

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the
SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 6.—No. 220.

SATURDAY, MARCH 29, 1890.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.



THE CHRISTIAN PIONEER.

In a few days there will land in England a man whom all the Christians of the counter in this Christian nation of shopkeepers will rush to welcome. Why? Because Stanley is a man after their own heart; he is the personification of that commercial Christianity which gives a lip-service to its crucified Christ, and daily crucifies humanity between the twin thieves of profit and interest. He represents the armed counterman, who, whilst ruthlessly pursuing his prospecting of fresh fields for Capitalism, covers his designs with the snuffling cant of the mission-hall. No wonder that Exeter Hall is on the tip-toe of joyful expectation, and will welcome its hero when he returns.

The "Great Industry" for manufacturing opinion is also greatly agitated. Fleet Street is in ecstasy; the pen and the sword of commerce will meet when Stanley comes home. Mrs. Gamp, on one side of the famous thoroughfare, has nearly choked herself with the handle of her umbrella at the unheard-of audacity of Burns, the Socialist, in squashing the project of the "Christian" Fleming when he proposed to get the London County Council to welcome Stanley. Her indignation renders her speechless; she "refrains from commenting upon the atrocious aspersions cast upon the motives of one of the bravest of our pioneers of civilisation."

And listen also to what her great contemporary on the same side of the way, with positively, yes positively, the "largest circulation" in the world, has to say. The Red Indian has given instructions to its "young man" to let his perfervid thoughts vent themselves in three-decker articles *re* the glorious mission of intrepid Stanley, his deeds outshining (if that be possible, he queries in awe) the achievements

of another worker in the same sacred field of duty, "Christian Gordon." The same good authority assures us, further, that every heart in this great and glorious empire, upon which the sun even declines to set, will thrill with enthusiastic joy at the prospect of welcoming home to these shores the Modern Crusader. And then, after laying upon England, who is bound by her glorious traditions as a civilising power to accept it, the duty of carrying the blessings of her civilising influences into yearning Africa, until we shake hands across her equatorial forests with the colonists of the Cape, he hurls at us Hannibal, Charlemagne, Napoleon, Rome and Greece, in their palmiest days, mind, and lastly Christ, but modestly withholding his own name, retires into obscurity.

Across the road, where another branch of the "Great Industry" is carried on, the limner lends his aid to supplement the efforts of the scribe. And we see the presentment of a lion, real British you know, often used for similar purposes, and Britannia, clad in what appears to be a damp sheet, is standing in an inclement wind awaiting *her* Stanley; in her hand she holds a terrific wreath suggestive of Kensal Green cemetery, and this is also for Stanley.

The patriots of the stalls at music-halls and theatres are also on the war-path. We are treated to tin swords, red fire, and second-hand uniforms in honour of those who are ready, dead boys, to dare and die, or get it done by proxy. Scribe, limner, and bawler, all pressed into the service of doing honour to the homicide.

The scribe is most probably the same who anonymously satirises and vilifies the working-class and their aspirations for a fuller share of the pleasures of life.

The sketcher will, if a strike disturbs the classes, represent the workman with an ape-like countenance, with mouth of letter-box proportions, sottishly handling pot and pipe. The same will do, with slight alterations, for our Irish comrades when their turn comes to be abused. Such are the applauders of Stanley.

If the working class allow the loafers of society to misrepresent them in this matter of swashbuckling and butchering expeditions in the name of England and civilisation, and do not by emphatic protest make their position clear, they are equally guilty with the perpetrators of the ghastly outrages committed in order to extend the area of capitalistic exploitation.

That portion of the people which has accepted the theory that we are over-populated and must needs expand at the expense of somebody else, black or white, in order to feed our alleged-to-be-redundant population, are the class who will look upon the achievements of piratical expeditions with satisfaction. To them Stanley and his ilk are foragers for us, and hence we should be grateful to them.

Calvary and its Cross are merely side-wings to this picture of robbery of distant races in order that monopoly may be maintained at home.

With a soil capable of sustaining double and treble her present population, her fields deserted and her cities overcrowded, with thousands living from hand to mouth and hundreds dying yearly of partial and absolute starvation in her great cities and towns, England has the hideous hypocrisy to talk of civilising the African races. She had better engage in reforming herself before she presumes to inflict the rotten civilisation she is the champion of upon aboriginal races.

Workhouses, jails, penitentiaries, slums, and factories, and hospitals; homeless wanderers in the streets, dwellers in wretched hovels,—this is our civilisation to-day. And Socialists owe it to themselves and their cause to attack it here at home and prevent its propagation abroad.

F. KIRTZ.

NEWS FROM NOWHERE:

OR,
AN EPOCH OF REST.

BEING SOME CHAPTERS FROM A UTOPIAN ROMANCE.

CHAP. X. (continued).—QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

"TELL me in detail," said I, "what lies east of Bloomsbury now?"

Said he: "There are but few houses between this and the outer part of the old city; but in the city we have a thickly-dwelling population. Our forefathers, in the first clearing of the slums, were not in a hurry to pull down the houses in what was called at the end of the nineteenth century the business quarter of the town, and what later got to be known as the Swindling Kens. You see, these houses, though they stood hideously thick on the ground, were roomy and fairly solid in building, and clean, because they were not used for living in, but as mere gambling booths; so the poor people from the cleared slums took them for lodgings and dwelt there, till the folk of those days had time to think of something better for them; so the buildings were pulled down so gradually that people got used to living thicker on the ground than in most places; therefore it remains the most populous part of London, or perhaps of all these islands. But it is very pleasant there, partly because of the splendour of the architecture, which goes further than what you will see elsewhere. However, this crowding, if it may be called so, does not go further than a street called Aldgate, a name which perhaps you may have heard of. Beyond that the houses are scattered wide about the meadows there, which are very beautiful, especially when you get on to the lovely river Lea (where old Isaak Walton used to fish, you know) about the places called Stratford and Old Ford, names which of course you will not have heard of, though the Romans were busy there once upon a time."

Not heard of them! thought I to myself. How strange! that I who had seen the very last remnant of the pleasantness of the meadows by the Lea destroyed, should have heard them spoken of with pleasantness come back to them in full measure.

Hammond went on: "When you get down to the Thames-side you come on the Docks, which are works of the nineteenth century, and are still in use, although not so thronged as they once were, since we discourage centralisation all we can, and we have long ago dropped the pretention to be the market of the world. About these Docks are a good few houses, which, however, are not inhabited by many people permanently; I mean, those who use them come and go a good deal, the place being too low and marshy for pleasant dwelling. Past the Docks eastward and landward it is all flat pasture, once marsh, except for a few gardens, and there are very few permanent dwellings there: scarcely anything but a few sheds, and cots for the men who come to look after the great herds of cattle pasturing there. But however, what with the beasts and the men, and the scattered red-tiled roofs and the big hayricks, it does not make a bad holiday to get a quiet pony and ride about there on a sunny afternoon of autumn, and look over the river and the craft passing up and down, and on to Shooters' Hill and the Kentish uplands, and then turn round to the wide green sea of the Essex marsh-land, with the great domed line of the sky, and the sun shining down in one flood of peaceful light over the long distance. There is a place called Canning's Town, and further out, Silvertown, where the pleasant meadows are at their pleasantest: doubtless they were once slums, and wretched enough."

The names grated on my ear, but I could not explain why to him. So I said: "And south of the river, what is it like?"

He said: "You would find it much the same as the land about Hammersmith. North, again, the land runs up high, and there is an agreeable and well-built town called Hampstead, which fitly ends London on that side. It looks down on the north-western end of the forest you passed through."

I smiled. "So much for what was once London," said I. "Now tell me about the other towns of the country."

He said: "As to the big murky places which were once, as we know, the centres of manufacture, they have, like the brick and mortar desert of London, disappeared; only, since they were centres of nothing but 'manufacture,' and served no purpose but that of the gambling market, they have left less signs of their existence than London. Of course, the great change in the use of mechanical force made this an easy matter, and some approach to their break-up as centres would probably have taken place, even if we had not changed our habits so much: but they being such as they are, no sacrifice would have seemed too great a price to pay for getting rid of the 'manufacturing districts,' as they used to be called. For the rest, whatever coal or mineral we need is brought to grass and sent whither it is needed with as little as possible of dirt, confusion, and the distressing of quiet people's lives. One is tempted to believe from what one has read of the condition of those districts in the nineteenth century, that those who had them under their power worried, befouled, and degraded men out of malice prepense: but it was not so; like the mis-education of which we were talking just now, it came of their dreadful poverty. They were obliged to put up with everything, and even pretend that they liked it; whereas we can deal with things reasonably, and refuse to be saddled with what we do not want."

I confess I was not sorry to cut short with a question his glorifications of the age he lived in. Said I: "How about the smaller towns? I suppose you have swept those away entirely?"

"No, no," said he, "it hasn't gone that way. On the contrary, there has been but little clearance, though much rebuilding, in the

smaller towns. Their suburbs, indeed, when they had any, have melted away into the general country, and space and elbow-room has been got in their centres; but there are the towns still with their streets and squares and market-places; so that it is by means of these smaller towns that we of to-day can get some kind of idea of what the towns of the older world were like;—I mean to say, at their best."

"Take Oxford, for instance," said I.
"Yes," said he, "I suppose Oxford was beautiful even in the nineteenth century. At present it has the great interest of still preserving a great mass of pre-commercial building, and is a very beautiful place, yet there are many towns which have become scarcely less beautiful."

Said I: "In passing, may I ask if it is still a place of learning?"
"Still?" said he, smiling. "Well, it has reverted to some of its best traditions; so you may imagine how far it is from its nineteenth century position. It is real learning, knowledge cultivated for its own sake—the Art of Knowledge, in short—which is followed there, not the Commercial learning of the past. Though perhaps you do not know that in the nineteenth century Oxford and its less interesting sister Cambridge became definitely commercial. They (and especially Oxford) were the breeding places of a peculiar class of parasites, who called themselves cultivated people; they were indeed cynical enough, as the so-called educated classes of the day generally were; but they affected an exaggeration of cynicism in order that they might be thought knowing and worldly-wise. The rich middle classes (they had no relation with the working classes) treated them with the kind of contemptuous toleration with which a mediæval baron treated his jester; though it must be said that they were by no means so pleasant as the old jesters were, being, in fact, the bores of society. They were laughed at, despised—and paid. Which last was what they aimed at."

Dear me! thought I, how apt history is to reverse contemporary judgments. Surely only the worst of them were as bad as that. But I must admit that they were mostly prigs, and that they were commercial. I said aloud, though more to myself than to Hammond, "Well, how could they be better than the age that made them?"

"True," he said, "but their pretensions were higher."
"Were they?" said I, smiling.
"You drive me from corner to corner," said he, smiling in turn. "Let me say at least that they were a poor sequence to the aspirations of Oxford of 'the barbarous Middle Ages.'"

"Yes, that will do," said I.
"Also," said Hammond, "what I have been saying of them is true in the main. But ask on!"

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

WILLIAM MORRIS.

CORRESPONDENCE.

INVENTORS UNDER SOCIALISM.

SIR,—In course of my studies of social matters, I have carefully considered the subject of the Manifesto of the Socialist League, published in pamphlet form, and am also a subscriber to your paper.

I can readily apprehend that certain employers of labour who appropriate large profits from the industry of their workpeople, may from a Socialist point of view be considered merely as monied gangers or foremen, and who, if interest on capital be not considered due to them, are entitled to no more than such salary as their skill as organisers of labour entitle them to. But superior to this class, there constantly arises men of original talent, who invent new things, or new ways, and whose claim on profit appear to me to be of a higher character than the preceding. For example: An individual of inventive faculty may do what has constantly been done before—namely, devise an improved cheaper process of producing an article which is useful to the people, and already in demand. He employs labour for the manufacture, and pays liberally the fullest wages of the trade, but the new process being economical, a large margin of profit is left over that selling price which has hitherto been readily paid, and not considered as oppressive.

This hypothetical case may be taken as representative of the position of men who possess mental, not money capital, such as the Arkwrights, the Wedgwoods and the Salts; and my difficulty is, How would Socialism deal with the matter?

Would the inventor be permitted to appropriate the increased profit, and so become a money capitalist, accumulate property, and become rich on the labour of his workpeople? Would he be only allowed to charge a rate of profit agreeable with his needs? Then on the one hand he might argue that, since he was the creator of the idea, and his workpeople only mere manipulators, all the full profit was his due and therefore his need, for all need their due. On the other hand, did he reduce his profit, he would undersell his fellow-manufacturers and become a monopolist. Or would he be expected to make his invention common property?—voluntarily, which is contrary to our experience of human nature, and I apprehend we must reckon with man's faculties and dispositions as we find them, not as we would have them to be. Or to make his invention known by compulsion? which would cause to be left to a sense of philanthropy alone the incentive to commercial improvement.

I am sorry this note is so long, but should be gratified if you would assist me by your opinion of the matter.—Yours truly,
JOHN W. LOVE.

52 Wellesley Road, Wanstead, March 18.

HARD TO PLEASE.—"Look here," said a subscriber as he walked into the office, "I want you to stop my paper." "What's the reason?" "There ain't enough news in it. Too much opinions, and that sort of thing." In about half an hour another subscriber made his appearance. "I've concluded to stop my paper," said he. "You have?" "Yes, sir. I'm tired of reading about strikes and meetings and such things. What I want is good, solid opinions." And the editor sat down and thought great ponderous opinions about people in general.

REFORM OR REVOLUTION.

(Concluded from p. 93.)

AMONG the worst effects of the present system is the corruption and degradation of women, witnessing too often from the cradle nothing but misery, and being compelled, when old enough, to take their places in workshops to be fleeced, as their parents' before them have been. They are thrown, by various causes, upon a world ready to pervert to the vilest purposes their beauty and their innocence. Girls, who might be the ornament of society and shed gladness around, are prematurely condemned to be polluted by degrading intercourse. Everything which they are familiarised tends to obliterate from their minds the distinction between right and wrong. Love, the noblest, purest, and most beautiful feeling of our nature, is converted by ignorance, coarseness, and vulgarity into a brutal appetite. Their association with the opposite sex becomes gross and fortuitous. They do not look forward with hope and joy to the period when they shall themselves become mothers, and dwell with inexpressible fondness on their own images in miniature, but, on the contrary, are haunted by feelings of dread and horror, by apprehensions of the hospital, the workhouse, or the dreary and desolate streets, where every wretch who is a disgrace to his species may insult and maltreat them. Even when the fate of women falls short of this fearful consummation, their lives among the labouring classes are full of sadness and humiliation. Clothed in wretched garments, often in rags, they dwell with their male companions in garrets, cellars, or in small stifling unwholesome rooms, filled with deleterious odours, and surrounded by similar dens where the physical and moral atmosphere appears to be equally impregnated with disease and death. Civilisation should blush while it beholds these results of its influence upon society, in which it multiplies ignorance, immorality, squalor, rags, filth, and a thousand indescribable abominations in order to enable a few favoured people to live in voluptuous indolence, surrounded by all kinds of animal indulgence, effeminate, selfish, and brutal, and taking credit to themselves for abstaining from vices and crimes which they have no temptation to commit, or, if they had, could not perhaps command the energy or the courage necessary to their perpetration.

The civilisation which produces and tolerates such consequences is base and spurious, and is therefore doomed to perish from its inherent rottenness, aided by the preaching of a new idea which is fast permeating the minds of the wealth-producers of all lands. Better retrace our footsteps, and return to the barbarism from which by so many efforts we originally emerged, than to pamper a system of so-called refinement, which destroys more than it preserves.

Half a million or more of people are annually being added in our own country to our already large population. Will a majority of these new-comers be persons of property, or will they not go to recruit the ranks of the disaffected workers? How is this superfluous population to be taken off? They are rendered superfluous owing to capitalistic production, which does not require their labour, except as a means of reducing the already low wage of the workers themselves. Again I ask, How is this mass of surplus labour to be got rid of? By emigration, by famine, by plague, by pestilence, or by war? clearly they must be maintained or blotted out. There is no middle course. They cannot be prevented from being born, though much pains has been taken to effect that purpose. But the passions and affections of the heart have not been eradicated from the breasts of the workers, and in due time their offspring will make their appearance in the world to the terror of rulers and classes.

Revolutions exhibit in their progress no phenomena more remarkable than the ebb and flow of public opinion, in conformity with the character of passing events. Noble deeds, self-sacrifice, moderation, forbearance, the heroism, in one word, displayed by either party, without reference to principles, is sure to enlist for awhile in its favour the sympathies of mankind. Often, however, these sympathies are blind, and do credit to our generosity at the expense of our judgment. When nations rise against their oppressors and seek to establish liberty, it is a pure and noble thing they aim at. But considering the state of mind and morals into which men are thrown by servitude, it is scarcely rational to expect that the agencies and influences brought to bear upon the citadel of oppression will be mere moral force. Emerging from a moral chaos, degraded by ignorance, stung to madness by their own poverty and the brutality of their masters, the people are yet always expected to display disinterestedness and moderation. This, doubtless, is a compliment to our nature; we have been trampled upon, and are expected not to remember it; we have been injured, and are expected to forgive; we have been oppressed, insulted, and enslaved, and are expected to refrain from all retaliation; we have been familiarised with vice, hunger, and ignorance, and are expected to display the enlightened magnanimity of philosophers.

But in economics as in religion. "As we sow, so also shall we reap." Every man who is robbed of the results of his labour has an interest in agitation, and if he be wise will do his best to promote it. This infinite moving mass which we call humanity, filled with passions and impregnated more or less with intelligence, is not condemned by nature to remain for ever in this debased condition. Its course towards liberty and equality lies over a track, the incidents of which vary every moment. It never retrogrades, it never halts, but marches forward unceasingly like the waves of the ocean. It rises now, and now it falls into the depth of valleys. It is beaten by storms, it is drenched by showers, it is warmed, invigorated, and enlightened by sunshine, but as the phenomena of physical nature are never exactly repeated—as the tempest of yesterday differs from the tempest of to-

day—so the aspect of circumstances which envelope humanity in its progress is ever varying. Nothing, therefore, but scorn and contempt is inspired by those who twaddle about forms and precedents, and would bind the limbs of the future in the swaddling clothes of the past. There is no halting, we must on, on for ever, whether for good or for evil. Intelligence and freedom make progress in spite of all appearance to the contrary. A truth uttered will find its use some day; the operation is not always speedy. We agitators are needed to scatter the seeds of truth over the soil of humanity, and they will sink into the heart to remain there invisible for a time, till time has changed them into principles of action, and afterwards they will burst forth into virtues, true patriotism, magnanimity, courage, which, swelling in the breasts of millions, produce revolutions. There are apostles in all ages, and prophets and martyrs too. But when the apostles and martyrs die, the doctrines they delivered do not perish with them, any more than the rain-drops perish with the storms which scatter them over the globe.

We must not be frightened by the talk of the horrible butchery which takes place during revolutions; for, if we interrogate experience, we will find that the people are habitually more merciful than their masters. From the events of the past, sad, yet not so sad as they seem, shall we derive no instruction for our guidance hereafter? Shall we be like the petted child, which shrinks from the bitter potion, and thus condemns itself to double agony? Shall we, I say, reject the advantages already gained for mankind, and through pusillanimous terror return to that Circean sty of false opinions from which the world is just awakening? No one doubts that disturbances and civil broils are unpleasant. The question is whether they be greater evils than the oppressions and persecutions of humanity from which they sometimes deliver nations? Those are foolish, however, who look upon them as accidents. They owe their birth to the tempestuous passions of the hour, which, like them, trace their origin to causes far remote. The civil wars of 1640, and the transfer of the monarchy in 1688, were precluded by portentous debauchery among the nobles. From the Court of James I. women were almost entirely banished and their places supplied by striplings, who rose like the mistresses of other princes to the highest rank and distinction in the State. The recent scandals may perhaps not unfairly be mentioned, as there seems to be a strange Nemesis dogging the footsteps of idleness and pomp. In Rome, the transition from the republic to the empire was characterised by startling and fearful social phenomena; the aristocracy fell so low that they suffered themselves to be betrayed into the perpetration of every vice and every crime. Having exhausted the whole empire of natural pleasures, the Caesars transgressed its eternal boundaries, and rioted in nefarious and beastly inhuman gratifications. Nero, Commodus, and Caligula set mankind the example of unlimited profligacy. Some strange fate seems at hand when Barnum visits the aristocratic quarter of this vast metropolis with the play of Nero, whilst our magistracy and judges are engaged in investigating the inhuman scandals of Cleveland Street. All the forces and causes of revolutions in the past are with us to-day. It behoves the teachers of the new life to work with lightning speed in the dissemination of the truth, and not to waste their time in parrot cries of reform. The day has gone by when reform might have been useful; the system is too rotten to stand by patching; the hideous structure of capitalism must be got rid of entirely.

Revolution is now inevitable. The great question we must all ask ourselves is, Shall the revolution be a success? The answer must remain for time to solve. But one thing is certain, that if we keep before the people's eyes the true principle upon which society of the future ought to be conducted, the word failure will find no room in our vocabulary of the future. That all comrades, active and inactive, may prepare as best they can for the coming storm, and that none shall be like the foolish virgins of scripture, is the earnest wish of, and the reason for penning these lines by

C. W. MOWBRAY.

The prospects of the new Australian Labour paper appear to be very satisfactory. The Wharf Labourers' Union, the Operative Tailors, and the Associated Blacksmiths' Society have adopted the scheme with slight alterations. The Queensland Shearers' Union, have forwarded a check for £30, being the initiation fee for 3,000 members. The Charters Towers Miners' Association have forwarded a cheque for £8 as a donation, and promised to send along a list of subscribers and their year's subscription as early as possible. The Queensland Railway Employés' Association have passed a resolution heartily sympathising with the proposal, and promising to do all in their power to extend the circulation of the paper. Up to the time of writing (Feb. 10) a circulation of 12,000 has been ensured, and it is expected that this will be increased by the 1st March, when it is proposed to issue the first number.

LEGAL BLACKLEGS.—The blackleg has found a judicial champion in the person of that good old Tory, Mr. Justice Grantham. The member for Croydon had a case of intimidation in his assize list at Leeds, and said in his charge to the grand jury that he did not know the merits of the strike, but it seemed that there were a number of men—and he hoped it would always be so—who were not members of the trade union implicated, and who went in and did the work when the union ordered a strike. But is Judge Grantham quite sincere in his liking for the blackleg species? Suppose that the principle be applied to his own profession. He is a lawyer, a member of the strictest trade union in the world. What would he say to any individual who attempted to carry on the profession of law without acting in conformity with the regulations laid down by the combined legal world for his guidance? We fancy that even Mr. Justice Grantham would object to blacklegism there. And while he admits the right of combined lawyerdom to place restrictions upon any individual who comes into the profession, and to lay down rules which all must obey, why does he deny to working-men the same right of regulating the conditions of their industry?—P. M. G.



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

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

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

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

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

SUBSCRIPTIONS, including postage:—For British Islands, Europe, United States, and Canada, a year, 6s.; six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d. For Australia, New Zealand, Cape of Good Hope, Natal, Transvaal, and the Argentine Republic, a year, 8s.; six months, 4s.; three months, 2s. For India, Ceylon, China, Hong Kong, and the Straits Settlements, a year, 10s.; six months, 5s.; three months, 2s. 6d.

Subscribers who receive a RED WRAPPER are thereby reminded that their subscriptions have expired and must be renewed immediately if they wish to continue to receive COMMONWEAL.

SPECIAL RECRUIT SUBSCRIPTIONS.—To aid in spreading our principles, the following largely reduced terms are offered to those who obtain new subscribers: Two new yearly subscriptions for British Islands, etc., 10s. 6d.; for Australia, etc., 13s.; for India, etc., 19s. Five new subscriptions: For British Islands, etc., 25s.; for Australia, etc., 37s. 6d.; for India, etc., 47s. 6d. Specimen copies will be sent on receipt of postage. Remittances from abroad must be made by International Money Order.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

M. L.—No! The H. H. S. who about 1882 was writing religious tracts and books was another person altogether.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
The Christian Pioneer	F. KITZ 97
News from Nowhere; or, an Epoch of Rest (continued) ..	WILLIAM MORRIS 98
Correspondence	98
Reform or Revolution (concluded)	C. W. MOWBRAY 99
Legal Blacklegs	99
Notes	MORRIS and SPARLING 100
The Great Coal Strike	R. UNWIN 101
The Paris Commune	S. 101
Blanket-Weavers of Cours	101
The Labour Struggle	D. J. NICOLL 102
In the United States	H. F. CHARLES 102
Executive Announcements, Reports, Lecture Diary, and Notices of Meetings ..	103
Statement of Principles, Advertisements, etc., etc.	104

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday March 26.

<p>ENGLAND Caslon's Circular London—Freie Presse Labour Tribune Personal Rights Journal People's Press Social Demokrat Seafaring Worker's Friend</p> <p>INDIA Bankipore—Behar Herald</p> <p>UNITED STATES New York—Truthseeker Freiheit United Irishman Volkszeitung Workmen's Advocate Boston—Woman's Journal Investigator Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung Chicago—Knights of Labour Vorbote</p>	<p>Cincinnati (O.) Volks-Anwalt Detroit—Der Arme Teufel N. J. Freie Presse Philadelphia—United Labour St Louis—Altruist S. F.—Coast Seamen's Journal</p> <p>FRANCE Paris—Bourse du Travail Le Proletariat Charleville—L'Emancipation Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur Rouen—Le Salarial</p> <p>HOLLAND Hague—Recht voor Allen Middelburg, Lichten Wahrheit</p> <p>BELGIUM Antwerp—De Werker Ghent—Vooruit</p> <p>SWITZERLAND Bulletin Continental</p>	<p>ITALY Milan—Il Fascio Operaio Rome—L'Emancipazione</p> <p>SPAIN Madrid—El Socialista Cadiz—El Socialismo</p> <p>PORTUGAL Porto—A Republica Social</p> <p>GERMANY Berlin—Volks Tribune AUSTRIA Brunn—Arbeiterstimme</p> <p>DENMARK Copenhagen—Arbejderen</p> <p>SWEDEN Malmo—Arbetet Stockholm, Social-Demokraten</p> <p>WEST INDIES Cuba—El Productor</p> <p>ARGENTINE REPUBLIC Buenos Ayres—Vorwarts</p>
---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

NOTES.

In commenting on the terrible tragedy at Crewe, which is indeed quite a typical example of the results of the conventional authority mis-named Society, the *Star* says, "Whatever these boys are, they were made by the man whom they murdered," and goes on to say that on these grounds apart from others the capital sentence should not be carried out. With both the conclusion and the reason for it we must most heartily agree. We would go further and say that if these lads are hanged, this second and judicial murder will quite throw the first homicide into the shade; further still we will go, and say that the fact that such a sentence should be given at all, amidst a sobbing court by a judge "deeply affected," is a good example of the horror of the

tyranny of that false Society that enthalls us; especially when we know that the life or death of these two poor creatures now hangs on the mood of one not very wise man—the Home Secretary, to wit.

"Whatever these boys are, they were made by the man whom they murdered." Just so; and is not that sentence, little altered, true also of by far the greater part of all the "criminals" whom "Society" slays and tortures so coolly, passing by on the other side like the priest and the Levite in the gospel? It has been said over and over again in these columns, but let us say it again as the moral of the Crewe murders: "Society" first makes its enemies and then, dastard as it is, revenges itself upon them. W. M.

Verily, the advancing tide is with us! Even the *Rock* is beginning to feel the lapping of its waves. In a recent number that buttress of high and dry commercial religion was constrained to deal with Socialism. It goes without saying that the writer knows nothing of the subject. Nothing? Well, very little!—so little as to make his article amusing, where, if he had known a little more, it might have been offensive. He has "small faith in the so-called Christian Socialism, such as that advocated by the Rev. Stewart Headlam," which "protests too much and will never be believed in as being sincere." He is also clear about Socialism being "mostly atheistic." But even he can see that "riches cannot be thus [as they are] enormously accumulated where honest wages are paid for labour, nor can men so numerously starve where toil is adequately remunerated."

"Except amongst extreme Socialists, there is, as yet, no defined Socialist programme before us." Well, we of the *Commonweal* are "extreme Socialists," so our withers are unwrung; but we may point out to our clerical critic that this saying is a hard one upon the moderate Socialists of the S.D.F. or the philosophic ones of the Fabian, who have devoted much time and labour to "programmes." "It is not necessary," says he, "nor exactly possible at the present stage, to define what Socialism is, wherefore we need not detain ourselves by an attempt to do so." How competent he would be for the task if he had "detained" himself by it may be seen when he adds, "It is enough to say that with the majority of its advocates it is not Communism." To which one may retort that when he admits that men are Christians who reject the Creed, we will talk of Socialists who are not believers in Communism.

"We also judge that for the moment it [Socialism] aims more at equality in land-ownership than in personality [!], but it is much too logical to accept ultimately such limitation." And now the whites of his eyes roll heavenward: "There is, however, one very deplorable trait in its present attitude which we cannot overlook, and that is its violent character. In some quarters this is almost Nihilist [almost, only?—dear, dear!], in most it leads to strong language and to rough manners. The treatment which the courageous Bishop Barry has met with at the Lambeth Baths, if it has been accurately described in the papers, reflects no credit upon his opponents." It certainly was not an inspiring spectacle, the way in which the soup-and-blanket brigade tried to howl down the daring Socialists who ventured to criticise the Bishop, while the sympathisers with the latter retorted in kind. But it was not the Socialists who began.

And may one venture to suggest that a good deal of the impatience and "irritability" of a Socialist audience is mostly due to the blank and callous ignorance of the subject which the ordinary parson betrays? "The courageous Bishop Barry" deserved the adjective, for he set out to teach upon a subject of which he had learnt even less than this *Rock* writer. Socialists are "worse than Secularists," which goes to prove the point, for freethinker and parson have battled so long as to come to some sort of an understanding. Christian apologetics are part of a parson's trade: when he has put the study of social economics on anything like a similar footing he won't find Socialists such unreasonable people.

Let him remember also that Christians were very inconsiderate "irritable" people when they really believed in Christianity; they did not calmly sit by and see a man going to hell without trying to turn him back, even if they had to burn him alive in order to do so. We do not only see people going to a future hell, but in a present one, and we with them. An old proverb has it, "They that be in hell ween there is no other heaven," and it is difficult to make them see the way out. Christian or no, the man who would induce them to lie still, and, without looking for the Land of Behest, would deny its existence—this man is an enemy, and must be fought.

This Socialist movement which men "fear in high places and are afraid of in the streets," will have to be met in bolder fashion and with better weapons than our friend of the *Rock* or Bishop Barry has brought to bear. They are hopelessly behind the time. Four years ago (*Commonweal* No. 30, Aug. 7, 1886) we dealt with an article by a Roman Catholic divine who was far and away ahead of our Anglican critics. They should read his article (*Dublin Review* of then current month) and our reply. If at the same time they indulged in a general reading-up of the subject, it would be better. They could then return to the charge.

In the discussion by the County Council the other day of a propose

new hospital for the study and cure of insanity, Dr. G. J. Cooper, the member for Bermondsey, said that beside hereditary predisposition there were three great and almost the only causes of insanity, and these were poverty, misery, and drink. May it not rather be said that the cause is one alone, and that one the system responsible for poverty, which produces misery, which drives men to drink? Dr. Cooper also said that more good would be done by dealing with the causes than with the effects. True, O Doctor! but the three you name are after all only secondary causes; and though it would be better to strike at them than merely to study their effects, it would be still better to strike at the "great first cause" of crime, wretchedness, and wrong from which they take their origin—monopoly of the means of life.

THE PARIS COMMUNE.

WEDNESDAY 19th, South Place Hall was crammed with an enthusiastic crowd. In spite of its being the second meeting for the same object in one week, and in spite also of the unfavourable weather with which it had to contend, the audience was fully as large as and much more enthusiastic than ever before. It could certainly be no larger than it was, in that place anyhow, for the holding capacity of the institute was tested to the utmost. More enthusiastic it could hardly be. Last year, when the S.D.F. and S.L. combined their meetings, we were all jubilant over our great success, and this year the two separate meetings have each of them equalled the combined one of last year, if even they did not each of them surpass it.

The South Place meeting was opened with "A Call to Arms," sung by the Hammersmith choir, after which comrade Mowbray briefly explained, for the benefit of any strangers present, what and who it was that we had met to commemorate. The speakers were, in the order named, comrades D. J. Nicoll, Wm. Morris, B. Feigenbaum, Eleanor Marx Aveling, H. H. Sparling, Peter Kropotkin, John Turner, E. Malatesta, and Edward Aveling. Cunninghame Graham was to have spoken, but was detained at Liverpool; and comrade Tom Pearson (Freedom Group) though present, was too unwell to take part in the proceedings. Comrade Brocher sang *La Carmagnole*, the chorus of which was taken up by the audience. The choir also sang "Boldly Break the Chain," and the meeting concluded with the *Marseillaise*, which was sung all standing, and was followed by three vociferous cheers for the Social Revolution.

The resolution following was unanimously voted:

"That this meeting once more recalls the glorious memory of the soldiers of liberty who suffered and died in attempting to establish the claim of the people to be the masters of their own lives, and emphatically declares that we will never cease from the struggle which they so nobly sustained until Labour has been freed from the class domination, whose purpose it is to keep the workers in slavery and misery in order that their masters may live in idleness and luxury on the fruits of their Labour."

Throughout the evening the whole of the speaking was on a very high level; in a Socialist paper it would be out of place to apportion degrees of praise for oratorical excellence, but it may be said that not one speech could have been considered poor or dull by the most exacting critic. From the opening to the close there was not a dull moment, the speakers followed one another in orderly sequence, as though they had (as they had not) arranged beforehand the subjects and succession of their speeches. Whether dealing with the history of the Commune, the events which led up to or those that followed it, with the progress we have made or that to which we look forward, every word was animated by one spirit, that of hope and resolution.

The following greetings were received during the meeting:

Glasgow Socialist League send greetings; we commemorate the memory of the Commune with you. *Elle aura sa revanche!*

The Socialists of Leeds are with you in spirit for the Commune. Hope soon to be with you all in the midst of the International Social Revolution.

The Freedom Group of Norwich wish successful meeting and speedy emancipation of toilers.

Dublin comrades join with you in honouring the men who bravely fought and fell in the Cause of human freedom. *Vive la Commune!*

Sheffield Socialists send revolutionary greetings, and hope the memory of the Paris Commune will inspire all to greater efforts for the speedy success of the Social Revolution.

The Yarmouth comrades send you fraternal greetings. Hurrah for the International Revolution! Death to all tyranny! We hope you are having a most successful meeting, and that the time is not far distant when the workers of all countries united will strike the death-blow to class-society and capitalistic tyranny, and the proletariat be free for ever. *Vive la Commune! Vive la Revolution Sociale!*

A collection was taken and realised £6 3s. 0d., and literature was sold amounting to £1 7s. 7d. Altogether a most successful and inspiring meeting.

BLANKET-WEAVERS OF COURS.

COMRADES,—Will you kindly make known through the *Commonweal* that a subscription is on foot in aid of the French blanket-weavers at Cours (Rhône), about whose long strike a paragraph appeared in your last issue, and that I shall be glad to receive any sums towards the same, which will be acknowledged in the *Commonweal*.—Yours fraternally,
Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, Hammersmith. MAY MORRIS.

		STRIKE FUND.			
W. Morris	£2	0 0
M. Morris	0	10 0
H. H. Sparling	0	5 0
Collection at Sunday lecture, Hammersmith Branch	1	6 4

THE GREAT COAL STRIKE.

THE strike has soon come to an end, as most people in this district thought it would. There are one or two points in a colliers' strike worth noticing. First, that the masters' interest is somewhat divided. Those who have collieries only, or make them the chief part of their business, would be prepared to resist to the uttermost the men's demands. But some of the largest and most influential colliery owners look upon their pits as subservient to the great iron works, which they carry on in addition; these would be willing to resist so long as their stocks of coal enable them to keep the ironworks going. But they become much weaker as the heaps piled up in their yards begin to dwindle, and when it finally comes to a choice of damping down furnaces at great cost, and stopping a large and paying business, or of giving the miners an extra 10 per cent., they very soon decide upon the lesser evil of giving the men another 2d. per ton for winning the coal. There is still a third class of masters who own a pit or two on purpose to be able to get coal at all times for their own consumption—in paper mills and other factories; these last are usually not prepared to resist at all.

This division in the masters' camp, as will be easily seen, is of great service to the men. For when the masters see some of their number granting the rise, and making huge profits out of the famine prices which always obtain during a strike, while they themselves are losing heavily, they soon turn "green with envy," and become as anxious to stop their neighbours' ill-gotten profits as they were anxious to prevent their workmen from getting an extra 2d.!

Another important point is that blacklegs cannot be obtained from other trades. For the law ordains that a man must have worked two years in a pit before he can be allowed to work alone at the face getting coal. These points put the miner in a much better position in case of strikes than most other workers occupy.

On the other hand, it is more difficult for a coal-getter to maintain any advance he may secure by striking, because each man is paid on a separate basis. They get so much a ton for the coal they win in their own stall, but each stall has a separate price according to the conditions. In some places nearly twice as much coal may be won as in others, owing to thicker seam, better roof, and many other similar advantages. Now there is a constant system of reduction going on in the prices of these stalls; the price will be dropped 1d. per ton in this stall and ½d. in that, and then the advance reckoned on the reduced price. Thus, suppose in stall 28 the price is 2s. 1d. and a general rise of 25 per cent. has been obtained. In the office the wages will be reckoned thus, so many tons at 2s. 1d., 25 per cent. so much, total so much. If they notice that a large wage is earned in this stall each week, the price will be dropped to 2s. say, and the percentage of rise calculated on that basis, so that the drop would really be 1½d. Another means of reducing wages arises in the extras, of which there are many in miners' work, such as fixing and recovering props and lions to keep the roof up, clearing away falls of hind, etc. All these little points form endless causes of friction and discontent. Nor can it be truly said that the friction is all caused on one side.

As one might expect under the circumstances, many of the men lose no opportunity of saving themselves time and trouble at the employer's expense, wasting his props of timber, and in a hundred ways causing annoyance and friction.

Altogether, a pit is one of the most convincing proofs of the failure of the modern conditions of work. The men are scattered in twos and threes over an area of miles, divided by dark low passages, of which there may be as much as twenty miles in one pit. Oversight by foremen is evidently out of the question; hence piecework is adopted. But that leaves the master's property entirely at the mercy of each man, as well as the lives of all in the pit; so there have to be "deputies" and "underviewers" always tramping about to watch these points, keep the pony-drivers to their work, and so on. A deputy so disposed can do a deal of bullying of pony-drivers. He meets them one by one in the dark passages; often there is no one within earshot; and if he administers a sound beating—well, the lad must submit. There is no witness to be called to corroborate his statement; and if it is a case of a pit-boy's oath against a deputy's, it can be easily surmised which will be accepted by "the bench."

Altogether, it is rough work in a pit. The numbers are large, the men have been accustomed to rough usage for generations; they expect no other, and understand no other, some of them! The managers get hardened by the friction with their men, and the friction with the directors and shareholders demanding dividends. Verily they are between the upper and the nether millstone—the men are under both—while the shareholders sit atop to make weight!

R. U.

The German Emperor's dalliance with Socialism is significant. It is an attempt of despotism to strengthen itself by an alliance with discontent. It is a mistaken attempt, we think, and one founded in a total misapprehension of the nature of popular demands. The people are not beggars asking alms, they are men demanding rights.—*New York World*.

BENEFITS OF LAW-N-ORDER.—In 1795, while the English working classes were being told how much better off they were than the *sansculottes* of France, they, the law-abiding Englishmen, were paid by the week—Carpenters, 12s.; shoemakers, 10s.; bakers, 9s.; gardeners, 8s.; smiths, 8s.; husbandmen, 7s. Provision prices were: Mutton, the pound, 10½d.; lamb, 11d.; veal, 11½d.; beef, 12d.; bread, 12d. the quarter loaf; and small beer, 2d. the quart. Work out the reward of loyalty!

NORWAY.—I have for the first time had opportunity of looking over a series of numbers of *Fedraheimen*, an Anarchistic paper, written in the Norwegian peasant-dialect and printed in Bergen. It seems to be very lively and straightforward, and by no means so politically one-sided as most big Socialist papers are. The editor of *Fedraheimen* (Arne Dybfest) writes to *Freedom*, "The Socialist leaders of Kristiania are not State Socialists, but they believe that we have to pass through a Social Democratic society before we can get into the Anarchist community." Socialism is certainly spreading in Norway, though may be slowly. Would some of our Norwegian comrades please to answer this question: Have they, with the present social and economic statistics of Norway as a foundation, tried to work out and realise approximately what sort of social economic organisation, or compound of organisations, Norway would represent if made Socialistic, say, within the lapse of the next few decades? My reason for putting this question is that it must be a comparatively easy one to answer, seeing that Norway has only two millions of inhabitants, has lots of primitive stable institutions, and is not a place where economic change is difficult to forecast through its rapidity and originality.—STN.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

The Miners' Victory.

The victory of the miners shows how much they can do in the war which will end in the emancipation of labour. Although the strike only lasted a few days, yet many factories were forced to close; and had it continued for a week, there can be no question that work would have nearly ceased in the great manufacturing counties of Yorkshire and Lancashire, and in a fortnight nearly the whole country would have been in the same position. The victory of the miners has proved that the body of trade-unionists, on whom depends the entire trade of the country, are so well organised that they can enforce what terms they please from their masters. We hope the miners understand this. They have in their hands the key to the whole labour problem, and when they desire it, they can carry not only an eight-hour day, but a social revolution, by simply ceasing to work. This would prevent all blacklegism effectually, for without coal all factories must close, and traitors to the cause of labour would find no employment. The politicians who have been so eager in urging upon the workers to improve their condition by their own action, would be very much surprised when they were taken at their word. We don't think, however, the surprise would be an agreeable one.

There has been another curious feature about the present strike. Middle-class public opinion has been on the side of the strikers. It always is when the workers hold a strong position, as did the dock-strikers and the miners. But when the strikers are weak, as in the gas-strike and at Silvertown, the middle-class press is either indifferent or else actively hostile. It is only when men are strong enough to paralyse the trade of London or the country that the middle-class press extends to them its sympathy. They are then too powerful to be offended. Small strikes can no longer be successful; as in war, victory is now on the side of the big battalions, and if the workers wish to succeed they must appeal, not to the sympathy, but to the cowardice of their masters.

It is true the leaders of the strikers have shown themselves excessively moderate by compromising upon a compromise. The men are to take 5 per cent. now, and 5 per cent. on the first of August instead of 1st July. But then the leaders of the men are less advanced than the miners, and if Mr. Pickard and his friends could have had their way there would have been no strike at all. But the men have forced their hands; and according to the labour correspondent of the *Echo*, who seems on terms of intimate friendship with the old school of trade-unionists, fear of the wicked Socialists has also had something to do with it, for they dreaded what we should say of them if they showed too much "moderation." It is a good sign that the men are already more advanced than their leaders, and we hope they will become even more revolutionary as time rolls on.

The Dock Strike at Liverpool.

Although the docks are garrisoned by troops, and there is bitter starvation among the strikers and their families, yet they still hold out with stern determination. The capitalist press has naturally taken the side of the masters, and has continually favoured us with reports during the past week that the strike is collapsing; yet it has been forced to admit that the men are as defiant, and that the strike processions are as large, as ever. Cunningsham-Graham has been down at Liverpool nearly all the week, and has done good work there.

The Liverpool Chamber of Commerce has endeavoured to negotiate between masters and men, but the masters have refused these well-meant offers. They are determined "to starve the men out," and want no negotiations. The Liverpool shipowners are much disgusted at the "violent language" of Cunningsham-Graham and McHugh; but one of their number stated that he considered the language used by some employers of labour in Liverpool quite as "reprehensible." The distress is terrible, but strong sympathy is felt for the men by all workers in Liverpool; and though the shipowners think they are certain of victory, their inhuman attitude may yet even prove too much for the stomachs of the middle class, and general indignation may force them to surrender.

Our Walsall comrades have done good work in intercepting blacklegs, which other branches might copy. A correspondent writes: "In the earlier part of the strike, Walsall was one of the places selected to send blacklegs from to take the places of the Liverpool dockers. But unfortunately for the dealers in human flesh and blood, two of our comrades—Guillemand and Charles—were despatched to stop the men leaving the town. They were successful in stopping a number from leaving the railway-station, and then proceeded to Liverpool, where by their untiring energy and stratagem they succeeded in getting a great number of men to leave the docks, and at the end of the week not half a dozen Walsall men were filling the places of the strikers." Let other branches follow this excellent example.

The Sheffield Strike Prosecution.

We are glad to say that comrade Bingham has been found "Not Guilty," despite the desperate efforts of Mr. Justice Grantham to get a conviction. The worthy judge in his charge to the jury pronounced an eloquent eulogium upon blacklegs, as will be seen in the paragraph quoted from the *Pall Mall* in this issue. Our friends will remember that this was the judge who sentenced Mowbray and Henderson at Norwich. There he also distinguished himself as counsel for the prosecution. Comrade Bingham must be congratulated upon his escape out of his clutches. Bingham was charged with inciting the strikers to kill "blacklegs." Grantham said, speaking of Bingham's speech, that this sort of thing must be put down, and told the jury that "he could not see that it was possible to place any other meaning on the language of the prisoner than that suggested by the prosecution," and yet the Leeds jury immediately found the prisoner "Not Guilty" and the public applauded the verdict. How wild Justice Grantham must have been!

The Engineers' Strike.

After 40,000 men have been out for over a week, the strike has come to an end. On Monday the masters conceded the demand of the men that the week's work should consist of fifty hours, and finish at noon on Saturday. Perhaps some of our State Socialist friends will admit now that it is possible for workmen to reduce their hours by their own action. N.

Hotel and Restaurant Employes.

On Sunday last a meeting was held of all those employed in hotels,

restaurants, and clubs, at the Old Friends' Hall, St. Martin's Lane, to consider the best means of ameliorating their condition. The meeting was addressed by J. Williams, J. Wood, and comrade Hornagold. Some sensation was caused by a waiter who stated that he went to Buckhurst Hill from London to wait at a masonic dinner, and his master docked 6d. out of his pay for introducing him to a new neighbourhood. His pay was 5s. a-day, out of which he had to pay his fare to Brockhurst Hill and back; so that after he had paid his fare, he had the magnificent sum of 1s. 6d., out of which he had to provide himself with a dress coat, white shirt, and collar and cuffs. At the end of the meeting a large number of waiters handed in their names as members of the international section of waiters of the National Federation of all Trades and Industries. Meetings of waiters are held every Monday evening at 9, at the Globe Tavern, Bow Street. W. W.

IN THE UNITED STATES.

I MAY again state my position to the eight-hour movement. I am not an opponent of this movement, never have been. I shall never oppose a workers' movement, if it is honestly conducted and seriously meant, even if I should promise myself little from its realisation. But I try my very best to show demagogues and pretenders who, knowing full well all the circumstances, waste the time and what little brain power the workers possess in hunting after some unrealisable object. And considering the state of the labour-market in the States, the realisation of the eight-hour work-day is a matter of absolute impossibility.

The Russian treaty, with the objectionable clause (declaring an attempt on the life of a czar not a political offence) eliminated, will probably be accepted by our Senate.

There is a strip of land near the Oklahoma territory called the No-man's Land. No laws, no authority rules there, and yet the people over there—some 20,000 in number—live happy and contented and peaceable together. This state of affairs, of course, was eminently objectionable to our law and order citizens. And pretty quick the Senate resolved that No Man's Land should come under the jurisdiction of the Oklahoma territory. Ground: That there are now a large number of persons living in No Man's Land without laws, without government protection, and without security for life, liberty, and property, and that these people should have a territorial jurisdiction extended over them. I am now daily expecting to read in the papers of some awful murder or of a nice tidy burglar job committed in No Man's Land.

The miners in Pennsylvania are in great distress. The winter has been so mild and people needed no coal.

The Siberian Petition Association of Philadelphia has sent to the Czar the following petition:

"To his Imperial Majesty the Czar of all the Russias.—We who petition your majesty are citizens of the United States of America. We belong to a people who have long been bound by the natural ties of sympathy and gratitude to the great Russian nation, and to the Czars, clothed with her majesty, who wield her power and shape her destiny. It is your majesty's province to do for Russia what we in a certain sense do for ourselves; and though the methods of governmental action are different, the ends and aims of the government are the same—the strength and true grandeur of the State and the welfare and happiness of the people. For these things nations are organised and laws are decreed and executed; for these things great princes, in the fear of God, exercise imperial sway, and presidents are appointed. Differ though they may in outward form, your government and our government are brothers in their noblest duties. Nor are our fraternal professions an empty feeling. We remember, and we can never forget, how the Czar, by his faith in the stability of the American Union, and the presence of Russian ships in the harbour of New York, strengthened our hearts and hands when our republic was supposed by less far-sighted sovereigns and statesmen to be on the verge of ruin. Our danger then arose from an evil which your illustrious father, Alexander II., by his example, helped our illustrious President, Abraham Lincoln, to remove; and the great prince who liberated the Russian serfs, and the great citizen who freed the American slaves, by kindred deeds of humanity and through a common martyrdom, have linked their countries together by ties as enduring, we may hope, as their immortal fame.

"Sharing, therefore, as the past has taught us to do, in the thoughts that concern the glory and happiness of your people, we have been moved to bring to you, with good greetings, this petition: That your majesty will personally take note of a widespread interest among us in the workings and effects of the Siberian exile system. We do not forget the penal reforms already accomplished in the Russian empire; we are not blind to the mental and physical sufferings that of necessity are a part of any system of punishment for crime against individuals, society, or the State; nor are we unmindful of the need of reforms which are actively engaging the attention of philanthropists in our own methods of dealing with convicts. In this we are, but giving expression to the feeling of a friendly people, that in the punishment of some of her subjects Russia, whether from causes peculiar to her people, or on account of ancient custom, is not in all points in harmony with the humanising sentiments of the age. Whether we err in this, or whether we are right, our wish is that by the wisdom and power of the Czar and the favour of God, Russia may continue to grow in the admiration and sympathy of the American people and of the whole civilised world."

To add the final touch to this unique document there is but one sentence necessary—to address Alexander III. as the "power behind evolution."

George O. Jones, the chairman of the National Greenback Committee, has issued a call to national greenbackers, in the course of which he says:

"On March 3, 1884, the Supreme Court of the United States decided that Congress has the sovereign and constitutional power to emit bills of credit, provide currency for the whole people, and to make the notes of the Government (greenbacks) a legal tender. March 3, 1890, will be the sixth anniversary of that decision, at which time all national greenbackers are requested to meet in their respective localities and organise themselves into national greenback clubs, preparatory to Congressional, State, and national organisations next fall. Such gatherings will entail but little, if any, expense. It is hoped that all who indorse national greenback principles will unite in forming such clubs. The future welfare and happiness, or poverty and distress, of all American wealth-producers lies with themselves. Therefore, all are alike interested in the movement."

Boston, Mass., Feb. 28, 1890.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

Think of ease, but work on.

The brain that sows not corn, plants thistles.

Coolies in Fiji earn 11d. for men and 7d. for women for a day of ten to twelve hours. "Yet it is said that some of them actually save money," says our friend the *Boomerang*, with an air of surprise. Well! the white slaves of London don't save money, but a lot of them have to live on much about the same wages.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 24, GREAT QUEEN ST., LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, W.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

Branch Subscriptions Paid.—1888:—Oxford, to end of September.

1889:—Bradford and Hammersmith, to end of April. Norwich, Glasgow, and Yarmouth, to end of May. East London, to end of October. Mitcham, to end of November. St. Georges East, to end of December. 1890:—Manchester, to end of January. 'Commonweal' Branch, Leicester, and North London, to end of February. North Kensington, to end of April. Streatham, to end of December.

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.

NEW PREMISES FUND.

Collected at Council meeting, March 24th, 6s. 6d.

"COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—C. Saunders, 2s.; H. R. (2 weeks), 2s.; D. Nicoll (2 weeks), 1s.; James Thomson (2 weeks), 1s.; J. B. G. (2 weeks), 1s.; R. Turner, jun., 5s.; P. Webb, 1s.; St. Georges East Branch, 9s. 1d.; C. Hills, 2s. 6d.; B. W. (2 weeks), 1s.; Mrs. Schack, 5s.; North Kensington Branch, 10s.; and X. Y. Z., 6s.

REPORTS.

NORTH KENSINGTON.—We held a fair meeting at Latimer Road; speakers were Crouch and Maughan; fair sale of *Weals*. At our lecture in the evening, W. L. Phillips lectured to a good audience on "Labour and Socialism;" great many questions and good discussion; 1s. 8d. collected and several *Weals* sold.

STREATHAM.—At the Fountain, Kitz lectured to a good audience on "Revolutionary Tactics," and said that all the moderate men who once were revolutionists now denounced the tactics of the anti-Parliamentary party, but they would have no public foothold at all but for the educational efforts of the advanced party; 3s. *Commonweal* sold; good sale of other literature.—R. S.

ABERDEEN.—At meeting on 17th, Cunningham Graham's article "Has the Liberal Party a Future?" (*Contemporary Review*) was read and discussed. On 18th, under the auspices of the Stonecutter's Mutual Improvement Association, comrade Rennie led the affirmative side in a debate, "Ought the Land to be Nationalised?" the meeting deciding by an overwhelming majority in favour of the affirmation. The commencement of our Sunday meetings had to be postponed for a week owing to delay in completion of lecture list, which we are publishing along with a manifesto and call to the unconverted.—L.

GLASGOW.—On Monday evening 17th, we held a meeting to commemorate the Commune. The attendance was not so large as it ought to have been; nevertheless, we pledged the memory of the dead, and enthusiastically vowed our devotion to the cause of Revolutionary Socialism. On Sunday at midday, Joe and Tim Burgoyne spoke on Jail Square to an attentive meeting. At 5.30, Glasier spoke to an unusually large and appreciative meeting at Paisley Road Toll. In the afternoon, Glasier lectured on "Socialism, what it means" to the Govan branch of the Irish National League; the lecture was cordially received.

YARMOUTH.—On Sunday morning, on Priory Plain, comrade Darley addressed a good audience on the necessity for organisation. In the evening, on Colman's Granary Quay, Darley spoke again, on "Where the present Co-operative System Fails." Several questions asked, and answered to the satisfaction of the audience. 9 *Commonweal* sold, 9d. collected, and a bundle of old numbers of *Freedom* given away.—J. H.

WALSALL.—On Sunday last there was a good attendance of members and friends at the Socialist Club, to celebrate the nineteenth anniversary of the Commune. Comrades Guillemard, Deakin, Rowson, and Russell were the speakers, and the meeting was most enthusiastic throughout.—J. T. D.

DUBLIN.—At Progressist Club, 87 Marlboro' Street, March 22nd, T. Hamilton delivered an address on "Looking Backward," being an exhaustive review from the Collectivist standpoint of Bellamy's book. The views of the lecturer were supported by King, Martin, and Reilly, and opposed by O'Gorman and Fitzpatrick.

NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.—On Sunday evening R. S. Pengelly lectured in our hall on "Drifting to Socialism," Peacock in the chair. In the discussion which followed, Charles (Sheffield) and Barclay (Leicester) took part. Next Sunday, at 3 p.m., meeting of members.

DUBLIN.—The Irish Socialist Union held a commemoration meeting in honour of the Commune of Paris on Wednesday March 19, at 87 Marlboro' Street. Addresses were delivered by King, Fitzpatrick, Kelly, Hamilton, O'Gorman, Broe, and others.

EDINBURGH—SCOTTISH SOCIALIST FEDERATION.—On Tuesday 18th we celebrated the nineteenth anniversary of the Paris Commune by a social evening. There was a large gathering, including some French comrades who had taken an active part in that memorable event. Comrade Glasse proposed "The memory of the Commune," and comrade Melliet replied, both delivering eloquent addresses. Other toasts followed, and good speeches were made by comrades Bell, Gilray, Davidson, and Howie. The proceedings were otherwise enlivened by music and Socialist songs. Much enthusiasm prevailed.—On Sunday, comrade Tait lectured on "Capital and Labour." Questions and a good discussion followed.

The funeral of comrade Neuman, of the First Section Communistic Working Men's Society, will take place on Sunday March 30, at Manor Park Cemetery, the procession leaving the Communist Club at 12 o'clock.

CLUB AUTONOMIE, 6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, W.—Sunday March 30, at 8.30, Albert Tarn, "Abolition of the State."

P. Kropotkin will lecture in the Autonomie Hall, Windmill Street, on Thursday, 8 p.m.—subject, "Why we are Communists."

CHELSEA S.D.F., Co-operative Lecture Hall, 312 Kings Road, Chelsea.—Sunday March 30, at 8 p.m., H. M. Hyndman, "Ancient Society and Modern Development."

NEW MANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE, "Three Doves," Berwick St., Soho, W.—Sunday March 30, at 8.30 p.m., Prof. Lenne, "The Economic Basis of Co-operation." Committee meeting at 7.30.

EDINBURGH—SCOTTISH SOCIALIST FEDERATION.—In Moulders' Hall, High Street, on Sunday March 30, at 6.30, C. I. Burton, B.Sc., F.C.S., F.R.S.E., will lecture on "The Evolution of Socialism."

LIVERPOOL SOCIALIST SOCIETY, 1 Stanley Street, Dale Street.—Meets every Tuesday at 8 p.m. On Sunday March 30, Edward Carpenter, of Chesterfield, will lecture at 3 p.m. by the Landing Stage, and at 7.30 p.m. in Lord Nelson Concert Hall. Subjects—"The Breakdown of our Industrial System," and "The Present and Future Society."

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Battersea.—All communications to E. Buteux, 45, Inwith Street, Battersea Park Road.

Commonweal Branch.—24 Great Queen Street, Holborn, W.C. Business meeting of members every Thursday evening at 8; Discussion Class at 9. Hall open every evening from 7 till 10. On Sunday evening, March 30, H. Davis will lecture on "Anarchist Communism."

East London.—Comrades meet at 26 Cawley Terrace after the open-air meeting. **Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. March 28th, Meeting to consider the best means of organising out-door propaganda in the West-end of London during summer months. All Socialists interested invited to attend—8.30 p.m. Sunday March 30, at 8 p.m., E. A. Pease (Fabian), "The Newcastle Labour Movement." French Class conducted by Mlle. Desroches on Friday evenings at 7.30.

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

North Kensington.—Clarendon Coffee Palace, Clarendon Road. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m. On Sunday March 30, at 8 p.m., a Lecture.

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

Streatham.—Address secretary, R. Smith, 1 Natal Road, Streatham.

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.

Glasgow.—Ram's Horn Hall, 122 Ingram Street. Branch meets on Thursday evenings at 8 o'clock and Sundays at 7 o'clock. Members in arrears are earnestly requested to pay the contributions at once.

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

Leeds.—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road, School Close. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

Leicester.—Exchange Buildings, Rutland Street. Branch meets on Monday and Thursday, at 8 p.m.

Manchester.—Socialist League Club, 60 Grovesnor Street, All Saints. Open every evening. Branch weekly meeting on Tuesdays at 8 p.m. Edward Carpenter lectures on Monday 31st March, at 8 p.m.—subject, "The Present and Future Society."

Norwich.—Sunday, at 8, Gordon Hall. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Thursday, at 8, Discussion Class. Saturday, Social Meeting. Hall open every evening from 8 p.m.

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

Walsall.—Socialist Club, 18 Goodall Street, Walsall. Meetings every night.

Yarmouth.—Branch meets at comrade Headley's, near Co-operative Stores, every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class Friday at 8 p.m. C. W. Mowbray (of London) will address three meetings here on Easter Sunday.

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.

SATURDAY 29.

8.30..... Mile-end Waste..... The Branch

SUNDAY 30.

11 Latimer Road Station R. J. Lyne, Crouch, and Dean
11.30..... Hammersmith Bridge Hammersmith Branch
11.30..... Kilburn—"Old Plough," Kilburn Lane The Branch
11.30..... Mitcham—Fair Green Kitz
11.30..... Regent's Park Nicoll
3.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch North Kensington Branch
3.30..... Victoria Park Davis and Mowbray
7 Telje Road, Ravenscourt Park Hammersmith Branch
7.30..... Walham Green—back of Church Hammersmith Branch
8 Streatham Fountain Kitz

TUESDAY 1.

8 Walham Green—back of Church Hammersmith Branch

FRIDAY 4.

8.15..... Hoxton Church East London Branch

PROVINCES.

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.

Liverpool.—Landing-stage, Sundays at 11.30.

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

Norwich.—Sunday: St. Faiths, at 11; Market Place, at 3.

Sheffield.—Sunday: Monolith, Fargate, at 11.30 a.m.; Burngreave Road, near Vestry Offices, at 3 p.m.; Pump, West Bar, at 8 p.m.

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

Postal Propaganda.—Some who would like to do propaganda but dare not openly, or who cannot spare the time to do it personally, can find many ways in which it can be done quietly. Not the least useful among possible plans would be to order and pay for a number of copies to be sent to persons in whose hands they might do good. We will send six copies to six different addresses for 7d. Write the names and addresses legibly.

SOCIALIST LEAFLETS.

Single page, 8vo size, 2s. per thousand.

- Why be Transported?
- "Down with the Socialists!"
- The Cause of Prostitution.
- The Workers' Claims and "Public Opinion."
- Tramcar Slavery.
- Shall Ireland be Free?
- Ireland a Nation.
- Songs for the Workers (2 leaflets).
- The Skeleton or Starvation Army.

Single page, 4to size, 3s. per thousand.

- To Working Women and Girls.
- Strikes and the Labour Struggle.
- The Liberty and Property Defence League.
- The Doctrines of the Communists (2 leaflets).
- Labour is the source of all Wealth.

2 pages 8vo, 3s. per thousand.

- What Socialists Want.

4 pages 8vo, 4s. per thousand.

- A Straight Talk to Working Men.

These Leaflets, at prices given above, can be had from the *Commonweal* manager in any quantities by Branches, members, or sympathisers, for distribution, 24, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London.

SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION, LTD.

49 SOUTHAMPTON ROW, LONDON, W.C.

Sound Goods at Fair Prices!

SOCIALISTS of every shade who wish well to this enterprise should give it the first chance before going elsewhere. Boycott the Sweater all you can!

MEN V. MACHINERY.

Suggestive Facts and Figures, urging National Control of National Powers of Production.

BY THOMAS SHORE.

With Preface by H. HALLIDAY SPARLING.

Commonweal Office, 24, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, W.C., or from T. Shore, 33 Newington Green Road, N.

ON THE TWO GODS

OF THE CLERGY AND THE SOCIALISTS,

See "EVIDENCE respecting HELL."

A Verifiable Story of how the Silencing of one of the Clergy by Sudden Death taught the Writer the Vanity of their God.

1d. W. REEVES, 185 Fleet Street, E.C.

FREIHEIT

INTERNATIONAL ORGAN OF THE GERMAN-SPEAKING ANARCHISTS.

EDITED BY JOHN MOST.

Subscription, 2s. per quarter; under cover, 4s.

Müller, Post Office Box 3135, New York, U.S.A. or Office of *Commonweal*.

'The Commonweal.'

Terms of Advertising.

- 3d. per Line each Insertion.
- Half Column (57 Lines), 13s. 6d.
- One Column (114 Lines), £1, 5s.
- Two Columns, £2, 8s.
- Three Columns, £3, 10s.

Discount on Monthly Accounts amounting to £1, five per cent.; £5, ten per cent.

Advertisements must be acceptable in every respect. Copy received until Tuesdays, 3 p.m.

The *COMMONWEAL* is sent free to those who advertise in it as long as their advertisement continues.

SCALE OF BREVIER LINES.

5
10
15

WORKS BY JOHN BEDFORD LENO

"THE BURNS OF LABOUR."—*Athenæum*.

Drury Lane Lyrics. Fcap. 8vo, cloth. 3s.

The Last Idler, and other Poems. Fcap. 8vo, cloth. 3s.

Kimburton, A PICTURE OF VILLAGE LIFE. Second and Enlarged Edition. Paper Cover. 1s.

The marvellous success of 'Our Father,' 'Bet Graham,' 'Poor Bill,' 'Kimburton Fair,' etc., etc., forming part of the above work, as recitals, at St. James's Hall, London Clubs, etc., caused the first edition to be speedily exhausted.

REEVES AND TURNER, 196 Strand, W.C., or of the Author, 76 Drury Lane, W.C.

LA REVOLTE

ORGANE COMMUNISTE-ANARCHISTE.

One Penny weekly; by post, 1½d.

24 Great Queen Street, London, W.C.

MONOPOLY:

OR,

HOW LABOUR IS ROBBED.



A New Pamphlet

BY WILLIAM MORRIS.

Sixteen pages, ONE PENNY; by post, 1½d.

COMMONWEAL OFFICE, 24 Great Queen Street, W.C.

ARBEJDEREN

("The Worker")

DANISH SOCIALIST WEEKLY.

Edited and published by NICOLAJ PETERSEN and GERSON TRIER.

Subscription 3s. a-year.

Nansensgade 28A, Copenhagen.

NEW AND CHEAPER EDITION.

A DREAM OF JOHN BALL

AND

A KING'S LESSON.

BY WILLIAM MORRIS.

12mo, 143 pp. 1s.; post free, 1s. 2d.

Commonweal Office, 24, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, W.C.

ALL FOR THE CAUSE.

By W. MORRIS, with Music by E. B. BAX

Threepence.

Commonweal Office, 24, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, W.C.

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES.

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

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

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

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

Thus, while we abide by the old motto

Liberty, Fraternity, Equality,

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

We add to the first motto then this other one—

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

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

COUNCIL OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

NOTICE.

Subscribers who find a red wrapper round paper are thereby reminded that their subscriptions have expired and must be renewed immediately if they wish to continue to receive *Commonweal*.

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