

# THE COMMONWEAL

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

Two announcements which were made last week are among the cheering "straws" that show which way the social "wind" is blowing. Ibsen's "Pillars of Society," literally translated by Mr. Wm. Archer, is to be performed at the Gaiety Theatre, on Tuesday, July 16, and the promoters of the undertaking are most anxious to make it known that there will be no tampering with the text. A new play by Mr. Henry Arthur Jones, called "The Middleman," will be put on the stage in the autumn by Mr. E. S. Willard at the Shaftesbury. It is said to be a study of contemporary life on similar lines to those of the same writer's striking production "Wealth," now running at the Haymarket. Not world-shaking events in themselves, but how much they mean!

In a recent issue of the *Boston Herald*, I noticed an advertisement for an "American man." Just what that means I don't know, outside of a Red Indian, but I was struck by the fact that almost in the next column was a long report of a "mass meeting" which wound up a three day's convention of the "National British-American Association of the United States," formed to antagonise and counteract wherever possible the work of the Irish-American organisations. The same mail brought a German paper with German-American politics and news; and one would have to run through all the nationalities of Europe before the minor organisations of a similar nature were exhausted. As at home, so abroad; the wretched workers all over the world allow themselves to be divided up and set fighting, and then by the time they have got through "antagonising" one another, there is neither time nor energy left for improving their position or deposing their oppressors.

According to a paragraph which went the round of the papers last week, there is actually a scheme on foot for a "land syndicate" to buy Lower California from Mexico in order to form an Irish-American Republic there. For the credit of the Irish race it is to be hoped that this stupid and pitiful plan will fall through before it approaches anything like realisation. It is an outcome of the terrible sectarianism and exclusiveness that has for so long laid Ireland helpless under the feet of her slave-drivers, aliens and natives, and made workmen everywhere the miserable slaves they are.

It is the habit of Englishmen to complain of the insularity of Irishmen, and their obstinate refusal to merge themselves in the mass of any folk they may dwell among, and it is further the delight of Unionist or Tory orators and scribes to dilate on the cruelty they discover ingrained in the Irish character. As for the failing first-named, are not Englishmen themselves a byword for it among all the nations of the earth? And for the cruelty, there is no crime of all that ever were, or could be, wrought by Irishmen, even the most desperate, which could equal for calculating cold-blooded malignity the massacre of the dervishes in the desert, which all English papers but one or two have been chronicling with joy as a great and glorious victory.

Heroically flinging their rude weapons and naked bodies in defence of their homes, their freedom, and their faith, against all the latest modern developments in the machinery of murder, they were beaten, broke, and fled. Then they were hunted down like wolves and vermin, and butchered in detail. Those of them who took refuge in the hills were cut off from water and penned up to die of thirst. Some, scores of them, did so die, and hundreds more of them were dying when the latest news was received, and every maddened wretch who, driven by unendurable, unutterable torment, crawled out into the open to allay the agony of his lingering death, was being coolly shot at sight. Calmly waiting for the despairing rush of each frenzied victim stood the representatives of English law-'n'-order, upholding religion, civilisation, and all the rest of it, on behalf of their employers, who at home were cursing Patrick Ford and "Transatlantic," and thanking God they were not as these wild devils of dynamitards.

There is now a good chance for English workmen to help themselves in helping others. Danish joiners are locked-out to compel them to accept a reduction; their manifesto will be given in full next week. Let all those English workmen who talk of "foreign competition" go the best way to work to render it harmless by helping their foreign brethren to maintain wages at a decent level. Help should be addressed to P. J. Nielsen, Romersgade 22, Copenhagen. S.

The Northumberland miners at their annual gala had the valuable assistance of Mr. Burt, Mr. Bradlaugh, and Mr. Henry George. It appears that some of Mr. George's remarks did not meet with Mr. Bradlaugh's approval. First he fell foul of his worthy colleague because he said there was more freedom in America than England. Mr. Bradlaugh, as "an Englishman," thought "that we had almost as much liberty here as in America." Quite true, Mr. Bradlaugh. In England you can be bludgeoned to death for holding advanced opinions and endeavouring to express them. In America they will hang you for committing the same offence. Yes, it is probable that we have almost as much liberty as they have in America.

Then Mr. Bradlaugh went on to remark upon the marvellous progress achieved since the days of the old Roman empire.

"Mr. George rightly asked why it was that through the whole civilised world the labouring class was poor, but if he could have stood two thousand years ago in the greatest city of the civilised world, he would have had to ask the question—Why was it that the whole of the labouring class were slaves? There had been progress."

Wonderful progress! One would think to hear the unctious with which Mr. Bradlaugh speaks of it that it was all owing to the efforts of the pope of the National Secular Society. Still it may be doubted whether the workers have greatly improved their condition by being transformed from slaves into "free labourers." The Roman slave had enough to eat, he was often well housed and well cared for. Can the English "free labourer" say as much?

No, no. The great accomplishment of last century is not the abolition of slavery, but the evolution of Charles Bradlaugh!

Just consider how happy the Roman slave might have been if he could have had a Mr. Bradlaugh to tell him that he must not seek a total change in his condition. "Slavery was healthful, invigorating; it brought out, it developed the manly qualities of independence, honesty, and integrity." Just think how that would have soothed the poor creature down, and how he would have learnt to bless the kindly rule of his excellent master.

Please imagine the Roman Bradlaugh holding forth as follows: "My poor men, Mr. Catiline rightly asks 'Why are you slaves?' I admit there are disadvantages about slavery, great disadvantages; but if Mr. Catiline could have stood in the greatest city of the world a few thousand years ago, he would have had to ask the question 'Why did the workers eat one another?' There has been progress! Be patient, my friends, be patient; no violent language, no physical force, and perhaps in another two or three thousand years you may likewise improve your condition." Here our reporter came away.

Absurd! ridiculous! doubtless. We know slavery developed no manly qualities. But does the beneficent rule of the régime of individualism, which Mr. Bradlaugh praises so highly, bring them out? Are the ground-down slaves of our civilisation, the matchmakers, the unskilled labourers, the chainmakers, the tramwaymen, and the toilers upon the soil remarkable for their independence of character and their freedom from such vile qualities as marked the slaves of old?

No; the curse of the present system is that it degrades the mass of the workers far more than the slavery of the old world, or the serfdom of the feudal system. The serfs and slaves could and did revolt repeatedly against the tyranny of their masters. When will slaves of our commercial system have spirit enough to rise, and with one mighty effort break their chains?  
D. N.

## A CHAT WITH A BURGLAR.

By PERPETUAL MOTION.

(Continued from p. 210.)

By turning round I beheld a middle-sized well-built man, about my own age, and the most determined-looking face I ever came across. On that face a trace of hesitation could not be detected; the eyes, of steel-gray colour, had all the sternness of an executioner and all the calmness of a practical man at his business. Even if I had been armed, it would have been useless to offer resistance, because a revolver glittered in the clutched, nervous fingers of the stranger, and every movement of mine was dominated by that death-dealing instrument. To do myself justice, my philosophical penchant did not leave me even a moment. I was cool enough to watch the various feelings and sensations in my own person, while the fellow's whole demeanour struck me more by the stamp of an interesting specimen of the *genus homo* than by the possible unpleasant consequences the unexpected visit might have for me.

"Don't raise an alarm, or I'll blow your brains out!" the fellow muttered, audibly enough for me.

"Don't trouble yourselves about that, my dear sir," I answered with all the *sans froid* I was capable of. "If you have not come for the special purpose of murdering me, I shall try to please you in any way you choose."

"I suppose you know what I am here for," the fellow remarked. "You have received some cash to-day, and I am in need of it. Where is it?"

"Would it not be better first to have a little friendly argument?"

"Damn your arguments! Where is the money?"

"There"; and I pointed to the bookcase.

The fellow advanced towards it, covering me with his revolver; opened the case, took the roll of banknotes, put them away in the inside pocket of his coat, and retreated towards the door.

I had kept my seat as unconcerned as if the visit of a burglar had been a daily incident in my life.

"Now look here, my man; I am not going to make any noise about that money. I don't care about it, and I should have given it away. If you had come to me and asked me for it I should have given it to you. And as for risking my own life or taking yours for that money, such an idea never entered my brain. I am a philosopher. I swear to you by the honour of a gentleman that I shall not molest you. But as a philosopher I wish to have a friendly chat with you. You are perfectly secure; you have got the money and that revolver. Sit down there on the chair near the door. I will remain where I am. If I make a move or call for help you can kill me, while the chances of escape are all in your favour. Sit down there and tell me what has forced you to become a burglar."

"Well, I never—" The fellow hesitated a moment and sat down in the chair. "So you want to know the reason why? I suppose you are a literary man, wishing to serve up something new. Why I am a burglar? I will tell you in a few words. Men are thieves; all men are thieves. The rich rob the poor, and now and then a fellow like me robs the rich. The one is legalised robbery, and mine is punishable robbery; that's the whole difference."

"I agree with you perhaps more than you might think," I answered. "There is such an amount of heartless cruelty in our social arrangements, that I am more struck with the moderation of the robbed victims than the amount of crime against property. But robbery in the one case as well as in the other is reprehensible and against the divine law."

"Divine law!" sneered the fellow, and a contemptuous expression overspread his face.

"You must not misjudge me. By divine law I do not mean the law given to man by some self-existing deity, but a law which is the very essence of our spiritual or true being. There is no lawgiver, but there is the fundamental or elemental essence which warns us constantly that things are not what they seem, and that we must not be ruled by them. Do you find any inward satisfaction by following your course?"

"I do. After every successful haul I feel that I have done something to set things right again. The rich man whom I rob has just as much right to his money as I have. He came to it by robbery, and lost it by robbery. I do not rob the poor, only the rich. There is no moral principle involved any more in the one case than in the other. If the Bank of England were broken into and £100,000 were carried away by burglars, I offer a bet that in the whole of England not one man's moral feelings would be outraged. Money, valuables, jewellery—all these things must be watched. They are the property of those who know how to get them."

"Even admitting all that, one thing is certain—that you are an outlaw, living in open or secret rebellion with mankind. Enmity is in your heart, and there can be no room for happiness."

"Perhaps so; but if you knew how I became thus you would judge less harshly of me."

"I do not judge at all, I assure you. You may have been especially unfortunate. To learn from you how this came about is the reason why I detained you."

"Listen, then. I was once an 'honest' working-man. I tried my best to earn a living by hard work. I am a compositor by trade."

"A compositor," I interrupted; "why, that's a very good trade."

"Oh, is it? That's all you know about it. There are at this day hundreds, perhaps thousands, of compositors in London whose weekly

earnings range between eight and twenty shillings. Many of these men have families. I have worked in book-houses where the weekly earnings never reach a pound; sometimes I have earned not even ten shillings. Do you call that a trade?"

"This is almost incredible," I remarked. "How is this possible?"

"It is possible in the piece system, where two-thirds of a man's time is wasted by mismanagement and carelessness on the part of the employer. But this carelessness really means tiger-like cruelty for the poor comp., who is helpless. I know what I have gone through. The idea of being in work on a so-called trade, and bringing ten shillings home to missis on a Saturday was maddening to me. It turned me upside down. I was a young man, with a wife and a child. I should have willingly risked my life for both, and yet I could not earn enough to keep them fed and clothed. I swore the deadliest oath that they should have plenty to eat while I could move a finger, and I became a burglar. I have studied the business."

"And your wife, your children?"

"My wife had to be converted to my religion. It cost me a great deal of trouble. Women will listen to parsons. But my words and hunger made a practical communist out of her. My children know nothing about my doings. I bring them up respectably, like the legalised robbers."

"But suppose you are caught?"

"I shall never be caught alive."

"Then you would commit murder. Now, apart from all the commandments of so-called revealed religion, there is in murder all that is bestly in human nature. Tigers and wolves kill, but man, as an organism knowing the origin of all being, is almost unthinkable as a life-destroyer. Only the savage animalism in ourselves can delight in killing, and a terrible reaction, caused by our true being, makes us aware, when it is too late, that we have murdered our own peace, our sleep, and loosened all the hell-born crew of remorse, fear, terror, and despair."

"The likes of me do not kill for the pleasure of the thing. We only defend ourselves. If people risk their lives for their money, the fault is theirs, not ours. And yet I believe I could, if I had the chance, live as an honest man. I have tried again and again, but want drove me to despair, to hatred. I utterly despise your laws. They protect the rich, while for us they have starvation and the poorhouse."

"Could you not take that money and leave this country—try an honest life in Australia, the Cape, in Canada, or the United States? In your case I should not despair. Is your conscience free from murder?"

"It is."

"Thank goodness for that! Well, then, the mere fact of having robbed rich people of some of their unnecessary wealth should not force you to remain a criminal. There are worse things than burglary. There are deadlier wounds inflicted by countless acts other than the abstraction of banknotes and shining metal or glittering stones. I could commit a deadlier sin by my pen or a word of my mouth than you would be guilty of in house-breaking. But I draw the line at violence, let alone murder. It is questionable whether there exists anything in this world of deceptions worth the life of any human being, least of all a sum of money which may be thrown away for the smile of a painted harlot, or a gaudy picture, a sumptuous dinner for overfed gluttons, or a robe to cover the shrivelled skin of a worthless votary of fashion. If you alter your course and become an honest man, there is no honest man in England who would think much the worse of you because society has driven you to burglary."

"Now, I must say you are a real gentleman. Here, take these five hundred pounds, and I will content myself with half. With this money I shall leave England and try a new life abroad." And he handed me the five banknotes.

"I do not want the money. If I knew that you really meant to do what you say I should willingly give you more. Keep the money and carry out your resolve; and may the spirit of true humanity be henceforth your guide. Depart in peace, and without fear. Good evening, sir."

I could see the man's eyes swimming in tears he could not suppress. He walked out of the room never turning back, and I rewarded this confidence by whistling a popular tune to his retreating steps.

Am I not justified in maintaining that I am not like other people? Is such a man not worthy to invent perpetual motion?

'ZNAMIA.'—We are sorry to learn that the Russian Social-Democratic paper, *Znamia*, which has been published for some time in New York, has given up the ghost. Killed by that curse of labour-papers—lack of funds.

The following anecdote, which I clipped from the *Omaha World*, is a pretty good joke for a "law and order" paper: Penitentiary Visitor—My poor man, how did you come to be in here? Prisoner—For selling fraudulent goods and thereby getting money under false pretences. Visitor—I hope you'll become an honest man here and be a good citizen when you are released. What are you employed at by the State? Prisoner—Making warranted solid leather soles for boots and shoes out of pasteboard.—H. F. C.

From Paris we hear that paper is in the near future bound to supersede cotton and wool as the clothing material of people. For blankets, plain covering and similar purposes the paper fabrics are an established success. How will our cotton and woollen industries be effected by competition from this unexpected quarter? Shoddy paper hats at 3d. each will no doubt be good enough for the workers. Sixpenny glazed-paper overcoats will soon afford them shelter from the bleak winds and tempestuous showers of our inhospitable clime. Hurrah for civilisation! Its blessings are indeed great.—A. B.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

FRANCE.

The French *Parti ouvrier* has sustained a heavy loss by the death of comrade Simon Soëns, who died at Paris the 3rd inst., at the age of sixty-six, having been born on the 17th of August 1823. He has been very active, all his life through, in the Socialist cause, and as far back as June 1848 he did his duty as a revolutionist. In 1866 he founded a co-operative productive association, which came to an end during the Franco-German war. The same year he contributed towards the creation of a *chambre syndicale* (trade union) of the shoemakers, which ended in 1882. During the siege of Paris he organised an association for the providing of shoes to the National Guards, and continued the same up to 1880. Besides this merely administrative part of his work, he permeated all these creations with democratic and Socialist principles. He took a very active part in the working-men's movement of the last years of the Third Empire. In 1871 he was of course in the ranks of the Communards, where he bravely did his utmost for the cause of the people. In 1876 he was a delegate at the first general congress of the French Socialists, and in 1878 he aided very actively in the foundation of *Le Proletaire*. He was also up to the time of his death manager of *Le Proletaire*, the organ of the *Parti ouvrier*. In 1878 he was sentenced to imprisonment, with Jules Guesde and forty others, for having convened an international congress at Paris (Jules Favre law against the International). He was elected a member of the Municipal Council of Paris in 1887, and a member of the General Council of the Seine department. He was a noble-minded man, and all who once knew him liked him and soon became his friends. He was buried at the Père-Lachaise cemetery, where citizens Jacques, president of the General Council, Chantemps, chairman of the Municipal Council, and Chabert, in the name of those who have survived the struggles of 1848 and 1871, retraced the career of the deceased.

Never will any other Revolutionary Socialist Congress have been of such a fully international character as the forthcoming gathering of the 14th inst. To the conveners of various nationalities whose names and organisations have already appeared in the *Commonweal* are now to be added the following:—*Greece*—For the Greek Socialist party: Platon F. Drakulis, editor of *Arden*, the Socialist paper of the Hellenes. *Norway*—For the Norwegian Socialist party: Karl Jeppesen. *Italy*—For the Socialist organisation of Sicily: Aldissio Samnito; For the Socialist groups of Milano: O. Gnochti-Viani. *Hungary*—For the Hungarian Socialist party: A. Thrlinger, and Leo Frankel, ex-member of the Paris Commune. *Germany*—For the Shoemakers' Union of Barmstedt: T. Kliiss (Elmshorn); For the Shoemakers' Union of Magdeburg and several other unions of the same trade throughout Germany: W. Bock (Gotha); For the carpenters' trade of Berlin: Karl Legien; For the workers of Königsberg: Karl Schulze; For the cabinetmakers of Germany comrade Karl Kloss (Stuttgart) is likely to be elected, his nomination having already been approved of in various important towns.

GERMANY.

The former Socialist deputy at the German Reichstag, Wilhelm Hasenclever, who for some time past has been located in a lunatic asylum, died there a few days ago. At the time when he first became ill we have in these notes recorded at some length the Socialist career of the deceased, who was very much esteemed by the workers of his country.

The attorney Frehsee, who caused our comrade Lieske to be beheaded on account of the execution of the Police Councillor Rumpf, of which he was innocent, and who became mad a few weeks afterwards, has now died at Charlottenburg, near Berlin. No one pities that magistrate; the fate he met with served him right.

The members of the Westphalian strike committee have been tried and sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from one to five years. That is the revenge of the capitalist class; but if only the workers will rally together and combine they will soon be able to put an end to that kind of revenging.

SWITZERLAND.

The national council of the Swiss Social-Democrats have issued a manifesto to the members of the party and to the public generally, in regard to the scandalous attempt made by Iron Bismarck to destroy the right of asylum that has existed (more or less) for centuries past in the little Helvetic Republic. The document is a very important one, as it recapitulates all the shameful doings which for the last seven or eight years have been undertaken in Switzerland through the instrumentality of the German police authorities and their various agents. It has been issued in the columns of the *Arbeiterstimme* (Voice of the Workers) and has been reproduced by a number of revolutionary papers, among which we may mention *der Sozialdemokrat* of London (number 27, of 6th July), where our German-reading English comrades will find it. We regret that lack of space does not allow the *Commonweal* to translate the compendious document of our Swiss friends.

V. D.

If corruption seems rolling over us like a flood, mark, it is not the corruption of the humbler classes. It is millionaires who steal banks, mills, and railways; it is defaulters who live in palaces and make away with millions; it is money kings who buy up congress; it is demagogues and editors, in purple and fine linen, who give fifty thousand dollars for the presidency itself; it is greedy wealth which invests its thousand millions in rum, to coin money out of the weakness of its neighbour. These are the spots where corruption nestles and gangrenes the state. If humble men are corrupted, these furnish the overwhelming temptation. It is not the common people in the streets, but the money changers who have intruded into the temple that we most sorely need someone to scourge.—*Wendell Phillips*.

**THE RIGHTS OF PERSONS.**—The absolute rights of man, considered as a free agent, endowed with discernment to know good from evil, and with power of choosing those measures which appear to him most desirable, are usually summed up in one general appellation, and denominated the natural liberty of mankind. This natural liberty consists properly in a power of acting as one thinks fit, without restraint or control, unless by the law of nature; being a right inherent in us by birth. But every man when he enters society, gives up a part of his natural liberty, as the price of so valuable a purchase; and, in consideration of receiving the advantages of mutual commerce, obliges himself to conform to those rules which the community has thought proper to establish.—*Blackstone's 'Commentaries.'*

THE RED FLAG.

(Reprinted from the *Democratic Review*, edited by G. Julian Harney, April 1850.)

AIR—"Dark Loch na Garr."

'Tis in the Red Flag true Republicans glory;  
Red is the emblem of Justice and Right—  
By martyrs' blood dyed, whose names live in story—  
The victors, though fallen, in Liberty's fight.  
Fast flow our tears for the fettered and slaughtered,  
And exiles who wander o'er valley and Craig,  
Too long has the earth by tyrants been tortured;  
They shall crouch yet and cower before our Red Flag!

Away to the winds with the cant "moderation";  
Mercy is not with king, tiger, or snake;  
Crush them to the dust, as they've crushed each nation—  
In the day of our triumph kings tremble and quake.  
"Mercy!" yes, mercy such as they gave us—  
Such we'll return, and throneless will drag  
From their high places all those that enslave us,  
To bow, mean and abject, before our Red Flag!

"Mercy!" while Haynau riots in murder,  
And tiger-like gloats o'er the blood of mankind;  
While the serfs of the Czar poor Poland engird,  
The betrayers of France Rome's chains again bind!  
Sicily crushed 'neath the Bourbon lies bleeding,  
And Hungary curses the Austrian rag;  
The nations oppressed pray the time may be speeding  
When in triumph and glory shall fly our Red Flag!

That glad time shall come, kings, though patriots you slaughter;  
Fresh legions shall rise for the martyrs who fall.  
Through tempest and sunshine the nations have fought for  
Fair Freedom, benignant, who yet shall bless all;  
We, the people, remember wrongs despots have wrought us;  
Of their "divine right" not much more shall they brag;  
"Moderation" is madness, experience hath taught us,  
When at Freedom's next summons we hoist the Red Flag!

ALFRED FENNEL.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING JULY 20, 1889.

14	Sun.	1781. F. H. de la Motte tried for high treason. 1789 Taking of the Bastille and execution of de Launay and de Flesselle: Council General decrees the destruction of the building. 1791. Banquet at Belfast and riots at Birmingham on Bastille Anniversary. 1877. Great strike on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.
15	Mon.	1381. John Ball murdered. 1809. P. J. Proudhon born. 1832. First number of the <i>Sunday Herald</i> , London, 1d. weekly, advocate of Reform and friendly to Owenism. 1839. Chartist outbreak at Birmingham caused by attack of police on a meeting in the Bull Ring. 1870. Socialist peace demonstration at Paris.
16	Tues.	1647. Murder of Masaniello. 1850. Margaret Fuller drowned. 1857. Beranger died. 1877. Seizure of Martinsburg (W. Va.) by railroad strikers. 1879. Trial of Bilshanski, Gorski, and others in Kieff. Sentences: death, 3; prison, 6; Siberia, 2.
17	Wed.	1789. The King comes to the Hotel de Ville wearing the national cockade. 1791. Immense assemblage, petitioning at the Altar of the Fatherland for deposition of King, dispersed by musketry. 1793. Trial at Newcastle-on-Tyne of Alexander Whyte, baker, for seditious libel. 192. Trial of Paine and Waldron for publishing 'Rights Man.' 1798. Henry Joy McCracken hung. 1816. Special Commission opened at Ely for trial of Fen rioters. 1831. Cobbett tried for seditious libel.
18	Thur.	1770. Trial of John Miller for reprinting <i>Junius's</i> 'Letter to the King.' 1839. Trial at Welchpool of the Llanidloes rioters; Abraham Owens and Lewis Humphreys transported for seven years. 1867. Attempt by Berezovski on Alexander II. while driving with Napoleon III. in Paris. 1870. Michael Davitt and John Wilson convicted of treason-felony in trying to smuggle arms into Ireland. 1872. Benito Juarez died. 1872. Attempt on King and Queen of Spain.
19	Fri.	1348. James van Artevelde slain. 1693. Sarsfield killed at Landen. 1798. John McCann hung. 1824. Iturbide, Emperor of Mexico, shot. 1839. Thomas Powell, ironmonger and Chartist of Welchpool, imprisoned for 12 months and bound over for five years for his speech at the Llanidloes meeting. 1862. N. G. Tchernichevski arrested. 1869. Prof. V. A. Huber, of Wernigerode, died. 1877. Strike begins on Pennsylvania Railroad.
20	Sat.	1795. General meeting of "the Friends of Liberty" at Shacklewell. 1820. Trials for high treason at York and Glasgow. 1839. First number of the <i>Working Bee</i> , organ of the Hodsonian Community at Manea Fen, Cambridgeshire. 1839. Chartist riot at Newcastle-on-Tyne. 1877. Fatal affray at Baltimore (Md.) between militia and populace.

THE HORSE-NAIL MAKERS of Cradley are on strike. They demand an advance of at least 3d. a thousand. The operatives are in a deplorable state of poverty. The Spade and Shovel Makers promise to follow their example unless the masters agree to the following advance—6d. a-dozen on large and solid work, and 3d. on stamped work. It was pointed out by their leaders that if they were unanimous they were bound to succeed. Excellent advice, which we hope they will act upon.



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW? FIRST, FEW MEN READ 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, 15 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, 15 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

MANCHESTER, and other reports to hand too late for insertion. Must come first post Tuesday morning.

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday July 10.

ENGLAND	Boston	SWITZERLAND
Brotherhood	Woman's Journal	Arbeiterstimme
Die Autonomie	Investigator	ITALY
Justice	Nationalist	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Labour Tribune	Chicago—Knights of Labor	SPAIN
London—Freie Presse	Vorbote	Barcelona—El Productor
Norwich—Daylight	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Madrid—El Socialista
Nottingham Daily Express	Milwaukee—National Reformer	PORTUGAL
Worker's Friend	Newark—Arbeiter-Zeitung	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
NEW SOUTH WALES	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	GERMANY
Hamilton—Radical	S. F. Coast Seamen's Journal	Berlin—Volks Tribune
INDIA	San Jose—Pacific Union	DENMARK
Bankipore—Behar Herald	St. Louis (Mo.)—Altruist	Social-Demokraten
Madras—People's Friend	FRANCE	Copenhagen—Arbejderens
UNITED STATES	Paris—Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	SWEDEN
New York—Der Sozialist	Le Proletariat	Malmo—Arbetet
Freiheit	La Revolta	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Truthseeker	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	Goteborg—Folkets Rost
The Truth	HOLLAND	WEST INDIES
Workmen's Advocate	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Cuba—El Productor
Znamia	GHENT	ARGENTINE REPUBLIC
	Ghent—Vooruit	Buenos Ayres—Herald
	Antwerp—De Werker	

STORMING THE BASTILLE.

A HUNDRED years is a long time for the short memories bred of modern commercialism to look back upon. It seems longer still to the student of all that has happened since, all the changes in mechanism, all the advantages which science has given to a small luxurious class, and all the grinding misery that has fallen upon the people through the very inventions which have benefited the rich.

But a truce to these reflections called up by the fact that it is a hundred years ago since the Bastille fell, mid the roar of cannon and musketry, and the shouts of a revolted and victorious people. But now let me tell the story of how the people of France, ground down by taxation, the dues of the lords, the tithes of the church, and the tyranny and oppression of an arrogant ruling class, rose in revolt and with one mighty effort shivered the chains that bound them. Poor people, who had lain so long under crushing tyranny were unable to call their souls their own; so starved, so miserable, that they looked a nation of hungry scarecrows. Many of them were forced to live upon boiled grass, nettles, and garbage. A morsel of coarse black bread with a little, a very little meat, was a god-send, but they were forced to eat it with closed doors for fear the prowling tax-gatherer should swoop on them and insist that they must be rich or how could they have meat to eat. Meanwhile, the extravagance of the Court went on increasing by leaps and bounds, but the misery beneath spreads; the people below are taxed so much that they can be taxed no longer, already discontent is spreading, placards appear on every wall mysteriously denouncing the extravagance and corruption of the Royal Court, leaflets and pamphlets containing revolutionary ideas of the philosophers Rousseau, Voltaire, and Diderot circulate through the

country. Public discontent breaks forth into riots and emeutes, and a scandalous deficit stares the Court in the face threatening national bankruptcy.

The king and his statesmen know not what to do; not even the most grinding tax-gatherer can get anything more out of the people; nay, already they are beginning to refuse the feudal dues and the Royal taxes. Meanwhile, the great middle-class are longing to become rulers in the place of the noblesse, and with many of the aristocracy who are not connected with the Court join in the outcry for a States-General. That is an Assembly composed of Lords, Clergy, and Commons. The Court struggles for a time, but agitation, riots, and emeutes go on unceasingly, and revolution looms in the distance. There is some hope, too, that the States-General may prove a convenient taxing machine for levying dues upon the privileged orders that have hitherto escaped taxation, the clergy and aristocracy. So the king gives way and the States-General is elected amidst bread riots, conflicts between the nobles and the people, and in Paris by open insurrection, resulting in the burning down of a paper manufactory of one Revellion, an employer who said the workmen ought to live on sevenpence-halfpenny a-day, and got his factory burnt down for his philanthropy.

The States-General meet on May 5th. Revolution is in the air, and even infects the timid bourgeois with courage. The middle-class deputies are very rebellious, they refuse to vote taxes meekly as required by the king. They demand, and succeed in obtaining their demand, that the Lords, Clergy, and Commons shall meet in one assembly, knowing that with the aid of the poorer clergy and liberal aristocrats they will easily be able to outvote the reactionary party. The king and his Court grow frightened; they determine on a coup d'état. Thirty thousand troops are massed round Paris, many of whom are foreign mercenaries, for the French troops already show signs of fraternising with the people. Cannon are pointed upon Paris, which is wild with fever and passion; the rebellious deputies of the States-General, now christened by them the National Assembly, shall be driven from their hall at the point of the bayonet, and as for the rabble "a whiff of grapeshot" will settle their business.

The king and Court begin their coup d'état by the dismissal of Necker, the popular Minister, and the appointment of a reactionary Ministry, of whom the Duc de Broglie, the whiff of grapeshot man, and Foulon, the old scoundrel who said the starving people might eat grass, were the chiefs.

When the news reached Paris, which was already in a wild fever of excitement, the excitement became a delirium of hatred, fury, and fear. It was said that the Royalist troops were advancing ready for massacre, red-hot balls were heated to burn the city, which that night would be given up to fire, sack, and pillage. In the Palais Royal, which had been for some days a kind of Parisian Hyde Park with its dozens of fiery orators, the excitement was maddening.

Suddenly a young man, Camille Desmoulins, with streaming hair and flaming eyes, leaps upon a cafe table. "Citizens," he shouts with frenzied passion, "Citizens, we have no time to lose; the dismissal of Necker means the massacre of the people. Shall we die tamely like sheep in the penfold bleating vainly for mercy, the knife of the butcher at our throats? No, there is but one thing left for us to do! To arms, citizens! To arms!"

"To arms! To arms!" comes thundering back from the crowd. A procession is formed, and two wax busts of Necker and the Duke of Orleans are draped in crape and borne in front of it. Through the streets they march, mid shouts and tumult. In the Place Louis Quinze, the German dragoons, commanded by Prince Lambesc, charge on the procession, sabring right and left. The bearer of one of the busts and a French guard fell dead on the ground. The sabred procession breaks and flies, bearing the news all over Paris. The dragoons mad with murderous fury pursue some of the processionists into the Tuilleries Gardens, and cut and slash without mercy not only the processionists but the usual Sunday promenaders. One poor old man falls, his white hair dabbled in blood from the cut of the sabre of Prince Lambesc. A fearful yell of indignation goes up from the people, who pile up barricades of benches, and literally drove away the dragoons with volleys of missiles of all kinds.

The cry "To arms!" rings through the city. It reaches the French Guards, who are already very mutinous, and who on hearing that one of their comrades has been murdered by Lambesc's dragoons, burst out of their barracks and greet the retreat of these butchers with a volley of sharp shot.

Meanwhile, the whole city breaks into revolt, alarm bells clang out from every steeple; arms shops are broken open and pillaged, and the streets are filled with a furious and desperate crowd; the troops, ordered to advance against the people, refuse, they seem more inclined to join the rebels than to attack; even the foreign mercenaries are disinclined for battle; the officers order a retreat, and the people are left in possession of Paris.

Thus amid clamour, turmoil, and furious excitement passed the night of the 12th of July. Monday, the 13th, was mainly occupied in forming a National Guard, and making pikes and searching for arms. It was a day of terror and uncertainty, for every moment there were groundless alarms that the troops were advancing against the city. Next day, the famous 14th, the people hear that there are 28,000 stand of arms at the Hotel de Invalides. They force their way into it, and carry off these precious weapons. Then arises a tremendous shout, "To the Bastille!" a gloomy fortress prison where languish the victims of royal and feudal tyranny. This place with its frowning walls, its gloomy dungeons, was to the people the symbol of the tyranny

under which they had groaned so long. Let the Bastille fall and France was free.

Arrived outside the fortress gates the leaders of the crowd parley with the governor of the prison, an old officer, one De Launay, noted for his brutality. Suddenly by his orders the drawbridge is drawn up and a treacherous and murderous volley is poured upon the people. But it does not long remain so, as a brave old soldier, Louis Tournay, climbs up the wall of a guard-house, and though shot flies thick and fast around cuts the chains and the drawbridge falls; the crowd throng over and the outworks are in their hands.

But this means but little. The people are met by a terrible fire from the garrison that stands at bay. They retaliate by an infernal fire of musketry, which rains upon the fortress, rising like a grim grey rock amid the spray and foam of the tossing waves of tempest. Thus it rages, but despite the storm of lead the fortress holds out obstinately. The people have two small pieces of cannon, but these are useless against its mighty walls. Thus the fight rages for nearly four hours, but the appearance of the French Guards with some powerful artillery changes the aspect. The few hundred men in the garrison, though bemuddled with drink that had been plentifully served out to them by De Launay, fight with but little heart, for they feel that all Paris is against them, while help there is none. The appearance of the French Guards with their artillery decides the business. The Swiss and the Invalides offer to surrender, despite the resistance of their governor, who attempts to fire the powder magazine and blow the Bastille and insurgents high in the air, but is dragged back by his soldiers.

Suddenly a white flag is waved from the second drawbridge and a paper is held out; a leader crosses the moat on a plank, secures the paper, and shouts assent to the terms proposed—mercy for all. The drawbridge is lowered, and the people rush over by thousands and all is over. The cells in the Bastille are forced, the prisoners are released, and are borne along the streets to the number of seven; with them go more ghastly trophies, seven heads on pikes. Among them is that of De Launay, Governor of Bastille, slain on his way to the Hotel de Ville to be judged for murdering the people. The delicate humanitarians and rabid reactionists who shriek about the heads on pikes, should remember that that barbarous custom had been taught the people by the despotic monarchy, which was fond of cutting off the heads of rebels against its power, and sticking them on gateways as ornaments. This custom had not then been long out of fashion in our own happy land, the Jacobites of 1745 being the last to suffer this penalty.

My story concludes with the surrender of the king and his Court; the flight of the reactionary Ministry, all caused by the fall of the Bastille. A popular victory which overthrew the aristocracy, and put the middle classes in their places upon the backs of the people. When shall our bastilles, the factory, the prison, and the workhouse, fall, and the people be truly free? Is the day still distant? It is, perhaps, nearer than we imagine.

D. J. NICOLL.

## THE HYNDMAN-GEORGE DEBATE.

### I.

ON Tuesday, the 2nd of July, St. James's Hall, Piccadilly, was fairly well filled with the partisans of H. M. Hyndman, the Social Democrat, and Henry George, the advocate of the Single Tax. Professor Beesly occupied the chair, and in opening the proceedings at eight sharp, confined himself to pointing out the terms of the debate. George was to commence by a ten minutes speech, in which he explained his proposal; Hyndman to follow with half-an-hour's speech; George to reply in twenty minutes to make up his half-hour; then Hyndman and George to have twenty minutes each, and then the two disputants to have again ten minutes each. By this arrangement George both commenced and ended the debate.

In his opening speech George said that of course they were both agreed as to the wrong in existing social conditions, and they both wanted to alter those conditions so that there should be opportunity for all, leisure for all, and a sufficiency of the necessities and even the luxuries of life for all. But they differed as to means. Man was a land animal, and in the opinion of the single-tax men all the great social evils were to be traced to the monopoly of land by the few. They proposed that the land should be treated as the property of the whole community, and that individuals wishing to use a portion of it should pay the community rent for its use according to its superiority over other land. This rent was to be used for the public benefit. He preferred to call this payment taxes, because in an old country people were used to the payment of taxes. This proposal was called the single-tax, because it was proposed to abolish all other taxes which in any way hamper industry. But this name single-tax expressed their method rather than their ideal; what they really were was liberty men, what they wanted was perfect freedom. They wanted to give every man liberty to use his powers in any way he pleases bounded only by the liberty of others to do the same. They would abolish all monopolies, and they would begin with the worst of all monopolies—the monopoly of land. They did not believe that labour was a poor weak thing that must be coddled and protected by government, but that labour was the producer of all wealth, and that all that labour wanted was a fair field and no favour. Therefore, as against the doctrines of restriction advocated by his opponent they raised the banner of liberty and equal rights in the gospel of free fair play.

Hyndman commenced by pointing out where Social Democrats agreed with George as is set forth in "Progress and Poverty." 1. That wages are not drawn from capital but from the product of the labour for which they are paid, and that the profit which results to capital is unpaid labour. 2. That increase of population is not the cause of poverty. 3. That the proposed remedies for the present state of things (economy in government, limitation of families, better education for the working classes, greater industry by the workers, thrift and temperance, trade unionism, co-operation, and a more general distribution of land) would not even temporarily alter the conditions under which the people live. 4. That the tendency is to pro-

duction on a large scale. 5. That the tendency is for wages to fall in proportion to the wealth created. 6. The collective ownership and management of monopolies. They differed in this:—1. That rent in countries where the capitalist system prevails reduced the rate of wages. He denied that. 2. That rent absorbs all the difference between wages and the total wealth produced. That was not so. 3. They did not believe that a tax on land values up to their limit and the equivalent reduction of all other taxation would benefit the people. 4. They did not believe that competition could be other than harmful. They held that competition in itself was harmful. 5. Mr. George did not propose to nationalise the land; the Social Democrats did. 6. They did not think that monopoly of land was the chief cause of industrial depression at the present time. The rent of land and the increase of land values did not lower wages. In America and Australia wages had not fallen as the rent of land had advanced. Since the enactment of the eight-hour law in Australia wages had risen, and the purchasing power of wages in America was, he contended, higher to day than it was five-and-twenty years ago. Between 1878 and 1888 rent had fallen considerably in England, but wages had not advanced to the same extent. Between 1850 and 1878 rent rose and at the same time wages rose. Mr. George had not proposed that the results of his tax should be expended in building better dwellings for the people, making parks, or anything of that kind. He had proposed to apply it to the reduction of the general taxation, and this would only help the great capitalists. Mr. George did not propose to relieve the land of taxation or rent, he simply proposed to transfer the rent to the State. Therefore the man who went to the land would be in precisely the same state as he is to day. Land taxation was the sheet anchor of the taxation of India, and yet there was no such poverty in the world as there. The total amount of wages taken by the working-class of this country had been estimated at from 300 to 500 millions, and the total annual income was 1200 millions. But the economic rent of England was only 60 millions a-year, and if that amount was added to the amount of wages received by the workers there were still some hundreds of millions untouched, and unless these millions were taken the condition of the working population would remain precisely the same. Mr. George agreed with him that capital was rolling up into larger and larger masses. If he would look across at his own country he would find that that was the principal reason why so many people were out of work there. They would have to deal with these large masses of capital before they touched the land. Social Democrats built up the future society from the facts they saw around them to-day. To-day the capitalists found that they were eating one another up too fast, and rings and combinations were the result. The landlord was but the sleeping partner, and if the sleeping partner was killed and the active man was left at work how much better off were they? If Mr. George is going to tax income from land, why not tax all robbery of labour?

George had never said anything more than that the increase of rent produces a tendency to the decrease of wages as a proportion. What they aimed at was not so much the taking of rent for the good of the community, as the freeing of land for the use of labour. The tax on land would compel the dogs in the manger to let go their grasp, and everywhere open opportunities by which labour could employ itself. And then how many men would be knocking at the factory gates for work? The unemployed had been driven off the land. He himself had seen a family evicted in Ireland and met that same family in a factory town begging for work at any price. Land and labour were the only two absolutely necessary factors in the production of wealth. Capital was the child of labour exerted upon land. Give labour access to land and it will produce capital, and give labour access to land and the power of the capitalist to grind down the people must disappear. Mr. Hyndman quarrelled with competition; he wanted to abolish it. To abolish competition would be to abolish freedom. How could they abolish competition except by saying to men "Thou shalt not"? How could they abolish competition save by preventing men from doing what they wanted to do, and what it was to the interest of the community that they should do? Why, to-day what was it that the working classes had to complain of? The restriction of competition—monopoly. How was competition to be abolished? The Social-Democrats proposed to take everything—not merely that which belonged of natural right to all men equally, but that which belonged by natural right to the men who had produced it. It was a pretty big job. Competition could not be abolished without subjecting men to the worst form of tyranny, without stopping all progress. Where competition was not permitted there was stagnation. It was the competition of manufacturer with manufacturer that led to the adoption of inventions in manufacture, it was the competition of steamship-owner with steamship-owner that had given them the greyhounds of the sea. What was wanted was full competition. What they wanted to do was to abolish the monopolies that prevent competition. It was to these monopolies and not to the earnings of capital that great fortunes were due. The great owners of Irish estates were not the Irish landlords but the English banks and insurance societies. Jay Gould made his first start by getting hold of a piece of land and taking advantage of its rise in value, and he was to-day the owner of millions of acres. Capital was a real thing; something produced by labour from land, and used again in the production of wealth. If the English national debt were wiped out to-morrow there would not be a penny less capital in the country. Let there be competition all around, from the highest to the lowest, and then it became the highest, the widest, the finest the most delicate system of co-operation that could possibly be devised by the art of man. Labour's fight should not be against capital but against monopoly. Abolish monopoly everywhere, put all men on an equal footing, and then trust to freedom. To abolish competition they must have restriction, they must call upon the coercive powers of the State; how else were they going to do it?

JAMES BLACKWELL.

(To be concluded).

"THE SOLDIERS HATE THIS KIND OF THING."—A Dundee soldier, writing to his brother from the South of Ireland, gives some particulars of eviction scenes on the Ponsby estates in County Cork, in which he, as one of the military body-guard of the emergency men, was called upon to take part. He says:—"We rose at four, got our breakfast at half-past, and were on the road by five. We were joined by the emergency men, and a more villainous lot of human beings I never set eyes on. Priests and Irish newspaper men were not allowed inside the ring we had made. I was sickened by some of the sights I saw. Little did I think I would ever assist at an eviction, and I can tell you the soldiers hate this sort of thing, an officer remarking, with some feeling, during the proceedings, that he wondered why the landlords did not depart from the country and leave the land to the "poor devils." He would not put a dog into some of these houses. It was eight at night, before we got back to camp.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### The Seamen's Strike.

The shipowners at Liverpool merit sympathy. They are very hard up for rats, and two worthy gentlemen have been supplying the 'Adriatic,' one of the steamers of the White Star Line, with paupers from the workhouse dressed up in sailors' clothes, and then pocketed their advance notes, of £2 each as a slight recompense for their trouble. Two of the paupers who were rejected were intercepted by the union, so the whole thing was exposed, and these practical philanthropists who desired to supply the paupers with useful work for a consideration were heavily fined by unsympathetic magistrates. It does not appear that the paupers knew anything about seamen-ship, and if the scab crews are generally made up with material of this kind, it is to be hoped that the passengers on big lines like the White Star and Cunard admire the care with which these companies select their scab crews.

The monotony of the strike at Liverpool was broken on Tuesday, July 2, by an attack on the house of a boarding-house keeper who has been supplying the ship-owners with scabs. His windows were broken, the doors forced, and his furniture smashed. The riot was thought so serious that the mounted police were called out. It is evident that the men at Liverpool, who are holding together so splendidly, will not be beaten without a bitter struggle.

The seamen are beaten at Sunderland, but they have resolved at Liverpool by 584 to 40 to continue the strike.

### The Tram Slaves.

Another piece of shameful tyranny on the part of the London Tramway Company. They have dismissed one of their men, T. C. Roberts, a horse-keeper, because he would not sign an agreement binding him to give the company four day's notice if he wanted to leave, while the company could dismiss him at a moment's notice. Unfortunately, he found no backers in his plucky behaviour, for the rest of the men signed this in fear of dismissal! When will the men learn that a wrong inflicted upon one of their number is the concern of all? Several of the men who have been already discharged have obtained situations.

The spread of the union in the North of London has wrung the concession of a summer holiday from the North Metropolitan Tramway Company. The inspectors are to have ten days and their pay, and so on down to the horsekeepers, who will get two days and their pay. The hardest worked and the worst paid get the shortest holiday. This is the capitalistic notion of justice to their employees; they naturally treat their slave-drivers better than their slaves. These gentlemen will come back from their ten days at the seaside full of health and spirits for their pleasant task of harrying and harassing the unfortunate men.

Edward Cross, a conductor on the South London line, has issued a circular warning his fellow workmen against "agitators," and the danger and folly of coming out on strike. It is to be hoped that the directors have paid his printing expenses.

The West Metropolitan Company have sacked two men. One of them, conductor Dennington, received his dismissal, according to the company's manager, Mr. Gayner, "for endeavouring to get men to join the Union." Driver C. Witte has been evicted as well, for after he had joined the Union he was turned out of one of the company's houses, which the manager suddenly discovered he wanted for an office. The house was a new one, and it had cost him a sovereign for coals to dry. Where is his compensation for improving the property of the company? The West Metropolitan is the line of which the manager and officials were so prominent at one of the Union meetings. We can guess what they were there for now. Three cheers, my lads, for free England, where people are never evicted nor coerced!

### National Conference of Miners.

At this conference, which was held at Manchester on July 2 and 3, there were fifty delegates present representing 240,000 miners. It was stated that Somerset was the only district in which the advance generally demanded by the miners has not been conceded. It was decided to give the men on strike in Somerset active support till they obtain the advance. It was agreed to support the resolution carried at Birmingham in favour of reducing the hours of labour for miners to eight a day, working five days a week. A resolution in sympathy with the relatives of the miners killed in the explosion at St. Etienne was adopted. This shows that our miners are getting international in their sympathies. Resolutions condemning the use of roborite in mines, and regretting the non-representation of workmen on the Rents and Royalties Commission were carried, and the conference then rose.

**GENERAL STRIKE OF NAIL-MAKERS.**—At a mass meeting of wrought nail-makers belonging to the East Worcestershire and Staffordshire districts, held at Halesowen last Monday, a general strike was declared. The operatives, who number about 15,000, claim an advance of wages ranging from 10 to 15 per cent.

**STRIKE OF NEWSBOYS AT CARDIFF.**—The spirit of revolt has spread from the tram men to the newsboys. The Cardiff newsboys on Monday refused to take out two evening papers, demanding to purchase the papers at 3d. a dozen instead of 4d., as hitherto paid. The boys surrounded two offices, broke the windows with sticks, threw the contents boards into the river, and expressed their determination not to give way. No papers are being sold in the streets. These young rebels put some of our men to shame.

**TERMINATION OF THE GAS-WORKERS' DISPUTE.**—The London gas-workers and labourers gained a partial victory last Saturday. The men, some 10,000 in number, originally worked twelve hours a-day, and filled ninety-six retorts, and they demanded that their hours should be reduced to eight a-day, with seventy-two retorts to draw and charge, and attendance to producers. The employers have decided to concede the men's demand for eight hours, but stipulated that eighty retorts should be drawn and charged, with attendance to ten producers. They are going to hold a demonstration on Sunday, to thank their employers for giving way. This is a mistake, for the employers certainly would not have given way unless they were obliged to, so there is nothing to thank them for.

D. J. N.

## IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE Chicago and Alton Railroad has withdrawn from the Interstate Railroad Association. This considerably endangers the future existence of the embryo railroad trust, and the most likely upshot will be the formation of another association, with "cast-iron" rules, under the absolute dictatorship of Jay Gould. It will be remembered that the Interstate Railroad Association was the result of a compact entered into by the United States railroad magnates in New York last January. A railroad trust must and will come, for there is no other way imaginable to capitalistic minds in which to conform somewhat to economic laws. Railroad competition and its consequences—viz., passenger and goods rates "demoralisation"—is doomed, and must go to the wall. But what will the people do? Well, as Vanderbilt once remarked, the people be damned!

The present unsettled state of the railroads makes investors rather shy of this kind of property. Railroad stocks are practically ignored on the stock exchange, but everybody is hurrying to get hold of some trust shares. It is said that men have begun "to gamble blindly, heedless of the quantity and quality of their purchases." Sugar, lead, and oil take the lead, and the proverbial poor widow is withdrawing her money from savings banks to buy trust stock. The poor widow! She is always trotted out in any discussion on expropriation. However, she appears to have a taste for gambling, and a wish to participate in the spoils of the "unearned increment"; and perhaps it may not be so wicked after all to give her a chance to earn an honest living in a Socialistic society.

Edward Bellamy, of 'Looking Backward' fame, has written an open letter to the Nationalist Clubs advocating the extension of compulsory education to the seventeenth year. Reverend Solomon Schindler, also of the Nationalist Society, goes him one better, and closes an article in the Boston *Globe* with the following propositions:

"I for one stand ready to take the onus of absurdity on me by declaring that I believe (1) in manual training as the necessary supplement to mental training; (2) in the equal right of all, rich or poor, to share in the benefits of such an improved education; (3) in the extension of school life to the seventeenth year at least; and (4) in the duty of a community which pretends to offer education 'free' to all, to provide indigent scholars with the necessaries of life during their years of study."

If only these good people could see how urgent it is to concentrate all our energies on solving the economical question, after which all other questions will speedily solve themselves! It's no good switching on to side tracks.

Ex-inspector of Chicago police, John Bonfield, has been arrested for stealing diamonds. Of course nothing will happen to him; his services during the Anarchist trial were too valuable to allow of his being imprisoned for theft!

Things have evolved in Johnstown, Pa., much as I said they would. The members of the club who owned the reservoir have been declared not guilty by "experts." The money given by "charitable" people has not yet reached the deserving needy. The "honest, solid, self-made" business men, who, in conjunction with the State authorities, are in control, declare that in view of the chaotic condition in which everything happens to be in that unfortunate city, it is impossible to keep any accounts. The workers who were engaged in clearing away the debris struck because of the starvation wage paid them, and more than 1,500 of them have been compelled in consequence to leave the valley. Yet, after all, "America is a free country and a brotherhood of man."

The Washington, D. C., grand jury has indicted ten members of a hod-carriers' union for "conspiracy" in threatening to strike unless an offensive non-unionist were discharged by their employers.

The International Typographical Union in session at Denver, Col., adjourned on June 15th, having completed its labours. A resolution demanding that the Government return to the process of hand-work in printing Government bonds and banknotes was adopted. The convention indorsed Government control of telegraphs.

A trades council of delegates from all trade and labour unions has been organised in Salt Lake City.

A movement is on foot by the Knights of Labour and Farmers' Alliance to capture the Legislature of Alabama. They claim 40 out of 66 counties.

Brooklyn gravediggers will not dig for any but the body of a union man, and the Hearsse-drivers' Union in that city will not handle a non-union corpse.

The organisations of the railway firemen, switchmen, and brakemen have formed an alliance, to be known as the "United Order of Railway Employés." Number of strikes from June 1 to 22, 33; number of strikers, 6,552.

Boston, Mass., June 26, 1889.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

## 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.

**International Congress.**—The delegates of the Socialist League will start from London Bridge Station, L.B. and S.C.R., by the 9 p.m. train on Saturday, July 13, arriving at Paris (St. Lazare) at 8 a.m. Their address while in Paris will be Hotel du Cercle, 48, Boulevard Clichy.

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, August 5, 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.

**Provincial Missionary Fund.**—Brookes, 6d.; North London Branch, 9s. 9d.; Propaganda Committee donation, 10s.; Yarmouth Branch, 2s.

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

**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 KITE, Secretary.

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**REPORTS.**

**LONDON OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**—*Welfje Road, Hammersmith*—Good meeting on Sunday evening, Morris and G. B. Shaw speakers; 5s. 8d. collected. *Kilburn*—On Sunday morning, Mainwaring and Parker addressed a large audience outside the "Old Plough," Kilburn Lane, Harrow Road, at which place the meetings, formerly held at the Canterbury Road, will be carried on in future. *Weal* sold out. *Finsbury Park*—Brookes and Parker were here last Saturday, and had a little friendly chat with some workmen and distributed a large number of leaflets. By the way, whoever had the selection of the spot in the park for public meetings, chose the dreariest and least attractive that could be found. This is not to be wondered at, for it is quite in keeping with middle-class ideas of gratifying the tastes of the people. *Streatham Pountain*—Brookes addressed a very earnest audience on Sunday evening, and several questions were asked and answered. A plain-clothes policeman tried to find out where the speaker was employed. We know the benevolent intentions of these wretches when they make such enquiries.

**CLERKENWELL.**—Good meeting on the Green, J. Turner and Mrs. Lahr speaking. We afterwards adjourned from Green to hall, which we found crammed, and had to turn heaps of sympathisers and visitors away. Herbert Burrows (S.D.F.) lectured on "Social Democracy and Anarchism." After the lecture one of the Social Democrats present proposed that the Democrats abstain from discussion in order to allow the Anarchists a chance to reply. Warm discussion resulting in a challenge given by Burrows to Turner to debate "Anarchism and Social Democracy," Turner accepting the challenge the debate will be duly announced when arrangements are completed.—P.

**HAMMERSMITH.**—Sunday evening E. B. Bax lectured on "Law," full audience, many questions, and smart debate in which comrade Tucker (of Boston) took part.

**MITCHAM.**—On Sunday, July 7th, Kitz and Brooks spoke to a good audience; 13 *Commonweal* sold and 1s. 2d. collected. In the evening in our rooms we held a special meeting to elect a delegate to the Paris Congress; comrade Cooper was elected to represent the branch.

**NORTH KENSINGTON.**—A good meeting was held at Latimer Road; speakers were Lyne, jun., Maughan, Tochatti, A. J. Smith, and Mrs. Lahr; 35 *Commonweal* sold, and 1s. 6d. collected; one new member. A fair meeting at William Street; speakers were Lyne, jun., Crouch, Davis, and Maughan; 6 *Commonweal* sold. At Archer Street 7.30 p.m., a good meeting was held; speakers were Tochatti, Dean, Crouch, and Maughan; a Christian spoke in opposition to parts of our programme; 15 *Commonweal* sold and 6d. collected.

**NORTH LONDON.**—Very good meeting addressed by Cantwell and Mowbray on Sunday morning at Regent's Park; 44 *Commonweal* sold and 7s. 4d. collected. Hyde Park on Sunday 3.30 p.m., good meeting addressed by Cantwell, Mainwaring, Mowbray, and Parker; *Commonweal* sold out and a number of pamphlets. A good meeting was held at Ossulton Street on Thursday evening, addressed by Hill, Cantwell, and Nicoll; fair sale of *Weal*. On Saturday evening at Hyde Park, Charles, Humphries, Cantwell, Hill, Cunningham, Nicoll, and Samuels addressed a very large meeting; some opposition on the foreign labour question; collection 2s. 2d., and 31 *Weal* sold.

**ST. GEORGE'S-IN-THE-EAST.**—Splendid meeting on Mile-end Waste on Tuesday, addressed by Foley and Turner on "Trades Unionism and Socialism." Fair members' meeting on Wednesday. Further collection for banner fund. Fair meeting at Leman Street on Sunday, addressed by Nicoll and Turner, Nicoll giving account of the taking of the Bastille.—J. T.

**ABERDEEN.**—At indoor meeting on 1st inst., Frederic Harrison's lecture, "A Few Words about the Nineteenth Century," was read and discussed. The rain prevented open-air work on Saturday and Sunday.

**GLASGOW.**—On Sunday the usual meetings were held by Timothy, Joe Burgoyne, and Glasier. At the same stations good meetings were held the Sunday previous, when 2s. 8d. was collected for dock labourers. Owing to the Glasgow Fair Holidays no meetings will be held next Sunday.—D. McC.

**LEICESTER.**—Sunday morning last Peacock of Nottingham addressed a fairly good audience in Russell Square; 4s. 4d. collected, 3s. worth of literature sold. In the evening, in Humberstone Gate, Cunningham Graham, M.P., addressed us on "The Eight Hours Movement." The audience was little short of 1,000. Several of the political and trades union leaders were present, and the press have given us ample reports. Barclay took the chair, and after a few words on Socialism, introduced the lecturer. Graham, who commenced with a very warm tribute to William Morris, went on to make out a good case for eight hours labour all round. The audience listened attentively, and were decidedly favourable to his sarcasms and denunciations. There was no opposition at the close, but several questions were put to the lecturer, which he dealt with. At this meeting 18s. 4d. was collected, which will go to other propagandist purposes, as Graham refused to have anything towards his expenses; 8s. worth of literature sold. Total collection, 22s. 8d.; total literature, 11s.—T. P. B.

**LEEDS.**—A large meeting was addressed on Sunday morning by Sweeney, Paylor, and Corkwell. In the afternoon a mass meeting of the builders' labourers took place in Vicars Croft, numbering 4,000. The Labourers' Union is now in thoroughgoing order; on Saturday last over 350 paid the shilling entrance fee and were enrolled as members. Meanwhile the strike is taking place; some forty masters have conceded the halfpenny per hour advance, and in the present flourishing state of the building trade the men are sure to win. The committee continue to meet at our rooms.

**NORWICH.**—On Sunday afternoon, owing to no speaker turning up, our usual stand was taken up by Mr. Burgess, editor of *Daylight*, who spoke upon various questions of interest to working-men, and was followed by comrade Swash. A meeting was held at North Walsham, addressed by comrades Adams and Moore; very attentive audience.

**YARMOUTH.**—On Monday a huge meeting was held at Belton by Ruffold, McCormack, and Brightwell. On Thursday comrade McCormack lectured at Nelson Hall on "How the Poor Live" to a good audience; brisk discussion, in which a Tory parson was "sat on." On Sunday morning, on Priory Plain, a large meeting was held; Cores sang a "Song for Socialists," then Fred Henderson spoke and completely pulverised an individualist who made some disparaging remarks; Reynolds also spoke. In the afternoon another meeting was held at the same place, the speakers being Ruffolds, McCormack, Cores, and Reynolds. On the Quay, in the evening, a most successful meeting was held, Cores, Henderson, McCormack, and Reynolds being the speakers. Splendid collections; 42 *Commonweal* sold, also a number of pamphlets.—J. McC.

**BRADWELL.**—On Sunday morning comrades McCormack and Ruffolds came over from Yarmouth and held a very successful meeting. 3 *Commonweal* and 16 pamphlets sold. We are going to start a branch here soon.

**DUBLIN.**—At Progressist Club, 87 Marlboro Street, July 6th, Mr. J. Hamilton lectured on "Peasant Proprietary," advocating the system of occupying ownership. The reactionary nature of the scheme was forcibly pointed out by Fritelze, Toomey, King, and others.

**NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.**—Good meeting in the Market Place on Sunday. Rooks and Whalley spoke on School Board election. Next Sunday the Socialist excursion to Charnwood Forest, Leicestershire, takes place.—P.

**LECTURE DIARY.**

LONDON.

**Olerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (½-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct).  
**East London.**—Crown Coffee Tavern, 2 Columbia Road, Hackney Road.  
**Hammersmith.**—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday July 14, at 8 p.m., a lecture by H. H. Sparling, "The Fall of the Bastille." Thursday July 18, at 7.30, Choir practice. Friday 19, 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. All members please turn up.  
**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.  
**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. Weekly meeting of members every Tuesday at 8 p.m. Secretary's address, 5 Llandaff Street, Harpurhey.  
**Norwich.**—Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Wednesday, at 8.30, Discussion in Gordon Hall. Monday, Thursday, and Friday, Hall open from 8.30. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association.  
**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. Eloquution Class Friday at 8 p.m.

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

**OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**

SATURDAY 13.

7.30..... Finsbury Park .....Brookes and Mrs. Lahr  
 8.30..... Battersea—opposite Christ Church .....The Branch  
 7.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch .....Mainwaring  
 8.30..... Mile-end Waste .....Mowbray and Cores

SUNDAY 14.

11 ..... Latimer Road Station .....Maughan, Dean, and Saint  
 11 ..... North Kensington—William Street.....Crouch, Lyne jun., and Smith  
 11.30..... Bethnal Green—Gibraltar Walk .....East London Branch  
 11.30..... Eelbrook Common .....Hammersmith Branch  
 11.30..... Kilburn—"Old Plough," Kilburn Lane .....Parker and Mainwaring  
 11.30..... Leman Street, Shadwell .....Turner and Mowbray  
 11.30..... Mitcham Fair Green .....Brookes and Mrs. Lahr  
 11.30..... Regent's Park .....Nicoll and Cantwell  
 3.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch .....Parker  
 7 ..... Clerkenwell Green .....The Branch  
 7 ..... Welfje Road, Ravenscourt Park .....Hammersmith Branch  
 7.5 ..... North Kensington—Archer Street .....North Kensington Branch  
 7.30..... Mitcham Fair Green.....The Branch  
 7.30..... Streatham—Fountain, High Street.....Brookes and Mrs. Lahr  
 7.30..... Walham Green—back of Church .....The Branch

TUESDAY 16.

8 ..... Fulham—back of Walham Green Church .....The Branch  
 8 ..... Mile-end Waste.....St. George's-in-the-East Branch

THURSDAY 18.

8 ..... Ossulton Street .....The Branch  
 8.15..... Hoxton Church .....The Branch

PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, 7 p.m.  
**Bradwell** (near Yarmouth).—Monday evening.  
**Edinburgh.**—Sunday: Queen's Park, at 3.  
**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: Queen's Road, at 11; Stevenson Square, at 3; Viaduct, Chester Rd., at 7.30. Monday: Holt Town, at 8 p.m.  
**Norwich.**—Sunday: Market Place, at 3 and 7.  
**Yarmouth.**—Priory Plain, every Sunday at 11 and 3. A Meeting at Belton every Monday evening.

**SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.**

**Carnoustie.**—Meets every Wednesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant.  
**Dundee.**—Meetings every Sunday in Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.  
**Edinburgh.**—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8. **Galashiels.**—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, Secretary. **Gallatown and Dysart** (Fife)—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown 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.

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

A discussion on Anarchism v. State Socialism will take place at the **Britannia Coffee House**, Prebend Street, Essex Road, on Friday July 12, at 8 p.m.

**SOCIALISTS** in Hull willing to form a branch are requested to put themselves in communication with J. T. Smith, "Freiheit" Club, 1 Beets Court, Blanket Row, Hull.

**MANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE** (founded 1875), "Three Doves," Berwick St., Oxford Street, W.—Sunday July 14th, at 8.45, Mr. Lothrop Withington, "Paris One Hundred Years Ago To-Day."

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