

# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

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SATURDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

An immense noise is being made over an article in the *Contemporary* of this month, which is said to be by Mr. Gladstone. It is no very wonderful thing in itself, unless it be held as wonderful that a politician can speak the truth; it is merely a statement, by no means too strong or too clear, of the policy which has led Italy, or its bourgeois government, into the toils of the Central League, and a warning, none too outspoken, against the English people's tolerating on the part of Lord Salisbury a revival of the Pitt policy of a century ago. Among the many parallels that exist between the happenings of a hundred years since and those of to-day, there are few more striking than that between the coalition, then and now, of kings and scoundrels against France, the "danger-spot of Europe." Bismarck and Boulanger, Crispi and the Count of Paris, and all the rest of them, are of one mind when the French Republic is in question.

Salisbury, a true "sneaking Cecil," without courage and without ruth, has entered on the path which will lead him, as it led Pitt, into playing catspaw to the crowned apes of the Continent. Seeing this, as all thinking men must see it, Mr. Gladstone has been honest enough to write it and print it, though not bold enough to put his name to it when done. Whereupon all the tongues of Babel are let loose, and the chattering of half Europe have a new sensation. If it really meant anything, one would be pleased to hear and see attention given to the subject; but every one knows right well that if war broke out, the English Government, Whig or Tory, would be on the wrong side, inevitably, and that only the un-governmental and generally unrespectable and un-responsible people would protest against it. And the un-respectable people have very little voice in such matters, which are managed for them by Pecksniff, Podsnap, and the Tite Barnacle family.

Two men who have had much to do with the late strike have given their version of it to the public. Here in interesting contrast stands the Dock Committee:—

#### AS SEEN BY CARDINAL MANNING.

And I am bound to bear witness not only to the self-command of the men, but also to the measured language and calm courtesy of the employers. They have maintained an attitude of resistance to what they judged to be excessive, or, at least, inconsistent with the grave interest of those for whom they were trustees. Now, happily reconciled, the conduct on both sides gives the surest pledge of peace.

The articles in the current number of the *Universal Review*, from which the above are taken, should be read by all Socialists who can get hold of them. They tell the story of the strike from entirely dissimilar, even opposite, points of view; and when they are both read, leave upon one's mind an impression difficult to altogether analyse, but deepest in which is the feeling of how tremendously fast and far we have progressed of late years—while hardly knowing that we moved at all. And when it is possible, which it is not yet, to think over the late strike in cool blood and with calm deliberation, there will be many lessons to be drawn from it that have been missed in the heat of the fray.

Not least among these will be the lesson that it is not well to listen to the flying tales which the enemy, within or without our gates, may float on the chance of disuniting us; and the further lesson that however true these tales may seem to be at the moment, there should be a decent amount of delay in acting upon them; that amidst a heated battle is no time for quarrelling in the ranks; that we shouldn't "swap horses in mid-stream," as Lincoln said. A good deal was made while the strike was going on of certain alleged acts of tyranny, treachery to

his convictions, etc., etc., on the part of John Burns; that he had denounced Socialists and the red flag, said that they should have no place in "his" processions, and so on. It has now become clear, as the Editors of the *Commonweal* have all along believed that it would, that these tales were simply—LIES!

Those who originated these reports for campaign purposes, or retailed them in the vain hope of revenge for private injuries, or those weak-headed and hot-tempered persons who too readily believed in and helped to spread them, do not need us to characterise their action. It is enough for us to feel that we were in the right to act as we have done; to wait for evidence, and to weigh it before we spoke, lest we should lightly and without thought condemn one whom we had long known as a good comrade and sincere co-worker in the Cause.

Those who like to buy things which are honestly made and the price of which reaches the worker in much higher proportion than is possible by any other plan while the present system lasts, can get by sending a stamp for it the catalogue of the recent Productive Exhibition at the Crystal Palace. H. E. Ivimey, Secretary of the Labour Association, 1 Norfolk Street, Strand, will send it them, and in it they will find details of the various co-operative societies which exhibited goods there. It is not all mere sentiment that makes it more comfortable to use a co-operative product than a capitalist one. Everything bought of a sweater helps the sweater and injures labour. And every time one avoids the sweater and seeks for some other quality than mere cheapness, a blow, if only a little one, is struck at capitalism.

Besides, the mere effort at getting honestly face to face with the actual producer is good moral medicine, and worth making for one's own soul's sake. The sentiment is a healthy one which makes a coat the more comfortable because you have spent some pains in seeing that the tears and blood of no man have gone to the making of it. It is impossible in so complex a society as that in which we live under the present system to wholly do without the sweater, but it is only the coward, the fool, or the cold-hearted who makes that an excuse for never attempting it.

Our politicians have been talking again. As in the whole course of their existence they have never done anything else, perhaps the fact is hardly worth recording. The gentleman engaged in that agreeable occupation on this occasion were Sir William Harcourt and Mr. Labouchere.

It was all the same old tune, the same refrain. Lord Hartington—Mr. Balfour—Mr. Chamberlain—The Wrongs of Ireland—The Wrongs of Ireland—and again, The Wrongs of Ireland. One would think that these honourable gentlemen were as sick of this dismal old ditty as the general public are. But they still grind it out, with the pertinacity with which a persevering organ-grinder pours out a dreary stream of the hackneyed melodies of bygone years. If Sir William Harcourt and Mr. Labouchere were only as weary of their eloquence as their audiences are, the poor gentlemen must be martyrs to the cause of the Great Liberal Party. Only fancy having to give the same worn-out old speech night after night to yawning audiences, who have read it again and again in the columns of the daily press.

Wrongs! Yes, we admit Ireland has wrongs; but, unfortunately for our palavering politicians, Ireland's wrongs are not so much in evidence at the present time as the wrongs of Englishmen. And yet Sir William Harcourt could only find a couple of lines in which to speak of the Labour Revolt at the East-end; and then he was good enough to say that the dockers had acted with "great moderation."

Even this was only dragged in as an illustration of the eternal Irish question, for he pointed out that "the victory was only accomplished by the force of combination, which it is the object of coercion to put down in Ireland." If Sir Vernon Harcourt wishes to ascertain whether you can be coerced in England, let him start a "Plan of Campaign" among the inhabitants of the rack-rented, fever-stricken

dens of the East End. It strikes me very forcibly that he would then find that there is the same law in England as there is in Ireland. The experiment would be worth trying, if only to prove this interesting fact, Sir William Harcourt: It was capitalists, and not landlords, who suffered during the late strike, and that makes all the difference with a Tory Government.

It is curious to note that the mention of the London Strike was the last received passage of Sir William Harcourt's speech. In the midst of the two-line reference a stentorian voice called out for three cheers for "John Burns," which was liberally responded to. This at least should give Sir William Harcourt and people of his kidney a much-needed lesson. John Burns at least, whatever may be his faults, has done and suffered for the people; but how many moderate liberals of the William Harcourt type would even run the risk of a crack on the head from a policeman's bludgeon in Trafalgar Square or six weeks in Pentonville? Why, they won't even run such risks for their beloved Ireland, which they can never talk enough about in their involved and musty rhetoric, while a couple of lines suffices for the needs of the London poor. What chance, then, is there of their suffering for the people whom they can hardly mention?

But I forget. Sir William Harcourt did say a little more about the needs of labour. He pointed out what a shameful thing it was that sailors should be drowned at sea in considerable numbers through the avarice of shipowners, who persisted in overloading their vessels. To alter this state of things Sir William Harcourt is anxious that a compulsory load-line should be enforced by Act of Parliament.

I wonder if Sir William Harcourt is a shareholder in one of the dock companies, and is now anxious to pay the philanthropic ship-owner back in his own coin for taking the side of the dockers during the late strike? "When respectable middle-class gentlemen fall out"—you know the rest of the proverb.

Still, there is something about this compulsory load line which I should like to mention. They were discussing this question in Parliament when I was a little boy at school, and I have not the least doubt that, unless the Social Revolution intervenes—or, say the Seamen's Trade Union refuses to allow the men to go to sea in ships that are overloaded—that prominent politicians will still be discussing it when my hair is turning grey. So much for Parliamentary methods for saving the lives of the people.

D. N.

## SOCIALISM AND STRIKES.

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE PROPAGANDA COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

COMRADES,—It has been thought advisable at this period of agitation amongst the workers, to say a few words as to the attitude which we of the International Revolutionary Socialist Party should assume towards Strikes and the Labour Struggle generally. Some amongst us would seize every opportunity afforded by labour troubles to organise the hitherto unorganised portion of the workers, to wring even partial concessions in the hope of shorter hours and better pay from their masters, and justify this line of action on the ground that organisation in itself is good and raises the mass; also that it will tend to lead to higher results after the first demands have been won. On the other hand, a number of our comrades are opposed to joining in a demand for palliatives, and assert that such a line of agitation is liable to obscure the higher ideal, viz., the complete overthrow of the wage system, and to cause our speakers to temporise and form questionable alliances for the sake of gaining minor points. And if we review the situation as we find it to-day, after one of the most singular strikes of modern times, there is some ground for the fears of the last-mentioned section.

We have seen a replication of the proletariat and aristocrat even in the proletarian upheaval. The men who did the pioneer propagandist work amongst the masses at the East-end and other parts of the metropolis, did it at a time when the word Socialist meant to subject him to whom it was applied to hatred and execration, and not plaudits. They laid under the folds of the red flag the foundation for that change of ideas and conversion, the first fruits of which was the revolt of labour in East London.

Now we have seen a strange spectacle. A bishop, endowed with thousands per annum, as the exponent of the doctrines of the Nazarene who knew not where to lay his head, a prince of the church of another sect, a chief magistrate of at once the richest and poorest city on earth, suddenly develop an interest in the docker, and the conflict between him and his oppressors is brought to an end. The docker is said to have won, and perhaps he believes it. And still stranger spectacle, a commissioner of police, under whose orders numbers of workmen have been bludgeoned, suddenly withholds his aid to capital and stands on one side; the capitalist press, choking with suppressed rage, half curses the principal figures in the strike for the terrible shock the strike has given them, and the force with which the truth of the axiom, "that labour and not money is the source of all wealth," has been driven home. Their utter impotency in face of this stupendous movement on the part of an hitherto despised class has exasperated them, and yet they can find breath to

praise the "moderation", tact, and generalship of the leaders, and singularity enough the police commissioner shares this praise with the "leaders." It is related of a traveller in a strange land, ignorant of both its language and currency, that he detected when he was being robbed by the smiles of those with whom he had to deal. Has there been any smiling in this case? and has it been concealed by a lean sleeve?

It is said that the revolutionary Socialists of London, when only a handful of men, and far from the presence of disappointed middle-class parliamentary candidates and would-be candidates, who are now reading the air,—that these men, gathering their inspiration from pure enthusiasm and honest conviction, went into the byways and highways of this huge city and spoke their gospel without fear, established their presses and scattered their literature broadcast; that subsequently, when from a handful they grew into a power, these men, obscure and without ostentation, still exercised a potent influence in the revolutionary movement. Time has wrought many changes in the movement, but a few of the pioneers remain; and I appeal to the young men of our party when I ask: Will they help to push forward by steady and persistent agitation the principles of international revolutionary Socialism, symbolised by the red flag, and by self-education and sacrifice spread them? If so, then I ask them not to allow the results of revolutionary agitation to be turned to account by designing men for the purpose of defeating the revolution. We have seen during the late labour agitation the red flag rigorously excluded from having a place in the processions, and speakers who were likely to draw a moral from the strike in favour of the overthrow of the whole cursed system which breeds the misery of the workers were bidden to stand aside. Why? What is the price of the compact which has caused this exclusion? when and where was it agreed upon, and what are its main purpose and results?

The price of the compact is that the capitalist may be attacked in the towns. Some concessions may be wrung from him, and urban life made tolerable to a larger number than at present. Even Lord R. Churchill is in favour of parish-built barracks, "suitable to the class who would inhabit them"; and why? Because the capitalist, by his overreaching greed, has jeopardised the whole position of privilege and power. He is the hasty clumsy thief who betrays the whole gang, and the landlord portion of the gang are willing that the capitalist shall lose a little that they may not lose all. A section of advanced Tories—for the "old order changeth"—more prescient than the fossils who would still pursue the methods of Castlereagh and Sidmouth, see in the condition of East London and similar districts of our large towns the glimmering light of a social revolution; and they would go the length of making a Jonah of the capitalist to save the ship of State with its aristocratic places and emoluments. And hence we see a group of men who once were under the red flag, hastening to avow their severance from it and its associations, and acting the part of saviours of society amid the plaudits of a corrupt press and class. "To what base uses may we not come, Horatio," when we cheer the bludgeoners of Trafalgar Square!

I wish it to be clearly understood that I am not joining in or echoing the pitiful complaints that have emanated from another quarter upon the same matter. For whilst I have no quarrel with the rank and file of the S.D.F., except for their subservience and lack of independence, and the ready manner in which they lend themselves to spread the slander of their leader (having had some personal experience of the cowardly unctuous methods by which the machinery of the S.D.F. can be used to spread slanderous tales, headed "Dear comrade" and finished "Yours fraternally"), I do not wonder at the secession of robust men from a circle whose methods of propaganda closely resemble the efforts made by cheap-jacks or the vendors of the latest soap to draw attention to their wares. In their hands the red flag has been associated with schemes of the model dwelling and parish soup kitchen order.

Looking back over the past years, and knowing something of the origin of the "only Socialist organisation in Great Britain," and being fully aware how time and outside educational influences has mellowed and refined the undoubtedly strong Jingo-Tory flavour it once possessed, and knowing also the close connection which existed between one at its head now and another who is supposed to be behind the secessionists, one can only come to the conclusion that a game has been played in which the most astute has won.

Extremes meet, and after all there exists a close connection between the phalansterie and the model industrial dwellings which certain Tory-Democrats would see established, in order to bolster the present system and give it a renewed lease. But every lover of freedom must view with apprehension the remotest possibility of their realisation, and—saying to either "A plague upon both your houses!"—we will pass on to the consideration of the position which, in my opinion, Leaguers should take up in the future. I hold that by organising the disorganised workers, and by strikes and combinations leading them to revolt against their taskmasters, and still on to the Universal Strike that shall put an end to the wage system itself, we are doing distinctly revolutionary work.

Passing from the crowded cities and towns out into the broad fields, amidst the overworked and insufficiently fed agricultural labourers, lays our sphere of action. The peasantry have been made the stepping stones, upon which men like Arch have climbed to St. Stephens. The Liberal and Tory would give a few small patches of land as a sop, the one as an electioneering dodge, the other as a Conservative measure, and basing his calculations upon the known selfishness of a small-dowered class, would make them a barrier to the fulfilment of the wider

aspirations of the landless, whether of town or country. Our provincial comrades should rally into the villages and fields with the cry of "Back to the Land! The Land for the People!" Our peasantry have sturdy revolutionary traditions, and can be stirred anew to action by earnest, hearty, and breezy watchwords; a vigorous uncompromising agitation upon the Irish pattern but with higher aims, the enfranchisement of all, and not, as in Ireland, for a small farmer class, would bear speedy fruit. The urban workman would be freed from the fear of competition on the part of his agricultural comrade, and would be induced to assist him in his efforts towards freedom.

By education, agitation, and organisation, we should then complete the circle closing in upon both landlord and capitalist, and effectually defeat any attempt to avert the Revolution. F. Kirtz.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

FRANCE.

During the present election period, the anti-electioneering agitation has been carried on upon a larger scale than ever before. Two placards, *Le Pere Peinard au Populo* (for September 22nd and October 6th), were spread all over the country; others like *Des Anarchistes aux électeurs, A bas la Politique* (Down with Politics!), *Candidature anti-Anarchiste* were published by Parisian groups; Saint Etienne, Bordeaux, Lyon, Marseille, and Carcassonne also had placards of their own. Numerous cases of police brutality against the comrades who pasted them up are recorded; here and there prosecutions will take place on one or another pretext, at Nantes the *Pere Peinard* placard is prosecuted as an outrage on public morals! 130,000 copies of the leaflet, "The Strike of the Voters," were distributed. Revolutionary speakers went to the meetings of candidates, and gave in many cases satisfactory reports on the eagerness with which the people listened to their teachings, being disgusted with the common party politics. Thus the revolutionists are not idle at such times and let them pass by; on the contrary, they are the only party which brings new ideas, a fresh element which makes people think, in the worn-out struggle of bourgeois and pseudo-Socialist office-hunting politicians.

A new Anarchist paper, *L'Associazione*, is being published at Nice (12, Rue Halévy), beginning Oct. 6th.

SWITZERLAND.

The Social Democratic party, desiring that the creation of the new office of a public prosecutor for political offences should be put to the vote of the people, collected 24,845 signatures in favour of this, amongst them 6,750 in the canton of Zurich, 4,193 in Berne, and 2,036 in St. Gallen. As 30,000 signatures are required the proposition is lost, which was expected beforehand. The party will hold its annual Congress on October 27th, at Bern.

Comrade Janner was wanted by the Swiss authorities to give up the addresses of the Swiss subscribers of the *Révolte*, a paper not at all prohibited in Switzerland. Of course he refused to do this, and also of course, the police did not find the addresses on a perquisition made at his house. New arrests have been made at Éale, Luzern, and Zurich. The Anarchist trial is likely to take place at Neuchâtel.

AUSTRIA.

Twenty miners of Kladno, in Bohemia, were tried two weeks ago at Prague for having taken part in the riots during the strike of last June; fourteen were sentenced to penal servitude for terms varying from 8 to 18 months, and five to hard labour from 5 to 13 months. This is neither the first nor the last of the number of the Kladno trials, for hundreds of persons were arrested at that time.

AMERICA.

The *Freiheit* announces the impending publication by the committee of the I.W.P.A., of an eight page leaflet on the Chicago martyrs in the English, German, Bohemian, and Yiddish languages. They will be sold at cost price, and the first page being left empty, can be used for the announcements of meetings to celebrate the memory of the 11th of November.

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REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 19, 1889.

13	Sun.	1881. Arrest of C. S. Parnell. 1883. Ladies' School at Warsaw searched.
14	Mon.	1797. William Orr hung. 1814. Thomas Davis born. 1815. Strike riots of all the sailors on the Tyne, suppressed on 21st by military and naval forces. 1817. J. P. Curran died. 1842. T. Cooper tried for treason.
15	Tues.	1326. Walter Stapleton, Bishop of Exeter, Lord Treasurer of England, beheaded at the Cross in Cheapside by the London 'prentices. 1794. Robert Watt hung for high treason. 1817. Kosciusko died. 1819. Carlile tried for publishing Paine's 'Age of Reason.' 1842. <i>Nation</i> founded by T. Davis, J. B. Dillon, and C. G. Duffy. 1853. Great strike at Preston, lasts to May 1, 1854; 14,792 out at once.
16	Wed.	1660. Cook and Peters, regicides, hung. 1791. L'Escuyer killed in a church at Avignon; massacres in the Ice Tower follow. 1792. Society of the "Friends of the People" founded at Edinburgh. 1793. Marie Antoinette guillotined. 1817. Jeremiah Brandreth and others tried for high treason.
17	Thur.	1660. Scott, Scroop, Clement, and Jones, regicides, hung. 1760. St. Simon born. 1803. W. Smith O'Brien born. 1859. John Brown at Harper's Ferry.
18	Fri.	1794. Suppression of the Jacobin Club. 1861. W. Sharman Crawford died. 1881. "No Rent" manifesto issued.
19	Sat.	1660. Axtell and Hacker, regicides, hung. 1852. Death of Cournet in a duel with Barthelemy. 1887. Fight between police and unemployed in Dover Street, Piccadilly.

CORRESPONDENCE.

A FEW WORDS BY AN OLD SOCIALIST.

I am pleased to notice the increasing number of attempts now being made at formulating socialistic ideas, and I hope speedily to see some of them at least put to a practical test. In the last speech I ever made on a platform devoted to the spread of Socialism, I complained of the plethora of theoretic ideas, and the entire absence of aught that could be considered to have a practical tendency. I neither am nor was then ignorant of the value of theoretitions, but I then saw and now see the necessity of convincing opponents that we are practical as well as theoretical. I know that I am open to the *tu quoque* argument, and that it might be asked what have I done to make Socialism practical. Still, it is possible for an ordinary mortal to see a fault, and desire to see it remedied without being able to contribute thereto. Robert Owen tried, and the result was failure, or at least partial failure. New Lanark simply proved that by employing machinery against manual labour, large profits might be made; Harmony Hall, that the men engaged in that experiment still longed for the flesh-pots of the individual system. What is written regarding the latter effort may be said with equal truth of the attempt at Christian Socialism and Co-operation generally. I did not enter into the latter movement from any religious motive, but what I saw convinced me that the Christians and non-Christians had not cut themselves adrift from old world selfishness. My friend, Mr. George Jacob Holyoake, has over and over again lamented the same fact with regard to the co-operative movement. The whole of the attempts to which I have referred were intended to show practically that socialistic theories could be reduced to practice. To that extent they are valuable to me. I must confess that their failure had the effect of impressing me with the belief that little could be done without State aid, and that State aid could only be got from a Parliament selected from widened constituencies, or rather constituencies in which the toilers were in a position to bring their influence to bear. I therefore determined to throw what power I had into the political scale, and for some thirty years at least I have done my best to carry out this resolve. I now hold that it rests with the working classes only to use the power they have obtained wisely, in order to make Socialism a reality. I do not mean to be understood to say that the political position they have attained is perfect, but that it gives them enough power to enable them to give Socialism a fair stage. If I could get a new lease of the health, strength, and ability to work that I once had, I would willingly join any organisation to bring this about; but I am not "a grand old man," and I feel the steel has been taken out of me, though I am hardly entitled to call myself old. Indeed, I know that many men much older than myself are foremost in the good work. While I cannot do as they are doing, may I be permitted to envy them, and may I add, applaud, as I watch them in my humble garret in Drury Lane. I am not sorry for the decision I made. I feel, justly or unjustly, that the pathway has been cleared of many encumbrances, and that Socialistic progress will be easier; that much has become possible that would have remained impossible if this clearance had not been made. In a few years, if I mistake not, the political revolution will have been effected, and men's minds will be free to work out their social redemption. How it will be brought about I know not, nor whether the right mode has yet been hit upon.

In the many schemes I have recently consulted, or rather taken note of, I see much to admire and much to condemn, and my earnest hope is that their authors and advocates should consult together, and, without prejudice, endeavour to eliminate the most practical and sensible portions of the whole. That land should revert to the people is now very generally agreed upon by all advanced minds; that the private right to mineral stores is no longer tenable, and is in an equally advanced condition for settlement, is also true; ground rents must go, with the private right in land; it is plain also that market-dues will not much longer be tolerated, and the same may be said of house-rents.

I consider these questions to be as good as settled. I would I could see my way as clearly with regard to others. Still, I do not despair of seeing the rest of the unstated monopolies fall. Take away the support of these, the removal of which has been rendered easy, and they are bound to follow, many of them from their own innate rottenness, or from the undermining and underpinning they retain so long as the questions now ripe for settlement remain as they are.

With the franchise as it even now exists the working-classes have only to will. Their will must be an established fact, or they must be content to remain slaves, as most of them are. I came to London in '51, then the City, Finsbury, Westminster, Marylebone, Lambeth, and Southwark returned either Progressive members or advanced Liberals. At that period the franchise lay with the middle-class. Now, the chief power it gives is with the working-class, and what do I find? That the majority of members returned for the metropolis are Tories. If any inference is to be drawn from this, it must be that the working-class have used their enfranchisement to effect their own impoverishment. We who struggled to obtain their political freedom anticipated a far different result, but still hope they will eventually see their error and vote for candidates who see at least the necessity of great social changes.—Respectfully yours, JOHN B. LENO.

One of the most prosperous organisations of women wage-workers in New York City is the Shirtmakers' Assembly, Knights of Labour. It owns and operates a factory in the city which fills orders from all parts of the country. All union shops are carefully guarded so that no non-union workers may creep in.

SOCIALISM AT BRIGHTON.—F. Cooper writes from Brighton and informs us that they are carrying on a steady propaganda with good results. A few days since a debate took place between Comrade Barker and a middle-class politician, in which Barker was completely victorious. A Labour Emancipation League is being formed. A code of rules and manifesto has been drawn up, based on the first principles of Socialism.

CLERKENWELL BRANCH BANNER FUND.—A fund has been started for obtaining a banner for above branch. Members of the branch and sympathisers are kindly asked to send in their subscriptions so as to enable branch to have banner ready for "Chicago and Bloody Sunday Commemoration." The following subscriptions have been received:—R. Turner, 5s.; W. H. Henry, 5s.; C. Seglie, 5s.; S. Presburg, 2s. 6d.; C. Tilley, 2s. 6d.; and John Creaghe, 2s. 6d. All subscriptions should be sent to S. Presburg, Secretary, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.



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

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

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

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

ABSENCE, and pressure of work for the past few weeks, has caused a delay in acknowledging or returning contributions. All arrears shall be cleared up by our next issue.

"SOCIETY ON THE MORROW OF THE REVOLUTION" (first instalment) is unavoidably held over for a week.

WIDE-REACHING ARRANGEMENTS have been made for a large and varied supply of original and telling contributions from all parts of the world on all phases of the labour problem; but until members and branches do their duty better in supporting the paper we shall be unable to carry out the improvements for which we are prepared.

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ENGLAND	Volkzeitung	BELGIUM
Brotherhood	Twentieth Century	Antwerp—De Werker
Christian Socialist	Workmen's Advocate	Ghent—Vooruit
Justice	Boston—Woman's Journal	Liege—L'Avenir
Labour Elector	Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung	SWITZERLAND
Labour Tribune	Chicago—Knights of Labor	Arbeiterstimme
London—Freie Presse	Vorbote	ITALY
Personal Rights Journal	Daecker Zeitung	Rome—L'Emancipazione
Railway Review	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	PORTUGAL
Social Demokrat	Milwaukee—National Reformer	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Worker's Friend	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	A Revolta
NEW SOUTH WALES	Philadelphia—United Labour	GERMANY
Hamilton—Radical	Ybor City (Fla.)—Revista	Berlin—Volks Tribune
INDIA	FRANCE	AUSTRIA
Bankipore—Bohar Herald	Paris—Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Brunn—Arbeiterstimme
UNITED STATES	Le Proletariat	DENMARK
New York—Der Sozialist	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	Copenhagen—Arbejderen
Freiheit	HOLLAND	Social-Demokraten
Truthseeker	Hague—Recht voor Allen	WEST INDIES
		Cuba—El Productor

IN AUSTRALIA.

THE South Australian Government has promised one of the best sites in Adelaide whereon to build a trades' hall. This has raised the ire of the ultra conservatives, who point out that Church of England authorities were refused a site on which to build a cathedral. Evidently the objectors forget that there are many rival churches in that colony, all on an equal footing, but the S. A. Trades' Council represents the organised workers of the whole of the colony.

In addition to reorganising themselves, the Brisbane tailors have a committee of three hard at work organising the tailoresses, who, though skilled workwomen, only earn from 20s. to 25s., occasionally up to 30s., per week, for about ten hours work daily. It is hardly necessary to remark that no individual employer is responsible for this as competition is keen all round. There are some 140 tailoresses in the city, and most have expressed themselves in favour of a union, to consider which a meeting of them will be called in two or three weeks to be addressed by prominent labour men and some ladies interested in women's work. Tailoresses' organisation has been several times unsuccessfully attempted in Brisbane, but it now bids fair to go through, thanks to the tailors.

It is generally said that the boilermakers and wharf labourers will speedily join the new Labour Federation, which already numbers nearly 2,000 members. Each society affiliated pays 6d. per month per member, of which only 1d. can be used for working expenses, the remaining 5d. going into a reserve fund, which is already of respectable proportions.

The knights of the cleaver are sending round a circular for the purpose of obtaining signatures petitioning the master butchers to grant a weekly half-holiday. Petitions are useful, but if all the men were unionists petitions would be obsolete.

The Day Dawn (Charters Towers) mining strike arose so suddenly and was settled so quickly that there is little to be said about it. The facts are simply that a big syndicate wanted to treat honest miners like serfs and the miners wouldn't have it. The lesson is that the old pick and shovel days are passing and that gold-mining is drifting into the hands of soulless companies, to withstand whose aggression the diggers must close up the ranks and stand together in organisation just like other classes of labour. The Australian Miners' Association should get energetically to work, or the £2 a-week of Mount Morgan will soon be the rule and not the exception.

It is said that one of the causes which led up to the strike was the publication of a report from the Transvaal gold-fields, in which it was stated that the Kaffir miner worked naked and received 75 cents. per day. This set one of the directors thinking, and after half a day's labour in figuring out the Australian equivalent for 75 cents he came to the conclusion that miners on the Towers were too independent, and that if they couldn't change the colour of their skins or live on 75 cents he would have them stripped or know the reason why. And it's very probable that his thirst for knowledge will very soon be gratified if the miners only hang together.

Says the *Australian Christian World*:—

"A WORKINGMAN'S PARADISE.—Queensland is the elysium of the working man. His hours of labour are short and his wages high, and he can generally dictate his own terms to his employer. He is the petted child of the community. Tradesmen cater for him, the Press counsels and backs him, politicians tickle his vanity, and statesmen legislate on his behalf. His interests are watched with keen eyes on all sides."

Now, although perhaps, as a body, men may be a trifle better off here than in Siberia, or Russia, or even England, yet there are hundreds out of work, and the number is steadily increasing. Eight hours work under a midsummer sky is like stoking for old Nick, yet the *Australian Christian World* calls it "an elysium." Down in a wet mine at 10s. a day is a "Paradise." On the wallaby with hard-headed and wooden-hearted squatters refusing tucker—Paradise. If these be Paradise, then what in the name of the *Australian Christian World's* burlesque humanity is Sheol? We pause for a reply.

The wharf labourers at Freemantle, W.A., recently formed a union. One firm, the Adelaide S.S. Co., conceded and at once recognised it; but three other firms not only decline to recognise the organisation but have announced that all union men in their employ will be discharged. In retaliation, one body of lumpers have taken the bull by the horns and declined to work with non-unionists. A strike has resulted, which is watched with interest by maritime men down South.

The master printers object to the Government Printing Office. Do the journeyman printers? In the Government office fair wages are paid to fair workmen, and there is no attempt at grinding. In private offices there is necessarily a continual pressure in the direction of cheap labour. This alone should induce workmen to throw their weight in favour of the former, and to insist that any reform should be in the direction of economic administration thereof, and not in restricting government work in order that cut-throat competition should have enlarged scope at the expense of workmen, their wives, and their families. BOOMERANG.

Brisbane, Queensland, August 3, 1889.

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

To those who have obtained copies of the *Commonweal* through the propagandist work of our comrades, by free distribution in the streets and public conveyances, or by purchase at our outdoor stations, we ask if in agreement with our principles to help the sale of the *Commonweal* by ordering it of their newsagents, and sending on to us the names of newsagents willing to sell it; and still better, as our outdoor work must shortly be reduced, by joining the local branches and helping on the work.

THE PROPAGANDA IN SHEFFIELD.—Good meetings held on Sunday at Hill-foot Bridge in the morning, addressed by Bullas, Carnall, Charles, and Mr. Usher; also at Mars Hill, Attercliffe, by Bingham, Smith, and Green; some opposition from a trades-unionist ably met by Bingham. In the afternoon, a good meeting at Rotherham College-yard, addressed by Bullas, Sketchley, Carnall, and Charles. In the evening, another meeting at Rotherham, addressed by Fox, Charles, and Carnall; and we finished up with a fine meeting at the Westbar later on, addressed by Charles, Sketchley, and Bullas. *Commonweal* and *Freedom* sold out, and other literature sold well. Collected during the day £2 0s. 7d. for local strike fund in aid of fibre-drawers at S. Laycock and Sons. We have further meetings at Dove and Partridge Assembly Rooms on Tuesday night; and at Temperance Hall, on "Housing of the Poor," at which Rev. C. Peach speaks for us, on Wednesday; also another meeting on behalf of strikers at Hallamshire Hall.



IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

DESPITE the cablegram of Mr. G. Kynoch, M.P., of January last, there is little in the way of inducement to tradesmen to emigrate to South Africa. Of gold-miners there is more than enough; this is admitted even by officials of gold mines, managers of companies, and others. As Mr. Kynoch happens to be a large shareholder in several companies, whose interest it is to have more labourers on the spot than there is labour for, perhaps that will explain his cablegram. There is just now no demand whatever for miners or engineers, and but a very slight demand for carpenters, masons, bricklayers, etc. In fairness, however, let me say that the curse of enforced idleness is not so much to be dreaded here as in Britain. All the same, unskilled labourers ought not to come to South Africa. Native labour is so cheap, that white labourers have no chance whatever. There is an ever-increasing number of white men appearing as prisoners before the "Landrost" daily. A few days ago (27th August) eight of these were charged with vagrancy, and were told "that if they did not procure work before morning the police would arrest them and they would be ousted out of the town." What chance a white labourer can have of procuring employment "before morning" can be better imagined than described, when one reads the following advertisement in the same paper, the *Diggers' News*: "KAFFIRS.—The undersigned begs to inform the public that he is prepared to supply Kaffirs. For particulars apply to J. C. Tomlin, Orange Free State"; or when, further on, one again reads that "Mama Letseia, Basuto chief, was charged with breaking a contract for the delivery of native employés, and has made tracks for his native land. The gentleman who entered into a contract with Mama for the delivery of a number of Kaffirs on the Rand has suffered severely financially." The particulars of this case are as follow: The gentleman referred to above, or his agent, had gone into Basutoland and made overtures to the chief to induce him to send 160 or 200 of his tribe to work in the gold mines, offering him by way of inducement a bribe of 25s. per week per man supplied. I suppose Mr. Bradlaugh would call this "free contract"! However, the bribe was more than the chief was proof against, and about 160 natives were ordered to Johannesburg, where they were to work for three months at 25s. per week. On arriving here, the Jumpers Company—an appropriate name!—refused to pay them more than 15s. per week. Result: Mama refused to allow his men to work for less money than what had been promised them in Basutoland. Result again, that Mama was arrested—I suppose for intimidation—and lodged in prison. On coming out—he had promised compliance—he at once made tracks for Basutoland, no doubt impressed with the "honour and integrity" of gold-company officials and British capitalists in general. That the companies get natives to labour for them after the knowledge has got abroad of the treatment to which they, the natives, are subjected, is a wonder, and can only be explained by the fact that the natives are for the time slaves to their masters, the shareholders and mincowners, who are pleased to condone this form of slavery, since it increases their dividends considerably.

Speaking of the treatment of the native slaves employed in the mines, I read in the same paper, *Diggers' News*, that the "contractor for Boksburg Tramway admits that hundreds of natives die on their works and are buried without certificate of death." The opening-up of Matabeleland by the "Rhodes Matabele Syndicate" is giving rise to a deal of talk just now amongst diggers and Boers also, who make no secret that, despite the granting of the special charter by the British Government, they will refuse to admit the claim of the syndicate; and one speaker at a large meeting earned a round of applause by declaring—"Gentlemen, when the spoil falls to be divided, we will be there too!" As it is, the poor Matabeles are between the devil and the deep sea. Their country is likely to be torn from them by the Rudd-Rhodes Company on the one hand, and the individual gold-diggers on the other, who appear to be fully determined to "jump" the claims of the syndicate and "rush" the company as soon as ever the weather will admit of them "trekking" that way. A Pretoria paper, the *Press*, edited by Baron Glückstein, in commenting on the Rhodes Matabele matter, says that colonisation of this kind and spoliation are synonymous terms—which is pretty true, as things go. Sir Gordon Sprigg and Sir Sydney Shippard are both freely blamed for having helped the Rhodes Syndicate to smuggle a thousand stand of rifles into the country, which are presumably for use in "opening up" Matabeleland. But what could poor Sir Gordon or Sir Sydney either do against a company whose chairman is the Prince of Wales's son-in-law, and of which the directorate is made up of earls and lords? No, no; these men know their work too well to refuse such a powerful and influential band of robbers anything they might require to "open-up" the country of the Matabeles. If the news just to hand from Matabeleland is correct, then more than the country will run a risk of "opening-up." It seems that Lobengulu's Impis—fighting regiments—are beyond the chief's control, and are now driving the white men, a number of whom they have "opened-up," out of the country, believing—and very naturally too—that when the Rudd Rhodes Company comes in they must go out, and they don't seem to relish the idea of an enforced "trek" across the Zambesi. However, a few months more will see a move being made into Matabeleland, and then—

Another extract from the advertisement column and I have done. In a sale of building plots in one of the townships round Johannesburg, the auctioneer says: "It is admitted on all sides that Johannesburg is fast growing into a second London, and as a matter of course all those business men who have made or are making their fortunes will seek a picturesque spot where, after the toils of business, they may enjoy the quiet retirement of repose amongst their family." To men such as these "Heights Township offers every inducement; a water supply is arranged for; trees are being planted in the streets; and the company winds up by saying that they will at once proceed to build English and Baptist churches, and that plans for the erection of a splendid hotel are being drawn up. Nothing, however, about the poor devil of a Kaffir or white labourer being able to seek the "quiet retirement of repose amongst their family." No! a slum is good enough, in the "second London" as in the first, for the workman. Let him say nothing, but sink into it, and all will be well.

Cape Town, Sept. 4, 1889.

JAMES BAIN.

If we are set in earnest on escaping from delusions and sins, we cannot afford to wait for the multitude. If we would walk with clean steps we must gird ourselves for a solitary march. The world's mightiest tasks of reformation and regeneration have to be wrought out when lookers-on refuse their friendship, and the workers in them stand misunderstood, misinterpreted, reviled, persecuted, alone.—*Huntington*.

MARGUERITE.

TO MY DAUGHTER, M. P.

TURNED five, yet unbaptised is Marguerite—  
The little Pagan! When she wakes she cries  
With a glad bird-chirp, "Good-day, bright sunrise!"  
And with fresh lips straight falls to kissing it.

That's all her prayer: what credo were more fit?  
She loves the dew-filled flowers, red flames of skies,  
A cloud for hours will fix her wondering eyes;  
She loves thy flag, Commune, the fire-lit!

She keeps no Sabbath, but in the church-hour  
Watches the young buds breaking into flower;  
Nature that talks with her teaches her wit.

She sees a meaning in all things: we give  
Her a spring-cabbage crinkled: "It doth live  
And laugh!" she cries; "Look, father! doesn't it?"

EUGENE POTTIER, translated by LAURA LAFARGUE.

THE LABOUR REVOLT.

READERS of our capitalist newspapers might imagine that the present time was a remarkably quiet one, and that the labour troubles were subsiding at last. A glance at the columns of the *Star* is, however, enough to disabuse anyone duped by the silence of such papers as the *Daily News*, which is evidently anxious to frighten its middle-class subscribers as little as possible. The air is electric; we feel that fresh storms are gathering and that struggles are impending to which even the revolt of the dockers will be a mere skirmish. One of the most eloquent signs of the coming storm is the fact that the gas-stokers, the coal-porters, the sailors and firemen, are going to federate their unions all over England. In this alliance they hope to get the miners and railway-men to join, so they will be able to control the whole coal supply, and thus put a rope round the neck of every sweating capitalist in this free and happy land. Michael Henry is the author of this scheme, which seems not only practical, but one admirably calculated, if carried out and carried into action, to realise Mr. Norwood's vision. We only hope the miners and the railway-men will join as heartily in the scheme as the other trades have done.

The tramway-men held a big meeting in the Memorial Hall on Saturday morning, October 5th. On this occasion they were enabled to rejoice in the presence of a noble lord in the chair. It must, however, in fairness be said that Lord Rosebery made a much better and more manly speech than what these unfortunate slaves usually hear from the middle and upper class politicians. He was right, too, in telling the men that an alteration of these evils can only come from their own action. It is quite certain that if they wait for that grandmotherly body the County Council, now so busy in "purifying" our public amusements and otherwise caring for our morality, to help them they will wait a long while. The County Council is too busy carrying out the dictates of Mrs. Grundy, and providing one of its most "honoured" friends with an easy and well-paid job at the public expense, to trouble about workmen who slave for sixteen and eighteen hours a-day at a starvation pittance.

The Silvertown strike still continues. The firm of Messrs. Silver and Co., which pays its men 3d. and 4d. an hour, can yet afford to pay 17 per cent. dividends to rich idlers like Lord Salisbury, Mr. Haldane, M.P., Lady Hobhouse, and pious clergymen like the Reverends Davis and Frost. Here we have Tories, Radicals, and the Church all equally concerned in sweating the people. This is all they have ever done for the masses, and all they ever will do. The only care of Tory peer, Radical M.P., and clergyman for the people is to rob them as much as possible; and it is time the people stopped their little game.

We are glad to see that our friends the tailors have realised most of their moderate demands. They have fought their strike gallantly, with few friends and but little money at their back, and we are only sorry that they have not reaped a greater reward.

Norwood is angry.

Mr. Norwood's recent speech to his unhappy shareholders upon the labour revolt is amusing. It is quite evident that the good gentleman has quite lost his temper, and his harmless ferocity is almost as funny as the agonising attempts of an old hound to bite who has lost his teeth, or the impotent malice of some paralysed old harridan, who can only vent her fury in frenzied curses, which supply little boys and other bystanders with innocent amusement.

I fear, however, that the leaders of the strikers must be very sorry that they let Norwood off so easily, for from his own statement it is evident that he was in a very tight place indeed. On one side there was Cardinal Manning, who poured into Norwood's unwilling ear fearful rumours of impending riot and insurrection; while on the other the Lord Mayor had a no less alarming announcement as to the sums of money that were pouring in from Australia, and intimating, moreover, that he might feel himself compelled to open a Mansion House fund, and that very strong pressure was being brought to bear upon him, which he could not long resist, to call a meeting at the Mansion House. This was very bad for Norwood, and very good for the Strike Committee; but what under these circumstances do these "friends" of the dockers, the Lord Mayor and Cardinal Manning, do? Why, they endeavour to get the leaders to agree to an impossible compromise, by which the men would have to wait for the tanner till January; and when this is rejected, they try to turn public sympathy from the men by denouncing them in a manifesto, and by making speeches in which they say they are "unreasonable." The wonder is that the leaders of the men accepted any further compromise from these players of Mr. Norwood's "game." Cardinal Manning and the Lord Mayor deliberately lent themselves to an attempt to turn away public sympathy from the strikers, and thus starve them into submission; and yet after these proofs of jesuitical treachery, the leaders of the strike accepted their proposal of a fresh "compromise." It is not easy to understand the "wisdom" of this action.

But even the partial victory of the dockers fills Mr. Norwood with alarm, not as to the future of the dock companies, for they intend to raise their rates, so that for every penny gained by the dockers they will put 2½d. into their own pockets; but Mr. Norwood as a shrewd business man and a typical capitalist dreads the effect which this strike may have upon the minds of the workers in other poorly paid occupations. But here are his own words:

"The successes, such as they are, of the recent strike will of necessity result, as they have already done, in further labour disturbances. If the lowest form of unskilled labour, such as the casual dockerman (of whom no questions are asked as to character or education, and of whom brute-force is the only qualification), is to be remunerated at the rate of 6d. per hour, is it likely that skilled men will long be content? Will the Post-Office employé, the railway servant, and the police constable be long satisfied with their position? . . . Mr. Burns has shown us how the maritime trade of the port can, in a few days, become paralysed. A little more picketing, with its attendant intimidation and violence, and every railway out of London would be stopped, the city plunged in darkness, the food supply arrested, and the metropolis compelled to submit, for the time at least, to any conditions that the strikers might impose upon it. This may be thought a fancy picture, but I venture to assert that it is well within the reach of possibility, unless steps are taken, and that promptly, to confront the extreme pretensions of labour."

Here is a pretty picture; and after Mr. Norwood has shown the people what they could do in London if they wanted an eight hour labour day, or the expropriation of capitalists, or Mr. Norwood's head—though that would not be much use to them—or any other little trifle of that sort, they have only to stop every railway, plunge London in darkness, and stop the food supply, and the thing is done. Thanks, Mr. Norwood, for teaching the people their own power.

D. N.

#### Scottish Bakers.

The bakers in Scotland have determined not to begin work before 5 a.m., and to leave off at 4 p.m. They are likely to succeed. The masters in Kilsyth, Helensburgh, and a large number of other country towns, have already submitted to the men's demands. The society is strong all throughout Scotland. At a meeting held in the Albion Halls, Glasgow, Oct. 2, the secretary drew attention to the sudden interest that was being taken by the masters, and remarked it was a pity they had been so long in discovering the grievances the men had so long suffered from. He did not deny that they had made a wonderful offer, but he hoped the men understood why it was made. It was because of the Federal Union. Other speeches were delivered on the importance of standing by each other and rejecting all insidious offers, which, they were afraid, would not be kept. It was unanimously resolved to support the society, and that the men hand in their demand for a uniform morning hour, and if not granted they would strike on the 12th inst. A large number of men joined the society after the meeting was over.

#### Lanarkshire Miners.

Things are looking more hopeful in this district, and it is the key of the mining industry in Scotland. The cause of the men has been somewhat weakened ever since the last strike by some "snakes in the grass," who were anxious to wound the secretary, Mr. Small. The state of affairs has been a constant cause of grief to the real friends of the miners, who knew the spirit of the attack on Mr. Small and his thorough genuineness and fearless self-sacrifice, even to positive suffering, in the miners' interests. But it was ever thus. If he had looked to his own position, like our Weirs and Robertsons, and less to the miners', probably they would have dealt more kindly with him. Motherwell was the seat of the conspirators, but at a mass meeting held there on Oct. 2, after hearing Mr. Small, a vote of confidence was passed.

#### Clyde Steelworkers.

On the banks of the Clyde there is a steelworks noted for the lowness of its wages as compared with others in the district, which from its beginning has been a non-union sweating hell. Lately fifty of the workers joined the society, and when the boss heard of it thirteen of them were warned away as a terror. But the terror has struck the proper parties this time. Instead of thirteen men leaving off making money for sweaters, 120 went out on strike. The masters have been unsuccessful in getting other men to fill their places, and the middlemen or sweaters and clerks have tried their hands at making steel. The sweaters are more successful with steel than steel. This kid-glove competition with labour's claims is becoming frequent and comic. We, as Socialists, can appreciate the cruel competition that compels the poor clerk to that which neither his hand nor his heart is in with, and also the "principle" that in such emergencies compels the masher master to work side by side with the returned convict, as was the case at Glasgow Docks. We can sympathise with the clerks and rejoice at the fitness of things as exemplified in the masters' position. The workmen in this instance are determined to get rid of the middlemen or sweaters.

#### Clyde Riggers.

The Clyde riggers have agreed to form a union. Though a skilled trade, they have at present less wages than the dock labourers. By all means the workers in all trades should unite. "In union there is strength." But it should never be overlooked that this regulation of wages can never permanently benefit the workers. Their unions can never be so solid as the individual masters, and so long as the latter are permitted to hold the key of the position in their hands, in the name of capital, the workers will be forced to contribute their tribute, notwithstanding all their unions. The aim and goal of unions should be other than the regulation of wages; it should not only try to sweep away the middleman, it should sweep away every robber of labour, no matter what he may be called.

G. McL.

#### Wire Weavers' Strike at Norwich.

On Monday, Sept. 30, the wire weavers employed at Messrs. Barnard and Bishop's turned out on strike, to protest against a code of rules in force on the firm, and in consequence of one of the men being fined 2s. 6d., besides the loss of his wages, for being absent one night the previous week. The following rules the men complain of:—(1) That any wire weaver not being at work at 6.30 a.m. shall be fined 1s. for each offence; (2) Any weaver not being at work by 6.30 a.m. without letting his foreman know, will be fined 2s. 6d. for each offence; (3) Any weaver destroying these rules will be fined

10s. If the offender is not found the whole of the weavers will be subjected to the fine.

The men made the following request of the firm:—(1) The rules relating to fines be abolished; (2) That workmen be allowed to leave the premises day or night if their machines break down, or when from any cause they cannot work; (3) That a night watchman be employed, who shall have instructions to let men out who cannot work in consequence of the breakdown of the machinery, accident, or ill-health.

On Tuesday twenty-six of the boys employed turned out, making a total on strike of 72. The strikers declared at a meeting that their average wages the whole year did not exceed 12s. per week. Some of the men gave an account of being on night work, were locked in and could not get out. One stated his machine had broken down twice in one night, and enabled him to earn only a shilling that night; another earned 11½d. in two nights, working 24 hours. During the week several deputations waited on the heads of the firm, but it was of no avail. On Saturday a compromise was entered into with the workmen and the firm, the firm agreeing to accept the following terms, which were agreed to by the men:—(1) That the rules relating to fines for non-attendance be abolished, and that all workmen and boys return under the previous existing rules on Monday morning next; (2) That sufficient provision be made whereby men on night work may leave the works, in case they cannot work, either from breakdown in machinery, accident, or illness; (3) That any workman habitually absenting himself from work without giving proper notice to the foreman, without reasonable cause, shall be dismissed from the works; (4) That any workman habitually losing time without reasonable cause shall be dismissed from the works.

The men have announced a meeting for the purpose of forming a union.

A. T. S.

**SOCIALISM IN EDINBURGH.**—The Edinburgh branches of the S.L. and S.D.F. have amalgamated and formed a strong local branch of the Scottish Socialist Federation. They announce a good series of lectures at the Moulders' Hall for the winter months, our comrade Bruce Glasier beginning the series last Sunday. The Scottish Socialist Federation have issued a statement of principles, the spirit of which may be seen in the concluding paragraph:

"The Scottish Socialist Federation, being convinced of the truth of the foregoing propositions, aims at the realisation of Socialism, and to that end expects its members to spread the principles of Socialism among the people, and to acknowledge Truth, Justice, and Morality as the basis of their behaviour among themselves and towards all their fellow-men, without regard to colour, creed, or nationality. The Federation regards it as the duty of a man to demand the rights of a man and citizen, not only for himself, but also for everyone who does his duty. No rights without duties, no duties without rights."

We wish our comrades every success in their work.

**WORK AND WAGES IN WYOMING, U.S.A.**—A correspondent writing from Rock Springs, Wyoming, in the *Journal of United Labour* of August 29, says: Work is rather brisk here at present, both in the building trade and the coal mines; but I would not advise anyone to come here, as there is no scarcity of men. The price paid for mining coal is 70 and 75 cents per ton, but it takes 2,988 pounds to make a ton. Take 2,988 and subtract a quarter off it for slack, which means 747 pounds, and you have just one pound over a ton, or 2,241 pounds. There is a mine here with an eleven-foot vein, and it is paid for at the rate of 70 cents per ton; another vein only four and a half feet, and it is dug at the same price, and it is under the same company. There was a little trouble here a few weeks ago. The company is engaged sinking a shaft and they struck water in it, and the men who were working in it asked for an advance of 25 cents a day in addition to their wages, 2 dols. 75 cents. The superintendent discharged them and put Finlanders in their places. Wages are as follows: Carpenters, 3 dols. to 3 dols. 50 cents; plasterers, 5 dols.; labourers, 2 dols. to 2 dols. 50 cents; miners, 70 to 75 cents per ton; drivers, 2 dols. 50 cents; Chinese, 1 dol. 35 cents to 1 dol. 75 cents. Board costs from 22 dols. to as high as 40 dols. per month.

Mr. GRANT ALLEN has made in the current number of the *Fortnightly* a bold attempt to grapple with what he frankly calls "The Woman Question" from a physiological standpoint. Here are the summarised heads of his argument:—(1) That for the perpetuation of the race, or nation, it is imperative that the great majority of women should become mothers; (2) that in "the ideal community" the duties of motherhood should be distributed among the greatest possible number of women, both for the sake of the mothers themselves and "in order that the average family may be kept small, that is to say, healthy and educable"; (3) that for the proper performance of the duties of motherhood, the mothers must be supported by the men; (4) that female education should, therefore, be primarily directed towards producing wise, healthy, and noble mothers, and not to producing self-supporting spinsters fit to compete with men in the battle of life. The conclusion is that "the highest women's movement" must have for its object the elevation, development, emancipation of—the wife. Mr. Grant Allen appeals to "advanced women" to meet advanced men on the platform which he has constructed, but at the same time he points out that—

"As a matter of fact, few women will go as far in their desire to emancipate woman as many men will go. It was Ibsen, not Mrs. Ibsen, who wrote the 'Doll's House.' It was women, not men, who ostracised George Eliot. The slavishness begotten in women by the *régime* of man is what we have most to fight against, not the slave-driving instinct of the men, now happily becoming obsolete, or even changing into a sincere desire to do equal justice."

In justice it should be added that he is tender enough towards the self-supporting spinster as we have her at present. She is to be recognised as a solemn fact—one of the unfortunate products of imperfect social conditions:—

"We ought for the moment to make things as easy and smooth as possible for her; we ought to remove all professional barriers, to break down the absurd jealousies and prejudices of men; to give her fair play, and if possible a little more than fair play, in the struggle for existence. . . . But we ought at the same time fully to recognise that she is an abnormality, not the woman of the future. We ought not to erect into an ideal what is in reality a painful necessity of the present transitional age."

**STAR RADICAL CLUB, 8 Mayall Road, Herne Hill.**—Sunday October 13, at 8.30, Sidney Webb, "What Socialism means."

**MANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE, "Three Doves," Berwick St., Oxford St., W.**—Sunday October 13th, at 8.45 p.m., William Morgan, "The late Dock-Labourers' Strike: Lessons, Political and Social."

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

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

Executive.—STRIKES.—It was resolved at last Monday's Executive Meeting that: "In answer to numerous enquiries, the Executive Council of the S.L. desires to express its opinion that members of the League do not in any way compromise their principles by taking part in strikes, but asks them not to let the revolutionary propaganda suffer thereby."

Commonweals for 1888, handsomely bound in red, are now ready, price 5s.; per post, 5s. 6d.

Branch Subscriptions Paid.—1888.—Oxford, to end of September. 1889.—Bradford and Hammersmith, to end of April. Norwich, Glasgow, Yarmouth, and Mitcham, to end of May. East London, and Clerkenwell, to end of June. Manchester, to end of July. North London, to end of August. Leicester, North Kensington, and St. Georges East, to end of September.

Propaganda Committee.—The Propaganda Committee meets on Tuesday, Oct. 15, at 8.30 p.m. Special meeting; important business; all members of the League interested in the propaganda invited to attend. Comrade Mowbray will address the members on "The Best Method of Propaganda." The leaflet, "A Straight Talk to Working Men," is now on sale at 4s. per 1,000. Can be obtained of the Secretary, at 13, Farringdon Road, London, E.C.

Notice.—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of Commonweal, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication. FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

"COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—Webb, 1s.; C. Saunders, 1s.; Kitz, 6d.; J. Turner, 6d.; R. Turner, 6d.; Rose, 6d.; B. W., 6d.; Mrs. Schack, 6d.; Samuels, 6d.; J. B. G., 2s.; Nicoll, 6d.; Blundell, 1s.; H. H. S., 6d.; and M. M., 6d.

REPORTS.

CHELSEA.—Good meeting held on the Embankment on Sunday morning, when Tochatti, Lyne, and Samuels spoke; 38 'Weal sold and several 'Chants.

NORTH KENSINGTON.—We held a good meeting at Latimer Road; speakers were Lyne, jun., Weardale (S.D.F.), Maughan, and A. J. Smith. Fair sale of Commonweal. Fair meeting at St. Ann's Road; speakers were Dean, Crouch, and Maughan; a few Commonweal sold. No meeting in the evening owing to weather.

MITCHAM.—Good meeting on Fair Green; 40 Commonweal sold, and 2s. 8d. collected for local propaganda.

SOUTHWARK.—We held a good meeting at Flat Iron Square on Sunday morning; comrades Cores and Holloway, and Buckeridge (S.D.F.) were the speakers; Commonweal sold well and several names given in. There is every probability of this being a strong branch, but so far, unfortunately, we have been unable to obtain a branch room; the landlords look upon us as a gang of dynamitards.—G. EVANS, sec.

STREATHAM.—At Fountain in the evening Reynolds spoke; 41 Commonweal sold and 1s. 11d. collected.

ST. GEORGE'S, EAST.—A good meeting was held on Mile End Waste on Tuesday, addressed by Leech and Turner; good sale of literature. At a members' meeting on Wednesday we had a whip round for comrade Leggett, who has been out of work some weeks on account of striking; a benefit is mooted on his behalf. No meeting held on Mile End Waste on Saturday, as comrades did not turn up, although members were there with platform and 'Weal. On Sunday two meetings were held instead of one, Leech, Turner, and Nicoll speaking at Union Street, Leggett and Nicoll at Philipott Street; good sale of 'Weal. More help wanted on the Waste Tuesdays and Saturdays.

LEICESTER.—Saturday, Sept. 29, Maguire, of Leeds, addressed the Loughborough people; good audience; O'Sullivan took the chair. On the 30th Maguire addressed three meetings, the first being at the Radical Club, Vine Street, the lecture-room of which has been thrown open to the public, we taking the collection. On Sunday, Oct. 6, W. A. Chambers gave us three addresses. At the Radical Club they turned up in force, and cheered the sentiments and proposals of the speakers; at night, in Humberstone Gate, had an audience of 500. A resolution was carried unanimously condemning the Leicester Town Council's rejection of a resolution proposed by one of the Trade Union leaders on council, that no contracts should be given to men who were not willing to pay a "fair" wage. Sept. 29, collected 1s. 2d.; literature, 3s. 9d.; October 6, collected 1s. 4d.; literature, 8s. 2d.—T. P. B.

MANCHESTER.—We held a meeting on Sunday morning at Philip's Park, Stockton, and Bailie spoke; 17 'Weals sold; audience attentive, though weather was unfavourable. In the afternoon a good meeting in Stevenson Square, addressed by Ritson, Parkinson, and Bailie. We had some opposition from a man in the crowd, who was satisfactorily replied to; 20 'Weals and few copies of Freedom sold.

NORWICH.—On Sunday afternoon comrade W. Moore addressed a very fair audience in the Market Place; in the evening at the Gordon Hall. A general discussion upon Socialism; several comrades took part.

YARMOUTH.—Last Sunday morning, on Priory Plain, we had a very good muster to hear Mrs. Schack, when comrade Headley read two letters which he had received from her, stating that she was unable to attend owing to ill-health, but that she would come as soon as she was strong enough to do so. In the evening, at Colman's Granary Quay, we had another good meeting, comrades Ruffold, Hadley, and Brightray being the speakers; 18 Commonweals sold, 8d. collected for local propaganda.—J. H.

LIVERPOOL SOCIALIST SOCIETY.—This society held its usual meeting on Tuesday, Oct. 1, at 8 p.m. They have decided to commence work of a public character early in November.—E. C. CHAPMAN, sec.

NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.—Peacock and Whalley spoke in Great Market Place on Sunday night to good audiences. After the meeting we were visited at our hall by a Salford comrade, and another (a lady) from Roshdale.

DUBLIN.—At Progressist Club, 87 Marlboro' Street, Oct. 5th, J. O'Gorman lectured on "Strikes—their Cause and Cure," advocating International Socialism as the only remedy; good discussion, King, Kavanagh, Hayes, and Shields being the speakers.

ROCHDALE.—On Sept. 29th, comrade Leonard Hall lectured here. We had two meetings; in the evening he held the audience well together for close on an hour. During the lecture remarks of approval were heard, but no discussion could be got from the audience; 9s. 2d. collected.—E. M. LOND.

HAMMERSMITH CLUB.—Sunday, at 8 p.m., J. W. Morris on "The Glass War." CHELSEA S.D.F. Co-operative Lecture Hall, 112 Kings Road, Chelsea.—Sunday October 13th, at 8 p.m., George Bernard Shaw, "Radicalism and Social Democracy."

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Battersea.—This Branch is now forming. All communications to E. Buteux, 20 Abercrombie Street, Battersea Park Road. Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (1/2 minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). On Sunday October 20, at 8 p.m., lecture by G. Cores, "Practical Socialism." East London.—12 Basing Place, Kingsland Road. Business Meeting will be held on Sunday October 13, at 8 p.m., to consider proposals regarding branch premises, and other important business. Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Oct. 13, at 8 p.m., A Lecture. French Class, 8 to 9 every Friday evening. Merton.—3 Clare Villa, Merton Road. Mitcham.—"Lord Napier," Fair Green. Meets every Sunday at 12.30, to enroll members, etc. North Kensington.—Clarendon Coffee Tavern. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m. North London.—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock. Southwark.—Secretary, George Evans, 56 Lucy Road, Bermondsey, S.E. Streatham.—Meets every Wednesday at the "Leigham Arms," Wellfield Road, at 8.30 p.m. Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen.—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Odd-fellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane, on Monday evenings at 8. Singing practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursdays at 8 p.m. Bradford.—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Meets every Tuesday at 7.30. Glasgow.—Ram's Horn Hall, 122 Ingram Street. Branch meets on Thursday evenings at 8 o'clock and Sundays at 7 o'clock. Halifax.—Socialists meet every Sunday at 6.30 p.m. at Helliwell's Temperance Hotel, Northgate. Leeds.—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m. Leicester.—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m. Manchester.—Working Men's Educational Club, 122 Corporation Street, corner of Hanover Street. Weekly meeting of members every Tuesday at 8 p.m. Secretary's address, 5 Llandaff Street, Harpurhey. Norwich.—Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Hall open every evening from 8.30. Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25 1/2 Pembroke Street. First Friday in every month, at 8.30 p.m. Walsall.—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m. Yarmouth.—Branch meets at comrade Headley's, near Co-operative Stores, every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class Friday at 8 p.m.—Comrade Morris will speak for the Branch on Sunday week 20th inst.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SATURDAY 12.

8.30..... Battersea—opposite Christ Church.....Kitz. 8.30..... Mile-end Waste.....Cores and Banfield.

SUNDAY 13.

11..... Latimer Road Station.....Lyne sen. and jun., and Dean. 11.30..... Chelsea—Embankment.....Samuels and Presburg. 11.30..... Kilburn—"Old Plough," Kilburn Lane.....Mainwaring. 11.30..... North Kensington—St. Ann's Road.....Crouch and Maughan. 11.30..... Commercial Road—Union Street.....The Branch. 11.30..... Mitcham—Fair Green.....Mowbray. 11.30..... Regent's Park.....Mrs. Lehr. 11.30..... Southwark—Flat Iron Square.....Nicoll and Cores. 3.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch.....Nicoll and Cores. 7.30..... Victoria Park.....Davis and Mrs. Schack. 7..... Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park.....Hammersmith Branch. 7.30..... Mitcham—Fair Green.....Kitz and Mowbray. 7.30..... Streatham—Fountain, High Street.....Kitz and Mowbray. 7.30..... Waltham Green—back of Church.....Hammersmith Branch. 8..... Clerkenwell Green.....Blundell.

TUESDAY 15.

8..... Waltham Green—back of Church.....Hammersmith Branch. 8..... Mile-end Waste.....Cores.

THURSDAY 17.

8.15..... Hoxton Church.....Kitz and Parker.

FRIDAY 18.

8..... Bethnal Green—Gibraltar Walk.....Davis and Cores. 8..... Islington—Prebend Street.....Parker.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen.—Saturday: Castle Street, 7 p.m. Edinburgh.—Sunday: The Meadows at 3. Glasgow.—Sunday: Jail Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock. Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m. Leicester.—Sunday: Russell Square, at 11 a.m.; Humberstone Gate, at 8 p.m. Manchester.—Sunday: Philips Park Gates, at 11; Stevenson Square, at 3. Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place, at 3 and 7.30. Sheffield.—Sunday: Hillfoot Bridge, at 11 a.m.; Mars Hill, Attercliffe, at 11; Rotherham College Yard, at 6.30; Pump, Westbar, at 8. Yarmouth.—Priory Plain, every Sunday at 11 and 3. Colman's Granary Quay, Sunday at 7. Bradwell, Sunday at 11.30. Belton, every Monday at 8.

CHELSEA DISCUSSION FORUM, Swiss Cottage, Kings Road, nearly opposite the Eleusis.—Sunday Oct. 13, at 8 p.m., H. Samuels will give the opening address. GLADSTONE RADICAL W. M. CLUB, 22 Baroness Road, Hackney Road, E.—Sunday October 13, at 12 noon, George Bernard Shaw, "Radicalism and Social Democracy."

DUBLIN.—Progressist Club, 87 Marlboro' Street, on Saturday October 12th, at 8 p.m., A. Kavanagh will lecture on "The Necessity for Labour Organisation." EDINBURGH.—In Moulders' Hall, on Sun. 13th, W. Davidson lectures on "The Wage System," at 5, French Class. Business Meeting on Fridays. At 35 George IV. Bridge, Class for study of Lasalle's 'Capital and Labour,' on Tuesdays at 8.30.

A CENTURY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS.—Course of Lectures to be given by members of the Fabian Society, at Willis's Rooms, King Street, S.W., on Friday evenings at 8 o'clock. October 18, Frank Podmore, "Early Socialism." Nov. 1, Graham Wallas, "The Chartist Agitation." 15th, Hubert Bland, "The Protest of Literature and Sentiment." Dec. 6, Annie Besant, "The Trades Union Movement." 20th, G. Bernard Shaw, "The New Politics." Tickets of admission may be obtained from the Secretary, 180 Portland Road, W.

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## STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES.

THE Socialist League advocates International Revolutionary Socialism. That is to say the destruction of the present class society, which consists of one class who live by owning property and therefore *need not work*, and of another that has no property and therefore *must work* in order that they may live to keep the idlers by their labour. Revolutionary Socialism insists that this system of society, which is the modern form of slavery, should be changed to a system of Society which would give every man an opportunity of doing useful work, and not allow any man to live without so doing, which work could not be useful unless it were done for the whole body of workers instead of for do-nothing individuals. The result of this would be that livelihood would not be precarious nor labour burdensome. Labour would be employed in co-operation, and the struggle of man with man for bare subsistence would be supplanted by harmonious combination for the production of common wealth and the exchange of mutual services without the waste of labour or material.

Every man's needs would be satisfied from this common stock, but no man would be allowed to own anything which he could not use, and which consequently he must *abuse* by employing it as an instrument for forcing others to labour for him unpaid. Thus the land, the capital, machinery, and means of transit would cease to be private property, since they can only be *used* by the combination of labour to produce wealth.

Thus men would be *free* because they would no longer be dependent on idle property-owners for subsistence; thus they would be *brothers*, for the cause of strife, the struggle for subsistence at other people's expense, would have come to an end. Thus they would be *equal*, for if all men were doing useful work no man's labour could be dispensed with. Thus the motto of Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality, which is but an empty boast in a society that upholds the monopoly of the means of production, would at last be realised.

This Revolutionary Socialism must be International. The change which would put an end to the struggle between man and man, would destroy it also between nation and nation. One harmonious system of federation throughout the whole of civilisation would take the place of the old destructive rivalries. There would be no great centres breeding race hatred and commercial jealousy, but people would manage their own affairs in communities not too large to prevent all citizens from taking a part in the administration necessary for the conduct of life, so that party politics would come to an end.

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**FROM EACH ACCORDING TO HIS CAPACITY, TO EACH ACCORDING TO HIS NEEDS.**

When this is realised there will be a genuine Society; until it is realised, Society is nothing but a band of robbers. We must add that this change can only be brought about by combination amongst the workers themselves, and must embrace the whole of Society. The new life cannot be *given* to the workers by a class higher than they, but must be *taken* by them by means of the abolition of classes and the reorganisation of Society.

COUNCIL OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

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