

# THE COMMONWEAL

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NEWS FROM NOWHERE:

OR,

### AN EPOCH OF REST.

BEING SOME CHAPTERS FROM A UTOPIAN ROMANCE.

CHAP. XVII. (continued).—HOW THE CHANGE CAME.

"WELL, the Sunday of the meeting came, and great crowds came to Trafalgar Square in procession, the greater part of the Committee amongst them, surrounded by their band of men armed somehow or other. The streets were quite peaceful and quiet, though there were many spectators to see the procession pass. Trafalgar Square had no body of police in it; the people took quiet possession of it, and the meeting began. The armed men stood round the principal platform, and there were a few others armed amidst the general crowd; but by far the greater part were unarmed.

"Most people thought the meeting would go off peaceably; but the members of the Committee had heard from various quarters that something would be attempted against them; but these rumours were vague, and they had no idea of what threatened. They soon found out.

"For before the streets about the Square were filled, a body of soldiers poured into it from the north-west corner and took up their places by the houses that stood on the west side. The people growled at the sight of the red-coats; the armed men of the Committee stood undecided, not knowing what to do; and indeed this new influx so jammed the crowd together that, unorganised as they were, they had little chance of working through it. They had scarcely grasped the fact of their enemies being there, when another column of soldiers, pouring out of the streets which led into the great southern road going down to the Parliament House (still existing, and called the Dung Market), and also from the embankment by the side of the Thames, marched up, pushing the crowd into a denser and denser mass, and formed along the south side of the Square. Then any of those who could see what was going on, could see at once that they were in a trap, and could only wonder what would be done with them.

"The closely-packed crowd would not or could not budge, except under the influence of the height of terror, which was soon to be supplied to them. A few of the armed men struggled to the front, or climbed up to the base of the monument which then stood there, that they might face the wall of hidden fire before them; and to most men (there were many women amongst them) it seemed as if the end of the world had come, and to-day seemed strangely different from yesterday. No sooner were the soldiers drawn up as aforesaid than, says an eye-witness, 'a glittering officer on horseback came prancing out from the ranks on the south, and read something from a paper which he held in his hand; which something very few heard; but I was told afterwards that it was an order for us to disperse, and a warning that he had legal right to fire on the crowd else, and that he would do so. The crowd took it as a challenge of some sort, and hoarse threatening roar went up from them; and after that there was comparative silence for a little, till the officer had got back into the ranks. I was near the edge of the crowd, toward the soldiers,' says this eye-witness, 'and I saw three little machines being wheeled out in front of the ranks, which I knew for mechanical guns. I cried out, "Throw yourselves down! they are going to fire!" But no one scarcely could throw himself down, so tight as the crowd were packed. I heard a sharp order given, and wondered where I should be the next minute; and then— It was as if the earth had opened, and hell had come up bodily amidst us. It is no use trying to describe the scene that followed. Deep lanes were mowed amidst the thick crowd; the dead and dying covered the ground, and the shrieks and wails and cries of horror filled all the air, till it seemed as if there were nothing else in the world but murder and death. Those of our men who were still unhurt cheered wildly and opened a scattered fire on the soldiers. One or two fell; and I saw the officers going up and down the ranks urging the men to fire again; but they received the orders in sullen silence, and let the butts of their guns fall. Only one sergeant ran to a machine-gun and began to set it going; but a tall young man, an officer too, ran out of the ranks and dragged him back by the collar; and the soldiers stood there motionless while the horror-stricken crowd,

nearly wholly unarmed (for most of the armed men had fallen in that first discharge), drifted out of the Square. I was told afterwards that the soldiers on the west side had fired also, and done their part of the slaughter. How I got out of the Square I scarcely know: I went, not feeling the ground under me, what with rage and terror and despair.'

"So says our eye-witness. The number of the slain on the side of the people in that shooting during a minute was prodigious; but it was not easy to come at the truth about it; it was probably between one and two thousand. Of the soldiers, six was killed outright, and a dozen wounded."

I listened, trembling with excitement. The old man's eyes glittered and his face flushed as he spoke, and told the tale of what I had often thought might happen. Yet I wondered that he should have got so elated about a mere massacre, and I said:

"How fearful! And I suppose that this massacre put an end to the whole revolution for that time?"

"No, no," cried old Hammond; "it began it!"

He filled his glass and mine, and stood up and cried out, "Drink this glass to the memory of those who died there, for indeed it would be a long tale to tell how much we owe them."

I drank, and he sat down again and went on.

"That massacre of Trafalgar Square began the civil war; though, like all such events, it gathered head slowly, and people scarcely knew what a crisis they were acting in.

"Terrible as the massacre was, and hideous and overpowering as the first terror had been, when the people had time to think about it, their feeling was one of anger rather than fear; although the military organisation of the state of siege was now carried out without shrinking by the clever young general. For though the ruling-classes when the news spread next morning felt one gasp of horror and even dread, yet the Government and their immediate backers felt that now the wine was drawn and must be drunk. However, even the most reactionary of the capitalist papers, with two exceptions, stunned by the tremendous news, simply gave an account of what had taken place, without making any comment upon it. The exceptions were one a so-called 'liberal' paper (the Government of the day was of that complexion), which, after a preamble in which it declared its undeviating sympathy with the cause of labour, proceeded to point out that in times of revolutionary disturbance it behoved the Government to be just but firm, and that by far the most merciful way of dealing with the poor madmen who were attacking the very foundations of society (which had made them mad and poor) was to shoot them at once, so as to stop others from drifting into a position in which they would run a chance of being shot. In short, it praised the determined action of the Government as the acmé of human wisdom and mercy, and exulted in the inauguration of an epoch of reasonable democracy free from the tyrannical fads of Socialism.

"The other exception was a paper thought to be one of the most violent opponents of democracy, and so it was; but the editor of it found his manhood, and spoke for himself and not for his paper. In a few simple, indignant words he asked people to consider what a society was worth which had to be defended by the massacre of unarmed citizens, and called on the Government to withdraw their state of siege and put the general and his officers who fired on the people on their trial for murder. He went further, and declared that whatever his opinion might be as to the doctrines of the Socialists, he for one should throw in his lot with the people, until the Government atoned for their atrocity by showing that they were prepared to listen to the demands of men who knew what they wanted and whom the decrepitude of society forced into pushing their demands.

"Of course, this editor was immediately arrested by the military power; but his bold words were already in the hands of the public and produced a great effect: so great an effect that the Government, after some vacillation, withdrew the state of siege, though at the same time it strengthened the military organisation and made it more stringent. Three of the Committee of Public Safety had been slain in Trafalgar Square: of the rest, the greater part went back to their old place of meeting and there awaited the event calmly. They were arrested there on the Monday morning, and would have been shot at once by the general, who was a mere military machine, if the Government had

not shrunk before the responsibility of killing men without any trial. There was at first a talk of trying them by a special commission of judges, as it was called—i.e., before a set of men bound to find them guilty, and whose business it was to do so. But with the Government the cold fit had succeeded to the hot one; and the prisoners were brought before a jury at the assizes. There a fresh blow awaited the Government; for in spite of the judge's charge, which distinctly instructed the jury to find the prisoners guilty, they were acquitted, and the jury added to their verdict a presentment, in which they condemned the action of the soldiery, in the queer phraseology of the day, as 'rash, unfortunate, and unnecessary.' The Committee of Public Safety renewed its sittings, and from thenceforth was a rallying-point in opposition to the Parliament. The Government now gave way on all sides, and yielded to the demands of the people; though there was a widespread plot for effecting a *coup d'état* set on foot between the leaders of the two so-called opposing parties. The well-meaning part of the public was overjoyed, and thought that all danger of a civil war was over. The victory of the people was celebrated by huge meetings held in the parks and elsewhere in memory of the victims of the great massacre."

WILLIAM MORRIS.

TO BE CONTINUED.]

## PRINCIPLES OF NATIONALISM.

WE have been several times asked to explain the principles and methods of American "Nationalism." Rather than run the risk of misrepresenting a movement, which is at all events a sign of the way in which things are progressing over there, we print the authoritative statement of the *California Nationalist*, the foremost Western representative, edited by W. C. Owen, at one time an active Socialist in San Francisco:

1. The Principles of Nationalism. Nationalists maintain that man's struggle should be with nature alone and not with his brother man; that the way to fight successfully with nature is to join hands, to co-operate. Nationalists say that the proper function of a railroad is to distribute goods and passengers as expeditiously and conveniently as possible, and not to run the distribution of the country for the sole purpose of putting big dividends into a few pockets. They say that the sole object of farming is to supply the hungry with food, of cloth-making to clothe the naked backs, and so forth. In short, Nationalism teaches that production should be for general use, not for individual profit. They say that under the present system labour is bought just as it was in slavery, save that the purchaser has not even the obligation to provide for his "hands." They say that not only is the wage system worse than slavery in this respect, but also because the wage-slave has to beg for the privilege of selling himself. They say that this condition arises directly from the reduction to private ownership of the means of production. These private owners then compete with one another, which results in the more powerful reducing the weaker to bankruptcy. The method by which the rich become richer is by taking what is known as the "surplus value" of the labourer's work; that is to say, a labourer is only hired on the understanding that he produces more than he gets back in the shape of wages. This results in what is known as "over-production," the producer obviously not being paid enough to enable him to buy back the goods made. Apart from this, over-production naturally results from the planlessness of all modern production, each manufacturer working in the dark and being ignorant of the amount of goods his competitors are turning out. The Trusts have formed to regulate this planlessness, but they are regulating it from a purely selfish standpoint; that is to say—they produce just as much as it will suit their pockets to, not as much as the public really wants. Nationalists propose to remedy this by so regulating industry as that it shall perform, with the greatest nicety of execution, its true work, viz., that of supplying human wants—the necessities without which people CANNOT live first, the luxuries afterwards. It being clearly proven that our means of production are a long way ahead of our capacities for consuming, it follows that the putting those means at the disposal of all who are willing to work is equivalent to the abolition of involuntary poverty.

2. How do we propose to introduce Nationalism? Simply by following the natural development of affairs, as we see them now passing, to its logical conclusion. It is certain that we have long since left the day of small undertakings behind, and that the tendency of all modern invention is to produce and distribute on a larger and larger scale. The railroads in particular have rendered this possible, and there is no fact more clearly proved than that the larger the aggregate of capital employed and the greater the number of men co-operating in production and distribution, the greater the results in proportion to the effort put forth. The common sense of the race forbids its going back to the days of small production; the tendency to vaster combinations is a natural force that cannot be checked, and, as the individual grew into the partnership, the partnerships into the corporation, and the various corporations into the Trust, so the various Trusts must sooner or later merge into the great National Trust in which all citizens will be equal partners. We propose to frankly acknowledge, instead of obstinately opposing this tendency, by getting the people to absorb one after the other the leading industries of the country. This is in entire harmony with the laws of progress as we see them now working; the great National Trust swallows up one by one the smaller individual Trusts, as they in their turn swallowed the corporations, and as the corporations swallowed the small individual producers. It is probable that the two great distributing agencies—the railroad and the telegraph—will be the first to be absorbed, for distribution is to-day the most important part of production.

3. What are the best books on Nationalism? The two best are, we think, unquestionably "Looking Backward" and Gronlund's "Co-operative Commonwealth." We hope, however, to prepare a list of books upon the subject.

The *Nationalist*, of Boston, a monthly magazine which may be regarded as the most important periodical of the movement, of which Edward Bellamy will henceforth be editor, and to which Laurence

Gronlund is a regular contributor, prints in every number the following "Declaration of Principles":

The principle of the Brotherhood of Humanity is one of the eternal truths that govern the world's progress on lines that distinguish human nature from brute nature. The principle of competition is simply the application of the brutal law of the survival of the strongest and most cunning. Therefore, so long as competition continues to be the ruling factor in our industrial system, the highest development of the individual cannot be reached, the loftiest aims of humanity cannot be realised. No truth can avail unless practically applied. Therefore, those who seek the welfare of man must endeavour to suppress the system founded on the brutal principle of competition, and put in its place another based on the nobler principle of association. But in striving to apply this nobler and wiser principle to the complex conditions of modern life, we advocate no sudden or ill-considered changes; we make no war upon individuals; we do not censure those who have accumulated immense fortunes simply by carrying to a logical end the false principle on which business is now based. The combinations, trusts, and syndicates, of which the people at present complain, demonstrate the practicability of our basic principle of association. We merely seek to push this principle a little further, and have all industries operated in the interest of all by the nation—the people organised—the organic unity of the whole people. The present industrial system proves itself wrong by the immense wrongs it produces; it proves itself absurd by the immense waste of energy and material which is admitted to be its concomitant. Against this system we raise our protest; for the abolition of the slavery it has wrought and would perpetuate, we pledge our best efforts.

All this reads very well; but, when examined, it only comes to a rather crude State Socialism after all, and there seems but little need for the new name, and none for the tremendous fuss that is being made about it. Dr. J. W. Moliere, speaking before the First Nationalist Club of San Francisco the other day, was careful to point out how very respectable they were, and how little they had to do with mere vulgar Socialism and Communism:

Communists, said he, would make all property common property; while Nationalists will place only the materials of production, land, machinery, raw materials, etc., under collective control. Communism compels every man to do his share of labour and allows him to consume as he needs. Nationalism allows every man the privilege of working as much or as little as he pleases, but "makes his consumption exactly commensurate with his performance." The motto of Communism is, "Every man according to his needs;" that of Nationalism, "Every man according to his deeds." We acknowledge that the Communist motto is a very generous one, but our motto is more just—taking human nature as it is to-day—and we claim it as our peculiar merit that we take society just as it is and endeavour to deal by it justly and without false sentiment.

After reading what the Nationalists have to say for themselves, English Socialists will most likely conclude to stick to their unrespectable name and work on in their old way. We welcome the aid of anybody who will render it, and don't object to his doing it his own way, but we can't help our unbelief in the efficacy of rose-water and half-way revolutions. S.

## WHO ARE "LABOURERS."

A COMMON objection of the hired apologists for capitalism to the labour movement is that the term "labour" is used in too restricted a sense. "We are all labourers," they tell us. "The man who works with his brain no less than the man who toils with his muscles—the editor, book-keeper, manufacturer, or merchant is just as much a labourer, works as hard and as long as the hod-carrier or blacksmith." This sounds very plausible, says the *Journal of the Knights of Labour*, and no doubt many are disposed to consider it valid reasoning. There is one sense, indeed, in which it is true. All who do needful and useful work can claim to be labourers, whether their work be that of superintendence or a subordinate order of brainwork. No one recognises this more fully, or wants to give it greater prominence, than the Order of the Knights of Labour. We wish, indeed, that the classes who live by brain labour would realise that they have a common interest and common rights with the manual workers. There is no bar which excludes them from co-operating as members in full standing with their brethren of the class more generally recognised as "labourers" in the noble work of emancipating toil from the clutches of the exploiting class. Our only regret is, that so few of them seem willing to sink caste distinctions and unite with the manual workers.

As to the other class, the brain workers, who are also employers or capitalists, they occupy a somewhat different position. Still, even against these we have no enmity, provided they are willing to unite with us in an honest effort to rectify the abuses of the industrial and economic system. We have no quarrel with them as workers; far from it. But most of them are in this position, that, although they do more or less work, perhaps a good deal of work, they draw most of their income, not from their work, but from the fact that they control the means and forces of production, and so are able to levy a tribute on the earnings of others. Obviously it is the shallowest sort of subterfuge to say that a millionaire landlord ought to be classed as a worker because he chooses to keep his own books and thereby saves perhaps what amounts to a cent on every dollar of his income, or that a bondholder can also claim to eat his bread in the sweat of his brow because he clips his own coupons and buys and sells securities personally.

But the singular part of the matter is, that in those comparatively rare instances in which brain workers of either class show their practical sympathy with their fellow-toilers of the forge and workshop, by taking part in the labour reform movement, these very same champions of capitalism turn round on them with the sneer that they do not represent the opinions of the honest toiler, with whom they have nothing in common. Then they are not "labourers"? Oh, dear, no. They are only demagogues and jaw-smiths!

It is really very hard to satisfy the literary hirelings and toadies of the moneybags. But fortunately there is no need of our trying to do so.

"Trade is always the harbinger of peace," says the prophet of San Francisco. Is it? retorts the *Bulletin*. Think again—what of Britain's little and big trading wars all over the world? With America, China, in Asia, in Africa, India, Egypt, Sumatra, everywhere.

## IN THE UNITED STATES.

Mr. WILLIAM ROCKEFELLER (one of the "bosses" of the Standard Oil Trust), who is building a 3,000,000 dollar cottage at Tarrytown, N. Y., says it's only just an ordinary house, merely for his amusement. That's all.—*Boston Herald.*

The *Boston Herald* says:

"Of the 14,770 murders in this country during the past six years, 558 were avenge by hanging, and 975 by lynching. This rather goes to show that Judge Lynch is more expeditious in his methods than the regular courts of law, and that both are considerably behindhand in their work."

A pity we are living in the effete East. Montana would suit the temperament and the appetites of our newspaper-men—the newspaper-men of the hub of the universe—considerably better.

Brave E. H. Heywood, publisher of the *Word*, was arrested in Boston Saturday evening on a charge of circulating alleged obscene matter through the medium of his paper. He was locked up in the city prison, but was released on bail, his bondsmen being George W. Stevens and Marshall A. Warren. The complaint in this case was made by Henry Chase, agent of that contemptible, because hypocritical, society for the suppression of vice. In court yesterday he was held in 1,000 dollars to May 23. It seems to me that the greater the slavery in a country is to-day, the prouder its inhabitants are of their liberty.

Edward Bellamy said to a *New York Sun* reporter:

"Everything is, and has been, working in our direction. The inter-State commerce law I regard as a very important entering wedge. It is a manifestation of the tendency toward centralisation, which is another form of association. You will observe that since the War of Independence there has been a gradual but very noticeable decadence in the importance of State government. The State has been decreasing in dignity and power. It got a tremendous blow in the results of the civil war. This tendency will continue until you will finally see the functions of State government lapse into innocuous desuetude, as—oh—What's-his-name says. You have only to read the titles of bills introduced of late years into Congress to be convinced of this tendency."

Bellamy might be right if it were not for the fact that besides the centripetal forces, there are in the United States, as well as in all other so-called civilised countries, also strong centrifugal forces at work. It's not wise for novices to prophecy too much.

Burnette G. Haskell, once leader of the "Black" International, the ultra-radicals, now chief of the Nationalist movement in California, made the following remarks to the *Sun* reporter:

"We propose to win this next election here. And then this is our programme: Our Nationalist board of supervisors will, by municipal ordinances, declare that the city and county of San Francisco henceforth proposes to conduct its own affairs; that it will begin the immediate construction of its own water works, bakeries, abattoirs, street-car lines, bathing houses and laundries. It will pay for the construction and operation of these in scrip, and will receive this scrip for water, bread, meat, car fare, and washing, and eventually for taxation. This will give this scrip full currency as money, and at par—perhaps may place it at a premium. The scrip being received for the product and redeemed by it, and then destroyed, will constitute a circulating medium, subject to no fluctuation in value." Then follows a series of calculations as to the cost of municipal plants and the returns from them, of which this is a sample: "If an aqueduct is constructed bringing the water from the Sierras across the State (and sold to other towns and farmers on the route as well), it will produce a revenue of 1,500,000 dollars per year, and will cost 10,000,000 dollars, paying for itself in seven years." After figuring similarly for the other municipal enterprises, Mr. Haskell proceeds: "The very first year we would nearly pay for all our improvements. The second year we could buy up the outside lands and build homes for our workers. The third year we could establish other industries; and in ten years we could actually alone pay off the national debt. The point of attack is the municipality; the weapon is competition with municipal scrip receivable for the goods produced, and the road is a plain and easy highway."

Mr. T. V. Powderly has some nice views on immigration—specially nice, because he is the direct offspring of a couple of "scourings of Europe." He says:

"I am not animated by a spirit of hatred or animosity, or even prejudice, against those who seek our shores, nor would I do them an injury, but it is on higher grounds that I stand, when I say that the immigration to this country as it exists to-day is damaging, unhealthy, and of undue proportions. There is but one thing that causes men to look down on the miner, the street cleaner, and the ordinary day labourer, and that is the ease with which the places can be filled from the scourings of Europe, and the result is that the immigrant in his ignorance drives away the American labourer and mechanic."

Mr. Powderly suggests:

"Every immigrant should, on landing, be sworn as to his intention to become a citizen of the United States, and he should be informed at the same time that at the end of five years he would be required to read the English language and take out full citizenship papers. He should be provided, free of charge, with a copy of the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, a condensed history of the United States, all printed in his own language. His instructions should be to study them, so that when he learns to speak English he should know what they meant. Whenever an immigrant refused to comply he should be returned to his home."

The following proposal has been introduced into Congress:

"Whereas, it is the opinion of a large majority of the people of this country that the working classes should not be employed more than eight hours a-day; and whereas, also, it is believed that by shortening the hours of labour, it would not only give employment to a greater number of people, but, by adding time to the hours of leisure and recreation, would improve the people mentally, physically, and morally; and whereas the uniform eight hour law is difficult to enforce, for reason of diversity of interest, and for the further reason that the manufacturers cannot well establish an eight hour system in their factories unless other manufacturers, in the same line of business, establish the same rule; therefore it is desirable that Congress should have full information on the subject, in order to proceed intelligently if possible to bring about at as early date as possible an eight hour law."

Nothing will come of it.

How dangerous it is to argue the labour question in the South from the following occurrence:

Mr. G. F. Rich, a Boston drummer, selling a patent smoothing iron for giving a gloss to laundried linen, was severely whipped by White Caps at Laurens, S. C. on Tuesday night. Mr. Rich was in Laurens selling his irons, which are principally purchased by negro washwomen. As a mode of advertising his patent, so as to reach the coloured people, it is customary for him to hire a church in each town he visits to address the people upon the merits of his chattels. On Monday evening, Mt. Pisgah Coloured Presbyterian Church at Laurens was rented by Mr. Rich, and the building was crowded with negroes. Before speak-

ing of the advantages of the iron Mr. Rich gave his audience a lecture on temperance and morality. On Tuesday morning a negro who attended the meeting told the white citizens that a man was preaching nightly at the church to negroes, advising them to strike for higher wages and to refuse to work on Sunday. The whites, after receiving this information, organised a party to take the drummer in charge, and on Tuesday night, after the address at the church, Mr. Rich was stopped on the streets while he was returning to the hotel by a band of about twenty masked men, who severely whipped him with switches.

The "Werner Printing and Lithographing Company" in Akron, Ohio, demands of the Attorney (Edmund Furthmann) and ex-Captain of Police (Mike Schaack) 1,000 dols., as well as the money for a bill of exchange amounting to 478 dols. 63 cents. The 1,000 dols. were lent in cash, and the 478 dols. 63 cents. were spent for printing Schaack's book on "Anarchy and Anarchists." Schaack and Furthmann are known for the part they took in the great Anarchist trial in Chicago in 1886.—Five years ago to-day Louis Riel, the leader of the half-breeds rebellion in Canada, was defeated at Batouche by the military under the command of General Sir Frederick Middleton. That Middleton stole everything he could lay his hands on during the suppression of the poor half-breeds' rising has long been well known. The ministry constantly refused to act in the matter. But the stink resulting from the brave general's doings became so great that something had to be done. A motion has been to-day accepted by the Canadian Parliament censuring the general, and condemning him to pay 4,500 dols.—Such are the pillars of our society; no wonder that it is tottering.

The organisation of the small bosses in Chicago has settled with the striking carpenters. The following agreement was arrived at:

1. The working day shall be eight hours.
2. The pay shall be by the hour, and the minimum rate of wages shall be 35 cents per hour until the 1st day of August next, and from and after that date 37½ cents per hour.
3. Each of the associations, the Boss Carpenters and Builders and the United Carpenters' Council, shall at its annual meeting elect a standing committee of arbitration, consisting of five members, to serve for one year. The two committees shall meet and proceed to organise into a joint committee on arbitration by electing an umpire who is neither a mechanic nor an employer of mechanics. The working year shall commence on the 1st of April of each year, and end on the 31st day of the next March.
4. All working foremen shall be selected by the contractors, and shall be their representatives.
5. The members of the Boss Carpenters' and Builders' Association are to retain all apprentices now under service. The term of apprenticeship to be three years.

This organisation can only employ 4,000 men; 3,000 strikers are yet without employment, as the big bosses desire to fight it out to the bitter end.

In New York all the bosses have given in. Here in Boston the carpenters are yet out. In most cities the carpenters continue to work nine and ten hours. On the whole it may be said that even the carpenter movement for an eight-hour day was a failure. Those who only work eight hours are allowed to work overtime "when business requires it."

Of the demand of the coal miners for eight hours, which is the next thing on the programme of the American Federation, Mr. Gompers said on the 8th inst., "I cannot tell whether the strike will occur before the fall or not, if there is to be a strike, which is extremely doubtful, for I believe the employers will consent. We will give them due notice, as we did in the case of the carpenters, and I believe the result will be just as gratifying."

Boston, Mass., May 13, 1890.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

## GENERAL LABOUR NOTES.

By Associated Labour Press.

Washington (Pa.) plasterers won 3 dols. and nine hours.  
 Boston-steam-fitters were granted nine hours; no cut in pay.  
 New Haven masons refused 43 cents an hour; they want 45.  
 Railway street labourers at St. Paul won 1 dol. 50 cents a day.  
 Bridgeport (Conn.) painters won nine hours, and ten hours pay.  
 Lowell building labourers won the demand for 22½ cents an hour.  
 The San Francisco brewers have an emergency fund of 6,000 dols.  
 Chicago dockmen want eight hours and 25 cents an hour, instead of 20.  
 St. Paul gutter-layers now get 30 cents per yard; last year only 18 cents.  
 Chicago terra-cotta workers and the stonemasons have worked eight hours since 1867.  
 Carpenters' Branch No. 291 will expel any member who works more than eight hours hereafter.  
 Furniture workers at San Francisco on outside work will be fined 5 dols. a day for working over eight hours.  
 West Superior (Wis.) coal-heavers struck for 50 cents an hour for work in the hold and 2 dols. a day for dockmen.  
 Chicago painters have been working eight hours since 1886. They are organising to get from 30 to 35 cents an hour.  
 San Francisco brewers won 1 dol. a week advance and nine hours. In 1886 these men worked fourteen hours for less pay.  
 St. Louis harness makers struck for 15 per cent advance. They were making from 6 dols. to 15 dols. a week. One firm granted the advance at once.  
 During the month ending Saturday last, charters and supplies were issued by the General Secretary of the Knights of Labour to forty-nine local assemblies.  
 The Coal Shovelers' and Stone Handlers' Protective Union has ordered a strike against the Hurricane Isle Granite Company, for refusing to discharge a number of "scabs." About 150 men are on strike.

**To Help the Paper.**—There are several ways in which you can help to spread the *Weal*. Ask your newsagent to try and sell it. Get those who don't care to buy it week by week to subscribe direct. Arrange for the posting of contents bills anywhere you can. Any number of other plans will suggest themselves if you think about it.

**Postal Propaganda.**—Some who would like to do propaganda but dare not openly, or who cannot spare the time to do it personally, can find many ways in which it can be done quietly. Not the least useful among possible plans would be to order and pay for a number of copies to be sent to persons in whose hands they might do good. We will send six copies to six different addresses for 7d. Write the names and addresses legibly.



OFFICES: 24 GREAT QUEEN STREET, LONDON, W.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

The COMMONWEAL is the official organ of the Socialist League; but, unless definitely so announced by the Editors, no article is to be taken as expressing in more than a general way the views of the League as a body. In accordance with the Manifesto and Statement of Principles of the League, the COMMONWEAL is an exponent of International Revolutionary Socialism. On minor differences of opinion the widest freedom of discussion is maintained. As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to their position in the paper.

Articles and letters dealing with any phase of the social problem are invited and will meet with earnest consideration. They must be written on one side of the paper only, and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication. MSS. can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope accompanies them.

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CONTENTS.

		PAGE.
News from Nowhere; or, an Epoch of Rest (continued) ..	WILLIAM MORRIS	169
Principles of Nationalism .. .. .	S.	170
Who are "Labourers" .. .. .	.. .. .	170
In the United States .. .. .	H. F. CHARLES	171
Notes .. .. .	D. J. NICOLL	172
Culture and Socialism .. .. .	JOHN C. KENWORTHY	173
All Wealth to Labour doth Belong .. .. .	C. W. BECKETT	173
The Loss of Individuality .. .. .	.. .. .	173
The Labour Struggle .. .. .	D. J. NICOLL	174
Correspondence .. .. .	.. .. .	174
The Annual Conference .. .. .	.. .. .	174
Song of the Respectables .. .. .	H. S. S.	175
Executive Announcements, Reports, Lecture Diary, and Notices of Meetings ..	.. .. .	175
Statement of Principles, Advertisements, etc., etc. .. .. .	.. .. .	176

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday May 28.

ENGLAND		San Diego (Cal.)—Beacon	SPAIN	
Justice		Paterson Labour Standard	Madrid—El Socialista	
London—Freie Presse			PORTUGAL	
Norwich—Daylight			Lisbon—O Protesto Operario	
People's Press			GERMANY	
Railway Review			Berlin—Volks Tribune	
Seafaring			AUSTRIA	
Worker's Friend			Vienna—Arbeiter-Zeitung	
			Brunn—Arbeiterstimme	
UNITED STATES			HUNGARY	
New York—Der Sozialist			Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik	
New York—Freiheit			DENMARK	
United Irishman			Social-Demokraten	
Volkzeitung			SWEDEN	
Workmen's Advocate			Stockholm, Social-Demokraten	
Boston—Woman's Journal			Malmö—Arbetet	
Chicago—Knights of Labour			WEST INDIES	
Detroit—Der Arme Teufel			Cuba—El Productor	
Philadelphia—United Labour			ARGENTINE REPUBLIC	
S.F.—Coast Seamen's Journal			Buenos Ayres—Vorwarts	
St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole			ITALY	
			Rome—L'Emancipazione	

DO YOU AGREE?

Do you agree with us that the social awakening of the workers is a desirable end? Do you agree with us that we are working in the right way to achieve that end?

You do not? Then oppose us and prove us wrong on every platform and in every paper to which you can gain access!

You do agree? Then work with us and for us; help us to extend our circle of influence; let no day pass in which you have not interested some one in our propaganda!

There is no middle course for an honest man!

NOTES.

THE West End scandals have now been wound up to the satisfaction alike of the wealthy criminals most intimately concerned and their accomplices in the present Government. Newton the solicitor—who was charged with getting inconvenient witnesses out of the way and assisting the notorious Hammond to escape to America—has been let off with six week's imprisonment.

Some perverse people may call this "a shameful miscarriage of justice." But look at the services which Mr. Newton endeavoured to render "Society." As it is he has enabled some rich men to feel quite easy in their minds concerning the possibility of a police prosecution, and if he had been quite successful who knows but that Lord Arthur Somerset might have returned to bless a virtuous, pure, and immaculate Society with the delight of his aristocratic presence?

Please admire English "justice." Poor Parke is condemned to twelve months' hard labour, an even heavier doom than that of the vile wretches who were the tools of the real criminals, who escape all punishment because they are rich and hold a high position; while Newton, the smug solicitor, gets six weeks, which he will probably pass in the hospital on account of his "delicate health," with plenty of wine and nourishing food, because he has done his best to shield these "most respectable men."

What lesson do our governing classes mean to teach us by this? That all attempts to show up aristocrat and capitalist in their true colours will be punished with the utmost rigour of the law; but that if you cover up the crimes of wealthy criminals you will be let off with a trifling punishment for your "zeal and indiscretion"; while righteous magistrates, Liberal barristers, Conservative Attorney-Generals, and impartial judges will announce in a unanimous chorus their "high opinion of you in your professional character." Thus you will also become a "most respectable man," a "Pillar of Society." But let the "libeller" who tells the truth, that "Enemy of Society," beware. He shall feel the weight of that law which defends the rich and keeps the poor in their proper places.

The Government and the upper classes may rejoice in their triumph. The chief criminals have escaped. Those that were caught—much against the will of the officers of the law, who gave them plenty of time to clear out—are let off lightly, for fear they take a line of defence which might end in awkward disclosures. But despite every effort to hush up the hideous scandal, its details are proclaimed from the house tops. Although the names of all concerned are not known, yet this is known, that rich men, worn out with ordinary vice and depravity, have spent lavishly their ill-gotten wealth in a horrible vice which has only flourished in cities and empires when ruin or revolution was approaching. It was the vice which flourished in old Rome in her worst days of corruption, before the Goths and Huns swept down upon her, gave her palaces to the flames, and covered her streets with corpses; in Paris before the great Revolution, or in the closing days of the Second Empire. Everywhere it has announced that corruption has become putrescent, and that the end of that society draws near. Policemen, lawyers, magistrates, judges, and rulers may unite to white-wash the sepulchre, we can still smell the stench of the dead bones, and for the sake of all it may soon be necessary to make a clearance.

Before quitting the subject, I would like to point out the cowardly way in which Mr. Parke has been abandoned by the *Star*. There cannot be any doubt that his action concerning these scandals was endorsed, to say the least of it, by the editor of that paper, who probably didn't care to run the risk of prosecution himself. Yet the *Star* has not said a word concerning the scandalous contrast between the sentences passed upon Newton and Parke. Is this the result of fresh instructions from the heads of the Liberal party to their humble servant, T. P. O'Connor? Do these gentlemen recognise that the West-end scandals are quite as likely to ruin the present society as even the Tory Government? Probably this is the case, but one consolation is that the treason of the *Star* is being found out by the people, who do not love papers that are not only treacherous and cowardly, but carry toadyism to such an extent that they will abandon their own friends to please the official heads of the Liberal party.

Mr. Balfour has been at his old games again. Meetings held at Tipperary and Cashel have been dispersed by main force, and the people brutally bludgeoned. The Liberal press, especially the *Daily News*, is very indignant at these unheard-of atrocities. These things never occur in England—or at least we are never treated to journalistic indignation, at seven guineas a column, concerning them. It is true that lately a few processions may have been broken up in London by the police with a certain amount of violence. But these were only processions of English workmen, and the Liberal press has no costly indignation to throw away in their case. We suppose that won't prevent the English workmen cheering till he is hoarse at next general election for the very party which has agreed to systematically boycott all mention of his wrongs. D. N.

## CULTURE AND SOCIALISM.

At the close of a Socialist meeting the other evening, the word "culture" was mentioned, upon which a Socialist present declared that Socialism suffers from too much "culture" in some of its adherents. I was constrained to reply that, on the contrary, Socialism suffers from the want of "culture" in Socialists; and thinking it over, it seemed to me that this "culture" is a matter very well worth discussing. Hence this paper.

On my way home from the meeting, I tried to hit upon a figure which would put the subject of Socialism and Culture plainly; and this is what occurred to me. There are two men waiting at a railway-station where the line is blocked; they are both going to the same city, and are waiting until the way is clear. So far, they are in one and the same position. But these travellers have rather different ends to serve when they reach the city of their desire. The one, on his arrival, will make his way to a beautiful home he knows of, the inmates of which are handsome, well-conducted people, whom he will join in their useful and pleasant work, their spirited and good-tempered intercourse, their singing, music, and dancing, their literature and art. The other traveller's object is little more than to get away from where he is now. He has vague ideas of having a more or less idle time, varied with enjoyments such as commend themselves more particularly to the companions of the ale-bench.

In these two men we have represented two kinds of Socialists. The first is the Socialist whose desire to escape from the present social conditions is exceeded by his longing to enter a society where the noble life he has imagined would be lived in all its fulness. The second is the Socialist whose motive is nothing more than to avoid the restraints, privations, and humiliations he suffers at present, without much thought of how he is to live when once these are thrown off and he has his freedom.

Now, I want to make it clear that the first Socialist is a man who has culture, and that the second is a man who lacks culture. Also, that the condition of mind (intellect, soul—as you please) of the former is much more desirable than the condition of mind of the latter. Also, that it is not only desirable, but a pressing duty, for every Socialist to make himself, or herself, as much as possible a person of culture.

When we speak of anything being in a state of culture, we mean that Man has caused that thing to grow in a way that is more desirable to him, Man, than Nature's own unassisted way. Thus the little hard and sour crab, that sets the teeth on edge and produces colic, has, by cultivation, become the juicy and sweet apple, a common dainty and a valued food. This art of cultivation—an art with several names, such as breeding, training, etc.—this art of causing things to grow in a way more desirable than Nature's unassisted way, is, for his own ease and advancement, applied by Man in many and various ways. Wanting better food and clothing, and help in his labour, he cultivates plants, animals, and fishes, and for the same ends he utilises (we can hardly use the word "cultivates" here) natural forces, by diverting, developing, or accumulating them, and applying them in some desired direction. Man's aim in all this labour of cultivation is that he may live a fuller, securer, and happier life.

But there is one object above all which man finds that he is under the most absolute compulsion to cultivate—namely, himself. Nature, under cultivation, has provided abundance of fine wheat and cattle, of flax and wool, of excellent foods and materials; but man finds he has not the right capacity to appropriate and enjoy the plenty nature and himself have provided. "Man is parcelled out in man"; the individuals of the race, moved one and all by the same needs and desires, rush on the spoil, scrambling in such fashion that some get much too much, a wasteful superfluity; but the most get all too little. "The goods his soul lusted after are departed from him"; instead of ease and plenty, and that general happiness without which the individual cannot be truly happy, man finds he has attained only to riot and want, to uncertainty, to fear and hate between men and men. So, as we have said, man is driven to the cultivation of himself, to the endeavour to shape himself in a way that is more desirable than nature's own unassisted way. And he finds that the part of himself in which he must bring his power of cultivation to bear is his Conduct—his Way of Doing.

Therefore man sets himself this question: What must I aim at in my conduct? The best of men, the heart and brains of the race, give to this question but one, and that a very clear, answer; to this effect: that while the body, the animal part of man, requires certain attention, such as being fed, clothed, and satisfied, the true enjoyment of life lies not in attending to the body, but in developing, exercising, and delighting the mind (the intellect, or soul). This, then, is the aim of our conduct,—to have in a satisfied body, a free, active, and gratified mind.

Again, the teachings of these best of men, which are the ripe fruit of the race's experience, lay it down (and our own—consciences, shall we say?—confirm it) that such a state of mind is only possible to men who stand in right relations to their fellows. In short, there are certain modes of conduct which we call justice, love; which, unless a man observes and follows, he cannot be said to live his proper life.

The root-difference between the two kinds of Socialists may now be plainly pointed out; the one desires merely the satisfaction of the body, the other adds to that the supreme desire of developing, exercising, and delighting the mind (intellect, or soul), and seeks as a first condition the establishment of a new society that shall be just, harmonious, and peaceable. And it is only by, and for, such Socialists that a regenerated society is possible. The others, who wish merely

to escape from their present pains, are themselves not rid of the spirit which makes society what it now is.

I have spoken of "culture," using the term, as I believe, according to its noblest meaning. There is a cant misuse of the word, by which it is applied to the worthless accomplishments, bogus educations, and heartless courtesy which our present society affords. These are about as much the result of true "culture" as are dandelions, thistles, and rushes among plants. But a true culture is that of a spirit trained to justice and love, which makes itself beautifully manifest in all the acts of life.

JOHN C. KENWORTHY.

## ALL WEALTH TO LABOUR DOTH BELONG.

AIR—"When Britain really Ruled the Waves" ('IOLANTHE').

LONG since, in every land on earth,  
Through night of ages slow,  
The Makers of the World have worn  
The garb of shame, the crown of thorn,  
Their heritage of woe;  
Nor knew they yet that, spite of wrong,  
All wealth to Labour doth belong.

But lo, the world is born anew,  
The time is gone for tears;  
New hopes within our bosoms rise,  
New visions float before our eyes,  
New voices fill our ears;  
And this the burden of our song—  
All wealth to Labour doth belong.

And when the Promised Land is won,  
And Tyranny is banned,  
And all are friends, and all are free,  
And none so poor in soul to be  
A burden in the land,  
We shall not need to sing the song  
All wealth to Labour doth belong.

C. W. BECKETT.

## THE LOSS OF INDIVIDUALITY.

It is wonderful, says the *Journal of the Knights of Labour*, how solicitous the capitalistic press is, lest the labour movement and the measures leading to a more equitable system of social organisation should "destroy individuality" and ruin the worker's sense of "personal independence." When every economic argument against labour reform has been exhausted the advocates of letting things alone always fall back on this time-worn objection. They do not seem to understand that the economic changes now going on with such startling rapidity, that the people have not as yet had time to take stock of their position, have already deprived their argument of any validity it ever might have possessed by making "individuality" in the old-fashioned sense of the word a thing of the past. There is no such thing possible to-day for nine-tenths of labouring humanity. Individuals who are dependent on their exertions, either of body or mind, for a living, are becoming more and more parts of a great social and industrial machine. Their sphere of independent action and volition as bread-winners is becoming continually narrowed. Labourer, employer, trader, and professional man alike are becoming increasingly dependent on circumstances and conditions—more moulded by their surroundings and less able to make any independent headway or step outside the groove marked out for them. The man who does not get adjusted to his place in the social machine and work in harmony with its movement will be crushed out by it. Under these conditions it is nonsense to talk of "individualism" in the sense in which the term was used before these days of high-pressure organisation and concentrated capital. While the individualist Rip Van Winkles are deprecating the possibility of its destruction by labour organisations and "Socialist" legislation, it is being destroyed before their eyes by modern conditions of production and exchange. The absolute dependence of the great majority of mankind upon the social mechanism for the means of existence makes it clear that the masses must either control the machinery or become its slaves. Either we must have co-operation—international ownership of all the means of production—or the pressure will become greater, the competition among workers keener, and the monopolist will rule supreme.

What a mockery it is to prate of the blessings of "individuality" and the glories of personal liberty and independence to poor wretches who are the slaves of modern economic conditions, and are compelled by the ever-present dread of poverty to toil unremittingly for a mere pittance! The pictures drawn by capitalistic writers of the "tyranny of a majority"—"the new despotism," as Herbert Spencer calls it—have no terrors for men who are already virtually enslaved by conditions which enable the monopoliser of the means of employment to impose his own terms on the proletariat. The cant about "individuality" and "independence" has no meaning in the ears of the worker who realises that only through more perfect social adjustments, which will systematise production and let the whole people control all industrial enterprises, can a gleam of hope or an opportunity of real freedom come to the wage-slave.

## 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 is for the present reduced, by joining the local branches and helping on the work.

THE NORTH KENSINGTON BRANCH appeal to comrades and friends for their Band Fund. They have the offer of getting drums very cheap from a band that has become defunct, and want to raise about £2 4s. for this purpose. Please send subscriptions to Mrs. Fox, Clarendon Coffee Tavern, Clarendon Road.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### The International Miners' Conference.

On of the best signs of the times for the working classes in all lands was the International Conference of Miners which met on Tuesday May 20th at Jolimet in Belgium. The boldest, the noblest and best of workers, the men upon whose skill and courage the whole industry of the modern world depends, have joined together—disregarding frontiers, throwing aside those race prejudices which it is the aim of the capitalist classes in all countries to stir up between the peoples—and have determined to strive for their emancipation in the only way by which it can be obtained—by the united action of the workers of the world. It surely did not injure the meaning of the meeting that on this auspicious occasion the dying voice of old-fashioned trade-unionism should be heard giving its last feeble croak, when Mr. Burt, who had been elected to the presidency of the Congress, probably on account of his age and general harmlessness, delivered an oration which was certainly not of a militant description. Fancy the president of a Trade Union Congress saying that "he was not prepared to condemn strikes without qualification"!! I fail to see why a workman should "condemn" strikes at all, as they are practically the only weapon that the workman has to redress his wrongs. However, Mr. Burt recommends that before a strike the workmen should try "conciliation and arbitration." Unfortunately, the English workman has tried it and he finds it don't pay. If "conciliation and arbitration" are such excellent things, how comes it that the report of the Miners Federation of Great Britain presented to the Conference states that "this Federation does not approve of sliding-scale boards of arbitration, and conciliation as at present understood and practised"? Arbitration and conciliation usually means calling in capitalists to decide between other capitalists and their men, and most of the miners have found out that rogue generally sticks by rogue, and that the men get the worst of it. It is true that in Durham and Northumberland, where Mr. Burt's association, the Miners' National Union, holds sway, the leaders of the union are so fond of arbitration and conciliation that according to their report to the Conference, they have allowed the boys employed to work ten and in some cases eleven hours a-day, while the men have only worked seven. We could not have a better illustration of the selfish individualism which is advocated by trade-union leaders of the old school. Each for himself and the devil take the hindmost is the motto of these gentlemen, and they have acted up to it in the most thorough manner.

Mr. Burt then proceeded to treat the Continental workers to a homily on the wickedness and violence, expressing at the same time a firm belief in the good intentions of the German Emperor. We can judge how much these "good intentions" are worth by the evidence of the German delegates at the Conference, who stated that their contingent was much smaller than it would have been but for the coercive laws in Germany. These laws did not allow of combination, and there had been great difficulty in raising voluntary subscriptions to send those who were present, owing to the fact that all who subscribed were liable to three months' imprisonment with hard labour. It would be heresy to doubt the "earnest desire" of the young despot "to improve the condition of the wealth producers" after this. As to Mr. Burt's objection to violence, all we can say is that such damnable tyranny justifies any means that may be used for its removal. Perhaps if it had not been for the courage and determination of the men who fought the battle of "free combination" in England years and years before the Miners' National Union was formed, and who didn't always use the most "constitutional means" considering that "outrage and riot" were the weapons that frequently brought the masters to their senses, Mr. Burt might not be preaching "law 'n' order" to the Continental workers. No one loves "violence" for its own sake, but under such conditions as prevail in Continental countries it is the only resource left to the oppressed and downtrodden workmen. These men know their own business best, and they have no need of sleepy sermons from the friend of tyrannical despots and "Liberal" statesmen to teach them their duty.

We are glad to see that the Continental workers have taken up Keir Hardie's proposition of a universal strike of miners on May 1st, 1891, for the Eight Hours' Day so heartily. Of course, as we expected, the opposition came from the very gentlemen who are always so fond of telling the workers to get the eight hour day by their own action. Now the only practical way of obtaining eight hours by their own organisation is pointed out to them they shrink back. We leave the people to judge of the sincerity of the advice these gentlemen have so often given.

### The Tram and Bus Men.

There is hope for these workers at last; John Burns is going to re-organise their union. We believe he is the best man for the work, and if the men show sufficient courage and determination, there is no doubt that in a few months they will be able to demand something more than a "Twelve Hour Day." Let them join the union in every district in London, let there be no hanging back, and success is certain.

### The Wood and Cardboard Box-Makers.

These workers have formed a trade union. The workmen employed in this trade number about 20,000. They complain of the employment of boys to perform the work of men, and also of the excessive use of machinery, which is tended by boys. The average number of hours worked by men in the trade is thirteen, and they are by no means overpaid. There are no fixed wages. The men claim shorter hours of labour, reduction of the working hours to fifty-four and a half a-week, and that improvement in their workshops which seems now to be a key-note in the demands of every workmen's organisation.

### Trouble at Beckton.

It seems likely that there will be serious trouble at the Beckton Gas Works, S.E., where between 4,000 and 5,000 men are employed, consequent upon the introduction by the company of mechanical stokers, each one of which does the work of three men in charging and drawing the retorts, and which steam day and night without intermission. The strikers call the machine the "iron man." There is a partial strike against the machine, and the places of the men who have struck have been taken by blacklegs. A strong force of police are upon the spot to protect these sneaks. The gas-stokers, as we all know, gained the eight hour day a year ago. It has not

taken the company long to take away the advantage gained by the men by the introduction of machines which will probably turn thousands of gas-stokers into the street. Yet if these men grew desperate and smashed the machinery, we suppose the respectable middle class would exclaim against their "wickedness and stupidity" in rebelling against the "benefits" which the present commercial age bestows upon the working classes. Surely this incident should teach us that the reduction of the hours of labour to eight a-day will not permanently benefit the working classes, and that their only salvation lies in laying hold of machinery and all the means of production, and using them for the good of all, and not for the profit of greedy capitalists. This is the only true remedy for the misery of the people.

### Government Dockyard Men.

The agitation among Government dockyard men for better pay and hours has acquired very serious proportions at Pembroke Dock. All the skilled labourers, including riveters, painters, drillers, etc., on Wednesday marched up 400 strong to the Chief Constructor's office, and demanded to see the revised list of payment. They declined to leave the office until they knew the answer of the Chief Constructor, who said that the Admiralty had prevented him from complying with their request. Afterwards the men held a public meeting, under the auspices of the union, at which it was stated that the rivet boys in the dockyard were almost worked to death. They were hardly paid enough to buy bread. It was a difficult thing to find healthy boys in the yard. Most of them had some physical ailment or deformity. The secretary of the union has been severely reprimanded by the authorities for writing to papers about the dockyard men's grievances. He was told by these gentlemen that a workman is not allowed to make public anything relating to the dockyard. A resolution was ultimately passed urging the Government to form a select committee, who shall receive delegates from among various branches of workmen in the dockyards of the country to represent their grievances.

### How to make Money.

There can be no doubt that the masters have made their pile during the last year or two. The *Labour Tribune* says: "The Ferndale Collieries are being transferred from their present owner to a limited liability company, with a capital of £775,000. In connection with the conversion, a statement of the profits for some years past has been made. It is officially stated that the average profits for some years past have been £65,000 annually, while those for the current year are about £100,000. A profit of £2,000 is a respectable return upon invested capital, and these collieries seem a kind of gold mine for their owners." We should think so! And remember that though the men who work in this mine are wretchedly paid, yet directly the next trade depression arrives down will come their wages. They will have to starve on a scanty pittance, while the mine-owners feast luxuriously upon the wealth gained by the labour of the men during the past period of prosperity. How much longer will the workers bear this so patiently? N.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

SIR,—I can heartily endorse the closing sentences of J. M. B.'s article in last week's *Commonweal*, where he commends the power of "isolated" Socialists, and that "a word in season has often more real influence than many an applauded speech at a public meeting," and to that I can emphatically subscribe, as my own personal experience has shown. For instance, in the works where I am presently employed, a strike having taken place, a sympathetic notice of it appeared in the labour column of your paper; I bought a copy of it, and since then (about three years ago) I have always continued to do, and I have either read the various articles aloud to groups of my fellow-workmen or given them copies to take home and read themselves, and in that way have sown the good seed in a quiet way; and I am glad to say, seeing that we live in a very hotbed of Radicalism, with a considerable amount of success. I also see in the same number a note by J. B. Glasier, in which he regrets the apparent falling off in point of membership and energy of some of the members of the local branches. I trust that this note of mine will give him some heart of grace, and that, in the words of M. Reclus, "though hundreds by the hard necessities of life are hindered from openly avowing their opinions, still they listen from afar, and cherish your words in the treasury of their hearts."—Yours, etc. W. L. M.

## THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE.

OUR sixth Annual Conference took place last Sunday at the Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street. Fourteen delegates represented the various metropolitan and provincial branches. Comrade E. C. Chapman, Liverpool Socialist Society, was elected to the chair, and comrades Becket and Brookes secretaries. The verification of credentials of the delegates and the taking of reports came next in the order of business. Comrade Morris then opened the discussion on *Commonweal* and the financial position of the League. The various points of the agenda then came under discussion; 1, 3, 4, and 6 were passed as submitted; 2 and 5 were somewhat modified. One notable feature of this Conference was that the delegates were saved the trouble of confirming any new rules, as the late Council had sense enough to make none. The election of Council, Editors, and Trustees, and other business, having been gone through, the comrades adjourned to tea, which was served to the entire satisfaction of all who sat down. When tea was over, Mrs. Tohatti sang a few revolutionary airs, which were rendered with great effect. Comrade Coulson gave "La Carmagnole" in French.

The new Council elected are:—Comrades Morris, J. Turner, Cantwell, Bullock, Brookes, Kitz, Nicoll, Webb, Wess, Tohatti, Mainwaring, Catterson Smith, Netlow, Tarleton, and Mowbray. Kitz and Nicoll were elected as Editors and Trustees.

In the evening, the Hall at 24, Great Queen Street, was filled with comrades, who passed a very agreeable social evening. The more enthusiastic carried on the festivities till the dawn of day. A. BROOKES.

SONG OF THE RESPECTABLES.

RESPECTABLES are we  
 And you presently shall see  
 Why we confidently claim to be respected ;  
 In well-ordered homes we dwell,  
 And discharge our duties well—  
 Well dressed, well fed, well mannered, well connected.

We detest the common cant  
 About poverty and want,  
 And all that is distressing and unhealthy :  
 Certain cases may be sad,  
 Yet the system can't be bad,  
 If it gives such satisfaction—to the wealthy.

As the *Times* each day we read,  
 We realise the need  
 Of more and more coercion for the masses ;  
 And we muse with wondering awe  
 On the sanctity of Law—  
 As administered and construed by the Classes.

We stigmatise Home Rule  
 As device of knave and fool,  
 And reform as but a cloak for revolution ;  
 Our concern is not for self,  
 Not for property nor pelf,  
 Oh, no—but for the British Constitution !

And in truth not all for that ;  
 For in sable coat and hat  
 We never fail to flock to church each Sunday,  
 That with renovated zest,  
 And conscience rocked to rest,  
 We may yield our hearts to Mammon on the Monday.

So our wealth, which grows apace,  
 Is the outward sign of grace,  
 As property goes step by step with piety ;  
 In the present world we thrive,  
 Then we save our souls alive,  
 And move for evermore in good society.

Thus on through life we march,  
 Stiff with decency and starch,  
 Well dressed, well fed, well mannered, well connected ;  
 For Respectables are we,  
 Yes, and now you all can see  
 Why we confidently claim to be respected.

H. S. S.

(Reprinted from the 'Pall Mall' of about two years ago.)

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 24, GREAT QUEEN ST., LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, W.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.

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will be held on Wednesday, 8.30 p.m., June 4th, at the North Kensington Branch, Clarendon Coffee Palace, Clarendon Road, near the Notting Hill Metropolitan Railway Station. Special meeting; important business. All members interested in the propaganda are asked to attend.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888:—Oxford, to end of September. 1889:—Bradford and Hammersmith, to end of April. Yarmouth, to end of May. Mitcham, to end of November. St. Georges East, to end of December.

1890:—'Commonweal' Branch, to end of February. East London, Manchester, and North London, to end of March. Leicester, and North Kensington, to end of April. Norwich, to end of May. Streatham, to end of December.

**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.

REPORTS.

**HAMMERSMITH.**—Fair meeting at Bridge End on Sunday morning; speakers were Catterson Smith, Watt, H. Grant, Tochatti, A. J. Smith, and Kitchen; 34 *Weal* sold, other literature 11d. Fairly good meeting at Walham Green; speakers were Catterson Smith, Bullock, Davies, and S. Grant; our comrade J. Bruce Glasier (Glasgow) gave a spirited address, which was much appreciated; 17 *Weal* sold.

**ABERDEEN.**—At meeting on 25th the League Manifesto was read and very fully discussed—doubts having been expressed as to the orthodoxy of certain members. A series of trips are to be made by deputations from the League to the surrounding villages, commencing on Saturday first with Banchoy.—L.

**GLASGOW.**—On Sunday at mid-day, Joe Burgoyne spoke to a good audience on Jail Square; in the evening at Paisley Road the same speaker addressed a large audience; *Weals* sold out.

**EDINBURGH—SCOTTISH SOCIALIST FEDERATION.**—We held a large meeting on Sunday on the Meadows, when the *Leader* strike was the principal matter dealt with. Excellent speeches were made by comrade Haddow (Glasgow), Hamilton, and Smith. A manifesto issued by the S.S.F. with reference to the strike, was distributed among the people.

**FABIAN SOCIETY.**—A course of seven lectures on SOCIALISM IN CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE will be given in the French Chamber, St. James's Restaurant, W. (entrance from Piccadilly), on Friday evenings, at 8 o'clock. June 6 (fourth lecture), Edward R. Pease, "Tolstoi, Tchernychevsky and the Russian School."

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

**Battersea.**—All communications to E. Buteux, 45, Inwith Street, Battersea Park Road.  
**Commonweal Branch.**—24 Great Queen Street, Holborn, W.C. Business meeting of members every Thursday evening at 8; Discussion Class at 9. Hall open every evening from 7 till 10. Sunday, June 1, at 8 p.m., Lothrop Withington, "Through the Smoke."  
**East London.**—All branch communications to be addressed to H. M'Kenzie, 12 Basing Place, Kingsland Road.  
**Hammersmith.**—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday June 1, at 8 p.m., a Lecture. French Class conducted by Mde. Desroches on Friday evenings at 7.30.  
**Mitcham.**—"Lord Napier," Fair Green. Meets every Sunday at 12.30, to enroll members, etc.  
**North Kensington.**—Clarendon Coffee Palace, Clarendon Road. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m. The branch Band meets every Friday at 8 p.m. for practice. Comrades wishing to join to give in their names to the instructor at the above address.  
**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road. Meets every Wednesday evening at 8 o'clock.  
**Streatham.**—Address secretary, R. Smith, 1 Natal Road, Streatham.  
**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 Hall, 9 Harriet Street, on Sunday evenings at 6.30. Singing practice, etc., in Odd-fellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane, Mondays at 8 p.m.  
**Glasgow.**—Members are invited to meet on Thursday and Sunday evenings, at 8 o'clock, in the Secretary's house, 250 Crown Street, S.S. All communications to be sent to that address.  
**Halifax.**—Socialists meet every Sunday at 6.30 p.m. at Helliwell's Temperance Hotel, Northgate.  
**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road, School Close. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.  
**Leicester.**—Exchange Buildings, Rutland Street. Branch meets on Monday, Thursday, and Saturday at 8 p.m.  
**Manchester.**—Socialist League Club, 60 Grovesnor Street, All Saints. Open every evening. Branch weekly meeting on Tuesdays at 8.  
**Norwich.**—Members' meet at 23 Rose Yard, St. Augustines, Tuesday at 8.30.  
**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. First Friday in every month, at 8.30 p.m.  
**Walsall.**—Socialist Club, 18 Goodall Street, Walsall. Meetings every night.  
**Yarmouth.**—Socialist League Club, 56 Row, Market Place. Open every evening. Business Meeting Tuesdays at 8 p.m. Elocution Class Friday at 8.30 p.m. Discussion Class Sunday 3 p.m.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SATURDAY 31.

7 ..... Hyde Park ..... Nicoll and Cantwell

SUNDAY 1.

11 ..... Latimer Road Station ..... North Kensington Branch  
 11.30 ..... Hammersmith Bridge ..... Hammersmith Branch  
 11.30 ..... Kilburn—"Old Plough," Kilburn Lane .. Mainwaring and Mrs. Lahr  
 11.30 ..... Mitcham—Fair Green ..... The Branch  
 11.30 ..... Regent's Park ..... The Branch  
 3.30 ..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch ..... Branch  
 3.30 ..... Victoria Park ..... The Branch  
 7 ..... Hammersmith Bridge ..... Hammersmith Branch  
 7 ..... Wormwood Scrubs ..... North Kensington Branch  
 7.30 ..... Mitcham Fair Green ..... The Branch  
 8 ..... Streatham Green ..... Branch  
 8 ..... Walham Green—back of Church ..... Hammersmith Branch

THURSDAY 5.

8.15 ..... Hoxton Church ..... Kitz and Davis

PROVINCES.

**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.  
**Liverpool.**—Landing Stage, Sundays at 11.30 a.m. and 3 p.m.  
**Manchester.**—Saturday: Middleton market ground, at 7 p.m. Sunday: Philips Park Gates, at 11; Stevenson Square, at 7.30.  
**Norwich.**—Sunday: Market Place at 3 and 7.30.  
**Sheffield.**—Sunday: Monolith, Fargate, at 11.30 a.m.; Pump, West Bar, 8 p.m. Monday: Lady's Bridge Wicker, at 7 p.m. **Rotherham.**—Sunday: College Yard, at 3 p.m.  
**Yarmouth.**—Sunday: Priory Plain, at 11; Bradwell, 11.30; Colman's Granary Quay, at 7.

**EDINBURGH—SCOTTISH SOCIALIST FEDERATION.**—Meeting in Meadows, Sunday at 6 p.m.

**ROCHDALE SOCIALISTS.**—Meetings held every evening at 28 Blackwater Street, Rochdale.

**LIVERPOOL SOCIALIST SOCIETY.**—1 Stanley Street, Dale Street.—Meets every Tuesday at 8 p.m.

**NEW MANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE,** "Three Doves," Berwick St., Soho, W.—Sunday June 1, at 8.30 p.m., H. Green, "Anarchism versus Social Democracy."

**STICK AND CANE DRESSERS.**—A special meeting of this society will be held on Sunday June 1st, at 6 p.m., at the "King's Arms," Fieldgate St., Whitechapel.

**NORWICH.**—A great Socialist Demonstration will be held in July, when speakers are invited to take part. Communicate with A. Sutton, 23 Rose Yard, St. Augustines.

**SHEFFIELD SOCIALIST CLUB.**—We have now opened some fine and centrally situated premises at 63 Blonk Street, containing meeting room, reading room and library, smoke room for games, etc. Open every evening, and on Sunday all day. Membership, 1d. weekly. French Class, conducted by Ed. Carpenter, every Tuesday at 8.30 p.m.; terms, 3d. weekly, which goes towards club funds. Discussion every Wednesday at 8 p.m. We have a good assortment of Labour and Socialist papers from various parts of the world on our reading tables, but should be glad of any books for library. We are very sanguine of being able to accomplish grand propaganda in Sheffield and district during the coming summer, and ask the earnest co-operation of all Socialists in this neighbourhood.

## SOCIALIST LEAGUE PUBLICATIONS.

:o:

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The above Leaflets, at prices given, can be had from the *Commonweal* manager in any quantities by Branches, members, or sympathisers, for distribution, 24, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London.

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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.

## NOTICE.

Subscribers who find a *red wrapper* round paper are thereby reminded that their subscriptions have expired and must be renewed immediately if they wish to continue to receive *Commonweal*.

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