

THE COMMONWEAL

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WHERE ARE WE NOW?

It is good from time to time for those who are engaged in a serious movement to look back and review the progress of the past few years; which involves looking around them and noting the way the movement is affecting other people. It is good to do so for this reason amongst others, that men absorbed in such a movement are apt to surround themselves with a kind of artificial atmosphere which distorts the proportions of things outside, and prevents them from seeing what is really going on, and consequently from taking due counsel as to what is best to do.

It is now some seven years since Socialism came to life again in this country. To some the time will seem long, so many hopes and disappointments as have been crowded into them. Yet in the history of a serious movement seven years is a short time enough; and few movements surely have made so much progress during this short time in one way or another as Socialism has done.

For what was it which we set out to accomplish? To change the system of society on which the stupendous fabric of civilisation is founded, and which has been built up by centuries of conflict with older and dying systems, and crowned by the victory of modern civilisation over the material surroundings of life.

Could seven years make any visible impression on such a tremendous undertaking as this?

Consider, too, the quality of those who began and carried on this business of reversing the basis of modern society! Who were the statesmen who took up the momentous questions laid before England of the nineteenth century by the English Socialists? Who were the great divines who preached this new gospel of happiness from their pulpits? Who were the natural philosophers who proclaimed their hope and joy at the advent of a society which should at last use their marvellous discoveries for the good of mankind?

There is no need to take a pen in hand to write their names. The traveller (*i.e.*, the toiler) had fallen among thieves, and the priest and the Levite went by on the other side; or perhaps in this case threw a stone or two at the wounded man; it was but a Samaritan, an outcast, an unrespectable person, who helped him.

Those who set out "to make the revolution"—that is, as afore said, to put society on a new basis, contradictory to the existing one—were a few working-men, less successful even in the wretched life of labour than their fellows; a sprinkling of the intellectual proletariat, whose keen pushing of Socialism must have seemed pretty certain to extinguish their limited chances of prosperity; one or two outsiders in the game political; a few refugees from the bureaucratic tyranny of foreign governments; and here and there an unpractical, half-cracked artist or author.

Yet such as they were, they were enough to do something. Through them, though not by them, the seven years of the new movement toward freedom have, contrary to all that might have been expected, impressed the idea of Socialism deeply on the epoch. It is true that the toilers have not begun to reap benefit from that impression; but it was impossible that they should. No permanent material benefit can accrue to them until Socialism has ceased to be militant, and is merged in the new society. But as I said the other week, the move-

ment has at least accomplished this, that no one who thinks is otherwise than discontented with things as they are. The shouts of triumph over the glories of civilisation which once drowned the moans of the miserable (and that but a dozen years ago at most) have now sunk into quavering apologies for the existence of the horrors and fatuities of our system; a system which is only defended as a thing to be endured for lack of a better, and until we can find some means of packing it off into limbo: and the workers, who in the period of "leap and bound prosperity" were thought to have reached the end of their tether, and to be fixed in a kind of subordinate heaven on earth, are now showing that they are not going to stop *there*, at any rate, and whatever happens. And the principles of Socialism are beginning to be understood, so that to some of ourselves, who are always hearing of them, they seem now mere commonplaces which need not be insisted on. Though with that view I can, as I shall show presently, by no means agree.

All this has come to pass. How and why? Was it by virtue of the qualities of those who have furthered it? That little band of oddities who fell in with Socialism during these last few years, did it turn out after all that they were so much better than they seemed? Well, they were (and are), most of them, human at least; but otherwise it cannot be said that great unexpected talent for administration and conduct of affairs has been developed amongst us, nor any vast amount of foresight either. We have been what we seemed to be (to our friends I hope)—and that was no great things. We have between us made about as many mistakes as any other party in a similar space of time. Quarrels more than enough we have had; and sometimes also weak assent for fear of quarrels to what we did not agree with.

There has been self-seeking amongst us, and vainglory, and sloth, and rashness; though there has been at least courage and devotion also. When I first joined the movement I hoped that some working-man leader, or rather leaders, would turn up, who would push aside all middle-class help, and become great historical figures. I might still hope for that, if it seemed likely to happen, for indeed I long for it enough; but to speak plainly it does not so seem at present.

Yet, I repeat, in spite of all drawbacks the impression has been made, and why? The reason for it has been given in words said before, but which I must needs say again: because that seemingly inextinguishable fabric of modern society is verging towards its fall; it has done its work, and is going to change into something else. That is the reason why, with all our faults, we have been able to do something; nor do I believe that there will ever be lacking instruments for bringing about the great change, exactly in proportion to the readiness of the solid elements in society—the workers, to wit—to receive that change, and carry on the new order to which it will give birth.

So much at least we have to encourage us. But are not some of us disappointed in spite of the change of the way in which Socialism is looked on generally? It is but natural that we should be. When we first began to work together, there was little said about anything save the great ideals of Socialism; and so far off did we seem from the realisation of these, that we could hardly think of any means for their realisation, save great dramatic events which would make our lives tragic indeed, but would take us out of the sordidness of the so-called "peace" of civilisation. With the great extension of Socialism, this also is changed. Our very success has dimmed the great ideals that first led us on; for the hope of the partial and, so to say, vulgarised realisation of Socialism is now pressing on us. I think that we are all confident that Socialism will be realised: it is not wonderful, then, that we should long to see—to feel—its realisation in our own life-time. Methods of realisation, therefore, are now more before our eyes than ideals: but it is of no use talking about methods which are not, in part at least, immediately feasible, and it is of the nature of such partial methods to be sordid and discouraging, though they *may* be necessary.

There are two tendencies in this matter of methods: on the one hand is our old acquaintance palliation, elevated now into vastly greater importance than it used to have, because of the growing discontent, and the obvious advance of Socialism; on the other is the method of partial, necessarily futile, inconsequent revolt, or riot rather, against the authorities, who are our absolute masters, and can easily put it down.

With both of these methods I disagree; and that the more because

the palliatives have to be clamoured for, and the riots carried out by men who do not know what Socialism is, and have no idea what their next step is to be, if contrary to all calculation they should happen to be successful. Therefore, at the best our masters would be our masters still, because there would be nothing to take their place. We are not ready for such a change as that! The authorities might be a little shaken, perhaps, a little more inclined to yield something to the clamours of their slaves, but there would be slaves still, as all men must be who are not prepared to manage their own business themselves. Nay, as to the partial violent means, I believe that the occurrence of these would not shake the authorities at all, but would strengthen them rather, because they would draw to them the timid of all classes, i.e., all men but a very few.

I have mentioned the two lines on which what I should the methods of impatience profess to work. Before I write a very few words on the only line of method on which some of us can work, I will give my views about the present state of the movement as briefly as I can.

The whole set opinion amongst those more or less touched by Socialism, who are not definite Socialists, is towards the New Trades' Unionism and palliation. Men believe that they can wrest from the capitalists some portion of their privileged profits, and the masters, to judge by the recent threats of combination on their side, believe also that this can be done. That it could only very partially be done, and that the men could not rest there if it were done, we Socialists know very well; but others do not. Let that pass for the present. The Parliamentary side of things seems in abeyance, at present; it has given place to the Trade Union side. But, of course, it will come up again; and in time, if there is nothing to cut across the logical sequence of events, it will achieve the legal Eight Hours' Day—with next to no results either to men or masters.

For the rest, I neither believe in State Socialism as desirable in itself, or, indeed, as a complete scheme do I think it possible. Nevertheless, some approach to it is sure to be tried, and to my mind this will precede any complete enlightenment on the new order of things. The success of Mr. Bellamy's utopian book, deadly dull as it is, is a straw to show which way the wind blows. The general attention paid to our clever friends, the Fabian lecturers and pamphleteers, is not altogether due to their literary ability; people have really got their heads turned more or less in their direction.

Now it seems to me that at such a time, when people are not only discontented, but have really conceived a hope of bettering the condition of labour, while at the same time the means towards their end are doubtful; or, rather, when they take the very beginning of the means as an end in itself,—that this time when people are excited about Socialism, and when many who know nothing about it think themselves Socialists, is the time of all others to put forward the simple principles of Socialism regardless of the policy of the passing hour.

My readers will understand that in saying this I am speaking for those who are complete Socialists—or let us call them Communists. I say for us to make Socialists is the business at present, and at present I do not think we can have any other useful business. Those who are not really Socialists—who are Trades' Unionists, disturbance-breeders, or what not—will do what they are impelled to do, and we cannot help it. At the worst there will be some good in what they do; but we need not and cannot heartily work with them, when we know that their methods are beside the right way.

Our business, I repeat, is the making of Socialists, i.e., convincing people that Socialism is good for them and is possible. When we have enough people of that way of thinking, they will find out what action is necessary for putting their principles in practice. Until we have that mass of opinion, action for a general change that will benefit the whole people is impossible. Have we that body of opinion or any thing like it? Surely not. If we look outside that glamour, that charmed atmosphere of party warfare in which we necessarily move, we shall see this clearly: that though there are a great many who believe it possible to compel their masters by some means or another to behave better to them, and though they are prepared to compel them (by so-called peaceful means, strikes and the like), all but a very small minority are not prepared to do without masters. They do not believe in their own capacity to undertake the management of affairs, and to be responsible for their life in this world. When they are so prepared, then Socialism will be realised; but nothing can push it on a day in advance of that time.

Therefore, I say, make Socialists. We Socialists can do nothing else that is useful, and preaching and teaching is not out of date for that purpose; but rather for those who, like myself, do not believe in State Socialism, it is the only rational means of attaining to the New Order of Things.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

A DEAR GOSPEL.—“Men cease to regard money!” cries Bolus of Houndsditch. What else do all men strive for? The very Bishop informs me that Christianity cannot get on without a minimum of five thousand five hundred in its pocket.—*Carlyle: 'Past and Present.'*

TO THE “PHILANTHROPISTS.”—O Anti-Slavery Convention, loud-sounding, long-eared Exeter Hall!—But in thee too there is a kind of instinct towards justice, and I will complain of nothing. Only, black Quashee over the seas being sufficiently attended to, wilt thou perhaps open thy dull sodden eyes to the “sixty thousand valets in London itself who are yearly dismissed to the streets, to be what they can, when the season ends”; or to the hunger-stricken, pallid, yellow-coloured “Free Labourers” in Lancashire, Yorkshire, Buckinghamshire, and all other shires? . . . Quashee has already victuals and clothing; Quashee is not dying of such despair as the yellow-coloured pale man's.—*Carlyle, 'Past and Present.'*

FALSE REMEDIES FOR POVERTY.

In all directions, and from nearly all parties of the State, we hear various proposals for the solution of the greatest problem of the time—i.e., the Labour Question. A few short years ago no statesman, and very few indeed connected with politics, would admit that there was such a thing as a labour question at all. We were told by Liberals and Tory alike that we; the Socialists, were merely a set of agitators, who were stumping for notoriety. Even Mr. C. Bradlaugh compared us to a set of dreamers, fools, or worse. But thanks to our steady plodding propaganda since 1880, in the alley and slum, in the hall and park, with voice and leaflet, we have compelled our masters to listen to the voice of the people who have been silent, alas! too long; and true to the order to which our rulers and masters belong, even now they refuse to listen to, or deal with, the truth, but vainly attempt by various schemes (most of which have been tried in other countries) to gull or mislead the people of this country, even as the people on the Continent have been misled and deceived by somewhat similar proposals.

Let us take a sample or two of the proposals—and there are many before us at the present time. The one which seems to meet with most favour is that relating to pensions for worn-out or disabled workers, who are not only to continue to be robbed by the capitalist, but are further expected to contribute from their already scant wages to this pension fund, from which they are to draw a certain sum per week after they are 65 years of age. Considering that the average life of the worker is only 35 in the whole of the country, and in some particular districts—such as London, Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield, etc.—it is only some 27 years, I would ask workers (who think) is this worth a trial at all so far as they are concerned? I have no hope of its even being a good palliative; as it appears to me, it is only another method of easing the pockets of our masters of their poor-rates; or in other words, our rulers are getting tired of keeping the worn-out human machines, and would fain have the workers compelled (seeing their stone-yard and oakum-picking tests have failed) to insure themselves whilst young in order not to be a burden to the robber class when they are old. The workers are to be docked 1s. per week from about 16 years old to 65, and then to have 10s. per week after that for life. What a glorious prospect for the worn-out decrepid wretch who can contrive to live to 65 years! But, as the immense mass of the workers have no chance of living so long, I cannot see what this precious scheme with its pauper pensions has to do with them. What fools we workers are, and have been, to be misled by every plausible cry, present and past.

The position I take up might seem to the willfully blind that I have no sympathy with the old, but I think that those who care to study will see that it is much better to end the system (at once) that renders it possible for aged workers to end their days in receipt of charity. Seeing as I do that every able-bodied worker can and does produce three times as much as he consumes, I would warn any worker from expecting any success from this so-called insurance scheme, and would have them bear in mind that its promoters only aim at making it impossible for cases of “extreme hardships” to exist; not “hardship,” mark, but only “extreme hardships”; not a solution of the question, but only a little paint over a worm-eaten beam, which must continue to rot until the burden becomes too great, and then a crash must come.

Well, it may be said, this is only one scheme; there is the new and old unionism, which is securing more comforts for the workers—more wages, less hours, more leisure, all of which will enable the worker to beautify his home, increase his knowledge, and build up the physical condition of himself and family; and all for what?—that he may continue a wage-slave. Nay, I can never believe that; for alongside of the workers unions we have growing up with lightning rapidity the federated unions of the capitalists; and what, pray, is their object? It is, and can only be, to break up or curtail the power of the workers' unions; and does anyone think that this coming battle—the signs of which are already appearing—can end successfully for the workers? I don't believe it will.

Say our critics, these are only two instances. Well, let us take a third. The workers are to get and keep the franchise; which is most difficult, for according to both returning officers in the Eccles division of Lancashire, the number of removals has been something alarming, and with the coming struggle between Labour and Capitalism this evil of removal must increase. But, for the sake of argument, we will suppose the workers get, and do keep, the franchise. Does anyone really believe that they are going to avoid an appeal to force to settle this great question? What do you think the land-holding and capitalist class are made of? Does anyone think they will give up all their monopoly and the power it gives them without a struggle? If there is anyone who believes this I am afraid they are doomed to a sudden and awful awakening to the truth. The only thing worth dying for is freedom; but I am afraid a large number of workers are doomed to lay down their lives for a mere shadow, and all because they are either mentally blind or morally cowards. Is it not wiser, then, to try and find out the truth of the economical position and strengthen the workers' position in the coming struggle by being prepared to raise the cry, “The land for the people, the product to the producer,” and see that there is no petty shuffling for only a part of what belongs to us? “No Compromise” must be written large on our flag, and “No Surrender” be firmly engrafted in heart and head. If the workers are going to fight for anything less than this, then their case is hopeless, because it can only end in disappointment and failure. Isn't this the

truth, you who are half-starved and ill-clad; you who are in work, you who are fathers of families, not knowing what will become of them? Do you not also know it, you who are compelled to tramp from town to town in search of what you perhaps already know you cannot get—work and food; you who to-day are compelled to risk so much to obtain so little, you who are compelled to steal; and you also who are forced to eke out a miserable life by prostitution, contracting diseases and ending by a terrible death, either at the hands of some monster of the "Ripper" type or perhaps disease in a hospital? Be ready, then, ye fathers and mothers, young and old, for we are nearing a terrible crash. Have no fear in your hearts of the power of our masters. They may for a time be able to hire ruffians like the Pinkertons of Chicago, who with revolver and club may attempt to crush our hopes; but already we see signs that they dare not rely on our kinsmen who have been forced from field, mine, and workshop to be dressed and drilled to do their fighting for them. Detachments of guards, artillery, army service corps, and infantry of the line, have shown what is inwardly working among them by open mutiny. It was only a little while ago we heard that a large number of the 2nd Surrey Regiment revolted against going to India, no doubt believing that their enemies as well as ours are here at home. The sun of Freedom is shining in all lands, and we here ought also to prepare for the day of revolution. Let us waste no more time in trifling, but strike; strike quick, strike hard, and the day will be our own.

C. W. MOWBRAY.

NOVEMBER 11TH.

BENEATH the frowning battlements of wrong
Our fallen comrades we commemorate;
To those immortal dead our hearts belong,
They met, for us, their undeserved fate.

For us they suffered in the prison cell;
For us they dared the evil powers of state;
They strove to rescue us from economic hell;
And we, their heirs—their deaths commemorate.

We meet, and on their tombs our garlands place
While listening to the voices of the dead,
Which echo from their final resting-place
And urge us forward in the fight they led.

They tell us of the wrongs endured by men;
Of slavery and its thrice-accursed chains;
Of strong exploiting weak since time began,
Of Labour foully robbed to swell the idler's gains.

How Mother Nature's ever-bounteous yield,
By legal schemers is monopolised;
How chartered Might holds factory and field,
While Labour, all-creating, is ever pauperised.

As storm-birds predicate the coming storm,
So do their voices bid us to prepare
For social tempest, when grim ranks shall form
Of fierce determined men, angered to do and dare:

When states shall crumble, rotten to the core
With parasitic wrongs; while in their place—
Nor gods nor constitutions vexing more—
Shall rise a free, an all-enfranchised race.

Thus do their words their mission yet fulfil,
And we to them eternal fealty vow;
Their smothered words shall volume gain until
The world shall listen, as we do listen now.

FROM THE CHICAGO Alarm, 1888.

Coercion in "Free America."

The American middle-classes received Dillon and O'Brien with great enthusiasm as the representatives of the oppressed Irish people. At the same time, Anarchists who desire to celebrate the murder of our Chicago comrades, are first driven from the hall in Newark, N.J., where they were going to hold their meeting, and then when they hold a meeting of protest outside the hall they are set upon by those uniformed bullies, the American police, and cruelly bludgeoned. In addition to this object lesson as to the blessings of freedom in a "Democratic Republic," their leaders are arrested and Lucy Parsons has been committed for trial. At another meeting held in New York, "100 policemen marched into the hall and took up positions, standing around the hall and alongside the platform," ready for more brutality. American middle-class politicians and their friends in England are very severe on "bloody" Balfour, and shrieks of horror arise when he does in Ireland what the "Republican authorities" are doing in America.

"PINKERTONS."—One of the many "prophecies" which remain to be proved in opposition to Socialism, is that, if the workers revolted, many of them could be bribed to become traitors and armed assassins, or Pinkertons as in America. To such statements as this we answer that the average worker, robbed, degraded, and enslaved as he is, has still a small amount of courage, a brain to think, and a heart to feel, and has not yet descended to the brute level in spite of the ruling classes, who have done their level best to keep him in ignorance so that they may the more effectively fleece him. No Pinkertons can ever stand against the forces of the Revolution, which will be composed of all those workers who are dissatisfied with their position, and are at last resolved to take their own and sweep away all obstructions in the path to Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity.—J. Smythe.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

FRANCE.

The "Marxist" *Cri du Travailleur* ("Toiler's Cry") of Lille publishes the agenda of the Brussels International Congress as agreed upon at Hâlle by the Social Democrats these gathered. The Congress is to be held in August 1891, and to last a week. The Congress at large is to verify delegates' credentials, and it is to be "open to every workers' organisation and to every Socialist party without distinction." This is all very pretty; but (inasmuch as the first question for discussion is "The state of labour legislation, both national and international, and the means by which it may be extended and rendered effective") it does not seem very likely that anti-parliamentarians will be especially welcome.

At Lyons Anarchists are being arrested right and left, on one pretext or another, and their rooms searched. At Tarare our comrade Brault has been prosecuted for announcing a public meeting without making the "preliminary declaration" required by law. For this "offence" the judicial authorities of the French Republic have sentenced him to three months' imprisonment!

The Broussist section of the old "Possibilist" party now issues the *Proletaire* as its official organ, the "Allemaneists" having captured the daily *Parti Ouvrier*. This latter "Socialist" organ gratifies its readers by publishing racing news and Stock Exchange quotations! I am sorry that space fails me to reproduce an extremely foolish article on English Socialism in the number for November 7th. It seems that we are showing our sense by going in for trades-unionism, John Burns and State interference. Evidently we must go abroad to hear news.

In view of what looks very much like the final collapse of the "Workmen's Party" (falsely so-called), Eugène Chatelain in the *Revue Européenne* suggests the formation of a true "French revolutionary party," and appeals to all citizens who would wish to finish, once for all, with hampering directors and governors. The formation of such a party will, however, be of little good if, like the others, it is to sink in the political bog. Surely the history of the "Parti Ouvrier," with its three divisions—"Marxist," "Broussist," and "Allemaneist"—ought to completely cure French workers of parliamentarism. In the meantime, I welcome our comrade Chatelain as a fellow-worker for the First of May, 1891. Only I prefer the cry of "Bread for all" to that of "Long live the Universal Republic,"—for which most of us, I fancy, care nothing. This "universal republic" might easily become (would probably become) the greatest engine of oppression the world has yet seen.

PORTUGAL.

The Oporto *Revolução Social* reproduces the recent *Révolte* article on the English Working-class Movement. Our Chicago comrades seem likely to be worthily commemorated at Oporto.

SPAIN.

The delegate of the Spanish Workers' Party (*i.e.*, the Social Democrats) to the Brussels International Congress is to be instructed to "combat every proposition having for its object the advocacy of the general strike." *El Socialista* endeavours to justify this resolution by the usual arguments. It seems we must wait for the Revolution and be patient until the workers are educated and organised, and we must not hurry matters by any such leap in the dark as the general strike. This is the kind of "hush-a-bye baby" twaddle that we have heard nearer home. Happily, in Spain genuine revolutionists have much more influence than the parliamentary nostrum-vendors.

CUBA.

El Productor has been twice seized within a few days. The last number which has reached us (October 19th) is full of a great strike of cabmen, omnibus-drivers, and tram-car drivers which had broken out at Havannah. The Government turned on soldiers (protected by police) to act as blacklegs and run the omnibuses and cars. They also, on various pretexts, prohibited public meetings. The people replied to this action by stoning every vehicle they found on the streets. Gradually, too, other trades came out in sympathy, and, by the 17th (the strike having begun on the 11th) something very like a general strike was on foot. Our comrades of *El Productor* were expecting their paper to be altogether stopped by the authorities; in which case they propose to issue leaflets as opportunity serves.

Still more serious news has, however, since come from Cuba by cable—*viz.*, that the tobacco-manufacturers have actually begun the general lock-out which is intended as their reply to the McKinley Bill. Up to date of writing, the telegraph has brought us no further explanation. If the prize-fighters had been knocking each other about (or pretending to do so), we should doubtless have heard all about it long ago—even if the encounter had taken place in the depths of China.

ARGENTINE CONFEDERATION.

In September of last year two Anarchist groups, entitled respectively "November 11th" and "Land and Liberty," prepared for publication a Communist-Anarchist Manifesto addressed to the workers of the Argentine Republic. The manifesto spoke out clearly for the Social Revolution on Anarchist-Communist lines, but assuredly there was nothing more "violent" in its tone than there is, for example, in the Statement of Principles of the Socialist League (I do not, of course, mean that the principles contended for in the two documents were necessarily the same). Nevertheless, the Buenos Ayres police seized ten thousand copies which had been printed ready for distribution and cast into prison three of our comrades—Emilio Piette, Victoriano San José, and Matei—as presumed authors of the "dangerous" tract. In prison they remained until the 19th of August last, when they were released as an indirect consequence of the so-called "revolutionary" movement of last July. The manifesto is now at length issued with an account of its history. How delightfully free an institution is a "free republic"!

We have received the sixth number of a new Communist-Anarchist journal published at Buenos Ayres, *El Perseguido* ("The Persecuted One"). It seems well worthy of support. There is certainly no feature of commercialism about it, for payment for it is entirely voluntary. Mayhap it will be none the less successful on that account. There is in the number which has just reached me, a good article on "That which is needed"—*i.e.*, to bring about the Revolution. According to the writer, the thing needed is simply "daring" (*audacia*). Revolutionists should not be ashamed of being called "criminals," either by the ordinary bourgeois or by the State Socialist. From the bourgeois point of view they are criminals, and they should accept the title with pride.

R. W. B.



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.

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

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Remittances from abroad must be made by International Money Order.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

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

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 November 12.

ENGLAND Belfast Weekly Star Die Autonomie Freedom Justice The Journeyman Labour Tribune People's Press Railway Review Seafaring Worker's Friend Rochdale Times Polytechnic Magazine Temperance World Detroit Free Press (Xmas No.)	Chicago—Rights of Labour Vorbote Kaweah (Cal) Commonwealth Philadel.—Knights of Labour Paterson Labour Standard San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung S.F.—Coast Seamen's Journal St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole St. Louis—Anarchist	ITALY Ancona—La Campana Milan—Il Fascio Operaio Palermo—Avanti
UNITED STATES New York—Freiheit Volkszeitung Twentieth Century Bakers' Journal United Irishman Freie Arbeiter Stimme Boston—Woman's Journal Boston—Liberty Investigator The Dawn Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	FRANCE Paris—Bourse du Travail Le Parti Ouvrier Paris—La Revolte Le Proletaire Charleville—L'Emancipation Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur Rouen—Le Salariat	SPAIN Madrid—El Socialista Madrid—La Anarquista Barcelona—El Productor
HOLLAND Hague—Recht voor Allen BELGIUM Antwerp—De Werker Ghent—Vooruit	GERMANY Halberstadt, Sonntags-Zeitung Berlin—Volks Tribune	PORTUGAL Porto—A Revolucao Social
SWITZERLAND Arbeiterstimmic	AUSTRIA Vienna—Arbeiter-Zeitung Brunn—Arbeiterstimme	HUNGARY Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
	DENMARK Copenhagen—Arbejderen	SWEDEN Malmo—Arbetet Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
	WEST INDIES Cuba—El Productor	ARGENTINE REPUBLIC Buenos Ayres—Vorwarts El Perseguido

SOCIALISM OF THE MARKET-PLACE.

HEARD FROM THE STOOL.

II.

A WINDY inclement night; a few ardent Socialists standing in the road, and waiting to gather an audience; but the tired workers hurry past on their way from toil. Now and again one or two stop to gaze at the flag, the meaning of which they do not quite gather, for one says impatiently to the other, "Oh, come on, its only the Salvation Army lot!" The keen wind does not conduce to the holding of a meeting, and if one is to be held some one must perform the heroic task of addressing the stones in front of him, and calling one or two irreverent youngsters who are standing around staring curiously, "His dear comrades!"

How my heart has yearned in sympathy at times for the first speaker under such circumstance! By cheek-splitting efforts at last a small crowd is gathered, and there, of course, is our old friend the inebriate, "Who (hic) knows we get blooming well paid for spouting; ort to be all locked up, we ort!" And then there is the sour querist, whose outward appearance would disgrace a respectable scarecrow; he is thoroughly assured "that it is such as us lot who are driving the trade away from this glorious Empire; and we as runs down the rich,

what should we do without them, eh, he would like to know?" And having fired his shot, without waiting for a reply, he contentedly shambles off.

But he has afforded a cue to the speaker, who now stands upon the stool. "Oh! what should we do without the rich?" says the slave, who, contented in his wretchedness, is yet so solicitous about the probable fate of the wealthy when our ideas obtain headway. I have seen a journal, devoted to the interests of what is termed Tory Democracy, represent the probable departure of the capitalists from these shores in consequence of the demands of Labour. "Oh! consummation devoutly to be wished!" and oh! still more devoutly to be wished, that the vessels in which they depart were their own, over-insured, unseaworthy tubs, which are intended to be the death-traps of our hard-working seamen—for then, whilst there might be more fish in the sea there would be less capitalists.

We are told even now when Labour—so far as the New Unions are concerned—only demands a larger pittance, that Capital will fly the country. Capital, we are assured by the hireling scribes of the press, is sensitive; Capital fluctuates, is governed by the law of supply and demand. By Capital they mean their money-bags, their scrips, bonds, shares, debentures, leases, and all other kinds of legal machinery whereby they contrive to live in idleness upon the sweat and tears of the workers. You have become so debased in ideas by this kind of thing, that you accept it as truth that money and scrip are Capital.

"What!" says our friend at the back of the crowd, "How will you do without money?" Well, that seems a plausible and pertinent question, but allow me to answer it by putting another, "What will you do with it if Labour refuses to be the bond-slave?" What would a Goschen, a Bleichroder, or a Rothschild do if shut up alone with their scrip and cash for a week and deprived of food? I'll tell you what would happen,—they would be discovered dead as door-nails and not a sovereign digested, and yet these thieves hold the fate of nations in their hands because of the power of gold!

Ah! my fine soldier, you sneer at the Socialist, and yet you are also the poor blind tool of the cosmopolitan gang of money-mongers. You shed your blood to recover their Shylock bonds. Holocausts of human beings are slain by war, overwork, or starvation, and all because you allow the metal coin, the means of exchange, to be made in the hands of blood-stained criminals the master of Labour instead of its servant.

What do you call shareholders? I call them thieves. You are shocked; and if you saw a deliberate robbery of the vulgar sort performed before your eyes you would probably help the police to capture the thief. Does it ever strike you that the horde of shareholders in mines, railways, trams, etc., etc., who are content to take dividends wrung from the overwork, the daily risk to life and limb, of the labourers,—that these sort are thieves? They take that which they have never toiled for. The thief who may purloin a loaf or a pocket-handkerchief is sent to jail; those who rob labour sit in judgment upon him. The J. P. who sentences a poacher has stolen a country-side; the poacher has taken a hare; the poacher goes to jail, the J. P. to the county ball.

The man who smiles in your face and solicits your attendance at the next gospel-grind or muffin-struggle whilst he weighs or measures up your purchases for you is selling you something which is not what it is represented to be. It may be some fabric which he assures you is all wool, when it is half cotton; or if for cotton, half glucose and clay; or adulterated food, which half poisons the consumer. And oh! how nimble he can be should an unsophisticated prig, too stupid or poor to be able to keep a shop and mix religion and trade, come along and annex some of his wares. "Where's the police!"

You see that your ideas of thieving are wrong. Honesty is a purely relative term. It depends upon the method of your theft whether you shall have the power to punish others or go to jail yourself. Accept the Bright philosophy that adulteration is justifiable, live upon labour not your own, and you shall be respectable and an ornament to society as constituted to-day.

Now, I have said here over and over again that the teachings of revolutionary Socialism have nothing to do with political warfare, and my remarks here to-night will show you that if we tear up the prejudices which have hitherto caused you to join in the chorus of condemnation of the unfortunate inmates of our jails (those are termed generally the criminal classes), and rouse you to perceive with us the fact that as society stands now, with the means of labour and exchange in the hands of monopolists,—if we have succeeded in enlarging your mental vision and reaching your hearts upon the subject, then we really shall have been (as is alleged by our friend who has been interrupting me at the back of you) paid for our work, and well paid too. For the hour that the people see that the vast mass must either work, starve, or thieve, that all cannot under present conditions obtain work, they will deny the right of the legal robbers and monopolists to punish. Soon they will turn and view the misery, bloodshed, and degradation of the system with increasing detestation; and in pulling down in your minds the moral supports which you have hitherto conceded to existing institutions, we have performed one portion at least of our duty as revolutionary teachers. I thank you: good-night.

F. K.

PIANO (Bacon and Co.) FOR SALE; second-hand; suit learner. What offers? Can be seen on application to Secretary of 'Commonweal' Braich, 24, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields London, W.C.

NOTES.

We feel it our duty at the present time to denounce General Booth as an old fraud, and his precious "Social Salvation Scheme" as a miserable imposition. That General Booth is a fraud is almost self-evident; a glance at the countenance of that "venerablest of dodgers" reminds you so forcibly of the late lamented Mr. Fagin, "the merry old gentleman" who "took in" Oliver Twist out of "charity," that an instruction to give General Booth as wide a berth as possible ought to be superfluous to any one of average intelligence.

With General Booth's "Scheme"—an excellent word "Scheme," so suggestive of the author—it is different. The working people have seen it highly praised in the capitalist press, and they hear at the same time that it has received the benediction of canons, bishops, cardinals, philanthropists, princes, and those two other great potentates—the Emperor of Germany and the Czar of all the Russians! Probably they imagine that the scheme is really for their benefit. It is, therefore, necessary to point out that this is an error.

The adhesion of the Czar of Russia is almost enough to damn the whole affair. When we heard that that monster had praised the scheme, we almost expected to hear that General Booth had received a congratulatory telegram from the devil himself. As the father of lies, his Satanic Majesty would naturally highly approve of such a gigantic swindle. Cannot the General obtain a little approbation from hell? It would be a splendid advertisement; better than any puff he could obtain in the *Star* or the *Daily Chronicle*.

But the General shall be judged out of his own mouth, or his own book, it is all the same thing. How does he propose to feed and clothe the unfortunates who fall into his hands? The good man says that he does not propose that every individual should be content to live a human life. Even the "jail idea of comfort" he regards as beyond the range of practical politics. He says it would be hopeless to demand that every willing worker should be as "well lodged, warmly clad, and regularly fed as the criminals in our convict prisons." This, we suppose, means that any one applying for relief to General Booth must expect worse treatment than he would get in jail. Therefore, the kind-hearted magistrates who give starving lads six weeks' hard for stealing turnips are better practical philanthropists than General Booth. Those boys can be sure that they will be as "well lodged, warmly clad, and as well fed as the criminals in our convict prisons."

But what of the food which General Booth's free labourers are to eat? Why he is going to form a Salvage Brigade to collect the broken victuals of middle-class families, and these "broken victuals and endless stores of old crusts will be capable of being served up when steamed and dressed, as human food."

O let us be joyful! Has General Booth ever read the parable of Dives and Lazarus? In that ancient story, in which General Booth professes some belief, the rich man got warmed up considerably in another world for giving a beggar the crumbs from his table. Another philanthropist, who discovered and advocated a still cheaper mode of feeding the people—namely, a nice diet of grass—was strung up on a Parisian lamp-post in the last century by a hungry and savage mob. Don't forget Dives and Foulon, General Booth.

But now comes the crowning point. Fagin Booth announces that when his scheme is in full working order, any outcast who may object to slaving in his beggar-colonies, on a diet of steamed crusts and broken victuals—worse fed, clothed, and lodged than the criminals in our jails—shall be sent to prison; he would make "begging a penal offence." Let him. The proletarian who accepts Booth's "hospitality" in preference to going to jail is a fool, the only greater fools being the middle-class people who subscribe the money Booth asks for in the hope of staving off the Social Revolution.

What do the Christian philanthropists think of the gang of devilish fiends, Stanley's companions and comrades? I wonder what is the opinion of the natives of Africa concerning those nice young men Barttelot and Jameson. If in future these poor savages desire to make an effigy of the devil, they will surely paint it white.

The whole story is so monstrous and horrible that even the demon of Whitechapel must hide his diminished head before these highly educated British officers, the product not of frightful slums but of public schools and colleges; and they have evidently derived their taste for stuffed negro heads, cannibalism, and flogging and kicking boys and men to death, from their education at these centres of refinement and culture. Cleveland Street and the African horrors spring from the one cause—the corruption which always springs from great riches and idleness. The sons of the rich English middle classes are threatening to outrival in lust and cruelty Nero, Caligula, and the nobles of old feudal France.

Meanwhile Lieutenant Troup and Barttelot inform Stanley that he is no better. So we are likely to have some interesting information concerning the great explorer. It fills me with joy to see these tigers tearing one another to pieces.

SOME REMINISCENCES OF THE DARK DAYS FOLLOWING MAY 4.

THE following appeared in the *Chicago Alarm* of November 10, 1888. We reprint it, as it contains some facts not generally known among English workmen:

THE history of the great strike of May, 1886, for eight hours is well known. Equally so are the details regarding the famous Haymarket meeting for the proceedings of the celebrated trial has been read by thousands. Affidavits have been given showing that special pains were taken to pack the jury; a leading paper proposed to raise a fund of a hundred thousand dollars as a present for their verdict of conviction; it is a matter of record that the informers were suborned, or at least generously paid for their alleged "truthfulness." Even the press, so eager for the deaths of our comrades, have since admitted that they died for their convictions. Still, well known as are these facts, it is well now on this anniversary occasion to recall a few of them to refresh the memory.

Briefly stated, the great strike for eight hours had on the third of May become general. Over 50,000 toilers had quit work and were soberly, if sullenly, demanding the concession from their imperious masters. In the meanwhile most of the since condemned men were actively engaged on the stump cheering the strikers, pointing out to them the deeper issues involved, and nerving them to resolute and patient endurance. So pronounced was the animosity against Parsons and Spies that on May 1, when the strike began, the *Chicago Mail*, a leading daily, in a leader marked these two men as special objects of attack for capitalistic hatred. It was a warning, but it fell on ears too devoted to their cause to pause in the advocacy of unpopular truth.

The selfish industrial barons grew alarmed at the revolt of their slaves. Human rights and human lives are secondary in importance to property. This must be defended, even though lives are ruthlessly destroyed.

The Haymarket meeting, it is proven by the testimony of the mayor himself, was pre-eminently a peaceable meeting. After so notifying Inspector Bonfield, he went home. Scarcely had he disappeared than a hurried order was given to the police to form, and they were rushed upon the meeting with hurried strides and swinging batons, ready to club every head they could reach.

Although "legal," inasmuch as it was authorised by the legal representative of property's protective army—though even this might be well disputed—it was in reality a burglarious entrance into a peaceful meeting. As much, to all intents and purposes, a burglary as would be a surreptitious entrance into a private house with felonious intent. As is shown upon the trial by a witness of unquestioned veracity, Bonfield had the same day expressed his desire to get several hundred of the Socialists together, and he would then make short work of them. Against the burglar who seeks to rob you of property, common law recognises the right of self-defence, and you may shoot him down on the spot. But when a band of uniformed ruffians attack a public meeting, with design to rob men of the right of free speech—a right recognised as dearer than property rights—a just resistance is met with a storm of rage.

But the bomb! There are many incidents connected with that fatal tragedy which will probably never be written, but one important fact connected therewith may as well be told. Only two of the prisoners, as was shown—Fischer and Engel—had anything to do with the calling of the meeting. They had resolved to defend themselves if attacked. So bitter had grown the feeling that the possibility of a raid and wholesale clubbing was admitted. In the first draft of the call appeared a summons to come armed. When Spies saw this, he sent for Fischer and peremptorily demanded that this be stricken out. This was done. Further, Spies insisted that word should be at once sent out to all their friends that no arms must be brought under any circumstances whatever. To execute this commission a gentleman connected with the office devoted the entire day riding around the city giving the above instructions. So thoroughly did he execute Spies' orders, that when the police raided them they stood like sheep before a pack of wolves.

One man, unknown, was present with a bomb; and probably righteously indignant at this invasion of their constitutional right, hurled it at the police. There is no evidence that the spectators had weapons. The police in their wild right shot each other. The only conspiracy was that carried out by Bonfield. Neither Fischer, Engel, Lingg, nor Parsons were present at the meeting when the event occurred. How far the course pursued by Spies was wise there will be a difference of opinion: I simply narrate the fact.

Mr. Parsons left the city that night and went to Geneva, Ill., where he stayed two days with a friend. He then went to Elgin, and after a short time went on to Waukesha, Wis. He had a subscriber there, but whom he had never met. He was a small manufacturer. Mr. Parsons walked into his shop and entered into conversation with him. They talked on various matters, but soon the all-pervading topic of the Chicago riot was brought up. The gentleman expressed himself so decidedly that Mr. Parsons revealed his identity and was at once welcomed to the house, where he remained and worked under an assumed name. His return to stand trial was an act of his own volition. Reports that either his wife or Captain Black were instrumental in inducing him to take this step are without the slightest foundation. His own proud sense of honour made him reluctant to leave his comrades alone to face trial.

He wrote to Captain Black his intention, and returned to the city, went directly to the house of Mrs. A., on S. Morgan Street, where he remained for two days consulting with his wife and counsel. The step was a characteristic one; and if he believed that a conviction of guilty of a charge of murder could not follow, he but shared the feeling of all of us at that time. He was in the best of spirits, and evidently enjoyed the situation. On the morning of the trial, Captain Black drove up to the house with a carriage for him, and together they drove to the Court-house, where, without any theatrical display, they quietly passed through the crowd of officials and detectives arm in arm to the bar of the Court.

As they passed up the steps to the Court-house a man said to a detective, "I'll bet five hundred dollars that is Albert R. Parsons." "Nonsense," replied the detective; "arn't we looking for him? I guess we ought to know." His astonishment a few minutes later was extreme. Many thoughtless persons have called Parsons "a fool" for that act; but in the last week of his life he solemnly assured me that he had no regret for his action and honestly believed that he did right and wisely.

SPECIAL APPEAL TO OUR READERS.

DURING the winter a large number of outdoor meetings will have to be discontinued, and a large circle of readers will be deprived of their *Commonweal*, unless they help us by making their newsagents obtain it. The hostility and indifference of newsagents, with few exceptions, from monopolist W. H. Smith downwards, are really the chief obstacles to the circulation of the *Commonweal* and the spread of our ideas. Owing to this boycotting there are a large number of towns where the *Commonweal* is never seen.

Amongst our subscribers and friends there are many who are anxious to forward the Cause of Socialism, and yet they do not know exactly how to render help. Here is a field for quiet and useful work, where no heroic sacrifices are demanded—

1. Insist that your newsagent obtain you your '*Weal*. Don't trade with him for other things if you find him throwing obstacles in the way.

2. Pester W. H. Smith's agents at all railway stalls by enquiries for the '*Weal*.

3. Introduce it to the notice of wholesale agents, and send us the names and addresses of all who are willing to sell the journal and display bills. Above all, push it amongst your friends.

4. Distribution in tram-cars and railway carriages can be unostentatiously effected by leaving copies upon seats and in luggage racks.

5. We must also ask our comrades to do their utmost to subscribe to the Guarantee Fund. Revolutionary Socialists are not rich, we have no capitalist advertisements to bring in cash, and it is a hard fight to keep an advanced paper alive in the cold and dreary winter months. All those who approve of the principles of the *Commonweal* should send subscriptions, however small, to this fund. If every workman who reads the paper only subscribed a few pence weekly, the *Commonweal* would be secured from all possibility of failure.

In short, those willing to aid us can find plenty of opportunities where there is a will to do so.

Eds.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

Does the Dock Company mean Mischief?

I hear that the co-operative scheme has gone very well in the small experiment that has been tried during the past week in the Albert Docks, for it has resulted in securing 7½d. an hour to the men. The plan adopted is for a gang of men to bargain with agents of the Dock Company as to what rate they will carry out a certain piece of work, without the intervention of any middleman. The men are to receive a subsistence wage of 4d. an hour and take the surplus when the work is completed. There is only one objection to the scheme: if blacklegs were not employed it might work all right, but it is possible that if there are a large number of the blacklegs to be had, the company might make agreements with gangs of these to take the work at a stated price which would be considerably less than even sixpence an hour. And we must bear in mind that as long as blacklegs are allowed to work in the docks they may be easily used for this purpose, and with these ready allies at hand the company will not be long inclined to pay 7½d. an hour. The main question, after all, is whether the company, like the shipowners, are inclined for union-smashing or not. And there are some other reports from the docks which make us think that these gentlemen mean to play the same game as the shipowners. At Tilbury Dock the superintendent has refused to discuss the co-operative scheme with the men's representatives, and at the India Docks the superintendent has been taking on blacklegs in the place of old hands and has been employing as overmen the sweating subcontractors who were swept away by the agreement concluded at the end of the great strike. This looks as if the company is thinking more of restoring the sweating system than of paying the men a fair wage for their work.

Although matters have settled down at Cardiff and Liverpool, still the study of the articles in the *Times* concerning the present position at the various ports is not reassuring. These articles are obviously inspired by the Shipowners' Federation, and they show that these gentlemen mean "smashing the unions" at the first opportunity. An anonymous correspondent to the *Times* of Monday last, who talks as if he had some connection with the London Dock Co., suggests that shipowners shall supply the company with funds to fight the Dockers' Union. And at the same time we fear from reports received that despite a gallant fight, the Australian unions have been beaten. All these facts taken together go to prove that war is inevitable sooner or later, and I fancy that it is lack of funds and not want of will that has prevented the Dock Company from making even a more determined onslaught upon the union within the last few days. For the present the company prefer undermining the union by the gradual enlistment of blacklegs and permanent men; but there can be no question that directly they feel strong enough they will throw off the mask and declare open war.

N.

London Compositors.

There was a crowded attendance of delegates at the usual quarterly delegate meeting of the London Society of Compositors on Wednesday, November 5th, at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street. This was no doubt due to the fact that it was rumoured that something definite would be stated regarding the advance in wages which the comps. are going in for. The only information that was obtained was that during the current year the members and masters would have the revised scale in their hands, and that a memorial would be presented to the masters. The time has arrived

when some very drastic alterations should be made in connection with the Book Scale. Compositors have frequently been known to work fifty-four hours on book-work and take the magnificent sum of 28s. ! In no trade is there so much overtime worked as by comps., and some of it, it is almost impossible to abolish, owing to customers bringing in their work at the last minute and wanting a proof the next morning. One of the features of the meeting was the presence of Mr. Fitzgerald, the Australian strike delegate, who in a very pointed speech explained the position of affairs in Australia when he left for England. He further said that he placed no reliance upon telegrams received through Reuters or any other capitalistic agency, and he hoped that the delegates would not let such information influence them when the vote for a donation to the Australian Strike Fund came on. Answering a question as to the letter of recommendation which John Burns gave to H. H. Champion (wonder is how Burns could recommend such a traitor to the cause of labour) he said that Champion had done the mischief before the letter arrived. If that is so, it shows that the Australians must have been very careless in taking into their confidence any one who said that he sympathised with them. The compositors are going to entertain Mr. Fitzgerald, who is a fellow craftsman, to a complimentary dinner on Wednesday evening, November 19th.

E.

The good old English Sweater.

The polishers at Brinsmeads and Collards pianoforte factories have been agitating for a rise. So Brinsmead's patriotic British manager went to see the manager of a German firm to know what is the price in Germany. Strange to say, the "blasted furrin" polishers at Bechsteins are getting from £2 to £2 5s., while Collards only pay 30s. This seems to contradict the prevalent theory that Germans always work cheaper than Englishmen. The good old English sweater is not always beaten for low wages and long hours.

T. C.

SOCIALISM IN THE PROVINCES.

SHEFFIELD.

THE Cause is still progressing, and our sale of literature keeps up well; though the season for outdoor propaganda is drawing to a close, yet we shall continue to hold our outdoor meetings whenever we can. The average sale of literature is about 25s. per week. The *Commonweal* and "Chicago Speeches" are going very well; we are now selling the third hundred of these speeches. Since our last report in August we have held over 116 meetings, besides supplying speakers to Manchester, Leeds, Derby, Nottingham, Hull, Leicester, Clay Cross, Chesterfield, Glasgow, and London. We have had the following comrades with us during the last few months—Samuels (Leeds), Chapman (Liverpool), Bailey (Manchester), and E. Unwin and Furnis (Chesterfield). Some rowdy opposition has lately been organised by some of the Conservative clubs with a view to breaking up our meetings, which has, however, miserably failed. The only result was that it gave us splendid audiences at our meetings on several successive Sundays, though it secured an unlimited supply of free booze and several cheap feeds to the roughs employed by them. We have now made arrangements for meetings on Sunday evenings in the Hallamshire Hall, so as not to have our meetings stopped by wintry weather. We are also making further arrangements for a thorough lecturing campaign throughout the surrounding villages on week-nights, intending to give courses of lectures dealing with the various phases of the revolutionary movement. This is being taken in hand upon the suggestion of several workers residing in these villages, and who are anxious to acquire more knowledge of our aims and objects. This is one encouraging result of our summer country propaganda. Our comrade Dr. Creaghe is now staying with us, and intends helping us to get the Rev. over speedily. The comrades here, without exception, have been highly pleased and encouraged at the thorough character of most of the articles that have recently appeared in the *Commonweal*, and will send in 15s. weekly to the Guarantee Fund.

E. ROBINSON.

CARDINAL MANNING AND THE JEWS.

SURELY the Millenium has come at last, with its lion lying down with the lamb! The affecting spectacle of Cardinal Manning being presented with an address by the arch enemies of his creed and Lord would lead one to think so. This remarkable incident has no parallel in history. On the contrary, the Catholics of the Middle Ages would have thought it an indelible disgrace to allow a Jew to eat at the same table. They were also the self-appointed dentists to the rich Jews, whose teeth they kindly extracted daily, until a certain little arrangement was come to.

What is the cause of this great change? A common danger, a common enemy to resist. When the floods rise animals of all kinds, the fierce and the weak, crouch together in terror. Religionists of all grades, seeing the waters rising that shall overwhelm them, rush into each other's arms. This, we are told, is the age of religious toleration; in other words, the age of shams and hypocrisy, otherwise it would be impossible to reconcile two creeds so antagonistic. Does not this go to prove that intrinsically there is only one religion, *i.e.*, that of money-getting, and that Commercialism has Judaised the so-called Christian of to-day? We are convinced, at any rate, that if Christ walked the earth to-day the Christians would be the first to cry, "Hang him!" or "Kill him by electricity!" The execution of our Chicago comrades for preaching the Gospel of Universal Brotherhood is only a small item of proof.

There must be a common interest to unite two once bitter enemies. It is, in the first place, to preserve their own position, which is threatened by the advancing torrent of men who have freed their minds from cant, and who are determined to have their own. The bulwark that has been, and is to be used to stem this torrent, is religious education in schools. We know that the essence of school education is to inculcate respect for the law and the worship of authority (for business purposes). Religious education by turning this worship into a dogma, with penalties attached, has been the chief obstacle to the realisation of Liberty and Equality. The writer remembers, with disgust, that he was taught in a Catholic school never to rebel against any laws, or any one in authority, however palpably unjust they might be, because there was such merit in obeying bad laws and bad governors. When we consider that this sort of teaching is forced upon millions of people, we must hold it responsible that so many injustices stalk the earth to-day. He has so far recovered as to throw that lie to the winds and to profess himself an Anarchist, a rebel against all law and authority; and as a revolutionist is certain that before the Social Revolution the hoary superstitions of the Dark Ages will vanish as the mists of night dissolve before the rising sun.

V.

GLASGOW.—A series of Sunday evening lectures and discussions on Socialism will commence in the Sewing-Machine Makers' Hall, Nelson Street, City, on Sunday evening, 23rd inst., at 7 o'clock.

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, Manchester, and Norwich, to end of May. Yarmouth, to end of June. East London, to end of July. Leicester, to end of August. North London, to end of September. 'Commonweal' Branch, and Streatham, to end of December.

NEW PREMISES FUND.

Collection by Council on November 10th, 3s. 1d.

"COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
H. R.	0	1	0	B. W.	0	0	6
Ph. Webb	0	1	0				
R. F. H.	0	5	0	Total	0	8	6
F. C. S. S.	0	1	0				

Special Propaganda.—J. B., 2s. 6d.

For Chicago Meeting Expenses.—Purcell (Derby), 1s. 6d.

REPORTS.

ABERDEEN.—On Sunday afternoon, November 2nd, comrades Duncan and Rennie spoke to a good audience at the quayside. In the evening the Oddfellows' large hall was again well filled to hear comrade Leatham lecture on the question "Was Jesus Christ a Socialist?" Discussion was carried on by comrades Duncan, Rennie, McLean, Webster, and Mr. McKenzie, to which comrade Leatham replied. No open air meetings have been held during the week, owing to the heavy rains.—G. A. C.

MANCHESTER.—Owing to the inclement weather of late, our out-door work has had to be given up in a great measure, though good meetings have been held regularly in Stevenson Square every Sunday. Last Sunday our indoor course of lectures was commenced, and comrade Scott addressed a good audience on "Poverty: its Cause and Cure," followed by some discussion which was fully answered. We have lately started nights for discussion, and last Friday an interesting discussion took place on "Revolutionary Warfare," which passed off very successfully, and resulted in showing that all our members were agreed in supporting the revolutionary policy of the *Commonweal*. Though we have still hard work before us, we look hopefully forward to the Revolution which shall bring to all leisure, freedom, and happiness.

YARMOUTH.—Most successful meetings have been held during the past month; a lot of revolutionary literature has been distributed amongst the soldiers and police; large bundles of *Commonweal* and other literature have also been sent to sea to enlighten the fishermen to their true position. Altogether, things are moving in the right direction. On October 19th two successful meetings were held in the club room; fair audience, good discussion; revolutionary songs sung; two new members. 24th, comrade John Oldman, Apostle of Anarchy, from Manchester, delivered a stirring address in the morning on Priory Plain on "The Voting Swindle." Mr. Smith, a Radical, occupied the platform for several minutes, advising the audience to vote for Mr. Ecockes, "the working-man's friend"—a man who has put up for the North Ward. Oldman thoroughly convinced the audience that the voting dodge was a swindle. In the afternoon, on the Fish Wharf, another successful meeting was held. Comrade Oldman lectured on "The Wage Swindle," after which opposition was invited. Five Scotch fishermen responded to the call. Oldman, Saunders, Brightwell, Barnes, and Headley formed five groups, taking one opponent each. The meeting was continued for upwards of three hours. In the evening, good discussion in club-room, weather too wet for out-door speaking; room crowded to excess until a late hour. November 2nd, good muster in the club-room in the morning—too wet for outdoors. On the Fish Wharf, in the afternoon, good meeting addressed by Oldman and local comrades; interesting discussion. In the evening, on Hall Quay, comrade Oldman lectured on "The Morality of Force." Large audience; host of questions, answered by Oldman, H. Ceiley, Saunders, Brightwell, and Headley. The meeting was again continued for over three hours. Since last report 4s. 10d. has been collected; one quire of *Freedom* and 320 *Commonweal* sold, besides good sale of literature and songs.—J. H.

SCOTTISH SOCIALIST FEDERATION—EDINBURGH.—On Sunday, in Labour Hall, Bell delivered an address on Anarchism, in the course of which he made special reference to the circumstances which led up to the execution and imprisonment of our comrades in Chicago. The address was listened to with marked attention throughout, and at the close many questions were put and ably replied to; discussion followed. At Leith Elder spoke in our Hall in Henderson Street.

FUNERAL OF HEINRICH REUTER.

On Sunday last we buried our comrade Heinrich Reuter, aged 41. The procession started from the Club Autonomie, and consisted of members of the Socialist League, Freedom Group, and the German, French, Italian, and Scandinavian Sections; altogether about 800 comrades followed the remains. The speakers at the grave were F. Kitz (Socialist League), Neilson (Freedom Group), comrades Stansleit and Trunck (Club Autonomie), and Louise Michel (French Section). Our comrade Reuter, whose career is thus early closed, was a hardworking member of the Revolutionary Party. He was for some time German correspondent for the *Commonweal*. His death, due primarily to consumption, was accelerated by the brutality he endured at the hands of the police in their raid upon the Stephen Mews Club. F. K.

NOTICE.

In the next Number of the 'Commonweal' will appear full Reports of the Meetings held in memory of the Chicago Martyrs.

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

DUBLIN.—Irish Socialist Union, 87 Marlboro Street. Lecture every Saturday at 8 p.m.

BRIGHTON.—Sunday, November 16, at 7.30, comrade Ford will deliver an address on "Priest and Politician."

FABIAN SOCIETY.—A course of lectures on "COMMON OBJECTIONS TO SOCIALISM" will be given at Bloomsbury Hall, Hart Street, New Oxford Street, W.C. Friday, November 21, at 8 o'clock.—V. *That Socialism leads to general depravity.* "As destroying Religion," Hubert Blamé; "As undermining Morals," J. F. Oakshott.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

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

Commonweal Branch.—24 Great Queen Street, Holborn, W.C. Tuesdays, Singing Practice. Thursdays, Business meeting. Saturdays, Social Gathering. Sunday, November 16, at 8.30 p.m., an Address, "Parsons' and Spies' Last Words."

East London.—H. McKenzie, 10 Victoria Dwellings, Clerkenwell Road, E.C.

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott 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. Sunday, November 16, at 7.30, "What becomes of our Wealth—III. The Labourer's Share," E. R. Pease (Fabian). Band practice every Tuesday at 8 p.m. in the hall at the back of the "Britannia" public-house, Latimer Road—more fifiers wanted.

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

Whitechapel and St. Georges-in-the-East.—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

PROVINCES.

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

Glasgow.—Members are invited to meet on 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.—Room No. 7, Co-operative Hall, High Street. Branch meeting on Thursday at 8 p.m.

Manchester.—Socialist League Club, 60 Grosvenor Street, All Saints. Open every evening. Branch weekly meeting on Tuesdays at 8. Monday, Nov. 17, A Social Evening will be held to meet P. Kropotkin. Admission 1s., for members and friends only. Friday 21st, a discussion will take place at 8 o'clock—subject, "Anarchy."

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 Blunk Street. French Class, Tuesday at 8.30. Discussion Class, Wednesday at 8.30.

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

Yarmouth.—Socialist League Club, 56 Row, Market Place. Open every evening Business Meeting, Tuesday at 8. Singing Practice, Wednesday at 8.30. Discussion Class, Thursday at 8.30. Elocution Class, Friday at 8.30.

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

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

(Weather permitting.)

SUNDAY 16.

- 11 Commercial Road—Union StreetThe Branch
- 11 Latimer Road StationNorth Kensington Branch
- 11.30 Hammersmith BridgeHammersmith Branch
- 11.30 Hoxton ChurchThe Branch
- 11.30 Regent's ParkNicoll
- 3.30 Hyde Park—Marble ArchMainwaring and Nicoll
- 3.30 Victoria ParkCommonweal Branch
- 3.30 Streatham CommonThe Branch
- 7 Hammersmith BridgeHammersmith Branch
- 7 Wormwood ScrubsNorth Kensington Branch
- 8 Kings Cross—Liverpool StreetThe Branch
- 8 Waltham Green—back of ChurchHammersmith Branch

FRIDAY 21.

- 8.15 Hoxton ChurchThe Branch

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen.—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7.30 p.m.

Glasgow.—Sunday: Jail Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock.

Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Woodhouse Moor, at 3 p.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 6 p.m.

Leicester.—Sunday: Russell Square, at 10.45 a.m.; Market Place, at 6.15 p.m.; Humberstone Gate, at 8 p.m. Monday: Belgrave, at 8. Tuesday: Sanvey Gate, at 8. Wednesday: Braunstone Gate, at 8. Friday: Infirmary Square, at 8. Saturday: "Cross," Belgrave Gate, at 8.

Liverpool.—Landing Stage, Sundays at 11.30 a.m. and 3 p.m.

Manchester.—Saturday: Middleton market ground, at 7 p.m. Sunday: Philips Park Gates, at 11; Stevenson Square, at 3. Monday: Market Street, Blackley, at 8.

Nottingham.—Sunday: Sneinton Market, at 11 a.m.; Great Market, at 7 p.m.

Norwich.—Saturday: Haymarket, at 8. Sunday: Market Place at 11, 3, and 7.30.

Sheffield.—Sunday: Monolith, Fargate, at 11.30; West Bar, at 11.30; Newhall Road, Attercliffe, at 11.30; Grimesthorpe, at 11.30; Rotherham, at 3; Woodhouse, at 3; West Bar, at 8; Attercliffe Road, at 8.

Yarmouth.—Sunday: Priory Plain, at 11; Fish Wharf, at 3; Hall Quay, at 7.

SCOTTISH SOCIALIST FEDERATION.—EDINBURGH—Labour Hall, 50 South Bridge. Business meeting, Fridays at 8 p.m. Sunday, Nov. 16, at 6.30, lecture by Miss Cameron (for subject see *Evening News*). LEITH—Henderson Street Hall, Sunday, November 16, a lecture (see *Leith Burghs Pilot*).

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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.

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