

# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 6.—No. 252.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1890.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
The Chicago Martyrs .. .. .	D. J. NICOLL 353
Socialism of the Market Place .. .. .	F. KITZ 354
The Glasgow Labour Literature Depot .. .. .	N. 354
Notes .. .. .	N. 355
Chicago Martyrs Commemoration Meetings .. .. .	J. CREAGHE 355
Life on an Emigrant Ship (concluded) .. .. .	R. W. BURNIE 356
Anarchist Morality (concluded) .. .. .	HUGH O. PENTECOST 357
The American "Public" and Physical Force .. .. .	EDS. 357
Special Appeal to our Readers .. .. .	N. 357
The Great Strike in Australia .. .. .	N. 358
The Labour Struggle .. .. .	R. W. B. 358
International Notes .. .. .	R. W. B. 358
Executive Announcements, Lecture Diary, and Notices of Meetings .. .. .	359
Where to get the "Commonweal," New Publications, Advertisements, etc. .. .. .	360

### CHICAGO MURDERS & BLOODY SUNDAY.

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

Two Meetings to celebrate the Anniversary of above events will be held as follows—

ON TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 11th, at 8 p.m.

AT THE

MILTON HALL, HAWLEY CRESCENT,  
KENTISH TOWN ROAD, N.W.

The following Speakers will address the meeting :—

WM. MORRIS. F. KITZ. R. W. BURNIE. J. TURNER.  
MRS. LAHR. MRS. SCHACK.  
D. J. NICOLL. C. W. MOWBRAY. LOUISE MICHEL.

The following Resolutions will be submitted to the meeting :—

#### CHICAGO MARTYRS.

"That this meeting, called together to commemorate the legal murder of four men in Chicago on November 11th, 1887 (Parsons, Spies, Fischer, and Engel), the driving to suicide of another (Lingg) in prison, and the cruel imprisonment of three more (Fielden, Schwab, and Neebe), by the government of the State of Illinois, for the crime of encouraging workmen on strike and helping them to carry on the struggle against their masters, and the further crime of trying to maintain the rights of free speech and public meeting, calls the attention of the workmen of the world to the gradual abrogation of these rights in all capitalistic countries, and while emphatically denouncing the tyrannical interference with these elementary rights, points out that it is a natural and necessary result of a so-called Society based upon the robbery of Labour."

#### BLOODY SUNDAY.

"That this meeting also denounces the similar attack on free speech and the right of public meeting in London on Sunday, November 13, 1887, through which three men were killed (Linnell, Curwen, and Connell), one (Harrison) so injured that he died after a painful and lingering illness, and many sent to prison after a mere mockery of trial for being present at a political meeting which was ferociously attacked by the police."

*Revolutionary Songs will be Sung during the Evening.*

Doors open at 8 p.m.; commence at 8.15. Admission Free.

ON FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 14th, at 8 p.m.

AT THE

UNITED RADICAL CLUB, KAY STREET,  
HACKNEY ROAD, E.

For full particulars see small bills. Admission free.

Funds are urgently needed for the carrying out of the above meetings. All donations will be gladly acknowledged in the *Commonweal* by  
F. KITZ, Secretary of S.L.

### THE CHICAGO MARTYRS.

#### In Memoriam.

Murdered by law, Nov. 11, 1887.	Killed himself in prison, Nov. 10.
GEORGE ENGEL	LOUIS LINGG
ADOLPH FISCHER	Imprisoned for life.
ALBERT R. PARSONS	SAMUEL FIELDING
AUGUST SPIES	MICHAEL SCHWAB
	Fifteen years' imprisonment.
	OSCAR NEEBE

THE capitalists of America thought that they had crushed the Labour movement when they strangled four men upon the gallows at Chicago. The rich men of England also imagined they had provided an adequate remedy for the wrongs of the poor by driving them away by blows of the bludgeons of their hired bullies from Trafalgar Square; but have they been successful? No! the memory of the murdered men in Chicago and London now stirs the hearts of the people, and in the place of thousands who believed then that a better life was possible for the workers in all lands, hundreds of thousands believe now.

"Our silence will be more powerful than the voices you strangle to-day!" said Spies upon the scaffold at Chicago, and has not the silence of these murdered men been powerful? Why, if we were superstitious we should say that the avenging spirits of the dead were sweeping over the world borne by the wings of the wind to rouse the people to battle against their tyrants.

Let our friends who believe that an Eight Hours' Day is one of the things needed to free the workers from the evils of low wages and over-work, which now weigh so heavily upon them, remember that it was for taking part in an attempt to realise an Eight Hours' Day—in the only way in which we Revolutionary Socialists maintain it can be carried, by a General Strike in all trades and industries—that our comrades were murdered. As revolutionists they knew that an Eight Hours' Day would in the end make but little difference to the workers, but they did not refuse to take part in a General Strike, which they knew is the only method by which the people can ever rid themselves of their tyrants and oppressors.

And it is because our comrades were revolutionists, because they did not cry "Peace! Peace!" when there is no peace, that we find that they are not so popular with those organs of the capitalist classes, who affect to champion the cause of the workers, and who diligently puff every humbug who pretends to cure serious social diseases with quack medicines. Well, wisdom is justified of her children, and the admirers of the pious quack-salvers, who do but "skim and film the ulcerous place, whilst rank corruption mining all within affects unseen," may some day cease their eloquent cackling and learn what geese they were!

Yes, our comrades were revolutionists, and therefore said that the ills with which modern society is sick unto death sprang from one cause alone, the robbery of labour by a rich idle class; remove this cause and our sick society would return gradually to health and vigour, let it remain and not all the quack remedies of politicians, cardinals, bishops, and "generals" can save society from death. It was for preaching these ideas, which were rightly held to be very "dangerous" to the wealth of the monopolists, that our comrades were murdered.

But were they not physical-force revolutionists? Did they not advise the people to use armed force against the capitalists? What if they did? Did not the capitalists previously threaten to use force against the people? They not only threatened, but they did it—witness the men shot down at McCormack's Works. And is it not

also a fact that a gang of hired murderers was advancing upon a peaceful meeting with the full intention of murdering the people who were present, when an unknown hand threw the bomb which prevented the massacre. Surely the rich men who, whenever a strike is on in any country, shriek for Pinkertons, troops, ball cartridge, and gatling guns, have no right to complain if the workers meet force with force.

Not even the deadliest foes of our comrades can deny their courage and sincerity. They believed what they taught and they died for their faith. Let us ask the same question of you, reader—do you believe what you preach? Whether you are politician, religionist, Socialist, or freethinker, that is really the question of questions. Not in the history of the world was there such an age of shams as the present. Men have lost faith in all, and rightly too. The very food we eat, the clothes we wear, the houses we dwell in, the gods we worship, or affect to worship, are not what they pretend to be. And it is in these days, in a world from which goes up a mournful wail of pessimism from the satiated rich in their heaven of idle luxury, and a cry of frightful despair from the suffering poor, tortured and starved in the hell of the slums; at a time when all can see the inevitable revolution approaching that has come at the end of every century for the last five hundred years,—we feel that there is only one living faith on earth. For this faith our dead comrades lived and died, for this faith three others are now suffering a doom that is even harder—a living death amidst prison tortures; and in the name of both living and dead we appeal to you to-day to join hands with us to save the people from starvation, misery, and oppression.

D. J. NICOLL.

## SOCIALISM OF THE MARKET-PLACE.

HEARD FROM THE STOOL.

A MISTY damp night, the oozy London mud beneath one's feet; above the sky reddened with the glare of an adjacent street market. The light of a street lamp falls upon the folds of a red flag, and the pallid anxious faces of a crowd gathered in the middle of the muddy road to hear the Socialists. What a study those faces are! Here with gaudy feathers and glaring hats, but sorry clothing and boots, are a group of work-girls returning from the sweaters' den in which they have passed their working hours. They are not an encouraging element in the audience, as leaning upon each other's shoulders munching apples or rancid fried fish they titter and giggle at the speeches.

A female comrade is the first to speak, and her remarks are greeted with jeers and jibes from these wretched wage-slaves of her own sex. Nor do they lack incitement from the older women in the crowd. True types of the slum-dwellers, squat and unkempt, repulsive and vile, they join in the chorus of abuse. Horrible oaths and ribald utterances assail our comrade upon the stool, but she holds bravely on, and at last the men in the crowd turn fiercely upon her assailants and insist upon their "shutting up," bidding them be ashamed of themselves. At last the contentious voices are silenced, the abuse turns into applause, and as the strains of a revolutionary song arises upon the murky air the words are eagerly devoured by the now attentive audience.

A strong male voice now claims attention, and the crowd thickens to hear the Gospel of Discontent and Revolution. Says the speaker: Friends, we are here for the distinct purpose of preaching the glorious Gospel of Discontent. We do not shrink from openly avowing this, for discontent is the forerunner of Revolution, and we as ardent Revolutionists are bound to show the present system in all its naked hideousness, and where the people have become accustomed through apathy and usage to the daily horrors and wretchedness of the present system, it is our mission to stir them up to a true perception of the veiled barbarism we call civilisation to-day. The other side, the defenders and participators in the swindle of modern society, the stock-jobbers, the usurers, the landlords, in short, your masters generally, are equally active in striving to make you contented with your daily existence.

Enlisted upon their side are the sky-pilots, who assure you of a heaven hereafter as a reward for your tribulations here. Postpone your happiness to the sweet by-and-bye, whilst their employers rob you hourly and daily here. There's your perigrinating slum visitor and gospel grinder, who cants to your wives about the blessed Saviour's redeeming blood, doling out soup-tickets to stave off the Revolution. He is as much a policeman as the hulking chawbacons stationed around this meeting, because their masters, the Labour robbers, are afraid of the spread of the Gospel of Discontent.

We have been told here of what Christians give in charity, of their efforts to help the wreckage and outcasts of society, and we have been tauntingly asked, What do you Socialists do in this direction? and we reply, We want justice, and not charity.

Out upon the smug-faced humbugs who, like the late S. Morley, wring thousands out of robbed labour, and then build hospitals and refuges for those driven to prostitution. Yes, it is true that we do not subscribe to maintain the lazar-houses of our rotten civilisation; but it is also true that we are not guilty of causing the evils which they are intended to patch up, but we stand out, on the contrary, preaching the truths which shall eventually cause the people to see the sham of Christian charity, and demand their full rights instead. How I laugh when I come across one of their appeals for help from the wealthy toward their slum mission work. "Dear Sir or Madam," it generally runs, "we are engaged in a benevolent work in one of the most benighted and dangerous districts in such and such a district, to the

saving of souls we add the clothing and feeding of the bodies of those whom we bring to the feet of the Saviour." Oh, and then of course a little is needed for the maintenance of the missionaries. Yes, slightly so. And then the dear sister or brother in the Lord is informed of the Bible classes—where, no doubt, they explain where Cain got his wife and the microcosms in the ark—and there are also the mothers' meetings and the sewing classes, and last but not least the model soup-kitchen, where the problem of how to live upon next to nothing is being practically solved, for we are told wholesome soup is distributed daily by the ex-P.C. (saved) in charge to crowds of hungry poor at 1d. per quart, leaving a slight profit to the blessed mission.

Now, I have satirised this sort of thing again and again, and the reason I do so is because these people batten upon the social misery of the people. Not one word of protest or denunciation of the rack-renters of the slums, no sound of indignation escapes them at the palpable causes of the physical and moral deterioration around them. They advise Christian meekness and resignation. How else were it possible to find wretched women stitching their fingers to the bone, earning a few paltry pence for hours of life-destroying toil, and satisfied with a crust and a cup of tea? Their patience under intolerable burdens is the result of the unctuous cant of the missionaries. They preach patience in the interests of their wealthy patrons; I advise revolt in the interests of the masses and for a higher and better life.

What are the net results of Christian rescue work in connection with paupers, prostitutes, and criminals? To put cheap labour into competition with those already in employment and indirectly to bring them down to the same level. In this wise mat-makers, shoe-makers, laundry-women, brush-makers, etc., etc., are hampered by pauper and prison labour. And why? Because the Christians engaged in these so-called reformatory efforts are the accomplices of the land and labour robbers. It is not their interest, therefore, to go to the root-causes of poverty and crime, but to nibble at the fringe of the matter, simply because, as Ingersoll has it, they cannot afford to damn their paymasters.

F. K.

[This article is inserted to show the nature and conditions of out-door propaganda in the slum districts, and to exhibit the difference between Socialism of the Market and that of the Arm-chair, of which latter we are having a surfeit. It depends upon the suffrages of our readers whether this kind of propaganda shall be continued.—Ed.]

## THE GLASGOW LABOUR LITERATURE DEPOT.

OUR friends will remember that some time ago a meeting was held in Glasgow for the purpose of forming a Labour Literature Depot. A committee was formed for that purpose, and they have sent in a prospectus in which they point out that it is expected that the expenses connected with such a depot, including wages, rent, taxes, etc., would be £2 10s. per week. As the profit on literature may be safely taken at 25 per cent., the promoters are of the opinion that there can be no difficulty in securing sufficient patronage to make the venture successful. This estimate is based on the fact that there are in Glasgow and vicinity 35,000 trade unionists, besides many thousands of other workers, who take a sufficient interest in the Labour Question to support newspapers and literature bearing on it, if they had an opportunity to do so.

If but 10 per cent. of the trades' unionists alone spend only one penny per week, a trade of over £14 per week would be secured, 25 per cent. on which sum would be £3 10s., which would cover the working expenses and leave £1 profit. But as the amount expended in literature by most men is, at least, on the average, three times the amount taken in this estimate, as such a depot will have the support of the unorganised as well as the organised workers, and a large amount of support may be expected from other sources, it will be seen that this venture should be successful even from a commercial point of view.

The promoters have agreed to the following as the financial basis to establish the Labour Literature Depot on:—

1. That the capital be raised in shares of 5s. each—2s. 6d. payable on application, and 2s. 6d. on the opening of the shop.
2. Shareholders' liability will be limited to their share capital.
3. Neither interest or dividends will be paid on the shares. Any surplus will be applied to repayment of shares, until no member holds more than one share.

The profits then accruing from the business can only be used for purposes that will benefit the working-class collectively.

The committee are as follows:—William Parkhurst, *Chairman*, 853, Govan Road, Govan; Peter Anderson, *Treasurer*, 31, West Campbell Street; Samuel Bolton, James D. Boyd, M. T. Burgoyne, George Carson, Peter Dougan, David H. Drummond, Henry Flett, John B. Glasier, Alexander Haddow, John Munro, Richard McGhee, Duncan McNaughton, Thomas Sinclair, James Smith, Donald Stewart, and John W. Warrington. Application for shares should be made to George Mitchell, *Secretary*, 26, Burgher Street, Parkhead.

We are pleased to see that no interest is paid on shares, and that, therefore, the depot will be managed on a Socialist basis.

THE ELECTOR'S CHOICE.—What is it to the ragged grimy Freeman of a Ten Pound Franchise whether Aristides Rigmarole, of the Destructive or the Hon. Alcides Do-little, of the Conservative Party, be sent to Parliament? Destructive or Conservative, what will either destroy or conserve of vital moment to the Freeman? Has he found either of them care, at bottom, a sixpence for him or his interests, or those of his class or his cause, or any other class or cause that is of much value to God or man? Rigmarole and Do-little have alike cared for themselves hitherto; and for their own clique and self conceited crochets—their greasy dishonest interest of pudding, or windy dishonest interest of praise; and not very perceptibly for any other interest whatever. . . Why, reader, if they asked thee or me which way we meant to vote? were it not our likeliest answer, Neither way.—*Carlyle, 'Past and Present.'*

## NOTES.

THE case of Castioni which will soon come before the Court of Appeal, shows that the authorities are endeavouring in an underhand way, to sweep away the right of asylum which the dauntless rebels against Continental tyranny have hitherto found in England. The game was begun by the Gladstone Government in the *Freiheit* prosecution, and our present Tory Government are now following in their footsteps. It is evident that our rulers, alarmed at the spread of revolutionary doctrines in every country, are determined to crush these ideas even by handing over political refugees to the hangman. But is not this action on the part of all European Governments very much like sitting on the safety-valve when the steam is up?

Our dear friend Stanley is in hot water. Everybody who took part in the expedition will soon be anxious to prove what a crew of infernal scoundrels his comrades are. Mr. Stanley began it by accusing the deceased Major Barttelot, whose brother then opened fire on Stanley and was backed up by Mr. Troup, who has certainly produced some damning testimony against Stanley and his companions.

Mr. Troup declares that with regard to the "horrible acts" of which Stanley accuses Major Barttelot, that in quelling "mutiny" among the natives "he did not see anything done in retaliation that Stanley had not done himself." When we enquire into what caused the "mutiny," we find that "the natives refused to work under English officers, for they said they had seen what treatment the natives had received, and did not want to be treated similarly." And Mr. Troup admits they saw "some things which ought not to have occurred." When we find also that the virtuous Major Barttelot was shot by a native because he attempted to beat his wife with a thick stick, we agree, for once, with Stanley that Barttelot deserved his fate: the only cause for regret is that some native did not shoot Stanley as well. If it is the custom in these "philanthropic" expeditions to beat women with "clubs," we can imagine what sort of treatment the men get, and why "mutinies" which are quelled by ironing, flogging, and hanging so frequently occur.

Mr. Troup has settled all the humbug about these expeditions having a philanthropic motive. He says:

"Mr. Stanley is a great explorer, but he went into this Emin Relief Expedition for fame and what he could get out of it. He has no more philanthropy than my boot. I will go further, and say that the expedition was in the nature of a speculation, and not a philanthropic relief movement. The capitalists backing it were after the ivory which Emin Pasha was supposed to have collected. The officers of the expedition were promised certain shares in the expected big supply of ivory as a reward for their services. The release of Emin Pasha was a secondary consideration entirely. Emin Pasha did not wish to be released, and had been up there ten or twelve years and held his own all right."

Mr. Stanley and his friends will hardly be able to cant about their "philanthropy" and "piety" after this. We revolutionary Socialists said months ago what Mr. Troup and thousands of people are saying now. The idol of society is finding out that "exploration plus elephant-rifles and explosive bullets" does not always succeed in gaining popular applause; and the murdered African natives may be avenged at last, when their murderer is driven from public life by a howl of universal execration. N.

## CHICAGO MARTYRS COMMEMORATION MEETINGS.

LONDON.—The Socialist League will hold meetings in London as announced on another page.

DUBLIN.—The Irish Socialist Union will hold a Commemoration Meeting in honour of the Chicago Martyrs on Monday, Nov. 10, at 8 p.m., at 87 Marlboro Street. All sympathisers are invited to attend.

LEEDS.—The Chicago Commemoration Meeting will be held here at Oriol Hall, Cookridge Street, on Monday, November 10. Speakers—R. Bingham, Andrew Hall, F. Charles, T. Maguire, H. Samuels, and G. Cores.

HULL.—A Great Meeting will be held at the Sailors' Institute, Waterhouse Lane, on Monday, November 10th, at 7.30, in remembrance of our Chicago brothers, who were murdered November 11th, 1887. Speakers from London and elsewhere will be present.

SCOTTISH SOCIALIST FEDERATION.—EDINBURGH—Labour Hall, 50 South Bridge. Business meeting, Fridays at 8 p.m. Sunday, Nov. 9, at 6.30, "The Chicago Anarchists: their Views, and the Circumstances which led to their Execution." LEITH—Henderson Street Hall, Sunday, November 9 (see *Leith Burghs Pilot*).

NORWICH.—Chicago Commemoration meetings will be held in Norwich as follows: Saturday, November 8th, on the Haymarket at 8 p.m.; Sunday 9th, Market Place at 11 a.m. and at 3 and 7.30 p.m.; Monday 10th, at St. Augustine's Boys' School at 8 p.m. Amongst the speakers will be C. W. Mowbray and W. B. Parker (London), Mr. and Mrs. Oldman (Manchester), J. Headley (Yarmouth), G. Poynts, W. Moore, T. Swash, G. Lenneying, and others.

YARMOUTH.—Commemoration of the legal murder of our five comrades in Chicago, and protestation against the unjust imprisonment of three other comrades, on Sunday, November 9th, in the morning, at 11, in the hall of the Radical Club; at 3 p.m., on the Fish Wharf; at 7 p.m., in the hall of the Radical Club, to be addressed by Mrs. Schack, Mowbray, and Parker (of London), Oldman and Mrs. Oldman (Manchester), and Saunders, Brightwell, and Headley (Yarmouth). Several comrades are also expected from Norwich.

That capital little dialogue, "Jones's Boy," which some of us have found so effective at open-air meetings, bids fair, it would seem, to go the round of the world. An Italian translation is published in the Turin *Lavoratore* and in the Ancona *Campana*.

## LIFE ON AN EMIGRANT SHIP.

(Concluded from p. 350.)

THERE was a partial strike one day by the fireman on board the "Trent," which forcibly called my attention to the way these workers are treated. One morning I found the chief officer of the ship and the chief engineer, log-book in hand, surrounded by a group of the firemen, who were called upon each in turn to say if they would turn to and go down below or not. The dispute seemed very serious, and there was evidently a savage determination on the part of the chief engineer not to grant whatever the men demanded. After considerable hesitation, and some words between this chief machinist and one of the men—in which the said chief adopted the principle of saying what he liked in as angry a tone as he chose, and ordering the other to shut up when he answered him quietly—the men had to give in for fear of being logged and afterwards heavily fined. The chief engineer or machinist triumphed over them, calling them the usual "damned

" in a remark which he made to the chief officer as he went away, a remark which was heard by the men and repeated from mouth to mouth. And what was it all about? The men demanded to get a cup of coffee before turning to at their hard exhausting labour. Ah! if they only chose, they could have their coffee and everything else they asked for, or stop the whole machinery, as I hope to see the coal miners do some day with the whole machinery of Capitalism.

I could not help thinking of this, and all that I saw and have seen in former years of the life of the poor sailor, when I read to-day an indignant article in the *Times* and other papers about the "absurd" demands of the sailors and dock labourers, and how the indignant shipowners had federated to bring down their pretensions, and were going to lay up all their ships. I devoutly wish they may, and then perhaps they may stir the workers to go and take a part of what belongs to them.

Why the life of a sailor is worse than that of a prisoner in jail, with the addition of running the chance almost every day of being drowned, as Doctor Johnson is reported to have said about a century ago. And what it is in steamers is nothing to what it is in sailing ships! Beastly food, filthy styes to lie in, wet, cold, slobber, hard work, little sleep, hard words, contempt, more kicks than halfpence—such is the paradise which the shipowners are so astonished to find sailors getting tired of. May they never cease, and they never will until they dine and sleep in the palaces which up to now they have provided for these ship-"owners," and others who call themselves owners of the wealth of the workers.

The evening before reaching Lisbon the steerage passengers had another specimen of the utter contempt and indifference for their comfort with which they are treated, and will be treated like all the workers as long as they put up with it. We had little enough room on deck in all conscience, but this evening what space we had was in a fair way to be filled up with empty barrels, and which were to be put ashore in Lisbon. Cargo of all importance, steerage rubbish none. Along came the barrels, rolled and flung end over end by the underlings, with a savage "Look out, there!" putting to flight women and children as well as men, who were settling down to converse and amuse themselves in one way or another.

Again the passengers became indignant, and as we had no faith in protests to the authorities any longer it was proposed that we should go and occupy the space kept apart for the second-class passengers, which a group of us, chiefly Spaniards, accordingly did, and we remained there in spite of efforts to dislodge us until we were tired of it. But that we were so near port the barrels would all have gone overboard; but at Lisbon the bulk of the passengers were to leave, and then we would have plenty of room.

I tried to improve the occasion by pointing out to the men how the life of the worker and producer was everywhere the same as on board that ship. Plenty of space and ventilation and comfort in their dwellings for the proud idlers, and the life of pigs (far worse in one way for more unhealthy) for those who feed these idlers and provide them with healthy, commodious, and luxurious dwellings. In the conversation I heard some dreadful accounts of the misery endured by working people out of employment in Buenos Ayres and Montevideo. I did not really know all of it until told by some of these eye-witnesses. I was told of strong young men going round in the morning and collecting scraps of refuse food from the *casura*, or refuse boxes, which are left at the doors to be emptied into carts which call round for the purpose. One man said he saw poor women, brought out as immigrants, going about near the Immigrant's Home in the most frightful state of filth and crawling with vermin, offering themselves for sale for any trifle they could get to buy themselves some decent food.

There is one comfort in all this for us Revolutionists, and it is that the so-called *new* countries are no longer what they were; they do not any longer offer the immigrant the slightest hope of getting out of his class and living as an exploiter. Nor do they any longer offer him a field for labour where competition is less than elsewhere and wages higher. I, for one, rejoice at it, for if there was one selfish class more than another that filled me with disgust it was that of the men who, finding their own bellies filled, no matter where, turned a deaf ear or laughed contemptuously at whoever tried to call their attention to the sufferings of their class.

Buenos Ayres and Montevideo, that is to say, the two Republics of which they are the capitals, I can assure my comrades are entirely "played" out as immigration fields. Everything is delightfully monopolised there to that extent and in so short a space of time, that even the poor Italians, who suffer such misery in their own country, are returning in thousands, and this has been going on for the last six or eight months. Brazil will never amount to anything, as may be seen from what I said before.

At last the emigration fad is thoroughly played out. The wanderers are returning, and with a vengeance, for from men of all nations I have heard the opinion invariably expressed that poor men had better remain in future in their own country, and do what they can to change social conditions so as to make it possible to live there. When we remember that we have means of producing twice as much food and three times as much of other articles of consumption as we require, it is easy to see what has to be done.

Down with the exploiters, the rich robbers! Down with the vile system which compels the producers of wealth to starve in the midst of plenty.—Yours in the Social Revolution, J. CREAGHE.

'John Bull and his other Island.' We have already noticed one number of this series. We are now pestered for the "favour of a review" of No. 3, just issued. Any one with bowels of compassion for Irish landlords brought to want through non-payment of rent, or who delight in abuse of the democracy written in the caddish style of a City 'Arry, should read the book. Life is hard enough. Don't send in any more of such productions,



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.

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

CORRESPONDENTS who order literature should prepay postage, or state if they wish their parcels to be sent per rail or carrier, "carriage forward."

TO CONTRIBUTORS—Workmen could help us greatly by sending in accounts of capitalist tyranny and sweating in London and the provinces. We want the names of the sweaters. Those who write must send us their name and address, not necessarily for publication, but as a guarantee of good faith. We shall not fear to publish the truth.—Eds.

#### Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday November 5.

ENGLAND	Volkzeitung	BELGIUM
Belfast Weekly Star	Twentieth Century	Antwerp—De Werker
Church Reformer	Bakers' Journal	Ghent—Vooruit
Justice	Boston—Woman's Journal	SWITZERLAND
People's Press	Investigator	Arbeiterstimme
Railway Review	Chicago—Rights of Labour	ITALY
Seafaring	Vorbote	Ancona—La Campana
Unity	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	SPAIN
Worker's Friend	Kaweah (Cal) Commonwealth	Madrid—El Socialista
Der Landstreicher	Philadelph.—Knights of Labour	Madrid—La Anarquista
Theosophical Siftings	Paterson Labour Standard	Barcelona—El Productor
NEW SOUTH WALES	San Francisco Arbeiterzeitung	AUSTRIA
Sydney—Bulletin	Pacific Union	Vienna—Arbeiter-Zeitung
Daily Telegraph	Valley Falls (Kan.)—Lucifer	HUNGARY
Australian Workman	FRANCE	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
VICTORIA	Paris—Bourse du Travail	SWEDEN
Melbourne—Bull-Ant	Le Parti Ouvrier	Malmö—Arbetet
QUEENSLAND	La Revue Europeenne	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Brisbane—Boomerang	La Verite Philosophique	Norkeping—Proletaren
INDIA	Le Proletaire	WEST INDIES
Bankpore—Behar Herald	Charleville—L'Emancipation	Cuba—El Productor
Bombay—Times of India	Lyon—L'Action Sociale	CAP. COLONY
UNITED STATES	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	Cape Town—Argus
New York—Freiheit	HOLLAND	
	Hague—Recht voor Allen	

## ANARCHIST MORALITY.

(Concluded from p. 346.)

Now it seems to some of us that people who argue in this way are simply unable to free themselves from the ideas of the old moralities we have been considering;—they are by no means such advanced Anarchists and such terrible fellows as they fancy. As has been well put lately in *La Révolte*, because roses obey a necessity of their nature in smelling sweetly as they do, assafoetida a necessity of its nature in stinking as it does, am I to conclude that there is no such thing as perfume or stink, no good smell or bad smell? Let us sweep away all these legacies from old times—these attempts to show that, because there is nothing moral or immoral, bad or good in the abstract, apart from our human likes and dislikes, there is nothing bad or good at all. The whole ridiculous contention rests upon a mere word-strife. We cannot put ourselves outside ourselves and say, "Now, if I had no olfactory nerves, rose and assafoetida would smell the same, or rather, not smell at all; therefore in the abstract they have no smell at all, but only in the concrete and in reference to me." Neither can we put ourselves outside our instinctive liking and admiration for a hero, our instinctive detestation of a scoundrel, because the hero cannot help being a hero, the blackguard help being a blackguard.

I think, if we look at the matter in a truly positive and common-sense

way, it is just here we touch bottom, and get upon the track of a really scientific conception of morality. That *instinctive* liking or disliking furnishes a key to the whole problem. What is instinct! Is it not an inherited tendency to do those things which tend to the preservation of the individual and the race?—in the long run (although not, of course, in particular cases) the two things are usually the same. An *instinctive* liking for an act done by another is founded upon the tendency of that act to our preservation, or the preservation of our race. Deep down in the very fibres of our nature is worked that instinct for the race, as well for ourselves, which goes back hundreds of thousands of years to the first appearance of our father man upon this earth,—aye, and before his appearance, to the time of our remoter ancestors who were before him. Man has always been a social animal, anxious for his race as well as for himself, and (as has been repeatedly shown) the social instinct exists so strongly in other of the higher animals that it is clear man must have inherited it from his animal ancestor who preceded him. Two or three thousand years of individualism and private property have only, so to speak, lightly touched man with anti-social impulse. When you find him admiring the action of another, he does not know why—certainly not because custom or religion or self-interest tell him to admire it—you may be sure that it is the social instinct unconsciously at work, and that he admires it because it tends to the preservation and development of the race.

Have we not here the test and the criterion of Anarchist morality? Those actions are good—"moral"—which the immense majority of men ("normal men") instinctively admire, not because they are told to do so, but because they cannot help it. Conversely, those actions are bad—"immoral"—which men in like fashion instinctively dislike. In speaking of "badness" and "goodness," of course, we are only speaking relatively to man. Of absolute "badness" or "goodness" we can know nothing—never can know anything.

This morality is Anarchist, because it needs no enforcement by artificial law or penalty,—it enforces itself. For example, after the Revolution there will probably, for a time, be here and there our old friend the man "who will not work." Usually, no doubt, he will spring from the remnant of the middle classes. He will of course be a worthless bad lot. But the Anarchist will not put him in prison, or beat him, or "punish" him in any way. The Anarchist will not even say to him (like St. Paul or a Social Democrat) "neither shalt thou eat." To him also shall be given according to his needs. But the Anarchist will hate the idle loafer—the survival of the bad old times. He will be no comrade or friend of his. Moreover, all the world (when the world is once released from the tyranny of artificial law and artificial morality) will be, in the main, of the Anarchist's opinion. Women will be ashamed to love a loafer. Under the pressure of an effective public opinion of this kind the type will tend to disappear—will finally disappear. There will thus be a real "survival of the fittest"—the fittest for social purposes. The thing will work automatically. The loafer is free to satisfy his need of loafing; the worker is free to satisfy his need to associate with those he likes, to avoid association with those he hates. As with the loafer, so will it be with other anti-social individuals—with the liar, the quarrelsome person, and so on. General dislike and sexual selection will bring about their elimination. Here as elsewhere, if we only leave natural laws unfettered, the race will develop on true lines; it is when we seek to impose artificial restraints upon the free course of evolution that we land ourselves in difficulty.

Can we prepare the way for the New Morality? Surely we can, if we recognise the impotence of the older systems to help. Let us (so far as the wretched conditions of life to-day will allow) do our best to harmoniously develop all our faculties—physical and intellectual. A poor, anæmic, physically weak man or woman will never shine as an exemplar of the New Ethic. The preservation of the individual life always has the first call on the organism, and if that organism be weak or badly harmonised there will be no energy to spare for social effort. It is out of the abundance of vitality that great deeds for others spring (vitality does not, of course, necessarily imply muscular strength). The mere maintenance of the individual existence does not exhaust the energy of the vitally strong man, and (since there is ever in any animal an intense desire to employ all its available energy) he is impelled to spend it in obeying that instinct of social preservation and development which is deeply rooted in his nature and which is only second to self-preservation itself. To put it shortly, health and morality are inter-dependent on each other. We find here that theoretical reasoning is borne out by experimental observation. Lombroso and others have shown that the modern criminal (in so far, of course, as he is really anti-social; very often he is a true hero) is invariably a man of low vitality. Of course we must always remember that, under present conditions, even a man of rich vitality often finds his superabundant energy (which under Anarchism would take social lines) diverted to other ends. That does not touch the main argument. Let us, so far as our vital energy will carry us, fight in every way to bring the happy time when all will be free to spend their life-forces for the benefit of all; when the distinction between individual effort and social effort will be a distinction without a difference, because the individual will find in society a full satisfaction of his needs, and work for self will be work also for everybody else.

R. W. BURNIE.

#### DEATH.

Heinrich Reuter. Died Nov. 3rd, 1890.

The funeral procession will start from the Autonomie Club, 6 Windmill Street, W., on Sunday, Nov. 9, at 11.30 a.m. for Manor Park.

## THE AMERICAN "PUBLIC" AND PHYSICAL FORCE.

THE American public in general believe in accomplishing their purposes by physical force. The whole country is blotched by forts, arsenals, and police stations, which are depots for firearms and rallying places for men to use them. Prisons and jails are on every hand. Armed men constantly parade the streets, singly, in couples, and at times in regiments and battalions. The people applaud, praise, pay, and pension these professional killers. If John Smith comes from Europe with a paper of pins about his person, he is searched and robbed by force. If Jack Robinson refuses to deliver up part of his goods to the politicians each year his house is entered and plundered by force, or he is dragged off to prison. If James Brown owes Bill Jones a dollar, he is compelled by force to pay it. If a poor man wishes to employ himself by using vacant land, he is driven off by force. If a poor woman cannot pay her rent, she is thrown out of the house, and her little property is destroyed by force. If poor Italians choose to sleep under the piers on which the garbage is dumped, to save paying rent, they are dragged out by force. If a poor man wants to sell shoestrings on the street, until he has given a politician something for the privilege, he is prevented from doing so by force. If a person wishes to listen to music and drink beer at the same time, he is hindered by force. If a small boy smokes a cigarette on the street, he is "run in" by a big policeman. If an earnest, honest man tells the truth about some married people, he is put in the penitentiary. The legal right of the monopolists to steal is defended by force, and the attempt is made to protect conventional virtues and sham religion by force.

I know the reply that will be made to this. It will be said that in all these cases force is used for the good of society, for the good of the very persons against whom the force is used. The majority is supposed to know what is for the good of everybody, and they force everybody to do it. It is dangerous to society to allow people to bring pins from Europe, or to wickedly sell shoestrings right out in the open street, or to smoke cigarettes, or to mix music with beer, or to tell the truth; and so such things must be prevented.

I will not stop to argue this question, but will call your attention to some other phases of the use of force of which the American people highly approve. A few years ago the Southern monopolists of slave labour were robbed of millions of dollars' worth of property by force, and that was all right. General Sherman marched through the Southern States, tearing up railroad tracks, stealing food for his army, burning houses and killing people right and left,—and that was all right. It was so right that the word "bummer" became a title of honour, and to this day you will find men who glory in that they were among "Sherman's bummers," and everybody is proud to be noticed by the chief "bummer" of them all.

Ah, but those were days of war. Precisely. Stealing, train-wrecking, arson, and murder are all right if you call it war; "holy" war; war with "God" on our side; war to put down rebellion. Exactly. The Southern States were in rebellion, and it was right to steal and burn and kill to compel them to stay in the Union when they wanted to go out.

But what about standing on Concord Bridge and shooting Government troops who came to put us down when we were in rebellion? Oh, that was all right, too—because it succeeded. But were we not rebels? Were we not traitors? Were we not every bad thing that we afterward called the Southerners? Oh, yes; but that was different. One was a "holy" war of revolution; the other was a "holy" war to put down revolution. What you mean is that any amount of physical violence is right to accomplish what the majority can succeed in doing.

The American people believe in physical violence to avenge insults or resent several kinds of personal injuries. They believe generally in the doctrine that is expressed by the familiar saying: "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth." How comes it then that they have tacitly laid down the dictum that under no provocation shall working people avenge their wrongs by violence? Was it right to resist taxation a hundred years ago, and is it now wrong to do the same thing? Was it right to take away the monopolists' slaves thirty years ago by force, and is it now wrong to take away the monopolists' vacant land or charters by force?

I cannot understand why it is right for everyone except a working man to use force to get what he wants. I cannot see why if a money-lender or landlord is justifiable in collecting by force money that he does not earn, a working man is not also justifiable in taking by force what he does earn. It seems to me that if General Sherman is to be glorified for tearing up railroad tracks and stealing chickens and burning houses to whip the South, the strikers should not be blamed for wrecking trains to whip the New York Central Railroad, which is a worse enemy to them and the general public than the South ever was to the North.

The American rule of conduct is: If you cannot get your rights in any other way, fight for them; but when there is the slightest indication that the working people, who are robbed every time they turn around—now by the State, now by the Church, now by the landlord, now by the employer—mean to fight for their rights, everybody calls them fiends incarnate. This is humbug; and it is folly to suppose that you can teach people to almost worship George Washington, who was a rebel against tyranny, and Thomas Jefferson, who said that the roots of the tree of liberty should be watered every twenty years by blood, and General Grant, who waded knee-deep in the red stream of death, and then expect these same people to tamely submit to worse wrongs than provoked the heroes of the past to rebellion.

It is bad teaching, this, to hold up so many fighters to reverence; it is a bad education to have armed policemen on every corner, and celebrate every conspicuous event by a military parade. I deplore it, and warn you that unless more peaceful precepts and examples are held up to the people trouble will ensue. By predicting trouble I do not encourage it. They encourage it who preach the holiness of war and practice the subjugation of the poor by the employment of armed policemen and detectives.

HUGH O. PENTECOST in *Twentieth Century*.

## NOTICE.

ON MONDAY, NOVEMBER 10, at the ORIEL HALL, Spiritual Institute, Cookridge Street, Leeds, a Chicago Martyrs Commemoration Meeting will be held at 7.30 p.m. Speakers: Andrew Hall, F. Charles, and Robert Bingham (of Sheffield), H. Samuels, G. Cores, and J. Sweeny (of Leeds). Admission free.

## SPECIAL APPEAL TO OUR READERS.

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

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

1. Insist that your newsagent obtain you your '*Weal*. Don't trade with him for other things if you find him throwing obstacles in the way.
  2. Pester W. H. Smith's agents at all railway stalls by enquiries for the '*Weal*.
  3. Introduce it to the notice of wholesale agents, and send us the names and addresses of all who are willing to sell the journal and display bills. Above all, push it amongst your friends.
  4. Distribution in tram-cars and railway carriages can be unostentatiously effected by leaving copies upon seats and in luggage racks.
- In short, those willing to aid us can find plenty of opportunities where there is a will to do so.

EDS.

## THE GREAT STRIKE IN AUSTRALIA.

"It seems generally conceded as a fact," says the *Sydney Star*, "that there is a kind of revolutionary tidal wave rolling over everything and everybody." Well, on Friday, September 17, the "revolutionary tidal wave" burst into surf and foam in Sydney. Or in plain English, there was a lively riot, which filled the middle and upper classes with intense terror. It appears that a large consignment of non-union wool had arrived in Sydney, and the capitalists desired to move it from the Darling Harbour railway-station to the Circular Quay. This was difficult, as the carmen were on strike on principle. The capitalists, however, feeling themselves perfectly safe with the strong force of troops, police, and specials massed in Sydney, determined on driving the vans themselves in a kind of triumphal procession. It is probable they desired to provoke a riot by this action, but the riot they provoked was rather more serious than they expected. At half-past ten on Friday, September 19, the procession, consisting of some twelve or thirteen trollies of non-union wool, started from the railway-station and moved slowly through the streets, fat capitalists driving, while "specials" were seated on the wool as guards, the trollies being escorted by mounted troopers. The procession was followed by an immense crowd of unionists, whom the worthy employers proceeded to madden by jeering laughter and insulting gestures. The crowd retaliated by hooting and yells, which so alarmed one of the masters that he drew a revolver and levelled it at the people. Then the stones began to fly. A trooper received a blow behind the ear with a piece of road-metal, and blood began to trickle over the collar of his coat. At the corner of George and Market streets a man was arrested by the police, who dragged him into a cab. A "heavy-limbed individual" then calmly proposed that the cab should be overturned and the prisoner rescued, and a heavy stone came crashing through the window of the cab. The police then got out with their prisoner, who was promptly rescued. The shower of stones now grew into a storm, and police and troopers had to dodge very considerably to avoid them. Windows were smashed in all directions, and continual shouts and yells rent the air. Reinforcements of foot and mounted police arriving on the scene, the crowd assailed them desperately, and with the evident intention of stopping the passage of the trollies. In Market Street a trooper was nearly dragged off his horse, and the capitalists driving the trollies began to look very pale and uncomfortable. However, the procession reached the Circular Quay at last, and the blacklegs started to unload the bales. A crowd of ten thousand had now collected on the quay, and the most desperate of them rushed to the front to stop the unloading, while stones came flying thick and fast. Then the Riot Act was read, and mounted troopers and foot police charged upon the people, the police using their batons mercilessly. They met with a fierce resistance; one trooper was thrown from his horse and another had his cheekbone laid bare. After a short sharp struggle, however, the people were completely routed, and "order" was restored.

This riot had a most alarming effect on the capitalist classes. They thought that the Social Revolution was coming off at once, and there was immediately a tremendous rush by the propertied classes upon the gun-makers. It is stated on the authority of the *Sydney Evening News* that in twenty-four hours more revolvers and revolver-ammunition was sold than would have been disposed of in two or three weeks of ordinary business. The Government, in fear that these weapons should get into the hands of strikers, ordered the buying up of all revolvers in Sydney, so that between 3 and 4 on Saturday afternoon not a single revolver could be had for love nor money. The ranks of the special constables were also greatly increased, and in many instances clerks and other workers were forced into their ranks by threats of dismissal on the part of the masters. A corps of fifty mounted specials was formed, and one of these gentlemen at the outset of his career tumbled off his horse and hurt himself, which rather destroyed the effect which this redoubtable body might otherwise have had upon the public mind. The specials created, in fact, as much merriment as they did in England in '87. There are a lot of mere boys among them, and the mass are weedy-looking clerks, narrow chested and short in stature, whose physical education has evidently been neglected. The *Bulletin* has a very funny picture of a special of the short and podgy species endeavouring to arrest a big, dangerous-

looking wharf-labourer of about six feet, who looks as if he could eat the special. The cartoon has under the ironical direction, "Prisoner must be taken to the nearest lock-up." Not content with specials, police, and troops, it was known that the Government were contemplating landing the marines with machine-guns from H.M.S. Orlando and Curacoa, while ball-cartridge was served out among the soldiers. Mr McMillan, the Colonial Treasurer, who was mainly responsible for issuing this order, and who had also shown himself a bitter opponent of the strikers in a speech made to a deputation of capitalists, in which he described the Labour Defence Committee as a "semi-revolutionary government," and practically declared that this sort of thing must be put down, was pulled up in his wild career by Sir Henry Parkes, the premier, and resigned in consequence.

Meanwhile the terror was increased by the calling out of shearers and rouseabouts, and also by the statement of the Labour Defence Committee that unless the employers would meet them in conference they would proclaim a general strike by calling out all trade-unionists. In fact, their difficulty was at that time to keep the rest of the unionists at work, so intense was the excitement among them. A correspondent of the *Australian Star* who had been conversing with all sections of the workers agrees in this opinion. He says:—"So far from talking of yielding, this is what they said: We will stop the gasworks, call out the compositors (which I believe they intend doing early next week), call out the butchers, bakers, and shopmen who belong to the unions, and at last take out the engineers, employed anyhow and anywhere, ashore or afloat—railways also. Enquiry gave the strength of this position. Of course the stopping of supplies to the gasworks means no light, and a picnic for burglars and pickpockets; if the compositors are called out there will be no daily papers; if the other branches of labour mentioned are told to be idle there will be no trade; and if the engineers and engine-drivers stop work the theatres, leading hotels, and places of public entertainment generally will be left without reliable assistance of any kind."

With this awful prospect before them, the capitalists were literally frantic with terror and rage. Their press shrieked for the prosecution of the Labour Defence Committee for conspiracy, but Sir Henry Parkes knew better; although he thought the committee "could be prosecuted for conspiracy," yet he doubted "whether it would be expedient and advisable to take that course." Sir Henry Parkes is a wily old politician, and knew very well that to arrest this committee would be more likely to drive the strikers to riot and insurrection than to crush the strike; and though the *Sydney Daily Telegraph*, the organ of the capitalists, indulged in tall talk, and declared that the "public" (the capitalists) would take "very drastic measures in their own defence," they have not done so yet: possibly, like Sir Henry Parkes, they know better. Shooting down the people, or an attempt to lynch the Labour Defence Committee, might have very serious results: the capitalists might taste their own medicine, and find that rope, ead, and steel did not agree with them.

N.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### Trouble at the Docks again.

We do not think the union officials have gained much of a victory by their agreement with the dock directors. As far as we can see, this agreement involves the surrender of every point the Dockers' Union has hitherto fought for. We all can remember the declaration of the union officials that they could take no more men into the union and therefore there was no chance of work for any stranger down at the docks. It is very strange to see these gentlemen, who objected to the admission of any more workers into the union, and told the casual docker to go to that other union, the workhouse, for relief, now consenting meekly, at the dictation of the all-powerful dock directors, to allow blacklegs to work at the docks without joining their union at all. The men who are displaced by these blacklegs are being told as a consolation "to make known their grievances through their branches in the usual course, and the same will be promptly dealt with." But how, if the dock company are to be allowed to take the place of the "genuine docker," and if the union agrees to this, do they think that they can persuade the company by mild words to sack their blackleg pets to give the unionists work? At any rate, it is rather a come-down for the men who refused to receive the poor casual docker into their union and called him all sorts of opprobrious names—"criminal loafer," "dead-beat," etc.—to have to stand by and let him take the bread out of the mouths of their own men as a blackleg. Their admirers in the press may call this a "triumph," and talk of the remarkable trio of leaders who accomplished it, but it seems to be the fashion now to call a surrender by that name, and we fail to see where the genius of the leaders comes in.

If the capitalist press, the dock directors, and the leaders are satisfied with the new arrangement, the dockers are not. They complain bitterly of the introduction of blacklegs and the loss of the 3d. dinner money. There has been a succession of strikes at most of the docks during Monday and Tuesday, and the discontent with the leaders is so intense that it may force them into vigorous action.

### Federated Labour.

The federation of sailors, dockers, gas-stokers and coal-porters, bargemen, etc., is a good idea, but why was it not done before? The present crisis has been certain for months, and surely directly the Shipowners' Federation started it ought to have been answered by the federation of the workers engaged in the shipping industry. However, better late than never, and if the new federation could only get the miners and railway-men to join with them, they would have in their grasp the whole trade of the country and could make what terms with the capitalists they pleased. We are sure that a federation as large and powerful as this will be required to fight and defeat the federated unions of the capitalists.

N.

**THE FATE OF PARLIAMENT.**—Our poor old Parliament, thousands of years old, is still good for something, for several things;—though many are beginning to ask, with ominous anxiety, for what thing? But for whatever thing or things Parliament may be good for, indisputably it must start with other than a lie in its mouth. On the whole, Parliament working with a lie in its mouth will have to take itself away. . . . At all hours of the day and night some Chartism is advancing, some armed Cromwell is advancing, to apprise such Parliament. "Ye are no Parliament. In the name of — Go!"—*Carlyle, 'Past and Present.'*

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### BELGIUM.

I copy from the *Paris Révolte* a little story of the workers at Lize-Seraing which merits reproduction. A master named Rose turned out of doors a toiler of fifty, simply because he could no longer work quite as hard as in his younger days. Thereupon the old worker's mates (by the way, what middle-class man is old at fifty?) fell upon the cruel boss and beat him in such fashion that he had to be carried home. With *La Révolte* I say, "Bravo, comrades! Don't be afraid to hit hard; masters have tough hides."

### FRANCE.

*La Révolte* still continues, I rejoice to say, to pursue its useful career. It affords a pleasant relief to one wearied with the barren personal polemics of *Le Parti Ouvrier* and *Le Proletariat*—Montague-and-Capulet-like disputes about loaves and fishes and seats in parliament. I do not think, however, that our comrade Nicoll the other day quite meant to suggest that the "New Unionist" movement in this country was to be explained entirely by Tory intrigues. This is what seems to be suggested by an article in *La Révolte* on the "1st May, 1891." However, Nicoll is quite able to take care of himself. For my humble part, I quite accept the following passage from the article in question: "What we must above all bring clearly out is that, if you search, you will find in the working-class movement—in England Conservative intrigues, in Belgium German intrigues, aye, even Governmental intrigues, in France Boulangist intrigues; but you will find much else besides. Every reactionary party, but every revolutionary party also, has sought to profit by the movement. Conservative gold you will find, if you please; but you will find the freemasonry of the miners, the restless energy of the Knights of Labour (we speak of the men, not of their chief), the feverish activity of the Irish, republican dreams, the charitable sentimentalism of the thousand organisers of women's unions, the propaganda of the Social Democrats, the inflammatory speeches of revolutionists, and the deeds and blood of Anarchists. Everything has contributed to this great movement. To explain it by a single cause would be as absurd as to maintain that Philippe-Egalité's money made the French Revolution, or that monarchist gold caused the burning of the country-houses, or that the Jacobin Club (then a constitutional assembly) produced 1793."

### ITALY.

Our comrade Malatesta, in *La Campana* for October 23, urges preparation for the congress of all Italian Socialists, of which I spoke lately in these Notes. Comrades at Lugano (Ticino) have offered themselves as centres of communication. A broad-based congress, such as is proposed, would be of great practical utility.

I cannot resist reproducing the announcement of the Fabian campaign of this winter, as it is given in *La Campana*: "The lecturers are all celebrities—Sydney, Oliver, Besant, Mrs. Bernard Shaw, etc." ("Sydney, Oliver, Besant, la signora Bernard Shaw, ecc.") No doubt equally funny blunders are made in this column, but it is not unpleasant to find our excellent Fabian friends thus travestied.

### SPAIN.

*El Socialismo* of Cadiz is publishing a translation of the *Révolte* articles on Anarchist Morality of which I have spoken elsewhere. This journal also gives a pretty full account of our Anti-Parliamentary Conference of last August, with reports of the speeches of comrades Mowbray, Kitz, Charles, Malatesta, and Louise Michel.

At Gibraltar Spanish and English workers have cast aside jingoism and the hateful spirit of race hatred and joined as one man in a successful strike.

The *Socialismo* is not only an Anarchist, but also a Communist paper, and, as a Communist, one is pleased to note in it reports of the formation of Anarchist-Communist groups in all parts of Spain.

The last copy of *El Socialista* (organ of the so-called "Workmen's Party") we have received is mainly filled with a report of the Halle Congress and the dictatorial clammy and stale abuse of the "dumb driven cattle" who follow the Reichstag Socialists. I do not know if I am prejudiced, but I always find Social-Democratic sheets singularly dull reading.

The first number of the Basque-land *Combate* has been seized and its editor imprisoned. This will make a good advertisement for the second number; for Spanish comrades are not the men to be easily disheartened by Governmental rigour.

### CUBA.

On the 28th of September a most important meeting of tobacco workers (to the number of about four thousand) was held at Havannah, for the purpose of considering the course to be pursued in view of the McKinley Bill, which, as I have already explained, bids fair to bring about a serious crisis in Cuba. The whole spirit of the gathering (judging from the official report published in *El Productor*) seems to have been thoroughly revolutionary. The following was one of the resolutions voted unanimously:—"This assembly declares that it asks for the abolition of no law, since, on the day when it deems its strength sufficient for the purpose, it will demand the abolition of all laws." Our comrade E. González spoke out with especial manfulness. "The workers," he said, "ought never to take sides in any matter with the bourgeois, since the bourgeois are their hangmen. The middle classes grow rich upon the sweat and misery of the toilers; they cause us to live in hovels while they dwell in sumptuous palaces; they debauch our daughters with the gold they steal from us. Never let us join with the manufacturers for any purpose. When our situation becomes so desperate that we have no food for our families, let us sally forth into the street, and to the cry of 'bread or lead' seek food where it is to be had." At this stage the Chief of Police interfered, and our comrade sat down amid continued cheering.

R. W. B.

Our Leeds comrades announce that they are willing to deliver lectures upon the following subjects to any society in their immediate neighbourhood. Application for their services should be made to the Secretary of Propaganda Committee, Socialist League Club, Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road, Leeds. **GEORGE CORES.**—The Coming Change in Society—The Fraud of Politics—Why Pay Rent—Trades' Unionism and Socialism—Socialism, its Aims and Methods. **HENRY SAMUELS.**—The Evolution of Cannibalism—Insufficient Remedies for Poverty—Socialism and Political Economy—Reform or Revolution—The General Strike. **JAMES SWENEY.**—The Labour War—Trades' Unionism and Socialism. **MATTHEW SOLLITT.**—Individualism Realised in Socialism.

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Branch Subscriptions Paid.—1890:—North Kensington, to end of April. Glasgow, Oxford, Hammersmith, Manchester, and Norwich, to end of May. Yarmouth, to end of June. East London, to end of July. Leicester, to end of August. North London, to end of September. 'Commonweal' Branch, and Streatham, to end of December.

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## REPORTS.

'COMMONWEAL' BRANCH.—Good meeting on Friday at Hoxton addressed by Kitz and Mrs. Lahr. On Sunday, Nov. 2, Mrs. Blundell addressed meeting in hall on "Socialism"; our comrade laid great stress on the necessity of fraternal unity amongst comrades, and thought the movement would soon become larger if minor differences were put on one side, keeping in sight the real enemy—Capitalism; good discussion. On Monday, at the Autonomie Club, our Concert and Ball, given for the benefit of the paper, went off well; songs and recitations were given by comrades, and a variety entertainment by H. Rowson and Sons was well appreciated; dancing followed.—B.

ABERDEEN.—Our first meeting in the Oddfellows' Large Hall was a great success, the hall being filled with an enthusiastic audience. Comrade Duncan opened the debate in support of the general strike as the best means of securing the eight hours day. W. Cooper supported legislative enactment as a means to that end. Discussion was carried on by several friends and members throughout the audience. Comrade Cooper replied in a fifteen minutes' speech, and Duncan closed the debate. Rennie occupied the chair. 14s. 2½d. was collected to defray expenses. The open-air meeting on Castle Street on Saturday night was somewhat spoiled by the rain. Comrades Duncan and Rennie spoke for some time, however, before the rain got too heavy.—G. A. C.

HALIFAX.—On Sunday evening, at Helliwell's Hotel, Cores, of Leeds, addressed a good audience on "The Fraud of Politics." He pointed out the failure of political methods and changes to affect economic evils, and advocated direct revolutionary action by the workers. The audience were thoroughly sympathetic, the chief opponent being a "Socialist" who advocated the claims of the Liberal Party as "the friends of the working men." Ten *Commonweal* were sold. Unfortunately the reply to the opposition was cut short by want of time. A promise to commence revolutionary propaganda in Halifax was received with evident favour.

LEEDS.—We are still doing well here. In addition to our usual propaganda work, a debate is being carried on in the Leeds *Evening Express* on "Socialism and Temperance" between G. Cores and the local agent of the U. K. Alliance, a Mr. Pearson. It is affording us a splendid opportunity of preaching our Socialist ideas. Last Wednesday week, October 15, comrades Cores and Samuels visited the Spiritualists' Mutual Improvement Class and took part in a debate on Socialism. As a consequence comrade Samuels by invitation opened the debate the following Wednesday, and Cores is to open on the 5th. The members are intelligent and thoughtful, and are eager to get information on Socialism. We wish to draw the attention of all our comrades and friends in Leeds to our discussions on Thursday evenings. Comrade Dyche opened on October 16th by reading a paper on "Economics," Cores following last Thursday on "Anarchist-Communism," and Menkey is to continue the debate on Thursday the 6th from the democratic point of view. This subject promises to be specially interesting and productive of vigorous discussion. On Sunday we held our usual meetings on Hunslet and Woodhouse moors, Cores and Samuels speaking.—G. C.

SCOTTISH SOCIALIST FEDERATION—EDINBURGH.—On Sunday evening, comrade Bruce Glasier (Glasgow) addressed a large meeting in Labour Hall on "Gladstone and the Labour Problem." His criticism of the G. O. M.'s recent utterances was certainly fearless, and he showed in a most convincing manner the utter uselessness of politics and Parliament in the way of doing anything to benefit the people. The lecture was listened to with great attention, and although no one attempted to defend Gladstone, some discussion took place on the general question of Socialism and the Universal Strike, to which Glasier referred and advocated. Gilray lectured at Leith on "Comradeship"; there was a good attendance and a discussion followed. The *Leith Pilot* is reporting our lectures there at some length.

### The Persecution of Jews in Russia.

We did not, even after his amusing performance on the London County Council as a puritanical fanatic, expect to find Mr. Charrington among the enemies of free speech and public meeting. But after the way in which he turned our comrades of the International Club into the street last Saturday, because the Chief Rabbi did not approve of their calling attention to the sufferings of the Jews, it is impossible to look upon this intolerant bigot in any other light. The Chief Rabbi and Mr. Charrington are both in the same boat, and have proved once more to the workers that clericalism is the enemy, no matter whether it wear the garb of Roman Catholic, Salvationist, Jewish Rabbi, or English Puritan. However, a very successful meeting was held outside the hall on Mile-end Waste, at which William Morris, Stepniak, Felix Volkhovskiy, Edward and Eleanor Aveling, James Beal, R. W. Burnie, and others spoke, and a strong resolution censuring the heads of the Anglo-Jewish community for procuring the boycott of the meeting was carried unanimously.

## LECTURE DIARY.

### LONDON.

**Battersea.**—All communications to E. Buteux, 45, Inwith Street, Battersea Park Road.  
**Commonweal Branch.**—24 Great Queen Street, Holborn, W.C. Tuesdays, Singing Practice. Thursdays, Business meeting. Saturdays, Social Gathering. Sunday, November 9, at 8.30 p.m., Theodore R. Wright (Fabian), "Thrift."  
**East London.**—H. McKenzie, 10 Victoria Dwellings, Clerkenwell Road, E.C.  
**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Lecture every Sunday at 8. French Class conducted by Mdlle. Desroches on Friday evenings at 7.30.  
**North Kensington.**—Clarendon Coffee Palace, Clarendon Road. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m. Band practice every Friday at 8 p.m. Sunday, November 9, at 7.30, "What becomes of our Wealth—II. The Capitalist's Share." Graham Wallas (Fabian).  
**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road. Meets every Wednesday evening at 8 o'clock.  
**Whitechapel and St. Georges-in-the-East.**—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane, on Sunday evenings at 6.30. Singing practice, etc., Mondays at 8 p.m.  
**Glasgow.**—Members are invited to meet on Thursday and Sunday evenings, at 8 o'clock, in the Secretary's house, 250 Crown Street, S.S. All communications to be sent to that address.  
**Halifax.**—Socialists meet every Sunday at 6.30 p.m. at Helliwell's Temperance Hotel, Northgate.  
**Hull.**—Club Liberty, 1 Beets Court, Blanket Row.  
**Leeds.**—Socialist League Club, 1 Clarendon Buildings and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8.—International Educational Club, Templar Street. Open every evening. Discussion class every Friday at 8; lectures every Saturday at 4. All kinds of Socialist literature on tables and for sale.  
**Leicester.**—Room No. 7, Co-operative Hall, High Street. Branch meeting on Thursday at 8 p.m.  
**Manchester.**—Socialist League Club, 60 Grovesnor Street, All Saints. Open every evening. Branch weekly meeting on Tuesdays at 8.  
**Nottingham.**—Socialist Club, Woodland Place, Upper Parliament Street. Club contribution, 1d. per week; Dancing every Wednesday, 8 till 10.30—fee 3d.  
**Norwich.**—Members' meeting held every Tuesday at 8.30.  
**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. First Friday in every month, at 8.30 p.m.  
**Sheffield.**—Socialist Club, 63 Blonk Street. French Class, Tuesday at 8.30. Discussion Class, Wednesday at 8.30. Open-air meetings are held as follows:—Sunday: Monolith, Fargate, at 11.30; Newhall Road, Attercliffe, at 11.30; Pump, Westbar, at 8; Heeley, Maresbrook Park, at 7.30; Monolith, Fargate, at 6.30; Rotherham, College Yard, at 3.15. Wednesday: Nursery Street, Wicker, at 8. Thursday: Bramall Lane, at 8; Eckington, at 6.30. Friday: Duke Street, Park, at 8. Saturday: Woodhouse, at 7.  
**Walsall.**—Socialist Club, 18 Goodall Street, Walsall. Meetings every night.  
**Yarmouth.**—Socialist League Club, 56 Row, Market Place. Open every evening. Business Meeting, Tuesday at 8. Singing Practice, Wednesday at 8.30. Discussion Class, Thursday at 8.30. Elocution Class, Friday at 8.30.

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

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

(Weather permitting.)

SATURDAY 8.	
8	Mile-end Waste.....The Branch
SUNDAY 9.	
11	Commercial Road—Union Street.....The Branch
11	Latimer Road Station.....North Kensington Branch
11.30	Hammersmith Bridge.....Hammersmith Branch
11.30	Hoxton Church.....The Branch
11.30	Regent's Park.....Nicoll
3.30	Hyde Park—Marble Arch.....Mainwaring and Nicoll
3.30	Victoria Park.....Commonweal Branch
3.30	Streatham Common.....The Branch
7	Hammersmith Bridge.....Hammersmith Branch
7	Wormwood Scrubs.....North Kensington Branch
8	Kings Cross—Liverpool Street.....The Branch
8	Walham Green—back of Church.....Hammersmith Branch

### FRIDAY 14.

8.15..... Hoxton Church ..... Kitz and Mrs. Lahr

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7.30 p.m.  
**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock.  
**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Woodhouse Moor, at 3 p.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 6 p.m.  
**Leicester.**—Sunday: Russell Square, at 10.45 a.m.; Market Place, at 6.15 p.m.; Humberstone Gate, at 8 p.m. Monday: Belgrave, at 8. Tuesday: Sanvey Gate, at 8. Wednesday: Braunstone Gate, at 8. Friday: Infirmary Square, at 8. Saturday: "Cross," Belgrave Gate, at 8.  
**Liverpool.**—Landing Stage, Sundays at 11.30 a.m. and 3 p.m.  
**Manchester.**—Saturday: Middleton market ground, at 7 p.m. Sunday: Philips Park Gates, at 11; Stevenson Square, at 3. Monday: Market Street, Blackley, at 8.  
**Nottingham.**—Sunday: Sneinton Market, at 11 a.m.; Great Market, at 7 p.m.  
**Norwich.**—Saturday: Haymarket, at 8. Sunday: Market Place at 11, 3, and 7.30.  
**Yarmouth.**—Saturday: Church Plain Trees, at 8 p.m. Sunday: Priory Plain, at 11; Bradwell, at 11.30; London Boat Landing Stage, at 3; Colman's Granary Quay, at 7. Monday: Belton, at 8 p.m.

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

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