

THE COMMONWEAL

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"A NEW SAVIOUR OF HUMANITY."

THE *Review of Reviews* for this month gives us the following information, which is of the utmost importance to Anarchists, Socialists, and revolutionists generally :

"July has been a month of peace congresses and international agreements, and it has seen the breaking out of a war as a corollary to the formation of a League of Peace. But it is possible that all these imposing international political acts and demonstrations count for less in the future of the world than the ingenious mechanical contrivance which was exhibited at the headquarters of the London Scottish Rifle Volunteers on July 18th by a French engineer named Giffard. To outward appearance it was a simple thing enough, consisting of a small tube of toughest steel only nine inches in length, containing nothing that when opened the eye can see, the ear hear, the nose smell, or the fingers touch. Yet that small tube may yet be destined to destroy empires, check the progress of Socialism [?], and establish throughout the world the principle of government by consent of the governed [sic]. Whether it will abolish war is a question for discussion; but if all that is claimed for it is true, it will abolish gunpowder and convert all the armaments of the modern world into old iron. The tough steel tube, nine inches long, is charged with liquified carbonic acid gas, the same that we breathe from our lungs after every respiration, but converted by liquefaction into one of the most powerful propulsives known. It is fixed to the barrel of the rifle in such a way that when the trigger is pulled a drop of the liquified gas is forced into the breech of the gun behind the bullet, where, instantaneously resuming a gaseous condition, it develops a force equal to 500 lb. pressure on the square inch. The bullet is then expelled at any degree of velocity desired, for the power can be increased or diminished by a simple turn of the screw. The pressure is equally distributed and continuously increased until the bullet leaves the barrel. A slight fizz like the escape of gas from a ginger-beer bottle is the only sound which announces the dispatch of the bullet, which flattens itself against the wall at 1,200 yards. The new propellant is indifferent to heat or damp. It will not burst under the impact of a heavy blow, and it is so cheap that 250 bullets can be fired at the cost of a penny."

If this be true (and we have every reason to believe it is, seeing that Messrs. Colt, the American gun-makers, have paid £200,000 for the American rights of the patent), then at last we have something which will be better than all the firearms ever yet introduced. The firing of a rifle or revolver always betrays the whereabouts of those using them. The new weapon will not, at least, do that; and it strikes us forcibly that the Giffard gun will not check the progress of Socialism, Mr. Stead, but, on the other hand, will rather be one of the most powerful and speedy means of realising it. We would also like to say that even in the workshops of the Government it may be quite possible that our comrades will be working and learning what, though an advantage to our masters for the time being, may yet prove of infinite value to us also. The Giffard gun, like dynamite, which only gave them a temporary advantage, may some day be useful to us.

We must also remember that Col. Knollys, equerry in waiting to the Prince of Wales, has given us a valuable hint as to the most effective method of guerilla warfare about two years since in the *Fortnightly Review*, and again in the last number of the same magazine he thinks the smokeless powder (I suppose they mean the noiseless gun) will largely increase the list of killed and wounded, especially where large army corps are moved, for he thinks it certain that some of them may be completely annihilated. This will give the comrade who acts individually a great advantage, and individual action will

in future be the best method that could be adopted, as it will render conspiracies useless, and thus leave no room for the police spy to fill the prisons with our best comrades.

With the new gun, the smoke, the noise, and the perils of powder will disappear, and the expert mounted butcher, whose past delight has been in riding people down, may be taught even a better lesson than that of the ginger-beer bottle of Bow Street. In future, the Warrens or Bradfords, the Bismarcks or Czars, may not find the butchering of unarmed crowds such a safe business, for as they ride in their pride through the streets they will tremble as they remember that the air is filled with "swift death" for them. We must also not forget that, owing to our propaganda among our comrades in the army, that with renewed effort on our part in that direction it is just possible that they will reverse their rifles and rid the world of their tyrants!

Bravo for Science! The Giffard gun can be used by the poor as well as the rich. Ways and means have always been found in the past, and depend upon it will be in the future. What to-day fills our Christian masters and others with delight, may yet be the cause of deepest remorse to them and their class, unless they are content to take their places in the workers ranks and leave off thieving for a living!

Yet one point more. The Giffard gun cannot compel men to work who refuse to do so, and the General Strike may yet be a weapon in the hands of the workers, which if used resolutely for Socialism may compel our masters to give way. For force if once resorted to can be used quite as effectively on our side as on the side of our masters. It would be well for most of our comrades, who wish to see our ideas spread into the country districts and among the troops, to do their utmost to help us with money. We are only prevented from doing this by want of means, and all our friends would do well to listen more especially now to the appeal for funds for the Special Propaganda; the Committee can make good use of all the money entrusted to them.

But do not let us be downcast at this latest man-destroyer of our masters, for as gunpowder preceded a great revolution in the past, so also may the Giffard gun be the means that will enable us to achieve our freedom. So I will conclude by saying "All hail to the Giffard gun!" which may yet be the New Saviour of Mankind.

C. W. MOWBRAY.

MEN WHO ARE NOT SOCIALISTS.

VI.

THE POLICE.

(Concluded from p. 266.)

I HAVE known a number of policemen intimately, and have, by descending to the level of their intelligence and sympathies, gained from them a deal of knowledge of human nature. To fraternise in this way properly with a policeman, one must contrive to meet them in a friendly way in a country public-house after the authorised closing time. I have spent many a sociable hour with them on such occasions, and have noticed how soon all their official characteristics except their clothes disappear under the influence of Scotch whisky. I've got them to join in singing the "Marseillaise," dance the "Carmagnole," and toast the "Social Revolution!"

I remember a sergeant of police with whom I got on friendly terms in this way. He knew I was a Socialist, and I knew that he procured smuggled tobacco, and occasionally accepted hares and rabbits which had been poached on a neighbouring preserve. There was thus a magnetism between us as it were. We used to walk arm in arm down a country road after leaving the tavern at midnight, when he confided to me suppressed information about the crimes and scandals of the well-to-do people in the district, and revealed to me many of the secrets of his profession. Having been many years a city constable, his information regarding the theory and practice of "law-'n'-order" was extensive and interesting.

He was much perplexed regarding some points of religion, and seemed to derive much consolation from my exegetical remarks. He was especially interested in the bearing of scientific investigation upon the question of the six day's creation, the flood, and similar old-

fashioned points of biblical controversy. I had a deal of trouble in persuading him to give up the orthodox notion of eternal torment. We sat, I remember, some two hours under the moonlight one night strugling the point, and as I bade him "Good morning!" he pressed my hand warmly, and with emotion told me that a new light had dawned upon his soul, and that I had made him a happy man; he then pulled a flask from his hip-pocket, and we drank affectionately and separated.

He was removed to another district shortly afterwards, because a local pawnbroker, who was also a Justice of the Peace, had taken a set against him for discovering some valuable stolen property on his shelves. He was much hurt at this, for, as he explained to me, he was forced to make the discovery against his inclination, and he had befriended the pawnbroker many a time at great risk to himself. Before leaving he assured me that if the Socialists could have given him a salary to go round the country denouncing the police system—as the Irish National party had done in the case of several Irish constables—he would most readily have resigned; and he begged of me that should a favourable opportunity occur, to mention the matter to Morris or Hyndman.

My acquaintance with policemen in their ordinary-mortal capacity led me in the early stages of my propagandist career to regard them as not unfavourable material for operating upon, and for a time I had great ideas of converting them to Socialism wholesale, as the Spaniards converted the Moors to Christianity. I conjured visions of the ranks of the constabulary becoming honeycombed with our proselytes, who would refuse to act in case of a strike or popular revolt. I used, therefore, to direct my remarks so that the policemen who decorated the fringe of the crowd might be conciliated and attracted towards our principles. Oftentimes I was certain that I observed beneath their affected indifference or disdain, a glimmer of sympathy twinkle in their lordly souls. When I had occasion to pass near them I looked kindly in their faces, and if perchance I received a nod of friendly recognition my heart bounded within me. I contrived sometimes to get into conversation with them, and esteemed the vaguest expression of sympathy from one of them as of more importance than an avowal of full acceptance from twenty common citizens.

But it was all a hallucination! Ere long I discovered that their sympathy was without substance—that they were mostly incapable of an honest opinion upon any subject—and that I was only making an ass of myself. All my subsequent experience of them confirms this notion, and convinces me that it is as hard for a policeman to be a Socialist as for a bishop to be a Christian or a politician a patriot.

I never attempt to convert policemen now—I have, I hope, become a wiser man. I have reasoned the matter impartially, and have concluded that even if we could convert a few here and there—and we could not hope to do more—it would serve no useful purpose. If, after being converted, they remained in the force, they would not be men worth converting, and if they left the force others would take their place, and our proselytes being then no longer policemen, we would only have gained a few additional ordinary members—and not likely very good ones either. Besides, I think the fact of policemen becoming Socialists would tend to lower the moral and intellectual status of the movement. They may do all very well for the Salvation Army and other Christian bodies, where the acquisition of heathens and sinners adds lustre to their names and money to their treasuries; but in the Socialist movement we find that the acquisition of honest and intelligent men serves and pays best. We can look at things from a business point of view as well as our neighbours!

So much, indeed have my sentiments changed, that I now feel quite uncomfortable when I think my speeches are making a favourable impression upon any of them. The thought suggests issues that are perplexing. It seems unfair to enlist a policeman's sympathy towards us to-day and perhaps have to heave bricks at him to-morrow. It mars the field and spoils the fight. Of course, if a policeman insists upon becoming a Socialist we cannot prevent him; but it would be better if he didn't. Not that I have any animosity against them personally—none in the least. Although I regard them as destroyers of the public peace, devourers of public rights, maltreaters of the poor, and hired hacks of the privileged class; although I regard them as being mostly ignorant, lazy, bullying, cowardly, conceited rascals; and although at the beginning of this paper I expressed delight in witnessing their public execution,—yet I bear them no malice. Why should I? Are they not victims of civilisation like the rest of us? They are bad, but why should we thirst for their gore? Nay, I regard them rather as Stanley regards Congo niggers—as obstacles in the path of progress: and may not I delight in seeing policemen annihilated in the abstract for freedom's sake, just as Stanley delights to kill Congo niggers in the concrete for civilisation's sake,—without bearing any ill-will against them? Thank heaven! I have enough philosophy in me to enable me to fight and even kill a man without hating him in the least!

When the revolution is accomplished we shall be glad to open our doors to "all that is left of them"; meanwhile let them keep at a respectable fighting distance. If they don't meddle with us we won't meddle with them; if they do meddle with us, then heaven help their poor widows and orphans!

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

EAST LONDON AND SOUTHWARK.—Good meeting was held last Sunday at Union Street, Commercial Road, addressed by Leggatt, who spoke for one hour and a-half; 42 'Weals' sold; enthusiastic audience and no opposition. We were quite as successful on Mile End Waste at 7.30; 27 'Weals' sold, and a meeting announced for next Sunday. Saturday night at Bermondsey Square, a good meeting by Leggatt, who spoke for Leather Trade strikers; 'Weals' sold out.—L.

NEWS FROM NOWHERE:

OR,
AN EPOCH OF REST.

BEING SOME CHAPTERS FROM A UTOPIAN ROMANCE.

CHAP. XXVI. (continued).—THE UPPER WATERS.

WE all stopped to receive her. Dick rose in the boat and cried out a genial good-morrow; I tried to be as genial as Dick, but failed; Clara waved a delicate hand to her; and Morsom nodded and looked on with interest. As to Ellen, the beautiful brown of her face was deepened by a flush as she brought the gunwale of her boat alongside ours, and said:

"You see, neighbours, I had some doubt if you would all three come back past Runnymede, or if you did, whether you would stop there; and besides, I am not sure whether we—my father and I—shall not be away in a week or two, for he wants to see a brother of his in the north country, and I should not like him to go without me. So I thought I might never see you again, and that seemed uncomfortable to me, and—so I came after you."

"Well," said Dick, "I am sure we are all very glad of that; although you may be sure that as for Clara and me, we should have made a point of coming to see you, and of coming the second time if we had found you away the first time. But, dear neighbour, there you are alone in the boat, and you have been sculling pretty hard, I should think, and might find a little quiet sitting pleasant; so we had better part our company into two."

"Yes," said Ellen, "I thought you would do that, so I have brought a rudder for my boat: will you help me to ship it, please?"

And she went aft in her boat and pushed along our side till she had brought the stern close to Dick's hand. He knelt down in our boat and she in hers, and the usual fumbling took place over hanging the rudder on its hooks; for, as you may imagine, no change had taken place in the arrangement of such an unimportant matter as the rudder of a pleasure-boat. As the two beautiful young faces bent over the rudder, they seemed to me to be very close together, and though it only lasted a moment, a sort of pang shot through me as I looked on. Clara sat in her place and did not look round, but presently she said, with just the least stiffness in her tone:

"How shall we divide? Won't you go into Ellen's boat, Dick, since, without offence to our guest, you are the better sculler?"

Dick stood up and laid his hand on her shoulder, and said: "No, no; let Guest try what he can do—he ought to be getting into training now. Besides, we are in no hurry; we are not going far above Oxford; and even if we are benighted, we shall have the moon, which will give us nothing worse of a night than a greyer day."

"Besides," said I, "I may manage to do a little more with my sculling than merely keeping the boat from drifting down stream."

They all laughed at this, as if it had been a very good joke; and I thought that Ellen's laugh even amongst the others was one of the pleasantest sounds I had ever heard.

To be short, I got into the new-come boat, not a little elated, and taking the sculls, set to work to show off a little. For—must I say it?—I felt as if even that happy world were made the happier for my being so near this strange girl; although I must say of all the persons I had seen in that world renewed, she was the most unfamiliar to me, the most unlike what I could have thought of. Clara, for instance, beautiful and bright as she was, was not unlike a very pleasant and unaffected young lady; and the other girls also seemed nothing more than specimens of very much improved types which I had known in other times. But this girl was not only beautiful with a beauty quite different from that of "a young lady," but was in all ways so strangely interesting; so that I kept wondering what she would say or do next to surprise and please me. Not, indeed, that there was anything startling in what she actually said or did; but it was all done in a new way, and always with that indefinable interest and pleasure of life, which I had noticed more or less in everybody, but which in her was more marked and more charming than in anyone else that I had seen.

We were soon under way and going at a fair pace through the beautiful reaches of the river between Bensington and Dorchester. It was now about the middle of the afternoon, warm rather than hot, and quite windless; the clouds high up and light, pearly white, and gleaming, softened the sun's burning, but did not hide the pale blue in most places, though they seemed to give it height and consistency; the sky, in short, looked really like a vault, as poets have sometimes called it, and not like mere limitless air, but a vault so vast and full of light that it did not anyway oppress the spirits. It was the sort of afternoon that Tennyson must have been thinking about, when he said of the Lotos-Eaters' land that it was a land where it was always afternoon.

Ellen leaned back in the stern and seemed to enjoy herself thoroughly. I could see that she was really looking at things and let nothing escape her, and as I watched her, an uncomfortable feeling that she had been a little touched by love of the deft, ready, and handsome Dick, and that she had been constrained to follow us because of it, faded out of my mind; since if it had been so, she surely could not have been so excitedly pleased, even with the beautiful scenes we were passing through. For some time she did not say much, but at last, as we had passed under Shillingford Bridge (new built, but somewhat on its old lines), she bade me hold the boat while she had a good look at the landscape through the graceful arch. Then she turned about to me and said:

"I do not know whether to be sorry or glad that this is the first time that I have been in these reaches. It is true that it is a great pleasure to see all this for the first time; but if I had had a year or two of memory of it, how sweetly it would all have mingled with my life, waking or dreaming! I am so glad Dick has been pulling slowly, so as to linger out the time here. How do you feel about your first visit to these waters?"

I do not suppose she meant a trap for me, but anyhow I fell into it, and said: "My first visit! It is not my first visit by many time. I know these reaches well; indeed, I may say that I know every yard of the Thames from Hammersmith to Cricklade."

I saw the complications that might follow, as her eyes fixed mine with a curious look in them, that I had seen before at Runnymede when I had said something which made it difficult for others to understand my present position amongst these people. I reddened, and said, in order to cover my mistake: "I wonder you have never been up so high as this, since you live on the Thames, and moreover row so well that it would be no great labour to you. Let alone," quoth I, insinuatingly, "that anybody would be glad to row you."

She laughed, clearly not at my compliment (as I am sure she need not have done, as it was a very commonplace fact), but at something which was stirring in her mind; and she still looked at me kindly but with the above-said keen look in her eyes, and then she said:

"Well, perhaps it is strange, though I have a good deal to do at home, what with looking after my father, and dealing with two or three young men who have taken a special liking to me, and all of whom I cannot please at once. But you, dear neighbour; it seems to me stranger that you should know the upper river, than that I should not know it; for, as I understand, you have only been in England a few days. But perhaps you mean that you have read about it in books, and seen pictures of it?—though that don't come to much, either."

"Truly," said I. "Besides, I have not read any books about the Thames; it was one of the minor stupidities of our time that no one thought fit to write a decent book about what may fairly be called our only English river."

The words were no sooner out of my mouth than I saw that I had made another mistake; and I felt really annoyed with myself, as I did not want to go into a long explanation just then, or begin another series of Odyssean lies. Somehow, Ellen seemed to see this, and she took no advantage of my slip; her piercing look changed into one of mere frank kindness, and she said:

"Well, anyhow I am glad that I am travelling these waters with you, since you know our river so well, and I know little of it past Pangbourne, for you can tell me all I want to know about it." She paused a minute, and then said: "Yet you must understand that the part I do know, I know as thoroughly as you do. I should be sorry for you to think that I am careless of a thing so beautiful and interesting as the Thames."

She said this quite earnestly, and with an air of affectionate appeal to me which pleased me very much; but I could see that she was only keeping her doubts about me for another time. WILLIAM MORRIS.

TO BE CONTINUED.

THE ST. LUKE'S EVICTIONS.

We preserve the following taken from the *Star*, which should teach our Radical friends that cruel and merciless evictions are quite as common in London as Ireland:

"The drama of Golden Lane is working itself out. While the evictor and his emergency men were exulting over their victory at Clerkenwell Police-court, there was a scene of a different character going on in the filthy little court over which the dispute has taken place. Amongst the evicted was an old man, 84 years of age. He has for many years occupied one of the tumbledown rooms in this awful slum, and has weekly paid over 2s. 6d. to Mr. Marmaduke Matthews for the privilege of being poisoned with foul air and squalor. His total weekly income was 3s. 6d., a pension from a cabinet-making firm in Hackney for which he used to work in his younger days. To this he added about 1s. 3d. a month by making book-slides in his feeble old way. He has been moved twice during these cruel evictions, but he will not trouble the house jobber again. He will offer no resistance to being taken out next time, for he died after the worry and anxiety of being driven like a dog from one wretched kennel to another. Shortly after the old man died, having expressed on his death-bed a wish not to have a pauper's funeral, Marmaduke Matthews, the recipient of that weekly 2s. 6d. for rent, came along, and graciously contributed sixpence—a whole sixpence, mind you—towards the cost of a burial not at the expense of the parish. When a *Star* man visited the poor fellow a few days ago in his wretched room, whose only furniture was a broken bed propped up with a box, two chairs, and a table saved from falling by leaning against the wall, he found Johnson cooking his meal of rice and water, and feeding with a few grains a little linnæ, which was his only companion in the world. He complained then of the cruelty with which he was being moved on, and told our man how, out of his scanty income, he had regularly paid over two-thirds for rent, and yet they were evicting him. People who imagine that good samaritanism is confined to respectable well-to-do folk ought to have seen how, even in this frightful slum, with all its horde of rough inhabitants, this old man owed many a real addition to his means to the kindness of neighbours who could ill afford the gift."

When are the English people going to be men enough to stop these brutalities by greeting the bailiff with bricks, stones, and hot water after the Irish fashion? Liberal ministers may then remember that landlord tyranny is not confined to Ireland! Don't forget Johnson was a "Free Englishman," and he lived in a place not fit for a dog and on Chinese diet—rice and water! But we all know the English workman is so much better off than the foreigner, and so superior in every way!

SOCIALISM IN LONDON AND THE PROVINCES.

WEST-CENTRAL LONDON ('COMMONWEAL').

THE 'Commonweal' Branch have been very active during this month with propaganda work, such as the pushing of the paper, distribution of leaflets, and general dissemination of anti-Parliamentarian tactics. Indoor work has proved very successful, good audiences having been addressed in our hall on Sunday evenings. The singing class practices have not been so well attended, and your secretary suggests that as it is but a step from the class to the street corner, comrades might turn up; the singing of our revolutionary songs helps to draw large audiences, relieves the speakers, and tends to sell our paper and song-books. Outdoor meetings have been held regularly at Hoxton on Friday evenings and Sunday mornings. On Friday, August 15, we took large red flag with us, and were taken for the time being as apostles of the Salvation Army, in some instances receiving groans and hisses, but this suddenly disappeared when we began speaking. A large audience was addressed by Leggett, Kitz, Mrs. Lahr, and Blundell; at one point of the meeting some miserable half-hearted opposition on the foreign bogey came from some half-starved and pinch-faced women, who were all hat and feathers and no boots, but they were more to be pitied than blamed; our comrade Kitz let them down very gently, and the meeting at finish expressed evident signs of satisfaction at what had been said by our comrades. At same place on the following Sunday morning, comrades Burnie, Mrs. Lahr, and Blundell addressed very good meeting, the flag this time proving a good attraction. The No-Rent Crusade was advocated pretty plainly by the speakers, and altogether seemed to be received with approbation. Several of our comrades attended the Docker's Demonstration in the afternoon, and distributed several thousand leaflets and pushed the *Commonweal*. At this meeting we had a strange experience. A meeting was started by us, and some reference made to the fact that the New Unionism was due to the work of the Socialists, but that now those who have benefited by their work shrink from the name of Socialist, and would wear anything but red as a badge, the dockers intolerantly refused to hear this lecture and broke up the meeting. It was, however, reformed further on, and a large amount of *Commonweals* disposed of. On Friday, August 22, at Hoxton, a large and enthusiastic meeting was addressed for three hours and a-half by Leggett, Burnie, Kitz, Mainwaring, and Blundell, also White (S.D.F.). The usual drunken fool turned up, but disappeared after some kindly treatment of his special case. Some opposition came from a "good Christian young man," who thought our doctrines were erroneous, and would only lead to bloodshed and disorder, and further exhorted the people not to listen to us because we only made working-people more miserable and discontented than they were before, and that no good could come out of it. He also expressed regret that we should criticise the police, because in his case on one occasion, when he was on tramp, and in the town of Hastings, cold and weary, some good and kind policeman there gave him a pot of nice hot tea. He agreed with a good deal that had been said by our speakers, but as a Christian he had more faith in charity, the giving away of soup, blankets, and other little dodges which are resorted to by the mission-hall hypocrites to delude the workers. Kitz replied, and informed the good young man that the police had killed and cruelly beaten and injured many of our comrades, and that there should be no surprise at our expressions of bitterness. We think if this good Christian will read our paper, and attend some more of our meetings, it will not be long before even he will see eye to eye with us. On Sunday morning, August 24, good audience addressed by Mrs. Lahr, Kitz, and Blundell; very sympathetic and no opposition. Our meetings have closed with an endeavour to get names of the Hoxton men and women as members, and we think it will not be long before a good strong branch will be established here. Branch comrades have sold at the different meetings some 157 'Weals, besides distributing some thousands of leaflets. W. B.

SHEFFIELD AND MANCHESTER.

LEAVING Leicester on Monday week, I went to Sheffield and at once began spreading discontent by holding meetings on Monday at the Pump, West Bar, Tuesday at Bramall Lane and Monolith, Wednesday at Wicker, going on Thursday out into the country to Eckington with comrade Cores, distributing 'Weals and leaflets from house to house, and preparing the way for a meeting which we held in the same town on Friday. The doctrine goes very well among the miners, who seemed only too eager to listen, and were sorry when we had to leave to catch a train back to Sheffield. These meetings will now be kept up by the comrades here. Comrade Bulas and myself went to Woodhouse on Saturday, but owing to all the available ground being taken up by the annual fair, etc., we were unable to hold a meeting. I went to Manchester on Sunday morning, and began by addressing a very large meeting of strikers in the water-proof trade, whose chief speakers were the official clique of the Trades' Council here, and who were so shocked at my utterances that they hastily left the platform. I will give them some more during the week. At night I addressed a very large meeting indeed at the spot where our comrades have been prosecuted. The police did not interfere, nay, what is more they never turned up; and though our Social Democratic friends of Salford promised to turn up and help, yet they failed to put in an appearance. Free speech for Social Democrats is their cry, but down with Anarchists is their action. I am going to stir up Manchester and Salford this week, and shall show our somewhat friends that "We're not asleep!" Good meetings and good sale of literature have been the result of all our meetings. C. W. M.

NORTH LONDON.—On Saturday, our meeting was addressed by Cantwell, Nicoll, and Edwards; good discussion. Sunday morning an excellent meeting gathered to hear Miss Lupton, Stone, Edwards, and Nicoll; some discussion was replied to by Miss Lupton and Nicoll; collection, 7s. 3d. In Hyde Park, Cantwell, Miss Lupton, Emerson, Coulon, and Furlong spoke; a man of bourgeois appearance, describing himself as a working-man, a well-known leader of workmen's societies in the East-end, etc., but who refused his name, offered some opposition. He proved to be a Guardian of the Poor Law, and on being fixed with a couple of questions he declined to answer and skulked off; collection was 1s. 4d. We also held a meeting at King's Cross on Sunday evening, where Miss Lupton, Edwards, and Nicoll spoke. We have sold 7 quires of 'Weal this week and 3s. worth of literature.

LEEDS.—On Sunday last a very successful meeting was held on Hunslet Moor, speakers Allworth, Cores, Sollit, Sweeney, and Samuels. Good sale of *Commonweal* and pamphlets, and 3s. 3d. collected. Afternoon, at 3, we held a good meeting and opened up a fresh station at New Wortley recreation ground, Cores, Samuels, and Wormald speaking; good sale of *Commonweal*. At 6.30, in the "Croft," another very good meeting was held, speakers Cores and Samuels, when 2s. more was collected and the last of our 3½ quires *Commonweal* sold; good sale of "Monopoly."—H. S.

Socialist Delegates to the Trades Congress.—The Liverpool Socialist Society will be glad to welcome, at 1 Stanley Street, Dale Street, Socialists who are delegates to the Trades Congress to be held in Liverpool next week.



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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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

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

A. J. WINSTANLEY.—We have not space for the object you mention.
WILL Branch Secretaries please write Reports and Orders for Literature on separate pieces of paper.

TO CONTRIBUTORS.—Workmen could help us greatly by sending in accounts of capitalist tyranny and sweating in London and the provinces. We want the names of the sweaters. Those who write must send us their name and address, not necessarily for publication, but as a guarantee of good faith. We shall not fear to publish the truth.—Eds.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday August 27.

ENGLAND Arbitrator Belfast Weekly Star Justice Labour Tribune Norwich—Daylight People's Press Railway Review Social Demokrat Seafaring The Whirlwind Worker's Friend NEW SOUTH WALES Sydney—Bulletin QUEENSLAND Brisbane—Boomerang INDIA Bankipore—Behar Herald UNITED STATES New York—Der Sozialist New York—Truthseeker New York—Freiheit Twentieth Century Volkszeitung Bakers' Journal Workmen's Advocate	Boston—Woman's Journal Investigator Nationalist Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung Chicago—Rights of Labour Detroit—Der Arme Teufel Philadel.—Knights of Labour Paterson Labour Standard S.F.—Coast Seamen's Journal San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung Pacific Union Valley Falls (Kan.)—Lucifer FRANCE Paris—Bourse du Travail Paris—La Revolte Le Parti ouvrier Le Proletariat Charleville—L'Emancipation Lyon—L'Action Sociale Nancy—Le Tiers-Pied Rouen—Le Salariat HOLLAND Hague—Recht voor Allen SWITZERLAND Arbeiterstimme	BELGIUM Antwerp—De Werker Ghent—Vooruit ITALY Rome—L'Emancipazione Palermo—Avanti Milan—Il Fascio Operaio SPAIN Madrid—El Socialista Madrid—La Anarquista Barcelona—El Productor PORTUGAL Lisbon—O Protesto Operario Porto—A Revolucao Social AUSTRIA Vienna—Arbeiter-Zeitung Brunn—Arbeiterstimme HUNGARY Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik DENMARK Copenhagen—Arbejdernes SWEDEN Malmo—Arbetet WEST INDIES Cuba—El Productor
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REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF PETER KROPOTKINE.

II.

THE dangers to which the revolution is exposed if it allows itself to be mastered by an elected government are so evident, that a whole school of revolutionists have boldly renounced this idea. They understand that it is impossible for an insurgent people to give itself by means of elections a government which does not represent the past, and which will not be a cannon-ball attached to the feet of the people, especially at the time when it is necessary to accomplish this immense work of regeneration—economic, political, and moral—which we designate the Social Revolution. They throw aside, then, the idea of a "legal" government, at any rate for the period during which the revolt against legality continues, and they cry up the "Revolutionary Dictatorship."

"The party," they say, "which will have overthrown the government will take its place by force. It will possess itself of all power

and proceed in a revolutionary manner. It will take the measures necessary to ensure the success of the uprising; it will demolish the old institutions; it will organise the defence of the country. And for those who will not recognise its authority there is the guillotine; for those, workers or capitalists, who refuse to obey the orders which it issues in order to regulate the progress of the revolution—also the guillotine!" This is the reasoning of the Robespierres in embryo—of those who have only remembered the closing scenes of the great drama of the last century, those who have only learnt the speech of the Public Prosecutors under the First Republic.

For us who are Anarchists the dictatorship of an individual or of a party—at bottom it is the same thing—has been definitely rejected. We know that a Social Revolution cannot be directed by the intelligence of a single man or a single organisation. We know that Revolution and Government are incompatible; the one must kill the other, no matter what name is given to the government—dictatorship, royalty, or parliament. We know that the strength and the truth of our party is contained in its fundamental formula, "Nothing good and durable can be done except by the free initiative of the people, and all authority tends to kill it." This is why the best amongst us, if their ideas had no longer to pass through the crucible of public opinion in order to be put into execution, and if they became masters of this formidable machine, the government, so that they would be able to act according to their will, they would become scoundrels in less than a week. We know to what a dictatorship leads—even the best intentioned—to the death of the Revolution. And, moreover, we know that this idea of a dictatorship is always only an unhealthy product of governmental fetishism, which, in conjunction with religious fetishism, has perpetuated slavery.

But to-day we are not speaking to Anarchists. We are speaking to those amongst the revolutionary governmentals, who, misled by the prejudices of their education, are honestly deceived, and desire nothing better than to discuss their position. We will speak to them then from their own standpoint.

First of all, let us make a general observation. Those who advocate a dictatorship do not generally perceive that in sustaining this prejudice they are only preparing the ground for those who will cut their throats later on. There is a saying of Robespierre's which his admirers would do well to remember. He did not deny dictatorship on principle, but "Mark my words!" he exclaimed suddenly to Mandar, when the latter was speaking to him on the subject one day, "Brissot will be dictator!" Yes, Brissot, the malignant Girondin, the deadly enemy of the equalitarian tendency of the people, the indignant defender of property (which he had formerly described as theft); Brissot, who would gladly have inscribed the names of Marat, Hébert, and all the moderate Jacobins in the prisoners' book of L'Abbaye Prison.

But this saying dates from 1792! At this time France had already been three years in the revolutionary state! In fact royalty no longer existed, there was nothing more to do but to give it the finishing stroke; indeed, the feudal regime was already abolished. Nevertheless, even at this period, when the waves of revolution were freely disporting themselves, it was the reactionary Brissot who had all the chances of being appointed dictator! And before this, in 1789, who had the chance? Mirabeau would have been recognised as the authoritarian chief, the man who was making a bargain with the king for the sale of his eloquence. Those are the men who would have been carried to power at this period if the insurgent people had imposed its sovereignty, supported by pikes, and if they had not followed up the accomplished deeds of the Jacquerie by rendering illusory all constituted power at Paris and in the departments.

But the government prejudice so blinds those who speak of dictatorship, that they would rather prepare the dictatorship of a new Brissot or of a Napoleon than renounce the idea of giving another master to the men who break their chains!

The secret societies of the period of the Restoration, and of Louis Philippe, have powerfully contributed to maintain this prejudice in favour of dictatorship. The middle-class Republicans of the time, assisted by the workers, made a long series of conspiracies to overthrow royalty and proclaim the republic. Not taking into account the immense transformation that would have to take place in France, even for the establishment of a middle-class republican regime to be commenced, they imagined that by means of a vast conspiracy they would overthrow royalty some fine day, take possession of power, and proclaim a republic. For nearly thirty years these secret societies continued to work with unbounded devotion, with perseverance, and heroic courage. If the republic resulted quite naturally from the revolution of February, 1848, it was due to these societies, it was thanks to the propaganda by deed which they carried on during thirty years. Without their noble efforts even now the Republic would be impossible.

Their end then was to take possession of power, and to install the representatives of their ideas in a republican dictatorship. But, as might have been expected, they never succeeded in doing this. As it always the case, as an inevitable result of the existing condition of things, the conspiracy could not overthrow royalty. The conspirators had prepared the fall. They had widely spread the republican idea. Their martyrs had put the ideal before the people. But the last effort, that which definitely overthrew the bourgeois king, was much greater and much stronger than could possibly come from a secret society—it came from the mass of the people.

Everyone knows the result. The party who had prepared the fall of royalty found itself driven away from the steps of the Hôtel de Ville. Others who were too prudent to run the risks of a conspiracy,

but better known and also more moderate, waiting for the moment to take possession of power themselves, took the place that the conspirators thought to conquer in the noise of the cannon. Some journalists and lawyers, fine speakers, who were working to make themselves a name whilst the real republicans were forging arms or dying in the convict prison, possessed themselves of power. Some already well known were acclaimed by the crowd; others pushed themselves forward and were accepted because their name represented nothing but a programme of agreement with everybody.

Let no one tell us that this was due to a want of practical thought on the part of the party of action; that others would do better! No, a thousand times, no! It is a law like that which rules the motions of the stars, that the party of action shall remain outside whilst the intriguers and talkers take hold of power. They are better known among the great mass who give the last push. They get the most votes, for with or without voting papers, by acclamation or through the intermediary of the ballot box, at bottom it is always a sort of tacit election that takes place at such a moment by acclamation. They are chosen by everybody, especially by the enemies of the revolution, who prefer to push to the front those who will do nothing, and acclamation thus recognises as chiefs those who are at bottom either enemies of the movement or indifferent to its success.

The man who more than anyone else was the incarnation of this system of conspiracy, the man who paid for his devotion to this system by a life in prison, threw out just before his death these words, which are a programme in themselves, "Neither God nor Master."

CORRESPONDENCE.

"JOHN BURNS AND FOREIGN COMPETITION."

Sir,—In your issue of last week you state that "John Burns is reported to have said at Hartlepool that Englishmen could always beat the foreigner." Without taking the trouble to enquire if such a statement was true, or if true the conditions under which it was made, you at once criticise the statement as if I had made it. Besides this liberal assumption, you go further and lecture me as to what I could have said upon the question of Internationalism, and conclude by saying "Burns might preach the International Solidarity of Labour."

Before you criticise any speeches of mine taken from garbled and condensed reports in capitalist papers, which alone ought to make you suspicious, it is your duty to read the speech in the local papers where it appeared. If you had done so, you would have found that I dealt with the Foreign Competition question from the Socialist point of view entirely. But in answer to a speech made by Sir Charles Palmer, I thought it necessary to prove, as I did, that even from an insular point of view that the masters were not justified in asking for a reduction or resisting an increase of wages in the coal, iron, and shipbuilding trades through foreign competition, as facts were dead against them.

You then insult the intelligence and honesty of the workmen who listened to me by saying it was necessary to pander to them. They did not desire it. I did not do it. The fact is your note was written in entire ignorance of what was really said, and with a view, I believe, of simply adding me with Graham to the already long list of people whom it seems to be your special mission to misrepresent.

In your report also of the dockers' demonstration (and such is Socialist editing!) you credit Ben Tillett with the best speech from the revolutionary point of view. In this you may be right, but in *Justice* of this week he and Tom Mann were credited with the very opposite. Which is right?

For what I said at the meeting I would refer you and your readers to the *Times*, to which or any other capitalist paper I would rather look for fair reporting than to either of the Socialist papers now in existence. You were so busy denouncing me and all my works on Sunday last in the Park that you could not hear what we said. If you had heard, your report of the demonstration might have been different to what it was.

In your last week's issue you also sneer at my work on the London County Council. I can justly claim to have done a little work in London really revolutionary and also constitutional; but of all the work I have been capable of, none gives me greater satisfaction than the raising of the wages of the workmen of the L.C.C. staff and the reduction of their hours in many cases from twelve to eight.

I know this is regarded as a "dirty palliative" and labelled as mere "constitutionalism" by men who don't know anything about the working-class movement. But I intend to go on with it, in spite of deliberate misrepresentation on the part of men who talk about the reconstruction of society and denounce others who work for it, and have themselves not yet shown capacity enough to run a decent-sized apple-stall.

Take the trouble to hear what the ideal of the New Unionism is, and see, as you easily can, what is the work that Tom Mann, Ben. Tillett, and others have really done, and in doing have been impeded by men calling themselves Socialists, and whose chief object seems to be to jealously wreck the good work that they themselves are incapable of doing.

In justice to your readers who read last week's note, this reply ought to be inserted.—Yours truly,
JOHN BURNS.

[The blame, if any, for taking what Burns describes as the garbled and condensed reports of the capitalist press as a basis of criticism, rests with the *People's Press*, the organ of the New Unionism, the quotation about foreigners being taken from it. We did not insult the intelligence and honesty of the working-men who listened to Burns, but we do know from bitter experience the hide-bound prejudices the bulk of such audiences have against foreigners, and we recognise it as one of the chief hindrances to our propaganda. We protest, therefore, against even the shadow of an attempt to foster them. As a matter of fact, we were not specially engaged in attacking Burns in the Park, but asserted that the principles of International Socialism had been preached to the disorganised workers of London, and that the present upheaval was partly the result of such work. But now a number of men seek to ignore the root principles of Socialism, and

¹ Blanqui.

to turn the New Unionism into an Aristocracy of Labour. If any further proof were needed the following excerpt from Burns's speech to the dockers on Tower Hill will suffice:

"The docks of London had been too long the haven of refuge for all the loafers, tramps, and deadbeats of Great Britain; for too long had the flotsam and jetsam of the labour market drifted there, to knock down the wages and increase the hours of the legitimate dockers. If these loafers, who wanted to earn money for drink, could not get work, let them go to the poor-law, and throw themselves upon the pockets of the middle and upper classes, and not upon the poor dock labourers. Let them go to the Government and demand a legal eight hours day. They were not going to allow 3,000 or 4,000 loafers and ne'er-do-wells, whom society must support, drive down the wages earned by legitimate workers. In his opinion this was the best and wisest thing they had ever done. Now agricultural labourers and others will know that the docks were not the cesspool for the residuum of labour."

And this is the end of all the tall talk about the dawning day of Labour's Emancipation, etc., etc.

Burns advises us to learn what the ideal of the New Unionism is; judging from the above it seems to be the devil take the hindmost. The complaint about attacks by those who call themselves Socialists is refreshing after our experience of the *Labour Elector* during John Burns's connection with it and its editor. It would be, perhaps, superfluous to remind Burns what is the ideal of the Socialists, and especially of the International Revolutionary Party; but for the enlightenment of the New Unionists it may be stated that it means the inculcation of the doctrine that the unfortunates who compose the wreckage of our rotten civilisation to-day, are the direct results of the hideous competition around us. Further, that our foreign comrades are one with us in the Order of Labour, and when Commercialism pits them against us we shall attack it and not them.

Emphatically Revolutionary Socialism does not mean the carving out of a new and close order of labour, which will help to kick those already down, meanwhile stigmatising them as loafers, tramps, etc. The exigencies of the New Unionism no doubt compels them to adopt self-protective measures; but to do this and at the same time wish to be credited with holding fast still to the old faith is expecting a little too much. If to carry a kindlier message to the fallen and the dregs is a task at once too heavy and incompatible with the existence of the New Unionism, that is not the fault of the Socialists. Their task, at all events, is clear, and that is, to preach incessantly for the complete overthrow of wage-slavery.

Let us take the other points raised by Burns. As to Cunningham Graham, he does not need Burns's protection; if he thinks he has been "misrepresented," he has a tongue and pen and can defend himself. With regard to the Dockers' Demonstration, we stick to our opinion; we have no connection with *Justice*, and what that organ says is nothing to us. Our criticisms of Burns's work on the County Council were perfectly fair; we did not sneer, we only said he had done better work outside; and surely the stirring up of the labour revolt of 1889 was in the opinion of most reasonable people a greater feat than any work he has done on the County Council. The words "dirty palliative" have never been used in the *Commonweal*, and we shall trouble ourselves to reply to any personal abuse on the part of Mr. Burns. It is untrue—and Burns knows it is untrue—to say we have "impeded" or have tried to "wreck" the new movement. We have always been friendly to it, when it has done good work, as witness our reports of the dock strike and of the strike of the chocolate girls, and even Burns has acknowledged this in the past.

We do not think the last sentence was necessary. We believe in "free speech." We are neither "New Unionists" nor "New Journalists," and if we give hard knocks we are not afraid of them in return. In conclusion, we say we shall continue to speak out, and we are not to be silenced even by Mr. John Burns.—EDS.]

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

FRANCE.

At Grenoble lately the trial took place against our comrades accused of riot on the 1st of May at Vienne. Peter Martin was sentenced to five years' imprisonment, Thenevin to two years, and Buisson to one year. The other accused have been discharged. In spite of the silence of the press, the public who attended were very friendly to the accused, and the opinion of the people is very favourable, so that we may consider this trial as having been very useful to the propaganda of our ideas. Comrade Martin, who has been very prominent in the movement, and who led the people to the plundering of the stores of Mr. Brocart, defended himself splendidly; endorsing all the responsibility of his action, he explained that the workers had the right to take from the rich the possessions which they have stolen from the people, and it was this robbery which has caused the workers to be in distress and want. He described the pitiful condition of the working classes in Vienne, and especially of the working women; he proved that the bourgeoisie will only yield to the legitimate pretensions of the workers when pressed by force, and that if there was any improvement in the condition of the working classes during the last few weeks, that had been in fact through the fright the capitalists had had from the riots of the 1st May. We are very satisfied, he said in his plea, with what we have done, and we are largely repaid for it, for through the walls of our prison the blessings of the working women of Vienne will reach us. I wish, he concluded, that the conscience of our judges might be as peaceful as my own.

The plea of comrade Martin ended amidst the enthusiastic applause of the crowd; everybody was highly affected, even the press people and lawyers who attended.

Thenevin, who was not at Vienne the 1st of May, was accused for a speech made the day before. Buisson was charged with having taken an official by the collar and pushing him out of the meeting, saying, "I abandon you to the justice of the people."

Comrade Louise Michel, who had in the case of Vienne the same responsibility as the others, made it possible for her to be included in the trial; but the Government were afraid that the popularity and the eloquence of this valuable comrade would be dangerous to existing institutions, so they made a vile excuse for not trying her.

In connection with the Grenoble trial, the *Intransigent* of M. Rochefort, seizing the opportunity that our comrade Martin is in prison and could not answer, said that he was a spy, which base calumny could only be expected from such vile mercenary people.

At Grenoble 10,000 working women and girls are occupied in the glove trade. Of these one-tenth work in factories at the rate of 6s. to 12s. a-week. The rest, who work in the manufacture of gloves from four o'clock in the

morning till nine or ten at night, never earn 10s. a-week. In spite of these low wages, the manufacturer puts the work out in the country at yet lower prices, and the working women, who can hardly earn their piece of bread with the hard labour of fifteen hours daily, have to suffer the fearful consequences of want of work.

The people have not forgotten the fearful explosion in the collieries of St. Etienne. The miners are indignant against the greediness of capitalists who can send to their death 120 working-people; and the day won't be long when the united miners will force the capitalist to work underground themselves if they want coals.

ITALY.

A new Socialist paper has appeared at Adria, called *Il Polesine*. At Macerata (Marche) there has also appeared the Anarchist paper *La Campana*, specially for the propaganda among the peasants.

An enquiry made by our comrades about the spinning factories of the Calabria (S. I.) has given the following results. There are only women employed at the factories, except for the working of the steam-engines. They work fifteen hours in winter (six in the morning till nine at night) and fourteen in summer, with only half an hour for their meals. There are young girls employed there under twelve years of age. The work is continual and without rest; no holidays, neither Sundays nor weekdays. They are subject to all kinds of penalties, and no excuse is received in case of sickness. If they do not attend to the factory on Sundays they are punished with double penalty. The average wages are 2s. 6d. a-week, the minimum being 1s. 8d. and the maximum 5s.

In Rome at the last bye-elections, out of 29,398 registered electors 3,500 only attended; half voted for the ministers, the other half against. At Faenza, with 4,346 registered electors, only 800 attended, and the local press are satisfied with such a big figure. At Recanati (Marche), out of 1,900 registered electors, only 700 voted; last year the number of voters was 1,200.

At Urbino the women working in spinning factories have obtained a reduction of their work hours; they work twelve hours instead of fourteen. They earn about 3s. a-week.

BELGIUM.

A great miners' strike has broken out in Belgium, chiefly in the district of Mons, on Thursday 21st. At Liège a partial strike has also been declared, and the workers are irritated with the employers because an important company has announced that every workman who on any day does not come to his work without leave of absence shall be fined a sum equal to his day's salary. Meetings have been held at several places.

On Friday night the number of strikers reached 14,000. The men assumed a decided attitude. The solidarity which exists between the miners is remarkable; most of them are on strike in the interest of their fellows. The organisation of the workmen is formidable enough to oblige the authorities and employers to come to some agreement. At Liège they have already obtained an increase of wages.

The great demonstration on the 10th of August in favour of the universal suffrage was enormous, and it will be only a question of a very little time before the people will secure this so-much-desired right. What energy and hard-earned money is wasted in following this will-o'-the-wisp! Napoleon in France, Bismarck in Germany, gave it to the people; they did not think it so very dangerous to their class, but thought it a good safety-valve; and we see constantly what it lets off—"words, words, words."

GERMANY.

On the 30th of July the term of imprisonment (three and a half years) came to an end to which our Russian comrade, Slavinsky, was condemned in the great Socialist trial in Posen (Prussia). A great number of workmen went to the prison Plötzensee near Berlin, eager to grasp him by the hand once more; but several policemen were also in attendance, and as soon as Slavinsky came out he was handcuffed and again locked up. In accordance with the new extradition law, he has been given up to Russian authorities, now claim him for being suspected of having taken part in the removal of a certain justice of the peace in Warsaw in 1884. This is how the authorities oblige each other. A reason is soon invented, just to give it a lawful appearance; we know what being "suspected" means in Russia: if after the cruellest tortures not sufficient proofs can be brought against the accused, the unfortunate person simply disappears in the ice and snow fields of Siberia. It is a pity that no attempt was made at rescue. The people must have been perfectly paralysed; and I am afraid the constant cry of the Social-Democratic leaders, "Don't be provoked to do anything unlawful," has a great deal to do with it; it lames the movement and makes the people afraid to act quickly and on the impulse of the moment. It will be some time before such a good opportunity offers itself again. Later on an attempt was made on the frontier to free Slavinsky, but they had their prey too well secured.

The Home Minister, Herrfurth, has sent a ukase to the provincial presidents, in which he orders that the Socialist movement shall be strictly watched, and suppressed as far as the law can be stretched. Coercion or common law, they strike always in the same way; we are still to be gagged in the good old style. Freedom of speech, press, meeting, and combination is under the merciful consideration of the gentlemen in blue. To us Socialists it makes very little difference by what law we get treated—or rather, ill-treated; our enemies can do and try as they like, there is only one way to stop the movement, and that is by the turning of the private property into common property, the distribution of the stored-up necessities of life to those in want of them, and the use of all machines, tools, and means of communication by the people, for the people. That the present owners will never peacefully submit to these terms any child can see, and it is best to tell the people that the time will come when they will have to show their teeth to get it, and more so to hold it when they have got it. RTR.

The "Postmen's" Gazette' and the 'Commonweal.'

The *Postmen's Gazette* accuses us of telling "lies" about the secretary of the Postmen's Union, J. L. Mahon. The lies are as follows. We first accused J. L. Mahon of losing the postmen's strike through cowardly mismanagement. Of the truth of this accusation, the public, who read the accounts of the strike in not only the ordinary press, but in the labour press, can judge for themselves. We then said that Mr. Mahon had repeatedly changed his opinions within the last few years, and we especially noticed his apostacy from Revolutionary Socialism to mild Parliamentaryism. His frequent changes of opinion are so notorious that Socialists of all schools know our accusation to be true. We beg respectfully to inform the editor of the *Postmen's Gazette* that lying is not in our line. We need some lessons in that useful art from the small gang of political swindlers who boss what is left of the Postmen's Union.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

Tom Mann makes a Revolutionary Speech.

The leaders of the New Unionism are beginning to speak out. The following speech by Tom Mann delivered last week at a meeting of the Seamen's and Firemen's Union at Bermondsey Town Hall may be of interest to our readers:

"Their objects as trade-unionists were not only to obtain an advance of wages, but to obtain what was far more necessary, the extirpation of poverty and the causes of poverty. There was nothing in nature that said that any one man, woman, or child should be short of the necessaries and comforts of life, and they were working not only for a bare existence wage, but for conditions of affluence. He believed that a greater educational work had been carried on amongst the workers of London during the past year than during any period of their history. Discontent was ranking in their breasts, but it was discontent on a higher plane, a discontent appreciating knowledge and thirsting for it, thinking less of the public-house and more of the lecture-hall and concert-room. They were not content to be thought good women and praised as steady fellows; that was all very well as far as it went, but it did not go far enough. They could, some of them, make fine houses, yet they had to dwell in miserable slums and leave others who had done nothing to live in the splendid mansions they had been building. Others of them were able to make splendid furniture, yet they had to be content with a few squalid sticks. They could build Pullman cars, and yet they let the parasites who lived on their labour travel in them, whilst they were relegated to cattle-trucks. All good things came as the result of labour. Nothing ever came that dropped from heaven, or was shot from hell. Workmen make all the good things of life, and then go without them. Those who created ought to enjoy, and they were striving to alter the word 'ought' into the word 'shall.' These ideas might be called revolutionary. Very likely. So was every great idea that inspired the human race when it was first mooted; but was not the cause of their own welfare and well-being as well worth fighting for as any great cause that had ever been fought for? They were taking part in a great movement, and there was a shaking of their chains, which was frightening a good many people—the German Kaiser, for instance, who began to recognise that if he valued his own skin he must do something for the workers. It was frightening their own statesmen, too, although he had not one atom of confidence in what they could do for them, but he had far more confidence in what they could do for themselves."

Tom Mann must be congratulated. A Revolutionary Socialist could not have made a better speech.

The Dockers.

The dockers' leaders have drawn up a co-operative scheme by which work is to be offered to the men at a certain agreed price, and the men will then form themselves into a company to undertake the work on co-operative principles. Each member of the company will be allotted his share of the work and his wages, the contract stipulating only that the work shall be carried on under the direction and to the satisfaction of the company's official. Under such a system there would, of course, be no guarantee of the sixpence an hour. But if the directors fall in with the suggestion that they shall officially recognise and deal only with the union, it will sweep away the necessity for such a guarantee. We fear, however, that the directors will not agree. Norwood never forgives or forgets. The executive of the union has also issued a resolution declaring that no candidates for admission to the union will be accepted in future. We think it is a mistake; already the clouds of trade depression are beginning to overhang the land, and Norwood is waiting his opportunity. When the crash comes, this notice will not prevent unemployed men flocking into the London labour market. Norwood can provoke a strike when he chooses by insisting on the "freedom of labour," and there will be plenty blacklegs to take the strikers' places. Knowing how much they will then need public sympathy, we do not think that resolutions of this description, or calling the broken-down outcasts of our present system hard names, will help the dockers in the coming struggle. We think, therefore, the resolution should be withdrawn, and that it would be a good thing if a little more sympathy was shown for "criminal tramps," whose help is sometimes very effective in a labour revolt. Remember it was the memory of the "casual labourer" fighting madly at the dock gates for a few hours' work at a miserable wage, that brought in the big subscriptions which enabled the dockers to win the Great Strike.

The Dockers and the Trades Congress.

The dockers' executive have passed the following resolutions as instructions to its Trades Congress delegate:

1. Believing that the time is now ripe for the trade unionists of this country to take united action to secure the payment of trades union rates of wages and a maximum day of eight hours in Government dockyards, and believing that the Union of Dockyard Labourers is not sufficient in itself to enforce the same, we hereby instruct our delegate to urge upon the Trades Congress the need for pledging itself to use its best efforts to secure such trades union wages and a maximum working day of eight hours to dockyard workers.
2. Recognising that no trade union can be sure of success in its action unless free from blacklegs taking the places of unionist strikers, and believing that at the present time blacklegs mostly come from agricultural labourers, owing to their scanty pay and unorganised condition, we hereby instruct our delegate to urge upon the Trades Congress the need of at once taking steps to organise the agricultural labourers for the protection of the trade unionists already existent.
3. Believing that the organisation of labour in this country has now reached a stage when a general system of boycott might be effectively used to bring pressure to bear on unscrupulous employers, we hereby instruct our delegate to the Trades Congress to bring that subject up for discussion, and to urge upon the delegates to that body to pledge themselves to use their best efforts in their respective societies to get the members to boycott all goods, railways, and establishments where the employers refuse to comply with trade union regulations.

We think the ideas of organising the agricultural labourers and boycotting unfair employers are excellent, and we know them both to be thoroughly practical. We doubt, however, if the Trades Congress can do much for the dockyard labourer. According to Cunningham Graham in Monday's *Star*, Liberal capitalists and Tory leaders have formed a coalition against the Eight Hour movement. If they have not done so already they will, and a General Strike will be the only way in which the people can effect a change in their condition.

The Trades Congress.

Arrangements are almost complete in connection with the twenty-third annual congress of the trades unions of the United Kingdom, which will be opened in Hope Hall, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool, on September 1, and will

be continued throughout the week. The preliminary programme of subjects to be discussed with a view to the next parliamentary session includes (1) the Employers' Liability Bill; (2) certificates of competency for men in charge of steam-engines and boilers; (3) the desirability of increasing the number of factory and workshop inspectors; (4) the right of relatives of deceased miners to be represented at coroners' inquests; (5) public contracts and fair wages; (6) co-operation and its relation to trades unionism; and (7) representation of labour in Parliament.

Strike of Women Fur-pullers.

Herbert Burrows sends the following appeal to the press:

"Sir,—Will you kindly allow me to make an appeal to your readers, especially to women? Between fifty and sixty girls and women employes of a firm in South London—J. Vancaili, 186 Old Kent Road—have been on strike for three weeks against a system of work which involves a considerable addition to their already too laborious toil. The details are technical, but it may be shortly stated that fur-pulling is hard and dirty work, and that by an unfair method of giving out too large a proportion of heavy skins a reduction of wage (the work is piecework) is effected. At the best, the pullers can only earn 11s. or 12s. a week, and sometimes only from 5s. to 7s. The employer has acknowledged to me that they work hard and 'earn the money,' and such an admission from an employer means much. One great cause of the difficulty is the foreman, who, to quote the women's phrase, treats them as if they were 'the scum of the earth,' and who has told them when they have complained about low wages to 'go round Charing Cross and the Elephant and Castle.' Your readers will know the meaning of that. The behaviour of the women during the strike has been most quiet and exemplary; so quiet that during the more exciting labour commotions they have been almost overlooked. I ask those of your readers who can, particularly the women, to send me at once what sums they can afford for the help of their sisters who are bravely struggling, not simply for themselves, but for womanhood.

All fur-pullers are requested to avoid Vancaili's while the strike is going on, and I shall be much obliged if any carmen or railway-men who know of any goods being sent out by the firm will at once communicate with me."

Subscriptions to be sent to Herbert Burrows, 283 Victoria Park Road, N.E. The foreman seems to be modelling himself upon that eminent philanthropist Samuel Morley. I wonder if, like his great exemplar, he professes to be pious.

Lock-out of Gas-workers.

The gasmen at Enfield have been locked-out. The company wanted to drive the men back into their old slavery of twelve hours a-day. This the men resisted, and were paid a week's wages instead of notice on Thursday August 21st. Some blacklegs have been supplied by Livesey, but otherwise the company are rather short of hands. The men who work at the Small-Arms Factory and the workpeople of the neighbourhood are standing by the locked-out men.

"COMMONWEAL" CONCERT.

The North London Branch gave a very successful concert for the benefit of the *Commonweal* Fund on Wednesday, August 20th. Songs were given by Cantwell, Mrs. Mackenzie, Mrs. Leatham, and Williams. Darwood and Nicoll were the reciters. Comrade Fox gave a splendid solo on the violin, which was loudly encored. McKechnie was an excellent accompanist to the singers. Lurache sang the "Carmagnole" with great effect, and Blundell was equally successful with the "Starving Poor," the chorus of both songs being taken up vigorously by the audience. Dancing was kept up till three o'clock in the morning. Altogether we spent a very jolly evening, and the concert will result in a substantial addition to the *Commonweal* Fund. Other Branches might follow suit.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

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

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

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

(Branch Secretaries will please send with remittances for Capitations the number of their membership.)

"COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

H. R.	£ s. d.	J. B. G. (Glasgow)	£ s. d.
F.C.S.S.	0 3 0	B. W.	0 5 0
P. Webb (2 weeks)	0 1 0		0 0 6
Nicoll	0 2 0		
	0 0 6	Total	0 12 0

Propaganda.—Change, 10d.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

Funds are urgently needed for special work in connection with Propaganda. These funds will be used at the discretion of the Propaganda Committee, and to prevent confusion all money must be sent to Secretary of Propaganda Committee, at 24, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C., and will be acknowledged by him the *Weal*.
D. J. NICOLL, Sec. to Propaganda Committee.

REPORTS.

ABERDEEN.—A good meeting was held on Castle Street on Thursday night; the speakers were Leatham and Duncan. On Saturday night, at the same place, Aiken, W. Cooper, and Leatham spoke to a large crowd; the latter was kept answering questions until half-past eleven o'clock; literature sold well.—C.

GLASGOW.—On Friday night Glasier spoke at Bridgeton Cross. On Saturday evening, in response to an invitation from a number of new comrades in Beith, we held an open-air meeting in that town at the Star Hotel. Comrade McLagan (Beith) presided and made an earnest appeal to his fellow-townsmen to study Socialism. Glasier then addressed the meeting at length on the general aims of Socialism, and was followed by Joe Burgoyne, both of whom were listened to with marked attention and sympathy. Two quires of *Commonweal* were sold, and a large number of pamphlets. It is obvious that our Beith comrades are awaking great interest in the question in their little town, and there is every likelihood of a Branch of the League being formed there. On Sunday evening Glasier spoke at Paisley Road Toll, where *Commonweal* was sold out and 4s. 2d. worth of literature sold.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

- Battersea.**—All communications to E. Buteux, 45, Inwith Street, Battersea Park Road.
- Commonweal Branch.**—24 Great Queen Street, Holborn, W.C. Tuesdays, Singing Practice. Thursdays, Business meeting. Saturdays, Social Gathering; Sunday, August 31, at 8 p.m., Edith Lupton will lecture on "Woman." Women specially invited. Free discussion after lecture.
- East London.**—H. McKenzie, 10 Victoria Dwellings, Clerkenwell Road, E.C.
- Hammersmith.**—Keimscott House, Upper Mall, W. Lecture every Sunday at 8. French Class conducted by Mlle. Desroches on Friday evenings at 7.30.
- North Kensington.**—Clarendon Coffee Palace, Clarendon Road. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m. The Branch Band meets every Friday at 8 p.m. for practice. Comrades wishing to join to give in their names to the instructor at the above address.
- North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road. Meets every Wednesday evening at 8 o'clock.
- South London.**—St. George's Coffee Tavern, 106 Westminster Bridge Road.
- Whitechapel and St. Georges-in-the-East.**—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

PROVINCES.

- Aberdeen.**—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Odd-fellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane, on Sunday evenings at 6.30. Singing practice, etc., Mondays at 8 p.m.
- Glasgow.**—Members are invited to meet on Thursday and Sunday evenings, at 8 o'clock, in the Secretary's house, 250 Crown Street, S.S. All communications to be sent to that address.
- Halifax.**—Socialists meet every Sunday at 6.30 p.m. at Helliwell's Temperance Hotel, Northgate.
- Hull.**—Club Liberty, 1 Beets Court, Blanket Row.
- Leeds.**—Socialist League Club, 1 Clarendon Buildings and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8.—International Educational Club, Templar Street. Open every evening. Discussion class every Friday at 8; lectures every Saturday at 4. All kinds of Socialist literature on tables and for sale.
- Leicester.**—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.
- Nottingham.**—Socialist Club, Woodland Place, Upper Parliament Street. Club contribution, 1d. per week; Dancing every Wednesday, 8 till 10.30—fee 3d.
- Norwich.**—Members' meeting held every Tuesday at 8.30.
- Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. First Friday in every month, at 8.30 p.m.
- Sheffield.**—Socialist Club, 63 Blonk Street. French Class, Tuesday at 8.30. Discussion Class, Wednesday at 8.30. Open-air meetings are held as follows:—Sunday: Monolith, Fargate, at 11.30; Newhall Road, Attercliffe, at 11.30; Pump, Westbar, at 8; Heeley, Maresbrook Park, at 7.30; Monolith, Fargate, at 6.30; Rotherham, College Yard, at 3.15. Wednesday: Nursery Street, Wicker, at 8. Thursday: Bramall Lane, at 8; Eckington, at 6.30. Friday: Duke Street, Park, at 8. Saturday: Woodhouse, at 7.
- Walsall.**—Socialist Club, 18 Goodall Street, Walsall. Meetings every night.
- Yarmouth.**—Socialist League Club, 56 Row, Market Place. Open every evening. Business Meeting, Tuesday at 8. Singing Practice, Wednesday at 8.30. Discussion Class, Thursday at 8.30. Elocution Class, Friday at 8.30.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SATURDAY 30.

- 8 Bermondsey Square Leggatt and Mrs. Lahr
- 8 Prince of Wales Road Nicoll

SUNDAY 31.

- 11 Commercial Road—Union Street Leggatt and Mrs. Lahr
- 11 Latimer Road Station North Kensington Branch
- 11.30 Hammersmith Bridge Hammersmith Branch
- 11.30 Hoxton Church Nicoll
- 11.30 Kilburn—"Old Plough," Kilburn Lane Mainwaring
- 11.30 New Cut—Short Street Kitz and Buckeridge
- 11.30 Regent's Park Burnie
- 11.30 Streatham—Fountain Smith
- 3.30 Hyde Park—Marble Arch Miss Lupton
- 3.30 Victoria Park Burnie, W. and Mrs. Blundell
- 3.30 Streatham Common The Branch
- 7 Hammersmith Bridge Hammersmith Branch
- 7 Wornwood Scrubs North Kensington Branch
- 7.30 Streatham—Fountain The Branch
- 8 Kings Cross—Liverpool Street Edwards, Miss Lupton, Mrs. Blundell
- 8 Mile end Waste Leggatt and Mrs. Lahr
- 8 Walham Green—back of Church Hammersmith Branch

MONDAY 1.

- 7.30 Westminster Bridge Road—Pearman Street The Branch

THURSDAY 4.

- 7.30 New Cut—Short Street Leggatt, Mrs. Lahr, and Kitz

FRIDAY 5.

- 8.15 Hoxton Church Leggatt and Mrs. Lahr

PROVINCES.

- Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, at 8 p.m.
- Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock. Friday: Bridgeton Cross, at 8.15.
- Leeds.**—Saturday: Woodhouse Moor, at 7.30 p.m. Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.
- Leicester.**—Sunday: Russell Square at 10.45 a.m.; Humberstone Gate, at 8 p.m. Monday: Belgrave, at 7.30. Tuesday: Sanvey Gate, at 8. Wednesday: Oadby, at 7.30. Friday: Anstey, at 7.30. Saturday: Wigston, at 7.
- Liverpool.**—Landing Stage, Sundays at 11.30 a.m. and 3 p.m.
- Manchester.**—Saturday: Middleton market ground, at 7 p.m. Sunday: Philips Park Gates, at 11; Stevenson Square, at 3. Monday: Market Street, Blackley, at 8.
- Nottingham.**—Sunday: Sneinton Market, at 11 a.m.; Great Market, at 7 p.m.
- Norwich.**—Saturday: Haymarket, at 8. Sunday: Market Place at 11, 3, and 7.30.
- Yarmouth.**—Saturday: Church Plain Trees, at 8 p.m. Sunday: Priory Plain, at 11; Bradwell, at 11.30; London Boat Landing Stage, at 3; Colman's Granary Quay, at 7. Monday: Belton, at 8 p.m.

DERBY.—In connection with the Midland Counties Socialist Federation, open-air meetings are held every Saturday in the Market Place, at 7.45 p.m. Socialists in Derby willing to assist in forming a Branch, please communicate with W. G. Purcell, 12 Society Place.

SOCIALIST LEAGUE PUBLICATIONS.

Leaflets.

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

Table listing leaflets such as 'Straight Talk to Working Men', 'The Land for the People', 'Populated? A useful leaflet, full of facts', etc.

American Literature.

Table listing American literature such as 'Plutarch's Lives of Famous Men', 'A History of the Trial of the Chicago Anarchists', etc.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Table listing miscellaneous items like 'Spaziergänge eines Atheisten', 'The Reciter for Clubs and Social Gatherings', etc.

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

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

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Table listing freethought publications such as 'The Freethinker', 'Mistakes of Moses', 'Reply to Gladstone', etc.

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BOOKS FOR SALE.

COMRADE WEBER, a veteran revolutionist, who is now in great difficulties, offers the following to intending purchasers:—

Table listing books for sale such as 'Butler's Hudibras', 'Napier's History of the Peninsular War', 'Prescott's History of the Reign of Charles V.', etc.

Those comrades who have already bought books will please clear them as soon as possible, as the money is urgently needed.

The above prices do not include postage.

Apply to the Manager, 24 Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, W.C.

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.

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 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.

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.

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.

COUNCIL OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

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