

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

[REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.]

VOL. 5.—No. 198.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 26, 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, Frank Kitz, Peter Kropotkin, C. W. Mowbray, Wm. Morris, D. J. Nicoll, H. H. Sparling, John Turner, and Lothrop Withington

Eleanor Aveling, G. Brocher, F. Fregenbaum, 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 24th and 31st, and November 7th; at 13, Farringdon Road, on Tuesdays, October 29th and 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.

THE last few elections, though they prove little in themselves, yet taken with other symptoms seem to show that, unless something very startlingly unexpected happens, the Gladstonites will have a majority in the next Parliament, and even make it probable that there will be a dissolution before long. The fact is that the swing of the pendulum is operating; the promise of performance of the old government has died out; they have pretty much exhausted their powers of pretentious do-nothing plus coercion, and people are beginning to think, "Now let us have a general election, and give the other fellows a turn."

Well, so be it! We shall weep dry-eyed for the Tories; who, to speak shortly, are always and everywhere our declared and deadly enemies, and who include no section that can be of any use to us except as stimulating revolt by their stupid reactionism. Let us hope that no single Socialist and no group of workers will be taken in by the game of the Tory Democrats and their coquetting with one side of Social Democracy, or State Socialism, whichever you may please to call it. The Irish prisons show us pretty well what the meaning of Tory State Socialism really is. Let us remember that it can never go further than this—the bettering of one or more groups of workmen at the expense of other groups, the whole to be paid for by votes at the next election; which votes will, of course, be used for coercion in some form or other.

At the same time I don't see how we can throw up our hats very high at the advent of the Liberals' to power. All we can hope of them is that they will be forced to clear away the Irish matter for awhile; though no doubt they, as well as the Tories, would be glad enough if they could keep on lugging it backwards and forwards as a convenient red herring across the trail of the welfare of the workers.

But when they have done that, what next? Will they even be near adopting the programme of the Socialist Radicals? which itself means nothing unless it is at once going to become real Socialism. It

is pretty clear that they cannot turn themselves into incipient Socialists. It will be the old story: a few more Radicals more advanced than earlier Radicals were, but quite powerless in Parliament; a great accession to the strength of the Whigs, who as soon as the crisis is over will turn their minds to becoming more Tory than the Tories themselves.

This is the regular history of party government in England. A Tory government with a Whig opposition, backed by a Radical revolt according to the ideas of Radicalism current at the time. The Radicals (as notably now the Socialist Radicals) make a great stir, and begin to move popular public opinion. They get the Whigs in, and these, when in, kick the Radicals to the devil, where they may do what they can.

This is quite sure to happen once more. Let us hope that it will be a dangerous game for the Whigs this time, and that *after* the kick, since they won't do it before, the Socialist Radicals will drop the latter end of their name, which means nothing, and become real Socialists looking forward to revolution as the only possible true change, and relegating the phrase "Parliamentary reform" to Mr. Murray's new dictionary of the English language. W. M.

The fears we expressed last week as to the action of the County Council on the licensing of music-halls have not been realised. By a majority which was not far from a clear two-thirds they have rejected the proposals of the Licensing Committee and refused to embark on the system of puritanical tyranny which that committee had planned out for them. The minority made, of course, a great noise and angrily contested every inch of ground, but suffered all the same from the most galling reverse, the most crushing defeat they have ever met. Like all beaten reactionaries, as they lost ground they lost temper; and with their tempers lost everything. Were it not for the good it has wrought it would have been pitiable, this utter discomfiture of theirs.

It does not matter much to us as Socialists, perhaps, to any very great degree, whether this or that music-hall shall have a license or no. But it does matter very much to us indeed whether a puritanical tyranny, an entirely reactionary and oppressive censorship, shall be established among us. The men who shriek and rave now about a "blue" line in a music-hall song or a little too lofty kick on the part of a dancer, would be just as ready, if they got the power, to exercise it in suppressing free speech as in "putting down indecency." And those who are now so ready to hunt the poor whores off the streets and drive them into the workhouse, the river, or the prison—or, deeper misery still, into their terrible "refuges" and "charitable homes"—would be just as willing to stone a Socialist or Atheist or any other rebel against their conventional respectability whenever they got the chance of doing so.

Sir Charles Russell rose above the advocate as he touched on this in a few masterly sentences. Mr. Nathan Robinson and the Rev. H. B. Chapman made stirring and impressive appeals to the Council on the side of the unfortunate women; Mr. Thornton declared that even prostitutes were citizens and had rights as such; and John Burns, speaking "as one of the class from which most of them were drawn," made a plain and telling statement of the conditions which produce them, and demanded that the root causes be struck at and not the unhappy products be persecuted.

On the other side, Mr. Charrington spoke with such virulence, such blind and bigotted intolerance, that one could almost believe in the Whitechapel murder-fiend being such another as he. Like him, but not quite so bitter, was the Rev. Fleming ("Fog-horn") Williams. Both of these, pretended followers of the man before whom was brought the woman taken in adultery, spoke with a fury that reminded one of the old-time zealots who burnt and racked and tortured men and women "for the glory of God and the good of their own souls." A fury which was only less hateful than the smug hypocrisy and pretended moderation of the notorious Mr. McDougall.

There can be no question that these pseudo-Progressives, these shams and frauds of Nonconformist Radicalism, men of the type of the historic "dissenting deacon and little corner grocery-man," are among the worst enemies of any real progress of whom it is possible to conceive. There cannot be a departure from their crude reactionary ideals which they will not fight with all the malign force that popular ignorance and the survival of superstition may place in their hands. The sordid misery of modern life is the very breath of their being. Woe be to him who seeks to cure it if he fall into their hands! Democratic institutions, if they could but manage it, would be made the means of a more searching and cruel despotism than even the most docile German now covers under at the behest of Bismark. There is no walk of life in which their crushing influence would not be felt. As Socialists, revolutionists, rebels against all convention and hypocrisy, we must watch these men, and if need be make them feel our enmity.

Despite the wild waving of "the flag of the free," etc., the United States do not seem such a home of liberty as their admirers would make out. At a reunion of Abolitionists held in Tremont Temple, Boston, a few weeks since, the Hon. George P. Downing of Newport, R. I., produced a sensation by announcing himself as "a coloured abolitionist," and saying, "For sixty years I have felt myself to be the victim of injustice. Although I have never committed any crime, I have never seemed to breathe the free air of my native country. I was with Wendell Phillips in this very hall when he faced a howling mob, led on by the gentlemen of Beacon Street, and when he declared to them 'I will live to hear you applaud me to the echo.'" Continuing, he pointed out how Wendell Phillips was now applauded, but his teachings unregarded still.

He concluded by saying: "A fire of dissatisfaction and grief burns in my breast. The conservative speech I am now making would endanger my life in some States. While my son is spurned from your counting-room, your art museum, and your church, and while my wife is forbidden to ride with you in the railway car, while my countrymen are murdered in the South, can you expect me to be mild?" Had not our contemporary, Reynolds, better ponder a little over this side of American life, as well as over the state of the labouring classes there, the next time it feels tempted to sing "Hail Columbia, happy land!" Like every other country ruled by the bourgeois, and dominated by bourgeois ideas, any other class than that of the dominant moneybags is made to feel its "inferiority." S.

"HONEST TOIL"

THE virtue of "honest toil" is a precept which has been universally commended. We were taught it in our childhood, and have not been allowed to forget it in our after years. It was engraved as a headline in our copy-books, and was a favourite theme of our Sunday-school stories. It is always at hand as a peg whereon rich moralists may hang their speeches when addressing poor men's gatherings; and it is specially serviceable to newspaper editors when advising workmen not to strike or ask for an increase of wages.

By "honest toil" is meant physical toil for the physical needs of the community. The supposition is that by engaging in "honest toil," the toiler earns his own and his family's livelihood without having to beg, borrow, or steal any portion of it from his neighbours. The actuality is, that he not only earns his own and his family's livelihood, but the livelihood of a privileged class which is thus saved the necessity of doing any toil at all. The term "honest" has no doubt been tacked on to this species of toil from a perception of the fact that the toiler undoubtedly honestly earns by it whatever necessities or comforts of life he is permitted to retain to himself; and from a perception that there are other species of toil which men may engage in without honestly earning these things.

But although universally commended in precepts and speeches, "honest toil" is by no means universally practised. Indeed, none practise it who can avoid doing so; and instead of the practice of it conferring honour upon the individual, it invariably confers contempt. No "Noble" or "Honourable" or "Right Honourable" person ever performs it. No man who has to work for his livelihood is ever esteemed a "gentleman" and is never called such, except in courtesy or when he is being solicited for a vote or a subscription. A working-man is never made a knight or a peer, the chairman of a missionary society, or the president of a football club. The Queen will make "a belted knight, a marquis, duke and a' that" out of any kind of an effigy of a human being but a working-man. The fact that a man has to do "honest toil" utterly unfits him, apparently, from occupying any honourable position in church, State, or society. He may be physically as strong as a Hercules and as beautiful as an Apollo; he may have all the intellectual gifts of a Crichton and the moral resolution of a St. Anthony: but so long as he has of necessity to win his bread by the labour of his own hands and the sweat of his own brow, the door of refined society is shut in his face. If he were suddenly to enter a West-end drawing-room in his working garb the ladies would faint as though he were a Mid-African savage, and the gentlemen would kick him downstairs as though he were a bundle of hospital rags. A dog may sprawl upon the floor, a cat curl upon the hearthrug, and a parrot screech at the window, but he or his children may not even stand upon the doorstep. On the other hand, anything born of a woman, though it be physically fit only for a gynecological museum, though it

has the intelligence of a hen and the morals of a zoological gardens gorilla, yet if it belongs to the class that does no useful work, but lives on the plunder of the labour of others, it will be welcomed into the best society, courted by beautiful girls, flattered by statesmen, and fawned upon by university professors.

"Honest toil," therefore, which is in precept a virtue, is in practice a crime. Instead of being regarded as noble and honourable, it is regarded as dishonourable and degrading; and it is just because it is "honest" that it is so regarded. The more "honest" it is, the more it is shunned and the more ignoble it is reckoned. Toil that is not in the current sense "honest"—toil *per se*—is not shunned or reckoned ignoble. A man may work till he is black in the face and white in the hair at any sort of physical occupation he chooses, providing he does not do so for the merely "honest" purpose of earning his own livelihood, and yet be esteemed an "honourable" man and a gentleman. He may, like Lord Lonsdale, tramp with bag and baggage over hundreds of miles in frost and snow; he may go into his garden and plant cabbages, lay dung, and hunt caterpillars; he may row a boat, sail a yacht, or drive a carriage; he may fish, fell trees, shoot birds, stalk deer, or engage in any manual labour he pleases, and still be a gentleman—so long as he does so for recreation or pleasure, and not with the "honest" motive of providing the food he eats, the clothes he wears, or the house he inhabits. But if he is compelled to do these things so as not to be dependent upon the toil of others for his livelihood, then he is outside the pale of rank, titles, office, and respectability. Just think of it! Lord Lonsdale boasts that during one of his journeys he made his servants carry only 40 lbs. of baggage, and that he himself carried 50 lbs.: while at that very time thousands of poor men in England were toiling their lives away to provide him with the money he was spending on his useless escapade. He considers it a noble thing that he, during a freak of pleasure, should have burdened himself a little to lessen the burden of others, while he esteems it an honourable thing to compel millions of men and women to bear all their lives a fourfold burden that he and his class may live without bearing any burden at all. And this sentiment of what is honourable, is the prevailing one in civilised life to-day, and upon this sentiment rests the whole superstructure of modern religion, morals, and politics.

The precept, therefore, is a lie, and a most barefaced one, too. Nobody believes it, but everybody preaches it—especially those who would be horrified at the mere notion of their being expected to put it into practice. If a bishop—who would as soon think of preaching the Gospel as of staining his episcopal fingers with an hour's work at tent-making or carpentry—has occasion to address a meeting of working folk for the purpose of begging subscriptions, he rolls oily phrases about the dignity and holiness of "honest toil" in his mouth, with as much sanctimonious satisfaction as he afterwards rolls their shilling pieces in his breeches pocket. If a duke or an earl condescends to decorate the platform of a working-men's political meeting, held for the purpose of returning an aristocratic stripling to Parliament, he extols the nobility of honest toil with such apparent sincerity that one expects him to conclude with a declaration that he will get out of bed next morning at five o'clock and apply for a job as a navy or dock-labourer at twelve or fifteen shillings a-week.

Of course the bishop and the earl do not mean what they say, and nobody believes that they do; but everybody applauds their sentiments and affects to feel much encouraged and comforted by them. It is the same with reference to most matters nowadays. People preach what they do not believe, and conceal or deny what they do believe; and most people appear to be quite satisfied and delighted with this way of going on. If it were not so, peers would be paupers, priests lodged in lunatic asylums, and politicians in prison.

Why, then, is "honest toil" regarded as degrading? Why do the rich shun it and the poor try to escape from it? It is not, as I have shown, because toil—even hard toil—is of itself considered an ignoble or criminal thing. No; "honest toil" is regarded as degrading and ignoble because it is associated with slavery, with poverty, with social ugliness, and the lack of pleasure and recreation. Only those who are slaves, who are the tools of landlords and capitalists, earn their own livelihood by the labour of their own hands; and their toil is necessarily very hard and their livelihood very scanty. They have not the means nor the opportunity of making their bodies healthy, their minds happy, or their homes beautiful. Art, leisure, travel, and all that gives enchantment to life and love are denied them. No wonder, then, that associated with such hateful conditions and penalties, "honest" toil is shunned by all who can avoid it. After all, it is a truer and manlier instinct that regards toiling for one's bread, in the way the working class now toils, as a thing to be dreaded and despised, than the instinct that is content to perform it without prospect of rebellion. And however much we, as Socialists, must condemn the hypocrisy of the rich who preach and praise what they do not, and would not willingly perform, we must give tenfold condemnation to those who consent to their own degradation and serfdom, without strong and persistent effort to free themselves and abolish for ever the system under which they suffer. Nor need we wonder that the rich—who do not understand Socialism, but regard it as a system that would compel them to work as they see the workers working to-day—fear it and seek to prevent its coming.

But Socialism does not imply that either the present rich or the present poor will require to work as the poor work to-day. If to toil and live, as miners, dock-labourers, tramway-men, seamstresses, factory girls, or even skilled artisans have now to toil and live, were the ideal which Socialists propose to realise, when asserting that every one will require to work for his livelihood, then none but madmen indeed

would be Socialists. Surely, however, rich and poor alike can perceive that so long as so many do no work, and so many do useless work, and so long as the reckless waste of wealth, which our present competitive system entails, goes on, those who by "honest toil" have to produce all the wealth which they and all the others consume must of necessity work very hard and get very little. But when Socialism is achieved—when all do useful work and there is no waste of wealth—toil will no longer be hard and degrading, but healthful and pleasurable, and consequently honourable; and "honest toil," as we now understand it, will be as unknown to all the people then as health, plenty, and pleasure are unknown to nine-tenths of the population to-day.

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

HEIRS OF TIME.

From street and square, from hill and glen
Of this vast world beyond my door,
I hear the tread of marching men,
The patient armies of the poor.

The halo of the city's lamps
Hangs, a vast torchlight, in the air;
I watch it through the evening damps;
The masters of the world are there.

Not ermine-clad or clothed in state,
Their title-deeds not yet made plain;
But waking early, toiling late,
The heirs of all the earth remain.

Some day, by laws as fixed and fair
As guide the planets in their sweep,
The children of each outcast heir
The harvest-fruits of time shall reap.

The peasant brain shall yet be wise,
The untamed pulse grow calm and still;
The blind shall see, the lowly rise,
And work in peace Time's wondrous will.

Some day, without a trumpet's call,
This news will o'er the world be blown:
"The heritage comes back to all!
The myriad monarchs take their own!"

T. W. HIGGINSON, in *The Nationalist*.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"SOCIALISM AND STRIKES."

SIR,—After F. Kitz's able article on "Socialism and Strikes," I should like to say a few words on the same subject. It seems to me that the order of the day is Organise! organise! organise!—but what for? Up till now, it seems to me, we are all to organise for a paltry penny an hour, or something of that sort, but with no other object in view. Now this surprises me somewhat, when I consider who are the men taking the lead in this movement. How is this? Are these men watering down, or are they self-seeking? How is it they have left their old robust Socialism out in the cold to take on with labour unions without unity? For although we have now the South-side Council Protection League, the National Federation of Labour Union, the Dock, Wharf, Riverside and General Labourers' Union, Postmen's Union, and goodness knows how many more labour unions, yet no one seems trying to unite or affiliate them. They have leaders who each seem inclined to move only in their own small circle, instead of uniting the whole. Again, we find them in very doubtful company occasionally. What can dock-labourers expect from Lord Mayors or Mannings? The same may be said of the Women's Trades Association—hobnobbing with bishops and dowager ladies. Again, how will the poor tram and bus men get along in company with a Rosebery? These are questions I have asked myself several times lately, but they still remain unanswered.

W. G. W.

SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.

DEAR COMRADE,—It is now just over two years since you gave me the opportunity in the *Commonweal* of broaching the idea of Co-operation on Socialist lines. The articles you inserted led to the formation of the Socialist Co-operative Federation. During the past two years we have been enrolling members and getting in the funds necessary for carrying on business when we could open a store. We have also to acknowledge valuable assistance from *Justice*, *The Link*, and *Star*. At our General Meeting on 28th of last July we had 160 members, had paid all our formation expenses, and only wanted £30 more to make up the amount necessary to start the store. Some few weeks before our General Meeting I made the acquaintance of Mr. Isidore Phillips, the secretary of the Hygienic Co-operative Society, of 49 Southampton Row. That society by its rules was limited in the class of articles it could supply, and in consequence was not doing as good a trade as it could have done if not hampered by its fundamental rule. It was therefore in contemplation to reorganise the society on a wider basis. The idea occurred to me that it would be a good thing if the Hygienic Co-operative Society could be induced to amalgamate with the Socialist Co-operative Federation, and thus form one strong co-operative society working on Socialist lines and guaranteeing healthy products. I talked the matter over with Mr. Phillips, and he "took on" to the idea and agreed to bring it before his committee. I undertook to do the same with the committee of the Socialist Co-operative. Both Mr. Phillips and Mr. J. B. O'Callaghan, the president of the Hygienic Co-operative Society and a Socialist of old standing, warmly advocated the idea in their committee, and, with only one dissident, it was carried, that if possible the amalgamation should be effected. The committee

of the S. C. F., when I brought it before them, unanimously approved. The result was that a joint sub-committee of the two societies met and arranged the terms of the amalgamation; and at a General Meeting of each society a resolution as follows, with names transposed, was carried—unanimously by the S. C. F., and with only one or two dissentients in the H. C. S. The resolution:

"That this meeting of the members of the Socialist Co-operative Federation, Limited, agrees to amalgamate with the Hygienic Co-operative Society, Limited. The rules of the Socialist Co-operative Federation, Limited, shall be the rules of the amalgamated societies, which shall be one society, called the Socialist Co-operative Federation, Limited; and the £1 shares of the Hygienic Co-operative Society, Limited, shall be converted into four 5s. shares of the Socialist Co-operative Federation, Limited."

To comply with the Act of Parliament, it was necessary to hold a special meeting of each society subsequently, to confirm the resolution. The special meeting of the two societies was held soon after, at the hall of the Social-Democratic Federation, 337 Strand. Mr. J. B. O'Callaghan was in the chair. On his right was a good gathering of the members of the S. C. F., and on his left an equally good muster of the H. C. S. The resolution having been duly moved and seconded by members of the S. C. F., was put and carried unanimously by the S. C. F., amid cheers from both societies. In like manner the resolution was carried by the H. C. S. for themselves. The event was unique in the history of co-operation and Socialism, and the feeling that prevailed was good augury for healthy progress in the future. It was a striking proof of the spread of sound Socialist principles. A few days after the special meeting, I had the pleasure of taking the necessary official documents to the Registrar of Friendly Societies, and in about a week later the amalgamation was duly registered and the two societies became legally one. I may mention that amalgamation has been very rare among co-operative societies. In fact, when I went to the office for the necessary documentary forms, they were taken from a small pile in a pigeon-hole, the top one being thickly covered with dust. "You see," said the obliging official, "we have not had much demand for these. I think there has been only one instance of amalgamation before."

Well, by this amalgamation the Socialist Co-operative Federation starts with a membership of upwards of 300, and a paid-up capital of over £300, part of which, however, has been sunk by both societies in the necessary formation expenses and the cost of starting a business as regards the H. C. S.

It now remains for Socialists and all who have the welfare of the workers at heart to rally to the Socialist Co-operative Federation, which a faithful few have nursed into being, but which will still need the most watchful care if it is to prove as we hope the herald of an evangel which will bring great joy to many a downtrodden worker. The duty of Socialists to their store is to give it in every case the first chance of supplying their wants before seeking to purchase elsewhere. Next, to take up one or more 5s. shares (entrance fee 1s.), and so increase the capital and membership, enabling the society to go into production of commodities, and thus give such of the members as wish, opportunity to become their own employers. The S. C. F. being now a member of the Co-operative Wholesale, is in a position to execute orders for food, drink, clothing, furniture, etc., etc. To those about to marry, if I say "Don't," it is not in the sense of *Punch's* immortal advice, but, "Don't go to Tottenham Court Road. Come to 49 Southampton Row for your furnishing. You can go with an order from the S. C. F. and make your selection at the great Co-operative Wholesale. And so with anything which may be wanted by our members. If the store has not got it in stock, it can get it—"from a needle to an anchor."

We hope to organise social gatherings and entertainments, and to make the Socialist Co-operative Federation a bond of union for all Socialists of every shade of opinion, and for all good and true men and women who, though not calling themselves Socialists, are "filled with the spirit" of brotherhood. The Socialist Co-operative Federation is catholic in the truest sense. Let it have generous support.

D. C. DALLAS.

28 Grays Inn Road, Oct. 12.

AN AGITATED BISHOP.

THE Bishop of London (Dr. Temple) has been asked to join the Anti-Sweating League, the objects of which are: (1) To reduce the hours of labour and lessen overwork wherever it interferes with the health and comfort of the worker; (2) to abolish the cruel and varied systems known as "sweating," by which the worker is oppressed and deprived of the legitimate fruits of his labour; and (3) to seek to accomplish these ends by persuasion, combination, arbitration, legislation, and any other legal and constitutional means, as well as by promoting obedience to industrial statutes.

The organisation is apparently of a very innocent one as times go; being "formed wholly apart from any socialistic agitation or agitators of the day," and being also under the patronage of "many well-known influential noblemen and gentlemen." So that one would have thought that even a bishop might have blessed its work in favour of the poor and oppressed, even if he did not open his own episcopal purse and roll up his own lawn sleeves, and throw himself into it heart and soul. But no! the meek servant of the Man of Sorrows arises in his wrath and pens the following letter, dated from a palace, and written presumably in the name of him who had not where to lay his head:—

"My Dear Sir,—I should prefer to wait for the report of the Committee of Lords (on sweating) before joining the Anti-Sweating League, and I could not approve of such expressions as I see in your 'objects,' viz., 'by which the worker is oppressed and deprived of the legitimate fruits of his labour.' I do not know what are 'the legitimate fruits' of any man's labour, and such language seems to me to be misleading and mischievous. The choice is constantly this: Shall a man get wages on which he cannot live, or no wages at all? I think he ought, in that alternative, to get no wages at all. Then he will be driven to transfer his labour to some place where he can get wages on which he can live. The principle for which I would contend is: If a man employs another man he must give him wages on which he can live. But there are businesses, I fear, which would cease to exist if this principle were universally adopted, and the workers in them would get nothing. I think it imperative always to bear this in mind."

Just read that letter over and fix the salient points of it in your mind. Try and put yourself in the position which a man must occupy who writes like that, and yet can talk as he is paid to talk every Sunday, and on weekdays too when he gets the chance. Then try and fathom the filth which in the form of modern society engenders such reptiles, and there will rise in you a "holy wrath" which will not go to make you a very strong upholder of the present system.

S.



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN HEARD 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 if 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.

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ENGLAND		
Justice	Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung	Ghent—Vooruit
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Labour Tribune	Vorbote	SWITZERLAND
London—Freie Presse	Baecker Zeitung	Arbeiterstimme
Norwich—Daylight	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Bulletin Continental
Railway Review	Milwaukee—National-Reformer	Geneva—Prozedwit
Sozial Demokrat	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	ITALY
Seafaring	S. F. Coast Seamen's Journal	Milan—Il Falso Operaio
Worker's Friend	Philadelphia—United Labour	SPAIN
INDIA	Princeton (Mass.)—Word	Cadiz—El Socialismo
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Pittsburg—Arbeiter-Zeitung	PORTUGAL
UNITED STATES	FRANCE	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
New York—Twentieth Century	Paris—Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Porto—A Revolucao Social
Der Sozialist	Le Proletariat	GERMANY
Freiheit	La Revolte	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Truthseeker	La Revue Socialiste	AUSTRIA
United Irishman	Nice—L'Associazione	Vienna—Arbeiter-Zeitung
Volkszeitung	HOLLAND	Brunn—Arbeiterstimme
Workmen's Advocate	Hague—Recht voor Allen	SWEDEN
Boston—Woman's Journal	Middelburg—Licht en Waarheid	Goteborg—Folkets Rost
Investigator	BELGIUM	WEST INDIES
The Dawn	Antwerp—De Werker	Cuba—El Productor

THE CHICAGO MARTYRS.

COMRADE,—You are perhaps one of those that groan beneath the load which the present system piles upon the back of labour, you suffer, you are sweated, you are tired of the endless round of misery to which the poor are condemned. Perhaps you have borne your part in the battles which have recently raged between capital and labour. If you suffer, if you have fought to mitigate that suffering, to obtain a little more bread or a little more leisure, we ask you to listen while we tell the story of how brave men suffered and died for the good of the poor and the brotherhood and happiness of mankind.

America, as you all know, is the country of gigantic labour struggles. For some years previous to the period to which we are about to refer, there had been considerable agitation there, and especially in the city of Chicago, on the eight hour question. The result of this agitation was that legislative assemblies of various States and Congress had fixed an eight hour day for all government work. The workers, however, seeing how useless it was to hope to lessen the hours of slavery they endured under private masters by legislative action, determined to try what they could do for themselves. They determined at a General Conference of the National Labour Union at Chicago in 1885, to force this concession from the employers by means of a general strike beginning May 1st, 1886.

As the eventful day approached, our comrades Spies, Parsons, Fielden, Engel, and Schwab, who were working in Chicago, though as Socialists they knew that the agitation for eight hours would only lead to a slight palliation of the misery of the people, yet determined to help them to gain this small advantage, so that they might prove to them that they were sincere in their desire to bring better times for the workers. In this agitation our comrades spoke strongly; it was necessary. The capitalist press of America, the most brutal, cruel,

and barbarous of the whole world, shrieked for the blood of the people. Poison, bullet, steel, and dynamite were called for to exterminate the "troublesome scoundrels" who would not slave and starve in Christian peace to oblige their lords and masters. Our comrades found it necessary to remind the capitalists that a wholesale slaughter of the people would not be submitted to quietly, and that murder would be met by the extermination of the murderers. The rich were not to have a monopoly of the "resources of civilisation."

The 1st of May arrived. The people abandoned the factories by thousands and poured into the streets. The capitalists were alarmed, and determined to strike terror into these rebels against their rule. The opportunity soon arrived. On May 3rd, some men who had been locked out from McCormick's works some months before the strike—because they had committed the offence of belonging to a trade union—threw a few stones at some blacklegs belonging to the factory. The police arriving on the spot fell upon the crowd with their accustomed brutality, and shot and bludgeoned men, women, and children without mercy. Six dead and many wounded were left upon the ground.

These cold-blooded murders were witnessed by our comrade Spies, who had been addressing a meeting close to the factory previous to the massacre, and he rushed back to the offices of the revolutionary paper of which he was editor, and drew up a burning appeal to the people to end, by force of arms if necessary, a system by which such wholesale murders were possible. It was also decided to call a meeting in the Haymarket on the evening of May 4th, to protest against the massacre committed by the police.

At this meeting, Parson, Spies, and Fielden were the speakers; the meeting was a quiet one, so quiet that the Mayor of Chicago, who had attended it for the purpose of dispersing it by main force in case of trouble, left the meeting at about ten o'clock, and went home after telling the officer in command of the police, Captain Bonfield, that there would be no trouble that night, and he had better dismiss his reserves. This was the opportunity the police wanted; the mayor was out of the way; it was late on a cold spring night, and most of the people had dispersed. What an opportunity of teaching these "agitators" a lesson! So 180 police marched out of the station and advanced on the meeting, armed to the teeth for massacre and slaughter. Their captain called on the meeting to disperse, and then the police rushed on to the attack, when suddenly something came flying through the air from the crowd and exploded in their midst, strewing the ground with the men who intended to butcher the people. The police rallied from their first shock, and poured a murderous volley into the peaceful bystanders, who, totally unarmed, fled in confusion. Many police were wounded, and one, Matthias Degan, was killed. It was a dynamite bomb, flung by no one knows who, that had struck terror into these legal murderers.

Then followed what always follows when the middle classes are struck with terror at what seems an impending revolt of their miserable slaves. Chicago was placed in a state of siege; the houses of all who had made themselves active in the labour agitation were entered, without warrants, without any legal formality; for what are legal formalities to frightened slaveholders? Not only were the most prominent men in the agitation thrown into prison, but even the humblest concerned in the revolutionary agitation were not safe from arrest.

Out of the crowd of prisoners, eight men, the boldest and the best, were selected for judicial murder. They were "tried" before a judge as bigoted and unjust as Edlin; the "evidence" was got up by police officers beside whom Endacott was an angel; the jury was packed by men certain to convict, and middle-class gold was unsparingly spent to secure a conviction. Result: a verdict of guilty, seven men—Lingg, Parsons, Spies, Engel, Fischer, Fielden, and Schwab—sentenced to death, and one, Oscar Neebe, to fifteen years penal servitude. The death sentence on Fielden and Schwab was afterwards "mercifully" commuted to a life-long captivity in the hell of the prisons in America. Young Lingg preferred to die by his own hand to that of the executioner. Parsons, Spies, Fischer, and Engel died on the scaffold on the 11th of November, 1887, with a courage that filled even their enemies with admiration. But retribution has followed close upon the heels of their murderers. The police officers who got up the case have been turned out of the force for the grossest perjury and corruption it is possible even for a policeman to perpetrate. The judge who pronounced the sentence is nearly mad with terror; innocent blood cries from the ground, and shall it not find an avenger? The furies of remorse and retribution stalk behind all that have lent their aid to this legal butchery.

And now, friends, a word with you. These men were not "executed" because they were proved to be guilty of the death of Deegan. No evidence was brought forward at the trial to even prove that it was a revolutionist who had thrown the bomb. Every attempt made by the prosecution to connect any one of the "executed" men with the bomb-throwing failed and broke down utterly. No, they were murdered because they loved the people, because they defied their oppressors, because, in a word, they were Socialists. Now, friend, great events are impending; there are signs that the last struggle between the oppressors and the oppressed is near at hand. In the day when the robbed and robbers come face to face, upon which side will you be? On that of the workers, or that of the rich sweaters, "those luxurious drones who eat your flesh and drink your blood." Choose now, and prepare for the battle that is near at hand!

[It is intended to issue the above article as a leaflet by the Propaganda Committee. Subscriptions are invited to publish it, and Branches should send in orders at once. Prices of Leaflet, 3s. per 1,000; 1s. 6d. for 500; 1s. for 250.]

D. J. NICOLL, Secretary of Propaganda Committee.

IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

In no other place perhaps is industrial and social development so plainly seen and so easily traced as in the opening up of new gold or diamond fields. Here in Southern Africa, where a very short time is sufficient to change the entire appearance of different parts of the country, and where houses and townships spring up as only "Jerry builders" know how, one would think that the lesson all so plainly taught could not fail to be learnt by all observers. However, knowledge of this kind might be "dumped down" in cartloads on the gold-fields, and few be got to take even a shovelful of it. And yet men who show no desire to know, are by the force of events forced to learn; but as yet the way to their heads has been through their stomachs. The masters at Johannesburg, relying upon the influx of British emigrants (engineers, blacksmiths, and other tradesmen), caused in a measure by Mr. Kynoch's, M.P., lying cablegram, have recently notified their employees of their intention to increase the working-day by one hour with a decrease of pay. This much might have been anticipated by the men had they but been alive to what was going on around them in their work-a-day lives, and might have been much better prepared for. The "shovelful" would have served them had they but taken it. However, on the employers' intimation being made known, the men engaged in the engineering trades—fitters, blacksmiths, etc.—at once formed a Trades' Society, and met the master's notice with a demand for an eight-hour day and 25 per cent. increase of wages. A strike was the result, and the men at once cabled to the United States and to Britain warning fellow tradesmen against coming to the Gold Fields. Notices appeared in all the leading Colonial papers advising men to keep away from Johannesburg until the dispute was settled. It is said that the men are receiving financial support from capitalists, whose object in doing so is to "Bear the Share Market." This is a new feature in strikes which one, keeping in mind the tale of the Kilkenny cats, might almost wish might bring about the same termination.

If one could believe South African papers—but they are as great liars as British—one would say the capitalists at the Gold Fields are getting into hot water. Truly the ills they are heir to are many, and seem to be multiplying. One paper wonders how it is that native labour is growing so scarce; another upbraids the London dockers and the Johannesburg strikers in the same issue, whilst a third of like kidney goes off into a fit of indignation over the fact that "the natives are getting very impudent and lawless" I don't blame them either. I have an "idea" that if the "we's" who write these editorials had but to go down the mines as these poor devils, who are "getting so lawless," have for 14 or 16 hours at a stretch amongst slush and water, and on coming up at once marched off to the "compound," which they are not allowed to leave after nightfall, and get 15s. per week for their slavery, they, the editors, would no longer wonder at the scarcity of native labour, or the lawlessness or impudence either. There is very little demand just now for tradesmen of any kind, and men at home would do well to remember that the streets of Johannesburg are no more paved with gold than are the streets of "Modern Babylon."

Employment is getting more difficult to obtain every week, and in a short time, as things are going, "tramps and unemployed" will be common enough. The article in *Blackwood's* on "The Lepers on Robben Island," has shamed the government into a promise to do something for those suffering from that terrible disease. Both the Premier (Sir Gordon Sprigg) and the ex-Colonial Secretary (the Hon. J. Tudhope) join each other in saying that "the article was a gross exaggeration." Venturing an opinion I might say that to my mind the article is not one whit too severe. In truth it is not severe enough when one knows the living death those afflicted with leprosy on Robben Island endure.

A strike of natives in the Millwood district gold field has just been ended by the authorities sentencing the three ringleaders to three months' imprisonment each.

The men on strike at Johannesburg still hold out, and unanimously refuse the offer of the masters to refer the eight hours question to arbitration. It is confidently expected that the men will win.

JAMES BAIN.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

FRANCE.

The strike among the coal miners in the Lens district is now over. At Courrières and Lievin the pits have all along been guarded by strong bodies of soldiers, and the military have been told off to work the pumping engines. But at Lens itself the mayor took up the cause of the workers, and boldly announced that he would refuse to billet any troops which the Prefect of the Department might send. Last week the directors of all the mines where work had ceased, held a conference at Douai, and agreed to increase the wages of the coal-miners by 2½d. The strikers, having thus realised their wants, resolved to resume work. It is said that the moral effect of the worker's victory is very considerable indeed in the neighbouring coal basins, so we may soon expect to hear something more from these quarters.

GERMANY.

Once more the monster trial of Elberfeldt is announced to begin in that town on November 18th. The number of the accused has been considerably reduced, and yet ninety-one Socialists will have to appear before a special set of Nupkinse, who have been trained for that particular job. Convictions must of necessity come out of this judicial farce; it is willed so in high quarters. Among the accused are four German Socialist deputies, comrades Bebel, Harm, Grillenberger, and Schumacher. All the accused have been members of a secret society, and have conspired against the safety and welfare of their beloved Fatherland! The German Social-Democratic Party a secret society! *Risum teneatis, amici!* Let us burst for laughing, friends!

BELGIUM.

In the village of Court St. Etienne, Brabant, a Belgian has erected a monument to all religions; so we are told by the *Freethinker*. The Romans first put the idea of a Pantheon into form, although the fellowship of all faiths was recognised by the Greeks in many ways, and even by the Egyptians and Hindoos. This Belgian monument is forty feet high, of two stories and a cupola. The four facades, in French, Greek, Sanskrit, and Egyptian characters, give the famous old saying, "The one has many names." On the outside of the columns are carved the monogram of Jesus, the name Allah in Arabic, that of Odin in Scandinavian or Runic; the Greek invocation at

Delphi, "Thou art"; the sacred monosyllables of Hebrews, Brahmans, Chaldeans, and Chinese; and as symbols are to be seen the hammer of Thor, the thunderbolt of Jove, the sacred flame of the Parsees, and the Buddhist wheel of the law. What are the Catholic peasants of that small village going to think about the amalgamation of all these creeds? For ages past they have thought that *their* religion is the *only* one to bring salvation, and now there comes a facetious individual who prepares for them a kind of holy mixture that they are not likely to be able to digest. Perhaps they will all soon have become freethinkers, and in Belgium freethought is generally the first stage towards Socialism. All is well that ends well!

A new fortnightly paper, *Antikrist* (the Antichrist) has appeared at Antwerp, especially devoted to questions of freethought. The address is, Kathelyne Vest, 33, and the price 1s. 6d. per year.

A pamphlet written by comrade Procureur, one of the editors of *Vooruit*, of Ghent, on the emigration question (*Zes maanden in Argentina*—Six Months in the Argentine Republic), has met with great success. Already ten thousand copies have been sold, and a new edition is now in preparation.

The central committee of the Socialist organisations of Ghent have decided to convene, on the 1st of November, a general conference of all the Flemish workers' societies of Belgium. The principal item on the agenda paper is, Ways and means for the wholesale distribution of Socialist literature (both newspapers and pamphlets).

V. D.

SPAIN.

LINARES.—The labour movement is not asleep in Spain any more than elsewhere, but moves on steadily, though quietly and slowly. The Socialist Labour Party is making itself firm standing ground in Linares, amongst other places, and the members of the local branch are busy here with propagandist work. They hold constant meetings, which are well attended by the working-class, who listen with the greatest interest to the matters discussed. The bourgeoisie, and especially the republicans, are not well pleased to see the "masses" swiftly coming within the clutches of the Socialists.

JAEEN.—A Socialist branch is in course of formation in this town; its committee accept the principles of the programme of the Labour Party.

In various other centres active propagandist work is being organised by the Anarchists for the winter months. Those of Gracia (Barcelona) are constituting two new groups, one for young people and one for women (perhaps the first in Spain), the latter calling itself "Equality with men." For this last, we can but wish it a speedy amalgamation with the groups composed of the women's brothers and fellow-workers; for the best way to do away with the distinctions derogatory to the dignity and well-being of women is, surely, to ignore such distinctions among themselves, and to work quietly side by side each in their own way. I say this only with regard to the Socialist movement, of course, for in the different trades and industries special unions are often necessary for special causes, according to the judgment of the workers at the time.

ALCOY.—A mill-owner of Antequera, going to Alcoy for more "hands" in consequence of a strike among his men, managed to secure twelve workmen, alleging that emigration was the cause of the scarcity of "hands" in his neighbourhood. However, when those newly engaged discovered the true state of the case, they had the courage and *esprit de corps* to return straight to Alcoy, declaring they had been engaged under false pretences, and were not going to step into their fellow-workers' shoes. The result was that the strikers were taken back on their own terms.

BARCELONA.—The 11th November will be celebrated by the Anarchists of this city.

SAN MARTIN DE PROVENÇAL.—The Anarchist Committee here have also announced the forthcoming commemoration of the Chicago tragedy.

ARGENTINE REPUBLIC.

BUENOS AYRES.—The Socialists of this town announce the formation of a new Communist group, which, inspired by the approaching date, they call the "Eleventh of November."

ITALY.

VICENZA.—The other day, a workman named Giuseppe Gasparello tried to kill himself by taking a dose of laudanum. He was discovered in time and taken to the hospital, and is now recovering. I mention this poor fellow's case, not because of the fact itself, seeing that one can read of some such case every time one takes up a journal, but as illustrative of the difficulties the working-class experience in trying to fight their own battles in comparatively small towns or limited neighbourhoods. Here was a young man with a family to support, who had been out of employment for a year, owing to the fact that he had taken part in the strikes in the neighbourhood this time last year, and had been sentenced to 41 days' gaol in consequence. He becomes branded, none of the local masters will employ him, he loses hope finally, and in despair makes an attempt to get out of the whole business.

PIEVE DI SCHIO.—The employees of a wool-spinning factory here, make from 2 fr. 20 c. (1s. 10d.) to 1 fr. a-day, according to the different branches of the trade. The weavers, working eleven hours, make an average of 2 fr., only about 50 out of 200 averaging 3 fr. 50 c. a-day. The carders get 2 fr. 20 c. a-day, and the dyers and labourers about 1½d. an hour. M. M.

The Scottish Bakers.

The demand for a shorter day's work and a uniform starting hour—5 a.m.—is meeting with great success. The employers in Dunfermline and west Fife district bowed to it with a grudge, and the men began on Monday 14th with their well-earned concessions. The Arbroath masters are trying the new arrangement for a fortnight, to see how it works. It works well for the operatives in those places where it has already been tried; one small shop in Kilsyth, for instance, had to employ two extra men. This sort of thing, the men are confident, will take up a great part of that surplus labour which is a great danger to their movement, and with the increased strength it will give them they expect to force a minimum wage of 30s. per week. Among the places where the demands of the men have been conceded are Bathgate, Armadale, Whitburn, Broxburn, and Uphall, with the exception of two employers—Leisk at Uphall, and Kay at Whitburn. If the people only knew that in some sweating bakeries the men are so pushed and driven that their sweat flows continually down their arms and is wrought up in the bread, they would make a louder cry to free the bakers from that slavery which has hitherto murdered many of Scotland's most industrious men. Verily, the bakers have in the past given of their strength and life to prolong the present sham society!

G. McL.

THE LABOUR REVOLT.

The Silvertown Strike.

On Sunday, Oct. 20, the Silvertown strikers, in company with the riverside labourers and other East-end trade unions, held a large demonstration in Victoria Park. Their leaders complain bitterly of the heartless indifference shown by such middle-class papers as the *Telegraph* and *Daily News*. They should remember that it does not do to expose the merciless sweating by which respectable Liberals, Radicals, and Conservatives get their 15 per cent. dividends. This is the reason for the conspiracy of silence on the part of the big capitalist papers.

The Bakers.

While the Silvertown people were holding their meeting, the bakers also marched into the Park and held a big demonstration. The men seem very determined and enthusiastic, and there can be little doubt that they have the right sort of spirit which will conquer in the near future.

The Postmen.

These overworked and underpaid slaves of the State expounded their grievances in Hyde Park last Sunday. They are forced to slave in all sorts of weather for 16s. a week, gradually rising at the rate of 1s. a year to the munificent sum of 21s. and 23s. weekly. Meanwhile, they have the pleasure of seeing the Hon. Cecil Raikes and Co. take their £1,000 and £2,500 for doing little or no work at all. But a new spirit is abroad, the dry bones are stirring and heaving with life, and the slavery of the workers will not last much longer.

Miners in Conference.

An important resolution was agreed to at the recent conference of miners: "That this conference hereby agrees that on and after the 1st of January, 1890, all men and boys represented at this conference working underground, shall commence working not more than eight hours per day from bank to bank." This probably means a general strike in January, for a ballot is to be taken of the men as to whether they are prepared to hand in their notices on 1st of January next. Some of the mining delegates, however, who have evidently been bitten by certain cowardly forms of State Socialism, appeared to think that the men ought to go to Parliament to get what they were quite able to obtain by their own action, but they were in a very inconsiderable minority. There can be no doubt that the men will decide to strike if an eight hour day is not granted. The present time is too favourable for them to neglect such a splendid opportunity.

The Railway Men.

The railway men are also going for a general movement to improve their condition. A splendid demonstration was held at Manchester on Sunday, Oct. 13th, when the following resolution was carried with the utmost enthusiasm:—

"1st, That a week's pay be guaranteed to all grades of railway men who, by the terms of their agreement, have to devote the whole of their time to the service. 2nd, That the maximum hours of duty be 10 per day, excepting platelayers, whose duties should be 9 per day. For shunters in busy goods yards, signalmen at important signal boxes, and boxes always open, 8 hours shall be the maximum. In every case each day's duty to stand by itself, and not to be counted as a part of a week's labour. 3rd, That overtime be paid for at the rate of time and a quarter, and Sunday duty at time and a half."

These demands are to be presented to the directors, and it is to be hoped that the men will not be afraid to strike for them. Any appeal to the tender mercies of the railway directors would be a waste of time. These gentry must be frightened into humanity.

We must remember, however, that these railway servants who passed the above resolutions, are the aristocrats of the profession—enginemen, signalmen, and guards. They have a balance of £80,000 in the bank, and have hitherto been one of the most aristocratic and reactionary trade unions in the country. That they are making a stir is indeed a good sign; but they have not quite got rid of their old spirit. The other day they expressly excluded those common persons the platelayers from their highly respectable organisation, which, after all, is only a very minute section of the railway men, numbering as it does only 13,000 employees out of 360,000. Therefore, the other employees, who are as yet unorganised, are forming a union of their own. The subscriptions are too high, and the tone is too exclusive of the older organisation. John Burris addressed a large demonstration of these un-aristocratic railway workers at Battersea Park Gates last Sunday, together with W. S. de Mattos, Rogers, Ward, and several other Socialists. The new union is increasing rapidly, and promises to be a grand success. It will do immense good, if only by forcing the older union to "open its gates."

"Christian Charity."

"Alas for the rarity of Christian charity under the sun!" So sang Tom Hood many years ago; and in the present age, when Christianity takes the form of rabid puritanism, whose object seems to be to suppress everybody and everything that is not in accord with its pious crotchets, the remark applies still more strongly. The *Daily Telegraph* has recently devoted a considerable portion of its space to correspondence on the subject of Justice to Work-women. I wish I had space for many of the letters here, as they generally point out how many thousands of women are driven into prostitution by the low wages paid. But what I want to point out here is the kind consideration the Magdalenes of the present day receive from the people who profess to worship a man whose chosen companions were the outcasts of society. A contributor to the *Telegraph*, in the course of his wanderings through the East-end, found "in Wapping, in a reeking, fever-laden alley off Old Gravel Lane," a young woman with two children in a damp, stinking cellar—a dungeon in the Bastille of commercialism—earning 5s. or 6s. a-week at the "Christian" employment of sack-making. She had once been a rustic beauty, but had "fallen" and had been deserted, with her two children, by the scoundrel who had won her heart, and left her to the tender mercies of the sweater. The representative of the *Telegraph* asked if she got any help from pious philanthropists. This is her reply: "No, I don't get help from anyone. I don't care to ask for it, though I can't help noticing that the religious and charitable people mostly give to the 'carneying' ones and those that least need it. I have had a misfortune, and they fight shy of

such as me." And these are the followers of a meek and lowly Saviour—these self-righteous Pharisees. Reader, have you read the story of Fantine in Hugo's 'Les Miserables'? To-day she still struggles on in a cellar making sacks at a starvation wage to get bread for her little ones, while the Scribe and Pharisee point the finger of scorn at her. Instead of helping her they try to hound her into the streets, to sell herself for bread.

No Rent!

The *Daily Telegraph* is advocating what seems very much like a No Rent campaign as a cure for the starvation of the poor. The same contributor, speaking of the rooms in which the wretched victims of our civilisation dwell, says:

"Yet something should be at once attempted. Were there 'judicial rents' for London as for Ireland, sixpence a-week would be too much for any of the rooms visited, including those of the persons named. Were there efficient sanitary legislation and inspection, human beings would not be permitted to be housed in such miserable and dirty structures, ill-ventilated, and without adequate provision for cleanliness. But the poor will not always be content to be robbed, either by foremen, moneylenders who have no pawnbroker's licence, or by the owners of ramshackle houses. They are already conscious of being wronged, and mutterings are being heard."

Well, if "something is to be at once attempted," and if these dens in which the poor live are not worth sixpence a-week, it is clear they are not worth any rent at all. So the workers of East London must take the advice of the *Telegraph* and nail the "No Rent" flag to the mast. When the landlord comes, tell him not to call again. Perhaps when there is "no rent" paid in East London our legislators may be graciously pleased to consider that the poor "are suffering considerably from hunger," and are determined to suffer no longer.

Good Advice.

Those labour leaders who cannot conduct an agitation without assistance from members of that "black police," the clerical profession, might take the following to heart. "Scottie" in the *Labour Tribune* says: "At Clydebridge the strike among the steel-workers still continues, but the men have offered to submit the question in dispute to arbitration. Unfortunately they have selected three clergymen as arbitrators. As a rule these men are the worst possible for a job of the kind. Their business capacity is frequently nil, while their sympathies, in a sneaking kind of way, are always with the rich." A word to the wise should be sufficient. N.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 2, 1889.

27	Sun.	1553. Servetus burnt by Calvin. 1838. Second series of the <i>New Moral World</i> began. 1843. Trial of "Rebecca" rioters at Cardiff.
28	Mon.	1757. George Rapp born. 1794. Trial of Thomas Hardy for high treason. 1813. Louis Blanc born.
29	Tues.	1793. Edinburgh Convention of the Friends of the People opened. 1794. Trial of Hardy, Horne Tooke, Thelwall, and others for high treason. 1831. Riots at Bristol, Bath, Coventry, and Worcester. 1833. International Trades Union Congress at Paris.
30	Wed.	1802. M. de Calonne died at Paris; celebrated as Minister of Finance to Louis XVI. at the breaking out of the Revolution. 1816. Labour riot at Walsall and fight with military. 1851. Kossuth in London. 1877. Trial of so-called 193 at St. Petersburg for social-revolutionary propaganda. Sentences: hard labour, 13; Siberia, 20; acquitted, 91. 80 of the acquitted exiled by administrative order of the Minister of Interior.
31	Thur.	1790. Riot of frame-work knitters at Northampton. 1793. Brissot and others guillotined. 1848. Vienna retaken from the "rebels." 1868. William Cooper died; one of "the Rochdale 28." 1870. Outbreak in Paris. 1876. Trial of Semianovskiy and others at St. Petersburg for propaganda among soldiers. Sentences: hard labour, 3; prison, 4.
1	Fri.	1789. <i>Lettres de cachet</i> abolished by the National Assembly, and property of the clergy sequestered. 1811. Henry White the elder, proprietor of the <i>Independent Whig</i> , tried for "seditious libel" in an article denouncing flogging in the army and the injustices to which private soldiers were subjected. 1834. First number of the <i>New Moral World</i> , "a London [Id.] weekly publication, developing the principles of the Rational System of Society; conducted by Robert Owen and his disciples." 1851. Boudin killed. 1867. Five Fenians sentenced to death at Manchester.
2	Sat.	1822. Trial of Michael Keenan at Dublin for "administering an unlawful oath"—that of the Ribbonmen, otherwise the "Patriotic Association, or Sons of the Shamrock." 1841. Daniel O'Connell elected as first Lord Mayor of Dublin. 1850. First number of <i>Robert Owen's Journal</i> , published weekly until October 23, 1852. 1850. First number of the <i>Christian Socialist</i> , "a Journal of Association," conducted by J. Townsend, F. D. Maurice, etc.

MANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE, "Three Doves," Berwick St., Oxford St., W.—Sunday October 27th, at 8.45 p.m., George Cox, "Recreations of the People."

CHELSEA S.D.F., Co-operative Lecture Hall, 312 Kings Road, Chelsea.—Sunday October 27th, at 8 p.m., Wm. Clarke, "Practicable Socialism for England."

STAR RADICAL CLUB, 8 Mayall Road, Herne Hill.—Sunday October 27, at 8.30, Rev. Stewart Headlam, "Christian Socialism."

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, 100 Portsdown Road, W.

BORO' OF HACKNEY W. M.'S CLUB, 27 Haggerston Road, E.—Sunday Oct. 27, at 12 noon, Graham Wallas, "The Practical Side of the Socialist Movement."

GLADSTONE RADICAL W. M.'S CLUB, 22 Baroness Road, Hackney Road, E.—Sunday October 27, at 12 noon, J. F. Oakeshott, "The True Radical Policy."

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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, Manchester, and St. Georges East, to end of September.

Propaganda Committee.—The Propaganda Committee meets on Tuesday, Oct. 29, at 8.30 p.m. Special meeting; important business; all members of the League interested in the propaganda invited to attend. Comrade Davis will open a discussion on "Does Socialism imply a Standard of Morality?"

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.; A. J., 6d.; R. J., 6d.; M. Rose, 6d.; B. W., 6d.; Mrs. Schack, 1s.; Samuels, 6d.; C. Saunders, 1s.; and J. B. G., 2s. 6d.

REPORTS.

CHELSEA.—Short meeting held on the Embankment on Sunday morning, when Samuels spoke and sold 12 *Weal*.

HAMMERSMITH.—The branch acknowledged with thanks the sum of 10s. from Miss Warlow towards branch funds.

KILBURN.—Meeting held here on Sunday not so good as usual owing to the weather. At the close an old friend asked whether we could help the Child's Hill Co-operative Society's Educational Committee by coming to their first meeting and addressing them on "Co-operation." We went and found a very good audience for a first meeting, and a very good discussion followed a short address. All the members were in thorough sympathy with the views of the League on the subject, and the Council would do well in giving all the aid in its power to this advanced body of men and women. Meetings will be held here every Sunday evening at 7.30.—M.

MITCHAM.—A short meeting held on Fair Green addressed by Kitz; weather unfavourable; 13 *Weal* sold, 8d. collected, and one member made.

NORTH KENSINGTON.—Good meeting at Latimer Road; speakers, Lyne, jun., Weardale, S.D.F. Also a good meeting at St. Ann's Road; speakers, Crouch, Maughan, and A. J. Smith; fair sale of *Weal* at both meetings. At our meeting at 8 p.m., Crouch lectured to good audience on "Socialism the only hope of the Workers"; good discussion after lecture.

STREATHAM.—At the Liberal Club on Saturday, a large number of comrades rallied to listen to a lecture on "Socialism a Delusion." The affair was a disillusion for the lecturer, who was, as one of the audience put it, "upset" at what he heard in reply. At the Fountain a good meeting held by Gregory; good sale of literature and *Weal*.

ST. GEORGE'S EAST.—Sunday morning, in spite of wet, a very fair meeting was held at Union Street, addressed by Leech, Turner, and Leggett, the last named, who has again been discharged from his employment, making a vigorous appeal for more organisation on the part of the workers. A course of indoor lectures is being arranged for the winter months.

ABERDEEN.—At indoor meeting on 14th, Hugh O. Pentecost's lecture on "The Timid Majority" was read and discussed. At Castle Street on 19th, Duncan and Leatham held a meeting, which was prolonged for two hours and a half amid boisterous enthusiasm, largely caused by the answers given to questions put by two angry swells. Whole stock of papers (including unsold stock of the previous week) sold off, besides tickets for a meeting to be addressed by Kropotkin in a few days.—L.

EDINBURGH (S. S. F.).—Excellent meeting in Moulders' Hall on Sunday 13th, when Bell lectured upon "What Socialism is Not"; animated discussion. The new society is progressing in all ways.—J. L.

GLASGOW.—On Tuesday night Downie and Joe Burgoyne spoke on Cathedral Square, where a well-known temperance fanatic put forward some objections, which were disposed of by Burgoyne. On Sunday, owing to wet weather, no meeting was held on Jail Square; our comrades, however, turned up at Paisley Road in the evening, and Joe Burgoyne delivered a stirring address to a fine meeting.

LEICESTER.—Saturday and Sunday, 19th and 20th, H. H. Sparling gave four addresses. The first was at Loughborough, to a good audience; it is expected that Loughborough will now form a branch. The first address Sunday morning was at the Radical Club, subject "Thrift"; full house. The usual addresses were given in Russell Square and Humberstone Gate; both well attended. Collection 16s.; *Commonweal* sold, four quires.

MANCHESTER.—Some of our members attend a series of discussions on "Present Day Social Problems" which take place weekly in Ancoats. Whatever they may begin with, "Socialism" inevitably becomes the bone of contention, and a professor of political economy had a rather hot night of it on Wednesday from our speakers, who lose no opportunity of driving home their principles. On Sunday Ritson and Horrocks (organiser of the G.-W. and G. L. Union) addressed a large meeting of the gas-workers in Stevenson Square. 52 *Commonweal* sold by our branch.

NORWICH.—On Thursday last comrade A. Moore spoke in the Gordon Hall on "Temperance"; sharp discussion followed. Saturday evening a paper on "Strikes" was read at one of the local societies; three comrades took part, also comrade Blackwell, who had just arrived from London. Sunday morning, a short meeting was held in the Market Place, opened by W. Moore and followed by Blackwell. Owing to the wretched state of the weather, remaining open-air meetings could not be held. In the afternoon a meeting was held in the Gordon Hall, comrade Brock in the chair; Blackwell gave an address on "Anarchism," his remarks being cordially received; several questions asked, and answered satisfactorily. In the evening Blackwell lectured on the "Gospel of Freedom," Poyns in the chair; opposition was given by a late member of the branch, which was well replied to by Blackwell; audience very appreciative.

NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.—In the Great Market place on Sunday evening Rooke and Proctor spoke; 1s. 9d. collected for club funds. Subsequently, at the club, the members discussed the programme for the winter session. Lectures, discussion class, a gymnasium, and weekly concerts are about to be initiated.

LIVERPOOL SOCIALIST SOCIETY.—Our usual meeting was held on Tuesday, and on Wednesday we attended a debate in connection with a local literary and debating society. The paper given was entitled "Socialism," but in reality simply dealt with compulsory education. Our comrades enlarged upon the subject and drew forth some amusing though not very intelligent criticism.—E. C. C.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

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

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (3-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). On Sunday October 27, at 8 p.m., lecture by C. W. Mowbray, "Foreign and English Labour." November 3. A. Brookes, "Brotherhood."

East London.—Crown Coffee Tavern, 2 Columbia Road, Hackney Road. Sunday October 27, at 7.30. Business meeting. At 8.30 the following comrades will deliver short addresses on Socialism and the Labour Question in general:—G. Cores, G. Schack, H. Davis, J. Turner, W. Matthews, W. Diggins.

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Oct. 27, at 8 p.m., A lecture by H. Halliday Sparling, "The Spanish Armada." 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 evening, October 27, W. Morris will lecture on "Why Working-men Ought to be Socialists."

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. Branch meeting Friday at 8 p.m.

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 Vine Street Radical Club, on Sunday October 27, Hubert Bland (Fabian), will deliver two lectures—Morning, at 10, "What Socialism Is"; Evening, at 6.30, "Where Radicalism Falls."

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

Norwich.—Monday, at 8 p.m., Entertainment in Gordon Hall—admission 2d. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Thursday, at 8 p.m., Discussion in Gordon Hall. 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.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SATURDAY 26.

8.30..... Battersea—opposite Christ ChurchSamuels and Kitz
8.30..... Mile-end WasteDavis

SUNDAY 27.

11 Latimer Road StationLyne sen. and jun., and Dean
11.30..... Kilburn—"Old Plough," Kilburn LaneMainwaring and Samuels
11.30..... North Kensington—St. Ann's RoadCrouch and Maughan
11.30..... Commercial Road—Union StreetNicoll
11.30..... Mitcham—Fair GreenMrs. Schack
11.30..... Regent's ParkTurner
11.30..... Southwark—Flat Iron SquareMowbray
3.30..... Hyde Park—Marble ArchMowbray
3.30..... Victoria ParkDavis and Mrs. Schack
7 Weltje Road, Ravenscourt ParkHammersmith Branch
7.30..... Mitcham—Fair GreenBranch
7.30..... Streatham—Fountain, High StreetCores and Kitz
7.30..... Walham Green—back of ChurchHammersmith Branch
8 Clerkenwell GreenThe Branch

TUESDAY 29.

8 Walham Green—back of ChurchHammersmith Branch
8 Mile-end WasteCores

THURSDAY 31.

8.15..... Hoxton ChurchMowbray

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.; Market Place, at 3 and 7.30 p.m.

Addresses by J. Blackwell (London) and others.

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.

CHELSEA DISCUSSION FORUM, Swiss Cottage, 111 Kings Road.—Sunday Oct. 27, at 8 p.m., a comrade on "Internationalism."

MERTON.—On Monday November 4th a Concert will be held at the Merton Club-house, Merton, to inaugurate the winter indoor lectures. Proceeds for the benefit of the funds of the Labourers' Union.

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; Emery Walker and Cobden-Sanderson are expected to be present.

A MASS MEETING will be held on Duppas Hill, Croydon, on Sunday Oct. 27th, at 11 a.m., to form a branch of the Surrey Labourers' Union. Speakers: Pillier, Kitz, and Gregory. An adjourned meeting will follow in the Club-room, Duppas Hill Hotel, from 1 till 2, to enroll members.

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STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES.

THE Socialist League advocates International
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destruction of the present class society, which
consists of one class who live by owning prop-
erty 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 harmo-
nious combination for the production of com-
mon wealth and the exchange of mutual
services without the waste of labour or mater-
ial.

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 subsis-
tence 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 produc-
tion, would at last be realised.

This Revolutionary Socialism must be In-
ternational. 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 com-
bination 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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