

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 6.—No. 224.

SATURDAY, APRIL 26, 1890.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

STANLEY'S EXPLOITS:

OR,
CIVILISING AFRICA.

It may be interesting at the present time, when journalists, middle-class orators, lion comiques, pious tub-thumpers, and all the advertising agencies of a commercial civilisation, combine to raise a deafening chorus of praise to Stanley, to state why we Socialists are not in an abject state of admiration, and to support our objections to this modern commercial hero by indisputable evidence.

First, we do not admire Mr. Stanley because we do not like his methods of exploration, which resemble more the piratical operations of Blackbeard or Teach, or the savage warfare of the Spanish conquistadores, than the peaceful marches of his predecessors in African exploration. Secondly, we have still less liking for the ultimate result of his journeys, which carry slavery, misery, degradation, and death in their train, and leave a long and bloody trail behind them. With regard to the first objection we must admit that there is some excuse for Stanley; his early occupation, and the scenes he witnessed while pursuing it, may in some measure account for his brutal carelessness of human life. Everyone knows that he was originally a war correspondent; according to his own account he was first employed by American papers during the great Civil War. In the same capacity he witnessed battles between American troops and the Indians. His next experience was in 1868, with Napier in Abyssinia, when the main incidents of this war were a battue of helpless savages and the burning of Magdala. In 1869, he was present at some of the bloody scenes of the repression of the republican insurrection in Spain, when the people were mercilessly butchered at Valencia and Saragossa. While in Madrid, "fresh from the carnage at Valencia," he was summoned to Paris by the manager of the *New York Herald*, of which he was correspondent, and was sent in search of Livingstone, who had disappeared in Central Africa and was generally believed to be dead. The incidents of that journey are told by Stanley in the well-known work, "How I found Livingstone." I may mention here that whenever I produce any evidence against Mr. Stanley, it is always taken from his own works and his own words. The unfortunate natives who have come in contact with the valiant explorer cannot tell us their side of the story. Stanley is his own accuser, and doubtless, like all men he makes the best of his little eccentricities. If those who have suffered by them could tell their tale, no doubt it would be considerably blacker than it is at present. Still, we will own that he pursued his task of finding Livingstone with more humanity than has characterised his later expeditions. It is true that in chapter vi., pp. 217-18 of that work, he admits submitting one of his followers to "a vigorous and most necessary application of my donkey lash," and "to flogging right and left to rouse the pagazis and soldiers up." He also embarked upon a wicked and useless war in alliance with the slave-hunting Arabs of Unyanyembe against an African chief, Mirambo, who had successfully resisted their encroachments. Mr. Stanley tells how his allies in this war were fond "of decapitating and inflicting vengeful gashes in dead bodies," (p. 279). On p. 282, he relates how they surprised one of Mirambo's people asleep, "whose head they stretched backward and cut off as though he were a goat or a sheep." Nice allies for a pioneer of Christianity and civilisation.¹ These incidents are, however, only worth mentioning as illustrations of the character of this pioneer of civilisation, and we shall find that his passion for cruel slaughter attained a still higher development later on.

After his return from finding Livingstone, Stanley accompanied the army of General Wolesley in the Ashantee expedition, and was present during the defeat of the Ashantees and the burning of Coomassie. Stanley, in his book "Coomassie and Magdala," curiously enough censures the English General for his mildness towards the enemy. We shall have no occasion to blame Stanley for such weakness in criticising his own expeditions.

But Stanley was soon to play a more distinguished part. Dr. Livingstone was dead, and the proprietors of the *New York Herald* and *Daily Telegraph* were anxious to find a successor for the man whose name was famous throughout the civilised world. To these smart business men it seemed fit that the prophet's mantle should fall upon the shoulders of the brisk young American journalist. Stanley was accordingly sent off into the wilds of Africa to complete the discoveries of the dead man. He started from Zanzibar on November 12, 1874, with a well-equipped army of three hundred Zanzibaris, some of whom were well experienced alike in exploring, ivory trading, and slave-hunting. Mr. Stanley first journeyed in the direction of the great lakes, where, however, he did not at first make many discoveries of great importance. Still, the proprietors of the *New York Herald* and *Daily Telegraph* expected something for their money, and it was possibly with a view of providing them with some sensational articles that Stanley engaged in a series of small wars with several savage tribes, the incidents of which are both instructive and interesting as to methods usually adopted by this apostle of civilisation in dealing with the natives of Africa. These incidents were deemed so extraordinary that Col. Yule (an old soldier, eminent also as a geographer, who took a great interest in primitive peoples) and H. M. Hyndman drew the attention of the Royal Geographical Society and the public to the "civilised warfare" carried on by the representative of the *New York Herald* and the *Daily Telegraph*.¹

The first letter of Mr. Stanley, detailing his conflicts with the natives, was printed in the *Daily Telegraph* of October 15, 1875. He tells us there how, while he was engaged in palaver with the elders of the Waturu that

"It soon became evident, however, that though the elders were content the warriors were not, as they could be seen hurrying by in scores and gesticulating violently in crowds. . . . As we watched them we noted that about two hundred detached themselves from the gesticulating crowds east of the camp, and disappeared hurrying to the thick bush west of us. Soon afterwards one of my men returned from that direction bleeding profusely from the face and arms, and reported that he and a youth named Sulieman were out collecting firewood, when they were attacked by a large crowd of savages who were hidden in the bush. A knobstick had crushed the man's nose, and a spear had severely wounded him in the arm, but he had managed to escape while Sulieman was killed, a dozen spears having been plunged in his back."

The savages afterwards fired a shower of arrows upon the camp. Stanley's men then set upon them, and being well armed easily routed them. Here is his own description of the victory:

"The skirmishers now returned, and announced that fifteen of the enemy were killed, while a great many more were wounded and borne off by their friends. All my men had distinguished themselves, even 'Bull,' my British bull-dog, had seized one of the Waturu by the leg, and had given him a taste of the power of the sharp canines of his breed before the *poor* savage was *mercifully* despatched by a Snider bullet."

The italics are mine. This passage certainly shows a keen relish for slaughter and cruelty. You would think that the killing of one and the wounding of another man had been sufficiently avenged by the slaughter of fifteen men and the wounding of many more, but Mr. Stanley is not satisfied. His taste for massacre, acquired by seeing savages and rebellious crowds shot down in heaps by a storm of bullets and grapeshot from the arms of precision of civilised troops, has not been sufficiently gratified. On the next day the "war" was resumed. Mr. Stanley has witnessed the burning of Coomassie and Magdala, and now desires to have a little illumination on his own account. He continues:

"Accordingly, I selected four *experienced* men to lead four several detachments, and gave orders that they should march in different directions through the valley and meet at some high rocks distant five miles off; that they should seize upon all cattle, and burn every village as soon as taken."

The word "experienced" we have put in italics is worth noting. We suppose they were "experienced" in savage warfare and burning

¹ And yet, although even then he assumed this lofty character, Mr. Stanley recounts these atrocities as though they were rather amusing.

¹ Accounts of this civilised warfare in longer extracts than I am able to give from Mr. Stanley's letters, will be found in a pamphlet entitled "Mr. H. M. Stanley and the Royal Geographical Society, being the record of a protest" by Col. Henry Yule and H. M. Hyndman. Bickers and Sons, Leicester Square, 1878.

villages. In that case it is probable that these men who commanded Mr. Stanley's infernal columns were "experienced" in the atrocities of Arab slave-hunting expeditions, and no doubt they had now obtained work which they enjoyed. Unhappily, however, one of these detachments fell in with a strong force of the men whose villages they were going to burn, and were slaughtered to a man. The second very nearly shared the same fate, but was rescued by reinforcements dispatched to the spot by Stanley. He then describes with unctious the work of the other detachments:

"Meanwhile, smoke was seen issuing from the south and south-east, informing us that the third and fourth detachments were pursuing their way victoriously; and soon a score or more villages were enwrapped in dense volumes of smoke. Even at a distance of eight miles we beheld burning villages, and shortly after the blazing settlements in the north and east announced our triumph on all sides. . . . The next day we renewed the battle with sixty good men, who received instructions to proceed to the extreme length of the valley and destroy what had been left on the previous day. These came to a strong and large village on the north-east, which, after a slight resistance, they entered, loading themselves with grain, and afterwards setting the village on fire. Long before noon it was clearly seen that the savages had had enough of war, and were quite demoralised, so that our people returned through the now silent and blackened valley without molestation."

Now, even supposing that the previous massacre was amply justified by the "offences" committed by the natives, yet nothing can justify the acts of incendiarism and pillage committed by Mr. Stanley. It was not a war upon men, it was a war upon women and children, who were left to starve amid the "silent and blackened valley," which had once flourished in abundance and resounded with the innocent mirth of thoughtless savages, who had no idea that an enterprising war correspondent was on the way to "civilise" them.

It is not surprising to find after these incidents that Mr. Stanley had a few more conflicts with other native tribes. Here is another charming little incident, which I quote in full. It appeared in a letter published in the *Daily Telegraph*, November 15, 1875, and describes some events which took place on the Eastern shores of Lake Victoria Nyanza, while Stanley was engaged in trading with the Wavuma, a native tribe of the district:

"While we were bargaining for potatoes with this party the other canoes came up and blocked the boat, while the people began to lay surreptitious hands upon everything; but we found their purpose out, and I warned the robbers away with my gun. They jeered at this, and immediately seized their spears and shields, while one crew hastened away with some beads it had stolen, and which a man insolently held up to my view, mockingly inviting us to catch him. At the dangerous example of this I fired, and the man fell dead in his place. The others prepared to launch their spears, but the repeating rifle was too much for the crew of so-called warriors, who had hastened like pirates to pillage us. Three were shot dead, and as they retreated my elephant rifle smashed their canoes, the results of which we saw in the confusion attending each discharge. After a few rounds from the big gun we continued on our way, still hugging the shores of Uvuma, for it was unnecessary to fly after such an exhibition of inglorious conduct on the part of fifteen canoes, containing in the aggregate over a hundred men."

Mr. Stanley seems here to have revived on his own account the ancient criminal law, by punishing the petty theft of a few paltry beads with death. Still the good gentleman doubtless suffered considerable disappointment, with which we are sure the kind-hearted reader must sympathise. Fancy! the cowardly natives would not stop to be shot down by Stanley's repeating rifle, so only "three were shot dead," and a few canoes smashed by the elephant rifle. What a falling off was there from the glorious slaughter of the Waturu!

D. J. NICOLL.

(To be continued.)

NEWS FROM NOWHERE:

OR,

AN EPOCH OF REST.

BEING SOME CHAPTERS FROM A UTOPIAN ROMANCE.

CHAP. XIII.—CONCERNING POLITICS.

SAID I: "How do you manage with politics?"

Said Hammond, smiling: "I am glad that it is of *me* that you ask that question: I do believe that anybody else would have made you explain yourself, or try to do so till you were sickened of asking questions. Indeed, I believe I am the only man in England who would know what you mean; and since I know, I will answer your question briefly by saying that we are very well off as to politics,—because we have none. If ever you make a book out of this conversation, put this in a chapter by itself, after the model of old Horrebow's Snakes in Iceland."

"I will," said I.

CHAP. XIV.—HOW MATTERS ARE MANAGED.

"But," quoth I, "is there no difference of opinion amongst you? Is that your assertion?"

"No, not at all," said he, somewhat snappishly; "but I do say that differences of opinion about real solid things need not, and with us do not, crystallise people into parties permanently hostile to one another, with different theories as to the build of the universe and the progress of time. Isn't that what politics used to mean?"

"H'm, well," said I, "I am not so sure of that."

Said he: "I take you, neighbour; they only pretended to this serious

difference of opinion; for if it had existed they could not have dealt together in the ordinary business of life; couldn't have eaten together, bought and sold together, gambled together, cheated other people together, but must have fought whenever they met: which would not have suited them at all. The game of the masters of politics was to cajole or force the public to pay the expense of a luxurious life and exciting amusement for a few cliques of ambitious persons: and the pretence of serious difference of opinion, belied by every action of their lives, was quite good enough for that. What has all that got to do with us?"

Said I: "Why, nothing, I should hope. But I fear— In short, I have been told that political strife was a necessary result of human nature."

"Human nature!" cried the old boy, impetuously; "what human nature? The human nature of paupers, of slaves, of slave-holders, or the human nature of wealthy freemen? Which? Come, tell me that?"

"Well," said I, "I suppose there would be a difference according to circumstances in people's action about these matters."

"I should think so, indeed," said he. "At all events, experience shows that it is so. Amongst us, our differences concern matters of business, and passing events as to them, and could not divide men permanently. As a rule, the immediate outcome shows which opinion on a given subject is the right one; it is a matter of fact, not of speculation. For instance, it is clearly not easy to knock up a political party on the question as to whether haymaking in such and such a country-side shall begin this week or next, when all men agree that it must at latest begin the week after next, and when any man can go down into the fields himself and see whether the seeds are ripe enough for cutting."

Said I: "And you settle these differences, great and small, by the will of the majority, I suppose?"

"Certainly," said he; "how else could we settle them? You see in matters which are merely personal which do not affect the welfare of the community—how a man shall dress, what he shall eat and drink, what he shall write and read, and so forth—there can be no difference of opinion, and everybody does as he pleases. But when the matter is of common interest to the whole community, and the doing or not doing something affects everybody, the majority must have their way; unless the minority were to take up arms and show by force that they were the effective or real majority; which, however, in a society of men who are free and equal is little likely to happen; because in such a community the apparent majority is the real majority, and the others, as I have hinted before, know that too well to obstruct from mere pig-headedness; especially as they have had plenty of opportunity of putting forward their side of the question."

"How is that managed?" said I.

"Well," said he, "let us take one of our units of management, a commune, or a ward, or a parish (for we have all three names, indicating little real distinction between them now, though time was there was a good deal). In such a district, as you would call it, some neighbours think that something ought to be done or undone; a new town-hall built; a clearance of inconvenient houses; or say a stone bridge substituted for some ugly old iron one,—there you have undoing and doing in one. Well, at the next ordinary meeting of the neighbours, or Mote as we call it, according to the ancient tongue of the times before bureaucracy, a neighbour proposes the change, and of course if everybody agrees, there is an end of discussion, except about details. Equally, if no one backs the proposer—'seconds him,' it used to be called—the matter drops for the time being; a thing not likely to happen amongst reasonable men, however, as the proposer is sure to have talked it over with others before the Mote. But supposing the affair proposed and seconded, if a few of the neighbours disagree to it, if they think that the beastly iron bridge will serve a little longer and they don't want to be bothered with building a new one just then, they don't count heads that time, but put off the formal discussion to the next Mote; and meantime arguments pro and con are flying about, and some get printed, so that everybody knows what is going on; and when the Mote comes together again there is a regular discussion and at last a vote by show of hands. If the division is a close one, the question is again put off for further discussion: if the division is a wide one, the minority are asked if they will yield to the more general opinion, which they often, nay, most commonly do. If they refuse, the question is debated a third time, when, if the minority has not perceptibly grown, they always give way; though as a matter of fact, if there is any rule on the case, they might still carry it on further: but I say, what always happens is that they are convinced, not perhaps that their view is the wrong one, but that they cannot persuade or force the community to adopt it."

"Very good," said I; "but what happens if the divisions are still narrow?"

Said he: "As a matter of principle and according to the rule of such cases, the question must then lapse, and the majority, if so narrow, has to submit to sitting down under the *status quo*. But I must tell you that in point of fact the minority very seldom enforces this rule, but generally yields in a friendly manner."

"But do you know," said I, "that there is something in all this very like democracy; and I thought that democracy was considered to be in a moribund condition many, many years ago."

The old boy's eyes twinkled. "I grant you that our methods have that drawback. But what is to be done? We can't get *anyone* amongst us to complain of his not always having his own way in the teeth of the community, when it is clear that *everybody* cannot have that indulgence. What is to be done?"

"Well," said I, "I don't know."

Said he: "The only alternatives to our method that I can conceive of are these. First, that we should choose out, or breed, a class of superior persons capable of judging on all matters without consulting the neighbours; that, in short, we should get for ourselves what used to be called an aristocracy of intellect; or, secondly, that for the purpose of safe-guarding the freedom of the individual will, we should revert to a system of private property again, and have slaves and slaveholders once more. What do you think of those two expedients?"

"Well," said I, "there is a third possibility—to wit, that every man should be quite independent of every other, and that thus the tyranny of society should be abolished."

He looked hard at me for a second or two, and then burst out laughing very heartily; and I confess that I joined him. When he recovered himself he nodded at me, and said: "Yes, yes, I quite agree with you—and so we all do."

"Yes," I said, "and besides, it does not press hardly on the minority: for, take this matter of the bridge, no man is obliged to work on it if he doesn't agree to its building. At least, I suppose not."

He smiled, and said: "Shrewdly put; and yet from the point of view of the native of another planet. If the man of the minority does find his feelings hurt, doubtless he may relieve them by refusing to help in building the bridge. But, dear neighbour, that is not a very effective salve for the wound caused by the 'tyranny of a majority' in our society; because all work that is done is either beneficial or hurtful to every member of it. The man is benefited by the bridge-building if it turns out a good thing, and hurt by it if it turns out a bad one, whether he puts a hand to it or not, and meanwhile he is benefiting the bridge-builders by his work, whatever that may be. In fact, I see no help for him except the pleasure of saying 'I told you so' if the bridge-building turns out to be a mistake and hurts him; if it benefits him he must suffer in silence. A terrible tyranny our Communism, is it not? Folk used often to be warned against this very unhappiness in times past, when for every well-fed, contented person you saw a thousand miserable starvelings. Whereas for us, we grow fat and well-liking on the tyranny; a tyranny, to say the truth, not to be made visible by any microscope I know. Don't be afraid, my friend; we are not going to seek for troubles by calling our peace and plenty and happiness by ill names whose very meaning we have forgotten!"

He sat musing for a little, and then started and said: "Are there any more questions, dear guest? The morning is waning fast amidst my garrulity."

WILLIAM MORRIS.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

(This Story began in No. 209, January 11, 1890. A few sets of Back Numbers can still be had.)

IN THE ARGENTINE.

COMMERCE here is in a delightful state of confusion. Gold went up the day before yesterday to 274, and to-day has gone down (!) to 255. Everything is, of course, frightfully dear, and business is paralysed. I believe we are on the eve of very hard times.

It is a great pity to see so many poor emigrants still coming to this country, though I see by the papers to-day that there is a serious falling-off of the numbers in January and February as compared with the same months of last year. The last act of the wretched Irish and English immigration has been played out. The settlers of the Naposta Colony sent a deputation to Buenos Ayres a fortnight ago to wait on the English Immigration Committee, and asked that something should be done for them. You will see the whole matter in a paragraph from the *Southern Cross* of February 14th, which I enclose:

"We regret to hear of very sorrowful accounts from the colony of Naposta. One account says that the owners of chacras will not average a profit of forty paper dollars each after paying the claims of the company. It is the opinion of an intelligent man who has seen the place that the crops of the most industrious Irish colonists will not pay for the interest charged on the land, and the gentleman, who is a great friend of the colony and is most impartial in his estimate, assures us that the Irish colonists have done far better than their English neighbours. Another independent witness thinks that each owner of a chacra will not have an average of 30 dols., or less than £3 sterling, after paying the lion's share of the produce to the company. And we must remember that the Viticola Company was not legally bound to supply provisions to the colony for more than one year, which is now soon to expire. The question is, then, what will become of these unfortunate people? After being infested with vermin in the 'Hotel,' after lying down for several days in the muck of an abandoned stable in the Paseo de Julio, after seeing their little ones die of cold and pestilence by their sides, after passing, in fact, through a 'via crucis' of slander, insult, and injury, they now find themselves, we fear, in the same position as they were in the day they landed from the 'Dresden.'" Mr. Bulkeley O'Meara, the Dublin information agent, is at present in this city. As he painted this country in such glowing colours to the emigrants, perhaps he will now come to the rescue of those who confided in his words, and interest himself in their behalf."

This will show what false hopes are held out to poor people coming here. From this time I believe the chances of doing anything here will be much less than ever, for the prices of Indian corn and wheat have gone down so much in Europe, that there will soon be perfect stagnation in the export of these articles; and it is on exportation they depend, as the consumption of the country is small compared with production.

There is but little doing here among us, but we are preparing to celebrate the anniversary of the Paris Commune on the 18th.

Four of our comrades who were suspected of having had something to do with the publication of a manifesto to the workers in Buenos Ayres, in September last, have since then been lying in jail in this free country! When they get out we have not the slightest idea, and this though the man who did it very properly declares he was the sole author of it. Bail was refused for every man who was known to be an Anarchist. Well! the day of reckoning is coming.

Buenos Ayres, March 5th, 1890.

J. CREGHE.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

FRANCE.

PARIS, April 20.—At a meeting of the leather-dressers, held to consider the question of taking part in the May-day demonstration, comrade Tortellier strongly recommended their participation. He hoped the affair would result in a general strike, to be closed when the eight-hours day had been secured as a first instalment of what they wanted. Of course, their one great object was to overturn the capitalist Bastille. The Anarchist vote carried the meeting in favour of the demonstration.

LE PIN (Loire Inf.).—Here is a little scene of the joys of country life that might very well have come from 'La Terre.' A farmer of the village of Le Pin was seen by a neighbour to fall senseless while digging and tending his vines. The doctor on arriving finds that his illness is due to starvation, and the man's wife tells how one thing after another, first grain, then the cow, and so on, is sold to pay the rent, the small store of potatoes is consumed, and nothing is left but to die. The desolate scene is no uncommon one among the vineyards of Nantes, where the peasants lived formerly a prosperous if not an easy life. The last good vintage was in 1875; since then the spring frosts have each year ruined the buds; then came the mildew in '77, then the phylloxera in '89. The vines, which need the greatest care in cultivation, and much expenditure, scarcely produce anything now; the peasants, either as owners of some few yards of vineyard, or renting the same, can no longer make a living, as formerly, or even make the rent of their land, and are fallen into a state of the profoundest misery.

LE HAVRE.—Louise Michel held a meeting here last Sunday to an audience of more than 600, the subject of her discourse being the May Day Labour Demonstration. The citoyenne does not pronounce in favour of the same, considering that no practical results are to be expected from it, and according to her the only thing to be done is to prepare for a general strike, which is sure to take place sooner or later.

Egalité has again been prosecuted on account of "incitement to riot and murder," and the publisher and editors, Caillava, Zevaco and Couret, have been sentenced to imprisonment and fines varying from three to fifteen months, and 1,000 to 5,000 francs.

MARSEILLES.—The appearance shortly of a new Socialist journal is announced in this town. It will be a daily and of fair size, and is to be called *Le Peuple*.

SOTTEVILLE, DARNETAL, etc. (Normandy).—Various small and incessant tyrannies go on in workshops of some of the small towns of Normandy. For instance, in the matter of fines, we see in glancing down one column of *Le Salariat*, 50 centimes (5d.) for being three minutes late. In another place, the fine is different on different days, as thus: 50 centimes for being late on Monday, 30 c. on other days. When for one cause or another an employé is absent all day, hey presto! 3 francs fine, and this in a workshop where the mean wage per day is only 2 francs. And other innumerable little worries, which seem too trivial to put down, but which all the same help to make up the sum of daily miseries in which the workers live. One scarcely knows which most to execrate, these small day to day tyrannies and slow bleeding by the master in a small way who has only lately and laboriously risen "from the ranks" himself, or the exploitation on a large scale—wholesale, frank, brutal, and impersonal.

BELGIUM.

GHEENT.—The unemployed workmen of Ghent have been marching through the principal streets of the town, accompanied by trumpets, and placards on which is written "Give us work or bread," "Abandoned by man, what is there left for us to do?" etc., etc. A delegation of the unemployed, consisting of nine workmen belonging to nine different trades, was conducted to the presence of the governor. The interview lasted more than an hour, and in the course of it the men explained their situation and asked for employment in public works. The governor replied that he was not empowered to set public works on foot, but that he would transmit the demand to the Government, of which he was only a representative. At the end of the audience the procession re-formed and marched to the office of *Vooruit* to tell the result of the mission, distributing leaflets by the way. Afterwards the delegates were received by the burgomaster at the Hotel de Ville. The manifestation was, as can be seen, of a calm and orderly nature. It remains to be seen if the unemployed of Ghent will get much out of it. M. M.

HOLLAND.

AMSTERDAM, April 19.—The Municipality here has refused to grant the request of several labour societies for permission to hold a parade on May 1, as a demonstration in favour of a normal working day of eight hours.

GERMANY.

THE TYRANNY OF GERMAN CAPITALISTS.—The German capitalists who sent a deputation over here a few months ago to enquire into the relations between masters and workmen have made good use of the knowledge they have thus acquired. According to the German correspondent of the *Labour Tribune*, they have taken to heart the lesson they have learnt from the English bosses, and have formed "powerful and well-organised employers' associations, which pursue their interests in most vigorous and heartless manner." They have the workmen at their mercy, as they are completely disorganised, and their leaders are "victimised, starved, and prosecuted" by the associated masters. Most of these employers' associations have recently issued an edict that any workman who leaves his work on the 1st of May will be at once dismissed and not employed again in any of the associated works; and if a strike occurs at one of the works, the men are turned out to starve at all the factories belonging to the association. Every day the tyranny increases and the masters are becoming "more provoking and overbearing than ever." The emperor's philanthropy does not seem to have made the German workmen any better off, and it is simply another demonstration of the powerlessness of legislation to improve the condition of workers. In spite of Social Democratic parliamentary victories and imperial rescripts, the tyranny of the masters grows worse and worse, and open revolt now seems the only course left to the German workmen. N.

Cours Weavers' Strike Fund.—Already acknowledged:—£26 18s. 4d. Received—Christina D. Hills, 2s. 6d.; Raymond Unwin, 2s. 6d.; F. S. Ellis, £1.

The poem "Too Late," in *Weal* of April 5, was translated by comrade Laura Lafargue, from a German folk-song; the notification to that effect was omitted by accident.



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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SPECIAL RECRUIT SUBSCRIPTIONS.—To aid in spreading our principles, the following largely reduced terms are offered to those who obtain new subscribers: Two new yearly subscriptions for British Islands, etc., 10s. 6d.; for Australia, etc., 15s.; for India, etc., 19s. Five new subscriptions: For British Islands, etc., 25s.; for Australia, etc., 37s. 6d.; for India, etc., 47s. 6d. Specimen copies will be sent on receipt of postage.

Remittances from abroad must be made by International Money Order.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

ARTIST.—The cuttings as to Royal Academy were interesting, but rendered useless to us by bearing no sign of origin. Name and date of paper should be attached to all extracts. Should like to see you as to drawing sent, which we are unable to use through an error in design, though execution is good.

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday April 23.

ENGLAND	FRANCE	GERMANY	AUSTRIA
Justice	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Rome—L'Emancipazione	Vienna—Arbeiterstimme
Labour Elector	Newark—Mutual Aid	Madrid—El Socialista	Vienna—Arbeiter-Zeitung
London—Freie Presse	Philadelphia—United Labour	Madrid—El Socialista	Vienna—Arbeiter-Zeitung
Labour Tribune	Paterson Labour Standard	Madrid—El Socialista	Vienna—Arbeiter-Zeitung
Sozial Demokrat	S. F. Coast Seamen's Journal	Berlin—Volks Tribune	Vienna—Arbeiter-Zeitung
Seafaring	San Francisco Arbeiter Zeitung	Erfurt—Thüringer Tribune	Vienna—Arbeiter-Zeitung
Worker's Friend	Pacific Union	Nordhausen—Volksblatt	Vienna—Arbeiter-Zeitung
INDIA	San Diego—Califor. Nationalist	Gera—Reussische Tribune	Vienna—Arbeiter-Zeitung
Bankipore—Behar Herald	FRANCE	Denmark	Vienna—Arbeiter-Zeitung
UNITED STATES	Paris—La Revolte	Copenhagen—Arbejderen	Vienna—Arbeiter-Zeitung
New York—Der Sozialist	Le Proletariat	Denmark	Vienna—Arbeiter-Zeitung
Freiheit	Charleville—L'Emancipation	Sweden	Vienna—Arbeiter-Zeitung
Twentieth Century	Lyon—L'Action Sociale	Malmö—Arbetet	Vienna—Arbeiter-Zeitung
United Irishman	HOLLAND	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten	Vienna—Arbeiter-Zeitung
Workmen's Advocate	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Norway	Vienna—Arbeiter-Zeitung
Boston—Woman's Journal	Anarchist	Tynnsset—Fedraheimen	Vienna—Arbeiter-Zeitung
Investigator	Belgium		Vienna—Arbeiter-Zeitung
Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung	Antwerp—De Werker		Vienna—Arbeiter-Zeitung
Chicago—Rights of Labour	Ghent—Vooruit		Vienna—Arbeiter-Zeitung
Vorbote	SWITZERLAND		Vienna—Arbeiter-Zeitung
	Bulletin Continental		Vienna—Arbeiter-Zeitung

NOTES ON NEWS.

ONE of the most interesting experiments in journalism which I have seen for a long time is *Cynicus*, the first number of which has just appeared, and which will be published every fortnight at 3d. It contains no advertisements, nor will it advertise; the proprietor, who is also editor, and indeed the whole staff, being resolved that cost shall be the arbiter of price, and that his paper shall perish rather than submit to the tyranny of the advertiser. Every reader of *Commonweal* who can afford the fortnightly 3d. should order *Cynicus* along with his *Weal*. The principal sketch in the present number represents Capital and Labour, and would make an admirable decoration for club and branch room walls.

The same attitude towards the advertiser is assumed by the long-talked-of Australian labour paper, the first number of which, dated March 1st, we have just received. It is called the *Worker*, and bears the sub-title "Monthly Journal of the Associated Workers of Queensland." About the size of the *Christian Socialist*, it gives 16 pages of three columns each of closely printed reading matter. While not professing more than advanced trade-union principles, it promises to be a thoroughly sound and reliable labour advocate, and a most valuable ally in the cause of progress. It says, by the way, that

"It isn't true that there is a capitalistic move on foot to start an organ to be called the *Drone* in opposition to the *Worker*. Capitalism is satisfied with the way its present organs work the oracle, which teaches, 'If you have no case, abuse the other side.'"

There is a most delightful letter in the *Women's Penny Paper* this week. Words fail one before it; imagination shrinks from the fancied picture of its writer. Read this; I don't know what it is in reply to, but it is enormous; the italics are her own:

"A Gentlewoman" does me injustice if she supposes me to consider that any necessary or useful work is lowering. That is an opinion only held by what I fear I must continue to call "the lower classes." "A Gentlewoman" asks, "Why should there be lower classes?" To ask this is to arraign a fixed and immutable law of Nature. So long as there are wise and foolish, sober and drunken, thrifty and unthrifty, clever and stupid, so long will there be higher and lower classes. The individuals that constitute our lower classes at any given moment are those *who have not in them the qualities that command success*. They are drawn from all the other classes, and sink as naturally to the bottom as the dregs sink to the bottom of the cup. . . . Those who remain at the bottom for any length of time are thoroughly well suited to their situation, depend upon it. "A Gentlewoman" cannot mean to deny that there are lower classes, or why does she sign herself by that proud title? Your correspondent continues: "We gentlemen are ignorant and we sin, and the lower classes (*sic*) are degraded because of our sin." I should think it much more probable they are degraded because of their own sin. I only wish the lower classes would copy the virtues, instead of merely the bonnets, of gentlemen, namely, thrift, honesty, sobriety, prudence in marriage, and so forth. We might then do away almost entirely with our prisons, our police, our asylums for drunkards, our workhouses, and innumerable other institutions. But I am aware that this doctrine is unpalatable. Truth usually is so.

Is not that stupendous? Then what do you think of this:

"My opponent speaks of the want of sympathy between classes. I have always been greatly struck by the want of sympathy evinced by the lower classes for the higher. Hundreds and thousands of the higher classes devote their lives in part, or wholly, to striving to better the lot of the lower; but I never heard of a single instance of a reciprocal devotion, gratis. And yet the higher classes have their troubles, even more unendurable than those of the lower, if we may judge by the larger proportion of suicides among them. But they get no sympathy from below. . . . All the sympathy, all the feeling of brotherhood is on one side only; all the kind deeds done without hope of reward are done by the higher classes, and are looked on by the recipients as no more than their due."

Another correspondent of the same paper is

"Perfectly persuaded that the 'ideals of villadom' are, on the whole, higher than in any other division of society. Purer lives, truer piety, deeper culture, and more unselfish care for the welfare of others are to be met with in villas than in either mansions on the one hand, or cottages or lodgings on the other. Indeed, are we not told by Socialists that in the good time coming, when all shall equal be, that every individual is to occupy the position of the now despised middle classes, being neither rich nor poor?"

What Socialists? Name! name! good lady. 'Twould be a queer kind of a Socialist who held up the respectable villa-dwelling bourgeois as an ideal before the workers. There may be so-called Socialists who do it, but they are those who have not quite freed themselves from the philistinism and cant, which are the characteristics of the bourgeois, and are themselves imbued with the spirit of villadom. S.

"There never was a time when the dignity of labour was more fully and truly recognised than at present." This stupendous statement appears in the course of an article written by an anonymous liner of the *Daily Telegraph's*, in bitter opposition to the projected May Day demonstrations. There was a time when "recognition" and soft phrases would have salved labour's ills, and when workmen could be lulled with canting talk about the "sympathy" of the well-to-do with the struggles of their poorer brethren, and suchlike *Daily Telegraphisms*. But, alas and alas, those days are gone by! The Schoolmaster in the Red Cap has been abroad, and the "recognition of the dignity of labour" is his reward. Those who, as Ruskin has it, pawn "the dirty linen of their souls in order that they may dine," by writing abuse of the working class in their vile capitalist sheets, will probably in the near future have not only to recognise in literary sugar-coated pills the "dignity" of labour, but be forced to share in it before they can enjoy its fruits.

"This throwing out of gear of all the social machinery, and just in the busy time, too," wails the scribe; and then he lauds his last hope, the "sensible British artisan," of whom on that day we may fear nothing more than his ordinary peaceful movement to and fro his daily toil. Then he gives us the superfluous information that all the work-days of the toiling masses are spent in every country in a feverish struggle to elbow each other out of the markets of the world. True, O scribe! and you and those who order your productions of the pen may take warning that we are tired and weary of this miserable

fratricidal strife. A new spirit is abroad, a yearning for international solidarity; and although we dissent from the suppliant attitude of those who are at the head of the May Day demonstrations, yet we heartily welcome this sign of accord amongst the workers of the world.

Events are moving rapidly, and soon as the Social Revolution overtakes us we shall be face to face with a problem of great magnitude—no less than what to do with the anonymous scribes, whose avocation, like Othello's, would be gone. No longer should we be treated to those glowing productions anent the drum-beat that sounds the sunrise round the world to proclaim British power, or those gorgeous descriptions of the jewels and fal-lals worn by bare-necked Society belles. No longer would the world be electrified with the startling intelligence that her majesty walked out yesterday, and used presumably both feet in the process, or that Lady Fitz-Dodo gave a sumptuous repast at her mansion, possibly in recognition of the "dignity of labour." Sad to foretell, but an iconoclastic mob may in response to his plea for existence respond with Voltairian indifference that they don't see the necessity, and then will cold weather beset the Special Correspondent.

F. K.

CORRESPONDENCE.

ANOTHER COMPLIMENT.

Mrs. S t requests that no more numbers of the *Commonweal* be sent to her house. It is a paper whose principles are subversive of all law and order; therefore, as a Christian mother she cannot allow it in her house, and should any more numbers be sent they will be returned unopened and the postage unpaid.

M m House, W m, April 14th, 1890.

COMMUNE CELEBRATION.

The following letter, read at the Commune meeting, was by inadvertence omitted from report:

We, the members of the Scottish Socialist Federation, send our fraternal greetings to our London comrades on this the nineteenth anniversary of the Paris Commune. "Drink we the unforgotten dead!"

The energy of the Commune should be an example to all Socialist fellow-workers. The blood of its martyrs was shed for International Freedom. And each anniversary of this great rising of the proletariat should inspire all Socialists with fresh courage to fight for, and bring about, the triumph of the Social Revolution.—On behalf of the members, I am, dear comrade, yours fraternally,
WILLIAM D. TAIT, *Secretary*,
Scottish Socialist Federation, Edinburgh, March 17th, 1890.

"INVENTORS UNDER SOCIALISM"

SIR,—I have been asked to prepare for our Tuesday night meeting, as a subject of discussion, an answer to the letter of John W. Love on "Inventors under Socialism," which appeared in *Commonweal* of March 29th. As no reply has appeared to that letter I send this, which perhaps you may care to insert. John Love asks how inventors would be rewarded under Socialism. A what-need-hardly-be-called hypothetical case, is taken from the present system. An individual of inventive faculty having control of certain means of production, devises a "cheaper process of producing an article which is useful to the people and already in demand." He "pays the fullest wages of the trade" to those he employs, but, as the fruit of his invention, he requires to employ fewer workers than other manufacturers do for the same output; he, presumably conducting his business otherwise as successfully, gathers as "rent of ability" what he thus saves in wages. It is useful to note in passing that his share in the "rent of ability" will vary as his share in the means of production. If he own all he will receive the full reward; if but partially he will have to divide with others. If he owned not at all he would have run a very fair risk of receiving not at all. It is unfortunate that John Love, in questioning as to how Socialism would deal with the matter, does not make it clear that he conceives of Socialism as anything really different from the present system. With the means of production and distribution under the community's control for the supply of its needs, it is difficult, if not impossible, to see how an inventor, except in the most subsidiary trade, could ever have an opportunity to employ people to work for him. If such, then, is the case, and the incentive of personal gain in this particular form is largely, if not altogether, wanting, might there not, it may be asked, be a danger that the inventive faculty would fall into decay and the community be all this the poorer in intellect as well as in leisure and pleasure? This, I take it, is the real though unformulated question of John Love's letter. Except from this point of view it is of really no importance whatever that the inventor should receive any reward, other than that which he gets in seeing his invention prove a benefit to his fellows.

Recognising, however, with John Love, that all are not tuned to this pitch, it might be considered a matter of expediency for communities of workers to offer rewards for inventions. Closely allied, if not really identical with this question, is that of the reward of those who, while not introducing any new methods, show special powers within the old ones. In the time of transition it may be found necessary to reward such somewhat more highly than their fellows. But as with the socialisation of the means of production and exchange we should ever more and more find ourselves committed to Communism, all such distinctions would tend to vanish. With full means of existence and ample leisure secured, all hankering after an excess of goods over others would be recognised as not merely a sin but an atrocious vulgarity. We would never think then of rewarding our inventor with a gift of goods, unless, I daresay, he were a man who could not do anything else.

Edinburgh, April 19, 1890.

J. GILRAY.

Bradlaugh describes John Burns as a "blatant orator at street corners." This, says the *Boomerang*, is good coming from a man who is a blatant orator everywhere else.

HIGH STREET, KENSINGTON.

I DON'T know that I know any more depressing sight than High Street, Kensington, on an ordinary moderately fine winter afternoon. It is my misfortune not unfrequently to have to pass that way; but I must confess that I avoid it as much as I can, at any rate at those hours of the day when "ladies" do their shopping. King's Parade, Brighton, is pretty bad, and the slums of Sheffield are pretty bad; but for a collection of weary, dreary, heartless, hopeless faces, commend me to High Street, Kensington. On one side as you walk along the trottoir stands, in the gutter, a long row of the mere outcasts of humanity; wretched old women with thin shawls and mouldy boots, shivering visibly in the biting East, shapeless men with blue noses and bristly chins, thievish looking youths and pale-faced pert children—making a precarious living, as you may guess, by the sale of penny toys, offering all imaginable and utterly useless new-fangled wonders—if by any means one out of the well-dressed crowd may be induced to stop and buy. Thin, starved, twisted with deceit and degradation, such faces infect one with their own despair; in almost pleasant contrast to them are the looks of a few brazen coarse-featured flower-girls, who by selling from time to time the dwindling remnants of their "virtue," have obtained at any rate the wherewithal to get food and plentiful drink. Out of all the faces, flower-girls and all, there is not one on which the eye can rest without pain, not one—I have been up and down three times, but there is not one. There is not a face in which joy and happiness dwells, not one.

And then on the pavement, jostling each other, wrapped to the chin in furs, goes the highly respectable crowd, "stiff with decency and starch," from which the outcasts are trying to extort a penny; and I do not know if this is not the more damnable sight of the two. Yes, there are one or two bright, one or two thoughtful, faces among them—but the mass, the great mass—what weariness, O God! what leaden-eyed weariness and mere repletion, as they lounge into the shops, or scrutinise the objects in the windows!—what stolid and stony indifference as they glance at the *things* in the gutter!

Is it possible that these are human beings, and these also? On the one side a crowd *gorged* with money, considering what merest trifle it may buy, what faintest want it may gratify—if only a scarf to adorn the drawing-room mirror with, or a pair of kid-gloves to match its bonnet; and on the other side a crowd pining, perishing, for want of the most imperative necessities of life—physical, mental, and moral—and the two crowds close together staring, within a foot of each other! What a sight! "For mere sheer cruelty," says a friend of mine, "there's nothing like Respectability," and as I gaze at this spectacle I think I understand what he means.

It is not that these delicate-bred women (and men) have no hearts. But their cardiac ganglions are torpid, quite torpid. Bred in luxury and ease, they have seldom been called on to make sacrifices for each other; physical deprivation is a mere name to them; the life of human toil and human fellowship has passed them by; their affectional nature have become dwarfed; their power of sympathy contracted within the four walls of a stuffy respectability; and so the one thing which might at the same instant deliver them and the gutter-things, and give them both a reasonable interest in existence, is, alas! as matters are, quite impossible. A gulf is fixed; the policeman walks with his truncheon along the curb. A brougham drives up and scatters the ragged ones. A footman obsequiously opens the door; and another leaden-eyed "lady" wrapped in furs disappears into "Barker's."

It is all very strange. I walk up and down and wonder if it is a dream—some quite solid and indigestible nightmare. Supposing (I think) it were some tribe in the interior of Africa—which the pious Stanley had just discovered—of which we heard that the natives had these customs. That a certain class among them were in the habit of walking up and down a shady promenade, on one side of which were heaped great stores of bananas, meales, dates, cotton-cloth, beads, and Sheffield knives—from which heaps said promenaders helped themselves freely to all they wanted; while on the other side, in the burning heat, stood a row of poor creatures (of the same tribe) in continual torture for want of food, waiting for hours and hours and hours, and all their lives, for bits of refuse to be thrown to them. What should we say to that? And yet, whatever plentiful villainous cruelties of burnings and other torments savages (chiefly under the influence of superstition) do perpetrate, I doubt whether any traveller has yet told us of such a scene of sheer cold-blooded indifference as that which I am describing.

And yet it goes on, and will go on—till the frame of this present anti-social "society" is rent in twain. The beggars still stand, offering their ingenious trifles in the gutter; the shops spread their piles of goods (grapes at 5s. 6d. to 7s. a lb., bonnets at 27s. each) in the windows; the policeman and the footman still marshal the show—and between goes the weary stream of stony faces whose aspect chills one to the bone:

"For Respectables are we,
And that is why, you see,
We confidently claim to be respected.
In well-ordered homes we dwell,
And discharge our duties well,
Well-dressed, well-fed, well-mannered, well-connected."

And this is High Street, Kensington, or "that part of Heaven which is called Hell."

EDWARD CARPENTER.

Where every hand fleeceth the sheep goes naked.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

The Eight Hours Demonstration.

It is, I think, a great pity that the English workers cannot hold their united demonstration on the 1st of May, at the same time as their Continental brethren. However large the demonstration on Sunday May 4th may be, it will lose its significance as a declaration of fraternity between the English and Continental workers. Of course, we know it is a hard thing for the workman to lose a day's work in the busy season of the year, but then the Continental workers will do it, and they cannot afford it so well as the English. Even if the demonstration had not been such a big affair upon the 1st of May, the middle classes would have known that the men composing it were determined to have the Eight Hour Day, and were not afraid of self-sacrifice in order to obtain it; but there will be no such certainty about the demonstration on May 4th. It will merely rank with the usual political demonstrations, which make plenty of noise for a few hours and then disappear and are forgotten, and no one is much affected one way or another. It is a remarkable fact that the *Star*, which is now manipulated by Mr. John Morley and the official Liberal gang has been very earnest in recommending May 4th as the date for the demonstration. As these people are certainly not friendly to the Eight Hours Day, advice from such a source is certainly suspicious, as it is clearly to the interest of John Morley and Co. that the demonstration should not be too successful.

But though most of the trade societies have decided for May 4th, yet some of the English workers will hold demonstrations on May 1st. The National Federation of Trades and Industries announce a demonstration for the afternoon, and the Socialist League will hold a mass meeting on Clerkenwell Green in the evening, of May Day. Thus the international meaning of the demonstration will not be altogether lost.

Threatened Great Strike of Railwaymen.

A great strike of North-Eastern Railwaymen is expected. The men have demanded the establishment of the ten hours system. The directors have made some slight wages concessions, but have refused the demand for the reduction of hours. The men have twice offered to submit the question to arbitration, but this the company has also declined. Ballot-papers have now been sent round to the men by the secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, and they are to give their decision as to whether they are prepared to send in their notices. The ballot-papers are to be returned to the central office of the union not later than April 26th. The ten hours system is very much wanted, as some of the men on this line have been working eighty hours a-week, and have to work the Sunday over and above for nothing, because they come on duty after six o'clock at night. There is some chance that the strike may come off, as the men are very enthusiastic and well organised, and as all grades on the line have grievances, they are likely to strike with the unionists. The railwaymen have as much power in their hands as the miners, if they choose to use it. By a general strike on all lines they could bring work everywhere to a standstill in a few days, and that they are still the slaves of directors is entirely owing to their apathy and cowardice in the past. Let us hope that they will now display nobler qualities.

The Strike in the Boot Trade.

This strike is now concluded, as far as the orthodox trade-unionists are concerned. The terms agreed to are as follows: 1. The manufacturers will open workshops at the earliest possible date. 2. Matters relating to classification and all other questions, except a direct reduction of wages, may be referred to arbitration. 3. A uniform statement of wages shall be forthwith prepared for all shops except the present first and second class houses. At the same time an arbitration committee was formed of seven masters and seven men to discuss the time to be taken by the masters for the provision of workshops. The Jewish workmen are not satisfied with this arrangement. They say that the sweaters have only agreed to these terms to tide the busy season over, and that after Whitsuntide they will have the men at their mercy and will then break their word. They have some reason for this suspicion, as the sweated tailors were treated in a very similar fashion, as after they had got the men to work, the sweaters broke every clause of the agreement. The men therefore refuse to return to work unless workshops are provided at once.

The West-end bootmakers have got a shilling advance a-pair on ground work from their masters. We congratulate them on their easy victory.

Victory of Swansea Tram Men.

The tram company surrendered on Saturday. Both the dismissed men have been taken back, and the company have consented to a reduction of hours.

Livesey's Testimonial.

Some middle-class snobs have presented Livesey with an illuminated address and £1,720 for his services to "society" in starving 2,000 gas-stokers with their wives and children. Livesey, who is anxious to pose as a philanthropist (on the cheap), is going to devote the money to providing a recreation ground for the poor of South London. How kind! The starving gas-stokers can go and console themselves for penury and privation by looking at the flowers. A distinguished character in old world history, commonly known as Judas, once also invested some money he had obtained by similar means in landed property. Livesey is anxious to copy him. Will he follow the example still further by hanging himself in the midst thereof? N.

Jewish Tailors' Strike in Manchester.

For a week, about 1,250 Jewish machinist tailors and pressers have been on strike in Manchester. In the past they have worked from 75 to 95 hours a-week under insanitary conditions for low wages, and they now demand that their working day should be ten and a half hours. As most of them are piece-workers, they also asked for an extra 3d. per garment for machinists and 2d. for the pressers, in order to compensate for the loss of time involved by reducing hours. The men's secretary, Mr. J. Marshall, is a member of the Socialist League, and there are some Socialists among the members—facts which the sweaters' defenders quoted to indicate the dangerous nature of the movement. The men's demands were ultimately modified to 2d. and 1½d. extra, with 1s. for stitched garments and 1s. 6d. for bound in the bespoke department; and up to Sunday night 50 masters out of 130 had given way. Many of the speeches at the strike demonstrations have been distinctly Socialistic in their character. P.

THEN AND NOW.

WITH horse of wood and hempen rein,
Our free forefathers coursed the main;
With hardened strength they sailed and fought,
They fronted death as brave men ought,
And made the best man master.

Their day knew no to-morrow's dread,
They drank good drink, nor wanted bread;
And though their war was never done,
They breathed the air and saw the sun,
And were the wide world's freemen.

The iron ships fly east and west,
At greedy Commerce's behest;
With giant haste they quell the waves,—
And down the stoke-holes sweat the slaves
Of money-lords in England.

Fools, fools are ye whose starveling toil
Yields to the money-lords their spoil;
With torment-smoke ye hide heaven's light,
And ease and plenty take their flight
From you, ye men of England!

JOHN C. KENWORTHY.

ROBERT OWEN'S LAST SON DEAD.

RICHARD OWEN, of New Harmony, Pozey County, one of the pioneers of Southern Indiana, died on the 24th ult., through drinking a glass of embalming fluid in mistake for mineral water. He was the third son of Robert Owen, the others being Robert Dale Owen, distinguished in the public service, as a publicist, and in his later years as a Spiritualist, and David Dale Owen, a very notable geologist, both of whom are dead. Richard was born at New Lanark, January 26, 1810, was educated in the grammar schools, and, like his brothers, at Emanuel von Fellenberg's school in Switzerland. He went to the States in 1828, intending to teach at New Harmony, Ind., the location of his father's unsuccessful community. But he went into business in Cincinnati, and when he returned to New Harmony, which was thenceforth his home, it was to manage a steam flour-mill and a stock farm. In 1847 he went to Mexico as captain in the 16th infantry, and served under General Taylor. After the war, he joined his brother David in preparing for the geological survey of Minnesota, and took part in it. In 1849 he became professor of natural sciences in the Western Military Institute of Kentucky, afterwards the University of Nashville, and there remained until his brother's appointment as State geologist of Indiana, when he was made assistant geologist and worked on the survey of the State. When the war broke out and soldiery was in request, he was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the 15th Indiana regiment, and in the fall of 1861 he became colonel of the 60th regiment. He served under General Sherman in Mississippi, and under General Banks in the Red River expedition. On his return from service in 1864, he took the chair of natural sciences in the University of Indiana, which he resigned in 1879. His geological work has been of great value, covering not only the regions aforementioned, but also New Mexico, Arizona, and North Carolina. He has for the past ten years devoted especial attention to meteorology, with relation to terrestrial magnetism and the disturbances of the earth's crust, and has published many papers in scientific periodicals, as well as reports. CH.

Bellamy's "Looking Backward" has had an unprecedented sale in Queensland, according to the *Boomerang*. Eleven hundred copies have been disposed of in Brisbane.

The threatened strike at the Day Dawn Block, Charters Towers, Australia, has been averted owing to the firm attitude taken up by the union, the question in dispute being whether lads over 18 should be allowed to receive less than the union wage. The manager has given way, but at the same time he threatens to discharge all lads, no matter what their age is. This seems a rather petty proceeding.

The miners clamour for food is one to which no Christian heart should be steeled. Charity's purse strings cannot be too promptly loosened in answer to that terrible cry for aid.—*New York Herald*.—There is something the miners need more than charity, comments the *Boston Globe*. It is justice. Under any just laws relating to mining property the poor miners would not suffer for work while the rest of the country suffers for coal.

NINE HOURS IN NEW YORK.—The master marble workers of New York City and State have acceded to the demand of the men that henceforth the working day in the trade shall consist of nine hours, and that the reduction of the hours shall not be followed by a relative decrease in wages. Two thousand two hundred men were affected by the dispute, which at one time threatened to result in very serious trouble.

BRICKLAYER AND GENERAL.—Last week, at Maidenhead, a bricklayer went to General Phillips' residence and offered a plant for sale. Being sharply ordered off the premises, the man, so 'twas said, assumed "a fighting attitude." The general had been an amateur wrestler, and saw here a chance for a little cheap exercise of his skill: he seized the plant-vendor and threw him to the ground. Next morning there was an assault case tried: but it was the bricklayer who was sent to gaol for 14 days, and *not* the general!

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.

Annual Conference.—The Annual Conference of the Socialist League will take place on Whit Sunday, May 25th. All propositions from Branches should be sent in at once to allow of agenda being made up. Place of meeting and other particulars in future issue.

London Members' Meeting.—The next monthly meeting of members will be held at 6, Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, on Tuesday, May 6th, at 8.30 p.m. All members interested in the propaganda are asked to attend.

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

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

NEW PREMISES FUND.

Collected at Council meeting, April 21st, 3s. 0d.

"COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—S. C. S. S., 1s.; H. R., 1s.; D. Nicoll, 6d.; North London Branch (2 weeks), 6s.; R. Turner, 2s. 6d.; A Few Artist Friends of the Lambeth Training School, 2s. 9d.; Webb, 1s.; B. W., 1s. 6d.; and Kitz, 6d.

MAY DAY DEMONSTRATION.

London and Provincial Branches are requested to have the following resolution passed at the meetings held by them on May Day:

"That this meeting hails with joy the awakening of Labour which is taking place throughout the civilised world; declares the necessity for the union of workers in all countries to obtain complete freedom from the monopoly of capitalists; asserts that the only possible remedy for the poverty and misery of the workers is the free access to the resources of nature, and the management by the workers of the organisation of Labour; and calls on all workers to accept the task of bringing about this freedom as a necessary duty paramount over all others."

London comrades are asked to turn up at the League offices by 12.30 on May Day. Banner bearers and other help wanted.

Received towards expenses—W. M., 2s.; Webb, 2s.; R. Turner, 6d.; and S. Bullock, 6d.

REPORTS.

'COMMONWEAL.'—Our hall was crowded to overflowing on Sunday evening last to hear a lecture by G. B. Shaw on "The Consequences of Democracy," but owing to some mistake the lecturer was late. Comrade Mowbray, therefore, opened a discussion on the "Work of the S.L." The opener was criticised by Mahon, Donald, Leno, Shaw, and others. G. B. Shaw has promised to lecture for branch on May 11th; collection 4s. 4d., and good sale of 'Weals.—M.

EAST LONDON.—Comrade Mowbray addressed a good audience in Victoria Park on "Christianity and Socialism;" 14 'Weals and some Freedoms sold.—K.

KILBURN.—A good meeting held at the Old Plough last Sunday morning; speakers were J. Presburg and Mainwaring. There is a prospect of a good branch being formed here if the district is properly worked; fair sale of *Commonweal*.—J. P.

NORTH KENSINGTON.—Good meeting at Latimer Road; speakers were J. F. Lyne, Crouch, A. J. Smith, and H. B.; several 'Weals sold. An enthusiastic meeting was held at Hyde Park; speakers were J. F. Lyne, Crouch, Cantwell, and Mrs. Lahr. A man who interrupted had his hat smashed by the crowd, and had to be escorted from the meeting by the police. At our rooms in the evening a discussion took place on the object of the May International Demonstration; Crouch, Saint, Dean, and others took part; 2s. 1½d. collected, and several 'Weals and song-books sold.

NORTH LONDON.—A splendid meeting at Regent's Park on Sunday morning, addressed by Cantwell, Mowbray, Nicoll, and Mrs. Lahr. The park authorities helped to swell the audience with the full strength of keepers and a number of plain-clothes policemen, two or three sergeants and a chief inspector, while reserves of police were judiciously placed in various places (the Zoo notably) in order to prevent us from speaking on the spot where we have spoken for the last five years; 40 *Commonweal* and some pamphlets sold; 6s. 9d. collected.—T. C.

STREATHAM.—Our branch assisted at the meeting at Mitcham on Sunday morning. At the Fountain on Sunday night a grand meeting was held; much interest was evinced by Sparling being announced to speak; Smith acted as chairman; six joined the branch. Bundle of leaflets distributed and one quire of *Commonweal* sold by our house-to-house calling during the day; 29 *Commonweal* sold at the meeting and 1s. 2½d. collected.—S.

ABERDEEN.—At meeting on 20th Mr. George Bisset, ex-president of Trades Council, lectured on "Labour Politics." A long and well-sustained discussion was carried on at the close of the lecture by quite a host of speakers, mostly non-members of the League.—L.

GLASGOW.—On Sunday, T. and J. Burgoyne spoke on Jail Square. In the evening, at Paisley Road, Joe Burgoyne addressed a large and attentive audience, and spoke mainly upon "The Workers and Foreign Competition."—J. B.

LEDS.—On Sunday morning last a good meeting was held at Vicars Croft, when Samuels exhibited to the audience the summons he had received to answer the charge of violating the bye-laws of the Market by selling papers on Sunday. We adopted the device of one comrade giving the *Commonweal* away and another following behind and collecting towards the expenses. We found that this plan answered very well, so we must act so in future. At the meeting in the afternoon the chairman, comrade Sweeney, asked for a collection for the Manchester Jewish tailors on strike, which resulted in 11s.—H. S.

MANCHESTER.—On Saturday night we opened for the season our station on the market ground, Middleton; a good meeting was addressed by Bailie, Stockton, and Barton. At Philips Park on Sunday morning W. K. Hall (of Salford), Stockton, and Barton spoke to a large and sympathetic audience; 2s. collected. In the afternoon, at Stevenson Square, our meeting was held conjointly with the Jewish tailors, who are now on strike against the sweaters. 4,000 to 5,000 persons were present. Lewis Lyons (London), and Marshall, Reeves (Liverpool), Ritson (S.L.) were the speakers. *Commonweal* sold out—3 quires altogether.—B.

NORWICH.—A well-attended meeting of members was held at comrade Freeman's on Sunday evening. Members' meetings will be held each week at various comrades' houses; notice will appear in *Commonweal* every week—comrades, please note.

YARMOUTH.—On Tuesday we held our first business meeting in the new club room; fair attendance of members; there is every prospect of the club being a success. On Sunday, in the evening, comrade Ruffold spoke to an attentive audience on Colman's Granary Quay. 11 *Commonweal* sold.—J. H.

EDINBURGH.—SCOTTISH SOCIALIST FEDERATION.—Comrade Bruce Glasier (Glasgow) spoke in the Meadows on Sunday afternoon to a large and attentive audience. A collection was taken in aid of the *Commonweal*. In the hall, in the evening, Glasier lectured on "Socialism: How it can be Achieved." The subject was well treated, and made a good impression.

LIVERPOOL SOCIALIST SOCIETY.—We held two excellent meetings on Sunday. Comrades Bailie (Manchester), W. H. Chapman, and Balfour spoke. Some little opposition created much interest.

STAR RADICAL CLUB, 8 M; yall Road, Herne Hill.—Sunday April 27, at 8, Jos. Loman, "Michael Davitt."

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Battersea.—All communications to E. Buteux, 45, Inwith Street, Battersea Park Road.

Commonweal Branch.—24 Great Queen Street, Holborn, W.C. Business meeting of members every Thursday evening at 8; Discussion Class at 9. Hall open every evening from 7 till 10. Sunday April 27, at 8 p.m., J. P. Oakshott, "The Moral Justification of Socialism." The Athenaeum Hall, Tottenham Court Road, has been taken for a Concert and Ball, May 12th, in aid of the *Commonweal*.

East London.—Members meet at 26 Cawley Road after the out-door meeting. *Hammersmith.*—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday April 27, at 8 p.m., a Lecture. French Class conducted by Mde. Desroches on Friday evenings at 7.30.

Mitcham.—"Lord Napier," Fair Green. Meets every Sunday at 12.30, to enroll members, etc.

North Kensington.—Clarendon Coffee Palace, Clarendon Road. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m. On Sunday April 27, at 8 p.m., a Discussion on the "Iron Law of Wages."

North London.—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road. Meets every Wednesday evening at 8 o'clock.

Streatham.—Address secretary, R. Smith, 1 Natal Road, Streatham. *Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.*—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen.—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Hall, 9 Harriet Street, on Sunday evenings at 6.30. Singing practice, etc., in Odd-fellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane, Mondays at 8 p.m.

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

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

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

Leeds.—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road, 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.

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

Norwich.—Members' meeting will be held at 23 Rose Yard, St. Augustines.

Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. First Friday in every month, at 8.30 p.m.

Walsall.—Socialist Club, 18 Goodall Street, Walsall. Meetings every night.

Yarmouth.—Socialist League Club, 56 Row, Market Place. Open every evening. Business Meeting Tuesdays at 8 p.m. Elocution Class Friday at 8.30 p.m. Discussion Class Sunday 3 p.m. On Sunday May 4th, a large Demonstration will be held on Priory Plain, at 11 a.m., in favour of international solidarity amongst the workers. Addresses by C. W. Mowbray and others.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SATURDAY 26.

7 Hyde Park Nicoll and Cantwell.

SUNDAY 27.

11 Latimer Road StationNorth Kensington Branch
11.30..... Hammersmith BridgeHammersmith Branch
11.30..... Kilburn—"Old Plough," Kilburn LaneMainwaring
11.30..... Mitcham—Fair GreenKitz and Smith
11.30..... Regent's ParkMowbray, Mrs. Lahr, and Nicoll
3.30..... Hyde Park—Marble ArchNorth Kensington Branch
3.30..... Victoria ParkMowbray and Nicoll
7 Hammersmith BridgeHammersmith Branch
7 Weltje Road, Ravenscourt ParkHammersmith Branch
8 Streatham FountainThe Branch

TUESDAY 29.

8 Walham Green—back of ChurchHammersmith Branch

THURSDAY 1.

8.15..... Hoxton ChurchKitz and Davis

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.

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.

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; Bradwell, 11.30; Colman's Granary Quay, at 7.

NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.—All communications to be addressed to the Secretary, A. Clifton, 11 Hawksworth Street, Clarence Street.

CLUB AUTONOME, 6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, W.—Sunday April 27, at 8.30, George Bonham, "Free Banking v. Communism."

CHLSEA S.D.F., Co-operative Lecture Hall, 312 Kings Road, Chelsea.—Sunday April 27, at 8 p.m., J. Macdonald, "Socialism from a Worker's Standpoint."

EDINBURGH—SCOTTISH SOCIALIST FEDERATION.—On Sunday 27, Miss Cameron will read a paper on "The Spirit of Socialism." Tuesday night's meeting as usual at 35 George IV. Bridge, 8 p.m.

FABIAN SOCIETY.—A course of seven lectures on SOCIALISM IN CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE will be given in the French Chamber, St. James's Restaurant, W. (entrance from Piccadilly), on Friday evenings, at 8 o'clock. May 2 (second lecture), Ernest Radford, "William Morris."

DEMONSTRATION OF LANCASHIRE AND DISTRICT SOCIALISTS.—On Sunday May 4th, the Annual Gathering of Socialists will take place in Manchester, and a mass meeting will be held in Stevenson Square at 3 p.m. A large array of well-known Socialist speakers will address the meeting.

YARMOUTH.—Suitable premises have now been secured for the Socialist League Club at 56 Row, Market Place. Amongst its attractions will be a library, reading, boxing, and refreshment rooms. Friends who can assist, either with furniture, fittings, books, or funds, are earnestly invited to do so. The club is open every evening for members. *Commonweal* and Socialist League literature on sale.

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Leaflets.

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MISCELLANEOUS.

Spaziergänge eines Atheisten. Bei Ferdin- and Heigl ...	0 8
The Reciter for Clubs and Social Gatherings ...	0 1

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STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES.

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

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

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

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

Thus, while we abide by the old motto

Liberty, Fraternity, Equality,

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

We add to the first motto then this other one—

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

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

COUNCIL OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

NOTICE.

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

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.