

THE COMMONWEAL

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

The Liberal Unionists had a great field-day at Westminster on the 9th. They seem to have been very cheerful about their prospects, and if they will but admit that they are a part of the Tory party, we on our part must admit in all honesty that they have some reason to be so—for the present—now that the Gladstonite Liberals have shown that there is no fight in them.

Lord Hartington made a long speech, as a leader must in spite of the torture he may inflict on his audience, of which torture his lordship is a master. The reporter makes the unfortunate Jesse Collings say that "the great minority of the people of Ireland were loyalists." And really since it was Mr. Collings, perhaps he did say so. Lord Selborne in attacking the worship of Mr. Gladstone as a pope (with which attack I cordially agree) held up Lord Hartington as a counter pope. Mr. Richard Chamberlain, in the absence of that illustrious humbug his brother, proposed "extended organisation among the constituencies, not so much by holding meetings, as by private agency among the electors." This latter phrase seems indiscreet. Might I as an interested person (possessed of six votes) ask Mr. R. Chamberlain, How much a vote?

Lord Derby's speech deserves more respect than these weary fatuities, although there was a hole or two in his logic even granting his premises; but at least it had meaning in it, and the moderates would find some of his taunts hard to answer. Yet one may remind him that if the Southern States put up (after a terrible war) with the coercion of the North, their struggle was for the continuance of chattel-slavery, which was doomed both by the ethical and economical circumstances, whereas the Irish are struggling for federalism, the feeling for which is obviously on the increase; it is not the form which a contest takes, but the reason for it which is important.

Lord Derby seemed conscious indeed that the tide was setting towards federation: "Whatever was done for Ireland might be demanded for Scotland, certainly for Wales." "Were they prepared for four local parliaments with perhaps a federal council over all? it would be suicidal. Home Rule would lead to the absolute power of the Crown!" Well I don't see why, comparing it with what is, we should be terrified at the picture. The absolute power of the Crown would certainly lead to the abolition of the Crown, which would be a blessing, though a small one.

"Coercion in some form," says Lord Derby, "is only another name for civilisation." I think he is right; civilisation means turning the whole world into a vast prison; the destruction of all many ideals; the attempt to substitute "comfort" so called, for happiness—the contented prisoner's ideal of life. I daresay Lord Derby would agree to that and say, "Well, what would you have?" But then, you see, he and those like him are withdrawn from the struggle like the popular gods of Epicurus. They are dull, but they don't suffer; they leave that to others.

After the Conference came the banquet at which Mr. Goschen made the conscious, and the Duke of Argyll the unconscious joke of the evening. A certain Mr. Sinclair had gone on his knees before the Unionist triumvirate—Hartington, Goschen and Chamberlain; so the midst of those gods made the remarkable joke of picturing the feelings of those in the hall if they had the prospect of being governed by Hyndman, Conybeare and Cunningham Graham, which to the audience of worshippers of the first trinity, seemed very funny; why, our readers can find out perhaps better than I can: I can only say that the *Standard* enjoyed it hugely, which is not much in its favour.

The Duke of Argyll's joke was better, much better. "God save Ireland! to be for many years" (how many, your Grace?) "an integral part of that Constitution which promises perfect freedom to all." Apart from a country being an integral part of a Constitution a conception which people below the degree of a duke might find it difficult to master, this is a rich joke indeed. "The promise of perfect freedom" is kept by enacting a stiffish Coercion Act in Ireland, and by doing without it in London and getting on pretty well by dint of open assault and robbery on the highway, backed up by drum-head court-martial afterwards.

By the way where is the Constitution and what is it? We hear a great deal of talk about it as a thing well known to all; but to most of us it deals about as much out of the way as the sea-serpent. Perhaps the *Commonweal* might offer a prize for the solution of the above question—if we could only find judges to decide it.

Another of the infamous sentences of the courts of "justice" has fallen on Coleman—12 months' hard labour for asserting the freedom of the highway—the jury giving Edlin the opportunity by not appreciating at its due value the official evidence of the police, which has to be bolstered up by signs passing between the witness in the box and the coming witness. Unluckily, quite apart from the prejudice of a "respectable" jury, it has become the practice of juries simply to allow their ears to be tickled by the judges' summing-up, instead of carefully weighing the evidence themselves.

Trade is reviving—once more—perhaps. Or perhaps a ring or two are at work. Also, some person or persons interested, are working up the periodical war scare again; which is far enough advanced to have the honour of maps in the morning papers with the position of the Russian troops marked in them. Meantime the revival has not reached everybody; "trade never so bad," is the usual answer of retailers to any questions on the subject.

The attack on M. Ferry is a droll affair—hit by three bullets and never a hole in him—what *does* it mean? Is he like Claver's and others in seventeenth century story, who had made a compact with the Devil and couldn't be pierced by any baser metal than silver? This would be rather suitable to his stockjobbing antecedents too.

Linnell's death is called, as one foresaw it would be, an "accident" by the bourgeois press. Just so accidents happen when a hundred men pull the triggers of a hundred rifles loaded with ball cartridge, and other men happen to be standing opposite to them. The general attitude of the press on this business is best characterised by the word *shabby*. The shabby dodge of reclaiming the body to prevent the funeral on the 11th! The shabby attempt to prove that Linnell drank, poor man! And again, in the case of Joseph Ellis, the harmless partyless man, the exultation of getting hold of a "Socialist leader!" Shabby! Shabby!! Shabby!!! One is ashamed of having such enemies.

They are terribly powerful, though, in spite of—or rather, because of—their shabbiness. As witness the above case of Joseph Ellis: that such a piece of malignant injustice could have been perpetrated without an outcry even from the shabby classes shows how strong they feel themselves. To pass by other matters in the case—e.g., the swearing through a brick wall, so familiar to us by now—let it be remembered that Ellis was charged with hurting Livingstone, and that he was obviously hurt with a *weapon*. Well, the jury, cowed and confused let us hope, by the style in which "justice" is administered in that court, bring in a verdict of guilty; but the muddled Britons say at the same time that he did not strike Livingstone with an instrument, but with his fist: which, since Livingstone was not struck with a fist but with a weapon, is tantamount to an acquittal. After which, Edlin (I regret to have to soil these pages with his name) sentences him to eight months' hard labour. This is what Palmerston's once famous "*Civis Romanus sum*" has come to! This is the protection of the law! Let us add as a crowning piece of shabbiness that the *LIBERAL Daily News* omitted in its report of the trial this quasi-acquittal of the jury.

Mr. Bradlaugh has been defending his conduct in Parliament before his constituents, who, it must be said, did not appreciate his reasons for voting against his colleague in the matter of cutting down the preposterous salaries of the successful lawyers called judges. He was in favour of women working at the pit brow, and thereby reducing the wages of the men of their own households; he is shocked at women being driven on the streets, but seemingly not so shocked at men knocking about the streets workless, which clearly must result in the women supplementing their scanty pay by street-walking. He objected to Land Nationalisation on the grounds that it must either be bought or stolen! Would he object to taking his fishing-boots back from a thief on the same grounds?

WILLIAM MORRIS.

"BROKEN CISTERNS."

(Continued from p. 395.)

CO-OPERATION next claims our attention. Here we have an attempt to reduce the evil of bad distribution and to some extent the evil of competition. In the distributive store they do undoubtedly succeed in both to a large extent. But when things get into shops it is too late to save the bulk of what the worker is robbed of. Co-operative production has been tried, but not often on a truly co-operative basis, in which those who work own all the capital. Mostly it is a system of joint-stock companies with small shares owned by working men instead of capitalists; others are simply factories owned by a co-operative society, in which the worker is in exactly the same position as in any other factory. The first form, in which the workers in any factory own all the capital and so get what profits there are, is the only one which can really solve any part of our social problem, and the chance of this form doing so is very small. The amount of capital required in many trades is so great per man that there is no chance of a sufficient number of working men being able to find it. And then comes even a greater difficulty; the competition prevents them getting a fair start.

I will not go over all the reasons why co-operative productive societies cannot compete with others, as they were given recently in this paper.

The only way in which we could imagine co-operation solving the problem would be in becoming in fact national co-operation or Socialism. Supposing co-operative production by some means yet to be discovered should be able to compete and drive out private firms, they would then compete amongst themselves, bringing many of the same evils that we have now. To do away with this, each trade would have to organise itself; all the workshops or factories in that trade would have to federate; but then each trade would become a monopoly, and there would still be the waste of the competition between the various trades which we saw above. To do away with these two evils the different trades would have to be federated, and the whole placed under the control of the people. Then we have Socialism, or at least a form of it. Hence we see that co-operation can only solve the difficulties for which we are seeking a cure by going on and becoming Socialism, and in this it differs from all the other means of improvement we have seen, that there is in co-operation a germ which it is possible to conceive might develop into a complete solution. But in co-operation with its present limited scope and tendency to profit-mongering, there is very little ground for hope that it will so develop; and even if the movement should be widened, the way of its development is barred by competition. It is a remedy which would be good if most of the evil could be cured before this was tried. If we could abolish some of the evils of competition then there might be a chance for it, but it has not the force to fight all the evils with which we are beset.

We have now reviewed all the chief remedies which are proposed and trusted in by the majority. There are a few minor ones, such as temperance and thrift, which, even if they produced the utmost effect hoped by their advocates, could only make poverty rather less severe; they do not touch at all the industrial evils; they are powerless to influence the growing uncertainty of employment, or the crises produced by so-called over-production.

This survey of the gods to which the modern world is trusting for deliverance calls to one's mind the words of the Old Book: "For my people have committed two evils: they have forsaken me the fountain of living waters, and hewed them out cisterns, broken cisterns, that can hold no water."

Truly we have forsaken the only principles upon which a happy society can be based—the principles of justice, freedom, and brotherhood—and having founded our system upon competition, injustice, selfishness, and theft, we in vain try to hew out such institutions as shall enable a happy society to exist upon such a basis.

I think it has been abundantly shown that nothing but a complete change of the basis of society will avail, and that those who continue to try and prop up society on its present basis without seeking entirely to change it, are, as it were, simply hewing broken cisterns which can hold no water. The Socialist, much abused for his unpractical views, stands forth, then, as alone proclaiming the absolute necessity for the complete change of basis, and it behoves all to examine carefully the change which he proposes, to see whether it will cure the present evils and also fulfil the needs of mankind. Now what are these needs?

First, probably, both in order of development and importance, is the need of social life and intercourse, which drew men together long before they had learnt that they could satisfy their other wants better when united. We need, then, a society in which there shall be the least possible hindrance to social intercourse, in which there shall be no artificial barriers raised to prevent men from sharing the love and intercourse of the spirits most congenial to their nature. Opposing interests must not divide men into antagonistic cliques and classes, thus very often separating those who could have enjoyed a wealth of social intercourse. Then a substantial equality of conditions is a requisite of all free and easy social intercourse. So much is this so, that even the love of lovers which is strong enough to brave social ostracism, to face the hardships of a comparatively poorer way of living, is seldom strong enough to overcome the insidious influence of the different conditions to which the two lovers have been accustomed. The number of tragedies which one sees resulting from the inter-marriage of those who belong to classes whose wealth is greatly unequal, testifies at once to the power of inequality of conditions to break down

sympathy even where it has formed strongest, and also to the frequency with which such inequality separates those who would otherwise have been suited for mutual friendship or love. We saw in an earlier part of this article that substantial equality was necessary for the full development of the first want of man, the want of social intercourse with his fellows.

Man next needs from society an easier way of satisfying his material wants than he could use as an isolated individual. This to a large extent present society has found, but at present does not know how wisely to use. Then he needs that his portion of necessary work shall be as pleasant as possible to him, and this even if the time should have to be lengthened to allow it, for surely it were better to work five hours a day at an occupation in such a way that they might be five hours of pleasure, than to work four hours under conditions which make them four hours of pain. To this end there must be the greatest freedom allowed to each individual in the choice of his work, so that he may choose the kind in which he can take most pleasure, and if this should result in the overcrowding of certain trades, there must be as far as possible compensation offered in those trades which by their nature cannot be made pleasant. Then there should be freedom to each to judge to some extent of the relative value of leisure and material wealth, so that one who might wish to live sparingly and have much leisure could do so, and one who might wish to have less leisure and more material wealth could also do so.

These are some of the needs of mankind; and we must first test the great change which the Socialists propose to make, by seeing if it promises to satisfy those needs better than the present system.

The change which the Socialist proposes is, in a few words, the abolition of private property in the means of production; and he thinks that upon the new basis of common ownership of the means of production, a society will arise whose guiding principles shall be, as the old popular cry has it, "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity." Freedom for the individual to develop his individuality to the greatest extent consistent with the same freedom to others. Equality of condition for all; equal chance for all to find the position in the economy of society unto which he was destined and for which he is best fitted. Brotherhood fostered by common interests, by work and consultation shared in by all, by hardships faced and pleasures enjoyed by all in common.

RAYMOND UNWIN.

(To be continued.)

PLAIN SPEAKING.

(To the Editor of the *Adelaide Commonwealth*.)

SIR,—I do not know you; I do not want to know you. I simply wish to point out to you how absurd it is your wasting your time and ability in advocating the rights of the whole community to the land in which they live. I am not going to discuss whether your views are right or wrong; that has nothing to do with the matter. You must remember that we, who have the money at our command, own not only the land but also all the other means of production and exchange. We have the daily press in our pay; the leading lawyers are retained in our favour the banks are our staunch supporters, in fact our fortresses. Through them we control the majority of the workers, even those who fondly imagine themselves to be independent and fairly well off. Independent! Why you, sir, must know how interdependent all of us are. And so long as we as a class can command possession of the soil, the mines, the water, and the greater part of the machinery and the money; which is, after all, simply a machine to facilitate the exchange of goods; so long we are the masters of the situation and the workers simply our slaves; slaves whom we keep to produce wealth for us. If it were not so the workers could daily in a very few hours produce all the wealth they want, and a long way more than they now get, or are likely to get. But you see they do not produce for themselves, but for us. So the longer they work and the more they produce, the more we take from them as rents, interest, or profits. This is a very good thing for us, and we shall maintain it as long as we can. And really, sir, you are quite helpless; you and your fellows can do nothing. You want a good substantial land tax, as you call it, but you won't get it. Why, all your politicians are opposed to it. Of course they are; those who do not yet belong to our class hope sooner or later to do so, and in the meantime we can put some good things in their way which enlists them on our side. A good substantial land tax, if imposed at once, would, indeed, weaken our power; it would lessen our hold of the soil, of the mines, etc.; and I know it is their possession which enables us to own and profitably manage for our benefit all other means of production. Do you think we are going to give up that which gives us our strength? Honesty, justice, and truth are very good expressions, and we often use them—on Sundays; but give me good commercial principles for our everyday life. We have the power, and intend sticking to it; we can invoke all the forces of the British Empire to assist us. We always stick together, you know, and we are good patriots. Must we fight? Oh, no! We can get plenty of men to do so for us at about one shilling a day. So you see you can do nothing. We are the respectable classes; our politicians and our lawyers will always manage to deceive the majority of those you wish to help. Take my advice, my dear Mr. Editor, and don't bother about other people. Save all the money you can. Get it honestly, at all events legally. Invest it carefully and you will soon have plenty free slaves of your own working for you. You will not be called a slaveowner, but

A CAPITALIST.

There is no physical crime at this day so far beyond pardon, so without parallel in its untempted guilt as the making of war-machinery and invention of mischievous substance. We are so humane, forsooth, and so wise; and our ancestors had tar barrels for witches, we will have them for everybody else, and drive the witches' trade ourselves by daylight; we will have our cauldrons, please Hecate, cooled (according to the Darwinian theory) with baboon's blood, and enough of it, and sell hell-fire in the open streets.—*J. Ruskin, 'Fors Clavigera.'*

A VOICE FROM AMERICA.

(Continued from page 394.)

THE TRIAL.

On May 18th, the grand jury began the examination of witnesses. On the 25th, they indicted August Spies, Michel Schwab, the editors of the Chicago *Arbeiter Zeitung*, Albert R. Parsons, editor of the *Alarm*, Adolph Fischer, Samuel Fielden, George Engel, Louis Lingg, Oscar Neebe, Rudolph Schnaubelt, and Wilhelm Seliger for the murder of Mathias J. Degan and others, for conspiracy, riot, and unlawful assembly. Schnaubelt left the city and never returned. Parsons also left the town. Seliger turned informer, and was not included with the others. The trial was commenced before Judge Gary in the Criminal Court, June 21st, and the sensation of the day was the return and surrender of A. R. Parsons, who walked quietly into court and took his seat beside his indicted comrades. Twenty-one days were consumed in the effort to secure twelve men for the jury. The right of trial by an "impartial jury" is a constitutional provision. How "impartial" the jury was may be seen from the following status of juror No. 1:—"In answer to questions which were permitted, he stated that he was prejudiced against Socialists, Anarchists, and Communists as a class. The rulings of the court, however, prevented inquiries as to whether that prejudice would influence his verdict, or the weight he would give to the testimony of the defendants, if they should be sworn, and to their witnesses, in his determination of the cause." Nine others admitted similar prejudices.

It is impossible to enter here into all the details of the trial, but no stone was left unturned to secure all possible evidence against the men. An informer piled up the agony to save his neck; police perjured themselves; witnesses were terrorised to speak against the men, etc., etc. One thing, however, is certain; that it has amply been proved during the trial that none of the accused either threw the deadly bomb or induced anybody to do so. In fact, who threw the bomb is to-day as much a mystery as it was on the 4th of May.

Judge Gary presiding at the trial, and Attorney Grinnell, competed with each other in their efforts to secure a verdict detrimental to the men. The sentence of death against seven, and imprisonment for fifteen years against Neebe, was passed on October 10th, 1886. The date fixed for execution was December 3. The same date on which John Brown was hanged twenty-seven years ago for trying to liberate the slaves. Efforts were made to obtain a stay of execution. This was granted on November 25th. An appeal was then made to the Supreme Court of Illinois. They gave judgment on Sept. 14th, 1887. Then an effort was made to secure a writ of error from the Supreme Court of the United States at Washington. On November 2nd, 1887, this Court declined to grant a writ of error. The day for the execution was fixed for November 11th, upholding the Chicago Court decision.

Nothing could save the men now but the Governor of Illinois. The capitalistic press and the police throughout the States howled for the blood of the men. From all parts of the country appeals were made to induce the Governor to pardon the men. The President of the Federation of Trades' Unions, and the Master Workman of the principal Districts of Knights of Labour went in person to the Governor; but all in vain. He commuted the sentence of Fielden and Schwab, but refused to do anything for the other five. They were doomed to swing. Oscar Neebe had already been taken to Joliet Prison to do his fifteen years.

SCENES IN PRISON.

The seven men were imprisoned in Cook County Jail, Chicago, a large gloomy brick structure, surmounted by a cupola. The office of the jailer opens by an iron-grated door into a large area enclosed in a strongly built iron frame, covered with closely woven heavy wire. This structure is called the "cage," and it is here that the visitors of the seven men came to see them. The prisoners were kept, however, in the jail proper, and communication had to be made through the narrow meshes of wire. The cells of the men were situated in the so-called "murderer's row" on the ground floor. The seven cells are in a line, and can be seen distinctly from the office. The wives and children spent the visiting hours every day with the husbands and fathers. They were admitted to the huge "cage" that rises into the air and covers the yard space, and through the wires of this screen they talked with the prisoners.

The following description was given in the press shortly before the murder was consummated:—

"Mrs. Fischer is a daily visitor. She is only twenty-seven years of age, and looks much younger. She knows nothing whatever outside of her three children and her household duties, and is at a loss to understand how her husband got into his present difficulty. The youngest child was born on the day after the sentence of death was passed upon his father.

"Schwab's wife is a tall, handsome woman, of good presence and commanding demeanour. She has two children. They accompany her to the "cage" to see their father, and console him. Mrs. Schwab has maintained a stoical air until the last few days. She has been unremitting in her attention to her husband, and has made every effort in her power to help the movements in his favour. The children are bright and pretty, and have always been well dressed. They are great favourites with the keepers, and have frequently been allowed to go within the jail itself. This is an unusual privilege, but has been accorded them because of their winning manners and intense love of

their fathers. That love is well returned. No man in this broad land is more attached to his children than Michael Schwab, the Anarchist.

"Mrs. Parsons is the other half of her husband. She shares his opinions, and has always taken part in his proceedings. She has two children. She spends little time in the prison, having business outside, but she is a good and attentive wife for all that. She sends the children to see the father, and has them kept with him during the permissible hours. Mrs. Parson's notion is that she can best serve her husband by continuing the work he had at heart, and when he has gone she will be solaced with the thought that she is doing as he would have wished.

"The very opposite to Mrs. Parsons is the wife of Fielden. She is a small woman, with a shy manner, and a nervous shrinking way. She is an English woman and very domestic. She has been brought up in an atmosphere of the strictest respect of law and order, and knows no more of the teachings of Anarchism than an unborn babe. It is thought that the hanging of her husband will be fatal to her. Her eldest child, Alice, is five years old, and very attractive, and when allowed to go behind the bars invariably goes up to her father's cell and ransacks his clothes for candy. Previous to his imprisonment, he was in the habit when returning from work of taking her candy or fruits and permitting her to hunt for it in his pockets. She still remembers it, and of course is too young to comprehend the change that has come. He is very fond of her, as well as his little boy, who bears his name, and who first saw the light on the day before Judge Gary pronounced sentence of death upon him.

"Engel has more callers than any of the others. This is due to his numerous family. He has a good many children, but they are grown up and mostly married. He has one single daughter, and she is at the jail every day. Engel is devotedly fond of her, and would do anything to escape for her sake. She is quite pretty and an immense favourite. It is whispered that she was engaged to be married, and that the match was broken off on account of her father's arrest. The young fellow belonged to a good family in Indiana, and they would not hear of his taking the Anarchist's daughter. The family are church-goers, and the man himself is said to be a type of his home. He was shocked at the notion of the arrest, but the sentence of death and the rest of it drove him completely off. The girl was very much in love with him, and the affair has completely ruined her life. She has no hope now but in her father's pardon, and at this hour that is the dimmest kind of a ray."

Louis Lingg was not married, but engaged to a young German girl who visited him daily.

August Spies at the time of the trial was also a single man. Nina van Zandt made his acquaintance while he was in jail; she learned to love him and married him by proxy. Nothing can be truer than that love levels all obstacles and lays the shepherd's crook beside the sceptre. There was not a more determined Anarchist than August Spies on the face of the globe a short year ago. He held his life like a feather, and had no other thought than the welfare of his kind. Heart and soul he went into the movement, and his energy and ability were devoted to it. His history in connection with the labour movement in Chicago is well known; his courage, his daring, his connection in the line of conduct he had marked out for himself, and yet this man so wrapped in a single thought signed a request for a pardon. Was that conviction? No. Was it a change of view? No. Was it because he feared death? No, a thousand times. It was because a woman's face had crept into his heart and taken possession of it. It was because that woman's face, that woman's love had banished every other resident from the citadel in which she had made her home, and henceforth she should rule supreme in that seat of love. Spies held back until the last moment. He would not even listen to those who begged him to try and help his case. He held that he was sacrificing himself in a good cause, and it was worth dying for the benefits that would accrue to others. When the sad fair face of Nina looked at him through the wires and her sweet voice pleaded for their happiness he capitulated, nor can we blame him, despite the apparent weakening it showed. Since then Spies has died like a true hero. He met his death as unflinching, as calm, as any of the other four.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

(To be continued.)

CLERICAL BIGOTRY AT LOWESTOFT.—Lowestoft is distinguishing itself by the uncompromising opposition of its local Tories to the Socialist propaganda, or even to discussing Socialism. The latest phase is as follows: The local branch of the Y. M. C. A. has a literary class, which was at one of its meetings to debate the question, "Would the adoption of Socialism benefit the working classes?" On hearing of this the Rev. T. A. Nash, president of the society, hastily called together the committee, for the purpose of taking prompt steps for stopping such a horrible design. All the parsons attended in force, full of pious lies about the unholy character of the subject, and of assertions that it was opposed to the teaching of the Bible, and was not at all fit for debate in a Christian association. After the experience which comrades Nicoll and Henderson had at this parson-and-tory-ridden town, it is no matter for surprise that the subject was not discussed in the Y.M.C.A. rooms. Perhaps the surprise might be shown on learning that the persons interested were able to hire a suitable room and hold their debate at all; but such was luckily the case. The *Hull Express* comments severely on the attitude of the parsons, and says, "It is interesting to reflect that the clergymen who thought Socialism an unfit subject of debate professed the faith whose earliest professors had all things in common." Socialism, no doubt, may mean a great many things, which may or may not be for the good of mankind, but the term itself implies nothing more than that human society should be based more on the common good and less on private interest. We may call this a dream, but it is certainly not an ugly nor a bad dream."



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN WENT 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.

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.

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

M. A. MALOY (Sheffield).—Your report cost us a penny, only a half-penny stamp being affixed to the envelope.

F.—The coincidence is as your friend says: the Illinois Conspiracy Law was passed on the anniversary of the signing of the Magna Charta, June 15—advance made in 672 years!

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday December 14.

ENGLAND		
Anarchist	Boston—Woman's Journal	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde
Jus	Chicago—Labor Enquirer	Liege—L'Avenir
London—Freie Presse	Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer	ITALY
Labour Tribune	Detroit (Mich.)—The Advance	Marsala—La Nuova Eta
Norwich—Daylight	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	Rome—L'Emancipazione
Railway Review	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volkblatt	SPAIN
Worker's Friend	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	Madrid—El Socialista
NEW SOUTH WALES	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Barcelona—Acracia
Hamilton—Radical	Coast Seamen's Journal	GERMANY
SOUTH AUSTRALIA	FRANCE	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Adelaide—Our Commonwealth	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	HUNGARY
Melbourne—Liberator	La Revolté	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
INDIA	Lille—Le Travailleur	ROUMANIA
Bankipore—Behar Herald	HOLLAND	Jassy—Lupta
Madras—People's Friend	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Municipitoril
UNITED STATES	Amsterdam—Voorwaarts	DENMARK
Our Union	BELEM	Social-Demokraten
New York—Der Sozialist	Seraing (Ougree)—Le Reveil	NORTH AFRICA
Truthseeker	Ghent—Vooruit	Tunis—L'Operaio
	Antwerp—De Werker	

THE CONSCIENCE OF THE UPPER CLASSES.

It seems to be universally admitted that the conference held on December 5th in the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, on the prevailing distress in London was the direct outcome of the unemployed agitation, for joining in which so many poor men have been sentenced with a spite at once so malignant and so petty that it fairly sickens an honest man to think of it. These rich and well-to-do persons were driven to meet together by a fear which I do not say they all felt in their own persons, but which is certainly permeating their class, a fear so easily aroused that a few hundred destitute, unarmed, peaceably behaved persons parading London streets could strike terror into the hearts of the well-to-do of the richest city of the most powerful empire in the world.

It is scarcely worth while to criticise the various schemes and opinions of the speakers at the meeting. In plain terms, the one person who said anything worth listening to was Cardinal Manning, and it is a curious sign of the times that a high official of the Catholic Church should give a lesson in sociology to Liberal and Radical politicians, humanitarian dissenting ministers, and professional philanthropists—the latter represented by Mr. Arnold White, who, one might think, would be glad, if he dared, to advocate a battue of the useless foreigners and quick-breeding Britons of London, after the fashion of the Spartan Helot-hunts.

Of the Cardinal it must be said that he showed none of that base and cowardly hatred of the degraded poor (the poor whose degradation is caused by the exclusive "refinement" of the rich) which is the ordinary feeling of the cultured classes, whether openly expressed or veiled under the pretext of poor-law-philanthropy. Said he: "Thirty years ago I went into places where it was said the police dared not go, and found them very harmless."

Again, as a Catholic prelate he was not concerned to support the cheerful commercial optimism (about other people's troubles) which is

the lining, so to speak, of the moral pessimism of the well-to-do; and he exposed their miserable evasion of setting down the greater part of the unemployed demonstrators as criminals and loafers, and roundly accused "society" of being responsible for their existence. Lastly he attacked, however mildly, the ferocity of the philanthropists about out-door relief. In fact it is clear that he could see nothing else for dealing with the present distress but that very out-door relief in some form or other, the horror of which a few years ago had established itself firmly in the hearts of all philanthropists as a kind of holy dogma not to be questioned; a piece of altruistic piety invented to take the place of the now obsolete "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you." There is a great deal of virtue in the Latinisation of an English word: A Gods' name (or the Other One's) don't "pauperise" people! But you may carefully keep them poor and feel none the worse for it!

The Cardinal wound up with what may be regarded as an official tag, about "voluntary agencies," and the necessity of "visiting the homes of the poor." This was what his office compelled him to say and need not be noticed, if it were not of value as showing that we must not reckon on real help from the Catholic clergy. All that can be expected of them is the administration of charity in its less insulting and kindlier form, and the occasional startling of smug respectability from its after-dinner doze by the enunciation of some obvious social truth, which the genuine Catholic, with his contempt of human life on the earth except as a preparation for another, non-human life, finds it easy to see; but which is quite strange to the commercial religionist engaged in saving his own soul in this world and the next at everybody else's expense.

For the rest nothing was proposed except a mere bundle of evasions of the fact that our system of production is breaking down into ruin through its own triumph. Whatever middle-class rule has put before itself as an aim it has won; but the well-being of the worker was never its aim and could not be; his endurance and quietude only has been aimed at. But since the middle-class ideal is that there should be widely-spread comfort for those living wholly or partly on the labour of others, while those *others* should not be so sorely pinched as to rebel or refuse to work, the safeguards against the ruin of the system of wage-slavery have been disregarded; especially the chief safeguard, the organisation of labour; the widening of the basis of spoliation by making it as easy as may be for the worker to pinch and screw himself out of his class into that of the robbers of labour, has been thought safeguard enough in this direction; but this safeguard is now yielding to the increase in the pace of competition; and we are face to face with the consequences of the wholesale waste of labour which is sure to happen in a society composed of rich and poor in an epoch well equipped with mechanical resources.

We have been forcing the great mass of the workers to make things of no use to the workers (or to any one else for that matter), and we have assumed that we shall always be able to find people willing to take these pieces of manufacture from us in exchange for food and other necessities which are produced by the workers, and not by the buyers of the useless things. When we come to think of the fact, that these buyers of inutilities have nothing to buy them with except the necessities which they steal from the workers, part of which they must dole out to them again as slave-rations under the modern name of "wages," one need be no longer astonished that the scanty and seemingly harmless gatherings of the unemployed should have frightened the class that owns "Society," and made them ask "What's to be done now?" They will not find an answer, though the answer will come; because any attempt they may make to limit the waste of labour will but act as a lever for the destruction of the Society which they are so eager to save.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

Jottings from the Bylaws of the Coast Seamen's Union of the Pacific Coast.

1. Be truthful and honest, generous and courageous. It is for these objects, also, that the Union is formed. Try and make yourselves MEN in every sense of the word.
2. Educate yourself on the Labour question, and try to become thoroughly acquainted with all the details of your occupation.
3. When on board, try to do your work *well*—first, because the better workman you are, the better man; second, because to be a Union man should be synonymous with being an able and ready seaman.
4. Avoid backbiting and jealousy of each other as the supreme curse. Nothing so quickly breeds discontent and division as these low vices. Either speak well of your brother or be silent.
5. Consider it an honour to be a Union man, and a dishonour to be a liar, gambler, scandal-monger and mischief breeder.
6. Do not permit any member of the Union in your hearing to prophesy evil or defeat of the Union, outside of the meetings.

SOCIALISM IN NEW SOUTH WALES.

SOME time ago we chronicled the formation of the Australian Socialist League; we are glad to be able to report now that much progress is being made, and that the movement promises well. The hon. sec. of the League is W. H. M'Namara, 109 Castlereagh Street, Sydney, from whom its Manifesto and publications may be obtained. The following extract from the Manifesto shows its character:

"Labour being the creator of all wealth and civilisation, it rightfully follows that those who labour and create all wealth should enjoy the full results of their toil. . . . A just and equitable distribution of the fruits of labour is utterly impossible under the present system of society. This fact is abundantly illustrated by the deplorable condition of the working classes, which are in a state of destitution and degrading dependence in the midst of their own productions. While the hardest and most disagreeable work brings to the worker only the bare necessities of life, others who labour not riot in labour's production. The present industrial system of competition, based on rent, profit-takings, speculation, and interest, causes and intensifies this inequality, concentrating into the hands of a few all means of production, distribution, and the results of labour, thus creating gigantic monopolies dangerous to the people's liberties."

A leaflet of "Platform and Principles" has also been issued, which is calculated to do great good by its plain speaking.

"2. To uphold and maintain the principle of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. By liberty we mean 'the equal liberty of each, limited alone by the equal liberty of all.' By Equality we mean 'the equality of opportunity for each individual.' And by Fraternity we mean that principle which denies national and class distinctions, asserts the brotherhood of man, and says 'the world is my country.'"

"3. To endeavour to alter from its foundation the prevailing system of production and distribution; to seek to overturn the reign of Capitalism and Land-monopoly. The land, capital, machinery, factories, workshops, stores, means of transit, mines, banking, all means of production and distribution of wealth, must be declared and treated as the common property of all. Every man will then receive the full value of his labour, without deduction for the profit of a master, and as all will have to work, and the waste now incurred by the pursuit of profit will be at an end, the amount of labour necessary for every individual to perform in order to carry on the essential work of the world will be reduced to something like two or three hours daily; so that each person will have abundant leisure for following intellectual or other pursuits congenial to his nature."

"4. The regulation of all commercial transactions between individuals upon the just and equitable principle of making the cost to the seller the measure of price, or consideration, to the buyer or receiver; and not as at present making price dependant upon the incidental value of the commodity or service. In other words, to make all exchanges of wealth or service on the principle of equal labour for equal labour—time for time—cost for cost—burden for burden."

"5. To foster mutual confidence and fraternity amongst the working people of all ranks. To remove the elements of war; distrust and discord caused by competition for profits, and class exploitation of the workers. To abolish standing armies and all vestiges of militarism and coercive laws; the people themselves being the best defenders of their own rights, they therefore can decide on peace or war."

In Hamilton (N.S.W.) there is published a weekly paper called the *Radical*, which is much more worthy of the name than its London namesake, as it stays for no prejudice in advocating all-round social freedom. Its editor, W. R. Winspear, is manifestly not only an advanced politician, who is not afraid of the name of Socialist, but is also a well-read man and a smart writer. His paper should be a great power for good in Australian politics, where it is as much wanted as at home here, even if not more. It is cheering to note that the *Radical* and the Socialist League are doing all they can to help each other, and while the following statement of what the paper opposes remains true, we do not see that the League can do much better, until it has an organ of its own:

"The *Radical* opposes Imperial Federation; imperial titles and distinctions; all expenditure for war purposes, the maintenance of standing armies or navies for providing royal or aristocratic sinecures; all pensions to previously well paid officials, or grants of large sums of money to played out politicians; all expenditure for a second chamber composed of foolish old men chosen by foolish old premiers; all expenditure of public monies upon the property of private individuals, to the detriment of public property; all expenditure of public money for the aggrandisement of any sect or creed; all compensation for land resumption, unless in cases where the improvements of the owner are involved; the present system of election on different days, because we believe the elections should all take place on one day; the present distribution of power among merchants, squatters, and lawyers, because labour should have the bulk of legislative power; we are opposed to the protection which is now afforded the capitalist, for we believe the transgressor should be met with the strong arm of Justice, whether he be manager, miner, or councillor."

Now that Australia has the unemployed, a *real* Radical paper, and the "damned Socialists," it will begin to be probable that it will not be so much praised as a paradise for workers, in which milk and honey flows all day and discontent is unknown. The privileged classes there are viewing the progress of affairs with alarm, and ominous mutterings are heard every other while from what our American comrades call the "reptile press," that are pleasant-sounding to Socialist ears. S.

A Reuter's telegram from Berlin dated December 7th states that private advices from Moscow report that during the last few days a large number of pupils of the high schools have been arrested on a charge of being concerned in revolutionary plots.

CIGAR-MAKING MACHINE.—For years the employers in the cigar trade have endeavoured to supplant manual labour, but notwithstanding the many attempts, they have, up to the present time, failed. Now, however, a machine has just been introduced into a union shop in Tottenham Court Road, which promises to be successful in the manufacture of cigars.—H. D.

CARDINAL MANNING AND THE UNEMPLOYED.—By the directions of Cardinal Manning a circular letter appealing for alms on behalf of the poor was on Sunday read in all the Catholic churches in the Archdiocese of Westminster, and a collection for the same purpose was made at the different services. At the Pro-Cathedral, Kensington, his Eminence supplemented this appeal by a personal entreaty.

"DO" OR BE "DONE"!

(ONE WAY OF REFORMING SOCIETY.)

1.

It was a young capitalist,
From Oxford fresh he came;
To start himself in business,
And gain an honest name;
He took a conscience with him, which
He should have left at home—
He would not do as Rome did,
And yet he went to Rome.

2.

It was a weary bankrupt
That trudged from Rome one day,
But what to Rome is a broken heart—
He passed unseen away;
He left his cash behind him,
His conscience he took home—
He would not do as Rome did—
So he was "done" at Rome.

T. MAGUIRE.

LITERARY NOTICES.

Chapman and Hall announce the issue of some of the most popular of Carlyle's works, in volumes of 1s. each, bound in red cloth, crown 8vo., to begin with the 'French Revolution' (3 vols.) and 'Sartor Resartus,' which will be followed by 'Heroes and Hero Worship' and 'Past and Present.'

'Tory and Socialist' (Shrimpton, Oxford, 3d.) is a neatly-written pamphlet "by an Oxford Undergraduate," the keynote of which is in its closing words: "Is it not possible that Socialists may find in Tories their best friends, and that in aiding Socialists, Tories will be holding out the right hand of fellowship to men who are willing and eager to preserve the ancient greatness of our country as resolutely as themselves?"

'The Road to National Prosperity' (H. Campkin, 272, St. Ann's Well Road, Nottingham, 6d., by post, 7½d.) is a really admirable pamphlet addressed by a workman to working-men. The author is not a "full-blown" Socialist, but is not far off. It is well worth reading, and should command a large sale. S.

AUGUST VINCENT T. SPIES.

AUGUST VINCENT THEODORE SPIES was born December 10, 1855, at Friedewald, Kurhessen (Province Hesse-Nassau since 1866), Germany. His father was a forester (government official). He received his early education from private tutors, who prepared him for the Polytechnicum, which he attended for one year. He then began to study forestry, having chosen his father's profession. He was unusually bright, and made quite a reputation for himself among his schoolmates. When but fourteen years old he had read the great German classics, and even parts of Kant's and Hegel's philosophy; before that he had already become a religious sceptic. His philosophical disposition was so manifest that his father named him "the dreamer." At the age of seventeen, owing to the sudden death of his father, he abandoned his studies, they being too expensive to continue, and went to America, where a number of wealthy relatives were living. So far from being a Socialist at this time, he was an enthusiastic admirer of Bismarck and "Old William." He knew nothing about Socialism, except what he had read about it in the newspapers during the Paris Commune—namely, that it meant an equal distribution of property: too preposterous a thing, as a matter of course, to be deserving of the least consideration. His relatives in New York advised the youth to learn a trade, and he chose the furniture business (upholstery). He did not remain in New York very long, but went to Chicago, where he lived since October 1872. One year of this time, however, he spent in the country, working on a farm, with the intention of becoming a farmer. Finding that the small farmers, and particularly the renters, were systematically robbed of their labour by the mortgage fiend, railroad and other sharks, and that they were made homeless and driven from the soil, which they had by hard labour transformed from prairie into cultivated acres, he returned to the city and engaged in the furniture business for himself. Prior to this, however, he travelled through the northern and southern States to see and study land and people. He first became acquainted with Socialistic literature in 1876; the events of 1877 made him an avowed Socialist. He studied the great German, French, and English writers and thinkers upon the subject (among them Marx and the social historians Buckle and Morgan), and in 1878 he became connected with the Socialistic Labour Party. In 1880 he was called to take the management of the daily *Arbeiter Zeitung*, then on the verge of bankruptcy. He succeeded in saving the paper, and a year later was entrusted with the editorial management, in which position he remained until arrested after the Haymarket occurrence. In 1879 and '80 he was a candidate on the Socialistic ticket. But later his views regarding the practicability of "political action" changed. He believed that only on the economic battlefield could the great issue between the producer and the product-monger, between the wage-slave and his fleecer be settled. He became an Anarchist. For further particulars we would refer the reader to 'August Spies' Autobiography' (price 25c.), published by Nina Van Zandt-Spies, Chicago, Ill.

THE LONDON TRADES' COUNCIL AND THE PRINCE OF WALES.—The report has been contradicted that at the meeting of Mr. George Shipton and the Prince of Wales in the East End, overtures were made to the Prince of Wales to preside at a meeting of the "genuine" unemployed to be held in Trafalgar Square. What the conversation turned on was the representative character of the London Trades Council, which it was explained embraces 61 societies representing 25,615 members. The Council feels itself able to deal with the unemployed question without appealing direct to the Prince of Wales. Full particulars of the action of the Council and the unemployed will appear in the next annual report.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

DURHAM MINERS.—Troubles have arisen between masters and men at Ryhope and Wingate Collieries, concerning the imposition of tub-loading on Sundays at the first-named, and an extra night shift at the other. The men have ceased work, and nearly 4,000 hands have been thrown idle.

DOCKYARD WORKMEN.—The reductions which were being made wholesale some time ago, and which were stopped owing to the pressure brought to bear by the constituencies on the local members, are being revived, and it is reported that the staff at the Sheerness Dockyard will be largely reduced. Two hundred men are to be shortly discharged.

LEEDS TAILORING TRADE.—On Saturday last, a meeting of the unionist and non-unionist Jewish machinists took place for the purpose of inducing the non-unionists to become members of the Machinist Society. About 600 persons attended, and there seems every likelihood of a sound organisation resulting from it. The question of a Federation of Machinists, Tailors, and Pressers was also discussed.

WEST CUMBERLAND IRONWORKERS.—The ironmasters of the West Cumberland district held a meeting at Workington last Friday, and decided, in consequence of the advance in the price of iron to 46s. 9d. per ton, to withdraw the notice of a reduction of 2½ per cent. in the blast furnacemen's wages. This will prevent the expected lock-out of several thousand men, and has given general satisfaction.

AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS.—The agricultural labour market in Yorkshire continues much depressed, and it is many years since there was such a large number of yearly servants disengaged. The country market places are crowded each market day with men and youths seeking situations, but the supply is greatly in excess of the demand. Many of these farm hands will be idle, it is said, until about February.

An Essex rector calls attention to the very low wages for agricultural labour paid in his district. The wages do not exceed 10s. a-week, and on wet days the labourer has nothing. One man, who had been idle two days on account of the inclemency of the weather, went home on Saturday with 6s. 8d. in his pocket for his wife and family.

REDUCTION OF CATHEDRAL OFFICIALS' WAGES.—Owing to the falling off in their revenues by reason of the depression in agriculture, the Dean and Chapter of Peterborough have reduced the salaries of the cathedral officials. The reduction is at the rate of 10 per cent., and applies to all the officials, from the minor canons down to the vergers. The salaries of the dean and the canons had been previously reduced. The ecclesiastical employés will find some consolation in the figures of Goschen and Co., which prove that as prices have fallen and the commodities are cheaper, it is possible to manage with much less wage, if not without wage at all. The depression has not yet affected the "moderate stipend" of the Archbishop of Canterbury and other "big guns."

GLASGOW UNITED TRADES COUNCIL.—This council met last week, when a subscription from the Glassmakers Society for Broxburn miners was acknowledged. The delegate from the steel-smelters stated that the late attempted reduction had been a failure, that in some classes of work a rise had been obtained, and he was happy to say that the result had been much to the benefit of the society as regarded numbers. It was agreed to issue a circular to all the trades councils in the kingdom in connection with the importation of labour, as resolved on by the council at its last meeting, as it was thought to be a much wider question, affecting other districts as much as it did at the works of Messrs. Merry and Cuninghame.

MINERS' MEETING AT HEDNESFORD.—On Thursday evening, a mass meeting of miners was held in the Market Hall, Hednesford. The chair was occupied by Mr. P. F. O'Kelly. Mr. A. Stanley, miners' agent for the district, proposed, "That in the opinion of this meeting it is essentially necessary that all men employed in and about mines should become thoroughly organised in order to obtain fair wages, just weights, better legislative protection, and further by combined action, to help on reform so much needed by a radical reform of the land laws, the abolition of royalty rents, the reduction of railway rates and the amendment of the Employers' Liability Act; and to secure these and kindred objects we pledge ourselves to join the Cannock Chase Miners' Association." Mr. W. Kibble seconded the resolution, and Mr. W. E. Harvey, miners' agent for Derbyshire, supported the resolution in a vigorous address urging the necessity of organisation. The resolution was carried unanimously.

PLUMBERS' STRIKE IN HULL.—The local branch of the Operative Plumbers' Association objected to the employment by a Mr. Wells of a non-society man, and he was requested to dismiss him, which he refused to do. The whole of the society hands in Mr. Wells' employ thereupon "turned out," and left him with only the one non-society man referred to. Mr. Wells then brought the matter under the notice of the master plumbers of the town, and after due consideration of the matter they decided to formally notify to the Operatives' Society that unless they withdrew their action in regard to Mr. Wells, no society man would be employed in any of their shops. One week's notice was given to the society, and the week having elapsed without any reply being received, the whole of the employers, acting in combination, discharged the society hands in their employ, and are now engaging non-society men in their place.

THE THAMES SHIPBUILDERS.—Mr. R. Knight, the general secretary of the Boilermakers and Shipbuilders Society, in his monthly Report, says: "The report from our Hull district is not very cheering, but our members may soon be agreeably surprised to find that there are orders in the office. The Thames district is just now passing through a period of deep and exceptional depression, and consequently great distress exists amongst the workmen, many of whom are, without exaggeration, on the verge of starvation. Winter is upon us, and unless matters improve very shortly the outlet will indeed be a gloomy one. The East India Docks, which are usually scenes of great activity, are almost bare. Blackwall is also in a similar condition, this generally busy neighbourhood being now quite silent. At Messrs. Samuda's yard, which formally gave employment to between 2,000 and 3,000 men, there are hardly 20 men at work. The Blackwall yard is closed."

NOTTINGHAM COLLIERIES.—The colliers of Nottinghamshire are practically agreed as to demanding an increase of wages equal to 10 per cent. all round. About 650 men employed at Clifton Colliery, Nottingham, on Tuesday night determined to strike unless the increase be conceded. They also demand an extra 2s. per cent. yardage. On Thursday before the Nottingham Borough Bench, Mr. Marriott, solicitor, applied on behalf of the colliery company for

summons against John Price and sixty other men, for leaving-work without notice, damages being claimed. Friday December 9th, being pay-day at the colliery, the men went as usual to draw their wages in the afternoon. They found the office guarded by a strong body of police, and a notice displayed in the window to the effect that certain of the men would not be paid pending the decision of the magistrates with regard to the summonses issued for leaving work without notice. The odd men, top men, and lads were paid as usual, but the coal-getters, that is, the stallmen and holers, were disappointed and received no pay. The miners displayed no ill-feeling at this unexpected treatment, but a committee meeting was held during the evening and the men confirmed their previous resolution to remain firm.

THE SCOTCH CROFTERS.—The Crofters' Commission in Caithness has been cutting down rents with an unsparing hand. In many cases the rents have been reduced 50 per cent., and in some 65 per cent. The arrears cancelled in some cases go up to 72 per cent., and even 82 per cent. of the whole. An evening paper pertinently enquires: "What becomes now of the professions of the Highland landlords that they treated their small tenants with such generosity and kindness that no Crofters Act was required?" A correspondent of the *Glasgow Weekly Mail* gives an account of the condition of the crofters of the Lewis, where measles and starvation are now prevalent. He says: "In twenty houses there was not sufficient meal to make gruel for persons suffering from the measles! And this on an estate yielding a rental close on £20,000 a year to the Matheson family! Should I not also add—and this in a Christian land!" It is said that the Secretary for Scotland has written that it is his intention to introduce into Parliament next Session a Bill for the purpose of enabling the Government to assist the Highland crofters to emigrate. This generous offer to revive the Botany Bay trade is not likely to be accepted. At the last meeting of the crofters it was resolved to defend the inalienable rights of the Highland race to live and thrive in the land of their birth.

NORTHAMPTON.—STRIKE IN THE SHOE TRADE.—Dec. 8.—The distress in Northampton in consequence of the shoe strike is becoming great. Yesterday morning between 400 and 500 children were breakfasted at two cafés by an anonymous gentleman, and Mr. William Cooper, a local fishmonger, distributed gratis to women 2 tons 3 cwt. of fish, thus providing a meal for 1000 families. The scene on the Market Square was extraordinary—women fainting and children shrieking. The Mayor has opened a public subscription fund. On the 9th inst., at the adjourned conference, an arrangement was proposed to be submitted for confirmation to the general body of unionists. The masters' statement of wages were to be temporarily accepted, subject to revision where proved unfair. The proposal for a standard case of boots was abandoned, and all disputes were referred to reorganised arbitration. On the 12th, the strike which was expected to speedily terminate, was intensified by the collapse of the conference between the representatives of the masters and men, the masters refusing 5½d. on youths. The men decided to leave the masters to determine whether arbitration shall be resorted to. The distress is getting great. Kettering and other towns are sending supplies, and the appeal for subscriptions and support is being liberally responded to. Dec. 14.—Last night the Northampton Boot and Shoe Manufacturers' Association passed a resolution to the effect that all men may return to work immediately, and that the disputed question of wage prices for different boots shall be referred to arbitration.

FREE COMPETITION WITH THE LEICESTERSHIRE MINERS.

The issue of the *Commonweal* for Nov. 26th contained a paragraph that "at every colliery in Leicestershire, with the exception of one, the men are handing in their notices for an advance in wages." This was not quite correct, as only at four collieries were notices given; the recalcitrants being Ibstock, Bagworth, and Ellistown. On the 24th ult., the masters met the representatives of the men at the South Leicestershire Hotel, with a view of coming to some settlement. The chairman, Mr. J. P. White, a coal proprietor, of course indulged in the well-worn arguments about supply and demand, smoothed over with expressions of sympathy for the men, and ended with the usual crowning absurdity that the interests of the masters and men are identical. All this, however, is so commonplace as to be unworthy of notice. The men based their claim for increased wages on the fact that the price of house coal had been recently advanced, but all the coal owners present were pretty unanimous in their assurances that no such advance had taken place. The meeting broke up without any decision being arrived at, and it was adjourned to the following Monday. Meantime, a letter, signed "Coal Merchant," appeared in the local press, directly giving the lie to the coal-owner's statements, and deliberately affirming that house coal had recently been advanced from 6d. per ton on common sorts to 1s. per ton on better sorts. No answer was made by the coal-owners to this letter, and at the adjourned meeting the report merely stated that the chairman "dealt with the letter." At the second meeting, another argument used by the chairman was, that if the collieries advanced prices all their London trade would leave them. Now at other times, when the men have been asking for an advance on the ground that London prices had risen, the same chairman has replied that London trade affected them in no way as they sent so small a quantity there. The men were so influenced by these tactics, and by other considerations, that they eventually consented to withdraw their notices, and the movement ended in a collapse, although there was little doubt that the masters would have yielded sooner than have had a strike.

Let us consider the reasons for the surrender by the men. First and foremost comes their utter lack of effective organisation, as instanced by their waiting till the winter was well on instead of agitating in October. The miserable wage they have so long been receiving has prevented them from accumulating the smallest fund in hand. Then their difficulties are increased by the fact that at one of the largest collieries in the district, Ellistown, the coal is easier to win, and also that this colliery, for numerous reasons, manages to sell its coal better than its neighbours, thus giving the men employed there more regular work and rendering them unwilling to join their more unfortunate brethren. This, no doubt, was a main cause of the collapse. Then, too, there are a great many more men than can find regular employment, and as it answers a colliery's end better to work say two and a-half days per week with 500 men than five days per week with 250 men, it follows that the whole 500 are employed half-time on the barest subsistence wages. Amongst so many there must be always black sheep, and the masters find no difficulty in bribing some to attend the men's meetings and to report to them afterwards—the reward being that no matter what happens the spies

are always safe from discharge and the best stalls are kept open for them. Thus the masters being few are able to keep their intentions secret, whilst those of the men are always known to the masters. The masters have another little game, and one which is now being played in Nottinghamshire. If an agitation for better wages is going on, the output of coal is limited by the masters notwithstanding a good demand. Then, when the day comes for the meeting between masters and men, the latter are told that, as they can see for themselves, trade is very bad and does not warrant any increase in wages.

The above simple statement of facts will suffice to show how the men are juggled into living a fearful life of slow starvation. On the one hand there are the few, unscrupulous, wealthy, cunning, and combined; on the other there are the many, simple, poor, ignorant, and disorganised; and thus, according to Mazzini, goes on "war between individuals in economy, under the name of free competition—FREE competition between those who have nothing and who work for their livelihood, and those who have much and seek a superiority!"

X. Y. Z.

AMERICA.

The eviction cases brought by the Stout Coal Company, of Milnesville, Pa., against their striking miners, were decided in favour of the latter this morning. Judge Woodward granted a rule to strike off all judgments entered by the company for dispossessing the striking tenants. The men will, under these rulings, hold possession of their houses during the remaining time of the strike, and cannot be evicted. There is great rejoicing throughout the valley over this victory.

Contributions are coming in freely into the Lehigh Valley coal region, and the strikers are feeling consequently stronger.

The strike and lock-out of 5,000 shoemakers at Philadelphia, which began October 18th, practically ended November 21st, when a large number of the hands went back to work as individuals. The bosses were entirely successful.

The new scale of wages for the steel-workers, adopted this week and to be shortly presented to the manufacturers to be signed, provides for an advance of about 10 per cent. in wages all round.

The low stage of water in the Monongahela Valley has affected mining in that section. As coal mining is the leading industry of the valley and this is checked by the low water, the outlook is said to be very bad. Not one coal boat has left Pittsburgh since June 20th. There are between 7,000 and 8,000 miners in the Monongahela Valley, and a large number of these are and have been for some time, practically without work.

The Rochester printer's strike was officially declared off on November 19. It was a failure.

The printer's strike at Chicago practically ended on November 18, a victory for the bosses.

The Worcester Bessemer Steel Works shut down on November 18, owing to a refusal of the men to accept 10 per cent. reduction in wages.

About 3,000 brewery hands are expected to strike next week.

The coal-miners' strike in Alabama is expected to extend to very large dimensions.

LIST OF STRIKES FOR NOVEMBER 18 TO 25.

Number of strikers, November 1 to 18	11,930
Wellsburgh, W. Va.—Labourers in paper mill, against extra work, November 18	—
Norristown, Pa.—Cigar-makers, for advance, November 14	—
Birmingham, Ala.—Coal miners at Coalburg mines, against system of wages docking, November 16	200
Houston, Tex.—Switchmen on Southern Pacific Railroad, for advance in wages, November 16	150
Worcester, Mass.—Bessemer Steel Works employes, against 10 per cent. wages reduction, November 18	400
Cincinnati, Ohio.—Blacksmiths in carriage factory	—
Cincinnati, Ohio.—Shoemakers, for higher wages, November 17	8
Sharon, Pa.—Coal miners, for Columbus scale, November 21	500
New York city.—Waiters in public garden, unionism	8
Richmond, Me.—Lasters, for increase in wages, November 23	—
Reading, Pa.—Stonecutters, unionism, November 23	12
Pittsburgh, Pa.—Iron-mill puddlers, against poor materials furnished, November 23	100
Dover, N. H.—Shoe-lasters, for higher wages, November 17	10
Holbrook, Mass.—Shoe-beelers, for higher wages, November 21	3
West Dorset, Vt.—Marble quarriers, against employment of non-union men, November 19	—
San Antonio, Tex.—Switchmen on Southern Pacific Railroad, sympathy with Houston strikers, November 21	—
Total known from November 1 to 25	13,209
New York, November 29th, 1887.	HENRY F. CHARLES.

ITALY.

La Nuova Eta says: "Thanks to the new penal code the Cipriani question seems finally to be reaching its solution. It is indeed time, for every one knows the injustice from which the convict of Porto Longone has suffered, and his transformation into a free citizen is imperatively demanded by all honest men. Well-known juriconsults of the Italian forum have given their favourable decision; Professor Lucchini, of the Bolognese Athenaeum, who is in the first ranks of legal specialists, in the *Revista Penale* of the present year speaking of a little pamphlet by the Advocate Augusto Santini in defence of the rights of Cipriani, says that 'the said pamphlet renders easy the solution of the Cipriani difficulty, placing it in a practical and legal light, of which until now the public had been unaware.' Thus it is to be hoped that truth and justice will triumph."

The busy speculation of Roman builders has created a crisis in the building trade in this city. Newly erected houses stand empty, folk being too poor almost to pay for the hutches they already crowd together in, much less to move into new ones; there is a lull in work, and some thousands of men thrown on the street. Costa, Maffi, and Armirotti presented a note to the Camera on the building crisis and raised the question, which, after a certain amount of discussion, was on a motion of the On. Crispi, "adjourned for six months." One admires the charming indifference of our rulers and legislators and representatives to the well-being of those whom they profess to represent and for whom they profess to legislate.—M. M.

THE LATEST DECALOGUE.

[ARTHUR HUGH CLOUGH, d. 1861.]

- I. Thou shalt have one God only; who Would be at the expense of two?
- II. No graven images may be Worshipped, except the currency.
- III. Swear not at all; for, for thy curse Thine enemy is none the worse.
- IV. At church on Sunday to attend Will serve to keep the world thy friend.
- V. Honour thy parents; that is, all From whom advancement may befall.
- VI. Thou shalt not kill; but need'st not strive Officiously to keep alive.
- VII. Do not adultery commit; Advantage rarely comes of it.
- VIII. Thou shalt not steal; an empty feat, When it's so lucrative to cheat.
- IX. Bear not false witness; let the lie Have time on its own wings to fly.
- X. Thou shalt not covet; but tradition Approves all forms of competition.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

LEAGUE LECTURERS AND THEIR SUBJECTS.

- ALLMAN, JAMES.—Production and Distribution—The Unemployed—Methods of Extortion.
- BARKER, H. A.—Socialistic Morality—The Arts of Peace—The Condition of the Working Classes—Evolution and Socialism—The Aims of Socialists—The Rights of Labour.
- DAVIS, H.—The Modern Trinity: Land, Labour, and Capital—The Survival of the Fittest.
- LANE, JOSEPH.—Different Schools of Socialistic Thought—Poverty: its Cause, Result, and Cure—The National Loaf, who Earns and who Eats it—Lessons from Trafalgar Square—Will Land Nationalisation alone Benefit the People?—Capitalistic Morality *versus* Socialistic Morality—Socialistic Morality—Socialistic Experiments and their Results.
- KITZ, FRANK.—Lessons from the Lives of Famous Working Men—A glance at Irish History—Criminal Classes High and Low.
- MORRIS, WILLIAM.—True and False Society—Dawn of a New Epoch—Socialism: the End and the Means—Monopoly—What Socialists Want—The Society of the Future—Origins of Ornamental Art—Art and Industry in the Fourteenth Century.
- MAINWARING, S.—Law and Liberty—Reform and Revolution.
- NICOLL, D.—The Charms of Civilisation—Law and Order—Our Political Parties—The Benevolent Bourgeois—The Signs of the Times.
- PARKER, W. B.—What the Workers Want: How to get it—Objections to Socialism—Absolutism, Monarchism, Socialism.
- SAMUELS, H.—Carlyle's 'Sartor Resartus'—Socialism and Force—State Interference.
- SPARLING, H. HALLIDAY.—The Blind Samson—Podsnappery—The Delights of Laziness—Commercial Cannibalism—The Iron Law of Wages—Wilful Waste and Woful Want—Life under Socialism—Health and Wealth—The Labour Struggle—The Latter-day Devil.
- TOCHATTI, J.—Human Nature and Socialism.
- WADE, W. C.—England in the Fifteenth Century and Now—The Cry of the Children—Brotherhood.
- UTLEY, W. H.—The Meaning of Socialism—Freeing the Debtors—Rent, Interest, and Profits—Socialist Politics—The Evolution of Society—The Gospel of Socialism.

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.

Strike Committee.—In future this committee will meet at the offices of the League at 8 p.m. on Saturdays.—J. LANE, Sec.

BRANCH SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID.

Mitcham, Walsall to July 31. Bloomsbury, Leicester, Hammersmith, Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Hull, Mile End, Wednesday, to September 30. Clerkenwell, Oxford, to October 31.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Weekly Subscriptions—W. B., 6d.

Fund for the Provision of the Wives and Families of the Martyred Anarchists.

Ernest Ranger, 2s. 6d.; H. J., 1s. H. HALLIDAY SPARLING, Treasurer.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE will take part in the funeral of Linnell on Sunday next, starting (preceded by a brake) from Clerkenwell Green, and proceeding direct to the Thames Embankment and there falling in with the general procession

REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—On Thursday, December 8, at 8.30, Spencer Howell lectured to the branch on "Educate, Agitate, Organise." It was decided to send a deputation of women members to place a wreath on Linnell's coffin.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, Dec. 7th, Edward Aveling lectured on "Despotism from a Socialist Standpoint." On Sunday, H. A. Barker on "The Condition of the Working-classes." Good discussions and audiences.—B.

FULHAM.—In spite of weather usual meeting held at Walham Green, Tochatti speaking. In evening at new station in Dawes Road, good meeting addressed by C. Smith, Tochatti, and Groser. Some opposition easily disposed of. Two new members made.—G.

GLASGOW.—General meeting of members held on Sunday. Arrangements made for putting the finances of the branch on more satisfactory basis. Weather prevented outdoor propaganda. In evening our members went to hear comrade Rev. John Glasse on "The Ethics of Socialism."—J. A.

LEEDS.—Paylor and Hill spoke in Vicar's Croft on Sunday morning. In evening, Braithwaite lectured on "Socialism and Co-operation." Two new members.—T. P.

SOUTH SUSSEX.—Weekly meeting was held at a member's house on Sunday night at Bexhill-on-Sea. League 'Manifesto' discussed, and question of local education in Socialist principles considered. The present members are deeply interested in the movement, and it is hereby asked that detached comrades in this neighbourhood will join us at once, or help in cost of distribution of literature, which will necessarily be our principal method of propaganda for the present.—LEONARD HALL, Wratten House, Bexhill.

WALSALL.—Monday, Donald addressed meeting on the Bridge, and afterwards lectured indoors on "What Socialists Want" to a good audience, his remarks meeting with entire approval; Lamsdale in the chair. Good meeting addressed by Sanders Saturday evening.—J. T. D.

SHEFFIELD SOCIALISTS.—On Monday evening, December 5th, at 8 o'clock, at the Commonwealth Cafe, Scotland Street, M. A. Maloy lectured on "Force no Remedy" to a rather large and very intelligent audience, who listened with close attention for 40 minutes, after which Messrs. Story, Daniels, Godley, Palfrieman, and others took part in the discussion, which was both interesting and instructive.—M.

JUNIOR SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY.—Preliminary meeting held last Saturday evening to consider formation of this society. There was a fair attendance, mostly of young members of the League. Business of evening was drawing up of rules; as opinion was divided with regard to one rule in particular, a full report delayed until after next meeting, at which the rule in question will be brought forward for further discussion. As I am under notice to quit this address—rather sudden notice—owing to its being used for Socialistic purposes, my friend, at whose rooms the meeting takes place, desires me to withhold the address. Therefore, I should be only too pleased to send a post-card with particulars to any desirous of attending our meeting next Saturday evening. The business will, I think, be opened by comrade T. Wardle, who will read a paper on "Value." It is earnestly hoped that as many young Socialists who can make it convenient to attend will endeavour to do so.—W. H. SPENCER-HOWELL, 42, Howland Street, Fitzroy Square, W.

Scottish Land and Labour League.

EDINBURGH.—Gilray lectured on 4th and Mahon on 11th in Trades' Hall. On 8th, C. W. Tuke resigned the secretaryship on account of pressure of private business. J. H. Smith elected in his place.

Notice to Branches of the S.L.L.L.

Branches desiring literature apply to D. K. Maekenzie, librarian, 137 Pleasance, Edinburgh. Remittances must be sent with orders.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, W. Thursday December 15, at 8.30, Walker will lecture on "The Unemployed." Dec. 22, Business meeting at 8.30.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7. Sunday December 13, at 8.30, George Bernard Shaw (Fabian), a lecture. Wednesday 21, no lecture.

Fulham.—Committee meets Wednesday evenings, 8 o'clock, at 4 Werley Avenue, Dawes Rd., Fulham. Hackney.—28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Road, Hackney Wick.

Hammersmith.—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday December 18, at 8 p.m. William Morris, "The Present Outlook in Politics." No lecture on the 25th.

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—C. J. Young, 8 Dunloe Street, Hackney Road, Secretary. Concert and Draw on January 14. Tickets ready. (See Special Notice.)

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).—James Leatham, secy., 15 St. Nicholas Street.

Arbroath (Scot. Sect.).—High Street Hall. Meeting Friday evenings. W. Smith, 12 Maule St., secy. 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).—Secretary pro tem., D. M'Dougal, East Path.

Cowdenbeath (Scot. Sect.).—J. Dunoon, 30 Arthur Pl., secy. Dublin.—Saturday Club, Central Hall, 12 Westmorland Street, every Saturday at 8 p.m. Free debates on Social and Political subjects. All friends invited.

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.

Galashiels (Scot. Sect.).—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., secy. Galloway and Dysart (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Galloway 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. Sunday 13, H. H. Champion in Grand Hall, Waterloo Rooms, at 7 p.m.—subject, "What Socialists Want." Admission 3d., 6d., and 1s. Dec. 25, General meeting of Branch—a large attendance is earnestly requested.

Hamilton.—Paton's Hall, Chapel St. Thursday, 7.30. Leeds.—17 Chesham St., Sweet St. Club open every evening. Business meeting Wednesdays at 8 p.m. Sunday Dec. 18, at 7.30 p.m. T. Paylor, on "The Future of Radicalism."

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

Norwich.—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Free Lectures Sundays at 8.

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.—Temperance Hall. Meets every Monday.

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

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 13.

11	...Starch Green	.....Hammersmith Branch
11	...Walham Green	.....The Branch
11.30	...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.	.....Parker
11.30	...Hackney—Salmon and Ball	.....Samuels & Cores
11.30	...Merton—Haydons Road	.....The Branch
11.30	...Mitcham Fair Green	.....The Branch
11.30	...Regent's Park	.....Davis
11.30	...St. Pancras Arches	.....Bartlett
3	...Hyde Park	.....The Branch
7	...Stamford Hill	.....Parker
7	...Clerkenwell Green	.....Brookes

Wednesday.

8 ...Broadway, London Fields.....The Branch

Thursday.

8 ...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.....J. J. Allman

PROVINCES.

Leeds.—Sunday: Vicar's Croft, 11 a.m.

SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.

(Scottish Section of the Socialist League)

DECEMBER.

H. H. CHAMPION will address a series of meetings on Socialism as follows:—

Dunfermline.—Friday 16, St. Margaret's Hall, 8 p.m. **Kilmarnock.**—Saturday 17, The Art Gallery, London Road.

Glasgow.—Sunday 18, Waterloo Grand Hall, Wellington Street, at 7 p.m.

Admission 3d., 6d., and 1s.

North of England Socialist Federation.

BRANCHES AND SECRETARIES.

Annisford.—F. Rivett, Dudley Colliery. **Backworth.**—W. Maddison, C. Pit.

Consett.—J. Walton, Medonsby Road. **Blyth.**—Martin Mack, 4 Back Marlow Street.

South Shields.—F. Dick, 139 Marsden Street, West. **North Shields.**—J. T. Harrison, 24 Queen Street.

East Holywell.—J. M'Lean, Top Row, Bates's Cottages. **West Holywell.**—F. M'Carroll, West Holywell.

Seaton Delaval.—W. Day, Seaton Delaval. **Seghill.**—Wm. Whalley, New Square.

M. Mack, Gen. Sec., 4 Back Marlow Street, Blyth.

Special Notice.—The members and delegates of Hoxton (L.E.L.), Hackney, Mile End, and Stamford Hill Branches will meet at the Crown Coffee House, Columbia Triangle, Hackney Road, on Thursday evening, December 15, to discuss formation of Socialist Club. Time, 8.30.

HOXTON (L.E.L.).—Concert and Draw on January 14, at 13 Farringdon Road, when, by special arrangement, THE LAMP, by H. A. Barker, will be performed. Tickets now ready.

WEST MARYLEBONE WORKING MEN'S CLUB (S.D.F.), 123a Church Street, Edgware Road, W.—Sunday December 18, at 8 p.m., H. H. Sparling (S.L.), "The Iron Law of Wages."

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

NERWICH ANARCHIST GROUP.—Yarmouth—Thursday, on the Quay, at 7.30. Carrow—Friday, at 1.30. Norwich—St. George's Plain, Saturday, at 1.15; Haymarket, Saturday, at 8; Market Place, Sunday at 11 and 3. Ber Street Fountain, Sunday at 3.

SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—Meeting at Commonwealth Office, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday December 18, at 4.30.

CHILDREN'S PARTY

BOXING-DAY, DECEMBER 26.

The Committee arranging the **Annual Children's Party**—Mrs. Lane, Lena Wardle, Mrs. Grove, May Morris, and Joseph Lane—will be glad to receive donations of presents, money, etc.

Donations of money to be sent to Mrs. GROVES, treasurer, 15 Offerton Road, Clapham Common, S.W. Toys, Presents, etc., to be sent to 13 Farringdon Rd. RECEIVED—W., 2s. 6d.; Esther Isaacson, 5s.

The Children's Party will be followed by an Entertainment entitled

THE LAMP: An Extravaganza,

By H. A. BARKER; Scenery, Appointments, etc., by C. BARKER.

Free to Members and Friends.

THE TABLES TURNED.

ENGAGEMENTS.

December 21st	WEST MARYLEBONE W. M. CLUB.
" 31st	" " " " CLEVELAND HALL.
January 21	" " " " HAMMERSMITH BRANCH S.L.

Applications for engagements to be made to the Manager, H. A. Barker.

THE ROAD TO NATIONAL PROSPERITY

Contains useful hints to the working classes for the bettering of their wages, and our home trade (without protection), and the reduction of our excessive rents and taxes, etc., together with the chances of bankruptcy amongst farmers and traders.

H. CAMPKIN, 272 St. Anns Well Road, Nottingham. Price 6d., by post 7½d.

SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.

Chants for Socialists.	By William Morris.	1d
Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism.	By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors).	1d.
Socialism on its Defence. A REPLY TO PROFESSOR FLINT.		1d.
The Tables Turned; or, Nupkins Awakened. A Socialist Interlude.	By William Morris. In Wrapper	4d.
The Manifesto of the Socialist League.	Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and William Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded.	1d.
The Commune of Paris.	By E. Belfort Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris.	2d.
The Aims of Art.	By Wm. Morris. Bijou edition, 3d.; Large paper, 6d.	
Useful Work v. Useless Toil.	By William Morris.	1d.

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

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

THE COMMONWEAL.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

Persons wishing *Commonweal* sent by post can have 2 copies, 2½d.; 4 copies, 4d.; 6 copies, 5½d.—including postage. Half quire, 13 copies, Parcel Post, 11d.; or 1 quire, 1s. 8½d.

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