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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

HENRY GEORGE AND THE SINGLE TAX.

THE large audiences which assembled to hear Mr. George during his recent lecturing tour in Scotland, and the enthusiasm with which his denunciation of private property in land was received, are cheering signs to Socialists. It was especially gratifying to observe that almost every speaker who preceded and followed Mr. George at those meetings, spoke more Socialism than Single Tax; and that just in proportion as their utterances were boldly socialistic—and many of them were remarkably so—was the applause and enthusiasm of the meetings.

I think, however, that I am not guilty of bias in saying that when Mr. George attempted to show that land can be nationalised by the imposition of a single tax on land values, there was a palpable fall in his argument, if not from the sublime to the ridiculous, at least from the convincing to the confounding—a fall, too, that was apparent alike in the lecturer's manner of speech and in the audience's manner of receiving it. It is true Mr. George admitted that he did not believe the imposition of a single tax upon land values would do "everything," and that he defined the right of private property in the products of labour in terms that implied Socialism; yet the general tenour of his utterance when eulogising his tax theory and when replying to questions put by Socialists, was so patently sophistical and reactionary, that one could not help agreeing with Dr. Clark when he said—speaking at the farewell meeting in the City Hall, Glasgow—that "He (pointing to Mr. George) was the most Conservative man in Scotland."

As Mr. George's single-tax theory has no doubt charms for those whose minds have been warped by the unhealthy teaching of expediencies and palliatives common to all political reformers, and for those who feel almost persuaded to become Socialists but hesitate, looking for some stepping-stone, fearing to take the bold leap, I will endeavour to show briefly the error of fact and thought upon which it is founded. A reply given by Mr. George to a question asked in Glasgow, seems to me to expose the radical defect of perception upon which the whole superstructure of his method is built.

When asked if a man was justified in taking the highest price he could get for a product of his labour, Mr. George replied "Yes! If I make a rod and line and go and fish in a stream and catch a fish, and if everybody else is equally free to go and do the same, I am certainly entitled to ask, and if possible get, what I please for the fish."

It is hard to believe that Mr. George is not conscious of the utter absurdity that underlies such a declaration. What man ever would pay to another more for a fish than it would cost him to procure one for himself, *if he was equally free and able to go and procure it?* Fishers do not usually succeed in robbing fishers, any more than lawyers succeed in robbing lawyers. But fishers may easily succeed in robbing lawyers, and lawyers usually do succeed in robbing fishers when they get them in their clutch. It is apparent on the face of it, that the only reason why men can and do make a profit off their fellows is because they have a direct or indirect power to compel their fellows to submit to their extortion. Mr. George declares that he is opposed to all monopoly; but what is monopoly but the possession of some advantage—it may be special opportunity or special knowledge—that gives some the power to get more than the labour-value of what they give? When there is no special advantage or monopoly, profit and interest, which Mr. George justifies, will be impossible.

The streams of our land may be equally free to all who care or can get an opportunity of fishing in them. But if while one man residing near a stream may be free to fish in it, another residing far away from it is surely not so free; and the man who is down in the mine during the day procuring coal to boil, or salt to season the fish, can scarcely be said to be free to fish at all. Are men, therefore, to take advantage of their neighbours' different pursuits, or even of their neighbours' ignorance or misfortune? Shall the fisher make a profit off the miner, the miner off the tailor, and the tailor off the husbandman? And when the one complains to the other, "Oh, you are robbing me!" shall the other answer him, "True, but you are free to rob me or some one else if you can. You are free to turn your hand to my

occupation, and then you will no longer be robbed by me!" Surely the complainer would reply, "Yes, but then I again in turn would be robbed by the man who did the work which I now do! I am not free to fish, and bake, and make clothes, and cultivate the ground all at the same time; and unless I can do everything for myself some one or another will rob me!"

I freely admit, that if by any system of land restoration, or by the imposition of any tax, we could achieve a state where men might, even at a great sacrifice, be free to persistently revolt against robbery, or be free to rob others just as much as others robbed them, the problem would be solved. For these men, unless we assume that they had become idiots, would in sheer despair declare for Communism within twenty-four hours. But, alas! no theory of mere land restoration yet expounded, no method of taxation yet proposed, gives the slightest hope of such a result. Mr. George, while admitting that under his single tax system the land would be rented to the highest bidder, and when, as he must know, the highest bidder would be the man with the most capital—the man who to-day can pay the highest rents, the man who would employ as much machinery and as few men as possible—still clings to the belief that his system will make the soil of the country free to the workers, so that they will be able to escape from the oppression of the capitalists and be able to sell their labour for its full, and if they can for more than its full value. There is nothing, however, in his single tax theory *per se* that implies that a great number of men would on its adoption be drawn from the congested labour market and be employed upon land, not to speak of being free and able to employ themselves upon it. Unless the price of food is increased, it would not pay to employ more than are now employed upon the arable portions of it. Horticulture, it is true, might be substituted for agriculture, and that undoubtedly would employ more; but horticulture is not an exclusive or even an integral principle of the single tax economy. Horticulture could be adopted without the single tax being imposed, and, as a matter of fact, is already largely adopted in many parts of the country.

As for the converting of sheep farms and sporting lands into arable soil, would not the number of men it might be profitable to employ in this way (and this again is not a remedy dependent upon the adoption of the single tax) be counterbalanced by the thousands of domestic servants, flunkies, gamekeepers, gillies, fence-makers, and indeed cabinet-makers, tailors, etc., etc., who at present make a livelihood by ministering to the landlord class, and whom the dispossessed—or taxed out—landlords and landladies would require to disband? Would not even the 30,000 or 50,000 landlords themselves—who would (if the tax proved effectual) be thrown on all fours upon the labour market to earn their bread by the sweat of their brows—be a somewhat important mob of recruits to the army of unskilled labour?

There are the tramway servants, the match-factory girls, the Cradley Heath chainmakers, the shirt seamstresses, and the thousands of other victims of usury and profit-making—how, I ask, are they going to get on the land? Supposing the curse of Gowrie or the fields of Lincolnshire were waiting for them rent free; without capital they could not go there, and even if they could they would perish of starvation in a single week. And if they cannot go to the land and employ themselves they must submit to be employed by others, and others will only employ them on condition of making a profit off their labour—that is robbing them. And need more be said than this, that any system that gives one class of men the power to be masters over another class, that compels the poor to labour for the profit of the rich, is a system—however hypocritically it may disguise itself—that no Socialist should assist in establishing, and if established every Socialist should war against until its utter destruction was assured.

As for the tax itself, Mr. George says it would, by means of the State, be distributed directly or indirectly to all the people of the country—rich and poor alike. Just so. What the rich got of it would be robbery; for, quibble about land values as Mr. George and his disciples may, there is not an atom of wealth that can be acquired by the State by means of a tax, that does not come exclusively from the labour of those who work. Those who don't work can produce no wealth, either to be taken in the form of taxation or any other form

and every iota of the land tax which the wealthy idlers received directly or indirectly would be robbery of the poor. On the other hand, that portion of the tax which the poor received back, would also, by the iron law of wages (from which as we have seen the single tax provides no escape) go to the rich—the capitalists—in the form of reduced wages paid to the workers!

Thus the single tax would ultimately become only another means of making the rich richer and the poor poorer. So also would it operate in this way so far as it made unnecessary the exaction of all other direct and indirect taxation; for, while the single tax upon land would relieve the rich capitalist of say £1,000 a-year of indirect and direct taxes, the worker would only be relieved of say £5. The capitalist would in this way be actually receiving a greater share of the value of the land than the poor worker.

There is no real economic distinction between land that can bear taxation and capital. A piece of taxable land is a manufactured article, just like a wheel-barrow or a steam-engine, the difference being really, economically speaking, one of degree. It is true we cannot carry an acre of land upon our back or move it to and fro, and therefore, instead of carrying it or moving it, we have to carry or move ourselves to it; and it is just the labour involved in carrying ourselves and placing our factories and our cities upon any piece of land that gives it whatever value it possesses, apart from actual cultivation, which is a species of manufacture. We cannot, for example, bring our meadows and our mountains to our railways and stations; we have to take our railways and stations to our meadows and mountains. Our meadows and mountains are thus modified by labour, and those who happen to own land thus modified by the labour of others and thus increased in value, can of course charge for that extra value in the form of rent, and become thereby robbers of labour. This value, which Mill termed "unearned increment," and which Mr. George proposes to tax, is a value given solely by labour; it is a value too that accrues to other articles besides land. It is a value, for instance, that accrues to an old violin, or a bottle of old wine, the value in fact of the care and trouble of maturing and preserving the article. Human labour has also this "unearned increment," for by eight hour's labour to-day a mechanic or a mill-worker can do treble or quadruple the value of work that a mechanic or mill-worker could do fifty years ago. This increased value of labour, like the increased value of land, is not given by the efforts of any one man, but by the efforts of the workers and thinkers of the present and past generations; and, therefore, no man can claim that the products of his own labour are exclusively his own. We cannot escape from Communism.

"No man made the land!" cries Mr. George. But no man ever made anything. No man ever made art, education, science, or the knowledge of how to cook, make clothes, or do anything that distinguishes us from brutes. That skill and knowledge is no more made by any one man, or generation of men, than the soil of the country. No man of himself ever made a machine, the raw and even largely the manufactured material was provided him. No man ever of himself, and from his own created knowledge, invented a machine; the science, the skill of workmanship, was preserved for him and supplied to him by society. To society, to the past and present generations of men, he owes everything that distinguishes him from a bushman or a brute; and shall he be allowed to take all things from society and give nothing to society in return? Shall he, in fact, be permitted to be a Communist in taking from the community and an Individualist in giving to it?

Mr. George advises Socialists not to concern themselves so much about the monopoly of capital. The entire capital of the nation, he tells us, does not amount to more than four years national production. The stored product of four years labour! and Mr. George actually thinks that is not of very great account! Why, if every worker in the community had his portion of that capital, the value of four years of his own labour, what would the landlords and capitalist have? Nothing! The workers would own every stick and stone, every atom of material in the country. Then the capitalists would know, what Mr. George apparently does not know, what it is to be without, not four years, but maybe not four weeks or even four days stored labour to fall back upon. And that is the plight of the great portion of our workers to-day, and it is just because of that plight that they are unable to live without hiring themselves to the capitalists who have appropriated their stored labour, or to resist being plundered in the future. It is because of that plight that even did the workers appropriate the entire soil of the country, and squat upon it rent free, they would be unable to subsist upon it without the assistance of the capitalists—unless they appropriated the capital of the country, or at least a mighty large portion of it, as well.

As Socialists, we are all for Land Nationalisation, or Land Communism, but we do not believe it possible to nationalise or communalise the land by a single tax upon it, or any other mere fiscal adjustment. Land Nationalisation is impossible without Socialism, and any attempt to really nationalise the land would be resisted by capitalists and landlords alike, as they now resist Socialism. Let us then dally no further with the matter, but boldly teach our right to obtain, and boldly set ourselves to obtaining, all the wealth and all the means of producing wealth which our labour and the labour of past generations of workers (whose inheritors we are) has produced. Let us appease no superstition by hypocrisy, no prejudice by sophistry, and no fear by untruth, but lift boldly up the banner of revolution and all true and good men will be drawn irresistibly to it.

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

THE ENGLISH REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT, 1815 TO 1817.

SPA-FIELDS RIOTS AND DERBYSHIRE INSURRECTION.

(Continued from p. 162.)

THIS Stamp Act imposed a heavy duty on all newspapers, and the *Black Dwarf* and similar publications evaded it by publishing no news in their columns, and confining themselves to comment and satire. I will give a few extracts from this paper, so as to give you some idea of the way in which it was written. In an article on the increase of crime in the country, the *Black Dwarf* holds forth as follows:

"In a state like England, it is impossible that crime should not abound. Some of the laws that pretend to punish guilt, as well as the taxes that produce it, are calculated to give a premium for the commission of the most atrocious deeds. All is enlisted against the wretched. Many poor beings subsist for weeks on less food than the gluttons of to-day devour at a single meal. It is vain for ministers of the church to inveigh against the demoralization of the poor. They should inveigh against the system that has demoralized them. They should inveigh against one man eating the food of twenty, while the remaining nineteen are expected to starve in quiet, or threatened with punishment for complaint. Man is naturally kind to those who surround him. His passions will have weight, but he is not naturally a thief or a murderer. Let those who have made him so tremble for the consequences, and retrace their steps. Ere the lightning flashes or the thunder rolls, let them listen to the voice that has been patient in suffering, and which can eagerly forgive as it can awfully avenge. The people call for an alteration, they demand a reform. They are wearied with disgust at the mismanagement almost everywhere apparent. May those who have mounted in the car of Phæton be wise enough to moderate their career and repent in time."

The *Black Dwarf* also points out "that the rich make their fortunes out of the labour of the poor," and that in giving charity they only return a portion of the superfluous wealth they have taken from them. In an answer to complaints of the ministry as to disloyalty in the country, this paper says, "Put George Canning in the workhouse at Bethnal Green, and allow him half-a-crown a-week (and that's more than he is worth to the State), and hear what beautiful tropes and similes he would find for the constitution." George Canning was the principal creature of the ministry. He had once been an advanced reformer, but sold himself for wealth and office.

It required some courage to write like this when the valiant Cobbett had run away in fear of repressive laws, especially as the editor of the *Black Dwarf*, Mr. Wooler, was then being prosecuted by the ministry for saying "that when the administration talk of patriotism they meant plunder," and that their object in embarking in a war against France was not to conquer that country but ourselves. When prosecuted, he defended himself in a manly and eloquent speech, and though the jury found him guilty, yet through a technical informality the decision was quashed and the Attorney-General did not proceed with a new trial.

Such was the revolutionary literature of the time; and though these men did not see so clearly the root of the evil as we do, yet we can see that they felt the sufferings of the poor as keenly as ourselves.

But now to return to the main part of my subject. I have said that the revolutionary feeling increased among the Radicals. Their societies were repressed, but many of them still met in secret and plotted the overthrow of the tyrannical Government. The most advanced section of the Radicals of Manchester decided to call upon the people to march to London to petition the Prince Regent. On the 3rd of March twenty thousand men gathered at St. Peter's Church to start for this journey. They called themselves "blanketeers," from their each carrying a blanket for camping upon the roads and among fields. Eight troops of yeomanry and a strong force of military are called out. The leaders are arrested and the crowd dispersed by force. A few thousand of the most determined reach the bridge at Stockport, but are charged by troops of yeomanry, who use their sabres. One person is so badly wounded that his life is despaired of. Two hundred prisoners are taken; but a number of the blanketeers ford the river, and five hundred of them reach Macclesfield and are there broken up by a troop of yeomanry. The printer of the placard calling the meeting is arrested and thrown into prison. The triumph of law and order is complete against these unarmed starving men.

But the Government was fated to be confronted with more serious attacks upon the law and the constitution than could be made by a few thousand half-starved men marching to London. On 6th of June a number of delegates were arrested by a troop of cavalry at Thornton Lees, Yorkshire, and almost simultaneously insurrection broke out. Throughout the northern counties there were many men who had taken part in the Luddite movement, and these were not the sort of people to see their leaders thrown into prison and their ordinary liberties crushed beneath the heel of despotism without making something more than a verbal protest. A few days after the arrest of the delegates at Thornton Lees, three hundred men gather near Huddersfield. Many of the people have fire-arms. The yeomanry are called out and come into conflict with the insurgents at Folly Hall Bridge. Shots are exchanged; a yeoman's horse is wounded, and these heroes retreat. A troop of regular cavalry is sent against the insurgents, but they find on arriving on the scene of the conflict that the rebels have dispersed. A considerable number of arrests follow this unsuccessful attempt at insurrection.

But a far more serious attempt was soon to startle the propertied classes of this free and happy country. This was what is known in the newspapers of the time as the Derbyshire insurrection. Living

at Nottingham at this time was a man named Jeremiah Brandreth, who had been very active in the Luddite disturbances a few years back. He was known among his companions, on account of his courage and daring, as the Nottingham Captain, and had a great influence among the advanced Radicals in that town. In appearance he was dark and swarthy, and fitted in every way as the leader of a popular insurrection. For some time there had been rumours among the poor in the villages on the borders of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire that a great rising was about to take place throughout the whole of England. Preparations had been made; pikes were forged; and the starving people hope that the end of their misery is near. On the 8th of June Brandreth appears suddenly, as if he had dropped from the clouds, at Pentridge, a large village on the borders in Derbyshire, inhabited by stocking frame knitters and agricultural labourers. He has good news to tell them: the day of revolt has arrived. To-morrow England will burst into insurrection; an army of starving men will come down from the north like a cloud and sweep tyranny in ruin before them. This is the story he tells to a crowd of wondering rustics in a low-roofed room whose walls are black with smoke and age at Pentridge village inn. To most of those present, save two or three leaders, Brandreth is a stranger, although Pentridge is within less than twenty miles of the town of Nottingham, but they do not doubt that he speaks the truth; and when he repeats certain verses, the watchwords of this jacquarie, akin to the rhymes which were current among the peasantry at the time of Tyler's rebellion, and points out the route of the rebel forces on the map, conviction is redoubled. These are the rhymes—rough enough, but with a certain oracular force about them:

"Every man his skill must try;
He must turn out, and not deny.
No bloody soldier must he dread;
He must turn out and fight for bread.
The time has come, you plainly see;
The Government opposed must be."

A discussion then springs up as to the amount of arms. William Turner, one of the leaders, states they are best prepared at Wingfield for there the people have forty pikes hidden away in a quarry. It is decided that they are to meet on the next night at a farm near Wingfield, and that they are to be joined at various points on the road to Nottingham by the detachments from the other villages. The plan of insurrection is not a bad one. Just outside Nottingham they are to be met by a picked body of Nottingham insurgents, and these combined forces are to sweep through the town and carry all before them. When these preliminaries are settled the meeting breaks up. At ten o'clock on the 9th of June the insurgents accordingly gather at the old barn near Wingfield; they come up slowly, and it is late before they are ready to march. At last Brandreth and Turner form them in military order, and they march off in the darkness, some forty or fifty strong, to join the Pentridge men, whom they have agreed to meet at a field close to that village. As they march, the inmates of farm-houses upon the road are rudely awakened by blows upon the door from the butt-ends of guns and pikes. They open their windows in fear and trembling, and are ordered by the insurgents—and the request is emphasised by levelling of guns, pistols, and pikes at the heads of the occupants of the houses—to hand over any arms that they may have in the place. At the farmhouse of Samuel Hunt, a confederate, they are well received and are regaled with bread and cheese and beer, Hunt afterwards joining the insurgents with one of his farm servants. They then march to the house of Mrs. Hepworth, the widow of a wealthy farmer, and knock at the door, and when the inmates are awakened make their usual demand for weapons. Their request is refused, and Hunt at a word from Brandreth picks up a huge stone and hurls it at the door. Brandreth with some others rush round to the back to force an entrance there. A window is driven in, and Brandreth, levelling his gun through the window, tells someone who is standing there in darkness to open the door. The man refuses; Brandreth fires; there is a cry of pain, and the man falls forward on the floor, stone dead. The dead man is a servant of the house, Robert Walters by name. No further resistance is made, and the arms are handed out to the insurgents.

Many people will doubtless call this act of Brandreth's a cruel and abominable murder. I waste no terms of reprobation: revolutions are not made with rose-water, and those people who can shriek over a single victim of a popular insurrection are often singularly complaisant over the slaughter of thousands in a wicked and useless war. Dreadful as this act may seem, it certainly proved that Brandreth had in him the material for a revolutionary leader, and if there had been a few thousand more men like him in England, the misery and starvation of the people would not have lasted much longer, and Sidmouth and Castlereagh would have bit the dust before a popular revolt.

The insurgents then continue their march. The people from Pentridge are not at the appointed place, so they march down to the village and arouse the men, who have lost nerve at the last moment. They are here joined by several comrades, and they take arms from the houses of the farmers in the village. Having thus recruited their ranks, they resume their march to Condon, a village near Nottingham, and there stop at a public-house known as the Glass House, where they awake the landlord and are supplied with ale and other refreshment. Here Isaac Ludlam, one of the leaders, an old agricultural labourer, addresses them and urges them vehemently to fight to rid themselves of their slavish wretchedness. They now number about two hundred, and other parties are marching in to join them, but

many of the men who have been forced to join at Pentridge and other places are thinking more of flight than fighting, so their strength is more apparent than real. The landlord brings in his bill, but Brandreth informs him that he will be paid after the revolution, and he does not find it convenient to enforce payment. The insurgents then resume their march as the dawn of summer morning breaks over the land.

Leaving them on the road, let us go to Nottingham and see what has occurred there.

(To be concluded.)

D. J. NICOLL.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING JUNE 8, 1889.

2	Sun.	1777. Trial of John Almon, bookseller, for selling Junius' 'Letter to the King.' 1780. "No Popery" riots in London. 1793. French Convention surrounded by armed sections under Henriot; Girondins put under arrest at their own houses. 1817. Trial of Andrew McKinlay for administering "unlawful oaths" as a member of a society for obtaining Reform. 1831. Labour riots at Merthyr; red flag carried. 1838. Socialist Congress at Manchester closes with a great demonstration at Bywater's Rooms. 1866. John Lynch, Fenian, died in Woking Prison. 1878. Nobiling's attempt on Kaiser Wilhelm. 1882. Giuseppe Garibaldi died.
3	Mon.	1793. Trial of D. I. Eaton for publishing the second part of the 'Rights of Man.' 1804. Richard Cobden born. 1816. "Illegal assemblage" of weavers at Bradford, Wilts., to protest against power-looms. 1831. Severe fighting at Merthyr between strikers and military. 1842. Unemployed demonstration at Glasgow. 1846. First number of the <i>Reasoner and Herald of Progress</i> , edited by G. J. Holyoake, 2d. weekly. 1864. William Johnson Fox died. 1882. James Thomson ("B.V.") died. 1885. Police outrage at the International Club, Stephen's Mews.
4	Tues.	1793. Adam Smith born. 1798. Sir Edward Crosbie hanged for high treason, Ireland. 1877. Trial of South Russian Workers' Union: sentences—mines 3; Siberia 5; prison 7.
5	Wed.	1816. Five weavers imprisoned with hard labour for "unlawfully combining" in a trade union. 1817. J. T. Wooler tried for "seditious libel" in the <i>Black Dwarf</i> of April 2 upon Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning. 1887. Great Socialist feast in Copenhagen.
6	Thur.	1787. Trials of Lord George Gordon for writing, and Thomas Wilkins for printing, 'The Prisoners' Petition to the Right Honourable Lord George Gordon to preserve their Lives and Liberties, and prevent their Banishment to Botany Bay'; and of Lord George Gordon for libel on the Queen of France. 1816. Riot at Chelmsford begun by the rescue of four prisoners charged with machine-breaking; yeomanry routed by the rioters. 1878. Geiking, Captain of Gardarmes at Kieff, killed by Socialists. 1887. Strike of Northumberland miners begins.
7	Fri.	1649. Dinner to Cromwell and thanksgiving in City for the putting down of the Levellers. 1753. Dr. Archibald Cameron hung for being "out in the '45." 1798. James O'Connell hung. 1832. First Reform Bill passed. 1866. President Johnson's proclamation against the Fenians. 1876. Workers Ossipoff and Obramenko tried at St. Petersburg for Socialist propaganda, and sentenced to mines and prison respectively.
8	Sat.	1688. Imprisonment of the Seven Bishops. 1809. Thomas Paine died. 1831. Serious labour riot at Merthyr, and conflict with the military; many deaths. 1876. Georges Sand died. 1878. Clever escape of Stephanovitch, Deitch, and Bukhanovsky from Kieff prison; they reach Switzerland, but returning afterwards, are caught, tried, and sent to the mines for life.

Unlawful Oath.—The following is the "unlawful oath," for administering which at secret meetings in Glasgow, during November and December 1816 and January and February 1817, Andrew McKinlay was tried: "In awful presence of God, I, A, B, do voluntarily swear that I will persevere in my endeavouring to form a brotherhood of affection among Britons of every description who are considered worthy of confidence, and that I will persevere in any endeavours to obtain for all the people in Great Britain and Ireland, not disqualified by crimes or insanity, the elective franchise, at the age of twenty-one, with free and equal representation, and annual parliaments; and that I will support the same to the utmost of my power, either by moral or physical strength, as the case may require; and I do further swear that neither hopes, fears, rewards, or punishments shall induce me to inform on, or give evidence against, any member or members, collectively or individually, for any act or expression done or made, in or out, in this or similar societies, under the punishment of death, to be inflicted on me by any member or members of such societies. So help me God, and keep me steadfast."

SEAHAM HARBOUR MINERS.—One thousand miners, employed by the Marquis of Londonderry, at Seaham Harbour, have decided to give 14 days' notice to leave work unless concessions in the matter of wages and hours are granted.

RAILWAY SIGNALMEN'S WAGES.—At a meeting of Leeds signalmen on Friday, at which all the railways in the district were represented, a resolution was unanimously adopted to agitate for increased wages and a reduction of hours to eight per day, six days to constitute a week, and wages to be paid as follows: First class men, 5s. a-day; second, 4s. 6d.; third, 4s.; and fourth class men to be abolished.

THE ARTS AND CRAFTS EXHIBITION SOCIETY.—The second exhibition will open in the New Gallery, Regent Street, on the 7th of October; the days for sending in will be the 16th, 17th, and 18th of September. A new departure will be made in the sale of the exhibits, in which it will be remembered the society took no part. The society, however, will make no profit upon the sales. The evening lectures will again be a feature of the exhibition.



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

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

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

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

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

LUCY PARSONS (Chicago).—Book to hand safely; will be reviewed in a week or two.
JOHN GREENWOOD (Ashwell).—Thanks for letter; will let comrades know of your invitation.

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday May 29.

ENGLAND	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	SPAIN
Justice	Milwaukee—National Reformer	Madrid—El Socialista
Labour Elector	Newark—Arbeiter-Zeitung	PORTUGAL
Labour Tribune	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
London—Freie Presse		Porto—A Revolta
Norwich—Daylight	FRANCE	GERMANY
Railway Review	Paris—Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Sozial Demokrat	Le Proletariat	AUSTRIA
Seafaring	La Revolta	Wien—Gleichheit
Telegraph Service Gazette	Commentary—Le Socialiste	Brunn—Volksfreund
Worker's Friend	Lyon—Le Flambeau Rouge	HUNGARY
INDIA	HOLLAND	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Hague—Recht voor Allen	DENMARK
Madras—People's Friend	Anarchist	Social-Demokraten
UNITED STATES	BELGIUM	Copenhagen—Arbejdere
New York—Der Sozialist	Ghent—Vooruit	SWEDEN
Freiheit	Antwerp—De Werker	Malmo—Arbetet
Truthseeker	Liege—L'Avenir	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Volkszeitung	SWITZERLAND	Goteborg—Folkets Rost
The Truth	Arbeiterstimme	WEST INDIES
Workmen's Advocate	Geneva—Pzideswit	Cuba—El Productor
Boston—Woman's Journal	Bulletin Continental	ARGENTINE REPUBLIC
Liberty	ITALY	Buenos Ayres—Vorwärts
Chicago—Knights of Labor	Rome—L'Emancipazione	

NOTES ON NEWS.

THE British traveller is the British traveller always, and he never so superior a person the cloven hoof shows itself unexpectedly yet. Witness some recent notes by the "Travelling Commissioner" of an enthusiastic and public spirited evening contemporary. After reading an interesting and picturesque description of a visit to the great wall of China, our shocked eyes come across the following naive and child-like sentence, "The bricks (of the great wall) are so big and heavy that I had to hire a donkey to carry off two of them." The admission of its being a vandalism quite fails in its object of disarming my wrath. Why, I ask lamenting, is the British traveller to leave his mark on even the great Wall of China? "The Innocents Abroad" with their Doctor and his "Chunk busted from the tomb of Abeldard and Heloise" are delightful in fiction and in America, but we don't want them too near home.

We execrate the dark trading that goes on between British and American travellers, and some of the hangers-on and doubtful custodians of world-renowned foreign buildings, of "chunks" scraps of carving, etc., and notably and abominably handfuls of the priceless mosaics in the ducal chapel of St. Mark at Venice. I myself have been mysteriously drawn into a corner in that building and offered a handful of these latter some years back, when modern improvements

and horrible Salvati mosaic jobs were in full swing; I nearly died in the unsuccessful effort to reproduce in an unfamiliar language some of the flowers of English speech which seemed to me to be appropriate to the occasion. Now, though the bricks of the Chinese Wall are, we are interested to learn, rather larger than the jewel-like squares of Venetian mosaic marble and glass, "the principle remains the same," and I deplore this one faux pas of the brilliant and interesting travelling commissioner of our much-respected contemporary.

Are the bricks, perhaps, necessary for the purpose of confounding the mistaken scientists who some years back denied the existence of the Chinese Wall? If so, I condole with the distinguished traveller if he intends that they shall form part of his luggage back into civilisation and fog.

Last Saturday, there were a good many gratified recipients of the cheap glory which Her Majesty is pleased to bestow on some of the most faithful of her faithful subjects on her most gracious birthday, and such-like Homeric occasions. I should not have thought the subject worth mentioning, but for a little "par" in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of that date, which describes the qualities of one of the favoured so neatly and concisely, that I cannot resist reproducing it *in toto* :—

"Mr. William Mackinnon is a fine example of our merchant princes (!), a man who has by his energy and skill helped to extend our commercial supremacy, especially in the transport trade of the East. He is in some respects of the Gordon type, and devotes his wealth to the promotion of causes of a semi-religious and civilising character, with an element of commerce thrown in (!!). He has taken a leading part in sending out Stanley to the relief of Emin Pasha, and is president of the Imperial British East Africa Company, which has undertaken the task of ruling and developing an immense territory. Besides being chairman of the British India Steam Navigation Company he is a director of the Suez Canal Company and other commercial undertakings."

M. M.

The School Board of London has at length made up its mind upon the printing question, and from henceforth all those who would write themselves down as printers to it, must also write themselves down as paying "not less than the minimum standard rate of wages in all the branches of the trade." This is good; not because it is such a very great boon to the working-classes, but that it is a step in advance anyhow. By these little loosening of the great ring of monopoly and competition, that has for so long held prisoner the proletariat, one may in some measure realise the enormous pressure that is now put upon it by the growth of Socialist opinion in the country.

What has happened on the School Board and the County Council will happen elsewhere. The principle is being conceded all round, and its wide-spread application, however it may be resisted, cannot be long delayed. The weary uphill fight maintained against all odds by the Socialists for years past is having its effect, and those who have been discouraged by the apparent endlessness of the strife, cannot fail to take heart and renew their efforts with tenfold intensity.

The *Star* and *Pall Mall* have both protested strongly against the lying malevolence that would make murderers of the men who were hung at Manchester for the accidental killing of a constable. With that protest we are most heartily in accord; there are no men in all the world who look on Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien with more respect than do we Socialists. It is not long since the *Commonweal* told their story at length, lovingly and with due heed of praise.

But there are some of us who think that the *Star* should not protest so loud. We have not forgotten that on the 27th of last November, the first anniversary of the unveiling of the Limerick monument to the Manchester martyrs, the *Star* went out of its way to vilify and asperse our four comrades of Chicago, and to attack those who were celebrating their memory and protesting against their murder.

In the course of a letter to the editor, the present writer urged that:

"Taking for granted the truth of 'evidence' got up by policemen, and sworn to by paid informers; assuming the justice of a verdict rendered by a packed and paid jury, and a sentence passed by a venal and partial judge, you abuse those who dare to stand up and protest. Do you or your readers 'Remember Orr'? Have you and they forgotten his fate? If they look up his case, and compare with that of the Chicago men, they will find a curious and close parallel. But in Ireland we think Orr a hero; do you? There is nothing in the history of the Chicago affair that cannot be matched with identical happenings in Ireland, which are not thought of with shame. Your line in this matter is that a thousand times taken by the reactionary press there and in this country. It is that of those who called Meagher and John Mitchel 'felons' and talked of the 'righteous doom' of Allan, Larkin, and O'Brien. Such a line is hardly that which one would expect from so 'advanced' an organ as the *Star*; it unpleasantly recalls that of its forerunner and namesake, which falsified the record of the imprisoned Fenians and suppressed the letters they smuggled out of prison when they were being tortured into madness and death."

Returning to the charge, the *Star* did as liars are wont to do: it went deeper into the mire, and not only reasserted that the Chicago men "were guilty of inciting to murder," but added that which no one in the wide earth was base enough to say before—that "Ling handed about his consignment of bombs at their meetings," and that "they shot the policemen before the policemen shot them." The protest of the friends of the condemned against packed juries and a legal murder was called "weak unmanly whining," and the insulting

neer showed how much true love of freedom and justice there lay under the shrieking of the *Star* at what is done in Ireland.

We are always ready to do justice to the *Star*, and even more than that sometimes; but we would remind it once more of the reparation it owes to four brave men and to those who loved them; a reparation that must be made before its pretensions to speak for them can be half conceded by labour-advocates with long memories. After all, its case is as we pointed out a few weeks ago; it is, like other papers which are run for profit and party warfare, liable to be led astray by the looseness of the journalistic system and the persistent pursuit of low aims.

Like its compeers, it is often cursed with an inability to believe that anybody believes anything, and that so long as a thing "tells," nothing else matters. This infirmity it must conquer if it would continue to lead any large part of the democracy; for "cultivated" scepticism has not yet permeated the masses, and never will. Instead of it there spreads, with ever-increasing rapidity, a belief which, when men hold, they hold with all the strength of their being. This those who would represent them must recognise and take into account.

The days of blind obedience to party leaders and docile swallowing of party lies, are passing away; men reason more than they did, and old shibboleths are losing power. "Justice for Ireland" and a hundred other like things are not enough to stir the blood of workmen nowadays to battle-heat; they are beginning to listen for and follow the slogan of "Justice for ALL!" S.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"SEAFARING."

SIR,—I shall be glad to know if the above journal, which is advertised by you, and was got by me on your recommendation, is endorsed by you in its nefarious action of being printed by non-union men, it being a union organ. If the National Press Agency which prints it is a fair house, and I am mistaken, then it is all right; but what I say is, that no trade-union paper has any call to employ rat printers, and no paper like yours should encourage them to do it. Hoping you will answer at once. Yours, etc.,

RUFFON RATTS.

[We have received other letters to the same effect. If the National Press Agency is not a trades union shop, we agree with our correspondents that it is hardly consistent for the seamen, who have so recently formed their own union, to support it by their printing. We should be sorry to encourage such a proceeding, and have accordingly withdrawn the advertisement for the present, and are making enquiries on the subject. "Fireman" might speak to his local secretary and move in the union itself about the matter. Eds.]

LOOKING FORWARD.

A REPLY TO WILLIAM MORRIS.

Although we must not ignore, but do our level best to overthrow the present embodiment of "the art of establishing the maximum of inequality in our favour," Mr. Morris does well to call for a "moral conscience": the moral must accompany the economic development of the race, and that without its relegation to unconscious evolution, the periodical climax of which is of necessity revolution. We cannot be politically free until we are economically free, and we cannot be economically free until we are morally free; and things that are equal to the same, etc., etc., according to the first proposition of Euclid.

At the same time there are some logical discrepancies with Mr. Morris that I should like to put in relief, noting the while that no writer I have ever consulted has been able to maintain his logical balance throughout; due to the host of phenomena that the finite mind must take in, while being mainly concentrated upon the standpoint and special consideration in hand. The mote, however, in the eyes of each of us need not prevent us from abstracting a similar substance from the eye of our brother, providing the operator has one ocular apparatus unimpaired. Continued, as it has begun, in this spirit, the free discussion may result in an all round improved vision.

The end for all revolutionists is the freedom of the individual; to some it is primary, to others it is secondary; but none dare to ignore it; every formulated system of society contains an endeavour to assure us of its embodiment of the greatest possible amount of individual freedom. Before me I have a work ("Social Architecture," by an exile from France) which, in the most complacent manner, proposes to introduce into its State edifice a regulation "by which all single men and women shall become accustomed to take their seats side by side with each other at the meals, so that every man has a woman as his neighbour at the public table; . . . every alternate chair will be a woman's, easily distinguishable by some peculiar form, size, or inscription." Man's natural rights, however, are no small item with the writer, albeit of noble sentiment and not a little mad.

In like manner, if less glaringly, no sooner does Mr. Morris posit his society in form than he immediately denies it in the content;—I take it he is pleading here for the ideal, the *telos*, and not for any period of transition; consequently the element of what is usually termed practicability (the compromise of the ideal with supposed exigencies of environment) does not enter. "If freedom from authority means the assertion of the advisability or possibility of an individual man doing what he pleases always and under all circumstances, this is an absolute negation of society, and makes Communism as the highest expression of society impossible; and when you begin to qualify the assertion of the right to do as you please by adding 'as long as you do not interfere with other people's rights to do the same,' the exercise of some kind of authority becomes necessary." Thus, while some individuals will be able to attain an exceedingly high development of the "moral conscience," a development of such perfection as to warrant them in "coercing others not to coerce," the possibility of these *others* reaching

the same moral level is denied. This sentence applied to the semi-moral individual as he exists to-day, contains a plausibility of truth and gives rise to the question as to whether government or liberty is the best condition for the development of the moral sense; to which question, notwithstanding that "La bête n'est par bien loin derrière nous," I answer by all that's Dialectic, Liberty. But applied to the ideal it is exceedingly pessimistic.

"Without a moral conscience there can be no true society." Amen! and if true, with a moral conscience, society is possible, and only by anticipating its insufficiency is a public conscience called for. When everyone is pleased not only to maintain his own liberty, but finds self-satisfaction without overriding the liberty of others, then "the possibility or advisability of an individual man doing what he pleases always and under all circumstances" will be no negation of society, but its constitution. In short, even from the point of view of the authoritarian, the moral conscience denies the necessity of authority, even as authority denies the existence of the moral sense: what one has attained to, all will eventually; while to deny the possibility of any one individual's conception and practice of morality is to deny the right of anyone to govern.

Here it may be mentioned that the whole reasoning depends upon what is conceived as morality, and will be lost or not according to the conception of the ideal. To the State Socialist who conceives of no morality and no society outside of drilled industrial armies of automatic appendages to ponderous fly-wheels, with miles of workshops and numerous other modern aggregations, the conception of all-sufficient morality is more than can be expected, but to many members of the Socialist League it is otherwise. What is morality, and what is a free man?

Let William Morris answer. "Free men, I am sure, must lead simple lives and have simple pleasures; and if we shudder away from that necessity now, it is because we are not free men, and have in consequence wrapped up our lives in such a complexity of dependence that we have grown feeble and helpless. But again, what is simplicity? Do you think by chance that I mean a row of yellow-bricked, blue-slatted houses, or a phalangerstere like an improved Peabody lodging-house; and the dinner-bell ringing us into a row of white basins of broth, with a piece of bread cut nice and square by each, with boiler-made tea and ill-boiled rice-pudding to follow? [and the liberty to grumble about it if you like, with the result that you find yourself in possession of the worst cut of beef for a week, and the object of many other particular attentions] No; that's the philanthropist's ideal, not mine; and here I only note it to repudiate it, and to say, Vicarious life once more." Again: "All people should learn one or two elementary arts of life, as carpentry or smithing; and most should know how to shoe a horse, shear a sheep, reap a field, and plough it." 'Tis a consummation devoutly to be wished. And when it is consummated every man will scorn to become the slave of another, equally as everyone will scorn to make another his slave; everyone will dwell under his own vine and under his own fig-tree; each will work at his own *handicraft*, "cajoling none, cheating none," and the snift for surplus-value will be as much a recognised social sin as is theft to-day. With a community of farmers would spring up as many handicraftsmen as would be necessary, and Rent and Interest under such circumstances would not exist; for economic rent would make its exit with other devil-begotten products of modern spread-eagleism. All else would fall in its place. If labour-exchanges will be necessary they would *surgissent*, and the proprietors would keep each his business within his own power, and no employment of assistants for 30s. per week to earn us £2.

Where then would be any necessity for authority? Co-operation and Communism would then become what alone it can be, to be tolerable to free men, a *sentiment* and not a *necessity*, and everyone would be free to enter the association or not. Such a contract must be free or it is no contract, and being free it is not a necessity. That is as far as I can see into a mill-stone; what lies beyond I do not pretend to say. That is society, that is humanity, that for me is the *telos*, and it is Anarchy.

Bedford.

J. ARMSDEN.

The riveters' strike on the Clyde appears to be serious. About 4,000 men are walking idle; they demand 15 per cent. advance, and are each receiving 10s. weekly from their associations.

The Indiana coal-miners have accepted 20 per cent. reduction in wages. About 4,000 men are affected. The Ohio miners are working at a reduction. The Illinois miners, to the number of 5,000, are still out on strike, awaiting events, and about the same number are out in the vicinity of Pittsburgh.

HENRY GEORGE IN MANCHESTER.—The unprincipled "prophet" of San Francisco addressed a meeting of the Financial Reform Association in the Free Trade Hall on 21st May. His subject was announced to be "How to get rid of our Slums"; written questions sent up to chairman would be answered by the "prophet" at close. Our branch turned up in force, and kept the audience in good humour by singing a number of Socialist songs, which were received with hearty applause, until the platform orators arrived. From these gentlemen we heard that the slums were to be got rid of by shifting the taxes off tea, coffee, gold and silver plate, house property, and incomes, and placing them on the rent of land. The "great taxation reformer" began by informing us he was a Home Ruler and an American (what a coincidence!), and seemed to imagine he had a talisman in the names of Richard Cobden and Free Trade with which to play upon the sentiments of the Manchester folk whom he had before him. However, he had miscalculated its oracular effects, as the audience soon became a diminishing quantity. The amount of flimsy, albeit dramatic, rhetorical effervescence which he unburdened himself of, in place of arguments, to support his patent quack poverty-cure, exceeded anything his fiercest opponents could have attributed to this versatile Yankee. To those who had known or heard him in the earlier days before he had deserted the people and become a party politician and stump orator for Radical capitalists, the man's present moral and intellectual degeneracy is pitiable to behold. A number of questions, including some anent the Anarchist martyrs, were sent up by our members. In the face of announcements around platform and walls inviting questions, the chairman (Provand, M.P.) coolly informed the audience that it was too late to answer *any* questions, as Mr. George had to return to London! Determined action on our part compelled the "prophet" to get up and attempt some answering, but the principal questions were not read out, nor could the chairman be induced to do so. The American Home Ruler denounced the use of force as a means to any political or social change. At the same time, our party was only saved from forcible expulsion because it was found too numerous for a successful exhibition of force from the other side. Moral: Always denounce the use of force by your opponents, but fail not to use it wherever you believe it can be successful. The meeting ended by our giving three cheers for the social revolution.—WM. BAILIE.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

The miners at Manver's Main Colliery have decided to demand the full 10 per cent. advance.

About 200 men employed at the Haigh Moor Colliery, Altofts, have come out on strike in consequence of changes in the working arrangements of the mine.

The rivet makers of the Staffordshire and East Worcestershire districts, numbering between two and three thousand, gave notice of 10 per cent. advance last Saturday.

The Belfast carters have made an earnest appeal to the Scottish trades' societies for assistance in the matter of forming a union in Belfast. The women linen workers have also made a like application.

The counter-sinkers employed in the principal shipbuilding yards in the Hartlepool district struck last week for an advance of one penny per plate. Their action has thrown idle nearly the whole of the riveters in the same yards.

Five hundred colliers have struck work at Aberavon, in the Aberdare Valley, South Wales, in consequence of a dispute with the employers as to the timbering of roadways in the mine. The masters suggested arbitration, but the men declined it.

At a meeting of the South Staffordshire and Worcestershire Miners Wages Board, held at Dudley, it was decided to accept the 5 per cent. advance in wages offered by the employers, who contended that the increase of 10 per cent. asked by the colliers would ruin trade. A strike has thus been averted.

The pony drivers employed at the Denaby Main Colliery have tendered a fortnight's notice to leave work, which will expire on the 5th of June. If the action is persisted in, 1,500 miners will be thrown out of work. The drivers number about 200, and they say that unless they receive the full 10 per cent. advance they will not resume work.

NORTH WALES QUARRYMEN'S UNION.—The 15th annual meeting of this society took place last Saturday at Waenfawr, near Carnarvon. The report showed that 1888 was a year of great depression, and it was said that 1889 was little better. In the evening a public meeting was held, at which a paper was read on "The Necessity for Combination and Mutual Understanding among Workmen," and a resolution passed in favour of placing the slate quarries under government inspection.

HORSENAIL MAKERS.—The horsenail makers in the South Staffordshire and East Worcestershire districts have come out on strike for an advance of 3d. per thousand in wages. The operatives are in a deplorable state of poverty through being unable to earn more than 9s. a-week. The employers unanimously agree that the wages are simply scandalous, but they are unable to improve their workmen's condition owing to the importation of machine-made nails from Belgium and Sweden. The men state they will not resume work until better wages are paid.

WELSH TIN-PLATE WORKERS.—After a strike extending over three months, the tin-plate workers at the Worcester and Upper Forest Works, Glamorgan-shire, numbering 1,000 hands, resumed labour last week. It is estimated that about £10,000 in wages has been lost. An agreement has been drawn up by the arbitrators that the employers undertake to pay the usual rate of wages, according to the scale of 1874, and that future cases of difference between masters and men be referred to the arbitrators, whose decision shall be final. These conditions are accepted by the tin-plate owners and their employes.

ARMY ACCOUTREMENT MAKERS.—On Saturday, the men on strike from Colonel Wallace's Army Accoutrement Factory, Great Dover Street, Borough, met at the Military Harness and Accoutrement Trade Society's house, Old Kent Road, to discuss their position. The men struck owing to a refusal to pay the price fixed for making valises on a contract for the government. The Director-General of Contracts, in his evidence before the Sweating Commission, stated that 6d. extra had been added to the contract price for the benefit of the worker, but only 2½d. of that amount had been paid the men on each valise. Failing to obtain the remainder the men, after making 10,000 out of 16,000 valises, struck. Colonel Wallace has threatened to give the rest of the work to outdoor hands, but if this be done the terms of his contract will be violated, as the work must be done on the premises. The men are determined to hold out, and a sum of £10 towards their support has been voted them by the London Saddle and Harness Makers' Trade Protection Society.

WAGES IN THE COAL TRADE.—The men at the Northumberland soft-coal collieries have accepted 2½ per cent. advance. They had asked for an advance of 7 per cent., to place them on a level with the steam-coal collieries. The steam-coal miners, who were advanced a few months ago to rather more than the rate of wages before the reduction in 1887, are applying for a 10 per cent. advance. The Durham miners will formulate a demand for a 20 per cent. advance in a few days. On Saturday a special council meeting of the Yorkshire Miners' Association was held at the Miners' Hall, Barnsley, to consider the masters' offer of 5 per cent. advance on July 1st, and 5 per cent. on October 1st, with an agreement that neither party should seek to alter the existing rate of wages, which should prevail for twelve months from the 1st of October next. The interest of the meeting was heightened by the fact that many of the largest voting collieries in South Yorkshire had sent their delegates to vote in favour of demanding the full 10 per cent. advance on the 1st of July, in accordance with the resolutions come to at the recent National Miners' Conference held at Nottingham. The lodges which were pledged to the rejection of the masters' offer as presented included Manver's Main, Wath Main, Mitchell's Main, Darfield Main, Shire-oaks, and others. The question gave rise to an animated discussion. Ultimately the following resolution was carried by a slight majority of votes: "That this council, whilst it cannot see its way to accept to the full the coalowners' offer, at the same time can, with the consent of the Manchester Conference, agree to accept the coalowners' offer of 5 per cent. on July 1 and a second 5 per cent. on the 1st of October, 1889." The Council declined to advise the men to enter into an agreement which would prevent them asking for a further advance of wages for twelve months from the 1st of October as desired by the coalowners. The next step was to lay the resolution before the National Conference, which met in Manchester on Tuesday, called solely for the purpose of considering the Yorkshire owners' offer and the result of the miners' votes in Yorkshire. The discussion on the matter is still proceeding as we go to press.

IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE State of Maine seems to be desirous to distinguish itself by abnormal legislation, abnormal even in capitalistic society. The "tramp law" I described some weeks ago, and it seems that this is not the only enactment which may be called atrocious. A "hawker and pedlar law" has also been the production of the legislature of this State, which will come into effect on July 15th. Petitions are already in circulation asking the Governor of Maine to direct the sheriffs not to enforce the law, on the ground that it is "inhuman, unjust, unreasonable, and unconstitutional," but of course they will have no effect. Under this law street hucksters and pedlars of foreign nationality are barred from selling their goods, as licenses are only to be issued to "citizens," and even they are prohibited to sell any other goods but those grown or manufactured in the United States. The law was passed at the instance of the city tradesmen. Go on, Maine, you are on the right road to beat New Jersey or even Illinois as regards "beneficial legislation!"

The Senate Committee on general laws of the Legislature of New York, has reported the result of its investigations into the methods of trusts and combinations. The majority of the committee hold that "legislation is not required to check the evil; that the more is known of trusts the less they are feared; that it is a growing sentiment that the evils of which they are the cause are short-lived; that trusts are the result of a natural law which, while it might be advantageous to the people to subject it (who, the natural law?) to reasonable artificial restraint, still exists, like all natural laws, for some useful purpose, and its total destruction would be a great calamity." The minority report criticises the trusts in strong language, and declares that the only safeguard of the people against them is an "upright judiciary and incorruptible administrative officers." An upright judiciary and incorruptible administrative officers is good, very good; but where are they to be found? In the fair land of Mars, I suppose. On the whole, as the saying goes, betwixt twiddledum and twiddledee, etc. The simplest way to abolish the evil would be, of course, to make the trust property common property, but our legislators don't and can't like simple ways. They are paid not to.

The Malthusians have found a terrible antagonist in Duluth, Dak. There the proprietor of a great broom factory has increased the wages of all his married employes, and has also given notice to the single men that they will not be wanted after the end of this month unless they were married by that time, on which event they would keep their places at increased pay. Evidently this philanthropist desires to keep up a good supply of "free labour." But can this kind of marriage be called a free contract?

The Standard Oil Trust seems to have as great a power to swallow and digest well property as ever the Church did possess. This monster monopoly, not content to own and control the production, the carrying, and the refining business of oil, is stretching its greedy hands out for more. During the last week it has bought, at the enormous price of over one million sterling, the St. Louis Gas Trust and also the White Lead Trust. Pretty soon, I presume, everything and everybody over here will be the property of the Standard Oil Trust.

The three great steel manufacturing concerns of Illinois have amalgamated. The capital stock of the new corporation amounts to five million pounds, and it constitutes the largest combination of steel interests in America.

A new party has been formed in Boston on socialistic principles—the Nationalist Party. Edward Bellamy, who is 'Looking Backward,' and L. Grönlund, who is 'Marching Backward,' are the leading spirits. The name "Socialism" is too ferocious for these gentlemen, so they prefer to style their "Socialism" as "Nationalism." They also do not like the term "Collective ownership of the means of production." They rather prefer to call it "Monopoly." It seems that the amount of confused notions which most people have when hearing or reading something about Socialism is not sufficient for these humanitarians; they desire to add their share to the confusion. Now, can any sane person believe that we make our ideas more palatable or more clear by terming them "Nationalism and Monopoly," and ourselves "Nationalists and Monopolists" (*sic*)? Why, its absurd on the face of it! The *Nationalist* is the organ of the new party, and the paper will soon make its appearance.

To-day another new party will be born in Boston: the Christian Socialists. We are getting on, and soon the babylonian confusion about Socialistic parties will be as great in America as it is in France. Well, we may as well go the whole gamut, but I pity the poor individual who undertakes to study Socialism. Why, to find out the meaning of the word "capital" alone, it is necessary to spend in serious investigation and reading up half a lifetime, and after having achieved so much, the poor student still finds himself confronted by the platforms of about fifty different parties, all labelled Socialistic and something else, who assail each other most vigorously and call each other bad names. Why, indeed, ye gods, can't we do without this babble!

A number of Irish-Americans have for a long time been considering the question how they might help in a lasting way the evicted tenants in Ireland, and they have come to the conclusion that the best aid would be of an industrial character. The idea is to establish in one of the poorest districts of Ireland a factory in which evicted tenants could find employment. The scheme has in it features of a colonisation character. The people at present interested propose to incorporate a stock company, selling the shares in all parts of the United States where there are natives of Ireland or friends of the Nationalist cause. To instruct the previous agriculturists in factory work a party composed of about fifty men, some skilled mechanics, some good workmen, and some who have a good all round knowledge, would be sent over to Ireland. It is proposed to manufacture boots and shoes, clothing and underwear. The scheme will be submitted to Parnell, Davitt, and O'Brien. What it really amounts to is, introducing the "benefits" and the "blessings" of the factory system into the green island. Considering what the factory system implies, we may well exclaim, "God save us from the philanthropists; we can deal ourselves with the enemies of humanity."

Suicides are terribly on the increase. On one day, May 11th, not less than seven persons in New York City "removed" themselves from this world to a better sphere.

The St. Paul, Minn., street-car men's strike was declared off. It was a failure, the men accepted a reduction.

A material reduction in the wages of the green-glass bottle blowers is set down for September 1st. Nothing like a good long notice.

About 1,200 men are reported discharged in the Pullman Car works near Chicago, owing to slack trade.

Strikes reported since 1st May, 27. Number of strikers, 20,322.
Boston, Mass., May 14, 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.

Executive.—At the last meeting of the Executive, a letter was read from comrade Lafargue to the effect that Branches of the S.L. are entitled to send delegates to the International Socialist Congress at Paris in July next. Letters were also read from Provincial Branches asking for assistance in the matter of speakers; comrade Mowbray was deputed to go to Norwich. Other answers deferred.

London Members' Meeting.—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, June 3, 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.

Annual Conference.—The Annual Conference will be held on Whit-Sunday, June 9th, at 13, Farringdon Road. Agenda has been sent to Branches.

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

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

Defence Committee (Berner Street).—Norwich, 2s.; Whatnough (Plunstead), 1s.; W. W., 1s.; Sheet 34A, 6½d.

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:—Blundell, 6d.; R. Turner, 6d.; J. Turner, 6d.; Kitz, 6d.; Rose, 6d.; B. W., 6d.; W. W., 1s. 6d.; Davis, 6d.; Mrs. Schack, 1s.; and C. Saunders, 1s. Norwich, 1s.

Guarantors of Provincial Branches are requested to send up their lists at once.

REPORTS.

LONDON OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.—*Canterbury Road*—A short meeting was held here by Mainwaring and Brookes on Sunday last. *Hyde Park*—Mainwaring, Brookes, and Hunter Watts (S.D.F.) spoke here to very good audience despite the weather. *Battersea*—A good meeting was held between Christ's Church and York Road on Saturday night; speakers were Kitz, Mowbray, and Samuels; attentive audience; 27 *Commonweal* sold. These meetings will be carried on regularly, as there are good signs of a branch being formed here. *Mile End Waste*—Last Saturday night a very good meeting was addressed by Cores and Brookes; opposition was offered by one of the "dear friends" of Lord Salisbury; 18 *Commonweal* sold. *Gibraltar Walk*—Good meeting on Sunday morning; speakers were Parker and Mrs. Schack; fair sale of *Commonweal*.

CLERKENWELL.—The debate which should have taken place on Sunday evening, "Is a Government Necessary during a Revolutionary Crisis?" between F. Charles (negative) and D. Nicoll (affirmative) did not come off. D. Nicoll partly delivered affirmative, with discussion to follow by audience, as Charles was at Merton. Charles returned by close of discussion, which he renewed in the negative, hoping that at an early date he should be able to fully debate the subject with Nicoll, which will be duly announced.—S. P.

EAST LONDON.—On Sunday, W. Mowbray lectured on "Socialism and Party Politics." Good discussion.

HAMMERSMITH.—Good meeting at Latimer Road on Sunday morning; speakers were Dean, Tochatti, Lyne, sen., Lyne, jun., Crouch, and Maughan. We had Curate No. 2 from St. Clement's, Nottingdale; he told the audience that he was in agreement with a great deal we had said, but thought the land was better under landlords than the way we advocated, viz., the people to be the sole owners; 43 *Commonweal* sold. Very good meeting at Weltje Road in evening; speakers were Crouch, Dean, and Bullock; 7 *Weal* sold. In evening at Kelmescott House, Ernest Radford lectured on "Walt Whitman."

MITCHAM.—Good meeting on Fair Green, addressed by Kitz and Cores; 8d. collected for local propaganda; 16 *Commonweal* sold. In the evening we assisted on new ground at Streatham.—S. G.

ABERDEEN.—At weekly indoor meeting on May 20th. "Mr. Barton's Sermon" in 'Looking Backward' was read and discussed. At Castle Street on Saturday night, Duncan and Leatham addressed a large and enthusiastic crowd. A number of questions were disposed of at close.—L.

GLASGOW.—On Sunday, Adams, McCulloch, Tim Burgoyne, and Glasier went to Blantyre, where a meeting of miners was called on the Show Grounds. The meeting was somewhat small at first, but latterly some 200 to 250 persons were present. Comrade Small (miner's agent), Glasier, and Tim Burgoyne addressed the meeting, explaining at length the aims of Socialism, and at the conclusion hearty cheers were given for the speakers. Some 50 *Commonweal* (all we had with us) were sold as quickly as they could be handed out, and also other literature. We have arranged to visit Blantyre again in a month. Members are requested to note change of address in notice column.

LEICESTER.—Sunday last we began open-air propaganda. Peacock (Nottingham) addressed us on "Shams and Monopolies, how to abolish them." Fair audience for a beginning, considering weather and Leicesterian temperament; we sold about 2s. 6d. worth of literature; audience interested and attentive, and put sensible questions at close. Doleman, late secretary of S.L. in Nottingham, has settled among us and is stirring us up. We are arranging for open-air addresses from John Burns, Cunningham Graham, and others, and think we can make the open-air meetings a great success this season.—T. B.

MANCHESTER.—Good meeting Saturday night at Middleton; Leonard Hall, Marshall, and Bailie were speakers; 27 *Commonweal* sold. In Stevenson Square on Sunday afternoon, Barton, Ritson, Bailie, and Marshall spoke; 7 *Weals* sold out, also some other literature; Socialist songs were sung. At 7.30, another meeting on Chester Road, Marshall, Barton, Bailie, and Parkinson speakers; a few pamphlets sold.

YARMOUTH.—Another good meeting at Belton on Monday; we intend going every Monday evening. Two meetings at Priory Plain on Sunday, Ruffold and Reynolds speakers. Brightwell held meeting at Bradwell, a village about four miles from Yarmouth, on Sunday morning; sold 5 *Weals* and announced another meeting for next Sunday; 3s. collected.—C. R.

DUBLIN.—At Progressist Club, 87, Marlboro' Street, May 25th, comrade Smith (late of the Clerkenwell Branch S.D.F.) lectured to a fair audience on "Poverty, its Cause and Cure." There was a good discussion, King, Coulon, and Fuzell taking part.

NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.—Good meeting in Great Market Place on Sunday; Rooke and Proctor spoke on "The International Solidarity of the Workers." At branch meeting at the club afterwards, five new members were made and satisfactory progress reported.—R. P.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (4-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). On Sunday June 2, at 8 p.m. sharp, lecture by Rev. Stewart Headlam, "Christian Socialism."

East London.—Crown Coffee Tavern, 2 Columbia Road, Hackney Road. Sunday June 2, Business Meeting at 7 o'clock. At 8.30, G. G. Schaack, "How Women can Help the Socialist Movement."

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday June 2, at 8 p.m., A Lecture. Thursday 6th, at 7.30, Choir practice. Friday 7th, at 8 p.m., French Class; at 8.30 sharp, Business Meeting and discussion.

Mitcham.—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. Meets every Sunday, at 11 a.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.—Oddfellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane. **Bradford.**—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Tuesday at 7.30.

Glasgow.—The Branch will meet temporarily in the Ram's Horn Assembly Hall, Ingram Street, every Thursday and Saturday evening at 8 o'clock, and on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock. All communications to be addressed to above Hall.

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.

Norwich.—Gordon Hall, Duke Street. **Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.

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

Yarmouth.—"Three Fishes" Coffee Tavern, North Howard Street. Business meeting every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class at comrade Hadley's every Friday at 8 p.m. *Commonweal* sold by Mr. Housen, newsgate, George Street.

FRIENDS WILLING TO AID in forming Branches in the undermentioned places are asked to write to the addresses given: *Liverpool*—W. H. Chapman, Vegetarian Restaurant, 1 Chapman St. *Walworth and Camberwell*—3 Datchelor Place, Church Street, Camberwell Green. *Wimbledon and Merton*—F. Kitz, 3 Clare Villas, Merton road. *Hoxton*—H. D. Morgan, 12 Basing Place, Kingsland Road. *Streatham*—J. Campbell, 98 Wellfield Road, Streatham.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SATURDAY 1.

7 Hyde Park Nicoll, Brookes, and Graham
8 Battersea—opposite Christ Church Kitz, Samuels, and Parker
8 Mile-end Waste Davis and Cores

SUNDAY 2.

10.30 Latimer Road Station G. Spooner, Lyne senr, and Dean
11.30 Bethnal Green—Gibraltar Walk Davis, Mrs. Schack, and Graham
11.30 Hammersmith—Beadon Road Hammersmith Branch
11.30 Kilburn Road—"Canterbury Arms" Mainwaring
11.30 Leman Street, Shadwell Cores and Turner
11.30 Mitcham Fair Green Kitz and Parker
11.30 Regent's Park Nicoll and Mrs. Lahr
3.30 Hyde Park Cores and Nicoll
3.30 Victoria Park Demonstration
7 Clerkenwell Green Cores and Graham
7 Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park Hammersmith Branch
7.30 Mitcham Fair Green The Branch
7.30 Streatham—Fountain, High Street Kitz and Parker

TUESDAY 4.

8 Fulham—back of Walham Green Church The Branch

THURSDAY 6.

8 Ossulton Street Parker and Nicoll
8.15 Hoxton Church Kitz, Mowbray, and Davis

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen.—Saturday: Castle Street, 7.30 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.—Outdoor meetings every Sunday. Stevenson Square at 3 p.m.

Viaduct, Chester Road, at 7.30.

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

SOUTHWARK AND LAMBETH BRANCH S.D.F., North Lambeth Radical Club, 108 Westminster Bridge Road, S.E.—On Tuesday June 4, at 8.30, William Morris will lecture on "Monopoly."

NEW LABOUR CLUB, 5 Victoria Park Square.—Thursday June 6th, F. Kitz, "The Criminal Classes, High and Low."

FERNDALE LIBERAL AND RADICAL CLUB, 35 Bedford Road, Brixton.—Thursday June 6, at 8.30, Mr. Harold Cox, "Practicable Socialism."

CLUB AUTONOME, 6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, W.—Sunday June 2, 8 p.m., a lecture by comrade Humphreys, "Revolutionary Warfare."

HATCHAM LIBERAL CLUB, Portland House, New Cross Road.—Sunday June 2, at 8.30, George Bernard Shaw, "Practicable Socialism."

On Whit-Monday, June 10.

HALL OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE, 13 Farringdon Road.—A Grand CONCERT and BALL will be held on Whit-Monday, June 10th, for the benefit of the Propaganda Fund. The following comrades will sing and recite: W. Morris, W. Blundell, Annie Taylor, J. Turner, Miss Emily Fisher, Fred White, F. Kitz, C. W. Mowbray, D. Nicoll, J. Presburg, Mrs. Tochatti, T. Cantwell, A. Brookes, and others. **DRAMATIC SKETCH** by Darwood and Jeffries. To conclude with a Ball. Admission by Programme, 6d., to be obtained at branches of the League, the International clubs, and of the Secretary, 13 Farringdon Road.

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