

# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 5.—No. 204.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

CLOTHES again! This time it is an advertisement in a pushing draper's catalogue of "Charity clothes, as supplied to her Majesty." At first sight this appears to emanate from a "boiling-over" Radical Republican, annoyed by the fact that he and his like are paying rather heavily for the pension of royalty which has ceased to earn its money but not ceased to draw it: for surely all "her Majesty's" outfit is "charity." The other interpretation is that the advertiser supposes that the Queen follows the fashion of which an example was mentioned last week of kindly considering the position of the "poor" by taking care not to give them clothes which would compromise them and cause them to be mistaken for persons above them. Is not this over-anxiety? The poor wear a livery of their own not easy to mistake.

Well, well, the poor go on with the strain of luck mentioned in our issue of last week! Here are people again who want to teach them how to cook. If once they learn that, they will so far be ahead of their fellow-countrymen or women. Perhaps the next thing after teaching them how to cook will be to allow them to get hold of something which can be cooked—and eaten.

Lord Salisbury's Nottingham manifesto will be a disappointment to those opportunist semi (or demi-semi) Socialists who look upon the Tories as possible allies in the enterprise for the total abolition of Toryism. His admissions came to no more than this, that the Irish Question had been played out in its function of football to the two "great" parties who are playing the game of political jobbery, and that some other football must be found. For the rest, his speech on "Social Questions" was the usual string of platitudes, contradictions, and falsities which make up the big lie political.

So remarkably stupid it was, that one is tempted at first sight to think that the Marquis was restraining his wisdom and knowledge for the sake of talking down to the comprehension of his Tory audience; but a moment's reflection shows one that whatever intelligence the man once possessed has long ago been drowned in the muddy sea of political dishonesty: he was no whit better than his audience.

For after all, what was the real meaning of his stale sham-economics? It is very simple, and should read thus: "My friends, we are living in ticklish times, in which Socialism (about which we know nothing) is advancing on us rapidly. Some of our party are in favour of recognising the fact and tossing some considerable tub to the whale; I don't see my way to that, for we have no tub to toss that we don't want ourselves; so I am in favour of ignoring the advance of Socialism altogether. So you had better go about and say that the workman will be no better off for having less work and more pay, and that since the land of England is only half cultivated he had better emigrate at once to countries which produce less wealth at the expense of more labour. And look here! you had better say, also, that the question as to whether the workman is to have more than a bare subsistence (*i.e.*, starvation) wage is a matter of "philanthropy."

Thus much Lord Salisbury, who, it must be said, makes a very halting advance towards the progressive side. But the other party, will they come any further? That seems more than doubtful. The Whig Rag, for instance, in commenting on the marquis's speech, while attacking his political views, is highly satisfied with his social and (save the mark!) economical utterances. The workers had better not trouble themselves in the least as to what such worn-out nullities as Salisbury and Gladstone may say, but look to it not to wait to have things given them, but take them for themselves. The gifts will mean nothing; they will be like the fairy gold in the old tale which turns into dry leaves in the morning light. W. M.

The *Daily News*, not to be outdone by the advertising draper, of whom comrade Morris speaks, had on Saturday an article dealing with

working-class cookery, and scolding workman's wives for their wastefulness. Now, it is not only true that English working-women are wasteful cooks, but that *all* English women are so—those of the lower middle-class more especially so. Also it is true that a large part of the food not literally thrown away, is virtually so by not being utilised to its full extent, either in the quantity or quality of the sustenance and pleasure got out of it. In either instance this is the result of ignorance, which in the case of the working-woman is complicated by lack of means and leisure.

But, supposing that she could cook like a French woman, or even pinch and scrape like a Chinese, other things remaining as they are, is it conceivable that she could thereby materially improve the position of herself and her family? Not at all. To bare subsistence tends wages always while wage-slavery lasts. Every advantage conferred on the working-classes by education is wrung from them again by the pressure of the labour-market. Teach everybody (not women only!) how to cook, by all means; teach everybody everything that will add to their comfort and happiness. But to teach "cheap cookery" to the "working-classes" is, like the giving them charity-blankets that no one else would use, a sham and a fraud so miserable, so degrading, that only the case-hardened conscience of the ordinary "benevolent" humbug could possibly endure it.

If the *Chronicle-Telegraph* of Pittsburgh may be believed, Herr Krupp is going to move his factory of murder-machines from Essen to some place in Western Pennsylvania. His agent, who has been over to view the ground, gave several reasons for the proposed change. "The first is the fact that Europe may at any moment become the scene of a great war. Of course, in such case, Krupp would *have* to stand by his fatherland, and from *patriotic considerations* he would manufacture guns for Germany alone. Now, as all the world knows, Krupp makes more guns than any other firm in the world. If, therefore, our plant were established in a neutral country, we could furnish our guns to *any Power*." The italics are ours. Modern commercial patriotism is a great thing!

My protest will reach very few Knights of Labour, and would have little effect if it did; but I make it all the same. It is against the alteration proposed to be made in the title of the official organ of the Knights of Labour. If any change is needed, which seems doubtful, *The Journal of United Labour* need only drop the first three words, and keep on as *United Labour*, which has been its familiar name these years past. S.

### THE MEN OF THE REVOLUTION.

#### II.

#### DANTON AND MARAT.

WE have glanced at the rebels of the Assembly, now let us see the rebels of the street. Both in their way are better men than either of the heroes of Parliament House. Danton, it is true, is another Mirabeau, curiously like him in feature, power, and eloquence, yet without those vices which perhaps after all belonged to Mirabeau's class rather than the man. Still he has been accused of one vice, which also belonged to Mirabeau, and that is corruption. An accusation generally believed in in the time of the revolution, and which really brought Danton's head beneath the guillotine, but the truth of which modern research has rendered doubtful. A revolutionist should not only be honest, but his honesty, like that of Cæsar's wife, should be above suspicion. Danton was born at Arcis-sur-Aube, a small country town a hundred miles from Paris. Very little indeed is known of his earlier life; his parents were comfortable middle-class people. He passed through the usual round of school and college, where he studied for the law. In 1780 he started for Paris, and entered the office of a notary as a pupil. Nothing very remarkable occurred in his career up till 1787. He became an advocate, and on March 29, 1787, two

years before the revolution, he buys—as was customary at the time when all profitable posts at the disposal of the government were bought and sold—the post of advocate to the Paris Parliament and the Council of State, two of the chief law courts of the time. In June of the same year he married Mademoiselle Charpentin, the daughter of a superintendent of taxes, a rather funny family for a revolutionist to marry into; but probably at that time Danton was unconscious of the coming storm, then gathering thick and fast, as most people in France. The storm burst, as we know, and a very few weeks after the fall of the Bastille we find Danton president of the Cordeliers district, one of the most revolutionary parts of Paris. In the time of the revolution the people were accustomed to assemble in a hall in this district to discuss their own affairs and current politics generally, and Danton became the chief of one of these assemblages. The Cordeliers afterwards became a club of the most advanced revolutionists, and were always foremost in their battles against the tyranny of the middle-class rulers who succeeded the feudal despots of the past.

Whether Danton took the money of the Court or not matters little. One thing is quite certain, if he did take the money he did not do the work. The truth or untruth of the accusation is one which certain historians will fight over to the end of time. But it is impossible not to like Danton; his good nature, his kindliness, the grandeur of his heroism, when with foreign hosts pouring upon Paris with hardly an obstacle in their path, he yet faced them with heroic words that rang through France. Words that were deeds, that struck down domestic treason and hurled torrents of heroism upon the advancing foe. "Citizens, it is not an alarm gun that you hear, it is the *pas de charge* against your enemies. To conquer them what do we need? To dare, and again to dare, and without end to dare!" And again, when France was in peril and the Convention was distracted by miserable personalities, it was Danton's lion voice that uttered the words, "Shall we not in such a crisis of fate lay aside personal quarrels? Reputation! Oh, what is the reputation of this man or that? Let my name be blighted but let France be free!" It was this, the power of sinking himself and his personal likes and dislikes for the common good, together with his wonderful power of raising storms of enthusiasm, that overwhelmed the advancing hosts of tyranny, that gives Danton the claim to a place as a great leader in a Revolution that still shakes the world.

Jean Paul Marat is more unfortunate than either Robespierre or Danton at the hands of middle-class historians. They are kind enough to allow both these revolutionists some virtues, but Marat, according to them, had none. A murky demon, born of the slime and the mud of Paris cellars, a being so horrible that he only walked by night and dared not show himself by day, a ghoul that shrieked continually for human blood, his favourite meat and drink. This is the sort of impression of Marat the ordinary reader obtains from most people who endeavour to write French revolutionary history; but as these persons generally get their information from Royalist historians, who insist that the whole revolution was a plot got up by the gold of the Duke of Orleans to place him on the throne, these impressions as to the characters of those who were foremost in the revolution are not very valuable. But when it comes to historians like Carlyle, who talks of his "dingy squalor" and calls him an "obscure specter," etc., the matter is more serious. But then Carlyle was a mere hero-worshipper; given a large amount of intellectual ability, and a man might be an enormous scoundrel and receive every laudation from Carlyle; but let a man not have more than average power of mind, and yet play a prominent part in the world's history by sheer force of his honesty, unselfishness, and courage, and Thomas Carlyle was down upon him at once. Marat, it is true, had some hand in sending a few thousand traitorous aristocrats to eternal night. Infamous! Carlyle's two favourite heroes, Cromwell and Frederick the Great, slaughtered myriads of the common people. Glorious! But these were great men, and that makes a great difference. It is true Marat approved of the slaughter of these aristocrats, because he, perhaps erroneously, thought he was preserving the liberty of the people from its worst foes. Cromwell and Frederick the Great slaughtered immense multitudes for their own honour and glory. Marat is a criminal; the others are glorious heroes. Such is the logic of the greatest historian that the century has yet produced.

Let us, unlike the great denouncer of "slams," clear our minds of cant, and be as fair to Marat as Carlyle was to Cromwell or the great Fritz. One thing is quite certain, if Cromwell's slaughter of the disarmed Irish at Drogheda was necessary, right, and just, as Carlyle argues it was, then also the slaughter of the "ferocious conspirators" in the prisons of Paris at a time of intense national peril was even more justifiable. If the September Massacres were crimes, then the Drogheda Massacre of a people struggling to be free was ten times more infamous. Unlike Carlyle, we do not consider that genius justifies a man in committing every crime in the calendar without a word of disapprobation. Terrorism is a favourite weapon with the ruling classes, and for one tyrant slain by the people the men of order have slain thousands of the poor to perpetuate their tyranny. This is a mistake. Let the motto of revolutionists in future be "The villainy they teach us we will execute," and it shall go hard if we do not better the instruction.

But now let us tell the plain story of the life of Marat down to the time of which I am now writing, and we shall then see that the "monster" that is held up to public execration was gentle and humane in all his habits, with a heart keen to feel the insults, the sufferings and injustice heaped daily upon the multitude by their enemies and

false friends, while he possessed at the same time a hatred as strong as his love of those for whom he died for all forms of tyranny, injustice, and oppression, that made life bitter to the suffering poor.

Jean Paul Marat was born at Bowdry, then in the Prussian principality, now the Swiss Canton of Neuchâtel. His father was a medical man, a Sardinian; his mother a Swiss. From her he derived his keen hatred of injustice. She was a good, kind-hearted woman, and though but poor herself, she visited those who were sick and in trouble and helped them with her scanty means. Her boy went with her; and doubtless often mused as he went upon the scenes of suffering he witnessed, and wondered why this misery should exist in a world so full of wealth and beauty. He had plenty of time for thought, for throughout his childhood he was of a studious and quiet disposition, holding aloof from the noisy sports and the games of his schoolmates. His quiet disposition even in those days of brutal school discipline saved him from the punishment that often fell upon others. Once, however, being chastised unjustly, he brooded over the injustice, and cast himself in desperation from the window of his home, and received in his fall a cut on the forehead, the scar of which he bore to his dying day.

He left home at an early age, as his parents' means were scanty, and wandered through half Europe. Ten years of his life were spent in England. During this period he lived mainly by practising his profession—for he was, like his father, a doctor—teaching languages, and writing upon scientific and other subjects. Even then he was a very advanced revolutionist, as may be judged from a work published by him in London in 1774, entitled 'The Chains of Slavery.' While in London he gained considerable repute in his profession for his skill in treating diseases of the eye. Returning to Paris, he became physician to the bodyguard of the Comte d'Artois, the brother of the king, whose employment he left in 1787, as the revolutionary storm was gathering. Soon after this he plunged as pamphleteer into the political troubles of the time. His first brochure, 'Offrande à la Patrie'—'An Offering to the Fatherland'—attacking the ministers of the time, attracted considerable public attention. Great events often lift men from semi-obscurity into the full glare of publicity. This was the case with Marat on the occasion of the fall of the Bastille. A troop of cavalry endeavoured to creep into Paris, but were stopped by people headed by Marat. The captain protested that they had come to join the people. "Alight, and give up your arms, then," answered Marat; and the captain complies, for the crowd surges round in overwhelming waves. But the people were to hear more of Marat, whose promptitude and decision in acting were thus proved for the first time. On the 8th September, 1789, his famous paper came into being, and soon *L'Ami du Peuple* (The Friend of the People) was known throughout Europe as the dreaded foe of tyrants and the friend of the oppressed. Probably it was the first journal in which every one suffering wrong and oppression, no matter how humble, poor and despised, could make their voices heard. Let those who dub Marat "a bloodthirsty monster" remember that. Perhaps we should never have had a Star or a T. P. O'Connor if the man who is now anathematised by every friend of tyranny had not lived and written. But scant payment awaited the journalist in those days who dared to speak of those who were in trouble and distress, because the rich were cruel and merciless. Marat had no enormous circulation. It was often hard for him in his poverty to pay for the printing of his paper. Besides, the well-fed patriots Lafayette and Bailly, who lorded it at the Hotel de Ville, did not like the plain speaking of the People's Friend. Within the first month of its appearance the editor was twice summoned before the Municipal Council to explain the "violence" of his articles. On one of these occasions the secretary of the Council was good enough to say that he believed Marat wielded the pen of a good patriot; the people's friend roughly responded that he could not return the compliment, for these reasons. "For, while I for nine months have been living on bread and water to pay the expenses of printing and serve my country with my pen, you have the skill, like Mr. Mayor and several of your colleagues, to show yourselves good patriots and keep at the same time your places and your pensions. I know who you will be able to deceive, but it is certain it will not be those wise men who know the world. . . . All those men you call friends of the people were their worst enemies before the 14th of July. I cannot believe that a moment is enough to change them." Such rough truths were not appreciated by these sham patriots, whose patriotism consisted alone of love of place and power, and he was persecuted, hunted like a wild beast, and forced to seek shelter from his foes in the cellars and dens of Paris. But he never faltered; despite every persecution, his paper grew bolder in its denunciation, and every persecution only redoubled the love the people bore him, and the obscure journalist became a tenfold power.

To show how great was his popularity, it is only necessary to cite the testimony of a royalist writer, who states that on one occasion, when Lafayette wanted to arrest Marat, he required for the expedition some six thousand National Guards, with cavalry and artillery, and even then his intended victim escaped him.

The best testimony to Marat's integrity is the fact that when he fell beneath the dagger of the assassin he had only a few pence in his possession; and yet this man had had power that might have made him rich. But Marat, savage, ferocious, squalid, as reactionary writers may call him, was at least too honest to sell himself for gold. Both he and Robespierre, though they might have become wealthy if they had chosen, died in poverty. This is a testimony to their sincerity that not even their worst foes can deny them.

D. J. NICOLL.

## IN THE UNITED STATES.

ABOUT District Attorney Fellows, the public prosecutor of the City of New York, the pettifogger who has constantly persecuted and prosecuted comrade John Most, even the capitalist *Herald* is now compelled to write:

"There seems to be no doubt that almost every person in the District Attorney's office follows the course of his chief, and gives up to vote-gathering and political blatherskiting the time which belongs to the people. Meanwhile, prisoners languish in their cells, and the orderly progress of justice is obstructed. . . . Colonel Fellows is shameless. He has been censured to a degree that would make any self-respecting man reform or give up his office. But he cares nothing for public opinion nor for his own reputation. He will neither do his duty nor resign. His . . . office is to-day a standing incentive to crime, provided the criminal has political friends. It is a reproach to the city."

From January 1st to November 1st, 1889, 277,538 persons have immigrated into the United States against 350,613 of the same period in the year previous.

Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labour, was asked to run as State Senator in the interest of the democratic party of New York, but on advice of the Central Labour Federation of that city he declined that nomination.

The farmers of the Mississippi and Missouri valleys met some days ago and formed an organisation. In his opening speech the chairman of the convention outlined the objects of the meeting:

"We are not here for the purpose of denouncing trusts and 'combines,' but to meet the issue of new systems and conditions in trade. Realising our individual feebleness, and the great importance of unity of action as a class, we have been called together to consider the proposition to delegate to a power of our own creation the exclusive right to market the products of our farms, and to take such measures as will afford present relief and future protection to the agricultural interests of the Mississippi valley. It is proposed to substitute a new system by which the price of farm products shall be fixed at the cost of production 'on lands that produce only thirty-fold,' whatever that may be, and the power to do this is to be found in the centralised agency of the federated farmers of the Mississippi valley, a company legally chartered with a capital stock of 20,000,000 dols."

The City of Boston has resolved officially to recognise the American Federation of Labour, which will hold a convention in that city on the 10th of December by tendering a public banquet to the delegates.

In Pittsburgh recently, six master horse-shoers applied for a charter for a union, but Judge Ewing of that city refused the grant, giving the following reasons:

"The object of the proposed corporation, as set forth in the application, is for the purpose, first, of encouraging and protecting the trade of horse-shoers in the cities of Pittsburgh and Allegheny; second, for preserving and disseminating valuable business information; and third, adjusting as far as practicable, controversies and misunderstandings arising among the members as to methods and prices of work. The first two purposes are laudable and certainly not illegal, though how a charter of incorporation will aid the association in carrying out its purposes is difficult to see. The third purpose avowed is that of interfering with the natural laws of trade and usurping the functions of government. It is contrary to a sound public policy, and, if not so intended, may readily be used to shield the members, behind the form of a corporation, from the consequences of illegal acts and combinations. For this we refuse to approve the proposed charter."

This argument logically applied all round would destroy the basis of all the labour combinations. So according to this sage of the bench, voluntary combination is wrong, whereas enforced co-operation of some kind as represented by the State he holds to be correct. Queer people in this world, to be sure!

The Sailor's and Firemen's Union of New York met a few days ago to perfect their organisation, which is an offshoot of the English one, and has adopted its statement of principles and objects practically in a lump. It was stated that the parent organisation would give 10,000 dols. for the establishment of a home in this city if necessary. The dues of the new union will be 1 dol. per month. The sailors are very enthusiastic over the new organisation. Organisations will soon be formed in Brooklyn, Jersey City, and Hoboken, and in time the whole coast will be organised, and then an immense international organisation will be formed.

There is trouble brewing for the Standard Oil Trust. The Oil Producers' Association resolved that they would lay a pipe-line themselves to the seaboard, and become a direct competitor of the Standard. They made arrangements for the engagement 6,000,000 dollars for this purpose, and for an additional 6,000,000 dollars to build new refineries on the Atlantic seaboard. This money has all been guaranteed by prominent capitalists of New York, Pittsburg, and Philadelphia. The Standard Oil Trust has three pipe-lines to the seaboard, reaching New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. Where the terminus of the opposition line will be has not yet been determined. On the whole, the Producers' Association holds the key of the situation. If they can complete their proposed pipe-lines and refineries, the Standard Trust will have to take a back seat. The Producers have raised the money, but the Standard Trust have yet to be heard from on the subject. It is said that the directors of the gigantic Pennsylvania Railroad system are engineering this new move.

The Supreme Court of New York confirmed the decision of Judge Barrett rendered by him about a year ago, that the Sugar Trust is an illegal combination. In consequence of this decision, Sugar Trust shares rose the next day on the Exchange about 4 per cent. Three cheers for the power of the law against monopoly!

The managers of the Cottonseed Oil Trust have speculated with the funds of the trust and lost about half a million. Some silly persons now say that this experience points to a speedy downfall of trusts in general. Bad management of some co-operative organisation does not prove that the principle of combination is incorrect. The principle of trusts—viz., combination—apart from the idea of combining for the purpose of exploitation and fleecing, is correct, but the legal privileges which they have are damnably wrong.

The convention of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers has met. Chief Arthur has been re-elected as president of the organisation by 313 votes against 101 votes given to George Vroman. The Convention disapproved of the idea to amalgamate with other labour organisations.

The Convention of the Knights of Labour organisation has met to-day at Atlanta, Ga.

In most of the leading cities in the northern States meetings have been held to commemorate the workers' Good Friday, the 11th of November. Herein Boston we tried to get up a big demonstration, to be addressed by

Most, Shevitsch, and Pentecost, but we could not get one of the big halls, as the proprietors refused to us the use of them, saying "they drew the line at murder." In consequence we had to content ourselves with a smaller hall, the Paine Memorial Hall. However, twice as many people as last year attended the meeting this year. The hall was nicely decorated, and good speeches were delivered by A. H. Simpson, Victor Yarros, and others. In New York, Shevitsch and John Most made eloquent addresses. In that city the big hall in Cooper Union was engaged, holding about 5,000 people; but as the policemen on duty said, 2,000 people had to be turned away. "Our silence will be more eloquent than our speech." Waldheim Cemetery was visited by a large mass of people. Speeches were made by G. C. Clemens of Topeka and others. Mrs. Parsons had the following experience, as described by one of the sneaks of the press:

"Mrs. Parsons, in defiance of the police prohibition of red flags, hung one from the window of her residence on Milwaukee Avenue early in the day. A policeman was sent to her house to notify her to take down the Anarchical emblem. 'This is a free country,' said Mrs. Parsons; 'why can't I wave the flag of my doctrine?' 'Because my orders are to pull it down,' said the policeman; and without further parley he tore down the flag and took it to the station. Mrs. Parsons fumed for awhile, and then left for Waldheim."

It will be a cold day when we settle accounts with the authorities, the press, and the pulpit cannibals.

America is the land of the free and the home of the brave. To get a fine illustration of this boast it is only necessary to read the following telegram to the N. Y. *Herald*:

"PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 11, 1889.—The Anarchists outwitted the police to-night, and their celebration of the anniversary of the Chicago Haymarket tragedy came off with great éclat. The police were in total ignorance of their place of meeting, and therefore the shouters and their audience were not molested. Not since the memorable riots of 1877 had the police made such extensive preparations to preserve the peace. . . . 'The Anarchists must not meet,' said the director. . . . It was decided to place six hundred policemen at the disposal of the superintendent. Of this number five hundred were to be held in readiness to be called at two minutes' notice. The rest were assigned to preserve order. The greatest precaution was taken to prevent any attempt to force an entrance into Odd Fellows' Hall. . . . The news that the police were to prevent the meeting had spread, and at eight o'clock fully five thousand people had gathered about Odd Fellows' Hall, expecting to see a fight. A great procession of Anarchists and others arrived a little before eight o'clock, and being informed by the police that the meeting was prohibited, they quietly dispersed, but only to gather quickly at No. 868 Marshall Street, where a crowded meeting in glorification of the Chicago 'martyrs' was held."

For two years the authorities believed indeed they had crushed radical thought, and in consequence the press treated us rather fairly. They now find how mistaken they were, and that radical thought has developed, in spite of misrepresentation and calumny, wonderfully, and has gained tremendous support all over the country. People everywhere begin to understand the crime committed on Chicago's Golgotha. And in consequence the raving and abuse of the press has begun again. Well, I guess we can also weather this change of tactics.

Boston, Mass., Nov 12, 1889.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

## AMERICAN CATHOLICS ON THE LABOUR QUESTION.

A CONVENTION of the laymen of the Catholic Church in the United States has just come off in Baltimore, Ind. This Convention was an illustration of the article in a recent *Weal* on "Democracy and the Church." The Church may be able to dish sentimental State Socialism, but real Socialism need fear nothing, being based as it is on reason, science, and materialism. A paper on "Capital and Labour" was read to the delegates by William Richards, of Washington. Here is a condensed report of what he said:

"He announced its purpose as being, to contrast the social condition of the time when the mission of charity was acknowledged and accepted by all, and the present, when free competition has been substituted for charity. The speaker unhesitatingly asserted that notwithstanding sophistical collocation of facts and figures that the comparatively few rich are getting richer, the multitudinous poor are getting more numerous and poorer, and that pauperism is more general, more wretched, and more rapidly increasing than in any prior age of the world. Thank God, however, there is to-day hope for a betterment of our condition. It is in the tendency to recombine the isolated particles into a consolidated union, co-operating harmoniously once more on the primordial principle of the brotherhood of man, as for example in the powerful organisation of the Knights of Labour. But such voluntary associations are only partially remedies. Only the Catholic Church, the speaker declared, can solve the problems that are perplexing the souls of men. He asked: 'Have you forgotten the vast crowds of enthusiastic men and women who not long ago imagined that the hoped for messenger had appeared in Henry George or Dr. McGlynn? But there are leaders. Thank God the judicious, earnest, and sympathetic efforts of Cardinal Gibbons at Rome in behalf of the Knights of Labour and the cause of freedom in our glorious country, and the magnificent triumph of Cardinal Manning in his recent grand work of reconciling the rich and haughty employers and the poor labourers in London, have lifted up the hearts and the hopes of the waiting and despairing millions.'"

The lecture was much applauded by the delegates. The following resolution was adopted almost unanimously:

"Another danger which menaces our Republic is the constant conflict between capital and labour. We, therefore, at all times must view with feelings of regret and alarm any antagonism existing between them, because thereby society itself is imperilled. With the Church we condemn Nihilism, Socialism, and Communism, and we equally condemn the heartless greed of capital. The remedy must be sought in the mediation of the Church through her action on the individual conscience, and thereby on society, teaching each its respective duty, as well as rights, and in such civil enactments as have been rendered necessary by these altered conditions. We disapprove of the employment of very young minors, whether male or female, in factories, as tending to dwarf and retard the true development of the wage-earners of the future. We respectfully protest against any change in the policy of the government in the matter of the education of the Indians by which they will be deprived of Christian teaching. The amelioration and promotion of the physical and moral culture of the negro race is a subject of the utmost concern, and we pledge ourselves to assist our clergy in all ways tending to effect any improvement in their condition."

The resolution was prepared by Cardinal Gibbons.

H. F. C.

A people may be politically free, but if they must obtain permission and pay a price ere they can apply their labour to the natural sources of wealth they are not industrially free, and what avails political freedom to industrial slaves?—*Journal of United Labour.*



OFFICES: 24 GREAT QUEEN STREET, LONDON, W.C.

HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW? FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!

THE COMMONWEAL is the official organ of the Socialist League; but, unless definitely so announced by the Editors, no article is to be taken as expressing in more than a general way the views of the League as a body. In accordance with the Manifesto and Statement of Principles of the League, the COMMONWEAL is an exponent of International Revolutionary Socialism. On minor differences of opinion the widest freedom of discussion is maintained. As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to their position in the paper.

Articles and letters dealing with any phase of the social problem are invited and will meet with earnest consideration. They must be written on one side of the paper only, and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication. MSS. can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope accompanies them.

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

Subscriptions, including postage:—For British Islands, Europe, United States, and Canada, a year, 6s.; six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

Remittances should be made in postal orders or halfpenny stamps.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

- C. K. B. (Sherborne).—Thanks; will be used.
- G. P. (Lancaster).—Your letter is much too long for publication in our overcrowded columns.
- J. P. (Norwich).—We have written for the information, as you ask us to keep the matter quiet.

CONTENTS.

Notes on News .. .. .	MORRIS and SPARLING	385
The Men of the Revolution—Danton and Marat .. .. .	D. J. NICOLL	386
In the United States .. .. .	H. F. CHARLES	387
American Catholics on the Labour Question .. .. .	H. F. C.	387
Monopoly .. .. .	WILLIAM MORRIS	388
Correspondence .. .. .	.. .. .	389
Out of the House of Bondage .. .. .	C. W. BECKETT	389
Revolutionary Calendar .. .. .	.. .. .	389
The Labour Struggle .. .. .	D. J. NICOLL	390
Executive Announcements, Reports, Lecture Diary, and Notices of Meetings .. .. .	.. .. .	391
Advertisements, New Publications, etc., etc. .. .. .	.. .. .	392

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday December 4.

ENGLAND	Boston—Woman's Journal	SWITZERLAND
Brotherhood	The Dawn	Arbeiterstimme
Church Reformer	Investigator	ITALY
Christian Socialist	Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung	Rome—L'Emancipazione
Justice	Chicago (Ill)—Vorhote	SPAIN
Labour Elector	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Madrid—El Socialista
Labour Tribune	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	PORTUGAL
London—Freie Presse	Philadelphia—United Labour	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Norwich—Daylight	Princeton (Mass.)—Word	GERMANY
Railway Review	S. F.—Coast Seamen's Journal	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Worker's Friend	FRANCE	Wien—Arbeiter-Zeitung
L'Associazione	Paris—La Revolte	Brunn—Volksfreund
INDIA	Le Proletariat	DENMARK
Bankipore—Behar Herald	La Revue Europeenne	Social-Demokraten
Madras—People's Friend	Bourse du Travail	Copenhagen—Arbejderen
UNITED STATES	HOLLAND	SWEDEN
New York—Der Sozialist	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Malmo—Arbetet
Truthseeker	Middelburg—Licht en Waarheid	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Jewish Volkszeitung	ANTWERP	ARGENTINE REPUBLIC
Twentieth Century	Antwerp—De Werker	Buenos Ayres—Vorwärts
United Irishman	Ghent—Vooruit	
Workmen's Advocate	Liege—L'Avenir	

MONOPOLY.

I WANT you to consider the position of the working-classes generally at the present day: not to dwell on the progress that they may (or may not) have made within the last five hundred or the last fifty years, but to consider what their position is relatively to the other classes of which our society is composed: and in doing so I wish to guard against any exaggeration as to the advantages of the position of the upper and middle-classes on one side and the disadvantages of the working-classes on the other side; for in truth there is no need for exaggeration; the contrast between the two positions is sufficiently startling when all admissions have been made that can be made. After all, one ought not to go further than the simple statement of these few words: *The workers are in an inferior position to that of the non-workers.*

When we come to consider that everyone nowadays admits that labour is the source of wealth—or, to put it in another way, that it is a law of nature for man generally that he must labour in order to live—we must all of us come to the conclusion that this fact, that the workers' standard of livelihood is lower than that of the non-workers,

is a startling fact. But startling as it is, it may perhaps help out the imaginations of some of us—at all events of the well-to-do, if I dwell a little on the details of this disgrace, and say plainly what it means.

To begin, then, with the foundation; the workers eat inferior food and are clad in inferior clothes to those of the non-workers. This is true of the whole class: but a great portion of it are so ill-fed that they not only live on coarser or nastier victuals than the non-producers, but have not enough even of these to keep up their vitality duly; so that they suffer from the diseases and the early death which come of semi-starvation: or why say semi-starvation? let us say plainly most of the workers are starved to death. As to their clothes, they are so ill clad that the dirt and foulness of their clothes forms an integral part of their substance, and is useful in making them a defence against the weather; according to the ancient proverb, "Dirt and grease are the poor man's apparel."

Again, the housing of the workers is proportionately far worse, as far as the better-off of them go, than their food or clothing. The best of their houses or apartments are not fit for human beings to live in, so crowded as they are: they would not be, even if one could step out of their doors into gardens or pleasant country or handsome squares; but when one thinks of the wretched sordidness and closeness of the streets and alleys that they actually do form, one is almost forced to try to blunt one's sense of fitness and propriety, so miserable they are. As to the lodgings of the worse-off of our town workers, I must confess that I only know of them by rumour, and that I dare not face them personally; though I think my imagination will carry me a good way in picturing them to me. One thing, again, has always struck me much in passing through poor quarters of the town, and that is the noise and unrest of them, so confusing to all one's ideas and thoughts, and such a contrast to the dignified calm of the quarters of those who can afford such blessings.

Well! food, clothes, and housing—those are the three important items in the material condition of men, and I say flatly that the contrast between those of the non-producers and those of the producers is horrible, and that the word is no exaggeration. But is there a contrast in nothing else—education, now? Some of us are in the habit of boasting about our elementary education: perhaps it is good as far as it goes (and perhaps it isn't), but why doesn't it go further? In ordinary parlance, *elementary* is contrasted with *liberal* education. You know in the class to which I belong, the professional or parasitical class, if a man cannot make some pretence to read a Latin book, and doesn't know a little French or German, he is very apt to keep it dark as something to be ashamed of, unless he has some real turn towards mathematics or the physical sciences to cover his historical or classical ignorance; whereas if a working-man were to know a little Latin and a little French, he would be looked on as a very superior person, a kind of genius—which, considering the difficulties which surround him, he would be: inferiority again, you see, clear and plain.

But after all, it is not such scraps of ill-digested knowledge as this that give us the real test of the contrast; this lies rather in the taste for reading and the habit of it, and the capacity for the enjoyment of refined thought and the expression of it, which the more expensive class really has (in spite of the disgraceful sloppiness of its education), and which unhappily the working or unexpensive class lacks. The immediate reason for that lack I know well enough, and that forms another item of contrast: it is the combined leisure and elbow-room which the expensive class considers its birthright, and without which, education, as I have often had to say, is a mere mockery; and which leisure and elbow-room the working class lacks, and even "social reformers" expect him to be contented with that lack. Of course you understand that in speaking of this item I am thinking of the well-to-do artisan, and not the squalid, hustled-about, misery-blinded and hopeless wretch of the fringe of labour—i.e., the greater part of labour.

Just consider the contrast in the mere matter of holidays, for instance. If a professional man (like myself, for instance) does a little more than his due daily grind—dear me, the fuss his friends make of him! how they are always urging him not to overdo it, and to consider his precious health, and the necessity of rest and so forth! and you know the very same persons, if they found some artisan in their employment looking towards a holiday, how sourly they would treat his longings for rest, how they would call him (perhaps not to his face) sot and sluggish and the like; and if he has it, he has got to take it against both his purse and his conscience; whereas in the professional class the yearly holiday is part of the payment for services. Once more, look at the different standard for the worker and the non-worker!

What can I say about popular amusements that would not so offend you that you would refuse to listen to me? Well, I must say something at any cost—viz., that few things sadden me so much as the amusements which are thought good enough for the workers; such a miserable killing—yea, murder—of the little scraps of their scanty leisure time as they are. Though, indeed, if you say that there is not so much contrast here between the workers' public amusements and those provided for the middle classes, I must admit it, with this explanation, that owing to the nature of the case, the necessarily social or co-operative method of the getting up and acceptance of such amusements, the lower standard has pulled down the whole of our public amusements; has made, for instance, our theatrical entertainments the very lowest expression of the art of acting which the world has yet seen.

Or again, a cognate subject, the condition of the English language at present. How often I have it said to me, You must not write in a literary style if you wish the working classes to understand you.

Now at first sight that seems as if the worker were in rather the better position in this matter; because the English of our drawing-rooms and leading articles is a wretched mongrel jargon that can scarcely be called English, or indeed language; and one would have expected, *a priori*, that what the workers needed from a man speaking to them was plain English: but alas! 'tis just the contrary; I am told on all hands that my language is too simple to be understood by working-men, that if I wish them to understand me I must use an inferior quality of the newspaper jargon, the language (so called) of critics and "superior persons"; and I am almost driven to believe this when I notice the kind of English used by candidates at election time, and by political men generally—though of course this is complicated by the fact that these gentlemen by no means want to make the meaning of their words too clear.

Well, I want to keep as sternly as possible to the point that I started from—viz., that there is a contrast between the position of the working classes and that of the easily-living classes, and that the former were in an inferior position in all ways. And here at least we find the so-called friends of the working classes telling us that the producers are in such a miserable condition that if they are to understand our agitation we must talk *down* to their slavish condition, not straightforwardly to them as friends and neighbours—as *men*, in short. Such advice I neither can nor will take; but that this should be thought necessary shows that, in spite of all hypocrisy, the master-class know well enough that those whom they "employ" are their slaves.

To be short, then, the working-classes are, relatively to the upper and middle-classes, in a degraded condition, and if their condition could be much raised from what it is now, even if their wages were doubled and their work-time halved, they would still be in a degraded condition, as long as they were in a position of inferiority to another class—as long as they were dependent on them—unless it turned out to be a law of nature that the making of useful things necessarily brought with it such inferiority!

Now, once again, I ask you very seriously to consider what that means, and you will, after consideration, see clearly that it must have to do with the way in which industry is organised amongst us, and the brute force which supports that organisation. It is clearly no matter of race; the highest noble in the land is of the same blood for all he can tell as the clerk in his estate office, or his gardener's boy. The grandson or even the son of the self-made man may be just as refined, and also quite as unenergetic and stupid as the man with twenty generations of titled fools at his back. Neither will it do to say, as some do, that it is a matter of individual talent or energy. He who says this, practically asserts that the whole of the working-classes are composed of men who individually do not rise above a lowish average, and that all of the middle-class men rise above it; and I don't think any one will be found who will support such a proposition, who is himself not manifestly below even that lowish average. No! you will, when you think of this contrast between the position of the producing and the non-producing classes, be forced to admit first that it is an evil, and secondly that it is caused by artificial regulations; by customs that can be turned into more reasonable paths; by laws of man that can be abolished, leaving us free to work and live as the laws of nature would have us. And when you have come to those two conclusions, you will then have either to accept Socialism as the basis for a new order of things, or to find some better basis than that; but you will not be able to accept the present basis of society unless you are prepared to say that you will not seek a remedy for an evil which you know can be remedied.

Let me put the position once more as clearly as I can, and then let us see what the remedy is.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be continued.)

## CORRESPONDENCE.

J. BRONTERRE O'BRIEN OR HENRY GEORGE.

Sir,—Many years ago a Mr. John Days left London for America (Kansas or California), and took out with him a quantity of the late Mr. Brouterre O'Brien's writings. Now I have been told upon very good authority that George having fell in company with Days, and having read O'Brien's papers, etc., etc., got his initial ideas from this source. Seeing Mr. T. F. Walker's letter in last week's issue of the *Commonweal*, it might be interesting to some of your readers to know if it were possible to ascertain how far the statement is true, as it might appear there existed a desire in some quarters to blot the memory of a man and a scholar, who suffered much and died poor "for conscience sake." Any light thrown on the above would oblige.—Yours faithfully,  
GEORGE E. HARRIS.  
3, Northumberland Street, Marylebone, W., Dec. 2, 1889.

The *Detroit Evening News* said in a recent editorial: "The logic of Democracy is Anarchism, and the logic of Republicanism is State Socialism or Communism."

The *Patrick Henry* is the title of a new weekly paper published at Springfield, Mo. It is the organ of the Order of Anti-Monopolists, "and of all who strive for justice."

The first number of the *Eight Hour Herald* was issued November 3, at 824 Howard Street, San Francisco. It is to appear monthly, and will be edited by Myles L. Faslund.

The veteran labour advocate, John Swinton, is still very ill, and has been ordered by the doctor to the Mediterranean for a year. He has probably reached Nice by this time, as he was to leave New York on the 2nd. Wherever he goes, the good wishes of all Socialists will be with him.

## OUT OF THE HOUSE OF BONDAGE.

How say ye, friends, are they in fun  
Who boast that slavery's day is done?  
Think of the lives ye lead, and say  
If slavery yet abides, or may.

Or think ye then the fates decree  
The few to lives of luxury,  
The mass to poverty and pain?  
Slaves ye are, and shall remain.

Or in another world than this  
Hope ye for homes of hazy bliss,  
Where earthly loss is heavenly gain?  
Slaves ye are, and shall remain.

Or bide ye till your masters yield  
Of their free grace the powers they wield?  
Shall they bow down to loose your chain?  
Slaves ye are, and shall remain.

Or strive ye each for self alone?  
Not thus can Mammon be o'erthrown.  
Who fights but singly, fights in vain.  
Slaves ye are, and shall remain.

Then cast off sloth and slavish fear,  
Make heaven a thing of now and here,  
Nor wait upon your lords' good-will,  
Or, sooth, ye may be waiting still.

But marshal you in order fair,  
Wait for the word, then forward bear  
The flag that, fluttering in the van,  
Claims equal rights for every man.

Lo, at the shout of Liberty,  
Yon braggart hirelings break and flee!  
Your day doth dawn, their star doth wane;  
Free shall ye be, and shall remain.

C. W. BECKETT.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 14, 1889.

8	Sun.	1643. John Pym died. 1806. Trial of Thomas Kilmartin and John Killellane, "Thrashers," at Sligo, acquitted; and of Patrick Fagan, death. 1837. Faneuil Hall meeting on Lovejoy's assassination; Wendell Phillips' first speech. 1881. Trial of General Mrovninsky for having overlooked the dynamite mine laid under the street (M. Sadovays) where the Czar had to pass. The session of the Senate was held on this occasion in a cheese-shop.
9	Mon.	1789. John Stockdale tried for libel on the House of Commons. 1793. Trial of John Lambert, printer, and James Perry and James Gray, proprietors, of the <i>Morning Chronicle</i> , for "seditious libel" in publishing an address of a meeting of the Society for Political Information held at Derby, addressed "to the Friends of Free Inquiry and the General Good." 1793. Trial of Wm. Hudson, M.D., for "seditious words" uttered in the London Coffee House, Ludgate Hill, on Oct. 1, when he called "George Guelph" a "German hog-butcher, a dealer in human flesh by the carcass." 1824. Battle of Ayacucho.
10	Tues.	1805. W. L. Garrison born. 1828. Beranger imprisoned for his political songs. 1839. Special Assize opened at Monmouth for the trial of Chartists concerned in the late rising. 1840. Thos. F. Burke born. 1855. August Spies born.
11	Wed.	1792. Trial of the French king; lasts till 16th.
12	Thur.	1653. Cromwell made Protector. 1806. Coll. Laurence, and Chas. Flynn, Thomas Horan, Daniel Regan, and Daniel Callaghan, "Thrashers," sentenced to death at Castletar.
13	Fri.	1204. Maimonides died. 1799. Heine born. 1867. Clerkenwell explosion. 1884. London Bridge explosion.
14	Sat.	1799. George Washington died. 1831. Affray at Carrickshock between police and people, caused by the attempt of the latter to get at a process server who was serving latitats for tithes; killed, two countrymen, eleven constables, and the chief of police; many wounded. 1873. Agassiz died. 1883. Herr Hlubeck, police superintendent of Fiorsdorf, a suburb of Vienna, killed after leaving a Socialist meeting.

We are not disputing the theory that emigration from "countries where population is congested" is a cure. Indeed, given a wise selection of the emigrants, we readily admit that the remedy is not only a remedy but a good one. Let the idle rich, the wasteful aristocrats and plutocrats, and the devourers of industry generally be induced to emigrate, and the useful classes—the industrious wealth producers—will be at once relieved. Will great statesmen never learn that it is not the number of competent seamen that endanger the safety of the Ship of State? If there are leaks in the hold the wreck will not be averted by compelling the workers among the crew to walk the plank, but by stopping the leaks and compelling the idlers to man the pumps.—*Journal of United Labour*.

A correspondent closes his letter thus: "I admire your work and appreciate the work of all others in the same direction, although I am too cowardly at the present time to openly avow myself before the community. But I am gradually growing bolder." How do you manage to look yourself in the face? What do you suppose will become of you if you know the right and do it not? "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" These questions are not asked to rebuke you, because I know that it *does* require iron courage to do right. But did you ever think how much better it is to thoroughly respect yourself than to have gold or place or power that you would not have if you did not exchange your self-respect for it?—*Twentieth Century*.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### The Silvertown Strike.

Better late than never! After the fight has been going on for ten weary weeks, and men, women, and children have suffered the severest privations, the London Trades Council has at last come to their aid. The Council has now issued a circular to the trade-unionists of the metropolis, in which it states that the dispute "has been fully investigated and found to be fully worthy of your prompt and generous pecuniary and moral support. It is of the utmost importance, not only to the workers engaged in this struggle, but also to the whole industrial population of the metropolis, that the contest should be honourably terminated on a basis of mutual justice to all interests involved." Well, we are glad to hear this from the Trades Council, and we can only wish that they had come to this decision a few weeks ago, and not have waited till the unfortunate people are nearly starved and frozen into surrender. The Council has offered to negotiate with Mr. Gray, but the gentleman has haughtily refused. That body is going to give him another chance, and if he refuses, to call out the men at all rubber factories throughout London and provinces. There is now too some hope of bringing the engineers and other trade-unionists out who have been working in the factory since the beginning of the strike. The Silvertown workers have now a good chance of victory.

The strikers are also getting assistance from the middle-class clergy. Last Sunday the Rev. Stopford Brooke preached and made a collection on their behalf. I select from the sermon a description of the shameful slave-driving and sweating which was common at the firm before the strike:

"Mr. Brooke told his hearers that if lads working naked in the hot rooms, at a temperature of 120 degrees, took advantage of the rule allowing them half an hour's wait before they went into the cold rooms, they were discharged at the end of the week without cause assigned. Girls, too, were liable to be kept idle all day when work was not ready for them. They were not paid for the idle day, but if they went home, or even asked to go home, they were turned off. Their time was seized on, but not paid for. A poor widow woman with a large family earned 14s. a-week. One week she put on a desperate spurt and earned 14s. 6d. The manager then docked her 3d. an hour, because he believed she had been under-working. 'They want my life's blood,' said the poor creature piteously. Old hands were threatened with dismissal, and when they begged leave to stay, were told, 'Yes, they could stay, at 3d. less an hour.' The men were used as if they had no bodies, no flesh, no souls—nay, body and soul were burnt up like candles in a flaring wick."

It is to be hoped that this striking picture of the hideous tyranny exercised over their wretched slaves will touch the hearts of the middle-class shareholders, and that they will join their efforts to those of the London Trades Council to bring Mr. Gray to reason.

### The Sweated Tailors.

There is still much discontent among the men concerning the way in which the masters are breaking the agreement by which the strike was concluded; a renewal of the conflict seems by no means improbable. The men have another weapon at hand which may exterminate the sweater altogether. A London Tailors' Co-operative Society has been started, which is to commence business at once near Oxford Street. It has been arranged to provide a workshop for five hundred hands, to furnish all necessary machinery and plant, to pay the current wages, and to give the workmen a share in the profits. This is an interesting experiment in productive co-operation which we may hope will put an end to wages disputes by enabling the men to become their own masters, and thus rid themselves of the miserable grinding slavery which has been up till now the curse of their lives.

### The Railwaymen at the Docks.

A deputation of railwaymen, consisting of signalmen, shunters, and men of other grades, have been to see the manager, Mr. H. W. Williams, and the superintendent, Mr. Tucker, at the Dock House, for the purpose of demanding the reduction of the hours from twelve to ten a-day. The answer was what might have been expected from these worthy gentlemen. It was practically this, "You can work ten hours if you like, but you will have to do with less wages." This kind of proposition was not acceptable to the men, and the deputation declined to agree to the terms offered.

### The "Homes" of the Poor.

Mr. Burleigh's crusade has already had unfortunate consequences. A week or two ago I pointed out that closing insanitary dwellings would only benefit the unhappy tenants by turning them into the street. It has done more, it has lodged one of them in prison. It appears that William Jones, one of Mr. Burleigh's witnesses in the recent police-court cases, did not relish being turned with other tenants into the cold freezing streets last Saturday. He resisted the officers of the law, barricaded the door of his house, and on being evicted endeavoured to resume possession. For this offence he has been sent to prison for twenty-one days. It is to be hoped that William Jones, who might have done good service in a real anti-racket movement, appreciates the improvement of his condition by the help of the policeman's bludgeon and the prison cell. He will be properly housed now at the public expense; but probably he will not consider the change a great improvement. Probably this ignorant and ungrateful person would prefer to have been left in his hovel and not to have been thus provided with "decent" lodgings. It is just as well to warn Mr. Burleigh and his friends that reforms of this kind are rarely popular.

### The Miners and Eight Hours.

The miners postponed action upon the eight hours question at their recent conference. It is a pity they show signs of indecision in face of the firm determination of the masters not to grant what they demand. Their present indecision arises from two causes—one section, though a small one, of the miners have been bitten by the legislative mania, and appear to think that Parliament will give them what they have not the courage to take for themselves; while another, the South Wales men, are engaged in negotiating with their masters for an eight hour day under a sliding-scale. But they stated at conference that if these negotiations fall through they will join in a general strike; as for the matter of that, the people who believe in legislation will probably do the same. The decision is therefore put off till the South Wales people are in a position to act. It must be quite evident to every sensible person that as the immense majority of the miners are in

favour of obtaining the eight hours day by their own action, that therefore they stand a good chance of winning. Coal is one of the things which the present commercial system cannot do without; it is the fuel which keeps the huge machine going. Let the miners cease work for a fortnight and nearly every factory in the country would be stopped, and modern commercialism would totter on the brink of ruin. The miners are not only the backbone of the working class in strength, courage, and intelligence, but they have in their grip the very sources of the life of our corrupted, worn-out society. We are therefore surprised that when these men propose to strike a blow that will bring their masters to their feet, some of them, with a caution worthy of the legal profession of law and order, should recommend that the men prefer the dirty work of rascally politicians to trusting in their own sturdy strength and honest manhood. To me it seems folly to advise men to take a road to an object which will take them years to traverse, instead of going at once straight to the mark. Surely it is far better that the miners should get what they want by taking it at once, than wait years until it shall please knavish politicians to give it to them. It is to be hoped that people who are so fond of legislation will not introduce the same element of indecision when the question comes up again for discussion.

### Dublin Bakers.

The Dublin Bakers have settled their dispute with the masters by arbitration. The arbitrators have awarded them an increase of 4s. They demanded 6s.

### Dockers' Strike at Bristol.

The Bristol dockers last week revolted again. The men demanded that foreign crews should not unload the timber ships, and that the outdoor foremen and sub-foremen of the timber merchants should join the dockers' union. The usual spectacle is presented of merchants, clerks, and foremen doing some honest work for once in their lives by unloading perishable cargoes. The Mayor offered his services as a mediator, and the strike has now been settled by a compromise.

### Threatened Strike of Scotch Railwaymen.

On Saturday, Nov. 30th, mass meetings of railway servants were held throughout Scotland for the purpose of hearing the replies given by the railway companies to the demands of the men for a ten hour day. Some of the companies sent no replies at all, others merely acknowledged the receipt of the circular, while the Highland Company haughtily inquired by what authority the memorialists spoke on behalf of the men in their employment. The men at all the meetings unanimously decided that another circular should be sent to the whole of the companies, informing them that if an answer was not received before the 14th inst., the whole of the employees on the Scottish railways should take an idle day at an early date to consider the situation.

### Impending Strike of Manchester and Salford Gas-workers.

Some events in the struggle of the gas-workers with the Corporations was given in these columns a few weeks ago. In their demands for shorter hours, less work, and more pay they were completely successful, but not until a strike was about to take place. Notwithstanding the evident advantages of the union, some few of the workers held entirely aloof, and all the efforts of their fellow workers have failed to induce them to join. The union men now state that these "scabs" are favoured by the officials, and that many of the union men have not received the increased pay agreed upon. The Gas Committee deny that they have broken the agreement in any way which was made with the leaders of the men, and refuse to discharge the blacklegs. Their action has been endorsed by the City Council. Both parties have addressed the public by wall posters setting forth the different positions. In Manchester and Salford at all the gas-works the men have given in their notices, which expire on 5th and 6th. Unless the Corporations of both places concede the present demands of the men a strike, therefore, will follow. Both sides appear determined. A monster meeting of the gas-workers took place in Stevenson Square on Sunday afternoon, at which Wm. Thorne, of London, and others, spoke. A resolution pledging the public to support the men was carried unanimously, about 5,000 being present.

It is very easy to pick holes in other people's work, but it is far more profitable to do better yourself. Is there a fool in the world that cannot criticise? Those who can themselves do good service are but as one to a thousand compared with those who can see faults in the labour of others.

... The improvement of labour makes the far greater part of the value. I think it will be but a very modest computation to say, that of the products of the earth useful to the life of man, nine-tenths are the efforts of labour. Nay, if we will rightly consider things as they come to our use, and cast up the several expenses about them, what in them is purely owing to nature, and what to labour, we shall find that in most of them ninety-nine hundredths are wholly to be put on the account of labour.—Locke: 'On Civil Government,' 1689.

When one looks out over our history, through the long catalogue of bloody and iniquitous centuries, when one looks among the present nations, with standing armies of professional killers, their protective tariffs, their monopolistic laws and laissez-faires, their crime-breeding and lunacy-nursing devilttries, one almost feels like the pessimist who wishes he could go to the moon in order to be able to spit on the whole human race at one time. Take a couple of instances: The example of crime and mental diseases producing agencies of portentous power, and both wholly remedial. Do you know that hundreds of thousands of English men and women are dying from starvation, disease, and slavery at from ten to twenty-five cents a-day for twelve to sixteen hours of ceaseless toil? Unless they do this the choice for women is between death and harlotry; for men, between death and crime; for both, it is death or disobedience to moral and mental laws. Do you know that while this is so there are many ignorant little monkeys annually making more money as horse jockeys than we pay the President of these United States? We may curse Nihilism, scorn Socialism, sneer at Co-operation, ignore Georgeism, pooh-pooh profit-sharing, eat our good dinner and be indifferent to the whole economic pother of the "idealists;" but only one who combines the qualities of an ass with those of a hyena can forget or deny that a civilisation is unjust and doomed wherein thousands of *roués* and rake-hells can live lives of debauchery, idleness, and luxury, whilst the millions who feed them drag out their sad days in want, wretchedness, and ceaseless toil.—George M. Gould in *Open Court*.

**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.

**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, to end of June. Leicester, North Kensington, and Manchester, to end of September. Clerkenwell, to end of October. North London, to end of November. 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 Committee.**—The Propaganda Committee meets on Tuesday, Dec. 10, at 8.30 p.m. Special meeting; important business; all members of the League interested in the propaganda invited to attend.

**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.; Blundell, 2s. 6d.; Nicoll, 6d.; Samuels, 1s.; B. W., 6d.; Mrs. Schack, 1s.; and C. Saunders, 1s.

**REPORTS.**

**NORTH KENSINGTON.**—We held good meeting at Latimer Road; speakers were R. J. Lyne, Crouch, and Dean; 50 *Commonweal* sold. In the evening, comrade Bullock lectured to a good audience on "Evolution and Revolution;" many questions and good debate; collected 2s. 0½d., and *Commonweal* sold out.

**NORTH LONDON.**—At Hyde Park on Sunday afternoon, good meeting addressed by Lyne, sen. and Cantwell; 30 *Commonweal* sold, and 3s. 2½d. collected.

**STREATHAM.**—Comrade Kitz gave an excellent address to an attentive audience here. We have decided to close open-air propaganda for the winter.

**ST. GEORGES' EAST.**—At the last branch meeting it was decided to begin the winter season of indoor lectures on Wednesdays. It was also agreed that the branch meetings shall be held on Tuesday nights henceforth, so as to give an opportunity on Thursdays for members to attend the discussion and do some propaganda at the Toynbee Hall. Members are requested to turn up at nine sharp next Tuesday.

**ABERDEEN.**—At branch meeting on 25th, "A King's Lesson" and E. Kay Robinson's article on "The Man of the Future" were read and discussed. On 26th, comrade Forrest, of Kilmarnock, lectured in the Unitarian Church on "Socialism and Christianity," this being the last of a series of four lectures on social questions, which one of the audience proposed should be printed in collected form. Open-air work discontinued for the winter. Preparations going on for social meeting and dance.

**GLASGOW.**—On Sunday at mid-day Glasier and Joe Burgoyne spoke on Jail Sq. At 2 o'clock a good number of members and friends gathered in our Rooms to meet comrade Stepniak, author of 'Underground Russia,' etc. Stepniak gave us some most interesting observations upon the revolutionary movement in Russia, and answered many questions. In the evening Stepniak lectured on "Socialism amongst the Russian Peasantry" in the Waterloo Hall—comrade Mavor in the chair. Some 700 people were present (there was a charge of 3d., 6d., and 1s. for admission) and listened attentively to the lecture. Stepniak gave a most interesting account of the communal life of the Russian peasantry—showing how their social habits fitted them for the immediate realisation of complete Socialism. At the conclusion, a resolution wishing good speed to the Russian revolutionary movement, and expressing sympathy with the prisoners and exiles, was moved by Shaw-Maxwell, seconded by Jas. Thomson, and carried unanimously. A resolution in favour of Socialism, moved by Glasier and seconded by Fisher McLaren, was also carried without dissent. Eight quires of *Commonweal* and a good quantity of literature sold.

**EDINBURGH.**—Comrade R. B. Kerr lectured to a full house on Sunday. His subject, "The Fundamental Principles of Socialism," was thoroughly well handled. A host of questions were well answered, and a good discussion followed. On Monday the 2nd, Stepniak was well received by a large and appreciative audience in the Waverley Hall.

**LEICESTER.**—Sunday Dec. 1, Chambers, Taylor, and Barclay spoke in Russell Square, and Councillor Sanders (of Walsall) gave three addresses. Morning, Radical Club, Vine Street, on "Municipal Politics; a Programme for Town Councils." Afternoon, 3 p.m., in Humberstone Gate, "The Organisation of Labour." Evening, Radical Club again, "Labour Federation; a Programme for Trade Unions." All three stirring addresses, and well attended, especially the evening one. Collections 17s. 3d.; 2½ quires *Commonweal* sold. Monday 2nd, comrade Timson read a paper on "Proposed Remedies for the Present State of Society." Tuesday Nov. 26, Graham Wallas lectured on "A Socialist View of the Political Outlook," in the Co-operative Hall—the concluding lecture of four on "Socialism and Practical Politics."—T. B.

**MANCHESTER.**—Wm. Morris lectured for the branch on "The Class Struggle" at the Secular Hall on Saturday night. The lecture was well received; brisk discussion followed; lecturer replied amid enthusiastic applause. About 10s. worth of literature sold. Our comrade also lectured on Sunday at Islington Hall, Ancoats, on "The Revolt of Ghent," at which the branch sold a quantity of literature. The members met Morris in the evening. At a meeting of gas-workers in Stevenson Square, 57 *Commonweal*, being all we had, were speedily disposed of.

**NORWICH.**—Saturday night, social meeting; large attendance. Sunday, at 3, in the Market Place some 3,000 people turned out to hear comrade Mowbray, who also addressed a meeting again at 7, when, notwithstanding the fog, some 600 persons turned up. At 8, Mowbray lectured on the "Fallacies of Political Action." Collection for day, 10s. Literature sold well; *Commonweal* all sold out.—M.

**YARMOUTH.**—On Sunday morning comrade C. W. Mowbray, of London, delivered an earnest address to an attentive audience on the Priory Plain. In the evening, on Colman's Granary Quay, we held our usual meeting, comrade Ruffold being the speaker. All *Commonweal* sold, and 1s. 1½d. collected.—J. H.

**DUBLIN.**—At Progressist Club, 87, Marlboro' Street, Nov. 30th, R. F. Wilson lectured to a large audience on "The Goal of Modern Civilisation," in the course of which he plainly demonstrated that all the tendencies were towards Socialism. An interesting discussion took place, King, Kavanagh, Toomey, Hamilton, and others taking part.

**NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.**—We have closed our outdoor campaign, and are now making arrangements for a series of lectures in our hall, Woodland Place, Parliament Street.

**LECTURE DIARY.**

LONDON.

**Battersea.**—All communications to E. Buteux, 20 Abercrombie Street, Battersea Park Road.  
**Clerkenwell.**—Socialist League Hall, 24 Great Queen Street, Holborn, W.C.—On Sunday December 8, at 8 p.m., F. Kitz, "Lessons from the Lives of Famous Working-men."  
**East London.**—Crown Coffee Tavern, 2 Columbia Road, Hackney Road.  
**Hammersmith.**—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Dec. 8, at 8 p.m., S. Bullock, "Popular Fallacies." French Class, Friday, 8 to 9.  
**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 December 8, at 8 p.m., a Lecture.  
**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock. On Wednesday Dec. 11, at 8 p.m., F. Kitz will lecture on "The Right to Punish Criminals."  
**Southwark.**—Secretary, George Evans, 56 Lucy Road, Bermondsey, S.E. Hill's Coffee Tavern, Great Charlotte Street, Blackfriars Road, S.E.  
**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 Bernier 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.  
**Dumdee.**—Address to W. Cameron, 17 Laurence Street, Dundee.  
**Glasgow.**—Ran'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. Branch meets on Monday and Thursday, at 8 p.m.  
**Manchester.**—Working Men's Educational Club, 122 Corporation Street, corner of Hanover Street. Weekly meeting of members every Tuesday at 8 p.m.  
**Norwich.**—Sunday, at 8, Gordon Hall. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Thursday, at 8, Discussion Class. Saturday, Social Meeting. Hall open every evening from 8 p.m.  
**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. First Friday in every month, at 8.30 p.m.  
**Walsall.**—Socialist Club, 18 Goodall Street, Walsall. Meetings every night.  
**Yarmouth.**—Branch meets at comrade Headley's, near Co-operative Stores, every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class Friday at 8 p.m. On Sunday afternoons during winter a Discussion Class will be held at 3 o'clock.

**OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**

SATURDAY 7.		
8.30.....	Mile-end Waste .....	The Branch
SUNDAY 8.		
11 .....	Latimer Road Station .....	Crouch, Mainwaring, and Dean
11.30.....	Chelsea Embankment .....	Samuels
11.30.....	Kilburn—"Old Plough," Kilburn Lane .....	Lyne sen, Mitchell
11.30.....	North Kensington—St. Ann's Road .....	Maughan, J.F. Lyne, Emerson
11.30.....	Commercial Road—Union Street .....	Cores
11.30.....	Mitcham—Fair Green .....	The Branch
11.30.....	Regent's Park .....	Nicoll
11.30.....	Southwark—Flat Iron Square .....	The Branch
3.30.....	Hyde Park—Marble Arch .....	Cantwell and Mowbray
3.30.....	Victoria Park .....	The Branch
7 .....	Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park .....	Hammersmith Branch
7.30.....	Walham Green—back of Church .....	Hammersmith Branch
TUESDAY 10.		
8 .....	Walham Green—back of Church .....	Hammersmith Branch
THURSDAY 12.		
8.15.....	Hoxton Church .....	Cores

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; Market Place, at 3.  
**Yarmouth.**—Sunday: Priory Plain, at 11; Colman's Granary Quay, at 7.

**MANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE**, "Three Doves," Berwick St., Oxford St., W.—Sunday Dec. 8, at 8.45 p.m., John McCormack, "Poverty, its Cause and Cure."  
**STREATHAM LIBERAL CLUB**, High Street.—Saturday Dec. 14, at 8, Debate: "England under a Republic."  
**CLERKENWELL DEMOCRATIC CLUB**, St. John's Road.—Sunday Dec. 15, at 8, H. Halliday Sparling, "The Good Old Cause."  
**ENTERPRISE CLUB AND INSTITUTE**, Manchee House, High Road, South Tottenham, N.—Sunday December 8, at 11.30 a.m., J. R. Macdonald, "Practicable Socialism."  
**CHLSEA S.D.F.**, Co-operative Lecture Hall, 312 Kings Road, Chelsea.—Sunday December 8, at 8 p.m., Edward Bernstein, "The Ideas and Tactics of the German Social Democracy."  
**FABIAN SOCIETY.**—Willis's Rooms, King Street, S.W.—On Friday Dec. 6, at 8 o'clock, 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.  
**DUBLIN.**—At Progressist Club, 87 Marlboro' Street, Saturday Dec. 7, at 8, A. Kavanagh, "Chattel Slavery v. Wages Slavery."  
**EDINBURGH—SCOTTISH SOCIALIST FEDERATION.**—In Moulders' Hall, High St., on Sunday Dec. 8, at 6.30, Mr. Ritchie, President of the Working Men's Club, "International Co-operation."

# WHERE TO GET THE 'COMMONWEAL.'

## LONDON.

PUBLISHING OFFICE: 24, GREAT QUEEN STREET, LINCOLN'S INN  
FIELDS, W.C.

### N.

Gee, 56 High-street, Islington  
J. W. Miller, 76 Holloway-road  
Watson, 76 Hoxton-street  
Knox, 5 Mayes-terrace, Wood Green  
Vale, Stamford Hill

### N. W.

Clark, 63 Malden-road  
Wright, 167 Kentish Town-road  
Petherick, 29 Osnauburg-street  
Gibbs, Lisson-grove  
Wilson, 24 Highgate-road  
Meek, 132 Drummond-street

### E.

Schweitzer, 43 Commercial-road  
Eades, 219 Whitechapel-road  
Kerby, 118  
Hoinville, Triangle, Hackney  
Ackland, 4 Bishops-road  
Thoday, 443 Hackney-road  
Daniels, near Shoreditch Church  
Hammond, Goldsmith-row  
King, 68  
Bouchard, 157A  
Bevis, 4 Old Ford-road  
Platt, Bonner-Street, Bethnal-green

### E. C.

Cason, 64 Leonard-street  
Fowler, 166 Old Street  
Wilkins, Leather-lane  
Twigg, Clerkenwell Green  
Fox, 43 Penton-street  
Forder, 28 Stonecutter-street  
Simpson, 7 Red Lion Court  
Reeves, 185 Fleet-street  
Freethought Publishing Co., 63 Fleet-st.  
Farrington, Fetter-lane  
Brandon, Wine Office-court  
Appleyard, Poppins-court  
Hurlstone, 5 Bath-street

### S. E.

H. G. Prior, 131 London-road  
J. Coster, 115A Blackfriars-road  
Curwood, 4 Newington-causeway  
Wirbatz, 18 New Kent-road  
Hill, 130 Great Dover-street  
Dunn, 24 Old Kent-road  
Watson, 321 Old Kent-road  
Williams, 554  
Harrison, 621  
Williams, 375 St. James-road  
Clayton, 12 Clarence-place, Deptford  
Chambers, 3 Greenwich-road  
Mears, 323 Walworth-road  
Buis, 43  
Hasken, 5 Trafalgar-street, Walworth-road  
Ellison, 34 High-street, Peckham  
Pish, 25 Queens-road, Peckham  
Adams, 156 New Cross road  
Chambers, 18 Church-street, Greenwich

### S. W.

Stowe, 103 Pimlico-road  
Tims, 338 Battersea Park-road  
E. Buteux, 20 Abercrombie-street  
Head, 290 York-road, Wandsworth-end  
Plumpton, 41 York-road, Battersea-end  
Baker, Church-street, Croydon  
Bush, Wellfield-road, Streatham

### W.

O'Neill, 69 Farnhead-road, Harrow-road  
Wilson, 620 Harrow-road, Queens-park  
Hebard, 49 Endell-street  
Gardner, 32 Lexington-street  
Lofnagun, 17 Caruaby-street  
Stocker, 30 Berwick-street  
Bard, 20 Cleveland-street  
Kates, 51  
Manly, 113  
Goodblood, Foley-street, Cleveland-street  
Ascott, 59 Upper Marylebone-street  
W. Cutting, 20 Gt. Marylebone-street  
Haffendon, 3 Carburton-street  
Hanstein, 51 Charlotte-street  
Farley, 6 Charlotte-street  
Hoffman, 13 Francis-street  
Smith, 2A Chapel-street, Edgware-road.  
Cooper, 7 Fouberts-place

### W. C.

Anderson, 15 Grays Inn-road  
Jones, 9 Little Queen-street  
Varley, 24 High-street, St. Giles  
Nye, Theobalds-road  
Vernon, 40 Lambs Conduit-street  
Hanrahan, Little James-street  
Shirley, 169 Kings Cross-road  
Stubbs, 33  
Truelove, 256 High Holborn

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

## PROVINCES.

### Bristol.

Little, 18 Narrow Wine-street

### Brighton.

Thacker, Oxford-street

### Bury (Lancashire).

J. Barlow, Heap Bridge  
T. Brooks, 42 Rochdale-road  
J. Holden, 39 Princess-street  
A. Veevers, 57 Bolton-road, Elton

### Colchester.

F. Collison, 43 St. Botolph-street

### Cork.

Guy and Co., 70 Patrick-street

### Dundee.

Paton, 16 West Port

### Dublin.

Wheeler, North Earl-street  
J. J. Lalor, North Earl-street

### Edinburgh.

B. Given, 20 Bristo-street  
Mrs. Wishart, 169 Dundee-street  
J. Weir, Freethought Depot, 39 Rose-street

### Glasgow.

Ferguson, Ingram-street  
Hood, Railway Arch, Argyle-street  
Porteous and Co., Exchange-place  
Sharpe, Exchange-square  
Thomson, St. Enoch's-square  
Tollins, Main-street, Bridgeton-crescent  
Young, Dundas-street  
Rutherford, Govan-street, Gorbals-cross

### Grimsby.

W. A. Lee, 2 Central Market

### Halifax.

A. Hargreaves, 6 Francis-street, Gibbet-lane  
W. H. Hancot, 76 Freemans-street  
Flanagan, Woolshops

### Leeds.

Watson, Market-street  
J. G. Fisher, 1 Coburg-terrace

### Liverpool.

Stocker, 29 Vauxhall-road—Agent for Liverpool  
Socialist Society, 1 Stanley-street  
Fraser, 54 Tithebarn-street  
Malia, Cook-street

### Leicester.

Crofts, 21 Willowbridge-street  
Oldershaw, Granby-street  
W. Smith, 202 Belgrave-gate  
C. H. Merrick, 248  
Emery,  
Newsagent, Chatham-street, corner of Granby-street  
Crane, 23 Belgrave-gate  
Holyoake, Secular Hall, Humberstone-gate  
Wallace, Caxton House, Granby-street  
J. Clarke, 19 Applegate-street

### Manchester.

Ashcroft, Rutland-street, C.-on-M.  
Ashworth, London-road  
Clarke, 652 Rochdale-road  
Grant, 324 Rochdale-road  
A. Heywood, 56 Oldham-road  
D. Kelly, 82 Rochdale-road  
S. Renshaw, 32 Oldham-road  
Turnbull, 238 Rochdale-road  
Usher, Downing-street  
Walker, Gorton Brook, Gorton

### Norwich.

F. J. Croth, St. George's, Middle-street  
C. Sales, St. Augustine's  
Thompson, Magdalen-street

### Nottingham.

Clark, Milton-street

### Oldham.

News-stall, Covered Market

### Plymouth.

Ley, Russell-street

### Walsall.

A. Deakin, 238 Stafford-street

### Warrington.

A. Downes 1 Church-street

### Yarmouth.

H. E. Howes, 67 George-street  
C. Brightwell, Pier-place, Goleston  
J. Headley, 43 Row, George-street

## STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES.

THE Socialist League advocates International Revolutionary Socialism. That is to say the destruction of the present class society, which consists of one class who live by owning property and therefore *need not work*, and of another that has no property and therefore *must work* in order that they may live to keep the idlers by their labour. Revolutionary Socialism insists that this system of society, which is the modern form of slavery, should be changed to a system of Society which would give every man an opportunity of doing useful work, and not allow any man to live without so doing, which work could not be useful unless it were done for the whole body of workers instead of for do-nothing individuals. The result of this would be that livelihood would not be precarious nor labour burdensome. Labour would be employed in co-operation, and the struggle of man with man for bare subsistence would be supplanted by harmonious combination for the production of common wealth and the exchange of mutual services without the waste of labour or material.

Every man's needs would be satisfied from this common stock, but no man would be allowed to own anything which he could not use, and which consequently he must *abuse* by employing it as an instrument for forcing others to labour for him unpaid. Thus the land, the capital, machinery, and means of transit would cease to be private property, since they can only be used by the combination of labour to produce wealth.

Thus men would be *free* because they would no longer be dependent on idle property-owners for subsistence; thus they would be *brothers*, for the cause of strife, the struggle for subsistence at other people's expense, would have come to an end. Thus they would be *equal*, for if all men were doing useful work no man's labour could be dispensed with. Thus the motto of Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality, which is but an empty boast in a society that upholds the monopoly of the means of production, would at last be realised.

This Revolutionary Socialism must be International. The change which would put an end to the struggle between man and man, would destroy it also between nation and nation. One harmonious system of federation throughout the whole of civilisation would take the place of the old destructive rivalries. There would be no great centres breeding race hatred and commercial jealousy, but people would manage their own affairs in communities not too large to prevent all citizens from taking a part in the administration necessary for the conduct of life, so that party politics would come to an end.

Thus, while we abide by the old motto:

**Liberty, Fraternity, Equality,**

we say that the existence of private property destroys Equality, and therefore under it there can be neither Liberty nor Fraternity.

We add to the first motto then this other one—

**FROM EACH ACCORDING TO HIS  
CAPACITY, TO EACH ACCORDING  
TO HIS NEEDS.**

When this is realised there will be a genuine Society; until it is realised, Society is nothing but a band of robbers. We must add that this change can only be brought about by combination amongst the workers themselves, and must embrace the whole of Society. The new life cannot be given to the workers by a class higher than they, but must be taken by them by means of the abolition of classes and the reorganisation of Society.

COUNCIL OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

## NOTICE.

Subscribers who find a red mark against this notice are thereby reminded that their subscriptions have expired and must be renewed immediately if they wish to continue to receive *Commonweal*.

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