

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

ONE lesson, and a very valuable one, the authorities have been giving us by their recent conduct. They have, so to say, preached us a practical sermon on the value of the vague something called "moral force." This time surely the "moral force" was on our side, and it was natural that many should have thought that the affair of Dod Street would be repeated, and that the Government, glad enough to harry and bludgeon a small band of poor unemployed voteless men here and there, would draw back when the Radical clubs entered the arena. Well, on this occasion they did not draw back, and many people are astonished at it. But they must remember that it was convenient for the then Government to draw back at Dod Street, while it was inconvenient for the present Government to draw back at Trafalgar Square. That is just as far as "moral force" can push Governments who have in their hands physical force.

The Government with their big majority in Parliament felt perfectly safe against any mere talk, even though Mr. Gladstone himself and the United (?) Liberal Party were the talkers; therefore they thought that the opportunity was good for striking a blow which should encourage their friends and cow their enemies, and so far from drawing back they have been acting as an "agent provocateur," and would have been only too glad if they could have had an opportunity for shooting as well as bludgeoning the people. They believe themselves safe behind their bludgeons and bayonets against any "moral force" that can be brought against them; and so they are until the "moral force" arrayed against them means a corresponding amount of physical force, until apathy is turned into determination, timidity into despair, and organisation grows out of necessity.

Meanwhile, there is nothing to discourage Socialists in all this; we have known our present physical weakness all along; and the action of the Government has at least shown us that the classes are afraid of something, that they are beginning to forecast the inevitable trouble which the approaching break-up of wage-slavery is brewing; that forecast will almost certainly as it grows lead us into a period of persecution, and that again to a general knowledge among the workers of what Socialism aims at, and the threat of physical force (or let us say at once of force) which that knowledge will imply, will either make the oppressors waver, lose counsel and conduct, and so at last give way; or the oppression will become so unbearable that it will force the revolution to break all bounds and sweep it away.

A writer in the *Daily News* is sorely grieved at Sir C. Warren being called a martinet, a mere official soldier, in short, a lump of pipe-clay, and sets forth at length his amiable and humanitarian qualities. Surely this is either a day too late or too early. The *innocent* Arabs who were slaughtered because their tribesmen slew the briber Palmer may be forgotten, and at any rate they can tell no tales; but how about our kind-hearted friend on the 13th and the 20th of November, 1887? Really Sir C. Warren's love for humanity took a strange form on those days; we have not yet forgotten all that so clearly that we do not also remember that passage from an old book: "By their fruits ye shall know them. Do men gather grapes from thorns or figs from thistles?"

The police, as we know too well, are, to put it mildly, very much irritated against the people in the streets, whether they are unemployed, or processionists, or what-not short of respectability. Naturally irritated, say some people, since they have been hustled about from pillar to post, overworked, kept without their meals (except when fed by the shopkeepers and the Prince of Wales). Well, you see, since they are "naturally irritated," they can be depended upon. I was talking about these matters to the son of an old chartist the other day, and he said that in the '48 time the soldiers were kept at extra drill for some time before the Kennington Green meeting, and in consequence were "naturally irritated" against the people. There are more ways than one of killing a cat.

The Liberal leaders are in a terrible fright of being involved in a contest against law and order. Harcourt, Morley, and others have been speaking about the country, and not a word have they to say about the state of things in London. The Tories are not so reticent: they are naturally crowing over the victory of force over reason. The clever cartoon in *Punch*, which is really the illustrated *Times* in a

political sense, puts the point to Mr. Gladstone in an unanswerable way. Only he *won't* answer it, or indeed think of the matter as long as he thinks it can be safely disregarded from the political or vote-catching point of view.

The "unemployed" agitation has got as far as the setting on foot of a census of them; which to my mind does not seem very far; but if they themselves want it done, as it appears they do, all one can do is to hope that something, however little, for their benefit will come of it. But how shall a census be made of men (and women and children) working for the wretchedest of wages? The wages now being offered to men on the ship canal works now beginning in Lancashire are 4½d. an hour, and I hear that thousands of men are eager to accept this "reward of labour." There is *employment* for you! I want to know also if a man who is an artisan, a carpenter, cabinet-maker, weaver, or what not, is set to do navy's work, whether he can properly be said to be "employed"? Once again, it means but one thing—out-a-door relief. This is what the Captains of Industry and their governing committees, parliament and the rest of it, have to offer to the people they lead. That is *their* way of organising industry.

It is curious to see the eagerness with which well-to-do people accept any scheme short of the one obvious remedy for dealing with the "unemployed" business. You would think, to see the high spirits of some of them over this census business, that the men were by now not only numbered but also set to well-paid remunerative labour. Again the "beggar colonies" scheme, here called politely "home colonisation," has been received with a kind of enthusiasm in some quarters. Mr. Herbert Mills set the ball a-rolling with his scheme, which was to be an imitation of the Dutch beggar colonies; and then there was an account of a similar scheme in work at Berlin, whereby people by dint of working eleven hours a-day and a strong dose of church to boot, all under strict discipline, were to earn a splendid livelihood of 6½d. per diem. That such schemes of slavery can be received as "palliatives," that they are not received with universal horror and disgust, shows how miserable our condition is, and what a tremendous upheaval it will take to amend it.

The Liberty and Property Defence League cannot be congratulated on the result of the "big name" they got to lecture for them. Mr. Froude, almost of course, showed complete ignorance of Socialism and its aims, and quite of course violent prejudice in favour of reaction; and in short his address was a queer performance for a man with a reputation. And yet he gave his friends a hint or two worth their remembrance, when he told them, *e.g.*, that the rich had in these latter days surrendered political power in the hopes of preserving property, and that in all probability they would as a consequence *temporarily* lose their property. Some of their faces must have fallen at this *temporary* prospect. What Mr. Froude really meant was that liberty and private property are incompatible,—who shall say him nay?

W. M.

A great lady and seigneur of the *ancien regime* were speaking about what was likely to happen to a certain old rake, lately of their acquaintance, but whose life and debaucheries had been cut short with very little notice. "It is to be regretted," said he, "that his Highness was not more careful in securing the good offices of the Church." "No doubt," said she; "but depend upon it, sir, God will think twice before he damns a man of that consideration." Kindly people flatter themselves that such notions belong to a time that has passed away; they will, then, be shocked to hear that at the great Tory gathering at Oxford on November 23rd, Monseigneur Salisbury said, when for once in a way he *spoke the truth*, "One of my Ministry is worth all the eighty-six Irish M.P.'s." These are but brutal ways of stating what to the speakers is the truth. But they are shocking more for the underlying truth on which all such ideas are based, than for the mode of putting them forth. It is *not* true that one man is worth more than another, but it is true that the whole of our society is arranged on the assumption that one set of men, selected by the merest chance, are better than the rest. The ideas expressed in "the claims of capital," or "the rights of property," and similar ones, all assume that men who happen to be chained to certain material surroundings are more worthy than if they were free from such encumbrances. Those who hold such ideas do not hesitate any more than the great lady of the *ancien regime* to take God into partnership when they quote "Dieu et mon droit" against others.

C. J. F.

A LEAKY OLD TUB.

THE good British ship "Constitution," with its fleet of colonial consorts, no longer bounds over rippling waves of commerce under favourable trade winds, but for many years past has been labouring in the stormy sea of competition. As it sinks into the trough or rises to the swell, it rolls heavily to the Tory or Whig side and plunges slowly forward. Admiral King and Vice-Admiral Chancellor have had Captains Laud and Walpole and Pitt, Lieutenant Dizzy, Purser Gladstone, and their able-bodied tradesmen to guide and steer. But somehow the old ship no longer answers her helm. Indeed, the officers do not seem to be sure whether the tiller-ropes are not altogether broken away from the rudder. There used to be during the voyage from Feudalism to Whiggery a very serviceable tiller-ropes in the Church. The officers had only to grease the ropes and wheels liberally with tithes and church-rates, and our bishops with the merry song, "Why do the heathen so furiously rage together and the peoples imagine a vain thing?" guided us out of the stormy waves of foreign competition. Let the idolatrous Don vapour as he might, let the Mounseers vainly fancy that they could raise the wind or disturb our waters with their South Sea bubbles; even if the chopping seas did rise a little high, our clerical guides blessed and even pointed the noisy salvos of artillery, which in these cases at all events, soon brought down the waves to a more endurable level.

Ah! if it could only have gone on so; if our good ship could but have lengthened its halcyon course just for our time, with its gallant crew of Raleighs, Clives, roast beef farmers, Squire Westerns, rich burghers, petty traffickers, merchant princes, and ducal rent-rollers. . . . But where to? There's the rub. The world is limited in size, and has the unfortunate peculiarity that the more successful a voyager is in pushing forward and opening up new fields of enterprise, the sooner he meets face to face the heathen and the foreigners, whom he kicked off but a short time since and turned backwards on their way. Our ship got round the world about 1770 along with Captain Cook's, and seems now as if it might suffer the same fate as his. His ship was caulked and tarred and painted; the timbers of the leaky old tub were strengthened to fit it for the carrying of coal, which does not suffer from damp, and finally, nearly a hundred years after its celebrated voyage, it went down in the narrow seas with all hands and coals on board.

The halcyon days then are done, when we could be astonished at our own unforced moderation in dealing with Hindoos and Negroes. Our Captains under Queen Bess or the Sacred Majesty of the Stuarts found it pleasant enough exchanging knives and guns, linen and cloth for Javan spices or Guinea gold-dust; or better still, as De Foe puts it, a few toys and trifles for Guinea Negroes. These last, it is true, were of no use at home; on the contrary, the Captains' friends there had white slaves on their hands, whom they willingly sent out as "servants under bond for a period of years" to help in winning Brazilian Sugar and Rum, or Virginian Tobacco. But the world is limited, and has, it is said, progressed; so the happy hunting-grounds of those times contain now plenty of slaves of their own, and the people are as busy in making frippery as ever we were. They do not want our wares of either kind, but we and they are engaged in the not very hopeful attempt to become rich by exchanging toys and trifles with each other. We are all hard put to it to get rid of our cargoes, while the back-wave from the continual struggles and collisions with our own kith and kin, heathen and foreign, on the other side of the world, seriously troubles our home waters. Our poor officers call out and perhaps try to believe, that we are still on our old track; but the old ship is driven hither and thither, and knows not where it is nor what people it faces. Its crew rush on as of old, but the world is shrunk, and our comrades, equally with those against whom our leaders guide the attack, are just as likely to be foreigners and heathens as fellow-citizens and neighbours.

Our old "Constitution" was framed originally for true Britons only. The Commercial Adventurer and Free Trader in adapting it to foreign elements, however worthy and desirable, have strained it much, and made its timbers to gape terribly, besides cutting new entrance-ports for convenience in its sides. Even a philosopher, however, finds it difficult to make a hole to admit a cat, but which will keep out a kitten; and if heathens of every kind capable of earning a living are to be welcome, it would require the wits or the brass of a London magistrate to frame a test of visible means of subsistence, which shall admit Giuglini but exclude the organ-grinders.

We still do a vast business with each other and with foreigners in toys and trifles, but take now by way of exchange not rum and tobacco for the amusement of men, but mostly butter and meat for his necessity, or at least what stands for these. For if we had been sailing in a butter-tub on a sea of melted butter, our lower decks could not have been worse flooded with various forms of grease. Captain Salisbury has rightly received credit for his recent ingenious stoppage of one offensive kind. Butterine or oleomargarine (I forget which of these two) cannot now leak in from Holland, but our ship-mates will have a free choice, as free as the circumstances admit of, between articles labelled "Pure Devonshire" or "Pure Irish," or "Pure Manchester oleo-butyrio-margarino-grease, extracted from the best coal-tar, and warranted to contain all the elements of nutrition." The educated mind trained in the purest doctrines of British Free Trade sees the difference—he doesn't generally try it by tasting—sees as clearly the difference between oleo-butyrio-margarino-grease and oleo-margarine, as that a cod-fish from one side of a parallel of latitude differs from

one caught on the other side. And so our most active British Free Trade mate has gone over the seas to point out to our Canadian Consorts, that there is a difference, and to advise them against taking in their supplies indifferently from both sides of the line, but to leave the fish from the inferior foreign side for the American market. It is quite good enough for them; and if these inexperienced Colonials and untrained Americans cannot see the difference, why they must accept the doctrine on the authority of the Free Trade Pope of British Interests. The Pope has said that British interests shall not suffer in his hands; he will bring his political hocus-pocus to bear, and enforce the view that there is a difference between two apparently identically similar fishes. Orthodoxy has before been successful, where sight and hearing, touch and taste and smell, all failed.

Active, however, as are our Admirals and Captains, they do not seem able to come at one most serious leak in our "Victory." There is the Emigration Pump, the Congested Districts Pump, the Allotments Pump, and many others. "All hands to the pumps" is a standing order, morning, noon, and night, while the pauper-bilge-water increases ever in the hold. The officers groan that pump as they may, they cannot touch it, and complain that though vast quantities are poured into and enrich foreign lands, yet the inrush of foreign dregs through the gaping sides baffles all their labour. None of them knows what to suggest, and the crew are about to strike work; for they begin to see that they will all go to the bottom together in the leaky old tub, unless they get out of her on to some temporary raft, till they can build for themselves an entirely new craft. C. J. F.

"BROKEN CISTERNS."

(Continued from p. 379.)

THE next two movements we have to deal with are those of trades unions and co-operation; these both touch the industrial question, and have both been able to improve the condition of certain sections of the people to some extent. Before we shall be in a position to judge of their power to find a permanent solution of the difficulties which modern society has to face it will be necessary for us to get as clear an idea as possible of those difficulties and fix upon the causes of them as far as we can; we shall then be able to judge what these two great movements can do towards the removal of these causes. I shall not here restate the oft-told tale about the poverty and misery of the workers or the luxury of the idlers, but shall assume that readers of the *Commonweal* have at least had their eyes opened enough to see the disgraceful contrast and are wishful to mend it if possible; but we will take some of the phrases commonly used both by employers and employed to explain poverty, bad times, etc., and see if we can find how they originate and what they really mean. First, then, the capitalists talk a lot about over-production and take measures to restrict the output of various kinds of goods. To the man of an unsophisticated mind over-production sounds a very queer word to explain our evils by. Surely it is rather odd to explain poverty by saying that it is caused by our having too much of everything, or in other words the want of things is caused by the great abundance of them! If this is really so there must be something very wrong somewhere; evidently to try and cure poverty by reducing the stock of wealth is, to say the least of it, a left-handed way of setting about it.

Now how does this over-production arise? Let us take an example of a simple society on a small scale. We will suppose it to consist of a farmer, a tailor, a shoemaker, a tool-maker, and a builder and furnisher of houses. Each one of these would work at his trade and exchange the result with his neighbour. Thus the farmer would give corn, etc., to the tailor for clothes, to the shoemaker for boots, and so on; or the tool-maker would give tools for boots or corn or whatever he wanted. Now it is quite evident that there can be no general over-production here unless there is so much produced of all sorts of goods that all the wants of each member are satisfied; and it is further evident that such over-production if it did exist, far from causing poverty, would make every one wealthy and provide them with additional leisure, so that it might be a great blessing to them. Of course there might be too many of any one article produced. For instance, the builder might fit them all up with houses to their liking, and then if he went on building they would not give him of the results of their labour in exchange for a second house. But that is quite a different thing; it merely refers to an increase of one article proportionally greater than that of any other, and would be righted by the builder doing something more needed, perhaps draining the farmer's land or taking to ordinary joiner's work, but there would be no general over-production such as we are now discussing; that could only happen when all were satisfied. How is it, then, that this general over-production, which would be a blessing to such a society as we have sketched, is such a curse to us? The reason must lie in some difference between this society and ours, and that difference will not be far to seek. In this society we have assumed that each brings into the market of exchange all that he produces; but in society as it now exists this is not the case: a man brings into the exchange money which represents only a portion of his production. A woman is making shirts all week: she will only bring power to purchase one-twelfth of the number she has produced. And taking the workers generally, they don't bring more than enough to purchase one-third of what they produce; the employers or some other members of the non-working class take the two-thirds. We will, then, introduce an employer into our little society, and see what the result will be.

The farmer (or agricultural labourer, as he will now be), the builder (or mason), the tailor, the shoemaker, and the tool-maker, will now all be working for an employer, who takes all they produce and gives them back as wages purchasing-power equal to one-third of what they have made. Now the first result of course will be that they will either have to live on one-third of what they did before or work longer to make up for what the employer takes. The second result will be this same over-production, for it is evident that the employer cannot eat three-times as much corn, wear three-times as many clothes, boots, etc., as all the others, therefore he will soon accumulate a large stock of goods of all sorts which it will take him years to use up. Of course he will try and set the workers to other work—making cigars for him to smoke, or growing wine, or working up jewellery—and so prolong the process; but even here he takes two-thirds of everything and leaves the workers one-third, so that each article becomes a drug on his hands and over-production will ensue. He does not want any more himself, and won't allow the workers to use the tools, etc., to produce for themselves, hence over-production results in poverty for the workers. The time might be staved off if there were other societies near which did not know how to make the things produced in this society and which had such things as jewels, ivory, skins, etc., to give in exchange, or such things as tea, coffee, sugar, etc. Then the employer could get rid of his goods for things which he would like to make his life happier. But the time comes when these neighbouring societies learn to make for themselves, and they will no longer buy at prices which the employer thinks worth while to sell at, and over-production comes on again and misery results, relieved occasionally by the introduction of a new market or by the invention of something which the employer would like, or his daughter perhaps: the fashion of wearing a busse improves the steel-trade for a while, or a fancy for a certain sort of clothing briskens up that branch, but nothing except new foreign markets can brisen up the whole community.

Hence we see that in our simple community the introduction of an employer and the unequal distribution of wealth is the direct cause of so-called over-production. The remedy of course would be to revert to the old system of fair division of produce. We may take it as a truth worth remembering, that if we are to do away with trade crises and gluts each must have a purchasing power equal to his productive power, or at least approaching to such equality; for if we have to trust to a small section of the community consuming two-thirds of the produce, there is sure to come a time of over-production,—in other words, there comes a time when the manufacturers of most staple articles are producing much more than the wealthy class need, and are giving the workers such a small share of purchasing power that although they need the goods they cannot buy them. Then we get the most disgraceful spectacle of modern times—rows of warehouses full of all sorts of useful things, food, clothing, furniture, etc., which cannot be sold, and in many cases are going to rot for want of using, and at the same time thousands of people going about with empty stomachs, their naked bodies showing through their ragged clothing, even in the depth of winter, living in houses not fit for dogs, with perhaps an old box or two as sole furniture or a few broken sticks which have not gone to the pawn-shop.

The fault lies not in any law of nature which decrees that every ten years or so there should be a season of glut or bad times, but lies in the violation of a law of nature which says that if a small section of the community take from the rest the greater portion of what they produce, that such robbery shall work the destruction of society unless it be stopped.

I have here dealt only with the increased amount of misery brought on the workers and some of the employers by these times of glut, and have said little of the evident injustice of taking two-thirds of the produce from the workers and giving it to the idlers. My object was rather to show that these successions of good and bad times are caused directly by this bad distribution, and that therefore if we are to do away with this evil we must do away with the bad distribution. Competition greatly aggravates the evil; as soon as there is the least sign of an improvement, every factory starts and makes about twice as much as is needed, trying to get a larger and larger share of the general market, the only regard each man has is to the share of the market he can get. A fierce struggle ensues; they cut each other in price; the workers are driven like slaves; and the result is that some make vast fortunes which put them quite outside the influence of bad times, the rest who are not so fortunate in getting a large share of the market are left with tons of stuff which they cannot sell. Then it is that we hear capitalists wishing there might be a good war to liven things up a bit—really to consume some of the surplus wealth a bonfire would do as well; in fact each fire is looked upon by the workers as on the whole rather a good thing, being good for trade and finding extra work. Each is right from his point of view. A war finds the employers profit because the nation makes a demand non-existent before, and a good deal of the purchasing power comes from sources which would not have given an effective demand. A fire finds work, and so wages, for the workers to build up again and re-stock the place burnt down: again the money comes largely from sources where it would not have been used to pay wages.

RAYMOND UNWIN.

(To be continued.)

Men are educated and the State uplifted by allowing all—every one—to broach all their mistakes and advocate their errors. The community that will not protect its humblest, most ignorant, and most hated member in the free utterance of his opinions, no matter how false or hateful, is only a gang of slaves.—*Wendell Phillips.*

NEW FORM FOR THE SWEARING-IN OF CONSTABLES.

(A SUGGESTION FOR SIR CHARLES WARREN.)

"Dost thou accept the old creed of Coercion
In England, as in Ireland, tried and true?
Dost thou regard all freedom with aversion,
And hate her name?" "I do."

"Wilt thou respect, court, venerate the classes,
Whate'er they seek to compass—good or ill?
Wilt thou molest and vilify the masses
In word and deed?" "I will."

"Swear'st thou to wield thy truncheon for the Tory;
To smite, and curse, and wound, and overbear?
Then seize and prosecute with lying story
Some injured wretch?" "I swear."

"Wilt thou perform thy duty in this station,
And tread the path that Endacott has trod?
What is thine oath of solemn adjuration?"
"I will—so help me God!"

—H. S. S. in *Pall Mall Gazette.*

PODSNAPPERY.

"Mr Podsnap was well to do, and stood very high in Mr. Podsnap's opinion. Beginning with a good inheritance, he had married a good inheritance, and had thriven exceedingly in the Marine Insurance way, and was quite satisfied. He never could make out why everybody was not quite satisfied, and he felt conscious that he set a brilliant social example in being particularly well satisfied with most things, and, above all other things, with himself.

"Thus happily acquainted with his own merit and importance, Mr. Podsnap settled that whatever he put behind him he put out of existence. There was a dignified conclusiveness—not to add a grand convenience—in this way of getting rid of disagreeables which had done much toward establishing Mr. Podsnap in his lofty place in Mr. Podsnap's satisfaction. 'I don't want to know about it; I don't choose to discuss it; I don't admit it!' Mr. Podsnap had even acquired a peculiar flourish of his right arm in often clearing the world of its most difficult problems, by sweeping them behind him (and consequently sheer away) with those words and a flushed face. For they affronted him.

"Mr. Podsnap's world was not a very large world, morally; no, nor even geographically,—seeing that although his business was sustained upon commerce with other countries, he considered other countries, with that important reservation, a mistake, and of their manners and customs would conclusively observe, 'Not English!' when PRESTO! with a flourish of the arm and a flush of the face they were swept away. Elsewhere, the world got up at eight, shaved close at a quarter past, breakfasted at nine, went to the City at ten, came home at half-past five, and dined at seven. Mr. Podsnap's notions of the Arts in their integrity might have been stated thus. Literature: large print, respectably descriptive of getting up at eight, shaving close at a quarter past, breakfasting at nine, going to the City at ten, coming home at half past five, and dining at seven. Painting and Sculpture: models and portraits representing Professors of getting up at eight, shaving close at a quarter past, breakfasting at nine, going to the City at ten, coming home at half past five, and dining at seven. Music: a respectable performance (without variations) on stringed and wind instruments, sedately expressive of getting up at eight, shaving close at a quarter past, breakfasting at nine, going to the City at ten, coming home at half past five, and dining at seven. Nothing else to be permitted to those same vagrants the Arts, on pain of excommunication. Nothing else To Be—anywhere!

"As a so eminently respectable man, Mr. Podsnap was sensible of its being required of him to take Providence under his protection. Consequently he always knew exactly what Providence meant. Inferior and less respectable men might fall short of that mark, but Mr. Podsnap was always up to it. And it was very remarkable (and must have been very comfortable) that what Providence meant was invariably what Mr. Podsnap meant.

"These may be said to have been the articles of a faith and school which the present chapter takes the liberty of calling, after its representative man, Podsnappery. They were confined within close bounds, as Mr. Podsnap's own head was confined by his shirt-collar; and they were enunciated with a sounding pomp that smacked of the creaking of Mr. Podsnap's own boots."—*From 'Our Mutual Friend,' by Charles Dickens.*

CHILD LABOUR IN GERMAN FACTORIES.—One of the demands made by the German Socialist party is that child labour in factories shall be abolished. In view of this it is not unconstructive to note the steady increase in the employment of children, which is testified to by the reports of the German Inspectors of Factories. In 1881 the number was 9,347; in 1882 it was 14,600; in 1883, 18,395; in 1884, 18,865; and last year (for 1885 no statistics are available) the number was 21,053, or far more than twice the number in 1881. So much for official statistics; but there is every reason to believe that these figures do not represent the actual state of things, the employment of children in industry being carried on to a much greater extent than the factory inspectors are able to learn. Thus the Inspector for the Düsseldorf district says he has "often found in grinding, works, small weaving works, and turning works, children of from four to twelve years, who were said not to be working, but only to be under the care of their parents or brothers and sisters. Only in a few cases did I succeed in proving their employment, notwithstanding that the untruth of the representations made was demonstrated by the fact that the children's hands were soiled by working material." The German *Gewerbeordnung* forbids the employment of children under twelve years of age, but the inspectors state that this prohibition is often disregarded, and especially is this the case in the so-called "house industry," which it is, from the nature of the case, impossible to subject to perfect supervision. Thus, an inspector writes respecting Planen, in Saxony, that he has found many cases in which children of seven years have been made to work ten hours daily, besides attending school. Saxony, indeed, seems to be especially guilty of infraction of the law respecting the employment of children. In 1883 the number of offences reported was 613, in 1884 it was 577; in 1885, 1,088; and last year, 1,499. In Germany there is a growing opinion in favour of an increase of the minimum age at which children can be put to work; that the age of fourteen is not too high.



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW? FIRST, FEW MEN HEARD IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMNED 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.

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

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Received with thanks, but found unsuitable—J. G. (Socialist poem); E. R., Stratford; "Charley Warren" (song); J. B. ("Waifs").

W. H. S.—We will carefully consider your first proposal and make the second public meanwhile.

B. K.—'Natural Causes and Supernatural Seeming,' by Henry Maudsley (Kegan Paul, London, 1886, cr. 8vo, 5s.); 'A Story of an African Farm,' by Ralph Iron (Olive Schreiner), 3rd edition (Chapman and Hall, London, 1887, cr. 8vo, 2s.). Mr. Beale's book on Morality we have not yet seen.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday November 30.

ENGLAND	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	SWITZERLAND
Jus	Detroit (Mich.)—The Advance	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
Justice	Albina (Oregon)—Weekly Courier	Geneva—Bulletin Continental
London—Freie Presse	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	SPAIN
Labour Tribune	Coast Seamen's Journal	Madrid—El Socialista
Norwich—Daylight	FRANCE	PORTUGAL
Railway Review	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Worker's Friend	La Revolte	GERMANY
INDIA	Le Socialiste	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Le Moniteur	Vienna—Gleichheit
Madras—People's Friend	Lille—Le Travailleur	BRUNN—Volksfreund
UNITED STATES	Hague—Recht voor Allen	HUNGARY
New York—Der Sozialist	Amsterdam—Voorwaarts	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
Truthseeker	BELOGIUM	ROUMANIA
Volkszeitung	Seraing (Ougree)—Le Revell	Jassy—Lupta
Boston—Woman's Journal	Ghent—Vooruit	SWEDEN
Liberty	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde	Stockholm—Social-Demokraten
Chicago (Ill.)—Knights of Labor	Liege—L'Avenir	NORTH AFRICA
Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer	ITALY	Tunis—L'Operaio
Hampton (N.J.) Credit Foncier	Gazetta Operaia	
Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt		

'THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING-CLASSES.'

I.

THE wise of the world have declared that labour is honourable, that "work is the only noble thing" and although civilised society—sham that it is—says so too, the nobleman to-day is not the labourer—was he ever?—but the idler. The ideal man of the Christian faith was a workman, and though for centuries his deeds have been glorified, to-day, as when he lived, the worker sheds his blood that the shirker may lap it and live. But the feeling that the game of gammon would soon be up has induced some considerable section of the shirkers, in hope, perchance, that it might stave off the evil day of the workers' emancipation, to manifest a dilettante interest in the welfare of the workers, to fool about in matters pertaining to art and science, to "rusticate" in summer-time among agricultural folk, in short, potter about, pretending to work but taking care not to do so. And following in their wake is a class of persons which not being able to live entirely without labouring has, through the kindly offices of its more fortunate friends, been secured some comfortable and lucrative position, where the work may be said to be "put out" for somebody else to do. And so we come down by gentle gradations to those whom the disease of indolence has not wholly contaminated, but which would soon succumb did its olfactory organs in the course of its labours greet anything less pleasant than eau de cologne.

We may divide off the whole of those alluded to up till now from the working-classes proper, and although perhaps, if we were to analyse them thoroughly, we might find 1 per cent. performing some useful service to society, the other 99 per cent., we venture to assert, would be found to be so much human dross. And if it were inanimate society would not be much encumbered by its existence, but being corporeal and omnivorous it eats out its very heart.

But this is all mere generalisation, and that we may ascertain what is and what has been the condition of the working-classes, we must descend to detail.

Beginning at the latter half of last century, let us examine their condition from that time to the present. Before the invention of the "Jenny" by James Hargreaves in 1767, the condition of the working-

classes was as compared to their present, one of affluence and comfort, then the handicraftsman supplied the community with those commodities which machinery plus the machine-tender does to-day:

"Wife and daughter spun the yarn that the father wove or that they sold, if he did not work himself. These weaver families lived in the country in the neighbourhood of the towns, and got on fairly well with their wages, because the home market was almost the only one, and the crushing power of competition that came later with the conquest of foreign markets and the extension of trade, did not yet press upon wages. There was further a constant increase in the demand of the home market, keeping pace with the slow increase in population and employing all the workers; and there was also the impossibility of vigorous competition of the workers among themselves, consequent upon the rural dispersion of their homes. So it was that the weaver was usually in a position to lay by something, and rent a little piece of land that he cultivated in his leisure hours, of which he had as many as he chose to take, since he could weave whenever and as long as he pleased. True he was a bad farmer, and managed his land inefficiently; nevertheless, he was no proletarian, he had a stake in the country, and stood one step higher in society than the English workmen of to-day."

What was true of the weaver was true of the workers generally, and although so far as their material needs were concerned they were fairly satisfied, intellectually they were dead.

The effect of the invention of Hargreaves, and those of Arkwright, Crompton, Cartwright, Watt, and others, and the improvements effected upon them from year to year, was that a "complete victory of machine work over hand-work was won in the chief branches of English industry, and from that time forward history simply relates how the hand-workers have been driven from one position after another." From the use of these numerous labour-saving appliances, the manufacturing system grew and developed, and with it also that class—the Proletariat—which, before what is known as the industrial system began to develop, had practically no existence in this country. "Hitherto the worker had always had the prospect of establishing himself somewhere as a master artificer, perhaps employing journeymen and apprentices; but now, when large capital had become necessary for carrying on work independently, the working-class became for the first time, an integral, permanent class of the population." "Now the worker was born to toil, and had no other prospect than that of remaining a toiler all his life."

By the year 1844 the capitalistic system of production had so developed itself, that it had reduced the workers to a propertyless labour-vending class; it found them concentrated, or rather herded together in the great towns, which had by this time become veritable cesspools of human filth. In Manchester, from 40,000 to 50,000 persons were living in cellars; in London, Liverpool, Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Birmingham, the dwellings were so abominably foul and unsanitary as to be almost past describing. Overcrowding was general throughout the working-class quarters of all the large towns. Here is a sample taken at random from Engel's book: "In the parishes of St. John and St. Margaret, London, there lived in 1840, 5,366 working-men's families in 5,294 'dwellings' (if they deserve the name), men, women, and children thrown together without distinction of age or sex, 26,830 persons all told; and of these families three-fourths possessed but one room." These together paid a joint rental of £40,000 per year. Hundreds of thousands crowded together in common lodging-houses, and all the horrors of disease and misery brought to light by the recent "Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working-classes" abounded, but in a more intense form. It is a sickening picture to dwell on, these poisoning, soul-killing holes into which the workers—from whose ingenuity all the wonderful contrivances which have revolutionised production have been evolved, and the immense wealth which has resulted from their use has been acquired—are forced to creep.

The "manner in which the need of a shelter is satisfied furnishes a standard for the manner in which all the other necessities are supplied." Offal and rags supplying the place of life-sustaining and weather-protecting food and clothing. This is the reward of society to the workers, to whom it owes everything—its very existence.

The lot of the serf was an enviable one as compared to that of the free labourer, he at any rate had secured him the means of life, which the competitive system, "the battle of all against all," denies to the free-labourer. "Left to himself he cannot live a single day." The bourgeois has a monopoly of all the means of subsistence. Work for him the labourer must, when, where, and how he pleases, he must compete with his fellows for the opportunity to hire himself out—for there is always a surplus of labour in the market—and the result of the struggle to obtain employment is that the successful obtain work, and to the unsuccessful is left the choice of starving, stealing, or the workhouse. And those, the "fortunate," what is their lot?—the great pleasure of slavery for a bare subsistence wage. But the struggle for supremacy goes on among the monopolists as well as among the labourers; the possessor of the best "wage-saving machinery, i.e., the means of producing goods the cheapest, drives remorselessly the weaker monopolist, the small capitalist, out of the market and even sometimes bodily out of existence. And not within the nation does the struggle end, right throughout the civilised world the battle rages, nation fights nation, thousands of proletarians dye the fields with human gore, that the monopolist may find a "shoot" for his shoddy wares.

Thus competition goes blindly and ruthlessly on, dividing mankind into warring atoms, destroying its social instincts and making all men foes. And so it must go on until it is dead and mutual interest draws men together in holy brotherhood.

H. A. BARKEE.

1 Facts relative to the condition of workers in 1844, from 'The Condition of the Working-classes.' By Frederick Engels. (Lovell, Jersey St., N.Y., 6s.)

An article on "The Unemployed" by Bennet Burleigh is announced for the next number of the Contemporary.

HER MAJESTY'S GUESTS.

BEING one of those arrested in Trafalgar Square on Sunday the 13th, I think that my experience will be of interest, and may be of some use to those who are likely to find themselves in the same position.

Immediately on my arrest two policemen searched all my pockets, under the pretext of finding revolvers, knives, or dynamite bombs, and then I was marched to Scotland Yard under an escort of five foot and three mounted men, one being deputed to take charge of my right hand, and on no account to let go of it. On arrival I was placed in a room with ten policemen and their prisoners. From the remarks which fell from some of the police, I came to the conclusion that several of them had taken prisoners in order to escape from the melée and get a rest and a quiet booze, as several of them had provided themselves with bottles of spirits which were stowed away in a sort of secret pocket in their coat-tails. One of them started a discussion on Socialism with me, which we carried on for about half an hour. Another who sat close by, feeling himself aggrieved by having to do some amount of extra duty, kept interjecting, putting his wrongs down to the vicious activity of myself and comrades, generally concluding with, "If I had my way, I'd chuck the lot of you into the river."

We were detained at Scotland Yard until about 7.30, when we were removed to King Street, Westminster, police-station—fifteen prisoners, under an escort of forty-five foot police and ten mounted men—where we were charged and placed nine in a cell; and although ordinary prisoners can obtain an evening meal by paying for it, we were kept without food until 7.30 a.m., having had nothing to eat since dinner except one or two whose friends had seen their arrest and brought them some food. I found that those of my fellow prisoners who were not dressed "respectably" had received a good cudgelling on their arrest and were kicked and punched unmercifully while going through the station yards, which were full of police. One was so bruised and sore that he was unable to lie down all night.

About ten o'clock a number of prisoners were removed in cabs to the various stations in the neighbourhood, leaving three in our cell. A policeman pushed a rug through the wicket, informing us surlily that was all we should get; and as the rug would only cover one, we took it in turns, when we could get to sleep, which was not till the police had finished hurrahing over the day's achievements, and inviting Britannia to continue ruling the waves, for Britons never, never, never would be slaves.

The following morning, after having a pint of coffee and two slices of the expense of the country, and not being allowed to wash, we were removed in the "Queen's omnibus" to Bow Street at 9 a.m. On the evidence of a policeman, without corroboration, being fined forty shillings or twenty-one days, I was put back into a cell without being allowed to send to my friends for the amount of the fine, or to obtain any food even by paying for it; and at 5 p.m. I was removed to Millbank prison, my requests to be allowed to send a note or telegram to a friend being referred to the governor of Millbank.

When we arrived we were ushered into a long corridor with cells all along the left-hand side, and near the entrance a room which we were invited to enter and be seated. This room was half paved and half board floor, with a fire in the corner. A warder was seated on the board half in front of a desk, a standard of height, and a weighing machine. We were seated on the paved half directly in line with the door by which we entered, and another door opening into a room in which we were undressed, our clothes being made up into a bundle by one of the long-term convicts, who took to himself all the airs of a warder. Beyond this room was the bath-room, in which were three small concrete baths partitioned off from each other, containing about ten gallons of warm water each, in which eighteen of us had to bathe, the water being *unchanged!* Marvellous ingenuity had been lavished upon the sanitary arrangements of this palatial residence. The ventilation especially attracted my attention. A perfect hurricane swept through the corridor, and through the open door, through us and the rooms where we were stripping and bathing; and in order that our constitutions might not be too severely tried by feeling at once the extremes of heat and cold, the warmth of the fire was carefully kept from us by a screen which served the double purpose of keeping at the same time the draught from the warder and preserving to him the full heat of the fire. An inventory was taken of our names, ages, religions, occupations, heights, weights, and clothes. We bathed and were then furnished with a suit of prison clothes by one of the aforesaid convicts. On getting into mine, I found them to be an ingenious muddle, one sock just fitted me, the heel of the other reached the middle of my foot; and when I drew the attention of the clothier to it, he wanted to know whether I wished him to go to Regent Street and buy a pair (I presumed he would welcome the chance). I found the shoes ditto, but he soothed me with a promise to change them in the morning. Finally we were served with a ½-lb. loaf of bread each and sent to our cells, where we found some water to moisten it with. This was the first food we had since 7 a.m.

The following morning we were served with another loaf of bread about 7 a.m., and about 8 a warder came round with another convict carrying a basketful of hymn and prayer books and bibles, but as I had saved my soul from that everlasting hypocrisy I refused them. He then took the name and address of the friend to whom I wished to send for the amount of my fine, and departed. At 10.30 I was called out and informed that my fine had been paid, and at 11 a.m. I was released, having been confined 42 hours.

Now what I want to call attention to is the barbarity with which prisoners who from their appearance were assumed to be poor, and therefore friendless, were treated. After having a good clubbing before arrest, they were kicked and punched in the station-yard. Then we were all indiscriminately starved for two days. Several of my fellow-prisoners who were in work were deliberately detained until past mid-day on Tuesday, in order that even the majority who were able to obtain the payment of their fine would lose their work; for though an employer might excuse one day's absence, two would be beyond his patience. In the present state of the labour-market, what privation will they and their families suffer before obtaining work again! Not only were we prevented from communicating with our friends, but our friends were debarred all knowledge of where we were or what our sentences amounted to; whereas on ordinary occasions the information is readily obtained. I received my sentence before 12 noon, and between 2 and 6 o'clock my friends come four times to Bow Street to see what they could do for me, and all their enquiries elicited was "Don't know; wait; come again." Working men who read this should do their best to help in providing against this new method of terrorising even "constitutional agitation."

T. CANTWELL.

WHAT I LIVE FOR.

(See "My Aim," in *Commonweal*, October 8.)

I LIVE for those above me, who rob me of my due,
Who feign, good lack! to love me—but love my labour too;
I live, all meek and lowly, while want consumes me slowly,
For the end and object solely of the work that I can do.

I live to serve my master, to wait his beck and call,
And woful's the disaster which rids me of his thrall;
I cling to those who use me, who scorn, despise, abuse me,—
I labour for their needs alone and not mine own at all.

I live—and that suffices! I live as lives the swine,
No historic page entices, I nothing may divine
Of Nature and her beauties, of manhood and its duties,—
Already damned and mute is the soul that should be mine.

I live for those above me—myself a traitor to!
To god and man and neighbour consistently untrue.
A man in shape and stature, a "hand" in nomenclature,
A coward slave by nature, who, if he dared, might do.

A WORKER.

LITERARY NOTICES.

Mr. T. P. O'Connor's halfpenny evening paper will be called the *Evening Star*, and will appear early in next January. It cannot be published sooner than it is wanted.

'Coercion without Crime,' by J. A. Fox (Nat. Press Agency, Whitefriars, 1d.), contains a summary of the charges of H.M. judges to the various grand juries throughout Ireland at the Summer Assizes of this year, held while the *Coercion Bill* was passing, and most effectually crushes the contentions made in support of that measure.

'Paris and London: a bundle of contrasts,' by Jules Magny (Standing, Finsbury Pavement, 1d.), is a pamphlet principally translated from the preface to an as-yet-unpublished work of M. Félix Pyat entitled 'Angleterre et France.' The contrasts between Parisians and Londoners are amusingly and pointedly put, though a few are rather strained for antithesis' sake.

'Rhyme and Reason,' by H. S. Salt (Modern Press, 1d.) is a collection of verses reprinted from *Justice*, with the "Modern Guy Fawkes" from the *Commonweal* of November 5. The writer is too well known to need introduction to our readers, who are pretty familiar by this time with his witty and striking productions both in verse and prose.

Mr. Thomas Kirkup, writer of the admirable article on Socialism in the present edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, is about to issue a volume entitled 'An Enquiry into Socialism.' Those who have read his historical article will look with great interest for the appearance of his book, which is designed to explain the root-ideas of Socialism, both in contrast with those of the present system and those of certain theories usually mistaken for Socialism. Messrs. Longman will be the publishers.

Articles of interest to Socialists in November magazines:—*Murray's*: "Irish Secret Societies," Capt. Ross of Bladensburg. *Antiquary*: "Open-air Assemblies," G. L. Gomme, F.S.A. *Blackwood's*: "Self-government v. Home Rule." *Women's World*: "The Fallacy of the Superiority of Man," Mrs. Chas. McLaren. *Century*: "Prison Life of the Russian Revolutionists," Geo. Kennan. *Fortnightly*: "Count Leo Tolstoi," Matthew Arnold; "The Sweating System," David F. Schloss; "Our National Expenditure," Prof. Leone Levi; "Labour Organisation," Canon Leigh.

'The Politics of Labour,' by Phillips Thompson (Bedford, Clarke, and Co., New York and Chicago), is a well-written and useful addition to the growing library which is being provided for the studious worker. It is written to suit American conditions, and its instances and applications are also transatlantic, but it is well worth perusal by men of other nations who are not Socialists; the full-fledged Socialist will read it with interest and pleasure but glean little new learning from it. It is a book of the kind that a few years ago would have been ushered into the world amid "excursions and alarms," but is now becoming part of the expected and therefore unalarming fruit of the press. In sending review copy all mention of the price at which it is sold has been omitted.

'A Dock Labourer's Bitter cry,' by Benjamin Tillet (Author, 19 Hunslet Street, Bethnal Green, E., 1d.), is an address delivered by the writer to his fellow "Dockers" at a meeting held in support of the union they have formed and is an admirable statement of the ills from which they suffer. We quote from his prefatory note:

"Horrible London" is painfully and acutely realised by our 'class' in all its agonising torment and debasement. We, the 'Dockers,' are among the 'Lazaruses' that starve upon the crumbs from the rich man's table. An endeavour is being made to shorten our supply even of them. At present, under a thin film of civilisation, there is a mass of corruption, stagnant and putrid, the rotten fruit of poverty. I cannot wonder that men lose the dignity of their manhood, when they are driven helter-skelter to the gutter by a system that degrades and imbrutes on the one hand, in proportion as it profits and enriches on the other. There can be nothing ennobling in an atmosphere where we are huddled and herded together like cattle; there is nothing refining in the thought that to obtain employment we are driven into a shed, iron-barred from end to end, outside of which a foreman or contractor walks up and down with the air of a dealer in a cattle-market, picking and choosing from a crowd of men, who in their eagerness to obtain employment, trample each other under foot, and where like beasts they fight for the chances of a day's work." S.

WRONG FOR ONCE.—A FACT.—Scene, private bar of the "Drones" public-house; customer's drinking and smoking. Landlord enters and in the most insinuating manner thus addresses a small ring of his own specially-selected confidants: "Well, gentlemen, I suppose you have sworn yourselves in as special constables? At least, I—er—hope so." One of the Select: "No, I haven't. I should have been on the wrong side if I had; I saw the abominable outrage which the police committed upon the people the other Sunday." Speedy exit of the landlord, who didn't "show up" any more that evening and the public wondered why.—H. A. B.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

YORKSHIRE FARM SERVANTS.—A great many farm servants are out of work in Yorkshire since the termination of the Martinmas contracts. The wages have fallen from £1 to £1, 10s. per head, and farmers seem determined to retrench as much as possible in the matter of hand labour.

WORK ON THE MANCHESTER SHIP CANAL.—The contractor of the Manchester Ship Canal hopes to get the steam navvies or excavators at work within a week. The engagement of labourers would then begin. The 400 men now at work are receiving some 4½d. and others 4½d. per hour. About 2000 labourers will be required on the first section.

STARVING LABOURERS IN TIPPERARY.—Last Wednesday a body of unemployed labourers attended the meeting of the Tipperary board of guardians, seeking employment and outdoor relief. They stated that their wives and children were starving. After some discussion the labourers left to interview the parish priest, Rev. Canon Cahill, with a view to organising a fund for their relief.

THE GLASGOW TRADES COUNCIL AND THE RUSSIAN POLES.—At the meeting of the Council last week Mr. Hodge gave notice of the following motion: "That the action of Messrs. Merry and Cuninghame, who pose as patriots and constitutionalists, in importing Russian Poles, and keeping them huddled together in such numbers so that from their filthy condition they are a source of danger to the general community, calls for public indignation; that it is the duty of the authorities to take action, so that they shall not become a source of danger to and a burden on the community."

WEST CUMBERLAND IRONWORKERS.—An important conference of the ironmasters of West Cumberland with their workmen and furnacemen about the proposed reduction of 10 per cent. in wages is likely to stave off a strike or lock-out. The masters explain that it is impossible for them to pay the current rates at present prices, and they are therefore obliged to ask for this reduction, and if this were not granted some of the works would be obliged to stop. It is the condition of trade which forces the masters to ask the men to accept less wages. The men have not as yet given their answer to the proposals, but it is likely they will make the concession and afterwards adopt a sliding scale.

G. W. GOODS GUARDS.—There are few men who have more unsatisfactory conditions of service than the G. W. goods guards, who, though only supposed to work sixty-six hours for a week's pay, are not paid for their overwork unless the total number of hours worked in a fortnight exceed 144, and then only at the rate of twelve hours per day. It will thus be seen that a guard might work, say, eighty-four hours one week and sixty the next without receiving a farthing extra; also that to receive a quarter day's overtime, 147 hours would have to be worked in a fortnight. Some years ago the G. W. guards acted as if they meant to have this unfair system changed, but they seem to have abandoned the agitation raised against it.—*Railway Review.*

MOTHERWELL (SCOTLAND) MINERS.—The colliers employed at the Camp Works, occupied by Mr. Williams, have not resumed work in consequence of a grievance with regard to deductions of weights which they allege are unjust. In consequence of this dispute the whole of the miners of the district held an idle day on the 24th. A mass meeting was held in the Dalzell hall to hear the complaints of the men. Mr. John Donnelly presided. The result of the meeting was that it was unanimously agreed that the Camp men come out on strike and remain idle till their grievances are removed. It was also agreed that the district contribute so much per man weekly to support the Camp men. By this action about 150 men will remain idle.

THE UNEMPLOYED IN NORWICH.—Frightened by the attitude of the starving men of last winter, the authorities here determined to open some relief works. Several hundred tons of unbroken granite have been ordered, and men employed to break it. The applicants for the work must first provide themselves with a character from their last employer. They are paid the princely wage of five farthings a bushel, and men unused to such work cannot break, in many instances, more than two bushels a day. They begin at seven in the morning and work till dark. Some poor fellows have come to me after a day's work with swollen wrists and blistered fingers, totally unfitted for a second day's experience.—F. H.

THE BROXBURN STRIKE.—This strike has lasted twenty weeks, and it is evident that there is no immediate prospect of a settlement, the relations between the employers and the strikers being more embittered than ever. Last week six miners called at the Miners' Union Office, stating that they had come from Auchinleck, Ayrshire, intending to begin work, being informed that the strike was practically over. They declared they had been misled and were going to return home. A number of their comrades from Ayrshire had also agreed to come, but they had telegraphed them to stay at home. They also handed over to the Union executive several letters they had received from Mr. N. M. Henderson, works manager, in which they were offered 4s. 6d. a shift or tonnage or fathomage. Letters also flow in to the Union office from various parts of the country stating how agents or contractors of the company are treating men with a view to inducing them to go to Broxburn, but who, after getting as much beer as possible, refuse to go. The executive have again issued a revised list and description of the blacklegs, and call on all miners to keep away from Broxburn during the dispute.

THE CROFTERS' RAID ON THE DEER FOREST.—Military, marines and police have now arrived in the district but are inactive, as the men engaged in the recent raid are surrendering themselves voluntarily. In one case sixty crofters marched in a body to the nearest police-station to answer the charges against them. Mr. Donald Macrae, teacher, and Mr. Roderick Mackenzie, merchant, both of Balallan, were brought before Sheriff Fraser on Monday and remanded, on a charge of inciting a large number of persons to combine together for the purpose of participating in the raid. There seems to have been a satisfactory amount of sport and a large number of "common" people enjoyed the somewhat unusual treat of a good "tuck in" of venison. It is to be hoped that the crofters will not allow their comrades to be victimised.—Mr. D. H. Macfarlane, of Portman Square, W. (ex-M.P. for Argyllshire, and president of the Highland Land League, has communicated to Mr. M. Macleod, Stornoway, his sympathy with the crofters and cottars who were driven through the desperation of poverty to make a raid on Park Forest, and his willingness to become bail for all who may be arrested in connection with the proceedings. A fund is being raised in London on behalf of the raiders and others, and Dr. Macdonald, M.P., Palace Chambers, Westminster, S.W., is acting as hon. treasurer.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

HOLLAND.

Comrade Cohen, who committed the offence of crying aloud in the street: "Away with Gorilla" on the passage of the ape-faced King William III., has got six months' imprisonment for it. Our comrade, who defended himself, delivered one of the wittiest speeches ever heard in a law court. *Recht voor Allen* (Justice for All) reproduces the entire address as a masterly little bit of propaganda.

It is believed that *Recht voor Allen*, which now appears three times a week, will ere long become a daily paper.

A new organ of the Dutch Socialists is about to be started at Amsterdam. His title will be *Excellior* (Further Ahead!).

GERMANY.

The Federal Council of the German Empire is going to bring about a new scheme of law, which assuredly will be agreed upon by the legislature, to the effect of trying all political cases throughout Germany *within closed doors!* That's the very thing which remains to be done by that gang of criminal reactionaries who style themselves legislators. In that way the German Nupkins, low and high, will be enabled to suppress Socialists with much more ease even than they have done hitherto. How long that scandalous system will last is quite another thing altogether; many symptoms show that our German friends are at last becoming out of patience, and such miserable laws will only help them to lose their temper.

In a few days a great trial of Socialists will be held at Posen, when a large number of our comrades will be sentenced, as the bourgeois papers tell us beforehand. The bill of indictment is a large octavo-sized volume of no less than *four hundred and forty-one pages!* How many pages of magisterial nonsense that volume contains is not stated, but surely we may say four hundred.

The Socialist trial at Breslau has come to an end. Eight of the accused have been acquitted, twenty-nine others sentenced to various terms of imprisonment varying from four weeks to one year. Eight men got off scot free! But once does not make a habit.

The German papers announced a few days ago that William Hasenclever had suddenly become insane, and been conveyed to a lunatic asylum at Berlin. He has rendered to the Socialist cause in Germany valuable services, and his loss will be heavily felt by his fellow-workers in the revolutionary struggle. He was born on the 19th of April, 1837, at Arnsberg, in Westphalia, where he visited the local schools. As a handworker, he travelled all through Germany and Northern Italy. In 1862-63, he became editor of the *Westfälische Volkszeitung* at Hagen, then contributor to the first *Sozial Demokrat* and to the *Agitator*, and afterwards director of the *Neue Sozial Demokrat* and publisher of the *Sozial Politische Blätter*. In the year 1868 he was elected general cashier of the General German Workmen's Association, 1870-71 secretary of the same, and from July 1st, 1871 to 1875 chairman of that body. He presided over the general Congresses of the party at Gotha in 1875, 1876, and 1877. In the autumn of 1875 he became the chief editor of the *Hamburg Altonaer Volksblatt*, and in 1876 was chosen with Liebknecht as one of the editors of *Vorwärts*, the central organ of the Socialist party of Germany. He was expelled in 1881 from Leipzig, and lived since that time at Würzen and at Halle. From 1869-70 he was a member of the North German Reichstag, and from 1874 until 1886 member of the new Reichstag, successively for Altona, Breslau, and Berlin.

At Breslau, the police have suppressed the Socialist paper *Volksstimme* (Voice of the People). These silly folk think that by suppressing papers they will at last suppress Socialism, when their stupid tyranny is the very thing to create new revolutionists.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

At Haschendorf, near Vienna, an Anarchist named Benedict Stark has been arrested, after having been for a long time wanted by the police. He was a prominent member of the party, well known in Switzerland and among London Anarchists. It is said that he has been betrayed by some scoundrel who has lived in London, and was known as an extra-clever Anarchist. The trial of comrade Stark will perhaps bring us some more disclosures about the personage we are alluding to.

A week ago a Russian Socialist, Leo Jassiewicz, was extradited from Vienna and given up to the Russian police under very cruel circumstances. His extradition was demanded on account of his having been an accomplice to the execution of the late Czar. After two months' imprisonment, which he underwent in the prison infirmary of Vienna (our friend came to Austria in a dying condition), he was happy enough to disprove the charges brought against him. But the Russian police did not intend to lose their prey and brought a new charge forward, that of having been concerned in a "robbery" at a post-office. He was able to show that at the time of that "robbery" he was several hundred miles away from the spot, then being in fact in Siberia, where he had been transported by administrative order as a Socialist. The Austrian magistrates declared themselves satisfied that he had *provisionally* disproved the new indictment, but resolved at the same time to send him to Russia, in order that he might disprove the accusation *definitively*. The Austrian beasts send an innocent man to his mortal enemies, knowing very well that he will be done to death for some reason or other. These judges are worthy of their fellow-brethren, the monstrous German Reichsgerichts scoundrels.

ITALY.

Il Demolitore (The Destroyer) has been obliged to stop its publication, owing to police prosecutions. But our Neapolitan friends will, as soon as they possibly can, start it anew. At Marsala a new Socialist paper, *Fiaccola* (The Torch), has been issued. At the offices of the *Gazetta Operaia* (Worker's Paper) at Torino, our Italian friends will publish this week a volume of one hundred pages, entitled, 'The Trial of the Chicago Anarchists.' It will contain a brief account of that scandalous class trial, and the speeches of the revolutionary martyrs. All over the country, and specially among the peasants or landworkers, Socialism is spreading in a most remarkable and vigorous way. All the attempts of the police to check the movement are vain; as soon as a paper is forced to disappear, half-a-dozen others are ready to replace the fallen combatant; as soon as one comrade is imprisoned, several others are at hand filling the ranks and taking their share in the struggle. The Italian *youth* specially are admirable; their enthusiasm for the Cause of Revolution goes beyond all description.

V. D.

LETTER FROM AMERICA.

THE minute description of all the ghastly details of the Chicago crime has had an effect entirely unexpected by the capitalistic press in their rush for pennies. It has inflamed every Socialist with a spirit of revenge, and even the mildest and those who up to now only hated the system, cannot help after the events of last Friday feeling bitterly, very bitterly against some persons prominently connected with this affair. There is no loud talk—this might not be very dangerous—but quiet is all the more significant, and the determination seen on many faces forebodes evil for capitalism. When the bodies were handed over to their families, Mrs. Parsons received the body of her husband in person. She lifted the lid of the casket, mechanically she untied the strings of the cap and took it off. Then she took a long, intense view at the remains of her murdered husband, bending over and passionately kissing the cold lips. "The grief of this woman which knows no tears is more terrible to our law and order people than a thousand rioters," said a policeman, and he is right!

The wives of Fischer, Engel, and Spies are completely broken down. Lingg has no family in Chicago, but his poor old mother in Germany must suffer terribly. She is as noble as the mother of the Gracchi. "Do not show these people any fear; step firmly on the gallows. You die for a just cause," are some of the words she wrote to her son but a few days before his death. Saturday the bodies lay in state at their homes, and were visited by nearly all Chicago. Yesterday (Sunday) was the day of the burial. It was a grand funeral, and the capitalistic press is perfectly terror-stricken. "We thought we had killed Anarchism!" they exclaim, "it seems, however, we have made propaganda for it, and have made those who are already Anarchists more determined." Verily they speak the truth.

The remains of the men rested in plain black coffins. Each of the four martyrs had a red sash round his chest. About 20,000 persons composed the funeral cortege, and 250,000 more witnessed the procession. The procession marched most solemnly through the streets of Chicago to the railway station, where an express train conducted the mourners to Waldheim cemetery. Captain Black made the funeral oration. It was a splendid discourse. "It is said that these men were of no religion. That is a libel. Their religion was the best of all creeds—love of fellow-men—and it filled their whole lives with deeds of devotion and tenderness. Their creed would have to do with the to-morrow of the coming revolution, and the whole of their philosophy as Anarchists was the establishment of an order of things that should be symbolised in the words, 'Order without force.'" He was followed by Thomas J. Morgan, whose speech is to-day compared in effectiveness and beauty of language to Marc Antony's famous oration over Caesar's body. After his speech the people took each other's hands in token of sworn brotherhood. The proceedings finished soon after, and the mourners returned to town.

If capitalists but knew the feelings sincere revolutionists experienced during the last few days, the joy paraded to-day might perhaps not be so great.

LABOUR MOVEMENTS.

The compositor's and pressmen's strike at New York has ended in the return of the men to work. The fight for the "card office" rule was lost, but the men claim that they have won a partial victory because of the advance in wages conceded and the adoption of the apprentice system. The bosses assert that over 200 printers are out of work by reason of the strike.

About 800 men out on strike in Davies's County, Indiana, have gone back to work. It is expected that the strike will end shortly. In all about 3,000 men are involved. The result of the strike is slightly in favour of the bosses.

The strike of sugar hands in Louisiana is general in Iberia, Lafamche, Terrebonne, and St. Mary parishes, and affects about 200 plantations large and small. The average number employed on a plantation is fifty persons. The strikers are all negroes. The strike was ordered by the Knights of Labour for an advance of 25 cents per day. The general estimate of persons affected by the strike is 10,000. The governor has sent troops to the scene of the strike.

The brass-workers' lock-out in New York and Brooklyn has ended in the defeat of the men, who have nearly all gone back to work.

It is estimated that 1,000 textile workers are out of work in Philadelphia owing to slackness of trade.

The glass manufacturers have decided that every glass factory in the East will be shut down in case the strike of the Western glass-workers takes place on November 27. It is claimed that 7,000 hands will be involved.

The dispute between the miners and operators in Southern Illinois has been settled by a compromise. The miners get about half the advance they demanded.

Late advices indicate that the reported settlement of the coal strike in Davies's County, Indiana, was premature. The action of the President of the Federation in settling the strike on such a basis has been condemned by the men, and he has been deposed from his office. The coal miners in the neighbourhood of Evansville who returned to work, have again gone out.

The latest despatch from New Orleans says: "The strike among the sugar labourers is over, but the military is still kept in the district."

LIST OF STRIKES FOR NOVEMBER 1 TO 11.

Biloxi, Miss.—Oyster packers and cannery, strike and shutdown, caused by demand for advance in wages, November 1	1,000
Chicago, Ill.—Job-printers, for nine hours day, November 1	250
Teche country, lower Louisiana—Sugar-plantation hands, mostly negroes, for advance 25c. per day in wages, November 1	6,600
Teche country, lower Louisiana—Sugar-plantation hands, mostly whites, thrown out of employment by above strike, November 1	3,400
Buffalo, N.Y.—Shipyards hands, iron-workers and carpenters, refusal of union men to work with non-union men, November 1	300
Buffalo, N.Y.—Lockout by employers in consequence of above strike	150
Reading, Pa.—Iron-works employes, against reduction in wages, Nov. 1	70
Tyrone, Pa.—Coal-miners, for unionism, November 1	75
Portland, Me.—Hat-factory hands, against employment of apprentices	12
New York city—Book-binders' hands, for advanced wages, November 1	50
Laconia, N. H.—Shoe-lasters, for higher wages, November 1	—
Chicago, Ill.—Electrotypers in sympathy with printers, November 1	—
St. Louis, Mo.—Job-printers for advanced wages, November 2	200
Rochester, N.Y.—Shoe-cutters, for advanced wages, November 2	250
Rochester, N.Y.—Paper compositors, for new scale of prices, Nov. 2	275
Milford, Mass.—Hat-factory girls, for higher wages, November 2	—
Danbury, Conn.—Street railroad employes, for advance and shorter hours, November 5	—

Leavenworth, Kan.—Coal-miners, for higher wages, November 7	—
Louisville, Ky.—Box-factory hands, for discharge of objectionable foreman, November 7	14
Louisville, Ky.—Job-printers and compositors, for advance, Nov. 7	81
Wilkes Barre, Pa.—Coal-miners at Paradise colliery, against docking of wages, November 4	300
Milwaukee, Wis.—Maltsters, for increased wages, November 8	125
Scottsdale, Pa.—Coal-miners at Alice mines, because of mine-boss refusing to furnish necessary posts and caps, November 7	700
North Berwick, Me.—Shoe-lasters, disagreement as to price to be paid	—
Chicago, Ill.—Additional printers, for nine-hour day, November 1	200
Norristown, Pa.—Cigar-makers, for higher wages, November 9	—

Total known for November 1 to 11 10,602

New York, November 16th, 1887. HENRY F. CHARLES.

CORRESPONDENCE.

SONGS OF LABOUR.

In one of your "Notes" you might perhaps give a hint that would be taken up by some one of your readers whereby fame if not fortune might be secured, to say nothing of the service rendered to the cause. There are no good practical English words to the "Marseillaise." Anyone who has noted the inspiring effect of the glorious song even when merely played, can readily imagine that, with words, we may yet see the day when it will be prohibited in the streets of London. E. T.

Highgate, Nov. 21.

[There are several other good tunes to which the same thing might be done. We shall be glad to receive the songs when written.]

A GOOD PROPOSAL.

I am desirous of forming a Junior Socialist Improvement Society, the object of which will be to educate each other's friends in the principles by evening fireside talks. If any young Socialist would like to communicate with me on the subject, I should be glad of his or her assistance.

42 Howland St., W., Fitzroy Sq. W. H. SPENCER-HOWELL.

"GLASS-HOUSE" RHETORIC.—The following is taken from the speech delivered by Lord Salisbury at Oxford on the 23rd inst., and irresistibly reminds one of the danger attributed to stone-throwing under certain conditions:—"Sir George Trevelyan seems to think that when a man has a party, and when a man has convictions—if his convictions and his party go together all is for the best, but if his convictions are on one side and his party on the other so much the worse for the convictions. Now that seems to me to be an entire distortion of the idea of party, which, if it is not to become a positive evil in the State, must always be the union of men honestly wishing the same objects, and struggling for it on that account. Directly it becomes the union of men who have conflicting opinions and wish politically for different objects, and is only maintained in order that a certain party may retain all its vigour, and that certain politicians may resume their places in Downing Street, then it becomes, instead of a beneficent and honourable institution, a mere joint-stock company for the maintenance of place and power."

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

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.

Co-operative Store.—The Committee attend at the offices at 8.30 p.m. on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. All Groceries can be had at current store prices. Orders over 10s. will be delivered carriage paid in London.

London Members.—The monthly meeting of London Members will be held on Monday December 5th, at 9 p.m.

THE LECTURE SECRETARY requests all London Lecturers of the Socialist League who have not already sent in the titles of their lectures to do so without delay.

THOS. CANTWELL.

BRANCH SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID.

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

Socialist Defence Association.—Mariam Grove, 1s. Isabella Sandheim, 10s. A Medical Student, 5s.

Strike Committee.—Collected in Regent's Park—Sunday Nov. 27, 2s. 8d.—J. LANE.

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

Under this heading we shall be pleased to acknowledge donations for the above object.

Kent, 1s. H. HALLIDAY SPARLING, Treasurer.

REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—Business meeting Nov. 24th, at 8 p.m. Lecture at 8.45 by Edward Carpenter, on "Peasant Life in Italy." Good audience. Sunday, 27th, large meeting at the Arches, Bartlett, Mrs. Taylor, and Springfield spoke, and a resolution condemning the action of the Government at Trafalgar Square, proposed by Dalziel and seconded by Loban, H.R., was carried unanimously.—D.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, Nov. 23rd, H. H. Sparling lectured on "Wilful Waste and Woful Want." Sunday evening, William Blundell on "Poverty, Disease, and Crime." Good discussions. D. Nicoll addressed large meeting at Clerkenwell Green.—B.

FULHAM.—Mahony, C. Smith, and Tochatti spoke Sunday morning. Fair sale of *Commonweal*. In the evening new station opened in Dawes Road, opposite Halfway House, by C. Smith, Groser, and Tochatti. We intend speaking here every Sunday evening at 7, and every Thursday at 8.30.—S. B. G.

NORTH LONDON.—Regent's Park Sunday morning, a good meeting was addressed by Cantwell and Parker. 2s. 8d. collected for propaganda.—T. C.

MARLEBONE.—Splendid meeting here on Sunday afternoon, addressed by Murphy, Lloyd, and W. B. Parker.

MITCHAM.—A good meeting on Mitcham Fair Green on Sunday, addressed by Eden and Kitz. Good sale of *Commonweal*. In the evening, Kitz lectured on "Irish Problems." Two members made. Our open-air meetings have added about a score of members to our branch during the season.—R. C.

LEEDS.—Usual meeting Sunday morning at Vicar's Croft. Some weak opposition easily disposed of, and 2s. 3d. collected. At night Sollitt lectured in room on "Temperance," dealing with the broader aspects of it.—T. P.

GLASGOW.—Downie lectured to a meeting of miners at Burnbank, on Wednesday the 23rd. Sunday rain prevented outdoor propaganda. At 7 a.m., in Waterloo Halls, Rev. S. D. Headlam lectured on "Trafalgar Square Riots."

OXFORD.—On Nov. 23rd, the branch meeting was attended by many members of the Russell and Social Science Clubs. Rev. C. L. Marson lectured on "The School, the Work, and the Workhouse, which are the lot of the Kentish Peasant, and the way to amend them." Mr. C. H. Roberts, Balliol College, and President of the Russell Club, took the chair, and several members of both clubs joined in the discussion.

WALSALL.—Deakin opened meeting last Monday, followed by Sanders. Sunday three outdoor meetings addressed by Sanders in different parts of the town. Good audiences at each.—J. T. D.

WEDNESBURY.—Meeting Market-place on Thursday addressed by Donald.

DUBLIN.—At the Saturday Club, Nov. 26th, J. A. Poole lectured to a large audience on "Democracy and Progress," directing most of his arguments against racial and religious feud. Hutchinson, Upward, Cranwell, and two "Conservative" working-men took part in the discussion.

CHESTERFIELD.—At a meeting held on Monday, Nov. 21, the following resolution was passed:—"That the Chesterfield and District Radical Association protests against the interference with the right of public meeting in London, and the action of the police in forcibly breaking up lawful meetings and maltreating the citizens."—R. U.

NORWICH ANARCHIST GROUP.—Good meetings held during week at Yarmouth, Carrow, and Norwich on St. George's Plain, Haymarket, Ber Street, and twice in Market Place. At Ber Street, where the police interfered last week, meeting was most successful, not a policeman being visible.—A.

Scottish Land and Labour League.

EDINBURGH.—On Sunday night Gilray lectured on "Social Utopias according to Lewis Morris." Rev. Stewart Headlam addressed a large meeting in Tron Hall Monday evening. Good discussion.—T.

DUNDEE.—Outdoor meetings addressed by Duncan and Carr. Duncan lectured in Trades' Hall on "The Labour Party" Sunday night, 20th. He suggested organising branches of National Labour Electoral Association, and supported by Mr. Nicoll. Strongly opposed by Wexsleider, Devlin, and Carr.—J. C.

WEST CALDER.—Mahon spoke Tuesday last in the Miners' Hall; they were pleased with meeting, and a second was arranged. The branch will work in co-operation with the Miners' Union in holding meetings, etc.

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

Branches desiring literature apply to D. K. Mackenzie, librarian, 163 Pleasance, Edinburgh.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—Athenaeum Hall, Tottenham Court Rd., on Thursday December 1, at 8 p.m. William Morris, "The Coming Society." Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, W., on Thurs. Dec. 3, at 8.30, Spencer Howell, "Educate, Agitate, Organise."

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday Dec. 4, Business Meeting of members at 7 o'clock sharp; at 8.30, Free Concert by J. J. Hart and Friends. Wednesday Dec. 7, at 8.30, Edward Aveling, "Socialism and Science."

Fulham.—Committee meets Wednesday evenings, 8 o'clock, at 4 Werley Avenue, Dawes Rd., Fulham. **Hackney.**—28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Road, Hackney Wick. Special general meeting on Sunday Dec. 4, at 6 p.m. All members requested to attend.

Hammer-smith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday December 4, at 8 p.m., Geo. Bernard Shaw (Fabian Society), a lecture.

Hoxton (L. E. L.).—Concert and Draw Committee meet at 8 Dunloe Street, on Saturday evening at 8 o'clock. Tickets (6d.) now ready. Please note that date of the Draw is altered from Dec. 10 to Jan. 14.—See "Special Notice" below.

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.

Arbrath (Scot. Sect.).—High Street Hall. Meeting Friday evenings. W. Smith, 12 Maule St., secy.

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. Duncan, 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. **Dumdee (Scot. Sect.).**—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station. Political Economy class, 2 p.m. Lecture at 6.30 by M. Wexsleider, "The Labour Movement on the Continent."

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, 6.30. Free Iron Hall, Chambers St., Mondays, 8. **Galashids (Scot. Sect.).**—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., secy. **Gallatown and Dysart (Scottish Section: Fife).**—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.

Glasgow.—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Propaganda Committee, Mondays at 8. Shorthand Class, Tuesdays at 8. Music Class, Tuesdays at 9. Discussion Class, Thursdays at 8 (on Dec. 8 Hart opens debate on "Georgeism v. Socialism"). Saturday Dec. 3, general meeting of members at 8. Sunday 4th, at 6.30, lecture by J. L. Mahon in Hall, 8 Watson Street. Sunday 18, Waterloo Halls, H. H. Champion—subject, "What Socialists Want."—Mahon will address the miners of Coatbridge Dec. 1st; Kirkintilloch, 2nd; Kilsyth, 3rd.

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. 4, at 7.30, P. Bland, "The National Debt."

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. Business Meeting Monday at 8.30.

Nottingham.—Club and Reading Rooms, 1 Tokenhouse Yard, Bridlesmith Gate, open every evening. Lectures and Discussions every Sunday.

Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.

Walsall.—Temperance Hall. Meets every Monday. **West Calder (Scottish Section).**—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 4.

- 10.30...Starch Green.....Hammersmith Branch
- 11.30...Bell Street, Edgware Road.....Brookes
- 11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.....Davis
- 11.30...Kingsland Green.....Lane
- 11.30...Merton—Haydons Road.....Parker
- 11.30...Mitcham Fair Green.....The Branch
- 11.30...Regent's Park.....Graham & Mrs. Schack
- 11.30...St. Pancras Arches.....Bartlett & S. Howell
- 11.30...Walham Green.....The Branch
- 3...Hyde Park.....Graham & Mrs. Schack

Wednesday.

- 8...Broadway, London Fields.....Lane

Thursday.

- 8...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.....Parker

Saturday.

- 8...Harrow Road (Prince of Wales)...Mainwaring

PROVINCES.

Glasgow.—St. George's Cross: Sunday, 1 p.m. Paisley Road Toll: Sunday, 4.30 p.m.

Kilsyth.—Saturday. **Leeds.**—Sunday: Vicar's Croft, 11 a.m. **Dumdee.**—Saturday: Greenmarket, 7 p.m. Sunday: High Street, 3 and 6.

Special Notice.—The combined East-end Branches will meet at the "Brunswick Arms," Dunloe Street, Hackney Road, on Thursday evening, Dec. 1st, at 8 prompt, to consider the basis of proposed Socialist Club.

NELSON AND BOROUGH OF STRAND RADICAL CLUB. 2 High Street, Bloomsbury.—A short series of Lessons in Political Economy are being delivered on Sunday mornings by L. E. Fraser, at 11.30. No Fees.

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

NORWICH 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 8. Ber Street Fountain, Sunday at 3.

SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.

Meeting at *Commonweal* Office, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday December 4, at 4.30 p.m.

North of England Socialist Federation.

BRANCHES AND SECRETARIES.

- Annitsford.**—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.**—F. M'Lean, Top Row, Bates's Cottages.
- West Holywell.**—J. M'Carroll, West Holywell.
- Seaton Delaval.**—W. Day, Seaton Delaval.
- Seghill.**—Wm. Whalley, New Square.
- M. Mack, Gen. Sec., 4 Back Marlow Street, Blyth.

NUPKINS AWAKENED.

On Saturday December 3rd the above Dramatic Sketch will be performed, AT 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C. IN AID OF "THE PRISONERS' DEFENCE FUND."

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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 Rights of Labour according to John Ruskin. By Thomas Barclay. . . 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.

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