

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

[REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.]

VOL. 5.—No. 199.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

CHICAGO MURDERS & BLOODY SUNDAY.

"Let the voice of the people be heard."—Parsons.

A MEETING to celebrate the Anniversary of above events will be held on Monday evening, November 11th, at

SOUTH PLACE INSTITUTE.

The following comrades will speak:—James Blackwell, R. B. Cunningham Graham, Frank Kitz, Peter Kropotkin, C. W. Mowbray, Wm. Morris, D. J. Nicoll, H. H. Sparling, John Turner, G. Brocher, F. Feigenbaum, and Lothrop Withington.

Eleanor Aveling, Dr. Merlino, and S. Stepniak have also been invited, but have not yet replied.

John Burns was invited, but is engaged for Cardiff on the date of meeting. Mrs. Wilson has been compelled to decline the invitation through ill-health and absence from England.

Revolutionary songs will be sung during the evening, including the *Marseillaise*, *Carmagnole*, *Linnell's Death Song*, *When the People have their Own Again*, and *Annie Laurie*. Choir will practice at Hammer-smith on Thursdays, October 31st and November 7th; at 13, Farringdon Road, on Tuesday, November 5th. No member of the choir who has neglected to attend these rehearsals will be eligible to sing on the night of meeting.

All willing to assist are asked to give or send their names to the Secretary of Committee on Arrangements.

By order of the Committee, H. HALLIDAY SPARLING, Sec.
13, Farringdon Road, E.C.

NOTES ON NEWS.

As to the Falcarragh case, the *Star* says: "The verdict of manslaughter against William Coll is manifestly a technical verdict only." So was that against Parsons and the others, but the *Star* endorsed it. "Even the packed jury were struck by the flagrant discrepancies in the police evidence. No two depositions agreed with each other, and nearly every constable deposed one story to his superiors and told another in the witness-box. In such circumstances only a jury who were determined to override every consideration of decency could have found the prisoner guilty of murder." Just like Chicago: but this was in Ireland, which makes all the difference.

"They would have done better to acquit William Coll, but they have assumed that as he was in the crowd he was constructively guilty of the offence. . . . The moral effect of the trials so far is strongly against the Government, and when Father McFadden is put in the dock the criminal folly of the Government will stamp them even more strongly as the real authors of Martin's death." Still very like Chicago. May we hope that the *Star* will write like this about our men when commenting on the coming celebration? Or will it repeat and perpetuate the criminal blunder it made last year?

The German Federal Council has determined "to give a permanent character" to the legislation against the Socialist movement. A coercion code is to be framed and the authorities hope that this will enable them to cope with the Socialist agitation, which "aims at arousing the passions of the masses and inciting them to the commission of acts of violence." The Federal Council intend to pass what in America would be called an "ironclad law," which, it is hoped, will enable Bismarck to suppress the Socialist party. The administration of the new law is to be "tempered by a court of appeal"—appointed by the Government,—say the press telegrams. What kind of "tempering" that will be may be judged by those who have even in the most cursory manner watched the course of German events. The "permanent character" of the law may destroy that of the Government.

Well! the Brighton election has come and gone, and nobody seems a "penny the worse." Last week we said all that was needed as to its political bearing either way; and this week we need only comment on the manner in which the respective party organs have taken it. The Tories have been whooping over their "great victory," and say nothing of their largely lessened majority. The Liberals have talked altogether of the lessened majority, assuring us they never—no, never!—expected anything else. As usual, the *Pall Mall* has pushed its protestations to the point of absurdity. Heading its article "Bravo, Brighton!" it professed to have hoped for exactly that result, no more and no less. In fact, a victory would have sorely disappointed it! This was also what it said when its friends the pseudo-Radical puritans were thoroughly thrashed on the County Council the other week, "That's the worst of being a party politician; you've got to shout for your own side whatever has happened. And then people wonder why we keep out of "politics."

A certain section of the Socialist party is trying to get the London County Council to found a new and improved slave market, with the latest appliances in the way of slave-pens and auction-blocks, tabulated scales of quotations for blood-money, and automatic machinery for brushing aside the worthless and outworn articles of merchandise. This is not what they call it, but what it is. It is on their lips a "Labour Exchange," furnishing "correct information as to the state of the labour market," and a "mart" for "skilled and unskilled labour." But in spite of the polite phrasing, it is easy to see what is underneath, and one can only wonder at the infatuation which can lead Socialists of howsoever mild a type into the folly of helping the capitalist in further developing his methods of man-trading and aiding in the recognition of his "right" of making profit upon the sale and purchase of his fellow-men.

That the County Council is likely to take up such a scheme I do not believe. Hitherto it has been pretty sound on the labour question. Only Tuesday week it negatived a recommendation from one of the committees that a sweating firm of builders be entrusted with a job, and sent that part of the report back for re-consideration. At the same meeting it also sent back a recommendation that the sweating contractor at Crossness be let go free. All which does not look as though the projected deputation would be accorded the promise they will seek.

In the last number of *Reynolds* "Dodo" recommends, among other writings which "give a most pleasant, popular, and fascinating aspect of Socialistic ideas," two which we have not before heard of—"Grunland's 'Co-operative Commonwealth'" and "Prince Kropotkin's article on Socialism in the 'Encyclopedia Britannica.'" Those who search for these may find Grönlund's 'Co-operative Commonwealth,' but they will not find the article described. There is an article on Socialism in the 'Encyclopedia,' but, as you know, this is written by Mr. Kirkup, who, with all his merits, cannot equal Kropotkin as an exponent of the social problem. S.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS.

ON AND AFTER MONDAY, NOVEMBER 11th, THE
Editorial and Publishing Offices

OF THE

"COMMONWEAL"

Will be Removed to

24, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields,
LONDON, W.C.

Exchanges and Correspondents Please Note.

MR. LABOUCHERE'S RADICAL PROGRAMME.

MR. LABOUCHERE appeared in Glasgow the other week as the acknowledged leader of the Radical section of the Liberal party. That his Radicalism was not regarded by the capitalist class with much alarm was made evident by the crowd of wealthy exploiters who accompanied him to the platform: and the detailed confession of political faith which he gave more than justified their assurance. It is true that several leading newspapers professed to regard it as quite a revolutionary utterance—but the notion entertained by "leading newspapers" of what is revolutionary, is not of much account.

Mr. Labouchere vigorously denounced the Tories and the Liberal Unionists, and spoke of the royal family just as he would of anybody else who wanted to beg or borrow money of him. He advocated triennial parliaments, payment of members, and the abolition of the House of Lords. He was also in favour of a great reduction in public expenditure, and the abolition of sinecure offices. With Mr. Labouchere's opinions upon such matters we Socialists are not in the least concerned. They do not bear, even remotely, upon the terrible Labour Struggle which rages around us. Were his full programme realised to-morrow we should still be a hundred years behind America and France politically. The wages of the workers would not be raised one halfpenny, or their hours reduced one minute. Mr. Labouchere knows this, and therefore speaks cheerily, for he is a rich man; and the money-mongers around him know it also and applaud him heartily, for they also are rich men. Mr. Labouchere's Radicalism will undoubtedly become popular with the bourgeois classes when they are a little better educated in politics; it exactly suits their commercial notions. Don't pay for anything you don't get, and for what you do get pay as little as you can: that is their golden rule, and Mr. Labouchere understands it both in precept and practice.

It is in Mr. Labouchere's remarks on land and labour legislation that we Socialists are interested, not because we regard his opinions of any value in themselves, but because we recognise that Mr. Labouchere has attained a position of influence in the political councils of the people, and his views are likely to be regarded by some sincere folk as authoritative and final.

Mr. Labouchere does not believe in land nationalisation, not presumably because he would venture to deny the justice of the proposal, for he carefully refrained from giving any opinion upon that, the chief point, but because he professes to think that the individual and local circumstances of the tenants could not be properly regarded under a system of national ownership. The crudeness of this plea was immediately made manifest by Mr. Labouchere himself, when he stated that one of the most necessary reforms required under the present system of private ownership was the establishment of land courts all over the country to fix the rents and adjust the conditions of occupancy between landlords and tenants. If land courts can be instituted capable of dealing with the individual and local circumstances of tenants in relation to landlords, surely they could deal just as well with the individual and local circumstances of tenants in relation to the State, municipalities, or communes? That tenancy, as we now understand it, would be tolerated under a Socialist system, is very doubtful; but whether or no, it is obvious that so far as Mr. Labouchere's objection is concerned, the circumstances of tenants could be regarded quite as fairly under national or common ownership as under the existing or any possible system of private ownership. Indeed, one is amazed that even Mr. Labouchere ventured to raise such an objection in the face of the universally recognised fact that whether in Ireland, Scotland, or England, landlords have flagrantly disregarded alike the personal and local circumstances of their tenants, and have fleeced and ground them down to the uttermost degree.

The most remarkable statement in Mr. Labouchere's speech was his declaration, that although opposed to land nationalisation he was in favour of the nationalisation of coals and minerals. On the death of existing proprietors he would have all coals and minerals revert to the State without compensation. Mr. Labouchere did not attempt to draw any distinction in principle between the proposition to nationalise the surface of the land and what is beneath the surface, he simply affirmed that the latter was a just proposal and necessary in the interests of the community, therefore it should be done. It is well to bear in mind—as giving a clue to Mr. Labouchere's notion of what constitutes justice in such matters—that minerals are the property of the State in most European countries; that the great mineral holders in Britain are a very few individuals; and that the rental involved is only £10,000,000 as against some £250,000,000 yielded by the use of the land. The fact that a Royal Commission is about to enquire into the exaction of mineral royalties, and that the question is likely to be forced by miners and others into the forefront of politics, has also no doubt quickened Mr. Labouchere's opinion on the expediency and justice of such a measure. On this as on other matters, Mr. Labouchere shows that in politics he is concerned solely, as in business affairs, with the state of the "market" and the immediate profit of the transaction—not as to its relation to any economic principle or scheme of social well-being. No doubt, as Bakounine has shown, authoritative theories and principles have been responsible for a deal of mischief in moral and social effort; but the rejection of all theory and principle save expediency, has only been less disastrous because of its inherent self-destruction. Mr. Labouchere, it is true, has none of the Presbyterian rigidly righteous notions in politics of his "great leader," Mr. Gladstone; but he has what is certainly no better, a deal of the unscrupulousness of the landlord's bailiff and the chicanery of the cheap goods salesman.

Mr. Labouchere spoke at some length on the eight hours' question. The fact that he felt constrained to do so shows how rapidly Socialist "sentiment" is entering upon the domain of "practical politics." It was evident from the whole tone of his remarks that Mr. Labouchere would have willingly avoided referring to the subject, if he could have done so with safety to his reputation as the champion of the democracy. He, however, told us frankly that he did not believe that a universal eight hours' working-day could be established. He was careful not to commit himself against the principle of such a measure, he was against its expediency merely. The arguments by which he laboured to justify his conclusion bore the old familiar Tory complexion—indeed, had he substituted "Home Rule" for "eight hours' legislation," one might have imagined himself listening to Lord Hartington or Joe Chamberlain. The workers, he said, do not want an eight hours' day, and even if they did it would not be possible for Parliament to grant it; if, however, the workers would carefully consider the question with a due regard to their own and their employer's interests, and fully make up their minds as to what they really wanted, he was sure that a Radical Parliament would be prepared to meet their demands as far as was consistent with our commercial and imperial interests; but this, Parliament could only be expected to do, after the workers had done their best to effect their wishes by trade combinations and had failed.

That, then, according to Mr. Labouchere, is the utmost the workers can expect from Radical legislation, even when Toryism is extinct in Parliament—when Liberalism is sent to penal servitude on the Opposition seats, and Radicalism sits triumphant on the Government benches with Henry Labouchere at its head! What a happy prospect for the twelve and fourteen hours a-day workers with their inalienable votes, their paid representatives, their no-House-of-Lords Parliament, and their £100,000 a-year monarchy! What a glorious hope to inspire them to march to and from the polling-booths for the next twenty years!

I must note one of the statements Mr. Labouchere made in justification of his contention that it would be impossible to concede an eight hours' working-day—a statement which has a distinct flavour of that "Pigottism" about it which he and his friends so virtuously denounce. Dangling the old tattered and torn bogey of foreign competition before the eyes of his audience, he said that the foreign workmen works twelve to fourteen hours a day, and does not want his twelve to fourteen hours reduced to eight hours, because he likes to work hard when young and strong so as to provide for old age! It is hard to believe that Mr. Labouchere does not know that at every recent International Congress of workers the foreign delegates have declared unanimously for an international eight hours' day—only the British delegates being dissentients. It is difficult to comprehend how he can have forgotten that an International Conference of Government representatives has been convened to meet at Berne, chiefly to discuss this proposal, and that he himself voted in a division censuring the British Government for refusing to allow its delegate to discuss that one question. As to the foreign worker desiring to work long hours with the view of providing for the future, the statement is simply ridiculous. The foreign worker works long hours because under existing conditions he must do so to compete against the British worker. So far from having a special forethought for his future well-being and comfort, he has generally been credited with having much less of this prudential and thrifty faculty than his English and Scottish brethren. Mr. Labouchere's statement, therefore, only shows how utterly Tory in idea and method he can be when conserving the interests of his own class.

The special remedy which Mr. Labouchere proposes for the want and misery of the industrial classes is the abolition of all indirect taxation and the imposition of a substantial graduated income tax. He does not in the least degree question the right of landlords to exact rent, or the capitalists to exact profit; he merely asserts that all—including, he pointedly observed, the poorest workers—ought to contribute to the support of the State according to their ability. He, therefore, leaves the great land and labour problem untouched. He is either utterly ignorant of its meaning, or else too selfish or too cowardly to honestly face it. It is well that he has spoken so plainly: and if he and his party continue to speak so plainly they will do much to hasten the Social Revolution. There is little fear now, thank "God!" of the workers being led astray with Radicalism of that kind. The only danger is that Mr. Labouchere and his political crew may discover this truth in time, and trim their sails nearer to the winds and currents of modern Socialist thought, so as to deceive the more ignorant and ensnare the more timid of the democracy.

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

AUSTRALIAN SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

ALL our foreign exchanges can have the *Australian Standard* sent for the future from Australian Socialist League, 533, George Street, instead of the *Australian Radical*, until we start an organ of our own.

W. H. McNAMARA, Sec.

CLERKENWELL BRANCH BANNER FUND.—A fund has been started for obtaining a banner for above branch. Members of the branch and sympathisers are kindly asked to send in their subscriptions so as to enable branch to have banner ready for "Chicago and Bloody Sunday Commemoration." Already acknowledged:—£1 5s. 6d. The following further subscription has been received:—J. Turner, 1s.; total, £1 6s. 6d. Another £1 required. All subscriptions should be sent to S. Presburg, Secretary to the Fund, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

GERMANY.

We call the attention of those of our readers who understand the German tongue to the pamphlets published by comrade Max Schippel, editor of the Berlin *Volks-Tribune* (People's Tribune), under the general title of "Berliner Arbeiter-Bibliothek" (Berlin Workers' Library). The address is: Berlin, S. O., Oranienstrasse, 23. Up to the present date seven pamphlets have been issued, and the matter dealt with therein is all of the greatest interest to Socialists. One pamphlet, containing from 32 to 48 pages, small 8vo size, with cover and special title-page, is published *every month*, at the very low price of from 1sd. to 2d. The following pamphlets are now on sale: 1. 'Ein sozialistischer Roman' (a Socialistic Novel). This is a condensed *résumé* of Edward Bellamy's well-known American romance. 2. 'Die Gewerkschaften' (the Trades Unions), by Max Schippel. This is an essay on trades-unionism, the general utility of these unions, and their social significance in the workers' movement. Comrade Schippel deals at some length with the prosecutions of the unions, the struggle between capital and labour, the "iron" law of wages, the objections that have been raised against unionism, and the propagandist and educational influence of trades-unionism. At the same time we may recommend an English work on the same subject—Howell: 'The Conflicts of Capital and Labour' (London, 1876). 3. 'Die Arbeiterinnen und Frauenfrage der Gegenwart' (the Woman Question and the Working-women's Question of the Present Day), by Clara Zetkin. This pamphlet tends to show that the commercialistic system of to-day has brought about a complete revolution in the economical situation of women, and that in consequence thereof their work in the family is effaced more and more as compared with their social activity. Therefore comrade Zetkin claims for her sex a large part of influence in politics and in public life generally. The pamphlet is well written, and suggestive of many a thought which would make our friend Belfort Bax's blood boil. 4. 'Der Socialismus in Frankreich seit der Pariser Commune' (Socialism in France since the Fall of Commune), by Ossip Zedkin; and 5. 'Charakterköpfe aus der frauösischen Arbeiterbewegung' (Leading Men of the French Workers' Movement), by the same. 6. 'Die Hausindustrie in Deutschland' (Domestic Industry in Germany), by Paul Kampffmeyer. This pamphlet has several interesting chapters on production for domestic use, trades, and domestic industry, the origin of the older branches of German domestic industry, the transformation of old guild-trades and their development as a supplementary occupation and as the principal calling of workmen in the open country. It shows the influence of these facts on the increase of the proletariat and on the development of the commercial system. The origin of the *more modern* domestic industry—namely, in relation to the production of articles of luxury and fashion; the retransformation of the factory industry into works of domestic industry; the formation of new conditions of interdependency brought about by domestic industry, and the particular difficulties in the way of its improvement, are very ably expounded, as also are the evil effects of the truck and sweating systems. 7. 'Junker und Bauer' (Feudal Landlordism and Peasantry), by Paul Kampffmeyer. This pamphlet deals with the development of the agricultural conditions of Germany, and shows, by dint of considerable statistical material, how miserably large classes of independent peasants have been degraded to the condition of poor agricultural wage-slaves by an unscrupulous and thieving feudal gentry.

The Federal Council have resolved to make the anti-Socialist law a permanent one, instead of adhering to the former practice of renewing the law every third year. These good people were mainly influenced by the consideration that it is less important at present to stop the propagation of Social-Democratic doctrines than to cope with the more active agitation carried on by the Socialists, which, it is held, aims at arousing the passions of the masses and inciting them to the commission of acts of violence. Where these fools have seen acts of violence, we do not know, and they must have had some terrible dreams indeed, for we contend that the Socialists, respecting their numbers, are in Germany *quieter and calmer and cooler* than anywhere else. The Federal Council came to the conclusion that, for the attainment of the imaginary object they had in view, the provisions of the common law did not suffice, but that definite enactments dealing directly with the Social-Democratic movement were required. Furthermore, it was resolved that inasmuch as the effective enforcement of the law suffered through the periodical prolongations, which always afforded material for fresh agitation (that's it: no more Bebel speeches!), it was wise to resort to permanent measures, with the view, moreover, of applying a permanent remedy (remedy is good!) to an evil which showed signs of being a *lasting one*. They now begin to see that Socialism is going to last—aye, and to triumph too! On the other hand, these good souls thought that the permanent enactment of the existing law would so greatly sharpen its effects, that it was advisable to mitigate or dispense with some of its provisions, and to provide wide guarantees against any enforcement of those which remained. Consequently the Federal Council has struck out the penal clauses 22 to 25 of the old law, which enabled authorities to impose stringent restrictions on professional agitators in respect to their place of residence and business, and the spreading of Socialist literature. The new Bill also creates a new Court of Appeal—of course for the protection of the citizens!—composed of eleven Nupkinses of the Superior Courts of Justice, to be appointed by the Federal Council, which shall hear and sift all petitions against any proceedings taken by the executive authorities under the Socialist law. The president of this new set of Nupkinses will be chosen by the Emperor himself—who is exceedingly anxious that his good friends, the Socialists, should have fair play. But, at the same time, in order to replace these clauses 22 to 25 by something, at any rate (it is always well to replace, you know!), the Bill stipulates that agitators can be expelled under the minor state of siege for one year, and on the expiration of that period only return with the permission of the district police authorities. Periodical publications can only be suppressed under the new law provided that single numbers shall have already been repeatedly censored. Hitherto a single prohibition was sufficient; now the papers will have another chance, and at the second number only they will have to vanish. How merciful these Federal Humbugs are! But, to put it in short, we are satisfied that old laws and new laws will one and all have the same fate—die out—and the Revolution will, step by step, come in, bury councillors, laws, and judges, and make mankind happy, joyful, and free!

BELGIUM.

Our readers will remember that some months ago a monster trial came before the Court of Assize of Mons (province of Hainault), where more than twenty Socialists were accused of having been instrumental in the troubles which occurred in the coal-miner's districts (Mons, Charleroi,

Frimeries, La Louvière, etc.). They will also remember that all the accused were acquitted, owing to the fact that their counsel succeeded in detecting that the shameful plot was altogether got up by the government, and that even the Belgian Premier, the Catholic Minister Beernaert, had received in his cabinet, AT MIDNIGHT, two *agents-provocateurs* of the worst possible description, and had even given them directions in their despicable business. At the close of the great trial, an immense manifestation of protest was made all through Belgium against the miserable clerical government, with the first result that Paul Janson, the leading counsel in the Mons trial, was elected a member of Parliament by the combined efforts of the anti-clerical forces of the Belgian capital. The *agents-provocateurs*, but for that move of the electoral body, would almost certainly have escaped the doom they so rightly deserve. But now, at last, they are going to be tried by the Court of Assize of Mons, and we are promised some more revelations during the case that will begin on the 18th of November. The Attorney-General has just published his indictment, and it is certainly of interest to extract from that bulky document some facts which may serve as hints in all countries for all workers who are engaged, oftentimes amidst the greatest danger to themselves, in the noble work of bringing about the emancipation of mankind at large from the treble yoke of capitalism, priestcraft, and governmentalism.

During the trial against Defuisseaux and the other Socialists, the counsel for the defence found out that an individual named Leonard Pourbaix was at the same time a red-hot revolutionist and a secret agent of the Belgian administration of public safety! This scoundrel was to be found in all places where very violent speeches were delivered, and it was he who especially incited the workers to commit acts of violence by means of dynamite. Not only did he provoke such deeds, but he was also the very keeper of the explosive matter, and it goes without saying that he distributed it very generously amongst the workers. An explosion occurred at Mariemont, and it was Pourbaix who had advised one of his poor tools to lay the cartridges at the entrance door of the works. At Morlanwez another explosion took place, and again it was Pourbaix who had provided the man with the so-called "scientific means of warfare." At Chatelineau at a secret meeting, he proposed to entrust some one in the audience, by means of drawing lots, with the "revolutionary" mission of blowing to pieces one half of the locality. At Frimeries he speaks thus at a secret meeting:—"Woe betide him who shall resume work! We shall blow up the houses of the workers who shall descend into the pits. Stores of dynamite are in readiness!" Besides, secret meetings were held at night in his own house, and at one of these meetings he announced that explosions were going to occur at Brussels, and preparations to that effect had really been made. A man named Rouhette, the lieutenant of Pourbaix, was sent to Brussels, and delivered dynamite, caps, and fulmi-cotton to three persons named in the indictment. All this and many other similar "moves" constituted the "revolutionary work" of that genuine "Socialist"; besides, however, he had his "police work" to do, and the more he had to report, the better he was paid for it. After having distributed broadcast his own dynamite, he wrote to the administration of public safety, "To-morrow I shall go to Frimeries to find out a dépôt of explosives." Then again, "There is a store of dynamite at Morlanwez, I am going there to see if I can discover it." Of course, the miserable Pourbaix found it always, and very easily too! One day he asks his chief what he must do with all the explosives he has so "found out." "Keep it," answers the official, "we have no need of it at Brussels. We want only to know who has given it to you, and what are your ways and means of finding out the people who conceal it." After having given these and many other extracts of the correspondence exchanged between Pourbaix and the police authorities, the Attorney-General concludes his indictment by implicitly avowing that this man is a wretch, because, on the one side he induced the workers to deeds of violence they did not want to resort to, and, on the other side, he deceived his superiors apparently for the sake of increasing his blood-money.

The Belgian papers tell us that some more revelations are to come to light, which are likely to shake considerably, and probably to run down definitely, the despicable clerical government, who have made of Belgium a mere province of Bismark's Germany. VICTOR DAVE.

THE CHURCH AND USURY.—Two novelists, Charles Dudley Warner and Edward Garret (Mrs. Fyvie Mayo), are simultaneously assailing the class of speculators who make their tens of thousands, to use the latter's phrase, "by wide ramifications of usury, and by transactions too gigantic for any one man to control who cares to exercise his conscience as to their bearings on his fellow-creatures." The assault by Mr. Warner, very much the more elaborate of the two, will be found in "A Little Journey in the World" appearing in *Harper's Magazine*; that by Mrs. Mayo in a strong study of Scottish character, "Life's Long Battle Won," which forms not the least attractive feature just now of the *Sunday Magazine*. Both writers render help in what has become one of the most serious social problems of the age, a problem, by the way, which comes very near to some of the Christian churches, as Mr. Warner indicates in a suggestive conversation with respect to the endowment to a college by one of the ruthless millionaires who bestows the gift merely for the purpose of securing a character.—*Christian Leader*.

SWEATING IN THE STATES.—A committee from the Boston clothing trades union has been in New York investigating the condition of the clothing manufacturing trade. The wages of the clothing workers have been steadily decreasing in Boston, and work has become scarcer there. The Boston unions heard that New York had been taking away much of the business, and a committee was sent to investigate. The committee has visited the East-side districts where clothing is given out to workers, and they come to the conclusion that the "sweating" system, which was exposed some time ago, was the cause of the decline of wages and the withdrawal of much of the trade from Boston. They describe the condition of the working people who are engaged in the "sweating" work as miserable in the extreme—worse than that of plantation negroes during the time of slavery in the South. Men, women, and children are crowded into small hot rooms, where they live and cook, and work for starvation wages, fourteen hours and more out of the twenty-four. Among the places visited by the committee was a five-story house occupied by several "sweater" contractors. One man, Morris Kuster, employed eight men in a small room and worked them fourteen hours a-day. Some people in this building worked from four o'clock in the morning to nine o'clock in the evening. Other "sweaters" paid their hands 50 cents for making a coat, and others paid their hands from 5 to 8 dollars per week. Samuel Max, who employed fifteen men and made them work sixteen hours a-day, paid them not in money, but in clippings of the cloth.



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

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

STN.—Notes next week.

G. S. Thanks for Ruskin article, which shall be used.

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ENGLAND	Newark—Mutual Aid	ITALY	Rome—L'Emancipazione
Brotherhood	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	SPAIN	Madrid—El Socialista
Die Autonomie	S. F.—Coast Seamen's Journal	SEVILLE—La Solidaridad	
Justice	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	PORTUGAL	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Labour Elector	St. Louis—Anarchist	AUSTRIA	Brunn—Volkfreund
Labour Tribune	Philadelphia—United Labour	HUNGARY	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
London—Freie Presse	Pittsburg—Arbeiter-Zeitung	DENMARK	Copenhagen—Arbejderen
Norwich—Daylight	Ybor City (Fla.)—Revista	SOCIAL-DEMOKRATEN	Malmö—Arbetet
Railway Review		WEST INDIES	Cuba—El Productor
Social Demokrat		ARGENTINE REPUBLIC	Buenos Ayres—Vorwärts
Seafarer			
Worker's Friend			
UNITED STATES	HOLLAND		
New York—Twentieth Century	Hague—Recht voor Aller		
Der Sozialist	Middelburg—Licht en Waarheid		
Volkszeitung			
Boston—Woman's Journal	BELGIUM		
Investigator	Ghent—Vooruit		
Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung			
Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	SWITZERLAND		
Milwaukee—National Reformer	Arbeiterstimme		

CHURCH AND DEMOCRACY.

AMONGST the many interesting books for which readers with short purses some forty or fifty years ago had reason to thank Charles Knight—"Good Knight," as the punning epitaph put it—was a work which it seems might well be oftener used than it is. "Historical Parallels" are always worth the attention of the student in sociology, and it is rather pitiful to think that in this ultra-scientific age greater attention is not given to this detail of "parallels." Russel Lowell, in an address at the dedication of a free public library at Chelsea, Mass., U.S., in '84 or '85, said, "History is clarified experience, and yet how little do men profit by it." It is earnestly to be hoped that the democracy of to-day will be warned in time to take special note of the parallelism which is now showing in connection with the churches and the democratic movement.

At each successive annual pow-wow of religionists there is more and more attention given to the questions of Socialism and other forms of activity among the democracy. At the Carlisle Diocesan Conference held recently the Church and Socialism occupied much attention; and there can be no doubt that the feeling of the heads of the churches is exactly summed up in the words of the introducer of the resolution, the Rev. J. Llewelyn Davis, vicar of Kirkby Lonsdale, who in the course of his speech said "it was the obvious wisdom of the Church to make friends with the democracy now that the democracy was in the ascendant, and that those ardent clergymen who went further in that direction than sober persons could quite approve were probably doing the Church a political service." There is no need to deal with any other part of the discussion in question. That one sentence epitomises

the whole Church record, which has been to use every legal and illegal earthly power and every superstitious terror to maintain supremacy in the fewest possible hands and to never concede a fraction by way of amelioration until it became "obvious wisdom to make friends" with a new growing power. Having made friends, to then forthwith proceed to betray them.

To take only one detail, capable of easy proof, let any examine the connection of the Church and the land system of the last four hundred years, or still more closely the last one hundred years, during the period of the great enclosures. Thousands upon thousands of acres of land, which for centuries had been the common property of the people, were taken away by means of Acts promoted by the squire or the lord of the manor, aided by the parson of the parish, in whom, as in many cases the only man of the district who could read or write, the parishioners trusted to defend their ancient rights against the swindling and jugglery of private bill legislation. In some cases the petitions promoted by the poor people in protest against the Act were so drafted as to be really used in favour, and of course, when the Act was completed, the ignorant mass was powerless, simply because they were ignorant, and for years remained ignorant of what was done.

The mention of the fact that the parish parson was in old times almost the only educated man in the district recalls another detail in which the Church has played the traitor. The education by which they were enabled to play the part of parish guide was almost wholly stolen property of the people. Nothing in history is much plainer than that almost all the educational endowments were originally given for the "poor of the parish." All over our country are colleges and grammar schools, wealthy to-day by reason of the growth of wealth made by the mass, but which are wholly devoted to the training of rich men's sons.

And how has the education so gained been used? Much of the most violent political writing in opposition to popular demands has been the work of fledgling bishops and high Church dignitaries. By fledgling bishops is meant tuft-hunting, place-seeking parsons, who by shameless literary work won preferment and place and then used their power in increased repression. Whig or Tory, no matter which, the pen of the theologian was always ready to earn a guinea or a cure by writing whatever was ordered. Philpott, Bishop of Exeter, who wrote a pamphlet in defence of the Peterloo massacre, and who at one time opposed and another supported Catholic emancipation, Herbert Marsh, Bishop of Peterborough, Rev. John Brand, and Dean Swift, are only a few of the many who could be named in this connection. It will of course be urged, however, that many names can be quoted in opposition to this view; but it is just exactly because of this fact that the special treachery of the Church comes out more strongly. Note the second part of the sentence quoted from Rev. J. Llewelyn Davies—"those ardent clergymen who went further in that direction than sober persons could quite approve were probably doing the Church a political service." No matter to what depth of degradation a church may sink, no matter the riot and debauchery, no matter the immorality and crime which has marked the decadence of every form of priestcraft, always have there been a few who have kept in view the ideals and teachings of their prophets; who have lived ascetic lives while their fellows wallowed in the mire of lust and every form of excess; who have been in some cases simply the faithful and believing disciples of the Christ of the time, in other cases the gulls of their superiors in the organisation, as for instance Jetzer of Bern. To whichever class the innocent happens to belong, he has to bear the whole of the punishment and scorn. If honestly believing the dogmas he preached, his own fellows and superiors were his bitterest enemies and scoffers, and every effort was made to break down his asceticism or drive him from the order. Making a long jump from Jetzer of 1500 to Malkin in 1836, if anyone wants a proof of what is now being urged let him note how Bishop Philpott treated two curates—Rev. J. Malkin of St. Ives, Cornwall, in 1836, and Rev. — Head of Feniton, Devonshire, in 1838. Bloomfield, Bishop of London, being in 1837 cast in £200 damages for libel on a curate, refused to renew the curate's license, knowing at the same time that without such license no other bishop would license him for any other parish. But when, after generations of such work, the dignitaries of each church find the march of events too strong for further repression, when they find that concessions must be made, then the men who have stood out from the corrupt mass and who have suffered at the hands of the Church for preaching the Church's doctrines in truth, these men are appealed to by the Church as being proof that the Church has always done justice and preached truth.

The churchmen martyrs of the past are appealed to to-day as warrant for continued domination. The names of Kingsley and Maurice are to-day being glibly used as proof that the Church has for years favoured some form of Socialism, although it is well known that the term Parson Lot was applied to Kingsley as a term of reproach and scorn.

Just as to-day preachers claim that chattel slavery was abolished by the aid of the Church—one of the biggest lies ever tried on—so in the future will it be claimed that the social reformation has been the work of the Church. If there is anything certain in this world, it is that Tyndale was correct when he said, "Woe to the realm where prelates are in the council! As profitable are the prelate to the realm with their council as wolves to the sheep, as foxes to the geese; for there is no mischief or disorder, whether it be in the temporal regiment or the spiritual, whereof they are not the chief causes, and even the very foundation and spring; so that it is impossible to preach against any mischief unless thou begin at them, or set up any reformation in the world except they are first reformed. They pretend they are for God and the Church, but their secret intent is to bring all under their

power; and when they are once set up on high, then are they tyrants above all tyrants."

"It is a matter for serious thought that the brutal method of Philpott towards Robert Owen has to-day given place to the suavity of cardinal and bishop towards the strike leaders.

Between Tory Robert Southey and Nihilist Bakounine there would be found but few common thoughts, yet the poet makes Madoc declare

"No priest must dwell among us,—that hath been
The cause of all this misery";

and 'God and the State' teaches much the same lesson. Look to it, democracy!
THOMAS SHORE, jun.

A SONG OF THE FUTURE.

AIR—"The Same Old Game."

WHEN I was yet a slave
No money did I save,
Yet tried to live as cheaply as I could;
I drank no ale or gin,
Nor knew I was let in
When taking just a third the wage I should.

Chorus—The same old game, the same old game,
All carried on that damned old game.
It mattered not—oh no!—if one suffered ever so,
All carried on that damned old game!

Some workers came along,
Who said 'twas very wrong
To live upon the toil of other men;
They knew that all must work,
Their duty none must shirk,—
A mighty revolution started then.

Chorus—Another game, another game,
They carried on another game;
It mattered not a jot if they went to *quod* or not,
They carried on another game!

And now there is a change,
It seems so very strange,
No starving men and women do I see;
All wants are now supplied,
No pleasures are denied
To any in our free community.

Chorus—Another game, another game,
We carry on another game;
It matters to us all to see that nought befall
The players in this other game!

A. BROOKES.

IN THE UNITED STATES.

An important event in the labour movement took place in New York City on the 11th and 12th of October. Most of the editors of labour papers met and resolved to form an Associated Labour Press similar to the capitalistic Associated Press. The object of this new organisation is to devise ways and means to enable the editors to help one another; of trying to bring about an agreement on certain measures to be advocated, and also to give the different labour papers of the country accurate news in relation to labour matters. J. J. McDonnell of the *Labour Standard* of Paterson, N.J., was elected president of the new organisation, and Charles Guy Brown of the *Union Printer* of New York, secretary. A letter was read from John Swinton regretting his inability to be present. Samuel Gompers addressed the delegates on the eight hour movement. The majority of the editors present were in favour of the advocacy of the eight hour movement and the nationalisation of the railways and telegraphs. A resolution was adopted to the effect that it is the duty of labour editors to exchange papers with each other. Of the German-American labour papers, as far as I could learn, only the New York *Volkszeitung* was represented. The editors then adjourned to meet again next year.

The general executive board of the Knights of Labour organisation met in the first week of October in St. Louis. An onslaught on Powderly was predicted to take place on this occasion. But it appears now that the men who prophesied that they were going to down Powderly once for all are even bigger rascals than the arch-deceiver himself. They were Mortimer D. Shaw, William Blake, John McGarry, editor *Detweiler*, of the Chicago *Knights of Labour*, and in the background one Tom Furlong. To cut a long tale short, Tom Furlong has made some sort of fame by the vigorous manner in which he, as Jay Gould's chief of detectives, ran down Knights of Labour during the famous strike on the South-Western system. During the late presidential election Furlong did some great work for the Republicans in Indiana, for which he was promised the position as chief of the secret service. Powderly and the Knights opposed him. Powderly wrote to the Secretary of the Treasury opposing Furlong's appointment. Out of revenge, Furlong and his gang threatened to cut up the General Master Workman. At a mass meeting in St. Louis, Powderly mounted the platform and declared that Furlong's accusations against him were a pack of lies. Furlong and his friends did not dare to confront Powderly on the platform, and he won the day in consequence. This is much to be regretted, as affairs of this kind can only restore Powderly somewhat to popular favour, and the sooner he is forced to withdraw from the labour movement the better it will be for the workers. For in addition to his rascality, he is in economic matters a most ignorant ass. After the meetings in St. Louis Powderly went to Chicago, and addressing a large audience, delivered a teetotal speech. It is probable that an alliance between the Knights of Labour and the Farmers' Alliance will be formed. Talking to a reporter, J. F. Holland, member of the executive board of the Knights of Labour, said:

"There has been a great deal of talk in the federal trades unions of inaugurating a general strike on May 1, but I do not know whether or not it will be done. I have heard on very good authority that those in charge of affairs are opposed

to any such action. What the Knights of Labour will do I cannot say, but that they will order a general strike seems now most improbable. We do not try to accomplish our ends in that way."

A conference between representatives of the American Federation of Labour and the Knights of Labour took place at Philadelphia. There were present General Master Workman Powderly, Secretary Hayes, and A. W. Wright, representing the latter body, and President Samuel Gompers, Wm. Martin of Pittsburg, Henry Ehman and John B. Lennon of New York, representing the Federation of Labour. The conference lasted about three hours. The first business discussed was the present condition of the eight hour movement. On behalf of the Knights of Labour it was stated that the executive board could do nothing as a board until the general assembly, which meets at Atlanta on November 12, has acted on the matter. On behalf of the Federation it was stated that letters had been sent to public men, clergymen, authors, editors, manufacturers, and business men generally, explaining what was wanted by the workers and asking opinions on the subject. The Knights of Labour representatives offered a written proposition which suggested a mutual exchange of working cards, a mutual recognition of trade labels, and the adoption of a rule which would prevent one body from organising the suspended or expelled members of another. The Federation proposed that the Knights of Labour discourage the formation of trade organisations within the order, the promise being made that the Federation would then urge the members of unions to connect themselves with mixed assemblies of Knights of Labour. It was agreed that the matters above referred to should form the subject of discussion at future conferences, it being also agreed that these conferences should be continued from time to time. This is the third conference that has so far been held. Another will be held between the meeting of the general assembly of the Knights, beginning at Atlanta, November 12, and the annual convention of the Federation at Boston, commencing December 10. I shall watch this new harmony with a great deal of interest, but I believe no good can come of it, as neither of these large organisations is based on sound economic or political principles.

Chief Arthur, of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, talking of the Convention of this organisation to be held this week, said:—

"This Convention will be the most important ever held by the brotherhood. The question of federation with other labour organisations will be decided. I am opposed to the federation, and if the order is not maintained separate and distinct from all other organisations, the engineers must look for a new chief. The brotherhood is a peculiarly unique organisation, and cannot mingle with any other labour association with benefit to either—in my opinion."

Thomas A. Edison, the most Chimborazo-like fraud of this century, has come back, and has ventilated his views on art. Of course he has made an ass of himself. He couldn't help himself however. Said he:—

"I saw all the old masters. Their work cannot be compared with the modern. They painted pictures of impossible men and women. No such human frames and proportions were ever born. I had a tape line, and I made measurements of them to satisfy myself on that point."

Measuring a Raphael with a tape line. Great Scott! What next? This beats the man who buys books by the pound. Well, we are a great people, we Americans; we are indeed!

The Missouri anti-trust law is having just the effect I always maintained such laws would have—the forcing of trusts and trade associations into one huge corporation and a more complete monopoly. The jute-bagging combine is now organising in this manner.

Nationalism is making progress in California. There are now organised in that State 20 Nationalist clubs, and one magazine has been started called *Looking Forward*.

The International Working People's Association is making great efforts to commemorate the worker's Good Friday on the 11th of November in a fit and becoming manner all over the country. A splendid propaganda pamphlet has already made its appearance. Let us hope that the meetings will be well attended. You over there can only hope, but we over here must also work hard to bring about such a result.

The trouble in the ranks of the Socialist Labour Party is not over yet, but so far the Schewitsch side of the party has won the day. This is the faction which has by some sort of legal and constitutional *coup d'état* forced the Rosenberg section out of power and office. The Rosenberg section met in Chicago, Ill., in convention, which lasted from Sept. 30th to Oct. 2nd. Rosenberg charged Schewitsch with being a political boodler, but being absolutely without proof for such an accusation he succeeded through such silly statements in damaging his own cause. The principal business of the convention was the denouncing of our five martyrs. F. Busche, the miserable late clown-editor of the *Workmen's Advocate*, went even so far as to say, "If the Anarchists flaunt the bones of their martyr-saints in our faces we must meet them with scientific Socialism." Chicago was made by this section the executive quarter of the party. Tommy Morgan, of Chicago, voted for Boston, as Boston according to his opinion is at present the intellectual centre of the labour movement in the States. The name of the organisation was changed to "The Socialistic Party of the United States." Conventions are to be held every four years, *i.e.*, in the spring of the presidential years. The accepted platform contains the following planks:—

(1) The nationalisation of capital and the title to labour-saving inventions and land in the order of their monopolisation. (2) The organisation and direction of the industries by the State in the same order. (3) The employment by the State of all able citizens in such callings as they may be fitted for. (4) General and equal public education and training by the State."

One thing is certain, and that is, that this new Socialistic Party of the United States will be very short-lived. Cranks and idiots cannot maintain for long a reform or revolutionary organisation even if they label themselves Socialistic, a term which I am certain Busche does not understand.

The larger part of the old Socialist Labour Party met under the leadership of Sergius Schewitsch, on October 12th, in Chicago. Disagreeing as I do in fundamental principles, as well as in economics and tactics, with this part of the party, I at least respect the people it is composed of, for they are neither cranks nor idiots nor rascals. In a mass meeting held on last Sunday in Chicago, Schewitsch spoke out well for our martyrs, and said that even if the bomb had been thrown by one of the five it would have been a disgrace to hang the thrower, as he would have been in the right. The police themselves had acted illegally first by attacking a peaceable meeting.

Boston, Mass., Oct. 16, 1889.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

MANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE, "Three Doves," Berwick St., Oxford St., W.—Sunday November 3, at 8.45 p.m., J. E. Benson, "Ernest Jones: Chartist, Poet and Politician."

THE LABOUR REVOLT.

Great Revolt of Labour at Bristol.

Many of us were beginning to almost despair of the provinces, which have not, as a rule, shown that they have fully learnt the lesson taught to sweating labour by the dockers' strike. We know that in most large provincial towns sweating is carried on quite as cruelly as in London: sometimes, indeed, it is a great deal worse; yet, save for a few isolated instances, the storm of revolt which had swept through London had hardly affected the provinces, till Bristol surged up into enthusiastic rebellion on Tuesday October 22nd. That all has not been well at that important seaport in the west of England has indeed been evident for some time. The crowd who, when the gas-men struck, barricaded the bridges and drove back the blacklegs with volleys of stones, would hardly have acted with so much vigour and determination had they not also suffered from bitter wrongs. So when the deal-runners struck they found plenty of imitators—the dock-labourers, corn-porters, carters, cotton-hands, wharfingers, swayers, laulers, scavengers, and warehouse-porters, all abandoning their work and parading the streets by thousands. The strike spread like an epidemic, and it seemed at one time as if the whole town would be out. What has been the consequence? Why, alarmed at the spreading revolt, and dreading something more serious than a mere cessation of work, if the strikers became hungry, the masters have in many cases given in. The dock-labourers and deal-porters have gained their demands; and when the leaders of the London dock strike—Tillett, Mann, and Thorne—arrived there on Saturday they found that the greater part of the battle had been won without their aid—won by the people's own courage and determination. This is a bright example to other provincial towns.

The Bus and Tram Men.

The bus and tram men have found a leader at last. It has long been evident that the people at the head of their union have lacked courage and ability for their work. They have made up for their lack of either by getting plenty of middle class patronage for the union. The consequence of their timidity has been that the men, hearing repeatedly from the middle-class persons that they must not strike, because it was wicked, and so on, came to the conclusion that there was no backbone in the business, and it was not worth while to risk their places for a union that could only "petition." The consequence has been that out of 13,000 tram-men only 1,000 have joined the union. But now there is better hope for the men. John Burns has taken up their cause, and if his action comes up to the tone of his first speech the tram and bus men will soon have the rich companies at their mercy. For good or for evil, the name of John Burns is now a tower of strength. He is a terror to every sweating employer, and a hero to most workmen. The tramway companies had better agree with their enemy in the gate, or in a very short time not a single tram or bus will be running in London.

The Strike at Silvertown.

There is little to report this week. The manager objecting to interview the "agitators," some of the men who are on strike have seen the almighty Mr. Gray, but as the firm were not willing to concede anything worth mentioning the negotiations have not succeeded. The strike still goes on; it is now in its seventh week, and there are many women and little children suffering bitterly from hunger. Any one having a trifle to spare might send it to the Strike Committee, Railway Dining Rooms, Silvertown.

A Victory for the Sheffield Fibre Drawers.

We are glad to hear that this strike is now over. The men have gained a complete victory, Messrs. Laycock having withdrawn all the objectionable rules. The men have been well supported by the public during the strike, and the national union which their secretary, as our readers will remember, came to London to form a few weeks back, is progressing splendidly. Our readers will also remember that the men were helped throughout the whole of their struggle by the Sheffield Socialists, who have worked very hard on their behalf.

The Provinces Awakening.

The latest phase of the gas worker's agitation in Manchester seems likely to end in a strike. The gas committee of the Corporation, after considering the men's demand for an eight hour day and increased scale of wages, have refused to accede to their demands in full, but offered certain concessions which are not accepted because they would make distinctions among the different classes of workers; thus, eight hours was offered to one section and not to another, and 5 per cent. advance in some cases. Unless the full demands are complied with a strike will be declared on Wednesday night Oct. 30th, which will leave the great Cottonopolis in complete darkness. This is the first fruits of a 21 day's old branch of the Gas Workers and Gas Labourers Union.

Our comrades Maguire, Sweeney, and Paylor have been very busy in Leeds organising the tailoresses. The gas workers in Bradford have gained their demands. Their agitation has been mainly brought to a successful issue owing to the efforts of Mr. Bartley and our comrades Scott, Jonett, and Bland. We are sorry we have not more space to give details. N.

The Boot and Shoe Workers Waking Up.

The effect of the dock strike and the labour agitation which has been going on of late will be felt for a long time to come. The West-end cordwainers, belonging to the Amalgamated Society of Shoemakers, have decided to demand an increase on their wages of 1s. per pair in the spring of the New Year. The East-end operatives too, who work on the modern system of sub-division of labour, have just decided through the local branch of the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives, to give the employers six months' notice that if workshops are not provided for them by the 1st of May, 1890, they will cease work until they are. At present, besides receiving sweating prices for their work, the men are forced to find their own workshops into the bargain, which is generally one of the two rooms they call "home." Besides the dirty character of the work, which makes their "homes" wretched and miserable, the system of "outdoor" workers gives great facility to the smaller sweaters, who are thereby enabled to get work from several firms and "sweat" men and lads in order to increase their own wages. By forcing the employers to find workshops of their own, it is hoped to considerably diminish the practice of "sweating" in the East-end boot and shoe trade.

AUSTRALIAN NOTES.

A FEW weeks back a horrible murder was perpetrated in one of the collieries owned by the A. A. Co., called the Glebe Pit, in which eleven men lost their lives, while seven narrowly escaped. In one part of the pit the masters forced the men to work the "pillars" out, which is very dangerous work. By all accounts it seems that many "pillars" had been worked out, which left the roof no support. It was, indeed, known among the miners that there would sooner or later be a great fall, and many of them refused to work; but the "bosses" warned them that if they did not they would be dismissed. This frightened some, so they went into the mine as usual one morning to be buried alive. Just before the fall the cracking of the roof alarmed some, who made for the mouth of the pit; but on their way they were met by an underground "boss," who, when he heard what was expected, bullied a few of them into returning to their work, stating that there was no danger. Those who yielded went to their fate. The fall came, blocking up the main entrance altogether, no doubt settling down where all the pillars had been worked out. A relief party was at once set to work to try and effect an entrance through the debris, at great risk to themselves. They worked for many days without coming upon any of the entombed men; at last they came to one, but dead and almost unrecognisable! At this point the "Company" refused to carry on the rescue work, on the ground that they could not bear the responsibility of any fatality which might occur to the relief party, as the work was so highly dangerous! So the government has stepped in and declared that it will carry on the relief work and pay the piper! A bit of cool cunning trickery on the part of the "bosses"—but here is a bit which must be related. Soon after the disaster, Lord Carrington (our "Governor") came to the mine, and even went down below to have a peep at the "fall." Now, it is widely rumoured that he is one of the directors of the Company which owns the mine, and that it is his influence that has got the government (at the expense of the taxpayers) to bear the cost which the *mean* "Company" should have borne. Two of the Company's horses have been found—one being alive; three men have also been come upon, but all dead—victims to the present system!

The Melbourne *Age* recently reported the doings of the "Melbourne Charity Association," and lauded the officials of that institution up to the skies for their "great endeavours" in collecting and distributing to somewhat relieve the poor starving wretches of Melbourne from hunger. But further on the report shows "that the society received £500 in subscriptions, absorbed over £400 in salaries and office expenses, and distributed but a paltry £30 in relief," and then goes on in a wriggling manner to make it appear that "it is not a charity but a medium between the giver and the taker, an agency which warns off the undeserving but seeks out the deserving." The officials, it would seem according to this, are the "deserving" (?), while the worn-out human machines are the "undeserving"! The other day a boy in Sydney was sentenced to six months' hard labour for wandering about the streets "without visible means of support"! Poverty seems here as well as with you to be a terrible crime.

Hamilton, N.S.W., August 25, 1889.

ROBERT STUART.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 9, 1889.

3	Sun.	1640. Long Parliament met; William Lenthall chosen Speaker. 1815. John Mitchell born. 1872. Demonstration of Fenian sympathisers in Hyde Park.
4	Mon.	1789. Revolution Society of London sends congratulatory address to National Convention at Paris. 1839. Frost's rising at Newport. 1867. Bread-riots at Exeter and other west of England towns. 1867. Garibaldi defeated at Mentana.
5	Tues.	1605. Gunpowder Plot. 1789. Distinctions and orders abolished by National Convention. 1809. Great meeting at "Crown and Anchor" tavern to celebrate anniversary of the acquittal in 1792 of Hardy, Horne Tooke, Thelwall, etc. 1822. Trial of Edward Browne, William Crilly, William Flinn, John O'Neill, Daniel Moore, Edward Hughes, and Lawrence Woods, at Dublin, for administering and taking Ribbon oaths.
6	Wed.	1773. Henry Hunt born. 1788. Second Convocation of the Notables begins; sits till December 12. 1793. Philippe Egalité guillotined. 1793. Edinburgh Convention dispersed by force. 1811. Trial begins of Edward Sheridan, M.D., and Thomas Kirwan at Dublin for taking part in a meeting to cause petitions to Parliament for the repeal of the laws against Catholics. 1830. Peasant riots in southern England. 1841. First number of the <i>Oracle of Reason</i> , Bristol, edited by Charles Southwell. 1842. William Hone died. 1880. Trial of Kviatkovsky and fifteen others at St. Petersburg for taking part in terrorist attempts. Sentences: death, 2; hard labour, 12; Siberia, 2.
7	Thur.	1683. Algernon Sidney tried for high treason. 1817. Jeremiah Brandreth, Isaac Ludlam, and William Turner, Luddites, hanged at Derby. 1837. E. P. Lovejoy killed. 1852. Third Empire established.
8	Fri.	1674. John Milton died. 1793. Madame Roland beheaded. 1848. Robert Blum shot.
9	Sat.	1830. Royal visit and Lord Mayor's Show postponed; unemployed riots in London. 1856. Etienne Cabet died.

SYLLABUS of Lectures, in connection with the Arts and Crafts Exhibition now open, to be given in the New Gallery, Regent Street, on Thursday evenings, at 8.30 p.m.—Nov. 7, William Morris, "Gothic Architecture." 14th. Henry Holiday, "Stained Glass." 21st. T. J. Cobden-Sanderson, "The Decoration of Bound Books." 28th. Lewis F. Day, "Ornament." Dec. 5, Walter Crane, "Design and Expression." Admission 2s. 6d.; art students and employes, 1s.

A CENTURY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS.—Course of Lectures to be given by members of the Fabian Society, at Willis's Rooms, King Street, S.W., on Friday evenings at 8 o'clock. November 1, Graham Wallas, "The Chartist Agitation." 15th, Hubert Bland, "The Protest of Literature and Sentiment." Dec. 6, Annie Besant, "The Trades Union Movement." 20th, G. Bernard Shaw, "The New Politics." Tickets of admission may be obtained from the Secretary, 180 Portsdown Road, W.

CHELSEA S.D.F., Co-operative Lecture Hall, 312 Kings Road, Chelsea.—Sunday November 3, at 8 p.m., H. M. Hyndman, "The Revolt of London."

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.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.

Commonweals for 1888, handsomely bound in red, are now ready, price 5s.; per post, 5s. 6d.

Notice to Branch Secretaries.—Membership Cards can now be had by the Branches at 9d. per dozen from Central Office.

Branch Subscriptions Paid. 1888:—Oxford, to end of September. 1889:—Bradford and Hammersmith, to end of April. Norwich, Glasgow, Yarmouth, and Mitcham, to end of May. East London, and Clerkenwell, to end of June. North London, to end of August. Leicester, North Kensington, and Manchester, to end of September. St. Georges East, to end of December.

Notice to Branch Secretaries.—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees as soon as possible.

Propaganda Fund.—Collection, Propaganda Committee, 1s. 1d.; Council collection, 3s.; and Samuels, 6d.

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

"COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—Webb, 1s.; Kitz, 6d.; B. W., 6d.; Mrs. Schack, 6d.; Nicoll, 6d.; Samuels, 6d.; and C. Saunders, 1s.

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

To those who have obtained copies of the *Commonweal* through the propagandist work of our comrades, by free distribution in the streets and public conveyances, or by purchase at our outdoor stations, we ask in agreement with our principles to help the sale of the *Commonweal* by ordering it of their newsagents, and sending on to us the names of newsagents willing to sell it; and still better, as our outdoor work must shortly be reduced, by joining the local branches and helping on the work.

REPORTS.

CLERKENWELL.—On Sunday evening (S. Presburg in chair) G. Cores lectured on "Practical Socialism"; many questions and interesting discussion.—P.

EAST LONDON.—Good meeting on the Triangle outside hall opened by Mrs. Tochatti, who sang "Leisure and Pleasure," and addressed by J. Turner and J. Tochatti. Meeting inside the hall addressed by Tochatti and Davis. Other songs were sung and the meeting closed.

NORTH KENSINGTON.—A good meeting held at Latimer Road; speakers were Maughan, Dean, Lyne, jun., Weardale (S.D.F.), and Tochatti; 27 *Weals* sold and 1s. 5d. collected. No meeting at St. Ann's Road owing to weather. Wm. Morris lectured at 8 p.m. at the Clarendon Coffee Tavern to a good audience, afterward the lecture created an animated discussion; 13 *Weals* sold and 1s. 5½d. collected.

ST. GEORGE'S EAST.—No outdoor meetings have been held during the week on account of bad weather. Good muster of comrades at business meeting on Wednesday. Settled re banner, platform, and capitation.—J. T.

SOUTHWARK.—On Sunday, Oct. 20, we held a meeting when the rain ceased, Cores speaking. On Sunday last no meeting held because of the wet weather.

EDINBURGH.—Splendid meeting on Sunday night in Moulders' Hall; Gilray delivered excellent lecture on "The Social Creed of Christianity"; good discussion. New members are being made every week. The present winter course of lectures promise to be the most successful yet held.—L.

GLASGOW.—On Tuesday evening our comrades were unable to hold any meeting on Cathedral Square owing to the rain. On Sunday at one o'clock, Joe Burgoyne and Gilbert spoke on Jail Square; and in the evening members turned up well at Paisley Road Toll, where Joe and Tim Burgoyne, and Gilbert, spoke to a good audience.

LEICESTER.—Sunday 27th Hubert Bland gave two addresses at Vine Street Radical Club to fair audiences; morning, "Where Radicalism Fails," and in the evening, "The Meaning of Socialism"; middling discussion. On Monday night Barclay gave the opening address in our new premises on "Principles." Sunday collection, 16s. 8½d.; 93 *Commonweal* sold.

MANCHESTER.—An agitation has been going on for some time amongst the men employed in the health department of the Manchester Corporation. The S. L. called a meeting of the men for Sunday the 27th, and in the meantime a branch of the Gas-workers and General Labourers' Union was formed by W. Horrocks, organiser for Lancashire, and a Socialist of Salford. Despite an exceptionally wet day, a number of the men turned up in Stevenson Square on Sunday and were addressed by Ritson, Bailie, and Barton of the S. L. The meeting was adjourned till next Sunday, when, if the elements be more favourable, a meeting of all workers in the department will take place. A strike has taken place at Berry's Blacking Works, Manchester, the largest firm of the sort in England. The men who lap up the packages are paid at the rate of 1d. per gross, and for all over 140 gross in one week, 1½d. Those who weigh the blacking get half this amount. No union existed amongst the men, but some members of the S. L. working there agitated them so that they demand 1½d. per gross for all work done. Mr. Berry, who is now very rich, though twenty years ago he was in much the same position as most of his men now are, did not see his way to grant this most meagre demand. The men turned out, and still remain out, though it is expected that what they now ask will speedily be conceded. On Monday morning a meeting of the strikers took place in a mission room, when Bailie of the S. L. addressed them and urged upon them the necessity of being organised. A branch of the G. W. and G. L. Union was therefore formed, all the men giving their names and paying their first contribution. The shirt-makers, men and women, in Manchester have formed a union, of which you shall hear more later on. This is one of the most sweated of the many sweating trades in this city.

NORWICH.—Thursday last Lenneying read a paper to a large number of comrades on "Organised Labour"; warm discussion followed, considerable opposition put forward. Saturday evening commenced a series of social gatherings of comrades; numerous revolutionary songs were rendered, and dancing kept up to a late hour. Sunday afternoon comrade W. Moore addressed a good meeting in the Market Place; audience very attentive. Other meetings could not be held, owing to weather. In the evening, at the Gordon Hall, a pleasant evening was passed. Good sale of *Commonweal* and fair collection.

YARMOUTH.—We held a meeting at the Coffee Tavern, Pier Walk, Goleston, on Monday last, when Reynolds gave an address on "Organisation"; 1s. 3d. collected towards paying expenses. On Thursday night, in the Market Place, Reynolds and Lee addressed a large audience on the same subject. On Sunday we held no meeting in the morning or afternoon. In the evening, at Colman's Granary Quay, we held a splendid meeting, addressed by Ruffold and Reynolds; 1s. 10d. collected, 17 *Commonweal* sold.—J. H.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Battersea.—All communications to E. Buteux, 20 Abercrombie Street, Battersea Park Road.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farrington Road, E.C. (½-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Highborn Viaduct). On Sunday November 3, at 8 p.m., lecture by A. Brookes, "Brotherhood." 10th. D. J. Nicoll, "The French Revolution."

East London.—Crown Coffee Tavern, 2 Columbia Road, Hackney Road. Sunday November 3, at 7.30, Members' meeting. Comrades are requested to turn up at meeting on Triangle at 8 o'clock.

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Nov. 3, at 8 p.m., A lecture. French Class, 8 to 9 every Friday evening.

Merton.—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road.

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

North Kensington.—Clarendon Coffee Tavern. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m. On Sunday November 3, at 8 p.m., W. S. De Mattos will lecture on "The Radical Policy and Practicable Socialism."

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

Southwark.—Secretary, George Evans, 56 Lucy Road, Bermondsey, S.E. Hill's Coffee Tavern, Great Charlotte Street, Blackfriars Road, S.E. SPECIAL.—Comrades who have given in their names for the branch are asked to attend and after the open-air meeting is concluded talk over business in connection with the branch.

Streatham.—Meets every Thursday at the "Leigham Arms," Wellfield Road, at 8.30 p.m.

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 Monday evenings at 8. Singing practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursdays at 8 p.m.

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

Dundee.—Address to W. Cameron, 17 Laurence Street, Dundee.

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

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

Leeds.—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

Leicester.—Exchange Buildings, Rutland Street. In the Co-operative Hall, High Street, on Tuesday November 5th, at 8 p.m., Sidney Webb will lecture on "What Socialism Means."

Manchester.—Working Men's Educational Club, 122 Corporation Street, corner of Hanover Street. Weekly meeting of members every Tuesday at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Wednesday, at 8, Rehearsal. Thursday, at 8 p.m., Discussion Class. Social meeting for members and friends—admission free. Hall open every evening from 8 o'clock.

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

Walsall.—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

Yarmouth.—Branch meets at comrade Headley's, near Co-operative Stores, every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class Friday at 8 p.m. At the Great Yarmouth Radical Club, on Wednesday November 6th, Mr. Dawson will read a paper on "Socialism." Comrades, attend in strong force. Mrs. Schack will be in Yarmouth on the 10th for the commemoration of Bloody Sunday and the Chicago Martyrs.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SATURDAY 2.

8.30..... Battersea—opposite Christ Church.....Samuels
8.30..... Mile-end Waste.....Mowbray

SUNDAY 3.

11..... Latimer Road Station.....Dean, Crouch, R. J. Lyne
11.30..... East India Dock Gates.....Leggett
11.30..... Kilburn—"Old Plough," Kilburn Lane.....Mainwaring
11.30..... North Kensington—St. Ann's Road.....Maughan, J. F. Lyne, Saint
11.30..... Commercial Road—Union Street.....Davis
11.30..... Mitcham—Fair Green.....Mowbray
11.30..... Regent's Park.....Nicoll and Mrs. Schack
11.30..... Southwark—Flat Iron Square.....Cores
11.30..... Starch Green.....Turner and Tochatti
3.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch.....Cantwell and Parker
3.30..... Victoria Park.....Davis and Mrs. Schack
7..... Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park.....Hammersmith Branch
7.30..... Mitcham—Fair Green.....Mowbray and Kitz
8..... Streatham—Fountain, High Street.....Mowbray
7.30..... Walham Green—back of Church.....Hammersmith Branch
8..... Clerkenwell Green.....The Branch

TUESDAY 5.

8..... Walham Green—back of Church.....Hammersmith Branch

THURSDAY 7.

8.15..... Hoxton Church.....Mowbray

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen.—Saturday: Castle Street, 7 p.m.

Glasgow.—Sunday: Jail Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock. Tuesday: Cathedral Square, at 8 p.m.

Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

Manchester.—Sunday: Philips Park Gates, at 11; Stevenson Square, at 3.

Norwich.—Sunday: St. Faiths, at 11 a.m.; Wymondham, at 11; Market Place, at 3 and 7.30 p.m.

Sheffield.—Sunday: Hillfoot Bridge, at 11 a.m.; Mars Hill, Attercliffe, at 11; Rotherham College Yard, at 6.30; Pump, Westbar, at 8.

Yarmouth.—Sunday: Priory Plain, at 11; Fish Wharf, at 3; Colman's Granary Quay, at 7. Bradwell, Sunday at 11.30. Belton, every Monday at 8.

SCOTTISH SOCIALIST FEDERATION (EDINBURGH).—Economic Class every Friday at 8 p.m., at 35 George IV. Bridge. Lecture on Sunday November 3, at 6.30, in the Moulders' Hall, 105 High Street, "Socialism and Free Education," by a French comrade.

GLASGOW—SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT.—Walter Crane will lecture in the Waterloo Halls on Sunday evening November 3, at 7 o'clock—subject, "The Educational Value of Art." William Morris in the chair. A conference of friends willing to assist in the cause will be held in one of the Waterloo Rooms on Sunday at 2 o'clock, when Crane, Morris, Walker, and Sanderson will be present.

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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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