

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

[REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.]

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SATURDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

THERE seems to be a risk of the London County Council making a huge blunder, which it certainly will do if it approves the report of its Licensing Committee. That committee proposes in the first place that the Council shall act as a censor of morals as to the matter of what is said or sung in the Music Halls, and it is impossible for them to fulfil this function except on the old reactionary lines. Granted that the songs provided by the music halls are often coarse and often nasty, who is to gauge the degree of coarseness and nastiness which shall be enough to deprive a hall of its licence? Whose standard is to be applied? That of a Scotch goody-goody, a fanatical Salvationist editor of a commercial sensational journal, or that of a sensible man?

But no sensible man will have anything to do with such nonsense as trying to make people moral by Act, either of Parliament or of County Council. The standard, therefore, will be the standard of "purity" fanatics, who will be backed up by politicians anxious to catch the votes of the very powerful Nonconformist Liberals.

And all the time they will let alone the nastiness and *double entendre* of the respectable theatres, which are every bit as bad as the coarseness of the music halls.

It won't do. As a people is, so are its entertainments, and both the music halls and the theatres are but a reflex of the life of the slums. To that must you play down, gentlemen and ladies of the stage, or your managers will not be able to fill their houses, and your salaries will tumble down. Given a society corrupted by the existence of general misery, and founded on sheer robbery of the disinherited, and what are its theatrical entertainments likely to be? At the best, corruption whitewashed with respectability; at the worst?—but can there be anything worse than that?

As to the other side of this moral outburst of the over-righteous of the London County Council, the shutting up of a place of entertainment because it shelters prostitutes; that is worse still. You want to turn these poor women out into the streets, and when they are in the streets you want to run them in for being there. And all the while you know perfectly well that they are just as necessary an institution of modern Society as the banker who looks after the money that pays them, or the policeman who runs them in.

In short, this is an attack on the public by the Puritans, and it will be a thousand pities if the London County Council allows them to jump into the saddle and so injure its possible usefulness. And it is grievous to think how much power this Puritanism still has. Although it has sunk from a destructive fanaticism into a slimy superstition, it is still a dangerous ally of the gigantic robbery of capitalism, which first gave it birth. Such a body of voters as it can bring to the polling places!

The Bishop of London in the chair of the St. James's Hall meeting, gave a clear expression of its arbitrariness in refusing to allow our friend Headlam to move an amendment or to speak. His conception of a public meeting as a place where only one side is to be heard is refreshingly naïve, and really beats Bradlaugh.

Certainly it would be a preposterous blunder of the London County Council to jump at the office of a subsidiary Lord Chamberlain, and carry out his antiquated rules with extra zeal, even to the shutting up of the unprivileged small dramatic entertainments with (naturally) the full concurrence of Mr. Augustus Harris.

The "Turkish Atrocities" in Crete and Armenia are such an obviously good card for the Liberal party to play, that one cannot help feeling some suspicion on the subject. Such things, however, are the natural outcome of a dominant race with a population of workers

under them, whether they be peasants or what not. We shall be less likely to question the substantial truth of these reports when we remember English "atrocities" in Ireland, India, Jamaica, Egypt, and other places where that blameless, religious, and practical race has been dominant.

Certainly two wrongs do not make a right, and we should be heartily glad to hear of the Cretans and Armenians rising against their tyrants, especially if that could be done without furnishing them with a fresh set of tyrants in the form of westernised stock-jobbers subservient to the world-market, as I fear it could not. But we must not forget meanwhile that these "atrocities" are nothing more than the form which exploitation takes in rough societies; and that our own workers forced to live (?) in slums, to work in the factory hell, to have to enjoy bad beer and a low music hall as *their* share of the comforts and luxuries of civilisation, can show "atrocities" in competition with Crete, Armenia—or Hell, and that their case is a pretty considerable "disgrace to Europe," as the newspaper posters were phrasing it the other day.

For again let us remember that while the "atrocities" in Crete are spasmodic, the atrocities in England are chronic: *they* are always going on day after day, though we sometimes sprinkle a little rose-water on them in the hope (?) of a remedy. The very fact that the Cretan peasants can raise such a clamour over their sufferings shows that they have a well-grounded hope of their ceasing. What hope can our slum-dwellers have of curing their sufferings? Only those of them can have formed a hope who, dimly it may be, see the Social Revolution advancing.

To think that there are people in England by the hundred thousand who *cannot* hope for happiness because they have had no opportunity of forming an idea of what happiness is! Yet this is the foundation on which our modern society rests. W. M.

By an unaccountable slip last week, I attributed the strike articles by Cardinal Manning and John Burns to the *Universal* instead of to the *New Review*, in which they really appear. The blunder is all the greater, as I might have remembered that I had *bought* the *New Review* (at 6d.), whereas I should have *borrowed* the *Universal* (at 2s. 6d.).

The Arts and Crafts Exhibition is open again, and might be used as a propagandist weapon with great effect. To take a doubting friend and show him what Socialists can do might induce him to hear with more attention what they have to say. And you will find plenty of Socialist work there; not alone of Morris and Crane and Emery Walker, and so on, but of men and women less heard of and comparatively unknown. An announcement of the forthcoming lectures will be found elsewhere.

Critics of all kinds have had a try at judging it, of course, and, equally of course, have for the most part failed miserably in rendering any coherent verdict upon either its merits or its meaning. But with one exception they have been studiously fair; the exception being Mr. — well! the "Artist Unknown" of the *Star*, who is neither an artist nor unknown, as I have had occasion to say before. And he, like the capitalist who listens to a Socialist, and knows that if the people hearken his occupation will be gone, and for just the same reason, indulged in a tirade of reactionary abuse. Against which may be placed the "plain man's" opinion expressed in its favour by Mr. Grant Allen in the *Pall Mall*. The fact of the matter being that on its own lines the Arts and Crafts Society is doing right good revolutionary work, to the great anger and disquietude of the quacks and exploiters of the present reign of sham.

Apropos of the schoolboy strikes which are taking place "all over the shop," we have received several very interesting letters, notably one from a Leith comrade, which we can only regret that space forbids our printing in full. The points they chiefly emphasise are the parallelism with the French Revolution times, the value of a real strike of

school-children, backed by their parents, as a means of bringing about free education, free meals, etc., and the hopefulness of the fact that the "rising generation" are learning to regard themselves as citizens with rights and duties of their own.

None of our correspondents point out, however, the real point of the whole affair, that it is only another phase of the ever-recurring social problem. It is the children of the poor who feel the pressure of the present system so bitterly that they revolt; it is the children of the poor, because they are poor, who are overworked, underfed, ill-treated generally; a juvenile edition of the labour-struggle, a fit preparation indeed for the "battle of life" they will presently be compelled to wage.

Mr. Campbell White, a millionaire chemical manufacturer and an eminently practical Christian, by some recent utterances called forth the following from the Glasgow *Bairlie*:

"When Mr. Campbell White is denouncing the railway companies for Sunday labour, it is to be hoped that he will give the chemical manufacturers 'a bite skite in the bye-gaun.' The poor wretches employed in chemical works are obliged to inhale poison on the day of rest that millionaires may be made. Their life is miserable, but by the blessed law of compensation it is short. Over the gates of such works, with a little addition, the terrible line of Dante should be inscribed—'Of health and all hope abandon ye who enter here.'"

At Dumbarton the other Sunday the Rev. Scott Matheson spoke at the High Street U.P. Church on Socialism, taking as his text the words (Isaiah lxii., 10), "Go through, go through the gates; prepare ye the way of the people; cast up, cast up the highways; gather out the stones; lift up a standard for the people." Although it was on a Sunday and in a Scotch kirk, the congregation had much ado to keep from applauding. The lecture was well reported in the local papers. And so the leaven works. S.

Could the gospel of sham be better illustrated? The Regent Square pulpit has turned out to be made of stucco, and the disappointment of the London antiquarian Scot, who dreamed of preserving a bit of the "fine old carved oak" of Edward Irvine's pulpit, is all too deep for sneers! Oh! poor Scot, whose days are spent in the southern "big smoke," and who for years has looked upon that shoddy shrine in Regent Square as being made of the grand old oak but now find it to be made of stucco, may it not dawn upon your mental vision that even in that worship which went forth from the stucco pulpit things were not what they seemed? What would Carlyle have thought and said of his friend's pulpit? What does John McNeil say? Be it his so to speak and act that when his workmanship comes to be taken down and examined, it may be found what it professed to be, viz., a living message for here and now, a present gospel to the workers, and not something made of show and—stucco. G. McL.

PEASANT PROPRIETORSHIP.

THERE are many persons in England who advocate a system of peasant proprietorship in order to dispense with the evils which landlordism has created. This system, if adopted, would prove as injurious to the people as the present; for it would bring into existence a greater number of landowners than there are to-day. Were we to substitute peasant proprietorship in the place of landlordism, we should have the same difficulties to contend with in years to come as we are struggling against at present. It would be as well to allow the present monopolists to retain possession of the soil as to divide it between a greater number of small landowners. This is what peasant proprietorship means; and instead of destroying the evils created by landlordism, they would remain, but a greater number of owners held responsible for them. If those who cultivate the land are not entitled to the full value of the labour employed upon it, who are? Would the agricultural labourers under a system of peasant proprietorship enjoy to the fullest extent the product of their labour? Certainly not, for the proprietors would be in a position to take from them a certain proportion of the wealth produced by their combined labour. The proprietor would employ labourers to cultivate the soil on condition that he pays them a certain price for their labour, whilst at the same time the proprietor would be entitled to all the profits arising from between the articles sold and the salary he paid his employés. This course is almost similar to what the present landowners insist upon the agricultural labourers adopting under present social conditions. Look at peasant proprietorship in this light. Suppose a proprietor owns one hundred acres of land; he employs at the least ten men; each receive a weekly wage of twenty shillings all the year round. At the expiration of twelve months the proprietor discovers that he has saved sufficient money to purchase somewhere about an additional ten acres, which in addition to his first plot numbers one hundred and ten acres. Having this extra land, he finds it necessary to engage another man, paying him the same wages as the others. At the end of the next year, the proprietor finds out that he is in a position to purchase another plot of land; he does so, and employs another labourer. This goes on year after year, until the peasant proprietor can turn himself from a small landowner into a large one, through being allowed to purchase land out of the money extracted from those labourers whom the proprietor employs to cultivate his lands. Thus we see that instead of peasant proprietorship doing away with the evils of landlordism, it will only

foster them; for the proprietor is at liberty to employ labourers and insist upon taking from them a portion of what they produce.

Were this system established in the United Kingdom it would prove as injurious to our rural population as the same system has proved detrimental to the rural inhabitants of France. When the proprietors have saved enormous wealth out of the agricultural labourers, they would introduce new machines; displace a great number of labourers; and put into their own pockets the money which ought to be used for purchasing food, clothes, and suchlike for the individuals discharged through the introduction of machinery. Machinery under this system does the same thing as machinery in the workshops and factories—throws people out of employment. Therefore, instead of peasant proprietorship being the means of creating comfort and happiness for our rural community, it would be the means of allowing a greater number of landowners to make themselves wealthy through the efforts of the agricultural labourers. If the labourers are to be robbed of their rights by peasant proprietors, they might as well submit to be robbed for ever by the present monopolists.

The transition would bring about no extra degree of pleasure; for the workers would under this system be compelled to produce wealth for proprietors who have as much right to do their share of the world's toil as any agricultural labourer. Landlordism plunders the people wholesale of what belongs to them; peasant proprietorship would intensify the evil and rob the soil-cultivators of their natural claims to share equally in the fruits of the earth. The rural population of France furnishes us with a splendid argument against peasant proprietorship; for being a great country for small owners of land, it affords us an opportunity for proving the dangers attached to such a system. The rural population decreased by 3,400,000 persons between the years 1851 and 1872. In 1851 the rural community was 21,922,000, or 62 per cent. of the whole population; in 1861 it diminished to 19,873,000, or 53 per cent. of the whole; and in 1872 it decreased to 18,513,000, or 52 per cent. of the population (see 'Progress of the World,' page 241). Mr. Mulhall states that "this decline is also in a measure due to the introduction of machinery, in which respect wonderful progress has been made in our own time" (*ibid.*, p. 241). If machinery is to be constantly introduced in order to do away with human labour, we shall shortly witness in France a revolution similar to the one which took place in the last century, when feudalism was destroyed.

This is what peasant proprietorship has done for France. What, then, is the difference between the French and English systems, so far as the labouring community are concerned? French proprietors introduce machinery so as to make themselves rich, while the rural population become poor; in the United Kingdom the landowners dispense with the agricultural labourers, because agriculture is rapidly going out of existence in these islands, owing to the monopolists using the land for deer-forests and hunting grounds. In France the proprietors engage labour so as to make profits for their personal enjoyment; whilst in these islands the owners refuse to allow the soil to be cultivated unless they receive wealth under the name of rent. How, then, will peasant proprietorship be better for the common good than landlordism? In order to show how it is possible for a small proprietor to become the owner of a great number of acres, we have only to look at the following statistics, taken from Mr. Mulhall's 'Progress of the World,' p. 241:

Estates.	No.	Average extent.	Area.
1st class ...	154,000	320 acres	48 million acres
2nd class ...	636,000	50 "	32 "
3rd class ...	620,000	20 "	12½ "
4th class ...	1,816,000	6 "	10½ "
Total ...	3,226,000	32 acres	103 million acres

From the above it will appear that the French proprietors are nothing but great employers of labour; and the more land they acquire the more labourers they will have to engage, until such times as they can purchase machines in order to dispense with a number of their employés. It does certainly appear unnatural that a minority of men should be in a position to employ or discharge human beings whenever they think proper. Peasant proprietorship is against the interests of the labouring community, and ought not to be accepted by them, when at the same time the land could be communalised and cultivated on co-operative principles for the benefit of the whole population.

Communalisation of land is the only remedy for the evils the workers are suffering from to-day. Were the land under the control of the community the people collectively would share to the greatest extent in its produce. And the soil-cultivators would not be obliged to support either landowners or peasant proprietors; for these individuals would become extinct as monopolists, and they would be obliged to labour for their own maintenance. The great difference between the agricultural labourers of to-day and those of the future working under the latter system would be that they would be able in future to enjoy their own productions; whereas to-day the landowners live upon the labourers and refuse to assist in the production of wealth.

Which is the best course to adopt of the two following: A system whereby the peasant proprietor would be able to purchase as much land as possible, employ labour upon the same, and extract from the labourers sufficient wealth to enable him to live without doing any useful labour for the community; or a system which would abolish the landlord and proprietor, substitute in their stead the whole community, the labourers cultivating the soil to labour for their own and the community's happiness, and the landowners and proprietors to work for their own livelihood, instead of being in a position to make

others procure a good living for them? The latter system is the most advantageous; for no community of persons ought to be forced to labour to produce luxuries for those who are able to work but decline to do so when they can compel the wealth-producers to labour for them.

There being no such thing naturally as private ownership in land, it is only natural for the labouring community to demand the land to be used for the community, and insist upon the present monopolists doing some useful labour before being allowed to consume what other labourers have produced. No man can claim naturally any portion of the earth, because it was not made by any individual and consequently belongs to no one in particular. If the land should be monopolised by the present owners, such monopoly means that they have got power to prevent it from being cultivated so as to yield agricultural produce for the community to consume. If they are the real owners they would be justified in preventing people from trespassing upon their lands. And to attempt to cultivate the land would be trespassing; therefore the owners can bring an action against any one attempting to interfere with their sacred private property. Such arguments are absurd, and need no further discussion.

JOHN MARSHALL.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

FRANCE.

We have received *La Revue Européenne Socialiste, Littéraire, et Artistique mensuelle* (formerly the *Coup de Fou*), 64 rue de Turenne, Paris (24 pp., 8vo). It is edited by Eugène Chatelain, and is conducted on the same lines as the late *Coup de Fou*.

BELGIUM AND LUXEMBURG.

At a joint meeting of the Councils of the Socialist Working-man's and the Republican Socialist Parties, held at Brussels on Oct. 6th, the question of the amalgamation of the two parties was finally settled by the adoption of resolutions in this sense, and a general congress will be held at Easter-time, 1890. The details of the arrangements go to show that this amalgamation means surrender to the working-men's party, which goes in for universal suffrage and social reforms. Bertrand, of the Brussels daily Social Democratic organ, *Le Peuple*, is about to publish a new monthly paper, *Les Co-opérateurs Belges* (The Belgian Co-operators). Anseel, another of the leaders, at a meeting recently held at Frameries, brought forward the idea of a mass demonstration in favour of manhood suffrage, to take place in Brussels in June or July, 1890. Besides this, eight hour working day demonstrations are prepared for May, 1890. Thus the time and energy of the Belgian Social Democrats is pretty much occupied for a year to come—co-operation, manhood suffrage, eight hours question, and with these palliatives the Belgian workers will be lulled asleep for the next twelvemonth! Where the Socialist agitation will be left we can guess from such instances as the report of a celebration of the anniversary of the foundation of the International held at Brussels, where after two Anarchist comrades, Wysmans and Berger, had spoken, they were told by one of the chief leaders of the official party to deliver their speeches rather in Catholic anti-Socialist circles of workers, where there would be a better place for them.

The Social-Democratic weekly review, *Toekomst*, of Ghent, makes a new start, the management of the paper being reorganised, and it is now published at two centimes (one farthing), which is also the price of the daily Flemish Socialist paper of Ghent.

In Luxemburg a paper called *Der Arbeiter* (the Worker) is going to be published twice a-week in German. The Socialist movement in Luxemburg is very small; a paper bearing the same name was published there about ten years ago, but died long since.

AUSTRIA.

The great trial of Polish Socialists for alleged conspiracy at Lemberg ended with the complete breakdown of the prosecution and liberation of all the defendants except one, who got two weeks. The public prosecutor had constructed a large secret society with headquarters at Warsaw, but according to Austrian Socialist organs the defendants, who were kept for three months in preliminary imprisonment, were not even Socialists.

The trade societies of the blacksmiths and the ironworkers at Vienna were dissolved by the Government for having sent telegrams to the Paris International Congress. In such cases the property of the societies concerned is confiscated by the Government, and a large sum of money belonging to the ironworkers was stolen in this way.

ITALY.

MILAN.—At a meeting of the Italian labour party in Milan held last week, it was decided to take part in the forthcoming communal elections, and after some discussion six names were chosen to stand as candidates representing the labour party, among them being Turati, Gnocchi-Viani, G. Croce, etc. The respectability of Milan expresses through its journals a certain uneasiness or discontent at these proceedings, it apparently being rather a liberty for the labour party to aspire to have a finger in the administrative pie at all, and one of the leading papers goes to the length of blaming the municipality for allowing the use of a hall for the electoral meetings. I see the Roman working-classes are also engaged in the municipal electoral struggle.

Ca Ira, a new republican journal of Genoa, strenuously calls upon the workers to join forces with the bourgeoisie, and avoid the ignorant and despotic Socialist as inimical to their cause. "For," it says, "the working-class, with their ceaseless agitations and hatred of their employers, will end by tiring out the bourgeoisie and inducing them to ally themselves with the monarchy, getting the entire control of property, and thus the republican programme will never be effected, as it will be without the assistance of the most cultivated, intelligent, and influential part of the community formed by the bourgeoisie." A less futile prophecy for the future amalgamation of parties would be that the monarchists become merged into the bourgeois party, who have always, so soon as they awoke to consciousness, opposed the advancement of the labour party tooth and nail, and always will—with the exception of the "cultivated and intelligent" among them, who daily melt into the party of freedom, sometimes against their own will. The Italian labour party is busy elsewhere besides at Milan, in arranging

to take part in the coming communal elections. At Pavia their committee have issued a programme or manifesto, at Bergamo they are agitating to form a list of representative candidates, at various other neighbouring towns also, and at Livorno a meeting was held to deliberate the question and to issue a manifesto addressed to the workers.

Como.—The Labour Federation (of the labour party) here are also absorbed in the elections which take place in Como on the 10th of November, but it seems likely that they will join with the democratic party to form a single list of candidates together. The salient points of their programme offer no new departure from what we are familiar with in similar programmes, i.e., a fixed minimum of wage for those employed by the Commune, limitation of women's and children's labour, reform of taxes, etc.

VICENZA.—It is pretty hard slavery working under the small masters of the small Italian industries; they consider themselves, and are in fact, wholly masters of the situation, and bully and grind at will in ways so fatuous and unimportant, that would be beneath the notice of a bigger man. The director of a firm here has recently given an order to dock his employés of half an hour's rest, by which he gets out of them 250 extra hours work in one day (he has 500 employés). Many of the men are country folk, and have a long distance to come, which, with their 1½ hours work, brings the day up to 15½ or 16 hours—not hard for the hot climate of the "indolent Italian," is it?

A fatal accident occurred at Milan the other day in the building trade. A house in course of construction fell, and 11 men were killed and many others injured. At the public funeral ceremonies, one of their comrades blamed the egoism and carelessness of the masters for this and similar disasters, and was promptly arrested for so speaking. The cause of the house falling was bad materials and hasty building.

We have received the first number of a new weekly, *L'Associazione* (Nice), announcing itself "Socialist-Anarchist-Revolutionary." I find it impossible to render the name other than literally and clumsily, and think that a shorter description might have served the purpose. However, this number contains one or two thoughtful articles, one in particular in which the importance of large strikes as helping towards the emancipation of labour is strenuously insisted upon, and from the Anarchist point of view. M. M.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 26, 1889.

20	Sun.	1817. Trial of W. Turner for high treason as a Luddite. 1830. Charles X. lands at Newhaven. 1881. Proclamation of the Land League.
21	Mon.	1803. Thomas Russell hanged. 1815. Great sailors' riots at North and South Shields and Sunderland. 1835. W. L. Garrison dragged half naked through the streets of Boston. 1841. Distress in manufacturing districts. At Leeds, in 4,752 families, containing 19,936 persons, there were 16,156 unemployed. The average weekly income of each was 11½d., or something less than 1½d. a-day.
22	Tues.	1685. Edict of Nantes revoked. 1816. Riot of 12,000 ironworkers at Merthyr and Tredegar, demanding work and higher wages 1817. Trial of Isaac Ludlam for high treason as a Luddite. 1818. Memorial of Robert Owen "to the Allied Powers assembled in Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle."
23	Wed.	1797. Trial of James Dunn, a United Irishman, at Dublin for "conspiring to murder" Earl Carhampton. 1799. William Bingley, bookseller, died; as publisher of <i>North Briton</i> , had attained some celebrity in "Wilkes and Liberty" days. 1817. Trial of George Weightman for high treason as a Luddite. 1841. <i>New Moral World</i> journal finally returned to London from Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds. 1848. Meagher and McManus sentenced. 1851. Kossuth arrives in England. 1865. Cherniak shot in Kazane as an emissary of the Polish Revolutionary Society to organise peasant revolt in the Volga provinces. 1881. Socialists and Irish protest in Hyde Park against imprisonment of Parnell, Dillon, etc.
24	Thur.	1649. Colonel John Lilburne tried for "publishing treasonable books against the Commonwealth." 1669. W. Prynne died. 1793. Meeting of the London Corresponding Society at Breillatt's, Hackney Road. 1849. Declaration at Montreal in favour of union with United States.
25	Fri.	1797. Trial of Patrick Carty for "conspiring to murder." 1845. Monster Repeal demonstration at Cashel. 1878. Attempt upon the King of Spain.
26	Sat.	1795. Meeting of London Corresponding Society in Copenhagen Fields. 1831. "Riots" at Frankfurt. 1848. G. B. Mullins transported.

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." Already acknowledged:—£1 2s. 6d. The following further subscriptions have been received:—G. Bridge, 6d.; P. Webb, 2s. 6d.; total, £1 5s. 6d. All subscriptions should be sent to S. Presburg, Secretary to the Fund, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.

Adjourned Propaganda Meeting.—Members are earnestly requested to attend an adjourned meeting on Tuesday evening, Oct. 22, to discuss leaflet on "The Chicago Martyrs."

SYLLABUS of Lectures, in connection with the Arts and Crafts Exhibition now open, to be given in the New Gallery, Regent Street, on Thursday evenings, at 8.30 p.m.—Nov. 7, William Morris, "Gothic Architecture." 14th. Henry Holiday, "Stained Glass." 21st. T. J. Cobden-Sanderson, "The Decoration of Bound Books." 28th. Lewis F. Day, "Ornament." Dec. 5, Walter Crane, "Design and Expression." Admission 2s. 6d.; art students and employés, 1s.

STREATHAM LIBERAL CLUB, High Street, Streatham.—A lecture will be given on Saturday evening—subject, "Socialism a Delusion." Local comrades please turn up.

MANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE, "Three Doves," Berwick St., Oxford St., W.—Sunday October 20th, at 8.45 p.m., George Cox, "Recreations of the People— and Retributive Reaction."

At Duppas Hill Hotel, Duppas Hill Lane, Croydon, on Friday evening at 8; there will be a meeting of working men to form a branch of the Surrey Labourers' Union. Members of the Croydon and Streatham Branches S.L. please turn up.



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

CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED—will be used: "The Workman's Compass" (G.S.); "In Southern Africa" (J. B.); "In Australia" (W. H. M. and R. S.); "Church and Democracy" (T. S.); "Bureaus of Labour" (T. S.); "Honest Toil" (J. B. G.). Unsuitable, for one reason or another—"That Strike" (L. H.); "Socialism in a Nutshell" (S., Streatham); "Fellowship" (A. L., Kensington). Several others are under consideration. W. L. (Paris).—Sorry for unavoidable silence; have sent article where you request. A. H. (Glasgow).—Next week you shall have information you require. F. P. (Bradford).—A list of French pamphlets and books shall be made out for you.

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday October 16.

ENGLAND	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	SPAIN
Brotherhood	S. F. Coast Seaman's Journal	Barcelona—Revolution Social
Die Autonomie	St. Louis—Anarchist	Barcelona—El Productor
Justice	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	Cadix—El Socialismo
Labour Elector	Philadelphia—United Labour	Madrid—El Socialista
Labour Tribune		Seville—La Solidaridad
London—Freie Presse	FRANCE	PORTUGAL
Norwich—Daylight	Paris—Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Railway Review	Le Proletariat	GERMANY
Social Demokrat	La Revolte	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Worker's Friend	Bourse du Travail	AUSTRIA
	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	Vienna—Arbeiter-Zeitung
INDIA		Brunn—Volksfreund
Bankipore—Behar Herald	HOLLAND	HUNGARY
	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
UNITED STATES	BELGIUM	DENMARK
New York—Twentieth Century	Antwerp—De Werker	Copenhagen—Arbejder:n
Workmen's Advocate	Ghent—Vooruit	Social-Demokraten
Boston—Woman's Journal	SWITZERLAND	SWEDEN
Investigator	Arbeiterstimme	Malmö—Arbetet
Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung		Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Chicago (Ill.)—Vorboten	ITALY	ARGENTINE REPUBLIC
Detroit—Der Ayme Teufel	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio	Buenos Ayres—Vorwarts
Milwaukee—National Reformer	Rome—L'Emancipazione	

CHICAGO MURDERS & BLOODY SUNDAY.

"Our silence will be more powerful than our speech."—Spies.

A MEETING to celebrate the Anniversary of above events will be held on Monday evening, November 11th, at

SOUTH PLACE INSTITUTE.

Full particulars, with names of speakers, etc., will be given next week.

Revolutionary songs will be sung during the evening, including the *Marseillaise*, *Carmagnole*, *Linnell's Death Song*, *When the People have their Own Again*, and *Annie Laurie*. Choir will practice at Hammer-smith on Thursdays, October 24th and 31st, and November 7th; at 13, Farringdon Road, on Tuesdays, October 29th and November 5th. No member of the choir who has neglected to attend these rehearsals will be eligible to sing on the night of meeting.

All willing to assist are asked to give or send their names to the Secretary of Committee on Arrangements.

By order of the Committee, H. HALLIDAY SPARLING, Sec. 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.

PARTY POLITICS AND SOCIALISM.

If the angels have any fun in them, they must be frequently diverted by the simple tricks that are so successful in turning the eyes and energies of the workers from their vital concerns, to the ways and pursuits of the *ignis-fatuus* of the professional politicians. If the workers would only try to think out what their parliamentary representative has done, or can do, for them, they would come to the same conclusion as Charles Lamb did respecting a friend of his, viz., "The more I think of him, the less I think of him." It matters not how parliament manipulates the incidence of taxation, it all must, and can only, be borne by the men and women who work. That is the central fact all politicians try to cover up, and so long as they are successful in doing it their object is accomplished, and the gain or defeat of their respective party platform concerns them but little in comparison.

It has been pointed out in these columns over and over again, that Home Rule and all the other political bubbles blown to divert the thoughtless toilers, were not the real objects over which our politicians were fighting, and that these were only used by them so that the robbery of the workers might be continued without protest. But our friends—the enemy—are beginning to fear that that game is up, and that they will ere long be forced into grips with the workers on labour questions. Free education, in Scotland, is beginning to cast its shadow before. Those persons who have hitherto benefited by the ignorance and gullability of the workers are beginning to see the solidarity of their interests, and they are beginning to prepare for the coming conflict. They are already beginning to state the issues which marshal all sorts of silly superstitions and religious rancour on the side of undue privileges and those who think things are good enough as they are; while on the workers' side we have only their justice, insight, courage, and innate strength in union—but that is enough.

The bugle sound to arms of the privileged classes has been blown by Mr. Somervell, of Sorn, who generally speaks better than he knows. The Irish question did very well as a decoy-duck for a time, but underneath it our politicians are dismayed at seeing "a growth" which betokens for them something ominous. At a Conservative consolation conversation, given to Evelyn Ashley the other day "for the services you (E. A.) rendered to the constituency of the Western (Ayr) Burghs in the election of 1888," Mr. S., of Sorn, betrayed the fears of our political privileged classes. It will be remembered the services Mr. Ashley rendered resulted in the loss of the seat to his party; but what did that matter? the excitement which his contest enabled the politicians to raise, caused the workers to spend their enthusiasm and substance for that which was not bread, and so in their apparent defeat the upholders of undue privileges were victorious in their main object. Mr. S., of Sorn, who speaks the fears of his class, perceives that the time is drawing nigh when the Irish question will no longer suffice the laborious drudge to dupe. At this Baal-Hazor feast he said: "Far below the Irish question there lay the root of that question, viz., that Communism and Socialism had been openly preached in this country (Cheers). That placed them on a very broad platform, and if they believed that that was what they really were combating when combating the question of Home Rule, they were entitled to a very broad and universal support. (Cheers)." In order to combat that Socialism, Mr. S., of Sorn, approved of winning over the priests of Ireland by Balfour's bribe. To combat Socialism their platform must be so broad as to have room on it for the priests of all faiths, and for all who had undue privileges at the expense of the workers. "He knew that in a country like Scotland that was difficult and delicate ground to tread upon, but they must deal with affairs not as they wished them to exist, but as they did exist." They were to throw away all the religious prejudices which served them so well in the past, in warping that energy which otherwise would have spent itself on social and labour questions, for things as they existed required them to stake their all and play their best trump card, as Socialism was making it a desperate game—to the moneyed classes. This hitherto strong sympathiser with Orangeism now sees the necessity of "recognising the rights of our Roman Catholic fellow subjects, and enlisting in the cause of loyalty and support of loyal adherence to the throne all our Catholic fellow subjects, and the priesthood, who formed such an important element in the sister island (cheers). When he (Mr. S.) looked back to the cordial support he received from Roman Catholics in Tradeston (Glasgow) at the election of 1885, he felt grateful for their gallant (?) support, and when he came before another constituency he hoped the Catholic electors would again give him their votes. (Cheers)." After the admission that all the gabble and pretence of the past political performances of the Unionists was not a combat against Home Rule, but that it was Socialism they were combating, we have this hero of a defeat relying on success for his next contest in the hope that he will convince the workers that it is for their sacred religion he is fighting; Protestants and Roman Catholics alike.

It will be amusing to see our philosophic-agnostic Unionists posing as defenders of the Roman Catholic altar, and yet it will be no more of a palpable imposition than any of the other political pretensions. In Mr. Somervell's remarks we have a foreshadow of the political palaver it is intended to engage and dupe the workers with for the next seven years after the present Parliament is dissolved. We will have the professional political "patriots" mouthing on platforms and affirming their preparedness to drain their last drop of blood for those "glorious principles" they inwardly despise. They will descend to monkey antics, in the hope and belief that they will get all the gate-money.

The growth of Socialism, which is at last commanding the notice of

the professional politician, can be seen in such unlikely places as among the fishermen of Moray and Nairn. The great Unionist lawyer, Mr. Finlay, M.P., who is working for a place in the next division of political spoils, felt it his duty to warn them that "the Socialist was no friend to the working-man or the fisherman, but he was their worst enemy. Nothing was more absolutely fatal to the property of the industrial wage-earning class than the acceptance of such teaching." "These be brave words, my masters," coming from a lawyer like Mr. Finlay. The people everywhere, who can read, now know enough about the objects and aims of Socialism to refuse such gratuitous assertions from interested parasites who feed on "the property of the industrial wage-earning class." There is a promise running through all this growth of Socialism which our enemies have discovered underneath the Irish question, that assures us the religious "fake" will be as unserviceable as Home Rule was, to stop or delay it. The reservoir of Labour's pent-up wrongs, it is evident to those who have eyes to see, will soon burst its banks, and our perjured politicians need not be surprised if they some morning awake to find that it approaches their Bastille through other channels than Parliament. Our Catholic fellow-subjects have not applauded the speeches of our comrades at their League meetings for nought, and the political prigs will discover that on social questions the Catholic workers can now distinguish between things that differ. There is no commandment in their creed which sanctifies the permitting of themselves to be robbed and murdered, and the present industrial system cannot continue without that being done.

The dock strike gave a hint whereby the capture of the capitalist's Bastille could be accomplished without going through Parliament. The fact is the capitalist's stronghold is built on an explosive substance, and the element which will make it work is daily reaching nearer it, and it is that growth our politicians so much dread. The circumstances evolving themselves are beyond the power of either Socialists or politicians to thwart. The Socialist can only point whereto things are tending. The workers are beginning to think less of their political privileges, and more of the relationship of their pay to the value of their productions. The worker looks now at his pay and at what he has done for it, and he says "Twont do." Not only the workers, but the circumstances of our industrial and commercial development are crying out in louder tones day by day, "Twont do!", and the time is at hand when we will be forced to "deal with things not as we wish them to exist, but as they do exist." "Things are in the saddle and ride mankind."

GEORGE McLEAN.

IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE labour movement over here is exceedingly quiet just now—so quiet, that some superficial people might feel inclined to think that there is no such thing as a labour movement in the United States. And yet such people would be essentially in the wrong; for in spite of the breaking up and the failure of the orthodox labour organisations, we are making wonderful headway. The movement has left the sentimental stage—the time when the workers have to be awakened from their apathetic slumber and be made aware of the facts that they too may have rights and that they are most shamefully and cruelly robbed of three-quarters of their rightful earnings—and is entering the scientific stage, the period when it has to be determined, partly by experience, partly by scientific investigations and logical conclusions, which theory is most in accord with evolution and stands on correct sociological first principles. It cannot be contradicted that considering this statement we have made enormous progress. People everywhere begin to take interest in the social question, and the discussion of economic problems is now in most clubs, private circles, and institutions a matter of course. Nor can it under such circumstances be a matter of regret that the old organisations are breaking up, for they consisted of such heterogeneous elements that a sweeping reform such as the changed conditions would have necessitated would surely have been impossible.

The Nationalists and both wings of the Anarchists, the Communistic as well as the philosophic Individualists, are making good progress. But it must be confessed that the progress of the Communistic Anarchists is limited almost entirely to the German population of the United States.

The strikes in London, which we have watched with a great deal of interest, may temporarily infuse some of the old labour organisations with a little life, but the idea that the labour movement is restricted to the struggle of getting good wages for short hours is fast dying out. The workers are beginning to get a dim notion that the economic basis of such tactics is incorrect, and consequently will attach themselves more and more to parties whose economic theories are more correct.

The Socialistic Labour Party (the Social-Democrats) are in a dreadful muddle. For some time two parties have existed within this Party—one favouring political action exclusively, and sneering at the other party who looked for salvation to the eight hours movement. The fight grew bitter. Rosenberg, the old secretary of the S. L. P., headed the political-actionists, and Alexander Jonas and Sergius Schewitsch were the leaders of the opposition faction. Plebiscites were taken, the matter was dragged before a Social-Democratic tribunal, and dire things were threatened. As far as matters are standing just now—and a convention of the Party is deliberating in Chicago behind closed doors—the party of Schewitsch is victorious. They managed to get possession of the two organs of the Party—*Der Socialist* and the *Workmen's Advocate*. One thing may be said, that owing to the stupid leadership of Rosenberg and Bushe, the progress of the whole Socialist movement has been retarded over here. I spoke some days ago to the secretary of the branch of the Socialistic Labour Party in Boston, a good adherent of the Rosenberg-Bushe faction, and was told that they—the Party—consisting of some fifty members, mostly old stagers, would soon start lecturing again in a hall, but that no questions and no discussion would be permitted, because they did not intend to hire halls so that other people could make speeches. During their lectures last winter I noticed that whenever an inconvenient question turned up the unfortunate questioner was most arbitrarily sat upon. Now this spirit will unquestionably prejudice a good many people altogether against Socialism.

The 11,000 acres of the Sioux reservation, which the Government has just succeeded in purchasing from the Indians for the sum of 14,000,000 dollars—which money the Indians never will get—promises to invite almost as big a rush as the famous Oklahoma lands when the latter were thrown open to settlement.

It is said that a secret agreement has been made between the sugar trust and the outside refiners, whereby the latter are to be allowed to refine 30 per cent. of the total output. Hitherto, it is understood, the trust has tacitly consented to an output of 25 per cent. by the outsiders, but the recent increase in the demand for sugar has encouraged the independent refiners to demand more. Claus Spreckels is said to have negotiated the agreement.

The Congress of the Canadian labour organisations has met in Montreal, and passed resolutions to request the Dominion government to no longer subsidise railroad companies with gifts of lands and sums of money, as the interests of the country would be damaged by such proceedings.

The *Labour Union* says: "Prisoners in the penitentiary at Joliet, Ill., have sent 1,500 pounds of bread to the starving miners at Braidwood, Ill.," and *Lucifer* adds, "Here, indeed, is the climax of the wage-slave system! Think of it! Free American labourers in our great protected industries reduced to utter starvation and compelled to accept charity of the convict felons of the penitentiary. The convicts, who are the only order of chattel slaves yet remaining in America, are still able to give out of their abundance 'charity' to the starving free (?) labourers. Shame!"

Consider the foregoing item, and then just look at this clipped from a daily paper: "At Newport, Mrs. Fred Vanderbilt has been serving at her luncheon parties, ices frozen in the shape of strawberries. Each berry is perfect, and has a little green stem and calyx by which it is lifted in the fingers. They are heaped up on little shells of clear ice, and this in turn is set into a plate of crimson cameo glass."

The National Greenback Convention met on the 13th September under the leadership of George O. Jones in Cincinnati, and a platform was agreed upon by the twenty delegates present:—

"It reaffirms resolutions of the Democratic National Convention of 1868 pertaining to the payment of the national debt and to equal taxation of property, and also declares that all laws changing the time or manner of the payment of the public debt since 1865 should be repealed; that all legal tender notes now outstanding should be exchanged for others issued with the words 'promise to pay' stricken from their face, and an additional amount issued; that indications point to a greater financial panic in the near future than this country or the world ever before saw, unless wise and immediate provision be made to sustain tottering confidence; that all sectional prejudices between the people of the North and South should end. The convention appointed a national executive committee, which organised as follows: George O. Jones, chairman; Lee Crandall, vice-chairman; T. J. Sharp and William Richards, secretaries. The chairman and vice-chairman are authorised to formulate a plan of operations."

The following item I clipped from to-day's *Herald*. It speaks for itself:—

"NEW YORK, Sept. 30, 1889.—Three members of the executive board of the Knights of Labour arrived here to-day. They are J. M. Hayes of Philadelphia, J. J. Holland of Florida, and A. W. Wright of Toronto. Master Workman Powderly was expected this morning, but he did not arrive, and he failed to get in to-night. The executive board is surprised, but believe that Powderly has been unavoidably detained. No official business was transacted. There were rumours current to the effect that the real object of the meeting was to endeavour to compose some very serious dissensions that had arisen in the order here, accusations of extravagance and of unfaithfulness to the interests of the Knights of Labour being brought against Powderly. His friends declare that they amount to nothing. The executive board will probably remain in session several days."

William Martin, sealer of weights in New York, has complained of 300 tradesmen for using dishonest weights and measures. Within a week he expects to make complaints against 200 more butchers, grocers, and hucksters who have incorrect scales. Mr. Martin's investigations show that about 30,000,000 pounds of the necessities of life are practically stolen every year from New Yorkers by means of false measures and weights. He has never found a correct pair of scales on a fish-dealer's counter.

Boston, Mass., Oct. 1, 1889.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

THE LABOUR REVOLT.

The Tramway Men.

Meetings are still being held, and the speakers are now threatening a strike if the men's demands are not complied with. That is the sort of talk, my boys; but do not be content with talking, act as well. Don't forget the 9th of November!

The Bakers.

The Baker's Union is now 3,000 strong, and is daily increasing. They mean to come out on the 9th if their demands are not agreed to. November promises to be a lively month.

The Postmen.

The Postmen's Union has been progressing steadily. We are sorry to see, however, that there has been a split among the organisers, Fred Henderson, Tom Dredge, and W. A. Chambers having left the committee. They accuse "the majority of the committee of using their position to further their personal and political aims." This is a very vague charge, which may mean something or nothing. It hardly seems worth while to split up a union because some of its members may not be perfectly disinterested. The seceding members will have to go a long way before they find an organisation of which every member has perfectly pure and disinterested motives.

The Strike at Silvertown.

The men are as yet unconquered, though the last few weeks have been terrible for them to struggle through. The fight began during the excitement of the Great Strike, and when that had concluded the struggle at Silvertown ran a great risk of collapsing through lack of public interest. The directors saw this, and replied to the recent demands of the workpeople, "They may go back at the old rate of pay; or they may stay out till starvation drives them back." Last Sunday a huge demonstration was held in Victoria Park to back up the Silvertown men in their struggle. All the water-side workers who took part in the dock strike were there, and good

collections were made for the brave men and women who have fought so gallantly amid public coldness and neglect. A demonstration was also held on Clerkenwell Green on Sunday morning. It is to be hoped that not only the London workers, but the workers in every town in England, will do their utmost to prevent the directors and their "Norwood" of a manager, Mr. Gray, driving the people back to their work by hunger. Subscriptions may be sent to W. Thorne, Strike Committee, Railway Dining Rooms, Silvertown.

Women to the front!

John Burns and his friends are about to devote their attention to the redemption of the working women. It is a good work, and perhaps not so difficult as it appears at first. The women are poorly paid, it is true, dis-united also, but they are more easily moved to action than men, and they are in the main far more idealistic and unselfish than the masses of mankind. At present time there seems a good chance of stirring them to vigorous action. But a word of warning: John Burns and his friends ought to have had enough of the interference of dignitaries of the church and big middle-class men in labour questions; and I frankly confess I was very sorry to see the Bishop of Bedford in the chair at the recent meeting at the Assembly Hall. It is not long since that that wealthy prelate was advocating "thrift" and "emigration" as a cure for the miseries under which the workers suffer. He has never even written a line that shows that he has the least understanding of the social problem, and we know very well that he was only there to get some cheap popularity for himself and his church, of which both are sorely in need. The presence of the Bishop of Bedford may add to the "respectability" of the movement, but will certainly not add to its efficiency. Why, the first thing the reverend prelate does directly he gets on the platform is to deprecate "strikes." They are "costly and barbarous." Doubtless; but the hard-hearted sweating that produces strikes, what is that, my lord bishop, but "costly and barbarous"? Some people may even find your existence as a luxurious idler "costly and barbarous" also; and costly and barbarous evils sometimes need costly and barbarous methods to get rid of them. In conclusion, I will say that it is a great mistake for the workpeople, not to speak of Socialists, to have anything to do with bishops and other rich sweaters of labour. What they gain in respectability they lose in zeal and fervour; and if the working women's movement goes wrong, the cause may be easily found in the middle-class patronage that has been lavished upon it.

"Storm and victory."

The gas-workers and people of Bristol are to be congratulated. They understand how to strike, and how to strike hard. The gas-workers came out on strike, and darkness hovered over the town. The Town Council called blacklegs to its aid, and introduced them in shoals. They were met at the station by vans to be conveyed to the gas-works. They were met also by an immense populace, armed with bricks and stones, and similar trifles, of which the blacklegs soon had enough. The vans reached the bridge over the Avon, but it was barricaded by overturned carts, while the volleys of missiles fell in furious hail. The vans laden with blacklegs turned back to the station. Here these "honest workmen" sought shelter from the fury of the multitude, bruised and battered as they were by showers of bricks and stones. Other blacklegs who arrived did not like the prospect, and went home. Next day the directors gave in, and the men gained the 5s. advance which they demanded. Capitalists don't like strikes; but they like riots less. Any workmen having a difference with their employers might profitably learn a lesson from the action of the men of Bristol.

Shop Assistants Unite.

We are glad to see that the shop assistants are taking advantage of the present time for the purpose of organisation. The provisional committee of the Shop Assistants Union have issued the following manifesto:—

Fellow Workers,—A Union of Shop Assistants has been formed, and we call upon you to cast aside false and ridiculous class prejudices and take your stand with the ever increasing army of organised labour. We call your attention to the concentration of all distributive establishments, such as Whiteley's, Shoolbred's, Barker's, etc., as well as the sham Co-operative Stores, viz., Army and Navy, Civil Service, and such like; also the establishment of Joint Stock Companies, with hundreds of branch shops. The effect of these developments upon our position is to prevent the hope of our ever becoming our own masters.

In starting this organisation, which, unlike all other assistants' societies, will strive not only to ameliorate our lot, but remove the cause itself under which we suffer, we earnestly call upon you to become members, so that by your aid we shall become a powerful organisation, which with public opinion on our side, will enable us to withstand the encroachments of capital. Our objects are:

1. The limitation of the hours of labour, which are usually in too many cases 16 to 18 hours a day. The result of work done under such high pressure is the very serious deterioration, physically, mentally, and morally, of thousands of our fellow-workers. This applies in many cases to establishments which profess to be the pioneers of early closing. The shutters may be down, but the assistants are still at work and receive no extra remuneration for it.

2. The abolition of all unjust and tyrannical fines, which in too many cases are often used as a means of reducing the already small wage, as well as the system of making contracts which practically outlaw us, thereby placing us absolutely at the mercy of our masters.

3. Longer and definitely fixed meal-times, which at present often consist of only a quarter of an hour, and even that not free from interruption. We also demand that food shall at least be wholesome and in sufficient quantity.

And Lastly, as soon as possible, we propose to submit a standard wage in each particular trade.

Signed by the General Secretary on behalf of the Provisional Committee, composed of the following trades:—Grocers, Drapers, Clerks, Chemists, Outfitters, Ironmongers, Provisions, Jewellers, and Stationers.

Until permanent offices are established all communications should be addressed, General Secretary, 177, Great Portland Street, which communications are strictly private.

Keir Hardie and the Penicuik Disaster.

Our friend Keir Hardie has another article in the *Labour Tribune* upon this disaster. He accuses the authorities in Scotland of endeavouring to hush up the causes of such fearful catastrophes. Keir Hardie appears to be of the opinion that the extension of the English "crown's quest" law to Scotland would be useful in bringing home the guilt to the capitalists, who in their selfish greed bring about these wholesale slaughters. The account he gives of the way the law enquires into the preventable murder of miners in Scotland would be amusing if the subject were not too deeply serious for laughter.

"The case is reported to the police and to the Inspector of Mines. The in-

spector pays a visit to the scene of the accident, as soon as his convenience or his opportunity will permit. I have known ten days elapse before the place has been visited by the inspector. Having seen the place, he next makes a report, if he thinks there is anything suspicious about it, to the Fiscal, the Fiscal being the representative of the Crown in our local courts of law. That official asks the local police to make enquiries and report. This the police do to the best of their ability, but the chances are ten to one that not one of the staff has ever been down a pit. On receiving the police report the Fiscal may, if he deems it necessary, cite a few witnesses to come to his office, where he takes their statements. Having thus fortified himself with 'evidence,' he has to decide whether there is a case against any one, and very naturally comes to the conclusion that, since the poor fellow has been killed, and as his knowledge of mining and mining laws is somewhat hazy, and, moreover, and most important of all, as all the reports made are privileged and therefore hidden from prying eyes, the best way will be to say no more about it, and the 'enquiry' is at an end. . . . Take the Mauricewood Pit disaster. Here there is strong *prima facie* evidence of neglect. Practical miners are saying that the accident could not have happened had the provisions of the Mines Act been complied with. Instead of inviting the most open investigation into all the facts of the case, every attempt is being made to hush the whole thing up. With a view to gulling the public, a report has appeared through the press that an enquiry into the cause of the disaster had been held. But the enquiry consisted of a meeting in the company's office between the manager, the overman, the mines inspector, and the Fiscal. An impartial tribunal, truly! The manager and the overman implicated in the guilt, if guilt there be; the Inspector of Mines the most culpable of all, if the Mines Act has been so flagrantly violated; the Fiscal not daring to have an opinion of his own in the face of the weighty evidence of such a body of experts."

But does Mr. Hardie think that the extension of the coroner's inquest to Scotland by law will prevent these mining massacres? I fear not. The families of the men who die through preventable causes on the mines and railways in England have now the consolation of knowing that the body has been "viewed" by a jury; but I never heard a verdict of "murder" yet brought against either mineowners or railway directors. No; the blame is usually shifted off upon some unfortunate subordinate; the jury, under direction of the coroner, returns a verdict censuring this scapegoat, but never touching the really guilty parties. While we have a privileged class, living in luxury upon the labour of others, these wholesale butcheries will continue.

P.S.—The editor of the *Labour Tribune* grumbles because we forgot to mention the source in our quotation of Keir Hardie's first article. We hope he will now be satisfied; we have put the name of his paper in this time. We hope the next time he "collars" our poetry he will also not forget to mention where it came from. We do not like to see it "Buried Alive" without the slightest acknowledgment. N.

Horsehair and Fibre-workers' Union.

The readers of this journal have already been made acquainted with the facts of the strike of the fibre-workers at Messrs. Laycock's, Sheffield, and also that the struggle is now in its seventh week, both the men and women standing out together in the fight against the fourteen tyrannical rules published in our issue of September 21st, and also for an increase of ten per cent. on their work, which they allege was taken from them two years ago. Since the commencement of the strike a union was started, and has been well supported by the workpeople in all branches of the trade in Sheffield, and has been successful in securing the financial assistance of the other trade organisations of the town. They are also endeavouring to form unions in London and Manchester, so as to secure the solidarity of the whole of the workers in this business—the work being principally done in the places above-mentioned; and there being less than a thousand of these operatives in the whole of England, the task is easy.

In order to start the union in London, the Sheffield men sent their secretary, who arrived at St. Pancras last Saturday morning, calling later in the day at Farringdon Road, to secure the assistance of the Socialist League. On Saturday afternoon a preliminary meeting was held at the "Joiners' Arms," Hackney Road, Mr. Hodges in the chair. The necessity for combination against their masters was insisted on by the Sheffield delegate and by H. Moore, W. B. Parker, and others. But on Monday night a crowded meeting was held in the large room at the "Swan," Bethnal Green Road, where, under the presidency of J. Blackburn, the new union was launched. The most pleasing feature about the meeting was the determination that all workers in this trade, whether skilled or not, should be included in the union. A provisional committee was elected to do the preliminary work and to call a further meeting.

On Sunday morning at Flat Iron Square, and in the afternoon at Hyde Park, the Sheffield delegate (whose name, for obvious reasons, is omitted here), addressed meetings, under the auspices of the Socialist League, at which places 2s. and 7s. 1d. were collected. Our comrade stated that the strikers had been well supported by our Sheffield comrades of the Socialist Society. The other speakers at these meetings included D. J. Nicoll, G. Cores, T. Cantwell, and W. B. Parker. A union will be at once formed in Manchester, where doubtless they will be assisted as far as possible by our Branch of the League in that city. The Sheffield delegate returned home on Tuesday morning. W. B. P.

Clyde Steel-workers' Strike.

This strike, which was referred to last week, still continues. One of the middlemen or sweaters, whom the men on strike are struggling to abolish, fired on the assembly that serenaded him and wounded a man and a boy. As he has not yet been tried for the discharging of firearms, I cannot at present comment on the affair. Comrade Cunningham Graham was to address the men, along with comrade Keir Hardie, on Friday night, but was prevented doing so by an attack of rheumatism. There is great excitement in the vicinity of Rutherglen and Cambuslang, where the works are situated, and meetings of angry men and women are held daily.

Forfar Factories' Lock-out.

Except at the Messrs. Laird's factory, the lock-out in the factories of Forfar is now in full operation. The operatives at Victoria Works (Messrs. John Lowson, jun., and Co.) approached the firm and requested not to be locked-out, because, as their wages were higher than in the other factories, they had no intention of striking. The firm replied that they had decided to support the Messrs. Craik, whose workers were on strike, and that until the strike ended there the lock-out would continue. At a meeting of the operatives it was explained that the contest was not so much for an increase of 5 per cent. on the wages as to decide whether the employers' union could crush the workers' union. G. McL.

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.

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. North London, to end of August. Leicester, North Kensington, Manchester, and St. Georges East, to end of September.

Propaganda Fund.—Oct. 6th, St. Georges, 1s. 1½d.; Samuels, 1s.; R. T., 1s.; T. B., 6d.; collection Propaganda Committee, 2s. 3d.; October 13th, St. Georges, 1s.

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.; Kitz, 6d.; A. J., 6d.; R. J., 1s.; Rose, 6d.; B. W., 6d.; Mrs. Schack, 1s.; Nicoll, 6d.; Samuels, 6d.; J. B., 6d.; Mrs. Edwards, 6d.; F. C. S. S., 1s.; and C. Saunders, 1s.

REPORTS.

LONDON OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.—*Chelsea*—On Sunday morning a good meeting was held on the Embankment, when Samuels spoke for over an hour to an attentive audience, and although he criticised and challenged the tactics and dogmas of the "only Socialist organisation in Great Britain," he could not get any opposition; Beckett sold 27 *Commonweal*. *Hoxton*—A good meeting was held here on Thursday evening, and was addressed by Davis, Kitz, Dr. Creaghe, and Parker. *Hyde Park*—Sunday afternoon, good meeting addressed by Cores, Cantwell, Parker, and the delegate of the Sheffield Hair and Fibre Worker's Union; 27 *Weals* sold and 7s. collected for the Fibre Workers' Strike Fund. *Union Street*—Good meeting here; Leggett spoke; 1s. collected. *Clerkenwell Green*—Good meeting addressed by Blundell and Brookes on Sunday evening.

MITCHAM.—Large meeting on the Fair Green, addressed by Kitz and Mowbray. In the evening at Duppas Hill, Croydon, a fair meeting was held, addressed by Kitz and Pillier. A number of Mitcham comrades turned up at the Croydon meeting; sale of *Weals* for day 52; collection for local propaganda, 1s. 5d.

NORTH KENSINGTON.—Good meeting at Latimer Road; speakers, Lyne, sen., James, and Tochatti; 8d. collected and 40 *Weals* sold. Also a good meeting at St. Ann's Road; speakers were Crouch, Lyne, sen., and Tochatti, and Wear-dale (S.D.F.); 16 *Weals* sold. The branch held a meeting at 8 p.m. of laundresses at the Clarendon Coffee Tavern, Crouch in the chair; Mrs. Barber, from Laundress Union, attended and stated the objects of the Union.

SOUTHWARK.—At Flat Iron Square, a fairly good meeting was held here on Sunday morning; comrades Nicoll, Parker, and a Sheffield friend were the speakers. A collection was made for the Hair and Fibre Dressers Union, and a few *Weals* sold.

STREATHAM.—A good meeting held at the Fountain, addressed by Mowbray; 2s. 6d. worth of pamphlets sold, 2s. 7½d. collected, and sold 73 *Commonweal*; the branch is making rapid progress.

ST. GEORGES EAST.—A well attended members' meeting on Wednesday. On Saturday night, a good meeting on the Waste was addressed by Cores; fair sale of literature.

ABERDEEN.—Although no reports have appeared in last two issues, work has been carried on steadily. Reports not sent through misunderstanding. On Sunday, 29th ult., a great meeting was addressed by Duncan at Castle Street. On 5th inst., Duncan and Leatham (the latter is again in town and working meantime) addressed a large and enthusiastic meeting; questions and good sale of literature. At indoor meeting on 7th, Nicoll's lecture on "The Manchester Martyrs" read and discussed. On 12th, no meeting held owing to heavy rains.

GLASGOW.—On Tuesday evening Joe Burgoyne, Tim Burgoyne, Downie, Gilbert, and McKenzie (Edinburgh) spoke on Cathedral Square, where the crowd listened with great attention and evident sympathy to our comrades. This is becoming a very useful station. On the same evening Glasier "heckled" Mr. Provand, M.P., in the Wellington Halls—the M.P.'s stupid replies causing a deal of discussion in the local press. On Sunday, at two o'clock, Joe and Tim Burgoyne addressed a good meeting on Jail Square. At 5.30 Glasier and Gilbert spoke at Paisley Road Toll; we are considering the advisability of engaging a hall and forming a branch of the League in that district.

HALIFAX.—A large demonstration of gas-stokers was held on Sunday, at which our comrades here assisted. *Commonweal* sold well. The meeting was the largest ever held here; 9,000 people were present. In the evening we had a visit from some comrades at Leeds, after attending a lecture by Mr. Sutcliffe on the Municipal Elections. The discussion on Socialism and Individualism is adjourned till after these elections. Our comrades are working hard to sell paper.

LEICESTER.—John Turner addressed three meetings and produced marked impression. The Radical Club men are becoming enthusiastic, and the president is coming up to join us next Thursday. Our evening out-door meeting was held under difficulties, in the midst of the "fair." Eight new members joined—the biggest haul we have had. Collection, 16s. 9d.; literature, 4s. 11½d.—A. G.

MANCHESTER.—On Sunday morning we held a meeting at Phillips Park; Baillie and Stockton spoke; 14 *Commonweal* sold, and 1s. 1d. collected for local propaganda. In Stevenson Square, in the afternoon, a meeting was addressed by Barton, Ritson, and Parkinson; good sale of *Commonweal*; 1s. 2d. collected.

NORWICH.—On Thursday last W. Moore read a paper on "Revolutionary Socialism"; discussion followed; several comrades took part. Moore spoke at a meeting of wire-weavers held to form a union, and also took part in a discussion at one of the local temperance societies. Sunday morning good meeting held at St. Faiths; Emery and White spoke; opened with a song. In the afternoon, a good meeting held in the Market Place; Reynolds spoke at some considerable length, dealing with the recent strikes, and also upon working-men expecting anything to be done through political action. Comrade Swash followed; opposition to Reynolds's remarks was given by a local trades-unionist, and was well answered by Reynolds; audience very attentive. In the evening another capital meeting held in the open air, addressed by comrades Reynolds and W. Moore. Houghton and Morley went to Diss in the morning.

YARMOUTH.—On Saturday night we held a mass meeting on the Hall Quay, to protest against the cruelty of the police in doing to death a poor old and infirm man (through the "Frog's March"), and to obtain evidence against the police. The speakers were comrade Reynolds, Mr. Gibson, and Jacques. On Sunday morning, on Priory Plain, comrade Reynolds gave a long and earnest address on "Socialism in London," which was well received by the audience. In the evening, on Colman's Granary Quay, our usual meeting was held, the speakers being Mr. Jacques, local secretary of the Seamen and Firemen's Union, and comrade Ruffold. 16 *Commonweal* sold; 3s. 3d. collected towards paying comrade Reynolds's fare from London.—J. H.

DUBLIN.—At Progressist Club, 87 Marlboro' Street, Oct. 12th, A. Kavanagh lectured on "The Necessity for Labour Organisation." The principles of internationalism were well expounded by Graham, Thomson, Shields, and Wilson.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Battersea.—All communications to E. Buteux, 20 Abercrombie Street, Battersea Park Road.
Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (¾-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). On Sunday October 20, at 8 p.m., lecture by G. Cores, "Practical Socialism." Sun. 27, C. W. Mowbray, "Foreign and English Labour."
East London.—Crown Coffee Tavern, 2 Columbia Road, Hackney Road. We have taken this hall for lectures and other Branch business. Members are requested to attend meeting on Sunday October 20, at 8 p.m., to arrange for series of lectures for winter season.
Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Oct. 20, at 8 p.m., A Lecture. French Class, 8 to 9 every Friday evening.
Merton.—3 Clare Villas, 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. On Sunday evening, October 20, T. R. Wright (Fabian) will lecture on "The Objections to Socialism."
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. Hill's Coffee Tavern, Great Charlotte Street, Blackfriars Road, S.E. Branch meeting Friday at 8 p.m. Comrades are particularly requested to attend—important.
Streatham.—Meets every Thursday 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.
Dundee.—Address to W. Cameron, 17 Laurence Street, Dundee.
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.—Exchange Buildings, Rutland Street. In the Vine Street Radical Club, on Sunday October 20, at 10 a.m., H. H. Sparling (S.L.) will lecture.
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.—Sunday October 20, at 8 p.m., in the Gordon Hall, a lecture by J. Blackwell (London), "The Gospel of Freedom." Monday, at 8 p.m., Entertainment in Gordon Hall by one of the local minstrel troupes, on behalf of branch funds. Admission 2d. each. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Thursday, at 8 p.m., a Discussion will be opened in Gordon Hall; all comrades should turn up. Hall open every evening from 8 o'clock.
Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25½ 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 19.

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

SUNDAY 20.

11 Latimer Road StationLyne sen. and jun., and Dean
 11.30..... Chelsea—EmbankmentNicoll
 11.30..... Kilburn—"Old Plough," Kilburn LaneMainwaring and Samuels
 11.30..... North Kensington—St. Ann's RoadCrouch and Maughan
 11.30..... Commercial Road—Union StreetTurner
 11.30..... Mitcham—Fair GreenKitz and Pillier
 11.30..... Regent's ParkMowbray
 11.30..... Southwark—Flat Iron SquareDavis, Cores, and Holloway
 3.30..... Hyde Park—Marble ArchCantwell and Nicoll
 3.30..... Victoria ParkParker and Mrs. Schack
 7 Weltje Road, Ravenscourt ParkHammersmith Branch
 7.30..... Mitcham—Fair GreenThe Branch
 8 Streatham—Fountain, High StreetKitz
 7.30..... Walham Green—back of ChurchHammersmith Branch
 8 Clerkenwell GreenBlundell

TUESDAY 22.

8 Walham Green—back of ChurchHammersmith Branch
 8 Mile-end Waste.....Cores

THURSDAY 24.

8.15..... Hoxton ChurchKitz and Parker

FRIDAY 25.

8 Bethnal Green—Gibraltar WalkDavis and Cores
 8 Islington—Prebend StreetParker

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, Tuesday: Cathedral Square, at 8 p.m.
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: Phillips Park Gates, at 11; Stevenson Square, at 3.
Norwich.—Sunday: St. Faiths, at 11 a.m.; Market Place, at 3 and 7.30 p.m. Addresses by J. Blackwell (London) and others.
Sheffield.—Sunday: Hillfoot Bridge, at 11 a.m.; Mars Hill, Attercliffe, at 11; Rotherham College Yard, at 6.30; Pump, Westbar, at 8.
Yarmouth.—Sunday: Priory Plain, at 11; Fish Wharf, at 3; Colman's Granary Quay, at 7. Bradwell, Sunday at 11.30. Belton, every Monday at 8.

LOUGHBOROUGH (near Leicester).—H. H. Sparling will give an address in the Market Place on Saturday October 19, at 8 p.m.

CHELSEA DISCUSSION FORUM, Swiss Cottage, Kings Road, nearly opposite the Eleusis.—Sunday Oct. 20, at 8 p.m., H. Samuels will open on "Strikes."

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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.

Thus, while we abide by the old motto

Liberty, Fraternity, Equality,

we say that the existence of private property destroys Equality, and therefore under it there can be neither Liberty nor Fraternity.

We add to the first motto then this other one—

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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