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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

THERE are curious signs of the time abroad, that show us pretty clearly in what an element of discontent we are living, e.g., a leader in the Daily News, that pink of respectability, in lamenting the heavy record of murder of the past few months, does seem to be fairly shocked at the record of the gallows also. "We are getting perilously near a revival of the good old hanging days," is a sentence in strong contrast with the feeling of a large part of the well-to-do classes, whose word, like that of the king in the old romance, is "Hang and head!"

On the other hand, as a matter of course, after the burglary at Muswell Hill, the courage, humanity, and wisdom of the successful thieves of our sham society, the well-to-do, to wit, is illustrated by the loud cry for the flogging of burglars, and apparently of people (of the "lower orders") suspected of being burglars. We must never forget that the boasted humanity and tenderness of human life of our century depends entirely on the feeling of continuous safety amongst the ruling classes; as soon as they are conscious of any hole in their rampart, of any enemy amongst them, humanity and tenderness is cast to the winds. "To think that I—I should be subjected to violence, should be liable to be robbed or shot—I, amidst all my soft wrappages and the bosom of the family; I, who in my daily luxury and cowardice manage so successfully to forget both death and the reasons for living! Hang and head and torture those wretches that have made me afraid!" That is the ordinary sentiment of the comfortable classes.

This is the constant tendency of the masters of society, of those who believe their position to be eternal; and who are so stupid as to fail to see that if they drive their enemies (on whom they live) to be conscious that there is no hope for them but the hope of revenge, they are building up for themselves a hell of daily terror; since, indeed, the one unendurable evil is fear.

The Pall Mall jeers at the Daily News for its exaggeration of the hangings, and laments not that so many people are hanged, but that so many are unhanged. It apparently favours the idea that it is possible to kill off so many of the bad specimens, that you will not only purify "society" thereby, but also terrify those that are left of them into quiescence, thus killing two birds with one stone. This, after all, is only another way of accepting the eternity of sham society, mingled with the ferocity of the Christian religionist, who considers himself bound to be revenged on immorality.

For my part, I think the exaggeration of the writer in the Daily News is to his credit, as it is the result of the impression of loathing at the horrible judicial murders of the last quarter of the year, culminating with the slaughter of the two lads at Maidstone, which was obviously a judicial crime due to sheer cowardice.

Per contra the Star has some very timely and very sensible remarks on this matter of the "punishment" of crimes against property. (Crimes against a crime? Can that be?) It is to be hoped that its working-men Radical readers will take them to heart, since I fear there are not a few of them who are inclined to share in the "just indignation, i.e., the revenge for the terror of the "plate-basket proprietor face to face with robbery."

"There is no getting over the fact," says the Star, "that we have turned our burglars into murderers." Just so; and also we have been driven into that idiocy by our initial idiocy of making them burglars. I quote the Star again: "The trade of manufacturing and hardening felons at the greatest possible cost to the community (the main secret of the process is teaching them to associate the idea of labour with useless torture) goes on, whitewashed by the addition of a little hypocrisy to its brutality and stupidity." Most true; and this no less so: "Our penal system is an abominably cruel one; and it is made so for no other reason than that our honest poor fare so wretchedly, that if prisoners were treated with humanity, the victims

of our sweaters would find in Pentonville a comparatively pleasant refuge from the miseries of their workshops and garrets. This is the naked truth." It is indeed; the cruel judge with his solemn hypocrisy of morality is the necessary complement to the sweater of sweaters, the capitalist employer.

Sham society continuously revenges herself on the "criminals" whom she has created, and without whom she would cease to exist. How long will it be before all those who have a grain of honesty left in them, will understand this, and come out of her to become rebels against her?

Meanwhile, I think that for much of the change of feeling on this point of the treatment of so-called criminals, which to me (a middle aged man or rather more) is obvious enough, we have to thank men like Sir Charles Warren and Mr. Balfour, and that never-enough-to-be-praised custom of our beloved country of treating political prisoners as mere felons. Some years ago none of us thought of a gentleman being sent to jail till he had been ungentlemanned. The fact that now we see personal friends who have worn the order of the Broad Arrow, and that we may wear it ourselves, has quickened the imaginations of us, the gentlemen, considerably.

Sham society is at work to try to purge itself of what every one must admit to be a crime, the condemnation and imprisonment of two innocent men, Brannaghan and Murphy, for burglary. The way it is setting about it is to indict four policemen for conspiracy to bear false witness. But no amount of revenge on the lower instruments of legal tyranny can undo what has been done, or give back the lost years of their life to its victims.

Nay, more: supposing these men are found guilty, let us not forget also that they are habitually encouraged to give false evidence by the very Law that tries them. They are not indeed encouraged to tell downright obvious lies, for they might be found out; but their statements as guardian of Law and Order are received in practice (whatever the theory may be) as facts that it is useless or dangerous to question. And surely to poor and ignorant men, degraded by their miserable profession of thief-catching, this is a mere invitation to the invention of falsity and the suppression of truth, and the general wresting of facts towards a conviction. Once again, if these men are found guilty and punished, sham society will punish them for the crime she has driven or allured them to.

The Pall Mall believes that the Puritan and the Socialist will meet on the common ground of Sabbatarianism! H'm, well; they may meet on that ground; but if they do, it will be to fight on it. We hope no enquirer into Socialism will be led astray by such nonsense into thinking that a Socialist can be either a Sabbatarian or a Puritan. I say flatly that the Puritan, as Puritan, is the enemy of the human race, his horrible galvanism of Christianity the worst religious trap which the world has fallen into.

Lord Rosebery and Sir J. Lubbock have been lamenting that the elections for the County Council cannot be wholly un-party-political. Here is the Devil objecting to sin with a vengeance! Are you tired of politics, Sir John? Do you want to keep politics all to yourself, my lord Rosebery? Probably. In short, what Lord Rosebery and the others mean on this head is, "You County Councilmen, attend to your jobbery; you'll have plenty of it and you were made for it; but don't meddle with politics, that's for your betters. Look here, this is the way to do it! Ain't it funny?"

The Pope is laying a heavy charge on the bishops in America to do their best to put down the Socialism which is spreading amongst the Irish Roman Catholics there. This is good news on both sides; on one that Socialism is spreading enough to annoy his Holiness; on the other a sign that neither side of orthodox Christianity will attempt to draw us into entangling alliances. The Pope is right. Real Catholicism died with the Middle Ages: modern Catholicism is but a survival from it, kept alive on the one hand by its alliance with absolutist

bureaucracy and on the other by its alliance with Puritanism, with which though Catholicism is less revolting on the surface, it has much in common: the Salvation Army, e.g., being a development quite in the manner of modern Catholicism. It is good to know our enemies; both these are of them.

The plot against humanity in Central Africa is going on briskly. The check given to the Germans has had its necessary result in stirring up those would-be masters of the world, the rulers of the German up those would-be masters of the world, the rulers of the German people, to set on foot a new expedition in regular military style, with twelve field guns to aid. At the same time we have news of a "revolution" in Uganda. The missionaries have been driven away, and Islam has been proclaimed there; which means that the Arabs, the only people capable of organising opposition to the European pirates, have got the upper hand there. However, we must be cautious in accepting news from the tainted source of filibusters and filibusters friends; for it will often be fabricated, or at least exaggerated, in order to stir public opinion into getting up fresh filibustering expeditions.

WHIGS ASTRAY.1

A DIALOGUE BETWEEN

OWEN MARX BAKOUNINE JONES, an architect (unsuccessful), and—the Rev. Swain Stride, a Nonconformist parson, and advanced Radicals. MR. JEREMIAH BROWN, a business man

SCENE_A comfortable batchelor-looking room in Mr. Brown's house, with tobacco and pipes and grog to the fore. MR. STRIDE and MR. Brown sitting on either side of the fire, looking important and self-satisfied. Enter to them Mr. Jones with an ill-concealed grin on his face; after the usual greetings he sits down and says:

Jones. Well, Mr. Brown, here I am, ready to hear what you have to say to me, and eager to know what puts you into such good spirits this

evening, as you obviously are in.

Brown. Well, we are; we have been talking about matters that

make us hopeful.

J. I am glad of that. I see so many doleful faces nowadays, that it does me good to see two cheerful ones, especially as finials to two such pinnacles of the temple as a parson and a man of business.

Stride. I don't like you to call me a parson, Jones. I am none of your priests; and really I think you know me well enough not to set me down as a relation of Chadband. You know very well that what I'm really interested in is politics, and practical at that; and that I want them to be discussed without fear or favour; so knowing you for a cantankerous Socialist, I asked Brown to ask you to come here to-night.

J. Thank you for the compliment—and also for your company: you want to cheer me up, which is kind of you. But you know how curious I am; what can it be? It can't be politics, for things are looking rather blue for your side of the house. Is business beginning to boom, Brown? Have you been speculating in a gold-mine which is

turning up trumps, Stride?

B. Well, perhaps business is a thought better. But that's not it.

You see-

S. (interrupting). It so happens that you are out about it's not being Brown and I think matters are looking much more hopeful of late.

J. Indeed! And now I look at you, there is something portentous about your cheerfulness. What's up? Are you going to turn Tory-Democrats, the last refuge for the desperately hopeful? Or does the Salvation Army raise your spirits? Have you got another Gordon on hand to put a stop to war by cutting down the fruit-trees on which potential warriors live, and to put a stop to slavery by killing the niggers before they can be made slaves of? Are you civilising Africa?

S. Now don't you be offensive about Gordon: you know I'm dead

against the whole nigger-slaying business.

J. Yes, but somewhat in favour of the Christian-hero pest. But let that pass. Is Lord Salisbury dead? Don't be too glad of it; it won't do you Liberals much good. Vic can truly say with King Harry in 'Chevy Chase,'

"I trust I have within my realm An hundred good as he

S. (laughing). Hear the spite of the Tory-Democrat!
J. (severely). Don't call bad names, Stride!

B. (anxiously). No, but ain't you a Tory-Democrat, Jones? Stride always calls you one.

Yes, that comes of his innate wisdom, that does not need vulgar information. I am not a Tory-Democrat, Brown.

B. What are you then? Because

S. (interrupting). Come, let's be serious, Jones. You know I'm really a practical Socialist.

J. Indeed I did not know it. May I ask——

S. (interrupting). No, please don't interrupt me! I say I am a practical Socialist; and yet I cannot be one of your hard-shell

Socialists, with your impossible nostrums of the abolition of capital and railways, and your preposterous ideals of communism and equality; and your false political economy, dead in the teeth of all the accurate thinkers of the day, such as Mill and Tennyson and Ricardo and Swinburne, and-and-Lord Rosebery and Auberon-Herbert. But yet, you see, I was bothered that there should be no true Socialist party that I could work with heartily; and now I really think that we are getting one, and I've got out a sort of manifesto of it: indeed, there it lies on the table now

J. And you have asked Brown to ask me here to cheer me up with it? How kind of you. Is it in print?

S. No; but any Radical paper will print it.
J. Well, well, things are getting on fast. And is Brown a member of the new party? Are you a Socialist, Brown?

B. Well, where's the harm of a name? Stride and I thought—

S. (interrupting). We don't call ourselves Socialists, of course.

No, of course not.

S. We call ourselves Advanced Liberals or Radicals.

J. (with preternatural gravity). Hah! But is that such a great invention in the way of names?

S. That's just the beauty of it.

J. I grant you the beauty of it must be there—or nowhere.

S. Pray be serious, and don't interrupt!

B. I assure you, Jones

S. (interrupting). We are Socialists who don't set class against class, which I think is downright wickedness.

J. (softly). Let the galled jade wince, my withers are unwrung! The ages have done all that for me.

S. (taking up a paper from the table). Nevertheless we have a clear, definite Creed, which I will now lay before you, Jones.

J. Ah, now I see what makes you look so happy! You are Radicals who have been searching for the planks of your platform, and you think you have discovered the necessary timber—(sotto voce) all out of

your own heads.

S. (hurriedly, and not listening). Yes, that's it. Now look here, this is the preamble. (Reads.) 'It is always foolish and wicked to set class against class, but the time has come for a resolute forward movement in favour of the toilers of our streets and fields. Legislation cannot do much to make the weak strong, to make the poor rich, to make the miserable happy; but it can keep off the greedy hand, and shield the helpless from oppression. It can help the poor to help themselves. It can break down legalised monopoly. It can clear the road by sweeping away many hindrances in the path of men without influence. It can give the poor "the benefit of the doubt." It can help the wage-earner to give his child a chance. It can provide something better than the workhouse for old men and women whose

J. It is nicely written, Stride, and I'm sure that you mean well, so far as you know how to; but you are deceiving yourself. How can legislation do all these things with one hand, while with the other it is engaged upholding that very monopoly (do you know what monopoly is, my friend?) of which the poor and their terrible needs are a necessary result? It exists to support the greedy hand; it exists for oppression, and when ceases to oppress will cease to exist. This is a riddle you cannot rede till you know a little more.

S. Well, well, that's only the preamble. Wait a bit! Our first plank is, 'Government by the people, for the people, in the interests

of the people.'

J. If the people govern themselves for themselves and in their own interest, there will be nothing but themselves: is that so? Can it be so while the present system lasts, reformed or not? Your first plank is not a plank, but a phrase, and a phrase without meaning. As long as there are rich men nursed up at the expense of the people they will govern us for their interest, whatever the machinery of their government may be. Meantime the people is but the material for the feeding

S. Well, this next is a plank, at all events: 'The State should as far and as fast as possible delegate to each locality the rights of selfgovernment, and should encourage and protect them in the use of such

There!

J. County Councils, eh? A Tory measure; and properly so. Bodies with feeble administrative powers in themselves; mere machinery in with feeble administrative powers in themselves; mere machinery in the hands of the central government; good to strengthen that by doing its dirty work and appearing responsible for it, while in reality they are responsible for nothing. That is what you mean by self-government. If you were to mean more your plank would be a plank to be walked by the present society; for when the State has delegated all its powers what is the good of it, and what shall we do with it?

S. Hilloa! Since when have you turned Anarchist?

J. Don't use words you don't understand. But go on.

S. We should lift the burdens as far as possible from the shoulders

of the struggling classes'—

J. Stop a bit! That's good! as far as possible is a good phrase.

No Tory could object to that plank so far. Well, where are you going to put these burdens when you have lifted them as far as possible? I suspect back again.

S. We would 'put them to a greater extent on the shoulders of those who toil not, but without toiling have enough and to spare.

J. Well, that I call a great invention; only it smacks somewhat of going about to get something out of nothing. For how the devil can those who toil not (i.e., produce nothing) have enough and to spare—unless they steal it? In short, your struggling classes are too poor to pay taxes; that you admit (and by the admission admit also that the

¹ The portions of this dialogue between the single "quotes" are taken from a genuine document—"A Radical's Creed," by John Page Hopps, in the Pall Mall Gazette of Dec. 10th, 1888.

whole of the middle-classes or well-to-do are thieves). So you are going to set the other classes to steal from the poor, in order that the taxes may be duly paid. That will bring about no new blessing for the struggling classes; they enjoy it already.

S. You needn't talk nonsense! 'We believe in a graduated income

tax and graduated death-dues.'

- J. Just so: to be paid by those who have no income but what they steal. Here is a pretty outcome of "the career open to talent," which I believe is still the great maxim of the Radicals. Certainly I need not talk nonsense.
 - S. Now listen! 'We are in favour of a reform of the poor-laws.'

J. Gently, gently!

'It is of course necessary to watch carefully lest the path to the poor's purse or the poor's house should not become too easy

J. Stop! Do you know why it is necessary?

No.

- Of course, no. Why (also of course), because the share of the national purse which the poor get by working hard is only just enough to give them a most miserable life. So that if you did not make the path to that palace of bliss, the poor-house, a hard one, that kingdom of heaven would be taken by storm.
- S. Well, 'At any rate that is no reason why the hopelessly beaten in the battle of life should be penned up like criminals.

J. Excuse me: it is the reason.
S. 'In any case the neglect of poor old people in England is almost

our greatest sin and shame.

J. The sentiment does honour to your heart: but you are too sensitive: there are plenty of sins and shames quite as bad; the neglect of worn-out workers is a natural consequence of the career open to talent according to the doctrine of private property.

S. Well, now I have begun, I suppose I must go on. But how

cantankerous you are!

J. I flatter myself I am. But go on, pray.

(To be concluded.)

WILLIAM MORRIS.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING JANUARY 26, 1889.

.20	Sun.	1649. Trial of Charles Stuart for treason against the people. 1794. Meeting of the London Corresponding Society at Globe Tavern, Strand. 1802. Trial of Govr. Wall for nurder. 1870. Alex. Herzen died at Paris. 1880. First number of La Revue Socialiste, Paris, monthly review edited by Benoit Malon. 1883. Explosion at Glasgow.
21	Mon.	 Venner's followers executed. 1793. Execution of Louis XVI. 1864. National League founded in Dublin by John Martin. 1888. Dr. Adolph Douai, Socialist, died.
22	Tues.	1561. Francis Bacon born. 1880. Report of Statistical Society on "Strikes of the last ten years." 1887. C. W. Mowbray (9 months) and Fred Henderson (4 months) sentenced at Norwich.
23	Wed.	1806. W. Pitt died. 1844. Sir Francis Burdett died. 1866. T. L. Peacock died. 1871. Demonstration in Trafalgar Square against bombardment of Paris. 1875. Charles Kingsley died.
24	Thur.	1732. Beaumarchais born. 1808. Wilhelm Weitling born. 1840. Bishop of Exeter's petition as to Robert Owen presented to the House of Lords. 1862. Miles Byrne died. 1884. Explosions at House of Commons and the Tower.
25	Fri.	1819. Ernést Jones born. 1870. Sixth annual Congress of the Workingmen's Assembly, State of New York. 1885. First number of Commonweal.
26	Sat.	1651. Denis Papin presents to the Royal Society, London, the English translation of his book, "The New Digester." 1869. Ernest Jones died. 1884. Execution of a spy at Kharkoff.

Sir Francis Burdett.—Radical reformer. Born Jan. 25, 1770; died Jan. 23, 1844. One of the most prominent figures in the Reform agitation of the opening years of this century. Like most of his fellows, he drew his inspiration from France. On leaving college he went on a European tour, and was resident in Paris during the early days of the Revolution, where he regularly attended the debates of the Convention and many of the meetings of the clubs. Returning to England in 1793, he married in the same year, and three years later entered Parliament as a Reform candidate. He was not long in Parliament before the Government found him a vigorous and determined enemy. In 1797 he vehemently denounced and indicted them for their encroachments on popular rights. He protested against the war with France as a futile attempt to stifle the flame of liberty. Again and again did he take this tone, and came to be the recognised champion of the democracy. He moved for the repeal of the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act, and opposed the exclusion of Horne Tooke from the House of Commons. He so thoroughly exposed the malpractices of the Government on political prisoners that a special order was issued to prevent his gaining access to the jails. In 1802 began the great contest for the representation of Westminster, which, after much litigation and two elections, ended in 1806 in a tremendous triumph for the reformers: the first great victory they won. Burdett sat thirty years as member for Westminster. After very many fights upon flogging in the army, etc., in 1810 he made a breach of the privileges of the House in defending a Radical speaker imprisoned for the same offence. Beaten by an adverse vote, he had his speech printed and issued it to the people, thus appealing to them against their "representatives." The Speaker issued his warrant of arrest, and Burdett barmicaded his house: troops were called out to aid in his arrest, and the people rose in his defense. The Houses of Parliament were garrisoned and fortified, the Lifeguards stati

and, gracious God I weren too, disfigured, maimed, cut down, and trampled at by dragoons! Is, this Esgland?—a land of freedom? Can such things be, and pass by us like a summer cloud, unheaded? Forbid it every drop of English blood in every vein that does not proclaim its owner bastard!" Brought to take by the Government, he defended himself with great ability, but was condemned to pay a fine of £2,000 and be imprisoned for three months. When the Reforms Bill was carried, Burdett considered his work done; he was old, and viewed with suspicion the new ideas of younger men; distrust of O'Connell and disable for the "Liberator's" methods of work also tended to weaken his adherence to the advanced wing of his party. The reaction of 1835 found him out of sympathy with the majority of his constituents, and he left Westminster for North Wilsshire, which he represented as a very mild Conservative until his death.

To Burdett is due the making of free speech again possible in England. In his long battle with unjust laws and privileges he displayed such powers as to be declared by the highest authority the greatest constitutional lawyer in the, country.

country.

country.

Alevander Herzen.—The Socialist ideas penetrated into Russia under the reigns of the Emperor Nicholas, and the various groups to which belonged Alexander Herzen, Ogareff, Bakounine, and others, were the very centres out of which the revolutionary doctrines were propagated in all classes of society. As far back as 1849 Fourierist conspirators were sentenced to be shot, but afterwards "pardoned" and sent to Siberia. At the same time, a school of realistic novel-writers imbued with advanced Liberal and Radical opinions, among whom Tourguenieff and Gregorowitch were most prominent, attracted public attention to the terrible condition of the Russian serfs and claimed their emancipation. The Russian rural commune was studied, and the collectivist or communist traditions whigh were found therein gave a new and solid basis to the Socialist doctrines. Czardom and despotism unfortunately were so powerful that it was scarcely possible to make much useful propaganda. Alexander Herzen went first to Paris, and after the coup d'etat, started in London Kolokol (the Bell), "the first free Russian paper." Secretly introduced into Russia, Herzen's organ at once met with an extraordinary success. Schédo-Ferroti, who abused him so bitterly, is compelled to acknowledge the tremendous power of his propaganda. In spite of the vigilance of the custom officers and the police, Kolokol had an exceedingly extensive circulation, for the copies which were introduced into Russia went around from man to man, so that one single copy may have had a hundred or more readers. to acknowledge the tremendous power of his propaganda. In spite of the vigitance of the custom officers and the police, Kolokol had an exceedingly extensive circulation, for the copies which were introduced into Russia went around from man to man, so that one single copy may have had a hundred or more readers. The paper was written out; parts of it were learnt by heart and recited in large circles; in one word, the greatest enthusiasm prevailed wherever it appeared. The reason of such marked and decided success is easy enough to conceive: with Herzen and through him began the revival of the Russian nation. In a powerful and masterly manner he criticised Russian despotism and western bourgeoisdom alike and came to the conclusion that Communism alone was the right outcome of society. Herzen was above all a great critic, an energetic denier, who did not want to build up, but only to demolish. Old society, he contended, is deadly ill, we only have to prepare its burial, our successors will find out their own way. prepared by our critical work. At that period of his career, Herzen may very well be termed an Anarchist, but afterwards he became a Socialist and an evolutionist. Even after having been very intimate with Michael Bakonine, who largely contributed to Kolokol, he severed all connection with him and violently wrote against his former friend's ideas. But besides Socialism, which became merely a theory for him, we must say that Herzen developed a marvellous political activity, of which the results were immense for Russia. It has been asserted that one ought to go back as far as Voltaire, perhaps, to find another example of such a prodigious influence won solely by one man's writings. It can be said that, during ten years, Herzen, a political convict, deprived of all his rights, expelled from several countries, has nevertheless ruled over Russia. By his eloquent pen, by the elevation of his thought, he won the minds of all people, even of those whose interest it was to destroy the coming freedom. Under the infl

hopes and more certainty to their final deliverance. Herzen died at Paris, where a French edition of his complete works (10 vols., 8vo) was published by Germer-Baillière (afterwards Alcan Lévy).—V. D.

Myles Byrne.—United Irishman. Born at Monaseed, county Wexford, March 20, 1780, died in Paris, Jan. 24, 1862. Son of a farmer, in 1796 he agreed to become a yeoman on condition of getting a lease renewed for his mother, but his father, who was then ill, dying in the meantime, he escaped from his bargain, and-could thus boast he "never wore a red coat." Entering the United Irishmen in 1797, he threw himself into the work with such energy that he, a boy of seventeen, was soon the most influential organiser in his native county. June 3, 1798, he joined the rebels at Corrigrua, and after Vinegar Hill (June 21) rallied an number of pikemen, whom he led in a number of small fights with great skill and daring. Castlecomer was unsuccessfully attacked; he was again beaten at Ballygullen; and on July 4, he joined "General" Joseph Holt in the Wicklow mountains, where he held out for months in the hope of help from France. Going to see his mother and sister on Allhallows Eve, he narrowly escaped arrest; making his way to Dublin disguised as a cardriver. Here he stayed and got employment as clerk in a timber-yard. In the spring of 1803 he met Robert Emmet, whom he readily joined in his project of another armed rising, taking some of the most dangerous and difficult parts of the work to his own share—making contracts with gunmakers, arranging the manufacture of pikes, and procuring war material in general. *He brought into the plot a large number of Wexford and Wicklow men who had been proved in '98, and in the projected taking of Dublin Castle (July 23) he was, with them, to have attacked the entrance on the Ship Street side while Emmet attacked the front. Through Emmet's failure to keep the agreement, the attempt fell through. On returning from the Wicklow mountains Byrne was sent by Robert Emmet to Paris, where he was to co



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

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Freiheit
Truthseeker
Jewish Volkszeitung
Backer Zeitung Alarm Workmen's Advocate loston—Woman's Journal Investigator Chicago (Ill)—Vorbote Daily News

Detroit—Der Arme Teufel
Milwaukee—National Reformer
S. F.—Coast Seamen's Journal
St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole
Valley Falls (Kan.)—Fair Play
FRANCE
Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)
Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)
Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)
Le Revoite
L'Union Socialiste
HOLLER

Holland Hague -Recht voor Allen BELGIUM Ghent—Vooruit Antwerp—De Werker

ITALY
Turin – Nuova Gazzetta Operaia
Turin – Il Muratore
Rome – L'Emancine –
Cremone Rome—L'Emancipazione Cremona—L'Eco del Popolo

GERMANY Berlin-Volks Tribune

SPAIN
Barcelona—El Productor
Sevillo—La Solidaridad
Madrid—El Socialista

Austria Wien-Gleichheit Brunn-Volksfreund Hungary Arbeiter-Wochen-Chi Roumania -Muncitoriul

DENMARK Social-Demokraten Sweden Malmo—Arbetet Stockholm, Social-Den Norway —Social-Der

WEST INDIES Cuba—El Productor MEXICO Sinaloa—Credit-Foncier

NOTES.

Mr. McCree has returned to the charge with another letter in the columns of the Daily News. It now appears that this gentleman thinks he has proved his case by contrasting the present year of our Lord with 1848. He imagines that he smashes all opposition by stating that the people are much better off both morally and materially in these advanced days than they were in '48.

Well, it may be true that the people are better off now than then. But Mr. McCree should not select a year of exceptional distress like '48 to prove his optimistic theories; '48 was a year throughout the Continent, of revolution, the year of Chartist plots, the year of the great demonstration on Kennington Common in England, when middle-class London was in an agony of panic at the revolution which seemed to be impending. It was a year too in which 14 Chartist chiefs were arrested by 300 armed policemen, while plotting insurrection at Angel Tavern, Blackfriars, while seizure of arms and arrests were made at many other places. So probably matters were a trifle worse than they

But then the people hadn't been starved and poisoned down to their present poorness of health and physique in the back slums of London. If they did swear and curse more, what of it! It was, perhaps, proof of a stronger physical organisation; but now too many of the masses are too spiritless to curse, too broken down in body and mind to revolt against

the misery which oppresses them. They have not even sufficient spirit to kick the pious pretenders out of doors when they come lecturing them upon the crime of being poor, the beauties of godliness, thrift, and temperance. And this is the sort of thing which gospel-grinders call a vast improvement!

There isn't so much cursing, manners are improving, vice is not so prevalent. Dear me, one would think Mr. McCree had dwelt in Belgravia all his life. Has he ever listened to the conversation of the East-end rough, to that outpouring of filthy slime, far worse than the good honest hearty curses of the days gone by. Has he ever walked along a populous street in the West-end, or in the suburbs of London? If he hasn't, let him do it, and if he can come forward with these lies in his mouth again, he must have more than the usual share of impudence necessary in his profession of "minister" of the Gospel.

I can tell Mr. McCree one virtue which some of the poor have learned from the ministrations of himself and his brethren. who have been brought immediately under their influence have learnt who have been brought immediately under their influence have learned in their masters. This is the great improvement; but hypocrisy with its sham refinement is no proof of increasing purity of heart and mind. It is only a covering for far deadlier evils than openly displayed themselves in the days that have passed.

Under the benignant rule of Mr. McCree's masters, degeneration, moral and physical, is spreading rapidly like a fearful pestilence through every section of the population, while Mr. McCree and his brethren do their best to hide the evil and cover up the sore. The cry of these false prophets has always been the same, "Peace, peace!" when there is no peace, but murder, famine, and hideous war. Go on, Mr. McCree, whitewash the sepulchre of middle-class society; but we can still smell, despite the fair outside, the odour of corruption and the stench of dead men's boncs.

The cry peace!"

RELEASE OF OLDLAND.

Our comrade Alfred Oldland was released from Pentonville prison on the 8th inst, after having suffered fourteen months' imprisonment. It will be remembered that in November, 1887, the police, after having driven the unemployed from Trafalgar Square, set upon and brutally beat them as they were about to leave Hyde Park in orderly procession. Having been specially pointed out by police officers with the cry, "He's a leader?" Oldland, in sheer desperation, raised his stick to defend himself against a score of policemen who were advancing upon him with drawn truncheons. Having slightly struck one of them, he was charged with assault. Being tried before Mr. Edlin at the Middlesex Sessions, that worthy associate of "Mother Jefferies" sentenced him to twelve months' hard labour, and two months extra if he failed to find sureties to "keep the peace" for another twelve. He complained of the amount of food allowed to prisoners, saying, according to an evening contemporary, that it was "simply starvation." As a rule, the authorities release Socialist prisoners extremely early; but on this occasion a large number of comrades were kept waiting in the cold morning air until 9 o'clock. Our comrade Alfred Oldland was released from Pentonville prison on the

Charity to those to whom justice is denied, is only a bribe to make them submit to tyranny and injustice.—Bronterre O'Brien.

A very useful discussion, "Land, Labour, and Capital," is going on in the columns of the *Co-operative News*, in which the Rev. Oswald Birchall and other friends are taking an effective part.

The beginning of all good law, and nearly the end of it, is in these two ordinances,—that every man shall do good work for his bread; and secondly, that every man shall have good bread for his work.—Ruskin, 'Fors,' No. 10.

STARVING DUSTMEN.—The Croydon Echo, in its issue of the 10th, makes a vigorous attack on the municipal administration, which dooms numbers of poor men to misery while a few officials feast on the fat of the land. It also holds up to merited obloquy the local vicar, who has been blessing the Bumbles for "lowering the rates!"

The Pope and the Socialisms.—According to the Daily News correspondent the Pope, in an audience he gave a few days ago to several American prelates, instructed them to strenuously combat the Socialist movement which has lately begun to spread among the Irish Roman Catholics settled in America. If the measures taken privately should not prove sufficient, a Papal Rescript, similar to the one addressed to the bishops in Ireland, will probably be sent to the United States.

Socialism in Manchester.—Our comrade Wess, whose constant, untiring work in the cause has gained him the warm esteem and trust of all who knew him here, has lately gone to Manchester. Of course, he at once began to do all he could to stir the deadly-lively town. In a private letter to a friend here he gives some account of his experiences, and seems very hopeful as to the work that may be done there. His address is 19, Charlotte Street, Hightown, where he will be very glad to hear from those who are willing to help him.

An Intel Polychan Repers — A specifical incident and the latest here.

An Irish Policeman Rebels.—A sensational incident occurred last week in Loughrea. When the Quarter Sessions Court adjourned after hearing several Clanricarde ejectments, the local Nationalists brought out the band, which played national airs through the streets to celebrate the determined struggle made by the tenants against Lord Clanricarde. At the head of the band marched a policeman in uniform, and, addressing the crowd, he declared that the police were sick of the degrading work which they were called upon to perform—evicting poor people and seizing a priest's car and vestments on the public road. For his own part he was resolved not to go on with it any more, and he called for three cheers for John Dillon, William O'Brien, and the Clanricarde tenants, which were heartily responded to. At this juncture a body of police marched on the scene and arrested the constable. AN IRISH POLICEMAN REBELS.—A sensational incident occurred last week

EDUCATION: WHAT IT IS, AND WHAT IT SHOULD BE.

(Concluded from p. 13.)

I REFERRED before to Nature's manner of "educating." In the future, and in order to proceed on proper lines, we shall require to imitate her a little; this time not with the aid of Competition, but of Art. I say in the future, because this demands a revolution in thought and consequent destruction of our present condition of social life and relations. For education means development, it means the creation of conditions that will afford the fullest opportunity to all mankind, for the due cultivation of our manhood and womanhood. Instead ef drudges, loafers, and swindlers, it would make men and women—a somewhat truer and higher ideal than the making of money, or of raising a race of drudges to enable others to make it. It is indeed impossible to exaggerate the importance of a right education under the guidance of wise, sympathetic teachers. Not mere stuffing with dead vocables, of themselves indefinite, and too often distorting the natural inclination, fitness of the pupil.

On this matter Göethe has said: "Well formed healthy children

bring much into the world along with them. Nature has given to each whatever he requires for time and duration; to unfold, this is the duty of teachers; often it unfolds itself better of its own accord." Granting the indispensibility of the alphabet and what follows from it, could not this art of teaching be carried into higher, more definite regions? Could we not have a teaching class to preside over, educe, draw out and direct the youthful capacities of doing, of being, and enjoying—in all ways to take from the region of sentiment, the thought of the poet? What a piece of work is a man! in action how like an angel! in apprehension how like a god! It might be asked what can education not do; education that will not confine itself to one mechanical quality of the mind, but will embrace the mind itself, the character, and whole moral and physical powers of the man.

Of course such education is only possible after every form of social inequality, all artificial distinction of rich and poor, high and low, has been destroyed, and in this sense a true educationist is necessarily a revolutionist, as Social Revolution only will make education possible. No separation of the brain and the hand will be attempted, nor can this even be done without inflicting disaster on both, as is seen to-day. There is no such separation in nature. At present, however, very many are confined to mere drudgery possessed with brains, and therefore, capable of profiting by reasonable leisure; while the ostensible "brain-worker" is very often seen to be without brains. Therefore true education must be industrial for all alike, as only in a combina tion of the physical, external, and practical, with the intellectual and creative, can we get a full expression of the man. Work, labour, is the inward. In a reasonable state of society all will be required to perform their share of labour, that each may be relieved from undue toil, and ample leisure provided for the proper development of the enormous treasure of human worth, energy, and talent, now lying all defaced or trodden out of sight,-

"Then a man shall work and bethink him, and rejoice in the deeds of his hand.

Nor yet come home in the even too faint and weary to stand.

What an immense blessing and relief it would be to the human race were we once well rid of the sickening hurry and worry, impetuous haste and scramble, with which every description of work is associated to-day—how you are hounded on by some lynx-eyed master, or snobbish sycophantic "gaffer," until the thing you are fashioning becomes hateful, a thing you can have no joy or delight in, but are only anxious to get it out of your sight. How far different the work might be, the life might be, to feel you were infusing your soul in your workpleasure in the doing, and done to be a source of genuine profit and

pleasure to yourself and others.

An objection might be noted here that is always sure to be made to such a ruthless disregard of "superior abilities," "genius," and suchlike, as is implied in such an educational scheme—an objection, however, that can only emanate from commercial travellers, commission agents, and the general fraternity of touts. What about the poets, the Shakespeares, the Miltons, "would you have them descend to some paltry occupation?" It might be difficult to allay the apprehensions of the touts, but we could remind them that the Shakespeares were rare, and we might also with reverential awe and whispering humbleness say this—that most of us rise, up to mediocrity merely. On the other hand, this at least is to be remarked, that no human being is born with brains so meagre as to warrant the enormous cruelty perpetrated by Society in confining a man to the solitary occupation of boring like rats in mines, from the moment they are able to work till the day they die; and it is an aggravation of the offence to imagine that it is other than an altogether hideous decree. It might also be remarked that among our so-called "brain-workers," few weavers rise to weave us a web of thought of the texture of a Hamlet or 'Paradise Lost.' There is something irreverent, however, in such references to the marvels of the poet's mind, as they cannot be spoken of as labour in that sense of the term under consideration. To body forth the forms of things unseen will always be the glory and exceed ing great reward of the poet, and he will be the last to object to useful

and healthy physical exercise, else he is no true poet.

With the leisure that would result to every individual, by all performing a part, a man would be enabled to develop his powers and his

usefulness in a variety of ways, and not be confined to one monotonous round of the same kind of labour. And whatever the labour he might be engaged in, it would in all cases have the full assent of his manhood being an intelligent participator in the end aimed at. Whereas at present the worker is a mere mechanical drudge, and, so far as he is concerned, the work engaged in is quite aimless, no part of his life, except in so far as he expends his life on it to get his daily bread. There is, perhaps, nothing more forcibly illustrates this than to see a body of workmen, after having finished off some beautiful mansion, meekly and with a very appalling kind of magnanimity leave it to somebody, while they slowly make their way for some obscure, smoky, and ill-ventilated hovel. They build the mansions and they build the hovels—but the hovels are for themselves, the mansions are for the rich. Of course it might be said the bishop, banker, merchant, or to whoever the mansion was left, had money and could buy it, while the individual workmen had not. But if the bishop had been in the desert of Sahara all his days, instead of living in the midst of wealthproducing millions, he would not have had his money. Or, better still, if the bishop, etc., belong to their monopoly independent of the millions, then let them go to the desert of Sahara with it, and much good may it do them, leaving the workers, the industrial armies—"every soldier with his two five-fingered hands at his shackle bones. and miraculous head on his shoulders"—behind, with the quarries, the mines, the workshops, and the fair fields! No single man can accomplish anything, but all men in intelligent combination and ceoperation can, with a certain approximation to equity, satisfy the wants of each.

Looking on a certain "miscellany of men," Carlyle remarked:
"Some score or two of years ago all these were little red coloured pulpy infants, each of them capable of being kneaded, baked into any social form you chose." A right education would regard all men at the outset, without distinction of parentage, as simply "red-coloured pulpy infants" incipient citizens, who by avery kind of appropriate pulpy infants," incipient citizens, who by every kind of appropriate furtherance were to become the men and women of the future. Care would be taken that the surroundings would be of such a nature as would give the dawning intelligence impressions of beauty, of truth, and of purity. In this light, furnished by the social idea of education, we see that human wretchedness, disease, all deformity what we call sin, is not necessarily a permanent part of human life, but quite accidental and passing. At least it is purely relative, and the result of the influences with which we have been surrounded.

Just consider what a monstrous mass of ugliness, of filth, and smoke a big city is; the hideous diversity and irregularity of its buildings, regardless of form, line, or device, except pig device. Side by side with some magnificent pile is some contractor's shed or huckster's shop, every nook and cranny utilised regardless of anything in nature or Consider the homes of its inhabitants, the overcrowded streets . and lanes and closes, with their multitudes of dirty urchins enjoying. themselves as they can in the gutters. Can we think these things do-not stamp impressions of the same kind on the people? Must not these be distorted images, polluted thoughts, corrupt actions—moral and physical ugliness? "Let no one think that he can alter the first and physical ugliness? "Let no one think that he can alter the first impressions of his youth," said Goethe. All the more important then that we should make our surroundings of a kind that would purify and exalt, not stain and debase; and, how full of hope for the future of our race is that education which implies this, and will not omit to improve these surroundings. All poetry and prophesy declare that man is good by nature,-

In virtue trained enlightened youth, Will love each fellow creature And future years will prove the truth That man is good by nature.

"Lo!" said one of the old Hebrew prophets, "this only have I found, that God hath made man upright." True he has sought out round, that God nath made man upright." I're he has sought out many "inventions" in his long pilgrimage down the ages, in slow painful gropings in the dark, in hard battlings with disorder and despair, with wild stormful passions in and around him. Still he has always been growing, advancing, and doubtless it is this same "inventive" faculty, restrained by culture and directed by wisdom, that is destined yet to "conduct the world to freedom."

DANIEL McCulloch.

I think nobody but a bishop or a bank director can ever be rogue enough to deserve hanging.—Ruskin, 'Fors,' Dec. 1874.

to deserve hanging.—Ruskin, 'Fors,' Dec. 1874.

Labour and Laziness.—But some one may say, "Have you not a word to give us about the workmen?" Certainly. We look forward to a time when the artizan shall not be regarded as a machine for the capitalist to squeeze; we know—alas, how well we know!—the life of the men who are up in darkness, and who labour until they are too tired to read or think or do anything but doze sluggishly till bed-time. A little laziness would not do some of these fine fellows apy harm. We have seen boiler-makers come home night after night with their strong arms almost numbed. If the men sit down for a few minutes after tea, they are like inert masses and no idea. home night after night with their strong arms almost numbed. If the men sit down for a few minutes after tea, they are like inert masses, and no idea can penetrate their dulled senses. On the other hand, we know the eager vigorous men who go out to political meetings or lectures or who attend reading-rooms, and we admire them and their life. We should like to see the mechanic and labourer have a steady, certain amount of leisure—call it time for laziness if you like; we are not particular over names. We enamed the contract of the contra the mechanic and labourer have a steady, certain amount or lessure—can it time for laziness if you like; we are not particular over names. We emphatically declare that a nation is disgraced in which thousands of the most useful citizens pass their days in fierce toil and their brief leisure in semi-somnolence. The prudent, active artisan of the future will take care of his own interests, and we shall not see clever hard-working fellows housed like pigs, and resting content with the dull enjoyments of brute beasts.—Formity

LABOUR STRUGGLE. THE

SEAMEN'S WAGES. —An increase of 5s. in the wages of seamen and firemen was conceded at Dundee on January 10th, the rates for a steamer being 80s. and 85s. per month respectively.

LANARESHIRE MINERS.—The miners at the extensive collieries of Archi-

LANARESHIRE MINERS.—The miners at the extensive collectes of Archibald Russell, Greenfield, Hamilton, have been notified that on and after Monday, 14th inst., they will receive an advance of 6d. per day.

FACTORY WAGES AT DUNDEE.—On January 10th, the executive of Dundee Mill and Factory Operatives' Union resolved, "On account of continued improvement in local trade and scarcity of hands, to agitate for a third increase of 5 per cent. in the wages of the operatives.

Lock-out at West Hartlepool.—The following notice was posted on January 8th in Gray's and Company's shipyards: "In consequence of the action of the men engaged in the iron department, this yard will be closed on the 16th inst., and all except those required by the respective foremen will be discharged. Such men as we retain will be engaged from day to day." day."

SAILORS' STRIKE.—The strike of sailors and firemen in the employ of Lord Londonderry at Seaham Harbour and Sunderland, was brought to an end at a late hour on Thursday night. The whole of the men's demands have been conceded, and the settlement is attributed to the power of the National Union of Sailors and Firemen, which the men joined in a body last Tuesday. Many attempts were made to fill up with "rats," but none sould be get. could be got.

JEWISH LABOUR IN MANCHESTER.—A strong effort is being made to organise the Jewish work-people in this city, as is being done in London, Leeds, and other places. Meetings have been held, with the result that a large number gave in their names for the purpose of forming a club, having for its aim the enlightenment and education of the workers on all subjects. bearing on the labour question, as also to combine the workers employed in different trades for the purpose of co-operating with the English workers in their struggle against the sweating system.

ADVANCE IN MINERS' WAGES.—On Friday 11th, deputations from the various pits in Burnley waited upon the two firms of colliery proprietors, viz., the executors of Colonel Hargreave and Messrs. Brooks and Pickup, asking for 10 per cent. advance in wages. The increase was granted. It affects about five thousand miners. A great strike was threatened if it had not been conceded, and an agitation is still in progress on the question of unionism. The masters decline to recognise the Union which is being formed, and a considerable number of men have been discharged, as they allege, for ioning the organization. allege, for joining the organisation.

COTTON TRADE.—At Blackburn, the Park Place Mill dispute has gone in favour of the men.—The weavers at Loughbridge Shed, Kelbrook, have struck against unjust arrangements of work.—The Cotton Hall Company's struck against unjust arrangements of work.—The Cotton Hall Company's disputes at Darwen has ended satisfactorily for the weavers.—The strike of weavers at Lower Heyes Mill, Macclesfield, has now entered its twenty-sixth week, and there has been nothing new during past week.—Further negotiations took place on Friday 11th, with regard to the dispute in Bolton, whereby some thirty thousand operatives are working short time three days a week. The masters renewed their offer to pay £2 18s. per spinner weekly wages; but this the operatives at once rejected, suggesting a conference between the committees on the subject. The dispute has now entered on its fifth week, and great privation is experienced owing to the loss of wages.

Dunder Millworkers.—The spinners at Broadford Works came out on strike for an increase of 5 per cent. on their present rate of wages. They base their demand upon the fact that the employés at the jute works on two occasions during the past year received an advance of 5 per cent. (10 per cent. in all), and that there seems to be general prosperity in trade. A deputation waited on the manager on Thursday evening, and made a representation to this effect. He stated he would "only be too ghad to grant the increase asked for, but that the state of the flax trade was such at present as to make it impossible for any advance to be conceded." There appears to have been an understanding between the employés and their masters that a week's notice would be given of the workers' intention to strike, but at eleven o'clock on Friday the spinners to the number of about a thousand came out. None of the other departments in the factory are affected by the stoppage of the spinning, and are all in full operation. In the course of the day the girls paraded the streets. On Monday, Rev. A. Williamson, the President of Dundee and District Factory Operatives' Union, addressed a mass meeting. Comrade Webster also spoke.

Slaves of the Dusthear.—Disclosures of sweating at their own dust

science and district factory Operatives' Union, addressed a mass meeting. Comrade Webster also spoke.

Slaves of the Dushear.—Disclosures of sweating at their own dust wharf surprised the Clerkenwell Vestry at the meeting on the 10th. It was reported that an explosion of carbolic powder at the wharf had seriously injured the right eye of a woman dust-sifter, and as she would be unable to resume work for at least a fortnight, the Works Committee recommended that she should meanwhile receive 12s. per week, the explosion having occurred through the act of a vestry servant. Mr. Evans informed the vestry that the sifting of dust was not done by the superintendent of the wharf, but by a contractor, who received 1s. 3d. for each load, and drew in one year near nearly £500. He engaged a number of poor women, who, standing up to their knees in dust, sifted the dust for 7s. a week when they made full time. Often, for lack of dust, they only laboured half-days, and then their pay was proportionately less. Young women, however poor, would not do such work at the price. They preferred prostitution. The sweater himself strutted about with a big cigar in his mouth, like a gentleman. So arduous was the work that two women engaged in it in a neighbouring parish dropped dead while sifting; but these two women would take a load and divide the price of sifting and the value of occasional things of worth which were found in the dust-heap. The result was they were much better paid. £1 a week was not too much to pay the injured woman received something in kind in the shape of coal, and the wharf superintendent valued her income at 12s. weekly; but when asked, where did she get the coal, answered, "From the dust itself!" It was agreed to give the woman 12s. weekly during her disablement, the vestry clerk paying her directly. It was then unanimously resolved that the whole system of dust. get the coal, answered, "From the dust itself !" It was agreed to give the woman 12s. weekly during her disablement, the vestry clerk paying her directly. It was then unanimously resolved that the whole system of dust-saifting at the wharf be referred to the Works Committee for consideration and report.

LETTER FROM AMERICA.

The once great and influential labour organisation known all over the world as the Knights of Labour, is rapidly sinking into insignificance. The members are leaving the body in swarms. The Blacksmiths' Assembly of Reading, Pa., left on Dec. 25th in a body. A short time ago the strength of this assembly was four hundred members. A week before Christmas the Coopers' Local Assembly of Chicago also withdrew, and it is more than probable that within two weeks after new-year's day all the fifty-one local coopers' assemblies in the United States will also withdraw from the Knights of Labour and form themselves into a national organisation, with honest officers and principles to suit the radical ideas of the coopers. It is greatly to be regretted that an organisation which in its earlier development honest officers and principles to suit the radical ideas of the coopers. It is greatly to be regretted that an organisation which in its earlier development promised so fair has come to this. The Knights of Labour was founded specially to bring about a fraternization of the workers as a class in contradistinction to orthodox trade-unionism, which dealt principally with the combination of workers belonging to one trade. Speaking of the future of labour organisation, comrade Lum, the editor of the Alarm and an old Knight, says this week—and I may add that I thoroughly endorse his view:

Knight, says this week—and I may add that I thoroughly endorse his view:

"Organisation still remains, but it is reactionary. The trade-union spirit is selfish; instead of a generous combination with fellow workers, interest is narrowed to one, whose interest becomes the concern of only those directly allied with him. What can be more dreary than a trade union meeting where but few attend and all business is purely routine? The labour movement demands more than unions to force wages up. It demands the fraternization of the workers combined with decentralization of power. On the one hand we have fraternization and autocracy [Knights of Labour]; on the other isolation and decentralization [American Federation of Trades and Labour Unions]. This cannot last. The spirit of the age demands an organisation wherein different trades may mingle and fundamental economic principles may be inculcated. The unions should remain, for without them the workers would be left a prey to sordid greed, but from these unions let men come together in fraternal accord. This was the dream of the Knights before betrayed by Powderly. The work will now have to be done elsewhere. And it will be done."

The pessimism of the last two years, which has crushed the spirit of even the most enthusiastic advocates of labour rights, is gradually giving place

the most enthusiastic advocates of labour rights, is gradually giving place to a healthy and energetic optimism.

The trial of Charles T. Parsons, the slave-dealer of Northampton, Mass., whose general character I described in the Commonweal of December 15th, has come off in Springfield, Mass. Parsons was found guilty of gross cruelties. He was sentenced—to pay a penalty of 500 dollars!
"The Ford Immigration Investigation Committee will shortly introduce

a bill in Congress to restrict immigration. What is really needed is a bill consisting of three words only: 'Shut that door.'"—Daily paper. Comment superfluous.

Another alleged dynamiter is convicted, and society is safe once more.

On the 24th Dec., as a Christmas gift, the jury in the Bauereisen conspiracy case at Geneva, Ill., returned a sealed verdict. Bauereisen was found guilty case at Geneva, Ill., returned a sealed verdict. Bauereisen was found guilty and sentenced to two years in the penitentiary. The jury stood eight for five years and four for a fine; but they soon compromised their difference. The prisoner's council moved at once for a new trial, and the judge set Jan. 3 apart for hearing the motion. Bauereisen was speedily taken to jail. He was tried under an indictment charging him with exploding dynamite at South Aurora, Ill., on June 14th, 1888, at the time of the great "Q" strike, and with complicity in a general conspiracy to destroy property of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad. All the evidence against him consisted of testimony given by informers. I have reported the case at length in previous letters, and therefore need not go into it again. The most interesting feature in the case is that the Brotherhood of Railway Engineers, the most conservative and aristocratic labour organisation in the world, has been openly charged, to use the exact words of solicitor Chester Engineers, the most conservative and aristocratic tanour organisation in the world, has been openly charged, to use the exact words of solicitor Chester Dawes, with being "if not guilty of complicity in the dynamite outrages against the Burlington company, at least guilty of aiding, encouraging, and shielding those of its members who have been found in the plot."

shielding those of its members who have been found in the plot."

The employees of the Pottsdown, Pa., Iron Company were dismissed rather summarily, and this shows how little feeling employers have for their men. Without previous notice, on Christmas Eve the men, after being paraded, received the following notice: "Please take notice that the accompanying pay is in full of all your wages to date, and terminates your employment with this company."

It may be possible that, in the beginning of the new year, all the engineers of the western railroads will go on strike. The engineers want the classification system, which prevails on a good many western roads, abolished, and the mileage system introduced instead. This predicts a very lively time for the roads. There is hardly one which has not, owing to the rate wars, lost money, and they are therefore not in a condition to battle with their engineers. If the engineers strike quickly, they may strike good. strike good.

battle with their engineers. If the engineers strike quickly, they may strike good.

Preparations are being made for taking the eleventh census of the United States. A Bill has been presented to the Senate providing for a thorough examination of the industries of the country; of the employment and idleness of the people; of the tenures and amounts of the holdings of the lands of the nation by individuals; of companies and corporations; and of the indebtedness or liabilities in the form of mortgages or deferred instalments now resting upon the farms and produce of the people. A petition has been sent to Carroll D. Wright, superintendent of the Labour Bureau in Washington, asking that the statistics of the unemployed be taken. Interviewed on this point, Wright gave the following answer: "I have a long petition here asking that the statistics of the unemployed be taken, and stating that the provision for taking them in the law of 1879 was disregarded. The fact is that they were taken, but the answers were so unsatisfactory that it was not thought worth while compiling and publishing them." Query: How is it that a Government official is never in want of a ready answer?

The State of Pennsylvania must be mad. Anyhow, it looks to reasonable people that way. To explain: The State of Pennsylvania has resolved to sue Jay Gould for having violated the constitution of that commonwealth. About a year ago young Robert Garrett, president of the Baltimore and Ohio system, went mad because, in his absence, Jay Gould bribed the officials of that system to sell to him the Baltimore and Ohio Telegraph Company (Jay Gould's property). The State of Pennsylvania does not like this consolidation, but the State ought to know that Jay is more powerful than courts, legislatures, and executives—that, in fact, he and his elique are the Government. Notwithstanding this knowledge, or parkaps only for

the purpose of making a show, Attorney-General Kirkpatrick, in the name of the people of Pennsylvania, on the 29th of December made an application to a judge in Herrisburg, Pa., for a writ of quo varranto against the Western Union Telegraph and the Baltimore and Ohio Companies for violating that part of the constitution of Pennsylvania prohibiting the consolidation of competing lines. The writ is returnable on the 29th of January. But oh, my! won't the people of Pennsylvania get worsted by

January. But oh, my! won't the people of Pennsylvania get worsted by Jay!

The time for the city elections in Chicago is nearing again, and, in order to be able to pose anew as saviours of Chicago, Major Roche, superintendent of police Hubbard, and Bonfield are suppressing meetings to the right and left. On the 27th December, comrade Lucy Parsons was announced to speak at Waverley Hall, in Chicago, but the police locked the door and permitted nobody to enter. The Arbeiterbund, a Socialist society with a very moderate programme, is not permitted to hold meetings anywhere in Chicago. This society has made an application to the Master in Chancery for an injunction restraining the police from interfering with or preventing their meetings. The decision has not been given yet. Even the capitalistic press is unable to support the police any longer. The following story I clipped from the New York Herald: "Frederick W. Soelter, of Cincinnati, a wealthy maltster, left Chicago for home last night, threatening damage suits against Chief of Police Hubbard and Inspector Bonfield. Mr. Soelter's grievance is that while in the city on business, and notwithstanding that he had 6,500 dollars on his person, he was arrested notwithstanding that he had 6,500 dollars on his person, he was arrested and detained several hours, being treated meantime to a ride through the streets in a patrol waggon. He was not brought into court, and when he sought satisfaction at police headquarters was told with warmth that the best thing to do was to get out of Chicago as soon as he knew how. Previous to his arrest, Mr. Soelter had been to a Radical gathering that

Trevious to his arrest, Mr. Societr had been to a Radical gathering that turned out harmless enough."

The Chicago Times is very bitter in its denunciations of the police. In its issue of December 24th it contains two leading articles against Bonfield, concluding with the words: "The power of the law to curb misuse of municipal power is yet to be shown."

HENRY F. CHARLES.

Newark, N.J., January 1st, 1889.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

FRANCE.

Comrade Baudelot, administrator of the bi-monthly paper Ca Ira, is to be prosecuted by the Paris Court of Assize for several articles which did not please the Republican Nupkinses.

not please the Republican Nupkinses.

A provisional committee, consisting of the following members: Cluseret, Ferroul, Planteau, Félix Pyat (Deputies), Champoudry, Chassaing, Daumas, Marsoullan (Municipal Councillors), Ostyn, Protot, Urbain (ex-Members of the Commune), Bricon, Chatelain, Closmadeuc, Fesneau, Cougny, Gravier, Martelet, Mijoul, Quinoux, Rousseau, and Royannez (members of various revolutionary bodies), have formed a new revolutionary group, called "La Commune," and also issued a manifesto urging the revolutionary masses to prepare themselves for the "next" Commune. "Since the Commune of 1871. Each individual and each party must be considered and judged by the part they took in the latter uprising; 1792 has saved France by its victory, 1871 has saved the Republic by its sacrifice. The Commune of the Centenary will save France, the Republic, and above all the Social Revolution." We earnestly hope that this forecast may prove true. It is timely enough that the French Socialists should look forward, for the possibilists of the so-called Parti ourrier become more and more reactionary and Floquettists, and Parti ouvrier become more and more reactionary and Floquettists, and

AUSTRIA.

The Social Democrats assembled at Hainfeld, have constituted their party The Social Democrats assembled at Hainfeld, have constituted their party on the following lines:—The Social Democratic party is not national, but international; all means of propaganda, press, meetings, congresses are to be used; all measures of coercion to be fought against; Parliamentarism, though not of much importance in their eyes, is to be taken advantage of; reduction of hours of labour, abolition of children's work, etc.; obligatory, gratuitous, and secular education, hence separation of State and Church; abolition of standing armies, to be replaced by complete armament of the people; in all questions, political and economical, to struggle for the people; in all questions, political and economical, to struggle for the terests of the proletariat as a class. We would have expected somewhat "more" than these paltry measures from our Austrian friends; perhaps they will "march on" in a little while.

Two new Anarchist papers are about to estarted, It Libero Patto (Free Contract) at Ancona, and Humanitas at Naples. The latter is to appear secretly, since the former paper of that name has never been lucky enough to be published without at once being confiscated. The Socialist press in Italy has an exceptionally hard struggle to face, but our Italian comrades, to their honour and credit be it said, are of indomitable energy and endurance.

V. D.

There are, indeed, said to be republican villages in America, where everybody is civil, honest, and substantially comfortable; but these villages have several unfair advantages—there are no lawyers in them, no town councils, and no parliaments. Such republicanism, if possible on a larger scale, would be worth fighting for.—Ruskin, 'Fors,' No. 1.

During the last year five persons, three of them Londoners, left ten and a half millions of money to their successors. Seventeen other persons left eight and a half millions of money between them. Other nineteen each left more than a quarter of a million of personality. The estates of forty-one persons thus account for twenty-five millions.—Court Journal.

EXPEDIENCY.—Caiphas was a man of expediency; he assembled the Sanhedrim that they might consult, lest the Romans should come and take away the place and nation, and asked: "Know ye not that it is expedient that one man should die for the people?" and the priest of expediency triumphed: the "one man" was crucified. Within 50 years from that time Christianity was going forth into all the regions of the earth, and gathering together the Roman and the Greek, the Barbarian and the Scythian, the bond and the free, into the fold of Christ. Meanwhile the ploughshare was passing over the dust of Jerusalem.—W. J. Fox.

WHEN THE PEOPLE HAVE THEIR OWN AGAIN.

Though prating fools in Parliament
May do their utmost to prevent
The people's knowing who are who,
Or finding out what they can do;
In spite of them all, howe'er they may bawl,
And Wrong defend with might and main,
The Right it shall win, and the good days begin
When the people have their own again.

The lawyers all may do their best
For profit, rent, and interest,
And parsons also after fees
May give the coward conscience ease;
But writ on the wall is the tale of their fall,
Whose pleasure is the people's pain;
Ere long they'll be gone, and freedom be won
When the people have their own again.

We see the promise in the east,
The dawning day of Freedom's feast;
And though the despots call it crime
To hail with joy the coming time,
Right well do we know how soon they must go,
And hear their threatening with disdain;
We know that at length we shall rise in our strength,
And the people have their own again! And the people have their own again!

An Gealbhan Garaidh.

SOCIALIST LEAGUE. THE

Offices: 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of Commonweal and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

Library.—The Library is open to members of the Socialist League and affiliated bodies. LIBRARY CATALOGUE, containing the Rules, 2d. D. J. NICOLL and W. BLUNDELL are the Librarians.

Executive.—At the last meeting of the Council, comrades Kitz, Nicoll, and Cantwell were elected as a sub-committee to organise the celebration of the Paris Commune. In the course of a discussion upon the management of Commonweal, it was urged that secretaries of branches, especially of the provincial branches, should make their reports as readable as possible by giving a general idea of the work in their districts.

London Members' Meeting.—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, Feb. 4, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

Branch Subscriptions Paid.—1888: Clerkenwell and Leicester to December.

Notice to Branch Secretaries.—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees as soon as possible. A list of Branches in arrears will shortly appear.

Notice.—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of commonweal, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any ficial communication.

FRANK KITZ, Secretary. official communication.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND .- J. H. Middleton, 4s. 6d.

"COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following have handed in their names as guarantors for sums of not less than 6d. weekly:—S. Presburg, D. Nicoll, J. Presberg, H. Davis, Morris Wess, H. Daum, L. Trunk, R. Turner, J. Turner, W. B. Parker, J. Lane, H. Sparling, M. Morris, V. Dave, Wm. Blundell, Curtis, F. Kitz, B. W., B., S. Mainwaring, J. Morris, W. Leatham, C. Tilley, Samuels, Solomon, Esther Isaacson, Friedenholl, Kahan, Rochman, A. Seglie, and Mrs. Schack. Five hundred wanted.

Notice to Members of the League.—Propaganda Committee meets on Tuesday, January 22nd, at 8.30 p.m. Important business; all members who are interested in the propaganda are asked to attend.

D. J. Nicoll.

REPORTS.

CLERKENWELL.—On Sunday evening, Brookes in the chair, D. Nicoll lectured on the "Commune of Paris." Hall closely packed, and enthusiastic discussion followed by members and visitors. Commonweal sold well, also pamphlet entitled "Paris Commune."—S. P. FULHAM.—On Tuesday evening, at the back of Walham Green Church, Smith, Bullock, Beasley, and Groser spoke to a fair meeting. On Sunday evening, Tochatti, Smith, and Groser spoke outside rooms, and crew a fair audience inside for Turner, who lectured on "Insufficient Remedics." Many questions asked, and good debate followed.—S. B. G.

HAMMERSMITH.—Good meetings at Latimer Road and Weltje Road on Sunday morning. At Latimer Road, choir sang new song, "To Arms," and others. Speakers were Maughan, Tochatti, A. J. Smith, Dean, and Fox. At Weltje Road, speakers were Maughan and Morris. Choir sang "No Master" and "March of the Workers." In evening, H. H. Sparling lectured at Kelmsoott House on "Luxury now: Necessity then." Many questions and fair discussion. Hyde Park.—Good meeting held in conjunction with the S.D.F. Those in charge of this station are requested to bring the platform next Sunday.

NORTH LONDON.—A lecture was delivered at 6, Windmill Street, on Friday, 11th inst., by D. Nicoll, on "The Social Revolution, the Means and End." A very interesting discussion followed. This was the first lecture announced by the branch, and it is their intention to follow it, up by a series every fortnight during the winter months. Socialists of all shades of opinion are invited to attend.

VICTORIA PARK.—Good meeting held at this station last Sunday.

ABERDEEN.—At indoor meeting on 7th, Morris's lecture, "How we live, and how we might live," was read and discussed. At Castle Street on Saturday night, usual meeting addressed by Aiken, Duncan, and Leatham, the first speaker dealing with the strike at Broadford Works, where he is a heckler.—L. GLASGOW.—On Sunday at 5, Glasier and Pollock spoke at Paisley Road Toll. This station is within the bounds oi Govan, where the present elect

Norwich.—Sunday afternoon, usual meeting in Market Place; large audience. Mowbray spoke on the unemployed question, and also referred to the sweating tailoring firm, making several challenges for this firm to come forward and confute. In evening, in Gordon Hall, very interesting discussion on "Socialism." Several important questions asked and answered satisfactorily; audience larger than usual. Fair collections and sale of Commonweal. During the week large unemployed meetings have been going on daily, the men also marching through the streets with a large black banner, inscribed; "We want work, not charity."

YARMOUTH.—A fair meeting was held here on Sunday morning. In the afternoon, an audience of about 1,000 listened attentively to comrades C. Reynolds, Mills, and Poyntz; two quires of Commonweal sold, and every prospect of a strong Branch being formed.

LECTURE DIARY. LONDON.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—This Branch is now actively working. Socialists resident in this locality should send their names in at once to 13 Farringdon Road.

Olerkenvell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E. C. (4-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). Sunday Jan. 20, at 8.30, George Cores, "Parliamentary Government." Branch will hold a meeting on Clerkenwell Green prior to lecture.

Fulham.—8 Effic Road, Walham Green. Committee meetings are held on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock sharp. All members are earnestly requested to attend. Sunday January 13, at 8 p.m., S. Bullock, "Adulteration."

Hackney.—Secretary, E. Lefevre, 14 Goldsmiths Sq., Goldsmiths Row, Hackney Road.

Hammersmith.—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Jan. 20, at 8 p.m., Sydney Olivier (Fabian Society), "Socialist Individualism." Wednesday 23rd, at 8 p.m., Graham Wallas (Fabian), "Democracy."

Hoxton.—12, Basing Place, Kingsland Rd. Puisses.

23rd, at 8 p.m., Graham Wallas (Fabian), "Democracy."

"Hoxton.—12, Basing Place, Kingsland Rd. Business meetings of this branch are held every Friday evening at 9 o'clock.

London Fields.—All communications, etc., to Mrs. G. G. Schack, 26 Cawley Road, South Hackney.

Mitcham.—Meets every Sunday, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road, at 11 a.m. Special Meeting on Sunday Jan. 20, at 11.30. Members please note.

Mile-end and Bethnal Green.—95 Boston St., Hackney Road.

North London.-6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court

North London.—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Roads—Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

Waiworth and Camberwell.—This branch is now in working order. Friends in this locality are earnestly invited to co-operate, and send their names in. Committee meetings every Monday, 7.30 p.m., at 3 Datchelor Place, Church St., Camberwell Green.

Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.—International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen (Scottish Section).—Secretary, P. Barron, 14 Ann Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Ifall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

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

Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Wednesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secy.

Dundee (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Mainburgh* (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35
George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.

Galashiels (Scot Sect).-J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, secy.

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

Secretary, A. Paterson, 192 Kossiyn St.

Glasgow.—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Calgow.—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, unesting of members on Thursday evenings at 8.

French Class meets every Sunday at 11.

Apswich.—Pioneer Hall, Tacket Street. Meets on Sunday evenings.

Sunday evenings.

Kilmarnock.—Secretary, H. M'Gill, 22 Gilmour St.
Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday.

Lecâs.—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Rd. and Front
Row. Open every evening. Business meeting
Saturdays at 8 p.m.

Lescester.—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane.
Fridays at 8 p.m.

Fridays at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—Sunday, at 8, A special meeting of members and friends will be held in the Gordon Hall, to consider the present position of the Commonweal and its future success; it is hoped there will be a good attendance. Monday, at 8, A Concert on behalf of comrade Mowbray, who is leaving this branch for London. Tickets 6d. and 3d. each. A good programme will be provided, and a string band in attendance. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Wednesday and Thursday, Hall open from 8.30 until 10.30. Friday, at 8, Committee Meeting in Gordon Hall. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association.

Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 251 Pembroke Street.

Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 251 Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.

Walsall .- Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall.

West Calder (Scottish Section). - Sec., Robert Lindsay,

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

(Weather permitting.)

SUNDAY 20.
11.30Latimer Road StationHammersmith Branch
11.30Regent's ParkThe Branch
11.30Walham Green, opp. StationThe Branch
3.30Hyde ParkNicoll & Parker
3.30Victoria ParkMrs. Schaack & Hicks
7.30Broad Street, SohoThe Branch
7.30Clerkenwell GreenNicoll
7.30Weltje Rd., Ravenscourt PkHammersmith
/T1

Tuesday.
8.30...Fulham—back of Walham Green Ch. ...Branch

EAST END.

SUNDAY 20.

Leman Street, Shadwell 11 ...Mrs. Schaack.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen.—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7.30 p.m.
Glasgow.—Sunday: Glasgow Green at 2 p.m.; Paisley
Road at 5.30.

Road at 5.30.

Ipswich.—

Sproughton, Wednesday evening.

Westerfield, Thursday evening.

Needham Market, Sunday morning and evening.

Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's

Croft, at 7 p.m.

Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place, at 3.

ST. PANCRAS REFORM CLUB, Grafton Lodge, Prince of Wales's Road, N.W.—Rev. S. D. Headlam, a lecture. Thursday, at 8.30.

All those desirous of helping in the work of the S.L. in and around Wimbledon and Merton, should communicate with comrade F. Kitz, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road.

INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S EDUCATIONAL CLUB, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road, E.—On Saturday January 19th, Benefit Concert in aid of Pamphlet Fund.

LEIGSFER.—A course of lectures on "Socialism, its Aims and Principles" is being delivered in Leicester Secular Hall. The fith lecture will be delivered on Sunday January 20 by Graham Wallas—subject, "Property under Socialism."

The Socialist Co-operative Federation.—The Committee will meet at 63 Lincoln's Inn Fields, or Saturday Jan. 19, at 7.30 p.m. Members please send their subscription cards to the Secretary for audit.

Satutay Sain. 19, ac. p.m.
Satutay Sain. 19, ac. p.m.
their subscription cards to the Secretary for audit.

SOUTH LONDON.—Friends who will help to establish a Branch of the Socialist League in South London will please place themselves in communication with C. Henze, 41 Bolton Street, Thomas Street, Kennington Park, S.E., or by letter to H. Hopkins, 17 Gairloch Road, Shenley Road, Peckham, S.E.

Der Arbeiterbund "Gleichheit" ladet alle deutschen Arbeiter Londons, welche mit den Bestrebungen der Arbeiterbewegung sympathisiren, ein, sich am Montag, den 21 Januar 1889, abends 8 Uhr zur Besprechung ihrer Interessen im Cosmopolitan Club, 38 Charles Square, Brunswick Place, Hozton, einzufinden. Eintritt frei für Jedermann.

Der Arbeiterbeund "Gleichheit"."

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