

# THE COMMONWEALTH

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### LABOUR DAY.

THERE is only one event this week to be noted; beside its overpowering importance all others shrink into insignificance. And this event, of course, is the world-wide demonstration of the international solidarity of Labour which took place on May Day. The capitalist press, with characteristic futility, has seized well-nigh unanimously upon the Eight Hours part of the celebration as though that were its be-all and end-all. It must be plain, however, to the most casual and careless of honest observers that the whole essence of the demonstration was the international solidarity of Labour; the Eight Hours' Day was an accidental, tacked on because it was the object of desire for the passing moment with those who, although desiring Socialism, dream of palliating the present system as they go along. There are always two divisions in the Labour movement—those who are fully convinced and avowed Socialists, and regard the present system as beyond anything but entire destruction; and those who, sometimes calling themselves Socialists, are disposed to patch and plaster here and there, rather than go in for sweeping and radical change. The former section, numerically the smaller, but intrinsically by far the more important, have throughout been at the head and front of the international agitation for a Labour Day; the other, by far the larger, and by farther still the least important, has been trying to divert attention and enthusiasm from the definite assertion of Labour as Labour to the claim for a legally fixed working-day.

Here, in London, the Revolutionary Socialists and the new Trades' Unions, in spite of all opposition, kept the red flag aloft and held the simultaneous meetings for which our foreign brethren looked. Those who, by dividing the London Demonstration and throwing all their weight in favour of the Sunday one, provided a means of escape and ready excuse for the cowards and sneaks of the Labour movement, did not see (or did they see too well?) that the whole value of the event lay in its proof of the capacity of the proletariat of the world for organised and simultaneous effort. They did not see (or, again, did they see too well?) that ten thousand men in the Park on Thursday, in spite of the police and damned by the press, were of immensely more weight than a hundred or two hundred thousand on Sunday, not only allowed but aided by the police, blessed by the reptile press, and looked upon with favour by all pastors, masters, and other persons in authority. Which will be remembered and looked back upon in years to come as meaning something more than a mere outing? The one was a demonstration of an intention to do something; the other of a desire to have something—when their masters gave it them. It showed that a large number of workmen would like to work shorter hours; it showed nothing else, except that it added the information they were only prepared to submissively ask for it, and would not even sacrifice a day's wages in order to get it. The international side of the question was practically ignored, as might have been expected from men who could with wanton treachery break away from the world movement to demonstrate the blindness, stupidity, and cowardice of that large part of the London workmen who follow their "legal" and "moderate" leadership. There is one consolation, if it is a small one; the May Day Demonstration in England belongs to us; in years to come, the "moderates" will be glad to come crawling behind us through the gap that we have made, but they will never be able to claim any share in its making. They will remember that while we were banned they were blessed by the police, and praised by the enemies of Labour on the press. A thought that should burn a fiery brand of never-ending self-reproach into their souls.

However, May Day was celebrated in London; and it shall be again. Though but a few of us be found who will do it, it shall be done. If we have to work double tides from now to then, it shall be done. Our comrades throughout the world may rely upon this, that though the majority of English workmen still retain a good deal of their arrogant insularity, and follow those who will stoop to play upon it, there is a large and rapidly growing minority who have awakened to the true position of Labour and the need for international action, and who are resolved to stand or fall with their brethren abroad. As we have begun we shall go on; as each recurring May Day comes and goes our strength will be seen to leap steadily up and up, until we are strong enough to push aside the sneaks and faint-hearts who embarrass us, break down the barriers that confront us, and enter into the promised land. S.

### NEWS FROM NOWHERE:

OR,

#### AN EPOCH OF REST.

BEING SOME CHAPTERS FROM A UTOPIAN ROMANCE.

CHAP. XV. (continued).—ON THE LACK OF INCENTIVE TO LABOUR IN A COMMUNIST SOCIETY.

"You are very bitter about that unlucky nineteenth century," said I. "Naturally," said he, "since I know so much about it."

He was silent a little, and then said: "There are traditions—nay, real histories—in our family about it: my grandfather was one of its victims. If you know something about it you will understand what he suffered when I tell you that he was in those days a genuine artist, a man of genius, and a revolutionist."

"I think I do understand," said I: "but now, as it seems, you have reversed all this?"

"Pretty much so," said he. "The wares which we make are made because they are needed: men make for their neighbours' use as if they were making for themselves, not for a vague market of which they know nothing, and over which they can have no control: as there is no buying and selling, it would be mere insanity to make goods on the chance of their being wanted; for there is no longer anyone who can be compelled to buy them. So that whatever is made is good, and thoroughly fit for its purpose. Nothing can be made except for genuine use; therefore no inferior goods are made. Moreover, as aforesaid, we have now found out what we want, so we make no more than we want; and as we are not driven to make a vast quantity of useless things, we have time and resources enough to consider our pleasure in making them. All work which would be irksome to do by hand is done by immensely improved machinery; and in all work which it is a pleasure to do by hand machinery is done without. There is no difficulty in finding work which suits the special turn of mind of everybody; so that no man is sacrificed to the wants of another. From time to time, when we have found out that some piece of work was too disagreeable or troublesome, we have given it up and done altogether without the thing produced by it. Now, surely you can see that under these circumstances all the work we do is an exercise of the mind and body more or less pleasant to be done: so that instead of avoiding work everybody seeks it: and, since people have got defer in doing the work generation after generation, it has become so easy to do, that it seems as if there were less done, though probably more is produced. I suppose this explains a certain fear of a possible scarcity in work, which perhaps you have already noticed, and which is a feeling on the increase, and has been for a score of years."

"But do you think," said I, "that there is any fear of a work-famine amongst you?"

"No, I do not," said he, "and I will tell why: it is each man's business to make his own work pleasanter and pleasanter, which of course tends towards raising the standard of excellence, as no man enjoys turning out work which is not a credit to him, and also to greater deliberation in turning it out; and there is such a vast number

of things which can be treated as works of art, that this alone gives employment to a host of deft people. Again, if art be inexhaustible, so is science also; and though it is no longer the only innocent occupation which is thought worth an intelligent man spending his time upon, as it once was, yet there are, and I suppose will be, many people who are excited by its conquest of difficulties, and care for it more than for anything else. Again, as more and more of pleasure is imported into work, I think we shall take up kinds of work which produce desirable wages, but which we gave up because we could not carry them on pleasantly. Moreover, I think that it is only in parts of Europe which are more advanced than the rest of the world that you will hear this talk of the fear of a work-famine. Those lands which were once the colonies of Great Britain, for instance, and especially America—that part of it, above all, which was once the United States—are now and will be for a long while a great resource to us. For these lands, and, I say, especially the northern parts of America, suffered so terribly from the full force of the last days of civilisation, and became such horrible places to live in, that they are now very backward in all that makes life pleasant. Indeed, one may say that for nearly a hundred years the people of the northern parts of America have been engaged in gradually making a dwelling-place out of a stinking dust-heap; and there is still a great deal to do, especially as the country is so big.”

“Well,” said I, “I am exceedingly glad to think that you have such a prospect of happiness before you. But I should like to ask a few more questions, and then I have done for to-day.”

#### CHAP. XVI.—DINNER IN THE HALL OF THE BLOOMSBURY MARKET.

As I spoke, I heard footsteps near the door; the latch yielded, and in came our two lovers, looking so handsome that one had no feeling of shame in looking on at their little-concealed love-making: for indeed it seemed as if all the world must be in love with them. As for old Hammond, he looked on them like an artist who has just painted a picture nearly as well as he thought he could when he began it, and was perfectly happy. He said:

“Sit down, sit down, young folk, and don't make a noise. Our guest here has still some questions to ask me.”

“Well, I should suppose so,” said Dick; “you have only been three hours and a half together; and it isn't to be hoped that the history of two centuries could be told in three hours and a half: let alone that, for all I know, you may have been wandering into the realms of geography and craftsmanship.”

“And as to noise, my dear kinsman,” said Clara, “you will very soon be disturbed by the noise of the dinner-bell, which I should think will be very pleasant music to our guest, who breakfasted early, it seems, and probably had a tiring day yesterday.”

I said: “Well, since you have spoken the word, I begin to feel that it is so; but I have been feeding myself with wonder this long time past: really, it's quite true,” quoth I, as I saw her smile, O so prettily!

But just then from some tower high up in the air came the sound of silvery chimes playing a sweet clear tune, that sounded to my unaccustomed ears like the song of the first blackbird in the spring, and called a rush of memories to my mind, some of bad times, some of good, but all sweetened now into mere pleasure.

“No more questions now before dinner,” said Clara; and she took my hand as an affectionate child would, and led me out of the room and down-stairs into the forecourt of the Museum, leaving the two Hammonds to follow as they pleased.

We went into the market place I had been in before, a thinnish stream of elegantly<sup>1</sup> dressed people going in along with us. We turned into the cloister and came to a richly moulded and carved doorway, where a very pretty dark-haired young girl gave us each a beautiful bunch of summer flowers, and we entered a hall much bigger than that of the Hammersmith Guest House, more elaborate in its architecture and perhaps more beautiful. I found it difficult to keep my eyes off the wall-pictures (for I thought it bad manners to stare at Clara all the time, though she was quite worth it). I saw at a glance that their subjects were taken from queer old-world myths and imaginations which in yesterday's world only about half a dozen people in the country knew anything about; and when the two Hammonds sat down opposite to us, I said to the old man, pointing to the frieze:

“How strange to see such subjects here!”

“Why?” said he. “I don't see why you should be surprised; everybody knows the tales; and they are graceful and pleasant subjects, not too tragic for a place where people mostly eat and drink and amuse themselves, and yet full of incident.”

I smiled, and said: “Well, I scarcely expected to find record of the Seven Swans and the King of the Golden Mountain and Faithful Henry, and such curious pleasant imaginations as Jacob Grimm got together from the childhood of the world, barely lingering even in his time: I should have thought you would have forgotten such childishness by this time.”

The old man smiled, and said nothing; but Dick turned rather red, and broke out:

“What do you mean, guest? I think them very beautiful, I mean not only the pictures, but the stories; and when we were children we used to imagine them going on in every wood-end, by the bright of every stream: every house in the fields was the Fairyland King's House to us. Don't you remember, Clara?”

“Yes,” she said; and it seemed to me as if a slight cloud came over her fair face. I was going to speak to her on the subject, when the pretty waitresses came to us smiling, and chattering sweetly like reed warblers by the river side, and fell to giving us our dinner. As to this, as at our breakfast, everything was cooked and served with a daintiness which showed that those who had prepared it were interested in it; but there was no excess either of quantity or gourmandise; everything was simple, though so excellent of its kind; and it was made clear to us that this was no feast, only an ordinary meal. The glass, crockery, and plate were very beautiful to my eyes, used to the study of mediæval art; but a nineteenth-century club-haunter would, I daresay, have found them rough and lacking in finish; the crockery being lead-glazed pot-ware, though beautifully ornamented; the only porcelain being here and there a piece of old oriental ware. The glass, again, though elegant and quaint, and very varied in form, was somewhat bubbled and hornier in texture than the commercial articles of the nineteenth century. The furniture and general fittings of the hall were much of a piece with the table gear, beautiful in form and highly ornamented, but without the commercial “finish” of the joiners and cabinet-makers of our time. Withal, there was a total absence of what the nineteenth century calls “comfort”—that is, stuffy inconvenience; so that, even apart from the delightful excitement of the day, I had never eaten my dinner so pleasantly before.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

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

### “WHAT NEXT?”

Who would have thought that in the short space of time that has elapsed since Sir W. Harcourt made the jesting remark, “We are all Socialists now,” statesmen and politicians of all shades would roll the word Socialism over in their mouths and use it to conjure and delude with? It has ever been so, that a new inspiration or movement has first been condemned and ridiculed, and then prostituted and stolen by its enemies to use against itself. And the avowed enemies of Socialism (the Liberty and Property Defence League and others), what have they done or not done? Has all their work and money been in vain, or will they not make one more desperate and determined effort to counteract the influence of Socialism and grapple with the inevitable? What has brought this “theory” within the range of practical politics? What is the meaning of this sudden change in our masters, this conversion to kindness? Fear? Of what? An uneducated mob held well in check, or organisation of the workers? Or may it not be some diabolical conspiracy between Capital and “Labour,” or Landlords *versus* Capitalists, and the People to be again used as tools for their own enslavement, and for safer but not less profits for the classes? “Socialistic” legislation, forsooth! “We are all Socialists now,” and can well afford to be, so long as “we” live on rent, interest, and profit, and you produce them.

An “eight hour day” is first in the field.—To think that our noble comrades in Chicago went to their deaths for this thing!—What is the cause of this move? Our organisations say some. Conceded, for the sake of argument. But, mark you, “limited to government employes,” which means that more people shall be employed for government purposes on worse than useless work, the work of means of destruction and jobbery. Yes, it is possible that combinations of men will be able, by signs of their earnestness and determination, to wring from their masters this same concession; but when these same masters can no longer hold their positions or make *enough* profit, they may perhaps introduce the “iron man” (machinery) greatly improved upon, or shift their business into sunnier climes (where the workers are not so “damned unreasonable”), and so cripple that particular industry. O well, they may by that time have stopped foreign pauper immigration, and imposed retaliative duties on foreign imports. “What next?” What next, ye blind leaders of the blind? What next, ye constructive prophetic philosophers? Nearly everybody employed a “reasonable number of hours.” Is this the social transformation? Nearly everybody (among the poor) working “for the benefit of an idle, vicious class” just the same, only different (by an hour or two). Yes, the hour or two, or more, is certainly to be considered, and we shall use this time for educational purposes, hoping the freed workers will do the same. But what a consummation! What next? Why, we'll house the poor. Build cheap lodging-houses, and compete with the doss-house, or poor man's hotel-keepers; and build “healthy” workmen's dwellings; at what price and at whose cost? And give them “free” education, elementary, secondary, university, and technical. Yes, and free meals and “free” gifts of boots and clothing and lodgings and seaside trips. And what will be provided for the big children between 20 and 50? Why not free amusements and free competitions for prizes; would not that tend to keep the people contented and happy? “Socialistic” legislation, indeed, what a horrible farce! All that they could do (with the help of men that profess to know better) in Parliament would leave the workers all the time slaves, “better-off slaves,” but still wage-slaves. Look to it, ye simple, trusting, leader-worshipping workers. Organise, organise, you are told. Good. Organise, but also Educate, or what will avail you your unions if ye know not why and when to use them. Can you understand that a commercial crisis will affect you in your unions just the same as before? A new invention, a new fashion, and your unions

<sup>1</sup> “Elegant,” I mean, as a Persian pattern is elegant; not like a rich “elegant” lady out for a morning call. I should rather call that *genteel*.

fall to pieces. But organise, fellow workers, for the right to live without your masters by your own labour. Organise to take possession of and use the land, with the mines, machinery, railways, docks, shipping, factories, and all that you have made in the past; the money they may have and all their scrip.

It was necessary, we are told, that men should be formed into unions all over the country. Just so, my friends; but if you are not *very* careful others will reap where you have sown. It was necessary to get their ears, you say. Now let us see what you speak to these multitudes and ears; you tell them—what? We'll tell them to use their votes. Ah! is that the game? But how many of them have votes? O, but we'll get them adult suffrage. And will you, by Act of Parliament *force* them to vote? and to vote for your selections and choices? O, but we'll get payment of members, and short parliaments, and payment of election expenses out of the rates. What next? Then they must send in the "right" man. Who's he? Conservative, Liberal, Radical, or Labour candidate? Can you make or influence one to vote for the other? What kind of man can an ignorant (socially and economically ignorant) people possibly vote for? Only some such man as "their own understanding" dictates, or one who is foisted on them as "the right man."

Is not this the same as the Americans have been doing the last hundred years, and who have they selected, and why, and with what results? Fancy electing to the House of Humbugs a "Member for Metropolitan Pauperism"! How's that for high? It's nearly as good as "a free breakfast-table" with nothing on it. But you may be considering the advisability of working up and waking up the municipalities. Good—very good. And then, having their ear, we hope to be able to educate them.

And we, we International Revolutionary Socialists—what next? With us it must be the same, the same as before, with riper experience, bigger fields, and greater energy, enthusiasm and determination. We'll Educate, Educate, and Educate. The very fact and feeling of which will cause people to Agitate against their conditions and the system that makes them. And the natural sequence of Agitation is Organisation. Thus we shall have organised an educated, agitated force, for defence or offence, as circumstances determine, and prepared both mentally and physically. And by various manifestations of our earnestness and signs of our determination, the social reformers of all kinds—politicians, priests, and princes—will introduce all kinds of palliative measures, which we will take and use for the propagation of Revolutionary Socialism. Come and help in the good work!

Now a word to the wise. What next, ye scientific evolutionists or evolutionary social scientists? We are in the midst of an evolution, of a transition period, you say. In all humility, I beg to submit that we are at the *end* of an evolution. The time is *now* ripe for the change; only one thing is needful in order that the human race be eligible for the new society, the society of truth, justice, and happiness. And the one thing needful is—Education. Come, now, ye teachers and guides, educate us as to the meaning of this great change that is waiting to come. Coming slowly, you may say. Yes, it may be so; but who are to blame? All the quicker will it come when *all* Socialists work for that end which they must of necessity believe in, and when we use all our faculties, energies, and all our time in the good work of "making Socialists." Come now, ye practical ones, and ye honest ones, reply and answer now—"What next?"

H. SAMUELS.

### EMIGRATE! EMIGRATE!

THERE are people who say that although there are a great many abuses in the crowded Old World, in New Zealand "Jack is as good as his master," well able to take care of himself, and would not submit to any tyranny from Capital. If anybody is under that delusion, let him read the evidence given before the Dunedin Sweating Commission:

Thomas Fernley, late tram conductor, examined Feb. 13, gave evidence that the hours were from seven to four one week, and from five to eleven next week, with no time for meals. The wages were 27s. 6d. per week, with 3d. in the £ on the money collected. Overtime was paid 1d. per hour extra, and was sometimes from 4 to 6 hours per day. On the 29th January he started work at twenty-five minutes to eight a.m., and was not relieved till five minutes past nine p.m., and had had no food during that time. On going to the office he was told that he had to go on again at ten, in which case he would not have got home till half-past twelve, and would have had to resume at twenty-five minutes past seven next day. He refused, and was fined 2s. 6d., and charged 2s. alleged to be short, and 1s. for not having put the advertisement board on the car.

A seamstress on the following day gave evidence of the benefit of the union. A year ago she only earned 10s. 6d. per week, working from nine a.m. to eleven p.m. Now she could make 12s. or 13s. per week in factory hours.

A journeyman butcher gave his hours of work as from eight to at least half-past eight, and till eleven on Saturday. All last winter he had not seen his own house by daylight. His children knew him; but he was often strongly reminded of the case where the father had struck his own boy in the street, and the latter ran to his mother to tell her that he had been struck by a man who stopped in their house on Sundays.

The principles of the Knights of Labour boiled down to the smallest compass, mean "Do unto your neighbour as you would he should do unto you." This old sentiment has been changed by the present age so that it reads, "Do your neighbour before he gets a chance to do you."—*T. V. Powderly.*

POSTAL PROPAGANDA.—Here is a letter from one of the friends who have taken our hint as to propaganda by post: I send you 3s. to send some *Commonweals* to the people over-named. I think many are needed in this neighbourhood; they are the most narrow-minded bigots I ever lived amongst. I greatly sympathise on many points, and I think the *Commonweal* ought to be read, it may in time make their feelings more elastic. I know some of my personal friends are better to get on with in many points since they have read it a little.

### NOTES.

SOME more light has been thrown on England's civilising mission in Africa. On Tuesday April 22nd, in a debate in the House of Commons on the suppression of the slave trade, Sir James Ferguson was forced to admit, in answer to a question, that the British East Africa Company was carrying on its "civilising mission" by the aid of the labour of wretched slaves, and thus was supplying a fresh market for the wares of slave hunters in the interior. No wonder Mr. Harbury, who, although he is a reactionary, happens to be an honest man, declared in the debate which took place on the same subject on the following Friday, that "the miseries of the slave trade had been enormously increased by the pharisaical way in which, while making great professions in this country about the suppression of the slave trade, we had acted. We had intensified its horrors and increased its amount."

But a little thought should teach us that if our pious traders and the hypocritical butcher whom they are now engaged in worshipping would tell the truth for once in their lying lives, they would admit that they cannot "civilise" Africa without slavery. In a country where nature is so bounteous, and her resources are open to all men, what native would be a "free labourer" for a set of grinding capitalists, when he can get an easy living without? Therefore, until all the land of Africa is enclosed by European landlords, slavery is as much a necessity to the christian capitalist as to the Arab slave-driver, and accordingly slavery will be "enormously increased" under his rule. But still, although the vilest scoundrelism comes natural to a capitalist, he might do without the whining cant of Exeter Hall, and say boldly that he is "civilising" Africa to make money, not to put down the slave trade; and as long as money is made, he does not mind how it is made, and if it is coined out of the flesh and blood of miserable humanity, he means to make it. Chadband arm in arm in loving brotherhood with the slave-hunting cut-throat, or lashing the backs of "niggers" with a cowhide, is indeed a sickening spectacle. D. N.

At a meeting of the St. Pancras Liberal Association last week, Professor Stuart delivered an address which called forth (as usual on such occasions) a great deal of applause, with but a small modicum of criticism. There was indeed but little to criticise. The Professor's remarks were most pertinent, and the facts which he made known most important and suggestive. In speaking of the question of gas and water rates, he stated that the high rates of the city of London were due solely to the fact that the gas and water supplies, instead of being in the hands of the State, were held by a few monopolists, who doubled their capital in the course of a few years at the expense of the rate-payers.

The speaker was careful to give figures (which are always very effective), and showed clearly enough that not only rent, but all kinds of merchandise were affected by gas and water rates: shopkeepers paying high rates had to sell their goods at high prices. Now, under a new administration—that is, the administration of Liberal members—all this is to be changed. A man now paying a rent of £20 will in the palmy days to come pay but £18 (loud applause). How pleasant as well as reasonable this will be! Tories may say £2 is a trifle, but Professor Stuart wished to know whether £2 was nothing to a working man? He received a very hearty assurance that £2 was a great deal to the workers present, and sat down amid a thunder of grateful applause.

Now, so far so good! The Professor was right in all he said; the figures he named were large, the reforms he advocated were reasonable. He did not think it necessary to mention, however, that the sum of £14,000,000 (which was the amount to be saved in a few years by the reduction of the water rates) was, after all, but a fraction in the National Exchequer, and that the fall of gas and water rates was a very trifling reform. Two pounds may affect the purse, but it in no way affects the *position* of a worker. It ameliorates his lot, in the same way that *alms* ameliorates the lot of a pauper. But it changes *nothing* in his career and destiny.

Now, *alms* and *concessions* are in the main degrading to him that gives and to him that takes. The aspirant to Parliamentary honours knows that in agitating about rates he is agitating about trifles, and if he goes no further he is merely an office-seeker buying popularity, as it often can be bought, too cheaply, yet paying away his own honour in the purchase. The friends as well as the enemies of the poor hold them at a disadvantage. They are often ready to value a small concession of liberty or justice as if it were a free and munificent gift, and in the same manner they often over-estimate the value of the reforms which are suggested to them.

At the St. Pancras meeting all the speakers professed an ardent sympathy with the workers, yet no speaker suggested the necessity for an energetic movement to bring about any actual reform. Such ideas as were suggested, were all imported from foreign and despised societies; the nationalisation of gas and water supplies being but a leaf from the programme of the Socialists. The aim indeed was small, and a succession of such aims would prolong the social warfare through many centuries into a very distant future. We believe, however, that the solution of our social problem will not depend on the action of our Parliamentary representatives. For if Liberal candidates can limit their demands to things which hardly affect the people, their legislation is but a farce, kept up solely for the honour and entertainment of the privileged classes.

M. McM.



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

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 May 7.

ENGLAND	FRANCE	SWITZERLAND
Freedom	Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung	Arbeiterstimme
Justice	Chicago (Ill)—Vorpost	
Labour Tribune	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	ITALY
People's Press	Los Angeles—Cal. Nationalist	Milan—Cuore e Critica
Seed Time	Philadelphia—United Labour	SPAIN
Unity	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Barcelona—El Productor
Worker's Friend	Anarchist	Madrid—El Socialista
NEW SOUTH WALES	FRANCE	GERMANY
Sydney—Bulletin	Paris—La Revolte	Berlin—Volks Tribune
INDIA	Le Revue Europeenne	AUSTRIA
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Charleville—L'Emancipation	Vienna—Arbeiter-Zeitung
UNITED STATES	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	DENMARK
New York—Frelheit	Lyon—L'Action Sociale	Social-Demokrat
United Irishman	Rouen—Le Salariat	SWEDEN
Volkzeitung	HOLLAND	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Workmen's Advocate	Hague—Recht voor Allen	ARGENTINE REPUBLIC
Boston—Liberty	Anarchist	Buenos Ayres—Vorwarts
Investigator	BRUXELLES	
Nationalist	Antwerp—De Werker	
	Ghent—Voortuit	

STANLEY'S EXPLOITS:

OR,  
CIVILISING AFRICA.

(Continued from p. 130.)

As might have been expected, Stanley's glowing accounts of his glorious exploits attracted some considerable attention in England. Some important persons troubled with stupid humanitarian scruples concerning the treatment of savages, generally known as the Aborigines Protection and the Anti-Slavery Societies, wrote to Lord Derby, who was then at the Foreign Office, about Mr. Stanley's methods of advancing "civilisation." Strangely enough, his lordship appears to have sympathised with these stupid scruples, and in his reply through

his secretary to these societies stated that he "has read with great regret the reports of the circumstances which seem to have taken place" during Mr. Stanley's explorations, and "which have created such a painful impression in this country. . . ." He also hoped that Mr. Stanley "would be able to afford some explanation or justification for his proceedings, which is not apparent from the reports which have been as yet received."

Mr. Hyndman, introduced by Col. Yule, brought the matter before the Royal Geographical Society, but they were met by the previous question. The chairman, Sir Rutherford Alcock, however, stated that he did

"Not believe there were two shades of feeling with regard to the conflicts of Mr. Stanley with the natives of Africa. He thought Lord Derby had expressed the feeling of the whole nation when he said that Mr. Stanley's later letters were read with great regret, and that they created a most painful impression throughout the country. . . . No doubt there was a unanimous feeling with regard to his proceedings, and all condemned in the very strongest way the circumstances, so far as they were known, of the apparently ruthless slaughter and violence which he had described in the second attack on the island of Bambireh."

However, despite these answers, the society decided to welcome Stanley on his return in 1878, in the full flush of his exploits during his descent of the Congo. On Thursday evening, February 7, Stanley was received at St. James's Hall, but he offered no explanation of his conduct save to sneer at his critics, and to show himself in his natural character of a blustering bully. The *Standard* of February the 9th, 1878, states that

"The Council of the Royal Geographical Society have too evidently feared to insist on an explanation lest Mr. Stanley in his blustering way, of which he gave the audience at St. James's Hall a safe sample, when he asked any of his critics to stand up that he might be 'measured,'—should allege that the secret of the inquiry was English jealousy of American success."

Nor has Mr. Stanley ever made an adequate explanation of his actions, save by a very weak attempt to excuse the slaughter at Bambireh. In this he stated that he sent some people belonging to a tribe of his ally M'tesa to buy food from the natives of Bambireh (after he had shot 14 of these with explosive bullets) and as Mr. Stanley might have expected, some of his friends were killed by the vengeful natives. We cannot doubt, taking all the circumstances into consideration, that Stanley sent them to be killed in order to have a pretext for massacre. Still, Stanley made up for an adequate defence of his own barbarities by abusing his accusers. He said they had given vent to much "vile, slanderous, and almost libellous abuse." He imputed unworthy motives to them, and balanced the weakness of his case by the strength of his language. Both charges were utterly untrue. As to the motives of his adversaries, Mr. Stanley is rendered, by his own personal character, incapable of judging any action except from the standpoint of the meanest, basest, and most brutal passions. Men judge of other people by themselves, and surely this was the case with the emissary of the *Daily Telegraph*. As to the "vile, slanderous, and almost libellous abuse," as it was pointed out at the time, no one had accused Stanley but Stanley himself.

A considerable section of the press, and even the Jingo press of the time, gave eloquent expressions of the general feeling concerning Mr. Stanley's exploits, as a few quotations will show. The *Pall Mall Gazette* of February 11th, 1878, said:

"We must altogether demur to the doctrine stated in general terms that an explorer is always at liberty to 'make war' upon any savage tribe who threaten to obstruct his advance. A European traveller penetrating into a country inhabited by savage tribes, whatever the services he may be seeking to render civilisation, is an intruder. He is not, as so many European philanthropists appear to suppose, the natural lord of the soil in mere virtue of his white skin. Its black possessors have a perfect right to resist his invasion if they choose, and should they do so we entirely deny that as a 'pioneer of civilisation' he is entitled in the name of his mission to force his way through them by the use of elephant rifles and explosive bullets. Exploration under these conditions is in fact exploration plus buccaneering, and though the map may be improved and enlarged by the process, the cause of civilisation is not a gainer thereby but a loser."

This condemnation applies equally to Stanley's later exploits, as will be seen further on. The *Saturday Review*, of February 16th, spoke out strongly:

"It is not ridiculous, it is not sentimental, to denounce war which is waged on mere savages in the interest of speculative capitalists and their journals. The horrors are the same as those over which the *Telegraph* wails when they befall the Turks. The women and children of 'burning villages and blazing settlements' suffer just as much, whether the missionary power that supplies the torch resides in Peterborough Court or in St. Petersburg. When 'each gentle hill in Uganda is crowned by a happy village and a spired church from which the bells sound the call to a gospel service,' then perhaps this private Holy War of Messrs. Levy Lawson and Gordon Bennett will be justified by its fruits. 'The blessings of the Gospel of Peace,' as the *Record* said, and of Lord Houghton, will be on the work."

Similar comments appeared in other papers. Mr. Stanley has not been altogether insensible to these criticisms, and one proof of this may be found in his book, "Through the Dark Continent," where he has considerably toned down the account of his exploits, so altering some of the stories of the massacres he committed, that it is almost impossible to recognise them as the same occurrences. He is also particularly careful to lay great stress of his own "gentleness," "forbearance," "mildness," "long-suffering," and "placability." Apologies on this score are needless.

Let me give some examples in his account of the battle with the Waturu, or Wanyaturu, as he calls them in his book. He exaggerates the provocation given by the savage, and greatly praises his own moderation. The incident of the bull-dog and his teeth is altogether

omitted, and he glides lightly over the burning of the villages, so lightly that many readers would hardly notice it. His firing on the Wavuma, and shooting the man who stole the few beads, is greatly altered. According to his book the Wavuma threw their spears before he fired, but a few sentences will serve to show how it differs from his letter :

"Forming a line on each side of us, about thirty yards off, they flung their spears, which the boat's crew avoided by dropping to the bottom of the boat. The canoes astern clapped their hands gleefully, showing me a large bunch of Mutunda beads which had been surreptitiously abstracted from the stern of the boat. I seized my repeating rifle and fired in earnest to right and left; the fellow with the beads was doubled up, and the boldest of those nearest to us was disabled."

Now, I wonder how it was Mr. Stanley forgot in his letters that the Wavuma attacked him first, an important fact that quite changes the story. It is surely strange that Mr. Stanley should only remember this crucial point, *after* he had been accused of inhumanity in taking such a frightful revenge for the theft of a few beads. It is still more curious that he didn't bring it forward on the public platform in answer to the attacks made upon him. Perhaps, however, he thought that the public might look upon him as it does upon a witness in an important case, who having admitted a fact very damaging to himself, hastens at the first moment he understands what he has done, to "correct" his evidence. Mr. Stanley's behaviour to the people of Bambireh is also explained away in a similar fashion.

I have dealt first with the facts cited against Mr. Stanley by Col. Yule and Mr. Hyndman. Some people may say that this is ancient history, but still I would ask them if they think Stanley's character has changed very much. It is true he is not so frank now-a-days in giving the reasons for his numerous conflicts with the natives, but when we find that his journeys can still be clearly traced across the centre of Africa by a blood-red trail strewn with corpses, one cannot help doubting whether Stanley has acquired more humanity in later years. Most of us have a vivid recollection of his sensational letters to the *Telegraph* upon his battles with the "cannibals" of the Congo. It seems very doubtful now, according to Mr. Stanley's later book entitled "The Congo," whether these were cannibals at all, but one thing is quite certain—the bulk of Mr. Stanley's allies in that famous journey were. In the beginning of the journey Mr. Stanley was escorted by Tippoo Tib, an Arab slave-dealer, who with other Arabs had established their dominion over the Manyema, a nation of cannibals, and it was with an escort of cannibals commanded by Arab slave-hunters that Mr. Stanley started on his journey. No wonder the natives resisted; the other alternative of becoming slaves or being eaten was too unpleasant. It is true Tippoo Tib and his comrades left Stanley in the heat of the fight to struggle on alone, but the natives were not to know the difference between Stanley's men and their escort. It is curious to note also that the first shot that was fired came from Stanley's party. It was fired by Billali, the Arab boy who carried Mr. Stanley's big gun, and who, doubtless, thought that he was as much justified in potting natives with it as his master. Those who would go into this question further are referred to the second volume of "Through the Dark Continent."

Stanley's march to the "rescue" of Emin Pasha<sup>1</sup> has also been marked by continual battles with the natives, and it is probable enough that these contests were provoked by the overbearing conduct of his own men, who had not lost the manners and customs of the slave-hunters by "exploring" in the company of Mr. Stanley. He tells himself how one of his men, a Soudanese soldier, marched into the village of a friendly tribe and deliberately began shooting the people down; as it was a "friendly" tribe he was handed over to them to be dealt with according to the law of "blood for blood." But supposing this had not been a "friendly" tribe—what then? The natives would then have been forced to avenge themselves, and would thus have furnished Stanley with a pretext for massacre. The mere fact of Mr. Stanley being accompanied by a strong armed force, and insisting on marching through all the countries he came to whether the people liked it or not, is quite sufficient to account for all these conflicts. I would ask any man if under similar circumstances an armed body of foreigners of suspicious appearance forced their way through our country, behaving themselves like conquerors, whether we should not resist, especially if members of this expedition sometimes walked into our villages and deliberately began shooting the people down? If we take these things into consideration, we may understand why a continual slaughter of the natives with "smoking Remingtons" is still a feature of Mr. Stanley's onward march.

D. J. NICOLL.

(To be concluded).

Lady Lindsay says that she would sooner wear a stuffed village child in her headgear than be seen with poor little robins as ornaments in her bonnet. We believe it. In fact, we fancy the British aristocracy views the common or village kind of child as of considerably less value than any of the feathered tribe, more especially that portion of it protected by the game laws.—Brisbane *Boomerang*.

<sup>1</sup> It is worth noting that even this expedition, which has been praised as if it were a philanthropic work, was simply undertaken for the purpose of commercial exploitation. The *Daily News* of Monday, April 7th, 1890, gives an account of a book by a German missionary, Father Schynze, who states that the expedition was got up by a shrewd Scotch merchant (Sir W. Mackinnon) who had probably never heard of Emin Pasha before, but who saw an opportunity of getting hold of Emin's province and 4,000 cwt. of ivory that he had in his possession. So slaughter caused by the expedition cannot be excused on a plea of philanthropy.

## THE TWO BUMMERS.

Air: "The Two Crows."

THERE were two bums sat in the House—  
Bounce-a-bounce! hey bounce!  
'Twas getting hard their chumps to chouse  
With a bounce.  
Said one old bum unto his mate:  
"What shall we do for puff and prate,  
With a bounce, bully bounce?"

On yonder bench you see that Graeme,  
Bounce-a-bounce! hey bounce!  
"What say you? Shall we make him game,  
With a bounce?  
We'll pluck his feathers one by one,  
We'll steal his plumes—'twill be such fun!  
With a bounce, bully bounce!"

But ah! that Graeme was all too fly!  
Bounce-a-bounce! hey bounce!  
He gave each bum a sable eye  
With a bounce!  
He stripp'd the mask from off each face,  
And show'd their selfish, rotten race,  
With a bounce, bully bounce!

Those bummers each gave forth a moan:  
"Bounce-a-bounce! hey bounce!  
The game is up—the gaff is blown,  
With a bounce!"  
—So serve all knaves who try again  
To live by selling working-men  
With their bounce, bully bounce!

LOTHROP WITHERINGTON.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### HE MISUNDERSTANDS US.

In your issue of 21st December (which I have received after considerable delay, owing to my wanderings) you say: "There would be small need of any 'legislative remedies' if only the workers would 'perfect their organisations.'" You seem therefore to have a contempt for legislative "remedies." But I understand (1) you advocate a form of Socialism in which, although very rationally comprehending that the revolution must be effected by the people themselves, legislative measures (2) are looked to for the maintenance and regulation of the new society that will follow, at any rate in the shape of the managerial legislature (3) of a vast "social organisation," which is only a different application of the same condemned principle. Is this consistent with the concluding words of the very good Statement published in your last column?—Yours fraternally,

J. A. ANDREWS.

Alexandra, March 13; but permanent postal address—  
P.O., Richmond, Victoria, Australia.

(1) On what ground? (2) Where advocated? (3) What does this mean? We can hardly believe that you are serious in raising the point.

### THE BLANKET-WEAVERS OF COURS.

COMRADES,—In his letter acknowledging a remittance I sent lately, the Secretary of the Labour Syndicate of Cours gives news of the blanket-weavers' strike, which will interest your readers doubtless. The news has been going round that the strike was ended, but this is spread by the mill-owners, who wish to prevent further funds from reaching the Cours workers, and use this means, among others, of trying to break the indomitable spirit of their former employes. The fact is this, that though work is resumed in some of the shops, yet the hands employed by the most important and largest firm remain out, and more than 300 victims remain on the hands of the Syndicate, who don't know which way to turn to support them. The masters had issued circulars in the neighbouring country, and imported "renegade" labour; and although most of the blacklegs found out they had been hired under false pretences and returned home, more than 300 remain at low wages, to the detriment of the strikers.

Now, though to those who are accustomed to hear of men striking in thousands, this strike in the Rhône Department may not seem very noticeable, in proportion to the district the numbers are really large, and the fact that these people have been on strike for *nine months* makes this struggle an important item in the annals of labour, and is in itself sufficiently eloquent. This subscription-list will be open some time longer, and I earnestly ask those who have anything to spare from other calls upon their purses to think of those people, called "foreigners" by some, but by us, brothers and fellow-workers, who are fighting as much for us as for themselves, their wives, and children.—Yours fraternally,

MAY MORRIS.

### STRIKE FUND.

Amount previously acknowledged	...	...	£28	3	4
E. Linder, H. Picton, S. Thomson	...	...	0	6	0

Mayor Burdekin, of Sydney (who has, say, £60,000 or so coming to him annually in house-rent), declares that his reception of Henry George at the Town Hall does not imply that he is in sympathy with the Single-Tax movement. Let us smile, says the *Bulletin*.

NEW ZEALAND WHITE SLAVERY.—An Auckland (N. Z.) shop-assistant, writing in a local paper, gives the following account of his time: "The 144 hours in the six working days and nights are taken up as follows—64 hours per week behind the counter; 9 for walking to and fro to meals and work; 9 for meals, allowing 30 minutes only for each meal; 9 preparing for work in the morning, and also preparing for rest at night; 48 for rest and sleep; giving only 5 hours per week for self for mental improvement, recreation, amusements, etc., which you are generally too tired to take advantage of. If this is not 'white slavery,' what is it?"

# THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

## THE MAY DAY DEMONSTRATION.

DESPITE the prophecies of failure from the faint-hearted and the police proclamations of Mr. James Munro, we are glad to say that the May-Day Demonstration was a complete success. Long before the procession started, large crowds assembled, and the Embankment between Westminster and Blackfriars presented a lively spectacle. The police were there in strong force. A small regiment of mounted men were ranged at the side of the roadway where the ground rises towards Blackfriars Bridge, and 2,000 foot and horse guarded the narrow hilly streets which lie between the Embankment and Fleet Street and the Strand.

The police greatly distinguished themselves during the day. A procession of our East-end comrades was broken up in Aldgate. Some of our friends from France were reminded that they were living in free and happy England by being set upon by the police in St. Martin's Lane. These bullies kicked and cuffed the "bloody foreigners," as they elegantly termed them, without mercy, and broke to pieces a flag they were carrying. On Clerkenwell Green our gallant police attacked the women who were on strike from Fenner's envelope factory in John Street, Clerkenwell, and knocked them about with the savage ruffianism with which we are now familiar. This didn't, however, frighten these plucky girls, who marched down to the Embankment and joined the procession.

At half-past three we started for Hyde Park. As we marched on, the people who thronged the pavement poured into our ranks till the procession became one vast mass of people marching onward. On we swept past the battalion of police who guarded the entrance to Northumberland Avenue, the "Marseillaise" ringing out defiantly as we marched up the hill to the House of Commons, the red flags and banners of the procession waving gaily over our heads in the bright May sun. The banner which headed the procession bore the following inscription, the motto of the demonstration—"Workers of the World, Unite!" in English, French, and German. "Workers of the World, we hail you as Brothers!" declared another. While a third proclaimed the self-evident truth that "Those who dare not celebrate this day are Slaves!" The banner of the North London Branch of the Socialist League bore the motto, "No Master, High or Low!" while the banner of the Commonweal Branch had upon it these words full of meaning as to the revolution we preach—"Away with Authority and Monopoly! Free access to the means of Life!" A cartoon on a large white banner representing a fat capitalist being kicked in the air by the hob-nailed boot of Labour created great amusement. The Metropolitan Railwaymen bore a flag which had this announcement, which showed the value of our "freedom of labour"—"Metropolitan Railwaymen boycotted for joining the Federation." There were also the banners of the different branches of "The National Federation of Trades and Industries," and the banners of the Firewood-cutters, the Painters and Decorators, and the South-Side Labour Protection League; while over all floated the red flag, the emblem of the revolted labour in every land.

As we entered Hyde Park, the rising ground around the Achilles Statue was densely crowded. When we reached the Reformer's Tree, some 20,000 people gathered round the platforms of the Socialist League and the Federation of Trades and Industries. On the League platform the speakers were Morris, Kitz, Mowbray, Turner, Mainwaring, Tochat, and Nicoll; while John Williams, Votair, John Wood, James Macdonald, Miss Edith Lupon, J. Baker, Bentley, Buckenbridge, Cores, and Greenman spoke on the Federation platform. The resolution of the Socialist League was carried at both platforms. It ran as follows:

"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."

Resolutions condemning the despotic action of the authorities at home and abroad were also carried.

In the evening, a very successful torchlight meeting was held on Clerkenwell Green. Parker, Kitz, Mowbray, Nicoll, Hicks, Mrs. Lahr, and others spoke. About 5,000 were present. The parson of the neighbouring church endeavoured to annoy the speakers by making a hideous row with his bells, but the attempt failed in any way to mar the success of the meeting. We all hope and trust that now we have begun the battle, next year the workers of London will demonstrate on May Day, and not put it off till the Sunday to please their masters and the reactionary members of the London Trades Council. English workers will then show their solidarity with labour all over the civilised world.

### Sunday's Eight-Hour Demonstration.

I feel in writing of this demonstration, first the impossibility of saying anything that has not been said before, and next that the subject is too colossal for description in the scanty columns of the *Commonweal*. It is enough to say that the Embankment was thronged from end to end by dense masses of people; that all along the line of route were huge crowds waiting for the arrival of the procession; that Hyde Park was filled by an immense multitude that no man could number; that the clangour of bands filled the air; that the innumerable processions beneath a leaden sky of woeful gloom were enlivened by the bright banners of the trade unions and Radical clubs and the red flags of the Socialist societies; and that on the whole the demonstration was an unparalleled success, before which political demonstrations sink into utter insignificance.

There can be no question that the world of labour has been stirred to intense discontent with existing misery, and the thought must have occurred to many present that there were enough men in Hyde Park on Sunday, if they had been determined, to have swept away our rotten society, with all the misery which presses upon their shoulders so heavily. You had only to look at most of the processionists to see how they suffer beneath the tyranny of the capitalist classes. Stunted forms, faces crushed into brutified stupidity by the heavy degrading toil, or with figures and faces shrunken and worn with hunger, want, and care. I thought as I looked upon them whether these men are likely to wait till the State Socialists can get a measure through a House of Commons composed of their worst enemies? I don't think they will. I heard a grey-headed workman exclaim, as he listened to an eloquent orator who was perorating concerning the manifold

advantages of an eight hour day, "Yes, but you will have to have a universal strike to get it." True, and when the next trade depression comes, and devouring hunger grows sharper, and discontent and despair becomes fierce and deadly, the House of Commons and wealth and respectability may be swept away before an overwhelming torrent. The immense demonstrations held all over the civilised world must convince the most sceptical that we are on the eve of great events, and that the end of the reign of the capitalist is not far off.

### The Provinces.

Big meetings have been held in the provinces. At Sheffield on May Day the League resolution was carried unanimously at an enthusiastic meeting at Gower Street. On Sunday 4th a large demonstration was held at the Monolith, and three other meetings were held in other parts of the town. Ten quires of *Commonweal* sold, and 16s. collected. Speakers, Bullas, Bingham, Edward Carpenter, Raymond Unwin, and Sanders (Walsall). A large and enthusiastic meeting was held at Hallamshire Hall by the Sheffield Labourers' Union, addressed by Sketchley, Hanson, Garbutt, and Bryne. Eight hours and S.L. resolutions carried. At Edinburgh, the meeting in the Meadows was a remarkable success. Hamilton, McWaters, and Keir Hardie spoke to an eight hours resolution; while the speakers for the resolution of the S. L. were Smith, Davidson, and Bruce Glasier. The meeting broke up with cheers for the Social Revolution. Collected, 22s. 1d.; literature sold, 10s. At Manchester an immense demonstration was held in Stevenson Square on Sunday by the whole of the Socialist organisations in Lancashire. Eight hours resolution was spoken to by Sharples, Boyden, and Parkinson; after which the S.L. resolution was moved by Mowbray, and carried unanimously. Collection, £2 16s. 10d.; a large quantity of literature and *Commonweal* sold. At Leeds on Sunday 36,000 people attended the demonstration. Speakers—Paylor, Cockayne, Samuels, Sweeney, Braithwaite. 12s. worth of pamphlets sold. A resolution expressing solidarity with the international demonstrations of the workers and demanding the eight hour day was carried unanimously. At Dublin, the Irish Socialist Union, at its meeting on May 3rd, adopted a resolution of sympathy with the International Labour Demonstrations on May Day, addresses being delivered by King, Hamilton, Fitzpatrick, and Kavanagh. On May 5th, a meeting in favour of the eight hour movement was held in Phoenix Park. Despite the inclemency of the weather, several thousand people attended. Addresses were delivered by J. A. Poole, M. A. Foreman (Railway Servants), Shields, Kelly, and others. At Yarmouth three most successful meetings were held on May Day and Sunday in favour of international solidarity amongst the workers. Speakers—Rufold, Headley, and Brightwell. The S.L. resolution was carried unanimously at each meeting. "No Master," "March of the Workers," and other songs were sung. *Commonweal* sold out.

### End of the Irish Railway Strike.

Through the mediation of Archbishop Walsh, Professor Galbraith, and Mr. Harford (A.S.R.S.), the men decided on Saturday to return to work. The directors have promised that they will give a decision upon the terms of the men in a fortnight. The two Cork porters whose discharge was the original cause of the strike are to be reinstated, and the directors have also agreed to pay £10 fine inflicted upon the signalman Fitzgerald.

### Women Strike and Win.

The machine folders at Fenner's envelope factory at Clerkenwell have gained a decisive victory. They struck last week against girl labour, a foreman having put on a girl to work a machine at 8s. a-week at which a woman could earn 16s. After they had been out some days, Mrs. Besant headed a deputation to the masters, who have promised that in future girls shall not be employed in the place of women, and that the sanitary condition of the workshop shall be enquired into. These brave women deserve their victory. Their indomitable courage should make some workmen blush for their cowardice. N.

*Commonweal* agent in Marylebone, W.—

J. G. Fogwell, 9 Northumberland-street, Marylebone

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

ANARCHIST LEAGUE.—Sunday May 11, a meeting in Regent's Park at 11.30; and in Hyde Park, near Marble Arch, at 4.30.

SHEFFIELD.—At Hallamshire Hall, Westbar, on Sunday May 11, at 6.30 p.m., J. Sketchley, "The May Day Demonstrations: Their Meaning, and What is to be Done."

EDINBURGH—SCOTTISH SOCIALIST FEDERATION.—Tuesdays, Reading and Discussion at 35 George IV. Bridge, at 8. Business-meeting, same place and time; Sunday, meeting in Meadows at 4.30; local talent.

FARLAN 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 16 (third lecture), A. R. Dryhurst, "Bax, Kirkup, Gronlund, and Bellamy."

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

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

### FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE 'COMMONWEAL.'

A CONCERT AND BALL for the benefit of the *Commonweal* will take place on Monday, May 12th, at the ATHENÆUM HALL, Tottenham Court Road. The Choirs of the Hamlet Branch; of the Manifer Gesang Verein; and the Communist Club will sing during the evening. "THE DUCHESSES OF BAYSWATER & Co." will be rendered by W. Morris, May Morris, H. H. Sparling, and others. Mr. Frixnell's Quadrille Band. Programme—Single, 1s. Couples, 1s. 6d., of F. Kitz, League Office, and all Branches and allied societies.

"WESTWARD HO!"

SPENDING a little holiday in Somersetshire this Easter, I was much cheered to find how Socialistic teaching is spreading down in those parts, and how readily people are assimilating our ideas. In Bristol, of course, there has been a strong body of Socialists for some years, and they keep pegging away valiantly with untiring enthusiasm. I had the honour of speaking at their first open-air meeting for this season in the Haymarket. The members turned up well, with flag and lamp bedecked with mottoes, and the audience were exceptionally attentive for an open-air meeting. During the winter the Socialists have been helping to organise the unskilled labour of both men and women, and by means of numerous strikes they have succeeded in obtaining rather better terms for the workers generally; but the great wave of labour agitation which followed the dock strike is showing signs of being spent, and I think the Bristol Socialists are feeling disposed to throw themselves with renewed vigour into the great work of educating the people in Socialism.

The Clifton Christian Socialists are also making a move again; and, judging from their weekly meeting, at which I spoke, there seems to be a decided disposition amongst some of the well-to-do people to study the question seriously. The younger people especially—high-school mistresses, and youths just starting in life—appear anxious to find out the right and to work for it.

But it was in Bridgewater, a little old-fashioned river-pont town, thirty miles or more west of Bristol, that I was most surprised to see Socialism springing up. I found that the Congregational minister had been preaching in favour of Socialism, and that the editor of one of the local papers was publishing 'Looking Backward' in weekly instalments! At the request of some friends, the Liberal and Radical associations agreed to call a meeting jointly to hear a lecture from me on Socialism; and a capital meeting we had. A good sprinkling of well-to-do people were there, the rest of the room being nicely filled with workers from the wagon shops, brick yards, and docks. The chair was taken by Dr. Winterbotham, president of the Liberal Association, who spoke in a very sympathetic way of the Socialist movement, though dissenting from some of my "extreme views." There was very little opposition, and the meeting altogether encouraged me to believe that many of the outlying districts will ere long accept Socialistic teaching much more rapidly than we have been accustomed to expect. Even business men are coming to see that things cannot go on as they have been doing for the last fifteen years; they acknowledge that competition has made life hardly worth living, even for the employers. What must it be for the workers!

R. U.

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.

**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, May 5th, 4s. 0d.

"COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—P. Webb, 1s.; H. R., 1s.; D. Nicoll, 6d.; B. W., 6d.; Glasgow Branch, 5s.; C. Saunders, 2s.; Student Artist, 2s.; and J. C. Kenworthy, 10s.

MAY DAY DEMONSTRATION.

Already acknowledged—£2 1s. 0d. Received towards expenses—Nicoll, 1s.; W. Knight, 1s.; Seglie, 6d.; Mrs. Lahr, 1s.; and A. P., 6d.

REPORTS.

**KILBURN.**—Mainwaring addressed a good audience at the Old Plough on May 4th; 20 'Weals' sold.

**MITCHAM.**—A great meeting was held upon the Fair Green last Sunday evening, addressed by Kitz, Davis, Parker, and Gregory. The League resolution of Labour Day was carried with acclamation. We aired our new red standard on the occasion, and it seemed to have a dispiriting influence upon the police around. Our Streatham comrades assisted at the meeting, which was most enthusiastic; in fact, enthusiasm and hope pervades the workers here, who are organising against their masters on all sides.—F. K.

**NORTH KENSINGTON.**—We held no meeting at Latimer Road on Sunday morning. The Branch attended demonstration in Hyde Park in the afternoon. At our rooms in the evening we had choir practice, after which there was a lively discussion on the "Topics of the Day;" 2s. 1d. collected; *Commonweal* sold well during the day.

**NORTH LONDON.**—At Hyde Park on Saturday, a good meeting was addressed by Nicoll and Mrs. Lahr; 22 'Weals' and some *Freedoms* sold. In Regent's Park on Sunday morning, Nicoll, Mrs. Lahr, and Hunter Watts addressed a good audience; 57 'Weals' sold, and 2s. 4d. collected. Altogether we have sold 126 *Commonweal* this week.

**LEICESTER.**—Sunday last, May 4th, we began our outdoor propaganda; Barclay, Taylor, and Chambers spoke in Russell Square; audience fairly good. In the evening Barclay spoke to a good audience at Humberstone Gate on "What Socialism is;" 'Weals' sold out; collection, 3s. 8d. We are making arrangements for London and provincial speakers throughout the summer.—T. B.

**SHEFFIELD.**—Thanks to the efforts of the defenders of law-'n'-order in general, our meetings have been much better attended of late. On Sunday, April 27th, comrade Peacock (of Nottingham) was with us. In the morning large meeting at the Monolith; 5s. collected. In the afternoon several comrades went down to Rotherham and held a good meeting; 10s. collected for the stove-grate workers, who are out on strike. Large meeting at the Pump, where Peacock again spoke; we had no 'Weals' left, having sold out at the previous meetings, but several pamphlets of Carpenter's sold, and 2s. 1d. collected.

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. The Athenæum Hall, Tottenham Court Road, has been taken for a Concert and Ball, May 12th, in aid of the *Commonweal*.
- East London.**—A meeting of members will be held at the International Club, Berner Street, on Sunday May 11th, at 7.30.
- Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday May 11, at 8 p.m., John Pearse (Gild of St. Matthew), "Early Hebrew Socialists." French Class conducted by Mdle. 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 evening, May 11, a Lecture.
- 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, Thursday, and Saturday at 8 p.m.
- Manchester.**—Socialist League Club, 60 Grovesnor Street, All Saints. Open every evening. Branch weekly meeting on Tuesdays at 8.
- Norwich.**—Members' 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.

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 10.**
- 7 ..... Hyde Park ..... Nicoll, Cantwell, and Parker
- SUNDAY 11.**
- 11 ..... Latimer Road Station ..... North Kensington Branch
- 11.30 ..... Hammersmith Bridge ..... Hammersmith Branch
- 11.30 ..... Kilburn—"Old Plough," Kilburn Lane ..... Mainwaring
- 11.30 ..... Mitcham—Fair Green ..... The Branch
- 11.30 ..... Regent's Park ..... Nicoll and Mowbray
- 3.30 ..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch ..... The Branch
- 3.30 ..... Victoria Park ..... The Branch
- 7 ..... Hammersmith Bridge ..... Hammersmith Branch
- 7 ..... Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park ..... Hammersmith Branch
- 7.30 ..... Mitcham Fair Green ..... Mrs. Lahr and Davis
- 8 ..... Streatham Green ..... Parker
- TUESDAY 13.**
- 8 ..... Walham Green—back of Church ..... Hammersmith Branch
- THURSDAY 15.**
- 8.15 ..... Hoxton Church ..... Kitz, Davis, and Parker

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

**NEW MANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE,** "Three Doves," Berwick St., Soho, W.—Sunday May 11, at 8.30 p.m., J. D. Bouran, "Communism."

**CLUB AUTONOME,** 6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, W.—Sunday May 11, at 8.30, W. Cooper, "Banking."

**PAMPHLETS WANTED.**—Original editions wanted, clean, 'Labour Question from a Socialist Standpoint'; Manifesto of the Socialist League; and 'Art and Socialism.'

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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 KITZ, at 24 Great Queen St., Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, W.C.