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THE GLORIOUS REFORMATION:

OR,

HOW THE ENGLISH PEOPLE WERE EVICTED, ROBBED,
AND MURDERED BY THE RULING CLASSES.

II.—THE GOLDEN AGE.

THE storm of revolution passed, but it cleared the air and left peace behind it. Though the great lords might destroy their own power in civil war or private vendetta, peasant and serf tilled their land in quiet and craftsmen worked undisturbed in their workshops; for the people had shown their might in revolt. The lords therefore feared the people, who were therefore left undisturbed during all the great battles which turned the fair fields of England from green to red, and who enjoyed a condition of freedom, happiness and substantial wellbeing such as had never been known before, and has certainly never been known since.

Serfdom being abolished, the immense majority of the people consisted of free peasant proprietors. The ordinary agricultural labourer even was a landowner on a small scale, having several acres attached to his cottage. Besides this, the peasant enjoyed the use of the common land, of which there was plenty near every town and village—wide stretches of heath, pasture, and woods, where his pigs, geese, poultry, and cattle could freely graze, where he could find timber to repair or rebuild his cottage. He did not have to pay for coal; there was plenty of turf or firewood to be found on the common. And as for his cottage and small holding, he lived there nearly rent free. Between yeoman, small farmer, and peasant there was little real distinction; both frequently worked together as labourers on the lands of king, abbot, or noble for a daily wage. The fact was, feudalism, with all its faults, as Karl Marx, has well pointed out, encouraged the division of soil among a large number of small proprietors. The more men the feudal lord had upon his estate the greater the number who fought behind his banner and the greater his might as a man of war. But we have spoken of yeomen and peasants working for a wage. Let us see now what these wages were. Professor Thorold Rogers says, speaking of this period:

"The fifteenth century and the first quarter of the sixteenth were the golden age of the English labourer, if we are to interpret the wages he earned with the cost of necessities of life. . . . The wages of the artisans during the period to which I refer were generally and throughout the year about 6d. a-day. Those of the agricultural labourer were about 4d. I am referring to ordinary artisans and ordinary labourers. Persons who plied a craft in which greater skill was needed, perhaps one which was rarely procurable except from a distance, received more. . . . There is no reason to think that these labourers were paid well because their employment was precarious. Men got just as good wages, in the fifteenth century, whether they were employed for a day or a year. Nor, as I have already observed, were the hours long. It is plain that the day was one of eight hours. Nor was the period of winter wages, when the pay was lessened, considerable, for the short-pay season is, when such a period is specified, only the months of December and January. Sometimes the labourer is paid for every day in

the year, though it is certain he did not work on Sundays and the principal holidays. Thus at Windsor, in 1408, four carpenters got 6d. a-day, and six got 5d., for 365 days in the year—i.e., the former receive £9 2s. 6d. for their year's wages, the latter £7 12s. 0d.; the rate per day and the amount for the year being specified in each case. These men were no doubt in the service of the king, and the king, as I shall show presently, was a very good paymaster; but he is not the only person who hires labour on these liberal terms. At York Cathedral six masons got £8 8s. a-year each; six more £6 3s.; and one carpenter gets £7 5s. 4d. This is in 1415, when the prices of labour had not risen to their full amount." (*Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, vol. ii., pp. 326-328.)

What glorious times, when religious bodies and even kings gave their men seven days pay for six days' work! What do you think of that, postmen, police, sailors, soldiers, and dock-labourers? What do you think of it, you sweated matchmakers, and other workers employed in sweating-factories to produce big dividends for holy men? What do you think of it, sweated tailors, who produce cheap clothes in feverdens for their use? And you, too, agricultural labourers, who toil on the soil to provide these good men with their living in the shape of tithes? Is the Church, or anybody connected with the Church, a good paymaster now? Perhaps we had better ask the sweated authors and authoresses who write religious publications for a "moderate wage"—a very moderate wage: £5 for a good-sized book—for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge;—the "Christian knowledge" for these authors and authoresses being how to live on air, or, say, visions of heaven, where it is to be hoped they will be adequately remunerated for their pious labours in this wicked world. We fancy, also, the women employed in folding cheap Bibles for certain pious firms might also give a decisive opinion on this point. As to the Queen paying well nowadays—why, everyone knows that Her Majesty's Government is the greatest sweater in this happy land.

But the contemplation of the present times tends to lower your spirits: let us get back to Professor Thorold Rogers and the glorious fifteenth century. Doesn't it make your mouths water, you free British workmen and workwomen? But it appears that high wages and an eight hours day were not the only blessings enjoyed by the workers of this golden age. In addition to high wages, the labourer often got his food as well. Professor Thorold Rogers says:

"Very often the labourer is fed. In this case the cost of maintenance is put down at from 6d. to 8d. a-week. Sometimes the labourer is paid as though he were fed and a further allowance for his board is given him, this probably being paid to some person who has contracted to feed him at a rate. Sometimes the food is given in, and the labourer's wages are paid at the full average. This is especially the case when the labourer is hired by opulent corporations and on their premises. There was always a servants' table in these establishments, and the workman is bidden to it without stint or grudging. I find, for example, at some of the Oxford colleges that ordinary rates are paid and the workman is fed into the bargain. Food is so abundant and so cheap, that it was no great matter to throw it in with the wages."

Thorold Rogers then deals with the condition of the agricultural and unskilled labourers, and also with that of the women workers of the time. Let us note what he says of these, now the most oppressed and sweated of all the labouring classes:

"The agricultural labourer gets about 4d. a-day for his work; but in harvest time, 6d. The practice of paying this person by the day instead of by the piece becomes commoner than it was. . . . The man (*homo*) who is employed as a help to the thatcher and tiler, and often to the mason, later on to the bricklayer, is paid at the rate of the agricultural labourers in ordinary times, or a little less. This help was sometimes a woman, as was generally the case in the earlier period; and thus it is seen that women's work, when of what we may call an unskilled kind, was equally well paid with that of the men. . . . The full price of a labourer's board was a shilling a-week, often considerably less; his wages were twice or three-times the cost of his maintenance under contract. In 1467 two girls are hired to work, and are paid twopence a-day; they are also boarded, and this put at twopence a-day more. In the same year, at Selborne Priory, in Hampshire, the board of men is put at 2d. and of women at 1½d." (*Thorold Rogers: 'Six Centuries of Work and Wages.'*)

But let us see what the artisan could buy with his sixpence a-day and the unskilled labourer with his fourpence. Professor Thorold Rogers quotes in his 'History of Agriculture and Prices' the following:

"The price of diverse sorts of provisions and fresh Achates, spent in the

Priory of Southwick from A° 2 R. Hen. V. to the end of 2 Hen. VI., taken forth of an old parchment book written at the time :

Wheat at 4s. and 5s. 4d. the quarter betwixt both.	Chickens, 3d. to 1d.
Malt from 3s. 4d. to 5s.	Eggs, 25 a penny.
Barley from 3s. 2d. to 4s. 10d.	Cheese, 1 lb. 3d.
Salt, qr., 4s.	Honey, quart, 3d.
Oxen and bulls, 12s. to 16s.	Cider, tun, 10s. to 14s.
Calves, 1s. 4d. to 2s. 8d.	Mallard, 1½d. to 2d.
Hogs for pork or bacon, from 2s. 3d.	Pigs (i.e., sucking), 2½d. to 5d.
Lambs, from 4d. to 8d.	Geese, 2½d. to 5d.
Capons at 3d.	Pigeons, three a penny.
Hens at 2d.	Conies, 2d.
Fresh Congers, 4d. to 1s. 8d.	Butter, 1 lb. 1½d.

Fancy a country labourer having lamb, goose, or capon, or chicken for his Sunday's dinner! Yet we see that was quite possible. Nay, even in the reign of Henry VIII., when the people were being ruthlessly driven off the land to make way for sheep—a sad story we shall have to tell soon—an Act of Parliament of the twenty-fourth year of that noble British monarch, which fixes prices, enacting that "no person shall take for beef or pork above a halfpenny, and for mutton or veal above three-farthings, a pound avoirdupois weight, and less in these place where they are sold for less" also gives us the information that "beef, pork, mutton, and veal" were "the food of the poorer sort." What do you think of that, you London poor, who only taste meat in the shape of "pieces," which your forefathers would have disdained as carrion, fit for dogs and swine, but not for men?

But here is some more "respectable evidence." Those people who may look upon a bourgeois Radical writer as too "advanced," and therefore untrustworthy, may listen to the opinion of a moderate Whig like Mr. Hallam. In his 'History of the Middle Ages' he states that—

"There is an unpleasing remark, which everyone who attends to the subject of prices will be inclined to make, that the labouring classes, especially those engaged in agriculture, were better provided with the means of subsistence in the reign of Edward III. or Henry VI. than they are at present. In the 14th century, Sir John Cullum observes, a harvestman had 4d. a-day, which enabled him in a week to buy a comb of wheat; but to buy a comb of wheat a man must now (1784) work ten or twelve days. So under Henry VI., if meat was at a farthing and a half a-pound, which I suppose was about the truth, a labourer earning threepence a-day, or eightpence a-week, could buy a bushel of wheat a 6s. a qr., and twenty-four pounds of meat, for his family. Several Acts of Parliament regulate wages which might be paid to labourers of different kinds. Thus the Statute of Labourers in 1350 fixed the wages of reapers during harvest at threepence a-day without diet, equal to five shillings at present; that of 23 H. VI. c. 12, in 1444, fixed the reaper's wages at 5d. and those of common workmen in building at 3½d.—equal to 6s. 8d. and 4s. 8d.; that of 11 Hen. VII. c. 22, in 1496, leaves the wages of labourers in harvest as before, but rather increases those of ordinary workmen. . . . I know not why some have supposed that meat was a luxury seldom obtained by the labourer. Doubtless he could not have procured as much as he pleased. But now the greater cheapness of cattle as compared with corn, it seems to follow that a more considerable portion of his ordinary diet consisted of animal food than at present. It was remarked by Sir John Fortescue that the English lived more upon animal diet than the French, and it was natural to ascribe their superior strength and courage to this cause." (*Middle Ages*, vol. iii., p. 371-3.)

Mr. Hallam as an orthodox Liberal is naturally not anxious to paint the condition of the labourers in too glowing colours. Our readers will notice that he takes his prices from Acts of Parliament passed by the masters to keep wages down, and not from old records of *wages actually paid*. It is notorious; in fact, political economists of all schools admit it, that all these statutes fixing wages were total failures, and that prices and wages were always higher than those fixed in these Acts of Parliament. So Mr. Hallam's grudging testimony as to the prosperity of the English labourers is only valuable because it comes from the enemy. Even he, like Macaulay and other writers of his school, is forced to admit very much against the grain that the people in the "barbarous Middle Ages" were much better off than under the beneficent rule of the Whig capitalists. Mr. Hallam has mentioned Sir John Fortescue, Lord Chancellor of England in the reign of Henry VI., who, while an exile in France through the triumph of the Yorkist party in England, wrote a book for the instruction of Edward of Lancaster, the son of that monarch entitled "De Ladibus Legum Angliæ" (Praise of the Laws of England), in which he gives some valuable contemporary testimony as to the condition of the people at that time. He says:

"The King of England cannot alter laws or make new ones, without the express consent of the whole kingdom in Parliament assembled. Every inhabitant is at his liberty fully to use or enjoy whatever his farm produceth, the fruits of the earth, the increase of his flock and the like; all improvement he makes whether of his own proper industry, or of those he retains in his service, are his own to use and to enjoy without the let, interruption, or denial of any. If he be in any wise injured or oppressed he shall have his amends and satisfactions against the party offending. Hence it is that the inhabitants are rich in gold, silver, and in all the necessaries and conveniences of life. They drink no water unless at certain times, upon a religious score and by way of doing penance. They are fed in great abundance, with all sorts of flesh and fowl, of which they have plenty everywhere; they are clothed throughout in good woollens, their bedding and other furniture in their houses are of wood and that in great store. They are also well provided with all sorts of household goods and necessary implements for husbandry. Every one, according to his rank, hath all things which conduce to make life easy and happy."

Why the people were so well off perhaps appears in another statement of Fortescue's—they were the most riotous, rebellious, and independent race in Europe. They also had a very revolutionary method of preventing huge accumulations of wealth in the hands of the rich.

Fortescue, who was a bit of a Jingo, cites this as a proof of national superiority. He says that more Englishmen were hanged for robbery in a single year than Frenchmen in seven, and that "if an Englishman be poor and see another having riches which may be taken from him, he will not spare to do so." Our upper and middle-classes are fond of boasting now-a-days, that English people are quite tame and law-abiding, and not like those revolutionary French. How nations do alter to be sure, and how upper-class opinion has changed from the days when a Lord High Chancellor could boast of the fact that "more Englishmen were hanged for robbery in a single year than Frenchmen in seven." The natural habit of taking from the rich to give to the poor certainly discouraged what Marx calls "capitalistic accumulation," and kept the poor but not the rich in a state of great prosperity.

Such was life in the fifteenth century; food was abundant and cheap, wages high, work light and pleasant, for you must remember the men did not work hard during their eight hours day but took it leisurely. Every one knows, who has talked with an old workman, that even down to the present century the workman was not driven like a slave as he is now, but "took it easy." So it was then, but rather more so, for besides this, there were numerous holidays ordered by the church, and these days were given up to enjoyment and merriment. The lasses danced on the village green, while the men and lads shot at butts or played with the quarter-staff, and practised all those warlike exercises which made the people feared by the nobles. "Englishmen were very prone to defend their rights, real or supposed, by insurrection,"¹ says Professor Thorold Rogers; and he further says, "I believe that under ordinary circumstances the means of life were more abundant during the Middle Ages than they are under our modern experience. There was, I am convinced, no *extreme poverty*."² Yes, because Englishmen were men and not craven slaves, crouching like curs at the frown of their masters. Be men again; show that you have the courage of your fathers, and we will bring back the golden age and make it impossible for landlord or capitalist to make us slaves again.

D. J. NICOLL.

THE "SEX-SLAVERY" FAD.

THERE are so many fads becoming confused with the economic question that it would be discouraging if it were not ludicrous. The most prominent among these many fads just now in vogue is the "sex-slavery" fad. But this fad, like all other fads, will have its day. "Sex-slavery" is due to the present false iniquitous economic system. To illustrate: Here is a family of grown-up children, say a boy and a girl, who have just passed school. The girl has received as high honours as the boy, so there is no difference on this score. The girl is as frolicsome as the boy; her cheeks aglow with health. Let us watch their lives from now on. The boy joins base-ball clubs, gymnasiums, and engages in occupations which develop muscles, wears clothing which permit the free action of the body and limbs. What becomes of the girl? She laces her frame, uses cosmetics—the statistician informs us that the females of America expend yearly several millions of dollars for cosmetics!—pours over silly "love-stories," enters occupations of a sedentary nature, and works too long hours. The result is inevitable. Pale-faced, hollow-eyed, languid, vapid-minded, ever on the look-out for a "mash," she finally succeeds in finding one—a strong, vigorous, strapping fellow, with veins full of rich, red fluid. One or two children come. The woman is used up. She is, in the language of certain sentimental reformers, a "sex-slave"; he a "brute" because he still has desires and insists on having them gratified by his legal spouse. Do you ask me if this isn't bad? Yes, awful. But suppose he went elsewhere—out of the bonds of matrimony—would he not be pointed at also as a "beast"? Who are those we find lashing themselves into ecstatic fits about "sex-slavery" and rummaging around in real or imaginary bed-chambers, and pulling out the real or imaginary horrid ghosts? Are they the vigorous and healthy—those whom the life current courses through their veins, where the electric currents vibrate, showing the passions are at play and indicating the demands of nature regardless of sex? No, it is not this class who are troubling themselves, but as a rule it is those whom the eternal laws of nature have made such ravages upon their systems that their sexuality is of a very limited quantity and a rather uncertain quality. These seem to think that all you have to do is to make women "sexually free"—whatever that may mean—and then the world is saved and safe.

I have a specific for "sex-slavery," and I do not intend to patent it either. Here it is: Let women live according to nature's laws; keep the blood circulating; don't lace in the waist, lungs and chests; take plenty of physical exercise; keep the mind healthy by reading healthful literature; use your influence to make divorce as easy to obtain as marriage, and above all, work for your *economic* emancipation, because on this alone rests your whole case.

LUCY E. PARSONS,
in Chicago 'Freedom.'

THE DAWN OF DAY.—Yes, here as there, light is coming into the world; men love not darkness, they do love light. . . . "Some Chivalry of Labour," some noble humanity and practical Divineness of Labour, will yet be realised on this earth. Or why will; why do we pray to heaven without setting our own shoulder to the wheel? The Present, if it will have the Future accomplished, shall itself commence. Thou who prophesieth, thou who believest, begin thou to fulfil.—*Carlyle's 'Past and Present.'*

¹ "The Economic Interpretation of History," p. 25. ² *Ibid.*, p. 17.

THE SOCIAL HOUSE THAT JACK BUILT.

THIS is the house that Jack built.

This is the nine hundred millions of wealth
That's forced from the worker, or taken by stealth,
In the national house that Jack built.

This is the worker, tattered and torn,
That of the result of his labour is shorn,
The toiling, moiling slave of the "ring,"
The abject adorer of lord and king,
Producer of nine hundred millions of wealth
That he's dispossessed of by force and stealth,
And that ought to be used for the life and the health
Of the labouring house that Jack built.

This is the wife of the working-man,
Who lays out the coppers as well as she can,
And suckles her children in sorrow and fear,
With never a holiday year after year,
The anxious ignorant drudge of a drudge,
Who never can rise from poverty's sludge,
Having married the worker, tattered and torn,
Who wishes sometimes he'd never been born,
The down-trodden, thick-headed, slave of the "ring,"
Who cringes to plutocrat, placeman, and king,
While his muscle and brain create the wealth
That gives him no power for joy and health,
Since it's taken away by the force and the stealth
Of thieves in the house that Jack built.

This is the youth, and likewise the maid,
Who start life hopeful and undismayed,
Buoyant and hearty, they've no misgiving,
But that they can earn a capital living;
But find, when they've tried for years to get on,
That the chances against are a hundred to one,
That from worry and want they never may budge,
And perhaps to the workhouse must take the last trudge,
Being robbed, and reduced, and left forlorn,
In livery which they detest and scorn;
To life, in spite of their shame, to cling,
Who ought to be blithe as birds on the wing,
Having toiled their lives long making the wealth,
That property-leeches have sucked by stealth,
And will waste in destroying the life and the health
Of the flower of the house that Jack built.

This is the "boss," the employer of labour,
Who lives by the sweat and blood of his neighbour,
Higgling with riggers, and "bulls" and "bears,"
Who manipulate consols, stocks, and shares,
Grinding the white slave haggard and worn,
The human sheep, that is yearly shorn
Of nearly a thousand millions of wealth
Which contemptible drones acquire by stealth,
But that yet shall be used for the joy and health
Of the bees in the house that Jack built.

This is the banker, the lord of the dross,
Who lends to the boss, and lives by the loss
That the worker sustains, who must pay the per cent,
Of whatever the flint-hearted Shylock has lent,
Who to squeeze a per-centage never does fail,
Causing the poor to groan and to wail,
Building the piles of "bulls" and of "bears,"
Till they've plundered enough to become millionaires,
Exploiting the white slave tattered and torn,
Who must rise and rebel upon some fine morn,
And no longer submit to be slave of the "ring,"
But attack the usurer, jobber, and king,
Determined to die or to win back the wealth,
He's been dispossessed of by force and stealth,
To the loss of his freedom and joyous health,
And place in the house that Jack built.

This is the landlord, the primary thief,
That with banker and boss shall be yet brought to grief,
Who is made a statesman the further to cheat,
Taking ten pounds a foot for the pave of the street,
Who bribes the priest with a share in the feast
To persuade the worker he's blessed and not fleeced,
That it's God's design to so order the hive
That the drones are the fittest and must survive,
That the poor should abstain from children and wife
And think on another and happier life,
As suffering here in the hell of the slum
Will be compensated in kingdom come:
That struggling is good, and the best thing to do
Is to live upon folks, or let them live on you;
For the laws of the Kosmo's are fixed, and ordain
That robbery's right, and its vain to complain.
You must still go on toiling for blue-blooded varlets,
Mashers and flunkies, and high-flying harlots,
Lords of the bedchamber, gold-sticks-in-waiting,
Spies and ambassadors, fawning and fétting,
Canting, false-witnessing, editing scribes,
War-breeding generals, and takers of bribes;
Still must you groan and sweat for the shares
Of asses, and foxes, and "bulls," and "bears,"
Who keep you in misery, tattered and torn,
Cut off from your wine, and oil, and corn,
Your land, and whatever springs from it—the wealth
Which cannon, and truncheon, and legal stealth

Forbid you to use for the life and the health
And the peace of the house that Jack built.

This is the lawyer—for shortness called "liar";
No night-walker fouling her form in the mire
But shines when compared with the pandering wretch—
The plunderer's hack, the tyrant's Jack Ketch—
Who robs without risk, and cares not a straw
For fair play and justice, but only for law,
Which crushes the wage-slave, tattered and torn,
Who's beginning to feel that it shouldn't be borne;
That lawyer and law-maker back up the stealth
From the workers of full two-thirds of their wealth,
Which is needed for joyous and perfect health
In the hapless house that Jack built.

This is the priest, who would think he was "green"
To live like his Master the poor Nazarene—
The priest, who says "Seek not for riches down here,"
While getting himself some thousands a-year:
A hireling who preaches peace where there is none,
And seeing the evil done under the sun,
Is afraid on account of the loaves and the fishes,
And sticks to his dear, dainty flesh-pots and dishes;
Retained by the boss, and bribed by the dross,
A reproach and a scorn to the faith of the Cross;
Bamboozling the poor sheep fleeced and torn,
Who may go to the devil when old and outworn—
Victims of merciless greed and stealth,
On every hand plundered of hard-earned wealth,
Debarred of the sweetness, the joy, and the health
Of a prosperous house that Jack built.

This is the humbug they call politician,
Ensnoring himself in an easy position,
Who first cries reform, but who finally "rats,"
And for sweets of office throws over us flats;
Who damns, when he's out, the other side's sin,
But plays the same fiddle himself when he's in,
Facing both ways with an ease that at least
Out-Herods "by many chalks" even the priest;
He'll swear, with more lies than his confere the lawyer,
To make earth a heaven, if you make him "top-sawyer";
Yet bribes the wire-pullers, all running races
For pensions and entrances into high places,
Sniggering meanwhile at the poor voting fool
Who gives him the power to rack-rent and rule—
The free-born British elector,—the blind,
Who neither sees through, before, nor behind,
Expecting the wolf to be good to the lamb,
And will not behold the dodging and sham,
Thinking that hope should not be foresworn,
Though he's hungry and desperate morn after morn,
And so must remain till there be no such thing
As jobber, or robber, or lord, or king:
No more pillaging mis-named rent,
But the land for all, as common-sense meant;
No more swindling of neighbour by neighbour;
No more profit extorted from labour;
No longer a fear of getting the "sack";
No creeping for power behind a man's back;
No more "sweating," no more competing;
No more shoddy, nor other such cheating;
No more oppressing of one by another,
But thorough agreement of brother with brother:
The capital common, and masters none,
And goods galore for everyone
Who manfully wishes to take a share
In the small burden everyone able should bear,
When we've throttled the force, and stopped the stealth,
And things are used for the life and the health,
The leisure and pleasure, and culture and wealth
Of the *whole* of the House that Jack built.

THOS. BARCLAY.

THE SCOTCH FREE CHURCH AND SOCIALISM.

In the busy little manufacturing town of Beith in Ayrshire an active Socialistic propaganda has been going on since the beginning of the year. Comrade Brown, now of Sheffield, was responsible for the inauguration of the movement, and during eighteen months of quiet work he made many converts among the cabinet-makers of "Chairopolis." Most wonderful of all to relate, the Socialists have invaded the "sacred" precincts of the Free Church—the most straight-laced of all the Scottish churches. On Monday, the 3rd of November, two young and ardent Socialists debated, in the Church Guild, before a large audience, on the best Socialistic ideals. Mr. John Hamilton pinned his faith to Bellamy's system; while Mr. James Anderson adversely criticised 'Looking Backward,' and offered as an alternative scheme village communes, with home industries, rendered possible and profitable through the electric conveyance of energy from large waterfalls or steam-engines. The discussion which followed was the most spirited and the longest sustained ever held in the Guild. On Monday the 10th the attack on the Church citadel was renewed by Mr. Harry Brown, in an essay on "The Moral Aspects of Socialism." The discussion was again keen and all for social improvement. To show that working men are not the only converts here, I may state that half-a-dozen scholars, including four M.A.'s, took part in the first night's discussion, and two of the latter returned to the charge on the second night while another sent a letter of apology for absence, regretting that some people had understood his remarks of the previous night to imply that he was less advanced than was really the case. The seed planted by comrade Brown is now shooting up and spreading its branches over the community like a green bay tree. The Beith Socialists are ambitious enough to take up the unusual task of trying to convert the churches, and, Quixotic though the task may seem, they are confident of a measure of success.

J. S. A.



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."

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 26.

ENGLAND Belfast Weekly Star Die Autonomie Justice Labour Tribune People's Press Railway Review Seafaring Worker's Friend Free Russia La Tribune Libre Manchester Examiner	NEW SOUTH WALES Sydney—Bulletin Sydney—Truth Adelaide—Quiz	VICTORIA Melbourne—Bull Ant	QUEENSLAND Brisbane—Boomerang	UNITED STATES New York—Frühsocker Volkzeitung Volne Listy Freie Arbeiter Stimme Voice The World	New York—Freiheit Boston—Woman's Journal Boston—Liberty Investigator Chicago—Rights of Labour Vorhute Detroit—Der Arme Teufel Kew-Fah (Cal) Commonwealth Philadelphia—Knights of Labour Paterson Labour Standard S. F.—Coast Seamen's Journal San Francisco Arbeiterzeitung St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	FRANCE Paris—Bourse du Travail Le Parti Ouvrier Le Proletaire Charleville—L'Emancipation Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur Rouen—Le Salariat Lyon—L'Action Sociale	HOLLAND Hague—Recht voor Allen	BELGIUM Antwerp—De Werker Ghent—Vooruit	SWITZERLAND Arbeiterstimme Bulletin Continental	ITALY Palermo—Avanti	SPAIN Madrid—El Socialista Madrid—La Anarquia	PORTUGAL Porto—A Revolucao Social	GERMANY Berlin—Volks Tribune Halberstadt, Sonntags-Zeitung	AUSTRIA Vienna—Arbeiter-Zeitung Brunn—Arbeiterstimme	HUNGARY Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik	DENMARK Copenhagen—Arbejderen	SWEDEN Malmo—Arbetet	ARGENTINE REPUBLIC Buenos Ayres—Vorwarts El Perseguido
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THE "COMMONWEAL."

Whilst thanking the many friends and comrades who have volunteered their sympathy and help during the present crisis, we wish to assure all that no efforts will be spared to resume the Weekly Issue at the earliest opportunity. We by no means despair of being able to do so if our comrades will but rally round at this juncture. We regret as much as our comrades do the disappointment and inconvenience which even the temporary suspension of a Weekly Issue entails. We also ask the indulgence of Subscribers and Correspondents for any delays that occur in forwarding answers, as the task of obtaining New Premises and Removal from present address is a heavy one. We are confident that if all do their share of work in helping, that we shall take up a stronger and more durable position in the future than we have held in the past. The First Number of the New Monthly will appear early in December.—Eds.

NOTES.

OUR friends will note that several comrades do not agree with comrade Morris as to revolutionary policy. In common with these comrades, I also think that Morris is mistaken in imagining, as he seems to do, that Socialists have no other task but to educate the people. Unfortunately, before the task of education can even be begun the agitators, or "disturbance-breeders" if you please, must be at work.

Let us look back a bit and take the earlier Socialist agitation in this country. What first drew general attention to our doctrines? Lectures on Scientific Socialism? They were excellent, doubtless; far be it from me to under-value them; but they did not make much noise in public, nor did the people come in large numbers to hear them. No; if the only Socialists had been those of the armchair and the study, Socialism would not have made the impression it has at the present time. After all, was it not the "blatant agitators" at street corners who translated the thoughts of the scientists, poets, and philosophers into the language of the people, and made Socialism popular? Free-speech fights, unemployed meetings, the Trafalgar Square riots of '86 and '87, the great strikes of '89—was it not these events which drew public attention to the new ideas? I believe that is the general opinion.

And were not all these events the work of men who in many cases might not have a thorough knowledge of the "law of economic rent," and who had not yet mastered all the mysteries of Marx's 'Capital'?—I wonder how many educated people can put their hands on their hearts and truly say they have. Did not their preaching stir up crowds still more ignorant, but who had an idea they were hungry, and that knew by bitter experience the evils of the present system, who smashed windows, sacked shops, and thereby got an audience for even scientific and educational Socialism?

Morris has mentioned Edward Bellamy's 'Looking Backward.' I wonder how many people would have waded through that extremely dull and stupid work if it had not been for the "disturbance-breeders" in London and Chicago. And is not the popularity of the Fabian Essays and numerous other educational works due to the same cause? Would they have sold so well if it had not been for the men who have done the rough and dirty work in the highways and byways of our great towns and cities? I do not under-value educational Socialism. I see the necessity of large numbers of the people understanding what Socialism really is before the revolution can be accomplished; but I think on the other hand that there is a tendency on the part of many men who have been gifted by nature and society to disparage the work of those who have not been so fortunate. Let them remember that the agitators and "disturbance-breeders" are quite as necessary as the learned and cultured Socialist, for without the help of the former the ideas of the latter would often be fruitless.

I frankly confess that the disgusting spectacle of sanctimonious hypocrisy presented by some of the "lights" of English Society during the past week, is even more horrible than the frank cruelty and brutality of our African filibusters. The cruelty and brutality is real, but the present howling outcry raised by Pecksniff, Stiggins, Chadband and Co. is not. The very people who have been silent over the African Horrors, where there was something to shriek about, are now yelling themselves hoarse over the case of Mr. Parnell.

Any one to hear these people talk, would imagine that Mr. Parnell had committed some new crime. Of course, the fact that "Society's" favoured sons are purifying the lusts of flesh in Cleveland Street, and encouraging the spread of "Civilisation and Christianity" by flogging niggers to death and assisting at cannibal feasts in Africa, perfectly qualifies it to raise a yell of virtuous horror at an act of commonplace adultery which has injured no one, but, on the contrary, has freed two people from a yoke too heavy to bear.

We note also that Mr. Stead is to the front in the cause of "morality and virtue." Mr. Stead, in the same cause, a few years ago flooded the town with every nasty story he could collect in the fashionable brothels of London, and thereby has done more harm to "public morality" than even Mr. Parnell. Yet Mr. Stead leads the chorus. "Morality and Religion" must be in a very bad way indeed when Stead is its champion.

If Stead, Price Hughes and Co. are really in earnest, why not strike a little higher? Why not deal a crusade against certain members of the Royal family, who are notorious "evil livers"? Why does not the Vigilance Society set their spies and keyhole reporters to dog the steps of the "little bald man in red"? or, better still, watch his beloved son in his rumoured wanderings towards certain dens of curious vice? Then let Stead and Stiggin, Price Hughes and Chadband, Pecksniff and Parker raise a howl against "such persons ever ascending the throne of England." Their ancestors, the Puritans they are so fond of talking about, would have done this. But then, the Puritans were men; their "descendants" are only scandalous old women.

N.

We have received a request to give "as extended a notice as possible to an appeal for funds" made by the Young Women's Christian Assn;

ciation, for the furtherance of their work in establishing "Homes" (*sic*), Bible-classes, and Tract distribution, etc. The appeal is written in a perfervid strain. "Have you thought," it says, "of the great army of factory girls? In London, about 150,000 of them are ill-fed and without any true home; they are brought up amid drunkenness, wickedness, and wretchedness. . . . Many of them earn only a few shillings per week, yet they must toil on often having to support a widowed mother. . . . Many a girl, ill-clad, badly shod, has to tramp on a wet morning from East to West in the chill air to their occupation!" and we are asked whether we have thought of the long hours and the weary round of the same occupation.

Yes, we have, and the thought of it makes us bitter enemies of the system which demands from our women folk their health, nay, their lives, in order to obtain bread. We know that the physical deterioration of our women workers strikes at the very future of the race, and we are astonished at the cool audacity which prompted the request to us to advertise a paltry palliative scheme, consisting of Flower Mission Bible-classes, backed up by thousands of pounds given towards these objects by a horde of titled and untitled parasites upon Labour, whose luxurious idleness is enjoyed at the expense of the tired work-women. When the women workers of England bestir themselves to obtain Justice, the need for Charity doles accompanied with the inevitable snuff of cant will disappear; and so also will disappear the list of idle donors.

F. K.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"WHERE ARE WE NOW?"

The article headed "Where Are We Now?" by William Morris, which appeared in the *Commonweal* for Nov. 15th, has been read by many of us in Sheffield with a shiver—as if a bucket of cold water had been poured unexpectedly down our backs. The effort to cool us is very palpable, but there is really so much effort about it that the effect has only been to awaken a decidedly warm reaction.

It certainly seems to me that our comrade has a strange conception of the social struggle we are engaged in, when he lectures us as if we were merely conspirators seeking to overthrow the authorities and establish ourselves in their places. In such case we could understand our leaders warning us to avoid such methods as "partial, necessarily futile, inconsequent revolt or riot against the authorities," as Morris says. Such methods, we know, do not suit "leaders" or mere political parties, who are seeking their own advantage; but it is a very different case with the workers engaged in the social war, who are really in the position of slaves desirous to revolt against their masters rather than of soldiers in the ranks of an army.

I must say that I think it is a gross abuse of language to state, as Morris does, that the authorities are our absolute masters. The slave who prefers death to a continuance of his slavery cannot be called a slave any longer, and if his example be followed by his fellows there is an end of servitude. This is the position in which the workers are to-day, and every blow, no matter how struck at their masters, must benefit them. It surely cannot injure them as a class, though some of them may lose their lives.

But it must be remembered that in estimating our position, bad as the condition of the wage-slave is, it is infinitely more *hopeful* than that of the chattel slave, and much of this is due to the very insecurity of his existence. He is forced to consider his condition, as the well-fed and well-cared for chattel slave was not, and he is even encouraged by his masters to talk and think of freedom as his right. We have then much better ground to work on, and much more encouragement in our efforts than if we had only chattel slaves to deal with.

There are, under such conditions, a thousand simple methods of action much more effective and natural than that which Morris has in his mind, which seems to be a conspiracy with numbers of men "who do not know what Socialism is" enlisted in the service. Strange enough, too, he really thinks they might possibly be successful, but he says "we are not ready for such a change as that." For my part, I think that it would not be anything to be frightened at if it could be thus effected. It really would not be such a great change after all.

But the change which we seek to make is very different, and *must* be brought about by individual action, or by the action of individual groups, for by that means alone can slaves obtain a freedom worth having and be educated in the exercise of it. By that means alone can it be done in fact, and in every hungry man we will find a recruit who will very soon learn what Communism and Anarchy are if he has not known them before.

Every rising then, or even riot, of wage slaves against their masters, though, as Morris says, it would at first "leave them slaves still," would not leave them so much enslaved as they were before it, for the hold of their masters on them would either be relaxed, or they would be forced to use such measures of repression as would only have the effect of intensifying the struggle and leading to more violent efforts in the future.

For us, then, however partial it may be, there is no such thing as "necessarily futile, inconsequent revolt." Every man who openly declares himself a rebel against our present atrocious system of society, and *proves* that he is so by doing something to show his contempt for property, authority, or law; or any one who asserts his own dignity or that of his class, or makes it more difficult for the land-grabber or money-grubber to live in peace by perpetrating some act of violence, is waging active war upon Society, and is doing a thousand times more to make Socialists than one who is merely lecturing or writing. Of course, the most effective action will be done by those who are our comrades and do such acts consciously; but even the ordinary criminal is an unconscious revolutionist, and is doing good work for us. If then, as Morris says, our business is to make Socialists, he certainly has not shown us the best way, and he has tried to discourage those who are beginning to find out the most effective way.

I think it is clear from what I have said that the struggle in which we are engaged is one that entirely excludes such Fabian tactics as Morris recommends. It excludes them from its nature. Let those, then, who can

speak and write do so by all means, but let us clearly understand that this is not the only way to make Socialists, nor by any means the best, and that it is absurd to think of stopping at it even now. The best way, on the contrary, both to teach and to make a beginning of really revolutionary action, is to have the courage of our opinions, and by acts as well as words show our contempt for what is called private property and every institution based on it.

Every man should take what he requires of the wealth around him, using violence whenever necessary, and when dragged before his enemies he should tell them plainly that he has done what he knows to be right and what he is proud of having done. His example will soon find imitators, and in a very short time the people will find it quite right and proper, and only wonder it was not done before to provide food for empty bellies; and can any Socialist say that this action is not justified by his principles.

This will be the first step and the first battle. We will have to fight for it, for we know that our enemies will not take in a Christian or Fabian spirit the attempt to deprive them of their power to plunder us, though we are expected by so many to submit, or only mildly expostulate, in that spirit.

J. CREAGHE.

Our comrade Morris's article of November 15th with the above title must, I am sure, impress all readers of *Commonweal*—more especially those who are active propagandists—as calling for serious meditation before arriving at any conclusion. Bring myself a speaker and one who has certainly seen as much as any other speaker the condition and position of Socialism in London and the provinces, I feel bound to try and answer our comrade.

I agree with our comrade that the result of our past seven years' work is not exactly that which we had pictured to ourselves. Yet, as he says, we have done something, and that something is, we have drawn the attention of the masses, as well as the classes, towards Socialism; and though the workers who have heard our teaching have not gone exactly as we might have wished, yet they are to-day in thought where many of us were a few short years ago.

Our comrade admits that the principles of Socialism are being understood, and that the workers are not going to stop at merely being a little better off. That being our opinion also, it seems to me that the time has arrived when another step forward ought to be taken. Our comrade seems to deprecate riots and revolts, but how else are the masses to be prepared, how are they to receive that necessary education in revolutionary action, if they are to wait, and never make an attempt to strike a blow at this accursed system until the majority are converted to our way of thinking? We who, like our comrade, refuse to have any dealings with parliamentary warfare, must, when questioned as to how we are going to attain our object, have some answer to give; and it seems to me the only answer that can be given by us is that at the first favourable opportunity we will strike a blow against our present masters and the system which upholds them. To what result this course will lead must be left for time to reveal; but this may be fearlessly stated now, that it is a mistake to be too moderate in our language, and we should not care so much as to what others may think. When the matter in hand is to overthrow a rotten system like the one we live under, we should not hesitate, but seize any and every opportunity to strike pitilessly at the system, and labour to time and experience the task of modifying or improving upon our labours.

Our comrade seems to regret the fact that no working man has stepped forward as a leader, and thus qualify himself to become a great historical figure; but the very fact that amongst us there is not a leader, is (I think) not only good, but perhaps the very best, proof of the genuineness of our teaching, which is, and must be, "No master, high or low"—for, to my mind, leadership implies mastership; though I have no doubt in my own mind that when the time comes there will spring up in our midst, not one, but many who will be able to grapple with the question of the reorganisation of society. This our comrade himself admits, and I believe admits it readily. He, however, seems to think that our very success has dimmed the ideals which first led us on. I hope not—nay, I feel confident, in my own mind, that instead of our ideals being dimmed, it is those very ideals which urge us forward to the attempt at the realisation of our life's dream. He seems further to think that our masters could easily put us down. There I join issue with him. I feel confident that a few determined men—and when I say determined, I mean men who are prepared to do or die in the attempt—could paralyse the forces of our masters, providing they were acquainted with the power which nineteenth century civilisation has placed within their reach. The monopolist press of the world has advised gatlugs, hand-grenades, strychnine, arsenic, and lead, instead of bread, for the starving workers seeking to better their condition. This has been urged by the law-and-order press, and everywhere there are signs of the *bloody* conflict which is about to take place between the workers and their masters; and are we to see that conflict approaching without warning our fellow-workers of the consequences unless they are prepared for the struggle? And how, I ask, are they to become prepared for the struggle, unless we—to whom a very large section of the people look—tell them or show them how to meet this warfare of the capitalist? It is no use crying Peace, Peace when there is no peace. Therefore let us recognise that we are at war, and that we are criminals even now in the eyes of the law; that hitherto it has been a war of words; in future this war will have to be one of deeds, whenever opportunity occurs to abolish our slavery. It is always comparatively easy to be a slave, because capitalism, like despotism, only strikes at those who stand up in opposition to it, while it is gentle and forbearing towards the tame and submissive. Knowing, as I think I do, that our comrade is neither tame nor submissive, the wonder to me is that he differs with us upon the matter.

Science has placed within our reach the means to achieve our freedom: are we, then, to refuse to stretch out our hand and grasp the weapon so easy of attainment? Those who make half revolutions simply dig their own graves—so said St. Just. Well, seek to avoid making a half revolution, and prepare the people's minds at once for what is sure to come. Our masters will not much longer tolerate the teachings which have led to the great upheaval of labour during recent years, but will try and teach the masses a lesson in the use of physical force, which must be answered—as it only can be answered, to be consistent—by force in return. Our comrade thinks that our masters are yet too powerful for us to resist by this means. I think otherwise; for the army, on the showing of the commanding officers, is more or less permeated by Socialist ideas; and even though they (the army) do attack us, as in the case of Southampton, I hold the opinion that the use of scientific force would have the effect of destroying a thousand as against one on our side. This is an advantage not to be overlooked. General Sheridan of the American army said "arms are worthless," and that dynamite was a lately discovered article of tremendous power, and such was its

nature that people could carry it around in the pockets of their clothing with perfect safety to themselves, and by means of it they could destroy whole cities and whole armies. Gunpowder in the fifteenth century marked an era in the world's history. "Dynamite is man's best and last friend; it emancipates the world from the domineering of the few over the many, because all government in the last resort is violence, all law in the last resort is force. Everything is based on force. Force is the law of the universe, force is the law of nature; and this newly discovered force makes all men equal, and therefore free." So said our comrade Parsons, and so say I. I hold, therefore, in conclusion, that the answer to force used by our masters must be the use of force by ourselves. This does not prevent me in the meantime preaching the ideals of Socialism which I hold; nor will it, for preach I will as long as I can and am allowed to do so; but when I am not allowed, and an attempt is made to crush me by force, I know my answer to it, and hope others will also learn what their answer ought to be. We must make war—open war, if necessary—upon this accursed system, which grinds us to the ground to-day.

C. W. MOWBRAY.

SHOP ASSISTANTS' UNION.

SIR,—Kindly allow me, through the columns of your valuable paper, to make a public apology to all trade-unionists, clubs, and others who may have purchased tickets for the benefit at the Royalty Theatre, Dean Street, Soho, in aid of the funds of the Shop Assistants' Union; as, after carefully making all arrangements and having over 2,000 tickets out, the above theatre is suddenly closed through some unforeseen circumstances; and as we are constantly receiving letters asking for money to be returned and explanation of same, we take this opportunity of explaining to all friends who may have purchased tickets; and to assure them that we are not in any way responsible for any inconvenience they may have been put to, and that all monies will be returned on application to 8 Featherstone Buildings, W.C., or Branches.

It is possible that some arrangement may even now be made to have those tickets which remain out honoured at a later date.—Yours truly,

A. MUSSETT, *Hon. Sec.*

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

ITALY.

Some weeks ago I gave some official statistics of the unemployed in this land of "constitutional liberty." Here are some more facts and figures, published by the Roman Statistical Institute. Two hundred thousand workers lodge in "absolutely insanitary" cellars. Nine thousand dwell in caves scooped out of rocks. In 1,700 parishes people only eat bread on holidays; and in 4,695 parishes no meat is eaten. Sixty-three per cent. Italians can neither read nor write. "Yet doubtless," as the Charleville *Emancipation* says, "the King of Italy and his Prime Minister, when they have well eaten and well drunk, firmly believe that Italy is happy."

SPAIN.

The Madrid *Socialista* for November 14 gives a prominent place to a tribute to our Chicago comrades. This is a sign of grace in a "Social Democratic" print. I am wrong perhaps in styling the "Spanish Workmen's Party" Social Democratic. In this very number of *El Socialista* the phrase is repudiated. However, the "Workmen's Party," although calling itself "Socialist" and "revolutionary," believes in parliamentary action and looks forward to majority rule. Without entering upon nice distinctions, that is what we here understand by "Social Democratic." Our Anarchist comrades in Madrid duly kept the anniversary of the murders.

A large Anarchist meeting was held on the 9th at Bibao to celebrate our comrades' slaughter. As it made the local correspondent of *El Socialista* very angry, we may conclude it was successful.

Accounts of similar celebrations are coming in from all parts of the Peninsula. At Barcelona, as might be expected, there was an especially striking commemoration.

In the Barcelona *Productor* for November 13 "R. M." pursues his study of "Communism, Individualism, and Collectivism," and endeavours to show that Collectivist Anarchists are really at one with Individualist Anarchists, and that Communism is the enemy both should unite against. He seems to attach altogether too much importance to the tiny Anglo-American Individualist side-movement. This probably arises from his taking the Individualists at their own valuation as given in their journals. Collectivists or Communists, we should do well to remember what our comrade Malatesta said at our Revolutionary Conference last August, that we are both at one as to what is to be done immediately—viz., to seize property and put it in common by means of a tumultuous revolution.

UNITED STATES.

The Kaweah Colony in California is passing through an acute crisis, and may possibly come to final grief. The present writer cannot profess to regret this. The Colony is founded upon entirely false principles—the principles of Governmental Collectivism laid down in such books as Grundlund's 'Co-operative Commonwealth.' Provision is made for bureaucracy at every turn, and, instead of giving to each according to his needs, a system of payment by "time-checks" is adopted, which must speedily bring in all the inequalities of the outside world. An official notice in the *Kaweah Commonwealth* informs us that "Kaweah Colony is neither an Anarchist or a Free Love Colony, and persons of that turn of thought are not desired, nor will they be received as members. . . . We have laws in Kaweah, but we make them ourselves. Once made, until changed, they must be obeyed." This has the true ring of "law and order." "I, Edward etc. Bradford" could not be more peremptory. It is not wonderful under these circumstances that differences should soon arise between the bureaucrats and some, at any rate, of the workers. A society pretending to be Socialist and which yet believes in laws, officials, property marriage, unequal retribution, and (as one of the writers in the *Kaweah Commonwealth* expresses it) the "fatherhood of God" (whatever that may mean) is deservedly foredoomed to failure. May one not perhaps add that all socialistic experiments are mistakes? Instead of a few hundred enthusiasts departing into the wilderness, would it not be better that they should remain with us and help us to take from the masters their stolen wealth and change the face of the whole world?

Last week I said something of the "outrages" on the New York Central, attributed to the "Knights of Labour." It now appears that the supposed Knights who were arrested and made confessions were not Knights at all, but "Pinkerton" detectives, paid and bribed by the railroad company. This rests upon the admissions of the wretched men themselves. After this, the suggestion of our comrade Parsons in his speech, that one of these vile Pinkertons may have thrown the Haymarket bomb, will not seem so far-fetched.

R. W. B.

THE CAUSES OF GREAT REVOLUTIONS.

In the long run no people are governed better than they deserve to be. He who will read the history of all people and all times will read of many republics. There have been aristocratic republics as well as democratic. Some in which *might* finally became *right*. It was so in the ancient Greek and Roman, so in the city-republics of the Middle Ages. Many republics were ruled by the few nobles. Some were ruled by "councils" and some by tyrants; some by consuls and some by doges, and even by kings, such as Sparta. Rome under the Cæsars continued to be called a republic, and even the French coins of 1805 have the words "Napoleon Empereur" on one side, with "Republique Francaise" on the other.

The ancient Carthaginians were a trading people not unlike the genuine Americans of to-day. They were not over fond of manual labour. For their hard work they employed foreigners. For their armies they simply furnished the commanders. They accumulated great wealth, became opulent, extravagant, and effeminate, living in royal luxuriousness, looking down upon their foreign labouring element. Then one day these foreigners arose in their wrath. Who was to take the place of the "workers" became the great question. Where was the native "after-growth" to take the place of the "strikers"—aye, even of the fighters in their armies? The natives were unfit for hard work; there was no "after-growth," strong and vigorous, among them, and so Carthage, the strongest power of the then known world, had to succumb to the Italian free state of Rome, with its strong and vigorous constituency.

In the very zenith of its prosperity and power, the Roman Republic, after the complete destruction of Carthage, Rome's only rival, in turn became the victim of its own wealth and splendour. The City of Rome, having sprung from a mere town of brick, grew to be a city of marble palaces. It could boast of four hundred and twenty temples, five theatres, two amphitheatres, seven circuses of vast extent, sixteen public baths, fourteen aqueducts, besides pillars, triumphal arches, porticoes, lofty obelisks, and broad, well-paved highways, like Via Appia. But then it began to weaken, for out of its very prosperity and riches, grew vice, heartlessness, and monstrous debauchery. By its very opulence it fell into decay.

During the centuries of its struggle and growth, which of course was slow compared with this age of steam and electricity, the people submitted their political destinies to the rule of Kings, Councils or Fractores, Decimviri, Dictators, Triumphates, and Emperors. These governments were all more or less republican in form, with a senate, etc. But the people themselves fell into corruption and dishonesty.

The elder Cato contended bravely but effectually against bribery at elections. We learn from his writings that in the sixth century of the Roman Republic family ties became almost entirely loosened in Rome most prosperous period. He upbraids the women for their extravagance and their vanity, and he called them glib of tongue. We learn that the women of his time demanded emancipation and the right to control property, and it was an established principle as a matter of public economy, for the protection by families of their immense wealth, that they should bear but few children. The great moral disciplinarian, who regarded the individual householder as the germ of the family, and the family as the germ of the state, rails against women of his day, saying that those of the best families vie with the public dancers and the woman of the bagnio for the favours of the rich Roman youth as well as for those of the actors and acrobats of the theatre and the arena, and that the daily scenes at the baths of Baja and Patroli were a public scandal. When subsequently the once noble Romans exceeded in licentiousness and voluptuous extravagance the Greek before them, their country and their government became doomed, until finally came that downfall which has no parallel in the history of nations. It fell before the sturdy blows of the Teutonic invaders.

We need only read what La Bruyère, an attaché of the Court, says in regard to the licentiousness and extravagance of France under Louis XIV. to learn the real cause of the downfall of that then prosperous country. It is said the most aristocratic ladies of the Court were not at all ashamed when accused of their liaisons even with the most masculine lackeys; and La Bruyère, who has laid bare so much of the wickedness of his day, relates where he accused one of the most prominent ladies at Court of too close an intimacy with the executioner Bronte, without even her resenting it as an insult. Even Prof. Huxley takes occasion to say that the extravagance and profligacy of the Court of that day and its surroundings had a great deal more influence in generating the catastrophe than all the philosophers that ever put pen to paper had to bring it about.

In all countries and among all nations which have passed through great upheavals from time to time in the history of the world, women have been conspicuous in one way or another by directly influencing their rise or fall.

The third republic of France is already threatened by a dangerous indulgence in luxury and extravagance, instead of returning to a wholesome and healthy economical simplicity after the demoralising régime of the Second Empire. For the poor middle classes, nothing—for the rich, everything, seems to be the order of things there. The sansculottes are less patient than the free-born American citizen, who, with very little more love of law and government than the former still rests easy upon "the old flag and an appropriation." But this thoughtless complacency is getting dangerous. There must come a change in our own social affairs.

—From the 'The Rights of Labour.'

A CONCERT AND BALL will be held on behalf of the proposed International School, at the Athenæum Hall, Tottenham Court Road, on December 9th.

SCOTTISH SOCIALIST FEDERATION.—EDINBURGH—Labour Hall, 50 South Bridge. Business meeting, Fridays at 8 p.m. Sunday, November 30, at 6.30, lecture by Hamilton, "Teetotalism."

A REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION.—A world all rocking and plunging, like that old Roman one when the measure of its iniquities was full; the abysses and subterranean and supernal deluges plainly broke loose; in the wild dim-lighted chaos all stars of heaven gone out. No star of heaven visible, hardly now to any man; the pestiferous fogs and foul exhalations grown continual, have, except on the highest mountain-tops, blotted out all stars; will-o'-wisp, of various course and colour, take the place of stars. Over the wild surging chaos; in the leaden air, are only sudden glares of revolutionary lightning; then more darkness, with philanthropic phosphorescences, empty meteoric lights; here and there an ecclesiastical luminary still hovering, hanging on to its old quaking fixtures, pretending still to be a Moon or Sun, though visibly it is but a Chinese Lantern made of paper mainly, with the candle end foully dying in the heart of it.—*Carlyle's 'Life of John Stirling.'*

DO YOU AGREE?

Do you agree with us that the social awakening of the workers is a desirable end? Do you agree with us that we are working in the right way to achieve that end?

You do not? Then oppose us and prove us wrong on every platform and in every paper to which you can gain access!

You do agree? Then work with us and for us; help us to extend our circle of influence; let no day pass in which you have not interested some one in our propaganda!

There is no middle course for an honest man!

DUBLIN SOCIALIST UNION.

OUR Dublin comrades have issued the following Statement of Principles. We wish them good luck in their work.

The Dublin Socialist Union offers a common platform to representatives of the various schools of Socialistic thought, with a view to the more effective propagation of the principles on which all are agreed.

It advocates cordial union with all who seek to abolish the present "Capitalist" system of production, under which the producers of all wealth lead lives of privation and actual want, whilst the non-producers live in idleness and luxury, and the construction in its stead of a system under which the worker shall receive the full value of the product of his industry.

It calls on all workers to recognise the solidarity of labour—i.e., the identity of interests which exists both between the different branches of industry and between the workers of different countries, and the consequent necessity for international organisation.

It will assist by every means in its power all combinations amongst the workers for the bettering of their condition, and by means of lectures, meetings, distribution of literature, and every means that may be practicable, advocate Socialist ideas and principles.

Meetings, open to all, are held in 87 Marlboro' Street, every Saturday at 8 p.m.

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.

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

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	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
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K. Lauspath	0	19	6				
J. W. Browne	5	0	0	Total	8	14	0
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REPORTS.

ABERDEEN.—On Sunday 16th, Kropotkin's "Appeal to the Young" was read and discussed. On Thursday night, comrades Rennie and Leatham spoke to a meeting on Castle Street. On Saturday night, comrades Rennie and Bruce Glasier (of Glasgow) spoke to a large crowd. A meeting of members was afterwards held in comrade Duncan's house.—G. A. C.

DUBLIN.—Socialist Union, 87 Marlboro Street, November 22nd, J. E. Master son delivered an address on "Politics for the Workers," advocating the orthodox Social-Democratic ideas—labour representation, payment of members, etc., etc. A brisk discussion followed, King, Kavanagh, O'Shea, Fitzpatrick, and others taking part.

SCOTTISH SOCIALIST FEDERATION—EDINBURGH.—Comrade J. H. Smith delivered a splendid lecture on "Rent, Interest, and Profit" in Labour Hall on Sunday evening. An animated discussion was started by a Mr. McGregor, a staunch supporter of the present order of things. A good meeting was held at Leith which was addressed by Hamilton and Pearson.—W. D. T.

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, December 5, at 8 o'clock.—VI. "The Coming Slavery." "That Socialism involves Bureaucracy and Jobbery," G. Bernard Shaw; "That Government can be dispensed with," H. W. Just. Dec. 19th. VII. "That Socialism, though desirable, cannot be brought about." "Because it would involve national dishonesty," W. S. de Mattos; "Because all except the destitute and reckless would be injured by the process," Frederic Hudson; "Because the revolution would involve violence and bloodshed," Edward R. Pease.

WHAT HAS COME TO PASS.—Yes, were the Corn Laws ended to-morrow, there is nothing ended; there is only room made for all manner of things beginning. . . . We shall have another period of commercial enterprise, of victory and prosperity; during which it is likely much money will be made, and all people may by extant methods still for a space of years be kept alive and physically fed. . . . It will be a priceless time. For our new period or paroxysm of commercial prosperity will and can on the old methods of "Competition and the Devil take the hindmost" prove but a paroxysm; a new paroxysm—likely enough, if we do not use it better, to be our last. If our Trade in twenty years, "flourishing" as never Trade flourished before, could double itself, yet then also by the old *Laissez faire* method our Population is doubled; we shall then be as we are, only twice as many of us, twice and ten times as unmanageable.—*Carlyle's 'Past and Present.'*

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 30, at 8.30 p.m., Social Evening by Members and Friends.
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 Mdlle. Desroches on Friday evenings at 7.30.
North Kensington.—Clarendon Coffee Palace, Clarendon Road. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m. Band practice every Tuesday at 8, 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 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.—Room No. 7, Co-operative Hall, High Street. Branch meeting on Thursday at 8 p.m. Lecture in the Spiritualist Hall, Silver Street, every Sunday at 6.30. Nov. 30, J. C. Chambers, "Should Socialists Vote?" Dec. 7, G. Stanley, "Why are the many Poor?" 14th, Clara Warner, "Government." 21st, J. Billson (Fabian Society), "Socialism, and how to get it." 28th, Social Evening.
Manchester.—Socialist League Club, 60 Grovesnor Street, All Saints. Open every evening. Branch weekly meeting on Tuesdays at 8. On Sunday, Nov. 30, at 8, lecture by W. Bailie, "The Place of Modern Athens in Industrial Evolution." On Friday, Dec. 5, a discussion will take place at 8 o'clock, opened by W. Bailie—subject, "Difficulties of Communism."
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.
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.

11 Commercial Road—Union Street The Branch
 11 Latimer Road Station North Kensington Branch
 11.30 Hammersmith Bridge Hammersmith Branch
 11.30 Hoxton Church The Branch
 11.30 Regent's Park Nicoll
 3.30 Hyde Park—Marble Arch Mainwaring and Nicoll
 3.30 Victoria Park Commonweal Branch
 3.30 Streatham Common The Branch
 7 Hammersmith Bridge Hammersmith Branch
 7 Wormwood Scrubs North Kensington Branch
 8 Kings Cross—Liverpool Street The Branch
 8 Walham Green—back of Church Hammersmith Branch

FRIDAY.

8.15 Hoxton Church The 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.—Saturday: Old Cross, Belgrave Gate, at 8 p.m. Sunday: Russell Square, at 10.45 a.m.
Liverpool.—Landing Stage, Sundays at 11.30 a.m. and 3 p.m.
Manchester.—Saturday: Middleton market ground, at 7 p.m. Sunday: Philips Park Gates, at 11; Stevenson Square, at 3. 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; Grimsthorpe, 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.

GLASGOW.—J. Bruce Glasier will lecture in Hall, Antiqua Place, Nelson Street, on Sunday, November 30, at 7 p.m.—subject, "Socialism versus Georgism."

DUBLIN SOCIALIST UNION, 87 Marlboro Street.—Saturday, November 29th, at 8 p.m., A. J. Kavanagh, "The Rulers and the Ruled."

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.

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And at all Branch Meeting-Places and Outdoor-Stations of the Socialist League.

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.

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