

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

AN employer of labour is apt to think as little of truth in dealing with his workmen as a would-be member of Parliament in speaking to his would or wouldn't-be constituents, or, shall we say as a lawyer in pleading for a verdict. Plainly speaking, masters do not tell the truth as to the goodness or badness of trade whenever any rise of wages is asked or a reduction of them proposed, and generally, the workmen are warranted in not accepting on masters' evidence any statements as to the condition of any particular trade.

This general proposition has had in Glasgow of late a particular application. An iron firm has just submitted a statement of affairs, showing assets nearly £100,000 over liabilities. The stock of pig-iron at their works was 3000 tons more than that for which scrip had been issued, so that their iron has been selling well. And yet this firm was for going bankrupt because of the high wages it was paying the workmen, and the greed of these last for some portion of that excess of £100,000 or of the 3000 tons of iron, that were both equally the produce of their unpaid labour.

It is so rarely that we have to record a case of a threatened strike producing any good result, that our readers will be almost shocked with surprise to hear that at the Barrowford Mills, in Lancashire, a demand for advanced wages was met by an advance of 5 per cent. The name of the head of the firm was an apt one—Wiseman.

The 17,000 or 18,000 men at Kildgrove, to whom reference was made last week, are still out, and the employers are still holding out for the 10 per cent. reduction. They know their power, for Kildgrove and its villages are wholly dependent on these works, and even the bourgeois papers declare "that in the present state of the labour-market, the men will stand but a poor chance of finding employment elsewhere."

The Leatherseller's Company have granted £100 towards the Beaumont Trust Fund for the establishment of a People's Palace in East London. Which, being interpreted, means that incorporated capital has given an infinitesimal fraction of the surplus-value due to the unpaid labour of the workers of London, to a scheme for attempting to pacify them, and to postpone their demand for honest and fair treatment.

For forging and making a chain of fifty links, wages 1d. Even a county court judge holds it to be monstrous that wages should be paid at such a rate. Doubtless the masters in the nail trade think so also, but with a converse reading of the same phrase. Only six masters, at all events, out of forty or fifty, are willing to grant the request of the workmen for better dealing. The constant reductions of wage have brought the nailers and their families down to starvation point and beyond. Yet the Chairman of the Employers' Association cannot hold out any hope "with the nail trade in its present state."

£6500 paid to its members during one winter by one coal-miners' association; £8000 by another. That is the use to which the "thrift" of the workers is put.

The *Weekly Dispatch*—to "give the devil his due"—has in its last week's issue a clever arrangement in paragraphs. It prints a paragraph on the meeting of the National Association for Promoting State-Directed Emigration, with an account of resolutions "urging the Government to undertake a system of State-directed emigration on the lines submitted by the Association, and convening a home and colonial con-

ference to consider the question", which were proposed and carried unanimously. Immediately above this it prints the following from the *South Australian Advertiser*:

"The state of affairs is dreadful. The cry of the hungry is heard in our streets, and, despite the works which have been started from time to time, the unemployed are still far too numerous. At length the labour markets of other colonies seem fully supplied. From New Zealand, New South Wales, Western Australia, comes the cry that work is scarce, and from Victoria, too, comes the warning that there is a difficulty in absorbing the thousands that are pouring in. The demand for labour has almost ceased in South Australia, and is rapidly coming to an end in the other colonies."

At the meeting of the National Association for the promotion of State-Directed Emigration, a lord, a duke, a marquis, a cardinal, and several M.P.'s spoke. Certainly these various titles make one long for State-directed emigration—of one kind.

The Shop-Hours Regulation Bill contains no provision for Government inspectors. Past experience of Factory Acts tells us that without such provision the Bill will be a farce. Ed. A.

DOMESTIC SERVICE.

THE girls of Australia have not made a favourable impression upon the mind—I won't say the heart—of George Augustus Sala. As Mr. Sala is noted for his kindly feelings towards the sex, it is interesting to learn what flaw in the character of our Australian sisters has chilled his fancy. Young women in Australia, he tells us, have a strong antipathy to domestic service; and those who do become domestic servants are very fond of going to rural merry-makings at evening, which prevents them from attending to the comfort and convenience of their masters and their masters' guests, as Mr. Sala thinks they should do. He also thinks the female servants in hotels are much too high-spirited, and do not show that deference to their "superiors" which is so charming a characteristic of the "slaveys" at home.

Now there are two classes of people at least who will be disposed to esteem as a virtue what Mr. Sala regards as a fault—the young artisans of Australia and the Socialists all the world over. A girl who possesses a consciousness of the dignity of her own person, and feels the ugliness and baseness of hiring it out to pander to the laziness and pride of others; who dislikes being considered the inferior of any one, and who loves healthy recreation and enjoyment; such a girl is likely to prove much more attractive as a maiden, and much more desirable as a wife, than the poor creature who feels she is placed in this world merely as an appendage to the rich and great, and that her body and soul are given her to minister solely to the pleasure of others.

The absurdity of the present system of wage-slavery in the departments of production and distribution, may not, owing to its many economic complications, be at once apparent to the workers; but the folly of a system, that, not only permits but compels their sisters and daughters to leave their own homes, where their service is so much required, to go to the homes of strangers and work and care for them, should surely be manifest to the humblest intelligence. How common it is for a mother with half-a-dozen little ones—the care of which worries her from morning to night, and prematurely mars the comeliness of her womanhood—to send her eldest girl of, say 14 years, to serve and assist some other mother, who has, it may be, only one child or even none at all. Or can any one fail to see the absurdity of a young woman, who has to dress and work for herself, having besides to do these things for three or four other young women, all to save them the ignominy (as they think) of doing for themselves what she has to do for herself and them also. Surely the spirit of freedom and independence, which the working-men of this country are reputed to possess, is as shoddy as the stuff they are employed to manufacture for starvation wages, when we permit a system to endure which constrains them to send their sisters and daughters into the most ignoble, if in some cases not the most severe, form of servitude.

Under a Socialistic system every one, male and female, will be expected to mutually help one another personally as much as possible; and mere family relationship will certainly not circumscribe the ex-

change of assistance or solicitude amongst the members of a community. But such mutual help will be in nowise akin to the domestic servitude of to-day. To-day the help is not mutual or reciprocal. It is not the habit of the rich to send down their daughters to wash, cook, and serve in the dwellings of the poor; although some well-meaning but helpless philanthropical experiments on the smallest scale have been made in this direction. To-day such service is given not as between neighbour and neighbour, or as between friend and friend—not because it is needful or reasonable, and certainly not because the girls of the poorer classes feel impelled by a sense of duty to assist the richer classes in their household drudgery,—but it is extorted by a social despotism as cruel and relentless as ever barbarian conqueror exhibited in herding the captive daughters of his foes to slavery and concubinage.

Need I point out how much easier the lot of married women of the working-class would be, even under the present system, if their daughters and sisters now hired out to serve superfine rich people, could be retained at home to lighten and enliven their own necessary toil. And when we recollect that Socialism will not only bring back to their own homes the tens of thousands of women and girls now engaged in domestic service, but also the tens of thousands engaged in industries unsuited to their constitution and character; and when we also recollect how much simpler domestic life itself will be made, surely we have a promise that the burden of toil will be made as light for women as it will be for men.

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

GIVE UP DRINKING!

ONE of the commonest opponents of Socialism is the teetotaler. "The question, What is the cause of poverty? is so easily answered! Don't you see public-houses at every street corner, and all of them full of working men and working women, who spend their money there as fast as they can earn it? Look at the police reports of crime! It is nearly all due to drink. The curse of Britain is drink; abolish drink; make its manufacture and sale criminal, and then, and not till then, will you have no poor people, and no criminals." So saith the teetotaler. Certainly drink walks hand in hand with poverty, but is it the cause of poverty? Drink is the curse of England, the reason of the poverty of Englishmen! What about France, Italy, Spain, Turkey? They are not drunken countries, and the people, according to the teetotal argument, should be well off. This is not the case. In France they are always on the brink of a revolution. In Italy the workers are far worse off, economically speaking, than they are in drunken England. Deeper down is the cause of the producers being poor—in England, and in every other country—because throughout the world their economical position is the same. Here a little more *money wages*, there a little less, but substantially the civilised world over the *real wages*, the amount of food, clothes, shelter, and luxuries is the same; just enough to keep the body in working order to produce wealth for the masters, and to produce children for the masters' children to fleece when the present generation has been laid in the dust. The people are poor because the products of their labour are nearly all taken from them by the masters. "But still you must admit that if they did not spend so much of what was left in drink they would be better off," says the teetotaler. No, I reply. This is the position: at present the wages of the people include a certain amount of beer-money, because the habit of beer-drinking is pretty nigh universal; beer is considered as necessary a part of the people's diet as bread. All people, then, working for wages have a certain sum, as it were, allowed for drink—but all do not spend it. Some find they can do without drink, and save the money, and hence they become a little better off than the mass of their neighbours. Now, suppose they all stopped drinking. They would certainly save their drink-money, which means they would be able to support life on a lower diet than before. A new factor must now be introduced. There is going on at the present time a great competition for employment, and the man that takes the lowest wages is generally the most acceptable. There is a large army of unemployed always offering their labour cheap, and so tending to bring down wages. On our supposition the mass of workers have resolved to do without drink. The unemployed are, of course, included in the mass of workers, so now they are able to work for less money than ever. So they offer their services at the old rate of wages less the amount now to be saved owing to their not drinking.

The hands in the factories are working for the old wages, which includes drink money. The masters learn they now can get men at less wages, so the men inside are told they must either submit to a reduction or lose their places. In any case down come the wages; the drink-money that the workmen fondly hoped to save now goes into their master's pocket. The drinkers are the teetotalers' best friends. Because they drink, the others can save. In a crowd a few men on stools can see over the heads of the men on the ground, but let the men on the stools keep preaching, "Oh! you will all see like us if you get on stools!" Now they are all on stools, and lo! it is as if they were all on the ground! The teetotaler is on the economical stool to-day, but let him convert all his fellows to do as he does, and then, certainly he will find his vantage-ground gone.

The teetotaler makes a mistake. Men are not poor because they drink (take many of our "nobles and gentry" for proof of this; who drink a deal and are as rich as ever), rather they drink because they are poor, and they want to drive away the thoughts of that poverty; and because their lives are miserable, they fly to drink to drug

their careful hearts. Place men in a free economical position, where what they produce is their own, then their poverty will cease and their sad hearts will become gay, and drink will no longer have dominion over them.

ALEXANDER DONALD.

INSURRECTION IN BELGIUM.

IV.

(Continued from page 58.)

SUCH were the events which happened in Belgium during the latter part of last March. Since then, the popular excitement has subsided, the muskets of Galiffet van der Smissen have re-established order and tranquility. Everywhere silence reigns,—the silence of the tomb! It cannot, however, be said that everywhere the men are at work; on the contrary, the distress from want of work is even greater than it was before, and the economical crisis which is so cruelly severe in Belgium will not give place to a new era of prosperity and abundance, simply because the authorities have killed sixty-five workmen, wounded more or less severely a hundred and eighty others, and imprisoned five hundred and eighty-five of the rebels.

For our part, we do not expect anything from the intervention of governments in the solution of social questions, neither in Belgium nor elsewhere; all governments are of the same value, that is to say, they are of no value at all. They are a permanent obstacle in the way of progress and equality; the very essence of the governing principle is to resist all expansion of human nature towards liberty; therefore, we oppose the very principle of the governmental institution; in other words, we are Anarchists. Let us prove what we have just enunciated by the example of Belgium.

On the 30th of March, while an entire Belgian province was still in a state of siege, while blood was flowing and while manufactories were burning, the Belgian Government, by the mouth of M. Beernaert, the chief of the Ministry, hastened to make in the Chamber of Deputies a declaration in which it tried to justify itself for the ferocious measures which had been adopted, but in which it did not give to the country a single new idea, or hope, or promise, but, on the contrary, openly opposed the claims of the workmen who had been roused to revolt by an industrial crisis, unprecedented in the annals of Belgium. And M. Frère-Orban, the chief of the Liberal Opposition in the Chamber, did not by a single word endeavour to recall the government to a feeling of shame, and to the exercise of its duties! He contented himself with appealing to law, authority, and brutal force; as if force could dispel the profound causes of an economical situation which is without precedent, and apparently without end! Both the representative of the Government and the representative of the Opposition found it advantageous to pronounce some ungenerous words against the so-called "instigators" of the revolt, and after that, their economic science was exhausted. As if every one did not know that the true instigators are the upholders of that avaricious capitalism, which is never satiated, and of which the financial despotism weighs down and ruins the country; those men who profit by everything, even by the most frightful crises, in order to confirm their intolerable supremacy over the other classes; for it cannot be denied that the existing crisis in Belgium, by getting rid of all those who have not enormous capitals at their disposal, increases the power of those who possess colossal fortunes, and tends to concentrate more and more in their own hands all industrial pursuits.

The Belgian Government, after having to its everlasting shame made this declaration to the Chamber, which was really nothing but an avowal of its own impotence and incapacity, next endeavoured to raise itself in public estimation, and after fifteen long days of study, on the 15th of last April it made a grand effort, and instituted a *Commission of Enquiry, to investigate the situation of the working-classes in Belgium!* It is not the first time that this sinister and grotesque comedy has been played in that country. On the 7th of September 1843 a Commission of Enquiry was nominated, charged with exactly the same duty. This commission finished its work five years afterwards, in 1848, published three large volumes containing the result of its investigations, cost the country in expenses about a million francs, and then was peaceably buried. The Government did nothing, absolutely nothing. In 1869, a fresh enquiry was again felt to be necessary, because they wished to soothe the sufferings of the working-classes. The enquiry again squandered away an enormous sum, which the naive public paid as a matter of course, and then nothing more was heard of it. The Government on this occasion, as on the first, did not introduce the least reform, so little was it in favour of the colliers. Now, for the third time, the same farce has begun again, and it will be with the same result; unless, indeed, the Belgians, tired at last of being always the dupes of their so-called masters, do not destroy once for all both investigations and investigators, and attend to their affairs themselves.

The composition of this Commission of Enquiry is in itself an unparalleled piece of hypocrisy; it is composed of deputies and senators, large manufacturers like Balisau, Montefiore, Pionis, d'Andrimont, etc., or great financiers, directors and managers of joint-stock companies, such as Malou, Jacobus, Pirmez, etc.; of Government officials like Arnould, engineer-in-chief of mines, Prins, general inspector of prisons, of priests, journalists, lawyers, and lastly of four professors at the universities. Naturally, the Government has taken good care not to appoint on this Commission those who alone would have been able to give it certain moral weight and authority, namely, *working men*. The

financiers will manage the affair much better; the workmen know nothing about it.

But if the working-men are not included in the Commission of Inquiry, to make amends the Government has also thought of them. The Minister of Justice, a certain De Volder, who was formerly an advocate of twentieth rank, has just brought forward several draughts of laws directed pointedly against the workmen. One law on explosives, another enlarging the law against carrying arms; a third increasing the vote for the gendarmerie, and finally, a new article of the Penal Code, which is absolutely scandalous, punishing by a fine of three thousand francs and three years' imprisonment, any incitement to crime or to any political offence, *even if not followed by its commission*. This last law at one sweep strikes out from the wide-famed Belgian Constitution the right of union and the freedom of the press. Evidently, governments only take these senseless measures when they feel that they are lost. The prosecution of the press, and the repression of offences of opinion, caused the downfall of the Restoration, of the Monarchy of July, and of the Second Empire in France, and in Belgium, in 1830, of the Dutch rule; just as they are now bringing about the ruin of Bismark's Germany and the Bourgeois Republic in France. We need not therefore complain immoderately; the Belgian Government is committing suicide, and we ask for nothing better.

VICTOR DAVE.

(To be continued.)

MARAT'S RETURN.

(By FERDINAND FREILIGRATH. Translated by J. L. JOYNES.)

NIGHT darkens o'er the dismal sea;
The sea-mew screams through fog and cloud;
Pale gleams the strand of Normandy,
Foam-flecked, and wrapt in misty shroud.
O desolate expanse of night!
One lonely boat lies just in sight,
By some few wretched sailors manned,
Who try their rotten bark to trim,
With panting breath and vision dim,
And hum a song, and hug the land.

While on the shore, with cheek and hair
Wet with the foam that o'er him flies,
Is sitting on the shingle there
A slight spare man with piercing eyes.
He gazes o'er the gloomy scene,
Scanning the clouds with glances keen,
And springs with clenched fist from his seat,
To chide with accents stern and loud
The waves, as though an angry crowd
Were surging round the speaker's feet.

Then down he sinks with knitted brow;
What is it that he hears and sees?
What else but sail and mast and prow,
And hissing waves, and hushing breeze?
He looks on other waves than those—
On eager friends and angry foes,
On folk aroused to wrath by wrong.
He sees the crowd whose hopes and fears
He oft has moved—he sees, he hears
Tumultuous Paris round him throng.

He sees the squares, he sees the streets—
Like breakers there in ebb and flood,
The mob advances and retreats,
Where seethes the furious Gallic blood—
And steel pikes brandished in the air,
And red caps on dark locks of hair,
Torches and trumpets, swords and brands,
And spears that children point and poise,
And rattling drums with dreadful noise
Beaten by frenzied women's hands.

From tower and steeple clang the bells;
And hark! the sound of bursting bars
The grim Bastille's destruction tells.
Lo, murder on the field of Mars,
Thunder of cannon, crack of gun,
Red banners streaming in the sun—
And who is she that leads them on?
On cannon, see, she sits astride,
With sword and musket at her side,
The Mercicourt, the Amazon!

To stir such flames as these to heat
He thundered louder than the shots,
In clubs and corners of the street,
Ringed with his trusty Sansculottes.
'Tis this that seethes before his eyes;
And see, Camille and Robespierre rise,
And Danton with his lion strength—
A stool and table serve for stage—
He too, transfigured by his rage,
Pale Passion's self made man at length.

And this the sea whose breakers oft
His passion's furious blast has stirred,
O'er which he daily launched aloft
His storm-tost danger-daring bird,
The "People's Friend"—through hail and rain
Its grey leaves fluttered forth again,

Like sea-mew's flight the waves above,
To rouse and warn and stab and sting,
And yet to seek one only thing,
The olive branch of peace and love.

'Tis Marat! Yes, the great, the good!
The noble Tribune! Yes, 'tis he!
Hunted by hate through waste and wood,
He rests him by the Norman sea.
Mistrusted, cursed, pursued with shame—
'Tis past, he has renounced his aim;
The way he wends with woe is dark;
To England will he cross the wave,
Though heart-break hunt him to the grave,
All's one—there lies the smugglers' bark.

The anchor rises through the foam;
He springs on board: "Now, sailors, speed!"
One single look toward his home—
That strong soul bows like broken reed!
He signs them weeping to the strand,
He cries, "Put back, put back to land!
And shall the child its mother shun?
Come what come may!" He falls to earth,
To kiss the land that gave him birth;
"O Revolution, take thy son!"

And now, his foes upon his track,
And now, through roads and fields astray,
The traitor's knife behind his back,
Home, home, the long and lonely way!
And he must hide in standing corn,
And creep through hedge and thick-set thorn,
Till—whence with penalty and pain
The city drove him forth yestreen—
He burst again upon the scene,
And enter Paris once again.

What is it he goes hence to meet?
Ah yes, his fate is fixed; we know
What destiny will dog his feet—
First August tenth must come and go;
Convention then, and Terror's reign,
And then a king amongst the slain
To scaffold haled from guilty state;
The Girondins on guillotine,
Then Charlotte's knife-thrust sheer and keen—
See there! he goes to meet his fate.

GUNS.

(From the *Workmen's Advocate*.)

"WHAT! is the *Workmen's Advocate* going to recommend a resort to arms?"
Keep cool, friends; we simply mentioned the word, Guns—plural for Gun.
We had in mind, not "Great Guns," nor indeed old-fashioned guns called muskets. No, nothing of the kind.

Of course we do not oppose the possession of force, though under certain circumstances we might deplore the use of it. But that isn't what we were going to say.

We were thinking of the humiliating treatment of poor, discouraged, and half-starved working-men in the Hocking Valley; of the poor miners in Pennsylvania; of the unarmed and undisciplined crowd of workmen in East St. Louis, fired at by a little band of armed murderers called deputy-sheriffs. These pictures were before us when the thought occurred that the murderers hired by capitalists possessed two things which the workmen lacked: rifles and discipline. Not that we should recommend the workmen to shoot even murderous deputy-sheriffs—Oh, no! But don't you think, innocent reader, that if the workmen possessed each a rifle with suitable ammunition, and discipline, that there would have been no necessity for bloodshed? Don't you think that when a deputy-sheriff was sent with a message to a striker he would approach respectfully and with a certain amount of caution if he knew that the striker was as accomplished in the art of explosive pyrotechnics as his murderous self? And, on the whole, don't you think that capitalists would be more likely to pay good wages and deport themselves in a gentlemanly manner in the presence of Labour, if they knew that the police would not be ordered out to club their fellow citizens, because the fellow citizens might take a liking to brass buttons; neither would the Governor order out the militia, for that would only tend to create a disturbance, and the mere fact that an employer was scared or wanted to use the government forces to vent his spleen with, would not be sufficient cause for risking a serious outbreak.

Now, in all this, not a life would be lost, nor a cartridge exploded, simply because both sides would be equally prepared for an emergency which would not be likely to arise because of the equality of power.

But, good gracious! Mr. Capitalist, you look as white as a sheet! Oh, recovering, are you? Thought you were going to be hurt. Well, we are glad you have recovered; we only had an idea, and from the very nature of the subject it "went off."

Wage-workers should allow no thought of nationality, colour, or religion to separate them.

CHANGED HIS OPINIONS.—1876. Reputable Citizen: "Eh! who are the Socialists? Oh, a few crazy cranks—don't amount to much." 1880. R. C.: "Who are the Socialists? Why, a lot of d—d scoundrels who talk of burning property, massacring honest folks in their beds, and dividing up the money of the rich. Dangerous, sir; dangerous, and ought to be suppressed." 1886. R. C.: "Who are the Socialists? My dear sir, where have you been? Why, everybody is talking about them. Ministers defend Socialism from their pulpits. The newspapers and magazines are full of it. The country is full of Socialists, and they are increasing at a great rate. Many of their doctrines are sound, sir, sound, and though I can't subscribe to everything they say, yet I am something of a Socialist myself."—*Labor Enquirer*.



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

Communications are invited from all concerned with social questions. They should be written on one side of the paper only and should be addressed to the Editors of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. They must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

Rejected MSS. can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them.

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries throughout the world, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

QUESTIONS bearing upon the principles propounded and the objects had in view by the *Commonweal*, will be welcomed by the Editors.

RECEIVED—England: Anarchist—Worker's Friend—Daylight (Norwich)—Christian Socialist—Church Reformer—National Review—Republican—Journal of Vigilance Association—Justice—To-Day—Freethinker—Practical Socialist—Leicester Co-operative Record. Canada: L'Union Ouvrière (Montreal). France: Paris: Cri du Peuple (daily)—La Revue Socialiste—Le Révolté—Le Socialiste—La Tribune des Peuples—Revue du Mouvement Social, Le Devoir (Guise)—Le Forçat du Travail (Bordeaux). Germany: Neue Zeit (Stuttgart). Holland: Recht voor Allen. Hungary: Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik (Buda-pest). India: Voice of India (Bombay)—Hindu Patriot (Calcutta)—People's Friend (Madras). Italy: Il Fascio Operaio (Milan)—La Lotta (Ancona). New Zealand: Watchman. Portugal: O Campino—Voz do Operario—O Protesto Operario (Lisbon). Spain: El Angel del Hogar—Revista Social—Acracia—La Justicia Humana (Barcelo a)—Bandera Social—El Socialista (Madrid)—El Socialismo (Cadiz)—La Perseverancia (Huelva). Switzerland: Sozial Demokrat (Zürich). U. S. A.: (New York): Volkszeitung—Der Sozialist—Freiheit—Progress—John Swinton's Paper—Spread the Light—Our Country—Amerikanische Arbeiter-zeitung. (Boston): Liberty—Woman's Journal. Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer—Little Socialist—Chicago (Ill.) Alarm—Detroit (Mich.) Labor Leaf—Princeton (Mass.) Word—Cleveland (O.): Carpenter—Chronicle. Cincinnati (O.) Unionist—Stockton (Cal.) Mail—Petersburg (Ill.) Voice of Labor—New Haven (Conn.) Workmen's Advocate—St. Louis (Mo.): Altruist. Kansas (Mo.) Sun—Pittsburg (Pa.) Labor Herald—Baltimore (Md.) Labor Free Press—Valley Falls (Kan.) Lucifer Newfoundland (Pa.) La Torpille—Litchfield (Minn.) Radical—Manchester (N. H.) Weekly Budget—Portland (Oregon) Alarm—Evansville (Ind.) Neue Zeit—Milwaukee (Wis.) Volksblatt.

OUR REPRESENTATIVES.

THE past week of parliamentary and party strife has been sufficiently barren of interest to the ordinary observer. No one has expected anything new to be said about the Home Rule Bill, and no one has been disappointed. The Disarming Bill was carried, as every one knew it would be, and the votes pro and con were very much what was expected. Accordingly, the thing which usually happens in a dull interval of an exciting period has happened now. People having few additional facts to go on have been turning guesses at facts into facts, and disputing about them as vigorously as if they had really happened.

As an addition to this amusement, a violent sham quarrel about nothing at all has been got up by the *Pall Mall Gazette* against Mr Chamberlain. That journal is almost entirely on Mr Chamberlain's side in the Home Rule matter; it has been one of the most unsparing opponents of the Bill; and might have seen, if it did not, in Mr Chamberlain a thick and thin supporter of its favourite fad of imperial federation and the deification of the central parliament of the empire. But all this is not enough, and an attack must be made on him on grounds difficult enough for a simple person to see. Mr Chamberlain's conduct in the Irish business is attackable enough from various sides; but that the most spiteful attack should come on him from a friend, or at least an ally, is quaint indeed. If it means anything more than a newspaper sensation, it must point to the utter want of faith in the Liberal-Radical party, whose leaders in the press and in Parliament are hitting out wildly in the hopes of attracting some applause somewhere from some section or other of that once respectable drilled phalanx.

Nor can Mr Chamberlain be congratulated on any success in keeping his temper. His attack on the meeting of the Liberal and Radical Council seems to show that their hint of censure has been taken as a deep cause of offence; though, perhaps, like the servant-maid in Dickens, he has only been "showing them what kind of a temper he keeps"—a mode of striving for his own way familiar enough to the ex-master of the Caucus. For the rest, his appeal in his letter for political gratitude for past services, to shield him from censure on present blunders, would be feeble argument indeed if the rank and file had not got so used to leadership—by the nose.

Quarrelling among once allies has been diversified by a good deal of watering down of strong utterances against enemies when the latter have raised too much of a storm around the speech-makers. Lord Salisbury having put forward some alternative to Home Rule, found no difficulty in proclaiming the necessary Tory scheme of coercion, carried on, if necessary, to extermination of the rebellious race. But, frightened at the sound of his own words, he has tried to explain all that away into paternal government for Ireland, and the attainment for it of all the blessings "which in this island we have for a long time been privileged to enjoy." *We?* Landlords and fundlords, it must be supposed, who indeed have had no bad time of it in Ireland either.

Of course there is nothing in this vague nonsense; but that his lordship thinks it necessary to explain away his tall talk does mean something: he is looking towards the Whigs and Whigizing of Radicals. It is but part of the same operation as the quarrelling of the old allies—namely, the tendency for all reaction to run together into the Moderate Party. Sheer Toryism can now only work through hypocrisy—that is, Whiggery, alias dying Constitutionalism confronted with young Revolution.

Even the bold Major Saunderson was anxious to "explain," much as if a man using the word "damned" with reference to an adversary, were to point out that he did not intend a theological assertion. Lord R. Churchill, however, stood to his guns, and asserted the constitutionalism of rebellion in the teeth of the "sacro-sanctity of assemblies" ingeniously enough, whatever may be said about his ingenuousness. Poor Constitutionalism! that has to be supplemented by Revolution!

The respectabilities that followed Lord R. Churchill—Gladstone and other, including Mr Gladstone himself—did not accept this view of Constitutionalism; their respectability rang hollow enough since they were driven into using war-like metaphors in the usual unreal and meaningless manner; in spite of which all that was said made clear once more that brute force is the real cement of all sham society, and that it will breed force as a solvent of its tyranny. It is a pity indeed that such a discussion should have had no better occasion than the carrying on on one side of the old habit of refusing the Irish the rights of citizenship, and on the other an attempt to put the Irish landlords in the right, whatever means they may try for the upholding of their monstrous oppression.

The "negotiations" for patching up that broken jug, the Liberal Party, and all the lies, half-lies, contradictions, evasions, and the rest of the brood of party tactics may be passed over in unrespectful silence. Thus the game of "representation" goes on, and outside it the people live and die—live miserably and die before their time, and the veil of words, and sham intentions, and half intentions, and the self-interest of the rich now grown mild and fatherly—in words—dulls the sound of that

"Lamentation and an ancient tale of wrong,
Like a tale of little meaning though the words are strong;
Chanted from an ill-used race of men that cleave the soil,
Sow the seed, and reap the harvest with enduring toil."

How long will it last? "Our time" think our Representatives. Well, some of them are old men, but some scarcely middle-aged, and "he who lives will see."
WILLIAM MORRIS.

"Count Samuel Teleky is organising an expedition for the exploration of Central Africa. The fitting out will be completed by the end of May, and one hundred well-armed men will reach Zanzibar in the course of June. Captain Hänel, of the Austrian navy, will take part in the expedition, and two boats will be taken out in pieces. It is believed here that the expedition will not confine itself to scientific explorations only."

The last sentence is really almost superfluous: "scientific explorations" is only "markets writ large."

"The collar manufacturers at Troy, New York State, have ordered a lock-out owing to the demands of their employes. Eight thousand persons are consequently thrown out of employment."

"Vae victis!"—Woe to the vanquished!—is a saying that holds good still. American workers, hold your tongues and bear it all—if you can do nothing else.
W. M.

SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

CHAPTER III.—THE BREAK-UP OF FEUDALISM.

THE period of change from the feudal system into that of commerce is so important, and so significant to our subject, that it demands a separate chapter.

The beginning of the sixteenth century found, as we have said, the craft-gilds corrupted into privileged bodies holding within them two orders of workmen—the privileged and the unprivileged—the two forming the germ of a society founded on capital and wage-labour. The privileged workmen became middle-class; the unprivileged, proletarians.

But apart from the gilds, the two classes were being created by the development of commerce, which needed them both as instruments for her progress. Mediæval commerce knew nothing of capitalistic exchange; the demands of local markets were supplied by the direct exchange of the superfluity of the produce of the various districts and countries. All this was now being changed, and a world-market was being formed, into which all commodities had to pass; and a huckstering class grew up for the carrying on of this new commerce, and soon attained to power, amidst the rapid break-up of the old hierarchical society with its duly ordered grades.

The fall of Constantinople, which was followed in thirty years by the discovery of America, was a token of this great change. The Mediterranean was no longer the great commercial sea, with nothing beyond it but a few outlying stations. The towns of Central Europe—*e.g.*, Augsburg, Nuremberg, Bruges, and the Hanse towns—were now sharing the market with Venice and Genoa, the children of Constantinople: there was no longer one great commanding city in Europe. But it was not only the rise in the commercial towns that was overturning feudal society. As they conquered their enemy, the feudal nobles, they fell into the clutches of bureaucratic monarchs, who either seized on them for their own possessions, or used them as tools for their projects of conquest and centralisation. Charles V., *e.g.*, played this game through South Germany, Austria, and the Netherlands, and with Venice, under cover of the so-called "Holy Roman Empire," while at the same time he had fallen into possession of Spain by marriage; and disregarding his sham feudal empire, he bent all his efforts into turning these countries into a real bureaucratic State. In France the last liberties of the towns were crushed out. In England the plunder of the religious houses enabled Henry VIII. to found a new nobility, subservient to his own absolutism, in place of the ancient feudal nobility destroyed by their late civil war.

Everywhere the modern political bureaucratic *nation* was being developed. In France the long and fierce wars of the Burgundian and Armagnac factions gave opportunity for the consolidation of the monarchy, which was at last effected by Louis XI., the forerunner of the most successful king of France and the last successful one—Louis XIV. In England the Wars of the Roses were not so bitter as the French wars, and the people took small part in them, except as vassals or the households of the contending nobles; but they nevertheless played their part in the disruption of feudality, not only by the thinning-out of the nobles slain in battle or on the scaffold, but also by helping directly to draw England into the world-market.

Under the mediæval system the workmen, protected and oppressed by the lords of the manor and the gilds, were not available for the needs of commerce. The serfs ate up the part of the produce spared them by their lords; the gild craftsmen sold the produce of their own hands to their neighbours without the help of a middle-man. In neither case was there anything left over for the supply of a great market.

But England, one of the best pasture countries of the world, had in her even then capacities for profit-grinding, if the tillage system of the manor and the yeoman's holdings could be got rid of. The landowners, ruined by their long war, saw the demand for English wool, and set themselves to the task of helping evolution with much of the vigour and unscrupulous pettifogging which has since won for their race the temporary command of the world-market. The tenants were rack-rented, the yeomen were expropriated, the labourers driven off the land into the towns, there to work as "free" labourers, and England thus contributed her share to commerce, paying for it with nothing more important than the loss of the rough joviality, plenty, and independence of spirit, which once attracted the admiration of foreigners more crushed by the feudal system and their abuses than the English were.

Thus all over Europe commercialism was rising. New needs were being discovered by men who were gaining fresh mastery over nature, and were set free from old restraints to struggle for individual pre-eminence. A fresh intelligence and mental energy was shedding its light over the more sordid side of the period of change. The study of the Greek literature at first hand was aiding this new intelligence among cultivated men, and also, since they did but half understand its spirit, was warping their minds into fresh error. Art was no longer religious and simple—the harmonious expression of the thought of the people—but was growing more and more ambitiously individualistic and arrogant, and at the same time grew more and more retrospective and tainted with pedantry.

Amidst all this it is clear that the old religion would no longer serve the new spirit of the times. The Mediæval Church, the kingdom of heaven on earth, in full sympathy with the temporal hierarchy, in which also every one had his divinely appointed place, and which restricted commerce and forbade usury, such a Church was no religion for the new commercialism; its religion must have nothing to do with the business of this world; so the individualist ethics of Early Chris-

tianity, which had been kept in the background during the period of the Mediæval Church, were once more brought to the front and took the place of the corporate ethics of that Church, of which each one of the "faithful" was but a part. Whatever base uses their enthusiasm was put to by cooler heads, this revived Christianity took a real hold on most of the progressive minds of the period, especially in the north; so that Protestantism became the real religion of the epoch, and even permeated Catholicism and gave it whatever true vitality it had; for its political part was an unreal survival from the Mediæval Church, and whatever of it was of any force became the mere ally of bureaucracy; a word which applies to the Protestant Churches just as much as the Catholic; and, in fact, everywhere the new religion became the useful servant of Commercialism, first by providing a new army of officials always subservient to the authority of government, and secondly by holding out to the people hopes outside their wretched life on earth, so as to quiet their discontent by turning their earthly aspirations heavenward. On the one hand like Early Christianity, it bade let the world alone to compete for the possession of privilege, and bade the poor pay no heed to the passing oppression of the day, which could not deprive them of their true reward in another world; but unlike Early Christianity, on the other hand it shared in the possession of privilege, and actively helped in the oppression which it counselled the oppressed not to rebel against. But, as a truly distinct and equal power beside the State, the Church was extinct; it was a mere salaried adjunct of the State. The story, moreover, of the robbery by private persons of the public property which the Mediæval Church once held, was a disgraceful one everywhere, but nowhere so disgraceful as in England.

But while modern Europe was developing for itself a new economy, a new religion, and a new patriotism, the change did not take place without a protest of the disappointed hopes of the people in the form of fresh rebellion; though it was little heeded amidst the furious wars for the place and power of kings, and the establishment of political boundaries of the newly made "nations." The Peasant War in Germany, and the revolt of the Anabaptists, are, so to say, the funeral torches of the Middle Ages. The first was much of the nature of other mediæval insurrections, except that it was fiercer and longer lived; it ends the series of outbreaks which had been so common in England during the first years of the century. The revolt of the Anabaptists was an attempt to realise the kingdom of God upon earth literally and simply in a Communistic Society based on supernaturalism, and was a protest of ignorant and oppressed men against the hardening of Christianity into bourgeois Protestantism, and of the hardening of feudal oppression into commercial exploitation.

Thus, then, was the feudal system broken down, to give place to a new world, whose government, under cover of carrying on the old monarchies and varied classes of feudality, was employed in one business only, the consolidation and continuance of the absolute property of the individual. It is true that in carrying out this function, the new society used the forms of the old, and asserted hereditary rights stiffly enough; but this was only in its transition from the old to the new. In truth the spirit of the Middle Ages was dead, and its theory of society and authority in Church and State was gone. The kingdom of heaven of the Mediæval Church had left the earth, and did not concern itself with its doings except so far as they constituted theological holiness or sins. God no longer owned the land allowing human beings to use it after a divinely ordained scheme. It was now the *property* of the absolute monarch, who might give it to whomsoever he would; and it was only for a brief space that a dim shadow of feudal responsibility clung to the landowner.

Serfdom was gone, and the gilds were now but close corporations of privileged workmen, or of employers of labour. The ordinary workman was now "free." That is to say he could work where and how he pleased, *if* he could find some one who would set him to work at the price of taking from him a part of the produce of his labour; which labour was now a commodity to be bought and sold in the market as the body of the chattel-slave once had been.

Of the working of this new form of privilege and slavery we shall see more in our next chapter.

E. BELFORD BAX AND WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be continued.)

OBJECTIONS TO SOCIALISM.

(A Reply to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, M.P.)

IV.

WE now pass to a paragraph whose careful reading and re-reading many times almost leads to the conclusion that to our objector Socialism is only concerned with a change in the method of distribution of goods, and not with the more important change in the method of their production. It is true that in the succeeding paragraphs there is some slight reference to this last; but it is of the very slightest, and is only made indirectly, in dealing with the attacks on "property." The fact is, that in this pamphlet, as in the St James's Hall debate, the primary question of Socialism and of our present-day society is never approached, and that primary question is the way in which our goods are produced, the unpaid labour expended in their production, the surplus-value resulting from this, and the source of all capital in that surplus-value.

However, though we regret that our main point is thus unchallenged and ignored, let us take what we have and deal with it. "Socialists

declare . . . that the exchange of all production [read "products"] must be controlled by the workers; but they decline to explain how this control is to be exercised, and on what principles." Note first, the unconscious admission that is here made by implication. He that objects to our claim for the control of all exchange by the workers implicitly admits that now much if not all exchange is controlled by the non-workers,—a sufficiently unjust condition of things. Upon the latter part of the sentence my former contentions again come in, with an important modification. Certainly we cannot explain in all details exactly how a more equitable exchange will be effected, though probably any one of us would be personally prepared to say how it might be. Scarcely any thinking Socialist is there who has not in head the general idea of a plan for completely socialising exchange. But knowing that more and wiser heads than his will be busy a little later at the same task, he sees that for him to lay down any assured scheme now would be alike presumptuous and premature. He declines to be led astray by this red herring of argument, and continues preaching principles.

A word that leads me to the important modification noted above. The principles upon which the control of all exchange by the workers can be and even—as principles—will be carried on, we can certainly explain. And the explanation is the more easy, as the principles that will govern exchange in the future will be the direct opposite of those governing it to-day. For injustice, will be substituted justice; for inequality, equality; the inverse proportion which now obtains, whereby he that does least receives most, and he that does most receives least, will be replaced by the receipt on the part of each man of all that is necessary to him, he having worked according as his strength and ability allow. The hideous commercial yard-measure of rewarding a man according to what he has done will be broken asunder. If a man has done all of which he is capable, he is entitled to just so much of the necessities and of the luxuries of life as his fellow, who also has done all of which he is capable. And this holds true if the one be a Charles Darwin and the other a crossing-sweeper. "She hath done what she could," said Christ of the Magdalen, and the words in which he rebuked the disciples are at this hour a rebuke to the bourgeois advocate and the bourgeois defendant.

And observe, finally on this point, that the commercial yard-measure is a false one, even on its wielder's own showing. Men are not to-day rewarded in proportion to that which they have done. Confining our attention wholly to the question of exchange, though not without renewing the protest against this narrowing-down of the enquiry, we may fairly ask the individualists whether under their scheme men are not rewarded in exactly the inverse proportion to their expending labour? The middle-man, who has learnt the meaning of "*tuisissimus ibi in medias res*", receives his hundreds or thousands a year. His office-hours are theoretically, say 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. Of these many are never occupied with work at all, and not one of them with work so arduous or so irksome as that of the clerk who writes all his supremely uninteresting letters, or the porter who carries about his supremely uninteresting goods. And the former of these, really working from 9 to 6 say, is "passing rich on" £100 a year; whilst the latter working yet longer and at more severe toil, receives, perhaps, 20s. a week.

It is, I say, by no means difficult to explain the principles on which the control of exchange by the workers will be carried on, if once the principles on which the control of exchange by the non-workers is carried on are understood. But I imagine that another meaning yet is lurking behind Mr. Bradlaugh's phrase. He is, I fancy, thinking of the difficulty that may occur in carrying out an equitable scheme of distribution. There will be the leaven in our midst of those anxious to get back to the old system, inasmuch as the old system gives more chance of personal aggrandisement. That such a difficulty should meet us is a terrible comment at once upon the individualistic system, and the moral natures that it spawns. But the difficulty is greatly lessened if we reflect that all are to be workers, and really workers. The class of non-workers who, having profited by the unfair condition of things to-day, will hanker after their human flesh-pots, will have vanished as a class. At first certain diseased individuals may be present in sufficiently large numbers to need careful watching, just as criminals, like these a product of commercialism, will at first be many in number. But the number of both these classes will rapidly diminish, until they will become as rare as microcephali or ape-men. Like these a would-be capitalist will appear now and again. Like these, he will be a case of reversion to a lower ancestral condition, and like these, unpleasant and shocking as he will seem, he will not be of the least danger to the community.

EDWARD AVELING.

(To be continued).

A CROFTER STARVED TO DEATH.—A shocking case of death from starvation is reported from the Highlands. A poor woman, 83 years of age, was in receipt of the usual pauper's dole of three half-pence a-day, out of which she has to provide house, food, and clothing. Her body was recently found by the roadside, in a deplorable state of emaciation and neglect, death being plainly due to starvation. The corpse was removed to a shed—the chosen abode of a tribe of cats—and the interment was effected by order of the relieving officer, who is also the registrar of deaths, without having been seen by the doctor. Such a case is, it is feared, but one of many constantly occurring amongst the crofters of the Highlands, but which, owing to the absence of coroners' inquests never come to light.

The first thing I saw was law, under the form of a gibbet; the second was wealth, under the form of a woman dead of cold and hunger; the third was misery, under the shape of a hunted man chained to prison walls; the fourth was your palaces, beneath the shadow of which covered the tramp. The rich have made slaves and convicts for the human race.—Victor Hugo.

NORTHERN NOTES.

THE commercial battle for life becomes fiercer in our midst every day. The relentlessness and inhumanity displayed in the competitive struggle fast rivals the worst examples of barbarous warfare—the young and the aged being especially marked for extermination.

Here, in this typically commercial city (Glasgow), boys and girls—just when their bodies and minds are growing, and are least capable of strain or burden—have often the hardest work and the longest hours. Not infrequently they have to perform "duties" which would severely tax the powers of grown up men and women. In thousands of cases they are the sole support of their households, the grown-up members of the family being unable to procure work. The adept disciples of modern political economy have devised an ingenious system, which discards the old idea of fathers supporting their children, and makes children support their fathers—which decrees that the burden of life shall no longer be borne by the strong but by the weak.

In a recent number of the *Commonweal* we were told of an employer who boasted that he never employed a workman over 34 years of age. The economical inhumanity implied in the boast is rapidly extending north of the Tweed. I am informed that an edict has gone forth in one of our largest locomotive works here that all old men are to be discharged as soon as possible, and that no workman who has passed the age of vigorous manhood is to be engaged in future. A man who applied for work a few days ago to one of the foremen—an old friend of the applicants—was regretfully informed that he could not be taken on as the foreman was forbidden to employ any one whose hair was grey. The applicant was between 40 and 50 years old.

An incident of a similar kind occurred recently at one of our Clyde ship-building yards. An able and experienced workman applied for a job, and was refused because, as the foreman explained, he wore spectacles.

Surely this reduction of our commercial system to gross inhumanity will speedily rouse the workers to a sense of their complete subjugation. Incidents such as these sometimes touch the quick of men's souls, and fire their hearts to revolt more effectively than even starvation and death.

There is one consolation in knowing the insincerity of party political opinion, it saves us from the conviction that the greater portion of our fellow-men are downright idiots. At the worst there is more hope for a nation of knaves than a nation of fools. Knaves may be constrained to become honest, but fools cannot be made wise.

The above reflection has been suggested by the behaviour of the Liberals concerning Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule proposals. Not six months ago every Liberal Association in Scotland loudly proclaimed the necessity of sending the Liberal party into power with a commanding majority—to carry a Home Rule measure?—No, but to enable Mr. Gladstone to successfully resist and suppress the claim for Home Rule which the prospective eighty-six national members were sure to make. But that majority was not obtained, and Mr. Gladstone has himself proposed the very thing which they were pledged to resist. And now those self-same Liberal Associations without exception, proclaim the absolute justice and expediency of doing what they six months ago denounced as impossible and insane. Men who were "steeped to the lips" in antagonism to the Irish demands, now barefacedly profess that not only do they now deem Home Rule to be a just concession to the Irish people, but that they always held that opinion—only up till now the question was not ripe for solution.

There is no honesty possible in politics. Compromise, expediency, chance, deceit, and every species of moral obliquity are its main factors. So much have men become debased by the conjoint influence of commerce and politics that they refuse to believe in the possibility of Socialism on account of the very justice and purity of its principles. Socialism, they tell us, is opposed to human nature. Did Socialism postulate the practice of every conceivable fraud, folly, and cruelty, it would, I must sorrowfully aver, receive more speedy acceptance in this politico-commercial generation.

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

RECORD OF THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT.

AMERICA.

From letters and papers since received, it would appear that we were correct in our reading of the accounts which reached England of the Chicago "Riots." At the inquest held upon the slain policeman, Degan, one of the official witnesses swore that "a number of detective police were instructed to saunter through the crowds and discover whether any incendiary talk was going on." While these limbs of the law were upon their beneficent mission—the true character of which needs no explanation for us—about nine o'clock August Spies was heard to call the people together at a wagon on Desplaines Street, and announce that Parsons and others would soon be present to address them. He said that those who had been battered and bludgeoned by the police for trying to prevent non-union men from working at a factory where the hands were on strike, were good, peaceable people, and had done nothing worse than throw stones at windows. A police witness swore that "Spies made no positive threats, but the tenor of his remarks was inflammatory," which they very presumably were, inasmuch as they were an exposure of the evils of society, and a brief résumé of the means taken by the exploiters to protect themselves! Parsons was eloquent, as usual, but by the admission of the police themselves was "more guarded than usual," dealing principally with labour-statistics. Then came Fielden, who denounced the existing government and law. He was still speaking when the police came up at about ten. The crowd was an orderly one, but the police had come to fight, and fight they would. The order to the crowd to disperse was immediately followed by an order for the police to charge. As the 200 butchers advanced, the historic bomb was thrown. The following speaks for itself:—

"Tom Gately, a tinsmith, boarding over McAuley's saloon on the north-east corner of West Randolph and Desplaines street, saw the émeute from his chamber

window. He was on the street at first, but finding he could see and hear from the window he went back to his room. 'I heard the speeches of Spies, Parsons, and Fielden, and they didn't seem to me to have such a deal of harm in 'em. The crowd on the street was as orderly as I ever saw. A whole lot of the people went away after Parsons was through speaking, and it was quite thin about the middle of the street when the police came up. I say now that I heard some one cry out "charge," and then I saw the bomb fly up into the air. I could see there was a fuse to it, but thought at the time it was one of these stage bombs that you see in battles at the theatre. It went off with considerable noise, and then the shooting began. I didn't leave the window, and watched the whole thing. I think the policemen shot each other more than the crowd did.' [This will help to explain the surprise of the police at failing to find the hundreds of Socialists whom they had plumed themselves upon slaying!] 'I call the whole thing a mistake of the police. If they had stayed away the meeting would have ended in another minute or two, and there would have been no trouble.'

At the inquest the coroner informed the prisoners they might make a statement if they desired, but it might be used against them. Christ Spies, under oath, said he was a hardwood-finisher, and that he knew nothing of the meeting on Desplaines Street. He was at Zepf's Hall, and at about ten o'clock left there. He went to the office of the *Arbeiter Zeitung* yesterday morning, to look at the papers and find out about the affair, and was arrested. He could not see the place where the meeting was held from Zepf's Hall. August Spies was his brother, and editor of the *Arbeiter Zeitung*. He did not know Schwab's first name, but he was a bookbinder by trade. He did not know what connection Schwab had with the *Arbeiter Zeitung*. He had not seen any weapons at Zepf's Hall. Schwab affirmed, and said his name was Michael Schwab; he was a bookbinder by trade, and was co-editor of the *Arbeiter Zeitung*. He left home Tuesday evening at 7.40 o'clock, and went to the Haymarket to find Spies, who was wanted to speak at a meeting in Lake View. He was not at the meeting on Desplaines Street at all. He thought he left the Haymarket by 8.15 o'clock. He had nothing to do with getting up the circulars introduced. He did not know who the "executive committee" was. He was at home all Monday night after five o'clock. He had a desk in the same room with Spies. There were no recognised leaders of the Socialists. He had expected to find a Socialist speaker at the Haymarket, because he thought the circulars looked like those usually got up in their office. He had not belonged to the "Lehr und Wehr Verein" for eight or ten months. He had never seen or known of any dynamite in the office.—Fielden was then sworn, and said his name was Samuel Fielden; he was a teamster. He had seen an announcement of an important meeting of the "American group" of Socialists, and had gone to it Tuesday night, and would not have known of the meeting on Haymarket Square if he had not gone to the "important business" meeting. He spoke at the meeting, as witnesses had testified. Captain Ward had marched up with police just as he was finishing his speech. When ordered to disperse he said, "Well, we will go, then," and was going toward the alley around the boxes when the bomb exploded, and a moment after he got a bullet in his knee. The police called him a damned, murdering Socialist, and refused to have his leg properly dressed. He had had it tended in a drug-store, but it was not well done. He understood a man was considered innocent until he was proved guilty, and he denounced the police. He heard Parsons say "To arms!" and acknowledged he had said "Throttle the law!" Witness was an anarchist. He had seen the circulars, and saw a bundle of them in the *Arbeiter Zeitung* office. The last meeting of the "American group" of Socialists was for the purpose of arranging to organise sewing-girls. He had been a Socialist for two years. He often went to see Spies, but had not seen any dynamite there. He and Spies had discussed dynamite as used to blow up the Czar of Russia. There had been copied into the *Alarm* a year or so ago a recipe for making dynamite, but he knew nothing about making or using it. The *Alarm* was edited by Parsons.—August Spies made no statement upon his own behalf. The jury returned the following verdict:—

"That the said Matthew J. Degan, now lying dead at the County Hospital, in the city of Chicago, county of Cook, State of Illinois, came to his death on the 4th day of May, A.D. 1886, from shock and hemorrhage caused by a wound produced by a piece of bomb thrown by an unknown person, aided, abetted, and encouraged by August Spies, Christ Spies, Michael Schwab, A. R. Parsons, Samuel Fielden, and other unknown persons; and we, the jury, recommend that said unknown person who threw said bomb be apprehended and held to the grand jury without bail, and we further recommend that the said August Spies, Samuel Fielden, Michael Schwab, and Christ Spies, as accessories before the fact, be held to await the further action of the grand jury without bail; and further, that the said A. R. Parsons and the afore-mentioned unknown persons be apprehended and committed as accessories, without bail, to the grand jury; and we, the jury, recommend that the constituted authorities in the future strictly enforce the statute prohibiting the holding of unlawful meetings."

The way in which our friends are now being treated may be gathered from the following extracts from a letter we have received:—

"All the world has by this time heard of last Tuesday night's affair. Who knows? Perhaps it is the opening of the Social Revolution! Be this as it may, it certainly has produced astonishing effects. One week ago freedom of speech and of the press was a right unquestioned by the bitterest anti-Socialist—a right I need hardly say guaranteed by the Constitution. To-day all this is changed. In Chicago, Milwaukee, and New York already (and soon it will be the same in other cities) Socialists are hunted like wolves, simply because they are Socialists. Talk about the rigour of the law against Socialists in Germany, or the persecution of our devoted comrades in autocratic Russia, I doubt if either country can show the malignant hate and fury now being exhibited by the authorities and "respectable citizens" of democratic America—the United States. The Chicago papers are loud and unceasing in their demand for the lives of all prominent Socialists. To proclaim one's-self a Socialist in Chicago now is to invite immediate arrest. To such extremes have the authorities gone in their determination to punish our comrades, that all constitutional rights guaranteed to citizens have been set aside, even the counsel of the prisoners being refused admittance to their clients. All the *attachés* of all the Socialistic papers have been seized, and the papers broken up. Twenty-three printers, writers, and *attachés* of the *Arbeiter Zeitung*—even including the office boys—have been imprisoned and are booked on a charge of murder, my wife among the number. The latter went to Chicago on Monday last to organise the working-women. She was a spectator of the bloody fight on Tuesday night, and was arrested the next day. Everybody connected with the *Alarm* and *Arbeiter* are to be prosecuted—and persecuted—so I have little hope of escaping the general deluge. Matters are in such a state now, however, that no one can tell what the outcome will be."

Under the unfortunate (for them) title of "No more fooling," the *Chicago Times* says:

"Public justice demands that the European assassins, August Spies, Christopher Spies, Michael Schwab, and Sam Fielden, shall be held, tried, and hanged for murder. Public justice demands that the assassin A. R. Parsons, who is said to disgrace this country by having been born in it, shall be seized, tried, and hanged for murder. Public justice demands that the negro woman who passes as the

wife of the assassin Parsons, and has been his assistant in the work of organising assassination, shall be seized, tried, and hanged for murder. Public justice demands that every ringleader of the association of assassins called Socialists, Central Union of Workmen, or by whatever name, shall be arrested, convicted, and hanged as a participant murderer. Public justice demands that every assembly-room of the European assassins composing the society or following of the red flag shall be immediately and permanently closed, and that no gathering of those criminal conspirators and public enemies shall hereafter be permitted in Chicago. Public justice demands that every organisation, society, or combination of the assassins calling themselves Socialists, or preaching the criminal doctrines of the red flag under any name, shall be absolutely and permanently suppressed. Public justice demands that no citizen shall employ or keep in his service any person who is a member of such unlawful organisation or association of conspirators and assassins."

Of the unfortunates, who having been induced to seek the "land of liberty" by the unscrupulous exploiters who wanted cheap labour, are now found not to be the supine slaves hoped for, the same paper says:

"It is the descendants of this mixture of Scythian, Hun, and devil who have invaded the peaceful shores of this Republic. It is an invasion as uninvited and unwarranted as that by painted savages of the peaceful farm-houses of the white settlers on the frontiers. They do not understand our language, our system, our policies. Their raid is based on an innate desire for turbulence and murder; and they exhibit the same blood-drinking instincts developed by their Scythian ancestors. They do not come here to secure that freedom of which they are deprived at their homes, but to indulge in that license which, in the places of their breeding, is forbidden them, or if indulged in is swiftly punished with rope, bullet, or axe."

Its closing words of advice are: "Let the police, and the militia if called into action, deal with these miscreants in vigorous fashion. 'Fire low' and 'fire quick' should be the command, and it should be remorselessly carried out." To foul depths of infamy not even our own loathsome press could descend; that the American people are beginning to feel the biting sarcasm of their mis-leaders "liberty-talk," may be seen from the ingenuous confession of the *Times*: "Considerations of personal safety will probably restrain the 'eagle' from any oratorical flight to be heard by the strikers. It is a poor time for oratory." H. S.

Correspondence.

A word or two on the editorial apology to Mr. Fox Bourne in the last issue. My Notes were meant to be an attack on Mr. Bourne. I avoid the word "personal," as it connotes different things to different people. I attacked Mr. Fox Bourne, and intend, whenever I can, to attack him, because in attacking him I am assailing the cowardly and misleading principle of anonymous journalism; because, in some measure, the fetish-worship of a newspaper is lessened when people understand that its utterances are those of a man, and not of an impersonal "public opinion"; because the *Weekly Dispatch*—alias Mr. Fox Bourne—pretends to be a working-class organ, and is (largely on account of that pretence) one of the papers most injurious to the cause of the workers. On account of all which, and much more in the same vein that might be said, I have no "personal apologies" to make to Mr. Fox Bourne, and regret deeply that the Editors thought that any were due from them to him. EDWARD AVELING.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

PRACTICAL SOCIALISM.

A friend who says that he quite understands the theory of Socialism, as some questions on its "practical application":—

"(1) Will there be any shopkeepers or publichouses in the new state of society, and if not how are things to be exchanged? (2) Will there be any money used? (3) Who will superintend workmen in factories, etc.?" "These," says our friend, "are questions I am constantly asked, and am unable to give a satisfactory reply to; I want to see a plan as it were of the new state of Society."

When the plan is visible the new state of Society will be realised, it cannot be visible before. As to questions 1 and 2, it must be pointed out that the essence of the new Society is that both the production and the distribution of goods will be carried on for the benefit of the community, instead of as now for the gain of individuals at the expense of the community. Of course there will be distributors of goods (which goods will, I hope, include drinks, as we shall it is to be hoped be able to enjoy ourselves without bestiality on one side, so shall not need total abstinence ritual on the other). A dozen "plans" for such distribution might be made, but none of them would be of any particular value. We shall follow the "plan" which we find to be necessary and useful. Money will be used if necessary, as it may be at first, but will only be used as counters representing so much labour. As to question 3, the answer is those who are fit to superintend will do so, and will do it willingly as it will be easy for them, since they are fit for it; the workmen whom they direct will also follow that direction willingly, as they will find out that doing so will make their work easier and more effective; also on every workman will rest a due share of responsibility, he will not be as he is now a mere irresponsible machine.

Our friend also wants some information about the revolutionary movements in other countries. He will find a good deal in the *Commonweal* on this head. As to the differences of opinion amongst Socialists, these must exist, but it is surely a mistake to further their crystallisation into parties with names attached to them that by no means always mean the same thing. There is no difference whatever between the aims of the English and the Foreign Socialists, the different shades of opinion are represented in all countries, and all share this aim, the destruction of the system which robs the workman of the fruits of his labour, which robbery our friend says the field labourers he talks with can see clearly. This last fact is better news than even he perhaps thinks. He says also that he cannot get them to "organise." Let him try his best in the confidence that the course of events will force them to do so. W. M.

The German Government have presented a report to the Reichstag explaining that the decree restricting the right of meeting in Berlin was issued because the agitation for an increase of wages had fallen into the hands of the Socialists; further, that amongst the men employed on the railways and other traffic organisations excitement was dangerously increasing; and, finally, that the recent incidents in England, Belgium, and America rendered such measures necessary.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

Notices to Members.

General Meeting.—May 31, at 8.30 p.m. Adjourned from Monday, May 24. The following motions come up for discussion:—Motion by Lesser: "In its struggles for emancipation the working-class cannot act as a class, save by constituting itself into a political party, distinct from and opposed to all existing parties formed by the propertied classes. This constitution of the working-class into a political party is indispensable in order to ensure the triumph of the Social Revolution, and its ultimate end, the abolition of all classes. The combination of forces which the working-class has already effected by its economical struggles, ought at the same time to serve as a lever for its struggles against the political power of landlords and capitalists. In the militant state of the working-class, its economical movement and political action are indissolubly united."—Motion by Lane: "The monthly meeting of London members of the Socialist League recommends to the Branches the adoption of the Constitution drawn up by Lane and Charles, with such alterations as the majority of members may deem fit."

Library.—The librarians, May Morris and W. Chambers, attend on Mondays and Fridays from 7 to 9 p.m.

Reading Room.—Open from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. All papers received by the Secretary are sorted and filed and are at the disposal of members.

Annual Conference.—Whitsunday, June 13. Attention of Branches is especially called to Rule V. (pages 3 and 4 Constitution and Rules). Any Branch not able to send a delegate from among its own members can appoint any member of the League to represent them. Arrangements are being made to provide dinner at 1.30 for those who attend the Conference, at 1s. 6d. each. Tea, when business is over, 6d. each. Those who intend to take part in the dinner should notify same to the Secretary at once.

Excursion.—The Committee have arranged for the Excursion to take place to Box Hill, return fare to which place will be 1s. 10d. Train leaves Cannon Street at 8 a.m. on the 14th, returning at 8.30 p.m. Members are asked to spread the news of this Excursion among their friends, and do all in their power to render it a success. Application to be made to any member of the Committee or to the Secretary. S.

Notices to Lecturers and Branch Secretaries.

To avoid confusion and mistake, lecturers and Branch secretaries are requested to at once advise the Lecture Secretary of all engagements made by them. Branches will find it more convenient to make their arrangements with speakers through the Lecture Secretary, who will undertake to make all necessary announcements unless otherwise instructed.

Executive.

Council met on Monday last at 7.30 for the transaction of general business. Upon the report of Joseph Lane as to a meeting at Stratford on Saturday 22d, it was decided to again contest the right of free speech, and arrangements were made for a demonstration to-day (Saturday 29) at 6.45. See announcement.

General Meeting.

General Meeting of London members met on Monday last at 8.30, comrade Webb in the chair. The monthly reports of officers, committees, and branches were submitted and discussed. At 10.45 adjournment to next week was moved by Aveling, seconded Lane, and carried.

Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Marylebone to March 31. Bloomsbury, Hackney, Hammersmith, Leeds, North London, Norwich, Oxford, Dublin, to April 30. Manchester, Bradford, Croydon, to May 31. Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), to June 30. P. W.

The "Commonweal"

Branches are reminded of the absolute necessity of their paying for the paper week by week.

Copies of the cartoon by Walter Crane given with the first number of the weekly issue, can now be had printed on fine hand-made paper for framing, price 6d., postage 1d.; protection roll, if desired, 2d. extra.

Boards for the use of newspapers can be supplied to Branches at 1s. each.

During the current week the Marylebone Branch has sold nine quires of the *Commonweal*. If other branches will display the same energy that this one (which is by no means large) has shown, the position of our paper will be speedily assured. S.

Branch Reports.

(Reports and Notices should be addressed to the printer, and to insure insertion in the current issue must reach the office not later than 10 a.m. on Tuesday.)

MARYLEBONE.—On Saturday evening we broke fresh ground, when comrades Chambers, Burcham, and Mainwaring addressed an audience of about 700 people at Westbourne Park, most of whom appeared very anxious to learn something about Socialism.—On Sunday morning comrades Kitz, Arnold, and Mainwaring addressed a large crowd at the corner of Bell Street.—In the afternoon we had a large audience in Hyde Park, numbering quite 1500 people. Comrades Kitz, Donald, and Scheu addressed the meeting, and their speeches were greatly appreciated.—In the evening we held a meeting in the Marylebone Road, which was addressed by comrades Burcham and Arnold. Some stupid and spiteful questions were put by a cabman, and the audience became enthusiastic in favour of Socialism.—Our four meetings this week have been very successful, and nine quires of the *Commonweal* have been sold.—H. G. A.

NORTH LONDON.—On Tuesday evening, May 18, we held a meeting at Ossulton Street, where we had a large audience, addressed by Nicoll, Chambers, Wardle, and Donald, who roused some weak opposition from an M.D. On Sunday morning last, Chambers addressed a meeting at St. Pancras Arches, and at Regent's Park comrades Burcham and Donald spoke to a large and appreciative audience; the *Commonweal* sold well.—THOS. CANTWELL.

BIRMINGHAM.—For the information of comrades, I have to state that besides the lecture at Baskerville Hall at Birmingham, noticed in last week's *Commonweal*, I lectured there in the evening of the same day on Socialism, and had a full audience, many, or most of which, as usual, seemed to agree with the indictment against our Sham Society; the questioning was of the usual kind. On the Monday evening (17th), I lectured on "The Political Outlook," at the Exchange Buildings, under the auspices of our Branch. Although it was a wretchedly wet night, and there was a counter attraction in the building in the form of the Performing Fleas, the attendance was good. Mr. Walker, the leading Land Nationaliser in Birmingham, was in the chair, and opened with a liberal-minded and sympathetic speech. The audience was very attentive, and a large part of it again appeared to agree with me, though I found it impossible to avoid the chance of shocking some sensibilities on the subject of the immediate crisis. Birmingham is a difficult place to deal with. Open-air speaking is not allowed in the borough, though the Board Schools can always be had for a meeting at a moderate rate, and there is much intolerance of advanced thought outside the cut-and-dried party. Still, one must suppose that there are intelligent men there not drilled into nonentity by the party caucus, and our comrades have only to go on and attack vigorously and persistently in order to gain these.—W. M.

LEEDS.—Open-air meetings are being regularly held, at which the paper is always on sale. We have had to quit the Temperance Café, our principles not commending themselves to the capitalist proprietors. We are boycotted right and left in this matter, and considerable harm is caused to the development of our organisation by such means. For the time we must meet at members' houses.

MANCHESTER.—With the help of comrade Wardle of London we held three open-air meetings on Sunday. We opened at the Grey Mare Corner, where we had a good audience and sold thirty *Commonweals*. From there we went on to the Lamp in Gorton Lane. We were about to conclude our meeting there when a sergeant and some police ordered us off. No obstruction was caused. We think he exceeded his duty, and have written to his superior for an explanation. In the evening we opened our old station at the Viaduct, Chester Road, Hulme. There was a large crowd, and several questions were asked. All the meetings seemed interested in comrade Wardle's explanation of the commercial basis of society.—R. M., sec.

LECTURE DIARY.

HALL OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.—Lectures every Wednesday at 8.30; Sundays at 7.30. Admission free; discussion invited. Sunday May 30. Mrs. C. M. Wilson, "The Future of Radicalism." Wednesday June 2. H. H. Sparling, "Killing no Murder."

London Branches.

Bloomsbury.—Business meeting at central office every Wednesday at 7.30.
Croydon.—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday, May 30, at 7.30 p.m., A. K. Donald, "The Reign of Capitalists." Business meeting at Parker Road every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock.
Hackney.—Kenton Coffee House, Kenton Road, Well Street, every Monday at 8, for the enrolment of members and other business.
Hammersmith.—Kelscott House, 26 Upper Mall, W. Sundays at 8 p.m. May 30. George Bernard Shaw, "Thieves."
Hoxton (L. E. L.).—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sunday, May 30, at 7.45. I. Westwood, "Man's Future upon the Earth." Committee Meeting at 10.30 a.m. Important business.
Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Sundays and Wednesdays at 8 p.m.
Mile-end.—I. W. M. Educational Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. Tuesdays at 8 p.m. June 1. H. Barker, "The Deserted Village."
North London.—Communications to R. A. Beckett, St. Mildred's House, Poultry, E.C.
South London.—Business meetings at 103 Bird-in-bush Road, on Sundays at 7.30.

Country Branches.

Birmingham.—Bell Street Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 7.30.
Bradford.—Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Road. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m.
Dublin.—30 Great Brunswick Street. Every Tuesday at 7.45 p.m.
Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Friday at 8.30 p.m.
Glasgow.—Neilson's Hotel, Ingram Street, every Saturday at 7 p.m. Lectures and discussions. Members and friends are invited to assist in selling *Commonweal* at Green (Jail Square) Saturdays, 5 p.m.
Leeds.—No meeting-room at present (see report above). Out-door stations—Vicar's Croft, Hunslet and Woodhouse Moors.
Leicester.—Radical Club, Vine Street. Tuesdays, at 8 p.m.
Manchester.—County Forum. Fridays, at 8 p.m.
Norwich.—Gordon Café. Every Monday at 8 p.m.
Oldham.—Mrs. Wrigley's Coffee Tavern, 9, Old Market Place. Wednesdays, 7.30.
Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 27 Pembroke Street. Thursdays, at 8.30 p.m.
Royston.—"Greyhound Inn." Every Sunday evening at 7.30.

Open-air Propaganda for the Week.

LONDON.

Date.	Station.	Time.	Speaker.	Branch.
Sat. 29.	Harrow Road—opposite the "Prince of Wales"	7	A. K. Donald	Marylebone.
S. 30.	Canning Town (Beckton Rd.)	11.30	C. W. Mowbray	Central.
	Edgware Road—Bell Street	11.30	W. Chambers	Marylebone.
	Hackney—Well Street	11.30	J. Lane	Hackney.
	Hammersmith—Beadon Road	11.30	F. Kitz	Hammersmith.
	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street	11.30	H. Burcham	Hoxton.
	Mile-end Waste	11.30	Graham and Davis	Mile-end.
	Regent's Park	11.30	R. A. Beckett	N. London.
	St. Pancras Arches	11.30	T. Wardle	N. London.
	Hyde Park (near Marble Arch)	3.30	D. Nicoll	Marylebone.
	Victoria Park	3.30	C. W. Mowbray	Hackney.
June	Merton—High Street	7	W. Chambers	Merton.
Tu. 1.	Euston Road—Ossulton St.	7.30	C. W. Mowbray	N. London.
	Soho—Broad Street	7.30	D. Nicoll	Bloomsbury.
Th. 3.	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street	8	H. Davis	Hoxton.
	Mile-end Waste	8	C. W. Mowbray	Mile-end.

PROVINCES.

Hulme.—The Viaduct, Chester Road. Sundays, 7 p.m.
Manchester.—Grey Mare Corner, Ashton Old Road. Sundays, 11 a.m.
Oldham.—Curzon Ground. Sundays, afternoon and evening.

Free-Speech Demonstration at Stratford.

This evening (Saturday May 29), at 7 o'clock prompt, a meeting will be held at the end of Stratford Church. Speakers: Aveling, Eleanor Marx-Aveling, Banner, Chambers, Lane, Mowbray, Nicoll, Sparling, Wardle. Comrades are requested to attend early, to keep order and to sell the *Commonweal*.

MEETINGS OF OTHER SOCIETIES.

NOTTING HILL DEBATING SOCIETY, "Monarch Tavern," Manchester Street (near Latimer Road Railway Station).—Sunday May 30, at 7.30. Mr. R. Owen (S.P.E.L.), "History and Principles of Conservatism."

PROGRESSIVE DEBATING SOCIETY "Bee Hive," Warner Street, Camberwell, S.E.—Sunday May 30, at 8, J. Lane, "Revolution or Reform."

STARBUCK GREEN RADICAL CLUB.—On Sunday, May 30, at 8 p.m. H. H. Sparling, "Killing no Murder."

SWABY'S COFFEE HOUSE, Mile-end Road, Sunday May 30, at 8 p.m. W. Blundell, "Poverty, Disease and Crime."

SOCIALIST UNION.—A section of the Socialist Union is now being organised in Cumberland, and two good Branches have been formed during the past week, one in Carlisle and the other in Workington, from which the propaganda will be extended to Whitehaven, Cockermouth, and other places in the neighbourhood.

"The Woman Question from a Socialist Point of View," by Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx-Aveling, has been reprinted from the *Westminster Review*, and published by Messrs Sonnenschein & Co. Price 2d.