

THE COMMONWEALTH

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

AFTER a three days' trial, a jury have found our friends Graham and Burns guilty of "unlawful assembly," and a judge has sentenced them to six weeks' imprisonment. As both of our friends are emphatically *men*, they will not expect a long Jeremiad from us over their fate specially, since so many people are sharing it; and they will no doubt take it as part of the day's work, and a natural reward for courage and conduct exercised on behalf of the people. The real interest in the event to them as to us is as to what is to come of all this, what was intended by the closing of Trafalgar Square and the police onslaught of the 13th of November. No one can doubt who looks on the matter fairly, whatever his political views may be, that the intention is the suppression of all meetings in the open-air that may seem inconvenient to the Government; and the Government, I may add, has now got an instrument in its hands which it can use whenever it pleases. The right of public meeting which our Radical friends fondly thought we possessed, turns out to have no existence; a practically irresponsible police officer can take upon himself to forbid any meeting, and can order the maiming or slaying of as many people as he pleases in the exercise of his *discretion*, if he chooses to disperse such a meeting.

This is Mr. Justice Charles's law, and certainly he is nobly earning his new promotion by laying it down so clearly, and by acting so frankly as the senior counsel for the prosecution, though this latter proceeding we are well used to by now. Let us have a sentence or two from his remarkable charge to the jury.

"He reminded them also, and he could not repeat it too strongly, that it matters not whether the purpose was lawful or unlawful . . . it did not matter a pin's head what the purpose was." "He had carefully considered Mr. Asquith's contention as to the right of public meeting in the Square, but he could find no evidence of the right on the part of the public to hold meetings in any thoroughfare . . . he could find no right to hold meetings in them [thoroughfares] for the discussion of any question at all, whether social, political or religious."

To us Socialists this is no news: we all remember the trial of our comrades Williams and Mainwaring at Clerkenwell in 1886, where similar doctrine was held, though nominally our comrades were tried for obstruction and not for "unlawful assembly"; we were then told that it was no use our bringing evidence to prove that there was no real obstruction, that the meeting itself was the offence although it gave no inconvenience to any single person. We knew well enough why our meetings were interfered with, but the press and our middle-class acquaintance rebuked us or jeered us for saying that it was because we were Socialists, and they kept saying that we could not be allowed to hold meetings which "inconvenienced the public," and that that was the only reason why the police interfered with us. The recent events prove beyond a doubt that we were right: if the Radical meeting called on Bloody Sunday had been merely a political one, even though it was connected with the Irish revolt, it would not have been interfered with: our Radical friends became on that occasion Socialists; and it must be said that the authorities are doing their best to keep them so.

In truth all discontented members of the lower orders are now looked on by the classes as Socialists, and there is reason in that too; since where else can they look save to Socialism for a remedy?

Mr. Justice Charles repeated the well-worn lie that the crowd in Trafalgar Square was largely composed of roughs; and said that there was no doubt that it was true: he must be a credulous person indeed if that is really his opinion. The fact was so notoriously the reverse of that, that we may be excused for pointing out to those who may still suppose that they will have any defence from law on such occasions, that if the police will stick to such an obvious lie as this and a judge will profess to credit it, it is clear that no meeting big or little can be safe from the charge of its being "largely composed of roughs."

Meetings in the open-air, therefore, are unlawful, and may be dispersed at the discretion of the police, whether they are social, political or religious. That is the law. The practice will certainly be that some unlawful assemblies will be winked at by the police. Tory or respectable Liberal meetings will not be meddled with, nor, as a rule,

will religious meetings; but Socialists will be put down whenever convenient as a matter of course, and Radical meetings also will often be harried when they are not consecrated to the cause of law and order by being called under the auspices of the Liberal leaders.

Thus at one stroke vanishes the dream of bringing about peaceably and constitutionally the freedom which we long for; (and we may hope not we only but many of our Radical friends also, although they have but a vague idea of what it means;) for if they do these things in the green tree what will they do in the dry? "Society" was a little alarmed, and much disgusted by the now regular unemployed agitation, and by that slight fear has been impelled to act in a way worthy of an ordinary absolutist government. Let the slight fear become a big one, the hand-writing on the wall grow clearer, and then we shall see suppression of indoor meetings also; suppression of associations, press prosecutions, and the like; and there is plenty of law for all that. What lies ahead of us is rougher work than languid "constitutional agitation"; passive resistance first, with the usual incidents of jail and fine and ruin, until our educational agitation has had its effect; then increase of reaction, increase of resistance; the occasion given by some special stupidity of reaction, not for one crisis but for several; apparent defeat maybe at first, but always as the seed of victory; till at last the reactionary brute force of the executive finds itself helpless even in the hour of its triumph. This is the vision which our enemies are forcing us to see by their present contemptible tyrannies, which seem so safe to them.

Meanwhile, Graham and Burn's sentence has turned all but the strongest stomachs for Coercion; the *Daily News*, the special Mr. Facing-both-ways of the party, calls for their immediate release. So we all do, but also for the immediate release of the victims of the drum-head court martial and of Edlin and Co., condemned on the evidence of the police who manufactured the riot and the tales against the "rioters," at once.

One word about the "gentlemen" who have been sent to prison. Their friends have been very busy trying to get them special indulgences in jail, naturally enough; but the result of this will be to make many middle-class people think that they are being treated worse than ordinary prisoners, since I now discover that it is only those who have a chance of being sent to prison who have any idea of what imprisonment means. Well, the fact is, as one of our comrades was saying to me the other day, that no "gentleman" would be treated as badly as any working-man. I add to this that when a "gentleman" comes out, unless his health has suffered, he is no worse than before; whereas a working-man is stamped by his imprisonment as a jail-bird whatever he has done. The subject of the prison system, however, is too wide a one to be treated in a mere note. Mr. Graham's spirited letter to the *Pall Mall* gives a hint of what lies at the bottom of it. Meantime, we say with our new contemporary, the *Star*, *Remember the unremembered!*

No doubt many Socialists were surprised that the jury did not find our friends guilty on all counts of the indictment; all that can be said about them was that they were commonplace. But the Edinburgh jury that acquitted our crofter friends were a very different set of men, and have recalled the best traditions of the days before '48, when the reactionists and democrats were at grips. All honour to them!

WILLIAM MORRIS.

THE ODD TRICK.

WE not unfrequently hear a certain school of sentimentalists sneer at Socialism as holding before men a merely low sensuous ideal of existence—of good living, etc., etc. We are accused by such of neglecting the higher ideals of Humanity for the affairs of the stomach and other still more despised organs. The usual and obvious retort to this sort of thing is the *ad hominem* one, that the persons who make the charge are themselves sufficiently well cared for in these lower matters to be able to afford to ignore them and turn their attention to things above. But though the gist of the matter is often contained in the above retort, it is as it stands, crude, unformulated, and impolite, even if it were always applicable, which it is not. Let us therefore for the nonce treat these people seriously and develop the answer to their objection in formulated fashion. For in truth this objection springs not merely

from deliberate hypocrisy or from thoughtlessness, but has its root in the ethical code in which they have been brought up. This ethical code teaches them that all the highest ideals of man's existence are attainable by a voluntary effort on the part of the individual, irrespective of his material surroundings, which are matters of small concern. The body is in fact a thing rather to be ashamed of than anything else.

Now I do not say that all our sentimental friends carry their sentiment to this extent, but that this principle—the principle of Christian Dualism as opposed to Pagan Monism—underlies their moral consciousness there can be no doubt. It is of course true that this view is facilitated by comfortable bodily conditions. It is easier to think meanly of the "body" when the "body" is all right than when it is not. And this very fact gives us, as we shall show directly, the key to the Socialist position on the subject. There are, however, not a few persons who in all sincerity hold the view that in the overcoming of the body—in the minimisation of all bodily satisfactions—is to be found the portal to the higher life of man, and who act up to their professions. Now it should be observed that to all who earnestly and sincerely accept the current ethical basis, the body still remains an *end*, although they profess to ignore it. It is an *end* to them just as much as to the epicure and the libertine, although in another way.

Now the difference between this orthodox and the Socialist way of viewing human life is, that the Socialist, while not pretending to ignore the body, yet wishes that it should cease to be the main *end* of human life. At present the satisfaction of personal bodily wants fills the mental horizon of the immense majority of human beings, the only alternative being with those would-be virtuous individuals whose mental horizon is filled, to a large extent at least, with the idea of the suppression of these same bodily wants. That the first of these conditions is unfavourable to the development of a higher life, be it moral, intellectual, or artistic, few would dispute. That the second is scarcely less so is equally obvious on a little reflection. For in the first place the continued struggle against natural wants, to live on next to nothing, to bear the greatest privations, in itself draws off vast stores of moral energy which is wasted on mere suppression. But if the victory is gained, if the man does not succumb in the process, if his devotion to his higher aim, of whatever nature it may be, is so exceptionally great as to carry him through, what has he gained and what has he not lost? He is purified through suffering, says the Christian. But in how many cases he metaphorically leaves his skin behind in the process; in how many cases he has lost an essential part of himself, those know who have had much intercourse with or who have studied the lives of those exceptional men who have successfully struggled with adversity, and who have observed the souredness, the onesidedness, the twistedness, so to say, of character thence resulting. No one can fail to admire and to honour the strength of purpose which enables a man to pursue a high aim in the midst of privations; but no one who looks at the matter without prejudice and in the light of broad human interests, can honestly say that the man is *better* as man for the privations through which he has come, even though he has accomplished his life-work in spite of them. Instances of this may be found in Chatterton, Beethoven, etc. Of course we leave out of account here the fact that under modern economic conditions it is not a case of being contented with a little which is at least there, but of a desperate and exhausting life-struggle to obtain sufficient to sustain life at all. We do so, as we are addressing not so much the avowed opponents of Socialism as those who, while professing to sympathise in a manner with its aims, have lingering prejudices in favour of the ascetic or shall I say the "austere republican" theory of life, and who therefore view with disfavour the stress modern Socialism lays on the satisfaction of mere material wants.

Now even the sentimental moralist in question must admit that at the present time the end-purpose of life is for the majority of men the satisfaction of natural personal wants. There are not a few, it is true, who pursue gain for the sake of gain, but this is generally *after* they have satisfied their animal wants. Now the apparent ideal of certain sentimental moralists I have heard talk, is an insurance against absolute destitution, and the rigid repression of all further desires over and above this minimum. The Positivists to a great extent hold this view. Such a state of things they think might be attainable (by a kind of state-socialism we suppose) within the framework of present society. The theory, therefore, is not distasteful to those who see that capitalism is unstable and indeed impossible to last as at present constituted, but who would willingly stave off the complete overthrow of the system. The latter are anxious merely to retain their monopoly of the good things of life, but they find a useful ally in the introspective moralist who winces at the idea of removing the causes of moral evil for fear of depriving the individual of the opportunity of resisting temptation, and who wants to keep him deprived of the necessities and conveniences of life that he may show his strength of mind in being able to do without them, shutting their eyes to the fact that they thereby perpetuate moral evil.

It is the scientific Socialist, who alone seriously wishes to lead men to higher aims than merely sensual ones, while caring not one jot for the empty moral gymnastics which are the end of the introspective moralist. He sees that his ideal human happiness, and that in the highest sense, is realisable rather in the enjoyment of all than in the restraint of each, even in the matter of mere material wants, and that the corrupting influence of luxury hitherto has mainly resided in the fact that it was not enjoyed by all. And his theory is based on knowledge of the "nature of things."

To the sick man what is the highest ideal? Health. His whole horizon of aspiration is filled in with the notion of health. To him,

health is synonymous with happiness. He recovers his health, and he finds now that there is something beyond that horizon—that over the mountains there are also oxen. Health now becomes a matter of course, which he accepts as such and does not think about; his mental horizon is now occupied with other objects. Had he remained sick he might have been resigned, but health would still have irresistibly presented itself to him as the ideal goal of life. So it is with the completion of health, which consists in the full, the adequate satisfaction of bodily wants. So long as they remain a desideratum for the majority of mankind, the majority of mankind will continue to regard them as the one end of life—notwithstanding the precept and example of the heroic ascetic who despises such low concerns. Let the mass of men once have free access to the means of satisfaction, and they will then for the first time feel the need of higher objects in life.

As a matter of fact, it is a trite observation that all the "higher life" of the world has been carried on by those classes who have been free from the presence of material wants, not by those who have been deprived of them or who have renounced them. What did the really consistent Christian ascetics—the St. Anthonies of the fourth century for example—accomplish beyond seeing visions, performing astounding feats of self-privation, etc.? Were they more than moral mountebanks? Do we not find, on the contrary, that the monks who really led the intellectual life of the middle ages, who were historians, philosophers, etc., spring from the wealthy Benedictines and other orders whose discipline was "lax," who kept a well-filled refectory, and whose morality was said to be questionable? So long as monasticism remained ascetic, intellectual life within the monasteries was impossible. Bodily cravings and the struggle to repress those cravings occupied men's whole attention. Another and still more striking instance of how the fact of every possible sensual enjoyment being within reach, forces the mind to seek satisfaction in something, which if it is not intellectual is at least non-sensual, is that of the *tyrannos* of the ancient city, or the wealthy noble, the provincial governor, the pro-consul, or prefect of the Roman Empire. No one can adequately conceive nowadays of the luxury and sensuous pleasure in which such characters as these literally weltered, of the gorgeous marble palaces, of the Persian coverings, of the Babylonian couches, the wines, dishes, and spices from every quarter of the known world, of the most well-favoured concubines that could be procured for money from Europe, from Asia, and from Africa—yet, strange to say, the possessor and enjoyer of all these things was never happy unless risking them all and his life included on the barren chance (in the first instance mentioned) of conquering another city, or (in the second) of intriguing for the purple, the attainment of which experience had taught, in nine cases out of ten, meant death within a few months. It was not that the conquest of the city or the ascent of the throne added to his luxury—which would have probably been impossible—this was not his object, but that having already his fill of all sensuous pleasures he looked for something more, and this something more he found in accordance with the manners of his age, in the notion of glory, the glory of founding a dynasty, or of being saluted absolute master of the world. We see a similar thing nowadays in the tradesman in possession of all that wealth can purchase, and in absence of all intellectual resources, who also in accordance with the manners of his age, finds his "something more" in commercial "success," which he continues to pursue for its own sake.

The introspective moralists, Christian, Positivist, or what not, are, therefore, right when they insist on the satisfaction of material wants not being regarded as the final end of human life. They are only wrong in not seeing that until obtained they must *necessarily* seem such to the vast majority of men. The signal failure in history of the doctrine of repression, whether it take the form of the "holiness" of the Christian, or the more plausible "ascetic discipline" of the Positivist, after a reign of two thousand years ought, one would think, to give these good people pause as to whether repression is, after all, so conducive to the higher life of man as satisfaction.

The true *telos* of human life, the "rational activity" of Aristotle, "the beautiful, the good, the true" of the young man who is taking to literary composition, may be compared, not to speak it profanely, to the odd trick in whist, which, though it is the object of the hand to win, yet presupposes the winning of six other tricks. Now the amateur of the "goody-goody" morality—the perfectionist of individual character—thinks to make the odd trick without having completed his regulation half-dozen. The Socialist is rather concerned that the human race as a whole, should each and all, "make" the first six tricks, called respectively, good and sufficient food and drink, good housing, good clothing, fuel, untaxed locomotion, adequate sexual satisfaction, knowing that before these are scored the "odd," which is the final purpose of the "play," will be impossible. With bad and insufficient food, with small and squalid dwellings, with scanty and shoddy clothing, with insufficient firing in cold weather, with the lack of change, and with inadequate satisfaction of a sexual kind, man may exist; but he (*i.e.*, the average man) will see nothing but these things in front of him, his ideal will still be them, and nothing else but them. When once he possesses them they become a part of his ordinary life, and he ceases to think about them. His horizon is then extended. He sees the final purpose of his life in things of which before he had never dreamed.

Once more, I repeat, let us make no mistake, all asceticism, all privation, is in itself an unmitigated evil. It is doubtless true that there are occasions when it is our duty, living in a period of struggle, to deprive ourselves, to sacrifice ourselves, for a better society. But even this deprivation, this sacrifice, is in itself an evil. It only becomes a good if it is undergone with the purpose of putting an end to the

sempiternal privation and sacrifice which civilisation imposes on the majority of our fellow-creatures. One can well appreciate the sacrifice of ourselves, the men of this generation, when necessary for the future, in all the respects named, but I confess that did I, like the Christians, the Positivists, and the sentimental Socialists, such as I understand Count Tolstoi to represent, believe privation and sacrifice (even "ascetic discipline"), be it in the most grovelling of material matters, to be the permanent lot of Humanity, my ardour in the cause of progress would be considerably damped.

One can scarcely conceive the nobler life which will result from generations of satisfied (rather than repressed) animal desires, once they are the lot not of this or that class, but of all. With food, drink, and other creature comforts to be had for the asking, they will cease to occupy the attention of human beings to an extent previously unknown in the world's history. Then for the first time will the higher aspirations and faculties of man have free play, the "something more," the "odd" trick, which is the real goal of human life, will assume a new character, and be pursued with an energy rivalling that hitherto devoted to personal gain, ambition or glory.

E. BELFORD BAX.

ADOLPH FISCHER.

The city of Bremen, on the banks of the Weser, in Germany, is Adolph Fischer's birthplace. The son of a wage-worker, he received there such education as the provision of the law affords to the mass of the people in the common schools. At the age of fifteen he sailed for the United States, and in the printing-office of his brother, William B. Fischer, at Little Rock, Arkansas, he learned the trade of a printer, at which he worked up to the time of his arrest. He married in 1881, and had three little children, one girl and two boys, who are at present with his widow in Chicago. In June 1883 he went with his family to Chicago, where he found employment as a compositor in the office of the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, working there till after the Haymarket affair. At the same time he was earnestly engaged in the agitations of the labouring classes, holding political and economical views commonly styled as Anarchistic ideas. He was one of the most active and energetic among the Chicago apostles of the new doctrines, untiring in his efforts toward educating his fellow-workers, and consequently looked upon by the opposite side as a very dangerous man.

In a sketch of his life he relates how, in his early youth, his mind began to grapple with the social problem. His father belonged to the Socialist party in Bremen, and the boy one day hearing his teacher in the class uttering derogatory remarks about the Socialists, went home to question his father whether his political friends were really such an awful bad, lazy, and heaving lot as the teacher described them to be. "Much to my surprise, my dear father laughed aloud and embraced me very affectionately. 'Dear Adolph,' he said, 'if Socialism is what your teacher explained it to be, why then the very same institutions which prevail now would be Socialistic!' And my father went on to show me how, in fact, there were so many idlers and indolent people under the now existing form of society, who were residing in palatial houses and living luxuriously at the expense of the sober and industrious working people, and that Socialism had the mission to abolish such unjust division. After this day I accompanied my father to Socialistic gatherings, and soon became convinced of the truth of what he said." The bright boy began to study Socialistic pamphlets and literature, and also to look about him with a keen observing eye. He saw the hardships of the toiling masses, their miserable hovels, and how the earnings of the most industrious of wage-workers were not sufficient to afford them and their families the pleasures and comforts of life. "I perceived that the diligent, never-resting human working-bees, who create all wealth and fill the magazines with provisions, fuel and clothing, enjoy only a minor part of their products, and lead a comparatively miserable life, whilst the drones, the idlers, keep the warehouses locked up and revel in luxury and voluptuousness. I saw men who manufactured shoes and boots and had helped fill the store-houses with these products ever since their boyhood, and yet they lingered to leave their shanties after rainy weather for fear of getting wet feet, and in many cases the toes of their children's feet peeped speakingly out of the top of the shabby shoes. Bricklayers were busy building houses from sunrise until sunset for several decades, yet as I looked about me I discovered but very few who called a house their own; they were bound to pay rent for the very same houses which they built. The clothing stores I knew to be crammed with goods, yet it was not a rare spectacle in my native city to see tailors walk about in the streets with pants patched to such an extent that they resembled chess-boards. My father's neighbour worked in a butcher's shop, but his wages were so low that his family could afford the luxury of one pound of meat only once a week—on Sunday. It did not require a profound thinker to discover that the prevailing institutions were based upon extortion from one class by another."

How SHOPKEEPERS WORK. — "Mr. Pumblehook appeared to conduct his business by looking across the street at the saddler, who appeared to transact his business by keeping his eye on the coachmaker, who appeared to get on in life by putting his hands in his pockets and contemplating the baker, who in his turn folded his arms and stared at the grocer, who stood at his door and yawned at the chemist. The watchmaker, always poring over a little desk with a magnifying glass at his eye, and always inspected by a group in smock frocks poring over him through the glass of his shop window, seemed to be about the only person in the High Street whose trade engaged his attention." — *C. Dickens' 'Great Expectations,' chap. viii.*

My writings have alternately been accused of a reactionary Conservatism and a dangerous Socialism, so that I may without presumption claim to be impartial. I love Conservatism when it means the preservation of beautiful things. I love Revolution when it means the destruction of vile ones. What I despise in the pseudo-Liberalism of the age is that it has become only the tyranny of narrow minds vested under high-sounding phrases and the deification of a policeman. I would give alike to a Capucin as to a Communist, to a Mormon as to a monk, the free choice of his opinions and mode of life. But this true liberty is nowhere to be found in Europe, and still less to be found in America, and this pseudo-liberty meddles with every phase of private life, and would dictate the rule of every single act. — *From 'A Village Commune,' by Guido.*

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 4, 1888.

29	Sun.	1737. Thomas Paine born. 1833. First "Reformed" Parliament met.
30	Mon.	1649. Charles I. beheaded. 1871. House of Representatives welcome Fenians to United States.
31	Tues.	1804. Lighting of the Beacons.
1	Wed.	1851. Mary Shelley died. 1875. Lock-out of 50,000 South Wales Miners.
2	Thur.	1808. Ledru-Rollin born. 1884. Wendell Phillips died.
3	Fri.	1757. Volney born. 1769. Wilkes expelled from Parliament for publishing "No. 45." 1813. Spanish Inquisition abolished. 1813. Leigh Hunt sentenced for "seditious libel."
4	Sat.	1553. Rogers burnt in Smithfield.

Welcoming the Fenians. — On Jan. 30, 1871, on motion of General Butler, the House of Representatives of the United States voted by 172 to 21 votes, a welcome to O'Donovan Rossa and the other Fenian refugees, who had just landed in America after their release from prison. — S.

Lighting of the Beacons. — During Napoleon's threats of invasion, the "patriotic" spirit of the people was wound up to a fearful pitch, when on the evening of Jan. 31, 1804, a beacon at Hulme Castle in Berwick was lighted by mistake, the signal flew from hill-top to hill-top throughout the whole northern half of Great Britain, bringing thousands of volunteers to their rallying-points at their highest speed. Those who read the account of that stirring time can but hope that when the signal is lit up in a more noble cause, the answer to it may be as prompt and the soldiers who respond be as brave and self-sacrificing. — S.

Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley, born Aug. 30, 1797; died Feb. 21, 1851. She was the daughter of William Godwin (author of *Political Justice*) and the famous Mary Wollstonecraft, who died at her birth. In 1814, she became the partner of the eventual life of the poet Shelley, after whose death in Italy, in 1822, she returned to England with her son. In character she resembled her father, Godwin, being somewhat cold and dispassionate in nature, and not fully sharing her husband's revolutionary enthusiasm, though an advocate of political and religious freedom. Her best known novel, 'Frankenstein,' was written in 1816. — H. S. S.

Wendell Phillips, born Nov. 29, 1811; died Feb. 2, 1884. Educated at Harvard; called to the bar in 1834; joined anti-slavery movement in 1837, enduring social ostracism, and risking not only poverty but peril innumerable; two years later retired from his profession because he could no longer keep the oath of fidelity to the United States constitution while it recognised slavery. An inspired speaker, master of all the resources of an orator, he wielded enormous influence; the speech delivered in 1859 over John Brown's grave has never been surpassed in America. He also spoke with great eloquence for temperance and the emancipation of woman. After the Civil War, Garrison gave up the leadership of the Anti-Slavery Society, saying the fight was won; but Phillips carried on the struggle until the negroes were made full citizens. In 1870, he resigned his office; he had previously taken up the labour question. Until within a short while of his death he continued to work for social, economic, and moral reform with as much vehemence as he had for his earlier cause—for the freedom of labour as for the emancipation of the slave. — S.

Spanish Inquisition. — Although it was decided at the Council of Verona, in 1184, to institute an inquisitorial tribunal, it was not before the Council of Latran, 1215, and that of Toulouse, 1229, that this tribunal became a permanent institution, in the shape of an ecclesiastical jurisdiction, empowered to prosecute opinions held contrary to Catholic orthodoxy. The real founder of the Inquisition was the monk Dominic, and Pope Gregorius IX., in 1233, gave the supreme direction of it to the monks of the Dominican order. The King of France, Louis IX., at the Conference of Melun, sanctioned the barbarous institution officially. The Inquisition was really born in France, on the occasion of the war of the Albigeois, at Toulouse, but it could not take root in that country, neither in England nor in Germany. The only important trials conducted by the Inquisitors in France were those of the Templars at Sens and at Paris, and that of Jeanne d'Arc at Rouen. But the very soil for the flourishing of that dreadful tribunal was Spain. Ferdinand V., the Catholic, gave to the Inquisition his official public sanction and endowed it magnificently. Under his reign and on the advice of Torquemada, the most iniquitous of all Inquisitors, more than 100,000 people were sentenced to death. From that very date of 1478 down to 1808, the annual average number of men sentenced to death and to ignominious punishments in Spain for the crime of heresy, was over 1100, and the Inquisition was only abolished at the time of the French invasion, by a decree of Napoleon in the year 1808 and again in 1813. The Inquisition has been established by the Spaniards everywhere in the world where they succeeded in settling their domination; in Mexico, Peru, all over South America, the Netherlands, the Philippine Isles, and Goa, where 80,000 people were burnt to death by the monstrous Catholic tribunal. Ferdinand VII., in the year 1814, re-established it, but without success, and it by-and-by disappeared completely. The Inquisition will everlastingly remain in the memories of men as the cruellest institution, born out of the intolerance of the Catholic Church. The best history of the Spanish Inquisition has been written by Juan Antonio Llorente, under the title of 'Historia Critica de la Inquisicion en Espana' (1813, 4 vols., 8vo.). It has been translated in nearly every European language. — V. D.

Leigh Hunt, the friend of Shelley, Byron, and Keats, was editor of the *Examiner*, of which his brother, John Hunt, was the proprietor. In the issue of March 22, 1812, he had commented in strong, though not by any means too strong terms, on some adulatory verses on the Prince Regent (afterwards George IV.), published by the *Morning Post*, in which the Prince was addressed as "The Glory of the People," "The Mæcenas of the Age," "An Adonis in Loveliness," etc. Leigh Hunt wrote: "Who would have thought in reading these astounding eulogies that this *Glory of the People* was the subject of millions of shrugs and reproaches? . . . That this *Exciter of Desire*, this *Adonis in Loveliness*, was a corpulent gentleman of fifty! In short that this *delightful, blissful, wise, pleasurable, honourable, virtuous, true, and immortal Prince* was a violator of his word, a libertine over head and ears in debt and disgrace, a despiser of domestic ties, the companion of gamblers and demireps, a man who has just closed half a century, without one single claim on the gratitude of his country or the respect of posterity!" For this he and his brother John were prosecuted for libel, and although the profligate character of the Prince was well known—in 1795 Parliament had discharged debts of his amounting in the aggregate to nearly £700,000—they were convicted, and sentenced by Lord Ellenborough to two years' imprisonment and to pay a fine of £500 each. The special jury which found them guilty was a very special one, for six out of the twelve were persons holding situations under the Government. — W. H. U.



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

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

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

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

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday January 25.

ENGLAND	FRANCE	SWITZERLAND
Jus	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
Justice	Le Socialiste	Geneva—Bulletin Continental
London—Ereic Presse	La Revolte	ITALY
Labour Tribune	Lille—Le Travailleur	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Norwich—Daylight	Nimes—L'Emancipation	SPAIN
Railway Review	HOLLAND	El Productor
Worker's Friend	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Madrid—El Socialista
INDIA	Amsterdam—Voorwaarts	GERMANY
Bankipore—Behar Herald	UNITED STATES	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Boston—Woman's Journal	BELGIUM	AUSTRIA
Chicago—Labor Enquirer	Seraing (Ougree)—Le Reveil	Arbeiterstimme
Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	Ghent—Vooruit	NORWAY
N. Haven—Workmen's Advocate	Liege—L'Avenir	Kristiania—Social-Democraten
St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	Antwerp—De Werker	ROUMANIA
Providence (R. I.)—The People	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde	Muncitorul

THE TRIAL OF BURNS AND GRAHAM.

THE termination of this case has rudely dispelled the illusion that a court of law would, on the matter being put before it, completely vindicate the right of meeting in Trafalgar Square. So sure, indeed, were certain advanced politicians of this that they used all their eloquence so dissuade the public from forcibly insisting on what it had hitherto regarded as its inalienable right. Free speech and the right of public meeting, it was asserted, were in no way endangered, for on the matter being put before the "Courts" it would then and there be established that the forcible exclusion of the public from Trafalgar Square was legally untenable. The out-of-office legal luminaries were so certain of it that they prognosticated the downfall of Warren and his confused retreat with his myrmidons before the scorn and indignation of an outraged public.

But the trial of Burns and Graham has left matters just where they were before, if indeed it has not made them worse; for it has proclaimed the autocracy of Sir Charles Warren and asserted his right through his subordinates to bludgeon the people. As to the right of public meeting, Justice Charles made it perfectly clear that no such right existed, "for so far as he could find, in the law of England, these places were for people to pass along—the purpose for which they were dedicated to the public use—and they were not to be used for any other purpose. And if the Square was held to be a place of public resort, then it would be analogous to public thoroughfares, and the public would have no right to hold meetings for discussions on social, political, or religious subjects in the place." He further laid it down that "if any persons assemble to carry out any common purpose, lawful or unlawful, in such a manner as to cause alarm to persons of courageous character," such assemblage is unlawful.

From this we clearly see that there is no right of meeting by the people at all, that all their meetings are held upon sufferance. This is a rude shock, if anything can shock them, to those Radicals who have asserted that the arrest of out-door speakers has been through their own faults, and not that of the authorities. This plea cannot be made now that it has been demonstrated that even in free England the most elemental principle of liberty does not exist.

The so-called advanced politician will begin now to consider the necessity of hawking about another picture besides that of outraged and libertyless Ireland—that of London and its imprisoned martyrs, Burns, Graham, and many others whose humble obscurity hides them from the public, will have to occupy a small place in his repertoire. Like the Seer of Hawarden, the mental vision of the people's leaders has become so concentrated on the Green Isle as to make them believe "that that alone was the land where liberty was not."

But this distracted attention from England to Ireland, and the supercilious indifference with which the appeals of the people to their leaders have been met since the beginning of the Trafalgar Square business, has all the appearance of an attempt to shuffle out of the matter by the leading Liberals and Radicals. They hoped the matter

would blow over, and had no desire to meddle, as it would be dangerous to interfere, lest lawlessness and disorder should be encouraged.

But the conviction and imprisonment of a democratic M.P. and a Social Democrat for "unlawfully assembling" at a place where many among them had harangued the people has caused a flutter of excitement and compelled them to bestir themselves to do something. And so they have met in solemn conclave and decided to wait until Parliament meets, and then— We shall see.

All this political shuffling is bad enough, but the "trial," "that mockery of Justice" just gone through at the Old Bailey, is even more disgusting. Here, for attempting to assert in a peaceful manner what had been esteemed for over thirty years a public right, two men, one of whom had been half murdered by the subordinates of Sir C. Warren, stood in the dock, charged with "taking part in a riot, with unlawfully assembling, and assaulting the police in the execution of their duty." The charges of riot and assaulting the police completely broke down and the judge felt himself compelled to make a sort of half apology to Graham for the injuries he had received at the hands of the police; he also maintained an air of impartiality during the "trial," until his "summing up," when he "shot his bolt," and made an excellent speech for the prosecution.

The conduct of the "prisoners" throughout the trial was in every respect most excellent. Mr. Asquith put forward the legal aspect of the case and Burns what may be called the moral. Burns was particularly smart in his cross-examination of Sir C. Warren, and that individual cut a most sorry figure while under it. If hard words broke bones the dressing down he received in the witness-box would be some satisfaction for the broken heads of Graham and others.

Of course the end of the "trial" conclusively demonstrates that whatsoever the authorities do is law. In fact that they are the law. Let those who doubt the truth of this assertion attempt to assert their "rights" against the wish of Sir Charles and his men, and their truncheons will speedily disillusionise them, and like Burns and Graham they will find themselves relegated to prison to reflect upon "the rashness of their conduct."

The law says that no one has the right to resist the police in the execution of their duty—that is, the orders of their superiors—for in so doing an unlawful act is committed. Which, translated into other words, means that a police-constable may strike anyone on the head with his staff, and that the person whose head is struck at dare not raise his arm to ward off the blow without being guilty of an unlawful act. It is the duty of a law-abiding citizen to allow himself to be bludgeoned, and then, if he thinks that he has been unjustly treated, to take his case into "Court."

But thank heaven, "we still have liberties left us," as a "soldier of Freedom" said the other day. We must not talk "sedition" à la Warren; but we may sing psalms at street corners and we may even talk politics, provided they be favourable to the ruling classes. "Ah, but you forget that we still have a free press." Yes, quite true, we have a free press for the most part owned by the ruling classes themselves, and used by them for furtherance of their own interests. A few papers there are, it is true, which to some extent do champion the cause of the workers and which will be permitted to do so, so long as the governing classes do not think it inimical to their interests. For all these blessings let us be truly thankful.

H. A. BARKER.

LAW AND WAR.

(Concluded from p. 18.)

LOOKING at all this, the learned German, Leopold von Ranke, says that the great mass of the people in civilised life have no real interest in politics, the economical and social questions being those which are of importance to them. They recognise that the political law-making process does not concern itself with these all-important social questions, but that it is a mere fight between the different sections of the privileged classes, each one attempting to grasp as much as possible to itself. From ages immemorial the weaker party in such struggles has called to its assistance those who at other times it holds as "people taillable et corvéable à merci et miséricorde" deluding them with fair words and promises, which stand on the pages of history, but do not show in the statute-book.

The established law has thus long since become a mere confused catalogue of jarring privileges, in which the great majority of mankind find themselves only mentioned as "the common people," subject to contribute taxes and to labour "at discretion"—not at their own discretion, but at that of the privileged persons. These last are over busy, as Ranke says, in attending to their own interests to have much disposition to look after the rights of the people. Yet if the rights of the people are of no weight, the fact that privilege is worthless without folk to exercise it on will move the dullest. Thus there is one set of laws showing the kind of attention, which might be expected from such a motive, to the pressing economical and social questions. It is the Poor Law. This is the upshot of the struggles of the privileged classes, so far as regards the great mass of the people. It consists of as brutal a set of enactments as in any time or nation have expressed the relations of the governors to the governed. The older parts are blood-thirsty; the more modern ones favour the slow torture of the work-houses. In 1833 and in the first Reformed Parliament, says William Cobbett, the commercial and landlord classes joined hands. They had no shame in proclaiming that the motive of their action was "the saving of their estates," and that this was to be done by compelling

the poor "to live on a coarser kind of food," and by making the condition of relief so horrible that but few would avail themselves of the offer. And they did this. That set of laws, the *Poor Law*, is the result of law-making so far as regards the good of the great majority all over the civilised world; they are merely the common soldiers, who do the fighting for their masters, and are pensioned off on the coarsest kind of food when they are invalided. And the wars that they waste themselves in are of the meanest description, the weapons being lies, adulteration, cheating, misrepresentation, and suppression of the truth.

All this goes on, it must be recollected, with the pretence of doing justice to all. There could not be an atmosphere more likely to promote the growth of humbugs. Nothing debases the mind so much as the deliberate defilement of an ideal. Men who have ever in their mouths the names of justice and right, while their business is to make or administer laws, which are nothing but weapons in the base struggle between different privileges,—men under such conditions must lose all sense of truth and reality. They are worse than the straightforward pirate. He at least makes no pretence when he takes all he can get, but he does not do a hundredth, not a thousandth, part of the mischief of one bad law. To destroy the pirate and to obey the law are, however, equally our "duty to God," as is continually dinned into our ears by our case-hardened legislators, lawyers, and political persons in general. If we venture to doubt, we are saluted as sacrilegious, as blasphemers, as robbers. These are the phrases of that unwritten law which is the necessary accompaniment of a statute law. It is in this way that the statute law does indirect harm as great as its direct evil. For the fixing of any set of ideas or opinions as if they were final is the very poison of education, and is most hostile to the free development of the mind.

The common phrases of praise or disparagement, such as "he comes of a good family," "he is a free-thinker," or "he has a well-regulated mind," and similar ones, are more suited to the breeding of pigs or of horses to go in harness, than to the free development of a thinking being. There are multitudes of other misleading phrases and catchwords which are the axioms on which are based the propositions of the unwritten law—e.g., "loyalty and religion," "queen and country," "party allegiance," "free contract," "free and independent elector," "civilization," "political honesty," "dispensation of providence." The general tendency of most of these is simply abominable. The phrase "free-thinker" is uttered by law-abiding people in a tone of detestation, which seems to imply that in their opinion whatever is for the time being the orthodox belief should be slavishly adhered to. In the early part of last year a respectable person named Lord Norton wrote to the papers explaining that party allegiance properly required men to uphold in Parliament measures which they may have opposed in the Cabinet. When young we are directed to read "good" books, which tell us to speak the truth. To profess belief in what one does not understand, and to uphold as advantageous to the country what you think is quite the contrary, is not speaking the truth.

The ideas expressed in such phrases are fixed on the mind when it is young and impressionable, and by the time the youth becomes a man he is full furnished with a set of compelling or prohibitory laws which hamper him on every side—"You *must* do this," or "you *ought* not to read that," "people *ought* to go to church on Sundays, and men *ought* to wear tail-coats at balls," "you *ought* to be content with your position in life," "there *must* be rich and poor," "the law *must* be enforced." The same actions in people of different positions in life are not estimable equally. A bishop may say that he finds in the writings of St. Anselm, let us suppose, something going much deeper than "la propriété c'est le vol," and his congregation will praise him for his nice sermon. But a working man who maintains before his fellows that privilege is based on robbery, is despised, if not punished, as a "wild mob-orator." In the mouth of the dignitary the words mean as little as his professions of Christianity; but the little prefix "mob" insinuates the unwisdom of our allowing the poor to begin to think for themselves.

If any one casts doubt on the truth or worth of these enactments, the strong arm of the unwritten law is stretched forth, and he is hurled out of good society, or the milder punishment of boycotting is inflicted on him by the respectable classes. These may seem trivial matters; but it is I think a most serious thing that the human mind should be cramped so as to find guidance in these petty and inquisitive provisions, which pretend to deal with mental questions by means of fixed enactments, just as the statute law does with our material surroundings. The established law in its two branches forms an oppressive and searching tyranny. The free exercise of our physical powers is altogether prevented, the outlines of justice are confused, and the mind, enervated by the use of leading strings from its very birth, falls feebly under the guidance of any man in authority, even a newspaper editor or a policeman. Independent thought is prevented from developing itself, and thus the answers given to those questions which will thrust themselves forward, consist too often of empty phrases and arguments not carried out.

This review of the effects of an established law leads to a twofold conclusion. The first refers to the present condition of society, whose laws do little else than regulate the internecine war always going on between the different sections of the privileged classes, and the transference backwards and forwards of the people from master to master.

The very fact that, after so many centuries of struggles for reform, often distinguished by the wisdom and self-sacrifice of able and earnest men, the condition should be what it now is, involves to a great extent the second conclusion. This is that reform is impossible, and that the

system itself is in its very nature bad. It indicates the impossibility that any fixed legal system should continue, even for a limited period to be in accord with reason and justice. There is the accompanying and greater evil of the mental effect, that to those who are born into an unjust system, injustice should from custom come to seem just.

I am far from blaming our forefathers. They were quite as witty and as wise as this generation. They framed various systems of law, which were not obviously unjust, but sometimes contained such partial justice as can in any case be secured by the organisation of a society in classes. But while the law remained constant, circumstances changed, and succeeding generations were born into a society of ever increasing injustice. This, however, seemed natural and right, since they were born into it. We cannot blame them, we must pity them for that. All animals are in this respect the same, and defend that which to them seems natural. Slight as may be the privilege into which a man is born, he defends eagerly what to him seems so naturally just, and others allow the privilege because it is but trivial. Once granted it is never willingly abandoned, and the action of the ambitious members, and the accidents of time and place, will always tend to add new privileges to a family or tribe. Privileged tribes and families have no doubt decayed and disappeared, but only that a stronger rival may enter into the inheritance. It would seem that privilege once started has a fatal tendency to grow, and that there can be but one result to a growth, by which from age to age, a class changeable in form yet always a class, is continually receiving and never losing some advantage. The result of the ever increasing riches of the few, and the ever increasing misery of all, is before us to-day. We are concerned with the double business of destroying the monstrous growth, and of taking care that the evil seed is not again planted.

That evil seed is privilege, and history has given us abundant warnings as to its dangers, and of how it spreads insidiously through every legal system. What I mean by a privileged man is one who, with the declared or tacit consent of other people, takes certain things for his own benefit and enjoyment, or prevents others from using them, although he has done nothing to entitle him to this consideration. Even the claim, "to every one the results of his own labour," involves a privilege or the contrary; the strong and able man has already the advantage of more enjoyment in life, and cannot therefore justly claim that he should be still further privileged in being allowed for little toil to receive the same from the common stock, that the feeble man can only secure by severe labour. To settle such difficult questions is beyond the present time, corrupted as even the freest mind is by its surroundings. But what we can see is the necessity of destroying root and branch every existing system of law and government, as the very embodiment of class-rule and privilege; and what we should urge is that any society, once freed from these shackles, which should allow the arrangements which it may make for its convenience to crystallize into a fixed legal system, will be started along a blood-stained path towards a bog of misery, just as, in the past and in the present, every civilised country of the world has fared.

C. J. FAULKNER.

NEWSPAPER "PLOTS."—Some day we shall have to hang an editor or two, and a few correspondents, to cure them of wanton sensationalism.—*Weekly Dispatch*.

The *Evening Star* has risen and shines (at 3d. per copy) on the darkness of London. It has not appeared before it was wanted, and all who are on the side of freedom must fervently wish that the closing words of its first article may be fulfilled, "We come to stay." We urge upon every one of our readers who takes an evening paper, the necessity of supporting the *Star* rather than any of its rivals. It and the *Pall Mall Gazette* are the only dailies which have a word for the workers, and if it keeps on as it has begun, the *Star* will go far to achieve one great thing towards the higher development of society—giving a voice to the dumb driven millions.

Lord Henry Bruce, M.P., speaking at Malmesbury the other day chiefly in favour of protection, finished his speech by saying that "the Government should place some restraint on the immigration of Socialists and paupers into England." It is recorded that Balaam's ass once spoke, and to some purpose, as it warned him of a danger. Lord Henry Bruce has followed his example, and shown us the meaning of Mr. Arnold White's anxiety for defending the poor people in the East-end against the competition of cheap foreign labour. It is not the welfare of the poor slaves in the East-end but the welfare of their masters which is aimed at: it is the fear of Socialism which they are to be guarded against. That may become necessary if Bismark's new coercion bill is passed intact.—W. M.

You have given the name of a science to what is yet an imperfect inquiry, and the upshot of your so-called science is this, that you increase the wealth of a nation by increasing the quantity of things which are produced by labour, no matter what they are, no matter how produced, no matter how distributed. The greater the quantity of labour that has gone to the production of the quantity of things in a community the richer is the community. That is your doctrine. Now, I say, if this be so, riches are not the object for a community to aim at. I say the nation is best off in relation to other nations which has the greatest quantity of the common necessities of life distributed among the greatest number of persons; which has the greatest number of honest hearts and stout arms united in a common interest, willing to offend no one, but ready to fight in defence of their own community against all the rest of the world because they have something in it worth fighting for. The moment you admit that one class of things without any reference to what they respectively cost is better worth having than another, that a smaller commercial value with one mode of distribution is better than a greater commercial value with another mode of distribution, the whole of that curious fabric of postulates and dogmas which you call the science of political economy, which I call *politice economica in-scientia*, tumbles to pieces.—*Crotchet Castle*, by T. L. Peacock.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

About two thousand Dundee millworkers struck work on Tuesday, their demand for an increase of wages having been refused.

The strike of joiners at Edinburgh still continues. The men who are out are receiving strike allowance, non-society men being paid the same sum as those who are members of the union.

The Glasgow Tinplate Workers Society has successfully resisted an attempt by one of the Clyde firms to increase the working hours from 51 to 54 per week.

After long agitation the Dublin Hairdresser's Association has succeeded in getting all the hairdressing establishments closed on Sundays. Notices are posted up in all the trades society rooms calling upon the members to boycott any establishment open on Sunday.

MIDDLESBROUGH STEEL-WORKS.—At a mass meeting of steel-workers at Middlesbrough on the 19th inst., it was stated that the masters had threatened to close the North-Eastern Steel-works for six weeks in order to starve into submission the seven hundred men who are locked out. A resolution was passed condemning the masters' attempt to break up the Steel-workers' Union.

SCOTTISH MINERS.—Matters in Fife and Clackmannan have assumed a serious aspect, consequent on the enforcement announced by the masters two weeks ago of a reduction in wages by 10 per cent. Mass meetings have been held at Cowdenbeath and Dysart at which it was resolved to strike at once. At Dunfermline it was agreed to finish the contract and take a fortnight's holiday, with a view to reducing stocks and maintaining the present wages.

REDUCTION.—In consequence of the continued depression in the stove-grate trade, one of the staple trades of Rotherham, the Wheathall Foundry Co. gave their moulders and other workmen a fortnight's notice of a 10 per cent. reduction, and the notice expired on Monday evening. A notice to the effect that work would be resumed at the reduction had been posted in the yard, but on Tuesday a number of the men did not put in an appearance.

THE FACTORY ACT AT THE EAST-END.—At the Thames Police Court on the 19th inst., Morris Miller, of 11 Greenfield Street, Whitechapel, was summoned by Mr. Lakeman, an inspector of factories, for unlawfully employing a young person after the hour of ten o'clock at night—namely, until a quarter to eleven. He pleaded guilty, and was fined 30s. and 4s. costs. Jacob Rosenberg, of 37 Yalford Street, Whitechapel, was summoned for a like offence, and was fined 20s. and 4s. costs. Aaron Koski, of 30 Myrdle Street, Whitechapel, appeared to answer three summonses for unlawfully employing one woman and two young persons until the hour of half-past eleven p.m. He also pleaded guilty, and was fined on the first case £3 and 4s. costs, and on each of the two others £1 and 4s. costs.

THE ARBITRATION DODGE.—At a special meeting of union men engaged in the boot and shoe trade in London held last week, a resolution emanating from the Employers' Association, asking the workmen's Union to agree to refer all disputes to arbitration, came on for discussion. The dodge was to get the men to agree to arbitration, then to apply for a revision of their Statement (for "revision," read "reduction"), then to call in the arbitrator and trot out the new Northampton Statement; and then Mr. Arbitrator, honest man though he might be, would almost certainly at once decide in favour of the Employers' Association. The voting was by ballot, and the reply was almost unanimously in the negative. It is very probable that in the autumn we shall witness a lock-out in London on similar lines to the recent lock-out in Northampton.—H. McK.

The foregoing report is very interesting, following on the heels of the arbitration in the case of the Bolton engineers. See the excellent observations by the *Cotton Factory Times*, reprinted below.—T. B.

ORGANISING THE IRON-WORKERS.—A mass meeting of iron-workers, convened by the District Committee of the Ironworkers' Association, was held last Saturday night at Wolverhampton. Mr. W. Aucott (Wednesbury), president of the association, alluded to the condition into which the iron trade had fallen. They were now in a condition as bad or worse than that of twenty years ago. That was a disgrace to their manhood. Nothing was needed but that they should be prepared to pledge themselves to each other, and the immediate future would be brightened. Mr. E. Trow (Darlington), secretary of the Iron and Steel Workers' Association of Great Britain, said the misery that had been entailed upon them was owing to the utter disorganisation that had prevailed during the past ten or twelve years. He did not know any other trade where the position of the men was so deplorable owing to the want of confidence in the leaders. If they worked together they must shake off the trammels of Liberalism and Conservatism, and disbelieve in both. At present they were working with their noses to the grindstone from morning to night, and then when they were old they had to seek an asylum in the workhouse. Pensions must be given to officers who lived on the taxes for years; the privates were paupers, and the labourers who paid the taxes became poor. This was done because there were thirty millions of fools working for six millions of rogues. The matter was in their own hands. Mr. Cox moved, "That this meeting pledges itself to use every legitimate means to induce all men connected with the iron and steel trades of this district to become members of the Associated Iron and Steel Workers, and by this means support and strengthen the Wages Board." The motion was carried unanimously.

MANCHESTER.—In spite of the statements in the capitalist press of a recent improvement in trade, there are no signs of a decrease in the large numbers of "unemployed" in the Manchester district; on the contrary, the already large number of "out-of-works" is being added to daily. Large batches of men in the various branches of the building trades, especially joiners, have been "suspended" or discharged during the last few weeks. In Manchester and Salford there are nine free libraries, and in the public reading rooms attached to these are daily to be found large assemblies of the unemployed. An observant spectator will easily perceive that the majority of the visitors at the libraries do not attend solely for the purpose of study. As a rule, those who are unemployed visit the reading-room to get a glance at the "Wanted" columns of the newspapers to see if there is a "chance of a job"; then after a weary tramp round the district seeking work at the various factories, workshops, etc., they return, tired and footsore, to the libraries to obtain a little rest on the benches. As a rule, men who have exhausted their energy in the fruitless search for work have little desire for intellectual study. Who is he who can be surprised at a broken-hearted worker seeking consolation in a "drop of drink"? Large numbers of workers of all grades, but mostly navvies, are migrating to Manchester

seeking a "permit" to work at the Ship-canal dock, only to meet with the reply "full up" at present. As a result of the stringent tests applied by the local Guardians of the Poor to applicants for temporary out-door relief, and the extraordinary influx of "surplus labour," "vagrancy" has increased to an extent hitherto unknown. Batches of men, women, and children are to be found daily and hourly making appeals for alms by singing "Moody and Sankey" hymns in the streets up till midnight, and the number of tramps who knock at our cottage doors at night begging a crust of bread is beyond computation. It is heartrending to see the hundreds of applicants for situations advertised in the local papers. No sooner is it known that a "hand" is wanted at an office or a workshop than hundreds of unemployed workers are crowded round the door or gate pushing and struggling to get in the front. Yet in spite of all this anxiety to obtain employment, we workers are told by our masters we are lazy, drunken, and unthrifty. Verily we the "sweated" are slow to learn the lesson our masters so ably teach us.—CITIZEN SPECIAL.

NORFOLK IRON WORKS—RULES AND REGULATIONS.

1. For the future the weavers and winders will be supplied with slates, which they must take from the Time Office, and fill with a record of the various sizes and widths of netting, or quantities of wire wound, together with the time occupied upon such work, and the total time made in the day. The slate to be delivered in the Time Office on leaving.
2. *Loss of Time.*—Any workman losing two quarters in one week will be stopped for two days.
3. *Place of Workman.*—A weaver's post is beside his machine; if away from the same without permission or for necessary purposes he will subject himself to a fine.
4. *Netting bundles* taken from the rails must be stood up *on end* and not thrown down and trampled upon.
5. *Bobbins.*—Weavers must not take the bobbins from the machines until they are completely emptied. Anyone doing so, or any winder discovered filling on a bobbin partially filled with wire, will be fined one shilling. The bobbins, when empty, must not be thrown about; anyone doing so, and causing the bobbins to be broken, must pay their value.
6. *Wilful Damages to Boxes and Plant generally.*—All the boxes used for springs, waste wire, or any other purposes must be carefully used. Any wilful damage to the same, or to the plant or fittings, must be paid for by the offending person. If the offender cannot be discovered, the amount will be divided equally amongst all those employed in the mill.
7. *Waste Wire.*—Great care must be taken by weavers and winders when mending or joining work (whether from springs, reels, or selvages) not to use or cut off pieces unnecessarily long. All such waste pieces *must* be placed in the boxes supplied for the purpose, and any excess of waste will be charged to each workman. Pieces found on the floor, or under the platforms by the machines, will be weighed, and at the end of the week the value of the same will be equally divided amongst all the weavers, and deducted from their wages. The same rule will apply to the winders. Should any workman be found cutting up pieces of wire and putting them into boxes as waste he will be fined one shilling in addition to the value of the wire so wasted.
8. *Cleanliness of Machines.*—Each weaver or winder must spend at least half-an-hour weekly on cleaning down his engine. Care must be taken to clean off all the accumulation of rust, grit, and pieces of wire from the back of the netting on the top slides. All the shafting and wheels on the machine must also be wiped down with clean oily rags. Such rags must *not* be thrown upon the floors and trampled upon.
9. *Gas.*—Each weaver will be held responsible for turning off the gas-burners belonging to his machine. Should any taps be found *on* at any time when not required for the machines, whether the gas is on at the meter or not, will be fined one shilling.

[The fact that such rules should be deemed necessary proves clearly the existence of the class war which we Socialists are striving to end. Intelligence just to hand as we go to press, reports a revolt of the workers and the withdrawal of the rules at present.—T. B.]

ARBITRATION A FRAUD.

Few trades unionists who know anything about the way in which labour disputes have been settled by arbitration will be surprised at the umpire's decision in the case of the late strike in Bolton. We have never entertained the slightest idea that the result would be different to what it turns out to be; and after this taste of bitter experience the iron-workers will understand the true value of arbitration as it is applied in trade disputes, and, like the cotton operatives, know better than to rely upon the principle as a means of securing justice whenever a difference arises between the employers and themselves. The men have no one to blame but themselves for allowing the strike to take the course it did, and they must accept the situation with as much grace as the circumstances call for, taking care that the lesson they have just learned is not lost in any future difference which may arise. The Spinners' and Weavers' Associations have long since learned to know that they must rely upon their own strength and support to secure what they deem requisite in regard to both prices and wages, and if justice cannot be obtained by conciliatory means or strikes, they are willing to forego their claims rather than allow the unsatisfactory means of arbitration to be used against them. What has been found wanting in this line of procedure by the mill-hands in Lancashire may be found by workers in all other trades, and we don't hesitate to recommend the rejection of arbitration in all kinds of labour disputes, as the workers invariably come off second best in all cases where disputes are settled in that way. Strikes may be denounced by the press, and those of the public who don't understand the nature and details which lead up to the disputes, but we find that the only sure way to obtain anything like justice between employer and employed is for the latter, through their trade organisations, to be prepared to follow a spirited policy in defence of what is near and dear to them, and, if need be, never be afraid of striking when other means have failed them. Mr. Pope is not to be blamed. He has acted not only in accordance with custom and precedent, but also, we are willing to believe, fairly according to his lights. It is the system which is to blame. So long as working men are willing to be gulled into allowing members of the upper ranks to settle their affairs for them, so long will the result be nothing but "vanity and vexation of spirit." Under proper conditions, arbitration might possibly be adopted as a more satisfactory method of settling a proportion of disputes than strikes, but the proportion would be small. Under the system and rules hitherto adopted it is nothing but a fraud, and it is to be hoped that the last lesson will not be lost upon those interested.—*Cotton Factory Times*.

AMERICA.

In Brooklyn the flint-glass factories operated by members of the Eastern Association of Flint Glass Manufacturers were all practically closed last week, and are likely to remain closed for some time, as neither the manufacturers nor the men show any signs of giving in. The fight is not on wages but on rules adopted by the bosses which the men object to and say they will not return to work until they are abolished.

The Secretary of State Committee of the United Labour Party (Georgeites) stated that it was likely that a conference of members of the party from various parts of the State would be held the latter part of this month, to consider preliminaries for a national convention.

The employés at Hubbard and Co.'s works at Pittsburgh struck against a 10 per cent. reduction in wages. The works closed down, and 300 men are idle.

T. P. Barry of the Executive Board K. of L. has been in Chicago settling the quarrel between the painters and hard-wood finishers. The latter tends to decrease the painters' work wherever used. It is understood that the two trades will be united, the latter coming under the head of interior decoration.

The employés at the seven furnaces owned by Carnegie, Phipps, and Co., at Braddock, Pa., made a demand to-day for 10 per cent. advance in wages. The firm allege that the condition of the steel-market will not justify an advance and instead the men will have to accept a slight reduction.

The cigar-makers' strike so long expected in New York is quietly extending, and is expected to grow from day to day. The war on the tenement-houses has opened in earnest, and a committee from the Cigarmakers' International Union will make an investigation of the tenement-house factories and report on their sanitary condition.

The steam-pipe and boiler felters of New York went on strike yesterday. The men demand 3 dol. 50 c. per day for nine hours work, and object to being compelled to have a recommendation from one employer before they can secure work from another.

The weavers in the Fern Brook Carpet Works at Yonkers are returning to work.

The railroad coal miners of Pittsburgh district held a convention at Pittsburgh, and after requesting the miners in the employ of congressman W. L. Scott to come out for the Columbus scale, promised to donate 5 cents per ton for their support during the strike.

The Cambria Iron Company, employing 5000 men at Johnstown, Pa., have decided to make a reduction in wages of 10 per cent. in February unless business improves.

The thirteenth annual convention of the Bricklayers and Masons' International Union, in session at Boston, are arranging for a closer affiliation of the different branches of the building trades.

LIST OF STRIKES FOR JANUARY.

Reading Company railway employés	...	...	...	8,500
Schuylkill Valley—Coal employés (Reading Co.)	...	...	...	20,000
Philadelphia, Pa.—Street-sweepers (Italian), for higher wages, Jan. 4...	...	...	...	252
Carlisle, Pa.—Shoe-factory hands, against reduction, January 4	...	...	...	100
Sandwich, Mass.—Glass-workers, against new rules by manufacturers...	...	...	...	300
Brooklyn—Glass-factory hands, January 2	...	...	...	1,000
Philadelphia—Shut-down by glass-manufacturers; non-acceptance by employés of new scale, January 2	...	...	...	400
Cincinnati, Ohio—Carriage-painters, discharge of four men who refused to work overtime, January 1	...	...	...	121
New York city—Livery-stable hands, January 4	...	...	...	11
East Weymouth, Mass.—Shoe-hands, for advance, January 2	...	...	...	25
Philadelphia—Weavers, against extra work, January 5	...	...	...	26
Toledo, Ohio—Wheel-makers, against reduction, January 3	...	...	...	50
New Bedford, Mass.—Glass-makers, against new rules, January 3	...	...	...	—
Corning, N. Y.—Glass-makers, against new rules, January 3	...	...	...	—
Pittsburgh, Pa.—Coal-drivers, question of business management, Jan. 2	...	...	...	—
Pittsburgh, Pa.—Boys in nail-factory, against reduction, January 2	...	...	...	50

Total number of strikers known to January 5 ... 31,118

New York, January 11, 1888. HENRY F. CHARLES.

SIX YEARS STRIKES AND LOCK-OUTS IN AMERICA.

COMMISSIONER Carroll D. Wright, in his third annual report of the Bureau of Labour Statistics, reports strikes and lock-outs in the United States for six years ending December 31, 1886, as follows:

Years.	Strikes.	No. of establishments involved.	Average ditto in each strike.
1881.....	471	2,928	6.2
1882.....	454	2,105	4.6
1883.....	478	2,759	5.8
1884.....	443	2,367	5.3
1885.....	645	2,284	3.5
1886.....	1,412	9,593	7.0
Totals	3,903	22,336	5.7

The strikes and number of establishments affected in New York during that period were almost one-half of the above totals.

The total number of employés involved in the whole number of strikes for the entire period is shown to have been 1,318,624. The number of employés originating the strikes was 1,020,832. The number of employés in all establishments before the strikes occurred was 1,662,045, while the whole number employed in the establishments involved after the strikes occurred was 1,636,247, a loss of 25,798. There were 103,038 new employés engaged after the strikes, and 37,483 were brought from other places than those in which the lock-outs occurred.

Of the strikes reported, 82 per cent. were ordered by labour organisations, and of the lock-outs 81 per cent. were ordered by combinations of manufacturers. Of the total strikes 46½ per cent. were successful, 13½ per cent. were partially successful, and in round numbers 40 per cent. failed. Of the lock-outs ordered nearly 26 per cent. were successful, 9 per cent. succeeded partially, and 60 per cent. failed. The demand for increase of wages was the reason of 42 per cent. of the strikes, 19 per cent. were for shorter hours, and 8 per cent. against reduction of wages. For shorter hours and higher wages 7½ per cent. struck. The cost of the strikes to employés in the shape of loss of wages during the six years was 51,816,165 dollars, and of lock-outs 8,132,717, or a total of wages of 59,948,882. The total loss to employers was 34,164,914 dollars, of which 30,732,658 was caused by strikes and the balance by lock-outs.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

GERMANY.

Our readers are aware that Bismark intends to strengthen the existing laws against Socialists. The following modifications are to be introduced. The duration of the new law is to be until September 30, 1893. Paragraph 19 will run as follows: He who distributes or reprints a copy of a forbidden or even a temporarily confiscated print (newspaper, leaflet, pamphlet, book, design, cartoon, etc.), shall incur a fine of one thousand marks (£50) or a term of imprisonment of one year. The exposure of such a paper in public is equal to its distribution. Paragraph 22: Persons who are classed in the category of "habitual" propagandists of Socialism, are to be punished with imprisonment not under two years. Besides, such persons may be compelled to take up their residence in given localities, fixed by judgment. A new paragraph 22 a. is to be added; it says: Persons who belong to a body that aims at rendering impossible, by unlawful means, the execution of the anti-Socialist laws, may also be compelled to reside in a locality designated to them by judgment. Under paragraph 22, or in the case of paragraph 19, sec. 2 (membership of prohibited associations) such persons may be declared void of their right of State citizenship. These persons are to be banished from Germany altogether. Paragraph 25 a. (new) says: A German who takes part, in a foreign country, in a meeting intending to promote the doctrines of Socialism, is to be punished with imprisonment, and he may be deprived of his right of State citizenship (banishment). If Bismark succeeds in passing this bill, he will at once have reached the summit of political scoundrelism.

The discussion on the prorogation and enforcement of the anti-Socialist laws will commence this week in the Reichstag. The Socialist deputy, August Bebel, aided by C. Singer and others, will make an interpellation on the subject of the police-agents of Bismark, and the whole subject of their "ways and manners." It is rumoured that startling revelations will be made, and every Socialist will do well for his own instruction to follow the discussions as closely as he possibly can.

William Liebnicht, formerly deputy of the Reichstag, will stand as a candidate in the Vith. district of Berlin, where an election is becoming necessary, the Socialist deputy Hasenclever, the former member for that district, being helplessly unable to resume his seat.

The German police have added a new paper to the list of the prohibited Socialist organs, the *Londoner Freie Presse*. Just the very means of pushing it!

The Socialists at Dresden have spread throughout their town a considerable number of pamphlets containing the names and addresses of all the shopkeepers, eating-house keepers, bakers, butchers, grocers, etc., who have taken an active part in the last electioneering campaign against the Socialist candidates to the Reichstag and to the Saxonian Chamber of Deputies, inviting all Socialists not to provide themselves of anything whatever at the shops of these reactionaries.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

In mentioning last week the Socialist papers which our Austrian friends publish under great difficulties and trouble of all kinds, I forgot to notice four of them, which I give below: 1. *Arbeiter Wochen-Chronik* (Weekly People's Chronicle), edited by Trlingen and comrades, at Budapest; 2. *Nepešavcu* (the Voice of the People), weekly, edited by the same; 3. *Praca* (Labour), a weekly Polish paper, at Lemberg; 4. *Radnicki Glasnik* (the Workers' Journal), published at Agram in the Croatian language. With the eleven papers quoted last week this gives a set of fifteen Socialist papers which, each in their own line, make a good deal of propaganda in one of the most reactionary lands of Europe.

Our Austrian comrades have published a very interesting pamphlet, entitled "Die Debatte über die Auslagen der Staatspolizei" (the Discussion on the Expenses of the Political Police), containing the speeches made in the Austrian House of Parliament by Messrs. Terner-Horfer and Kronawetter, and wherein it can be seen how the secret police organise plots and conspiracies in order to "detect" them afterwards, and to send to prison dozens of Socialists who were honest and candid enough to believe in the genuineness of the "plot-makers."

BELGIUM.

The conditions of work become worse every week. There is not the slightest appearance of any revival of trade. There are 4,000 shoemakers at Brussels, of whom two-thirds are completely out of work, and not more than 200 earn a "tolerable" living. Among those who work, a good many are making *eighteen hours* a-day (not a nice symptom of solidarity!), and receive daily wages of 2 fr. 75 c. (2s. 3d.). The shoemakers attribute this sad situation to the enormous increase in the sale of cheap shoes. *Naïf* shoes are no longer made by men of the trade. The sweaters employ, for filing and nailing purposes, out-of-work men of other branches, house-painters, cabinet-makers, etc. Shoemaking is disappearing altogether in Belgium, and ere long the houses where shoes are made by "skilled workers" will be compelled to stop their business for lack of experienced "hands." Herve, Lierre, and Sotteghem are the three provincial places where most of the "cheap" goods are made, and from there the hawkers spread their bad stuff all over the country. The competition of prison-work is also very compromising for the trade. At Brussels, there are no more than five or six houses where "good" shoes are made, and each of these employ three or four "skilled" workers earning from 15s. to 18s. a-week!

The carpenter's trade also is very slack, since metallic frame-work supercedes nearly all timber-work. Out of the 600 federated carpenters of Brussels, over 300 are unemployed. From 1876 down to the present moment their wages have steadily been diminishing. The cabinet-makers are no better off; they earn from 3d. to 4d. per hour at Brussels, and in the provinces from 2½d. to 3d.! Up to 1881, the upholsterers had 5½d. per hour; now-a-days they earn 3½d., and there are a great number of unemployed. Important houses of Brussels have their factories in the provinces, where the wages are lower, and so the Brussels upholsterer has to suffer in that way also from competition.

One-half of the marble-cutters are out of work, and the others only do six hours a-day. The stove-makers are very badly off; the ironmongers and locksmiths workers have considerable numbers of unemployed.

As for the larger industries, specially situated in the provinces, our readers already know that the glass-blowers, the miners, the moulders, the weavers, the engineers, etc., suffer very keenly from the results of the dreadful economical crisis (which has now lasted more than three years) upon the workers generally. In short, the outlook in Belgium is very dark indeed, and our friends there should organise themselves strongly for events which are perhaps near at hand!

V. D.



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A. Sch., 4s. Oxford Branch, 5s. Weekly Subscriptions—C. J. F., 2s. 6d. K. F., 1s. Langley, 2s. P. W., 6d. W. B., 6d.

Strike Committee.—Collected in Regent's Park, Jan. 21, 3s. 4½d.—J. LANE.

REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—On Thursday, Jan. 19, W. W. Bartlett lectured on "Before the Dawn," treating his subject in rather an interesting and unusual manner.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, Jan. 18, T. Bolas lectured on "A Real People's Parliament." Sunday, Jan. 22, W. Utley on "Modern Society." Good and instructive discussions.—B.

FULHAM.—Tuesday at Fulham Cross, Tochatti, Smith, and Day spoke. Some opposition easily disposed of by Tochatti and Day. Sunday morning meeting at Walham Green, addressed by Knowles, Mahony, Tochatti, and Fry. 38 *Commonweal* sold, and 4s. 4d. collected for branch. In evening at 6.30, Fulham Cross, Tochatti and Day spoke, coming afterwards to Walham Green, where, with the assistance of the Hammersmith choir, they succeeded in obtaining a good audience for Catterson Smith in our rooms, who lectured on "The Possibilities of Life under Socialism." Several questions were asked, and satisfactorily answered. Two members made.—G.

HAMMERSMITH.—At Starch Green Sunday morning, Maughan and Smith spoke; both speakers well received, and a quire of *Commonweal* sold. At Acton Green, Day and Groser spoke. Fair sale of *Commonweal*. All Socialists in this neighbourhood turn up next week, as we are going to form branch. At Kelmscott House in evening, T. Bolas lectured on "A Real People's Parliament."—J. T.

MARYLEBONE.—We held a very good meeting Sunday morning in Regent's Park, in spite of the drizzle. Cantwell, Nicoll, and Mainwaring spoke; 3s. 4½d. collected for propaganda.—S. M.

NORWICH.—Sunday, meeting in Market Place addressed by Mowbray. At Gordon Hall in evening, Vickers continued series of lectures, "Is Socialism Sound?" in absence of Mowbray, unwell; very attentive audience; chair taken by Brown. Fair sale of *Commonweal*.—S.

WALSALL.—Monday last, Deakin read paper on "Capital;" discussion followed. Saturday meeting on The Bridge addressed by Sanders; some questions asked and answered at close.—J. T. D.

DUBLIN.—At Saturday Club, Jan. 21, B. McGuinness lectured on "Local Option." Fitzpatrick, who followed, gave the audience some practical hints about liberty, going dead against the nostrums of the Temperance fanatics. O'Toole, Stephens, and Kavanagh also spoke.

NOTTINGHAM.—J. Sketchley, of Birmingham, lectured twice in club on Sunday; slight discussion followed. He also lectured in Great Market-place, on "The Unemployed Question," to good audience. He will stay here this week, and will probably discuss Socialism at the Cobden Club on Saturday. He will lecture next Sunday in a hall not yet decided upon.—W. D., sec.

Scottish Land and Labour League.

EDINBURGH.—On 22nd, J. Bruce Glasier lectured on "Socialism in Scottish Song." Larger audience than usual.

ABERDEEN.—Propaganda during past two months been carried on vigorously. Membership steadily increasing.—J. L.

WOODSIDE.—Seems almost hopeless; but Aberdeen branch means to give it another trial. Lectures are being arranged.—J. L.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road. Thursday January 26, at 8.30, Social Evening for members and friends. Athenæum Hall, 73 Tottenham Court Road, on Thursday February 2, at 8 p.m. Annie Besant (Fabian Society), "Socialism, Old and New."

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7. Sunday Jan. 29, at 8.30, W. B. Parker, "What the Workers want, and How to get it." Wednesday, Feb. 1, at 8.30, D. Nicoll, "Law and Order." Sun. 5, at 8.30, Free Concert by Wm. Blundell and Friends. Wed. 8, Annie Besant, "Communalisation of Industry." Sun. 11, H. A. Barker, "The Labour Struggle."

Fulham.—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sunday Jan. 29, at 8, Kitz, "The Irish Question from a Socialist Standpoint."

Hackney.—28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Road, Hackney Wick. A meeting of members will be held on Sunday January 29, at 8 p.m. Members are requested to attend meeting at "Salmon and Ball" Sunday February 5.

Hammersmith.—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday January 29, at 8 p.m. William Morris, "The Revolt of Ghent."

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—C. J. Young, 8 Dunloe Street, Hackney Road, Secretary. Members business meeting will be held in the *Commonweal* Office on Tuesday January 31, at 8.30 prompt.

Mitcham.—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11.

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 begin on 29th January in Baker Street Hall, at 6. Lecture by Leatham on "The Aims and Methods of the Socialist Party." Secretary, James 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. McCluskey, 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. 'Das Kapital' class every Thursday at 7.30. Members requested to pay weekly subscriptions on that night. Sunday evening lectures, Trades Hall, High Street. On Sunday Jan. 29, at 6.30 p.m., James Mavor on "Schemes of Industrial Progress." Collection.

Galashiels (Scot Sect).—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., sec.

Gallatoun and Dysart (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatoun 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. Shorthand Class, Tuesdays at 8. Music Class, Tuesdays at 9. Discussion Class, Thursdays at 8.

Leeds.—17 Chesham St., Sweet St. Club open every evening. Business meeting Wednesdays at 8 p.m.

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 St., open every night. Business meeting every Tuesday at 8.30. Band practice Wednesday at 8. Discussion class Thursday—Gronlund's 'Co-operative Commonwealth.'—On Monday January 30 an Entertainment will be given by the Norwich Socialist Minstrels (Admission 2d.). Proceeds for cleaning and decorating Gordon Hall.

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 29.

11	Acton Green	Turner & Day
11.15	Starch Green	Tochatti
11.30	Garrett—"Plough Inn"	The Branch
11.30	Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.	Pope
11.30	Merton—Haydons Road	The Branch
11.30	Mitcham Fair Green	Kitz
11.30	Regent's Park	Nicoll & Mainwaring
11.30	St. Pancras Arches	Wardle
11.30	Stamford Hill	Parker
11.30	Walham Green	Bartlett & Smith
3	Hyde Park	Parker

PROVINCES.

Glasgow.—Jail's Square—Saturday, 5 p.m. Infirmary Square—Sunday, 6 p.m. Jail's Square—Sunday, 1 p.m.

Leeds.—Sunday: Vicar's Croft, 11 a.m.

Norwich.—Market Place, at 3 every Sunday.

EAST LONDON SOCIALIST CLUB.—Special notice to the members and delegates of the Hoxton, Hackney, Mile-end, and Stoke Newington branches.—A meeting will be held at the *Commonweal* Office on Friday evening February 3rd, to consider very important business—time, 8.30 prompt.

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

SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—Meeting at *Commonweal* Office, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday January 29, at 3.30 p.m.

THE TABLES TURNED.

ENGAGEMENTS.

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