

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

[REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.]

VOL. 5.—No. 176.

SATURDAY, MAY 25, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

THE ENGLISH REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT, 1815 TO 1817.

SPA-FIELDS RIOTS AND DERBYSHIRE INSURRECTION.

(Continued from p. 157.)

THE conspirators then hurried off to Watson's lodgings at No. 1, Dean Street, Fetter Lane. Here the two Watsons and Thistlewood determined that it was best for them to take a trip into the country for the benefit of their health, so they packed up some linen and clothes and started. They accordingly left London. It was about ten o'clock before they climbed Highgate Hill, and walked towards the open country. As they were passing Highgate Church, they were noticed by a horse patrol, who had received orders to look after suspicious persons in consequence of some highway robberies having recently been committed in the neighbourhood, which was then very lonely and quiet. There happened to be two watchmen standing close to the church railings, and the patrol beckoned to them to follow him. Then riding up to the three men, he asked them where they were travelling to; they replied to Northampton. He said it was a late hour for travelling, and informed them that he was a horse patrol from Bow Street, which was then the Scotland Yard of London. Watson offered a bundle he was carrying for the man's inspection, but instead of inspecting it he stretched out his hand and thrust it into the breast of Watson's coat, and laid his hand upon a pistol. This he snatched and levelled at Watson's head, threatening to blow his brains out if he offered to move, at the same time calling on the watchman who was nearest to him to secure the other two. This was a job the watchman did not like, so he ran away and sprang his rattle for assistance. But Thistlewood and young Watson drew pistols from their pockets and fired; one went off, but the other flashed in the pan. At that moment a number of people rushed from a publichouse, and young Watson and Thistlewood took refuge in flight. The patrol handed over his prisoner to these persons, mostly young men, and would have pursued the others; but Watson drawing a dirk he had concealed in a walking-stick, wounded one of the men who was endeavouring to apprehend him, and made such a desperate struggle for freedom that the patrol was forced to lend his assistance to disarm him, and Thistlewood and young Watson escaped into the fields, where it was useless to follow them in the darkness and obscurity of the night. The elder Watson, on being asked his name, told the patrol that he was well known at Bow Street. He was taken to Somer's Town watch-house, the nearest place of detention, and brought before the magistrates next morning.

You may imagine what a panic these events caused among the respectable classes, far greater indeed than the similar panic that occurred under circumstances of almost the same character in 1886. A vigorous search was made for the culprits, and numerous arrests were made in the metropolis, though in most cases the arrested had very little to do with the plots. Among the prisoners was Thomas Preston, who had foolishly not sought safety in flight, and on Feb. 14, Watson, sen., Preston, Hooper, and Keene were committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason. There was not sufficient evidence to bring Keene to trial, so he was afterwards discharged. The search for young Watson and Thistlewood was vigorously prosecuted, and on Tuesday, Feb. 18th, a reward of £500 was offered for either culprit, and declaring that all persons harbouring these atrocious criminals would be guilty of high treason.

The following description of Thistlewood from the proclamation may be of interest to many: "Arthur Thistlewood is about 45 years of age, 5 ft. 11 in. high, has a sallow complexion, long visage, dark hair (a little grey), small whiskers, dark hazel eyes and arched, a wide mouth and a good set of teeth, has a scar under the right jaw, is slender made, walks very upright, and has much the appearance of a military man; was born in Lincolnshire, and has been a lieutenant in the army; he usually wore a French grey coloured coat, buff waistcoat, grey coloured Wellington pantaloons with Hessian boots under them, and at times a dark-brown great coat."

Thistlewood, however, was well concealed, and he was not captured in his country hiding-place till the 27th of April. Young Watson, after remaining in hiding in London and in the country, escaped to

America. The elder Watson was charged with high treason before the Court of Queen's Bench and a special jury on the 9th of June. The trial lasted seven days, the principal witness being the Government spy Castles. This man's infamous character was so well shown up by Mr. Wetherall, Watson's counsel, that the jury refused to credit his evidence, and Watson was acquitted. The Attorney-General then declared that he did not intend to press the case against the rest of the prisoners, and the others were also discharged and received a warm welcome from the London Radicals.

For the information of those who may be anxious concerning the natural history of government spies, it may be mentioned that Castles was, apart from his informing qualities, one of the greatest scoundrels at that time unhung. This man had been twice imprisoned, the first time for passing false notes, when he saved his life by giving evidence against his associates, and the second time for assisting the escape of French prisoners; he had also committed bigamy, and was an accomplished scoundrel of the vilest kind. He had been for years in the constant employment of the police, and his imprisonment for assisting prisoners arose out of it; he was employed by a Bow Street officer to seduce persons to assist the escape of French prisoners, with the view of afterwards intercepting their escape and obtaining a reward from the government for the service. Such are the employees and familiar friends of our noble police.

This attempt at revolt had serious consequences. Parliament met on the 28th of January, and was opened by the Prince Regent. As he was returning from the House he was hooted by the people, and somebody chucked some stones and made two holes in the carriage window. This was immediately represented as an attempt to assassinate the Prince Regent with an air-gun; and the government utilised this circumstance, together with the Spa Fields Riots for the purpose of suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, which meant practically that the government would be able to arrest any one they pleased and keep them in prison for months without the least form of trial. They also passed a bill for the total suppression of public meetings. To give some excuse for this extension of arbitrary power, they produced a report from a secret committee of the House of Lords, according to which there existed a formidable conspiracy throughout the country to overturn the government. Every Radical club and association, no matter how moderate, was represented as having a hand in this business, and it was cited as an evidence of the well organised character of the conspirators, that large crowds had collected at Manchester on the day of the Spa Fields riots when the coaches came in to hear the result of the attempt at insurrection. How much was true of the ministerial statements will probably never be known, but as their information came mostly from people of a similar character to Castles, their accuracy may well be doubted. However this may be, the ministers passed their Coercion Bill, so their object was gained. The clubs for advocating parliamentary reform were suppressed; public meetings were prohibited, and many Radical leaders were thrown into prison loaded with chains. Mr. Cobbett, the well-known Radical journalist, the Bradlaugh of his time, took a sudden trip to America to escape a similar fate; but the revolutionary feeling increased throughout the country.

On March 2nd, there are serious riots in Somerset. The colliers at Radstock come out on strike; they attack the pits and buildings, and force the men who are in the pits to come up and join the strikers. Lancers and yeomanry are sent for, who are placed on guard around the pits, while some detachments pursue the miners. The men retreat, but they make a stand at Radstock. They are armed with huge bludgeons, and on seeing the cavalry approach they salute them with cries of "Bread or Blood," and "Hunt for ever." The magistrate with the troops reads the Riot Act, and then warns the colliers that they will incur all sorts of dreadful penalties if they remain together after that. The yeomanry and cavalry ride forward and seize the leaders, and the assemblage disperses with but little resistance. It may be mentioned that the middle-class press traces the outbreak to a number of seditious pamphlets sold by a hawker among the miners at Parton, where the troubles first began.

I may as well say something here about the revolutionary press of the time. Previous to the year of which I am now speaking, there

were no papers which really represented the revolutionary section of the Radical party, for Leigh Hunt's *Examiner* and Cobbett's *Annual Register*, though using very strong language at times, and even defending rick-burning and machine-breaking as the only means by which the poor people could obtain a redress of their grievances, can hardly be called from their general tone and policy revolutionary publications. They both more accurately reflected the opinions of the middle than of the working-class Radicals. But in the excitement engendered by the attempted insurrection in Spa Fields, a number of revolutionary publications sprang into being. Perhaps the best of these was the *Black Dwarf*, edited by Jonathan Wooler. The *Black Dwarf*, though a very Radical publication, was sold at what would now be considered the very high price of 4d. Of course very few workmen purchased it for their private perusal, but a number would club together and buy it, and it would be read aloud to groups of excited listeners in club or tavern. In those days printing and paper were much dearer than what they are now; the Stamp Act too was in force, which made papers still more expensive.

D. J. NICOLL.

(To be continued.)

HASTENING THE REVOLUTION.

THE SUGAR QUESTION.

YEARS ago, Mr. John Ruskin stated that on the Stock Exchange the plunder of investors was reduced to a system. And such has ever been the case as regards the plunder of the people. The classes can exist only by the plunder of the masses. All that the classes eat and drink and use and waste, all comes from the labour of the masses. Whether we take the landlord class, the professional class, or any section of the profit-mongering classes, all live on the labour of the people. And strange to say, with our extremely refined notions, the degree of respectability depends on the extent of the plunder accomplished. And even large numbers of working men look upon the land-thief or the successful speculator (robber) as honourable men, as the benefactors of humanity, and the great landmarks of social order.

But under our modern commercial system not only do the classes as a whole prey upon the people; with the aggregation of large capitals the classes prey upon each other. Class wars resulting from class interests are characteristic of the present conditions of society. Disintegration is an essential feature in our modern system of production and exchange. It operates through all the ramifications of society. The division of labour and the development of labour-saving machinery neutralise to a great extent the trade organisations of the working classes, and even their political enfranchisement, and will in the end destroy even the lofty position of the aristocracy of labour. The socialisation of production and the concentration of capital is sure to operate the same in the sphere of exchange. Just as labour-saving machinery is converting the worker into a revolutionary agent, so are our "rings," our "trusts" or our "syndicates," converting the small trader into a rebel against our modern system of exchange. All this will hasten the revolution.

We are told that the present annual consumption of sugar in the United Kingdom is equal to 72 lb. per head of population, and that the increase of one penny per lb. will amount to about £11,000,000 per annum. That of course includes all sources of consumption, including the manufacture of jam, confectionery, etc. The committee of the Co-operative Union, representing 800,000 heads of families, state that the societies in connection with the union sell annually £2,000,000 of sugar, and that the rise in price will cause them a loss of £50,000 a-year. If the rise in price is maintained, of course there will be less consumption—less jam and confectionery, and less consumed within the family circle. But if the consumption decreased 20 per cent., it would leave from £8,000,000 to 9,000,000 of extra profits to go somewhere, of which at least £5,000,000 would come from the pockets of the working classes. Then we are told that if present prices last only to the end of August the plunder will amount to not less than £4,000,000. We are also assured that if the Sugar Bill passes and the Convention in its present form comes into operation, it is quite likely we shall have sugar at 5d. or even 6d. per lb. Here will be a field for plunder! We are also told that Jay Gould and others have their eyes on the West Indies, in the hope of being able to "corner" the sugar trade of the world. What an enlightened age!

But higher, far higher than any question of "£ s. d." is the surrender of our liberty, our dignity, and our independence as a nation to the keeping of that maker of modern despotisms, Bismarck. In 1878 Salisbury and Co. signed away, by secret treaties, our honour as a nation with the interests of Turkey; and to-day the Government is doing its best to make England the slave to do the dirty work of the blood-stained despotisms of the Continent. We have heard a great deal about boycotting in Ireland, but the Government now propose that one half the world shall boycott the other half, for the honour of Prince Bismarck and the aggrandisement of the syndicates. Nations live by honour as well as by commerce, and the honour of England as a nation is as much at stake as the material wellbeing of her people.

If the Convention is ratified, our freedom as a nation will be gone. Germany, Russia, Holland, and Spain will determine our action; will kindly tell us of whom we may purchase sugar, and will practically decide the price we shall pay and the extent to which we shall enjoy the free breakfast-table. What a field for syndicates, rings, and trusts,

and for the supremacy of the German sugar monopoly! Is this to be the answer of the league of despotisms to the French centenary?

Article VII. of the Convention begins: "From the date of the present Convention coming into force, all raw sugar, refined sugar, molasses, or glucose coming from any countries, provinces beyond the seas, colonies, or foreign possessions maintaining the system of open or disguised bounties on the manufacture or exportation of sugar shall be excluded from the territories of the high contracting parties." The paragraph is clear enough. All the contracting powers bind themselves not to receive sugar from any country where a bounty is paid, direct or indirect. And who is to determine that question? Not each country for itself, but a majority of the contracting powers.

Paragraph 4, Article VII., reads: "The fact of the existence in any country, province beyond the seas, colony, or foreign possession, of a system involving open or disguised bounties on raw sugar, refined sugar, molasses, or glucose shall be established by the decision of a majority of the signatory powers of the present Convention." Here, then, is the great point for consideration. England is not a sugar-producing country; we import the raw material from many other countries. France, Sweden, Denmark, Brazil, and the U. S. America refuse to join; Belgium and Austria-Hungary make reservations. All these are sugar-producing countries. Yet by the Convention we bind ourselves not to receive sugar from any of these at the bidding of a majority of the signatory powers—that is, of Von Bismarck and Co. And to a great extent we bind our colonies and foreign possessions as well as ourselves.

As far back as 1886 we find the West India planters asking for a bounty of £2 per ton on all sugar imported from the West Indies into the United Kingdom, or the imposition of a countervailing duty of 1s. per cwt. *The thin end of the wedge.* Shall we impose an import duty on sugar for the benefit of the West India planters and the sugar-refiners at home? The Argentine Republic pays a bounty on the export of beef. Why not boycott that republic, and have a league to regulate the import of meat? Other countries pay bounties on ship-building; why not boycott them all?

But in the same Article, paragraph 5 runs as follows, and is well calculated to mislead: "It is agreed that privileges under the most-favoured-nation clause existing in other treaties shall not be pleaded with a view to evading the consequences of the application of the second paragraph of the present Article, even on the part of such signatory powers as may hereafter withdraw from the Convention." Paragraph 11 here referred to provides that each of the high contracting powers shall, in carrying out the Convention, either prohibit the importation of sugar, etc., from bounty-paying countries, or shall impose an import duty on such imported sugar, etc., and which duty must be greater than the amount of the bounty, but which duty shall not be imposed on sugars coming from countries not paying such bounties. Now as to our commercial treaties with other countries. We have such treaties with all the leading nations, and in almost every case the said treaty contains what is termed the most-favoured-nation clause. As these most-favoured-nation clauses are very similar, take the following cited by Sir T. Farrar, in our treaty with the U. S. America: "No prohibition shall be imposed upon the importation or exportation of any articles the growth, produce, or manufacture of the United States, or of Her Britannic Majesty's territories in Europe, to or from the said United States, which shall not equally extend to all other nations." Now, the Convention, when ratified, will compel England to violate every one of her commercial treaties with other countries, not at the bidding of Parliament, not at the wish of the people, but at the bidding of a majority of the signatory powers. Such violations on our part will be sure to lead to reprisals, especially on the part of France or America. It will lead to a war of tariffs, in which we are certain to be bested. It will re-create the evils arising from national jealousies, national hatreds, and perhaps of wars, and at the bidding of the crowned monsters of the European continent.

Look at these leagues of the Governments, Parliamentary or otherwise. What a spectacle at the close of the nineteenth century! We talk of the power of the people. Where is it? We boast of our freedom, our wisdom, and our bravery. Where are these qualities to-day? We boast of our greatness as a nation, and we form only a joint in the tails of the despots of Russia and Germany.

And when the time comes—and come it will—for the holy alliance of the peoples, let us not forget these leagues of the despots; or the rings, the syndicates, etc., of the capitalist classes. But these things can only hasten the revolution, for which let us learn to be prepared.

J. SKETCHLEY.

At Mr. Andrew Carnegie's Homestead steel mill, near Pittsburg, has been posted a new scale of wages, averaging 20 per cent. reduction. This affects 2,500 men, and a strike is expected.

Miss Josephine S. Tilton, late of 301 Shawmut Avenue, Boston, Mass., is now in London with a large and varied assortment of American publications on labour and social questions. Her address is 31 Swinton Street, Grays Inn Road.

TOBACCO INDUSTRY IN NEW YORK.—Over 30,000 men, women, and children are employed in the tobacco industry of New York, of whom about 16,000 are cigar-makers proper, the rest being cigarette-makers, strippers, bunchers, packers, pasters, and box-makers. More than 6,000 cigar-makers are women, girls, and small children. Some branches of the trade are almost monopolized by girls—for instance, the making of cigarettes. The nationalities which predominate among the cigar-makers are the Germans, Bohemians, and English; but there are also a number of Poles, Hollanders, Cubans, Hungarians, with a few Spaniards, Americans, French, and Russians. Oh, ye fools of the nineteenth century, why do not you combine, and oust your masters!—W. B.

YANKEE CIRCENSES.

"We stand to-day upon the dividing line between the first and second century of constitutional government. There are no clouds over our head, and no convulsions under our feet. We reverently return thanks to Almighty God for the past, and with confident and hopeful promise march upon sure ground toward the future. The simple facts of these hundred years paralysed the imagination, and we contemplate the vast accumulations of the century with awe and pride."

THUS spoke, addressing the vast multitude assembled before the Sub-Treasury building in the city of New York on May 1st, Chauncey M. Depew, president of the gigantic Vanderbilt railroad system, ex-lobbyist, lawyer, and swell society's most famous after-dinner talker. This honourable gentleman—and who dares, considering his exalted position in the social scale of this country, to doubt his honourableness!—had been appointed by the Centennial Committee to act as official laudation-spouter during the festivities commemorating the centennial of George Washington taking the oath as first president of the United States of America. And no place could have been chosen better in the whole big city of New York where an oration glorifying a century's maintenance and results of capitalism in the "land of the free and the home of the brave" might have been delivered more appropriately than the Sub-Treasury edifice. This structure is situated on the corner of Broad and Wall streets, two thoroughfares entirely composed of the hiding dens of trusts, of syndicates, of corners, of combines, and all such like devil-fishes, which are draining the blood of the people inlating this splendid and abnormally rich country.

"There are no clouds over our head and no convulsions under our feet" exclaimed, feigning in his voice optimistic gratification, Dr. Depew; and yet did not the curt but comprehensive refusal of Labour to participate officially in any of the festivities clearly inscribe on all the decorations with which capital had draped its mansions the "Mene, Mene, Tekel, upharsin" of the present society? None so blind as those that will not see. Yes, Labour has had the audacity to refuse to be paraded in golden chains in Capital's triumphal procession, in celebration of an event which but formed in this nation's history the connecting link of a system which served so well for the exploitation of class by class for one hundred years at least. And Labour be thanked for its sturdy action!

We have had plenty of "circenses"¹ of late; however, the "panem" has been sorely missed as yet.

Early on Monday morning the last day of April, the constitutional king of the United States, Benjamin, the second of the tribe of Harrison, left Washington for New York in right royal style, as it well becomes a gentleman occupying such dignified office. His Equality-before-the-law majesty had at the disposal of himself and of his court ten of the most gorgeously fitted up coaches of our railroad system. Usually these coaches are used to carry in safety and ease the valuable bodies of the presidents of the different roads from place to place. No European monarch could travel more luxuriously.

In New York city Benjamin had the good pleasure of being met by our empire city's big merchant robbers, and at once a reception was given him by men representing every profession and trade. They were all there! The clergymen of every denomination, the bank presidents, the heads of trusts, the members of the Stock Exchange, the newspaper men, the liquor dealers, the railroad men, the lawyers, the theatrical men—in fact, as one who witnessed the "drawing-room" remarked, the men who represented religion, law, and commerce, they all had come to do homage to their uncrowned king. *But where was Labour?*

And they all praised liberty, equality, and fraternity. Yet it is not reported that during the guzzling, the gobbling, the spouting, and the mutual congratulations upon the greatness of this country which occurred soon after, did those present wink at each other, nor did they lose for one moment the serious aspect of their respective countenances. No, not so stupid as all that. Our rulers over here know they are playing a game, and they much intend to keep up all its rules. They play their rôles in the comedy of politics with an extensive knowledge and a clear perception of all the necessary stage decorum which might elicit shouts of admiration from even an Irving or a Toole. They play their game so well, that to the uninitiated, to the "poor in spirit," to the would-be cheated, they appear to be deeply serious, indeed in deadly earnest. However, they themselves do not mistake their acting for reality.

Liberty, equality, fraternity realised in the United States. Great Scott! Imagine his satanic majesty turning "sea-green" with envy, for he was never able to diddle-daddle humanity so easily and well.

And how did New York look? Listen to this scribe of a "cultured paper," the *Boston Herald*:

"Magnificent stood New York this morning, grand, splendid beyond even her usual magnificence. Radiant she was and glorious with colour from end to end and side to side at the meeting of the waters when day broke. She was as a bride awaiting the bridegroom, and her dress was as gaudy—all aflutter with ribbons—as was ever the garb of ancient Venice in the days doges wedded her to the Adriatic."

O spirit of Napoleon the Small! The scribes specially appointed by the ruler of the Second Empire in France to "work up" his journeys through the provinces surely could not rival this. But we Americans, we are smart, we know "how to get there," we have "no flies on us."

Conceive New York magnificent! A city which is more ugly than London, for in London some remnants of bygone times do relieve the eye. But New York stands there completely unrelieved in all its horrible ugliness of modern cheapness and commercial utility. And the garb laid on for the occasion! Well, mostly it consisted of gutter-coloured ribbon or a picture of something supposed to be Washington, or, last but not least, smart Yankees—a new advertising dodge.

In the evening of Monday the day was celebrated by our upper ten thousand with a ball, the centennial ball, in the Grand Opera House. More than £200 was offered for admission tickets, but refused by the holders. The committee of arrangements had done all in their power to make the affair as exclusive as possible. And now listen to the description a capitalistic paper, the *New York Sun*, gives of this orgie:

"When the supper room doors were opened, there was a fierce rush. There were many young men in this first attacking party. They made straight for the champagne bar and drank before they ate. There were young women that followed their example. When President Harrison and his party entered the

supper room, there was a party of young men who had already become tipsy. They cheered in maudlin style. Wine had even then been spilled upon the floor, and the ladies of the Presidential party in going to the dais at the end of the room had to raise their skirts.

"The staring scene which had distinguished the assemblage in the ballroom was repeated here. All around the circle, within which the thirteen distinguished guests of the evening sat, crowded men and women anxious to see what a President and Vice-president looked like as they ate. The crowd watched Mrs. McKee and Mrs. Morton and Mrs. Harrison and the other ladies with intense interest to discover whether they drank any wine. After the President's party had gone, members of the escort came back and showed what they could do in stowing away champagne. One of them was completely overcome. Supported by two of his companions, he added to the sights of the ball. Young men went about carrying a champagne bottle in the left hand and a glass in the right. They would fill the glass, drain it at one gulp, fill it again, and drain it in another gulp. By and by this had a very disastrous effect.

"But there were other disturbances at the same time in other parts of the immense building. Many of the befuddled men had left the supper room and were wandering about the upper corridors. There were some incidents that were absolutely outrageous. One man was heard to address a very pretty woman whom he had been escorting with the angry exclamation that he didn't like something she had done, and then swore at her and said that he would never bring her to a ball again. It was a pitiable sight to see one young girl, and a pretty girl at that, trying to steady herself as she passed through one of the upper corridors. Her hair was disordered, her face flushed. When one o'clock came the wine room was still open, but shortly after that the police took a hand and attempted to clear the supper room. Men would not go from the room, and they had to be pushed roughly to the door. The ladies who were still in the room were frightened at the rumpus, and on reaching the door found it besieged by a crowd of noisy waiters and intoxicated guests striving to force their way back for more wine. The police formed a barrier there, and not even the waiters were allowed to enter the room again. There was language used which one wouldn't expect to hear at a centennial ball. Finally the police became impatient, and, at Inspector Steers's command, advanced and drove back the oncoming crowd. But it soon formed again, and through this brawling, excited crowd of waiters, guests, and policemen, the unlucky ladies had to crowd their way, while it was impossible for them not to hear the oaths used."

But of course our aristocratic gentry could indulge in these scenes, the public being excluded; and it is curious to note that only one paper at first told the tale, but soon after all the others had to admit its correctness.

The dresses worn by the "ladies" at this occasion were most costly, though little tasty. Queen Harrison is said to have been arrayed in a most gorgeous costume, costing thousands and thousands of dollars. Mrs. Astor had about £50,000 worth of diamonds on her body. She was shadowed all the evening by her detective, and disappeared early. H'm!

And so the days wore on. Military parades, civil parades, industrial parades followed each other in close succession. But Labour abstained from participating in any of the displays, although desperate efforts were made to induce its co-operation.

The police of course had great opportunities to act as the tigers in human skin they are. They used their clubs to the right and to the left; they rode the people down to open a way for the pompous processions. Speaking of the police, one suggestive thing may be mentioned. A day or two before the festivities began, Detective Inspector Byrnes arrested and put into prison all those believed by him to belong to the light-fingered fraternity. "He had no warrant, no authority of any kind, 'no nothing,' as the boy said, to do this. He simply wanted 'to keep them out of mischief.'" "Why don't our American rulers hand over the whole running of the governmental machine to a few mandarins, it would make matters ever so much simpler?" asks John Most in this week's *Freiheit*; and verily he is right.

The shows are over now. The "Mene, mene, Tekel, upharsin" remains. Smart Yankees have made piles of money. Some millions of public money have been wasted. The millions of tramps and unemployed are still cast about. But what matters that. Some workers' wages were cut down to allow a few bosses to be hilarious in New York. And Labour will have to pay the bill.

"There are no clouds over our head." Hence *Bradstreet's* reports since 1st of January 221 strikes and 48,924 strikers and over 600 people have shuffled off this mortal coil since January 1, 1889, by committing suicide.

"And no convulsions under our feet." Yet the five bodies of strangled labour martyrs slumbering in Waldheim Cemetery near Chicago city are under our feet.

Boston, Mass., May 6, 1889.

HENRY F. CHARLES

MAD COMMERCIALISM.

In the greedy scramble for the gifts which mother earth, plus human labour, bestows upon man, people engaged in the mad contest have not time to pause and reflect upon their insane career, which, if it were not fraught with such enormous evil to the millions, would simply merit ridicule. Truly may we exclaim with Shakespeare, "This is a mad world, my masters." Look at the crazy shamble of vehicles of all sorts along our principle thoroughfares, the hurrying to and fro of the slaves in tall hats and black coats, those in smocks, and those in fustians, and then ask what it all means. It means the battle of life; man fighting man to preserve each his own existence. Spend an hour or two at the junction of four cross-roads at any of our thoroughfares, and watch the traffic passing north, south, east, and west. There you will see passing each other in opposite directions, waggons of coal, waggons of timber, butcher's carts, baker's carts, grocer's carts, etc., etc. One would naturally ask, Why all this waste of time and labour? A little organisation would certainly save all this useless waste, and yet we are seriously told that order reigns under our present system. It is no wonder that Socialist principles cannot be understood by tradesmen when they call chaos order. They are too dull to understand co-operative distribution in the interests of the community, and they consider an individual a sharp business man who engages in distribution most successfully in his own interest, i.e., by exploitation and fraud. The co-operators seem to be the only people—ourselves excepted—who see the wickedness, folly, and waste of individual effort in distribution. If, instead of allowing themselves to be robbed over the counter as they are at the present time, the people organised their own distribution, they would be in the possession of central communal depôts, which would not only help to reduce their sufferings considerably during the coming revolutionary period, but would render it an easier matter to snuff out the exploiters of production. A. B.

¹ *Panem et circenses*—bread and circus plays. During the decay of the Roman Empire, to keep the poor quiet circus plays and free lunches were provided for them by the rich.



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

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Workmen's Advocate.—We are always glad to see you make use of poems which we have rescued from their graves in forgotten pages, but, if only for the sake of historical accuracy, should like you to acknowledge the road by which they reach you.

D. E.—The pamphlet giving a report of the Reform meeting at Kilmarnock, December 7, 1816, including the speech for which Alexander McLaren was tried at Edinburgh, March 5-7th, 1817, and for printing which Thomas Baird was tried at same time and place, is in the British Museum library, but mutilated. It wants title-page and all after page 44. A perfect copy would probably be found in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.

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Labour Tribune	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
London—Freie Presse	S. F. Coast Seamen's Journal	SPAIN
Norwich—Daylight	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	Seville—La Solidaridad
Railway Review	Altruist	Madrid—El Socialista
Social Demokrat	FRANCE	PORTUGAL
Seafaring	Paris—Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Worker's Friend	Le Proletariat	Porto—A Revolucao Social
UNITED STATES	Le Coup de Feu	A Revolta
New York—Der Sozialist	La Revue Socialiste	GERMANY
Freiheit	L'Attaque	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Frühsoeker	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	HUNGARY
Volkszeitung	HOLLAND	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
Jewish Volkszeitung	Hague—Recht voor Allen	DENMARK
The Truth	BELGIUM	Social-Demokraten
Workmen's Advocate	Ghent—Vooruit	SWEDEN
Boston—Woman's Journal	Antwerp—De Werker	Malmö—Arbetet
Investigator	Liege—L'Avenir	WEST INDIES
Chicago—Knights of Labor	SWITZERLAND	Cuba—El Productor
Vorbote	Arbeiterstimme	

NOTES ON NEWS.

THERE was an interesting ceremonial at Paris on Saturday. The representatives of 13 American Republics, under the Presidency of the newly accredited United States Minister, gave a farewell dinner to his retiring predecessor. The only monarchy in America—Brazil—stood aloof, as did all those of Europe with the exception of Belgium. Switzerland, of course, was represented, being a Republic. So marked was the abstention of the king-riden countries, that, as the *Times* described it, the gathering showed "the Republican world of the future face to face with the Monarchic world of the past." We know well enough that the world of the future must be something more than merely Republican before it is much better than the world of the past or the present either. But, as between Monarchy and Republicanism, there can be no question for us; nor can we deny feeling pleased when the representatives of royalty show, as they have done by their conduct on this occasion, their own abiding sense of the precariousness of kingship.

The banquet was not without its amusing points. The most telling one of these was when M. Paz, of the Argentine Republic, drank to the working-classes. He, as the *Times* cynically explains, "is in quest of labourers." So that his love for the working classes is disinterested at least!

During the last week a curious thing happened; a judge was found who decided against a policeman, and snubbed the law-'n'-order lambs in general. The case was that of a bricklayer named Smith, who, hearing a disturbance, went out to see what it was. He was at once knocked down, and found Edwin Ford, a policeman, standing by him truncheon in hand. He got up, and was again clubbed, with the result that he was laid up for three weeks. He brought an action in the Gravesend County Court on Thursday, when the defence was that the assault was "accidental," and that Ford had a right to use his truncheon to clear away a crowd! The judge, in summing up, said: "All the jury had to attend to was the amount of compensation to be given. There was not a tittle of justification for the assault. The constable had no more right to strike a man than his honour had. His honour had a right to strike a man in self-defence, and a constable had the same, and no greater, unless the Riot Act had been read.

It must have come as a shock to most of the "force" to hear that they could not do just as they liked with the lives and limbs of an unhappy and helpless public! They have been so used to exercising their brutality upon all and sundry, that they had come to regard the amusement as a prescriptive right of theirs. That belief has received a severe shock from the above decision, and there has no doubt been much cursing and lamenting for days past in the abodes of the bullies of the law.

Almost as much of a shock must it have been to many old fogies when the London County Council declared in favour of women as County Councillors. The debate on the question was an amusing one, for in it were trotted out all the old "arguments" as to woman's simultaneous inferiority and superiority, and the rest of it. Woman was inferior to man and should not claim to cope with him; she was superior to him and should not try to degrade herself to his level.

Of course, Mr. Frederic Harrison found himself on the wrong side, as is now usual with him. This man was one of the few who dared to do public justice to the Commune at the time of its fall, and to defend it in the English magazines. Other things there are that may be placed to his credit in the democratic ledger, wherein are kept the accounts of would-be leaders of the people. But however well filled the credit side of his account may be, he will speedily, if he continue in his present course, leave a very large balance on the other side.

By speaking and voting against popular control of the police, the enfranchisement of women, and many other such-like proposals, he is rapidly exhausting his credit. He is at the same time furnishing another instructive example of how a reputation built up in the study falls to pieces in the market-place, when he who has pretended to teach all men how to deal with their duties in life is brought face to face with his own.

CORRESPONDENCE.

ST. GEORGE'S FARM.

In the years 1874 and 1875 there existed a Mutual Improvement Class; the members of this class met every Sunday morning at the Hall of Science, Rockingham Street, Sheffield, for the purpose of teaching and being taught, or perhaps it would be more correct if I said they met to exchange ideas. Each member took their turn to write a paper on any subject the writer chose and read it before the class, who were expected to discuss or discourse on the merits of the paper. Many very interesting and instructive papers were written by the members; and when the class judged them good enough, they would be afterwards read before the public who patronised the hall on Sunday evenings. About July or August of the year 1875, a member read a paper advocating Communism, and all the members of our class were in favour of a public reading and he read it, and it created much interest and some excitement. He read it in several places, and some other and bolder ones followed, which were read and discussed in Sheffield and other places. Opponents became numerous and adherents few; the writer of this was of these last, and became an ardent advocate of Communism in about six months from the reading of the first paper. A few of us formed a society to propagate Communistic views, our ultimate object being to live the lives of Communists. To do this we proposed buying or leasing some land on which to erect suitable buildings, both for dwelling and business purposes. Of course we knew it would take some time—years—before we could realise this position, for we did not intend to seek any rich man's aid. For some weeks we met at the house of the first mover of the scheme. After a time this was changed, and we met in a small room attached to a warehouse belonging to our president. From this time each member subscribed 1d. per week for current expenses, and what each could afford beside to be banked. Sums varying from 1s. to 5s. were duly paid each week to the treasurer. It was intended to continue subscribing in this way for a year or two, and that in the meantime we should look about for the best and cheapest site for our purpose, teaching each other meanwhile and winning all the converts we could. We went on in this way for a few months, and were very happy in discussing our proposed future career. There was not one doubter in our ranks, and we had, I believe, perfect trust in each other.

About this time the Ruskin Museum at Walkley, about two miles distant from our meeting-place, was about to be opened. The curator, who was a friend of our president, came to some of our meetings, and from him came the suggestion that Mr. Ruskin might interest himself in our movement. We knew that Mr. Ruskin believed that one man should rule absolutely, and all others should unquestioningly obey. We did not believe this, nor did we believe in taking the vow which was required in order to become members of the St. George's Guild—for our society was at this time composed of Secularists, Unitarians, and one Quaker. We made no question of sectarian beliefs, but insisted on the recognition of human duties; therefore we did not at this time fall in with the curator's suggestion. But he was a persevering man, and tried to meet the difficulty by proposing that Mr. Ruskin should lend the money to purchase land, leaving the Communists free to manage their own affairs. Ultimately, a meeting took place between Mr. Ruskin and ourselves at the Museum. Nothing of any apparent importance took place between us at this time, but a few weeks afterwards Mr. Ruskin invited some of our party to look at and choose some land. They chose a farm of between 13 and 14 acres at Dore and Totley, which the then owner wanted to sell. Mr. Ruskin bought it, paying £2,025 for it. He then required each male member of the community to undertake to pay his share of the capital back to him without interest, and every man gave his promise in writing to do so. So that in seven years the whole was to be paid back to Mr. Ruskin, and the farm would then have been ours. Meantime, Mr. Ruskin was owner. He gave us no legal authority to take possession; this I very strongly objected to, but was over-ruled, as all thought they could trust the great man. Now the farm must be kept going; none of our party were farmers and all were earning money at their trades; so we engaged a practical man as working manager, paying him 24s. per week and letting him live in the house rent free. The money we had already subscribed was our capital, and we still continued to subscribe.

A few more joined us about this time, and another man was engaged to work on the farm, receiving the same wages as the first and sharing the farm-house, which was large. We excited much local curiosity; many visitors went to the farm, and newspaper correspondents had some things to say about us, wise and otherwise. Now our expenses were increased and we had to meet them, so we had parties to visit us during the summer taking tea, for which we charged. Another woman member and myself found our hands very full at this time, for between us we prepared all the teas and sold eggs and fruit, doing all we could to add to the income. Every Wednesday we went to Dore and Totley from Sheffield, bringing back fruit, eggs, and vegetables to the meetings, which the members purchased, paying ready money and full value. This went on for about four months, and in the meantime we had employed another man whom Mr. Ruskin had sent; we paid him 16s. per week. Now the man who had originated our society by reading his paper, wrote to Mr. Ruskin, and received from him in reply a cheque for £100, which he cashed, and brought the money to the committee. The committee at once passed a vote of censure on him, and requested our president to write to Mr. Ruskin returning the money, which he did, but Ruskin would not take it back. Now this member, whose aim had been from the first to live with his family on the farm, began to press upon the society to let him take his work there, the society however, to take up his business, paying him the value of it, and in the event of failure at the farm he to take his business back. The committee would not and could not consent to this. I should have stated that his business was a boot-maker's sale-shop. He was much disappointed and very unreasonable at the refusal of the committee; and the next move he made was to consult in secret with the man, who, according to Edward Carpenter, was the most active and least voluble amongst us. This man had no connexion of any sort with us, nor was he even friendly disposed to us. I make this statement because some persons have an impression that our little society owed its origin to a Mutual Help Association with which Harrison Riley was connected. That impression is a mistaken one—to return to my story. These two men communicated with Ruskin, and the result was that Mr. Carpenter's "best man" went to the farm and took absolute possession of everything, telling our manager that he was master. The poor man came to our meeting looking not too delighted at the change and gave us the information. Now, considering that the society had agreed to pay Ruskin back on his own terms this thing seemed impossible, and a chosen number of the committee went to the farm to seek an explanation. I was not one of the deputation, but I was told that Mr. Riley coolly informed them that he was master there, and that they had no power. He met their remonstrances with sneers, and in one case with threats of personal violence. Two letters were written to Mr. Ruskin seeking his explanation, but no answer was returned to either. Then the committee caused another letter to be written declining all further responsibility or connection with the farm. The story is finished so far as we were practically concerned; and for the present I reserve comment.

M. A. MALOY.

The victimising game is being played very meanly by the Glasgow Tramway Company against the men who dare countenance unionism.

DYER STRIKE AND LOCK-OUT AT LEEK.—The dyers employed at the firms of Messrs. Hammersley and Messrs. Wardle, of Leek, have been working 60 hours per week for an average wage of 13s. 4d., or about 2½d. per hour. They recently held a meeting and decided to form a union. The masters exercised their freedom of contract and promptly discharged all the union men. Some who were asked by the employer if they were in the union, and fearing dismissal replied No, were discharged for telling an "untruth," thus proving that the employer knew the "truth" when he asked the needless question. Friends of the freedom of contract will please note that the discharged men are exercising their portion of it on doles of 2s. 4½d. per week obtained from sympathetic shopkeepers and others. The bulk of the "hands" have now struck in order to obtain the reinstatement of their dismissed shopmates. Meanwhile the masters are using boys and women, and threatening also to import foreign labour to supplant the men. It is doubtful whether Continental dyers, considering the relative purchasing-power of money, are worse off, or could be tempted by the inviting prospect of 2½d. per hour. The avocation of a dyer requires both physical and mental energy. He must have a knowledge of drugs, either technical or acquired, a keen eye for shades, and must labour withal hard with hand in a heated, steam-laden atmosphere. Delicate ladies who go shopping as a recreation on fine summer afternoons may remember as they admire the lustre and tints of their silken purchases, possibly produced in the firms above-mentioned, the operative must work for a wage ranging from 13s. to 18s. per week, or find himself supplanted by female labour if he dares utter a protest against his white slavery. Thus do we preserve the heads of households and keep intact the "family."—F. Kirtz.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING JUNE 1, 1889.

26	Sun.	1799. James Burnet, Lord Monboddo, died. 1804. Action by W. C. Plunkett, Solicitor-General of Ireland, against William Cobbett for libel. 1817. Trial at Edinburgh of Niel Douglas, universalist preacher, for a "wicked, slanderous, false, and seditious" sermon, preached March 9 previous at the Andersonian Institute Class Room, John Street, Glasgow. 1824. Petition of Robert Owen to the House of Commons for the education and employment of the peasantry of Ireland. 1868. Michael Barrett hung for Clerkenwell explosion: last public execution in England. 1870. Fenian invasion of Canada. 1879. Osinski, Brandner, and Svidenko hanged in Kieff for Socialistic propaganda and resisting arrest. 1887. Thomas Ainge Devyr died.
27	Mon.	1793. Trial of John Frost for having on November 6, 1792, in the Percy Coffee-house, Percy Street, said that "he could see no reason why any man should not be upon a footing with another, it is every man's birthright"; and that "there should be equality and no king." 1797. Babeuf killed himself. 1860. Palermo taken by Garibaldi.
28	Tues.	1807. Agassiz born. 1818. Arthur Thistlewood imprisoned for 12 months for challenging Lord Sidmouth. 1871. Fall of the Commune of Paris. 1887. Trial of 21 Nihilists at St. Petersburg; Lopatine sent to the ravelin of St. Peter and Paul for life.
29	Wed.	1630. Trial in the Star Chamber of the Earls of Bedford, Clare, and Somerset, Sir Robert Cotton, John Selden, and Oliver St. John, Esquires, for publishing "A Proposition for His Majesty's Service to bridle the Impertinence of Parliaments." 1660. English monarchy restored.
30	Thur.	1778. Voltaire died. 1844. Daniel O'Connell fined £2,000 and imprisoned for 12 months; John O'Connell, Thomas Steele, T. M. Ray, Charles Gavan Duffy, John Gray, and Richard Barrett each fined £50 and imprisoned for 9 months; all bound over also for 7 years. 1884. Dynamite explosions at Scotland Yard, etc. 1887. Co-operative Congress at Carlisle.
31	Fri.	1838. John Thorn shot in Bossenden Wood. 1849. First number of Julian Harney's <i>Democratic Review</i> . 1882. Strike of iron and steel workers in the United States.
1	Sat.	1808. Weavers' riot at Rochdale; the prison stormed and fired. 1821. Major Cartwright fined £500; J. T. Wooler sentenced to 15 months' Maddox 18 months', and Edmunds 9 months' imprisonment for the Birmingham meeting. 1849. Provisional Government formed at Baden. 1873. Second annual congress of the British Federation of the International at Manchester.

Thomas Ainge Devyr.—This life-long servant of the people was born in County Donegal, and died in Brooklyn, New York. He deserves lasting remembrance for his valiant labours in the cause of Ireland and of humanity. He took a leading part in the Chartist movement, and on its collapse was chased by the Government to Liverpool, whence he made his escape to America. Settling in Williamsburg (now Brooklyn) in 1840 as a journalist, he devoted himself to the service of the Free Soil party, and the present Homestead Laws of the United States are the direct result of the agitation maintained by him and his associates. In recent years he was an associate editor of the *Irish World*, a paper which had the honour of being proscribed in Ireland by the last Gladstone Government, and chiefly on account of the articles from Devyr's pen.

Thomas Ainge Devyr wrote a small treatise on the Land Question as long ago as 1838. In that he advocates a kind of peasant proprietary; and to the end of his life he maintained that to make the tiller the owner of the soil was the only solution of the land question. A few years before his death he brought together into book form his ideas on Land and other reforms. The book, with the curious title, 'The Odd Book of the Nineteenth Century; or, Chivalry in Modern Days,' is a record of rare battling in the cause of reform for the last fifty years.

Unlike Carlyle, Froude, Kingsley, and many Chartists who put their hands to the plough and turned back, Devyr was a consistent and faithful Democrat to the end. Honour to his memory.—G. D. L.

A NEW MACHINE.

Rejoice, white-lead workers, for science has killed the demon of poison and horrid death which was your daily companion!

Mr. Hannay of Glasgow, after years of toil and expense, has completed a system of machinery which makes, at less expense and in less time than the old plan, a poisonless and whiter white-lead. The *Star* says, "The secret of it is that there is no manipulation. No human hand touches it. The ore is thrown into the furnace, carries itself through the succeeding stages, and comes out at the other end in its ultimate form." Surely this will be a benefit, and Mr. Hannay a benefactor to mankind, for says the *Star* again, "Mr. Hannay has lessened the cost of production by scientific devices for lessening labour."

Now let us turn over the matter and see what may be on the other side. Mr. Hannay has done a good and no doubt a clever thing. But will the workers benefit by it? They will be freed from the lead-poisoning, no doubt—and most probably many of them from the work too; for remember it is to make white-lead cheaper and quicker; and being freed from the work means that they shall have plenty of opportunity of inhaling a good many other forms of death. They may go home to their wives, children, and mothers and tell them of the splendid success of Mr. Hannay's discovery and machinery, and how for the benefit of mankind it dispenses with their services, and how they must seek a job elsewhere. Elsewhere? Yes, elsewhere; but where is that? Long unemployment follows, and with it want and miseries. The streets for the women, and the jail for the men; and blessed are those whom death snatches.

Rejoice, therefore, ye workers, for neither your own labour nor the toil of your wise men brings you plenty or rest!

But where is the cure? Not in cowardly apathy. Not in the pipe and quart pot, amid the spits and dirty talk. Not in the insane idea that everything is for the best. Nor in the still foolisher idea that others (our M.P.'s and educated men) will do it all for us. No; but in seeing with our minds and hearts that while there exists a single idle man amongst us there is a gross injustice being inflicted on others, and combining in right manly earnestness to weed out the bloodsuckers from amongst us. R. C. S.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

GERMANY.

The important strike of the coalminers in the Westphalian province and neighbourhood is still going on, and as the mine-thieves (who call themselves the mine-owners) show no great readiness to comply with the legitimate demands of the workers, it may even go on longer than we can tell. The strikers have brought forward the following claims: (1) The managers of the coal-mines in the district of Dortmund are to bind themselves not to let their miners work over eight hours a-day; (2) Overtime shall be worked in exceptional cases—e.g., when work cannot be postponed or is necessary for the safety of the mine and miners; (3) If working overtime shall become necessary, owing to accumulation of work, then such work is only to be executed after an understanding has been previously come to between the managers on one side and delegates of the workmen on the other; (4) Such delegates are to be selected every year from among those miners who have completed their twenty-fifth year; (5) In the eight hours day, the time taken in the descent and the ascent is not to be included: the descent and ascent shall not last longer than half an hour; in any case they are to be arranged so that the miner does not work underground longer than eight hours; (6) The miners' union in the district of Dortmund is after the fulfilment of the above to see that the wages of the miners are raised in due proportion to the increase in the price of coal; (7) The miners hope that the union will use its influence to stop managers of mines in future from standing in the way of miners on their leaving a pit by arbitrarily giving them unfavourable certificates; (8) The workmen deem it expedient that the miners should only be made to pay as much for powder, oil, and tools as they cost the administration itself, instead of paying higher prices as at present, the surplus obtained from which is paid into relief funds for miners; (9) The miners after resuming work are not to suffer in any way at the hands of the employers on account of the present strike; (10) The delegates of the workmen promise to do their utmost to induce their comrades to accept a compromise based on the above conditions.

It is stated that the mine-thieves are especially averse to paragraph 3, and we easily believe it, the non-existence of such a clause being of very great interest indeed to them. As our readers know from the dailies, the workers and the employers as well have been received by the Prussian monarch, who has told both of them that he takes a considerable deal of interest in their affairs—which can hardly concern him much. Anyhow, the interest he takes in the workers' struggle is of a peculiar kind: "If you have anything to do with the Social-Democrats, I'll have all of you shot down!" And in order to convince the workers' delegates that he really meant what he had spoken, that ruffian of a Kaiser added, "And mark you, my might is great!" Yes, his might is great, but only so because the workers are more or less up to now unaware of the still greater power that lies in them. However, times are drawing near when all toilers, those of the Westphalian land like others, shall have realised the words of the poet:

"That we no master need
To live upon this earth our own
In fair and manly deed."

Meanwhile, the Silesian miners have joined in with their Westphalian comrades. It has been reported that serious disturbances have taken place there, that several pits have been demolished, and some officials of the mines, such as are "of the worst type," like Watrin at Decazeville was, have been threatened and even attacked. May be; but why have six battalions of infantry and eight squadrons of cavalry been sent to the district, but for provoking unarmed and starving men, who only claim an increase of their miserable wages, when they would be entitled to take possession of the very mines altogether?

In spite of the Emperor's interference, the negotiations for bringing about a compromise between the Westphalian miners and the colliery-robbers, on the basis of the above-mentioned clauses, have only been carried through with a great deal of difficulty. The clause of the agreement to which exception was taken was that concerning overtime, and the miners' demand that, should overtime be necessary owing to accumulation of work, the matter should be referred to a standing committee of managers and the miners' delegates, was rejected. On the other hand, the question of leaving the matter to be settled with the individual workmen was reserved.

However, the Westphalian strikes now seem to come to a *provisory* end, as the miners' delegates have declared that if the conditions agreed upon be not carried out within two months, a *fresh strike will begin*.

FRANCE.

A few weeks ago we pointed out that in all probability two international working-men's congresses would be held this year at Paris, and that, in case of this event happening, the Socialist League would certainly join in with those Continental bodies which hold the most advanced views and represent really the cause of international revolutionary Socialism. Our French comrades have now issued a circular convoking all Socialists of Europe and America to the Paris Congress, and we give it in full hereunder:

"National Federation of French Trades' Unions: National Council, Bordeaux, 1889.

"Executive Commission of the National Socialist Working Men's Congress of Troyes, 1888—1889.

"INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST WORKING MEN'S CONGRESS, 14th to 21st July, PARIS, 1889.

"Address to the Workmen and Socialists of Europe and America.

"In October 1888 a National Congress was held at Bordeaux, at which were represented upwards of two hundred Trades' Unions and Socialist groups. This Congress resolved that during the Exhibition an International Congress be held in Paris.

"A like resolution was adopted by the National Congress held at Troyes in December 1888, at which were represented all the fractions of the French Socialist party.

"The National Council appointed by the Bordeaux Congress, and the Executive Commission appointed by the Troyes Congress, were charged with the common organisation of the International Congress, and with the invitation—without distinction of party—of all the workers and Socialists of Europe and America whose aim is the emancipation of labour. All this has been carried out.

"On the 23rd of February, 1889, an International Conference took place at the Hague, attended by delegates of the Socialist parties of Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, and France. W. Morris, of the Socialist League, and the Danish delegates, sent in excuses, declaring their adherence to the resolutions that should be adopted.

"The Conference of the Hague resolved:

(1) That the Paris International Congress be held from the 14th to 21st July, 1889.

(2) That the Congress be open to the workmen and Socialists of all countries—on conditions compatible with the political laws in force in each.

(3) That the Congress be sovereign with respect to the verification of credentials and the fixing of the order of the day.

"The Conference resolved, provisionally, that the following questions be treated:

(a) International labour legislation; Regulation, by law, of the working day (day-work, night-work, holidays, work of adult males, women, and children).

(b) Inspection of factories and workshops, as well as of domestic industries.

(c) Ways and means to obtain these demands.

"In fulfilment, therefore, of the mandate conferred on us by the Congresses of Bordeaux and of Troyes, and in conformity with the resolutions adopted by the Hague International Conference—

(1) We convoked the Paris International Congress to be held from the 14th to 21st July, 1889.

(2) The questions to be treated are those fixed by the Hague Conference.

(3) We invite the Socialist and working-men's organisations of Europe and America to this Congress, which will lay the foundations of the union of the workers and the Socialists of both hemispheres.

"We have appointed in Paris an Executive Committee to definitely organise the International Congress and make arrangements for the reception of the foreign delegates.

"We send our fraternal greetings to the workmen and the Socialists of the whole world.

"May the universal emancipation of the workers be achieved!

"For the National Council of Bordeaux—The General Secretary, R. LAVIGNE, 16, Rue Sullivan.

"For the Executive Commission of Troyes—The General Secretary, G. BATTISE, Rue de la Grande Planché, 22, à St. André, près Troyes.

"ORGANISING COMMISSION OF THE CONGRESS.

"For the Federation of the Paris Trades' Unions—BOULE, BESSET, MANCEAU, ROUSSEL, and FELINE.

"For the Socialist Organisations of Paris—VAILLANT, GUESDE, DEVILLE, JACLAUD, CREPIN, and LAFARGUE.

"For the Socialist Group in the Paris Town Council—DAUMAS, LONGUET, VAILLANT, and CHAUVIERE, Town Councillors.

"For the Socialist Group in the Chamber of Deputies—FERROUL and PLANTEAU, Deputies.

"Secretary for France—BESSET, Bourse du Travail (Labour Exchange), Rue J. J. Rousseau, Paris.

"Secretary for Foreign Countries—PAUL LAFARGUE, Le Perreux, Paris.

SWITZERLAND.

The Swiss bourgeois have endeavoured to convince Bismarck, who accused them of favouring the introduction of Socialism in Germany and in Russia, that they are not in the least tender-hearted for revolutionists. The Federal Council expelled Wohlgenuth, being absolutely unable to act otherwise, but at the same time they expelled the Socialist Lutz. On the other hand, they have now expelled thirteen more foreign Socialists, viz., eleven Russians and two Austrians. The decree of expulsion is as follows:

"Considering that on March the 6th, 1889, two Russians, Jacques Brinstein, alias Nachtigalov, Gutman, or Dembo, from Bernersk, born 1863, and Alexander Dembsky, members of the Russian Terrorist Party, while making at Peterstobel, near Zurich, experiments on explosive matters, caused two bombs to explode, thereby severely wounding themselves; that Brinstein soon afterwards died from his wounds, but that Dembsky is on the way to recovery; that the enquiry, while proving that the idea of an actual plot cannot for one moment be entertained, at any rate has shown that the experiments have been made with a view to add new weapons to the means of action of the Terrorist Party; that George Prokofiew and Marie Gunzburg, active members of the Russian Terrorist Party, seem to have had knowledge of the experiments of Brinstein and Dembsky; that besides these, other persons residing in Switzerland have known about these experiments, or at least belong to the Terrorist party, the leaders of which declare the use of violent means to be legitimate; by application of paragraph 70 of the Federal Constitution, the Federal Council decides that George Prokofiew, Marie Gunzburg, George Beck, Iesaias Kassusch, Wladimir Wolkowitch, Emanuel Gurewitch, Max Philippeo, Gabriel Kafanz, Heinrich Frenkel, Sophie Scheinritz, Felix Daszynsky, and Alexis Tisojew be expelled from Swiss territory."

All these expelled comrades were living very quietly at Zurich, and have done nothing whatever in contradiction to the Swiss laws; they are merely the victims of the egoism of the Swiss bourgeoisie, who have once more acted in the interests of three mighty empires—the German, the Russian, and the Austrian.

Several of our Russian friends being poor, comrade Peter Lavroff has been asked to centralise in his hands any subscriptions which may be sent for the relief of these persecuted Socialists. His address is 328 Rue St. Jacques, Paris.

ITALY.

Important "disturbances" have taken place during the last fortnight in the neighbourhood of Milano, at Casorezzo. The inhabitants of that place, mostly silk and cotton weavers, exasperated against their employers and no longer knowing how to live, have at last resorted to open rebellion, and went with their wives and children to the houses of several industrial magnates, asking them for bread, corn, and money. As they seemed somewhat slow in complying with the people's wishes, the inhabitants smashed their windows and threatened to use violence to get at what they wanted. The syndic of the town at once sent to Milano in order to get support, and *bersaglieri* were despatched to the spot, who have put the country under martial law. Fifty persons were arrested.

At a short distance from Casorezzo, at Arluno, where misery prevails to such an extent that the poor inhabitants are in complete want of bread, the workers have refused to work any longer if their wages are not at once considerably increased. The blood-suckers having refused to do anything of the kind the house of the syndic has been besieged, and all the shops have been closed for fear of the threats of the people. The furniture of Count del Verme's palace has been burnt right out. After several other houses had been sacked, the military came and occupied the palace and several spots of the town. Night and day the soldiers are watching the streets. All the factories are closed, and even in the fields nobody is to be seen.

At San Giorgio di Legnano, at Ossona, and at Arconate, similar rioting has taken place, accompanied by more or less so-called "violence" on the part of the starving people. Mark! these people, as long as they are at work, earn somewhat between 7d. and 8d. a-day, and instead of resorting to revolt they should declare themselves the most happy men on earth. V. D.

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 meeting of the Council on the 20th inst., W. Morris and F. Kitz were elected as delegates to the International Socialist Congress convened in Paris for July.—F. Kitz and W. Blundell were elected delegates to a Conference called by the Finsbury Radical Federation anent the Housing of the People.—Mrs. Schack, J. Turner, and A. Brookes as delegates to the Co-operative Aid Association.—Wm. Morris brought to the notice of the Council the fact that he had been invited to speak at a meeting, convened by the S.D.F., in Victoria Park, to be held shortly upon the question of the sentence passed upon the steward of the Berner Street Club. It was resolved that as the S.D.F. had refused to take part with the S.L. in regard to the defence, and as the Defence Committee (composed of delegates of Radical Clubs and organisations) which had done the initial work of defence, such as collecting money, sending out resolutions, and holding public meetings, were entirely ignored by the S.D.F. in the arrangement of their meetings, the secretary be instructed to write and ask for information of the S.D.F., and that if they are willing to accept our co-operation, F. Kitz and W. Morris would speak on our behalf at the meeting.

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, 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.

Propaganda Fund.—Collected at Leman Street on May 5th, 1s. 9d.; ditto on May 19th, 1s. 9½d.

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*. Next meeting of committee on Tuesday, June 11, at 8 p.m.

Defence Committee (Berner Street).—Norwich, 3s.; Glasgow Branch, 5s.; Yarmouth, 3s.

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.; E. W. Cook, 10s.; C. Saunders, 1s.; Rose, 6d.; B. W., 6d.; S. Presburg, 1s.; Samuels, 1s.; Nicoll, 6d.; and Schmitt, 1s. Norwich, 1s.

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

REPORTS.

LONDON OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.—*Regents Park*—Cantwell, Davis, and Mrs. Lahr spoke. A little opposition from a total abstainer; 2s. 1d. collected. *Mile End Waste*—Large meeting on Saturday night addressed by Mowbray, Davis, Brooks, Cores, Blundell, and Hicks; 15 *Weal* sold. *Leman Street*—Good meeting Sunday morning, addressed by Mowbray, Nicoll, and Turner; 18 *Weal* sold besides other literature, and 1s. 9½d. collected. More speakers wanted this end of London.

MITCHAM.—Successful meeting held Sunday last on Fair Green, addressed by Kitz, Mrs. Schack, and E. Moore. Good sale of *Commonweal*. Collected for local propaganda, 1s. 6d. In evening at meeting room member's meeting was held.—S. G.

EAST LONDON.—Hall opened to public on Sunday night, when H. H. Sparling lectured on "Rent, Interest, and Profit;" good audience and lively discussion. Fair sale of literature.

ST. GEORGE'S EAST.—Wednesday, May 15th, Rev. Stewart Headlam lectured on "The Sins that cause Poverty" to good audience. Questions and discussion at finish. One new member made and fair sale of literature.

ABERDEEN.—At indoor meeting held on 13th, Leatham lectured on "An Eight Hour's Day." At Castle Street on Saturday night, usual meeting addressed by Duncan and Aiken.—L.

BRADFORD.—Tuesday 7th, Gaskell lectured on "The Futility of Thrift;" good debate. On Sunday 19th, Mitchell lectured to very good audience on "Radicalism v. Socialism," and succeeded in drawing some local Radicals into a warm debate, but their Radicalism is nothing but State Socialism though they don't know it; the lecturer and Minty ably replied.—P. B.

GLASGOW.—Sunday midday, Gilbert, T. and J. Burgoyne, and Carr spoke on Jail Square, and made collection on behalf of Glasgow Tramway Carmen's Union, amounting to 2s. 5d. At Paisley Road, T. and J. Burgoyne spoke; collection for same object 1s. 8d. We regret that the reports for the two previous weeks were sent in too late for insertion.—J. B.

LEEDS.—The Leeds branch are trying to arrange for a Congress of Yorkshire Socialists, to take place during July, hoping thereby to stimulate propaganda in the North. All Socialists who wish to see the cause advanced and strengthened in Yorkshire, are invited to communicate with F. Corkwell, 10, Sykes Street, Beeston Road, Leeds.

MANCHESTER.—Saturday evening we opened new ground, which we mean to work during summer, visiting outlying towns weekly. The factory town of Middleton was the first, and a splendid meeting was held in the Market Square. After opening with a song, Baillie lectured on "The Class War, its latest phases" to about 600 working-men. Many questions were put, the answers being satisfactory. On our departure a desire to hear more was expressed; we return next Saturday. At Stevenson Square on Sunday at 3, Ritson, Leonard Hall, and Barton spoke. At 7.30, enthusiastic meeting was held at Chester Road, when Barton and Ritson, and a friendly "Christian" Socialist spoke.

(Several reports are unavoidably crowded out for want of space.)

HATCHAM LIBERAL CLUB, Portland House, New Cross Road.—Sunday May 26, at 8.30, Rev. Stewart D. Headlam, "Practicable Land Nationalisation." A NIGHT WITH JOHN BEDFORD LENO, author of "Drury Lane Lyrics," "Kimburton," "The Last Idler," etc.—A Complimentary Smoking Concert, under the patronage of the "Hotspur Club," consisting of Readings and Songs from the works of J. B. Leno, will take place at Anderson's Hotel, Fleet Street, on Monday May 27, at 8.30 prompt. Tickets 1s. and 2s.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (¼-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). On Sunday May 26, at 8.30, Debate, "Is a Government necessary during a Revolutionary Crisis?" D. J. Nicoll, affirmative; F. Charles, negative.

East London.—Crown Coffee Tavern, 2 Columbia Road, Hackney Road. Sunday May 26, Members' Meeting at 7 o'clock sharp. At 8.30, C. W. Mowbray, "Socialism and Party Politics."

Hammersmith.—Kelmecott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday May 26, at 8 p.m., A Lecture. Thursday May 30, at 7.30, Choir practice. Friday 31, at 7.30 p.m., French Class; at 8.30 sharp, Special Business Meeting and discussion of motions for Conference.

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. On Wednesday May 29, lecture by Vaughan Nash, "Socialist Co-operation."

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen.—Oddfellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane. **Bradford.**—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Tuesday at 7.30.

Glasgow.—IMPORTANT NOTICE.—The Branch removes from 84 John Street on Saturday. Temporary address and meeting place, Ram's Horn Assembly Rooms, Ingram Street.

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

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

Manchester.—Working Men's Educational Club, 122 Corporation Street.

Norwich.—Sunday, at 8, Gordon Hall. 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 Assoc.

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. **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 25.

7 Hyde Park Brookes, Mrs. Lahr, and Davis
8 Battersea—opposite Christ Church Mowbray, Kitz, and Samuel
8 Mile-end Waste The Branch

SUNDAY 26.

10.30 Latimer Road Station Lynes, Dean, and Crouch
11.30 Bethnal Green—Gibraltar Walk Mrs. Schack and Parker
11.30 Hammersmith—Beadon Road Hammersmith Branch
11.30 Mitcham Fair Green Charles and Cores
11.30 Regent's Park Davis
11.30 Leman Street, Shadwell Turner
3.30 Hyde Park Davis and Brookes
3.30 Victoria Park Parker and Charles
7 Clerkenwell Green Brookes
7 Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park Hammersmith Branch
7.30 Mitcham Fair Green The Branch
7.30 Streatham Common Charles, Kitz, Cores

TUESDAY 28.

8 Fulham—back of Walham Green Church The Branch.

THURSDAY 30.

8 Ossulton Street Kitz.
8.15 Hoxton Church Davis.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen.—Saturday: Castle Street, 7.30 p.m.

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

Glasgow.—Sunday: Glasgow Green at 2 p.m.; Paisley Road at 5.30.

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

Manchester.—Outdoor meetings every Sunday. Stevenson Square at 3 p.m. Viaduct, Chester Road, at 7.30.

Norwich.—Sunday: Bawburgh, at 11. Crostwick, at 11. North Walsham, at 11. Market Place, at 3.

Yarmouth.—Priory Plain, every Sunday at 11 and 3.

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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.

SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.

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

Dundee.—Meetings every Sunday in Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

Edinburgh.—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8.

Galashiels.—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, Secretary. **Gallatown and Dysart** (Fife)—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School.

A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn Street, Secretary. **Kilmarnock.**—Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday. H. M'Gill, 22 Gilmour Street, Secretary. **West Calder.**—Robert Lindsay, West Calder, Secretary.

FERRDALE LIBERAL AND RADICAL CLUB, 35 Bedford Road, Brixton.—Thursday May 30, at 8.30, Mr. A. Howari, "Practicable Land Nationalization."

CLUB AUTONOME, 6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, W.—Sunday May 26, 8 p.m., a lecture by James Harragan, "Social Revolution, and How to bring it About."

SOUTHWARK AND LAMBETH BRANCH S.D.F., New Nelson Assembly Rooms, 24 Lower March, Lambeth.—Sunday May 26, at 8 p.m., Herbert Burrows, "The Relation of Social Democracy to Modern Thought." Tuesday 28, at 8, Annie Besant, "The Basis of Socialism."

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