

THE COMMONWEAL

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

THE continued violent and brutal attacks made on the public by the police have added another element to the demonstrations of the Unemployed: a deliberate attack on the freedom of speech is now being made. The respectability of London is, it would seem, so terrified at the sight of the misery it has created that at all hazards it must be swept out of sight. So the police have, it cannot be doubted, received orders to fall upon any assembly of ill-dressed persons who may have the temerity to assemble together to try to find out why they are ill-dressed and half-starved. These wickedly rash people they are to beat, kick, and otherwise ill-use as much as possible on the spot, and they are also to bring home a bag of game in the form of anyone they can catch who is ill-dressed enough to be considered a criminal at sight: it being quite a minor consideration as to whether he has taken any part in the "riot," since the police themselves are always ready with any amount of evidence that may be necessary for the conviction of the criminal (who has certainly committed the crime of being poor) before the Nupkins of the hour.

All this is done, it must be repeated, just to drive the symptoms of the disease which is eating out capitalistic society below the surface—for a month or two; and in the process the right of public meeting and free speech receives such a blow as nothing but the most vigorous protest will remedy, what does it matter? For these people are not a long way off, like the Irish cottars; their woes are very unpicturesque; and though in fact they bear the old historic name of proletarians, well known to Rome when she was sickening for her death, the English Liberal thinks not of the history but the nuisance of them; as, if he were living in Ireland, he would think of those valiant Celts, over whom Mr. Gladstone has thrown his cloak, and thereby made them respectable.

This is a very poor game for the Great Liberal Party to play, but it seems it is good enough for persons blinded by the base political struggle, the great game of ins and outs. Meantime, are there no Radicals who remember something of their old traditions, of dislike to officialism, of resistance to arbitrary authority? If that is so, then it is a clear case that the Socialists are the only body of men in these islands who have any regard for liberty.

Or what do they think about the dictum quoted by the Bow Street Nupkins in sentencing the "rioters" for allowing themselves to be knocked about by the police? which, stripped of its verbiage, amounts to this, that when the police (the servants of the public) are running a-muck it is the business of peaceable citizens to prove on the spot, when they are under the batons of these philosophers, that they are peaceable citizens, and, if they don't, that they may be sent to prison for their carelessness; so that they had better not go out of their houses at all, for fear lest they should fall in with one of the guardians of Law and Order.

On this maxim the police are now acting; but fortunately in the hurry of the moment they have sometimes attacked persons of undoubted respectability. More power to their elbows in so doing! since if that goes on we shall still be allowed, perhaps, to hold out-door meetings without the accompaniment of a probable cudgelling on Saturday and a sentence on Monday.

Our friends of the Social Democratic Federation have issued a manifesto concerning the unemployed, which all Socialists must read with interest. It must be said of it that if it were possible for a bourgeois government to carry out the proposals contained in it, they are very reasonable ones considering the present condition of society; and one would think that the bourgeois themselves, those of them at least who have any real good-will towards working-men, and don't class them all as mere necessary nuisances, would be of that opinion. But then no capitalistic government will attempt to carry out any one of them, and in truth it could not do so. These proposals all attack the sacredness of "free contract" between the master who gives men leave to work on payment of a sufficient tribute, and refuses it on any other terms, and the workman who must work or die; and the maintenance of this holy law is the one function of a capitalistic government.

Therefore, it seems to me that our friends ask either too much or

too little. Even a transitional administration (if such a thing be possible) would give much more, because it must be said (as our friends would doubtless admit) that if all these demands were granted the workers would still be in a condition of miserable slaves; while on the other hand, as aforesaid, the maximum which a capitalistic government would or could grant would be a wretched concession of mere "charity" or out-a-door relief. That concession will have to be made, whether or no, and therefore to my mind it is a mistake for Socialists to take steps which may mix them up in the granting of this misery of a concession.

One can easily imagine the song of triumph and self-congratulation which the capitalist government will set up when it has been forced to set on foot a few relief works with pauper wages for payment of the workers. "We are all Socialists now," will be the cry, "what do you cantankerous revolutionists want now?" "What do we want?" we shall have to answer, "Why all that we have always wanted, the Freedom of Labour, the abolition of private property in the means of production." I think that answer will come clearer from us if we have allowed the capitalists to grant the palliatives they could not help granting. Don't let us mind their gaining what transient credit they can gain from such measures; it will soon pass away. "The poor ye have always with you," is the doom of capitalism.

"The police have adopted a milder bearing towards the crowds," says the *Daily News* of October 24th, after Sunday's events. In other words, the police have been beaten once more, and have had to give way before the gathering indignation of the public, and probably also before the task of bludgeoning a *Sunday* crowd, more numerous than a mere week-day one. The *Daily News*, the advocate of free speech in Ireland and of the suppression of free speech in England, has a good deal to say on the subject, which, however, doesn't come to much in the teeth of the fact that all that the objectors to police violence put forward has been proven true by events. During the week small bodies of men met, and were attacked by the police, so there was "rioting"; on the Sunday large bodies of men met, and there was apparently well-founded fear in some people's minds that there would be a great disturbance, but there was none. Why? Because, in the words of the *Daily News*, "the police have adopted a milder bearing toward the crowd"—that is, they have not made a riot as they did on the other days.

Now that the police have proved themselves a set of ruffianly rioters, and that Sir Charles Warren has written himself down an ass in characters which he who runs may read, surely even the Law-and-Order (in England) *Daily News* will admit that it is preposterous to keep the citizens in prison whom the Bow Street and other Nupkins have sentenced to one, three, and six months' hard labour for performing their duty as citizens. The only question is what compensation is to be made to them for the ill-treatment of the police and the police-court, and with what amount of ignominy Nupkins and Co. are to be dismissed.

The scene has shifted to Ireland again. Mr. Wilfrid Blunt has received the diploma of honour which the policeman's hand gives nowadays, and with him Mr. John Roche, the President of the local Association. The *Daily News* will (of course) condemn their resistance to undoubted legal authority, but we shall congratulate them for serving the same cause as the poor workmen in London are serving.

Once more an Irish policeman, Connor, has shown that he is a man by refusing at his own peril to fall on harmless and unarmed citizens. Such men give one hopes for the Social Revolution, and the heroism which will be necessary to carry it through.

I see that one or two geniuses have been writing to the *Pall Mall Gazette* proposing a scheme for inveigling the unemployed into the ranks of the British army: that noble body of warriors which is at present to act as burglars abroad and bum-bailiffs at home—since Ireland is still "united" to England—and whose future function will be perhaps the attempted suppression of rising liberty in England. Well, I doubt if the cock will fight; but if any workmen are driven by starvation into the army, let them at least remember what they were, and like the gallant man mentioned in the note last above, refuse to attack their brethren if they should be called on to do so.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

THE FOX AND THE GEESE.

I HAD occasion a week or two ago in these columns to animadvert somewhat strongly on the employes of the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway for their extraordinary proposal to give a week's pay to the company on account of the losses in connection with the collision at Hexthorpe. Incredibly foolish as the mere resolution appeared, the circumstances connected with the case are vastly more absurd. I have before me "a report of the proceedings at an interview between the directors and a deputation of the employes," and I wish it were possible to spare space for its reprinting in the *Commonweal*, for a more ridiculous farce it is scarce possible to conceive. Let our readers picture to themselves the scene. The pompous, portly directors—lords, baronets, M.P.'s, etc.—comfortably lounging in the board-room awaiting the sheepish deputation of servile simpletons, who came cringing, cap in hand, almost overwhelmed by the presence of a real live lord and a noble earl, to beg the poor dear directors to receive their offering. Positively the speakers, one after the other, humbly thanked their proposed beneficiaries for their kindness in allowing them to be present, and a goods-guard apologised for not making a formal report on the grounds that "it has been very late at nights before we have finished and we have not had an opportunity to meet," and "the traffic was so heavy for our staff that most of the men were tired out."

Sir Edward Watkin, Bart., presided. His speech to the deputation was an inimitable piece of humbug. One can imagine him with his tongue in his cheek as he gets off the following definition of equality:

"We have always desired that it should be a partnership on just and equal terms, and that we should, whatever we do, avoid those complications which every now and then have marked as well as disfigured the great history of labour. And after all, gentlemen, we are very much on an equality—I mean the shareholders on one side, and those who work for pay on the other. Taking the last year as a test, I find that the total net profit earned was £776,056. On the other side, we paid in regular wages and salaries in that year £685,609. I find also that there being 11,396 shareholders, their share of net profit on the year was £67, 11s. a head. I find that we have 9935 persons employed, and that their share came to £69, 0s. 2d. per head. Therefore there is not so much of a difference in the result, when we divide it by heads, between the man who finds the capital and the man who works."

"Hear, hear," respond the delighted delegates, forgetful of the very great "difference" that their £69, 0s. 2d. per per year, or 25s. per week, is obtained only by hard and wearisome work in all weathers and often at risk of life and limb. To us Sir Edward's figures are interesting as confirming our comrade Carpenter's contention that every railway employé has, figuratively, to carry a shareholder on his back.

Here is another choice morsel:

"Now, I know there are those who say that the capitalist who finds the money for undertakings like ours is a 'bloated aristocrat,' and that in point of fact you are working so many hours for him before you are able to secure anything for yourselves; but all sensible men—as you are—must know very well that if a hard-saving man had not provided the capital, and invested it, and so instituted the means of employment, there would be no employment for the workman, and that therefore it is idle to say you are working for somebody else, while that somebody else has really found the money that enables you to work at all!"

Funny, isn't it? Divine institution, Profit! but for kind Sir Edward and his crew employing us, the earth would become depopulated—a barren waste!

Mr. T. H. Sidebottom, M.P., "as a large employer of labour, as well as being a director of this company," was delighted at the spirit shown by the employes, which "is a strong illustration of the truth that the interests of employers and employed are identical." Cheers followed this stupid lie. Then Mr. Chapman is introduced by the chairman as one "almost born a director of this company." "He inherited a large fortune in the stock of this company invested by his father, and he is the largest sufferer—in a pecuniary sense." Very touching is Mr. Chapman's reference to the reduction of his Christmas dividend, and very edifying the martyr-like spirit with which, strengthened and comforted by the touching generosity of the employes, he is prepared to submit to his loss. Happy workers! how thankful we ought to be that we have no Christmas dividends to worry about!

It is dull yet sad to observe, in spite of Sir E. Watkin's assertion of "equality," that the "men" one and all appeared to think they owed a debt of gratitude to the directors for permitting them to live. In fact, they evidently suffer under the delusion that the M. S. and L. Railway is a heavenly institution devised by these good, kind, charitable capitalists in order to provide the workers with employment.

Such stupidity, it is to be hoped, is exceptional even among railway men. In the meantime, I would advise that the executive of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants take advantage of the abnormal "benevolence" of the employes of the M. S. and L. R. Sir E. Watkin states that a week's pay would amount to £12,000 or £13,000. Now, surely men who can feel so keenly for the aforesaid earls, lords, baronets, etc., that they are prepared to subscribe their guinea lest poor Mr. Chapman and his fellow-shareholders should have their bankers' balance reduced, will be only too ready to help their unfortunate fellow-workers whose sufferings take the severer form of deprivation of dinners instead of a mere diminution of dividends. The *Midland Railway Strike Fund*, for the assistance of the sufferers by the late strike, at present amounts only to about £340. I expect in the course of a few days to hear that the treasurer has received, say, a cheque for £1000 on behalf of the employes of the M. S. and L. Railway.

T. BIRKING.

In vain is the earth fertile and the climate benign if human labour be wanting.—*Bishop Berkeley.*

FROM THE PRISON CELL.

ALBERT R. PARSONS has been busily engaged on the Supreme Court opinion of the Anarchist case since the date of its publication, and has issued his individual position and defence, from which the following extracts are taken:

"Fellow-citizens: As all the world knows, I have been convicted and sentenced to die for the crime of murder, the most heinous offence that can be committed. Under the form of law two courts—viz., the Criminal and Supreme courts of the state of Illinois—have sentenced me to death as an accessory before the fact to the murder of Officer Degan, on May 4, 1886. Nevertheless I am innocent of the crime charged, and to a candid and unprejudiced world I submit the proof.

"In the decision affirming the sentence of death upon me the Supreme court of the state of Illinois says: 'It is undisputed that the bomb was thrown that caused the death of Degan. It is conceded that no one of the defendants threw the bomb with his own hands. Plaintiffs in error are charged with being accessories before the fact.' If I did not throw the bomb myself it becomes necessary to prove that I aided, encouraged, and advised the person who did throw it. Is that fact proved? The Supreme court says it is. The record says it is not. I appeal to the American people to judge between them.

"Mayor Harrison, who was present and heard the speech, testified before the jury that it was simply 'a violent and political harangue' and did not call for his interference as a peace officer. The speech delivered by me at the Haymarket and which I repeated before the jury is a matter of record and undisputed, and I challenge any one to show therein that I incited any one to acts of violence. The extract reported by Mr. English, when taken in connection with what preceded and what followed, cannot be construed by the wildest imagination as incitement to violence. Extracts from three other speeches alleged to have been delivered by me were more than one year prior to May 4, 1886, are given. Two of these speeches were reported from the memory of the Pinkerton detective Johnson. These are the speeches quoted by the court as proof of my guilt as accessory to the murder of Degan. Where, then, is the connection between these speeches and the murder of Degan? I am bold to declare that such connection is imperceptible to the eye of a fair and unprejudiced mind. But the honourable body the Supreme court of Illinois has condemned me to death for speeches I never made and for articles I never wrote. In the affirmation of the death sentence the court has 'assumed,' 'supposed,' 'guessed,' 'surmised,' and 'presumed' that I can and did 'so and so.' This the record fully proves.

"The court says: 'Spies, Schwab, Parsons, and Engel were responsible for the articles written and published by them, as above shown; Spies, Schwab, Fielden, Parsons, and Engel were responsible for the speeches made by them respectively, and there is evidence in the same record tending to show that the death of Degan occurred during the prosecution of a conspiracy planned by the members of the International groups who read these articles and heard these speeches.'

"Now I defy any one to show from the record the proof that I wrote more than one of the many articles alleged to have been written by me. Yet the Supreme court says that I wrote and am responsible for all of them. Again—concerning the alleged speeches—they were reported by the Pinkerton detective Johnson, who was, as the record shows, employed by Lyman Gaze, president of the First national bank, as the agent of the Citizens' association, an organisation composed of the millionaire employers of Chicago.

"I submit to a candid world if this hired spy would not make false reports to earn blood-money. Thus, it is for speeches I did not make and articles I did not write I am sentenced to die because the court 'assumes' that these articles influenced some unknown and still unidentified person to throw the bomb that killed Degan. Is this law? Is this justice?

"The Supreme court, in affirming the sentence of death upon me, proceeds to give further reasons, as follows: 'Two circumstances are to be noted. First, it can hardly be said that Parsons was absent from the Haymarket meeting when he went to Zepf's Hall. It has already been stated that the latter place was only a few steps north of the speakers' wagon and in sight from it. We do not think that the defendant Parsons could escape his share of the responsibility for the explosions at the Haymarket because he stepped into a neighbouring saloon and looked at the explosion through a window. While he was speaking men stood around him with arms in their hands. Many of these were members of the armed sections of the International groups. Among them were men who belonged to the International rifles, an armed organisation in which he himself was an officer and with which he had been drilling in preparation for the events then conspiring.'

"The records of the trial will show that not one of the foregoing allegations is true. The facts are these: Zepf's Hall is on the north-east corner of Lake and Desplaines streets, just one block north of the speakers' wagon. The court says 'it was only a few steps north of the speakers' wagon.' The court says further that 'it can hardly be said that Parsons was absent from the Haymarket meeting when he was at Zepf's Hall.' If this is correct logic, then I was at two different places a block apart at the same instant. Truly the day of miracles has not yet passed. Again, the record will show that I did not 'step into a neighbouring saloon and look at the explosion through a window.' It will show that I went to Zepf's Hall, one block distant, and across Lake Street, accompanied by my wife and another lady and my two children (a girl of 5 and a boy of 7 years of age), they having sat upon a wagon about ten feet from the speakers' wagon throughout my speech; that it looked like rain; that we had started home and went into Zepf's Hall to wait for the meeting to adjourn, and walked home in company with a lot of friends who lived in that direction. Zepf's building is on the corner and opens on the street with a triangular door six feet wide. Myself and ladies and children were just inside the door. Here, while waiting for our friends and looking towards the meeting, I had a fair view of the explosion. All this the record will show.

"It would seem that, according to circumstances, a block is at one time 'a few steps' or a 'few steps' is more than a block, as the case may suit. The logical as well as the imaginative faculties of the Supreme court are further illustrated in a most striking manner by the credence of the court to the 'yarn' of a 'reporter,' who testified that Spies had described to him the 'czar' bombs and the men who were to use them as follows. 'He spoke of a body of tall, strong men in their organisation who could throw bombs weighing five pounds 150 paces. He stated that the bombs in question were to be used in case of conflict with the police or the militia.'

"The court gives this sort of testimony as proof of the existence of a conspiracy to murder Degan. Wonderful credulity. To throw a five-pound bomb 150 paces or yards is to throw it 450 feet or a quarter of a mile.

"Gulliver, in his travels among the Brobdingnag race, tells us of the giants he met, and we have also heard of the giants of Patagonia. But we did not know until now that they were mere Lilliputians as compared with the 'anarchist Swedes' of Chicago.

"I appeal to the American people, to their love of justice and fair play. I submit that the record does not show my guilt of the crime of murder, but on the contrary it proves my innocence.

"Against me in this trial all the rules of law and evidence have been reversed, in that I have been held as guilty until I prove my innocence. I have been tried ostensibly for murder, but in reality for Anarchy. I have been proved guilty of being an Anarchist, and condemned to die for that reason. The State's Attorney said in his statement before the court and jury, in the beginning of the trial, 'These defendants were picked out and indicted by the grand jury; they are no more guilty than the thousands who follow them; they are picked out because they are leaders. Convict them and our society is safe.' And in their last appeal to the jury the prosecution said, 'Anarchy is on trial. Hang these eight men and save our institutions. These are the leaders: make examples of them.' This is a matter of record.

"So far as I have had time to examine the records, I find the same fabrication and perversion of testimony against all my comrades as exists against myself. I therefore again appeal to the American people to avert the crime of judicial murder.

"My ancestors partook of all the hardships incident to the establishment of this republic. They fought, bled, and some of them died that the declaration of independence might live and the American flag wave in triumph over those who claim the 'divine right of kings to rule.' Shall the flag now, after a century's triumph, trail in the mire of oppression and protect the perpetration of outrages and oppressions that would put the older despotisms of Europe to shame?

"Knowing myself innocent of crime, I came forward and gave myself up for trial. I felt that it was my duty to take my chances with the rest of my comrades. I sought a fair and impartial trial before a jury of my peers, and knew that before any fair-minded jury I could with little difficulty be cleared. I preferred to be tried and take the chances of an acquittal with my friends to being hunted as a felon. Have I had a fair trial?

"The lovers of justice and fair play are assiduously engaged in an effort to thwart the consummation of judicial murder by a commutation of sentence to prison. I speak for myself alone when I say that for this I thank them and appreciate their efforts. But I am an innocent man. I have violated no law; I have committed no offence against any one's rights. I am simply the victim of the malice of those whose anger has been aroused by the growth, strength, and independence of the Labour organisations of America. I am a sacrifice to those who say, 'These men may be innocent. No matter. They are Anarchists. We must hang them anyway.'

"My council informs me that every effort will be made to take this case before the highest tribunal in the land, and that there is strong hope of a hearing there. But I am also reliably informed that from three to five years will elapse before the Supreme Court of the United States can hear and adjudge the case.

"Since surrendering myself to the authorities I have been locked up in close confinement twenty-one hours out of every twenty-four for six days, and from Saturday afternoon till Monday morning (thirty-eight hours) each week in a noisome cell, without a ray of sunlight or a breath of pure air. To be compelled to bear this for five or even three years would be to suffer a lingering death; and it is only a matter of serious consideration with me whether I ought to accept the verdict as it stands rather than die by inches under such conditions. I am prepared to die. I am ready, if needs be, to lay down my life for my rights and the rights of my fellow-men. But I object to being killed on false and unproved accusations. Therefore I cannot countenance or accept the efforts of those who would endeavour to procure a commutation of my sentence to an imprisonment in the penitentiary. Neither do I approve of any further appeals to the courts of law. I believe them to be all alike—the agency of the privileged classes to perpetuate their power, to oppress and plunder the toiling masses. As between capital and its legal rights, the courts of law must side with the capitalistic class. To appeal to them is in vain. It is the appeal of the wage-slave to his capitalist master for liberty. The answer is—curses, blows, imprisonment, death.

"If I had never been an Anarchist before, my experience with courts and the laws of the governing classes would make an Anarchist of me now. What is Anarchy? It is a state of society without any central or governing power. Upon this subject the court, in its affirmation of the death sentence, defines the object of the International Working People's Association as follows: 'It designed to bring about a social revolution. Social revolution meant the destruction of the right of private ownership of property, or of the right of the individual to own property. It meant the bringing about of a state of society in which all property should be held in common.' If this definition is right, then it is very similar to that advocated by Jesus Christ, for proof of which I refer to the fourth and fifth chapters of the Acts of the Apostles; also Matthew xxi., 10 to 14, and Mark x., 15 to 19.

"No, I am not guilty. I have not been proved guilty. I leave it to you to decide from the record itself as to my guilt or innocence. I cannot, therefore, accept a commutation to imprisonment. I appeal—not for mercy, but for justice. As for me, the utterance of Patrick Henry is so apropos that I cannot do better than let him speak: 'Is life so dear and peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death!'

A. R. PARSONS.

"Prison Cell 29, Chicago (Ill.), Sept. 21, 1887."

Force is seldom justifiable as a method of reform, but the impetuous revolutionist who believes in and uses it is much less vitally in error than the wicked hypocrite who pretends to see no distinction between force used in vindication of rights and force used in their violation.—*Liberty*.

It is well never to lose sight of the ultimate aim and intent of the Labour movement—the total abolition of the wage-system; but those things which promise present benefit should neither be despised nor neglected. Only be promise that what promises present benefit is not calculated to hinder the great object.—(*Toronto*) *Labour Reformer*.

The main arguments in the political venture of Messrs. George and McGlynn seem to be embodied in the words "applause," "tremendous applause," and "uproarious applause" (see *Standard*), coming from the lily throats, through pearly-white teeth and ruby lips, of the female portion of the audience. Thus is taxation made popular.—*Workmen's Advocate*.

WE'LL TURN THINGS UPSIDE DOWN!

Oh, the world is overburdened
With the idle and the rich!
They bask up in the sunshine,
While we plod in the ditch;
But, zounds! we'll put some mettle
In their fingers and their thumbs—
For we'll turn things upside down, my
lads,

When the revolution comes!

Oh, we'll turn things upside down,
Oh, we'll turn things upside down;
They will wonder what has hap-
pened,
When we turn things upside down!

Plain living may be wholesome,
And wondrous virtues may
Abound beneath ribs scant of flesh,
And pockets scant of pay.
It may be poverty is best
If rightly understood;
But we'll turn things upside down, my
lads!

We don't want all the good!

Oh, we'll turn, etc.
Oh, we'll turn, etc.
May they thrive on their philosophy,
When we turn things upside down!

They are never done extolling
The nobility of work;
But the knaves! they always take good
care
Their share of toil to shirk!
Do they send their sons and daughters
To the workshop or the mill?

Oh, we'll turn things upside down, my
lads!
It will change their tune, it will!

Oh, we'll turn, etc.
Oh, we'll turn, etc.
They can practise all their precepts
When we turn things upside down!

They live in splendid mansions,
And we in hovels vile;
Their lives are spent in pleasure,
And ours in cheerless toil;
They jaunt about the world, while we
Are pinned down to one spot;
But we'll turn things upside down, we
will!

It is time, lads, is it not?

Oh, we'll turn, etc.
Oh, we'll turn, etc.
Life then may be worth living,
When we've turned things upside
down!

Then let us, lads, right lustily
Support the glorious cause,
To overturn the whole vile lot
With their lying and their laws!
And let us all together
Put our shoulders to the wheel,
That will turn things upside down,
hurrah)
All for the common weal!
Oh, we'll turn, etc.
Oh, we'll turn, etc.
The world will be far better
When we turn things upside down!

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

QUERIES FROM 'THE QUERIST.'

[The *Querist* was first issued anonymously by its author, the celebrated George Berkeley, D.D., Bishop of Cloyne, in 1735. The following queries are selected from the 1752 edition, published at Dublin, with author's name, style, and title in full.—S.]

WHETHER the drift or aim of every wise State should not be to encourage industry in its members? And whether those who employ neither head nor hands for the common benefit, deserve not to be expelled like drones out of a well-governed State?

Whether the four elements and man's labour therein, be not the true source of wealth?

Whether it were not wrong to suppose land itself to be wealth? And whether the industry of a people is not first to be considered, as that which constitutes wealth, which makes even land and silver to be wealth, neither of which would have any value but as means and motives to industry?

Whether a single hint be sufficient to overcome a prejudice? And whether even obvious truths will not sometimes bear repeating?

Whether, if human labour be the true source of wealth, it doth not follow that idleness should of all things be discouraged in a wise State?

Whether necessity is not to be hearkened to before convenience, and convenience before luxury?

Whether a people who had provided themselves with the necessaries of life in good plenty, would not soon extend their industry to new arts and new branches of commerce?

Whether the vanity and luxury of a few ought to stand in competition with the interest of a nation?

Whether national wants ought not to be the rule of trade? And whether the most pressing wants of the majority ought not to be first considered?

Whether she would not be a very vile matron, and justly thought either mad or foolish, that should give away the necessaries of life from her naked and famished children, in exchange for pearls to stick in her hair and sweetmeats to please her own palate?

Whether a nation might not be considered as a family? Whether the real foundation for wealth must not be laid in the numbers, the frugality, and the industry of the people? And whether all attempts to enrich a nation by other means, as raising the coin, stockjobbing, and such arts, are not vain?

Whether the public aim ought not to be that men's industry should supply their present wants, and the overplus be converted into a stock of power?

Whether all manner of means should not be employed to possess the nation in general, with an aversion and contempt for idleness and all idle folk?

Whether it is not a great point to know what we would be at? And whether whole States, as well as private persons, do not often fluctuate for want of this knowledge?

TORY ROUGHS AT YARMOUTH.—The following is a cutting from the *Eastern Daily Press* of last Friday, with reference to the weekly Yarmouth meeting:—"Fired by the example of their Lowestoft brethren, a mob attempted last night to create a disturbance at the weekly Socialist meeting held on the Quay. Only one Socialist speaker was present, Fred Henderson from Norwich, and he had no sooner begun to speak than the riotous crowd endeavoured to personally assail him. A large number of sympathisers were present, and many Radicals, who, while not agreeing with the speaker's ideas, still urged his right of free speech. The crowd would quickly have retaliated on the mob, who found the tables completely turned against them, had not the speaker urged his supporters to exercise tolerance towards the interrupters. The roughs then contented themselves with remaining in the background and yelling violently. At the conclusion of the meeting a bodyguard surrounded Henderson, and escorted him to the station. It is scarcely likely, in the face of their defeat, that the roughs will repeat their tactics, as it was only with difficulty that the crowd was restrained from treating them as they had wished to treat the Socialist speaker."

conventionally called "good wages," but which mean after all a miserably stinted and pinched life compared to that which, not only they, but all workers ought to attain to, and will attain to when they look from the narrow interests of *their* household, *their* workshop, *their* trade, to the whole world of workers, whose conscious or unconscious struggles are slowly building up the New Society. To these we say: Fellow-workers, do not any longer dissociate yourselves from your less fortunate brethren, from those who have been doomed to feel the whole weight of the burden which sits comparatively lightly on your shoulders. Do you call them thriftless, idle, drunken, brutal, in a word degraded? Perhaps you may call them in one word less *lucky* than yourselves; and remember that the remorseless wheel of competitive commerce is going on grinding everybody beneath it; while you are refusing to learn what your position is, and what your claims ought to be, or while you are halting between two opinions, your great master *Machinery*, which should be your servant, is getting more and more powerful, more and more exacting every day, and in a few years unless you have made up your minds to get rid of mastership, many of you certainly, and probably most of you, will find yourselves no longer skilled workmen but mere labourers cumbering a market which is getting ever more and more overstocked with such common and worthless wares as mere men. And do you think that when you are come to that pass you will be any better than those poor fellows of the fringe of labour whom you now despise? It is not likely—it is not possible. Be wise in time and resolve that you will not come to that pass, which you will be able to avoid by combining together in a steady, continuous, unflinching resistance to the authority of the false society founded on privilege; which makes you inferior beings to the owners of capital or land; which takes from you two-thirds of all you produce; which if any one of those many accidents befall you that in our life of to-day, so hard and full of constant struggle, we are all liable to, throws you into a prison under the name of a workhouse, or lets you rot away body and mind in the street.

It is the business, fellow-workers, of the whole intelligence of the working-classes to see that there are no longer either unemployed, or wage-slaves, or masters.

On behalf of the Council of the Socialist League,

HENRY. A. BARKER, *Secretary.*

PRACTICAL POLITICS AT NOTTINGHAM.

THE orthodox Liberals have had a great field day at Nottingham under very brilliant circumstances, all things considered; the democratic portion of the population of England, Scotland, and Wales, and it is even hoped the voters in general who have any claim to be considered Liberals, are prepared to accept Home Rule for other people though they have scarcely begun even to think of it for themselves. This acceptance of Home Rule for Ireland, by everybody who could ever possibly accept it, is so universal that there are no shades of opinion on the subject; the unspoken (nay, sometimes the spoken) word when people meet now is, "You are a Home Ruler and a beast!" "You are a Unionist and a rascal!" Argument is at an end, and people, dog-sick of the question, would be much relieved if it were possible for a thousand champions a-side to meet on Wimbledon Common, or some other suitable place, and there fight it out to the death like Clan Chattan and Clan Quhele of old days; but since civilisation and the natural desire to best one's opponent at no expense to oneself forbids such a proceeding, all people are looking forward with disgust to the long spell of Parliamentary tactics, which will on this occasion as on other similar ones in modern times, take the place of "point and edge" with small advantage to the public generally.

Such a condition of things was, I repeat, most favourable to the occasion, which was certainly made the most of. Mr. Gladstone exhibited himself for the worship of the faithful, which was poured forth on him in the most abundant measure, so that he must have thought it worth while indeed to be a statesman. He exercised the art of oratory if not to the fullest, yet at least as far as need be; the art, I mean, which consists of spinning out two or three sentences of meaning into speeches getting on for two hours long, so that the audiences mostly were thoroughly delighted. Indeed, those of them who had memories capable of resisting the wear and tear of five or six years might have employed the leisure which the great man's flow of speech-words afforded them in blessing their stars and their leader that it was not they but their adversaries this time who were trying to wield the great net of Coercion, with the certainty of their knocking themselves into the water with it. Some of them might also have remembered the roars of joy with which pure Liberal meetings received the news of their present ally Mr. Parnell's arrest and imprisonment; and probably Mr. John Morley was now and then pensively thinking of the evening, when before the electors of Westminster in 1880 he put down his foot on Home Rule in such a clear, brief, and convincing speech, that everybody in the hall, except a few grumblers and Irishmen, shouted for joy.

However, let pardon be given to those who have changed their opinions in the right direction, and let us hope that such changes will be common during the next few years among political men. It is at least satisfactory to see that Mr. Gladstone is doing no backsliding in this Irish matter, that he who is exceedingly slow to perceive that the

enemy must be attacked in front has at last seen it. All that he has to do now is to set his political wits to work to get rid of the Tory majority in the house before some portion of his men, the really anti-Radical part, who much outnumber the Radical, swing in the other direction, and carry him along with their impetus. Don't let him dally with the crisis as he dearly loves to do, like a too artistic angler, who having a good fish on his line plays him showily to show his art, and loses him in the end.

Well, the Irish Question disposed of, what other schemes of reform had this enthusiastic multitude of delegates and notabilities, sitting in the good town of Nottingham, where, forsooth, they might have some rather serious thoughts suggested to them by the locality and its industries. I remember I was there some six years ago, and trade was booming then. I was told, I don't know with how much truth, that an ordinary twister-in, or lace-weaver, could earn £6 a-week; prosperity was great, and the horrible red-brick blue-slatted shanties of a prosperous Midland town were effacing the last remains of the beautiful crocus-meadows, for which the town was once famous; and any hints I ventured timidly to give as to how long this prosperity might last, were received with the contempt which prophecies deserve. Whereas, now it would seem by the weekly trade reports as if the population, high and low, would soon be reduced to living on taking in each other's washing.

Well, as to the reforms to be taken in hand after the carrying of Home Rule, the Liberal Conference at Nottingham has been what its members call bold indeed: venturing to go in for disestablishment of the Welsh Church; the abolition of plural votes, by means of having all the elections on one day, shortening the period of residence which qualifies a voter; free education (important this, at any rate); local option (this also important—for the vote); London government; allotments for labourers (*i.e.*, permission to them to pay their own poor-rates); and what is called "free land"—*i.e.*, all obstacles removed which might stand in the way of Mr. Wynans or his like buying up all England to turn it into a deer-forest.

All this, which is heralded in the Liberal newspapers as an "advanced programme," in all the dignity of extra large type, is indeed quite as far as anyone could have expected the Liberal Party to go as a body—*i.e.*, with the leave of Mr. Gladstone and its other bosses; and one must admit that most of these reforms will have to be done, whether they greatly matter or not. But it is not much wool for so great a cry; and when one thinks that this is received as an "advanced programme" with a regular flourish of trumpets by the party which considers itself the popular party, in righteous opposition to the Tories or reactionists, one cannot help noting how much of an accident it has been that the Liberals have been driven to make peace with Ireland, and that Home Rule once gained the Liberal Party will have performed its functions to the very end, and must either make its exit or must go about with the brains knocked out of it. And that all the more as the Tory Party is quite capable of dishing the Liberals on all these great reforms, and probably will do so.

And meanwhile the trades unions are crying out for a Labour Party, have declared for land nationalisation, and have their faces turned towards Socialism; and all over the country workmen are asking themselves why they are in a position of inferiority to those who do not work. The authorities in London are as afraid to let workmen speak their minds there as the Irish authorities to let the Irish speak, and a terrible winter of misery and want of employment is opening out before us.

Of all these things the Nottingham delegates took as much cognisance as though they were living in another planet. These things, since they concern the daily life and happiness and misery of the working classes, are, forsooth, "not within the scope of practical politics."

Query—What are practical politics? Answer—Vote-catching for election time, so that *we* may be in and *you* may be out.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

JOHN RUSKIN ON COMMUNISM.

I AM myself a Communist of the old school—reddest of the red. . . Will you be at the pains, now, however, to learn rightly, and once for all, what Communism is? First, it means that everybody must work in common, and do common or simple work for his dinner; and that if any man will not do it he must not have his dinner. . . Second, that the public, or common, wealth, shall be more and stater in all its substance than private or singular wealth. Then farther, according to old Communism, the private dwellings of uncommon persons—dukes and lords—are to be very simple, and roughly put together—such persons being supposed to be above all care for things that please the commonality; but the buildings for public or common service, more especially schools, almshouses, and workhouses, are to be externally of a majestic character, as being for noble purposes and charities; and in their interiors furnished with many luxuries for the poor and sick. And finally and chiefly, it is the absolute law of old Communism that the fortunes of private persons should be small, and little account in the State; but that the common treasure of the whole nation should be of superb and precious things in redundant quantity, as pictures, statues, precious books; gold and silver vessels preserved from ancient times; gold and silver bullion laid up for use, in case of any chance need of buying anything suddenly from foreign nations; noble horses, cattle, and sheep, on the public lands; and vast spaces of land for culture, exercise, and garden, round the cities, full of flowers, which, being everybody's property, nobody could gather; and of birds which being everybody's property, nobody could shoot. And, in a word, that instead of a common poverty, or national debt, which every poor person in the nation is taxed annually to fulfil his part of, there should be a common wealth, or national reverse of debt, consisting of pleasant things, which every poor person in the nation should be summoned to receive his dose of, annually; and of pretty things, which everyone capable of admiration, foreigners as well as natives, should unfeignedly admire.—'Fors Clavigera.' Letter vii., dated July 1st, 1871.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

NORTHAMPTON SHOEMAKERS.—The attempt to settle the strike by arbitration having failed, the men are now again on strike.

NOTTINGHAM INDUSTRIES.—Owing to the slackness in the local industries—hosiery and lace—the number of unemployed is very large.

THE AGRICULTURAL LABOUR MARKET.—The hirings are now taking place and the demand for labourers is not equal to the supply. Wages, therefore, have a downward tendency. A large number of farms are now without tenants, and the uncultivated acres show a great increase.

ABERDEEN SHIPBUILDERS.—The strike among the shipbuilders in the employment of Messrs. Hall, Russell, & Co., Aberdeen, has terminated. The men were formerly paid at the rate of from 2d. to 6d. extra per day for certain kinds of work, but they wanted to be remunerated at a uniform rate of 1s. per day extra. This request was refused, and the men resumed work under the old conditions.

THE CHAINMAKERS' STRIKE.—A meeting of chainmakers was held on Monday at Cradley Heath. It was reported that the majority of the men had turned out on strike. There was a universal determination on the part of the operatives to cease work. There were a number of men and women who could not turn out until they had completed their orders. It is expected that the strike will again be very general. The notices expired on Saturday last.

PRESTON WEAVERS.—The Secretary of the Powerloom Weavers' Association has issued a circular to the members in which he says: "The committee return their thanks to every individual who has in any way rendered assistance to the weavers in the dispute at Messrs. Outram & Co.'s mills. The strike, we are happy to say, is settled after a ten week's struggle for justice, and we maintain that we were justified in the action we have taken from the beginning to the end."

DISCHARGE OF WORKMEN.—Messrs Caird & Co. having now finished the new P. and O. steamer Britannia, and having no other work on hand, have discharged all their workmen, with few exceptions, both in their shipbuilding yard and engine works. Messrs. Rankin & Blackmore, Eagle Foundry, have also paid off a large number of workmen, the work on hand being nearly finished. Messrs. Scott & Co., shipbuilders, have also suspended a number of their workmen, the vessels on hand not being sufficiently forward to give employment to the number of men presently engaged in the yard.

THE STRIKE IN THE NAIL TRADE.—The strike in the wrought-nail trade continues, although the masters have offered to grant the 1879 list, less 20 per cent. off the price paid for hobs, and 10 per cent. for all other classes of nails, which is equivalent to an advance of 10 per cent. all round; but the workers are determined to keep out until the 1879 list is granted without any deductions. On Monday morning a meeting of delegates was held at the Cross Guns Inn, Birmingham Street, Hales Owen, Mr. J. Price presiding. It was stated that the strike in the Bromsgrove district was very general. The distribution of relief was going on very satisfactorily. Substantial donations had been contributed, and bread and soup had been given to the operatives. The relief had been carried on under the direction of Mr. Coxell, relieving officer. The chairman remarked that there would be no difficulty, he believed, in getting the prices established in the markets. He believed that the time was not far distant when they should hear that the strike had terminated. The whole of the operatives throughout all the districts had manifested a determination not to return to work until they gained the list. A resolution was passed to continue the strike.

THE BOLTON STRIKE.—The hopes as to the speedy settlement of the Bolton engineers' strike have again been disappointed, the employers having rejected the latest proposals from the men. These proposals suggested a reference on the basis of wages now paid in Oldham, it being a competitive town with Bolton. A board of conciliation was to be formed, consisting of six Bolton employers and six representatives of the workmen, to consider evidence as to the rate of wages paid in Oldham, and if found to be higher than in Bolton, the advance to be conceded to the men on strike at the commencement of next year. If these proposals were accepted the strike should be declared closed and the men return to work at once at the old rate of wages, and work overtime when required at breakdowns and repairs until the award is given, after which all restrictions as to overtime shall be removed. The board of conciliation was to give their award in a month. To these proposals the employers replied that they were unanimously declined. They could not discuss any restriction upon overtime. To refer to any particular town as to wages paid was objectionable, and the comparison could have been obtained by a juster method of open arbitration, which the men had rejected. The strike has now lasted twenty-five weeks with the outlook darker than ever.

The capitalistic, no less than the aristocratic class, is responsible for the stupid and wicked policy that has turned many of the fairest lands of the world into huge military camps, and has deluged every continent in blood for the aggrandisement of their own countries, and to force upon the conquered peoples the products which their makers cannot consume in consequence of the lowness of their wages. The working-class, although its ignorance has sometimes made it the tool of politicians, cannot fairly be charged with any part of this guilt and folly. The wealth, greatness, and glory of any nation have meant very little for the working-class. Rather, they have delayed its emancipation. It is the highest interest of every worker that he should concentrate his attention upon the Labour question. To the working-people it is of very little consequence whether the United States have a fleet of iron-clads or whether the Republican, Democratic, or any other party are successful in their struggles for office, loaves, and fishes; but it is of very great importance that they have a fair share of the products of their skill, of their brain and muscle; that the necessities and comforts of life be within their reach; that they be not herded like brutes in poisonous tenements; that their children be spared the slavery of the coal bunkers and factory, and be permitted to acquire the best possible education; that their noble feelings of human dignity be not outraged by the arbitrary regulations of an irresponsible and immoral capitalistic class. We, in this generation, by means of our trades' unions, have challenged the capitalistic policy, and we will not cease our efforts until all workers, regardless of creed, colour, or nationality, are united in the fraternal bond of one grand federation, making war and robbery forevermore impossible.—*Union Advocate.*

LETTERS FROM AMERICA.

IV.

SIR ROBERT N. FOWLER, M.P., fop, snob, and fool, arrived in New York last Sunday. Interviewed by a reporter, he made the following statement concerning Anarchists:—

"What is the extent of the Anarchist movement in Great Britain, or London? It is understood here that the English Anarchists sympathise deeply with the condemned Chicago Anarchists?"

"I have not heard very much about it. There is always a certain Anarchist or Communistic feeling in all large cities, but I don't know that it is any stronger in London now than it has been for many years past."

"Then it may be supposed that you would favour the execution of the Chicago Anarchists?"

"You will do the right thing if you hang them."

Of course, Fowler knows as much about the case as the man in the moon but his talk proves clearly how much these people respect law, order, and justice. It is to be hoped the English workers will not forget such sentiments uttered by individuals but expressing the ideas of a large class.

The Henry George-McGlynn business is fast arriving at the farcical stage. Henry George never speaks without mentioning "that noble and heroic man, that glorious priest so much beloved by the people, the Rev. Dr. McGlynn," etc., and the Rev. Dr. McGlynn in return butters back by calling George "that greatest of all philosophers, our prophet Henry George." George in order to catch votes is getting vaguer and vaguer in his theories. It is even no longer State appropriation of rent, but mere taxation of the unearned increment which he now advocates.

The General Assembly of the delegates of the Knights of Labour met in Minneapolis last week. The following short notes in reference to the Assembly may be of interest to the readers of the *Commonweal*.

P. H. Craig, a coloured man, represents District 176, Augusta Ga., composed of 3,000 white members and 1,500 negroes. He was unanimously elected, and his election is taken as a proof that the colour line in the South is entirely wiped out.

Joseph R. Buchanan, the editor of the *Labor Enquirer*, Denver, Col., leader of the opposition against Powderley, and delegate of District Assembly 89, has been refused admission to the General Assembly on the grounds that he being a member of Local Assembly 2237, which has been suspended for non-payment of dues, he was himself a suspended member. Buchanan alleges the suspension to be a conspiracy on the part of the administration.

Michael Davitt addressed the Assembly, last Wednesday, claiming the Irish movement to be a part of the international working-men's movement.

Mrs. Leonora M. Barry, general investigator of the condition of working-women, made a report. Portions of this report relating to the shame and degradation to which women and girls who cannot eke out a living on the pittance paid them are subjected, could not be read to an audience of men.

It has been proposed that the Knights of Labour and the Farmers' Alliance (both in session at Minneapolis) shall amalgamate. Each claims to have about 600,000 members.

The General Master Workman in his report, suggests the following programme:—

"I believe the day has come for united labour to ask at the hands of Congress the passage of a law creating a department of labour at the seat of the National Government. Labour cannot be called a class, for it is everywhere. To have a man in his cabinet with whom to consult on the question of labour, the President would be in a better position to deal with the question of labour. . . . I believe that the Government of the United States should operate its own line of telegraph. I believe that the Government should control our railways."

This is the whole programme of one of the largest labour organisations in the world. Oh shame upon such spoilers of healthy movements! When will the men become tired of all monarchs in labour organisations? Ah, when?

The report of the General Secretary contains the following interesting details:—

"The order consists at present of 10,421 local assemblies, and 60,000 letters were received and answered. The number of members in good standing at the last session was 702,924; in arrears, 26,753. The total number of members reported in good standing now is in round figures 485,000; in arrears, about 50,000; total, 535,000; which shows a decrease of 195,000 members who have mostly joined the American Federation of Trades."

On Monday, Oct. 10th, in the afternoon, James E. Quinn, of District 49, quietly arose in the assembly and presented the following resolution:—

"Considering that the development of the human mind in the nineteenth century has reached a point expressed almost universally against capital punishment, or taking human life by judicial process, as a relic of barbarism, therefore be it resolved, That this Convention express sorrow that the men in Chicago were doomed to death, and that we use every endeavour to secure the commutation of the sentence of death passed upon them."

The moment this was read there was an uproar. Quinn made a speech asking in the name of humanity and justice that the resolution be adopted. Mr. Powderley, who presided, declared the resolution out of order. An appeal was taken, and George A. Shilling (of Chicago) and Joseph Labadie (of Detroit) spoke in favour of the resolution. Powderley left the chair, and made a long and vigorous speech against the resolution. Mr. Powderley was sustained by a vote of 150 against 50, and that settles the matter as the *Herald* puts it. Comment on such outrageous action, it is to be hoped, is superfluous.

The affair at Union Hill, New Jersey, which I reported to you last week, has had an afterpiece of a rather amusing character. The labour organisations intended to hold a meeting on Wednesday, Oct. 5th. The Chief of Police by the consent of the Town Council had taken extra precautions to suppress the meeting. There were 30 policemen stationed near the meeting-place. A messenger was employed to stand by the police, and on the first intimation of any meeting he was to convey the news to the Town Hall, where a man was stationed ready to toll the bell. The fire department with 50 volunteers was in readiness to turn the hose on the men. At 7.30 p.m., the town was blocked with people from all over Jersey. Only an informal meeting was held by the United Order of American Carpenters and Joiners Lodge 24. The subject discussed was, "Why do we need a Union?" The evening passed quietly. The police employed themselves by clubbing some men and all small boys on the legs to make them move on.

Hardly a week passes without the ruling classes showing by the action of their minions how little they care for the constitution. Last Sunday we were presented with a new proof, this time of even a more serious nature. On Saturday October 8th the Progressive Labour Party held a mass meeting

in Union Square, New York, to explain its platform to the workers. The night was exceptionally fine, and about 10,000 people attended the meeting. The proceedings were most orderly, and perfect harmony prevailed except around one platform where a small number of men—supposed to be followers of George—kept on calling out, rather monotonously, "George, Henry George, George," etc., and now and then indulged in cat-calls. Most of the speakers had already addressed the meeting, when suddenly the torches and transparencies were extinguished, and the police dashed into the meeting and began at once belabouring the crowd in brutal fashion with their clubs. A panic of course was the immediate result. The crowd neither resisted nor remonstrated, but, taken completely by surprise, fled in all directions. Several men got a severe clubbing and women were maltreated by the police in a shameful, disgusting fashion. It is perfectly clear that it was determined the peaceable meeting should be turned into a riot. People were to be maltreated until they in their anger would turn upon their clubbers and supply the police with an excuse for a wholesale arrest, and perhaps hanging. The police had arranged themselves with care so as to form a complete semicircle that would embrace the whole crowd. Captain Reilly, the officer in command came to the reporters, after the collision, and without being asked made a statement that he had been invited to disperse a crowd that kept on annoying the meeting by cat-calls and calls for Henry George. His men misunderstood him, and the "incident," for which he was extremely sorry, was the result. The clubbed, bleeding, defenceless men rallied round as soon as they saw the speakers were holding the platform, and the meeting was continued. The men, in spite of the outrage, pressed forward to support the speakers, and eventually the meeting dispersed quietly. A few more of such "incidents" and even the most conservative working-man will comprehend what government of the people by the people means over here. He will comprehend that as long as he permitted himself to be fleeced without resistance by a miserable class he had all the liberty he wished at his disposal. He will comprehend that as soon as he begins to resist being fleeced the ruling classes will quickly bring him to his senses, not with the ballot-box but with the club.

LABOUR MOVEMENTS.

Owing to the strike of coal-miners about Springfield, Ill., the Springfield Rolling Mill has been obliged to shut down. About 1000 men are idle in consequence.

The Lehigh Valley coal-miners on strike are still firm, regardless of the threat made by the Lehigh Valley Coal and Navigation Company to stop work for one year unless the men return to work. The Wyoming region is overrun with strikers from the Lehigh sections.

The strikers at the cotton-factory of the Moss Manufacturing Company, Westerly, R.I., have finally surrendered. This was the contest in which the "Slater Club" was enlisted in behalf of the corporation. In other words, the combined capital of the Rhode Island cotton manufacturing companies was arrayed in support of a single concern which had a dispute with its workmen.

LIST OF STRIKES FOR OCTOBER.

New York City—brass-workers, for half holiday on Saturdays, Oct. 1	120
Reading, Pa.—labourers, for advance, Oct. 1	20
Boyetown, Pa.—cigar-makers, for advance, Oct. 1	100
Springfield, Ill.—miners, for advance, Oct. 1	1500
Brooklyn, N. Y.—brass-polishers, against employment of non-union men, Oct. 3	16
Bayoune, N. J.—rivet-heaters of the Standard Oil Co., for advance, Oct. 3	14
Wheeling, Va.—labourers, for advance, Oct. 3	40
Brooklyn, N. Y.—pressworkers, for a half holiday on Saturdays, Oct. 5	200
Philadelphia, Pa.—shoe-stitchers, for enforcement of new price-list, Oct. 5	250
Philadelphia, Pa.—buttonhole-makers, against discrimination in distributing work, Oct. 5	20
Total strikers to Oct. 6	2280

New York, October 12, 1887. H. CHARLES.

LITERARY NOTICES.

'The Chicago Anarchists. A Statement of Facts.' By E. and E. M. Aveling, has been reprinted from *To-Day* (November 1887), and is for sale by W. Reeves, 185 Fleet Street, E.C. Single copy, 1d., 100 copies, 1s.

In reprinting John Most's 'Deistic Pestilence' (Metzow, Bruce Grove, N.) the comrades who have had it done would have been wise in securing a competent hand to revise the English in which the translation is presented. No doubt when it was written this brochure did good service, and it naturally now bears a certain historic interest, but it may be doubted whether its present reissue will either do much credit to the author or service to the cause he has at heart. Author, publisher, and price are alike left without mention.

'The Labour Movement in America,' by Frederick Engels (Reeves, 4d.), is a reprint of the preface to the 'Condition of the Working Classes in England in 1844,' published a few months ago, and is so reprinted to enable it to reach a larger number of readers than otherwise it would. In 8 pp. of even close print there is but small room to say much upon such a large theme, but the author gets more into the space than might have been deemed possible, and has assuredly made an earnest, thoughtful and thought-producing contribution to the consideration of the question of which it treats. S.

THE CONDEMNED ANARCHISTS.

The Labour Emancipation League held a mass meeting on Sunday morning to protest against the judicial murder of our Chicago comrades, at which a resolution of sympathy and protest was carried with only one dissident.

At a meeting of the Clay Cross and District Socialist Society on the 20th inst. the following resolution was passed: "That this meeting of Derbyshire miners and others protest against the judicial murder of the seven Chicago Anarchists, and, looking at the nature of the evidence, considers a new trial absolutely necessary; and that this resolution be sent to the president of the United States and for publication in the English *Commonweal*."

A public meeting of Scandinavians, convened by the Scandinavian Working Men's Clubs, was held on Sunday the 23rd, in 56 Greek Street, Soho, when the following resolution was unanimously passed: "This meeting of Scandinavians from all the northern countries, recognising that the sentence to death of the seven Chicago Anarchists is nothing but an attempt to knock down by one crushing blow the movement raised for the liberation of the working class from the yoke of the upper classes, joins in the protest of the workers of all civilised countries."

THE KNIGHTS OF LABOUR AND CO-OPERATION IN AMERICA.

LAST February J. P. Mc'Gaughey, of Minneapolis, secretary of the Co-operative Board of the Knights of Labour, sent out 8000 circulars asking for information on the subject of co-operation, and has received upwards of 5000 answers. Of the co-operative concerns started there are no failures reported, and a steady growth is almost without exception noted. Following are a few examples:

The Trenton (N. J.) Co-operative Store shows a remarkable growth. Jan. 1, 1886, its membership was 193; at the end of the year it was 420. There is scarcely a store in any of the great cities of the country which supplies so many families. The paid-up capital of the concern Jan. 1886 was £166; Jan. 1887 it was £1157. The premises now occupied by the store were purchased for £2000. During the year 1886 the profits were £1412.

The Michigan City (Ind.) Co-operative Reed-Chair Company issues stock only to members of the Knights of Labour. By its constitution one-third of the profits goes to the stockholders, one-third to employees, and the remaining third is placed to the credit of the factory. This company began business August 1886. Up to December 31 of the same year the business transacted amounted to £400, on which there was a profit of 25 per cent. At the time of the report there were 250 members.

The Raleigh (N. C.) Co-operative Tobacco Factory is a foster-child of the Knights of Labour. Its entire capital stock is owned by one hundred local assemblies and a thousand individuals. In 1886 the goods sold amounted to £2063, on which there was a profit over all expenses of £67.

The Fulton County Co-operative Leather Glove and Mitten Factory, of Johnstown, N. Y., was organised August 1886, and has now 225 members and £2000 capital. Its business up to Jan. 1, 1887, amounted to £600, and the profits above all expenses were £59.

Probably the only co-operative bank in the country is the Patrons' Co-operative Bank of Olathe, Kas. The report of the institution made July 1886 shows a paid-in capital stock of £2788, with deposits amounting to £14,177.

Building and loan associations, on the plan of the ordinary mutual building and loan association, are also very numerous within the Order.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

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.

Unemployed Question—Resolution of Council.

That the Socialist League do maintain officially the continuance of that policy of non-intervention pursued up to the present by the League; and though it can prohibit no individual member or members of that body from participating in unemployed agitation, it cannot undertake to support, either morally or pecuniarily, any member whose participation in any such agitation leads him into difficulties.

BRANCH SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID.

Mitcham, Walsall to July 31. Bloomsbury, Clerkenwell, Leicester, Hammer-smith, Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Hull, Mile End, Wednesbury, to September 30.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

C. W., 13s. 4d. *Weekly Subscriptions*—K. F., 1s. C. J. F., 2s. Oxford Branch, 2s. Langley, 2s. P. W., 6d. W. B., 6d. D. N. (8 weeks), 2s. Ph. W., Treasurer, Oct. 25.

Strike Committee.—Regent's Park (per Cantwell, Sunday, Oct. 16, 3s. 2d., and Sunday, Oct. 23, 5s. 4d.; total, 8s. 6d.—J. LANE.

MOWBRAY TESTIMONIAL FUND.

TO SOCIALISTS AND FRIENDS.—We make a special appeal to you to do what you can to subscribe towards the above fund, which is intended to give Mowbray a little start in business at his trade of a tailor, as he cannot expect to get work from the capitalists in Norwich. Thanking all comrades and friends for their past support towards the maintenance of Mowbray's wife and family, specially thanking Mrs. Besant and the Fabian friends for the liberal support they have given up to his release, we are, A. T. SUTTON and F. C. SLAUGHTER, Secs.

Communications and subscriptions to be forwarded to A. T. Sutton, 5 Duke Street, Norwich.
T. G. S., 10s. A Small Capitalist, 6d. W. Nobbs, 1s. A Friend (3), 1s. 6d. Norwich Market Place, Oct. 23, 6s. A. T. S. and F. C. S.

N.B.—Fund closes October 31st.

REPORTS.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, Oct. 19th, S. Mainwaring lectured to us on "Liberty." Discussion followed. Sunday good open-air meeting on Green, addressed by Mainwaring and Graham. In hall members and friends enjoyed nearly two hours' "social."—A. T. and W. B.

FULHAM.—Meeting Sunday morning addressed by Tarleton and Morris. A resolution, which was carried unanimously, was moved by Tarleton and seconded by our old opponent Mr. Green, protesting against any interference with the right of public meeting. Fair sale of *Commonweal*, another member made, and 4s. 3d. collected for branch.—S. B. G.

HOXTON.—Good meeting Thursday. Sunday morning demonstration great success. Resolution condemning sentence passed on the Chicago Anarchists carried with enthusiasm, only one against. Sold out all *Commonweal*; 5s. collected for wives and children of condemned men. Evening in hall, W. H. P. Campbell lectured on "The Whereabouts of Utopia;" interesting discussion followed.—C. J. Y.

MERTON.—Good meeting here. *Commonweal* sold well. Haydon's Road is now a good open-air station, and will add to the strength of the branch.

MITCHAM.—A good meeting held on Fair Green on Sunday morning, addressed by Bull, Hardman, and Sparling. Good sale of *Commonweal*, and 1s. 4d. collected for propaganda. Three new members made.—R. C.

NORTH LONDON.—On Tuesday last, at Ossulton Street, we held a very good meeting, when Cantwell, Brooks, Bartlett, and Dalziel spoke. Sale of *Commonweal* good. At Regent's Park on Sunday morning, a very good meeting was addressed by Cantwell, Mainwaring, and Mrs. Schack, whose remarks were received with considerable interest. Comrade Finn offered a little friendly opposition. Collected 5s. 4½d.

STAMFORD HILL.—A very good meeting was addressed here on Sunday evening by W. B. Parker and A. Cores. Two new members.

GLASGOW.—Sunday forenoon, Downie and Gilbert spoke on Jail Square. In afternoon, Bullock, Glasier, and McFarlane at Paisley Road Toll. An attempt made by a gang of Orange rowdies to destroy our meeting, but signally failed. In evening in hall at 8, Watson Street, Adams lectured on "The Paris Commune." Members and sympathisers are requested to turn up in large force on Sunday at Paisley Road Toll, 5 o'clock.—J. M. B.

LEEDS.—Meeting Sunday morning in Vicars Croft. In evening, Braithwaite lectured on "The National Loaf, who earns and who eats it." Good discussion. Maguire lectured in People's Hall on Saturday night on "Private Rights and Public Wrongs."—T. P.

NORWICH.—We held a large meeting in the Market Place at 3, addressed by Mowbray, and Barker of Lowestoft, another on the Agricultural Hall Plain by Barker and Darley. Mowbray lectured in the Gordon Hall at 8 to a crowded audience on the "Aims of the Socialist League," Barker in the chair. Mowbray, Turner, and Slaughter went to Wymondham in the morning, and held a good meeting. *Commonweal* sold well.—T. M.

WALSALL.—Meeting Monday evening, addressed by Wesley, Sanders, Webb, and others. Two successful open-air meetings held by Donald, Turn (Birmingham) and Sanders on Saturday afternoon, and in evening indoor meeting in the Exchange Room, good impression being made. Sunday morning Sanders spoke to a fair meeting at the Pleck.—J. T. D.

SHEFFIELD SOCIALISTS.—On Monday, October 17th, Mr. Herbert Godley gave a reading on "Socialism," which was followed by desultory discussion. The opening was good.—M. A. M.

NORWICH ANARCHIST GROUP.—Good meetings have been held during the week at Carrow, Yarmouth, St. Faiths, and at Norwich in the Haymarket on Saturday night, and in the Market Place twice on Sunday.

CLAY CROSS AND DISTRICT SOCIALIST SOCIETY.—We had a splendid lecture from Mr. John Peacock, member of the Nottingham School Board, on Thursday, Oct. 20th, when the enclosed resolution was passed (See "Condemned Anarchists").—J. L.

DUBLIN.—At the Labour League, on Thursday, Oct. 20th, very good meeting held to protest against the judicial murder of the Chicago Anarchists. McCarthy described at length the circumstances connected with the riot, attack by the police on Haymarket meeting, throwing of the bomb, and trial and conviction of the accused. King, Ellis, and Fitzpatrick also spoke. Resolution adopted protesting against carrying out the sentence, and expressing sympathy with the families of the condemned men.

Scottish Land and Labour League.

At Sunday afternoon meeting, routine business done and arrangements for special winter propaganda made. Sub-committee appointed to organise new branches, etc., Mahon, J. Haldane Smith, J. M. Hosack, and Hugh Millar. Arrangements being made for ten days lecturing tour in Scotland by Champion.

EDINBURGH.—On Monday night, Mahon spoke at High Street. Sunday night the Trades' Hall was crowded to excess; Mahon lectured on "The Method of Realising Socialism;" animated discussion followed, and exceptionally good collection made.—C. W. T.

ABERDEEN.—First business meeting held Northern Friendly Society's Hall 8th Oct. Leatham addressed meeting, and was reported to about a third of a column in the local Liberal paper. Several members enrolled. On Sunday, Leatham addressed 300 or 400 men at Woodside, standing on the brink of the fountain. No opposition; good sale of literature. On Sunday afternoon, Oct. 16th, Leatham addressed a large meeting at Duthie Park, Waterside Gate; Barrow presided.

DYSART AND GALLATOWN.—Mahon held open-air meeting Tuesday night; indoor meeting afterwards held by branch members.

WEST CALDER.—Mahon spoke here Saturday night and formed a branch. He was invited to address the miners on the following Monday.

ARBROATH.—Good meeting Friday night. Cunningham and Scott read an essay each; good discussion followed. Four names handed in.—W. S.

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

Reports and Notices for the *Commonweal* must be sent direct to the Sub-Editor, London, (to reach not later than first post Tuesday) and not to Edinburgh. The first of a series of "Labour Leaflets," entitled "A Few Words for Socialism," is now ready—6d. per 100, 1d. extra for postage.

The *Commonweal* and all Socialist Literature may be had from Edinburgh. Orders to be sent to J. M. Kenzie, Labour League Office 4 Park Street.—J. L. M.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, W. On Thursday Oct. 27, Business Meeting.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Free Lectures every Sunday and Wednesday at 8.30.

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Oct. 30, at 8 p.m. W. H. Utley, "An Inventor's Troubles."

Hoxton (L. E. L.).—Globe Coffee House, 227 High St., Hoxton. On Sunday October 30, at 8.30, lecture by Mrs. C. M. Wilson, "The Social Revolution."—Members' Meeting at 13 Farringdon Road, on Friday Oct. 28, at 8 o'clock. Very important business.

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., 12 Short Loanings.

Arbroath (Scot. Sect.).—High Street Hall. Meeting Friday evenings. W. Smith, 12 Maule St., secy. On Friday next, a Debate on Gronlund's 'Co-operative Commonwealth.'

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., sec. Dublin.—Irish Labour League, Carpenters' Hall, 75 Augier Street. Meetings every Thursday at 8 p.m.

Dundee (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station. Forenoon, business and members' discussion; evening, lecture and discussion.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park St. Business Meeting Thursdays at 7.30. Discussion Class 8 p.m. Sunday night lectures, Trades Hall, High Street.

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

Glasgow.—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Choir Practice, Wednesday at 8. Music and Shorthand Class, Tuesdays at 8 o'clock. In the Hall, 8 Watson Street, Gallowgate, lecture on Sunday 30, at 7 o'clock, by J. Shaw Maxwell, "The Labour Problem."

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. On Sunday October 30, at 7 p.m., W. Hill will lecture on "The Labour Struggle."

Leicester.—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8. Lochee (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Secretary *pro tem.*, P. M'Dougal, 10 Mercer Street.

Norwich.—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Free Lectures every Sunday at 8. Business Meeting Monday at 8.30. Speakers' Class Sunday at 10.30 a.m. and Wednesday 8 p.m. Social Evening Saturdays at 8.

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

Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Thursdays, 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 30.

- 9.30...Starch GreenHammersmith Branch
- 11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.Brookes
- 11.30...Kingsland GreenParker
- 11.30...Merton—Haydons Road.....The Branch
- 11.30...Mitcham Fair GreenThe Branch
- 11.30...Regent's ParkWardle & Nicoll
- 11.30...St. Pancras ArchesMainwaring
- 11.30...Walham GreenSamuels
- 3 ...Hyde ParkMainwaring
- 7 ...Stamford HillParker
- 7 ...Clerkenwell GreenBarker

Tuesday.

- 8 ...Mile-end WasteJ. Allman
- 8 ...Ossulton St., Euston RoadMainwaring

Wednesday.

- 8 ...Broadway, London Fields.....Cores
- 8 ...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.Wade & Pope

Thursday.

- 8 ...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.Wade & Pope

PROVINCES.

Glasgow.—Jail's Square: Saturday, 6 p.m.—Glasier, Downie, and Bulloch. Sunday, 1 p.m.—Downie and Gilbert. Paisley Road Toll: Sunday, at 5 p.m.—Bulloch, Glasier, and Pollock. Watson Street: Sunday, 6.30—Bulloch and Glasier. Leeds.—Sunday: Vicar's Croft, 11 a.m. Norwich Branch.—Sunday: Market Place at 3; Agricultural Hall Plain at 7. Dereham.—Every Wednesday, Market Place at 7.

NORWICH ANARCHIST GROUP.

Yarmouth.—Thursday, on the Quay, at 7.30. Carrow.—Friday, at 1.30. St. Faith's.—Sunday, on the Green, at 3.30. Norwich.—St. George's Plain, Saturday, at 1.15. Haymarket, Saturday, at 8. Market Place, Sunday at 11 and 8.

SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.

(Scottish Section of the Socialist League)

MAHON'S MEETINGS.

- Fri. 28—Cowdenbeath, 4.30 p.m. Lochgelly, 7 p.m.
- Sat. 29—Dunfermline. Co-operative Hall, 6 p.m.
- Sun. 30—Dundee. With members in hall, 11 a.m. High Street, 3 p.m. Bank, 6 p.m. Trades Hall (Tay Bridge Station), 8 p.m.
- Mon. 31—Carnoustie. Temperance Hall, 7.30 p.m.
- Tues. 1—Arbroath. Brothock Bridge, 7.30 p.m. High Street Hall, 8 p.m.
- Wed. 2—Montrose. Front of Town Hall, 7.15 p.m. Temperance Hall, 8 p.m.
- Thurs. 3 to Tues. 8—Aberdeen and Woodside.

- Sat. 29—Arbroath. Duncan of Dundee.
- Sun. 6—Edinburgh. Trades Hall, High Street, at 6.30—Davidson, "Labour Federation."

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

WEST MARYLEBONE WORKING MEN'S CLUB (S.D.F.), 123a Church Street, Edgware Road, W.—Sunday October 30, at 8 p.m., S. Mainwaring, "Liberty."

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

SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.

Meeting at *Commonweal* Office, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday October 30, at 3.30 p.m. prompt.

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