

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

The *Daily News*, after a considerable amount of shilly-shally in the matter of the Maybrick case, has set itself to publishing a lot of meaningless politeness towards Mr. Matthews and the white-washing of Mr. Justice Stephen's "conscientiousness." This is all very well, and we don't want to go into people's "motives" like some judicial persons do; deeds that we do see must be taken as interpreting motives that we don't see; and the sentence on Harrison is the measure for us of Mr. Justice Stephen's "carefulness and conscientiousness." Nor can we forget that he was one of the first to set a-going the modern doctrine of the "superior pusson," and that in his published writings he has practically declared himself an enemy of the people. It is frightful to think of such a man wielding that abuse of our criminal procedure, the judge's summing-up.

The dock labourers' strike is one of the signs of the times, so fruitful of strikes of late, and at last of strikes among the unskilled. It must not be forgotten, however, that this kind of strike if successful (and, of course, every honest man must wish these poor fellows success) owes its success to the fact that public opinion is powerful in great centres of population, and that public opinion cannot help being on the side of these poor men, whose oppression touches even the sluggish imagination of the ordinary middle-class man. In places or under circumstances where overwhelming public opinion cannot be brought to bear, such strikes are doomed to certain failure; as, indeed, are most strikes.

Since then we are amidst such a period of strikes, and since whatever may be the effect of such strikes it is clear that they are inevitable, is it not the time to press on the workers general combination in this matter of the regulation of wages? Strikes, once more, are generally defeated now because the strikers are only acting in a scattered and skirmishing way, and can be crushed in detail. But suppose the inert and languishing body of trades' unionism revived by a "plan of campaign," which would mean the whole mass standing shoulder to shoulder in all strikes (and much increased in numbers as it certainly would be), surely that would be worth a heap of parliamentary legislation, and armies of paid and lukewarm inspectors! Every strike, I say, should have the whole weight of the organised workers at the back of it.

Again, if we have found strikes useful towards the revolutionary propaganda, it has been because in these days of widespread Socialist agitation they tend to enlighten the workers on their real relation to the masters, and to show them that the position of antagonism between the two taken up at a time of strike, is not an accident to the system of capital and labour, but an essential of it; that the masters as a body, and whatever may be the good will of any individual, are at enmity to the men; and that that enmity must take an obvious and practical form as soon as any group of the workers attempt to be anything more than mere passive tools in the hands of their employers.

Now surely, if the labour struggle were carried on by the workers organised in combination, this fact of the necessary opposition of the interests of master and men would no longer be hidden from the slowest capacity; and it would be understood that whatever gains the workers made could only be made at the expense of the masters, and when that was understood surely the step would not be long to the clear understanding that the masters are (at best) a mere useless clog on the workers, to be got rid of as soon as possible; and under these circumstances it would very soon be possible to get rid of them.

W. M.

Over the muzzling of dogs the first real conflict between the London County Council and the Government has arisen; so far it has gone entirely in favour of the Council. The Council was made responsible for superintending the execution of the dog-muzzling orders of the Government, and was requested to draw up regulations for the police

to carry out. Not having any control over the police, they refused to do so; it was none of their business, they said, to "regulate" where they could not control. As representatives of the people of London they would assume no responsibility for expenses, the incurring of which they were not competent to check or over-see. Now the Government has appointed an officer to fulminate and enforce the necessary edict "by and at the expense of the London County Council." It remains to be seen what the latter will do, for the matter is by no means closed as yet, but if they have the hearts of hares or half the prowess of guinea-pigs, they will resist payment of the obnoxious impost until actual compulsion has wrung it out of them. Strength to their elbows and straightness to their backs!

A few nights ago, in the *Pall Mall* there appeared a column of extracts from the school-inspectors' reports for 1888, which was well worth reading for side-lights on modern "education." One examiner says of the pupil-teachers' examinations that "the papers seemed to be done more by the light of nature than of study"—a statement which in one sense of it is entirely borne out by a definition, quoted as bad, but which is assuredly a stroke of true inspiration—that of the candidate who described "stocks" as being "money borrowed by a Government which it never means to repay."

A shoemaker, last week, made of himself the thirtieth suicide from Clifton Suspension Bridge. Only twenty-four years old, he had found life a failure, and leaped into the unknown. The jury called it "temporary insanity." Plain people called it another name as they read of the wretched starveling desperately tramping on a miserable search for the work that was not for him, and how the sordid horror of it all closed in upon his path, until there was but one outlet. A vulgar tragedy, attracting no particular attention amid the rush and hurry of great affairs, but yet one of those things that need every now and again to be forced into people's notice as a sign of what goes on around them.

Where is the "platform" that will touch these things? Or the politician who will take them up? They are exploited by charity-mongers and professional philanthropists, and by others passed by in stony silence. Without remedy, and without remorse, the politician puts them aside as insoluble mysteries, dispensations of providence, or what not. And the people, with a patience that endures all things, endures this also, though to some of us it seems as though it could not be for much longer.

S.

There is a long criticism in the shape of an article in the *Daily News* of last Saturday upon a recent novel, 'Captain Lobe,' which is supposed to deal with the work of the Salvation Army in the East-end, and has for its hero a captain in that valuable force. But as the writer of the article expains, it deals more with the condition of the inhabitants in the East-end slums than with the religious theories and practice put forth by the disciples of General Booth.

The writer appears to have, as far as an outsider can tell, some notion of the work of Salvationists, of which of course, as the book is written by a pious person and issued by a religious publishing firm, it gives a highly idealised picture; but it must be admitted that he is rather out of it when he proceeds to make an attempt to deal with the Socialist agitation in the East-end.

The book is among other things, according to the writer of the article, "a cry against the Socialists for their petty jealousies and the emptiness of their agitation." As to the emptiness of the agitation, we could agree with the author if it were true that Socialist speakers were in the habit of stunning their audiences with such words as "environment." I have spoken in the East-end for some years, and have heard others speak, and have never yet heard any Socialist orator make use of such a word. No, no, Mr. Author, with very few exceptions, Socialist speakers endeavour, like other popular orators, to render their words in as plain and simple fashion as they can to an audience that needs simplicity.

With regard to the emptiness of our agitation, I suppose by that the author means to bring up the old taunt of our want of practicality. But he agrees with other critics of East-end life in regard to the sluggishness and want of life in the East-end population. "The only things in which East-end people take much interest are murders and funerals. Their lives are so dull, nothing else sets their sluggish blood in motion. . . . The thing that strikes me most about East-end life is its soddenness; one is inclined to think that hunger and drink will in time produce a race of sensationless idiots." Is it not clear that the first thing to do with these people is to induce them to take an interest in something else than murders and funerals, and cannot the emptiness of our agitation spring from the fact that it has been mainly limited to making these people feel discontented with their lot? We are not sure, after all, that this agitation is so empty as talking to the people about a heaven and a god, which they cannot understand, or writing articles and novels which are simply a despairing cry for help to the middle and upper classes.

In spite, however, of our "petty jealousies" (which first fault I am not sure that Salvationists and other Christian bodies are so free from that their advocates can afford to cast stones at other people) and the "emptiness" of our agitation, Socialism is beginning to move even the East-end. The strike of the matchmakers a year ago, which was started by a Socialist, and which was supported by help from all sections of the Socialist party, has not been barren or empty in its results, for what does the fermentation, the revolts of the most downtrodden of the workers spring from but the plucky action of Bryant and May's girls? The gas-stokers, the tram men, the dock-labourers are following suit, and we do not find Salvationists or the writers of novels addressed to the middle classes, aiding in any way the workers even in these slight attempts to better their condition. Their work seems limited to crying Peace! peace! to the poor and soliciting charitable contributions from the rich. If the energy which is wasted in these futile attempts to stave off the rising storm were used to stir the people to revolt against their unjust misery, the East-end would not long cry for help in vain.

D. N.

FELIX PYAT.

THE veteran revolutionist, who has just been buried at the Pere la Chaise cemetery, has told us how he, the son of a Legitimist, became an ardent and devoted friend of the people. When, at the age of seventeen, he left college, before going to Paris for his degree, he spent his holiday with his family. On a certain Saturday, a market-day and a day of consultation for his father, who was an advocate, he found himself in his father's cabinet when an old man entered. He had white hair, a cotton cap, wooden shoes, a cotton blouse, although it was the end of October. He told his story as well as he could; the year had been a hard one, he said, and he had not been able to pay his rent, and his landlord, a new landlord, did not want to renew his lease. Pyat's father, who was honest, after having listened to him attentively, made him read and re-read his agreement, and then advised him not to go into court as the clauses were clear and plain against him. The old peasant, who had his own ideas concerning property, objected eloquently that it was unjust, that he had improved the farm, that he had made the land what it was, that he had grown old on that very soil, that one ought not, because he was in arrears for one year, to take his farm from him, much less to take it without any indemnity whatever. The advocate replied to him that indeed it was not right but it was the law. He repeated to him that it would simply be money thrown away to bring the case into court, and asked him at last his lowest fee, five francs for the consultation. "Five francs!" exclaimed the poor old man, with a cry never to be forgotten. "Five francs for four words, and only to tell him that he was ruined! Five francs to tell him that he was a dead man! Did they not know that he was forced to work and to pinch to get five francs?" And at every word his trembling voice pronounced, he complied, undoing the twisted string of his skin purse. And for every sou that he took from his purse a drop of sweat rolled down his forehead, as if he had taken that sou from his heart. It was pitiable to see and to listen. After having counted and re-counted it piece by piece, and given a long look for the last sight at the five piles of his poor money, Jacques Bonhomme went out staggering as if he had now been emptied and stunned in the process. The advocate had resumed his law-book. Pyat's mother, who was good, and who had come in for her market money, took up the coppers of the poor old man. Then she ran after him, making a sign for young Pyat to follow her. When all three were in the ante-chamber, she said to her son, "You see this poor man, it is his money that nourishes thee, it is his black bread that provides thee with white, his blouse pays for thy dress coat, his cap for thy hat, his wooden shoes for thy shoes! Here, give him ten francs back, and remember!"¹ Félix Pyat has well remembered! From that day he was upon the side of the people, and he has died a friend of the people. He has remained true to himself and to them to his last moment, and after all he has shown more revolutionary spirit than all those taken together who are so fond of merely peddling with petty economic questions, and who blame him now as they do—Pyat the Revolutionist!

Félix Pyat was born at Vierzon, in the Cher Department, October 4th, 1810, of parents who were influential in the Legitimist party.

¹ Lettre aux Etudiants par Félix Pyat. Londres, 1866.

His successes at the Bourges college were most brilliant. He then went to Paris to study jurisprudence, but did not feel inclined to go to the bar. Yet a student, he became mixed up in the republican and democratic movement, which, at that period, involved the *élite* of the French nation in a vigorous war against the execrated government of Charles X. After the revolution of 1830, which had only succeeded in replacing one king by another, Pyat entered upon a journalistic career and displayed a most strenuous literary activity. He contributed to the *Charivari*, the *Revue de Paris*, the *Artiste*, the *Revue Démocratique*, the *National* (1835, 1841), the *Revue Britannique*, of which he became the chief editor, the *Europe Littéraire*, and the *Réforme*. It was during this period that he wrote one of the most exquisite episodes in French literature, the "Daughters of Séjan," which is to be found in *Barnave* (by Jules Janin), the "Hangman" in *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* (the French pictured by themselves), the "Revolutionary Telemachus," a very curious piece of criticism, the "Ring," the "Secret of Dominique," etc. Most of these writings attracted much attention, but his name became chiefly known and most popular as a dramatic author. After 1832, he wrote many plays mostly bearing upon social and political matters, some of which created very vivid impressions in the minds of the people. He was at all times a splendid master of language, using in turns the fierce invective, the bitter irony, and the burning denunciation of a prophet, or the corroding satire of a Juvenal; capable also of the profoundest pathos, when laying down the maxims of his clear, sober, and severe philosophy. Above all, he had, like the poets and the dramatists whose creations are revolutionary deeds and acts of propaganda, a serene faith that saw beyond the stormy clouds and the troubled darkness of the day into the events of a happier time to come. His *début* in the drama was "A Revolution of Yore: or, the Romans at Home," which was so full of political allusions that it provoked at once the wrath of the government and was suppressed. Then came "A Conjururation of Yore," "The Brigand and the Philosopher" (Feb. 22, 1834, Porte St. Martin Theatre); "Ango" (June 29, 1835, Ambigu); "Arabella" (1838), wherein he revealed the supposed authors of the murder of the Prince of Condé; "The Two Locksmiths" (May 25, 1841, Porte St. Martin); "Cedric the Norwegian" (1842, Odeon); "Mathilde" (1842); "Diogenes" (1846); and "The Ragpicker of Paris" (1847), which has often been reckoned amongst the symptoms preceding the great popular outbreak in the Revolution of 1848.

Here begins a new period in Pyat's life. The Provisional Government sent him as their general commissioner to the Cher Department. A month afterwards he was elected a member of the Constituent Assembly, where, as well as in the succeeding Legislative Chamber, he sided with the most advanced democrats, the Montagnards. On June 11, 1849, he is said by all the historians to have signed the appeal to arms drawn up by Ledru-Rollin, on the occasion of the infamous expedition of the French Republic (*recte* Napoleon) against the Roman Republic, and to have been, on the 13th, to the Academy of Arts and Crafts (Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers), where the conspiracy had its headquarters, and to have fled from there when the troops entered that establishment. For this plot he was tried and sentenced to transportation for life. Pyat chose to transport himself to Switzerland, and afterwards¹ explained that neither Ledru-Rollin, nor Considérant, nor himself had drawn up the famous appeal, and that he had not been at all at the Conservatoire, but that his colleague Pflieger, whom he met at some distance of that spot in the Rue des Fossés-Montmartre, told him that all was over, the conspirators having been dispersed by the troops. Félix Pyat nevertheless went into exile, an exile that lasted twenty years.

VICTOR DAVE.

(To be concluded.)

The Irish delegates, Dillon and Esmonde (Deasy being absent), spoke at Newcastle, N.S.W., on May 18th, 1889, to a very large audience; they briefly touched upon the position of the Irish peasants in Ireland, and illustrated some diabolical acts perpetrated by the authority of Landlord Balfour. In the course of Esmonde's speech that gentleman came out very strongly. He said among the many things he had been charged with was that he had been called an Anarchist by way of reproach, but if it was to resist the tyranny and coercion of governments then he was an Anarchist and should remain so. The majority in attendance no doubt could not understand this, while some well-dressed land-sharks and boodlers in the Home Rule disguise sitting on the platform could not appreciate Esmonde's Anarchism, and gave some alarming looks at the speaker, and wondered what was coming next!—R. S., Australia.

We have received No. 1 of *The Sower*, "the organ of the New Fellowship," which is to be published quarterly at one penny, and is to be had from W. Reeves (Fleet Street). In its "Editorial Preface," it says: "The truth is that the basal fact underlying all the wretchedness around us is the absence of real freedom—of a freedom that is rooted in equality and manifested in brotherhood. Time was when not only the land and capital of the country, but also the labourers themselves were the possessions of a dominant class; and when the profoundest philosophers could conceive of no better condition as either possible or desirable for the masses of men. The heroic struggles of centuries have resulted in setting the slaves at liberty, and the ownership of man in man is abolished. But the freedom so hardly won turns out to be only a partial deliverance; and the majority of men find themselves but too often as truly thralls as ever. For the land and capital necessary to labour being retained by the few, he who has but his labour to depend on must pay toll to their owners or starve. Thus it comes about that the free man is forced to sell himself again for the right to live, not wholesale as of old, but by dribbets; by the day or the week. Formerly the absolute possession of his master, whom, as his live stock, it was his interest to keep in health and vigour, the worker has now become his tool, out of which he may get the most work, may use up, and fling away."

¹ Lettres d'un Proscrit, 1851. 2nd volume, page 103.

AUSTRALIAN NOTES.

THE Commonage, a tract of land situated close to Newcastle, and consisting of about 3,000 acres, has been the free abode of a large number of people for many years. In the early days of this colony (N.S.W.) it was used for cattle waiting shipment at Newcastle. After, when coal was found there, capitalistic companies opened out mines, and the people who were employed at the mines were allowed by the "authorities" to settle on the Commonage on account of it being convenient for their work; and the "gentlemen" in the "House" at that time, seeing also that the land was swampy and not at all valuable when in such a state, did a good thing for many hundreds of people by giving them the free use of it.

I maintain that they had a right to it—free; that, naturally, there should have been no authority about it. Anyhow, the people manufactured their own bricks, or else procured wood and built their humble abodes; they fenced in what land they needed—an amount which their individual labour could look after. Workers coming to the country found a natural benefit in settling on free land; there was no grasping as in most cases, or as our land monopolists do generally; the free land was not blest with beer or spirit houses. As time went on the Commonage began to have a different aspect! The inhabitants greatly improved the land by carefully draining it, and they heartily enjoyed this freedom. But a change came!

Later politicians had their eyes on this "Social System"; they found that working people did not bother about buying land surrounding the Commonage—mainly monopolised by themselves and other brother land-sharks—when they could freely settle down there; so the time has arrived when they are resolving to break down such a system and make the people pay cash for the land they hold, or else quit! The commoners have made the land rather valuable in the eyes of the grabbers by their improvements, and no doubt that will be used against them. The money, they say, that is derived from the sale of the land has to go into the coffers of the State; otherwise the pockets of the politicians, who seek to ruin these poor commoners. No doubt the monopolists in the "House" will see that the former do not purchase their little patches of land— $\frac{1}{4}$ of an acre—for "next-to-nothing"!

The valuers—tools of the exploiters—will no doubt put on a price which the people will be unable to pay, as the majority of them being miners have been working very little for a long time, and are still doing so; the recent long "strike" robbed a great many of what little money they had saved up, so no doubt they will be at the mercy of their foes. They have only one way in which to pay the government, and that is by obtaining a "loan" from the usurers with interest, but they must give them the deeds of the land, and perhaps their houses, as a security. Out of the frying-pan into the fire! No doubt the people will be unable to accomplish their ends, and thus will their natural property float from their grasp into the hands of the monied class; and they will be destitute of free homes!

But then, if the commoners had been of the same way of thinking as the people who print the *Australian Radical* (the latter are commoners, and the paper is printed on free land), they would naturally rebel and stand up for their rights, as the commoners number 3,000; but then few of them are Socialists, and they wish to be humbugged and robbed by political tricksters. They are evidently not advanced enough to perceive where injustice comes in; but it is to be hoped that our bright little paper, the *Radical*, will arouse them before long.

Propaganda work seems to be going ahead in Melbourne. J. A. Andrews, J. W. Fleming, L. D. Petrie, and a few others regularly speak on the wharves every Sunday, and influence large audiences. They persistently push the *Radical*, and their hearts are in the work; the authorities have given them much trouble by trying to suppress free speech, and the propagandists have had to put up with some very hard knocks—the government inciting "roughs" to belabour and drive them from the wharves at different times. J. W. Fleming has suffered imprisonment for advocating our principles, but he will not be stopped, and defies law-'n'-order!

The unemployed are numbering more and more every day. The streets of Melbourne and Sydney are thick with them; they are constantly going to the government for work at any price to buy food to keep life in, but Premiers Gillies and Parkes dismiss them with the answer, "See us some other time!" Great misery is prevalent among the poor people. One case is recorded in the *Radical* to this effect: "Only last week a poor human creature, haggard, worn, and emaciated, was found sleeping in the Melbourne Treasury Gardens, and for being found at night crouched in the public way he was dragged before the city magistrate. The man explained to Mr. Call, P.M., in a feeble voice, that being without work or money he had no choice but to be without shelter. 'Without shelter!' replied the magistrate with a cruel sneer, 'then we will give you a month's shelter in the gaol.' Kind-hearted man!

A man, Ernest Buttner by name, was sentenced to death by the law for committing an alleged outrage on a young woman named Jessie Lennox some time back in Sydney. The story of the woman briefly was that she had just arrived from Brisbane and had put up at the prisoner's restaurant, that he had outraged her, and by her endeavours to make an alarm at the window she was able to bring some policemen to her help. The evidence of the latter was quite sufficient to prove the man guilty, so the above penalty was thought properly fit for him. *Bu presto!* A man living in Queensland happened to read about the affair, wrote to the New South Wales authorities and turned things as they were upside down. He conclusively proved that the said Jessie Lennox was a prostitute, and was well known as one among the important towns of Queensland. Upon this, further investigations were made, and it was found that no rape had been committed, and the woman finally confessed that she had been a consenting party and that Buttner was innocent and greatly wronged. The police evidence had been got up afterwards. He was released from prison the very day that he was to have been hanged! His little business is ruined, as it had to be sold to pay his Court expenses. The government have now offered him the sum of £50 to clear out of the country by way of "compensation"!

ROBERT STUART.

Broadmeadow, Hamilton, N.S.W., Australia, June 15th, 1889.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

FRANCE.

The *Révolte* has just published a small pamphlet, "Les deux congrès impossibles: compte-rendu d'un délégué," a reprint from the *Révolte*, with Merlino's resolution appended.

The *Père Peinard* also contains a fair article on the Congress, reprinted in the *Drapeau Noir* of Brussels, the Belgian Anarchist paper, which from a fortnightly has now become a weekly paper.

The proposed International Anarchist meetings at Paris are announced to take place on the first two Sundays in September. A preparatory meeting of the Paris groups was held on August 10th. No order of the day will be fixed beforehand, each speaker bringing forward any subject he likes. Discussions on the following questions are already announced: What is Anarchy?—Can an Anarchist society last?—What are the best means of bringing about the revolution?—How shall expropriation be carried out?—What shall become of art and science in an Anarchist society?—What have Anarchists to do in wartime?—Revolutionary tactics in towns and agricultural districts—Theft in the interest of propaganda—Individual theft (for subsistence)—Theft through misery—Means of establishing communication between the Anarchists of various countries.

HOLLAND.

In 1887, as will be remembered, Socialist meeting-places in Leyden and other towns were attacked by drunken mobs amidst patriotic cries, the furniture of the halls was destroyed, several were wounded, etc. It has now been made public, through the revelations of a former police agent, that the police themselves distributed the money on which the mob got drunk. By bribing several persons, however, these exposures have been again hushed up and suppressed for the present.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

The three editors of the new *Arbeiter-Zeitung* of Vienna have been fined £4 each for publishing their paper on Thursday night with the date of Friday printed on it, which is and long has been the custom with every weekly paper there. Pokorny, one of the editors, was sentenced to five days' imprisonment because he went disguised as a tramcar-driver to a tramcar-men's meeting and made a Socialist speech there.

The preamble of the Paris resolution on labour legislation has been confiscated at Brünn, although a fortnight ago it was published at Vienna without interference.

RUSSIA.

A large number of arrests are reported to have taken place lately in Odessa and its neighbourhood.

Dembksi, who with the late Brinstein, took part some months ago in the chemical experiment near Zürich which formed the pretext for the imprisonment and expulsion of so many Russians in Zürich, and who was severely wounded then, has now recovered, and, being expelled, has been forced to leave Zürich for France.

AMERICA.

We have received the first number of *Der Anarchist*, an Anarchist-Communist organ, published in German at St. Louis, Mo. (August 1), and edited by Claus Timmermann. The new paper will follow upon the lines of the *Anarchist*, published monthly in 1886 at Chicago by Fischer, Engel, and others, and suppressed, like the *Alarm*, in May 1886. It proposes to abstain from all personal gossiping and quarreling, which is by no means an unnecessary promise for a St. Louis paper, as the space of the *Parole* of that city was almost entirely wasted upon such purposes.

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PORTUGAL.

A Revolução Social (Oporto) laments frankly, in the leading article of the current number, that Portugal lags behind in the revolutionary movement that stirs in Europe nowadays; that she is a land of indolence, a society putrid to the core, corrupt and corrupting. "No man is a hero to his valet," the proverb says; and it seems to me that we all make the same complaint of indolence and corruption of our respective countries, while the movement works, the idea goes on, almost unseen and in spite of ourselves. Some countries of necessity lag behind, by reason of slower development, occasioned by geographical position, temperament, and so forth; but their time will come with the rest, and what matters the day later or earlier? I read in the same number and in other papers of strikes in Lisbon and Oporto, and more or less successful attempts at association of the workers in self-defence against their exploiters. This is, after all, pretty much what other countries do, only on a smaller scale. The revolutionary movement lies beneath the industrial agitation.

ITALY.

The editors of Mazzini's works have published on the last anniversary of his birth (June 22) vol. 17 of the complete edition of his writings. The volume consists of a collection of articles written in 1871-72 in the *Roma del Popolo* on social questions and especially on the old International and on the Paris Commune. The following are some of the headings: "The Commune of France," "The Manifesto of the Commune of Paris," "Historical Sketch of the International," "Documents," etc., etc.

We have received a Patriotic March, "dedicated to the Italian Democracy" by the author Filippo Mercuri. Glancing at it with an unmusical and therefore modest eye, I gather that it is scored for a band of brass, that it is of a lively nature, and that the ubiquitous Garibaldi *motif* comes in in the trio, first in the minor then in the major tone. It should be popular with democratic bands. I confess that my eye was so attracted by the cover that I could scarcely turn to the contents. It is a picture wonderfully full of incident and allegory. A double eagle is nailed to a massive gallows, whence swing along a rope the letters of the patriot Oberdan's name, also the name of the march. A liberally rayed star shines above, the red flag waves, laurels twine; and in short, I recommend this spirited drawing to the attention of Mr. Walter Crane, who in England is our only master of allegorical covers.

M. M.

GONE BACK!—J. F. Busche, editor of the *Workmen's Advocate*, has returned to New York after attending the Paris Congress, and his paper has immediately resumed the habit of clipping from the *Commonweal* without acknowledgment, which it had dropped during his absence.



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

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

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

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

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

HELD OVER TO NEXT WEEK—Article on Co-operative Festival at the Crystal Palace, and letter on Merlino's resolution.

PROVINCIAL NEWSAGENTS—Names and addresses of provincial newsagents who sell 'Weal' should be sent in at once to Manager, as a list of them is to appear in an early number.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
Notes on News MORRIS, SPARLING, and NICOLL	265
Felix Pyat VICTOR DAVE	266
Australian Notes ROBERT STUART	267
International Notes M. M. and X.	267
Scottish Notes J. BRUCE GLASIER	268
Delescluze REGINALD A. BECKETT	269
Correspondence:—Sailors and Socialists—The Case of Swelen: a Reply to Anarchist Criticism	269
The Labour Struggle D. J. NICOLL	270
Revolutionary Calendar	270
Executive Announcements, Reports, Lecture Diary, and Notices of Meetings	271
Advertisements, New Publications, etc., etc.	272

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday August 21.

<p>ENGLAND Brotherhood Die Autonomie Freedom Haywood Advertiser Justice Labour Elector Labour Tribune London—Freie Presse Railway Review Worker's Friend</p> <p>INDIA Bankipore—Behar Herald</p> <p>UNITED STATES New York—Der Sozialist Freiheit Volkszeitung Jewish Volkszeitung Twentieth Century Workmen's Advocate Boston—Liberty Nationalist Chicago—Knights of Labor</p>	<p>Vorbote Statesman Detroit—Der Arme Teufel Milwaukee—National Reformer Die Wahrheit N. J. Freie Presse San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung S. F. Coast Seamen's Journal St Louis—Anarchist Altruist</p> <p>FRANCE Paris—Le Parti Ouvrier (daily) Le Proletariat La Revolté La Revue Socialiste Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur</p> <p>HOLLAND Hague—Recht voor Allen</p> <p>BELGIUM Antwerp—De Werker Ghent—Vooruit Liege—L'Avenir</p>	<p>ITALY Milan—Il Fascio Operaio</p> <p>SPAIN Madrid—El Socialista</p> <p>PORTUGAL Lisbon—O Protesto Operario A Revolta</p> <p>GERMANY Berlin—Volks Tribune</p> <p>AUSTRIA Brunn—Volksfreund</p> <p>DENMARK Social-Demokraten</p> <p>SWEDEN Goteborg—Folkets Rost Malmo—Arbetet Stockholm, Social-Demokraten</p> <p>WEST INDIES Cuba—El Productor</p> <p>ARGENTINE REPUBLIC Buenos Ayres—Vorwarts</p>
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No remittances for League purposes should be sent to any other persons than those specially appointed to receive them, and whose names are duly advertised in the "Commonweal," or to any other address than this Office. Readers, especially in the Provinces, are asked to beware of appeals emanating from any person other than the Treasurer of the League, the Secretary of the Propaganda Committee, or myself,

FRANK KITZ, Secretary of the Socialist League.

SCOTTISH NOTES.

The reception accorded to the Duke and Duchess of Portland on their "home coming" to Fullarton House, Ayrshire, was, as the Duke himself admitted, "most cordial and gratifying" to him. A holiday was proclaimed in the district, triumphal arches were erected, flags were stuck on haystacks and chimney-pots, and the entire population, in full demonstration array, marched forth to greet the newly-wedded ducal pair. There were trade societies and athletic clubs, Freemasons and Good Templars, Sunday-schools and police; there were clergymen and lawyers, publicans and magistrates, merchants solvent and bankrupt, and working-men from 12s. per week upwards and downwards: and they all professed to be as delighted at having the actual body and soul of the newly-married duke in the midst of them as if he had been the heavenly bridegroom and Prince of Peace whom they profess to worship in their churches on Sundays.

We must not, however—as I remarked on a former occasion of this kind—take such exhibitions as serious manifestations of Scottish popular sentiment. Probably not one man or woman who "demonstrated" really cared one straw either for the Duke or his wife. People will applaud almost any show—especially when it brings them a holiday; and the show of a newly-married couple, although common enough, is always uncommonly interesting. In so far as the people welcomed and cheered the Duke and Duchess because of their rank and riches, they were paying more respect to themselves and their own interests than to the titled couple. It is a regard for their own wealth—which meanwhile is so largely dependent upon the patronage and favour of the Duke—that constrained them to make such an exhibition of themselves. They would cheer the "home coming" of the Mahdi or the King of the Cannibal Islands just as heartily if either of those individuals could do as much for or against them as the Duke of Portland; and when the Social Revolution comes, whether with "winds from heaven or blasts from hell," they will cheer it too. Some day they will see that the Duke of Portland is not a friend, but a foe—not a philanthropist, but a freebooter—and they won't cheer him then, I'll be bound. Some, probably most, of those who did cheer him think so now, but dare to avow their convictions. But the days are marching on: and the crowds who welcome and applaud the Duke of Portland to-day may yet hang him as thief and a robber in Fullarton Woods if he does not repent and be converted in time.

In July 1789 the populace of Paris welcomed their king with shouts of delirious joy and strewed roses on his path; and in January 1793—only three and a half years afterwards—they chopped his sacred head off and threw it in a basket, amid a storm of derision and curses.

The Glasgow carters who went on strike a fortnight ago did not show half the fight that was expected of them. The Caledonian Railway carters caved in on the third day: the sight of a number of scabs preparing to yoke their horses and take their places was more than their sordid souls could endure, and they rushed forward and begged back their jobs. By the end of the week all the railway hands had surrendered, the masters merely promising that individual claims for an advance would be considered each on its own merits. A number of general contractors acceded to the men's demand for 2s. extra per week—i.e., 26s. and payment for overtime. On Monday week all the strikers then out returned to work on the old terms, the president of the Carters' Society, who had the week before declared that "they would never surrender," etc., etc., himself leading a batch of carters back to his own employer and asking them to start work. The strike therefore only lasted a week.

But the tame "law and order" spirit of the men was sorrowful to behold. I witnessed a procession of some 1,200 men pass through the principal streets, and despite the fine physical appearance of the majority, their demeanour was most unimpressive. They had no "go" in them. The half-hearted cheers with which they greeted their friends were even more melancholy than the fitful attempts which they made to "boo" their enemies. They had more the appearance of a band of gravediggers going to the scene of some terrible railway disaster than a regiment of soldiers marching to fight for freedom.

Not a song was sung—not even "Scots wha hae": and I cannot help thinking that a procession of working men who don't sing, won't fight. It is true they do not know any labour songs; but when their souls are really stirred with enthusiasm for their own emancipation, they will find songs, and, if necessary, make them.

It is sixteen years since the carters were last out on strike, and since then they have been organising themselves—i.e., paying salaries to officials, etc.—and this is all the show of battle they could make! It is but fair, however, to state that, for some reason or other, the mass of the men had no confidence in the fight being really an earnest one; and this may in a measure account for their lack of pluck.

The carters' wives were far more enthusiastic in the struggle than their husbands, and far more hearty in their demonstrations of opinion. It is unsafe, however, to judge general sentiment from single instances. While the carters' procession was passing I heard a woman cry, "Stick tae yer colours, Jock, and though ye should eat naething but peasemeal brose for a month, dinna gie in!" Immediately afterwards I overheard a woman counselling a carter who evidently had not joined the strike: "That's richt, Tam! Dinna leave yer job tae gang and mak' a fule o' yersel' wi' these puir misguidet cratures; a bird in the hand's worth twa in the bush, ye ken!"

The base conception of duty which our money-mongering civilisation engenders is well exemplified by an appeal, which a correspondent in the Glasgow Daily Mail made last week, to reward the volunteer search party which found the body of the tourist Rose who was murdered on the Arran hills. The notion that men ought to be rewarded with money for performing so slight a service in the interests of humanity is as revolting as the murder itself.

Beware of the man who prefaces an argument by saying "I am as much a Socialist as you are, but—". You will generally find that there is much more of the "but" than the Socialist in him. I encountered an individual of this stamp in the form of a divinity student on a recent holiday. In the course of a conversation he expostulated,

"I am probably as much, if not more, a Socialist than you are, but—"; and the "but" included the following inventory of old rag-store Toryism: That it would be robbery to take the land without compensating landlords; that the Land League and Home Rule are utterly wicked things; that it is reasonable, humane, and Christian for our troops to butcher the Dervishes and Arabs in the interest of civilisation; and that there will always be rich and poor, and masters and servants!

And this interesting political prodigy carried two volumes of Swinburne in his satchel, and professed to be a great admirer of, and to have read all, William Morris's poetry! He actually crowed out several passages from the 'Earthly Paradise.' It may be that there was more of Swinburne than Morris in him; but anyhow it is evident that to some queer cases at least the 'Earthly Paradise' fails to be of more use as a moral agency than the Shorter Catechism or the Ten Commandments—(pace W. M.!).

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

DELESCLUZE.

("LEFT HIS LIFE GLORIOUSLY," 25TH MAY, 1871.)

[Lost yet again! Humanity will face
Another time, perhaps another place:
Yet soon the final triumph must appear,
And our reward is to have brought it near.]

HEAR how he kept the solemn vow he made
To live or die with those he loved and led—
And hope was gone, yet words of hope he said;
Then pressing friendly hands that would have stayed
His steadfast steps, he reached the barricade:
With loose white locks against the sunset red
He stood aloft a moment, and fell dead
Amid the thunder of the cannonade.

After long years heroically passed
In poverty, imprisonment, and pain,
After the die of fortune boldly cast
For visionary hopes the world calls vain,
He calmly welcomes his reward at last—
The swift sweet death, the bullet in the brain.
REGINALD A. BECKETT.

CORRESPONDENCE.

SAILORS AND SOCIALISTS.

Comrades,—In last week's number of *Commonweal*, notice was taken of a reference in the *Coast Seamen's Journal* to the action of the Glasgow Socialists in the recent strike of seamen and dock labourers. Let me say that the Glasgow Socialists did not ask to speak, and never were refused permission to speak to the Seamen's Union. The seamen's meetings were held in private, and being meetings confined so far as we knew exclusively to members of the union, we did not seek admission. Our action was confined to the dock labourers. Their meetings were held mostly in the open air, and were addressed by several well-known disciples of Henry George, who were neither seamen nor dock labourers, and who advocated land restoration principles.

Despite this fact the Glasgow Socialists never made any request to speak upon the official platform of the union. What transpired was this:—A member of the dock labourers' committee, seeing a great mass of the men standing at the union office door, asked us if we would address the men, and we replied that we would. He then requested the men to go to the Queen's Dock, where they would hear addresses from Socialists. Upon this an official stood up and stated that he was authorised by the secretary and executive to say that they did not wish Socialists to speak to the men or have anything to do with the strike, and he requested the men to have nothing at all to do with the Socialists. I succeeded in gaining a hearing, and in a short speech explained our principles, and claimed the right to address any body of working-men whether their trades' officials wished it or not. The men received my address enthusiastically, and grumbled at the stupid prohibition of the union officials. We *did* distribute literature amongst the men, and what is more, collected money in public for them and spoke in their behalf at all our meetings—a thing no other political or trades' society did do. There was no split amongst the dock labourers owing to our action, for whatever our own opinions were concerning the officials and the management of the strike, we never expressed them during the strike. There was indeed a split between the dock labourers and the seamen, and that was owing to the fact that the seamen "went in" without the consent of the labourers, despite the fact (so the labourers alleged) that it had been stipulated that the two unions were to stand or fall together.

Let me say that we believe that the conduct of the officials of the Dock Labourers' Union in this matter was wretchedly partial and cowardly. The secretary was not a seaman or a dock labourer, but was known chiefly as an advocate of Henry Georgism. An individual who appeared to be chief boss of the strike was also neither a seaman nor dock labourer, and not even a member of the union; he was a public exponent of Henry George's theories, and advocated those theories in his speeches to the men. I fail to see that Henry George's *unscientific* theories have any more to do with a strike of dock labourers than the "scientific" theories of Socialists. Socialists can indeed speak very pertinently to workmen on strike, but Henry Georgites cannot; yet the Georgites were allowed to orate from the official platform, while the Socialists were forbidden to speak to the men on any platform at all!

It is comforting to us to know that if we had thought it our duty, we could have split the union on behalf of Socialism. Never in the presence of any mass of men have we felt such interest in or sympathy with our principles. Numbers of the men knew us personally as advocates of the rights of labour, and not a few of them were avowed Socialists. And I will only add this, that if we had been allowed to associate ourselves with

the executive—small in number as we are—we could have suggested things to be done, and could have done much that was left undone, besides imbuing the men with such a recognition of their rights and such a resolution to achieve them, that might have made the issue of the strike both for seamen and labourers in Glasgow more successful than it unfortunately was.—Yours fraternally,
J. BRUCE GLASIER.

Glasgow, August 18, 1889.

THE CASE OF SWEDEN.

A REPLY TO ANARCHIST CRITICISM.

Some of our Anarchistic friends like to speak worse of Socialistic leaders than of capitalists. "The working-men are good, but the leaders are bad" they say, and prove that even such a small morsel of authority as a Socialistic leader cannot avoid possessing and using most necessarily be corrupting, fatal to his finer, really Socialistic qualities. This is all true—so far as I can see. But it would be difficult to point out any occupation whatever which is *not* depraving under the present all-corrupting society. Even chewing over one's own Anarchist opinions for a length of time may be rather depraving. There is this much good which may be said about the leader, the propagandist—that he is active, that he is in contact with revolutionary life, with the Socialistic work as it is; that he is really spending his energy and sacrificing many of his minor inclinations for the cause. This is certainly educating and ennobling. Therefore I do not think it contradictory to what I admitted above to say that the leader and the propagandist generally are the best men among us.

Look for a moment at Sweden. A population by half a million smaller than that of London is in that country rather evenly spread over a surface more than a third part larger than that of Great Britain, Ireland, and the isles all put together. There are no big cities, but more than a hundred very small ones, with a distance between them of generally more than a hundred, often more than two hundred miles. There are no big centres of industry, but the whole vast country is dotted all over with small factories and mines employing a few dozen workmen each; and often these places are buried in virgin forests and sometimes fifty miles away from the nearest railway station. This is all very nice and picturesque to the tourist, whose nerves are ruined by the turmoil of London, Paris, or Berlin; but it means hard work to the preacher of the coming social order. He must travel far, and be content to speak to a dozen hearers at a time. He finds all industrial and economical matters in a much more primitive stage of evolution than his co-worker in the great industrial countries. He stands often before the necessity of making special analyses upon the circumstances around him, while it is clear that the ordinary phrases would not hit the mark, and would leave Socialism to his hearers a dead, unintelligible sound. He meets in petty local tyrants an immense reactionary force, which is a thing of the past in big industrial centres.

In a very poor, very thinly populated country, the worker is a slave indeed—especially in the country, where there are twenty or thirty miles to the next master. If you can show him that he might liberate himself from his master and be all the better for that, there is a new difficulty to show him—the possibility of freedom from want, from incessant drudgery for his bread. The glorious and encouraging achievements of our modern industry are nearly unknown to him. You have to teach him that too. Such are the difficulties with which our brave Swedish comrades, and more especially the leaders and propagandists *ex professo*, have to struggle. They have been at work only some three or four years, but have already succeeded in making Socialism known in all the towns and many of the villages of the vast country; they have made thousands of Swedish workers into friends of the Cause, and there is not a magistrate or police official in the country—from the minister of justice in Stockholm to the gendarme of the remotest village in the North—who does not feel uneasy and full of disagreeable emotions when he hears the word Socialism. The powers that be understand already, thanks to the agitation of a dozen devoted men, what an uncompromising enemy of the existing "order" Socialism is; and that is a great achievement in a country like Sweden. Because the government plunges itself at once with a ludicrous *naivete* into the work of—Socialistic propaganda. Even to the last peasant of the last village come the news of what government is doing. He hears that they fight Socialism with a brutality, a regardlessness of old civil rights, and a prostitution of "justice" hitherto unheard of in the country; and that sets him thinking what Socialism may be. The last great act of socialistic agitation by the Swedish government is the imprisonment of our four principal leaders. Of them and their fight with reaction I will tell next week under "International Notes."

STRX.

The *Nationalist* (9, Hamilton Place, Boston, U.S., 10 cents. per number, 1 dol. per year) is a monthly magazine, well written, edited, and printed, but with a detestable sulphur-coloured cover. Its aims are sufficiently set forth in the following declaration of principles, which appears in each number:—

"The principle of the Brotherhood of Humanity is one of the eternal truths that govern the world's progress on lines which distinguish human nature from brute nature.

"The principle of competition is simply the application of the brutal law of the survival of the strongest and most cunning.

"Therefore, so long as competition continues to be the ruling factor in our industrial system, the highest development of the individual cannot be reached, the loftiest aims of humanity cannot be realised.

"No truth can avail unless practically applied. Therefore those who seek the welfare of man must endeavour to suppress the system founded on the brute principle of competition, and put in its place another based on the nobler principle of association.

"But in striving to apply this nobler and wiser principle to the complex conditions of modern life, we advocate no sudden or ill considered changes; we make no war upon individuals; we do not censure those who have accumulated immense fortunes simply by carrying to a logical end the false principle on which business is now based.

"The combinations, trusts, and syndicates of which the people at present complain, demonstrate the practicability of our basic principle of association. We merely seek to push this principle a little further, and have all industries operated in the interest of all by the nation—the people organised—the organic unity of the whole people.

"The present industrial system proves itself wrong by the immense wrongs it produces; it proves itself absurd by the immense waste of energy and material which is admitted to be its concomitant. Against this system we raise our protest; for the abolition of the slavery it has wrought and would perpetuate, we pledge our best efforts."

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

The Great Strike at the Docks.

There was great excitement at the East-end of London on Thursday August 15, for on that day a strike broke out affecting over 7,000 dock-labourers. The usual pay of these men has been 5d. an hour; but when the work has been unusually hard and hazardous they have received 6d. They complain that under the present system they only obtain one or two hours' work, and have to wait hours at the dock gate in order to get that. This system of course prevents them from obtaining any other work during the day. They now demand that they shall not be engaged for less than four hours at a time, and that their pay shall be at the rate of sixpence an hour. With a view of splitting the organisation, the Company have offered an advance of sixpence to men in the wood and export departments; but this has been refused unless all the strikers are included in it. The demands of the men are very moderate, for the *Star* states that at present with their ordinary wages the outside men do not earn more than 1s. 3d. a-day. Every 5,000 tons of unloading that comes into the docks represents between £900 and £1,000 to the companies, out of which sum not quite £300 is spent for labour. Intense sympathy is felt for the strikers in the neighbourhood, and the poor working people literally fill collecting-boxes of the men on strike with coppers. It is certain that those who make a plucky stand against capitalistic tyranny are always sure of the sympathy and help of their fellows.

On Friday, the men marched in procession through the city, John Burns at their head. As they passed by Millwall Docks, 1,000 men threw up their work and joined the procession, though the masters offered them as much as 8d., 9d., or 1s. an hour to stop. A great meeting was afterwards held outside the London Docks to hear the report of the deputation they had sent into the masters. The deputation reported that the masters had agreed that the men should not be employed for less than four hours, but had refused to give a decided answer as to paying the men 6d. instead of 5d. an hour for their ordinary work and 8d. instead of 6d. for overtime. On hearing this report the men decided to remain out. Burns recommended the men to persevere in their decision, and to fight shoulder to shoulder like the gas stokers and match girls.

On Saturday, a very dramatic incident occurred. While Burns was addressing a meeting the dock gates were suddenly opened, and a number of men who were lounging about made a rush forward to get a job; Burns sprang between them and the gates, and asked them in tones of thunder if they were mean enough to take the bread out of the mouths of their fellow men. The men fell back abashed, and joined the ranks of the strikers.

On Sunday morning, a large meeting was held at the East India Dock Gates. Mr. Tillett, the secretary of the Union, mentioned that the company was short of workmen, and that the clerks and officials of the company had been engaged in doing the work of the dock labourers. These gentlemen will be able to appreciate the "blessings of honest labour." It is a pity they could not be put upon the diet of labourers, so that they might enjoy these blessings all at once. Tom Mann, and other speakers, also addressed the meeting, among whom was McCarthy, secretary of the Amalgamated Stevedores. He had an important announcement to make, *i.e.*, that the stevedores, numbering some 3,500, had agreed to throw in their lot with the strikers. The lightermen and watermen have also announced their intention of helping the men all they can.

On Monday the strike spread tremendously. Stevedores, Tilbury dockmen, the lightermen, Victoria and London dockmen, all pouring out to swell the ranks of the strikers. A huge procession of ten thousand marched through the City. The East-end is going simply frantic with excitement. On Tuesday I went into the district. On approaching Limehouse I saw a dense column of men crossing the Commercial Road, and pouring into the narrow streets that border on the river. These I found were the strikers going round to interview the men who still remained in at some of the smaller wharves. At the Free Trade Wharf the procession halted, as there were some men on the premises who had not come out. The crowd cheered and called to them to join them. On their not complying, groans and execrations burst from the crowd, the women being the loudest. The band strikes up the "Dead March"; a man attempts to scale the gates, which have been closed, but is dragged back by the police, who are guarding the wharf. Matters look dangerous, when it is reported that the men are coming out, and the crowd cheer loudly and march on. John Burns has been working very hard; besides continually speaking, he has much of the organisation upon his shoulders. He arranged a clever piece of strategy at the Victoria Dock, bringing the men out by sending twenty men in, who assumed the rôle of rats for that occasion only. Altogether, the strike is going splendidly.

The Stevedores have issued the following manifesto, which is so important that we print it in full:

"TO THE TRADE UNIONISTS AND PEOPLE OF LONDON.

"Friends and fellow-workmen,—The dock-labourers are on strike, and are asking for an advance of wages—the wages they now receive being 5d. per hour daytime and 6d. overtime. They now ask 6d. per hour daytime and 8d. per hour overtime. The work is of the most precarious nature, three hours being the average amount per day obtained by the 'docker.' We, the Union Stevedores of London, knowing the condition of the dock-labourers, have determined to support their movement by every lawful means in our power. We have, therefore, refused to work because of the Dock Company employing scabs and black-legs, who are taking the places of the dock-labourers on strike. We do this not to inconvenience the brokers, shipowners, or master stevedores, as our quarrel is not with them, but we feel our duty is to support our poorer brothers. We are promised the help of the Seamen's and Firemen's Union, and we now appeal with confidence to members of all trade unions for joint action with us, and especially those whose work is in connection with shipping, seagoing engineers and fitters, boiler-makers, ship-carpenters, painters and decorators, shipwrights, iron-ship builders, caulkers, etc.; and also the coal-heavers, ballast-men, lightermen and their watchmen. We also appeal to the public at large for contributions and support on behalf of the dock-labourers, which may be sent to Ben Tillett, Great Assembly Hall, Mile-end Road; and in doing this we feel sure that our efforts will be appreciated—not as disturbers nor peace-breakers, but as a demand from men determined to swerve not one inch from the attitude they have taken up, to succour the poor and lift up the down-trodden.—On behalf of the Amalgamated and United Stevedores, THOMAS MCCARTHY and T. M. WILLIAMS, Secs."

The Somersetshire Miners.

The men still hold out. In answer to their employers' offer, the following

resolution was passed at a crowded meeting of the men on Thursday 15th, at Radstock: That we cannot accept as a settlement 5 per cent. on Sept. 2 and a conditional 5 per cent. on October 4th next, but are willing to resume work, on condition that we receive an advance of 5 per cent. on the first payday after resuming work and an unconditional 5 per cent. on October 1st; and we hereby pledge ourselves not to resume work till these terms are conceded. The executive of the Rhondda Miners' Association has granted them the sum of twenty guineas, and promised to make further efforts to get support from members of their association, and the men on strike are receiving steady support from other districts in England and Wales.

Fellows in Suffering.

The admirable way in which the Welsh miners are supporting their brethren in Somerset is the more remarkable from the fact that some of them have very great difficulty in making both ends meet. At the meeting of the South Wales and Monmouthshire Colliery Workmen's Federation, at which a resolution was passed to help the Somerset miners, it was stated by the Ebbw Vale delegate that at one of the collieries he represented some 30 or 40 men were under notice in consequence of their inability to obtain a livelihood at existing prices. This, we are told, is a period of commercial prosperity, and yet men cannot get a living by the hardest daily slavery. If this can happen during a period of "prosperity," what must it be like when trade is bad? Is it not shameful that the miner, who risks his life in the gloom of the treacherous mine, amid all the perils of fire-damp and the onrush of black subterranean waters, should yet not be able, in a time of "exceptional prosperity," to get a livelihood for himself and his family? This alone is enough to condemn the present system.

The Strike in the Fur Trade.

Mr. Koenigsberg is losing his temper through the long-continued strike, and last week he applied at the police-court for warrants against three of the leaders who had, according to his solicitor, threatened to break the necks of some rats on the premises. We should have thought the extermination of vermin was not an indictable offence. The magistrate refused to give warrants but granted summonses. It is a curious thing that the people who are guilty of treason to their brethren are not "foreigners," but belong to that section of the valiant British race whose main objection to the cheap foreigner appears to be that on some occasions he is before them in turning an "honest penny" as a scab. A large meeting was held in support of the strikers in Victoria Park last Sunday afternoon, which was addressed by Newman, Annie Besant, Herbert Burrows, Turner, and Hicks. Great enthusiasm shown, and a good collection made on behalf of the strikers.

THE GLASGOW CARTERS have had to go in on the master's terms. The latter have promised to consider the wages question shortly, and some of the goods stations now close half an hour earlier than they used to.

NO BANK HOLIDAY FOR MINERS.—Twenty-two miners were summoned at Oldbury Police-court for being absent from work on Bank Holiday. The decision was against the men—it always is—two of whom had to pay 8s. for costs and damages, and the others 4s. It seems a shameful piece of tyranny for miners to be denied the holiday which nearly all other workmen enjoy. They say there is no slavery in England, yet men can be forced to work on a public holiday under legal pains and penalties. N.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING AUGUST 31, 1889.

25	Sun.	1651. Wigan Lane. 1776. David Hume died. 1791. Convention of Pilnitz begins. 1830. Outbreak at Brussels.
26	Mon.	1789. National Assembly decrees the Rights of Man. 1876. First number of <i>De Morgan's Monthly</i> , edited by John De Morgan.
27	Tues.	1770. Hegel born. 1791. Promulgation of result of Convention of Pilnitz; agreement of Emperor of Austria, King of Prussia, etc., to "resist French aggression," and "if need be" to "interfere" in France "by effectual methods." 1812. Ludite riot at Huddersfield. 1819. First number of <i>Carille's Republican</i> . 1846. Secession of "Young Ireland" from Repeal Association.
28	Wed.	1849. Venice taken by Austrians after heroic resistance. Outbreak in Cephalonia.
29	Thur.	1657. Col. John Lilburne died. 1883. James Carey executed. 1886. Free Speech demonstration in Trafalgar Square; present, 80,000 people, 2,373 police and detectives.
30	Fri.	1650. Isaac Ewer, regicide, died. 1793. Thomas Muir tried for taking part in the movement for Reform and circulating Paine's works. 1855. Feargus O'Connor died.
31	Sat.	1790. Massacre of Nanci. 1793. Brissot and twenty followers guillotined. 1803. Trial of Edward Kearney and Owen Kirwan at Dublin for their part in the late rising. 1884. Attack on Warsaw prison. 1886. Dinner to French Socialists in London.

Events, like the pendulum of a clock, have swung forward and backward, but after all, man, like the hands, has gone steadily on. Man is growing grander.—*Ingersoll*.

Unity is a lovely paper, but, but—well, a short time ago it said something about preferring the condition of a cleanly washerwoman in a tenement house to that of Dr. Leete in Edward Bellamy's book. Why? Because amid the splendours of Bellamy's povertyless and crimeless world Dr. Leete and Julian West drank a glass of wine together! Fancy defending the present state of things, because it is possible to conceive of a washerwoman in a tenement house who doesn't drink beer, and warning persons against a change because the washerwoman's grandson, the heir of a splendid civilisation; might become addicted to an occasional glass of wine! How happens it that many persons who have such sharp eyes for the horrors of Calvinism cannot see anything wrong in the social laws that foreordain so many millions to a present hell?—*Twentieth Century*.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

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

London Members' Meeting.—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, Sept. 2, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

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

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

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

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

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

"COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—Nicoll, 6d.; M. Rose, 6d.; B. W., 6d.; Webb, 1s.; Samuels, 6d.; J. Turner, 6d.; R. Turner, 5s.; Kitz, 6d.; Seglie, 6d.; and F.C.S.S., 1s.

REPORTS.

LONDON OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.—*Chelsea*—Good meeting on the Embankment by Samuels and Beckett on Sunday morning; some opposition from a "Chartist"; sold 10 *Commonweal*. *Mile End Waste*—Good meeting on Tuesday addressed by Mowbray, Cores, and Harding; Cores spoke same place on Saturday. *Hoxton Church*—On Thursday, good meeting; speakers were Nicoll, Cores, and Kitz. *Gibraltar Walk*—On Friday, Mowbray, Cores, and Brooks spoke here; on Sunday morning, large meeting addressed by Graham and Cores; 61 *Commonweal* sold. *Streatham*—At the Fountain, Cantwell addressed a large audience; *Commonweal* sold out.

CLERKENWELL.—Good meeting on Green, Mrs. Lahr, Cores, and Mowbray were speakers; 7 *Commonweal* sold and 10d. collected. Brookes lectured at the hall on "Discord, Monotony, and Harmony"; interesting discussion followed; 1s. 3d. collected.—S. P.

NORTH KENSINGTON.—Good meeting at Latimer Road; speakers, Maughan, Lyne, jun., Crouch, and Tochatti. Good meeting at St. Ann's Road; speakers were Lyne, jun., Crouch, and Dean; choir sang. The branch visited Merton, and held a good meeting on the Green.

MITCHAM.—On Sunday evening we had a visit from the North Kensington Branch; held a splendid meeting on the Fair Green. The Hammersmith choir sang "The Proletariat," "March of the Workers," and "England Arise." Speeches were delivered by Maughan, Saint, Lyne, sen., J. Davis, Dean, and Lyne, jun., who advised the laundry women of Mitcham to organise. The singing of the *Marseillaise* closed a most successful demonstration; 20 *Commonweal* sold.—S. G.

NORTH LONDON.—At Ossulston Street on Thursday evening, a fine meeting to hear comrade Mowbray. A very good meeting on Saturday evening in Hyde Park; speakers were Cantwell, Springfield, Nicoll, and Mrs. Lahr; some opposition offered re foreign labour, to which Nicoll replied. At Regent's Park on Sunday morning, Mowbray addressed a large meeting, and was opposed by Mr. Whelan; Mowbray replied. Sunday afternoon at Hyde Park, good meeting held by Mowbray; total collections 8s. 6d., and 123 *Commonweal* and 1s. of other literature sold.—T. C.

ST. GEORGE'S-IN-THE-EAST.—Nicoll spoke at Leman Street; 7 *Commonweal* sold, and 1s. collected for Banner Fund.

ABERDEEN.—At indoor meeting on Monday the 12th, a paper on "The Socialist Movement in Germany" was read and discussed; crowded meeting. On Tuesday night, Duncan and Leatham addressed meeting at Castle Street; good muster of choir. On Saturday night, Duncan, Aiken, and Leatham spoke at same place; 54 *Weal* and 2s. worth of literature sold.—L.

GLASGOW.—At mid-day T. and J. Burgoyne spoke on Jail Square. In the evening at Paisley Road, the speakers were J. and T. Burgoyne and a comrade of the S.D.F.—J. B.

LEICESTER.—Kitz addressed some large meetings here last Sunday, a full report of which, by comrade Barclay, will appear next week.

MANCHESTER.—Good meeting addressed by Barton, Hall, and Parkinson at Middleton on Saturday night; fair sale of *Commonweal*. In Stevenson Square on Sunday Stockton, Ballie, and Kitson addressed the meeting; 24 papers sold. At Chester Road, at 8 p.m., Stockton, Marshall, and Barton addressed the usual meeting.

NORWICH.—On Saturday, meeting held on the Haymarket; good audience. Sunday afternoon, usual meeting held in the Market Place; McCormack spoke. In the evening another meeting in the Market Place; same speaker; audience very attentive. Good sale of literature; fair collections.

YARMOUTH.—Thursday evening we held an open-air indignation meeting to protest against the action of the Poor Law Guardians towards a widow (Mrs. Kersey) and four children. A resolution was passed unanimously, and 12s. collected for the woman. Sunday morning a lively meeting, through the opposition of some teetotalers. In the evening another good meeting, speakers Rufold and Reynolds.—C. R.

GOBORN RADICAL CLUB.—J. Tochatti lectured at the above club on "Free Speech and Socialism." The Radicals were very pleased with the lecture, and they wanted our comrade to come again. Mrs. Tochatti sang the "Marseillaise."

NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.—In Sneinton Market on Sunday morning, Proctor and Charles delivered short addresses. In the evening in the Great Market, Rooke, Proctor, Charles, and Snell gave capital addresses. In the hall, Woodland Place, Parliament Street, the proposed Midland Socialist Federation was discussed.—P.

SHEFFIELD.—On Sunday last, Sketchley, Longden, Kerby, and Denary held a meeting at Attercliffe. The usual meeting at West Bar Green was well attended. Mr. J. Bullas occupied the chair, and the meeting was addressed by Sketchley, Ringham, Drury, and Sanders (of Walsall).—T. L.

SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION, LTD.—A Special General Meeting of the members of the above Society will be held, in conjunction with the members of the Hygienic Co-operative Society, Ltd., to confirm the proposed amalgamation, already approved by a general meeting of each Society. The meeting will be held on Friday August 23rd, at 7.30 for 8 p.m., at the Hall of the Social Democratic Federation, 337 Strand.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (4-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). A Debate will take place, under auspices of above Branch, at Patriotic Club, on Sunday August 25th, between Herbert Burrows (S.D.F.) and J. Turner (S.L.)—"Social Democracy v. Anarchist-Socialism." To begin at 8.15 p.m.

East London.—Crown Coffee Tavern, 2 Columbia Road, Hackney Road.

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Aug. 25, at 8 p.m., a lecture. Thursday Aug. 29, at 8, Choir practice. Friday 30, at 8, French Class; at 8.30, Business Meeting and discussion.

Mitcham.—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. Meets every Sunday, at 11 a.m.

North Kensington.—Clarendon Coffee Tavern. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

North London.—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday 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 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. 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.

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

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

Leicester.—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

Manchester.—Working Men's Educational Club, 122 Corporation Street, corner of Hanover Street. Weekly meeting of members every Tuesday at 8 p.m. Secretary's address, 5 Llandaf Street, Harpurhey.

Norwich.—Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Hall open every evening from 8 p.m.

Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 254 Pembroke Street. First Friday in every month, at 8.30 p.m.

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

Yarmouth.—Branch meets at comrade Headley's, near Co-operative Stores, every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class Friday at 8 p.m. William Morris will lecture in the Corn Hall on Wednesday, August 28, at 8 p.m.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SATURDAY 24.

7.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch Nicoll and Cantwell
8.30..... Battersea—opposite Christ Church Kitz and Mowbray
8.30..... Mile-end Waste Mrs. Lahr and Mowbray

SUNDAY 25.

11 Latimer Road Station Crouch, Dean, and Saint
11.30..... Bethnal Green—Gibraltar Walk Mowbray and Cores
11.30..... Chelsea—Embankment Samuels and Presburg
11.30..... Belbrook Common Hammersmith Branch
11.30..... Kilburn—"Old Plough," Kilburn Lane Mrs. Lahr
11.30..... North Kensington—St. Ann's Road Tochatti, Lyne sen. and jun.
11.30..... Shadwell—Leman Street Brookes
11.30..... Mitcham Fair Green Kitz
11.30..... Regent's Park Nicoll and Parker
3.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch Nicoll and Cantwell
4.30..... Victoria Park Mrs. Lahr
7 Chelsea—Town Hall Samuels and Presburg
7 Clerkenwell Green Mowbray and Cores
7 Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park Hammersmith Branch
7.30..... North Kensington—Cambridge Gardens North Kensington Branch
7.30..... Streatham—Fountain, High Street Kitz and Gregory
7.30..... Walham Green—back of Church The Branch

TUESDAY 27.

8 Fulham—back of Walham Green Church The Branch
8 Mile-end Waste Mrs. Lahr

WEDNESDAY 28.

8.30..... Chelsea—Embankment Kitz and Samuels

THURSDAY 29.

8 Ossulston Street Nicoll
8.15..... Hoxton Church Graham and Mowbray

FRIDAY 30.

8 Bethnal Green—Gibraltar Walk Mowbray and Kitz

PROVINCES.

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

Edinburgh.—Sunday: Queen's Park, at 3.

Glasgow.—Sunday: Jail Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock.

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

Leicester.—Sunday: Russell Square, at 11 a.m.; Humberstone Gate, at 8 p.m.

Manchester.—Saturday: Middleton Market Ground, at 7.30. Sunday: Stevenson Square, at 3; Viaduct, Chester Road, at 7.30.

Norwich.—Saturday: Haymarket, at 7.45. Sunday: St. Faiths, at 11; Market Place, at 3 and 7.30.

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

SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.

Carnoustie.—Meets every Wednesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant.

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Galashiels.—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, Secretary. **Gallatoun and Dysart** (Fife)—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatoun Public School. A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn Street, Secretary. **Kilmarnock.**—Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday. H. M'Gill, 22 Gilmour Street, Secretary. **West Calder.**—Robert Lindsay, West Calder, Secretary.

MANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE (founded 1875), "Three Doves," Berwick St., Oxford Street, W.—Sunday August 25, at 8.45, George Cox, "Nature and Art." Part III—Fine Art; Decorative; Dress.

EAST-END PROPAGANDA.—Comrades of the East London Branch and sympathisers in Hoxton and Bethnal Green are requested to meet at Gibraltar Walk on next Sunday morning, August 25th, to afterwards adjourn to 53 Boundary Street, Shoreditch, for the purpose of discussing matters of propaganda and organisation.

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