from the wagon with his son, and the crowd roaring with fury rushed on.

The rest of the people in the wagon follow, carrying the other flags. There are seventy police, the whole available force from Bow Street, upon the ground. These rush upon the men bearing two of the flags, one of which has the inscription "The brave soldiers are our friends" upon it, and drag them from them and break the flags to pieces. They, however, are too late to prevent a number of them from rushing through Bow Street to reach the Royal Exchange. The gates of the Royal Exchange are open and they rush through it. The Lord Mayor and some city constables are in waiting, and they charge on the crowd and capture Hooper and the remainder of the people who have got through the gates and attempt to return their consulate, but the gates of the Exchange are closed by constables and Lord Mayor. The rioters endeavour to force the gate, but are repelled, and the crowd and the people of Bishopsgate, young Watson leading them sword in hand. They reach Bishopsgate Street, and rushing down Houndsditch arrive at the Minories. In the Minories at that time were several gunsmiths' shops, and two were broken and pillaged. In one of them near Tower Hill the people found two small field pieces, in order to show the people the leader of the sailors began to spread and load one. Meanwhile Thistlewood and the elder Watson went on to the Tower. There were a number of soldiers on the parade, attracted by the tumult, for many of the crowd were themselves soldiers, and they were all armed, and the alarm and consternation of the timid shopkeepers. Thistlewood climbed on the rails in front of the mass, and called upon the soldiers to join the people and hand over the Tower to the populace. The soldiers made no response to these overtures. Finding that the military would not fraternise, the people turned towards the Minories. They had just reached the top when a white flag was hoisted. An officer called upon the people and alleged they were a holdup party, and young Watson called on the people to form themselves in military order. But before they had complied with the request the Guards rode out from the crowd, firing with muskets; and in arms in all directions; and the leader, deserted by their men, were forced to follow their example. Thus ended the famous disturbances of Spas-Felds.

D. J. Nicoll

(To be continued.)

CORRESPONDENCE.

In answer to our comrade Blackwell's suggestion, and in default of some correct and larger print, in order to order speech, I wish to note a few thoughts suggested by reading the claims of the Anarchist Congress at Valencia, as stated by our comrades; pressing that I do in no possible apathy or the hopes of which they are prominent for this, and of what they may be worth.

I am, however, to say, I call myself a Communist, and have no wish to qualify that word by joining any other to it. The aim of Communism seems to me to be the complete equality of condition for all people; and any further claims of the shopkeepers. This is in my opinion a promise with the present condition of society, a halting-place on the road to the goal. This is the only logical outcome of any society which is to be blessed by the view, and the desire to preserve the "exploitation of man by man" in the interest of the strongest. Our present "society" dominated by capitalism, the society of contract, is a form of this class-society which has been forced upon those who hold the slave ideal by the growth of knowledge and the acquisition by man of mastery over the forces of nature. The history of "society" since the fall of feudalism has been the gradual freeing of class or slave society from the fetters of superstition, so it might develop naturally within a prescribed limit of "exploitation of man by man," and that stupendous and marvellously rapid growth in power and resources of modern slave society is due to this shaking off of superstition.

Communism also will have to keep itself free of superstition. Its ethics will have to be based on the recognition of natural cause and effect, and on rules derived from a prior idea of the relation of man to the universe, or some imagined ruler of it; and from these two elements, the equality of condition and the recognition of the cause and effect of man's nature, will grow all Communistic society. So far I think I can see clearly; but when I try to picture to myself the forms which that life will take, I confess I am at fault, and that this is the case with all of us. If we are to speculate at all as to what is now beginning to see that the realisation of Communism is certain; although many can see nothing further than a crude and incomplete State-Socialism, which is employing the methods of the employers. Socialists admit that Communism is the necessary development of Socialism; but they do not see the class struggle in it, and, speculating on the future of society we should try to shake ourselves clear of mere phrases: especially as many of them will cease to have a meaning when Socialism and the future Act or the law of nature, will be of course, and that authority must clearly be necessary. And there are other difficulties besides this crudest and most obvious one.

The bond of the Communist society is the fact that all people will agree in its broad principles when it is fairly established, and they will have to live in one kind of life possible. But while we are advocating equality of condition—i.e., the opposition to everyone for the satisfaction of his needs—do we not forget the compensating inequality of temperament, among men about everything outside the realm of the necessaries; and through many, or this different desire could be treated without the individual clashing with the collective, we should need them. Any community conceivable will sometimes determine, inevitably, by the laws of science. The Classics which would give pain to some of its members; and what is to be done if it happens to be a piece of business which must be either done or left alone? The small minority have to bear always in their minds which example will be of use here, especially as it affects our temperaments.

Thus it must be in the nature of the thing, and so the early days of Socialism the reflex of the terror of starvation, which so oppressed us now, would drive us into excesses of utilitarianism. Indeed, there is a school of Socialists now extant who worship utilitarianism with a fervour of faith which is perhaps a natural consequence of their assumption of practicality. So that it is not unlikely that the public opinion of a community would be in favour of cutting down all the timber in England, and turning the country into a big Bourbon farm or a market-garden under glass. And in such a case what could we do, who objected "for the sake of life to cast away the reasons for living," when we had exhausted our powers of argument? Clearly we should have to submit to authority. But our little republic will show that the ideas of authority will weigh down individual opposition, however reasonable, with that horror of the open struggle. In such a case where there must be give and take: and the objectors would have to give up the lesser for the greater. In short, experience shows us that wherever a dozen governmental or military men, and perhaps, if the nature of the question, are on any subject which is not a dry matter of fact (and on that too) and if those twelve men want to act together, there must be give and take upon them. They must assume as a bond between them, or leave their business undone. And what is this bond but that which is, the conscience of the association voluntarily accepted in the first instance.

Furthermore, when we talk of the freedom of the individual man, we must not forget the differences. There are very different moods and impulses; no man is always wise, or wise in all respects. Philip nobler needs protection against Philip dull; or Philip may change his point of view from some in a minute; and surely all of us, that is a rascal or two in each of our skins besides the other or two who want to make our lives honourable lives, and do not want something to be done on behalf of those better selves of ours and that something is made up of the aspirations of our better selves, and is the moral consciousness without which there can be no true social bond, which even a false sincerity is forced to imitate, and so have a sham social conscience,—what we sometimes call by the fizzle.

Now I don't want to be misunderstood. I am not pleading for any form of arbitrary or unreasonable authority, but for a public conscience as a rule of action: and by all means let us have the least possible exercise of authority. I suspect that many of our Communist-Anarchist friends do really mean that, when they pronounce against all authority. And with this principle of conscience assured for the moment, I think I cannot think that we need fear the growth of a new authority taking the place of the old. The institutions of the old are the domicile of our memory is based on the assumption that equality is impossible and that slavery is an essential condition of human society. By the time that I think that mankind's needs are answered, if not in the commonwealth, what may be called the political side of the question would take care of itself.

William Morris

THE NATIONAL ANGLAMATED SAILORS' AND FISHERMEN'S UNION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.—Among the chief objects of this recently formed but already very powerful Union are:—(1) To improve the condition and protect the interests of all classes of seafaring men. (2) To establish homes for seamen in all places where the Executive Committee deem it expedient. (3) To make the necessary arrangements for the payment of wages and allotments. (4) To endeavour to obtain reasonable hours of duty, and to maintain fair rates of wages. (5) To assist members of the working men of seafaring interests who have been discharged or otherwise precluded from being re-enced to the society. (6) To afford legal assistance, either as plaintiff or defendant, to any member of the society in respect of matters arising out of his trade or employment. (7) To assist in any legitimate demand, as steward, including claims for wages, damages for breach of contract for the non-fulfilment of terms of engagements, compensation for injuries, to negligence or misconduct involving loss or forfeiture of wages or involving penalties, and all claims and liabilities, whether under the Merchant Seamen's Act or the Shipping Act or the Marine Insurance Act or otherwise. (8) To organise and maintain such an institution as a safety net, nor arising incidental or accidental, notwithstanding, to the rules of the society, to provide for the care of all members or their families till their cases are tried. (9) To use every effort to provide for the safety of ships work in order to prevent loss of life at sea. (10) To provide accommodation for all the members of the society that are engaged with the Union shall be on board at the appointed time and in a sober condition ready for work. (11) To provide assistance in the event of any members being employed abroad and here and there in search of work. (12) To put seafaring men, intending to be members, in touch with the society. (13) To send letters to all paying members, except with regard to financial benefits, by granting them Privilege Cards. (14) And to provide funds for the relief of members in case of sickness or accident. (15) To hold meetings in all parts of the country. Full particulars on application at any of the branches of the Union, or at the office of their organ Seafaring, 156, Minories, E.