

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the
SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

[REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.]

VOL. 5.—No. 190.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 31, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

THE *Labour Elector*, since John Burns and Cunninghame Graham have associated their names with it, has been so far redeemed from its former repute that it is possible to take note of it without quite so much sacrifice of self-respect as would have been demanded hitherto. In his last issue its ostensible editor has conferred upon the *Commonweal* the honour of an attack for its "inconsistency," a vice (or virtue) his worst enemy would fail to fasten upon himself since he entered upon his present pursuit, and utilised the envenomed stiletto of his pen upon the backs of all those who refused to follow him. Taking an extract from a note by the present writer (page 230, No. 187, Aug. 10) and another from the resolution of comrade Merlino (page 259, No. 188, Aug. 17), he prints them side by side, thus prefacing them:—"Here are two cuttings from a recent issue, for the first of which"—i.e., Merlino's—"the present, and for the second, a past, Secretary of the Socialist League"—myself—"is responsible."

Passing by the calculated seeming carelessness with which the two cuttings are bracketed as alike editorial, and taken from one and the same number, it may be pointed out that comrade Merlino is not—nor ever has been—Secretary of the Socialist League, or, indeed, one of its members; is not, nor has been, connected in any way with the *Commonweal*. Whether we agree or disagree with his opinions, he alone is "responsible" for them. That this was known to the editor of the *Labour Elector* when he wrote as above, even he will scarce have the evil courage to deny; most certainly is it known to very nearly every one who is at all closely acquainted with the movement in England. Can it be that it was the consciousness of this which led him to depart from his usual practice of personal abuse, and to avoid all naming of names throughout the notes that are now under notice?

The *Commonweal* does not often care to deal with mere attacks upon its policy, or insults levelled at its conductors. It has always kept aloof from the pitiful quarrels which occur in and discredit our—as every other—movement. It has never turned spiteful under criticism, nor made party controversies a cover for personal malignity, let those do so who would. It has held the Cause too highly to serve it after such fashion. But it may be as well that all should know that this is done of set purpose, and not from insensibility or cowardice; that though the need of criticism is recognised, the limits of its fair exercise liberally construed, and a warm welcome accorded to all friendly discussion of differing opinions, no immunity is extended to studied and gratuitous misrepresentation.

Some woman, having more wealth, she confesses, than she knows what to do with, has sent ten thousand-pound bank notes to the Prince of Wales, whose late exercise upon the hereditary begging-dish had excited her pity. This woman is no doubt one of those who grind the faces of the poor, and exact their "due" to the uttermost farthing. She has not even the saving grace, small as that may be, of those who, as old Burton says, "when, by fraud and rapine, they have extorted all their lives, oppressed whole provinces, societies, etc., give something to pious uses, build a satisfactory almshouse, school, or bridge, etc., at their last end, or before perhaps, which is no otherwise than to steal a goose and stick down a feather, rob a thousand to relieve ten." But she is no doubt a good Christian of the common type, and holds with all her heart as a divine ordinance that "unto every one that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance, but from him that hath not shall be taken away, even that which he hath."

Alfonso XIII., King of Spain, and all the rest of it, took his first sea-bath one day last week. Another, and a slightly older sovereign, Ranavalo III., of Madagascar, had taken her annual dip a little while before. Both events were duly chronicled in all the dignity of the daily newspaper for the benefit of a wandering world. There was somewhat of interest in either event after all; for Alphonso, being by a long way the youngest king alive, is in so far the best, though "oft waxes wolf in youngling." And it might have been noted as a sign of

progress that the water wherewith Ranavalo sprinkled the crowd in sign of blessing had been dipped from her bath before, instead of after, as hitherto, her royal body had been laved therein. How sad to see, even in simple, far-off Madagascar, how folk are losing faith in the inherent virtue of the uncleannesses of kings!

Tantia Bheel has been taken once more, and this time it looks as though English locks and bayonets would safely hold the celebrated brigand. The tales of his adventurous life, which are the delight of Indian story-tellers, will now have another added to their number, and it may be with a tragic ending; though it is to be hoped his unexhausted ingenuity and fertility of resource may get him out of trouble again, to be for years to come a friend of the poor and a terror to the rich. A biting satire upon modern morality, to see a band of robbers by the strong hand, the English in India, upholding law and order!—hunting to death a poor brigand, who does them no harm, because he has not learnt their civilised methods, and prefers the hill-side and the highway to the market-place and the law court. Of them can the Indian say, almost in Tyndale's words: "The money-lender sheareth, the judge shaveth, the soldier polleth, the lawyer scrapeth, and the policeman pareth; we lack but a butcher to pull off the skin." While Tantia Bheel took only from the rich, and that when they could specially well spare it, the civilised law-order machine goes on for ever, and presses hardest on the poor, on whom it does not even confer an occasional passing benefit, as Tantia Bheel is known to have often done.

The printing trade in Victoria is agitating for "a rectification of postal anomalies." In the adjoining colony of New South Wales, papers and periodicals are transmitted free through the post, and the consequence is that a large amount of printing has been taken away from Melbourne to Sydney. One firm actually saves £1,000 a year by printing and publishing in Sydney. It would seem to an outsider that the best thing for the Victorians to do would be to imitate the New South Welsh plan and adjust matters in that way, rather than get the plan put aside where it is already at work. As the affair stands now it affords the material for a good deal of reflection upon the misorganisation of industry, which is the special mark of the present system.

Who was the daring strategist to whom was due the Royal visit to Wales? A right skilful move in the political game, and one by no means easy to effectively return; while every day that elapses before some effort at retaliation is made only enhances the difficulty. For a long, long while past the Liberals have loudly boasted of their hold on "gallant little Wales"; none elsewhere was like the Welshman; sturdy disestablishers, neck-or-nothing Gladstonians, with every other Liberal virtue, and no vice, the people of "the Principality" were enliterated on every Liberal platform in the kingdom. If it were possible to find an even more pure and perfect civic hero than the ordinary Welshman (always providing that he voted Liberal), it was that Welshman's spiritual pastor and master of the Nonconformist pattern. "Mabon's" Jubilee delirium, and that of a thousand others to the contrary notwithstanding, the pleasing fiction has been kept alive; at the cost, it is true, of a disproportionate amount of trouble.

But lo! and look ye! Into the midst of the serried ranks of the rebels—in a polite and constitutional way—goes Victoria, like a late and vulgarised version of the ride of Richard II. at Smithfield, with very nearly the same result. The ranks break up. One manly remnant keeps fast hold upon its flag, closes up around it, and warns every one of the trick. But alas for the constancy of all but the sternest democrats! The large body of Welsh Liberalism is on its belly in the mud, only too happy to be hand-shaken, smiled on, spat upon—anything from Royal hands or Royal lips—while the units who compose it are shrieking curses upon their late comrades, who have retained some amount of insight as well as self-respect, for their discourtesy, their this, their that, and the other! And the loudest shriekers are Nonconformist parsons. Among them may perchance be found a worthy follower of Walworth, and the red dagger may yet be charged upon the coat of arms of a Cymric rival of the City.

Amid all the hubbub nobody seems to care a brass farthing for the working-class, or what their opinion of it all may be. Perhaps that is just as well for the peace of mind of the poor perspiring Loyalists!

The dock labourers' strike is, in the opinion of many men who have witnessed some of the greatest labour struggles of the past, one of the grandest and most enthusiastic revolts of the workers against the domination of capital. Here I mean to consider it from a Socialist standpoint, for it certainly points out to the workers a new method of fighting their tyrants. It is evident that the workers are beginning to recognise the fact that their salvation lies in their own action.

One of the effects of our patient propaganda is seen in the notion of the men, that a general strike is the way to win a victory. The men in the immense processions which have traversed the East-end repeatedly called upon the clerks, the men, the women, and girls to come out and join them in the revolt of labour. This is a very encouraging sign.

We hear much now of obtaining palliative measures by Parliamentary and Governmental action. Why should not the workers gain all they want by a series of gigantic strikes, larger and more general than even the fight for a small instalment of justice by the dock labourers of the East-end? Would it not have far more effect than any amount of palaver inside Parliament or the County Council?

D. N.

THE CO-OPERATIVE FESTIVAL.

CRYSTAL PALACE, AUGUST 17TH.

Just this time last year, in noticing the Co-operators' show at the Crystal Palace, I had an opportunity of punctuating a few of the little peculiarities of the Co-operators, and their captious treatment of Socialists and their methods. In the twelve months which have passed since then there have been in the pages of the chief Co-operative organ repeated proofs of the jealousy with which the spread of Socialist ideas is watched by the bigwigs of the Co-operative movement. The *tu quoque* may not be effective argument; and although to note schisms among Co-operators does not extenuate schisms among Socialists, yet when it becomes possible to draw a serious moral from certain events, it becomes a duty to do so which cannot be flinched from by any faithful reporter. If any Socialists who read the following have any earnest hope in Co-operation as an aid to, or part of, Socialism, now is their opportunity; and at the risk of being charged with egotism, I would ask them to turn back to the *Commonweal* for September 1st and 8th last year and weigh up some remarks there made in the light of another year's teaching. Dealing with the Co-operative Congress of 1888, the *Pall Mall Gazette* said, "Slowly but surely the Co-operative movement in this country has come to a final parting of the ways, and according to the path now chosen will depend whether its future is for good or evil, . . . profit-sharing or profit-mongering. . . . The profit-mongering plan is that which has been gradually growing in favour; and if the process is continued, then the last state of the working classes will be no whit better than the first." "The longest heads in the Co-operative camp are all of one way of thinking in the matter." In the *Commonweal* of September 1, 1888, I remark that "these same long heads are responsible for the Festival, which is the evidence of a revolt against the growing domination of the consumer, represented in the main by the Co-operative Wholesale Society, the hydra-monopolist of the movement. It is quite in accordance with the eternal spirit of 'compromise' which runs through the English mind, that while the official handbook and catalogue gives a list of 'forty-two' Co-operative productive societies, the whole show was a sort of strike of 'forty-one' societies against the forty-second, the biggest and greediest."

That these words were not one whit too strong has been abundantly proved during the past twelve months; and the promoters of the Co-operative Festival might almost be excused if they echoed the words supposed by the poet to be addressed to the tyrant Ten:

"Our very hearts, that were so high, sink down beneath your will:
Riches and land and pomp and state, ye have them, keep them still."

For, say the best that can be said for it, the Festival of 1889 must be reported as very small beer indeed; a result brought about by using all the methods usually adopted by a selfish, interested but rich and powerful section.

The organisers of the show would probably not care to admit that "failure" is the word to write against 1889, but judging by the ordinary rules applied to exhibitions, I cannot see what else to say of it. In 1888 there were represented forty-two societies; this year there are only thirty, and this in spite of the fact of there being three or four societies not in last year because not then in existence. Co-operators are fond of saying much to the progressiveness of their movement, but the claim seems somewhat discounted by this exhibition. Something has to be allowed for the fact that the executive this year have ruled out one or two societies as not accurately coming within the exact definition of a co-operative productive society, "that the workers participate in the produce and management of their own labour." But even making this allowance, the exhibition, as an attempt to impress the outside labourer with what Co-operation can do for him, can make but a very slight impression indeed.

In the Home Industries portion of the show, although perhaps the number of entries was larger, there seemed a decided falling off in the general standard of quality and interest, and the greater number was

much made up by, the admission of exhibits which had the very remotest connection with the root idea of the Festival.

The Fruits, Flowers, and Vegetables portion occupied, as last year, almost the whole length of the nave of the Palace; but the Dean of Manchester, in his speech at the "great" Co-operative demonstration in the concert hall, protested against the amount of space taken up by the grapes of rich men. A very interesting feature of the first Co-operative Flower Show was the discussing of some short papers on cottage gardens, allotments, *potit* culture, etc., the idea being to foster love of outdoor work and enjoyment among workers. This feature seems to be now quite lost sight of, it forming no part of the last programme.

Last year the official handbook of the Festival contained an introduction giving roughly the position of the Productive section of the Co-operative movement. I should have much liked to have added to my last year's report a comparative statement of the position now, but the spirits of the compilers seem to have been quenched by twelve months' somewhat bitter opposition, and neither from handbook or speeches was a word to be learned as to what the last year has done towards putting labour on more level terms with capital.

If, failing to learn anything of twelve months' progress in bulk, the enquirer turns to the handbook, he has little reward for his labour in endeavouring to learn of progress by individual societies; for taking one, the Burnley Self-Help Society, founded 1887, we have offered to us precisely the figures and information of last year's book. The Coventry Watch-makers act in the same manner. Earls Barton Boot-makers gave a few figures last year, but none this. Hebden Bridge Fustian-cutters give fewer figures than last year; and the only thing that can be said, if the information given is to be accepted, is that from a labour point of view they simply mark time, for the number of sharing workpeople then and now is the same—200. This is the fashion of this handbook throughout; and keeping in mind that the Festival was intended as, and should be, a splendid bit of propaganda, it is not too much to say such compiling is simply idiotic, apart from being misleading.

Co-operators have for years been saying theirs is the message of hope for the toilers. As to distributionist Co-operation, most workers and all Socialists have given up any respect to that method of relief. Some have still a hope that in productive Co-operation there is yet a road to be found. If this be so it is imperative on the advanced Co-operators to prove it. Socialists who are Co-operators will be glad of any evidence that "true Co-operation" is progressing at something like the same rate as the need for it. There is much fear that this is not so.

A function such as that of August 17th should of all things show the progress and position year by year; it should encourage the hopeful to renewed effort and deter the many enemies of labour who, although Co-operators in name, are straining every nerve to keep labour subject.

Socialists who are at one with Co-operators have now an opportunity to prove the faith that is in them, for at the public meeting in the evening a step was taken to which, in view of its seriousness and possibilities, I now draw special attention. Last year the exhibition of Co-operative productions was made to bulk up largely by the admission of productions which in the true sense of the word were not Co-operative products. In the twelve months just past there has been an increased bitterness of feeling between the two schools of Co-operators, and it has been abundantly proved, as the *Daily News* says, noticing the show, "that often the worst enemies of Co-operation are those of its own household." The boycott, unwritten but effective, which has been put in force by the conservatives of the movement has now brought things to a head in the suggestion to legally found a new organisation for the active propaganda of Co-operation on the basis of "workers' rights" and no other. In view of the various organisations in the movement already, this is a serious step, but is fully warranted, because, in the words of E. V. Neale's presidential address, "in those parts of England where Co-operation has won her greatest triumphs, faith in the true Co-operative ideal has been choked by the enormous growth of the institutions that originally sprang out of itself," because of the engrossing worship of the great goddess "Divi."

There is a dry-rot at work in the Co-operative movement, brought about by stagnation of capital in the hands of a bastard plutocracy; a section who insist on the very extremity of their bond, as at Hebden Bridge, where recently a proposition to reduce interest to capital from 7½ to 5 was beaten by 137 votes against 73.

The Socialist Co-operative Federation and its sympathisers should now show some reason for existence by bringing "productive Co-operation to the front as the true embodiment of the Co-operative idea—the idea that has inspired the great prophets of social evolution."

I have said so much on the side issues arising out of the show that little room is left to say much of the meeting, beyond expressing the hope that in future it will be much better arranged. E. V. Neale and George Jacob Holyoake have done splendid work in the past, but it is now absolute cruelty to put them up to address a meeting in such a villainously constructed room; not fifty people could have heard the president. Also it will be better in future to find speakers with something more of real interest in the movement than can be in such men as Burdett Coutts, M.P., and W. F. Lawrence, M.P.; it is farcical to put such men up as having working-class interests at heart.

The attendance was 32,500; not an insignificant number, but short of what should have been with the extra effort made and the prestige of last year to help.

A. NACHARIS.

HYMN FOR THE UNENFRANCHISED.

(FROM THE *Chartist Circular*, 1841.)

Who is the Patriot, who is he
When slaves are struggling to be free,
Freedom's best-beloved may claim
To be her holiest Oriflame?

He who joineth hands with Power,
When the anarchy would devour
Trampled Right insurgent? He
Is no friend of Liberty.

He who claimeth kin with Right
Perfumed or in ermine dight,
Knowing not the "rabble"? He
Hateth Truth and Liberty.

Who "for Truth's sake" would embrace
A Lie, who seeks fit time and place
To traffic with his birthright? We
Follow not expediency.

He who through distress and scorn
Freedom's Cross hath grandly borne,
The Uncompromising—he shall be
The banner-man of Liberty!

Though he wear no title-brand,
Though he own no stolen land,
Prouder as an upright man
Than to crawl in Fashion's van,
Though his bearing be uncouth,
Though his zeal be rude as truth,
Though he lieth never,—He
Shall lead the Bond to victory!

SPARTACU (W. J. Linton).

CORRESPONDENCE.

MERLINO'S RESOLUTION.

Comrade Merlino should have an *alias*, Micawber. He appears to be severely determined to wait until something turns up. While such Socialists as he—they are known to the vulgar as sentimental Socialists—are turning the air sulphurous with big words behind which there is no shadow of meaning, common men are plodding along with the practical business of the Revolution, receiving as thanks the Merlinoistic sneers and libels. These "out and outers" are out of range altogether. They have taken wing to cloudland, and until they feel their feet again on this solid round earth they are as distinctly lost to the Revolution as, say, Morris's Anarchists. After removing from Merlino's resolution a certain dilution of platitudes and high-toned talkee-talkie, you have nothing left but reactionary utopism. All that the party of action is doing is, to Merlino and Co., the wages of sin.

When he tells us that "labour legislation would be the confirmation of our slavery" (as though it required confirming!), and that "it would be unjust to attempt to equalise" the relations of the nations economically, however one may feel a sneaking doubt as to the economic soundness of some of the Parisian minutes, one nevertheless is not less inclined to scent in Merlino the Capitalist wolf under Socialist wool. Then we have an aggravatingly gaseous paragraph all about the glories of freedom, "a great moral principle," quotha, "incompatible with regulations and measures" such as those which the Socialist Labour Party sees to be inevitable—stepping-stones across the river. We all know as well as Merlino that we shall none the sooner get our whole loaf by begging and cringing for crusts and crumbs at a time. But is this swashbuckler so little familiar with the concrete facts of weekaday life as to imagine either that the obtaining of that whole in one lump is possible scientifically, or desirable as to expediency? It is awfully easy, and it sounds heroically "thorough," to scout as heresy the possibility of the ballot-box; but what sort of machinery would these light and airy Impossibilists invent for us, untainted with the stamp of things modern? Is their Socialism still in the amateur fluidity of *Cat-astrrophe*? As Shaw would say, do they intend to establish the Social Commonwealth by waving the red flag and howling the "Marseillaise"?

What does Merlino mean by "the offer of labour legislation officially made by the Governments"? Has not every "responsible" statesman of them all set a hard face and put his finger in his ear against "labour legislation"? Why does he so strenuously object to "bridging the abyss, instead of deepening it"? Is this not sacrificing sense to sawdust? We "must suppress government and private property together." Good! And will Merlino be our Aladdin, and will he reveal to us the secret of his lamp? It is simply an inconsequent inversion of historic commonplace to say the "abolition of the governmental system is an essential for the abolition of the capitalist system." Flesh-and-blood men and women can only "abolish" that system by hard detail work and carefully framed though far-reaching measures, practical working-class reforms. The policy of vague abstractions and fascinating mystery is played out. When a boy is getting too big for his clothes, he does not cast away everything—from undershirt to boots and hat—in one night, and don a brand-new rig-out next morning. It is done in pieces. So with the revolution. But this revolution is not some shadowy theoretic hobgoblin in the prospective vista. It is taking place—and has been for quite a time. We shall not put our head out of window some morning because of the din, and perceive it marching up the street in uniform. Evolution is continuous; and while your Merlinoes are gassing and anticipating, their ideal future becomes ancient history, and their contentless shibboleths an anachronism. What are we to think of language like "reducing Socialism to the meaner proportion of class legislation"? Socialism in the 'eighties is a class movement, and its politics mean the absorption of the nation into a class. Take an example. Practical Socialists are denounced as "traitors" attempting "to gild the chains of the workers." Free education, higher and secular, is one of the tamest of the "palliatives." Yet the passage of such a Bill through your hated Parliament would have more effect in five years for the Revolution pure and undefiled than the

siege of London and the shelling of the Taileries by the mobilised proletariat of western Europe. The temporary absorption, again, of a percentage of the unemployed by an eight hour Bill, wretchedly mean and discouragingly possible though it be, would be worth ten-fold more as a tactical precedent than a league of cheap nothings ament "reconciling the workers to their present position." And if it proved "commercially impossible," so much the better for the Socialist tortoise, whose main chance in the struggle is the conversion of the Philistine difficulty into his own opportunity.

LEONARD HALL.

PUSHING "COMMONWEAL."

Dear Sir,—Every week I send half a dozen *Weals* to different parts of "The Wide (not awake) World," and would wish each of your readers would do likewise. It would greatly aid the church militant—missionaries and all—save expense and redeem people's bodies and souls, and render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, etc., etc., and establish a new heaven on earth.—Yours truly,

G. E. HARRIS.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

FRANCE.

The decomposition of the old bourgeois and social democratic parties goes on rapidly. Of the former we need not speak here; as to the latter the Blanquists are now split over the election question, and the often revealed Boulangist sympathies of a part of them have been established a fact as to Granger and others, who left the Central Revolutionary Committee in which Vaillant and others remained. Félix Pyat is hardly buried before like vultures they rush upon his inheritance, the seat for Parliament in the Bouches-du-Rhône; Jules Guesde carried the palm. The late political events, Boulangism, etc., have cleared the ranks of the French Socialists of many who could not resist temptations of various kinds, and the elections next month will continue this work.

A new Marxist organ, *Le Salariat*, has been started at Rouen.

BELGIUM.

The Social Democratic papers record with satisfaction that at the Congress of the working-men's societies of the Borinage, held at Paturages on August 15th, the amalgamation of the Belgian Worker's Party (the official Social Democratic Party) and the Republican Socialist Party was resolved upon. A large demonstration to celebrate this event is to take place in September or October. Our readers will remember that after much previous quarrelling, a number of societies led by Conreur, Loor, Mignon, Minne, behind whom the family Defuissaux acted, seceded from the Congress of Mons (Aug. 14th and 15th, 1887) and formed the new party. The last Conference of this party, at Châtelet, in December, 1888, led to the process of Mons a few months ago, which showed it to be, by the intermediary of the spy Pourbaix, a tool in the hands of the reactionary ministry to frighten the bourgeois with. This trial ended, as is known, with the complete moral, but we cannot say intellectual, victory of the accused; and then negotiations with the old party began, and have, so far as can be seen, now succeeded. There was no great difference of principle between the parties, the dissensions arose out of the unsocialistic way in which the official party at Brussels and Ghent acted towards the miners in the famous strike of 1886. Thence those dissatisfied with the officialism and selfishness of their better-situated comrades, rejected their very patient palliative measures and co-operation policy, but unfortunately fell victims to a new fetish, the Belgian republic, universal suffrage, etc. Now they return under the ferule of Defnet and Anseele, the latter of whom, with his big stick, will henceforward rule over them! The Anarchist propaganda, meanwhile, goes on steadily, and the *Drapeau Noir*, its organ, is now a weekly paper.

AUSTRIA.

The large strikes are partly over, and have mostly ended in merely nominal concessions, which were virtual defeats to the workers. The police brutalities at Kladno, Leoben, etc., are known; at Trifail about 200 persons were arrested, who after the dissolution of a meeting did not immediately leave the hall; 482 men, women, and children were cooped up in the cells, corridors, and gardens of the jail of Cilli. When under the pressure of those torturing conditions the police offered them to give in by accepting a little higher wages; they did so, and a part was then let free. This shows how law-'n'-order are mere tools in the hands of this and of every other ruling clique, by which, as a highwayman with his pistol, they extort whatever they like from the victims of the law-'n'-order superstition.

RUSSIA.

The *Arbeiterstimme*, of Zurich, publishes extracts from the reports of the Russian factory inspectors. In 1887, there were 789,322 workers employed in 21,247 establishments (105,498 respectively, 2,888 of them in Poland); 73.2 per cent. of them are men, 23.3 per cent. women, 2.4 per cent. boys, and 1.1 per cent. young girls. Although there are some laws on women's and children's labour in existence, it is stated that out of 578 factories visited in Poland in 1887, only in 33 establishments these regulations were followed. Children under the age of twelve are worked 15½ hours per day. The majority of Polish workers work 13, often 14 and 15 hours; in Northern Russia: 14 to 16 hours, average 13½; in Southern Russia: 14 hours as a rule. A great part of the Polish industry, which is developing faster than the Russian, is in the hands of German capitalists, and who would hinder the British capitalists in case of an eight hour's bill ever being passed to invest their capital in such countries. By this also the number of English workers required would decrease, and so the number of the unemployed become about the same as now. "International legislation" as at present proposed against this is a mere phrase, a new utopian illusion.

* *

A new Radical paper called the *Voix* has just appeared in Paris. It is to be carried on chiefly by M. Millerand, who has worked under M. Clémenceau on the *Justice*, and other well-known deputies, some influential members of the town council. The *Voix* complains that but one law benefiting the working-class has passed both Chambers in 17 years, namely, that regulating trades' unions, and that every measure for the protection of miners, railway servants, and others from the great capitalists has been thrown out at the Luxembourg.



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

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

As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except 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.

W. J. R. (Broughty Ferry).—Have not seen your pamphlet.
CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED:—Unsuitable for various reasons—A. MacD. (S.E.); J. McC. (Norwich); and A. C. (Woodford).

CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
Notes on News	SPARLING and NICOLL 273
The Co-operative Festival	ANACHARSIS 274
Hymn for the Unenfranchised	SPARTACUS 275
Pushing "Commonweal"	X. 275
International Notes	VICTOR DAVE 276
Felix Pyat	277
Literary Notices	D. J. NICOLL 277
The Labour Struggle	278
Revolutionary Calendar	T. B. 278
Socialism at Leicester	279
Executive Announcements, Reports, Lecture Diary, and Notices of Meetings	280
Advertisements, New Publications, etc., etc.	

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday August 28.

ENGLAND Brotherhood Justice Labour Elector Labour Tribune London—Erie Presse Norwich—Daylight Railway Review Sozial Demokrat Political World	FRANCE Paris—Le Parti Ouvrier (daily) La Revolte Le Coup de Feu Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	GERMANY Berlin—Volks Tribune Brunn—Arbeiterstimme Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik	ITALY Milan—Il Fascio Operaio Rome—L'Emancipazione	SPAIN Madrid—El Socialista	PORTUGAL Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
NEW SOUTH WALES Hamilton—Radical	HOLLAND Hague—Recht voor Allen	AUSTRIA Malmö—Arbetet	HUNGARY Copenhagen—Arbejdere	DENMARK Copenhagen—Arbejdere	SWEDEN Malmö—Arbetet
INDIA Bankipore—Behar Herald	BEELGIUM Antwerp—De Werker Ghent—Vooruit Liege—L'Avenir	ARGENTINE REPUBLIC Buenos Ayres—Vorwärts	UNITED STATES New York—Der Sozialist Freiheit Jewish Volkszeitung Twentieth Century United Irishman Workmen's Advocate Boston—Woman's Journal The Dawn Investigator	UNITED STATES Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung Chicago—Knights of Labor Baeker Zeitung Detroit—Der Arme Teufel San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung Pacific Union Princeton (Mass.)—Word Philadelphia—Journal of United Labour	SWITZERLAND Arbeiterstimme

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.

FELIX PYAT.

(Concluded from p. 266.)

ONCE driven into exile, first in Switzerland and soon afterwards in Belgium, Pyat was far from remaining inactive. From Brussels he published his most virulent pamphlets, addressed to the Comte de Chambord, to Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, to the Prince de Joinville, to Barbès, to the French working-classes, and many others. After the coup d'état of Napoleon, he came over to London, where he lived until 1869, and was a member of the "Revolutionary Commune" just started at that time, and afterwards of the French Section of the International Working-men's Association, which section, however, was never recognised by the General Council of that Association. While here, again, he advocated in many pamphlets the cause of the Social Revolution, but it must be said that he generally put more stress upon political than on social matters, and in the years down to 1870 he

spent the greater part of his talent and of his energies in waging war especially against the French Empire as such. His further ideas are broadly expounded in the *Lettre aux Proscrits* of 1855: a claim for the institution of a revolutionary Commune, more in accordance with the ideas of the French Revolution of 1793 than with modern Socialism. Born under the First Empire, in the full swing of the Casarean era, Pyat's head was chiefly filled with the great dramatic events accomplished by the Convention; he was, as it were, permeated by the heroic grandeur of that period, and his enthusiastic admiration caused him sometimes to forget, or at least to lose sight of, the new conditions under which alone the emancipation of the proletariat can be accomplished. When, on the 14th of January, 1858, Orsini attempted to do away with the accursed misruler of France, Pyat hastily published an eloquent defence of the enterprise of the Italian revolutionist. For this defence he was prosecuted in England, at the instance of Napoleon, as were also Simon Bernard, and the publishers Truelove and Tchorzewski. They were all acquitted, however, and it will be remembered that the Palmerston administration, which instituted the proceedings, fell under the pressure of public opinion, at that time decidedly hostile to such prosecutions; an episode to be contrasted with what happened in 1881 to John Most, accused of the same "offence" by a Liberal government and sentenced to sixteen months' hard labour.

During the month of November, 1865, the students of the University of Liège convened an International Congress, and fifteen hundred scholars came together from all parts of Europe. It was, after the constitution of the International Working-men's Association at St. Martin's Hall, London, on the 28th of September, 1864, the first great real revolutionary demonstration since Europe at large had been reduced to an ignominious silence by the imperial adventurer of the Tuileries. To give a slight idea of the significance of this Congress, one need only go back to the wild utterances of the bourgeois press of the time:—The speeches were worthy of Marat, of the *Père Duchesne* of Hébert, they were far ahead of the programme of Babeuf, of the doctrines of the Levellers of England, the Anabaptists of Münster, the Jacques of the Middle Ages, and so on. Such were the appreciations of the press, and although very silly, they are sufficient to account for the importance of the Congress. Félix Pyat wrote, on this occasion, his *Lettre aux Etudiants*, especially addressed to the French members of the Liège Conference. His pamphlet was as eloquent as ever, but this time at least he failed to appreciate rightly the value of the international gathering of Liège. He contended that the French students ought not to have gone out of France, that the Emperor could best be beaten in their own country, that the course followed by the students was an anti-democratic one, since it would fatally result in a separation into two camps of the revolutionary elements—the brainworkers and the manual workers. Five years afterwards the greater part of the French students did at Paris what they had promised at Liège: Gustave Tridon, Longuet, Rey, Regnard, Eugène Protot, Fontaine, Sibrac, Jaclard, Vaillant, Dubois, Villeneuve, Lafargue, and scores of others were in the ranks of the Commune; those who died for the cause and those who escaped the wholesale slaughter by the Versailles, having equally been true and faithful to the solemn oath they swore in that memorable Congress.

At last, after twenty years of proscription, the amnesty of Aug. 15, 1869, brought him back to Paris, where he at once resumed his journalistic career. He first contributed to the *Rappel*, then one of the most important opposition papers, and in seventeen days work won four convictions amounting to seventeen months of imprisonment. At a banquet held at St. Mandé, a suburb of Paris, on January 21, 1870, after Victor Noir's assassination by Pierre Bonaparte, his secretary, Gromier, read the celebrated toast "To a Bullet" (for Napoleon, of course), for which he was prosecuted, along with other conspirators, before the High Court of Blois and sentenced *in contumaciam* (he had again reached London by that time), August 9, 1870, to five years imprisonment and a fine of six thousand francs. Altogether since the year 1849, Pyat was sentenced to fines amounting to two hundred and twelve thousand francs, to deportation for life, to twenty-nine years and five months imprisonment, five years of especial police survey, and ten years deprivation of all civic rights. And there were still some more convictions for him in store.

As soon as Napoleon, "his personal enemy," had played out at Sedan, Pyat once more crossed the Channel and started *Le Combat*, wherein he vigorously attacked the Gambetta régime. It was in this paper that the first news of the surrender of Metz by Bazaine was published on October 28, which led to many quarrels between Pyat, Florens, and Rochefort. The official *Gazette* disavowed the truth of the information, and the offices of the paper were ransacked by the National Guard. Three days afterwards the government was compelled to confirm the terrible tidings, and Gambetta made his famous proclamation against the "traitor Bazaine." The result was the uprising of October 31, in which Pyat took a prominent part, but the movement failed, as hardly any one save Blanqui and Pyat did their proper duty. After a fortnight's imprisonment, Pyat continued his campaign in *Le Combat* until General Vinoy suppressed it altogether. On February 4, 1871, he started *Le Vengeur*, and four days after he was elected to the Bordeaux Assembly by 145,872 votes. On March 12, this last paper was also suppressed, but it reappeared under the *Commune*. Pyat became a member of the Paris Commune for the 10th Arrondissement, voted for the decree on the hostages, for the institution of the Committee of Public Safety, of which he was also a member. On May 22, when the Versailles entered Paris, he published the last issue of *Le Vengeur*, and made a vigorous appeal for resist-

ance. On his proposition it was decided on that day that every member of the Commune should retire to his own *arrondissement*, there to lead the *fédérés* on the barricades. He was sentenced to death on March 27, 1873, by the third Court Martial, but by then he was in London again. We must say that his actions during the period of the Commune, are described most unfavourably to him in the works of Lissagaray and Arthur Arnould. He neither agreed with the Socialists nor, of course, with the Radicals, and went his own way, an advocate of the barren political revolution. After a new term of exile of eight years, during which he wrote many a pamphlet, now of a more decidedly Socialist character, he returned to Paris and edited *La Commune*, which became indeed an important paper. His articles on the glorification of regicide and the use of physical force in general are certainly the best that have ever been written on those especial lines, but they soon brought him to a new trial and a sentence of two years imprisonment, which put an end to the new venture. Never tired of working for his ideas, in spite of his old age, he edited afterwards *La Commune Libre*, followed by *La Commune Affranchie*, and contributed to *La France*, of Maujan, in which he gave "The Writings of the People," and to *Le Cri du Peuple*, which he left in 1888, when Séverine, its chief editor, severed her connection with the revolutionary organ, once famous under Jules Vallès's brilliant leadership. In March of the same year, Pyat had been elected member of the Chamber of Deputies for Marseilles (Bouches-du-Rhône).

A few days before his death, a law of amnesty was voted by the Chamber, excluding the convicted miners of Decazeville, the Algerians who took part in the insurrection of 1871, and all those sentenced for libel through the press. Old Pyat brought in a counter-bill, proclaiming a full and complete amnesty for all. "I am the oldest revolutionary deputy," he said, "so old, indeed, that I no longer live in hopes of re-entering a new-elected Chamber. As a child, I have seen the results effected by the first Boulanger, the Prussians at Orleans; later, I saw the results achieved by the second Boulanger, the Germans at Tours; I should not wish to witness the results to be brought about by the third, the Germans all over France. This is my political will. I have been arrested six times, and I come forward to plead the cause of those who have been less fortunate than myself and are still in the bagnios, whilst I am a deputy. The present government is about to have the ashes of a regicide brought back to France amidst great honours, and yet they keep in the galleys the very man who has tried to save France . . . and Russia. I claim the deliverance of Bérézowsky!"

In conclusion, it may be said that the old veteran of the revolutionary cause was a fair, but somewhat antiquated, sample of the Socialists and Democrats of some forty years ago. He knew how to incite to fighting and understood it, to attack an existing government with the most pointed weapons, but he lacked a true appreciation of the place of economic questions in the Socialist movement. After all, he remained faithful to himself and to the cause of the people. His name will be recorded with honour in the revolutionary annals of the nineteenth century. Besides, as a man of letters, after having first revealed to France, Claude Tillier, a vigorous pamphleteer, and Hégésippe Moreau, a great poet, he has conquered for himself one of the highest and most prominent places in the literary history of his country.

VICTOR DAVE.

LITERARY NOTES.

We are asked to state that copies of *Les deux Congrès . . . Impossibilistes* can be had free on application, from Freedom office, 28, Gray's Inn Road.

We have received for review two numbers of the *Political World*, a weekly newspaper on Liberal-Radical lines. It may be described as a little more advanced than the *Daily News* and a little less so than the *Star*. It goes in for a weekly cartoon. Of those in the two numbers which have reached us, the first, dealing with the housing of the poor, has a centre piece representing John Morley, as the coming minister, introducing Professor Stuart, as the dauntless reformer, to Lord Rosebery, in the neighbourhood of Trafalgar Square. The noble lord appears to be engaged in wondering as to whom that person may be, and the Professor looks, as is very natural, extremely nervous in such a lofty presence, and as if anxiously seeking a place where he can drop a bundle of bills under his arm, of which he seems to be heartily ashamed. The centre picture is supported by a London policeman in the well-known characters of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. For the present he is Hyde, but under the soothing influence of the County Council he will become as calm and as benignant as the doctor of Louis Stevenson's well-known romance. If the prophetic eye of the *Political World* may be trusted, he will also become fat as well as friendly. We remark that he still holds on to his truncheon. Is there no chance of a relapse into his former savage condition? The rest of the cartoon is occupied by representations of the way in which the workers are forced to live under the rule of the jerry-building capitalist, who is all the while luxuriating in bestial luxury. But will the London Programme alter that? The second cartoon is by Walter Crane, and is to be utilised in future as a cover to the *Political World*. It represents labour (typified in the inappropriate person of Mr. Gladstone) fighting a mail-clad feudal knight (Lord Salisbury). Mr. Gladstone, who—a capitalist by birth, a banker by marriage, and a landlord by choice—and withal an ordinary Liberal politician—impersonates the people. Liberty smiles from above upon the combat, but seems undecided as to the direction of her sympathy with the combatants. On the whole, considering that the paper is evidently written for the middle classes, the editor and publisher may be congratulated on their spirit and enterprise in helping the revolutionary propaganda by so plainly picturing the fight between labour and privilege. The design in itself is of high excellence, as might be expected from the name of the artist.

D. J. N.

To doubt is to think, and to think is to improve.—*Dr. Brewer*.
Opinions which are equally honest on both sides should not affect personal esteem or social intercourse.—*Jefferson*.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

THE REVOLT AT THE DOCKS.

I HAVE been an attentive spectator of the scenes that have occurred in East London during the last few days, and I purpose here, instead of giving a dry catalogue of the events that have occurred during the past week, to relate some of my own impressions of what is probably the greatest uprising of labour that has occurred during the present century in the East-end. But before describing the events and actors, let us look at the scene of this immense drama. It is the fashion now to be able, by personal experience, to talk about the East-end, but few of our benevolent slum visitors know anything at all of the region that lies between the Commercial Road and the river, and between the Tower and Limehouse. I will say still more, and that is that many of the dwellers even in the East-end know as little of this mysterious region as they do of Central Africa. No one but the inhabitants of Dock-land can guide you through that labyrinth of narrow lanes that seem cut through the towering walls of lofty warehouses, to be varied now and then by an iron bridge, thrown across the entrance to a dock, which now is like a placid lake, silence brooding around. You cross the bridge, and, passing by a wall, through which you catch a glimpse of some green grass, where some empty casks are piled on a bit of waste land near the river, you ascend a hill and enter a slummy street, gloomy houses, two or three stories high; shops which in most cases seemed to be occupied in vending some frowzy, fly-blown meat, dirty, yellow vegetables, fish not remarkable for its freshness, and bread of which bad potatoes and alum seem the principal ingredients. Here and there a wharf towers above the other houses on the southern side of the street; once busy with seething life, bales being trundled out from them into huge waggons, which afterwards rumbled along the streets with their heavy loads; possibly it is on account of the many perils that await the adventurous stranger that has rendered dock-land so seldom visited, and when the chances are of having your toes smashed by a heavy bale, or being crushed beneath a waggon or a loaded packing case dropping from a crane, added to the fearful perils incurred from the inhabitants of far-famed Ratcliff Highway, the adventurous stranger needs the courage of an explorer to plunge down the narrow lanes that lie East of Tower Hill, and thus penetrate the depths of the unknown. But now it is quiet enough. "It is just like Sunday," as a docker observed to a *Star* man, and the only risk you incur is the minor one of losing your way, and, travelling through a maze of lanes, you end by finding yourself very near the point from which you started.

But now we have described the scene; let us glance at those who live there. The population round the docks is essentially a strong race; the slums may be as hideous as the other parts of the East-end, but they are not so unhealthy, for the stormy winds rush from the sea through the wide estuaries of the Thames, and they scatter impure air and bring the breath of life to its inhabitants. Besides the dock men and coal whippers, the lightermen and carters are men who work in the open air, and depend for their livelihood upon the strength of their arms, therefore they are naturally more vigorous and fearless than the workers in unhealthy factories. There is a pleasant air of lawlessness about the neighbourhood, brought, I suppose, by the many seamen who frequent it; and though Ratcliff Highway is not what it was, there are still some of its former glories lingering about. Fights with fists and knives are not uncommon, and the police have a wholesome dread of many of its inhabitants. Hence their courtesy and good humour, of which we hear so much.

It is not surprising to find that the inhabitants have very sensible notions of treating the disease of Scabism. Unfortunate individuals afflicted with this detestable disease have, according to common report, been treated to a water cure by a ducking in the docks, their heads have been punched without mercy, and they are always certain of a good drubbing and kicking if their amateur doctors can lay hold of them. Strikers have been known to enter a dock or wharf and effect a cure by the announcement that "there was a jolly mob coming round the corner who would give 'em what for if they did not clear out." Even the roughest of strikers are very peaceful in their large processions; but woe to the scab upon whom an isolated party of them lay hands after working hours. A friend of mine saw one of them kicked into a state of insensibility. The police, arriving on the spot, after partially witnessing the performance, mildly inquired as to who had been knocking the man about. They were met with the polite retort of "How the hell do we know; you'd better take him away"—a piece of advice which they proceeded to obey, without the least attempt to interfere with the personal liberty of his attackers. The meekness of the police is, indeed, remarkable. It is said that the other day a file of them were standing in the Whitechapel Road, in the way of the procession. Some coal whippers bade them, in the rough but forcible dialect of the district, "to get out of the bloody way," which they proceeded at once to do. On the whole, the statement of a policeman to a reporter, that "if they chose to be riotous not all the police in London could stop them," seems very near the truth.

Before quitting the subject of scabs, I may mention that it is said that certain Christian missionaries at the East-end have been making themselves very busy by recruiting scabs for the Company. Poor fellows who are out of work have been sent by them to Dock Companies, with a letter of introduction to the managers. The women are heart and soul with the men. Unlike the usual working women, they do not appear to be under the influence of the church or the Primrose League. They are of opinion that "it is better to starve quickly without work than to starve slowly with work." You often see them among the crowds besetting a dock or wharf where scabs are concealed, and they are far fiercer in their exclamations than any of the men. "Oh, you miserable old wretch," shouted one of them at the Free-Trade Wharf, to an official who incautiously showed himself, "I'd skin you if I had my way." "I'd tear the wharf down but what I'd have those blackguards out," said another. This is the spirit of the women, and you may judge whether it is revolutionary or not.

Talking of revolt reminds me of the exclamation of a city merchant, as a huge procession marched through the city on Thursday, with banners flying, the band playing the *Marseillaise*, punctuated by the thunder of thousands of marching feet. "Is this a strike or a revolution?" he cried, as he looked with wonder on the mighty host that seemed to have no end, and many Socialists in the ranks echoed it in their hearts. At least, if it is not a revolution, it is the beginning of one.

We have all read in our daily press concerning the huge meetings in Southwark Park and Hyde Park; I shall therefore only mention some matters not

generally noticed. The most striking business in Southwark Park was the large open-air meeting held by the lightermen, coalies, and other river-side trades, at which the conditions which they intended to enforce upon their masters were read out and assented to unanimously, with uproarious shouts of approval. There was great excitement on the road home. Among the procession were a large number of carmen, out on strike, and every man on the cars, still at work, was greeted with groans, yells, hisses, and shouts of "You will have to come out on Monday." As we reached Tooley Street the sky grew black with a coming storm. The shrill wind flapped the banners, and as they climbed the hill leading to the bridge it was a splendid sight to see the waving hats, the tossing banners, and black clouds, big with the approaching storm gathering over-head.

Sunday was festival day in the history of the strike. What need to describe the huge procession blazing with colour, for the strikers like their banners as bright and lively as possible, and that is, perhaps, the reason why so many of them carry the royal standard.

But look how Socialism intrudes, even among this loyal assemblage; side by side are carried two dolls, one decked out in gaudy finery, and the other clothed in filthy rags. One is labelled the docker's baby, the other, the contractor's infant. See yonder those banners of white calico. They bear the proud inscription, "We have got all we want, but we are out on principle." Yes, these coal porters, lightermen, rough carters, and wharfmen are ready to stand by their comrades till the last drop of their blood. Rough, coarse, as the dainty middle-class may consider them, they are ready to sacrifice themselves for the sake of their more unfortunate fellows. Are they not right who say that the people, marred and disfigured as they may be, have yet in them infinite nobleness and grandeur?

Those who set the noblest example among the processionists are the stavedores. These are skilled artisans who load the vessels, their pay ranges from 7s. to 9s. a-day, and they have a trade union. Yet these men did not hesitate, fine fellows as they are both mentally and physically, to turn out to the help of their poorer brethren. They have nothing so far to gain by this strike, only the loss of their daily wages, and yet they fight courageously, and with a lofty chivalry which might teach their masters a lesson, in the cause of their poorer brethren.

As a proof of the magnificent solidarity of labour, I quote the following. We at the League had heard the false report that Swedes had been engaged to act as scabs. As we thought they had been betrayed into this shameful position through ignorance, we wrote to some branches of the Seamen's Union suggesting that they might utilise the Swedish sailors belonging to their Union to draw their brethren out. We have received the following reply:—

(To D. J. Nicoll, Secretary of the Propaganda Committee.)

3, Mint Pavement, Tower Hill, London, August 24, 1889.

Dear Sir,—In answer to yours of the 22nd, I wish to inform you that all Scandinavians that are members of this branch have pledged themselves to assist the men on strike, and to use every effort to persuade any of their countrymen from working cargo, or doing anything that would be in any way detrimental to the dockers.—Yours in unity,

R. PLEASANCE,
Sec. Tower Branch N.A.S.F.U.

This shows how the men of all nationalities and trades are pulling together. The subscription sheets of the *Star* tell in even a better way than gigantic demonstrations in Hyde Park, how nobly the English workers are supporting their brethren.

The cry is still they come! The workers are pouring by thousands from their workshops—printers' labourers and brass finishers. The coal heavers leave their yards in response to the shouts of their comrades. Bands of these are marching round the Northern suburbs, turning out the men at every yard. The police are powerless before this movement, peaceful, yet overwhelming in its grand significance. It is not only in the East-end, but it is all over London. If this goes on, in a few days the sweaters dens will be deserted. It is the revolt of under-paid labour against the tyrants that have ground the poor wretches down so long; a revolt which carries all before it, which must end gloriously for the people. It seems, indeed, that the sacred torch of revolution has passed once again from France to England, and that our own people have once more to light the world along the path to a brighter and happier future.

The Strike in the Fur Trade.

Mark Hacht has received three months for "intimidation" from that Sokon of the magisterial bench, Mr. Saunders, of Dod Street celebrity, one of the worst of the blind old bats who sit there, and administer what is ironically called "justice." "It was the worst case he had ever heard of," said Mr. Saunders. For my part, I think the sentence is about the worst case of magisterial injustice and stupidity I ever heard of.

STRIKE IN WEXFORD.—The workmen, to the number of 130, have been locked out at the Mill Road Iron Works of Messrs. Pierce and Son, Wexford, for refusing to work overtime whilst some of their number were unemployed. N.

NEGRO LABOUR IN THE SOUTH.—An inquiry, says the *Chattanooga* (Tenn.) correspondent of the *Chicago Knights of Labour*, has been instituted with reference to the value of negro labour in industrial channels in the South. Three hundred southern manufacturers, representing all classes of labour, have responded, representing 9,000 negro employes, of whom 2,500 are skilled. The average wages for common labour are 1 dol. 10 c. a-day; skilled labour earns from 1 dol. 75 c. to 2 dols. 25 c., though some puddlers in the iron mills get 4 dols. and even 5 dols. a-day. Without exception the answers show the negro is fully as good if not better than the white men in the South. The prejudice, if there be any, is in his favour, as he is in labour and industrial circles to stay.

BATTERSEA.—Friends wishing to join a Battersea branch, write to E. Buteux, 20, Abercrombie Street, Battersea Park Road.

STREATHAM.—The Streatham branch meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m., at the Leigham Arms, Wellfield Road, Streatham.

A Debate will take place on "Social Democracy v. Communist-Anarchy," between Cristie (S.D.F.) and T. Pearson (Freedom Group), on Friday, Sept. 6th, at the Britannia Coffee House, Prebend Street, Packington Street, Essex Road, at 8.30 sharp.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 7, 1889.

1	Sun.	1783. Dean of St. Asaph tried for seditious libel. 1803. Trial of T. M. Roche and Owen Kirwan at Dublin for high treason in taking part in the late rising. 1884. John Snowden, Chartist, died. 1886. Domela Nieuwenhuis released from jail.
2	Mon.	1685. Alice Lisle beheaded. 1793. Meeting of the London Corresponding Society at Lewis's Auction Room, Oxford Street. 1803. Trial of James Byrne at Dublin for high treason in taking part in the late rising. 1830. Riots at Leipzig. 1867. Second General Congress of the International at Lausanne (2nd—8th). 1870. Badinguet surrenders at Sedan. 1871. Courbet tried for desertion of Vendome Column. 1872. Fifth General Congress of the International at the Hague.
3	Tues.	1650. Battle of Dunbar. 1651. Battle of Worcester. 1658. Oliver Cromwell died. 1794. Watt and Downie tried at Edinburgh for high treason. 1803. Trial of John Begg at Dublin for high treason in taking part in the late rising. 1866. First General Conference of the International (3rd—10th) at Geneva. 1877. Adolphe Thiers died.
4	Wed.	1870. Proclamation of Third French Republic.
5	Thur.	1794. Trial of David Downie for high treason in taking part in the late British Convention, and similar acts. 1803. Trial of Walter Clare at Dublin for high treason. 1842. Trial of 130 "rioters" at York. 1850. Haynau horsewhipped at Barclay and Perkins' Brewery. 1857. Auguste Comte died. 1863. Cab strike in London. 1869. Fourth General Congress of the International (5th—12th) at Basle. 1887. Trades Union Congress at Swansea.
6	Fri.	1798. Oliver Bond died. 1803. Trial of Felix Rourke at Dublin for high treason. 1863. Flight of the King (Bomba) of Naples. 1868. Third General Congress of the International (6th—11th) at Brussels.
7	Sat.	1794. Second trial of David Downie for high treason. 1803. Trial of John Killen and John McCann at Dublin for high treason. 1833. First number of the <i>Pioneer</i> , or <i>Trades Union Magazine</i> , weekly, edited by James Morrison. 1860. Garibaldi enters Naples. 1886. Trades Union Congress at Hull.

SOCIALISM AT LEICESTER.

THE ball is certainly rolling in Leicester; F. Charles being here all the week, has utilised his evenings in propagandism. Monday 12th last, we took up our position again in Humberstone Gate; Tuesday night we were in Russell Square; Wednesday night we opened up a new station in Sauby Gate. Thursday evening we went on our first mission to the country, taking Ansty, a large village five miles out. Our audience was entirely favourable, and hoped we should come again; Charles made the best speech we have had from him. There were some very sensible and earnest questions at close. Saturday 17th, Gorrie, Charles, and Barclay met Kitz at station and went straight to Loughborough, a town of 20,000 inhabitants, just half-way between Leicester and Nottingham. A Loughborough friend had tried to get our bill posted up in the Liberal Club there; but no! the directors would not allow it. This friend has left the club in consequence. We pitched our tents for the first time, and Charles took the chair and opened; Barclay followed for a few minutes, but was interrupted by an offended Gladstonian who couldn't stomach the G.O.M. being called the "Prince's William." Kitz then made a powerful speech, at the end of which nearly all the prejudice against us was dried up. The curse of party is in full force in Loughborough. The Tories dare not attack us openly for fear of the Liberals, and the Liberals do not like to make themselves too obnoxious to the Tories, many of whom are employers. Where Labour is in the case, the Liberal employer will shake hands with the Tory one and let Liberalism go to the devil. Workmen are victimised for showing zeal in the cause of their party, and are then neglected and left to starve by that party. We had little opposition, save from a Primrose. Kitz, annoyed at his moral obliquity, turned the laugh against him beautifully. We did not try a collection, but we sold 6s. 5d. worth of pamphlets and *Weal*. Kitz spoke at our usual places in Leicester on Sunday morning and evening, speaking over an hour in the evening to an audience of about 500; good impression produced. Trade union leaders conspicuous by their absence; co-operators' guns silenced; Wordsworth-Donisthorpian individualists mute. The morning's discussion had been the sharpest and most prolonged we had had; in the evening, on the contrary, we could get none. We think we shall make a few more members now, and Charles, who has gone on to Nottingham, is to propose to them there that they pepper Loughborough from their side as we do from ours, until we have worked it up thoroughly. Finally, the Radical Club here, which boycotted the discussion of Socialism some eighteen months ago, has sent an invitation to our speakers whenever we can spare them, giving free use of their lecture-room for debates and discussion through the coming winter. T. B.

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, 3s. 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 Hackensmith, to end of April. Norwich, Glasgow, Yarmouth, and Mitcham, to end of May. East London, Clerkenwell, and St. Georges East, to end of June. Manchester, North London, 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.

Propaganda Committee.—The Propaganda Committee meets on Tuesday, Sept. 3, at 8.30 p.m. Important business; all members of the League interested in the propaganda invited to attend. The leaflet, "A Straight Talk to Working Men," is now on sale at 4s. per 1,000. Can be obtained of the Secretary, at 13, Farringdon Road, London, E.C.

Provincial Missionary Fund.—Clerkenwell, 2s. 9d.; North London Branch, 8s. 6d.; and Council collection, 4s. 1½d.

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

"COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—Webb, 1s.; C. Saunders, 1s.; J. Watt, 3s.; Kitz, 6d.; J. Turner, 6d.; R. Turner, 6d.; and Samuels, 1s.

REPORTS.

LONDON OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.—*Chelsea*—Good meeting on the Embankment Sunday morning, addressed by Samuels, whose little boy sold 12 'Weal'; several questions asked, and names given in to form a branch. *Streatham*—At Fountain, Kitz and Moore addressed an enthusiastic meeting; collected for the strikers, 10s. 6d. *Battersea*—Good meeting held near Christchurch, Battersea, addressed by Kitz, Mowbray, and Blundell; collected 10s. for the strikers.

CLERKENWELL.—On Sunday, August 25th, at 8.30 p.m., Morrison Davidson in the chair, we held a debate at the Patriotic Club, Clerkenwell Green, J. Turner, S.L., and Herbert Burrows, S.D.F., on "Anarchist Socialism v. Social Democracy." The hall was crowded, and 10s. collected, 5s. of which, after paying expenses for hall, was taken to the *Star* for dock strikers' fund; 'Weal, Freedom, and literature sold pretty well; Morrison Davidson, in closing, stated, as an experienced lawyer, he believed Anarchism was not so new as some would think, and believed the same would be the outcome of the present system, as law, in 999 cases out of 1,000, was only necessary through private ownership in property, and as soon as property was made common, laws would not be needed.—S. P.

EAST LONDON.—Good meetings held at the Mile End Waste on Tuesday, by Turner and Power; Friday, in connection with the dockers' strike, by Kitz, Nicol, Mowbray, and Parker; when over £2 were collected for the Strike Fund; and on Saturday Samuels, Cores, and others addressed a good meeting, and collected 6s. in aid of the strikers. At Hoxton Church, on Thursday evening, Graham, Murray, and Cores addressed the meeting; 2s. 7½d. was collected for the strikers' funds; Mowbray, Brooks, and Cores spoke at Gibraltar Walk; on Friday 1s. 1½d. was collected; on Sunday morning Cores, Graham, Davis and Parker spoke, and collected 2s. 1½d. for the strikers. Good sales of *Commonweal*.

MITCHAM.—Kitz and Dillier addressed a good meeting on the Green; collected for strikers, 5s. 7d.

NORTH KENSINGTON.—Good meeting at Latimer Road; speakers, Maughan, Lyne, sen., Davis, Grierson, and a comrade of S.D.F.; collection for dock labourers, 9s.; *Commonweal* sold well; very good meeting at St. Ann's Road; speakers, Lyne, jun., and Tochatti; collected for strikers, 10s. 4d.; *Commonweal* sold well; also a good meeting at Cambridge Gardens; speakers, Maughan, Lyne, sen., Tochatti, Saint. Dean, Crouch; Mrs. Tochatti in the chair, who sang the song for Socialism; collections, 15s. 5d. for strike of dock men; in the afternoon we held a large meeting in the Park; speakers, Tochatti, Lyne, sen., Lyne, jun.; Mrs. Tochatti sang and Crouch spoke; all our 'Weals' sold out, and a good number of pamphlets; collected for strike, £1 5s. 4d.; on Saturday Mrs. Tochatti had a table at Hammersmith, and collected £1 18s., and we, in conjunction with several of the Hammersmith branch, held a meeting in the Grove, and collected £1 10s. 6d. for strike.

ABERDEEN.—At indoor meeting on 19th Leatham lectured on "Studies of a Socialist in Natural History" to a large audience; Saturday night, at Castle Street, Duncan and Leatham addressed a good meeting; good sale of literature.

GLASGOW.—The usual meetings on Green and Paisley Road were addressed by Gilbert, Joe Burgoyne and Glasier; at both meetings stirring appeals were made by our comrades on behalf of London dockers, with the result that 3s. 0½d. was collected at Green, and 5s. 2½d. at Paisley Road, Toll; at evening meeting in our rooms, 2s. 6d. was collected among members for Koeningsberg comrades on strike; it should also be mentioned that at the usual meeting of the Home Government Branch of I.N.L. Glasier delivered a purely Socialist address, which was eagerly listened to.—D. McC.

LEICESTER.—Edward Carpenter spoke here Sunday last; morning, "Our Industrial System"; evening, "The Land Question"; 3s. collected, and 5s. of literature sold; Sunday evening Barclay read a condensation of Thorold Rogers's "Six Centuries of Work and Wages," in the Secular Hall, supplemented by remarks of his own, creating a warm discussion with the co-operators.—T. B.

MANCHESTER.—When we visited Middleton on Saturday night we found the "Wakes," or annual fair, in full swing, and our ground occupied; we held a short meeting close by, but with little success. On Sunday afternoon Ritson and Marshall addressed an attentive meeting in Stevenson Square; on Sunday night, at Heywood, a good meeting, addressed by Bailie; there is a desire by some sympathisers here to form a branch, which may hereafter be done.

NORWICH.—Saturday, usual open-air meeting held on the Haymarket; Sunday morning a meeting held in the Market Place; in the afternoon a good meeting held in the Market, McCormack spoke; in the evening another meeting held in the Market; McCormack and Poynts took part; *Commonweal* sold out.

YARMOUTH.—We had a splendid meeting in the morning (Sunday), on Priory Plain; we have beaten the guardians over widow Kersey's case; they have granted her relief again; while our morning meeting was going on, a comrade told Reynolds that men were being engaged to go to London Docks on Monday morning, to take the place of the dock strikers; well, to prove the truth of it, a comrade belonging to our branch went to Turrell's office, and was met at the door, and was asked if he wanted a job; "Yes," said our comrade; well, he was taken inside, and offered 30s. per week, and fare there and back, and was told there were plenty of police ready if necessary; of course, our comrade signed, and came out to tell us the little game; well, Reynolds and Mr. Halliday, of Lincoln, sent a telegram to Burns, Hyde Park demonstration, telling them of the scab work going on; and at night we marched from Colman's Granary to Turrell's office, and held an indignation meeting, giving three groans for the crimping Turrell, and telling the men to keep away from London; it was also agreed to meet at 5.30 next morning, to give the scabs and Turrell a salute, if they go by first train; we had a grand day, and the people are getting courage.—C. R.

DUBLIN.—At Progressist Club, 87, Marlboro' Street, Saturday, August 24th, H. Sutton Prizelle lectured on "Why are the Workers Poor," giving a graphic description of the condition of the working classes in England, France, and the United States; a very good discussion, Hamilton, O'Gorman, Toomey, and others taking part.

NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.—Proctor and Rooke addressed a meeting in Sneinton Market on Sunday morning, and another in Great Market in the evening; at the Hall, afterwards, it was decided to take steps to organise a Midland Federation of Socialist bodies.—P.

ROCHDALE.—Yesterday we had comrades Sharples, of Blackburn, and L. Hall here; comrade Sharples had a debate in the afternoon with a tradesman in the town, who had enough of it, judging from the way in which he cleared out after it was over; in the evening comrade Hall dealt with some correspondence that had recently appeared in one of the local papers; the audience seemed well satisfied.

LIVERPOOL.—Socialists willing to join a Branch of the S. L. in Liverpool should communicate with W. H. Chapman, Vegetarian Restaurant, 1, Stanley Street.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (¼-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). On Sunday, Sept. 1, at 8.15 p.m., W. Blundell (S.L.) will lecture on "The Dockers' Strike."

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 Llandaff Street, Harpurhey.

Norwich.—Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' 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.—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m. **Yarmouth.**—Branch meets at comrade Headley's, near Co-operative Stores, every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class Friday at 8 p.m.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SATURDAY 31.

- 7.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch Parker and Kitz
- 8.30..... Battersea—opposite Christ Church Kitz and Mowbray
- 8.30..... Mile-end Waste Graham and Davis

SUNDAY 1.

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

TUESDAY 3.

- 8 Fulham—back of Walham Green Church The Branch
- 8 Mile-end Waste Presburg

WEDNESDAY 4.

- 8.30..... Chelsea—Embankment Samuels

THURSDAY 5.

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

FRIDAY 6.

- 8 Bethnal Green—Gibraltar Walk Mowbray and Kitz
- 8 Islington—Prebend Street Parker

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 11, 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. **Edinburgh.**—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8. **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 Lect., Secretary.** **Kilmarnock.**—Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday. H. McGill, 22 Gilmour Street, Secretary. **West Calder.**—Robert Lindsay, West Calder, Secretary.

DUBLIN.—Progressist Club, 87, Marlboro' Street, Saturday, August 31st, at 8 p.m., G. King will lecture on "The Relations between Trades' Unionism and Socialism." Trades' unionists invited.

MANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE (founded 1875), "Three Doves," Berwick St., Oxford Street, W.—Sunday, September 1, at 8.45, Charles Murray, "Ireland is owned by ten or twelve thousand persons," John Bright, 1870; What Crime has Mr. Conybeare, M.P., committed against the Irish people that justifies his imprisonment and the infamous and brutal treatment by a landlord and Tory Government?"

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.
 - 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, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

SOCIALIST LEAGUE PUBLICATIONS.

- Chants for Socialists.** By William Morris. . 1d
 - Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism.** By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). . 1d.
 - The Commune of Paris.** By E. Belfort Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. . . 2d.
 - The Aims of Art.** By Wm. Morris. 3d.
 - The Rights of Labour according to John Ruskin.** By Thomas Barclay. 1d
 - The Tables Turned; or, Nupkins Awakened.** A Socialist Interlude. By William Morris. In Wrapper 4d.
 - The Manifesto of the Socialist League.** Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and William Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. 1d.
 - True and False Society.** By Wm. Morris. . 1d.
 - Useful Work v. Useless Toil.** By William Morris. 1d.
- "Vive la Commune!" Cartoon by Walter Crane. Best paper. 2d.
- Mrs. Grundy (Cartoon).** By Walter Crane. Fine hand-made large paper. 6d.

SPECIAL PRICES FOR REMAINDERS.

- ALL FOR THE CAUSE.**
By W. MORRIS, with Music by E. B. BAX
Threepence.
- AIMS OF ART.**
By W. MORRIS. On good paper.
Twopence.

The above will be sent on receipt of stamps by Secretary, *Commonweal* Office, 13 Farringdon Road, London, E.C.

DER ARME TEUFEL.

EDITED BY ROBERT REITZEL.
Offices: 6 Champlain Street, Detroit, Mich., U.S.A.
Subscription, 2 dols. 50 c. yearly.

ARBEJDEREN ("The Worker")

DANISH SOCIALIST WEEKLY.
Edited and published by NICOLAJ PETERSEN and GIBSON TRIEB.
Subscription 3s. a-year.
Nansensgade 28A, Copenhagen.

WORKS OF WILLIAM MORRIS.

- Just Published, square crown 8vo, 200 pp., 6s.
A TALE OF THE HOUSE OF THE WOLFINGS, and all the Kindreds of the Mark. Written in Prose and Verse.
Library Edition, 4 vols., crown 8vo, £2.
- THE EARTHLY PARADISE:** A Poem in four parts.
The Vols. separately as below—
Vols. I. and II., SPRING AND SUMMER, ninth ed. 16s.
Vol. III., AUTUMN seventh edition 12s.
Vol. IV., WINTER seventh edition 12s.
- Popular Edition of
THE EARTHLY PARADISE, in 10 parts, 12mo, at 2s. 6d. each.
ditto ditto in 5 vols., at 5s. each.
Second Edition, square crown 8vo, 332 pp., 14s.
- THE ÆNEIDS OF VIRGIL.** Done into English verse.
Third Edition, crown 8vo, 217 pp., 4s. 6d.
- HOPES AND FEARS FOR ART.** Five Lectures delivered in Birmingham, London, etc., in 1878-1881.
Second Edition, square crown 8vo, 450 pp., 6s. 6d.
- THE ODYSSEY OF HOMER.** Done into English verse.
Crown 8vo, 248 pp., 8s.
- THE DEFENCE OF GUENEVERE,** and other Poems. Reprinted without alteration from the Edition of 1858.
Eighth Edition, Cr. 8vo, 376 pp., revised by the Author, 8s
- THE LIFE AND DEATH OF JASON:** A Poem.
Fourth Edition, 345 pp., sq. Crown 8vo, 6s.
- THE STORY OF SIGURD THE VOLSUNG,** and the Fall of the Niblungs.
Third Edition sq. Crown 8vo, 134 pp., 7s. 6d. With design on side in gold.
- LOVE IS ENOUGH, or the Freeing of Pharamond A Morality**
Square 12mo, 143 pp., 4s. 6d.
- A DREAM OF JOHN BALL and A KING'S LESSON.** With an Illustration by EDWARD BURNE-JONES.
Recently published, post 8vo, 202 pp., 4s. 6d.
- SIGNS OF CHANGE.** Seven Lectures delivered on various occasions.
How we Live and How we Might Live; Whigs, Democrats, and Socialists; Feudal England; The Hopes of Civilisation; The Aims of Art; Useful Work versus Useless Toil; Dawn of a new Epoch.
- REEVES AND TURNER, 196 Strand, London, W.C.

NOTICE.

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

AMERICAN PUBLICATIONS ON SALE IN LONDON.

- Science of Society. By Stephen Pearl Andrews. 4s.
- Part I.—The True Constitution of Government in the Sovereignty of the Individual.
Part II.—Cost the limit of Price.
- No Treason: The Constitution of no Authority. By Lysander Spooner. 2s.
- Natural Law; or the Science of Justice. Showing that all legislation whatsoever is an absurdity, a usurpation, and a crime. By Lysander Spooner. 6d.
- Mutual Banking. By William B. Green. 1s.
- What is Freedom, and when am I Free? By Henry Appleton. 8d.
- The Great Strike. By E. H. Heywood. 8d.
- So the Railway Kings itch for an Empire, do They? By a Red-hot Striker. 4d.
- Famous Speeches. By the Chicago Anarchists in Court. 1s.
- Anarchy and the Anarchists. By John C. Kimball. The sermon that led to the pastor's resignation. 3d.
- "What's to be Done?" By N. G. Tchernychevsky. Written in prison; suppressed by the Czar. 4s.
- Love, Marriage, and Divorce. By Henry James, Horace Greeley, and Stephen Pearl Andrews. 1s. 6d.
- The Scholar in a Republic. By Wendell Phillips, before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Harvard College. 1s.
- Daniel O'Connell. By Wendell Phillips. 1s.
- Lost Arts. By Wendell Phillips. 1s.
- Anarchism: Its Aims and Methods. By Victor Yarros. 2d.
- Josephine S. Tilton, 58 Torrington Square, W.C.

A. R. PARSONS' BOOK ON

Anarchism:

ITS PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENTIFIC BASIS.

English and German Editions now ready.

PRICES: Handsomely Bound in Cloth and Gilt, 4s. Paper Covers, 2s.—post free.

Commonweal Office, 13 Farringdon Rd., London, E.C.

JUST PUBLISHED.

THE LIFE OF ALBERT R. PARSONS.

290 PAGES, BEAUTIFULLY ILLUSTRATED.

Telling the Story of his Life, partly from his own pen, so full of startling incidents, ending with the tragedy of Nov. 11, 1887.

CONTRIBUTIONS FROM

JOSEPH GRUNNUT, GEN. W. H. PARSONS, GEN. B. F. BUTLER, CAPT. W. P. BLACK, WM. HOLMES, LIZZIE M. HOLMES (SWANK), LOTHROP WINTHROP, and others, make this one of the most interesting books of our time.

Price (Postpaid) 6s. 6d.

Address—MRS. PARSONS, 785 Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.

J. SKETCHLEY'S PUBLICATIONS.

299 SHALESMOOR, SHEFFIELD.

- Social Science** (New York). Containing splendid full-page Portraits of the eight Chicago Anarchists, with good Biographical Notices of each. 1 copy, 2d., by post, 3d.; 3 copies, 8d.; 10 copies, 1s. 3d.; 12, 2s. 5d.; 24, 4s. 9d.
- The Workman's Question: WHY HE IS POOR.** 24 pp., in Wrapper. Price Twopence. 6 or more copies post free. 50, post free, 6s. 100, post free, 11s.
- A Review of European Society.** With an Exposition and Vindication of the Principles of Social Democracy. By J. SKETCHLEY. An Introduction by WILLIAM MORRIS. 240 pp., post free 1s. 6d.; cloth gilt, 2s. 3d.
- The Irish Question.** Third Edition. 32 pages, in Wrapper. Price Threepence. 6 or more copies post free.
- Labour and Capital** (Kellogg). 370 pp. Post free, 1s. 1d.
- The Poems of K. F. Relaiieff** (hanged with P. A. Kakhovski, etc.). New Edition, 1887. Post free, 4s. (pub. 7s. 6d.)

FREIHEIT

INTERNATIONAL ORGAN OF THE GERMAN-SPEAKING ANARCHISTS.

EDITED BY JOHN MOST.

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

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

THE AUSTRALIAN RADICAL

Advocate of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity
New Lambton Road, Hamilton, Australia.

Organ of the Australian Socialist League.

May be had at the *Commonweal* Office, 13 Farringdon Road, London, E.C.

1½d. per copy; 1s. 6d. per quarter, post free.

IRISH MINSTRELSY:

Being a selection of

IRISH SONGS, LYRICS, AND BALLADS.

Edited, with Notes and Introduction, by

H. HALLIDAY SPARLING.

Enlarged and Revised Edition, with Cover designed by MAY MORRIS.

Royal 8vo, 516 pp., cloth, 3s. 6d.

Walter Scott, Warwick Lane, E.C.

Printed and Published by WILLIAM MORRIS and JOSEPH LANE at 13 Farringdon Road, London.