

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 6.—No. 251.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1890.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

CHICAGO MURDERS & BLOODY SUNDAY.

"Let the voice of the people be heard."—Parsons.

Two Meetings to celebrate the Anniversary of above events will be held as follows—

ON TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 11th, at 8 p.m.

AT THE

MILTON HALL, HAWLEY CRESCENT,
KENTISH TOWN ROAD, N.W.

The following speakers will address the meeting:—Wm. Morris, F. Kitz, R. W. Burnie, J. Turner, Mrs. Lahr, Miss E. Lupton, Mrs. Schack, D. J. Nicoll, C. W. Mowbray, and Louise Michel.

Revolutionary Songs will be sung during the evening. Admission free.

ON THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 13th, at 8 p.m.

AT THE

UNITED RADICAL CLUB, KAY STREET,
HACKNEY ROAD, E.

For full particulars see small bills. Admission free.

Funds are urgently needed for the carrying out of the above meetings. All donations will be gladly acknowledged in the *Commonweal* by
F. Kitz, Secretary of S.L.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
Workhouse Socialism	WILLIAM MORRIS 345
Anarchist Morality	R. W. BURNIE 346
Dives	From "CYNICUS" 347
Notes	R. W. B. 347
International Notes	R. W. B. 347
"Revolutionary Warfare" (No. II.)	D. J. NICOLL 348
Revolutionary Socialism and "Labour Representation"	J. M. B. 349
Life on an Emigrant Ship	J. CREAGHE 349
The Labour Struggle	N. 350
Mr. Champion in Australia	N. 350
Correspondence 351
Executive Announcements, Lecture Diary, and Notices of Meetings 351
Statement of Principles, New Publications, Advertisements, etc. 352

WORKHOUSE SOCIALISM.

"GENERAL" BOOTH no doubt does deserve his title; his conduct of the "Army" shows that he is a general of no mean order. But like other people, he has the "defects of his qualities" as the French phrase it, and a good general is not likely to be a good citizen; for it is the business of a general to sacrifice everything to immediate success, and I cannot help thinking that the Salvation General does not fall behind others of his kind in this respect.

Anyhow, his "great scheme" as it is called, seems on the face of it to be meant as a bait to catch those who are looking open-mouthed for something to happen in the way of the improvement of life in this world, the reduction of some of the misery of modern civilisation. Indeed, there are plenty of well-meaning people with money to spare willing to impart it to the setting on foot of a "well-considered scheme" for the easing of their consciences by means of the amelioration of the lot of the poor; especially if such a scheme seems likely to dull the discontent now so rapidly rising all round about us, and which we hope will one day put an end to philanthropy by abolishing poverty. A safe scheme for the regeneration of society is likely to

make rich people open their purses, and I think it is no injustice to the General to say that he knows this well enough. Otherwise he might have discovered any time these twelve years that before people can turn their attention to religion, or anything else than the satisfaction of their daily needs, "they must be helped out of their present social miseries."

Meantime, since Mr. Booth is being proclaimed a new Socialist, and a prophet at that in some quarters, it may be as well to look for a minute at his scheme and see what it is worth, bearing in mind that it is put forward confessedly as a sort of shoeing-horn for a peculiarly degrading form of a worn-out superstition, which sees in the struggling world of men with all its aspirations and every changing succession of deeds, little more than an appendage and plaything of an irresponsible master, who neither asks nor allows mankind to understand him or his arbitrary commands.

For such a scheme of the universe, this social scheme of Mr. Booth's for dealing with the world as it is, is perhaps good enough, but for anybody with manly hopes for finding himself one of a band of friends, with a God, if he has a God, who is also a friend, this scheme of reform is inexpressibly shabby and sordid.

Yet, in a way, we should thank him for the figure of speech under which he shows us the labour of modern civilisation; or, to speak more plainly, the men who labour. Says he: "The cab-horse has its charter of two points; work is found for it, with food and lodging sufficient to enable it to get through its daily task—that is the first; the second is that when it falls down, whether it be by its own fault, or by that of others, it is helped up again—all questions as to who was responsible for its fall being deferred until it is set upon its feet again!"

We have said something like this ourselves from time to time, only we were looking on this state of things as a condition to be struggled out of, while to General Booth it is an ideal which has to be attained to. We must needs thank the General for showing us so clearly that we have not yet reached the cab-horse stage of prosperity.

It is natural that General Booth from the standpoint of this cab-horse ideal should sneer at those who venture to hope that civilised men may one day become as happy as savages and somewhat more wealthy. Natural also that as a "practical man" he should declare himself unable to wait any longer than the time necessary for effecting the smallest and most miserable of improvements. This is an old story that we are quite used to by this time; for we have seen on the one hand useless palliatives and blind-alleys of political trickery gone in for with enthusiasm, and on the other foolish pieces of rashness elevated into principles to be adored through thick and thin, all on the ground that we "cannot wait"; when in good truth we *must* wait for all that is worth having till people's minds are sufficiently impressed by the coming change to allow us to take definite action.

As for the "practical man" in question, the General: his practical scheme does not come to much; on the whole, it comes to less than any evasion of the real question which has been before the public. Whatever in it is not sheer nonsense—"utilising the waste of London," and so forth—seems to be taken from Mr. Herbert Mills' workhouse colony plan, which itself was taken from the Dutch beggar-colonies scheme actually in operation.

In fact, this wonderful new scheme of Salvation Socialism will not save many bodies, whatever it may do for souls. It is a very low form of what may be called, for lack of a better name, Workhouse Socialism, which takes it for granted that the workers must be in the main paupers, and which casts about for devices at once to get them better rations and to lower the cost of keeping them to the capitalists. The professors of this kind of Socialism (save the mark!) can see only that part of the workers who have been so degraded by the vile system under which we live that they seem at least wholly unable to help themselves, and so are fit subjects to be trotted about and organised by those of the well-to-do who are afraid or ashamed of the huge mass of misery which they form. These gentlemen never take any count of whatever is self-reliant or thoughtful amongst the workers, believing them, perhaps, to be too respectable to be either unhappy or discontented—in short, dangerous to the stability of society. I think they are reckoning without their host, and that it is rather from the work-shops than the slums that the serious attack on "civilised society" will

come; though I admit it may come with sickening slowness. That is not so much our business as the making it sure, as we certainly shall.

Indeed, the real point of interest in General Booth's cab-horse Socialism is that he should have found it necessary to take up the miseries of the disinherited in order to keep his Army going and to advertise it. A few years ago such a move would not have been thought of. Now nothing is of any interest in politics, sociology, or religion which does not manage to pin itself to the subject of the impending change which is certainly coming on the world. The failure of civilisation is manifest to everyone who takes the trouble to think at all, to everyone who is not fossilised by party political warfare. That gain at least we have won, and it is no small one.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

ANARCHIST MORALITY.

Now and again, perhaps, it is well to turn aside for a while from the haps and chances of the daily conflict and get back to first principles—those first principles of which one is a little apt to lose sight in the strife of detail which necessarily occupies so much of our time. The new Ethic of Free Communism is (as it seems to me) a subject of which we may well think a little at such times. It would be a pity if we should unreflectingly make our adversaries a present of the contention they are so fond of, that without god or master there can be no morality at all. In striving to show that a Free Ethic is quite conceivable and intelligible, I am conscious for my part that I am not putting forth any very original views, and I do not claim to answer difficulties save in somewhat sketchy fashion. I had at one time thought of translating for the *Commonweal* a very admirable series of articles on Anarchist Morality which have recently appeared in *La Révolte* (and to that series of articles I at once confess myself deeply indebted for much of what follows); but on reflection I have thought it best to give my own conclusions on the matter, for what they may be worth. Of course it is understood that nothing that is written here is put forth as a dogma, but only as the provisional opinion of one comrade addressing other comrades. There is no such thing as dogma among Free Communists, and, at best, our opinions on this question must be provisional, since we have, and can have, no experience of Anarchism in actual operation.

A terrible word in the ears of some, that word of Anarchism!—and a word to the use of which the Socialist League is of course in no way committed. Individually, I call myself an Anarchist, because I look forward to a state of society where there shall be no more coercion in any shape exercised by any human being or set of human beings upon any other human being or set of human beings, where there shall be neither laws nor government—government being replaced by voluntary organisation, law being replaced by order (two words which ought not to be linked together, since they are really opposed to each other). Whether we may pass at once into such a free society as this, or whether it be possible to dispense with all government while we are actually in the throes of the Social Revolution, need not be considered here.

Anarchism being defined, then, for the purposes of this discussion, as the absence of any kind of coercion, what do we mean by "morality"? As already intimated, it doubtless seems to some that to talk about "Anarchist Morality" is like talking about snakes in Iceland or freedom in the England of to-day. Let us dispassionately enquire if, in truth, this be so.

We may at once make a verbal concession to our opponents—a concession which will serve, perhaps, to put us upon the true track which our investigation should follow. Taking the word "morality" in its strictly etymological sense alone, there is no such thing as Anarchist morality.

In that sense, of course, the word merely means "that which is customary." It is an heirloom from the old times of primitive tribal communism, when that was good which was in accord with the custom of the tribe, and that was bad which was contrary to such custom. The custom had usually (perhaps invariably, if analysed) some reason of tribal advantage behind it. It might indeed be very hurtful to the individual in its operation, very injurious to other tribes; but that mattered nothing: tribe A. cared naught for tribe B., and no heed was taken by any tribe of individual as distinguished from tribal welfare. Hence, of course, there were as many systems of morality as there were tribes. Morality, in this old and original sense, may still be found among many savages at the present day. Indeed (although the old customs have perished and others taken their places, and the reasons for these others have often also vanished) large survivals of the ancient reverence for what is customary still continue even under modern civilisation. Hence the conventionalism from which we all suffer to-day. A convention is only a custom the reason for which has departed.

However, in the main, the breaking up of the old tribalism was followed by new theories of good and evil, new systems of right and wrong. Right was no longer (in theory, at least, and largely in practice) based on what was customary, but on considerations of a very different character. Still, we may note, the old word "morality" was used, just as we propose to use it in speaking of Anarchist right and Anarchist wrong. The result of the disappearance of the primitive communism of the tribe and of the coming in of private property was to make the lives of the vast majority of men and women very miserable and wretched. In this world there was no hope for them. They were not indeed perhaps quite so unhappy in their lot as they have

since become, as chattel-slavery has transformed itself into wage slavery; but they were quite unhappy enough to make them despair of ever attaining to content in this life. In a way that would be too long to trace here, a belief in another life hereafter had gradually evolved itself. What wonder that the workers in desperation began to lend ear to any who would bring them glad tidings of great joy of happiness for them after death, since in this present life they could not enjoy it? What if torments in that other life were reserved for their masters, for the "certain rich man" of the parable; Abraham's bosom and the delights of paradise for them? To such a gospel as this (I am dealing, of course, with the instance best known to us of a change which took place wherever "civilisation" conquered; in Asia as well as in Europe) the poorer people listened gladly—listened so eagerly and with such conviction that in the end, for a time at least, and helped by barbaric invasions and other causes, they carried their masters over with them to the new faith. The workers were wretched because for them there was nothing but work; the masters themselves even found this life somewhat barren, because they had left themselves without work at all and without aim or object for their days:—

"In his cool hall, with baggard eyes,
The Roman noble lay;
Then drove abroad, in furious guise,
Adown the Appian way;
He made a feast, drank deep and fast,
And crowned his head with flowers;—
No easier or no quicker passed
Th' impracticable hours."

This is by the way. We are only now tracing the moral story of the human beings alone worth considering, them of the proletariat. The new religion brought in the new morality. Since Heaven was reserved for the wretched, Hell for those who had their good things here, was it not clear that someone up in the sky objected to people enjoying themselves, on earth at least?—that he liked to see men miserable below? This seemed logical, at any rate. As, of course, good people went to Heaven, bad people to Hell, it must evidently be good and moral to be wretched, bad and immoral to be happy. Hence, while the old morality had been founded on tribal custom, the new morality was founded on asceticism—i.e., the renunciation of natural pleasures here, in order to find supernatural pleasures by and by. Anything that attached us to this earth, where we had "no continuing city," was wicked. Of course, the very constitution of our bodies, our old friend "human nature" (which, as we know, is "desperately wicked") would not allow this theory to be fully acted upon in practice; but approximations were made to it. Cardinal Manning, General Booth, Mr. Stead, gospel-grinders of all shades, preach it to this day. Meanwhile the modern bourgeois has evolved a new form of morality for himself, which he calls Utilitarianism or "enlightened self-interest." This practically means that he is the good and moral man who succeeds by force or fraud in forcing himself to the front in the struggle of modern commercialism. I do not think this morality ever had any real hold on the workers, and therefore I pass it by here. It has been well dealt with by a comrade from whom most of us differ very widely, and who is not an Anarchist—I mean Belfort Bax, in his essay on the "Ethics of Socialism."

Now Anarchists, of course, reject all these theories of morality,—the old customary morality because the particular society to which it was applicable has gone, never to return; the religious morality because they know nothing of any life beyond the grave, and because they decline to be miserable at the behest of any real or fancied god or lord; the bourgeois morality because it involves the system of competition, which means, in the result, the system of bossdom, which is the negation of Anarchism. Moreover, Anarchists, I apprehend—believing (as they do believe) in the autonomy of the individual and his need for free self-development, unfettered by physical coercion or intellectual dictation from others—cannot accept any dogmatic system of morality saying to each, "Thou shalt not do this, or leave that undone," at all.

Does it follow, then (returning to our original question) that there is no such thing as Anarchist morality? Some calling themselves Anarchists have answered, "Yes, there is no such thing. Man is only an animal like the others. In every action of his life he is merely obeying a need of his nature. His needs, call them good or bad, he must satisfy. If it pleases him to die on a barricade for human solidarity, like a Parisian artisan, or on the scaffold for Anarchy, like our comrades in Chicago, he does it because it gives him pleasure to die for an idea—more pleasure than to live,—because he *must*. So, if he betrays his comrades to the police, he only does it because, given his constitution and his surroundings, he *must*. In either case, he only acts as circumstances force him, and it is absurd to apply terms of praise or blame to acts which he cannot help. Such acts are neither bad or good; they are indifferent."

R. W. BURNIE.

(To be concluded.)

LEEDS.—On Sunday we held two meetings with the assistance of comrade Pillier who came over from Dewsbury. Audiences and collections not so large as usual because of the severe coldness of the weather and the distressing rain which fell in the morning. In the afternoon many of our comrades attended the labour demonstration on Hunslet Moor and sold about 170 *Commonweal* and pamphlets, making a total of about 290 *Commonweal* and pamphlets for the week. We are vigorously pushing forward our arrangements for the commemoration meeting of the Chicago Martyrs. The Oriel Hall, Cookside Street, has been taken, posters and handbills are being printed, and we are expecting a party of comrades from Sheffield to aid us in making it a thorough success. We are expecting a crowded meeting. The speakers will be Hall, Charles, Bingham, Sweeny, Cores, and Samuels.—G. C.

DIVES.

You go to Church clad in your Sunday best,
And pray for all the needy and oppressed;
And who the needy are, you best should know:
For you, and such as you, do keep them so.

You praise the Lord, and rise refreshed from prayer,
To kick the hungry beggar down the stair;
And fondly think you'll enter Heaven's gate
Because you've put a halfpenny in the plate.

Your daughters, too, to sing their (dress) maker's praise,
In Church assemble on the Sabbath days;
While half the gaudy flummery they wear
Would keep a poor man's family for a year.

You leave the House of God resigned and meek,
To rob and cheat your neighbours all the week;
You tell the poor of mansions in the sky,
And draw your rack-rents from the slum close by.

Though indigence and want are everywhere,
You will not see—your eyes are closed—in prayer.

FROM *Cynicus*.

NOTES.

At the Halle Congress the "old gang" of Social Democrats have been showing themselves in their true colours. We knew before that, in the eyes of Bebel, Liebknecht, and the rest, anti-Parliamentarians were invariably traitors and police spies. It is, I suppose, only natural that "leaders" who have become absorbed in that Parliamentary game of "much ado about nothing," which seems to have such a strange fascination for some minds, should in all honesty take this view. Now, however, Liebknecht extends the accusation even to Social Democrats, who chafe a little under the dictatorship of the Reichstag members. It is, perhaps, time that Revolutionary Socialists should frankly express a little of the disgust they must feel at seeing the red flag dragged through the mire in this fashion.

The scribe who writes the demi-semi Socialistic leaders in the *Daily Chronicle*, is of course delighted to see that "the Germans . . . have finally resolved to trust to Parliamentary methods and constitutional action in the pursuit of their objects." He takes opportunity at the same time to attack the First of May demonstrations (boycotted, it will be remembered, by the Social Democratic leaders in Germany). Moreover, it seems that, according to him, even Parliamentary methods will not avail unless they be left mainly in the hands of bourgeois thieves. "We would warn working-men," he says, "against the mistake of supposing that no man can be a good Labour candidate who does not work at what is called manual labour. . . . No one should be proscribed because of his occupation. The merchant and the lawyer, the doctor and the journalist" (does the cloven hoof peep forth a little here?), "the teacher and the artist should be equally eligible, if their principles are such as to entitle them to public confidence." How nice it is to "earn" two or three guineas a leader by "warning" and admonishing working-men, and how unfortunate it would be if a "violent" Revolution were to interfere with this pleasant arrangement!

Let justice, however, be done even to a Radical newspaper. The *Daily Chronicle* has rendered our Cause a signal service by printing a verbatim report of our friend Grant Allen's quite admirable lecture on "Socialism and Natural Selection." It is not often that I find much to praise in Fabian deliverances; but here surely we have the proverbial exception to every rule. Grant Allen has crushed once for all, in most masterly fashion, the silly but constantly recurring objection of half-educated would-be scientists that Socialism would seek to interfere with natural selection. "Those who advance it," says our friend truly, "do not know what is meant by Socialism, and do not know what is meant by natural selection." The whole paper breathes the principles of Free Communism.

Mrs. Fawcett, who is delivering a "course" on the "Problems of Poverty," is a lecturer of another sort. This "lady" (she would be offended, I suppose, were I to speak of her as "this woman") is of opinion that one great cause of poverty is drunkenness, an example of the "cart before the horse" to which we are accustomed. Some of us will remember that her late husband (who was, forsooth, in middle-class eyes, a great authority on "political economy") was actually under the impression that Socialists proposed to divide the land of the country equally among all the inhabitants! Mrs. Fawcett, thanks perhaps to the propaganda of the last ten years, knows just a little better than this; but, as with many others, so with her, her hide-bound bourgeois prejudices will not allow her to realise our position.

She thinks it would be "dishonest" to retake from the capitalist his ill-gotten riches. This is because she does not even yet understand that his riches are ill-gotten, taken from the worker by force and fraud. She deems it very wicked to seek to intensify in violence the class-war, so that by bringing things to a head we may terminate that war by the abolition of classes; but she has not attempted to show how the conflict is to be ended in any other way. Her great argument,

however, is based upon the favourite middle-class wheeze that, taken away the fear of hunger, there will be no "stimulus to exertion." Of course the answer is of the simplest, viz., that man will work because the energy generated in the human body is greater than is needed for mere existence, and must be used up in some fashion. Man, all through his history, has shown that (odd as it may appear to Mrs. Fawcett) he, on the whole, prefers to use this surplus energy (whatever it may be) for social ends. R. W. B.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

SPAIN.

The Barcelona *Productor* continues to furnish an admirable example of what a workers' paper should be. It is at once revolutionary and practical, full of "common-sense," yet with nothing bourgeois or academic about it. In the number for October 16, there is an interesting account of a method of federation of labour organisations which might well be imitated elsewhere than in Spain. A society has been formed there, entitled, "Pacto de Union y Solidaridad ó Federacion de Resistencia al Capital" (Covenant of Union and Solidarity or Federation of Resistance to Capital). This new federation (sprung from the First of May movement, and which has had such a vast influence in the Peninsula) proposes to "unite in common action the resisting force of the Spanish proletariat, so as to direct it against ruling Capitalism." The guiding principle of its constitution is the preservation of perfect autonomy to every individual, society, group, or federation joining it. There is no central directing body, no central fund. Each group or individual is responsible for its or his own conduct, and takes instructions from no "leaders." (Ben Tillet, McCarthy, and the rest, please note). The chief point insisted upon by the federation is simple enough, viz., "unconditional support of every strike entered upon by workers for the protection of their wounded dignity or the betterment of their conditions of labour." (If the Docker's Union had acted upon this principle, Southampton might have turned out differently). Every member undertakes to abstain from acting as a blackleg, no matter what the temptation, and to give all necessary support to every toiler who suffers in any way through doing his duty to his class.

It may be worth while again to repeat that Anarchists in Spain take an active and leading part in the labour struggles of the hour, without in the least compromising their opinions. In return they are trusted by the workers. The Parliamentary Socialists set their faces against strikes, but the Anarchists encourage them all as a preparation and rehearsal for the coming Universal Strike. In this connection I may note that our Spanish Anarchist comrades are already working towards a movement on the First of May next, which shall eclipse even that of this year.

One of the most striking figures of the past First of May, our comrade Joaquin Lopez, has just died, and died for others in such fashion as to extort the admiration even of the middle-class press. Lopez, who was only 26, had embraced Anarchist ideas with an enthusiasm which seized his whole being. He founded a paper in Valencia entitled *La Victima del Trabajo* ("Toil's Victim"). He took part in every meeting with entire forgetfulness of the personal responsibility that he incurred—ever urging the workers to leave pacific methods and enter upon the revolutionary period. On the 27th of April last he spoke some burning words on the occasion of a meeting of sympathy with the downtrodden Siberian prisoners which Spanish proletarians are not likely to forget. A prosecution followed, which is not yet over. During the events of May he worked with such activity as to inspire a most salutary terror in the capitalist ranks. He was cast into prison, and only released upon bail after two months' detention. Upon his release, he found that the masters had closed their doors upon him, and he led (he and his family) a life of terrible suffering and privation. When cholera broke at Valencia he offered himself as nurse and rendered (says a bourgeois organ) most important sanitary services. He joined the Society of the White Cross, and toiled day and night at the service of the plague-smitten patients, proletarians and bourgeois alike. Although he never ceased to be a revolutionist of revolutionists, yet his enemies themselves now admit that he was "a hero of the rarest virtue" ("en el fando un virtuosissimo varán"). One afternoon, meeting a friend in the street, he told him that he thought "the snake had bitten him," speaking of the matter carelessly enough. Sure enough, cholera had claimed him, and in a few hours he was dead. He leaves behind him a widow and children who are in the greatest misery.

Our friends at Barcelona are still hard at work preparing for the Chicago celebration. They have sent to every workers' society of that city and neighbourhood a circular explaining the murderous deed of three years ago, and inviting the presence of all toilers. This admirable plan of propaganda might perhaps be imitated here.

The Basque-land Anarchists are in good hope of soon producing their journal, *El Combate*, of which I spoke last week. It is to be a Communist paper. Oddly enough, many Spanish Anarchists (possibly most Spanish Anarchists) are Collectivists, and the Barcelona *Productor* for October 19 contains an article on Communism attacking our formula, "From each according to his capacity, to each according to his needs," on the familiar lines of the "man who will not work," and so on.

We have received the third number of the series of papers contributed to the "second Socialist Contest" (*Segundo Certamen Socialista*), held at Barcelona on the 11th November, 1889. Some of the papers are really of exceptional value, and the present writer hopes to return to them.

FRANCE.

Up to the date of writing, there is little to report from across the English Channel this week. The internecine strife between the two factions into which the *Parti Ouvrier* (so-called Workmen's Party) has divided itself continues with redoubled venom. *Le Proletariat* and *Le Parti Ouvrier* fill their columns with little else. To anti-parliamentarians it seems a battle of kites and crows. R. W. B.

PLEASE NOTE.—A Mass Meeting will be held on Saturday afternoon, Nov. 1, at the Great Assembly Hall, Mile-end, E., to protest against the inhuman treatment and persecution of Jews in Russia. The chair will be taken by Mr. James Beal, L.C.C. The following and others have been invited and are expected to address the meeting: John Burns, L.C.C., Felix Volkovskiy, S. Stepniak, P. Kropotkin, Eleanor Marx-Aveling, Cunninghame Graham, and William Morris. Doors open at 3 o'clock.



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 HEARD IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMNED 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.

Advertisements can only be inserted if unobjectionable in all particulars. Scale of charges and special quotations may be obtained from the Manager.

Subscriptions, including postage.—For British Islands, Europe, United States, and Canada, a year, 6s.; six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d. For Australia, New Zealand, Cape of Good Hope, Natal, Transvaal, and the Argentine Republic, a year, 8s.; six months, 4s.; three months, 2s. For India, Ceylon, China, Hong Kong, and the Straits Settlements, a year, 10s.; six months, 5s.; three months, 2s. 6d.

Subscribers who receive a RED WRAPPER are thereby reminded that their subscriptions have expired and must be renewed immediately if they wish to continue to receive COMMONWEAL.

All P. O. orders should be made payable to Post-office, 42 Drury Lane, W.C.

Remittances from abroad must be made by International Money Order.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

WILL Branch Secretaries please write Reports and Orders for Literature on separate pieces of paper.

CORRESPONDENTS who order literature should prepay postage, or state if they wish their parcels to be sent per rail or carrier, "carriage forward."

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday October 29.

ENGLAND Belfast Weekly Star Die Autonomie Justice Labour Tribune People's Press Seafaring Worker's Friend New SOUTH WALES Sydney—Truth Australian Star Evening News Sydney—Bulletin	Chicago—Rights of Labour Vorboten Monist Detroit—Der Arme Teufel Los Angeles—Cal. Nationalist Kaweah (Cal) Commonwealth Philadel.—Knights of Labour Paterson Labour Standard S.F.—Coast Seamen's Journal San Francisco Arbeiterzeitung Pacific Union St. Louis—Anarchist St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	BELGIUM Antwerp—De Werker Ghent—Vooruit
INDIA Bankipore—Behar Herald	FRANCE Paris—La Revolt Paris—Bourse du Travail Le Parti ouvrier Le Proletariat Lyon—L'Action Sociale Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur Rouen—Le Salarial	SPAIN Madrid—El Socialista Madrid—La Anarquia Barcelona—El Productor Cadiz—El Socialismo
UNITED STATES New York—Der Sozialist New York—Freiheit New York—Truthseeker Twentieth Century Bakers' Journal United Irishman Workmen's Advocate Volne Listy Boston—Woman's Journal Investigator Boston—Liberty	HOLLAND Hague—Recht voor Allen	GERMANY Halberstadt, Sonntags-Zeitung
	SWITZERLAND Arbeiterstimme	AUSTRIA Vienna—Arbeiter-Zeitung Trieste—Confeder. Operaia Brunn—Volksfreund Reichenberg—Freigeist
	ITALY Milan—Il Fascio Operaio	HUNGARY Arbeiter-Weekend-Chronik
		DENMARK Copenhagen—Arbejderen
		SWEDEN Malmo—Arbetet Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
		ARGENTINE REPUBLIC Buenos Ayres—Vorwarts El Perseguido Standard

"REVOLUTIONARY WARFARE."

II.

NO RENT AND A GENERAL STRIKE.

LET us now try to imagine what a General Strike would be like, and let us suppose that London leads the way. Let us see what it would mean to the smug City capitalist who resides, we will say, at Wood Green. He comes down to breakfast one morning, and as he gazes over the table which is plentifully spread with a luxurious breakfast, consisting of all delicacies in season and out of season, he muses over working-class discontent and the numerous strikes which have lately taken place. He sits down and commences to eat; while eating he takes up his *Times*, and reads in that "valuable" paper some news which rather spoils his appetite. The first head-line that meets his eye runs as follows: "Serious Revolutionary Movement in London," "A No-Rent Campaign in St. Luke's," "Police and Bailiffs Severely Beaten," "Barricades in the Streets." In disgust, he turns his eye to another portion of the paper; but here worse news awaits him. "The Eight Hours' Movement," "Important Meeting of Delegates," "A General Strike Resolved Upon." Throwing his eye down the paragraph, he finds that the strike is to begin that very morning, and that the men, despairing of any help from Parliament, are resolved to help themselves. He feels alarmed, but on further reflection decides on pooh-poohing the whole business in a superior middle-class fashion, "Non-

sense! Nonsense! A General Strike, never heard of such a thing; and as to the other rebels, the police will quickly put them down. If not the police, the soldiers. It is all those damned Socialist agitators; they ought to hang every man-jack of them!"

He finishes his breakfast and strolls down to the station. Outside he meets an agitated crowd of two or three thousand city men. "What is the matter?" he pompously inquires of a friend. "There are no trains," is the reply; "there is a General Strike in London, and not a single train has come out from there. Besides, I should not dare to go if there were, for they say there is a huge mob waiting at Finsbury Park, who threaten to lynch not only the guard and engine-driver of the first train that starts, but the passengers! They say the Social Revolution has broken out! Oh! what shall I do? What shall I do? I shall be late at the office!"

Our middle-class friend is not easily frightened, and as no trains arrive resolves to walk. Some friends accompany him, after leaving all their valuables behind. They reach Finsbury Park, and sure enough there is a big crowd there. The big crowd playfully inquiring as to "Whether they are blacklegs?" they explain that "They are City gentlemen!" and one murmurs an inquiry concerning the police. He is met with a yell of "Gone home! There ain't no police. We are our own police to-day!" The explanations of the City gentlemen, however, are accepted, and they are allowed to proceed upon their way after some jokers have bonneted them in a spirit of merry frolic. A little further on they notice that "No-Rent" is conspicuously posted up in every slum. At one time a merry populace takes them for bailiffs or landlords, and gives chase. They are rescued with difficulty, and the other two City gentlemen return home. Our friend, who is proud of his courage, perseveres. He soon comes upon a tram-car thrown over in the road, and he looks with a melancholy interest upon this relic of an attempt to run traffic with blackleg labour. He is not noticed now, for he moves with a dense crowd that is pouring towards the "Angel" at Islington, and besides, a good-natured workman is acting as his protector. He probably was never so polite to a working-man in his life before, and he clings to him with a personal affection which only an extreme sense of personal danger could excuse in a man of his respectability.

As they approach the "Angel" they are met by a dense crowd marching towards them, waving their hats and cheering like madmen. A gigantic workman on the shoulders of his comrades calls out in a stentorian voice for "Three Cheers for the Social Revolution!" The two crowds meet and mingle, and glad news is passed from mouth to mouth. The soldiers who were called out have refused to fire, and have joined the people; the police have mysteriously disappeared; the middle-class volunteers have not responded to the call of the Government, they preferred stopping at home, it was more comfortable and safer; the people, pouring in their thousands upon Downing Street, have found that the Government, together with the House of Lords and Commons, have also "retired," and the Revolution is accomplished.

Our City friend has scarcely time to grasp this remarkable fact before he is carried away in a big rush of starving unemployed, who are going for the provisions. They express such opinions as this, "As the Social Revolution has broken out they may as well have some grub! Wot's the use of a Revolution if you can't get nothing to eat?" Down go the shutters, and there is a free and rapid distribution of bread, meat, and groceries. Our friend, who is now rather dilapidated, is seized by some of the hungry and suspicious crowd. Opinions are divided as to his identity; they are doubtful whether he is a capitalist, landlord, bailiff, or "copper's nark." Many are inclined for Jeddart justice, stringing him up to a lamp-post first and settling these abstruse points afterwards. He is rescued, however, and is locked up in Islington Police-station for safety. He is released at midnight, and returns home to find that the Social Revolution has broken out at Wood Green also, and that there is a merry little party consisting of one sweep, two bricklayers, and a costermonger with their wives and families enjoying a communal meal in his drawing-room. They are very hospitable and good-natured, and advised him "to keep his pecker up and 'ave something to eat." He refuses any supper, however, and goes to bed very much shaken up by the events of the day.

We have treated from a humorous point of view the case of our City friend; we could treat it in no other way. But, speaking seriously, in our opinion the people must seize their own factories, streets, railways, mines, and all other means of production at the first favourable opportunity; they must clothe the naked and feed the hungry, and the first day of the Revolution must see the end of misery, poverty, and starvation. No Government can do this, the people must do it all and carry out the Revolution by the strength of their own right arms and their own courage, intelligence, and determination. Then if they fail, they will have no one to blame but themselves.

D. J. NICOLL.

For the 'Commonweal.'

A CONCERT AND BALL will be held at the Autonomie Club, 6, Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, W., on Monday, November 3rd, at 8.30 p.m., under the management of the 'Commonweal' Branch of S.L. The programme consists of music, choir singing, recitations, etc., and a grand variety entertainment by Rowson and Sons, who will give selections on violins and zither, violins and banjo, clog dancing, and character songs. Dancing will follow. Admission by programme, 6d. Programme may be had from the Secretaries of London Socialist Clubs and Branches.

REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM AND "LABOUR REPRESENTATION."

THE Revolutionary Socialist often puzzles the novice in Socialism by his determined stand against and denunciation of "palliatives." He is often asked in tones of wonder why he should oppose anything that would make the strain of our social system press more lightly upon the oppressed. The novice naturally turns his eyes to Parliament, and visions of remedial measures pass in succession before him till he beholds the transformation of society into the "statist" of State Socialism.

His dreams of Parliamentary action are naturally seldom disturbed by the thought of the mighty economic movement that is working in its own way with dreadful earnestness the destruction of Modern Industrialism, and that to stop the action of the elements of decay—if that were possible—is only to prolong the agony and increase the miseries of a large section of the workers. No Act of Parliament can humanise competition, nor bring within its reach the helpless thousands whose sorrowful homes are their workshops.

The Revolution alone can bring salvation to the workers, and palliatives can only strengthen the conservative element in human nature and make the workers that they "benefit" more contented slaves. The Revolutionary Socialists are the only real practical men, and the politicians are the dreamers and utopists.

The agitation for an eight hours' day may be of use in knitting the workers more closely together, and turning their minds more directly to a consideration of their position in society as mere agents for the manufacture of wealth for others, and thus making more sure the destruction of the tyranny that renders them helpless to think seriously of any other question save the one of food, and that adulterated too! What a hollow mockery it is for the "professional spiritual guides" to preach "Take no thought for the morrow," when it is the leading impulse of all our actions to-day, developing the greed, the heartlessness, and separateness of all our lives.

An Eight Hours' Bill is an impossibility for a goodly number of years; but, supposing it were passed to-morrow, it would not do half the good claimed for it by its promoters. At the most only a few trades would benefit, and for a short time the aristocracy of labour would look with still deeper contempt upon the struggles of their more helpless brethren. I could almost go down on my knees and thank the gods for every new machine that is introduced. When Socialists fail the machines succeed! It is the duty of the Revolutionary Socialist to hail with delight every factor that tends to destroy our present society, and wherever possible to help it in the good work. He will not vote for tyrannical Tory, canting Liberal, or well-meaning Social Democrat, knowing well that "Labour representation" is a farce and a misdirection of energy that could be far better spent in organising the workers for the General Strike. He will help every act that tends to destroy the "sacredness" of "law-'n'-order" and promote a wholesome contempt for landlord and capitalist made "crimes." Rent, interest, etc., are so many devils set up for worship, and he ought to have the zeal of the theologian in striking at them on every possible occasion. He will help the workers to fight their battles in their own way, and show that by "constitutional methods" failure inevitably will be theirs. Whatever weapons the workers find at hand it is their duty to use; they cannot wait like the wealthy capitalist, for he wields the rod of starvation and will use it unmercifully.

Therefore, the revolutionist will teach that only by what is termed "lawlessness" can the workers gain the slightest temporary concession, till co-operation takes the place of brute competition. That the workers are already learning this lesson the Leeds and Southampton strikes show, and the grand spirit of revolt that is rapidly spreading will awaken the constitutional leaders from pleasant dreams of seats in the House of Commons and debates in County Councils.

The increasing solidarity of the workers throughout the world is one of the most hopeful signs to the revolutionist of the coming change, for in that alone he sees the one thing needful to make the General Strike a success. He can look serenely on the posings of the constitutional leaders in the front ranks of the Labour movement, knowing that the truce between Capital and Labour will soon be broken, and that they will have to move more quickly or be left far behind by the onward movement of the rank and file. While our blessed Parliament is "debating," and the Labour leaders moving heaven and earth for seats in the House of Commons, the economic movement, which is far beneath all that and far beyond their influence, is steadily going on, making more naked the social war and stripping it of the fine-spun garments woven by the professors of the "dismal science." It would indeed be difficult to-day to come across a worker who cannot in some fashion define his position in society. The most ignorant of them will agree that he is a mere instrument used by the more cunning, and consequently more powerful section of society, in ministering to all its real and fancied wants, his own always being strictly left out of account; and if he has soul enough in him to feel the "still small voice" of his ruined manhood, he will at once place himself in the active ranks of the rebels and declare war against a system that forcibly denies him the right to *live*.

The novice in Socialism does not see that all attempts at propping up our rotten system can only be done at the expense and still greater suffering of a large portion of the most helpless victims of society, even supposing Parliament sincere in its efforts to make more bearable the condition of the wage-slaves. Let him think of the years it

would take before a "respectable minority" of Labour representatives could be sent to the House of Commons, and he will soon conclude that far more effective and practical work can be done outside in organising labour and giving direction to the growing feeling of revolt. Instead of waiting for reactionary measures, let him preach the ideal of Socialism and inculcate the spirit of rebellion wherever he goes.

In the East-end of every great city a most successful crusade could be made against the payment of rent and taxes. Much would follow from this alone, and who can doubt the success of this when the huddled-up workers will be starving in the coming depression of trade. Not all the schemes of General Booth and his army of chloroformers will be able to stem the tide of discontent, and it is for the Socialist to give it enlightenment and direction.

The time has come now for an extension of the movement in a practical way. In every city and town where Socialist societies exist, bands of young men ought to be formed and excursions made through those parts of the country where "trespassers are strictly prohibited," and if a few rabbits or grouse could be caught it might give a zest to this new phase of the propaganda, which would soon become popular. The time is ripe for a new departure, and action like this would soon make the conditions possible for the issuing of a "No-Rent Manifesto."

Let us take every means in our power to harass the enemy, for every act of lawlessness is the preliminary to the Social Revolution. The resources of civilisation are great, and many are the ways of striking terror into the hearts of the enemy.

J. M. B.

LIFE ON AN EMIGRANT SHIP.

COMRADES,—Having just come from Buenos Ayres among the human merchandise in the steerage of one of the Royal Mail steamers, it may interest some of the readers of the *Commonweal* to read what my experiences was under the circumstances.

We sailed on the 19th of September, and after leaving the Rio de la Plata we called first at Santos in Brazil. This is a beautiful place and splendid harbour, and is beside the port of disembarkation for the human material which is being imported in rather large quantities at present for the colonies in the province of San Paulo. As we anchored, a French steamer arrived, crowded with Italian immigrants, and in the evening, being ashore, I witnessed the transhipment of them to a lighter, which later on was towed up the river with barely standing room on board of her. From some of the passengers who came ashore in Santos I learned that there were 800 in all and that they were all going to San Paulo.

From our own experience on board of the "Trent" I judged that the passengers of the "Bearn" must have had a pleasant voyage of it in such a full ship. Worse awaits the poor creatures, however; for an Italian who joined us at Santos, and who had come down from San Paulo, told me that a few weeks before more than two thousand immigrants had arrived there and that they were wandering about half starved.

Brazil is at present going ahead on the same road of progress which I have seen have such a pleasant turning in the Argentine Republic. Free passages are given to all who wish to come, purely with the object of giving a value to the lands on which they may settle, and, where the climate permits them to do so, this will give such a value to the land as will completely exclude any but capitalists from possessing it. Then the earnings of the labourers becoming less and less—or as the "practical" people put it, "labour becoming cheaper and cheaper," everyone will soon be astonished at the great "progress" of the country, as shown by the rise in the value of land. Speculation will then drive this up far beyond its real value, the future prices of land will seem to have no limit, and then one fine day will come the inevitable smash, which will paralyse everything, and drive the labourer back to starve or fight in the country he came from.

It will take but a short time for this to be brought about in Brazil, for the greater part of the country is quite unfit for European races to live in. Men told me who came from Santos that there was no want of work there, as public works were in progress, but they said it was so horribly unhealthy that it was worse than other places where they were half starved. Everyone knows what a fever-den Santos is.

In spite of this I found that the hard work of loading and unloading ships and the coaling of steamers was done entirely by white men (Portuguese and Italian "free" labourers). Formerly, as I have seen, this hard work was all done by black slaves, but now the free whites have the privilege of killing themselves at it. The black man, as I have been told, is taking it pretty considerably easy in Brazil at present. He is not yet ambitious of making a fortune, the lazy fellow!

We loaded about ten thousand bags of coffee in Santos, and I don't know when I saw men working so hard as those who carried it aboard. Every man with a bag of coffee on his shoulders, and some with two and even three, came running up the gangway, flinging their load into the hold and rushing back again for another. It was quite a lively scene, and some of the poor fellows laughed and shouted as they became excited, and I heard some of our respectables remark how very happy the fellows were and what a lot of money they must earn! Some of them, I know, looked very much distressed, as the weather was very sultry, though we were very far indeed from the really hot season.

We took in a good many passengers here, and sailed for Bahia. Up to this the space provided for steerage passengers had not been quite full, and yet there was a horrible stench in the steerage, which I at first attributed to my fellow passengers, but which I found disappear here, though the number increased. The fact was that a quantity of jerked meat was discharged here, which had been stowed under our noses! When it left I had a better opinion of the passengers and felt a truly Christian spirit toward the company!

We called at Bahia, Rio Janeiro, and Pernambuco, and by the time we left the latter place our space was well filled. It was almost impossible to sleep below, the atmosphere was so stifling, and we were not allowed to bring the company's mattresses on deck for fear they might be soiled, but a blanket and pillow on the hard deck was preferable to smothering below.

And the food! and the feeding! There was a group of Spaniards on board coming from Buenos Ayres—fine sturdy, strong fellows they were, as the Spanish workers in general are, thanks to the fact that Spain has not progressed like some of her neighbours, and ground body and soul of the

workers into riches for a few capitalists. Well, these men complained loudly one day of their treatment, and as I agreed with them, they requested me to go with them to the captain and protest.

We were fed almost exclusively on black beans and rice. Black water called coffee was served, with a piece of bread badly baked, at 6 a.m. Then at 8 we had beans and rice boiled in a mash, and ladled out to us from a bucket, which each one had to receive at the end of his bunk. As there are two rows of bunks, the feet of the man on top either brushed the hair of the man below or hung on each side of his nose! Fortunately I was on top.

Then you received your ladleful of the mash, scalding hot, on a tin platter which the ladle nearly filled, and then you must decide while your fingers burn whether you will be able to endure it on your thighs, or with a wrench round of your body place it hastily in the middle of your bed!

We generally got a chunk of nauseous-looking tough uneatable meat as second course, on the same platter, and a cup of wine; and the same at dinner at 1 o'clock. Tea and bread and butter at 5 p.m., and this closed the festivities. We occasionally got some variety in the way of macaroni and potatoes, but the diet was substantially as I mentioned from day to day. The wine supplied was by nature good common wine, but we were defrauded of it by the stewards, who went in for doing a little business on their own account. They contracted with a number of passengers to give them good diet on payment of two sovereigns a-head, and the way they did it was by keeping the best part of the food apart for them and getting it cooked specially, and by taking part of the wine for them and filling up with water for the other passengers.

Of course the protest to the captain had little or no result, except in bringing the wrath of the chief steward down on my devoted head because I acted as spokesman. The watering of the wine was, however, put a stop to, and the food was not quite so abominable as before.

Ah, how far the workers are yet from understanding their rights in such matters! While they who ought to have everything are treated invariably as animals, or as merchandise to be made money of, their masters in the cabin have plenty of space and ventilation and every convenience that can possibly be provided. The workers produce everything and are grudging the merest necessities; their masters produce nothing and have everything at their disposal.

(To be concluded).

J. CREAGHE.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

A Bait for Blacklegs.

The dock directors undoubtedly know their game. They have prepared a bait for their "permanent men" which will undoubtedly take. Here are the particulars of this splendid offer: 1. An eight-hour day; 2. Twenty-four shillings a-week; 3. A week's notice on either side; 4. Half-pay during sickness; three days' leave a-year and holidays.

Now, the Company know very well that these terms will attract a tremendous rush of labour from the country districts, and not only will all the permanent men's places be filled, but there will be a large reserve army of labour at hand ready to crush the dockers should they revolt against the wholesale introduction of blacklegs which the company are evidently contemplating. For the amiable company announces that it will make no distinction between "free labour" and unionists for the future. This means that when they have attracted enough blacklegs by their glowing announcements, blacklegs will be given the preference. How much chance do our readers think anyone will stand who has made himself prominent as a unionist? When the company's foremen select their workers at the dock gates, it strikes me the blackleg will get the preference. The men will practically lose their last protection if their representatives are driven away by the company on November 3rd, when the old agreement expires. The union will then be no longer recognised, and if the men show fight a big lock-out will follow as certainty. But what are the leaders of the union doing? O, they have the most touching faith in the directors; they appear to think that the directors are as much in love as the representatives of the dockers with Tom Mann's co-operative scheme; but they will find their mistake out. The company's magnificent offer of a "high" wage, with an eight hours day and a pension, to outsiders to come in and take the places of the dockers, ought to be quite enough to warn these gentlemen of the trouble in front of them; but they are totally blind to what everyone else can see. Although affairs are looking so threatening, yet the dockers' leaders are still standing cap in hand to the men who are about to make war on them. For instance, when Mr. Wilson, of the Seamen's Union, advised his men to be prepared for a strike last Saturday, the dockers' leaders at once announced that Mr. Wilson would find himself alone, and that a strike was the very thing they were "labouring day and night to avert." Very likely, but when the masters are determined on war, not all their piteous pleading will save them from it.

Allan and Co.'s "Settlement."

We said last week that Allan and Co.'s "settlement" would not work well, and we were right. On Thursday there was another dispute on account of the dust among the corn on the steamship "Brazilian." The "expert" was called in and gave his decision against the men. The men struck against this "decision," but their leader McCarthy persuaded them to go to work. The "friendly" press was very much down upon the corn-porters for striking against the decision of a Mark Lane gambler in corn; they ought to abide by agreements drawn up by their leaders, etc. We wonder if this precious agreement was explained to the men or whether it was concluded behind their backs. We know the dockers' leaders have done this before, and what they have done once they may do again.

N.

LIVERPOOL SOCIALIST SOCIETY.—Vegetarian Restaurant, Eberle Street, Dale Street.—Meets every Tuesday at 8 p.m.

DUBLIN.—A general meeting of the Irish Socialist Union will be held on Monday, November 3rd, at 8 p.m., at 87 Marlboro Street. Punctual attendance requested.

LEEDS.—The Chicago Commemoration Meeting will be held here at Oriel Hall, Cookridge Street, on Monday, November 10. Speakers—R. Bingham, Andrew Hall, F. Charles, T. Maguire, H. Samuels, and G. Cores.

SCOTTISH SOCIALIST FEDERATION.—EDINBURGH.—Labour Hall, 50 South Bridge. Business meeting, Fridays at 8 p.m. Lecture, Sunday November 2, at 6.30 (see *Evening News Saturday*). LEITH.—Henderson Street Hall, Sunday, November 2, Gilray on "Comradeship."

MR. CHAMPION IN AUSTRALIA.

MR. CHAMPION has certainly made a mess of it in Australia. There is ample evidence of this in the Australian papers that have reached us. Soon after this worthy gentleman landed, he began lecturing the trade unionists upon their proper behaviour, and curiously enough his advice was just what the employers desired. The Marine Officers were recommended to withdraw from union with the men; at the same time he advised the gas-workers to go back to work without demanding the dismissal of the blacklegs, and the unionists were told generally to treat the blackleg as a "brother." In fact, Mr. Champion recommended a base and cowardly surrender of nearly every claim the men had made. Luckily they saw through this treacherous advice, and our own comrades also were able to give some interesting facts concerning Mr. Champion's past career; and the result was that the Trades Councils of Melbourne and Sydney both passed resolutions repudiating Mr. Champion. The resolution of the Sydney Trades Council was passed after our comrades Thompson and McNamara had attended and shown Champion up. It runs as follows: "That this Council declines to recognise Mr. Champion as representative of trades-unionism, refuses to accept him as mediator in the present dispute, and regards his action during his visit to Australia as opposed to the best interests of labour." Great credit is due to our friends for their action; in fact it is certainly owing to the Australian Socialists that the workers were saved from the machinations of a treacherous scoundrel.

Mr. Champion got it very hot from the popular press. *Truth*, a well-known Sydney paper, has an article entitled "Mr. Chameleon Champion," from which we give a few extracts, just to show in what sort of estimation the late editor of the *Labour Elector* is held in Australia. The paper, after giving some account of the changes that "reptile" the chameleon undergoes, describes the changes of opinion which Mr. Champion has also experienced, and then says:

"Now, as regards Mr. Champion's fitness to act as mediator in the present dispute. His antecedents would scarcely seem to qualify him for the confidence of the Labour party. But admitting, for the sake of argument, that there had been nothing in the past career of this perigrinating Proteus to bar his way to the confidence and councils of Labour at this critical juncture, what shall be said of his recent utterances, artfully couched in the form of cautious deprecation and mild reproof? Hardly had this man been a week on our shores than he began to play the part of public catechist and rebuker. Without knowledge or the slightest circumspection he deals out approval and censure like some omniscient Solon, at whose nod and dictum the united forces of federated Australian Labour are expected to bow in abject obedience, to lay down their arms and fraternise with blacklegs. This would be yielding the neck of the Democracy to the crushing heel of Capital with a vengeance! Well may the Trades Hall Council of Melbourne and the Trades and Labour Council of Sydney repudiate the mission of one who preaches such dastardly subservience as this. In doing so they have vindicated the dignity of Labour and the righteousness of Labour's cause in the present terrible conflict. Such a mission is one which the paid emissary of a military tyrant and of the *Tory Times* alone is fit to undertake. Seeing themselves approached under the guise of friendship, by the agent of such interests, the workers might well exclaim, in the paraphrased language of Shakespeare's apostrophe to Cranmer:

Again! there is sprung up
A heretic, an arch one, Champion; one
Hath crawled into the favour of the King.

Mr. Champion has, doubtless, discovered ere this that his record has preceded him to Sydney; and that neither the countenance of an Emperor nor that of the aristocratic press of England, nor even that of the capitalistic press of Australia, will suffice to reconcile the Australian Democracy to the advocates of "scab" labour. Such advocates might as well sell their souls to the devil, as hire out their services to the enemies of their fellow-men. Perhaps the bargain with Beelzebub would be the less blameable. In any case, Mr. Champion fully understands by this time that he can have no honourable part or lot in the present great fight for the rights of humanity, as represented by Australian Labour. The confidence of the workers in England he irretrievably lost long ago; and now he has, consistently in accord with his past chameleon-like career, forever forfeited the right to enjoy that of the workers in Australia."

The reference to "a military tyrant" and "the *Tory Times*" may need some explanation. It is generally supposed that Mr. Champion has been employed by the German Emperor to collect facts and statistics concerning English trade unions. It has also leaked out that he has been sent to Australia as correspondent for the *Times* newspaper. Now we all know that the *Times* is the official organ of those capitalists who are the most bitterly opposed to trade unionism. It is, therefore, not remarkable that its correspondents should try to play the game of the capitalists in Australia. The Australian and English capitalists have formed an alliance in order to crush the workers, and Mr. Champion has been employed by these people as a useful and unscrupulous tool. The plot, however, has failed, and neither Mr. Champion's "conciliatory advice" nor his lying telegram of the other day, has had the least effect in defeating the Australian workers in their struggle for freedom. Mr. Champion has one consolation, if he is unpopular with the Australian workers he is very popular with the Australian capitalist classes. Their press praises him to the skies, and the "democratic" government, composed of sweating and swindling capitalists, has granted him a free pass on the "State" railways as a "distinguished" visitor. It is a pity that these gentlemen cannot provide Mr. Judas Champion with a "free" rope to hang himself, for his treachery is discovered and he will be of little use to his employers in future.

N

THE CHICAGO MARTYRS—DUBLIN.—The Irish Socialist Union will hold a Commemoration Meeting in honour of the Chicago Martyrs on Monday, Nov. 10, at 8 p.m., at 87 Marlboro Street. All sympathisers are invited to attend.

FABIAN SOCIETY.—A course of lectures on "COMMON OBJECTIONS TO SOCIALISM" will be given at Bloomsbury Hall, Hart Street, New Oxford Street, W.C. Friday, November 7, at 8 o'clock.—IV. *That Socialism is incompatible with Political Economy.* "Because it would check production." William Clarke"; "Because it would fail to provide for efficient management of industry," Louis Cohen.

NORTH KENSINGTON BRANCH.—A course of four lectures, entitled "*What becomes of our Wealth*," will be given by members of the Fabian Society at the Clarendon Coffee Palace, Clarendon Road, North Kensington, commencing next Sunday, November 2nd, at 7.30, when G. Bernard Shaw will open with "The Landlord's Share." Nov. 9th, Graham Wallas, "The Capitalist's Share." 16th, E. R. Pease, "The Labourer's Share." 23rd, W. S. De Mattos, "How Wealth will be Shared."

CORRESPONDENCE.

LAUNDRY WOMEN'S CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATION.

COMRADES.—We think in your haste to condemn us that you have scarcely correctly stated the principles of our Association. Our circular states that 5 per cent. will be paid on non-worker shares only, and that no interest is paid on worker shares at all; and if, therefore, our Socialist friends would kindly assist us by taking these shares, there would be no obligation upon us to issue the others. But, in any case, the Socialist Co-operative Federation, which permits its committee to borrow money at 5 per cent., should scarcely be thrown as a stone at us for adopting a plan by which we can raise the necessary money, which at present we have no other means of obtaining. The non-worker shares are by the rules to be paid off out of the first profits. We comment on your straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel by drawing attention so severely to a mere technical point, while making no remark on the terrible trade conditions under which laundry women are at present suffering, which we are at any rate honestly trying to alleviate—conditions of suffering which we think should appeal to all Socialists who have the cause of humanity at heart.—We are comrades (on behalf of the Committee), Yours in the Cause,

Signed { ANNIE MARSH,
JENNY WILLIS,
IDA MACKENZIE,
EDITH LUPTON, Secretary.

[We do not see that Miss Lupton's explanation alters the case very much. Although the Socialist Co-operative Federation may have power to borrow money at 5 per cent. in case of necessity, yet no interest is paid upon their shares, and we thought Miss Lupton's scheme would get more support from Socialists if this example was followed. We have quite as much sympathy with the sweated laundry women as Miss Lupton, only we are not sure that co-operation, or even trade unionism, will sweep their slavery away. They both may do something to improve the condition of some of these workers, but nothing but the Social Revolution will raise the mass from the horrible misery from which most working-women suffer at the present time.—EDS.]

"PIONEER AID AND SUPPORT ASSOCIATION."

COMRADES.—The appeal in the *Commonweal* two weeks since must not be neglected. I should propose that at every one of the Chicago Commemoration Meetings special collections be made, or the surplus remaining after expenses are paid, be reserved and sent to Mr. T. Grief, 54, West Lake Street, Chicago, Ill., for the purpose of helping to defray the expenses of a grand memorial stone to the memory of our murdered comrades, and as a token of our fraternity and international solidarity. Might I suggest to the committee in Chicago the advisability of placing on record the names of all the subscribing towns and cities, or societies, clubs, and branches. In conclusion, I would urge on all comrades the necessity of going over and taking part in the World's Congress of working-men in Chicago in 1893, and also at the unveiling of the monument, assuming of course that the system does not break down or up before then.—Yours fraternally,
LEEDS. H. SAMUELS.

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.

Branch Subscriptions Paid.—1890.—North Kensington, to end of April. Glasgow, Oxford, Hammersmith, 'Commonweal' Branch, Manchester, and Norwich, to end of May. Yarmouth, to end of June. East London, to end of July. Leicester, to end of August. North London, to end of September. Streatham, to end of December.

NEW PREMISES FUND.

Collection by Council on October 27th, 5s. 2½d.

"COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Glasgow Branch	0	5	0	H. R. (2 weeks)	0	2	0
W. Blundell	0	5	0	B. W.	0	0	6
M. P. H. (Oxford)	0	4	0				
Ph. Webb (4 weeks)	0	4	0	Total	1	0	6

REPORTS.

'COMMONWEAL' BRANCH.—Good meeting on Friday at Hoxton addressed by Blundell, Mrs. Blundell, and Cook; some opposition by a well-dressed individual in the crowd, who, on hearing the announcements made with reference to our commemoration meetings and Chicago comrades, thought they were justly hanged and imprisoned; he was advised to come to our meetings and hear the facts; we sold one quire of 'Weals.

ABERDEEN.—Comrades Leatham, W. Cooper, and Rennie addressed an open-air meeting at the fountain, Woodside, on Sunday afternoon, 19th Oct. At the indoor meeting in the evening the Introduction to 'Commercial and Communal Economy,' by Carruthers, was read and discussed. A good meeting was held on Castle Street on Thursday evening; the speakers were W. Cooper and Leatham; and on Saturday night in the same place Rennie, Aiken, and Leatham spoke to an enthusiastic crowd. Through the overcrowding at our indoor meetings we have been induced to take the Oddfellows' Large Hall for Sunday nights, which is seated for 400, where we commence to-night (26th Oct.) with a debate on the best means of securing an eight hours day. Comrade Duncan will open in favour of a general strike and comrade W. Cooper in favour of legal enactment.—G. A. C.

GLASGOW.—We have had to abandon our Bridgeton Cross meeting on Friday nights, owing to the space being quite monopolised by hucksters and cheap-jacks. On Sunday evening comrade Brodie, vice-president of the Trades Council, addressed our Paisley Road Toll meeting. 4s. 8d. was collected for the blast-furnace men on strike.

SCOTTISH SOCIALIST FEDERATION—EDINBURGH.—Good meetings were held on Sunday both here and at Leith. In the afternoon Mackenzie, Hamilton, and Connolly spoke in the Meadows, but cold and rain, or providence, drove the audience off. In Labour Hall in the evening Gilray addressed a good audience on "Comradeship." Howie spoke at Leith on "The Energy We Waste," and was well received. Good discussion followed at each meeting.—W. D. T.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Battersea.—All communications to E. Buteux, 45, Inwith Street, Battersea Park Road.
Commonweal Branch.—24 Great Queen Street, Holborn, W.C. Tuesdays, Singing Practice. Thursdays, Business meeting. Saturdays, Social Gathering. Sunday, November 2, at 8.30 p.m., Mrs. Blundell, "Socialism."
East London.—H. McKenzie, 10 Victoria Dwellings, Clerkenwell Road, E.C. Hammersmith.—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Lecture every Sunday at 8. French Class conducted by Mlle. Desroches on Friday evenings at 7.30.
North Kensington.—Clarendon Coffee Palace, Clarendon Road. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m. Band practice every Friday at 8 p.m.
North London.—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road. Meets every Wednesday evening at 8 o'clock.
South Side Branch.—E. Lupton, 59 Selhurst Road, S.E., secretary pro tem.
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 Oddfellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane, on Sunday evenings at 6.30. Singing practice, etc., Mondays at 8 p.m.
Glasgow.—Members are invited to meet on Thursdays 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.
Hull.—Club Liberty, 1 Beets Court, Blanket Row.
Leeds.—Socialist League Club, 1 Clarendon Buildings and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8.—International Educational Club, Templar Street. Open every evening. Discussion class every Friday at 8; lectures every Saturday at 4. All kinds of Socialist literature on tables and for sale.
Leicester.—Room No. 7, Co-operative Hall, High Street. Branch meeting on Thursday at 8 p.m.
Manchester.—Socialist League Club, 60 Grovesnor Street, All Saints. Open every evening. Branch weekly meeting on Tuesdays at 8. Saturday, October 25, lecture by Graham Wallis (Fabian), "The Future of Democracy."
Nottingham.—Socialist Club, Woodland Place, Upper Parliament Street. Club contribution, 1d. per week; Dancing every Wednesday, 8 till 10.30—fee 3d.
Norwich.—Members' meeting held every Tuesday at 8.30.
Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. First Friday in every month, at 8.30 p.m.
Sheffield.—Socialist Club, 63 Blomk Street. French Class, Tuesday at 8.30. Discussion Class, Wednesday at 8.30. Open-air meetings are held as follows:—Sunday: Monolith, Fargate, at 11.30; Newhall Road, Attercliffe, at 11.30; Pump, Westbar, at 8; Heeley, Maresbrook Park, at 7.30; Monolith, Fargate, at 6.30; Rotherham, College Yard, at 3.15. Wednesday: Nursery Street, Wicker, at 8. Thursday: Bramall Lane, at 8; Eckington, at 6.30. Friday: Duke Street, Park, at 8. Saturday: Woodhouse, at 7.
Walsall.—Socialist Club, 18 Goodall Street, Walsall. Meetings every night.
Yarmouth.—Socialist League Club, 56 Row, Market Place. Open every evening Business Meeting, Tuesday at 8. Singing Practice, Wednesday at 8.30. Discussion Class, Thursday at 8.30. Elocution Class, Friday at 8.30.

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible to help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SATURDAY 1.

8 Euston Road—Ossulston Street Nicoll and Cantwell
8 Mile-end Waste Mrs. Lahr and Wright

SUNDAY 2.

11 Commercial Road—Union Street Mrs. Lahr
11 Latimer Road Station North Kensington Branch
11 New Cut—Short Street The Branch
11.30 Hammersmith Bridge Hammersmith Branch
11.30 Hoxton Church The Branch
11.30 Regent's Park Nicoll
11.30 Thornton Heath Harding and Miss Lupton
3.30 Croydon—Handcroft Road Harding and Miss Lupton
3.30 Hyde Park—Marble Arch Mainwaring and Nicoll
3.30 Victoria Park Commonweal Branch
3.30 Streatham Common The Branch
7 Hammersmith Bridge Hammersmith Branch
7 Wormwood Scrubs North Kensington Branch
7.30 Croydon—Crownhill Leggatt
7.30 Streatham—Fountain Kitz
8 Kings Cross—Liverpool Street The Branch
8 Walham Green—back of Church Hammersmith Branch

WEDNESDAY 5.

7.30 New Cut—Short Street Miss Lupton and Leggatt

FRIDAY 7.

8.15 Hoxton Church Kitz and Mrs. Lahr

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen.—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7.30 p.m.
Glasgow.—Sunday: Jail Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock.
Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Woodhouse Moor, at 3 p.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 6 p.m.
Leicester.—Sunday: Russell Square, at 10.45 a.m.; Market Place, at 6.15 p.m.; Humberstone Gate, at 8 p.m. Monday: Belgrave, at 8. Tuesday: Sanvey Gate, at 8. Wednesday: Braunstone Gate, at 8. Friday: Infirmary Square, at 8. Saturday: "Cross," Belgrave Gate, at 8.
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 3. Monday: Market Street, Blackley, at 8.
Nottingham.—Sunday: Sneinton Market, at 11 a.m.; Great Market, at 7 p.m.
Norwich.—Saturday: Haymarket, at 8. Sunday: Market Place at 11, 3, and 7.30.
Yarmouth.—Saturday: Church Plain Trees, at 8 p.m. Sunday: Priory Plain, at 11; Bradwell, at 11.30; London Boat Landing Stage, at 3; Colman's Granary Quay, at 7. Monday: Belton, at 8 p.m.

SOCIALIST LEAGUE PUBLICATIONS.

Leaflets.

All pamphlets not published by the Socialist League will in future be charged to Branches and Allied Societies at the following rates:—1d. each, 1s. 6d. per quire of 26; 2d. each, 3s. ditto.

The following are now on hand—Price per thousand:

An Address on the Chicago Martyrs ...	4 0
Strikes and the Labour Struggle ...	3 0
To Working Women and Girls ...	3 0
Socialism and "Public Opinion" ...	2 0
Songs for the Workers (2 leaflets)—each	2 0

American Literature.

A few remainders—

Plutarch's Lives of Famous Men ...	1 0
Modern Christianity v. Heathenism ...	0 9
Scholar in a Republic (Wendell Philipps)	0 8
The Great Strike: the Irrepressible Conflict between Capital and Labour ...	0 4
What is Freedom? When am I Free? ...	0 4
The Railway Kings and an American Empire	0 2

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Triumph of Labour. Memorial Cartoon of the Great Dock Strike, Sept. 1889. With cardboard roll, 6d.; artist's edition, ditto ...	1 0
Amazonia. A Foretaste of the Future. By Mrs. John Corbett ...	1 0

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.

Stanley's Exploits;

OR,

CIVILISING AFRICA.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

A FULL ACCOUNT OF THE FIENDISH ATROCITIES COMMITTED UPON THE NATIVES OF AFRICA BY THE "BUCCANEER OF THE CONGO."

Commonweal Office, 24 Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, W.C.

JAS. LEATHAM'S PUBLICATIONS.

Songs for Socialists. Second edition, revised and enlarged. Forty capital Socialist Songs. 1d.

Stanley's Exploits; or, Civilising Africa. A full account of the fiendish atrocities committed upon the natives of Africa by the "Buccaneer of the Congo." 1d.

Jones's Boy: Three Dialogues. 1d.

"The Only Thing that will Do." By One of the Unemployed. 32 pages. 1d.

An Eight Hours Day with Ten Hours' Pay. How to get it and how to keep it. 24 pp., crown 8vo. 1d.

JAMES LEATHAM, Printer, 15 St. Nicholas Street, Aberdeen; or

Commonweal Office, 24 Great Queen St., London, W.C.

THE SOLIDARITY OF LABOUR

A DRAWING

BY WALTER CRANE.

On fine toned paper, suitable for framing.

Sent in cardboard protector, post free, 5d. Per dozen, 2s.; by post, 2s. 3d.

Commonweal Office, 24 Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, W.C.

MEN V. MACHINERY.

Suggestive Facts and Figures, urging National Control of National Powers of Production.

BY THOMAS SHORE.

With Preface by H. HALLIDAY SPARLING.

COMMONWEAL OFFICE, 24 Great Queen Street, W.C.

EVERY THURSDAY—ONE PENNY.

THE PEOPLE'S PRESS

AN HONEST LABOUR PAPER, DEVOTED SOLELY TO THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS.

THE PEOPLE'S PRESS is the official organ of a large number of Labour Organisations, and the only representative in the press of the Advanced Labour Party and the "New Unionism."

THE PEOPLE'S PRESS looks at all questions from the worker's point of view.

THE PEOPLE'S PRESS is absolutely independent of political parties, and fights Capitalists and Landlords alike.

Large and increasing circulation. Excellent medium for advertisements.

Editorial and Publishing Offices: 1 Hare Place, Fleet Street, E.C.

FREETHOUGHT PUBLICATIONS.

The Freethinker. Edited by G. W. Foote. Widest circulation of any Freethought paper. ... Weekly	0 1
Mistakes of Moses. By Col. R. G. Ingersoll. Only complete edition in England	1 0
Reply to Gladstone. By Ingersoll	0 4
Rome or Reason? Reply to Cardinal Manning. By Ingersoll	0 4
Bible Heroes. By G. W. Foote. First and Second Series. ... Each	1 0
Crimes of Christianity. By G. W. Foote and J. M. Wheeler. Vol. I. ...	2 6
Infidel Death Beds. Historic and Descriptive. By G. W. Foote. Second edition. Tenth Thousand. ...	0 8
Letters to the Clergy. By Foote	1 0
Is the Bible Inspired? By Foote	0 1

Complete Catalogue on application.

R. FORDER, 28 Stonecutter Street, London, E.C.

FREIHEIT

INTERNATIONAL ORGAN OF THE GERMAN-SPEAKING ANARCHISTS.

EDITED BY JOHN MOST.

Subscription, 2s. per quarter; under cover, 4s.

Müller, Post Office Box 3135, New York, U.S.A. or Office of *Commonweal*.

"There will come a time when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you strangle to-day." —AUGUST SPIES.

THE

CHICAGO MARTYRS:

THEIR SPEECHES IN COURT.

PUBLISHED BY THE INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY SOCIETIES OF LONDON.

Now Ready, price Threepence.

Commonweal Office, 24 Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, W.C.

SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE

FEDERATION, LIMITED,

7 LAMBS CONDUIT STREET, W.C.

Hammersmith and Chiswick Branch Store—

38 DEVONSHIRE ROAD, CHISWICK.

THE attention of all Socialists and Friends of Labour in particular, and the Public generally, is called to this enterprise, and to them an appeal is made to make it a success by dealing and taking Shares.

Groceries and Provisions

of good quality and at lowest paying prices.

Orders amounting in value to 10s., or 5s. if not exceeding 20lb., carriage paid in metropol. Furniture, Clothing, Boots, etc., may be ordered from the Stores.

N.B.—NO INTEREST PAID ON SHARES.

Apply for Price-list and further particulars to J. TURNER (S.L.), Manager, 7 Lambs Conduit Street.

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.

Printed in the Socialist League Printery, and published in the name and on behalf of the Socialist League, by FRANK KIRTZ, at 24 Great Queen St., Lincoln's Inn Fields, London W.C.