

# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

It is certainly curious that among all the comments made by the English press upon the German elections and the Emperor's rescript, the *Pall Mall* should have most nearly approached the truth of the matter. That the paper which is afflicted with so perverse a squint when looking at anything Russian, can see straight when over the border, is an object-lesson with a moral attached to it somewhere. Of course, all that the Emperor has done, or has had done for him, is to read the signs of the weather a little more clearly than was expected, and to throw an anchor to windward against the squall that was coming.

Every election has registered a very large increase in the number of German Socialists; since the last election there has been a tremendous amount of propaganda done, in spite of the law and at the risk of life and liberty. Working under conditions of which few Englishmen can have any idea, and which even an Irishman can hardly appreciate, meetings have been held, lectures delivered, and pamphlets and papers circulated far and wide throughout the land. The policy of repression has failed, as it always must fail, and now the Emperor has turned, too late, to make peace with the enemy who is no longer "in his gates," but within them.

As the *Pall Mall* says:

"Germany, by force of its position between France and Russia, is bound to be a military State. Every German adult male is a soldier. Every German 'have not' is a soldier. Every German Social Democrat is a soldier. As the 'have nots' are increasing, and the Social Democrats consequently increasing, a state of things is possible in which the army, upon which the Empire is dependent for its stability and protection, will be an army of Social Democrats, or at least in which Socialism will thrive and develop as rapidly and vigorously as Puritanism did in the army of Fairfax and Cromwell. This is the chief shadow on the German throne, and what the young Emperor wants to do is to dispel it."

Here is another good specimen of election-time benevolence; now that the elections have gone the other way there will probably nothing come of it:

"The German Government is setting another good example in its treatment of labour. The Minister of War has been personally investigating the condition of the dwellings of the workmen employed at the Government Ordnance Factory at Spandau. The result is that the Government is going to provide dwellings for its hands at a cost of thirteen million marks."

It is perhaps not much to be feared that our own rulers here will read the weather-signs too well and follow the Emperor's example with more success. The interviews which a miners' deputation had last week with Lords Dunraven and Churchill and Mr. Gladstone on the Eight Hours Question were tragic, ludicrous, or disgusting, as you may choose to look at them. Each one of the gentlemen showed well that, as the old proverb goes, "the black ox never trod on his foot."

One thing Mr. Gladstone said is likely to have a far-reaching effect:

"Whatever may be the inconvenience of strikes and the roughness of the method of their operation, I should hesitate before assenting to this, that where an object could be gained by the working-men themselves by their own independent action, with resort to strike if necessary—that that method of proceeding was less to be desired than the interference of Parliament."

If he meant all he said, which may perhaps be doubted, it would be in order to ask him to try to secure fair play for strikers and to enforce a neutral attitude upon the police.

After endorsing "independent action" he can do no less than prevent it being hampered.

The *New York World* says much the same as we said last week. This from an ordinary bourgeois paper is not bad:

"Andrew Carnegie is making a noble use of his superfluous wealth in founding great public libraries in Pennsylvania. But would it not be a better illustration of 'Triumphant Democracy' if the working-men in the protected industries, from which Mr. Carnegie has obtained his wealth, were paid wages which would enable them to buy their own books?"

Or in other words, "to give the petteitoes in alms will not atone for stealing the pig."

The *Boston Herald* has this to say on the same subject:

"Mr. Carnegie continues to give away free public libraries. He is a very generous man, but it is to be borne in mind that his money comes directly out of the pockets of the tax-payers. They are the real donors of Carnegie libraries."

Which may be translated, "'Tis a dear collop that's cut from one's own flesh."

In the opinion of Mr. Russell Sage, an American millionaire, any-one with intelligence and industry may grow rich. This is a cheering view to take, and not a difficult one, perhaps, for a man whose own fortune is put at ten millions. But he would probably modify his opinion a good deal if he had had to earn his money and not "make" it after the approved fashion of nowadays, or, in plain English, by chicanery and gambling.

The would-be Sages who had found themselves to be shorn fools, and made such a noise over it at the Allsopp meeting on Friday, can claim but little pity. Their only complaint was, that instead of a very high dividend they were getting a moderately small one. The whole thing from beginning to end was a very clear and brief epitome of commercial morality and the high aims of "men of business."

If it were possible that such a sordid, vulgar, and miserable exhibition could have been made at a Socialist meeting, as was made by these "respectable" persons, we should never hear the last of it. But then broadcloth may steal a horse while fustian mustn't look over the hedge. S.

Amid all the agitation among workers during the last few months, there seems to have been very little attempt made to induce trade unionists to refrain from supporting sweating. It is a well known fact that the greater portion of our volunteer agents are members of the various trade unions, who by their action obtain their clothing at firms (and they are all alike) who pay wages very far indeed from being near the rate a unionist receives.

They may not in all cases be aware, though some of them must be, that the price paid for the ordinary infantry tunic is no more than 3s. 9d., infantry trousers,  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch stripe, only 1s. 4d., and at some firms 1s. 2d.; artillery tunic, 4s. 3d. to 4s. 6d., artillery trousers, 1s. 6d. to 1s. 9d.; in all cases linen thread and silk is supposed to be used and must be bought by the worker, who receives no extra pay for it.

Now, trade unionists, you can alter this state of things, if you like, better than the working tailors and tailoresses, and I will tell you how. Send in your resignations from the various regiments until the proper price is paid, or forever hold your peace and cease prating about the power of unionism and its unselfish object.

C. W. M.

## NEWS FROM NOWHERE:

OR,  
AN EPOCH OF REST.

BEING SOME CHAPTERS FROM A UTOPIAN ROMANCE.

CHAP. VIII.—AN OLD FRIEND.

We now turned into a pleasant lane where the branches of great plane-trees nearly met overhead, but behind them lay low houses standing rather close together.

"This is Long Acre," quoth Dick; "so there must once have been a cornfield here. How curious it is that places change so, and yet keep their old names! Just look how thick the houses stand! and they are still going on building, look you!"

"Yes," said the old man, "but I think the cornfields must have been built over before the middle of the nineteenth century. I have heard that about here was one of the thickest parts of the town. But I must get down here, neighbours; I have got to call on a friend who lives in the gardens behind this Long Acre. Goodbye and good luck, Guest!"

And he jumped down and strode away vigorously, like a young man.

"How old should you say that neighbour will be?" said I to Dick as we lost sight of him; for I saw that he was old, and yet he looked dry and sturdy like a piece of old oak; a type of old man I was not used to seeing.

"O, about ninety, I should say," said Dick.

"How long-lived your people must be!" said I.

"Yes," said Dick, "certainly we have beaten the threescore-and-ten of the old Jewish proverb-book. But then you see that was written of Syria, a hot dry country, where people live faster than in our temperate climate. However, I don't think it matters much, so long as a man is healthy and happy while he is alive. But now, Guest, we are so near to my old kinsman's dwelling-place that I think you had better keep all future questions for him."

I nodded a yes; and therewith we turned to the left, and went down a gentle slope through some beautiful rose-gardens, laid out on what I took to be the site of Endell Street. We passed on, and Dick drew rein an instant as we came across a long straight-ish road with houses scantily scattered up and down it. He waved his hand right and left, and said, "Holborn that side, Oxford Road that. This was once a very important part of the crowded city outside the ancient walls of the Roman and Mediaeval burg: many of the feudal nobles of the Middle Ages, we are told, had big houses on either side of Holborn. I daresay you remember that the Bishop of Ely's house is mentioned in Shakespeare's play of King Richard III.; and there are some remains of that still left. However, this road is not of the same importance now that the ancient city is gone, walls and all."

He drove on again, while I smiled faintly to think how the nineteenth century, of which such big words have been said, counted for nothing in the memory of this man, who read Shakespeare and had not forgotten the Middle Ages.

We crossed the road into a short narrow lane between the gardens, and came out again into a wide road, on one side of which was a great and long building, turning its gables away from the highway, which I saw at once was another public group. Opposite to it was a wide space of greenery, without any wall or fence of any kind. I looked through the trees and saw beyond them a pillared portico quite familiar to me—no less old a friend, in fact, than the British Museum. It rather took my breath away, amidst all the strange things I had seen; but I held my tongue and let Dick speak. Said he:

"Yonder is the British Museum, where my great-grandfather mostly lives; so I won't say much about it. The building on the left is the Museum Market, and I think we had better turn in there for a minute or two; for Greylocks will be wanting his rest and his oats; and I suppose you will stay with my kinsman the greater part of the day; and to say the truth, there may be someone there whom I particularly want to see, and perhaps have a long talk with."

He blushed and sighed, not altogether with pleasure, I thought; so of course I said nothing, and he turned the horse under an archway which brought us into a very large paved quadrangle, with a big sycamore tree in each corner and a plashing fountain in the midst. Near the fountain were a few market stalls, with awnings over them of gay striped linen cloth, about which some people, mostly women and children, were moving quietly, looking at the goods exposed there. The ground floor of the building round the quadrangle was occupied by a wide arcade or cloister, whose fanciful but strong architecture I could not enough admire. Here also a few people were sauntering or sitting reading on the benches.

Dick said to me apologetically: "Here as elsewhere there is little doing to-day; on a Friday you would see it thronged and gay with people, and in the afternoon there is generally music about the fountain. However, I daresay we shall have a pretty good gathering at our mid-day meal."

We drove through the quadrangle and by an archway, into a large handsome stable on the other side, where we speedily stalled the old nag and made him happy with horse-meat, and then turned and walked back again through the market, Dick looking rather thoughtful, as it seemed to me.

I noticed that people couldn't help looking at me rather hard; and considering my clothes and theirs, I didn't wonder; but whenever they caught my eye they made me a very friendly sign of greeting.

We walked straight into the forecourt of the Museum, where, except that the railings were gone, and the whispering boughs of the trees were all about, nothing seemed changed; the very pigeons were wheeling about the building and clinging to the ornaments of the pediment as I had seen them of old.

Dick seemed grown a little absent, but he could not forbear giving me an architectural note, and said:

"It is rather an ugly old building, isn't it? Many people have wanted to pull it down and rebuild it; and perhaps if work does really get scarce we may yet do so. But, as my great-grandfather will tell you, it would not be quite a straightforward job; for there are wonderful collections in there of all kinds of antiquities, besides an enormous library with many exceedingly beautiful books in it, and many most useful ones as genuine records of texts; and the worry and anxiety, and even risk, there would be in moving all this has saved the buildings themselves. Besides, as we said before, it is not a bad thing to have some record of what our forefathers thought a handsome building. For there is plenty of labour and material in it."

"I see there is," said I, "and I quite agree with you. But now hadn't we better make haste to see your great-grandfather?"

In fact, I could not help seeing that he was rather dallying with the time. He said, "Yes, we will go into the house in a minute. My kinsman is too old to do much work in the Museum, where he was a custodian of the books for many years; but he still lives here a good deal; indeed I think," said he, smiling, "that he looks upon himself as a part of the books, or the books a part of him, I don't know which."

He hesitated a little longer, then flushing up, took my hand, and saying "Come along, then!" led me toward the door of one of the old official dwellings.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

## JOHN MOST.

JOHN MOST's recent imprisonment and release on bail has occasioned some newspaper talk about him just now, says Hugh O. Pentecost, in the *Twentieth Century*. One of Inspector Byrnes's men is reported to have said of him:

"The best people in New York, by which I mean the solid, respectable, and business-like folk who make up the wealth of the metropolis, hate him about as thoroughly as they do any man in Christendom. They have abused the police pretty roundly on one or two occasions for not shooting Most down, hanging him to a lamp-post, or disposing of him in some similarly abrupt manner, and his name in many a quiet household in this town inspires a sentiment of fear and alarm."

If this is true it reveals a bloodthirstiness in "the solid, respectable, and business-like folk who make up the wealth of the metropolis" that equals all that is charged against Most. And I am quite prepared to believe it. I have no doubt that "the solid, respectable, business-like," wealthy, church-going folk are the most merciless, cruel, and bloodthirsty people on earth when the fate of a discontented poor man is in question. The way they delight in capital punishment and reward the police for shooting strikers is an indication of their heartless natures. There is only one thing that surpasses their wicked cruelty, and that is their stupid ignorance of the real character and aims of such men as John Most. The idea of Most's name striking terror into quiet households is as laughable as to suppose the intelligent persons of this city to be afraid that a banshee would appear at their firesides.

Inspector Byrnes's man continued:

"The police have not bothered him much and for a very good reason. This reason has been explained with a good deal of frequency, but the public will not accept it. It is based on the fact that Most has really very little influence with the dangerous Anarchists of this town. He is a blowhard and that is all. There has never been any reason for people to fear him, and there never will be. The police are always in a position to take hold of him when they want him, but we have always been anxious here to avoid making martyrs of men who pose as liberators of a country that is already free. When you arrest a blatant fool of the Most stamp you make him a hero in the minds of ignorant people, and that is exactly the end he is striving for. The police have steadfastly refused thus far to make any more of a hero of Most than they could help. That is the real reason of the so-called lenity which has been shown to this silly and bumptious poser."

I may be mistaken, but I think Inspector Byrnes's man is wrong in everything he says here. If he means to say that Most has no influence with the working people of revolutionary tendencies on the east side of this city, he is certainly wrong. I have heard Most speak to two thousand working people who listened to him with rapt attention. And I have been informed that he has the confidence of the revolutionists almost, if not quite universally. My impression is that he has more influence among the social radicals in this city than any other one man.

When Most is called a "blowhard," a "blatant fool," and a "bumptious poser," he is totally misrepresented or I am no judge of men. I never saw him but once, and I confess that I was surprised to meet a perfect gentleman. Newspaper descriptions had had their effect upon me. I expected to meet a coarse person. Herr Most, as I saw him that evening, was a well dressed and perfect mannered gentleman; a man of polished and cultured address. I afterwards heard him speak, and do not hesitate to say that for choice words, fine rhetoric, and dignified though impassioned oratory, I have not heard so fine a platform performance for years. There were four or five speakers upon that occasion, Sergius G. Shevitch and I among them, but Herr Most was far and away the most finished and forcible orator of the number. There was nothing of the ranter about him. He was quiet and self-controlled even in his most impassioned utterances, and he swayed his audience with magnetic power.

I have written this for the purpose of cautioning our readers against believing what the newspapers print about Herr Most, or any other of the prominent men in the movement for social regeneration. I do not agree with Herr Most in his philosophy of society or in his advocacy of the use of physical force to resist the physical force of the capitalists. But I do believe him to be in intelligence, in learning, in gentlemanly manners, and in moral integrity, far superior to the average "solid, respectable, business-like" person who is so willing to have him shot or hanged.

## SOCIALISM AS DEFINED BY PARSONS.

BRIEFLY stated Socialism means the right of the toiler to the free and equal use of the tools of production, and the right of the producers to the product. That is Socialism. The history of mankind is one of growth. It has been evolutionary and revolutionary. The dividing line between evolution and revolution, or that imperceptible boundary line where one begins and the other ends, can never be designated. Evolution and revolution are synonymous. Evolution is the incubatory state of revolution. "The birth is the revolution, its process the evolution." What is the history of man with regard to the labouring classes? Originally the earth and its contents were held in common by all men. Then came a change, brought about by violence, robbery, and wholesale murder, called war. Later, but still way back in history, we find there were but two classes in the world—slaves and masters.

Time rolled on, and we find a labour system of serfdom. This serf labour system was the main system of labour till the end of the fifteenth century, and throughout the world the serf had a right to the soil on which he lived. The lord of the land could not exclude him from its use. But with the discovery of America, and the developments which followed that discovery and its settlement a century or two afterwards, the gold found in Peru and Mexico by the invading hosts of Pizarro and Cortez, who carried back to Europe the precious metal, infused new vitality into the commercial stagnant blood of Europe, and set in motion those wheels which have rolled on and on, until to-day commerce covers the face of the earth—time is annihilated and distance is known no more.

Following the abolition of the serfdom system was the establishment of the wage-labour system. This system was finally perfected in the French Revolution of 1789-1793. It was then for the first time that the civil and political liberty of the property-holding classes was established in Europe. We see by a mere glance back into history, that the sixteenth century was engaged in a struggle for religious freedom and the right of conscience—mental liberty. Following that, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was the struggle throughout France, which resulted in the establishment of the Republic and the founding of the right of political liberty. The struggle to-day, which follows on in the line of progress and in the logic of events, the industrial problem, which is here in this country, "as it is in all others," pressing for solution, is no mere matter of sentiment; it is not a religious matter; it is no mere political problem. No, it is a stern economic fact, a stubborn and immovable fact. It has, it is true, its emotional phase; it has its sentimental, religious, political aspects; but the sum total of this question is the bread-and-butter question, the how and the why we are to live and earn our daily bread. This is the labour movement. It has a scientific basis. It is founded upon fact.

I will state to you briefly what capital is. Capital is the stored-up and accumulated surplus of past labour; capital is the product of labour. Its function is—that is, the function of capital is—to appropriate or confiscate for its own use and benefit the "surplus" labour product of the wage labourer. The capitalistic system originated in the forcible seizure of natural opportunities and rights by a few, and then converting those things into special privileges, which have since become vested rights, formally entrenched behind the bulwarks of statute law and government. Capital could not exist unless there also existed a majority class who were propertyless, that is, without capital, a class whose only mode of existence is by selling their labour to capitalists. Capitalism is maintained, fostered, and perpetuated by laws; in fact, capital is law—statute law—and law is capital.

Now, briefly stated, what is labour under capitalism? Labour is a commodity, and wages is the price paid for it. The owner of this commodity, of labour, sells it—that is, himself—to the owner of capital in order to live. Labour is the expression of energy, the power of the labourer's life. This energy or power he must sell to another person in order to live. It is his only means of existence. He works to live, but his work is not simply a part of his life, it is the sacrifice of it. His labour is a commodity which, under the guise of free labour, he is forced by necessity to hand over to another party. The whole of the wage-labourer's activity is not expended in earning his own livelihood—far from it. The silk he weaves, the palace he builds, the ores he digs from out the mines are not for him—oh, no. The only thing he produces for himself is his wage; and the silk, the ores, and the palace which he has built are simply transformed for him into a certain kind of means of existence—namely, a cotton shirt, a few pennies, and the mere tenancy of a lodging house. In other words, his wage represents the bare necessities of his existence, and the unpaid-for or "surplus" portion of his labour-product constitutes the vast superabundant wealth of the non-producing capitalist class.

That is the capitalist system defined in a few words. It is this system that creates the classes of privilege and disinheritance, and it is these classes that produce this conflict. This conflict intensifies as the power of the privileged classes over the non-possessing or propertyless classes increases and intensifies, and this power increases as the idle few become richer and the producing many become poorer; and this produces what is called the labour movement. This is the labour question. Wealth is power; poverty is weakness. In former times the master selected his slaves, but now it is the slaves who select their masters; and he has got to find one, good or bad, or the alternative is for him to starve.

C. W. MOWBRAY.

God help the rich, the poor can beg.

## COMRADES, UNITE!

Air: "The Noble 24th."

Why stand ye like cowards? Why rise ye not and say?  
"Too long we've borne the oppressors' scorn: too long they've held the sway."

Up! up! ye men and women all and snap the fetters fell  
That bend your backs, that warp your souls, that keep ye down in hell,  
That bend your backs, that warp your souls, that keep ye down in hell.

Chorus—Your wrongs are great, your arms are strong,  
Shoulder to shoulder stand;  
Strike for your lives, your liberty,  
And crush the tyrant band.

Why is it that ye labour, from early dawn till eve,  
Creating wealth ye dare not touch without the rich man's leave?  
Why is it that the idler's rich? Why is it that ye're poor?  
It is because ye all are slaves, machines, and nothing more:  
It is because ye all are slaves, machines, and nothing more.

Chorus—Your wrongs are great, etc.

But, lo! the day is coming when the workers of the world  
Will be united as one man. The banner's now unfurled  
That bears the words "COMRADES, UNITE!" Respond ye to the cry;  
Fight for the Brotherhood of Man, or bravely fighting die:  
Fight for the Brotherhood of Man, or bravely fighting die!

Chorus—Your wrongs are great, etc.

EDWARD J. WATSON.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIALISM.

SIR,—A copy of your issue of December 21 was put into my hands on Tuesday at the Lambeth Baths. Although there are several things in that number to which I take great exception, yet I find myself in substantial agreement with the grand ideal which the Socialist League sets before itself in its statement of principles—an ideal which has been commending itself more and more to me for years past. But, sir, if I have a pronounced idea of social regeneration I am also a pronounced Christian; and I want to know why you should, as it were, keep me and that increasing body of Christians who more or less think with me, at arm's length by sneers and unjust charges in regard to our religion? Christianity puts no bar whatever to the amplest scheme of Socialism; and although, as essentially a spiritual revelation, and a revelation addressed to all times, the New Testament is necessarily neutral in regard to the particular institutions of society which, of course, must always be adjusted according to the natural development of the age, yet the political scheme of the Mosaic code is certainly of a Socialistic nature. But many Socialists who do not profess to be Christians, yet claim that Christ's teaching is really in their favour. Perhaps writers in your own paper may have urged this. If so, it seems to me that as, in that case, it is admitted that real Christianity and actual Christianity are not necessarily the same, it would be wiser and juster not to write in such a way as to offend real Christians. We all of us, I fear, whether Christians or non-Christians, fall short of the standards up to which we ought to live, but shall those standards be abused on this account?

Like all other evolutions, that of Socialistic opinion must necessarily be gradual, and Christians, like other men, have to live and learn. Let Christians and non-Christians then put their heads together in a friendly manner, as brothers by virtue of a common human nature, and needing one another's help by reason of the common weakness of that nature. But mutual courtesy is necessary, if we are to get on as brothers; and I cannot feel that a man is a good brother to me if he is discourteous to my religion.

I think the article on the Ruskin Reading Guild shows a very desirable disposition of mind.

A. T. RICKABY.

51, Richmond-terrace, Clapham-road, S.W.

In consequence of the mild winter, about 25,000 miners are out of work in Pennsylvania.

There is talk of starting in the United States a strike insurance company before the 1st of May, to provide strikers with funds in time of need. I don't know how much this talk contains.

Large numbers of settlers are awaiting at Chamberlain, South Dakota, the opening of the Sioux reservation in South Dakota on the 10th of February. The same scenes which occurred at the opening of the Oklahoma territory last year will doubtless be repeated.

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labour held a meeting in New York on the 8th of February to consult about steps to be taken in regard to the eight hour movement. The decision as to which trade should take the initiative was referred to a later meeting. Vice-President Martin of the Federation is of opinion that a beginning should be made by the steel and iron workers, and that Pittsburg should form the centre of the agitation. President Gompers, on the other hand, is in favour of the building trades in New York.

That the American workers are mostly quite as coarse, brutal, and stupidly selfish as their masters is an indisputable fact, and the "race-issue" or "colour-question" is not confined to the Southern States and the rebel brigadiers. Here is an illustration. A young coloured woman has been appointed through some political influence to a position in the Government bureau of engraving and printing in Washington. This has brought the present administration into a disagreeable controversy with the Plate Printers' Union in Washington. The union having appealed to Secretary Windom to revoke the appointment, and having been told that the appointment could not be revoked, has informed the plate printers in the bureau that it will support them in their refusal to let the coloured girl assist them. The union has already provided for one man who was discharged for refusing to let the girl assist him, and will take care of the others, who expect to be discharged this week for the same reason. Workers who act thus do not deserve to be free, and what's more, they never will be free if they do not alter their character, in spite of the evolution that is going to do everything.—CH., Feb. 11.



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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### Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday February 26.

<b>ENGLAND</b>	Boston—Woman's Journal	<b>BELGIUM</b>
Coming Times	Investigator	Antwerp—De Werker
Justice	The Dawn	Ghent—Vooruit
London—Frete Presse	Civil Service Record	Liege—L'Avenir
Norwich—Daylight	Milwaukee—National Reformer	<b>SWITZERLAND</b>
Personal Rights Journal	Philadelphia—United Labour	Arbeiterstimme
Railway Review	S.F. Coast Seamen's Journal	<b>SPAIN</b>
Seafaring	Pacific Union	Madrid—El Socialista
Worker's Friend	<b>FRANCE</b>	Berlin—Volks Tribune
<b>INDIA</b>	Paris—La Revolte	<b>DENMARK</b>
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Charleville—L'Emancipation	Social-Demokraten
<b>UNITED STATES</b>	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	<b>SWEDEN</b>
New York—Volkzeitung	<b>HOLLAND</b>	Malmö—Arbetet
New York—Truthseeker	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Der Socialist	Middelburg, Licht en Waarheid	<b>ARGENTINE REPUBLIC</b>
Freiheit	<b>AUSTRIA</b>	Buenos Ayres—Vorwarts
United Irishman	Brunn—Arbeiterstimme	
Workers' Advocate	Vienna—Arbeiter-Zeitung	

### LOOK TO YOURSELVES.

FRIENDS.—A word with you. I ask your attention for a few minutes while I put before you, in plain words, the present state of affairs, which particularly concerns us agricultural workers, and tell you what we have to do to make sure the next step which we are on the point of taking.

As our first consideration is naturally directed towards the well-being and advancement of ourselves and our families, so all sorts of obstacles are put in our way by the very people who live on our labour. It is our duty to remove these obstacles.

Now, we all know that it will not be long before our fellow-workers in Surrey will be looking towards us, as neighbours, for our help in the part they are taking towards bringing about that complete unification of labour which is being developed with such grand success amongst the workers in and about London. We see what they have already done and are now doing, simply by their own exertions, to better their hitherto intolerable condition. They are not going to let what they have already gained be taken from them; they will hold it and make

it the stepping-stone to more extended operations. But while they are busy building up their own organisations, we in the country must look to ourselves and do likewise, so that when all is ready we may step up with the others into our proper places in the ranks. Thus will be formed a solid and irresistible body of working-men, entirely capable of holding its own and enforcing its demands.

Now, in order that this may come about, we must know that we have to depend entirely on our own exertions. Make no mistake about this. Take warning from the failures of our attempts at agricultural unions, caused entirely by our placing both funds and confidence in the hands of people styling themselves friends of the working-man. We will not forget in a hurry the doings of one scoundrel in particular who, not so long ago, bolted with our hard-earned helpence, and left us in the lurch. This has, however, taught us what not to do.

Neither must we look for help from politicians, parsons, or landlords. Politicians are civil enough at election time, and will promise you anything you please, provided you give them your vote; after this you may go to the devil for what he cares. Now, the tithe-fed parson will promise to keep you from the clutches of this individual, and give you by way of compensation something better hereafter; that is, if you will only be meek and lowly and contented with the state in which, as he tells you, God has placed you. You may take comfort of this if you like, or you may do the other thing. Ask for more and you will find that you have come to the wrong shop.

And our masters, the landlords, what of them? I will tell you. Since they belong to the useless class of individuals who live entirely on the labour of others, it is their interest to keep us in repair, in working order, as they do their reaping machines and their horses; that is, with just sufficient means of livelihood to enable us to work for them and their kind, and to bring up our young ones to take our place when we shall have grown too old to labour and retired to the workhouse. But we must not overlook a certain difference, which exists in the eyes of our good employer, between ourselves and his other property. It is this—if his reaping-machine come to grief, or his horse grow past work, a certain amount of money must be expended before either can be replaced; whereas, our break-down is a matter of utter indifference to him, for cannot he at once find others to step into our shoes without any extra cost whatever?

We thus see in what light we are regarded by these people who are known as our superiors. By them we are looked upon as profit-producing machines, and inconvenient ones at that. By them we are kept in ignorance of our usefulness, for it is on our ignorance that this useless class depends for the security of its position. It is that they may live in ease that we labour from twelve to fifteen hours a-day. It is that they may live in a mansion that we have such mean dwellings, that to enter them we have to stoop or we would strike our head against the door-lintel; and in order that they may revel in superfluous luxury, we, our wives, and our young ones have to fare on such as they themselves would despise. Our lot now is not a bit better than what it was when I started work at Trossley twenty-nine years ago. Since then I have worked one time and another at most places round about here, and I know something of our condition.

Ask a Radical what the Tories have done for us, then ask a Tory what the Radicals have done for us. You will have the same answer from each, and you will have the truth also. There are some amongst us who prefer to be content with hard labour for life, and let things remain as they are; it may be that a few of these are brought to this pitiable condition by the life-long tyranny of their masters and their parsons (a combination well-calculated, as we all know, to crush the very hope out of their weak hearts); but the others are those contemptible beings who are kept quiet in harness by periodical doses of charity, and by the brass band and firework dodge such as we get at Eridge. These cowards would stand by while our struggle was going on for fear of something happening to their precious selves. However, we will not despair of winning these over to our side, for we must know that it is necessary that we be strong in our union, and that we all bear in our minds that if we would obtain some further share of the wealth and comfort which we produce in such plenty, we must look to ourselves to get it, keeping together steadfast and hopeful, casting aside all petty jealousies, and, above all, resisting every attempt at interference or sham offers of help from those idle classes whom I have mentioned, for they will use all the means they have, underhanded and otherwise, to prevent our combining, and revealing their true selves in so doing; while on our side we have only justice, courage, and strength in union—but that is enough. B.

### REPORT OF PROPAGANDA COMMITTEE.

A MEETING was held on Sunday evening, February 23rd, in the room of the Socialist League, Great Queen Street; D. J. Nicoll was voted to chair, and W. B. Parker to take minutes of proceedings. The chairman stated that the Council had passed a resolution to call a Conference of anti-Parliamentary Socialists for the purpose of drawing up a plan of propaganda for ensuing year, and suggested that the meeting should fix a date for the Conference and elect a sub-committee to draft agenda. After some discussion March 16th was agreed upon, the place of meeting to be the hall of Socialist League. The committee was then appointed, seven in number, being Lane, Kitz, Mowbray, Davis, Mainwaring, Nicoll, and Parker. The first meeting of committee was fixed for Thursday, February 27th. It was suggested that comrades should whip up all interested in the question. It was agreed that branches of the League be written to by secretary of Propaganda Committee, asking suggestions as to the best means of propaganda and the conduct of *Commonweal*. Comrades are asked to send notices of motion to the committee.



HOW THE PLUNDER GOES ON.

It is often said, If the people *only* knew. Yes, *if* they only knew. It is sometimes stated that we cannot prove our statements as to the gains of the profit-mongering classes. It is difficult in some cases for an outsider to ascertain the amount of profit. It ranges from 5 or 10 up to 200 per cent. I have seen ribbons sent from Coventry at 4s. 6d. the dozen, or 4½d. the yard; the same ribbons a few days later marked 9s. the dozen at Shrewsbury, or 9d. per yard: profit, 100 per cent. Here one 4½d. represented the cost of the silk, the expenditure of labour, and the manufacturer's profits; the other 4½d. the trouble of handing it over the counter. But it is more especially with the profits on our food supplies that I propose to deal out on the present occasion.

At the outset I may admit that it is impossible to state the full extent of the profits realised. I remember the case of a publican, not many years ago, selling bacon at the bar, and at half the price it could be bought at the provision-dealer's. On asking the publican why he was so selling it, I was told the price the provision-dealer had offered for it, and he, the publican, had determined the consumer should have the benefit in the shape of two pounds for the price of one at the provision dealer's.

In reference to what the farmers, etc., receive and what the consumers pay to the profit-mongering classes, Mr. W. Bear, a high authority on agriculture, has lately done a great service in his work entitled 'The British Farmer and his Competitors.' It is a very able work, and as important as able. In the latter part of the work he deals with the principal articles of home growth, and shows what the farmers receive for each and also what the consumers pay. At p. 151 these are put into tabular form, from which I select the following items as samples:

	Received by farmers.	Paid by consumer.	Profits.	Per cent.
Wheat ...	£12,865,645	£19,285,955	£7,181,055	35
Butter ...	10,744,496	14,325,994	3,581,548	33
Meat ...	75,712,775	113,400,000	37,687,224	48
Milk ...	17,343,750	37,000,000	19,650,250	114
Potatoes ...	15,774,790	32,358,700	15,583,916	96
Hops, Fruit, and Vegetables	6,711,000	20,133,000	13,422,000	197
	£139,074,457	£236,503,647	£97,106,463	66

And taking the whole of our home-grown produce, Mr. Bear gives the totals as follows:

Paid to farmers.	Paid by consumers.	Profits	Average.
£207,033,567	£320,660,955	£113,627,388	54

Add the same rate of profits on our imported food supplies, and the total profits cannot be less than £200,000,000, paid by the consumers on the common necessities of life. Here we have an indirect tax to the amount of about £200,000,000 a-year. We hear a great deal at times about a free breakfast-table. What about this monster curse—the curse of the profit-mongers? The calculations of Mr. Bear are based on the prices of 1885, 1886, and 1887, and are an average of the three years.

But even the above does not exhaust the whole range of profits. The small dealers in our back slums and the country places, add their 5 or 10 or 15 per cent. on many of the articles sold.

Mark, the above £200,000,000 represents the profits on our food supplies alone. Add to that the profits on clothing, furniture, and the various articles of general use, and the total would be enormous. Taking the total as assessed to the income-tax for 1887, under Schedule D, profits are given as £285,397,963; but that £285,000,000 is not all. It only represents the profits of those whose incomes are large enough to be assessed to the income-tax. If the tax were a graduated one, and all profits assessed, it might be found the total is not much less than £400,000,000—a sum far in excess of the total paid in wages to the working-classes, who are, of course, the great mass of the population.

Turning again to returns for 1887, we find the profits on mines £7,486,512; on ironworks, £1,502,976; on gasworks, £4,695,144; and on railways, £36,249,431. It is not a question of Profits *v.* Wages—as between employers and the employed—but between the whole profit-mongering classes, on the one hand, and the wage-receiving classes on the other.

We must bear in mind, too, that the non-producing classes are increasing at a fearful rate, as compared to the working-classes. Taking the ten years ending 1881, the professional classes increased 34 per cent.; bankers, 35; commercial clerks, 90; and commercial travellers, 100 per cent. Agents, another class, depending on their 10, 20, or 30 per cent., increased no less than 180 per cent. Accountants increased 60 per cent., and tobacconists 34 per cent. The increase of population was 14·5 during the ten years, the increase of non-producing classes 44·5, and the working-classes only 7·5. These are matters requiring the most serious consideration.

Anyone reading and reflecting on the above must be satisfied that the very foundation of society is wrong. That the monster evils of which we complain are inherent in and inseparable from the present constitution of society, and that our only hope lies in the destruction of the present system in all its varied phases. J. SKETCHLEY.

There were 27 strikes in the United States during January, affecting 7,402 men; of these the greater number were against reductions.

Another labour organ is started in Cuba, where already *El Productor* is doing such good work; *El Socialista*, of Guanabacoa, Cuba. We are glad to see it, and hope the paper will be well supported.—M. M.

THE CHICAGO ANARCHIST TRIAL REOPENED.

THE "Associated Press" has sent out from Chicago the following telegram:

"Moses Salomon, the attorney of Fielden, Schwab, and Neebe, the Anarchists now in the Illinois prison at Joliet, has obtained from the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Illinois a writ of error, through which the trial against the Chicago Anarchists, of which five have rested more than two years in a grave on Waldheim Cemetery near Chicago, is again referred to the Supreme Court of the United States."

About the motives which have induced the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Illinois to grant this writ of error, the telegram adds:

"At the time when the condemned Anarchists appealed to the highest court of the country they maintained, apart from other objections, that they had been deprived of a constitutional right, because the *Supreme Court of Illinois rendered judgment against them in their absence*. In regard to this the Supreme Court of the United States said in its decision, 'The objection that the accused have not in reality been present in the Supreme Court of the State of Illinois cannot be made as long as the record of the trial states that the accused were present.' If this statement is not in accord with the facts, then the record of the trial has to be rectified in the lower court but not here." Notwithstanding that the accused, at the time when the State Supreme Court rendered final judgment against them, had not been present, yet the State Supreme Court of Illinois refused the application for scratching of the sentence in the record of the trial, according to which final judgment had been rendered against the accused *in their presence*. The only thing which the Supreme Court of Illinois would do was the granting of the permission to appeal to the highest court of the United States. Should it be decided that an accused has a constitutional right to be present in the court when judgment is rendered in his case, such a decision would mean the reopening of the trial of the Chicago Anarchists."

This after-act of the Chicago Anarchist trial demonstrates again in all its infamy the conduct of the American bourgeoisie towards our murdered comrades. A falsified and erroneous record of their trial was submitted to the Supreme Court of the United States; and although this forgery was pointed out to the justices (sic!) composing the Supreme Court of the United States, this body, composed of "true and honest men," decided that "if the record of the trial was not in accord with the facts, the record had to be rectified by the lower court." The lower court—the Supreme Court of the State of Illinois—refused to act in the matter, and during this game of legal football precious time was lost and no action could be taken by the attorneys of our comrades.

The 11th of November, 1887, came and passed; and five men were murdered, although the record of their trial, upon which they appealed to a higher court, contained a confessed forgery.

The trial of the Chicago Anarchists may be reopened; but it is impossible to bring to life again those who were murdered to satisfy the bloodthirstiness of a frightened bourgeoisie. And how frightened the American bourgeoisie had been is pretty plainly shown in the haste with which the Supreme Court of the United States rendered its decision.

The time is drawing nearer and nearer when even the most stupid reactionist must candidly and openly admit that the most cowardly legal murder of all times has been perpetrated in Cook County jail, in the city of Chicago, on November 11th, 1887.

Boston, Mass., Feb. 11, 1890.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

HINTS TO HELPERS.

Of course you buy the *Weal* yourself, and pay for it; but you can also occasionally buy two copies and give one to a friend, or leave it in some public place.

If you get it from a newsagent, you can ask him to show it in his window or to display a contents-bill outside his shop.

You can have six sample copies sent post free to six different people for 7d., or three consecutive numbers to the same address for 4d.

You can ask your friends if they have seen it, and talk of what it contains.

You can send a copy for review to your local paper and in many other ways try to increase its publicity.

Above all, read it and get others to do so.

He has retired, they say, from a snug business, with a snug property, suspected by some to be rather more than snug, and enabling him to be called a capitalist, except that this word seems to be equivalent to highway robbery in the new Gospel of St. Petroleum.—*Holmes, Poet at the Breakfast Table.*

*Cuore e Critica* is a fortnightly review, published in Bergamo and Milan, for the free discussion of various sociological and philosophical subjects. Its nature is best described by the legend on the front page of the mid-monthly February number I have before me, "Every collaborator has entire liberty of opinion, and entire responsibility of the same." There are several articles of interest in the present number, though the paper is essentially non-polemical and non-political. The name of F. Turati, as the publisher in Milan, is in our eyes a sufficient earnest of sincerity and good faith.

*El Productor* (of Havannah) sends a circular to the cooper trade of Catalonia, and other provinces of Spain, exhorting the workers not to play into the hands of the capitalists by going to Cuba, where imported labour is advertised for by the large employers with many promises and fair words, to the detriment of native labour. The Spanish working-men will, no doubt, hail this as a word in time, and think twice before leaving the hard life they are familiar with for another whose circumstances are unfamiliar and doubtless equally hard.—M. M.

*El Productor* (Barcelona, Spain) first saw the light in February, 1887; it has, therefore, entered into its fourth year, having, we believe, published without interruption during that time. Its activity and usefulness are not to be contested, and few papers are freer from those unfortunate party personalities with which Socialist journals, as well as others, are sometimes disfigured. We congratulate *El Productor* heartily (though rather tardily) on its anniversary, and offer our best wishes for a long and active life.—M. M.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### The Eight Hour Question.

The result of the interview of the miners' deputation with the representatives of our various political parties has been what might be expected. All the people interviewed have been very courteous and gracious, the deputation has been soft-soaped to any extent, but save in the cases of Randolph Churchill and Lord Dunraven, nothing like a definite pledge has been obtained from anyone. Mr. Matthews "could hold out no hope that Government would support any legislation which had for its object to impose restrictions upon the freedom of adult males in the disposal of their labour." Mr. Gladstone reserved his freedom of action, which probably comes to much about the same thing. Thus the people who represent those who compose the bulk of two great capitalist parties are opposed to the measure, though Mr. Gladstone, with his customary carefulness, does not say so plainly. We fear that with their opposition, the miners will find that the aid of the two chiefs of Tory Democracy—a very small party with a big name—will avail them but little. Cuninghame Graham, though bidding the miners be of good cheer in a letter to the *Labour Tribune*, still tells them that if Parliament will not give them their demand they must obtain it by a general strike. He quotes a manifesto from a French miners' paper, *La Revanche de Mineurs*, which, after speaking of the futility of ordinary strikes, points out that a general strike of miners throughout Europe is a very different thing. "During the past few years the idea of a general strike has become popular; very well, on you miners depends its success or defeat. Because, whilst miners work and provide the necessary coal, it will be possible for employers to replace skilled men in their workshops by others less skilled, but who will still be able to keep the machinery going. But once let the miners declare a general strike and all the industries of the world must stop in a fortnight. Do you want to help your brother workers? This is no case of a long and protracted strike with its misery and starvation. In fifteen days you would be masters of Europe. The general strike of miners means the general emancipation of the working classes." After this quotation Graham continues: "It is in order to show the miners that the destiny of civilisation is in their hands that I write this letter. In asking Parliament for an Eight Hours Bill they are asking little. Let Parliament refuse; it refuses at its peril. All the dangers, the miseries, the social turmoils, will be charged to its folly. For the miners, they are safe. They can force Parliament by their united action, or they can paralyse the industries of the world. Miners, if Parliament throws out the Bill, the other course remains; you can do it." I hope the miners will take Graham's advice. Parliament is pretty certain to throw out the Bill; but a little resolute action will soon bring the middle classes to their senses.

### The Strike at the Wharves.

The men at Butler's Wharf have shown that they possess the true fraternal spirit which is necessary among the workers to weld them together in their struggle against the giant power of capital. They have contributed £40 to the strike fund, and are also giving daily the 3d. allowed them for their dinner-hour to the same purpose. These men, once the most downtrodden and hopeless of humanity, show in this a noble heroism which might put many better-off people to shame. The men are all holding splendidly together, but affairs are not going so well for the proprietors of Hay's Wharf. It was stated by the Strike Committee, that the Midland Railway Co. had been applying for four days at the wharf for 110 packages of tea but could not get them. The Great Northern had also waited a whole day for forty packages, and had then been obliged to go away with only nineteen. The men on strike at Hay's, Brook's, Oliviers', Eagle, Sufferance, and Sharpe's Wharves, and Hirsch and Co.'s Oil Mills, have issued a notice asking for their fellow workers not to seek employment at these wharves during their struggle for justice to working-men. Each of the men at Hay's Wharf received 14s. strike pay on Saturday, an advance of 4s. since the beginning of the strike.

### East-end Tailors.

March promises to witness a strong revival of the labour agitation. The East-end tailors have agreed to strike on March 1st against the breaking by their masters of the strike agreement, which provided that the men shouldn't work more than twelve hours a-day, while the masters are now forcing them to slave seventeen or eighteen hours. What with the miners, the boot-makers, and the tailors, the capitalists are likely to have their hands full.

### Impending Strike of Bootmakers.

On Thursday evening, Feb. 20, there was a large meeting of last-riveters and shoe-finishers in the boot trade at Shoreditch Town Hall. Our readers will remember that the men sent in a demand to their masters last autumn, calling on them to provide them with workshops, so as to prevent the sweating that accompanies the present system of working at home. The men's committee was inclined to recommend arbitration, but this was vigorously rejected. It was decided at the meeting that March 21 should be fixed as the date on which the workshops must be ready. If they are not, the men will leave their work.

### Mr. Livesey's "Victory."

Mr. Livesey has spent £80,000 in fighting the gas-stokers' union, and he began his preparations for "smashing the union" as early as last September. These are the two main facts in the half-yearly report of the South Metropolitan Gas Company. In consequence, the dividend to the shareholders has been "reduced" to 12 per cent. Poor shareholders! we quite feel for them. Mr. Livesey has not mentioned in the report that, as another consequence of his intrigues to upset the union, 1,500 men, their wives and families, are now suffering the agonies of starvation. This is doubtless a trifling circumstance which he does not deem worthy of notice. The sufferers will not forget, and some day even Mr. Livesey may have cause to remember it.

### Broadhurst leads the way.

Who is going next? Broadhurst has resigned his post of secretary of the Trades Union Parliamentary Committee. Ill-health is given as his reason for this step. Has the decadence of reactionary trade-unionism got anything to do with it? Or has Mr. Broadhurst thought it well to retire while it could be done gracefully? It matters little; he is gone, that is the most important fact, and it is probable that the "old gang" of the trade unions will soon follow their leader.

### Demonstration of Trade Unionists and Shop Assistants.

A large demonstration of trade unionists and shop assistants will be held at the Theatre of Varieties, Hammersmith, on Sunday next, March 2nd, at 3.15 p.m., to enforce the demands of the union against the selfish minority of employers opposed to the limitation of the hours of labour. R. B. Cuninghame Graham, M.P., will preside, and will be supported by Tom Mann, Stewart Headlam, Eleanor Marx-Aveling, Dr. Gordon Hogg, H. H. Sparling, F. L. Donaldson, Robert Macbeth, B. Burleigh, John Turner, Miss Laura Treherne, and Edward Charles Laws.

### Strike Prosecution at Sheffield.

Our comrade Robert Bingham has been committed for trial at Sheffield because, according to the indictment, he "unlawfully did solicit, encourage, persuade, and endeavour to persuade, divers persons to murder one James McLoughlin." Our readers must not suppose our comrade mentioned McLoughlin. What he had done was this. According to the evidence of policemen and reporters, he had called the blacklegs who were working at Brown's during the recent strike "traitors," and had then gone on to say, "they are traitors to the cause. Men who did that kind of thing, if they were fighting in battle, would be shot, and serve them right. It would not be murder in that case; and to me it is not murder if one of these enemies was killed. It is killing a traitor, and traitors should have no quarter anywhere." It appears that James McLoughlin, who was working as a "new hand" at Brown's, got a severe thrashing after this speech, and the prosecution desire to make out that our comrade was responsible for it. An amusing feature of the prosecution was the fact that the police got hold of the wrong man, and prosecuted our comrade's brother, John Bingham, for Robert's "offence"; then to be sure of the right man they prosecuted both at once; but at last they have made up their minds that Robert Bingham is the proper person, and he has accordingly been sent for trial. The police-witnesses, of course, obediently swore to either, neither, or both, as they were required. Thanks to the action of the Public Prosecutor and the police, Socialism is looking up in Sheffield.

### The Impending Great Strike of Miners.

There is very little change this week in the situation. The men are preparing, and the owners are also closing up their ranks for the approaching struggle. The leaders of the Derbyshire miners have met the representatives of seven of the largest colliery firms in the county. Both sides appear to think that the Miners' Federation and the Federation of Coalowners should meet to talk the matter over. In the meantime the Derbyshire men will give in their notices this week, demanding an advance of 10 per cent. The North Wales colliery proprietors are going to follow the example of the English employers, and form a federation to resist the men. In Durham, at all the large collieries, the men have given a fortnight's notice to cease work unless an increase of 15 per cent. is given. Should the strike occur, 50,000 men will be affected.

All Socialists living in districts likely to be affected by the strike, should it come off, are requested to communicate at once with the secretary of Sheffield Socialists, Lady's Bridge Buildings, Wicker, Sheffield, and say what steps they intend taking in connection with it, and how they could co-operate in either publishing a manifesto, arranging for meetings, or otherwise. Suggestions will be welcomed from any source.

### Belfast Gas-workers.

On Feb. 18th, a meeting of gas-workers was held at Donegal Place School-room, Belfast, at which it was resolved to demand the eight-hour shift and to form an organisation to enforce the demand.

### Strike of Cardiff Tramway-men.

The tramway-men at Cardiff came out on Saturday Feb. 15, on account of the dismissal of an inspector for belonging to their union. By Wednesday the company had engaged a number of blacklegs, who attempted to drive the cars. They had a warm reception. In one of the leading thoroughfares, despite the presence of a strong force of police, a car was completely smashed by a furious crowd. At the docks there was a pitched battle between the police and the people; and in Cowbridge Road not only were stones thrown and cars smashed, but the people also tried to drown a detective. All through the day the fight went on; cars were thrown off the rails; and so hot did the resistance become that at six o'clock in the evening they were forced to cease running. This was followed by the surrender of the company, who have taken back all their men, including the discharged inspector. When the London tramway-men show the same courage as the men of Cardiff they will also have their tyrants at their feet. N.

### Leeds Clay-workers' Strike.

Since last issue, things have developed here. Besides the 450 men and boys who have been out from Ingham and Cliff's these three weeks, the men at Elland Road are now out in support of the Wortley men. The men at Burnantoff's are prepared also to come out if it is thought necessary. Comrades Cockayne and Maguire are busy amongst them, and the Huddersfield workers will be canvassed as well as the Hipperholme men as to the desirability of coming out also. The works at Wortley are strongly picketed, and as well watched by the police. The men seem very determined to hold out. A mass meeting was held in the Market (Leeds) on Sunday afternoon, Maguire, Paylor, Sweeney, and Cockayne spoke. There was £1 7s. 3d. collected for the strike fund. H. S.

My advice to my English countrymen has been to "Let well alone"—to cease prating about "our devoted, our ardent, our passionate loyalty." If you are so sure of it, why twaddle about it?—*Chief Justice Lilliey.*

I thank God there are no free schools or printing, and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years. For learning has brought heresy and disobedience and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government. God keep us from both.—*Sir William Berkeley, Governor of Virginia, 1685.*—Good old aristocrat, brave old bigot, true prophet.

# 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.**—1888:—Oxford, to end of September. 1889:—Bradford and Hammersmith, to end of April. Norwich, Glasgow, and Yarmouth, to end of May. East London, to end of October. North London and Mitcham, to end of November. St. Georges East, to end of December. 1890:—North Kensington and Manchester, to end of January. 'Commonweal' Branch, and Leicester, to end of February.

**Propaganda Fund.**—Bines, 1s. 6d.

**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.

## NEW PREMISES FUND.

Collected at Council meeting, Feb. 24th, 3s. 5d.

## "COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—H. R., 1s.; J. Presburg, 6d.; B. W., 6d.; D. Nicoll, 6d.; P. Webb, 1s.; T. Burgoyne, 1s.; J. B. G., 1s.; and R. W. Burnie, 2s.

## REPORTS.

'COMMONWEAL.'—On Sunday evening, D. J. Nicoll lectured on "Law and Order"; good discussion and 1s. 4d. collected.—S. P.

**EAST LONDON.**—We re-started the outdoor propaganda last Sunday in Victoria Park, when comrades Mowbray and Parker addressed a large and attentive audience. Comrade Mowbray challenged political reformers to debate the question of the futility of political freedom, but they showed their wisdom by not accepting. About 30 *Commonweal* sold and 2s. 2d. collected.—H. McK.

**NORTH KENSINGTON.**—A good meeting held at Latimer Road; speakers were R. J. Lyne, Maughan, Crouch, and Tochatti; sale of *Weals* fair. Comrades R. J. Lyne and Mainwaring held a meeting in Hyde Park in conjunction with members of S.D.F., and collected 11s. from a large audience. In the evening, R. E. Dell (Fabian) lectured on "Anarchism and Social Democracy" at our rooms to a large audience, who seemed greatly interested by the number of questions asked and the warm debate; 3s. 3d. collected and several *Weals* sold.

**ABERDEEN.**—At indoor meeting on Monday Hubert Bland's paper "The Outlook" (Fabian Essays) was read and discussed.—L.

**GLASGOW.**—On Sunday 16th, Glasier, Tim Burgoyne, and comrade Warrington of the Christian Socialists, spoke on Jail Square. In the evening, at Paisley Road, comrade Warrington was the principal speaker, and delivered an excellent address. On Monday evening Glasier lectured to the members of the Buchanan Memorial Church Literary Society; good discussion. On Sunday 23rd, Joe Burgoyne spoke on Jail Square. In the evening, at Paisley Road, the same speaker was interrupted by a drunken boor, who, from the nature of the questions put by him, evidently mistook our meeting for a "Spelling Bee." The youths of the ultra-Tory Orange faction, who were present in strong force, made use of him to further annoy our speakers, and we were forced to conclude somewhat before our usual time.—J. B.

**LEEDS.**—On Sunday evening, at the Socialist League Hall, comrade Braithwaite lectured on "Land Nationalization"; good discussion. *Commonweal* sold out, and many pamphlets disposed of.

**SHEFFIELD.**—Samuels visited us on Sunday last, when we held three meetings during the day, when Bullard, Charles, and Bingham spoke, and Samuels at each meeting. We had good audiences, and sold for the day three quires of *Commonweal*. We have been doing two and three meetings and two and three quires of *Commonweal* every Sunday during the last two months, and hope to do more.

**YARMOUTH.**—At our business meeting on Tuesday we decided to start a club in Yarmouth as soon as possible. Friends who can assist us in any way in the shape of funds, furniture, or books are requested to send them to the secretary, J. Headley, 48 Row George, until suitable premises can be secured. On Sunday we started our rural propaganda at Bradwell, Comrade Brightwell being the speaker. It is intended to continue these meetings every Sunday morning during fair weather.—J. H.

**DUBLIN.**—At Progressist Club, 87 Marlboro' Street, Feb. 22, J. O'Gorman lectured on "The Labour Question from a Socialist Standpoint." Brisk discussion, Hamilton, Ryan, Kavanagh, King and others took part.

**SHEFFIELD.**—Hallamshire Hall, West Bar.—On Sunday Feb. 16, J. Sketchley lectured—at 11, "The Queen's Speech"; at 6.30, "Insufficient Remedies for Existing Evils." Attendance good; *Commonweal* and other literature sold well. On Saturday evening last, Feb. 22, about 160 sat down to a public tea in connection with the Sheffield and District General Labourers' Union. After tea, the secretary gave a short address on the nature of the present labour movement, its essentially revolutionary character; after which the evening was spent in an agreeable manner, with songs, recitations, etc. The organisation now numbers over 1,400 members.—S.

## IMPORTANT NOTICE.

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

**SHEFFIELD.**—At Hallamshire Hall, Westbar, on Sunday March 2, J. Sketchley, 11 a.m., "The Events of the Week"; at 6.30, "What the Workers Want."

**NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.**—Sunday March 2, Sneyton Market (open air), Edward Carpenter at 11. Socialist Hall, Woodland Place, Upper Parliament St., at 7. Comrades, roll up!

**MANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.** "Three Doves," Berwick St., Oxford St., W.—Sunday March 2, at 8 p.m., "State Control, the German Imperial Plot against Labour"; adjourned debate will be opened by J. D. Bouran. A Reading will precede Debate.

**MANCHESTER.**—Suitable premises have now been secured for the new Socialist Club. It is our aim to make it a centre for Socialist propaganda in Lancashire. A library, reading, recreation, and refreshment rooms will be some of its attractions. Aid is invited from friends who can assist, either with fittings, furniture, books, or funds. The Club, 60 Grosvenor Street, All Saints, is now open for members every evening. *Commonweal* and other literature on sale.—RECEIVED, E. Carpenter, £2; R. Unwin, 5s.

# LECTURE DIARY.

## LONDON.

**Battersea.**—All communications to E. Butenz, 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. Lecture on Sunday March 2, at 8.15 p.m., Mrs. Schack, "How Women can Help the Socialist Movement."

**East London.**—12 Basing Place, Kingsland Road. Members' meeting on Sunday March 2, at 8 p.m. Comrades in the East-end willing to help in the propaganda are invited to attend.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday March 2, at 8 p.m., a Lecture.

**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. On Sunday March 2, at 8 p.m., William Morris, "How Shall we Live Then?"

**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road. Meets every Wednesday evening at 8 o'clock. February 5, Mrs. Schaack will lecture on "Ought Women to Join the Socialist Movement?"

**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 Odd-fellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane, on Monday evenings at 8. Singing practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Bradford.**—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Meets every Tuesday at 7.30.

**Dundee.**—Address to W. Cameron, 17 Laurence Street, Dundee.

**Glasgow.**—Ram's Horn Hall, 122 Ingram Street. Branch meets on Thursday evenings at 8 o'clock and Sundays at 7 o'clock.

**Halifax.**—Socialists meet every Sunday at 6.30 p.m. at Helliwell's Temperance Hotel, Northgate.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road, School Close. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Exchange Buildings, Rutland Street. Branch meets on Monday and Thursday, at 8 p.m. Tuesday March 4, at 8 p.m., in Co-operative Hall, High Street, Stepniak will lecture on "Russian Democracy."

**Manchester.**—Socialist League Club, 60 Grosvenor Street, All Saints. Open every evening. Branch weekly meeting on Tuesdays at 8 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday, at 8, Gordon Hall. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Thursday, at 8, Discussion Class. Saturday, Social Meeting. Hall open every evening from 8 p.m.

**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.**—Branch meets at comrade Headley's, near Co-operative Stores, every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class Friday at 8 p.m. On Sunday afternoons during winter a Discussion Class will be held at 3 o'clock.

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.	
8.30.....	Mile-end Waste .....		Cores and Presburg
		SUNDAY 2.	
11 .....	Latimer Road Station .....		R. J. Lyne, Maughan, and Crouch
11.30.....	Kilburn—"Old Plough," Kilburn Lane .....		The Branch
11.30.....	Mitcham—Fair Green .....		The Branch
11.30.....	Regent's Park .....		Nicoll and Parker
3.30.....	Hyde Park—Marble Arch .....		Parker
3.30.....	Victoria Park .....		Davis and Mowbray
7 .....	Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park .....		Hammersmith Branch
7.30.....	Walham Green—back of Church .....		Hammersmith Branch
		TUESDAY 4.	
8 .....	Walham Green—back of Church .....		Hammersmith Branch
		FRIDAY 7.	
8.15.....	Hoxton Church .....		East London Branch

## PROVINCES.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock. Tuesday: Cathedral Square, at 8 p.m.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Sunday: Phillips Park Gates, at 11; Stevenson Square, at 3.

**Norwich.**—Sunday: St. Faiths, at 11; Market Place, at 3.

**Sheffield.**—Sunday: Monolith, Fargate, at 11.30 a.m.; Burngreave Road, near Vestry Offices, at 3 p.m.; Pump, West Bar, at 8 p.m.

**Yarmouth.**—Sunday: Priory Plain, at 11; Colman's Granary Quay, at 7.

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

**DUBLIN.**—At Progressist Club, 87 Marlboro' Street, Saturday March 1, at 8 p.m., A. Kavanagh, "Educational Anomalies."

**CHELSEA S.D.F.,** Co-operative Lecture Hall, 312 Kings Road, Chelsea.—Sunday March 2, at 8 p.m., Dadabhai Naoroji, "India."

**CLUB AUTONOMIE,** 6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, W.—Sunday March 2, at 8.30, Albert Tam, B.Sc., "Anarchism."

**TREATMENT OF RUSSIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS.**—At a committee meeting held at the Patriotic Club on the 21st Feb., it was resolved to hold a great Demonstration in Hyde Park, on Sunday the 9th of March, at 3 p.m., to protest against the inhuman treatment of political prisoners by the Russian Government, and to express sympathy with the Russian workers in their struggle for liberty. All particulars as to the line of route of the processions can be obtained from J. Hunter Watts, hon. sec. Workmen's Protest Committee, 18 Torrington Sq., W.C.

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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.

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