the question now. You are discharged.

Prisoner. Thank you for nothing. Perhaps you'll compeusate me for injuring my property and locking me up.

Inspector. I've nothing to do with that. Go away.

MORAL.

Amateur photographers must be careful how they use the magnesium flash in the street until the police get used to it.

From the 'Photographic News.'

Mr. Edward Mellor, the chairman of the Oldham Operative Cotton Spinners' Provincial Association, has been placed on the Commission of the Peace for the borough of Oldham.

MORE LABOUR-SAVING MACHINERY.—The prospectus of the European and American Machine-Made Bottle Company (Limited) contains a very significant statement as to the enormous saving of labour by the use of machinery. It is said that whereas by the present process two men and three boys make about eight gross of bottles per day, by the new process one man and two boys with the aid of a machine will make about 80 gross per day. The "estimated profits [i.e., plunder] from royalties alone is over £400,000 per annum, equal to 65 per cent. on the entire capital of the Company now issued." The result of this invention to the bottle-makers will be that great numbers of them will have their livelihood taken entirely away, whilst those who are employed will probably be forced to accept reduced wages in consequence of the overstocked labour-market. By the present process the cost for labour to produce a gross of ordinary bottles is 3s. 10d., but by the new system this cost for primary labour will be reduced, it is said, to about 3d. In other words, the workers are to be crushed out of existence in order that a gang of greedy shareholders and a plundering horde of directors, solicitors, brokers, etc., should draw fat salaries and large dividends. Thus, instead of lightening the toil of the labourer, each new invention serves but to intensify it and render his slavery to the monopolist more absolute. And yet there are "Labour representatives" (save the mark!)—e.g., Fenwick—who talk of averting the "calamity of Socialism"!—T. B.

LETTER FROM AMERICA.

"MILAN, Mo., Jan. 26, 1888.—C. C. Bradley was arrested on Friday of last week and tried for vagrancy before Squire Cochran. The charge was sustained and Bradley was sold yesterday afternoon as a vagrant. The sale was for a term of six months, bringing thirty-five cents. William McClassan being the purchaser. This is the second instance of the kind that ever happened in this county, the other taking place about thirty-five years ago; and the party sold brought twenty-five cents."—*Daily papers.*

Remembering the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which provides that involuntary servitude, except as a punishment when the party shall have been duly convicted, is forever prohibited in the United States, I thought the paragraph from Milan rather queer news, and resolved to investigate the matter. As a result I may state on good authority that vagrants are sold in most States, in spite of the law; that the farming-out of men and women is quite a common incident of the poorhouse administration. This is a new proof of the barbarism which exists in this "land of the free."

There is very little news to report from the Reading strike. Matters are practically at a standstill. The miners are firmly convinced that the coal barons are combined to wipe out whatever little social rights the men possess by establishing a system of serfdom, in which it will be a crime to organise for mutual protection and advancement. District Assembly No. 16 of the Knights of Labour is convening a meeting in Pittston of all the local assemblies in the Wyoming and Lackawanna Valleys. The strikers feel certain that the one thing now necessary to bring the Reading Company to terms is a general strike of the anthracite industry, such as would completely cripple the shipment of coal from every section. This plan will be urged with great force upon the Lackawanna and Wyoming miners, who are averse to striking because believing that while in work they can better support their striking comrades. It is very likely that all these men, about 25,000, may be induced to go on strike. The idea of making the strike general has long prevailed among the Schuylkill miners, and they have been in communication with a number of local assembly men in the Lackawanna and Wyoming Valleys for some time past with that end in view. The misery of the Lehigh miners is something terrible. The men are out now about five months, and in that time have practically existed on flour and tea. The distress all through the mining regions is beyond description; the relief committees are sending flour and tea to keep the miners and their families from starving. There are thousands of children who have neither shoes nor stockings, although it is a very hard winter. The relief committee have only sufficient shoes to give to the children when a doctor orders it. Most of the miners have not lighted a lamp in their homes for months: living in the land of coal, they have not sufficient fuel to keep themselves protected against the bitter cold, and ugly east winds are whistling through broken window panes. One day a woman walked a long distance in her husband's shoes to beg a pair for herself, so that she could go out and work; her husband sat at home barefooted till she came back. Hundreds of similar cases might be quoted. Yet in spite of all this the men are determined not to yield one inch.

The thread operatives' strike in Newark, N. J., is practically ended. Work was resumed by some of the hands on the 24th.

The *Courier Journal* claims to have won the fight between it and its employes.

According to a recent press dispatch a great cigar-makers' strike, embracing nearly all the large eastern cities, is reported for early in February, to resist a wage reduction.

Four hundred ice-cutters at Wenham Lake, Mass., have struck for two dollars a-day. They were receiving 1 dol. 50 c.

A circular has been issued by all the brewers of Milwaukee to their 3,000 employes, notifying them that on January 26 every member of Brewers' Union No. 9 in their employ will be discharged unless he consents to leave that organisation. It is anticipated that the union will order a strike.

LIST OF STRIKES FOR JANUARY.

Number of strikers reported, Jan. 1 to 18	...	...	35,509
20...Washington—Pressmen and feeders in Bureau of Engraving and Printing, against change in management	...	...	—
20...Rockland, Mass.—Handsewers, against reduction	...	...	—
21...Brooklyn—Plate printers, for advance	...	...	35
23...New York city—Cigar-makers, refusal of employers to arbitrate differences	...	...	600
24...Salem, Mass.—Ice-cutters, for advance	...	...	140
23...Athens, N. Y.—Ice-cutters, for advance	...	...	—
25...Philadelphia—Carpet-cutters, against new system of working	...	...	18
25...Philadelphia—Newspaper compositors	...	...	25
26...Pittsburgh—Chambermaids, for proper food	...	...	10

Total number of strikers known to January 26 36,337

New York, January 31, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

OSCAR NEEBE.

OSCAR NEEBE, now in Joliet prison, under a sentence for fifteen years, was born in Philadelphia, of German parents. Both his father and his mother are still living. Neebe was at the time of his arrest not a wage-worker, but a well-to-do business man. Yet his heart was always with the toiling masses, and he did magnificent service as an organiser of trades' unions, and staunch supporter of Socialistic ideas. He is now about thirty-nine years old, a fine looking man. He was happily married, and has two children. His unfortunate wife, who adored him, died of a broken heart while he was imprisoned in the Chicago jail. His only crime, as far as can be seen, is to have been prominently active in the labour movement, and thus to have incurred the hatred of the ruling powers. He had nothing whatever to do either with the Haymarket meeting or with the throwing of the bomb. Neebe bears his undeserved fate like a true brave man.

The mild and the long-suffering may suffer for ever in this world. If the Catholics had stood with their hands before them, simpering at the Earls of Liverpool and Bathurst of the time, they would not have been emancipated until the year of our Lord four thousand. As long as the patient will suffer the cruel will kick. If the Irish go on withholding and forbearing, whether this is the time for discussion or that is the time, they will be laughed at for another century as fools, and kicked for another century as slaves.—*Sydney Smith.*



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

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 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. A.—Ruskin's "Usury: a Reply and a Rejoinder" to the Bishop of Manchester, appeared in the *Contemporary Review* for February 1880, p. 316. MARSEILLAISE.—The English words usually sung to this air ("Ye sons of France, awake to glory," etc.) were first published (anonymously) in Spence's 'Pigs-meat, or Lessons for the Swinish Multitude' for 1793, p. 67.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday February 15.

ENGLAND Die Autonomie Jus Justice Labour Tribune Norwich—Daylight Railway Review	FRANCE Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) La Revolte L'Autonomie Individuelle Guise—Le Devoir	GERMANY Berlin—Volks Tribune Brunn—Volksfreund Vienna—Gleichheit ROUMANIA Jassy—Lupta	SWITZERLAND Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
SOUTH AUSTRALIA Adelaide—Our Commonwealth	HOLLAND Hague—Recht voor Allen Amsterdam—Voorwaarts	AUSTRIA Vienna—Gleichheit	SPAIN Madrid—El Socialista
INDIA Bankipore—Behar Herald	BELGIUM Seraing (Ougree)—Le Reveil Ghent—Vooruit	DENMARK Social-Demokraten	GERMANY Berlin—Volks Tribune
UNITED STATES New York—Der Sozialist Volkzeitung Boston—Woman's Journal Chicago—Alarm Vorbote Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volkblatt N Haven—Workmen's Advocate Providence (R.I.)—The People	ITALY Milan—Il Fascio Operaio Rome—L'Emancipazione	SWEDEN Stockholm, Social-Demokraten Malmo—Arbetet	GERMANY Jassy—Lupta
		NORWAY Kristiania—Social-Demokraten	

ON SOME "PRACTICAL" SOCIALISTS.

THE study of economics is no doubt necessary for militant Socialists; the more a man knows of them in all their details the more able he is to meet not only the sophistries of the "educated" anti-Socialist, but, which is still more important, the awkward and hard-to-be-answered questions which people who have never thought of these matters at all sometimes stumble on.

Of course, that he should be able to make his knowledge of any use depends on whether he has understood what he has learned, especially in dealing with enquiring ignorance. The "educated" man will sometimes be floored by a phrase, will retire abashed before "surplus value," and refuse to tackle the iron law of wages, on the same grounds that the Oxford undergraduate declined to give his examiner any information about King David for fear he should be lugged all through the Kings of Judah and Israel; but the ignorant man may require information after he has got over the first shock of the unaccustomed enunciation of the big-worded dogma. So that our student of economy had best be careful to look to it that he can translate his phrases into a language "understood of the people." But when our learner has really got to know something about economics; nay, when he has them at his fingers ends, he still has to beware of another trap, or rather of two more. He has (for as old a Socialist as he may be) to take care that he does not read the present into the future, to suppose that when the monopoly in the means of production has been abolished, and no one can any more live on the labour of others, but must do some recognised service to the community in order to earn his livelihood, yet, nevertheless, people's ways of life and habits of thought will be pretty much as they are now. The other trap generally besets the way of the same kind of Socialist who is apt to fall into the first-named; it is the too entire absorption in the economic view of Socialism, and the ignoring of all its other aspects.

The kind of Socialist who is most likely to be caught by these traps is he who considers himself as specially practical; although the due deduction from the last one at any rate would be the abstention from action of all kinds, and the acceptance of the position of an interested but helpless spectator. Your "practical" man is (very naturally) anxious that some step towards Socialism should be taken at once, and also that it should be taken under definitely Socialist auspices, therefore, he really addresses himself to people who would be likely to be frightened into mere hostility by any apprehension of a large change in the life of Society; he is thinking entirely of the conservative side

of human nature as the thing to be won over, and ignores that which exists just as surely, its revolutionary side. The result is that the wolf of Socialism gets clad in the respectable sheep-skin of a mild economic change; yet not with much success. I have been present on several occasions when this experiment has been tried, and have been much amused by the demeanour of the respectables, who trying to be convinced, or at least to appear to be, have nevertheless showed uneasiness, as if they detected the disguised animal, and noted his glistening teeth and red jaws peeping out from under the soft woolly clothing of moderate progress. Also, though it was less amusing, it was as instructive to note the look of those convinced but not fully instructed Socialists who were present, on whom the sight of the transmogrified sham amiable monster produced nothing but blank disappointment and dismay. Altogether, these occasions have been to me hours of humiliation and discouragement; and I think also that there was no gain in the humiliation; neither I nor the other comrades needed to undergo it. The opponents were not won over by it, they were only confused and puzzled, and made feel as if they had been laughed at.

But I do not mean to say that these one-sided Socialists are generally acting disingenuously, or merely trying to smooth down a hostile audience. I believe, on the contrary, that they do not see except through the murky smoked glass of the present condition of life amongst us; and it seems somewhat strange, not that they should have no vision of the future, but that they should not be ready to admit that it is their own defect that they have not. Surely they must allow that such a stupendous change in the machinery of life as the abolition of capital and wages must bring about a corresponding change in ethics and habits of life; that it would be impossible to desire many things which are now the main objects of desire; needless to guard against many eventualities which we now spend our lives in guarding against; that, in short, we shall burn what we once adored, and adore what we once burned.

Is it conceivable, for instance, that the change for the present wage-earners will simply mean hoisting them up into the life of the present "refined" middle-classes, and that the latter will remain pretty much what they are now, minus their power of living on the labour of others? To my mind it is inconceivable; but if I could think such a prospect likely, I should join with Mr. Bradlaugh (whose idea of the aims of Socialism is probably just this) in a protest against the dull level of mediocrity. What! will, e.g., the family of the times when monopoly is dead be still as it is now in the middle classes, framed on the model of that of an affectionate and moral tiger to whom all is prey a few yards from the sanctity of the domestic hearth? Will the body of the woman we love be but an appendage to her property? Shall we try to cram our lightest whim as a holy dogma into our children, and be bitterly unhappy when we find that they are growing up to be men and women like ourselves? Will education be a system of cram begun on us when we are four years old, and left off sharply when we are eighteen? Shall we be ashamed of our love and our hunger and our mirth, and believe that it is wicked of us not to try to dispense with the joys that accompany procreation of our species, and the keeping of ourselves alive, those joys of desire which make us understand that the beasts too may be happy? Shall we all, in short, as the "refined" middle-classes now do, wear ourselves away in the anxiety to stave off all trouble, emotion, and responsibility, in order that we may at last merge all our troubles into one, the trouble that we have been born for nothing but to be afraid to die? All this which is now the life of refined civilisation will be impossible then.

I have often thought with a joyful chuckle how puzzling, nay inexplicable to the generations of freedom, will be those curious specimens of human ingenuity called novels now produced, and which present with such faithful detail the lives of the middle-classes, all below them being ignored except as so many stage accessories; amongst them all, perhaps; Dickens will still be remembered; and that because of what is now imputed to him as a fault, his fashioning a fantastic and unreal world for his men and women to act in. Surely here again all will be changed, and our literature will sympathise with the earlier works of men's imagination before they learned to spin out their own insides like silkworms into dreary yarns of their sickly feelings and futile speculations; when they left us clear pictures of living things, alive then and for ever. We shall not desire and we shall not be able to carry on the feverish and perverted follies of the art and literature of Commercialism.

I wonder that those who will insist in reading the life of the present into a world economically changed, do not see how they start wrong from the beginning; and I wonder all the more as they are often clear-headed and capable persons.

The competition of the profit-market forces us under our present system to turn our attention overmuch to producing wares with the least possible labour; our epoch is compelled to sacrifice everything to this necessity. Considering the aspect of London and our great manufacturing centres, for instance, it seems that if it were possible for us to go on for long at our present rate of sacrificing to this tyrant of cheap production, the time would come when having to choose between the greater part of us living in cellars and never seeing the sun again, and foregoing the cheapening of cotton cloth by a halfpenny a yard, we should be compelled to choose to submit ourselves to the former—inconvenience. This I say is our necessity at present, because the competition for profits, which is the master of production, is a system of mere waste, first as a war and next as a bonfire, so to say, for the consumption of the product of labour merely in the interests of the power of the proprietary classes. Or may we not say that the gentili-

ties, the luxuries, the pomp of these classes in an ascending scale, from the small villa dweller to the great territorial magnate, are the necessary baits held out to the producing classes to ensure their "content" with the present state of things. "It is true," they proclaim, "that you are in an inferior position now, because you belong to the useful class; but there is no legal disability preventing you from rising out of that class; by means of thrift, self-denial, and clever rapacity, you may attain to this nice stuccoed villa with its 'art objects' and nick-knacks, its smiling obsequious servants, and vacant wife and daughters dressed up to the nine; next, as you grow older and colder and stupider, this mansion awaits you with all the 'refinements of civilisation,' funkies, libraries, parties, seats in Parliament and the rest of it; and at last, when you have really come to believe in yourself as a benefactor to the human race, because you, once the robbed, have become a robber on the very largest scale, here is your park with its surrounding acres, and the state and majesty of a landed gentleman amongst the toilers afield who have even less than you began with when you were a useful man. There shall you found a family, take a peerage, and die universally respected."

Expensive baits these! Yet necessary while classes last, since the lapse of time has evolved us out of the simpler systems of chattel slavery and serfdom.

I won't go into figures as to the cost of these two gulfs of waste necessary to the stability of our present system, the waste of commercial war, the waste of the supporting a proprietary class with all its camp-followers and hangers-on; nor do I suppose that we shall ever know how prodigious a waste we have saddled ourselves with in this matter; but it is clear that it is prodigious. Well, under the new conditions of Society commercial war will have died out, and with it the wasteful occupations that support it; and class-rule will have disappeared, so that its waste will have gone; labour will no longer be directed in the interest of the profit-grinder or the idler, and the task of the producers will be so easy, that the dogma which our pessimist friends now hold that men will always do their work in the way which gives them least trouble (understood whatever sacrifices they have to make for it), will cease to have any meaning; because there will practically be no longer any compulsion to work.

Mark Twain says, apropos of Tom Sawyer's white-washing, that work is labour that we are compelled to do, and pleasure labour that we choose to do, which we beg our economic-pessimist friends to remember.

Meantime, I hold that we need not be afraid of scaring our audiences with too brilliant pictures of the future of Society, nor think ourselves unpractical and utopian for telling them the bare truth, that in destroying monopoly we shall destroy our present civilisation. On the contrary, it is utopian to put forward a scheme of gradual logical reconstruction of society which is liable to be overturned at the first historical hitch it comes to; and if you tell your audiences that you are going to change so little that they will scarcely feel the change, whether you scare any one or not, you will certainly not interest those who have nothing to hope for in the present Society, and whom the hope of a change has attracted towards Socialism. It is a poor game to play (though so often played in politics) to discourage your friends in order to hoodwink your foes for a brief space. And certainly the Socialists who are always preaching to people that Socialism is an economic change pure and simple, are very apt to repel those who want to learn for the sake of those who do not.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

LITERARY NOTES.

'Prison Poems; or, Lays of Tullamore' (*Nation* office, Dublin, 6d.) consists of a number of songs and parodies—chiefly political—written by T. D. Sullivan during his imprisonment in Tullamore gaol, which show that the writer of "God Save Ireland" and "A Song from the Backwoods" has not lost his old power. This is his description of Tullamore and his prison life;

Oh, Tullamore Gaol is a charming place
(Bang the bolts and clatter the tins),
'Tis Loyalty's school for the Irish race
(At six a.m. the trouble begins).
Rub and scrub, and tramp away,
Pull and pick, and hammer all day,
Smash the stones and turn the clay
(And mourn for your political sins).

A dear old man is Featherstone-Haugh
(Bang the bolts and clatter the tins).
As tender and sweet as a circular-saw
(At six a.m. the trouble begins).

He describes the Irish Secretary as

A being thin and shanky, white of visage, tall and lanky,
Looking ill at ease and cranky, came and stood upon the floor;
In his hands some keys he dangled, keys that harshly clinked and jangled,
And over his right optic a large pane of glass he wore—
When it fell, he slowly raised it, and replaced it as before—
This he did, and nothing more.

It was a great shame that in a country so wealthy as this, a country which possesses such magnificent resources, they had thousands of people wanting bread.—*Mr. Mundella, M.P.*

The ultimate purpose of the State is not to rule men, to keep them in fear, to subject them to the will of others, but, on the contrary, to allow each as far as possible to live in security; that is, to preserve for each his natural right to live without harm to himself or his neighbour.—*Spinoza.*

The Shade of Judge Jeffreys to the English Bench.

"I'll be judge, I'll be jury,
Said cunning old Fury,
I'll judge you, condemn you, and put you to death."
—*Alice in Wonderland.*

Bravo, my masters! So ye still inherit
A portion of your father Jeffreys' spirit!
It glads my ghost, in these degenerate days
Of manners mild and philanthropic ways,
That still my true-born children of the ermine
Can twist a law to snare these pestilent vermin,
These noisy, stubborn, socialistic knaves,
Who crack their crowns upon policemen's staves,
Because, forsooth (may gallows' grace betide 'em!)
Their precious British birthright is denied 'em—
The right of bawling in the highways. Fudge!
Would they had come to Jeffreys as their judge!
For then, I vow, ere justice had been baffled,
The rogues had known the pillory or scaffold,
And paid such price for treasonable guile,
As erst paid Sidney and the Lady Lisle.

Heigh-ho; I mind me, times are changed since then!
But ye, my hearties, quit ye still like men
In this same fight wherein I fought of yore—
The worthy rich against the worthless poor.
Flinch not, my big-wig bullies of the bench!
'Tis your inheritance to wrest and wrench
The sense o' the laws, intimidate the jury,
And win by fraud where I prevailed by fury.
Flinch not, nor question their deserve it well,
But sentence, sentence to the felon's cell;
Till every factious rascal sees with awe
'Tis Jeffreys' self still animates the law!

H. S. S.

THE STORY OF A DRESS COAT.

THE Paris correspondent of a Swiss journal tells a quaint tale of a dress-coat. Maxime Lisbonne, the Communist, received an invitation to present himself, along with other political guests, at the palace of the President. He accepted, and duly attended. It was necessary that he should renounce his Communist nonconformity for the occasion, and conform to the present evil world by appearing before Citizen Carnot in a dress-coat. This temporary backsliding from primitive principles in dress was naturally viewed with distrust and suspicion by his revolutionary comrades, and he was called upon to defend himself before the "Equals of Montmartre." "Citizens," said he, "it is true that I have visited the President of the Republic. I can assure you that he receives the people in a good and honourable manner. But you will ask, why should I, Lisbonne, and not another, have gone to the palace of the President as the representative of the people? For a very good reason; I was the only one who possessed a dress-coat." "How did you get it?" shouted several voices; "have you been herding with the Aristos?" "Citizens," continued Maxime Lisbonne, "you are aware that I am an actor. I had a dress-coat in which I performed the part of the Manager in 'Thirty Years; or, the Life of an Actor' at the Bouffes du Nord. I found this old coat somewhat out of fashion and stained with grease spots, from which I cleansed it with spirits. One of Citizen Carnot's guests as he passed him sniffed at me and observed, 'It is a notion which would have occurred to nobody except a revolutionist to perfume himself with petroleum.' The 'Equals' were disarmed of their suspicions, and laughed heartily. Lisbonne told his *frères et amis* that he regarded the "aristocratic old coat" as the common property of all, and that it would be at the service of any comrade who might need it for a public occasion.

COMMUNE CELEBRATION.

THE annual celebration of the Commune of Paris is this year being organised by the Socialist League and the Social Democratic Federation. It is intended to make the celebration as distinctively English as possible, at the same time representatives of our foreign Socialist brethren will be invited to attend and speak on the occasion.

The 18th of March this year falls on a Sunday, and it is hoped that either a theatre or large hall will be secured for the celebration. Should, however, it be found impossible to obtain a suitable place on the Sunday, the meeting will then be held on the Saturday, *i.e.*, the 17th of March.

It is intended to make the celebration a large and imposing one, and that this may be done funds must be collected for the printing and hiring of the meeting-place, etc. Friends and comrades are earnestly asked to take in hand the collection of money, for which purpose cards will be issued. Donations may be sent to Comrade CLIFTON (S.D.F.), *Treasurer*; or to H. A. BARKER (S.L.), *Secretary*, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.

[All monies received at the above address will be duly acknowledged in these columns.]

Just fancy in this democratic country Mr. Blunt in prison and Mr. Balfour in the House of Commons.—*Sir Wilfred Lawson.*

In my own private concerns with mankind I have observed that to kick a little when under imposition has a good effect. A little sturdiness when superiors are much in the wrong sometimes occasions consideration, and there is truth in the old saying that if you make yourself a sheep the wolves will eat you.—*Franklin.*

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

EDINBURGH JOINERS.—The dispute is likely soon to end in favour of the men. Several firms have opened their shops on the old terms. Many of the men have returned to work, and the practical sympathy of the public enabled the committee on Saturday to increase the strike pay.

CLYDE SHIPBUILDERS.—Labour troubles are already commencing in the shipbuilding yards on the Clyde. In consequence of the small amount of work on hand, several firms have been paying less than the current rates. The movement is now becoming general for a considerable advance.

DISCHARGE OF DOCKYARD WORKMEN.—Recently an Admiralty order was received at Devonport Dockyard directing that for the next financial year provision should be made for 1,100 men less than are now working in the yard. Discharges are also expected at Keyham Factory before the end of the present financial year.

BELFAST TRAMWAY MEN.—A meeting of the drivers, conductors, and pointsmen employed by the Belfast Street Tramway Co., has been held for the purpose of protesting against the proposed running of cars between five and six o'clock in the morning. At present the men work from 7.40 a.m. to 11.15 p.m., with one hour for meals. It was decided to draw up a memorial to be laid before the Police Committee of the Town Council.

TRADE DEPRESSION IN WELSH IRON TRADE.—The Ruabon Ironworks of the New British Iron Company, the most extensive works in North Wales, are now closed in consequence of the continued depression in trade. The blast furnaces are extinguished, and the usual fourteen days' notice having expired, all the ironworkers are discharged. Many of the workmen are emigrating, while others are leaving North Wales for Lancashire, Yorkshire, Staffordshire, and South Wales.

STATE OF THE VELVET TRADE AT OLDHAM.—The velvet trade, which is the staple weaving trade of Oldham, is, and has been for a long time, in a very bad state, though there are now some signs of improvement. Messrs. Eli Lees and Co., of Hope Mill, who have 1,360 looms, have had about 600 of them stopped for some time. At Albany Shed, belonging to Messrs. J. J. Shiers and Son, there are 1,060 looms, and of these about 400 have been stopped. At Collinge's sheds, Glodwick Road, where there are 2,070 looms, fully 1,000 looms are stopped, and at Mr. Hilton Greaves' mills, out of over 1,700 looms, between two and three hundred are stopped.

WAGES ON THE NORTH EASTERN RAILWAY.—An important movement is being made by the engine-drivers, firemen, goods guards, mineral guards, and signalmen of the North-Eastern Railway system, to obtain alterations of wages and hours of labour, which will involve an advance in wages in some of the higher grades of 15 to 20 per cent., and in all cases a substantial increase. The men, at a meeting which has lately been held, resolved to call a conference, at which delegates will be invited from each leading centre of the railway system—from Leeds, Hull, and York in the south, to Newcastle and Carlisle in the north, and all the intervening district.

FIFE MINERS.—At a meeting of the Fife and Clackmannan Miners' Association, held at Dunfermline, to consider the action of the coalmasters at the conference, it was reported that an overwhelming majority of the men had decided to set the masters at defiance by carrying out the policy previously agreed upon of stopping work at the collieries. It was agreed that the miners, numbering 6,000 men, should cease work, and it is said that the contest will be a lasting one. A lock-out has been declared. Notices have been posted up at the collieries announcing that all men who have intimated their intention to stop work for two weeks shall not be allowed to descend the pits without re-engagement.

HAMILTON MINERS.—At a meeting of the men employed in Hamilton and district one of the speakers said: "He was afraid the coal and iron masters were planning such war against them as would, if successful, reduce them to bond slaves again. All the efforts of members of Parliament and others were without result, because the men refused to help themselves, and were intimidated (as in the case of the Truck Act) into signing away their rights and liberties simply through not being in union. He made a strong appeal to them to remedy this state of matters." What the speaker said of the mineowners is about true of other trades. Although not so plain, the same action is taking place; and while the men are discussing conciliation and arbitration boards, the masters are making every effort towards organisation; the declaration of war will then come.

THE NUT AND BOLT MAKERS AND THE TRUCK ACT.—On Thursday night a largely attended meeting of nut and bolt makers was held at the Cross Guns Inn, New Street, Darlston, for the purpose of deciding upon the amount of levy to be paid in support of the men now out on strike, and also to consider what course should be taken with reference to the stoppage of wages for rent. Mr. R. Juggins presided, and in opening the meeting said he had laid the matter before the Midland Counties Trades Federation, and they were unanimously of opinion that the case was one which ought to be tested, and they were prepared to support the men in any action taken for the purpose of recovering the wages that had been stopped. It was resolved "That this meeting instructs the secretary to take legal proceedings under the Truck Act to recover the rent illegally stopped from the wages of workmen." It was further decided to continue the levy of 1s. per member until the next meeting takes place, and that the secretary request the nut and bolt makers in the Smethwick district to render assistance to the men now out on strike.

MANCHESTER.—There is an enormous increase in the number of unemployed, especially in the building trades, and the number of members in receipt of relief from the funds of their trades unions is unprecedented. In spite of this the pernicious system of overtime is far too prevalent. The Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners has recently "drawn out" a number of its members from various jobs and shops not paying the standard rate of wages 8d. per hour. It is a notorious fact that, with the exception of five or six of the big masters, the standard rate has been practically ignored during the past ten years. The action of the society is likely to cause trouble, as there are hundreds of men who will work at the employers' terms rather than walk the streets starving. The disastrous result of the great strike of 1877 should have taught the necessity of a vigorous effort to organise the non-unionists instead of passively waiting for a revival of trade in order to do something to recover lost ground. The members of the A. S. are paying heavy levies to maintain the unemployed and "drawn out," and there is a growing feeling of discontent, foreshadowing an impending crisis.

It is time that the unions ceased to be mere friendly societies and devoted their energies to organising the workers, skilled and unskilled, into a common brotherhood. The operatives of the building trades will welcome the cause which shall show them their "misery and the way out."—**CRAFTSMAN.**

NORTHUMBERLAND MINERS.—At the next delegate meeting of the Northumberland Miners there will be some lively proceedings. The following are some of the resolutions:—*New Delaval*: "Seeing that a large number of men in the county have not the opportunity of attending the meeting when the programme for the delegate meeting is being discussed, we protest against the vote taken at the last delegate meeting on Mr. Burt's and Fenwick's salaries being paid out of the labour fund, as we consider it unconstitutional and unjust for a vote at delegate meetings to rescind the voting of the county, and that vote by ballot; we therefore suggest that the voting-papers be sent out again." *Old Backworth*: "We, as a colliery, protest against the motion passed at the last Council meeting relative to Messrs. Burt and Fenwick's salaries, and we move that the ballot be taken again throughout the county as to whether we have to continue to pay their salaries or not." (2) "We beg leave to move that Samuel Marsh, who started work out of the county during the strike—and all similar cases—be paid their rent for the time they were on strike, as we consider it inconsistent and unfair to pay men their rent who started work in the county, and were therefore black-legging us, and refuse to pay those who went out of the county and had levies to pay for our support." *Seaton Burn*: "That our agents be reduced the whole of the 12 per cent." *Dudley*: (1) "That eight hours in the twenty-four be the maximum day's work for all persons employed underground where the single shift, and seven hours where the double shift is worked, the time to be reckoned from bank to bank." (2) "That one general holiday be observed each week: this day to be fixed in each district, and be strictly observed, even though men may have been idle on any preceding day that week."

LECTURE ON TRADES UNIONISM.—At Hulme Radical Club, Clopton Street, Hulme, on Sunday at 6.30, John Jenkins, Gen. Sec. of the Baker's Union, will lecture on Trades Unionism.

METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.—The weekly return of metropolitan pauperism shows that the total number of paupers relieved during the first week of the month was 109,152, of whom 60,895 were indoor and 48,257 outdoor paupers. The total number relieved shows an increase of 3,953 over the corresponding week of last year, 6,555 over 1885, and 1,207 over 1884. The total number of vagrants relieved on the last day of the week, was 1,284, of whom 1,115 were men, 150 women, and 19 children under sixteen.

"COMPARISONS" ETC.—At a meeting of the Birmingham Trades Council last week reference was made to a recent speech of Mr. Kynoch, M.P. for Aston, in which he said that working-men candidates were the greatest frauds the country had ever known. They were generally a spouting lot of fellows who lived by the gift of the gab. Councillor Grainger said that the working-men members of Parliament would compare favourably with the member for Aston. A resolution was passed condemning Mr. Kynoch's expressions, and declaring them untrue and scandalous.

A TRAITOR.—Judgment has been given by the Sheffield County Court Judge in an action brought by an engine-driver, named Thomas Rodgers, against the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants. He sued to be reinstated a member and for superannuation allowance; but it was argued that he was properly expelled during the strike of the Midland engine-drivers. He entered the service of the company during the strike, but was dismissed after a week's work, being colour-blind. Judgment was in favour of the society. The impudent conduct of the driver thus properly served, shows that some men have very hazy notions as to the functions of trades-unions. They were founded as fighting bodies, and must not be allowed to degenerate into societies for administering out-door relief for the benefit of the expelling classes. May all traitors meet the fate of Thomas Rodgers! T. B.

THE CHAINMAKERS.

Most, if not all of our readers, will during the last eighteen months have heard and read a great deal of the sufferings and poverty of the nail and chainmakers of South Staffordshire. We will not again go over the harrowing details, but a personal investigation we have made during the past few days into the causes of the state of things so often described contains a warning which ought not to be lost upon factory workers. So far as nail-making in Halesowen is concerned, it is a decaying industry, due to the introduction of machinery, but inventors have hitherto failed to construct a machine which can even help to make chains. It may consequently be said that the latter occupation is in a normal condition, as chains are in as good demand as ever. By working in a manner of which few people have any conception, strong men can, on the heavier classes of work, such as ship cables made in large workshops, earn decent wages; but, on medium and small work, the life of a chainmaker is a living slavery for a bare existence. There is no earthly reason why this should be so except want of organisation. On ordinary work, such as dog chains and chains used for horse gearing, 50 per cent. added to the wages would make no appreciable difference in the retail selling price. If the advance we have mentioned were conceded, there would not be a link less used or sold, and yet at present women have to slave at making them for six or seven shillings per week, and on medium sizes men do the same for about 15s. This state of things is largely, if not wholly, owing to competition amongst themselves. When unemployed, a proportion of them have been willing to undersell their fellows in the labour market, and as the small sizes are made in workshops attached to each house, this knobsticking could not be found out at once. In Cradley Heath, as elsewhere, such conduct is, however, used by employers, who give out the work as a lever to reduce all the rest, and so the little game has gone on. A more dirty, unpaved, unsanitary, and poverty-stricken district than Cradley Heath it would be impossible to conceive, all of which might have been reversed had the chainmakers been organised, as they ought to have been, during the last twenty years. We have no wish on that account to lessen the sympathy which all right-minded people must feel for them. They are in the hole, and have to make the best of it, though they have recently had a splendid lift upwards, largely due to the assistance rendered them by workmen in Lancashire and the north. They have got a substantial advance in prices, which we hope will only be a starting-point to better things. If every operative in the four counties could pay a visit to Cradley, we are certain that there would be no necessity for propagandist union work during the lifetime of the present generation. —*Cotton Factory Times.*

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 25, 1888.

19	Sun.	1820. "Cato Street Conspiracy" formed. 1861. Russian serfs freed. 1867. Cathin Colliery accident.
20	Mon.	1831. Poles defeat Russians at Grohow. 1855. Joseph Hume died.
21	Tues.	1803. Col. Despard and others hanged for high treason. 1886. Socialist Demonstration in Hyde Park, 75,000 present. 1887. Great Unemployed Demonstration in Dublin.
22	Wed.	1787. First Convocation of Notables began to sit (France). 1811. Trial of John and Leigh Hunt for "seditious libel." 1831. Miner's Riots in Cornwall. 1855. Bread Riots in London.
23	Thur.	1677. Baruch Spinoza died. 1716. Earls Derwentwater and Kenmare beheaded for rebellion. 1823. Trial of "Bottle Conspirators," Dublin. 1848. French Revolution begins.
24	Fri.	1794. D. I. Eaton tried for seditious libel. 1848. Louis Philippe abdicated.
25	Sat.	1847. Samuel Fielden born. 1858. Trial of Orsini.

Joseph Hume.—On Feb. 20, 1855, died Joseph Hume, philosophical Radical. Born of humble parents, this Scotchman doubtless strongly approved of that wonderful system called "English civilisation," or the right of the British to plunder every nation under the sun. Hume was born at Montrose, January, 1777, son of the master of a small coasting vessel; Hume, sen., dying while Joseph was very young. Mrs. Hume started a small crockery shop, but being a woman of considerable intelligence, made a point of getting Joseph a good education; he was placed in a good school in his native town, and, after apprenticeship to a mayor, went through a regular course at Edinburgh University, where he was admitted a member of the College of Surgeons, 1795. Entered the marine service of the East Indian Company, 1797; served in Indian Army under Lord Lake in the Mahratta war, 1803. He applied himself closely to study of the native languages, and so was able during the war to act as paymaster, postmaster, and commissary general to an army of some 12,000 men. In 1808, he was able to resign his posts and return to England with a fortune of some £30,000 or £40,000. Not a bad eleven years profits on spreading English civilisation! Some of this money he sunk with a Scotch solicitor, who introduced Hume to the electors of Weymouth, and in 1812 he published a translation of Dante, and found himself Tory M.P. for Weymouth. The money was not well spent, however, for a dissolution came almost directly, and, as Hume had been talking of need of some reform, the Tory patrons of Weymouth struck; it is supposed some of the "consideration" was refunded. This little transaction settled Hume in his groove of constant war on jobbery. He was not M.P. again until 1818, when he was elected for the Montrose Burghs until 1830; 1830 elected for Middlesex, where in 1837 he was replaced by Tory Col. Wood, but was provided by Daniel O'Connell with the seat for Kilkenny; Montrose again in 1842 until his death, which took place at Burnley Hall, Norfolk. During the whole of his membership he was "death on jobbers" and corruptionists; he made more and longer speeches than almost any man who ever stood in the House; but by his persistence, his knowledge of detail, and his absolute honesty, he was always assured attention. As a guardian of the public purse there are few members who ever came near the good work he did. In 1835, he earned the hatred of the Orange faction by unearthing the conspiracy which was to have put the Duke of Cumberland on the throne, when some highly placed criminals would have swung, if Governments were in the habit of punishing rich the same as the poor. Hume, like Bright, Cobden, Lord Brougham, etc., settled everything by political economy (?), and seemed to think it rather better to have children beaten with leather thongs to keep them awake over their mill work, than to have an Act of Parliament fixing the hours of labour. The Factory Acts agitation, Thomas Michael Sadler's Ten Hour's Bill was vigorously opposed by the names above and many others called Radicals, and who really were extreme on other points of reform. Catholic Emancipation, Abolishment of Flogging, Impressionment for Navy, were considerably helped by Hume, as also Repeal of Acts against export of machinery and working-men combinations. In the Anti-Corn Law agitation he worked immensely hard. He and Cobden once debated at Uxbridge 4½ hours against four put up to defend dear food.—T. S.

Lt.-Col. Edward Marcus Despard.—Born in Queen's County, Ireland, in 1750. Judicially murdered Monday, Feb. 21, 1803. Entered the army as Ensign in the 5th Regiment; exchanged to the 79th, and rapidly rose to be Lieut.-Col., winning in all posts the highest praise. In 1779, he was chief engineer of Dalling's expedition to Nicaragua, in which Nelson was a captain; the *London Gazette* (July 18, 1780) says "There was scarcely a gun fired but was pointed by Capt. Nelson, of the *Hinchinbroke*, or Lieut. Despard, chief engineer, who has exerted himself on every occasion." He was then employed to construct public works in Jamaica, and did them so well as to receive the thanks of the council and assembly of the island. Appointed commander-in-chief of the island of Rattan and its dependencies, he again proved his originality and organising power, winning thanks from all his superiors from the king downwards. In 1784, he was first commissioner for settling the boundary lines of the South American territories ceded to Britain by Spain. Soon after appointed superintendent on the coast of Honduras, his blunt honesty and strength of will brought him into collision with officialdom; recalled on false charges, he spent two years kicking his heels in ministerial ante-rooms, to be declared wholly innocent—and left to starve. Over urgent in pressing his claims upon government, and having been a little influenced in the meantime by contemporary French thought, he was looked upon as dangerous by the defenders of law-'n'-order, and was imprisoned without trial, released without examination, and re-arrested without warrant. His treatment in prison was so bad as to be debated in Parliament, and was involved in the celebrated questions as to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act and the treatment of prisoners. Finding, as many others have done, his imprisonment a time of education, he came out a declared democrat and reformer. At this time over an eighth of the whole population of Great Britain were public paupers; rates of labour were lower than the cost of the scantiest living for workmen of any kind; there was an enormous annual deficit in the revenue; every article of food adulterated, and every necessary of life taxed; an army of 50,000 men holding down the people by main force; unceasing and sanguinary popular tumults taking place; jails, hulks, and Botany Bay full to overflowing, and the gallows overloaded; the most excessive brutal luxury in direct contact and contrast with the most abject and degraded poverty; a king and his ministers ruling the whole by the most approved methods of despotism. At the same time France, under the First Consul, seemed in a fair way to attain the summit of human happiness, and America was yet in appearance the very land of promise. Hopes of freedom and hunger of bread were alike stirring the English folk; it was an era of revolutions. Everywhere there were societies meeting, more or less secret, to discuss the political changes they desired. Of one of these that had several branches, he soon became leader by education and experience. At the subsequent trial the following was produced as its Constitution: "The independence of Great Britain and Ireland. An equalisation of civil, political, and religious rights. An ample provision for the families of the

heroes who shall fall in the contest. A liberal reward for distinguished merit. These are the objects for which we contend; and to obtain these objects we swear to be united. In the awful presence of Almighty God, I, A. B., do voluntarily declare that I will endeavour, to the utmost of my power, to obtain the objects of this union; namely, to recover those rights which the Supreme Being, in His infinite bounty, has given to all men; that neither hopes nor fears, rewards nor punishments, shall ever induce me to give any information, directly or indirectly, concerning the business, or of any member of this or any similar society. So help me God." It was not long before the old tragedy was re-enacted, that is even now reproduced occasionally for the instruction of the people. Spies and provocative-agents were soon introduced among the "conspirators" in order to talk "sedition" where it might be heard, and arrange murder-plots of the most ingenious openness. So perfectly was it organised, that on Nov. 16, 1802, as the "conspirators" were talking in an open meeting in an upper room of the Oakley Arms, Oakley Street, Lambeth, at the very moment in which thirty-three men (!), "with no arms but tobacco-pipes, not even a poker, and with 15s. 6d. in the treasury" (see evidence), were about to start out to "break down the telegraphs, take the Bank, the Tower, and the India House, and blow the king to hell," the patrol breaks in (with a search-warrant duly signed by magistrates!) and 12 are taken to Tothill Fields Bridewell, and 20 to the "new prison" at Clerkenwell, Col. Despard being committed to Newgate. A special commission was appointed to try the case, and was opened Jan. 20, at the new Sessions House, Horsemonger Lane, Southwark, before Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough and three others. Not a tittle of evidence was brought forward to connect Col. Despard with any plot against the life of the king or anybody else, except the oaths of four hired informers. Nor is it, indeed, conceivable that a military officer of such wide and varied experience would have attempted such a "big order" with so slight resources. However, the Government wanted an example to overawe "the swinish multitude," and teach them not to grunt too loud; the circumstances made it easy to throw the treason upon his shoulders, for was he not "suffering under an imaginary injury, and therefore, etc.," Mr. Serjeant Best exerted his great power in vain; in vain did Lord Nelson, Sir Alured Clarke, and Sir Evan Nepean swear to the high character of Despard; the witnesses swore as they were ordered; Lord Ellenborough played Nupkins to perfection, and summed up dead against acquittal; going further than the counsel for the prosecution, he ordered the jury to find a verdict of "guilty," which they did, adding, however, "but we earnestly recommend him to mercy, on account of his former good character and the services he has rendered his country." No attention was, of course, paid to the jury's recommendation, and Despard, with six others, died at Horsemonger Lane jail by the hands of the hangman. They all died like men, but Despard like a hero. He mounted the scaffold firmly, helped the executioner to place the rope properly on his neck, politely bade farewell to the clergymen who accompanied the other prisoners, and as soon as he was fastened spoke in a firm and audible voice to the crowd assembled. He was dressed in a double-breasted coat with gilt buttons, a cream-coloured waistcoat with narrow gold lace binding, a flannel inner vest with scarlet top turned over, grey breeches, top-boots, and a brown surtout. "Fellow citizens," said he, "I come here, as you see, after having served my country—faithfully, honourably, and usefully served it—for 30 years and upwards, to suffer death upon a scaffold for a crime of which I protest I am not guilty. I solemnly declare that I am no more guilty of it than any of you who may be now hearing me. But though His Majesty's ministers know as well as I do that I am not guilty, yet they avail themselves of a legal pretext to destroy a man, because he has been a friend to truth, to liberty and justice—(great cheering)—because he has been a friend to the poor and oppressed. But, citizens, I hope and trust, notwithstanding my fate and the fate of those who no doubt will soon follow me, that the principles of freedom, of humanity, and of justice, will finally triumph over falsehood, tyranny, and delusion, and every principle hostile to the interests of the human race. And now, having said this, I have little more to add—". (His voice seemed to falter here. He paused a moment as if he had meant to say something more and had forgotten it). "I have little more to add, except to wish you all health, happiness, and freedom, which I have endeavoured, as far as was in my power, to procure for you, and for mankind in general." When the drop fell he died almost instantly. Half-an-hour afterwards the bodies were taken down, the heads cut off and shown to the people, provoking them to groans and yells of rage. Despard's body having lain at Mount Row, opposite the Asylum, was taken away on the 1st of March by his friends and buried near the north door of St. Paul's Cathedral, St. Paul's Churchyard. So ends the career of a brave and noble-minded man, another name upon the long roll of those who have been sacrificed for no crime but in order to frighten the folk.—S.

Miner's Riots.—In the early part of 1831 the Cornish miners were in a very bad case, and were endeavouring to better their condition by combination. On the 22nd of February, they tried to frighten some "rats" at St. Blazey, and were interfered with by the authorities, who carefully worked up a "riot" which ended in a pitched battle between the crowd and a party of soldiers and police. The same day a party of 3,000 from the parishes of Breage, Gwennap, Crowan, Wendron, etc., marched through Helston in perfect order to prevent the "shipment of corn from a starving country." Achieving their object they marched back and dispersed in peace.—S.

Trial of Leigh Hunt for Libel.—The *Stamford News* published a strong article against military flogging, which was reproduced in the *Examiner*. Mr. Drakard, the printer of the *News*, was imprisoned for 18 months, fined £200, and bound over for three years. John and Leigh Hunt, despite the efforts not only of the Attorney-General, but also of the judge, Lord Ellenborough, were found "Not Guilty" of libel and discharged. The press for the most part explained this by saying that the most libellous paragraph was omitted, but the probability is that the real difference lay between the Lincoln and Westminster juries, the latter drawn from an advanced place for those days.—S.

Bread Riots.—Through the Russian war, then going on, and other causes, great distress prevailed throughout the country; 15,000 were unemployed in Liverpool alone. At Liverpool, Bilston, Wolverhampton, Walsall, and London, desperate bread riots took place. In Stepney, Bethnal Green, Shoreditch, and Bermondsey great crowds assembled, and for some time carried all before them. It was only by exerting their whole force that the police could "restore order."—S.

"Bottle Conspiracy" was an Orange "plot" against the Marquis Wellesley, then Lord Lieutenant. It was never very serious, but a great deal was made out of it for Government purposes.—S.

"Commercial enterprise" goes to queer lengths at times. An English novelist, who has been much pirated in America, received the following proposal from the agent of an American insurance company: "Dear Sir,—I am authorised to secure an author to write a novel, by a very wealthy and powerful corporation. Said novel to bear the name of a large hotel they have built on the Pacific coast, and the scene mainly to lay therein. To contain 300 pages. Will you undertake this, and at what price? They will spend a large sum to give the novel a world-wide circulation. Let me hear from you at once. Yours truly, —." And all the comment one can make is that it is a wonder he did not accept! To judge from several books that I have seen, the proposed plan is no new one.—S.



OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

Annual Conference.—The Fourth Annual Conference of the Socialist League will be held at 13 Farringdon Road, on Whitsunday, May 20. The attention of Branches is particularly referred to (1) Rule V. on the subject of the annual conference, pp. 3 and 4 of Constitution and Rules; and (2) that all branches wishing to be represented at the Conference must pay their subscription up to the 31st March by May 1st.

Branch Subscriptions Paid.
1887.

Hastings, Nottingham, Felsall—None. Bradford, Croydon, Glasgow, Hackney, Ipswich, Leeds, Marylebone, Merton, North London, Norwich—to end of March. Edinburgh—to end of May. Mitcham—to end of July. Walsall—to end of August. Hull—to end of September. Bloomsbury, Walham Green, Wednesday—to end of October. Leicester—to end of November. Clerkenwell, Hammersmith, Hoxton, Mile-end, Oxford—to end of December.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.
Ambrose, 2s. 6d. *Weekly Subscription*—W. B., 6d.
Strike Committee.—Collected in Regent's Park, February 12, 3s. 2d.—J. LANE,
General Fund.—C. Walkden, 5s.

REPORTS.

ACTON.—Good meeting on Acton Green on Sunday, Feb. 12, at which Day, Tochatti, Maughan, and Fry spoke. Good sale of *Commonweal*. Three members made for new branch just starting.—H. J. D.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, Feb. 8, Annie Besant lectured on "Communalisation of Industry." Unfortunately, Mrs. Besant was suffering from loss of voice, and could only briefly allude to the different heads of her subject under great difficulty. At the close told her audience she would renew the subject at greater length (arrangements for which will soon be made), and hoped they would kindly carry on the discussion without her. This was unanimously agreed to, and very brisk speeches were made by Herbert Burrows, Capt. Pfoundes, Brooks, Barker, Cores, and others. On Sunday, Feb. 12, H. A. Barker lectured on "The Labour Struggle." Good discussion and reply. One new member.—R.

FULHAM.—Good meeting on Tuesday, opposite the Liberal Club, addressed by Tochatti and Day. On Sunday morning, F. Verinder spoke to an excellent meeting on "Christian Socialism." 27 *Commonweal* sold and 2s. 2d. collected. A short meeting was held outside our rooms in the evening, Tochatti and Day inviting the people inside, where J. Turner gave a lecture on "The Control of Capital." Several questions asked and satisfactorily answered.—S. B. G.

WALSALL.—Monday last, Weaver was to have lectured on "Social Conditions, their Relation to Formation of Character," but did not turn up, and Sanders addressed meeting in his place. Outdoor meeting on The Bridge on Saturday addressed by Sanders, the audience giving him a most attentive hearing.—J. T. D.

DUBLIN.—At Saturday Club, Feb. 11, P. Stephens lectured on "Trades' Unionism" from the orthodox unionist standpoint. The principles of International Trades' Unionism were ably expounded by Schumann and Fitzpatrick, much to the satisfaction of the audience. A number of comrade Binning's "Organised Labour" were distributed.

GLIFFE.—At the request of the local branch of the S.D.F., J. Bruce Glasier (S.L.) delivered a lecture on "Socialism" to a large audience in James' Square. Our comrade was listened to with great attention, and at the close of his speech received a hearty cheer. 7s. 8d. worth of literature sold.—J. M. B.

EDINBURGH.—On Feb. 9th, Mavor lectured to St. Cuthbert's Co-operative Society. On 12th, Smith lectured in Trades' Hall. A member of the S.L.L.L. recently visited our Forfarshire branches, and reports that they are in a healthy condition. At Kilmarnock a strong branch is in process of formation.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Acton.—17 High Street, Acton, S.W. (adjoining Purnell's Dining Rooms). Sunday February 19, at 8, J. Tochatti, "Human Nature and Socialism." Feb. 26, Catterson Smith, "Possibilities of Life under Socialism."

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road. Thursday February 16, at 8.30, T. E. Wardle, "Our Ideal." 23rd, Joseph Lane, "Different Schools of Socialistic Thought."

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7.

Sunday February 19, at 8.30, Edward Aveling, "The Fallacies of Henry George." Wednesday 22, at 8.30, John Wood (S.D.F.), "Technical Education." Sunday, Feb. 26, at 8.30, Capt. Pfoundes, "The United States of Greater Britain."

Fulham.—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sunday February 19, at 8, E. Mandel, "Our Present State Organisation and Political Parties." 26th, H. H. Sparling, "The Blind Samson."

Hackney.—23 Percy Terrace, Victoria Road, Hackney Wick.

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday February 19, at 8 p.m., Graham Wallas (Fabian Society), "Socialism and Patriotism." 26, Sidney Webb (Fabian Society), "Socialism and Co-operation." March 4, Percival Chubb (Fabian Society), "The Ethical Aspect of Socialism."

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—C. J. Young, 8 Dunloe Street, Hackney Road, Secretary. Members please take up their membership cards for 1888.

Mitcham.—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11. Sunday February 19, at 8, T. J. Dalziel, "Why the People Starve." 26th, J. Turner, "Co-operation."

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

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen (Scottish Section).—Sunday night meetings in Baker Street Hall, at 6. Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St. Nicholas Street.

Birmingham.—Meetings at Summer Row Coffee House every Saturday evening at 8.

Bradford.—Morris's Dining Rooms, 114 City Road. Wednesdays, at 8.

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

Cowdenbeath (Scot. Sec.).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec **Dublin.**—Saturday Club, Central Lecture Hall, 12 Westmorland Street.

Dundee (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station. Political Economy class, 2 p.m. Lecture at 6.30.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Sunday evening lectures, Trades Hall, High Street. On Sunday February 19, at 6.30, a Lecture.

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

Glasgow.—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Propaganda Committee, Mondays at 8. Discussion Class meets every Thursday evening at 8 p.m.—object, the cultivation of extemporaneous speaking.

Leeds.—17 Chesham St., Sweet St. Club open every evening. Business meeting Wednesdays at 8 p.m. On Sunday February 19, at 7 p.m., T. Maguire, "The Practical Bearings of Socialism." 26. S. A. Gaskell, "The Need of a New Industrial System."

Leicester.—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8. **Lochgelly (Scottish Section: Fife).**—Secs. (*pro tem.*), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.

Norwich.—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Monday, Concert at 8. Tuesday, Business meeting at 8.30. Wednesday, Band practice at 8. Thursday, Discussion class. Gronlund's 'Co-operative Commonwealth.' Friday, Rehearsal at 8. Saturday, Premises open from 3 until 10.30.

Nottingham.—Club and Reading Rooms, 1 Tokenhouse Yard, Bridlesmith Gate, open every evening. Lectures 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).—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 19.

11Acton GreenHammersmith Branch
11.15.....Starch Green.....The Branch
11.30.....Acton.....Steyne, Day, & Maughan
11.30.....Garrett—"Plough Inn".....The Branch
11.30.....Hoxton Church, Pittfield St.Wade & Pope
11.30.....Merton—Haydons Road.....The Branch
11.30.....Mitcham Fair Green.....The Branch
11.30.....Regent's Park.....Nicoll & Mrs. Schack
11.30.....St. Pancras Arches.....The Branch
11.30.....Stamford Hill.....Parker
11.30.....Walham Green.....Fulham Branch
3Hyde Park.....Parker

PROVINCES.

Leeds.—Sunday: Jack Lane End, Meadow Road, at 10.30 a.m. In Prince's Field, at 3 p.m.
Norwich.—Market Place, at 3 every Sunday.

Wm. Morris will give an address on "Monopoly" at the Progressive Association, Penton Hill, 81 Pentonville Hill, on Sunday next, Feb. 19, at 7 o'clock. Admittance Free. Collection to defray expenses.

S.W. HAM RADICAL ASSOCIATION, Swanscombe St., Canning Town.—Wednesday February 23, at 8 p.m., H. H. Sparling, "Wilful Waste and Woful Want."

SHEFFIELD SOCIALISTS. Commonwealth Café, Scotland Street, Sheffield.—Discussions or Lectures every Sunday evening at 7 o'clock. Free.

SHEFFIELD.—Sunday next, February 19, Mr. J. Sketchley of Birmingham will deliver three lectures at the Hall of Science, on the following subjects: At 11 a.m., "The Evils of Secret Diplomacy"; at 3 p.m., "How and Why we Govern India"; in the evening, at 7, "Socialism: What it is, and what it is not."

SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—Meeting at *Commonweal* Office, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday February 19, at 3.30 p.m.

LAW AND LIBERTY LEAGUE.

WELCOME TO

R. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM, M.P.; JOHN BURNS; and other Released Prisoners of Liberty.

TEA AND PUBLIC MEETING

will be held

At 6 p.m. on Saturday, 18th Feb.,
AT CRAVEN HALL (THE REV. ARTHUR HALL'S),
FOURBERT'S PLACE, REGENT STREET.

Tickets, 6d. each, can be had at the Socialist League Office; *Link* Office, 34 Bouverie St.; etc.

ON MONDAY 20th FEBRUARY,

A GREAT DEMONSTRATION

AT ALLAN'S RIDING SCHOOL
SEYMOUR PLACE (BRYANTON Sq.), EDGWARE ROAD.
Chair taken at 8.30 by MICHAEL DAVITT.
Platform Tickets, 2s. 6d.; a few Reserve Seats, 1s.

Don't forget to be at Pentonville Prison, Caledonian Road, Saturday at 8 a.m.

THE TABLES TURNED.

Applications for engagements to be made to the Manager, H. A. Barker, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

The Lamp

AN EXTRAVAGANZA by Henry A. Barker, will be performed on Saturday February 25 (not 18), at 13 Farringdon Road. Admission by Programme (now ready), price Threepence. The entertainment will commence precisely at Eight o'clock.

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

Just received from New York, extra quantity,
600 Copies of the Special Edition of
SOCIAL SCIENCE

Containing splendid Portraits of the eight Chicago Anarchists, with good Biographical Notices of each. Price 5d., post free 6d. Every worker should procure a copy.

Birmingham: J. Sketchley, 8 Arthur Place Parade.

THE LEAFLET NEWSPAPER,

Published every Saturday at 1 p.m. Edited by Thomas Bolas. Packet of 25, 1d., Postage ½d.; 1000 1s. 6d., Postage 6d.—Leaflet Press, Cursitor St., E.C.

SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.

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

The Aims of Art. By Wm. Morris. 1d.
Bijou edition, 3d.; Large paper, 6d.

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

The Manifesto of the Socialist League. Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and William Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. 1d.

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

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

Useful Work v. Useless Toil. By William Morris. 1d.

"All for the Cause!" Song. Words by William Morris; Music by E. Belfort Bax. 4to, 4 pp. 6d.
per dozen, 4s. 6d.

Mrs. Grundy (Cartoon). By Walter Crane. Fine hand-made large paper. 6d.

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