

THE COMMONWEAL

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

THE Royal Duke and the policeman have escaped all possibility of fine or imprisonment for assaulting Mr. Simms. We know by experience that the policeman at least had nothing to fear from a magistrate, even if he had gone to much greater lengths than the collaring of an innocent citizen for the crime of being hustled by a member of the royal family. Yet it was, no doubt, an advantage to him to be in the company of an "August Personage."

Imagination *will* run away with one in picturing the fun that a person might have, who had a turn for a spree without disagreeable consequences, if he could only secure the co-operation at one and the same time of a member of the royal family and a member of the metropolitan police force. They might have adventures which would quite throw into the shade those of the famous trio—the Caliph Haroun Alraschid, Giaffar the Vizier, and Mesrou the executioner. Indeed, those worthies sometimes got into awkward corners in the course of their sprees; whereas the modern lot would only have to declare themselves in order to walk off with honour and dignity. We get on fast, don't we, in these days of absolute equality before the law?

It is difficult to treat such a matter seriously, and Mr. Simms has only been treated rudely, instead of being wounded first and sent to prison as a plaster for the wound, as many of our friends have been; and yet we cannot help feeling a sense of fresh degradation at such an exhibition of servility to a testy old martinet as the police-courts have given us, in the teeth of all the lying bluster about our freedom and our equality before the law. A Socialist indeed may say that it is not worth while considering such a trifling nuisance as a monarch and a royal family, when we have the real practical whip of capitalism flourished daily over our heads; but we must not forget that this gilded sham of a relic of feudalism, which was once powerful for good and evil, does now represent nothing but that very tyranny of the commercial master and slave-driver, and the executive power which keeps him in his place. It is a significant symbol of our false society that the Duke of Cambridge, the policeman, and the magistrate have been yokefellows in this shabby business.

A vice-consul in Servia has been telling us that the very simple method of competition which consists of pirating trade-marks, has been damaging British trade in that country. Hats made of brown paper, knives that wouldn't cut, shirtings half made of starch which disappeared on the first washing, etc., have been sold as British goods. Well, well, Servia is an out-of-the-way place, and possibly traditions of the excellence and honesty of British manufactures linger there, and so we may suppose that this legitimate means of competition, as John Bright would have considered it, may be effective there; but we who live in this great centre of civilisation would be inclined to think that the pirate had thrown away his industry; for in some branches at least it would be difficult to surpass British skill in adulteration; as, for example, in the weighting of cotton cloths with that useful creature, sulphate of barytes—not starch, my consular friend,—a glorious invention of England within the last few years; and there are many such-like inventions.

The correspondence between Mr. Henry George and our friend Cunninghame Graham in the *Star*, has settled down on the pros and cons concerning competition. Mr. George need hardly have told us that he is in favour of competition, indeed we know that he is prepared to hang people who are engaged in trying to abolish it. Cunninghame Graham, on the other hand, says that Socialists are trying to abolish it; and surely he is right in saying so. Competition will be impossible under genuine Socialism—or let us call it Communism, since all Socialists who know what their aim is know that they are aiming at that. Let us, however, see what we are to understand what we mean by the word competition, since I think the word is used vaguely very often.

Man must live in society of some kind: that society must be either a society of classes or of equals. Now, competition implies the struggle for thriving at other people's expense. In the class society this struggle must go on, and it is threefold: First there is the struggle between the classes, one of which is privileged, the other unprivileged. The privileged class strives to enhance its privilege, the unprivileged strives to reduce it; or in other words is driven by its inferior position to strive to destroy that privilege. Secondly, there is the competition for subsistence amongst the members of the unprivileged class, which is forced upon them by their dependent position. "Don't feed him, master, feed ME; I am the best man," is what each of them is forced to cry out and act on. Thirdly, there is the competition amongst the members of the privileged class each for his own share of privilege. This competition for privilege is what is usually meant by persons who use the word competition, and I must assert it is what Mr. George means when he uses it.

Change the picture, and let us look at a society of equality. How can competition exist in it? There will be no classes, privileged and unprivileged, to tug against one another. *That* war will be over. There will be no privilege for a robber class to squabble over the partition of. *That* war will be over. And lastly, as a blessed consequence, since freedom and mutual help will have taken the place of dependence on a master (i.e., slavery), the hideous "competition" or war amongst the unprivileged will have come to an end.

In short, the issue on this matter is clear between Mr. George and the Socialists: he is championing the condition of ceaseless war which is inherent in the present form of society,—the society of the master who has slaves without paying for them; of the slave who is forced to *give himself* to a master instead of being sold to him by somebody else. This war and the society of which it is an essential part is abhorrent to Socialists. It is by no means inconsistent in Mr. George to champion this competition for privilege. But it would be a mistake to suppose that he is anything else than an enemy of Socialism.

Lord Dufferin is now the hero of the jingo *Pall Mall*, which has lately outdone itself in an article of magniloquent jingoism; and considering the many benefits which the capitalist class reap from that unlucky country, India, the milch-cow of tyrants for so many ages, it is not wonderful that he should feel himself bound to make the best of the British tyranny there, the latest and worst of all, because it is an economical tyranny. But a curious commentary on this blowing of the British trumpet, as to the beneficence of our rule there, was given me the other day by a friend (a Socialist) who has been many years in India, and who told me when he first went out he tried to get intimate with the natives, but had long ago been forced to give up the attempt. And he is by no means the first person who has told me the like. We are a hated garrison in India, and hold it by means of force and fraud for the advantage of the robber class in England. That is what the heroics of the *Pall Mall* must be reduced to. W. M.

LAND RATS AND WATER RATS.

THE other night as I took up my evening paper, it was with mingled feelings that I read of various mishaps met with by sundry river steamers through the scant number and incompetence of their rat crews. It was not displeasing to read of the damage incurred by the Company's property, incurred through their own insensate greed, grasping at undue profits on underpaid labour. Nor could any Socialist, at least, refrain from sympathising with the cursing of the rat crews and their rat captains by the men they supplanted, as well as by the frightened passengers. As for these last, the thought that they could not but right well know before they embarked how the Company had behaved to their "hands," modified what commiseration might otherwise have been felt for them. Indeed, some sterner souls might confess to a subdued glee as they read of black eyes and many bruises, that would serve as reminders to the patrons of rat-labour that there was a risk to be run in supporting their proteges.

Most Londoners know how the matter stands, but our readers elsewhere may not. The men employed on the steamboats which ply up and down the river Thames, quite justifiably asked for an increase in the crew of each boat during the busy season, and also for a small rise in wages all round for the same time—another inch of freeboard above starvation-mark. Some attempt was made at organising in support of these demands, but at the last moment some of the men weakened and betrayed their comrades. Then followed a “truly British” scene. Rats came crowding from their lurking-places, and, whether long-shore loafers or “respectable” waterman, were all made welcome by the Company. Those who had dared to be discontented were turned out to muse on the freedom of contract, and their places filled with creatures willing to crawl over a comrade’s ruin to their own selfish and pitiful advantage. There is only one word wherewith to designate either the employers or the employed in this dirty business. They were RATS. We are glad to say that the rats have destroyed themselves by their blundering, and that the company are taking back the dismissed men. If it had not happened so, a rigorous boycott would have been necessary.

Just now there is nothing pleasanter to the tired workman in the way of conveyance homeward than a trip on the river, if only his road lie that way. Father Thames, though he may have lost nearly all his freshness further up, and have fallen under the curse of grime that clings to smoky London, is able still to give good welcome to those who trust themselves upon his bosom. There is on the river a sense of freedom and airiness to be enjoyed nowhere else in London out of the larger parks. But the workman would have had to remember that even as he does to others may be done to him. Even as he patronised rats in his pleasure, so might others support rats in his work. If by his action, however innocent in itself, he strengthen the hand of an exploiter, he is injuring his class and causing misery to many of his fellows.

I speak to workmen especially, for they know best how the boot pinches. To them the enmity of rats has brought many and bitter misfortunes. The pressure of competition, the greed of employers, the growth of machinery, things manifold and far-reaching, have ground them down and depressed them. In all that has been wrong from nature for humanity they have had no share; the advance of science and the spread of civilisation have left them still the toil-worn waiters at the gate of good life. But none of these things has bitten so deeply into their souls, or left such awful marks on mind and body, as the long-continued treachery within their own ranks; treachery that will forever continue and recur unless they, the workmen themselves, decide that it shall be no longer so easy and profitable.

Let the workmen remember! Who has betrayed the tramway-men but those among themselves? Has not the same thing occurred among the coal-miners, the carpenters, the iron-workers? Is it not the treachery of printers that enables rat firms to wax fat and kick? To prolong the list would be easy. By the treachery and cowardice of men of their own class, it is that workmen of all trades are rendered helpless in the hand of their oppressors. Cannot every one recall some striking, even terrible, it may be, instances that have come within his own experience? Who does not know of wages lowered, work intensified, wrong inflicted, iniquity endured, through the weakness, or worse, of his own workmates? Again and again has this happened in the past; again and again it will happen in the future. It must go on unendingly while workmen in one trade are careless of what is done in another.

To feel as a member of the community that every wrong inflicted on another is inflicted on himself; to guard the right of another as jealously as his own; to defend the right and avenge the wrong with never-ceasing vigilance and unflagging zeal; these are the deeds of a good citizen. But the community is not so constituted that one can so feel to-day, if he be a workman and awake to his position. He finds himself in a society, if so it can be called, which is divided into two great camps, or opposing armies, that are never at peace, and never can be in the nature of things until one of them is definitely driven out of the place it occupies. That one in which he finds himself, the weakest and worst equipped, though immeasurably the largest, is waging ceaseless war for the bare leave to live. The other, wealthy and well-armed, is in possession of the earth and all things on it, and is desperately fighting to maintain its control of all the means whereby men live. Year by year and day by day the struggle is becoming more conscious, more embittered, between the classes that control and are controlled. Not in one trade but in all, not in one country but all, is the consciousness of the class-war growing wider and more intense. It is more and more then, as a member of his class that the workman must feel. He may talk as a citizen, he must feel as a workman.

Indeed, if he have studied his position, and can understand his relation to the life around him, he must know his own class to be all there is of true society nowadays, and that the idlers and loungers, rich or poor, however ornamental they may be, are mere parasites upon it, to be shaken off before a fair life is possible to him or his. To feel as a citizen, then, as a member of a community of equals, is above and beyond the workman of to-day; he can hardly realise it as a far dream in the future; but it is not too much to ask of him that, within the limits to which he is confined by the conditions of to-day, he should try to carry out the ideal of comradeship. That he should seek the welfare of all workmen as his own; endeavouring now to be a worthy member of his class, that he may one day be a worthy citizen of a true community. There is absolute solidarity of interest throughout his class; no member of it can be injured without his suffering

thereby, though they be separated by the width of the world, and be aliens in race, colour, and speech—can he not understand this and teach it to others? But it is not enough that he should know this and feel this and teach it; he must act upon it.

To belong to his own trade organisation is not enough, though that is a good beginning—not to belong to it is to be a traitor in the camp of Labour and a tool of the enemy. To belong to a trade union is good; to belong to a wider organisation is better. Whichever it is, he must not rest content with merely belonging to it; he must work always to improve it, to extend its influence, and to elevate its aim. Seeking always to consolidate it, he must try to bring it into close relation with all other labour organisations, and to show them their interdependence. He must learn the needs of other men, and do what he can to aid them in their satisfaction. If they be organised, their organisation should be to him as his own; unorganised, he must help them to become so, and strengthen their hands against the common foe. And he must have neither part nor lot with traitors.

He who fights for his own hand without thinking of his fellows is a fratricide, and should be held an outlaw in the labour-world; he is a rat and should be shunned like one. It should not be left to the men of his own trade alone to show detestation of his conduct; everyone who even companies with him thereby partakes in some measure of his crime; everyone who aids and encourages him becomes equally guilty with himself. I do not ask anyone to kill the rats, to stamp them out with bloody feet, as our fathers tried to do less than thirty years ago, but I do ask everyone not to feed them and help them that they may slay us and our fellows. I am asking no man that he should kill another, but only that he should keep his own hands clean; not that he should injure anyone, but that he should refrain from aiding in the injury of others. More, that he should help others to keep their hands clean, and that he should resist and resent any wrong inflicted upon them with all his might, as resolutely and unrelentingly as though it were wrought upon himself. This is a work in which all may help; there are none so weak that they are unable to take part in it. Some small danger there may be of dismissal from employment, and the like, now and then; some occasional discomfort there is sure to be, but nothing that can outweigh the sweet consciousness of something done toward the freedom and happiness of mankind.

Remember that monopoly of the means of life is that which enslaves mankind, and bars the way to their freedom and happiness; that the real power of monopoly lies in the supineness of the working-class, and their inability to combine; that they are supine because hopeless, and unable to combine through mutual mistrust. To rouse their hope then and conquer their mistrust is the task that each must set himself. Their hope is already rising, but their mistrust remains. It is no marvel that it should be so, for they see the rats among them prosperous, and no man making them afraid; they see trade isolated from trade and people from people, each eager for its own apparent interest and reckless of any wider good. Each one, then, should set himself not only to the propaganda of principle and the redemption of ideas, but also to the propaganda of application and the redemption of daily life. There is no more pressing need of his effort than along the line indicated in this article; nor any department of life in which whatever he does can have greater effect. To cultivate in himself an ineradicable hatred and contempt of rats; to impart all he may of the same feeling to others; never to himself handle, purchase, or deal with any of their products, or consent in the doing of these things by others; never to miss a chance anywhere in his own daily doings, or through the Vestry, the School Board, or the County Council, of crushing a rat and discouraging his kind. These are things that come within the scope of the most uneventful life, and no opportunity should be allowed to pass without being taken the fullest advantage of. In these ways one may not only purge himself of complicity in the exploitation of his fellows, but do much toward ending that exploitation altogether and remodelling the world in fairer wise. S.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

SPAIN.

TORRELLÓ.—The efforts of a few Socialists here, helped by some comrades from Barcelona, have resulted in the formation in this locality of a Socialist Group, which promises to become numerous shortly.

LERIDA.—The same propagandist work is going on in Lerida. Moreover, the masons and stonecutters here have lately formed a League of Resistance to protest against, and protect themselves from, their exploiters. The contractor of some building works in the town expected the employés to work eleven hours a-day, being an increase of two hours on the customary working day. The town is very full of beggars, most of whom, says a correspondent to *El Socialista*, are bona fide workmen driven to this extreme by want of work. It is said that the authorities display an absolute apathy in face of the unemployed question thus showing itself in their midst.

ITALY.

SAVONA.—A correspondent writes to *Il Fascio Operaio*, “The propaganda work among the labouring classes carried on by our friends here has produced a remarkable awakening, considering that the workers have been so long bound within the limits of political mystifications. The *Fascio dei Lavoratori*, a branch of the party formed by about twenty companions last August, now counts already seven hundred active members.” M. M.

The Seventeenth National Congress of the United Italian Working-men Societies will be held in Naples on the 20th to 24th of this month. As the manifesto with the agenda will be published in a few days, we can say nothing at present; but if we may judge from the names on the acting committee, we must say, with regret, that this congress will be a great failure, as those gentlemen are nothing but *Mazziniani*, or enthusiastic believers in god and property! P. V.

IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE life of our esteemed citizen, the greatest thief on earth, Jay Gould, is not a happy one. It may be an open question whether the life led by the mighty Czar of all the Russias is not more pleasurable and more secure from a speedy "removal" than that of poor Jay. A reporter of a capitalistic paper has lately watched the daily habits of the "little financial wizard from Wall Street," and he tells us that:

"Just as a shade begins to drop over the west side of Fifth Avenue on these afternoons of May, a very small, dark-whiskered man can sometimes be seen pushing along uptown, his glittering eyes fixed straight ahead, a general air of perfunctoriness in his movements, as if he was walking simply to create an appetite for dinner. It is Jay Gould on his way home from business. By his side walks a big, square-shouldered individual, an unmistakable 'bruiser,' the protector of this physical atom, who carries with him a very good sized arsenal."

One thing may be said very greatly to the credit of Jay Gould: he is no hypocrite. His cynical contempt for the folly, the stupidity, and the gullibility of the public is well known. The last number of *Liberty* brings this splendid specimen of Gould's cynicism:

"The recent remark of Jay Gould that the weaker railroad companies will eventually fall into the hands of the old and strong companies, in consequence of the Interstate Commerce law, or, to use his own words, because they will not dare to violate the law, and on even terms with the stronger companies they will hardly be able to secure traffic to support them, reveals a striking fitness to relations of vastly greater scope, and might serve as a text for an enquiry into the causes of the present state of labour, together with suggestions for its relief. The fate so confidently predicted for the weaker companies of eventually being eaten up by the larger ones has certainly long ago overtaken labour: it also is a prey to the strong and powerful. And the reasons are the same in the one case as in the other. The inability of labour to come to its own is directly traceable to the laws made by moneylords and landlords for its exploitation, by laws which it will not dare to violate, while on even terms with its exploiters it cannot secure enough to maintain itself. Heretofore the Anarchist stood alone in pointing out the law (the respect for it, the lack of spirit to violate it) as the principal source of all the economical trouble. Now Jay Gould confirms him. I thank thee, Jew, for teaching me that word."

It would be a matter of great advantage to the cause in general if some schools of Socialists, for instance the Christian Socialists and the "Nationalists," were to imitate the example of Gould and to cast off their cloaks made of whole cant and to boldly proclaim their adherence to scientific Socialism, as distinct from sentimental gush.

The *Dawn* is the title of a Boston monthly, the organ of the newly evolved party of Christian Socialists. Motto: "Christian Brotherhood."

The *Knights of Labour Advocate*, as a new paper issued by the Massachusetts Knights of Labour is called, is a large four-paged sheet filled with labour news.

To purify the morals of America and to elevate Yankee civilisation to a higher plane is the object of the Standard Oil Trust. This syndicate of Christian and philanthropic gentlemen has just ordered 200 bulldogs to be shipped to their newly-acquired oilfields in Ohio, ostensibly for the purpose of protecting them against the "tramp nuisance," but more than probably these eminently civilising agents are intended to be utilised as aides-de-camp to the Pinkerton detective agency in case of a possible strike. It may be advisable for certain people who express abhorrence for the "atrocious cruelty of the plans of Bakounine and his school" to send a special agent to the oil trust and try to moralise this octopus out of its bulldogs. For charity's sake I should feel inclined to advise this agent, however, to be provided with plenty of padding about his person.

The army of the United States only numbers twenty-five thousand men, and yet during the last fifteen years more than forty-three thousand men have deserted. Only eight thousand of the deserters have been captured. A Yankee is nothing if not patriotic.

British capital is buying up rapidly all the breweries in the States. Already a dozen of the biggest establishments have been absorbed by the British syndicate, and more are wanted. This is a fine illustration, considering the ever increasing influence of the prohibition and temperance people, that after all capital is not so very easily frightened.

About the downfall of the copper corner a good many wrong opinions have been formed. Especially is that the case in England. So I observe that even Mr. Hyndman believes himself justified to conclude from the failure of this combination that trusts sooner or later will come to grief. Now, to begin, the copper corner has been as unlike a trust as pinchbeck is like gold. The principal strength of any trust lies in an efficient organisation and in the good will of the different parties forming this kind of combination to adhere to arrangements agreed to; and the organisation of the copper corner has been as inefficient, as crude and as primitive as it is possible for any organisation to be. When the corner was formed, all the copper mines in the swim agreed to raise only a certain quantity of ore. But there was no arrangement made to check the faithfulness of the American mines. So some of the largest mining companies in the States took advantage of a technicality in their contracts and smelted many more thousand tons of ore than they had pledged themselves to. The European bankers soon found that they had more copper on hand than they had bargained for or could dispose of, and not being willing to continue to enrich Yankee sharps at their expense, a smash was unavoidable. *Ceterum censeo*: trusts are here to stay; they cannot be controlled by law, consequently they must be confiscated and used by the whole community for the good of each.

The executive committee of the American Federation of Labour held a secret meeting in New York City recently. It is reported that the meeting has been devoted to a discussion of the eight hour movement, and the formation of leagues to prepare for the expected agitation in May, 1890. It is also said that the meeting decided to issue a circular to be sent to all economic and historical societies, to conventions of clergymen of all denominations, and to the secretaries of political organisations, expressing the principles of the eight hour movement. Another circular will be distributed calling on all workmen, irrespective of unions, to join the Eight Hour League.

The general executive board of the Knights of Labour has ordered one million copies of the declaration of principles of the order for distribution among French working people during the exhibition. Steps should be taken at once to inform our French comrades of the present true character of this organisation, so as to prevent the poor French workers to be exploited for the benefit of a scoundrel like Powderly.

Owing to the big coal strikes in the west, a number of collieries in the Pittsburgh district, employing about 10,000 "hands," have resumed work after an idleness of about four months.

Andrew Carnegie has given his men notice that a new sliding scale will go into effect on the 1st of July. The new scale will amount to a reduction averaging 20 per cent. The workmen had previously notified the firm that they would demand on July the 1st an advance averaging 68½ per cent. Andrew Carnegie—sly dog. If the Carnegies are successful in introducing the scale, it will be "adopted" in all the other steel mills.

The strike of the railroad coal miners in the Pittsburgh district has been settled by a compromise.

The same fate has happened to the strike of the Illinois miners. Twenty girls in a factory at Rockville struck for fresh air. The windows were allowed up only three inches.

The wages of 1,000 girl shoeworkers in Cincinnati have been cut down 50 per cent. during the last year.

Recent arrivals of foreign glass-blowers have alarmed the Window Glass Workers' Association. This organisation has issued an order to all its local associations to black-list all foreign glass-workers who hereafter come to this country for work. More Chinese spirit. Next!

Number of strikes from May 1st to 18th—40. Number of strikers from May 1st to 18th—22,836.

Boston, Mass., May 23, 1889.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING JUNE 15, 1889.

9	Sun.	1817. James Watson, elder and younger, Arthur Thistlewood, Thomas Preston, and John Hooper tried for high treason in connection with the Spa-fields riots. 1817. Derbyshire insurrection breaks out. 1838. Office of <i>New Moral World</i> removed from Manchester to Birmingham. 1870. Solemn re-interment of the remains of Louis Batthyany, shot and privately buried Oct. '49 at Pesth. 1870. Charles Dickens died. 1879. A. K. Solovieff hanged.
10	Mon.	1798. Irish defeated at Arklow. 1837. <i>New Moral World</i> removed to Manchester, and there "published for the Association of all Classes and all Nations by Abel Heywood." 1848. First number of the <i>Irish Tribune</i> . 1877. Robert Dale Owen died.
11	Tues.	1838. Wat Tyler's Blackheath meeting. 1808. Second trial of General Thomas Picton, Governor of Trinidad, for inflicting torture on Luisa Calderon, a mulatto, to extort evidence. 1867. Fenian trials at Limerick began. 1887. Bodyke evictions.
12	Wed.	1381. Wat Tyler marches on London. 1637. Hampden cited before the Court of Exchequer. 1683. Rye House plot discovered. 1758. Trial of Dr. Florence Hensley for carrying on a treasonable correspondence with agents and officers of the French king, with whom this country was then at war. 1848. Arrest of Ernest Jones, John Fussell, J. Williams, A. Sharp, and T. Vernon. 1867. "Rattening" enquiry at Sheffield, opening of the Royal Commission.
13	Thur.	1770. H. S. Woodfall tried for publishing <i>Junius's</i> 'Letter to the King.' 1798. Dr. Edmonde hung. 1814. Removal of the Rappites from (Old) Harmony, Penn., to (New) Harmony, Posey Co., Indiana: in 1825, finding the place unhealthy, they sell it to Robert Owen, and settle at Economy, Penn., on the Ohio River. 1837. Fifty thousand unemployed reported in Manchester. 1849. Great Socialist demonstration at Paris.
14	Fri.	1837. Trial before Star Chamber of W. Prynne, Henry Burton, and Dr. Bastwick. 1649. Burial of Dr. Dorislaus in Westminster Abbey. 1662. Sir Harry Vane beheaded. 1819. Great meeting of unemployed workmen on Hunslet Moor, near Leeds. 1837. Leopardi died. 1839. Chartist petition presented to the House of Commons. 1883. Dynamiters sentenced for "treason felony." 1884. Seven Socialists murdered at Jerez.
15	Sat.	1215. Magna Charter sealed. 1812. Joseph Thompson hung at Chester, and James Smith, Thomas Kerfoot, John Fletcher, and Abraham Charlson at Lancaster, as Luddites. 1826. Trial of Decembrists before secret military tribunal for attempting military revolt in St. Petersburg and South Russia. Sentences: death, 5; mines, 8; Siberia, 18; degraded as soldiers, 9. 1839. Renewed Chartist riot in Birmingham. 1879. Resumption of over a million roubles of the people's money from Kherson treasury through a secret subway made by Thurkovski, Rossikova, and others; arrested, tried, and sentenced: mines, 2; Siberia, 2; prison, 5.

Under the existing law in Ireland, magistrates at petty sessions are empowered to inflict a penalty of £5 or three months' imprisonment on any domestic servant who is summoned for non-fulfilment of his or her contract. Ireland was excluded in this respect from the Labourers' and Workmen Act of 1875. Mr. T. Healy has put down an amendment to a bill now before the House—the Master and Workmen Bill—assimilating the law. It will be interesting to see whether Mr. Madden will assent to the reform.

THE PRICE OF COAL.—The strike among the miners in Westphalia created an unusual demand for coal for Germany, both in South Wales and Northumberland. At Cardiff, as much as 14s. per ton was paid for the best steam-coal, and 8s. freight. On the Tyne steamers were chartered at 6s. 9d. for Hamburg; Rotterdam and Amsterdam, 7s. 6d. Coke was scarce and 40 per cent. dearer. If only workmen would be wise and pull together, those of one country would not be seen cutting the ground from under the feet of those of another!

WAGES OF SEAMEN.—The National Sailors' and Firemen's Association, has issued a circular to shipowners throughout the country intimating that after June 3 the following rates will be demanded:—Western Ocean, passenger steamer, seamen and firemen, £5 per month. Cargo steamers to the Brazils, West Indies, the West Coast of Africa, and the Suez Canal, firemen, £4 10s.; seamen, £4 5s. To the Mediterranean and Black Sea, £4 10s. each. To the Baltic, £5 each; cooks, £5 15s.; stewards, £6 10s. Sailing vessels to the Baltic and Mediterranean, sailors, £4. To the southward, £3 10s. The Union now numbers about 60,000 members.



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

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication. As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d. Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

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Church Reformer	Liberty	Brussels—Le Drapeau Noir
Justice	The Dawn	ITALY
Labour Elector	Chicago—Knights of Labor	Rome—L'Emancipazione
London—Freie Presse	(Tacker Zeitung	SEVILLE—La Solidaridad
Norwich—Daylight	Vorbote	Barcelona—Tierra y Libertad
Railway Review	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Madrid—El Socialista
Social Democrat	Milwaukee—National Reformer	PORTUGAL
Seafaring	Arbeiter Zeitung	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Unity	Newark—Arbeiter-Zeitung	GERMANY
Worker's Friend	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Berlin—Volks Tribune
INDIA	S. F. Coast Seaman's Journal	HUNGARY
Bankpore—Behar Herald	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
UNITED STATES	Valley Falls (Kan.)—Lucifer	DENMARK
New York—Der Sozialist	FRANCE	Social-Demokrat
Freiheit	Paris—Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Copenhagen—Arbejderen
Volkszeitung	Le Proletariat	SWEDEN
Jewish Volkszeitung	La Revolte	Malmo—Arbetet
Nationalist	L'Attaque	Stockholm—Social-Demokraten
The Truth	Commentary—Le Socialiste	WEST INDIES
Workmen's Advocate	BELGIUM	Cuba—El Productor
United Irishman	Ghent—Vooruit	
Znamia	Antwerp—De Werker	

THE ENGLISH REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT, 1815 TO 1817.

SPA-FIELDS RIOTS AND DERBYSHIRE INSURRECTION.

(Concluded from p. 171.)

THROUGHOUT the evening of the 9th of June Nottingham was plunged into great excitement and disorder. Groups of people gathered in the streets, and rumours of insurrection were rife on every hand. The excitement spreads through the neighbouring villages, and everyone is expecting something remarkable to happen. The troops are confined to their barracks, and at ten o'clock at night groups of men leave the town and gather in Nottingham Forest a hundred strong. Here they wait patiently till two o'clock, and Brandreth and his men not arriving owing to occurrences that have delayed them on the road, and a troop of horse coming from the town and galloping down upon them, they disperse in disorder, leaving the ground covered with weapons of all kinds.

As morning dawns and the first rays of the sun fall upon the earth, a magistrate of Nottingham, Mr. Rolleston, gallops out from the town and sees Brandreth's party approaching, their weapons glittering in the sun. He spurs back to the barracks and arouses the troops, who have just retired to rest after being up all night. Captain Phillips arises, grumbling, and mounts at the head of his hussars. They gallop out of the town, and as they reach Eastwood they see some men flying across the fields, carrying pikes. The cavalry pursue, but cannot reach them owing to the nature of the ground. They return to the road, and between Langley Mill and Eastwood they come upon Brandreth and his party, now melted away to some fifty or sixty men, and already wavering in panic at the sight of the troops. The hussars

dash upon them, sabre in hand. Brandreth tries to form his men in military order to receive their onslaught, but it is useless; they flee in disorder into the fields, and the insurrection vanishes like an empty dream. The hussars pursue them and capture some fifty prisoners; six men are taken with arms in their hands. Brandreth escapes and remains in hiding for some time, but is afterwards betrayed by a friend to Government for a reward of fifty pounds.

Now, having given you an account of these attempts at insurrections which disturbed England, let me tell you the secret history of the whole business. The truth was that a Government agent, a scoundrel as wicked as he was clever, was at the bottom of the whole business. This man Oliver was a carpenter and builder by trade. For some years he had been connected with the advanced wing of the Radical party in London, and knew most of their principal leaders. He had been in prison for debt, and in the year 1817 was very hard up. It was then that he applied to Lord Sidmouth for employment as a spy, offering to reveal the designs of the more revolutionary among the Radicals. His offer was accepted. The Government at that time had only obtained the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act for a matter of six months, and they wanted a renewal of their Coercion Act, so Oliver was sent down into the country as what the French call an *agent-provocateur*, or provoking agent. As there was no rebellion, no uprising, he received orders to make one, to hurry the men forward who were contemplating an outbreak into premature and ill-advised action. To render his mission more successful, he took as his colleague a man named Mitchell, who had been very active in the agitation in the northern counties. Whether Mitchell was his dupe or a fellow-spy is still a doubtful matter, rendered more doubtful by the fact that he was arrested at Huddersfield in course of his expedition and kept in prison for several months. This may only have been done to qualify him for future service as employé of the Government, but still it is a point that probably will never be cleared up.

The plan of campaign of these two gentlemen was as follows: Wherever there was a body of Radicals inclined for revolutionary courses, they presented themselves in their midst and urged them forward. Their tale was always the same. Oliver would state that he came from London, that there a mighty confederacy was mustering against the Government; thousands were armed and ready to revolt, under the leadership of the most eminent Radicals of the day. But the people were heartbroken at the apathy and indifference of the people of the town he was now visiting. While thousands of men in other large towns were determined to drag down by force the tyranny of the Government, in this town the people were doing nothing; they must awake from their sleep and act. Mitchell as a delegate from Birmingham, or Manchester, or anywhere else, would back up everything his companion said. Both these men were well dressed, and looked like people of respectability. Oliver especially had plenty of money, and both were well acquainted with the ideas and persons of the leaders of the Radical movement. What wonder, then, that many simple and warm-hearted people fell into the trap prepared for them, and consented to join in the insurrection, which was fixed by Oliver for a date in the beginning of June, just a little before the Government wanted to renew the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. It was Oliver alone—for his companion by that time had been arrested—who deceived Brandreth. He was in Nottingham on the 7th of June, the day before Brandreth appeared in Pentridge and repeated the stories which he believed, and which were the coinage of the active brain of Mr. Oliver. It was Oliver who arranged the rising at Huddersfield, and who called together and arranged the arrest of the delegates at the village Thornton Lees in Yorkshire. Moreover, it is impossible to acquit the Government of complicity in the actions of this dastardly scoundrel.

In the course of his journeys through the manufacturing towns of England, Oliver was informed upon by a gentleman in the same honourable employment, but who did not know him, and a magistrate of Sheffield wrote to London to Lord Sidmouth informing him that there was a person going up and down the country inciting people to acts of treason: what was he to do? This was in effect the reply: Leave him alone; he is an agent of the Government. So it was the Government that incited the men in Derbyshire to insurrection, and then hung them for it. What a blessing is a government! how kind and paternal and anxious for the welfare of the lower classes.

Well, you may ask how did Oliver get found out? I will tell you. It was over the Thornton Lees business. Here is an extract from the *Leeds Mercury*, edited by Mr. Edward Baines, that was read by Sir Francis Burdett in the House of Commons on June 16th, 1817—a statement which you will find in Hansard Debates. The debate which followed is entitled "Debate on the employment of spies and informers." Here is the extract:

"Since the first edition of our paper was prepared for the press, the highly important fact has been communicated to us from a respectable quarter that the plot at Thornton Lees referred to in the above statements has been got up by an agent from London, and that the principal offender has been allowed to escape with impunity. The statement rests on the authority of Mr. Williams, a bookseller in Dewsbury, and was corroborated by Mr. John Dickson, a linendraper in the same place. Mr. Williams stated that two months before a person of the name of Oliver called upon him and introduced himself as a parliamentary reformer sent from London to ascertain the disposition of the people in the country. This man he describes as a person of genteel and good address, nearly six feet high, of erect figure, light hair, red and rather large whiskers, and a full face a little pitted with small-pox."

Anything more unlike the popular conception of spy it would be hard to imagine.

"After one of his first calls he said it was quite obvious that the Govern-

ment would not listen to the petitions of the people, and that they should be compelled to attend to their demands. He afterwards, on the Friday morning on which the ten persons were arrested, called at Mr. Williams' shop and begged his wife to tell him that a meeting of delegates would be held on that day at Thornhill, and earnestly begged that she would prevail upon her husband to attend. Before Oliver quitted Dewsbury to attend the meeting, he called again at the shop, when he found Mr. Williams had returned. He accordingly renewed his solicitations to Mr. W. to attend the meeting, telling him at the same time that his friends in London were heartbroke because the people were so quiet. At the same time he informed him that he had walked over from Leeds that morning, and two persons supposed to be Leeds men appeared in his train. Unmoved by Oliver's solicitations, Mr. Williams persisted in his resolution not to attend the meeting. At the appointed time the meeting was held at Thornton Lees, and the toils being set, eleven deputies were taken by a detachment of cavalry, and all except Mr. Oliver, who had the good fortune to be liberated, were conveyed to Wakefield in custody."

According to the same statement, it appears that Oliver was afterwards seen by Mr. John Dickson at the Stafford Arms, Dewsbury, and this gentleman asked him why he was free when his associates had been sent to London. He returned a shuffling reply, and hurriedly withdrew to take a seat in the Wakefield coach to Leeds. As he entered, a servant in a livery touched his hat to Oliver, and entered into conversation with him. After the coach had gone, Dickson spoke to this servant, and found out that Oliver was on very intimate terms with the servant's master, General Byng, who was then in command of the Government forces in that district, and who had arranged the arrest of delegates along with Oliver, that highly accomplished government spy of respectable appearance. The result of this exposure was that the Government had to release the unfortunate men captured at Thornton Lees, and information rapidly poured in to the editor of the *Leeds Mercury* from all parts of the country concerning the operations of this redoubted spy. Thus it was discovered that Oliver had also planned the Derbyshire insurrection; but this did not save the lives of the unfortunate men concerned in that affair. Isaac Ludlam, William Turner, and Jeremiah Brandreth were condemned to death by special commission at Derby, and were sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered for the crime of being led into insurrection by a spy of the Government.

Brandreth and Ludlam died with inflexible courage at Derby on 17th of November. Poor Turner seemed overpowered by the fate that had fallen upon him, and could only ejaculate on the scaffold, "This is all Oliver and the Government." After they were hanged, the hangman proceeded to mutilate the corpses according to the sentence. A yell of horror burst from the people, but the yeomanry and javelin men drew near, and the heads of the murdered men were hewn from their lifeless trunks. However, the Government did not think it safe to further mangle the dead bodies, so that part of the sentence was graciously remitted by the kind permission of his majesty's representative, the Prince Regent. What admirable lessons in civilisation and refinement do governments teach their subject peoples—lessons taught by those potent preceptors, the jailer, the policeman, the spy, and the hangman!

Well, my story is now concluded. After the events of the summer of 1817 there was a lull in the agitation. The revolutionary party was shattered and broken up by the betrayal of its best men. The moderates were silenced, for their leaders were in prison. There was also a good harvest, and a slight improvement in trade. So there was a lull in the agitation till 1819. Here, then, I will conclude, with but little comment on the story which I have told you. There are many lessons which all may draw from it; but I think the chief is that if ever you are forced into secret revolutionary agitation, as you may be some day, be quite certain that all your comrades are as honest and as determined as you are. Beware above all things of mysterious loud-talking strangers; and be certain before you plan a revolt that the masses of the people are with you, or perhaps you may share the fate of the humble men who died with courage upon the murderous scaffold at Derby. For with all their courage and self-devotion, they only enabled a base and treacherous Government to continue their system of coercion for some time longer. Yes, the mistakes of these men should teach us much, and their bravery and forgetfulness of self should urge us forward in the battle of the future. D. J. NICOLL.

WORKING TWENTY HOURS A DAY.—An extraordinary instance of long hours of labour was related the other day before the Sweating Committee of the House of Lords. A Roumanian Jew stated that at Manchester he works from five o'clock in the morning until twelve at night, and sometimes until one or two in the morning, making an average of twenty hours a day for six days in the week, leaving only four hours for sleep. He earned 3s. a day in the busy time, lasting about ten weeks, and from 6s. to 8s. per week in the slack season, and on this he had to support a wife and six children.

THE MODERN LAZARUS AND THE CONSOLATORY CAT.

Lo, Dives, fearful of burglarious raid,
Invokes stern Law-and-Order to his aid,
And threatens Lazarus and his starveling pack
With cat-o'-nine-tails pendent o'er their back.
"Begone!" he cries, in tones of strenuous hate,
"Begone, ye lawless beggars, from my gate
Else have I vowed with patriotic zeal
To make your hides, howe'er unfeeling, feel
That one supreme corrective of all wrong—
Six dozen lashes from a leathern thong.
Begone, and quit my charitable doors,
With all that gruesome licking of your sores
By philanthropic dogs—no more of that!
Ye shall be licked henceforward with the Cat."

[*Pall Mall Gazette.*

H. S. S.

CORRESPONDENCE.

ST. GEORGE'S FARM.

The letter of M. A. Maloy throws light upon the cloud, and how it came against the wind at Totley. The man who was master got his foot between the door and the doorpost by means of the usual levers.

To accumulate subscriptions of a shilling for the equipment of 20 acres of garden-farm being an heroic undertaking, deserved success, as the man who was master will find ere long.

It surprises some people that the necessity for cultivating by co-operative effort is not met, and such difficulty as exists overcome. This difficulty differs in important details from those which confront co-operative manufacture. In the latter case the plans and specifications relate to things about which knowledge is not quite so much boxed up, and more, not so much under the influence of the elements which no man can control, though the bare mention of them forms some part of the stock-in-trade of the tools of the land-thieves whose Royal and other agricultural societies, which might be made real and true schools, are positively part of a system of fraud.

In commencing operations on a piece of land, it is necessary to have a tolerable stock of three articles: (1) Results of previous labour (material); (2) Results of previous thought (knowledge); (3) Patience. These things abound, but they are boxed up; to get them unboxed by shilling subscriptions is heroic. For my part, I confess I should have attached the £100 donation to the undertaking, but my view of that part of the case may arise from having been brought up on the soil, and worked on and in it, being in fact a delver, and recognising the difficulty under present circumstances of supplying thirty-seven millions of people with fairly mixed food from land which has been robbed as much as the workers upon it have been.

The system of profit-grinding in rents, etc., has reduced the bare face of the earth to a state of confusion. The nitrates have been got out and have gone down the sewers of ugly cities, and cannot return to the earth through the thick coat of weeds which the avarice and ignorance of the man who is master have allowed to accumulate; he neither knows nor cares whether the winds bring back resources of nature, and consequently does not cultivate for their reception.

The general condition of the food-producing districts of England is one of deplorable poverty, both of soil and people, which it will take years of free work to restore: under such circumstances £100 donations ought to be taken in, and chance the settling of accounts.

That the inhabitants of any part of the globe ought to be exclusively employed in agriculture I for one totally deny. It is work which, in a properly organised society, would come as a relief to all at its proper season, and yet be a primary rather than a supernumerary occupation. Its very nature requires the quick concentration on a given spot of all the available strength of a community, at certain seasons. We see this in the gooseberry pickers at Wisbeach and hop-pickers elsewhere, and the bare mention of the fact makes us shudder at their condition before they pick, while they pick, and after they pick both fruit and hops.

To have the necessary force at hand the workshops of all sorts must be in villages, and the workers should not be under factory-hell pressure, fearing loss of market or loss of dignity by changing from one kind of work to another for mutual advantage.

The cultivation of the soil is easier to do than to describe by pen and ink. It has suffered so much from the stupidity of the man who says he is master that it is not easy to interest the general reader by a description of Earth-work. If we could have a proper co-operative garden in some villages it would help to teach the workers who ought to be "in possession." The "allotments" of garden ground have not as yet served the purpose of schools, unless it be schools of the Primrose League sort. JOHN GREENWOOD.

"SEAFARING."

SIR,—The correspondence anent *Seafaring* in your issue of last week has attracted my attention. I considered it a bounden duty of mine to read it to the members of the Hull branch, and I did so. The branch has, therefore, directed me to communicate with you and our executive, relative to the charge against our journal. In answering for myself and the members of my district, I can assure you, sir, we have been kept in ignorance as to our journal being printed by non-unionists, and, if such is the case, as a trades' unionist of a true stamp I will refuse to have any connection with the paper. If Mr. Cowie has deluded us, I say he could not have thrown a greater insult upon us. What must the feeling of union printers be to us, when they hear of us refusing to sail with non-union men and yet contributing to the support of a "rat ship"? I, therefore, wish to inform the readers of the *Commonweal* that both I and the members of the Hull, Goole, Grimsby, and Lynn branches are indignant as to what you have brought to light. I will immediately communicate with union printers of Hull and our executive, and I have no doubt, sir, but that this grievance will be speedily rectified. Our general secretary, Mr. J. H. Wilson, of Sunderland, and most of our delegates I know are thorough trades' unionists, and I know they would never consent to get *Seafaring* printed in a rat shop. I trust all trades' unionists who read this will communicate with our general secretary, and prove to him that such is the case, and you will find he will be the first to put a stop to it.

The non-unionist is a creature not worthy of consideration, able to look after his own interest but too lazy and ignorant to do so; he stands on neutral ground watching the cruel fight between capital and labour, ready like any coward to take the part of the strongest. The capitalist having the power to-day he supports him, but the dawn is about to break, then the scales will fall from his eyes and he will see the injury he has done his own class.—I am, sir, yours fraternally,

GEO. W. REID, *Secretary* (Humber District),
National Sailor's and Fireman's Union.

Unity Hall, 3, Prince Street, Dagger Lane, Hull, June 31, 1889.

SIR,—Allow me to state in your columns that the printing of *Seafaring* at the National Press Agency was arranged for before I was aware that it was not a Society house, and that the work cannot—for at least the present—be given to another house.—Yours, etc.,
EDITOR, *Seafaring*.
150, Minories, London, E., June 3, 1889.

NEW LABOUR CLUB, 5 Victoria Park Square, Bethnal Green.—Thursday June 13th, H. Halliday Sparling, "Evolutionary Cannibals."

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

Glasgow dock labourers have been instructed by their union to decline contracts at less than 27s. per week of 60 hours.

The plumbers at Fairfield have struck for an increase of $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per hour. They have at present 7d. per hour, and all other firms are paying $7\frac{1}{2}$ d.

Some months ago the National Sailors and Firemen's Union numbered only five in Liverpool and Bootle, and now there are over 7,000 members. The Union now numbers about 60,000.

The report of the Sliding Scale Revision Committee of the South Wales coal trade was received at the collieries on Thursday 30th. It provides for a reduction on the advance of $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. in wages.

The dock labourers in Belfast have struck for an advance in wages; the present rate is 17s. per week, they demand 22s. At a crowded meeting, held on Wednesday in the Lancastrian School, it was decided to hold out until the demand was conceded.

HORSE-NAIL MAKERS.—The horse-nail makers in Old Hill and Hales Owen districts are still out for an advance of 3d. per thousand. The Midland Counties Trades Federation have granted the strikers £10, and an appeal for support has been issued to the public.

Labour troubles are assuming larger and more significant proportions in Scotland. A large demonstration of seamen and dock labourers was held on Saturday at Glasgow, and an enormous strike is threatened. A proposal to import foreign seamen finds some apparent acceptance from shipowners, but it is "too thin" to hoodwink the men. The tramway men hold mass meetings every Sunday at present, and they have also midnight meetings.

IRISH RAILWAYMEN.—On the northern division of the G. N. R. of Ireland, the engine-drivers start from 4s. 6d. per day, and rise to 7s. They work on the 60-hour system, and if they cannot make 12 days per fortnight, they work on Sunday and make it up. This is on the Banbridge job. Firemen start at 2s. 4d. per day, and rise to 3s. 6d. By the agreement between directors and men in 1872, the wages should start—firemen, 2s. 6d., and drivers, 5s., but the men have allowed this to drop, and also let the six months' system for increase of wages drop. At one time a fireman got full money in 12 months, but now gets 3d. rise every six months. There have been some nice disputes about wages here since 1885, and but for the fighting of a few energetic men, who are termed restless spirits, things would have been worse.

WALSALL BIT-MAKERS.—An agitation for an increase is now going on, and in support of it the men say the wages do not average £1 per week, and some are barely keeping body and soul together. If a man works piece-work he has to buy his own files, amounting to at least from a shilling to two in a week, and in winter fourpence for gas, so this considerably reduces his already low wages. Besides, he has to pay a penny in the shilling for polishing; according to the rule, if a bit was 4s. filing, that would cost 4d. for polishing, and that could be accomplished in a quarter of an hour, so if a man polished four an hour he would earn 1s. 4d. an hour, whereas at the filing he might get sixpence. In small shops the men do their own polishing, but in the factories the penny in the shilling has to be paid without option. But the chief cause of the dispute is the 15 per cent. It seems some years ago the operatives won 15 and 25 per cent. on their wages—15 per cent. on best work; 25 on common,—but as the trade has been so completely revolutionised, the common work is nearly all done now by day-workers. But the best work is generally done piece-work. During the slackness of trade the men allege that the 15 per cent. has been taken from them, and now they demand it back again to be paid all round.

MIDLAND MINERS.—The following is a copy of the amended sliding-scale adopted at the meeting of the Wages Board held at Dudley last week. Two pence per ton rise or fall in average selling price varies thick-coal miners' wages one penny per day. Two pence per day rise or fall in thick-coal miners' wages varies thin-coal miners' wages $1\frac{1}{4}$ d. per day:—

Average selling price.		Thick-coal wages.		Thin-coal wages.	
s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
4	9	3	4	2	8
(basis)		(minimum)		(minimum)	
4	11	3	5		
5	1	3	6	2	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
5	3	3	7		
5	5	3	8	2	11
5	7	3	9		
5	9	3	10	3	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
5	11	3	11		
6	1	4	0	3	2
6	3	4	1		
6	5	4	2	3	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
6	7	4	3		
6	9	4	4	3	5
6	11	4	5		
7	1	4	6	3	6 $\frac{1}{2}$

THE MINERS.—The National Miners' Conference was resumed at Manchester Wednesday 29th. The proposals of the Yorkshire coalowners that 5 per cent. advance be given on 1st July, and another 5 per cent. in October, on condition that no further advance be asked for till July next year, were considered. After a prolonged discussion, it was unanimously resolved to advise the Yorkshire colliers to accept the offer, but without the condition attached. All the other districts represented at the conference were advised to accept the same conditions. It was decided to make a levy to support any miners who may strike for the advance. The men have since agreed to the masters' offer of 5 per cent. advance on July 1, with another 5 per cent. on October 1; and the owners will not press their condition that the wages question should not be reopened for a year. The difficulty is therefore practically at an end, and the decisions to be laid before Tuesday's conference avert what threatened to be a determined strike.—The miners of Oakengates on the 31st held a meeting to consider the question of a further advance of wages, and to hear the report of their delegate to the Manchester Conference. Mr. Latham said that it was considered at the conference it would be the best thing they could do to accept the concessions of the Yorkshire coalowners. He trusted they would endorse that decision. After a little discussion the meeting passed a resolution in favour of so doing, with only one dissident. A communication was received from the agent of the Lilleshall Company, in which an advance of $1\frac{1}{4}$ d. per day was offered. This offer it was decided to reject.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST WORKING-MEN'S CONGRESS.

14TH TO 21ST JULY, 1889.

WORKERS AND SOCIALISTS OF EUROPE AND AMERICA,—

The Bordeaux Working Men's Congress, held by the delegates of upwards of 200 trades unions from all the industrial centres of France, and the Troyes Congress, constituted by the delegates of 300 workmen's and Socialist groups representing the French working class and revolutionary Socialism at large, have resolved to convene an International Congress in Paris, during the Exhibition, that shall be open to the workers of the whole world.

This resolution has been joyfully welcomed by the Socialists of Europe and America, happy to be able to meet and to clearly formulate the demands of the working-class on the subject of international labour legislation, which question will be treated at the Berne Conference, to be held by the representatives of the Governments of Europe in September.

The capitalists invite the rich and mighty to the Universal Exhibition, to contemplate and admire the achievements of the workers, doomed to misery in the midst of the most colossal wealth ever possessed by any human society. We, Socialists, whose aim is the emancipation of labour, the abolition of wage-slavery, and the creation of an order of things in which all workers—without distinction of sex or nationality—shall have a right to the riches produced by their common toil; it is the producers whom we invite to meet us on the 14th July in Paris.

We call on them to seal the bond of fellowship that, by consolidating the efforts of the proletariat of all countries, will hasten the advent of the new world.

"Working-men of all countries, unite!"

The adhesions from America and elsewhere that have been announced, but are not yet to hand, will be published in a future circular.

Delegates are requested to announce their time of arrival at least one week before the opening of the Congress, to enable the Organising Commission to make the final arrangements for their board and lodging and reception at the station.

AUSTRIA—For the Socialist Working-men's Party: J. Popp, V. Adler, E. Kralik, A. Zinnram, N. Hoffmann, J. Kreutzer, J. Winnig, G. Popper (Vienna), J. Mackart, H. Plöckinger, K. Sams, (Inspruck), A. Weiguny, J. Siegl (Linz), A. Friemel, V. Wiener, T. Heinz, A. Bocek (Steyr), K. Schneeweiss, A. Sobotka, A. Klofac, J. Hybes (Brünn), V. Sturz, F. Dosek, T. Nemecek (Prague), J. Zednicek, R. Zaholtko (Prossnitz), A. Gerin, C. Giekar, J. Lax (Trieste), J. Doniluk (Lemberg), T. Adenan (Klagenfurt), E. Rieger (Bratzen), J. Zimmermann (Jägerndorf).

BELGIUM—For the Socialist Working-men's Party of Ghent: E. Anseele, E. van Beveren.

FRANCE—For the Federation of Trades' Unions and Working-men's Associations of France: R. Lavigne. For the Socialist Federation of France: J. Batisse.

GREAT BRITAIN—R. B. Cunninghame Graham, M.P. For the Socialist League: William Morris, F. Kitz. For the Labour Electoral Association: W. Parnell (Hon. Sec.), G. Bateman, H. Champion, Tom Mann. For the Ayrshire Miners' Union: J. Keir Hardie.

GERMANY—For the Social-Democratic Working-men's Party of Germany: Bebel, Frohne, Grillenberger, Harm, Huhn, Liebknecht, Meister, Sabor, Singer, Schumacher (members of the Reichstag).

HOLLAND—For the Dutch Social-Democratic Working-men's Party: Domela Nieuwenhuis, Croll.

HUNGARY—For the Socialist Working-men's Party: Leo Frankel (of the Paris Commune, 1871).

ITALY—For the Revolutionary Socialist Organisations: Amilcare Cipriani.

POLAND—For the Polish Socialists: S. Mendelson (of the periodical *Walka Klas*, "The Class Struggle"), L. Anielewski (of the Warsaw Working-men's Committee).

PORTUGAL—For the Socialist Working-men's Societies: Carvalho.

RUSSIA—Stepniak.

SPAIN—For the Spanish Socialist Working-men's Party: Pablo Iglesias, F. Diego.

SWITZERLAND—Brandt (Vice-President of the Grütli Association). For the Swiss Socialist Working-men's Party: A. Reichel, A. Steck.

(Issued by the Organising Commission of the Congress.)

PAUL LAFARGUE, 60, Avenue de Champs Elysees, Le Perreux, Paris-Banlieue, France, Secretary for foreign countries.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

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

London Members' Meeting.—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, July 1, 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, at 10 a.m. sharp.

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

1889:—Norwich (?), Bradford, Hammersmith, and Leicester, to end of April. North London, St. Georges East, Manchester, Yarmouth, and Mitcham, to end of May. East London and Clerkenwell, to end of June.

Notice to Branch Secretaries.—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees before Conference.

Propaganda Committee.—The Propaganda Committee meets on Tuesday, June 11th, at 8.30 p.m. Important business; all members of the League interested in the propaganda invited to attend. The leaflet, "A Straight Talk to Working Men," is now on sale at 4s. per 1,000. Can be obtained of the Secretary, at 13, Farringdon Road, London, E.C.

The secretary of the Propaganda Committee asks members and friends to forward subscriptions for the purpose of printing leaflets for free distribution, of which there is a great need. Subscriptions to be sent to the Secretary, D. J. Nicoll, 13, Farringdon Road, and will be acknowledged in the *Weal*.

Defence Committee.—Next week there will appear a report of the work of this Committee.

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.

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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., 6d.; Mrs. Schack, 6d.; Samuels, 1s.; Hill, 6d.; Nicoll, 1s.; and C. Saunders, 1s. Norwich, 8s.

REPORTS.

LONDON OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.—*Canterbury Road*—Brookes and Mainwaring spoke. *Ossulton Street*—Very good meeting on Thursday evening; speakers were Cantwell and Nicoll; fair sale of 'Weal. *Hyde Park*—Saturday evening, large meeting by Cantwell, Brooks, and Nicoll; some opposition offered by an individual who alternately declared that the present society was all that could be desired and that things must be improved, which contradictions provoked much laughter; queried, he said he was a coachmaker, and though not quite a foreman he was near it; the discussion was continued by various people until nearly ten, and satisfactorily replied to by Nicoll; 3s. 9d. collected and 35 'Weal sold. *Regents Park*—Sunday morning very good meeting addressed by Cantwell, Bain of Edinburgh, and Samuels; 59 'Weal sold and 5s. collected. Sunday afternoon in *Hyde Park* speakers were Brookes, Nicoll, Lyne, jun., Lyne, sen., Mainwaring, and Bain; total number of 'Weal sold, 135. *Gibraltar Walk*—Good meeting on Sunday, addressed by Davis, Schack, and McKenzie. *Mile End Waste*—Good meeting on Saturday addressed by Cores and Davis; the meeting was disturbed by two drunken roughs. Comrades are earnestly requested to turn up at this station and support speakers. *Battersea*—A good meeting held near Christ Church, when Parker, Kitz, and Samuels spoke; 14 *Commonweal* sold. *Streatham*—A large meeting held at the Fountain by Parker and Kitz; *Commonweal* sold out, and a great number of leaflets distributed. *Clerkenwell Green*—Good meeting held here on Sunday, Cores and Hill spoke.

CLERKENWELL.—On Sunday evening, Rev. Stewart Headlam lectured on "Christian Socialism." Hall filled, many questions, and good discussion; 2s. 6d. collected.—S. P.

EAST LONDON.—On Sunday, good muster of members to hear Mrs. Schack lecture on "How Women can help the Socialist Movement." Very lively discussion, some female comrades taking part.

HAMMERSMITH.—Good meeting at Latimer Road Sunday morning, speakers, Miss Spooner, Mrs. Edwards, Lyne, sen., Dean, Crouch, Maughan, and Bullock. 44 *Commonweal* sold. At Weltje Road in evening very good meeting; speakers, W. Morris, Catterson Smith, Bullock, and Maughan; 12 *Commonweal* sold. In evening at Kelmescott House, Sydney Olivier lectured on "The Old Poor Law."

MITCHAM.—Good meeting on Sunday morning addressed by Kitz and Parker. Fair sale of 'Weal. In room in evening election of delegate for Conference was discussed, and S. Gregory elected.—S. G.

ST. GEORGES EAST.—Mr. Vaughan Nash (of Toynbee Hall) lectured on Wednesday on "Socialism and Co-operation." Fair meeting, with questions and discussion at the finish.

ABERDEEN.—At indoor meeting on 27th ult., Morris's lecture, "The Society of the Future," read and discussed. On Friday 31st, Webster and Leatham walked out to Woodside, and addressed a good meeting at the Fountain in concert with comrade W. Cooper, who is a police commissioner there, and "goes for" his brother commissioners, especially the chief magistrate. A desire was expressed to hear the speakers again, and it was arranged that they should go, if possible, once a fortnight. At Castle Street on Saturday night, the usual weekly meeting was addressed by Duncan and Aiken.—L.

EDINBURGH.—We have held successful meetings on Sunday afternoons in the Queen's Park for the last five weeks, addressed by comrades Smith, Davidson, Gilray, and Campbell. Last Sunday, Smith held a select audience of between two and three hundred for an hour and a quarter. Sale of literature prohibited.

GLASGOW.—Sunday, owing to great thunderstorm, no open-air meetings held. Glasier and Tim Burgoyne addressed meeting of Partick branch of Irish National League at 4 o'clock, lightning making brilliant accompaniment to their speeches.

LEEDS.—Although the branch has sent no reports it has been doing good work during winter, having indoor Sunday lectures during cold season, and it is now carrying on vigorous outdoor propaganda. On Sunday morning a grand meeting was held at Vicar's Croft, between six and seven hundred being present; the speakers were Paylor, Hill, McCormick (of London), and one of the Sweating Commission witnesses, named Sweeney; good impression made. After meeting small groups could be seen discussing. At 7.30 another meeting at same place; notwithstanding another meeting being held audience fully a thousand; Hill, Sweeney, McCormick, and an S. D. F. comrade from London spoke. A number of pamphlets sold, and good collection made. Good work could be done in Leeds if speakers would but turn out.—J. McC.

LEICESTER.—Our second open-air meeting was an improvement on the first. On Sunday, Barclay lectured at Humberstone Gate on "Capital and Labour." The audience was much larger than previous week; the discussion was lengthy, several taking part and showing great sympathy with the replies to their difficulties. We sold 2s. 2d. worth of literature.—A. G.

MANCHESTER.—On Saturday night Marshall and Barton addressed a large meeting at Middleton; many questions put, and hot discussion followed; 28 *Commonweal* sold. A severe thunderstorm prevented the usual meeting being held on Sunday afternoon. At night we held a good meeting at Chester Road; Marshall, Bailie, and Ritson spoke; 20 *Commonweal* sold. Bailie and Marshall addressed an enthusiastic meeting of workmen on Monday night at Holt Town, in the midst of one of the "slum" districts; sold out *Commonweal*—in all, 81.

NORWICH.—On Sunday we received a visit from Mowbray, who addressed three good and sympathetic meetings in Market Place; good sale of *Commonweal*; 15s. 5d. collected for propaganda. Adams and Poynts addressed a very fair meeting in the morning at Babburgh, a village 8 miles distant. In the evening a special meeting of members was held and various matters discussed. Mowbray was elected delegate for this Branch at the forthcoming Conference.

YARMOUTH.—On Sunday morning Rufold and Brightwell held another meeting at Brackwell. In the morning Reynolds spoke on Priory Plain; again in afternoon, assisted by Rufold; 2s. 2d. collected. On Monday week evening another good meeting was held at Belton, and 3s. collected. Last Monday another was held there by branch, assisted by a deputation from the Great Yarmouth Radical Association.—C. R.

DUBLIN.—At Progressive Club, 87 Marlboro Street, Saturday June 1st, Mr. E. Hamilton lectured on "Some Objections to Socialism," trotting out the familiar war horses—thrift, incentive to exertion, religion, and individual liberty. He was well replied to by Smith, Shields, Toomey, Frizelle, and others.

ISWICH PIONEER DEBATING CLASS.—Thomas and Creed held very large outdoor meeting on the Knolls Sunday morning. In the evening Thomas opened debate on "Organised Labour" (Southron in chair); good discussion, Khill, Day, Mackey, and some strangers taking part. Creed adjourned debate until next Sunday, when he will re-open the subject.—M. C.

NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.—Largely attended meeting in the Market Place on Sunday night. Peacock and Hickling spoke on "Christian Socialism" to an appreciative audience. Literature sold well; 3s. 7d. collected; several new members joined subsequently. It moves!—R. P.

On Whit-Monday, June 10.

HALL OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE, 13 FARRINGTON 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.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Olerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (3-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct).
East London.—Crown Coffee Tavern, 2 Columbia Road, Hackney Road. Sunday June 9, no lecture, owing to Conference.
Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Thursday June 13th, at 7.30, Choir practice. Friday 14th, 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.—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.—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.—Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Wednesday, at 8.30, Discussion Class. Monday, Thursday, and Friday, Hall open from 8.30. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association.
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. Hous, newsagent, 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. *Walsworth and Camberwell*—3 Datchelor Place, Church Street, Camberwell Green. *Wimbledon and Merton*—F. Kitz, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. *Hoaton*—H. D. Morgan, 12 Basing Place, Kingsland Road. *Streatham*—J. Campbell, 98 Wellfield Road, Streatham.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SATURDAY 8.

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

SUNDAY 9.

11 Latimer Road Station Lyne senr, Maughan, Dean, and Crouch
 11.30 Bethnal Green—Gibraltar Walk Cores
 11.30 Hammersmith—Beadon Road Hammersmith Branch
 11.30 Kilburn Road—"Canterbury Arms" Hill and Mainwaring
 11.30 Leman Street, Shadwell Samuels and Moore
 11.30 Mitcham Fair Green The Branch
 11.30 Regent's Park Hill
 3.30 Hyde Park Mainwaring and Brookes
 3.30 Victoria Park The Branch
 7 Clerkenwell Green The Branch
 7 Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park Hammersmith Branch
 7.30 Mitcham Fair Green The Branch
 7.30 Streatham—Fountain, High Street The Branch

TUESDAY 11.

8 Fulham—back of Walham Green Church The Branch

THURSDAY 13.

8 Ossulton Street Nicoll and Cantwell
 8.15 Hoxton Church Mowbray and Davis

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen.—Saturday: Castle Street, 7 p.m.
Bradwell (near Yarmouth).—Monday evening.
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 Rd., at 7.30. Middleton Market Ground, Saturday 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.—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. **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. McGill, 22 Gilmour Street, Secretary. **West Calder.**—Robert Lindsay, West Calder, Secretary.

AUSTRALIAN SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

Sydney.—533 George Street. Lectures and debates every Sunday evening. W. H. McNamara, Secretary.
Melbourne.—"Golden Fleece" Hotel, Russell Street. Lectures and debates every Sunday evening. J. A. Andrews, 18 Ophir Street, Richmond, Secy.

LONDON ANARCHISTS' open-air propaganda, Hyde Park (near Marble Arch).—Sunday 9th, at 4.30, James Harragan, "The Four Frauds of History."
FENDALE LIBERAL AND RADICAL CLUB, 35 Bedford Road, Brixton.—Thursday June 13, at 8.30, Mr. S. E. Fraser, "The Political Duty of a London Club."
PROGRESSIVE ASSOCIATION, Penton Hall, 81 Pentonville Rd.—Sunday June 9, at 7.45, Albert Tam, B.Sc., F.C.S., "A Free Currency: What it Means, How it can be Established, What it can Accomplish."
EAST LONDON BRANCH—BANNER FUND.—The members of this Branch, being desirous to obtain a suitable banner, have opened a subscription for that object. Already received—Mrs. G. Schaack, 1s.; By collection, 1s. 4d. Those wishing to subscribe to this fund will please send subscriptions to M. Matthews, 95 Boston Street, Hackney Road.

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